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F. VIRÉ, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 110, 726, 804, 809, 891.
P. VOORHOEVE, Leiden. 155.
[J. WALKER, London]. 291.
J. R. WALSH, University of Edinburgh. 45.
J. WANSBROUGH, University of London. 240, 346, 1179.
W. MONTGOMERY WATT, University of Edinburgh. 8, 94, 123, 166, 167, 169, 260, 286, 367, 462, 539, 578, 767, 801, 1018, 1023, 1270.
[T. H. WEIR, Glasgow]. 235, 462.
[A. J. WENSINCK, Leiden]. 33, 37, 285, 286, 446, 542, 582, 669, 1053, 1156.
P. WHEATLEY, University of London. 1214.
G. M. WICKENS, University of Toronto. 57.
the late R. O. WINSTEDT, London. 377.
M. E. YAPP, University of London. 392, 460.
E. YAR-SHATER, Columbia University, New York. 810.
TAHSIN YAZICI, University of Istanbul. 603.
Z. H. ZAIDI, University of London. 365.
S. ZAKKAR, University of Damascus. 839.
[E. v. ZAMBAUR]. 11.
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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 19^{b}, **ʿABBĀSIDS**, l. 3, *for* 344/945 *read* 334/945.
P. 187^{b}, **ʿADHĀB al-ḲABR**, *add to Bibliography*: J. Macdonald, *The twilight of the dead*, in *Islamic Studies*, iv (1965), 55-102; idem, *The preliminaries to the resurrection and judgment*, *ibid.*, iv (1965), 137-79.
P. 277^{a}, **AḤMAD b. ḤANBAL**, l. 7 *of Bibliography*, *for* 234-43 *read* 324-43.
P. 394^{b}, **ʿALĪ PASHA ČORLULU**, l. 22 *of the article*, *for* May 1710 *read* May 1706.
P. 433^{a}, **AMBĀLA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 141, 130 n. 8; *Memoirs of Bābur*, Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, ii, 465.
P. 451^{b}, **ʿAMR b. al-ʿĀṢ**, l. 1 *of Bibliography*, *for* ii. 1 *read* iii. 1.
P. 856^{a}, **BADĀʾŪN**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Baroda 1932, index under Badaon (Badayun).
P. 952^{a}, **BĀḲARGANDJ**, *add to Bibliography*: *Geographical and Statistical Report of the Districts of Jessore, Fureedpore and Backergunge*, Calcutta 1888.
P. 1022^{b}, **BANŪR**, *add to Bibliography*: *Memoirs of Bābur*, Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, ii, 464.
P. 1046^{b}, **al-BARĪDĪ**, l. 5 *of the article*, *for* al-Manṣūr *read* al-Muḳtadir.
P. 1047^{b}, **BARĪD SHĀHĪS**, ll. 9-10, *for* Bīdar annexed Bīdjāpur *read* Bīdjāpur annexed Bīdar.
P. 1053^{a}, **BARŌDA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Baroda 1932, 114-5.
P. 1194^{b}, **BHATTINDA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Baroda 1932, 222 n. 9, and index under Tabarhinda.
P. 1250^{b}, *delete* **BOBASTRO** [see barbashturu].
P. 1300^{b}, **BULANDSHAHR**, *add to Bibliography*: Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Eng. tr., Baroda 1932, index.

VOLUME II

P. 12^{b}, **ČANDERĪ**, ll. 21-2, *read* in the Mālwā internal struggles by Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī I.
P. 59^{a}, **CONGO**, ll. 22-3, *for* a Zanzibar Shaykh called Ḥasan b. Amīr al-Shīrāzī *read* the late Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Kenya, Shaykh al-Amīn b. ʿAlī; l. 30, *after* sūrat Yāsīn in Swahili, *add* by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī; l. 33, *after* Manrisho Yake", *add* also by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī.
P. 308^{b}, **DIPLOMATIC**, ii — maghrib, *add to Bibliography*: Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Mustawdaʿ al-ʿalāma*, Tiṭwān 1964.
P. 347^{b}, **DIYĀR MUḌAR**, l. 43, *for* (485/1082) *read* (485/1092); lines 53-4, *for* In 553/1158 Zangī granted it in fief, *read* In 553/1158 the Zangid granted it in fief.
P. 372^{a}, Mīr **DJAʿFAR**, *add to Bibliography*: Raḥmān ʿAlī Ṭaysh, *Tawārīkh-i Dhāka*, Ārrah 1910, 79-111; Awlād Ḥaydar Fawḳ, *Tawārīkh-i djadīd Ṣūba Bihār-o Urīsa*, Patna 1915, 285-381.
P. 402^{a}, **DJALĪLĪ**. The present members of the Djalīlī family of Mosul have asked the editors to make known that the second sentence of this article does not accord with their family tradition, according to which ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. ʿAbd al-Malik was born a Muslim in Diyārbakr in about 1030/1621 (cf. ʿAlī Amīrī, *Tadhkirat shuʿarāʾ Āmid*, Istanbul 1328, i, 258) and had extensive business connexions with Mosul and Baghdād; he later settled in Mosul, and died in 1090/1679.
P. 558^{b}, **DJĪWAN**, *add at end of Bibliography*: For his views on *samāʿ* see Muḥammad Djaʿfar Nadwī, *Islām awr Mūsīḳī* (in Urdu), Lahore 1956, 119-20, 168-75.
P. 778^{b}, after **FĀRĀB**, *insert*: **al-FĀRĀBĪ**, Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāḳ [see Supplement].
P. 809^{a}, **FARRUKHĀBĀD**, *add to Bibliography*: Dēbī Prashād, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḍilʿ Farrukhābād*, Allāhābād 1859.
P. 879^{a}, **FEHMĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: see also Ali Kemali, *Erzincan*, n.p. (Resimli Ay Matbaası) 1932, 260 f.
P. 1004^{b}, **GHANĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Ḥusayn-Dōst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkira-i Ḥusaynī*, Lucknow 1875, s.v.; Abū Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Miskīn, *Taḥāʾif al-abrār fī dhikr awliyāʾ al-akhyār*, Amritsar 1321-2/1905, *tuḥfa* 6; Muḥammad Aṣlaḥ Kashmīrī, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarāʾ-i Kashmīr* (MS in Persian).
P. 1036^{b}, **GHAZAL**, iv, l. 22, *for* Gondwāna *read* Gonda.
P. 1093^{a}, **GHULĀM ḲĀDIR ROHILLA**, *add to Bibliography*: Alṭāf ʿAlī Barēlvī, *Ghulām Ḳādir Rōhilla* (in Urdu), Aligarh n.d.
P. 1130^{a}, **GUDJARĀT**, l. 8 *of Bibliography*, *for* al-Mirmānī *read* al-Kirmānī *and after* Bodl. Elliot 237 *add* (and further Pertsch 511, now at Tübingen, and King's College Cambridge MS 67; see the note by Hameed ud Din in *History and Culture of the Indian people*, vi, Bombay 1960, 752-3, and idem, in *Journal of Indian History*, xl/3 (1962), 749-50 and 767-77).
P. 1134^{b}, **GULBADAN BĒGAM**, l. 5, for *Zinda-Pīl* read *Zhanda-Pīl*.

VOLUME III

P. 24^{b}, **ḤADĪTH**, l. 38, *for* al-Bābūya *read* Ibn Bābūya; l. 41, for *al-Ibtiṣār* read *al-Istibṣār*.
P. 29^{a}, **ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1692-3), *al-Djawāhir al-saniyya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya*, Baghdād 1384/1964 (a Shīʿī collection of *Ḳudsī* traditions).
P. 53^{a}, **al-ḤAḌR**, *add to Bibliography*: A. Caquot, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes de Hatra*, in *Syria*, xxix (1952-5).

P. 62ª, **ḤĀFIẒ RAḤMAT KHĀN**, *add to Bibliography*: Niyāz Aḥmad Khān 'Hūsh', *Ta'rīkh-i Rōhīlkhand* (in Urdū), Bareilly n.d.; Muḥammad Sulaymān Khān 'Asad', *Nakṣh-i Sulaymānī*, Tonk 1323/1904; Ḥusām al-Dīn Gwāliyārī, *Ta'rīkh-i Muḥammad Khānī* (MS inPersian, in the Library of the All-Pakistan Educational Conference, Karachi).

P. 90ᵇ, **AL-ḤALABĪ**, Nūr al-Dīn, l. 14 of the art., *for* Ibn Sayyid al-Nāsh *read* Ibn Sayyid al-Nās.

P. 123ª, **ḤAMDALA**, l. 14, *for* usually *read* regularly.

P. 231ª, **ḤARṬĀNĪ**, *Bibliography, delete* M. Ould Daddah, in *GLECS* (26/5/1965).

P. 246ª, *before* **AL-ḤASAN AL-AʿṢAM** *insert* **AL-ḤASAN ʿALĀ DHIKRIHI 'L-SALĀM** [see Supplement].

P. 285ª, **ḤAWĀRĪ**, l. 3 of art., *for Beiträge read Neue Beiträge.*

P. 333ª, **ḤAYY B. YAKẒĀN**, lines 21-23. The edition and translation, Oxford 1671, were by the younger Edward Pocock (1648-1727). A fragment of an English translation by his father, the elder Edward Pocock (1604-91), dated 10 July 1645, survives in manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS. Poc. 429, ff. 1-2, 16-17). *Add to the bibliography*: G. Vajda, *D'une attestation peu connue du thème du 'philosophe autodidacte'* ", in *al-Andalus*, xxxi (1966), 379-83.

P. 381ª, **HILĀL**, i, *add to Bibliography*: R. Brunschvig, in *Mélanges Georges Marçais*, ii, 1957, 15, 19.

P. 456ª, **HINDAL**, l. 10, *for* 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 952 *read* 21 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 958.

P. 497ᵇ, **HISHĀM B. AL-ḤAKAM**, lines 11-12, *for* descriptive attributes (*ṣifāt*), rather than accidents (*aʿrāḍ*), *read* merely descriptive attributes, *and* l. 17, *for* accidents *read* attributes.

P. 511ª, **ḤIYAL**, l. 34, *add* See also MŪRISṬUS. l. 39, *for* 111, *read* 111).

P. 512ᵇ, l. 44, *after* valid *add* (cf. Shāṭibī, *Muwāfakāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Darrāz, iv, 210 f. [*K. al-Idjtihād*, i, § 10]). l. 51, *read* confirm.

P. 535ª, **ḤIZKIL**, l. 11 *of the article, for* כהי *read* כלי.

P. 570ᵇ, **AL-ḤULAL AL-MAWSHIYYA**, *add to Bibliography*: See the article (in Arabic) by al-ʿAbbādī in *Tiṭwān*, no. 5 (1960); and especially R. Brunschvig, *al-Ḥulal al-Maushiyya, Grenade et le Maroc marīnide*, in *Studies . . . H. A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 147-65, in which the compilation of the *Ḥulal* is situated in its historical context so that its true significance is made apparent.

P. 585ᵇ, **HURMUZ**, l. 11 *of Bibliography*, for *Comentarios* read *Commentarios*; l. 19, for *perdue* read *perdeu*; l. 20, *for* Scillinger *read* Schillinger; *and add*: J. Aubin, *Les princes d'Ormuz du XIIIᵉ au XVᵉ siècle*, in *JA*, ccxli (1933), 77-138.

P. 673ª, **IBN ʿABBĀD**, *add to Bibliography*: Aḥmad Bahmanyār, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i Ṣāḥib Ibn-i ʿAbbād*, Tehran 1965.

P. 751ª, **IBN AL-DJAṢṢĀṢ**, *add to the Bibliography an important article by* G. Wiet, *Un homme d'affaires mésopotamien au Xᵉ siècle*, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Città del Vaticano 1964, iii, 475-93.

P. 775ᵇ, **IBN AL-ḤADDĀD**, l. 3, *for* Cadix *read* Guadix.

P. 780ª, **IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ**, l. 20, *for* AL-BALĀFIKĪ *read* AL-BALAFĪKĪ.

P. 799ª, **IBN ḤAZM**, *add to Bibliography*: J. Bosch-Vilá, *Ibn Ḥazm, généalogista*, Cordova 1963, 15 pp. (off-print from *IX Centenario de Aben Hazam*).

P. 802ᵇ, **IBN HUBAYRA**. *Throughout the article, for* Yūsuf b. ʿUmar *read* Yazīd b. ʿUmar.

P. 803ᵇ, **IBN ḤUBAYSH**, l. 15, *for* Djazīrat Shakr *read* Djazīrat Shukr.

P. 806ª, **IBN ʿIDHĀRĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: *al-Bayān al-Mugrib*, iv, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane aux XIIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles*, Arabic text ed. by Dr Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1967 (fragments on the Almoravids).

P. 825ᵇ, **IBN KHALDŪN**, l. 2, *for* (732-84/1332-82) *read* (732-808/1332-1406).

P. 833ª, **IBN KHALLIKĀN**, lines 8-9, *for* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zubayr *read* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr.

P. 835ª, **IBN AL-KHAṢĪB**, l. 1, *for* AḤMAD B. AL-KHĀṢĪB *read* AḤMAD B. AL-KHAṢĪB.

P. 836ᵇ, **IBN AL-KHAṬĪB**, l. 6, *for Miʿyār al-ikhtibār read Miʿyār al-ikhtiyār.*

P. 863ª, *before* **IBN MANDA** *insert* **IBN AL-MAʾMŪN** [see AL-BAṬĀʾIḤĪ].

P. 865ª, **IBN MARDANĪSH**, l. 32, *for* Cadix *read* Guadix.

P. 865ᵇ, **IBN MARYAM**, l. 37, for *ḥizr* read *ḥirz.*

P. 866ª, **IBN MARZŪK**, l. 12, *for* Lamṭūna *read* Lamtūna.

P. 898ᵇ, **IBN AL-NAFĪS**, *add to Bibliography*: On Andrea Alpago, see Francesca Lucchetta, *Il medico e filosofo bellunese Andrea Alpago*, Padua 1964.

P. 939ᵇ, **IBN SHUHAYD**, *add, at end of the article*: A second attempt has been made by Yaʿkūb Zakī (James Dickie), *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī*, Cairo 1969.

P. 946ª, **IBN SĪNĀ**, *add to Bibliography*: the psychological section of the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* was edited by F. Rahman, as *Avicenna's De Anima*, London 1959.

P. 949ª, *before* **IBN SULAYM AL-ASWĀNĪ** *insert* **IBN AL-SUKĀʾI** [see Supplement].

P. 980ª, **IBN ZURʿA**, *add to Bibliography*: S. Pines, *La loi naturelle et la société: la doctrine politico-religieuse d'Ibn Zurʿa, philosophe chrétien de Bagdad*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, ed. U. Heyd (= Scripta Hierosolymitana, ix), Jerusalem 1961, 154-90.

P. 989ª, **IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD**, *add to Bibliography*: F. Omar, *The composition of the early ʿAbbāsid support*, in *Bull. Coll. Arts*, Baghdād 1968.

P. 994ᵇ, **IBRĀHĪM ḤAKKĪ PASHA**, *add to Bibliography*: Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, Oxford 1969.

P. 994ᵇ, **IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤARBĪ**, *add at the end of the article*: His *Kitāb al-Manāsik* was published, with a long introduction on the author and his works, by Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969.

P. 1085ª, **IKRĪṬISH**, lines 55-6, *for* circa 241-66/855-80 *read* circa 241-circa 281/855-95 (according to G. C. Miles); p. 1086a, *add to Bibliography*: G. C. Miles, *The Coinage of the Arab Amirs of Crete* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 160), New York 1970.

P. 1102ª, **ĪLĀT**, l. 35, *for* Dānizhpashūh *read* Dānishpazhūh; p. 1103b, l. 13, *for* Ousely *read* Ouseley.

P. 1260ᵇ, **ʿIRĀK**, *add to Biblography*: I. al-Samarrāʾī, *al-Tawzīʿ al-lughawī al-djughrafī fi 'l-ʿIrāk*, Cairo 1968.

H

HĀʾ, 26th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *h*; numerical value: 5, as in the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet [see ABDJAD]. It continues *h* from common Semitic.

Definition: *unvoiced glottal spirant*; according to the Arab grammatical tradition: *rikhwa mahmūsa*; as regards the *makhradj*: *akṣā ʾl-ḥalk* "the farthest part of the throat" (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*², § 732). A voiced *h* can be found after a voiced phoneme but it is not a distinctive characteristic (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 75). Pause can develop a *h* to support the short final vowel of a word when it is not a vowel of inflexion (*iʿrāb*): this is the *hāʾ al-sakt* or *hāʾ al-waḳf* or *hāʾ al-istirāḥa* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 36 ee to ii). For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *h*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 177; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 201.

Modifications: the conditioned modifications of *h* are limited to its possible assimilation to a *ḥ* preceding or following, and this between the final letter of one word and the initial of the next; or to reciprocal partial assimilation after an *ʿayn*, thus: *-ʿh-* > *-ḥḥ-*, as *maḥḥum* for *maʿhum* "with them" (using the ancient dialectal form *maʿ*), a particularly frequent phenomenon among the Banū Tamīm (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 12 r and 11 e; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 75). This latter assimilation is also found in Maghribī and eastern dialects (W. Marçais, *Ūlād Brāhīm* 11 and n. 1; C. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas*, Map 5, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915).

h disappears, in modern dialects, from the 3rd pers. masc. sing. of the pronominal suffix, in those dialects where the suffix is *-o*, *-u* and derives from **-ahū* with loss of *-h*. The same is also true of the *h* of the 3rd person feminine singular and 3rd person plural pronominal suffixes in certain dialects of North African and Oriental sedentary groups (notably Aleppo, Lebanese dialects). For assimilations: to a preceding *ʿayn*, see Bergsträsser's Map 5 referred to above; to other preceding consonants, see J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 76.

h as a demonstrative element appears in three forms: with a short vowel: *ha-*, the definite article in Hebrew; with a long vowel: *hā*, which, in Classical Arabic, did not go so far as to constitute a demonstrative in itself but which appears in compounds; with a diphthong: *hay*, also in compounds, like *hayta* (= *hay* + *ta*) of *hayta laka* in Ḳurʾān, XII, 23 "[come] here" (see H. Fleisch, *Esquisse*, 108-13), but *hey* "here" (L. Bauer, *Palästinische Ar.*³, § 55, 6).

Bibliography: see in text and under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic as seen by the classical grammarians, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ; for modern studies, see PHONETICS and LINGUISTICS.

(H. FLEISCH)

ii. — IRANIAN AND TURKIC LANGUAGES

In addition to its consonantal value (as in Persian *ham*, *pahn*, *bih*, Turkish *hep*, *daha*, Urdū *hem*, *bahut*, *vəh*, etc.) the letter *h* early acquired in Persian the rôle of *mater lectionis* for the final vowel *-a*. Whether this was due to analogy with the writing of the Arabic ending of the feminine singular, *-at*ᵘⁿ ~ *-a*(*h*), or to a phonetic development within Persian, *-ag* > **-aγ* (> **-ah*?) > *-a* (NPers. *-e*), it is impossible to decide. It was plainly from the spelling of final *-a* with *-h*, however, that the spelling of the much rarer final *-i* developed, as in *kh* (earlier *k*, *ky*) = *ki*. In other languages practice differed: in Khʷārizmian final short vowels were not expressed other than by the Arabic *ḥarakāt* and the same was true of early Pashto spelling, but in the course of the last two centuries writings with *-h* have increased in Pashto for *-a*, *-ə*, as in پہ *pa*, تہ *tə*, *ta*. In certain cases a morphological difference is expressed by a variant spelling, *e.g.*, ده دَ *da də* 'of him'. From final position the letter ہ later passed into use as *mater lectionis* for the short vowels *-a*, *-e* in medial position in some Turkish usage and is still so used (for *-a-*) in the written Kurdish of ʿIrāḳ.

In Persian and Turkish there is no visible distinction between final consonantal and 'mute' *h*, *e.g.*, *nh* may represent Pers. *na*, *nih*, *nuh*, and Turk. *ne*. In the North Indian languages, however, the occurrence of aspirated consonants has led to further conventions; see below.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

iii. — INDIAN LANGUAGES

Generally in Indo-Aryan languages *h* is voiced in all positions (see W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, Oxford 1953, 33 ff. with full references), and frequently a contiguous syllable can carry the breathy quality of the *h*; in some languages (Pandjābī, some East Bengali dialects) *h* is replaced by a syllabic tonal distinction; in others (some dialects of Rādjasthānī and East Bengali) there may be a phonetic differentiation between voiced *h* and voiceless *h* < *s*. In Urdū, Hindī and some dialects of Pandjābī *ah* in tonic syllables when followed by short *i*, *e*, or a consonant, or *in pausa*, is fronted to [ɛh].

Besides this free *h*, there is also the characteristic aspiration of consonants: *kh čh ṭh th ph*; *gh djh ḍh ṛh dh bh*. In the former series the aspiration is voiceless, in the latter series voiced; there is also the possible juncture of voiceless consonant and voiced

h arising from morphological processes, distinguished from both series. There is no phonetic distinction in Indian speech between *h* and *ḥ*. In Urdū and Hindī phonology contiguous final consonants do not occur, except in pedantic educated speech, and are separated by an anaptyctic vowel, usually *a*; thus *fatḥ* is usually realized as *fataḥ* and pronounced as [fatɛh].

In the Perso-Arabic script as applied to Indian languages *hāʾ* is generally called *hē* (sometimes *čhoṭī hē* 'little h' to distinguish it from *baṛī hē* 'big h', *i.e.*, *ḥāʾ*). The existence of the aspirated consonants has brought about a useful, but not always applied, writing convention, whereby intervocalic ('free') *h* is written with the 'hook' form of *hē*, post-consonantal *h* (aspiration) with the 'butterfly' (*dōčas͟hmī*) form. Thus بھائی *bhāʾī* 'brother', بہائی *bahāʾī* 'Bahāʾī'. In Sindhī the script has been further modified to indicate the aspirated consonants: ڀ *bh*, ڦ *ph*, ٿ *th*, ٺ *ṭh*, ڇ *čh* (but جھ *d̲j̲h*), ڌ *dh*, ڍ *ḍh*, ک *kh* (contra ڪ *k* (but گھ *gh*).

Hē is used as in Persian, etc. (see above) as *mater lectionis* for final *-a*, and thus coincides graphically with etymological final *-h* (*e.g.*, نه *na*, but چوده *čawdah* < Skt. *čaturdaśa*, Mid. Ind. *čaurasa*, *čauraha*, *čaudaha*). Nouns with this ending do not change in written form in declension in oblique sing. and direct pl., although the inflexions are shown in speech: thus *b.č.h* represents *bačča* dir. sing. and *bačče* obl. sing. and dir. pl. By extension this ending may sometimes be used for an etymologically long vowel: thus frequently *r.ʾ.d̲j̲.h* for *rād̲j̲a* (*recte rād̲j̲ā*).

Bibliography: in addition to reference above and bibliography given for DĀL ii, see Mohiuddin Qadri, *Hindustani phonetics*, Hyderabad n.d. [1931 ?], 35, 63-9, 72-9, 81, 84, 86, 99.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤĀʾ, 6th letter of the Arabic alphabet, is transcribed *ḥ*; numerical value: 8, as in the Syriac (and Canaanite) alphabet [see ABD̲J̲AD].

Definition: *unvoiced pharyngeal spirant*; according to Arabic grammatical tradition: *rik̲h̲wa mahmūsa*, as regards the *mak̲h̲rad̲j̲*: *awsaṭ al-ḥalḳ*, "the middle part of the throat" (al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *Mufaṣṣal*², § 732). *ḥ* is a very much stronger and harsher spirant than *h*. It is produced by the friction of the expressed air against the strongly contracted walls of the pharynx (a breath sound without velar vibration), from which an elevation of the larynx ensues. It is pronounced "with the glottis almost closed", according to M. Cohen (*Essai comparatif*, 98); with the passage of air through the cartilaginous glottis, according to the teaching of P. Fouché. The sound is voiceless. The corresponding voiced sound is *ʿayn*. For phonological oppositions of the phoneme *ḥ*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 176; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 201.

Arabic *ḥ* continues a common Semitic *ḥ*. This *ḥ* has become *hamza* or has become mute in Akkadian, it replaces *k̲h̲* in Hebrew, Aramaic, Tigre, Tigrigna and Soḳoṭri (modern South Arabian). It has become mute in most of the other modern Ethiopian languages. In the latest period of Geez there is confusion between the different pharyngeal and glottal sounds (see W. Leslau, in *Manual of Phonetics*, 329).

Modifications in Arabic: as an unconditioned change, several examples are quoted of development from *ḥ* to *h*, thus: *madaḥa* and *madaha* "to praise" and development from *ḥ* to *ʿ*, the *faḥfaḥa* of the Hud̲h̲aylites (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 9 l). As regards conditioned changes: in a juxtaposition of *ḥ* and *ʿ* at the end of one word and the beginning of the next, *ḥ* may assimilate *ʿ* to itself in either position, thus: *-ʿḥ-* > *-ḥḥ-* and *-ḥʿ-* > *-ḥḥ-*, except in one reading of Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ (see *ibid.*, § 12 q). In the modern dialects, *ḥ* undergoes only a small number of conditioned changes (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 74); note (*ibid.*) the question of the *tafk̲h̲īm* and *tarḳīḳ* of *ḥ*, which, in consequence, prevents or permits the production of *imāla*.

ḥ as a demonstrative element appears with a vowel of the 1st and 4th orders in *kaḥa* and *kaḥā* "there" in Geez (A. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, col. 823, *Eth. Gr.*², § 160 b) and with diphthong in Arabic *ḥayt̲h̲u* (= *ḥay* + *t̲h̲u*) "where, there where" (see H. Fleisch, *Esquisse*, 112). According to Ch. D. Matthews *Akten des XXIV. int. Or.-Kongresses, München 1957* 260-1), *ḥa* is used as a definite article in modern South Arabian; but the question is broader: see W. Leslau, *A prefix ḥ in Egyptian, modern South Arabian and Hausa*, in *Africa*, xxxii (1962), 65-8.

For the general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic as seen by the classical grammarians, see ḤURŪF AL-HID̲J̲Āʾ; for modern studies, see PHONETICS and LINGUISTICS. See also HĀʾ—iii, above.

(H. FLEISCH)

ḤABĀBA, name of a singing slave-girl (*ḳayna* [*q.v.*]) of Medina who had learnt music and singing from the great singers of the 1st/7th century: Ibn Surayd̲j̲, Mālik, Ibn Muḥriz, Maʿbad, D̲j̲amīla, ʿAzza [*qq.v.*]. Her talent, beauty and charm conquered Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who finally became her owner in circumstances which the sources describe very variously, but at a date after his accession (S̲h̲aʿbān 101/February 720); she was originally called al-ʿĀliya and it is he who is said to have given her the name by which she has remained famous. Ḥabāba is often associated with another *ḳayna* of Medina, Sallāma [*q.v.*], but the latter, also purchased by the caliph, seems to have played mainly the part of a singer (though see al-Masʿūdī, whose account is not convincing), while Ḥabāba exerted complete control over Yazīd, who was infatuated with her. Neglecting his duties, he shared all his pleasures with her and even granted her authority, which she knew how to exert, to such a degree that he attracted bitter complaints from those about him, particularly his brother Maslama. When the opportunity arose to pursue her policies, she was supplied with the verses she required by the poet al-Aḥwaṣ [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, she died of choking on a pomegranate seed, and her decease inspired such violent sorrow in the caliph that he kept her corpse by him for several days and even had it exhumed later on in order to see her face one last time; shortly thereafter he died himself, of consumption, on 24 S̲h̲aʿbān 105/26 January 724, and was buried beside her. The enemies of the Umayyads did not fail to draw arguments from the debauched conduct of Yazīd and his absolute subservience to Ḥabāba (see the speech of Abū Ḥamza *apud* al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 123).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkās̲h̲a, 364, 408; Ṭabarī, ii, 1464-6; *Aghānī*, xiii, 148-59 (Beirut ed., xv, 95-113); Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, v, 446-53; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, v, 58; F. ʿAmrūsī, *al-D̲j̲awārī al-mughanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 96-107.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤABAS̲H̲, ḤABAS̲H̲A, a name said to be of S. Arabian origin [See ḤABAS̲H̲AT], applied in Arabic usage to the land and peoples of Ethiopia, and at times to the adjoining areas in the Horn of Africa. Although it has remained a predominantly Christian

country, Ethiopia has an important Muslim population, and has moreover had relations with the world of Islam since the days of the Prophet. These will be examined under the following headings: (1) history, (2) the spread of Islam, (3) Ḥaba<u>sh</u> in Muslim geographical writings, (4) Ethiopian languages spoken by Muslims. A final section will deal with the *Aḥābi<u>sh</u>* in ancient Arabia. Reference may also be made to ERITREA, <u>D</u>JABART (on Ethiopian Muslims) and ḤABE<u>SH</u> (on the Ottoman province of that name). (ED.)

i.—Historical Background

Though Muslim traditions mention friendly relations between Muḥammad and the Negus, the principal expansion of Islam occurred at a time when the Aksumite state was in a period of decline. The Persians had disrupted the sea and trade routes in the Red Sea, and the Muslim conquests soon enveloped the whole of Arabia and North Africa. Ethiopia was thus severed, at least temporarily, from its spiritual source, the Patriarchate of Alexandria. In fact, Islam had knocked on the very gates of the Christian kingdom: it had occupied the Dahlak islands [*q.v.*]. The isolation of Abyssinia, which was to last for many centuries, had now begun. Trade and conquest were a thing of the past, and in the face of the great Islamic expansion there was nothing left to the people but to retire within their impregnable mountain fastnesses.

While the internal upheavals in the heart of Ethiopia were at their height (towards the close of the first millennium A.D.), Islamic encroachment along the fringes of the kingdom became bolder and more dangerous. The internal troubles were eventually checked, and ground lost, both territorially and in the propagation of Christianity, was regained, but the effects of the disturbances on the periphery could not be mitigated in the same manner. Here the losses along the coastal plains proved irremediable; the Islamization of the lowlands continued at an accelerated pace, and Muslim powers succeeded one another in establishing their sovereignty, with varying degrees of effectiveness, over the African Red Sea littoral. But Islam threatened not only the coastal areas from which the Abyssinian Kingdom had been cut off; it spread its militant faith also among the nomadic groups who lived and moved between the sea and the eastern slopes of the escarpment until, finally, it began to encroach even upon eastern Shoa and the Sidama country. The period from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th century, the time of greatest internal weakness, saw the systematic penetration of Islam on a wide front: in the Dahlak archipelago, the Dankali and Somali coasts, among the Be<u>dj</u>a [*q.v.*] in the north and the Sidama in the south, in the Ifat sultanate of eastern Shoa, at Harar [*q.v.*] in the east and near Lake Zway in the west, where Arabic inscriptions and Islamic tombs attest the radius of Muslim expansion.

The slave-trade proved to be a powerful agent in the Islamization of the coastal plains, for it maintained the link with the Arab world and established or supported such centres as Zeila [see ZAYLAʿ] or Mogadishu [see MAḲDI<u>SH</u>Ū] with their Dankali and Somali hinterland. Moreover, the slave-raids undoubtedly accelerated the diffusion of Islam among the pagan peoples of East Africa, as conversion was the easiest way of escaping this recruitment. The organization of this lucrative trade was enormous: it set up bridgeheads deep in the interior of the country, and what had begun as a raiding expedition developed into permanent control of entire areas and the establishment of a series of petty states and sultanates. Setting out from the Dankali and Somali regions and the coastal towns, the slave-traders enveloped the Harar area, Arussi, and the lake district in the south-west.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether the origin of the Muslim state in eastern Shoa is due to slaving expeditions. Its beginnings are shrouded in impenetrable darkness, but it must have existed for a considerable period and have been under the rule of the Ma<u>kh</u>zūmī sultans, probably since the late 3rd/9th century. The overthrow of this Shoan sultanate, in 1285, and its absorption within that of Ifat, the predominant Muslim state in Ethiopia, is described in a document published by Enrico Cerulli (*RSE*, 1941, 5-42). The sultanate of Ifat under the Walasma dynasty had become the focus of Islamic expansion in Ethiopia and of all those southern nuclei of resistance to Abyssinian and Christian encroachment who saw in the spread of Islam the lesser evil. Ifat was firmly established on the south-eastern fringes of the Shoan plateau and has impinged on many points and at several stages in the subsequent course of Ethiopian history.

The war of attrition between the central Christian highlands and the Muslim sultanates, entrenched all along the eastern and southern fringes of the Abyssinian plateau, is the principal feature of Ethiopian history during the period from the 8th/14th to the 10th/16th century. Proceeding from east to west we first encounter the sultanate of Adal (Muslim writers such as Maḳrīzī refer to it as Zeila, but Adal and Zeila are largely synonymous and their histories closely connected) on the Dankali and Somali coast. At times Adal formed part of the state of Ifat; its ruler was styled *Amīr* or *Imām* (*Negus* in the Ethiopian chronicles), and one of them who opposed the Ethiopian King Amda Sion's march against Zeila, in 1332, was defeated and slain. Harar became a Muslim city-state and a great centre of Islamic commerce and cultural propagation. Ifat held the south-eastern part of the Shoan plateau and the slopes of the Awash rift-valley; it was the most important of the sultanates. To the west of Ifat, in what is now the Arussi region, the Dawaro kingdom controlled large tracts of southern Ethiopia. It bordered upon the Bāli sultanate, while the small principalities of Sharkha and Arababni lay between Dawaro and the most westerly Muslim state, Hadya, which comprised the territory of the Sidama and Gurage.

Those were the Muslim sultanates ranged against the Emperor Amda Sion (1314-44). They covered a far greater area than that controlled by the Christian Emperor, but the latter had the advantage of a geographically compact state, while the Islamic peoples were spread in a vast semicircle without proper communications or political cohesion. Amda Sion seized the initiative, attacked Ifat and Hadya, and defeated both. He had thus gained the entire plateau down to the Awash River. And though these Muslim principalities displayed great powers of recovery, for the time being Amda Sion had relieved the pressure of Islamic encroachment. Victory brought mass conversions to Christianity in its wake; many monasteries and churches were founded at that time, and the name of Amda Sion himself was registered among the saints in the *senkessar* (Synaxarium).

Amda Sion's son and successor, Saifa Arʾad (1344-72), is principally renowned for his reprisals

against Egyptian merchants in Abyssinia to show his disapproval of the persecutions to which Christians in Egypt had been subjected, culminating in the imprisonment of the Coptic Patriarch. Saifa Arʾad's son, Dawit I (1382-1411), brought about a temporary reconciliation with the Egyptian ruler, marked by an exchange of gifts. He also received an embassy from the Coptic Church in Egypt. But under his son Yesḥaḳ (1414-29) relations deteriorated once more, and the Ethiopian Emperor endeavoured to enlist the help of the "Franks" (possibly Aragon) in support of the Copts of Egypt (this episode has been investigated by Hasan Habashi in an unpublished Ph. D. thesis, S.O.A.S., University of London, esp. chapter III). Ethiopian Emperors from time to time threatened to divert the course of the Nile in an attempt to mitigate the lot of their co-religionists in Egypt by so dramatic a gesture.

Meanwhile, the Ethiopians realized that the tense but "peaceful co-existence" with the Muslim strongholds in their immediate neighbourhood, on the Red Sea coast, could not last for ever. They therefore acted upon a suggestion, first advanced by Pedro de Covilham, to enlist the aid of Portuguese naval forces in the dislodgement of Muslims from the Red Sea littoral. The arrival of a Portuguese exploratory mission was, however, much delayed, and it did not, in fact, reach the country till 1520, by which time the general situation had undergone profound changes.

In the meantime the sultanate of Adal was convulsed by internal struggles. The recent defeat had done grave harm to the prestige of the Walasma dynasty, whose authority was now constantly challenged by the *amīr*s and military commanders. The Sultan Abū Bakr had transferred the capital to Harar, possibly to extricate himself from the persistent pressure exerted by the generals who drew their principal support from the Dankali and Somali peoples. Chief among those forceful military commanders was Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (nicknamed Grañ, 'the left-handed') [see AḤMAD GRĀÑ] who soon became the effective master of the Muslim possessions in Ethiopia and assumed the title of *Imām*. We are fortunate in possessing a detailed eye-witness account of the Muslim conquests of the 10th/16th century, with the Imām Aḥmad as the central figure, written by S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn (*Futūḥ al-Ḥabas̲h̲a*, ed. R. Basset).

Grañ had first made sure of the strength of his position in Adal and had then welded the Danakil and Somalis into a formidable striking force, inspired by the old ideal of the *d̲j̲ihād* and lust of conquest and plunder. He initially concentrated on limited objectives, raids and incursions into the plains and foothills, before venturing upon the distant and difficult highlands. But in 1529, three years after the departure of the abortive Portuguese Mission, he struck and inflicted a major defeat on Lebna Dengel, the Ethiopian Emperor. He was, however, unable to drive home this advantage, as his armies disintegrated, drunk with victory and booty. It was only two years later that he was finally ready to begin the great conquest and invasion which inundated nearly the entire territory of traditional Abyssinia, burning churches and monasteries and forcibly converting large numbers of Christians. Dawaro and the Shoa province were conquered in 1531, and Amhara and Lasta followed two years later. At the same time Bali and Hadya as well as the Gurage and Sidama regions fell into Grañ's hands.

The accession to the throne of the Emperor Claudius (1540-1559) thus occurred at a most critical moment in the history of Ethiopia—yet within less than two years the situation had radically changed, thanks mainly to the help given by the Portuguese. The 400 men under Christopher da Gama had disembarked at Massawa in 1541 and, aided by the Governor of the maritime province, who had held out at Debaroa, set out on their epic march into the interior. When the Portuguese contingent met the Imām Aḥmad, they were successful in two encounters, but could not press their victory home. Meanwhile, Grañ asked for and obtained reinforcements from the Turkish commander Özdemir [*q.v.*], with which he prevailed over the Portuguese and their leader, who was put to death. But the remaining 200 Europeans had not been demoralized; they managed to join forces with the remnants of Claudius' armies and, near Lake Tana, fought what was probably—at least until recent days—the most decisive battle in the history of Ethiopia. They smote the Muslim troops and slew Grañ himself (1543).

Though there still followed some skirmishes, with the death of Grañ the serious Muslim threat to Ethiopia had been effectively removed. Assisted by the soldiers of a Christian country from Europe, the Ethiopians had finally saved their ancient Christian kingdom and heritage. But the salvation had come at a very late hour: Ethiopia lay prostrate and exhausted; many of its churches and monasteries existed no longer; its clergy was weakened, and its people were either Islamized—however superficially—or terrorized and in urgent need of moral and material succour.

Adal, though greatly enfeebled, continued with harassing operations against the Ethiopians. A nephew of Aḥmad Grañ moved against the plateau, but he was beaten by Claudius, who subsequently advanced on Adal and wrought much devastation. Harar was now the main Muslim stronghold in Ethiopia, and it was from there that another attack was launched which, in 1559, led to the death of the Emperor Claudius.

But despite such isolated successes the Muslims no longer constituted a serious danger to the Abyssinian Empire. By the middle of the 10th/16th century the prospect of an Islamized Ethiopia had become very remote. The next serious encounter with Islam did not occur until the last decades of the 19th century, when the reign of the Emperor John (1868-89) was characterized by constant wars against the Muslim powers encroaching upon his dominion.

Egypt, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], had conceived plans for the conquest of Abyssinia. In these designs she was encouraged by the quick success of the British Expedition in 1868 and by the hope of Ethiopian disunity. In 1875 Egypt directed a three-pronged attack against the Christian Empire; earlier already her agent, the Swiss adventurer Werner Munzinger, had placed himself in charge of the Keren area and also assumed the governorship of Massawa. He now led the assault from Tajura, but was overwhelmed and killed by Dankali forces. The second prong set out from Zeila under the command of Raʾuf Pas̲h̲a and succeeded in occupying Harar. The Egyptians stayed there until they were dislodged, ten years later, by the Emperor Menelik. The third and largest column proceeded from Massawa, crossed Eritrea, and during their descent into the Mareb Valley, near Gundet, were attacked by John's Tigrean army and virtually annihilated.

The shock of this disaster was immense, and the Egyptians at once prepared another expedition, this

time of nearly 20,000 men under the command of the Khedive's son. The Emperor now organized a veritable crusade, and the whole country down to Menelik's Shoan hills reverberated with excitement and the call to deal a final blow to the Muslim foe. When the two armies met in 1876 near Gura, the Egyptian *débâcle* was so colossal that it quenched their thirst for Imperial aggrandizement in Ethiopia.

The last violent encounter with Islam occurred in 1888 when hostilities between the Sudan and Abyssinia flared up shortly after the establishment of the Mahdist state. A large contingent of Mahdists entered western Ethiopia, burnt parts of Gondar, and then retired across the frontier (see P. M. Holt in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 287-8). The Emperor John met the Mahdists in a great battle at Metemma (1889) and appeared to defeat them, but in the last moments of the engagement the Emperor was mortally wounded, and his army retreated when its leader had fallen.

The Emperor John's religious fanaticism and his forcible conversions, both in the service of his beliefs and as an instrument of political unification, had no lasting or beneficial effect. They disturbed the atmosphere of religious toleration which is usually a mark of modern Ethiopian life. After John's death the Emperor Menelik allowed a return to religious tolerance and amity, a policy which was continued with a considerable measure of success under the Emperor Hayla Sellasie.

Although nearly half of the population of the Horn of Africa are Muslims, their impact on the character and substance of Ethiopia is as peripheral as is their geographical distribution all around the central highland plateau. The identification of Abyssinian Christianity with the political and cultural life of the country is so complete that no numerical increase in Islam has been able to touch the intrinsic nature of this phenomenon. Yet, any map of the distribution of religions in North East Africa demonstrates most strikingly the Muslim encirclement of Abyssinia—everywhere except for the predominantly pagan South West.

The most notable group of Muslims in Ethiopia are unquestionably the D̲j̲abart [*q.v.*], for they alone enter into the life of the country. D̲j̲abart was originally the name of a region in the territories of Zeila and Ifat but was later applied to all the Muslim principalities of Southern Ethiopia and, ultimately, to all Muslims living in the Ethiopian Empire.

Islam is still making steady progress among the Cushitic and Nilotic peoples in the lowland areas, but none among the highland population of Semitic speech. Perhaps its clear-cut theology makes a special appeal to the less sophisticated peoples in the hot and arid regions with little civilization of their own. The universal call of Islam must have a great attraction in all those quarters where the particularistic and national message of Abyssinian Monophysite Christianity can scarcely be expected to penetrate.

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(E. Ullendorff)

ii.—The Spread of Islam

A summary account of the spread of Islam will also cover its present distribution in the modern state of Ethiopia. The settlement of Muslims in the trading stations existing along the Red Sea coast led eventually to the diffusion of Islam among the nomads of the coastal plains known as ʿAfar or Danḳalī [*q.v.*]. The northernmost nomads, the Bed̲j̲a [*q.v.*], were influenced both from the Nilotic region and from coastal settlements of which ʿAyd̲h̲āb [*q.v.*] was one of the most important. Zaylaʿ [*q.v.*] became an important diffusion centre and through trading relations the ruling classes of the developed southern Sidama kingdoms, as far west as Hadya around the river Gibē, adopted Islam. The religious culture penetrated northwards into Shoa and along the eastern highlands there were Muslim states, the most famous being Awfāt [*q.v.*] and its successor Adal with Zaylaʿ as capital. Much of the region of the Muslim Sidama states of Bali and Dawaro was overwhelmed by the first movements of the great Galla invasion which began early in the 10th/16th century. In consequence Islam disappeared except among trading groups and in the unique city of Harar [*q.v.*]. Farther south, Maḳdis̲h̲ū [*q.v.*], Marka and Brava were Islamic points in territory inhabited by both Bantu Nyika and Somali tribes. Islam spread only among the Somali [*q.v.*] and its diffusion is bound up with legends of tribal origins.

The central point throughout the history of this north-eastern region of Africa has been the Christian state of Ethiopia against which waves of nomad aggression tended to waste themselves. Muslim trading communities were present on the plateaux but these waves also left behind small groups of Muslim agriculturalists. These Ethiopian Muslims living in plateau regions are known as D̲j̲abart ([*q.v.*] and see also eritrea) and are indistinguishable from the Christians among whom they live except in customs which derive from religion. Those in the north (Eritrea and Tigrai) speak Tigrinya and the others Amharic.

Before the 19th century, therefore, the only Muslims in the region apart from immigrant traders were the scattered groups of D̲j̲abart and the nomadic tribes of ʿAfar and Somali in the plains. Islam made its greatest gains during this century, not merely among pagans (mainly Galla), but also among northern Christian tribes in what is now called Eritrea. Many of the Galla [*q.v.*] tribes which had penetrated into the highlands and were making a great if une coordinated bid to gain control of the Christian stat-

adopted Islam in contradistinction to Ethiopian Christianity as a means to that end. A people known as Dobʿa occupied a section of the eastern buttresses of the highlands, originally part of Awfāt which came under Ethiopian sovereignty, against which they were continually in opposition. The Dobʿa disappeared as an ethnic unit, but it was probably through them that those Galla who occupied the same region (Yedju and Raya or Azebo) and mingled with the preceding population adopted Islam as well as their hostility to Christian Amhara. Similarly, Islam spread among the Wallo Galla in the heart of the highlands (centre Dessié) to reinforce their attempt to remain distinct from Amhara. Many Wallo changed to Christianity during the reign of the Emperor John.

The 19th century was a period of anarchy in northern Ethiopia and the Christian state had no real control. The Egyptian conquest of the Sudan affected Eritrea (occupation of the Keren highlands 1860-76). Most of the Tigrē-speaking tribes became Muslim between 1840 and 1880. These included the ruling classes of the nomadic Bait Asgedē (Ḥabāb, Ād Taklēs and Ād Tamāryām), many of whose serfs were already Muslim; the cultivating tribes of the Bilen or Bogos (Christian elements remain among the Bait Tarke section); the Marya living north-west of the Bilen; the Mensa; and Bait Juk. Muslim holy tribes formed themselves, one of the more important being the Ād Shaykh. Also the pagan negroid Baria, inhabiting the country around the Takkazē and Gash, became Muslim during the Turko-Egyptian occupation. The Mīrghānī family [see MĪRGHĀNIYYA] gained great influence among Eritrean tribes during this period, deepening the religion of the southernmost Bedja, the Banū ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], who had been influenced by Islamic diffusion from the *fuḳarāʾ* of the Nilotic Fundj [*q.v.*] state.

The northernmost ʿAfar tribes, mixing with other groups, gave rise to the Saho tribes who occupy the eastern mountain slopes of Akele-Guzai, Shimezana and Agame. Long exposed to Islamic influence, a movement into Islam began in the 8th/14th century. They were still predominantly Christian at the beginning of the 19th century, but during this period of change they became predominantly Muslim. They comprise the Asaorta, Hazo or Hazu, Mini-Fere, and Debri-Mela, though they contain groups which have remained Christian, *e.g.* the whole of the Irōb tribe and sections of the Mini-Fere and Debri-Mela.

In the south, it has already been shown (*e.g.*, al-ʿUmarī's account) that although Islam had entered the Sidama states by the 8th/14th century it had made no lasting mark upon the bulk of the population of these states and what little there was disappeared before the waves of Galla and subsequent upheaval and dislocation. The Galla first invaded the Muslim kingdom of Bālī [*q.v.*], where was situated the sanctuary of Shaykh Ḥusayn which they assimilated, and the eastern part of Sidama territory became Galla whilst the unmodified Sidama became confined to the valley of the river Omo. Only in the second half of the 19th century did the Galla of the Harar region adopt Islam; since then many of the Arusi have also come to call themselves Muslim.

The Galla who invaded the region beyond the Gibē formed a number of states (Guma, Gomma, Gēra, Limmu Enarya, and Djimma Abba Djifar) into which Islam spread in the middle of the 19th century, chiefly through commercial currents from the east, though there was also some Nilotic Sudan influence. It also spread among some Sidama (Gāro or Bosha, Tambaro, Alaba, Hadiya or Gudēla, and part of the Walamo) and Guragē groups (Walanē, Akelil-Kabena, Gogot and Siltē), though it should be pointed out that in many of these southern regions no clear-cut religious classification is possible. From the Nilotic Sudan Islam spread among certain Negro tribes (*e.g.* the Berta) of the western Ethiopian borderland known to the Amhara as Shanqela.

An aspect which distinguishes the Islam of the region from other parts of Africa is in the number of *madhhabs* which are recognized, owing to historical circumstances. The Ḥanafī (through Turkish or Egyptian influence) is found at Maṣawwaʿ and elsewhere on the Eritrean coast, in parts of the interior of the Ethiopian state, and in a quarter of Harar city; the Mālikī (from the Nilotic Sudan) in the extreme west and in the interior of Eritrea; and the Shāfiʿī (from Arabia) in other parts of Eritrea, among the Sidama, the Galla of Gibē region, and the Somali. The spread of Islam was nowhere accompanied by Arabization and in consequence the peoples, especially the nomads, preserved their own social institutions as the basic feature of communal life, modified but not radically changed by Islamic institutions. For further information the articles on individual peoples or regions should be consulted.

(J. S. TRIMINGHAM)

iii. — AL-ḤABASH IN MUSLIM GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS

Arabic writers often use the word *Ḥabasha* as vaguely as some classical and mediaeval Europeans use Ethiopia, *i.e.*, as approximately equivalent to the habitable part of sub-Saharan Africa, though the Arabs, unlike some European geographers, do not confuse it with India. Its eastern boundary was considered to be the Baḥr Ḳulzum and Baḥr al-Zandj, its northern the desert separating it from Egypt; Idrīsī extends it to the southern limit of cultivation in Africa. In the west Ibn Khurradādhbih gives it a common frontier with the Ṣufrī state of Sidjilmāsa, and al-ʿUmarī states that it is bounded by the country of the Takrūr; there is no reason to suppose he does not refer to the Sudanese Takrūrīs. The Arabs derived their information partly from Ptolemy, especially from the recension of al-Khwārizmī in the *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, the handbook he wrote to accompany the map compiled by order of al-Maʾmūn. In time this information became more rather than less confused as names became more corrupt. Muslim penetration was at this time practically confined to the lowlands on the western shore of the Red Sea. This is why so many Arab descriptions emphasize the extreme heat and aridity of Abyssinia. Their acquaintance with the plateau was very slight, though later accounts become more detailed and more accurate. The disorders that ensued after the collapse of the Aksumite kingdom, the prevalence of Christianity in the highlands, and the formidable physical obstacles to communication contributed to this ignorance. In general the early Arab geographers mention only the capital, Djarma, or Djarmī, properly Djarama (*Ḥudūd*, 473), really Garama, capital of the Garamantes of Fazzān [*q.v.*], where Yāḳūt places it. In the *Ḥudūd*, for example, only three place names in Ḥabasha are given, Djaramī, corrupted into Rāsun, and two others, equally corrupt, but tentatively identified by Minorsky as ʿAydhāb and Zaylaʿ. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 34) gives the capital as Kuʿbar. This cannot be Ankober as stated by the editors, nor can it be the same as Idrīsī's Kaldjūn. It is Yaʿḳūbī's Kaʿban or Kaʿbar, capital of the Nadjāshī. Its iden-

tification is problematical; Conti Rossini proposed Aksum, but several alternatives are equally plausible; it cannot have been very distant from the Dahlak islands. Idrīsī's description is hopelessly confused and his names, probably derived from Ptolemy, are extremely corrupt. His capital is Dj.nbayta, a populous city in a desert (*sic*). Ibn Saʿīd, followed by Abu'l-Fidāʾ, also mentions this place. Idrīsī's other names include K.ldjūn and N.djāgha or Nadjāʿa, perhaps merely a corruption of Nadjāshī. These have not been satisfactorily identified, but the first is al-ʿUmarī's Kuldjūrā, a town in Awfāt. Ibn Saʿīd, though repeating much that occurs in Idrīsī, gives some new information. He mentions the country of Saḥarta (Eth. Saḥart), Wafāt (*i.e.* Awfāt), and the Danākil. Yaʿḳūbī gives a list of Bedja kingdoms and refers to the Ḥadārib. Al-Dimashḳī records six races of the Ḥabasha, which include the Amḥara, the Dāmūt (Eth. Damot), and the Saḥart. By far the best Arabic account of Abyssinia is that given by al-ʿUmarī in the *Masālik al-abṣār*; his source was Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Zaylaʿī, an envoy from his countrymen to Egypt. He provides a list of seven Muslim states in Ḥabasha, Awfāt [*q.v.*], Dawāru [*q.v.*], Arābabnī, Hadya, Sharkhā, and Dāra. He describes them as all subject to the *ḥaṭi* (Eth. ḥaṣe) the Ethiopian ruler. He mentions Tigray as the old name of Saḥart, Aksum (Akhshūm), Shoa, Hamasen, Ganz, and even Enarya. Maḳrīzī reproduces the list of Muslim kingdoms, along with much else from al-ʿUmarī, in his *Kitāb al-ilmām*; his supplementary information may come from oral sources.

Although on several occasions during the 10th/16th century Ottoman power extended to parts of the Eritrean plateau, Ottoman geographical literature, to the very limited extent to which it has been examined, contains little information about Ḥabasha that is not derived from Arabic, or at a later date, from European sources. The Turkish map in the Vatican library showing the source of the Nile and even Ewliyā Čelebī's general conception of Africa merely reflect Arab geographical tradition. Ewliyā's short account of Ḥabasha has been studied by Bombaci. It appears to owe nothing to written sources and is probably derived from oral accounts rather than from his own alleged journey. He uses Ḥabasha to denote only the Ottoman *eyālet*; independent Ethiopia he calls Dembiye, *i.e.*, Dembiya, the province north and north-west of Lake Tana, which included Gondar, then the capital. Ewliyā mentions several places on the coast from Sawākin to Mogadishu and gives some details about Maṣawwaʿ. The few places he names in the interior cannot be identified with any confidence.

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iv. — Ethiopian Languages spoken by Muslims

While Amharic and Tigrinya are spoken predominantly by Christians (apart from scattered pockets of Djabart), Tigre-speakers are almost all Muslims. This language (referred to as *al-Khāṣṣiya* in the Kassala province of the Sudan) extends over the eastern lowlands of Eritrea, the northern and western plains, and the large Banū ʿĀmir tribal group. The Tigre-speakers constitute the pastoral and nomadic sector of the Eritrean population. Their number has been estimated at some 250,000.

Harari (its indigenous name is Adare) is the language spoken in the town of Harar in eastern Ethiopia. It is surrounded on all sides by Galla and Somali, which have left their imprint on Harari, but a greater influence, especially in the sphere of the vocabulary, has been exerted by Arabic—owing to the long Muslim conquest and Harar's position as the premier Muslim city in Ethiopia. Since the town came under effective Ethiopian authority, towards the end of the last century, the influence of Amharic has grown, and it seems likely that the latter will slowly displace Harari altogether. The number of those still capable of speaking Harari has been estimated by Cerulli at 35,000.

Harari has generally been written in Arabic, and not Ethiopian, characters. Its literature is limited to some songs and some popular works of Islamic religious law.

Among non-Semitic languages spoken by at least a certain number of Muslims are Galla, Somali, the Sidama languages including Kaffa, as well as Beja and Bilen.

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(E. Ullendorff)

Aḥābīsh

Aḥābīsh is a plural form which may mean either (a) "Abyssinians" as derived from Ḥabash, or (b) "companies or bodies of men, not all of one tribe" (Lane), from *uḥbūsh* or *uḥbūsha*; in a poem ʿUthmān is said to have been murdered by "*aḥābīsh* from Egypt" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 79, 7; from Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 152). It is also said that the word is applied to men who formed a confederacy either at a mountain called al-Ḥubshī or at a wadi called Aḥbash.

The Aḥābīsh who are mentioned several times in the *sīra* of Muḥammad were a confederacy of small tribes or clans, at first allied with Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna against Ḳuraysh (al-Azraḳī, *ap.* Wüstenfeld, *Mekka*, i, 71. 14), but subsequently allied with Ḳuraysh. The leading group was Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna, and the others usually named are: al-Muṣṭaliḳ (of Khuzāʿa), and al-Hūn (of Khuzayma) with its subdivisions ʿAḍal and al-Ḳāra (for references in Ibn Hishām, al-Wāḳidī and al-Ṭabarī see Watt, *Muhammad at*

Mecca, Oxford 1953, 153-6; cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 302; in Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 29. 15 it is said that al-Ḳāra formed a *djummāʿ* with men of Kināna, Muzayna and al-Ḥakam).

While the above facts are clearly stated in several passages, there has been much dispute about the identity of the Aḥābīsh who supported Ḳuraysh since the appearance of the article by H. Lammens, *Les 'Ahabis' et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque, au siècle de l'hégire* (*JA*, 1916, 425-82; reprinted in *L'Arabe occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 237-94). Lammens put forward the view that the Aḥābīsh consisted of Abyssinian and other negro slaves attached to a core of nomadic Arabs; and further held that the power of Mecca in the early 7th century A.D. rested on these mercenaries. Lammens was correct in rejecting the older view that the Aḥābīsh were simply "die politischen Verbündeten" (J. Wellhausen), but his hypothesis as a whole is unjustified for the following reasons: (a) he sets too much weight on the meaning "Abyssinians" and neglects the second possible meaning; (b) there is nothing in the sources to suggest that the tribes or clans of the Aḥābīsh are not Arab; (c) they are stated to be confederates (*ḥulafāʾ*) of Ḳuraysh, not slaves, and at their first mention they were confederates of enemies of Ḳuraysh; (d) they were organized under a chief (*sayyid*), usually of Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna, who spoke to Ḳuraysh as an equal (*e.g.*, Ibn Hishām, 582, 743); (e) in the Meccan campaigns the Aḥābīsh did not have the importance alleged by Lammens. The Meccans certainly had some Abyssinian slaves who fought for them; of the eleven slaves or freedmen who fought for Muḥammad among the Emigrants at Badr, two were clearly of Abyssinian origin (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 344); but this is a small proportion, and there is nothing to show that such slaves were called Aḥābīsh. The word is used, however, of Abyssinians in the Yemen (S. Smith in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 455, 458, 465).

Bibliography: (further to that in the text): M. Hamidullah, *Les 'Aḥābīsh' de la Mecque*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, i, 434-7; Ṭabarī, i, 2495.9; Ibn Durayd, 119; ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, *Risāla*, 213 foot. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤABASH AL-ḤĀSIB AL-MARWAZĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, one of the most important and interesting figures in early Islamic astronomy, hailing from Marw, but living in Baghdād. The sobriquet "Ḥabash" ("the Abyssinian") is nowhere explained; it may refer to the dark colour of his skin. While the *Fihrist* (p. 275) mentions only that he reached the age of 100, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (*Taʾrīkh*, 170) gives more detailed information on his life and the various stages of his scientific activity. According to him, he lived in the reigns of al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim, which is confirmed by Ibn Yūnus (in his "Great Ḥākimitic Tables", see Kennedy, *Tables*, 126), who reports observations made by Ḥabash in Baghdād in 214/829 and 250/864. The limits for the year of his death (250/864-260/874) as given in Suter, No. 22, p. 13, and Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 565, are pure conjecture. Nallino (*al-Battānī*, i, p. lxvi, and *Raccolta*, v, 55) states that Ḥabash completed the *zīdj*, a copy of which is preserved in Berlin (Ahlwardt, 5750), in 300/912. If this is true, we would have to assume that he made his first observations as a young boy of no more than 15, which is not very probable. For this reason, Nallino (*Bull. du XIIᵉ congr. int. d. orientalistes*, no. 15, 11-2) excludes the possibility of his having collaborated in the Maʾmūnic observations; see Vernet, 505, note 31. Vernet's surmise that there were two different individuals bearing the name Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib is extremely unlikely. The titles of his works listed in the *Fihrist* and by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (differing with one exception only slightly) are the following: *The Damascus tables*; *The Maʾmūnic tables*; *On the distances* [of the planets] *and* [their] *bodies*; *On the construction of the astrolabe*; *On sundials and gnomons*; *On the three tangent circles and the properties of their junctions* (*kayfiyyat al-awṣāl*); *On the construction of horizontal, vertical, inclined* (*māʾila*) *and turned* (*munḥarifa* = "deviating from the main directions") *planes*. In Ibn al-Ḳifṭī the last two titles are combined into one: *On the tangent circles and the mode of their application* (*kayfiyyat al-ittiṣāl* [better read *istiʿmāl*]) *to the construction of .... planes*. If this is correct, the title would refer not to the construction of sundials but to stereographic projection and its practical application, the terms *māʾil* and *munḥarif* bearing on the ecliptic and on the horizon with the *muḳanṭarāt* respectively.

Contrary to this list, which contains only two *zīdj*es, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī in the *vita* preceding it mentions three *zīdj*es, and under different titles: one according to the methods of the *Sindhind*, "composed in his early days, when he still relied on the computations of the *Sindhind*", in which he refuted entirely al-Fazārī's and al-Khʷārizmī's procedures and their application to the motion of trepidation according to Theon of Alexandria; another one, called *al-zīdj al-mumtaḥan* ("verified tables", *tabulae probatae*, for the meaning of the title see Vernet, 506), which was the most famous of his works composed after he had had recourse to his own observations; finally a third one, the "small *zīdj*" called also the *zīdj al-shāh*.

It is hardly possible to decide whether the two extant *zīdj*es bearing Ḥabash's name (Berlin 5750 and Istanbul, Yeni Cami 784, 2°), both described in detail by Kennedy (nos. 15 and 16, and §§ 7 and 8, pp. 151-4) are at least in part identical with one or the other of the two great *zīdj*es listed (the *zīdj al-shāh* is lost). The former, in which references to the *al-zīdj al-mumtaḥan* of Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (Ms. Escorial 1927 (formerly 922), Kennedy, no. 51 and § 5, 145 ff., and Vernet, 507 ff.) are found, is obviously modified by some later author. The latter is "much more homogeneous than the other purported copies of early zīdjes" (Kennedy). It contains among others a "Table for the correct positions" (*Djadwal al-taḳwīm*), of which Abū Naṣr Manṣūr (*Risāla ... ila 'l-Bīrūnī ... fi barāhīn aʿmāl djadwal al-taḳwīm fī zīdj Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib*, in *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ila 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1948) has given an elaborate description. There the following four functions are listed for the argument λ (ecliptical longitude) = 1, 2, ... 90°: 1. the latitude b ("*al-mayl al-thānī*") of a point on the *equator* with longitude λ; 2. $\cos b_{90-\lambda}$; 3. $\frac{\cos \lambda}{\cos b_{90-\lambda}}$; 4. $\sin \varepsilon \operatorname{tg} \lambda$. With the aid of these functions many computations can be considerably abbreviated.

As for the *zīdj al-shāh*, the title seems to indicate that it was composed on the basis of parameters (*e.g.*, longitude of the solar apogee) or even methods employed in the Pahlavi tables *Zīk-i-shatroayār*, known and in use already at the time of the astrologers of al-Manṣūr, such as Mā shāʾa 'llāh, which in turn, as Nallino (*Raccolta*, v, 233) has shown, must have been based mainly on Hindu models (*Sūrya-siddhānta*).

There is no doubt that Ḥabash possessed a perfect mastery of trigonometrical functions (sine, cosine, versine, tangent, cotangent) and their application to the problems of spherical astronomy. Curiously enough, however, Abū Naṣr in his *risāla* on Ḥabash's *djadwal al-taḳwīm* (see above) avoids the term *ẓill* and consistently replaces it by the ratio of sine and cosine (thus the above fourth function is actually defined as "sin $\lambda \cdot$ sin ε/cos λ").

Al-Bīrūnī, who cites Ḥabash on many occasions, himself wrote an improvement and correction to the tables of Ḥabash (*Takmīl zīdj Ḥabash bi 'l-ʿilal wa-tahdhīb aʿmālihi min al-zalal*, Boilot, no. 4, p. 177). Ibn Yūnus, in his *Ḥākimitic tables*, on one occasion at least makes the depreciatory statement that "Ḥabash's remarks concerning the latitudes of Venus and Mercury sound like those of one who does not understand what he is saying" (Kennedy, 126). Contrary to this, the unanimous opinion of all later writers seems to have been that Ḥabash was one of the great astronomers of early ʿAbbāsid times.

Ḥabash's son Abū Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 396) was a renowned astronomer and instrument maker. He wrote a book on the planispheric astrolabe.

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ḤABASHAT, a term found in several Sabaean inscriptions with apparent reference to Aksumite Abyssinia. Despite the absence of explicit evidence, it has generally been assumed to apply not only to the territory and people of the Aksumite empire but also to a South Arabian tribe related to the former and in close contact with them. To E. Glaser the term in its widest and most ancient usage signified no more than "incense-collectors" (Arabic *ḥabasha* "to gather") and was applicable to all the peoples of the incense regions, that is, of the Mahra and Somali coasts and Abyssinia proper. He equated it with the Greek *Aithiopes* for which he posited an original **Aṭyūb* with the same sense. In Ḥabashat of the inscriptions, however, Glaser preferred to see a region and tribe of South Arabia which he further recognized in the Abasēnoi of Uranius (*apud* Stephanus of Byzantium) who inhabited an incense-bearing land beyond the Sabaioi. He concluded that Ḥabashat was a part of the Mahra country and that the people, after succumbing to the neighbouring Ḥaḍramawt during the wars between Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar, emigrated round about the turn of the era to Africa, where they laid the foundations of the later Aksumite empire. C. Conti Rossini rightly stressed the improbability of a people from Mahra colonizing across the Red Sea and also raised the linguistic objection that Geʿez, the language of Aksum, shows closer affinities with Sabaean than with Ḥaḍramī. Consequently, if the Abasēnoi were really Ḥabashat they might more reasonably be seen as colonists *from* Abyssinia. For his part he took Ḥabashat as a South Arabian tribe, part of which had emigrated to Eritrea at a very early date, and sought their provenance in Western Yemen, which had obvious geographical advantages. A number of middle Sabaean texts attest their presence in the ancient district of Sahartān, roughly the region between Wādī Baysh and Wādī Surdūd, and they were clearly in close relations with Aksum. This location, which he specified to the vicinity of Luḥayya, was felt all the more convincing since many Yemenī place names, ancient and modern, were found to recur in Eritrea, a clear indication of early cultural contacts. However, it is pertinent to observe with A. J. Drewes that such theories on the South Arabian origins of a tribe Ḥabashat have tended to become confused with and to develop on the strength of a quite separate issue, that of the South Arabian origins of Abyssinian civilization generally, and of the latter there is little doubt. In fact there is no known mention of Ḥabashat before the earliest references to Aksum, that is, at least 400 years later than the oldest Abyssinian texts. Even by the traditional chronology of A. Jamme, the Sabaean inscriptions citing the name are not earlier than the first century B.C. and other schemes would up-date them by three centuries. Ḥabashat is attested in only one Aksumite text (*DAE*, 6/1 = 7/2) where it is the rendering of *Aithiopes* in the Greek version (*DAE*, 4/2-3). In the Sabaean texts there is no suggestion that Ḥabashat was anything other than a designation for the region comprising the nucleus of the Aksumite empire. Where the reference is to the *people* of Ḥabashat, the term employed is Aḥbāsh (*ʾḥbš*). Consequently it is probable that in Sabaean and Aksumite Geʿez the name simply represented the later Arabic al-Ḥabasha, Abyssinia.

Fortunately Abyssinian history may be considered in isolation from the foregoing problem. Although the epigraphic and other evidence from Eritrea is scant compared with that from Arabia, the texts so far published permit certain general conclusions. The earliest date back to the fifth century B.C. and are written in South Arabian characters. They may be subdivided into those in Sabaean and those in a language resembling Sabaean but with divergences in vocabulary, syntax, and proper names. The latter show that a civilization was developing in the Aksum region which closely resembled that of Sabaʾ but whose roots, undoubtedly transmitted from Sabaʾ, must go much further back in time. Since some of the texts of the first category actually mention Sabaʾ and Mārib (*mryb*), the possibility of a later wave of Sabaean colonists in the fifth century is very likely. Thereafter, till the emergence of Aksum, the only inscriptions consist of a few uninformative graffiti, and it is possible that in this period the development of the local civilization was largely inhibited by the Ptolemaic presence in the Red Sea. The first mention of Aksum itself occurs in roughly contemporary South Arabian and Greek sources. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (traditionally about 70 A.D., more recently brought forward to about 230 A.D.) knew it as a flourishing trade centre under a king Zōskalēs and with links with Arabia and Egypt through its port Adulis. Ptolemy (160 A.D.) also mentions the city, and its people, but gives little indication of its status. The silence of earlier authors would suggest that, if not of recent foundation, it rose to prominence only after the eclipse of the Ptolemies. As a trading nation the Aksumites inevitably came into sharp conflict with the interests of Sabaʾ, and it is probably in this context that we should understand the part played by them in the struggle which developed between the rising state of Ḥimyar and the traditional Hamdānid dynasty in Sabaʾ. One Sabaean text (*CIH*, 308) tells how Gadarat, king of Ḥabashatān, concluded an alliance with ʿAlhān

Nahfān of Saba'. In the reign of his son Sha'ir[m] Awtar, Gadarat appears on the side of the Ḥimyarites in campaigns in Ẓafār, Sahartān and Nagrān (Jamme, 631, 635). Similarly during the co-regency of Īlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and Ya'zil Bayyin, the Nadjāshī 'Adhbah sided with the Ḥimyarite ruler Shammar of Raydān during campaigns in Western Yemen which resulted in the defeat and surrender of the Ḥimyarite faction (*CIH*, 314 + 954; Jamme, 574-7, 585). Jamme places all these events in a period of about three generations in the first century B.C., a date difficult to reconcile with the Abyssinian evidence. J. Pirenne however, in identifying Shammar with the famous Shammar Yuhar'ish, brings the date of the troubles forward to about 250 A.D. and thereby introduces an attractive degree of cohesion into the early history of Aksum.

The greatest Aksumite ruler was unquestionably Ēzānā (mid fourth century), whose inscriptions, composed in Greek, Ge'ez and pseudo-South Arabian, tell of campaigns extending from the confines of Egypt to Somaliland. His titles include kingship of Ḥamēr (Ḥimyar) and Raydān, and Saba' and Salḥēn. It is difficult to assess the validity of this claim—the theory of an Aksumite occupation of the Yemen after the reign of Shammar Yuhar'ish has been abandoned in the light of new inscriptions—but E. Littmann supposes that a successful campaign in South Arabia may have lain behind it. It is worth observing too that a predecessor, the unknown author of the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, in the course of similarly wide-ranging conquests, had subdued the Arrhabitai and Kinaidokolpitai, who inhabited the coastal regions of Ḥidjāz and 'Asīr down to the northern borders of Saba'. If this operation may be seen as an attempt to curb piracy in the Red Sea, it is possible that Ēzānā, too, may have had commercial motives for interfering in South Arabian affairs. Drewes, who attributes the *Monumentum Adulitanum* to one Sembrouthēs, known from a fragmentary Greek inscription from Daqqī Maḥarī (*DAE*, 3), goes so far as to suggest the latter's identity with Shammar Yuhar'ish and would thus explain the titulature. Apart from his statecraft, Ēzānā's most notable achievement was to make Christianity the state religion. It had been introduced to Aksum by Frumentius about 330 A.D. After Ēzānā reliable information on Aksum is scant till about 525 A.D. when the Emperor Justin called upon the Nadjāshī Kālēb to intervene in South Arabia on behalf of the persecuted Christians there [see DHŪ NUWĀS] but in this case an attempt to gain control of Saba' by appointing a puppet ruler Sumyafa' failed when the latter was deposed by Abraha [*q.v.*]. Later history is virtually unknown, for with the spread of Islam the land became isolated from its traditional contacts and went into decline. It is known, however, that 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf established a commercial treaty with the Nadjāshī so that a caravan went from Mecca to Abyssinia every winter. Apparently Muḥammad looked upon it as a friendly country. The members of the first Hidjra, whatever their motives in going there, were accorded a favourable reception by the Nadjāshī and in the year 6 the Prophet allegedly sent an embassy to him. Al-Ṭabarī records that on the latter occasion the ruler's name was al-Aṣḥam b. Abdjar, that he had a son Arhā, and that he died in A.H. 9. Abdjar seems certainly to be an error for Ella Gabaz, of whom coins are known, and in Arhā one may see Armāḥ, of whom also there are coins. But of al-Aṣḥam, probably Ella Ṣaḥam, nothing seems to be recorded.

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ḤABAṬ, South Arabian name for a sacred area which is under the protection of a saint and which is a place of refuge; see ḤAWṬA.

ḤABBA, literally grain or kernel, a fraction in the Troy weight system of the Arabs, of undefined weight. Most Arab authors describe the *ḥabba* as $^1/_{60}$ of the unit of weight adopted, as a $^1/_{10}$ of the *dānaḳ* (which in Arab metrology is a sixth part of the unit [see SIKKA]), but there are other estimates which vary from $^1/_{48}$ to $^1/_{72}$. The *ḥabba* thus means someting very different according to the unit of weight; there is a *ḥabba* of the silver measure, a *ḥabba* of the gold measure, a *ḥabba* of the *mithḳāl*, later of the *dirham* etc. On the supposition that the oldest Arab unit of Troy weight was the *mithḳāl* [*q.v.*] of 4.25 grammes ($65^1/_2$ grains Troy), we get as the most probable weight of the *ḥabba* in the early days of Islam about 70-71 milligrammes (1.1 grains), which approximately agrees with the European apothecary's weight of the *granum* (grain, $\frac{1}{5760}$ of the pound) as it was used throughout Europe down to the most recent times (cf. the English Troy grain of 64.8 milligrammes). The statements regarding the subdivisions and multiples of the *ḥabba* also vary; the *ḥabba* is usually divided into 2 grains of barley (*sha'ir*) or 4 grains of rice (*aruzz*) or about 100 mustard-seeds (*khardal*); sometimes 3 and sometimes 4 *ḥabba* on the other hand make a *ḳirāṭ* [*q.v.*].

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Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband* 1, *Heft* 1), Leiden 1955, 2, 12-13; and the metrological text books, *e.g.*, F. Noback, *Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtsbuch*; Kelly's *Universal Cambist*, etc.

(E. v. Zambaur)

ḤABBĀN, a town in the Wāḥidī Sultanate of the former Aden Protectorate, situated in the *wādī* of the same name. It is very old and may be referred to as early as 400 B.C. in the inscription *RES* 3945. Many ancient graffiti have been copied in the vicinity and a subterranean water-conduit leading to a cistern within the city may be pre-Islamic. The population figure is not known but was estimated at 4,000 in the mid-nineteenth century. The town is dominated by the walled fortress of Maṣnaʿa Ḥāḳir which stands on an isolated hill in the middle of the town and is the residence of the Sultan. As is usual in the Wāḥidī region the houses are strongly built like fortresses and up to five storeys high. There are nine mosques and an important library. The town is divided into four quarters: 1. that of the Ḥaḍārim and Raʿiyya; 2. that of the Jews, who have now either emigrated to Palestine or embraced Islam; 3. that of the prominent family of Faḳīh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shiblī; and 4. that of the carpenters, who form a caste and are descended from the ancient carpenter family of al-ʿAwd, originally from Yashbum but now scattered all over South Arabia. It has been plausibly suggested that the Jews here may have been descendants of Ḥimyarite proselytes. They numbered about 200 in 1947 and, though subject to the usual taxes and restrictions, were well treated so that relations with the Arab population were good. They were divided into five sections (*ḳaṣabāt*) and came under the protection of the Sultan. They spoke Hebrew amongst themselves and had their own cemetery outside the town. By trade they were itinerant silversmiths. Ḥabbān is also known as a centre for the cultivation of incense but the chief crops are *dhura* and barley. The land is very fertile and can support up to four harvests in one year. Indigo provides the Ḥaḍārim with employment as dyers, and rubber has also been noted. The road from Bāl Ḥāf to Markha passes through the town and a caravan trade was conducted with Niṣāb and Mārib, principally in tobacco, cotton and cloth against coffee and salt.

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ḤABESH, Ottoman name of a province covering the African coastlands of the Red Sea south of Egypt as far as the Gulf of Aden, and including also the *sandjaḳ* of Djidda; the principal *sandjaḳ*s were Ibrīm, Sawākin, Arkiko, Maṣawwaʿ, Zaylaʿ and Djidda, so that its area corresponded approximately to the coastal districts of the present-day Sudan, Ethiopia, French Somaliland and the Zaylaʿ district of the Somali Republic.

The province was founded with the intention of expelling the Portuguese, who, since the last years of the Mamlūk sultanate, had been endeavouring to obstruct the Pilgrimage and the spice trade from their bases along the Red Sea coast. These Portuguese attacks caused a reduction in the customs revenues of such ports as Djidda, Suez and Ṭūr; they also had unfavourable repercussions throughout the Muslim world, since word of them was spread by pilgrims (see H. Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xxi/83 (1957), 503-5). As protector of the Holy Places [see khādim al-ḥaramayn], the Ottoman Sultan was forced to action; but after the failure of five expeditions against the Portuguese (between 930/1524 and 961/1554), it was decided that these regions should be permanently occupied and constituted a province.

In 962/1555, therefore, Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] was appointed *beglerbegi* (Istanbul, Basvekâlet Arşivi, Kepeci tasnifi, Divan-i Hümayun ru'us kalemi, no. 213, 212); with an army gathered in Egypt, he launched an offensive up the Nile, but the operation failed, owing to the obstacles which this route entailed (see C. Orhonlu. in *Altıncı Türk Tarih Kurumu kongresi tebliğleri*, Ankara 1961). In a second expedition Özdemir Pasha embarked his forces at Suez and landed at Sawākin. Using both land and naval forces, he conquered the whole region from Maṣawwaʿ to Zaylaʿ, the province being finally constituted in 964/1557 (C. Orhonlu, *XVI. asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz sahillerinde Osmanlılar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xii/16, 1-24). In order to consolidate their position, the Ottomans extended their conquests inland until 966/1559, when Özdemir Pasha died. After his death, Ottoman power declined rapidly. The remoter districts were abandoned or separately administered [see barābra]. In 1789 Bruce found Maṣawwaʿ under the rule, not of an Ottoman governor, but of a tribal chief entitled *nāʾib*. The *kāshiflik* in Lower Nubia had become hereditary, and the descendants of the Ottoman garrison, intermarried with the local population, became a hereditary military caste.

Since one of the primary duties of the *beglerbegi* was to maintain order in the Holy Cities and the Yemen, the headquarters of the province was, from the last quarter of the 10th/16th century until the beginning of the 19th century, located in Djidda (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme def., xxi, 311, xxvii, 235, 6, 92). Owing to the disturbances in this region, Medina was temporarily made the headquarters in the 12th/18th century.

By 1814, when Burckhardt visited Sawākin, Ottoman authority was reduced to the granting by the governor of Djidda of recognition to the local *amīr*, and the appointment of a customs officer in the port. The Ottoman sultan finally transferred all claims on the African parts of the province to the pasha of Egypt in 1830.

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ḤABĪB b. ʿABD al-MALIK al-Ḳurashī al-Marwānī, great grandson of the Umayyad caliph of Damascus al-Walīd I. After the

fall of the Umayyad dynasty, Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik fled from Syria and arrived in Spain in advance of his cousin, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I of Cordova; when this Umayyad claimant arrived, Ḥabīb gave him his support and encouraged him in his aspirations. On the eve of the battle of al-Muṣāra (138/756), which was to decide the fate of the throne of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān appointed Ḥabīb commander in chief of the cavalry.

After victory had been achieved, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I *al-Dākhil* retained his cousin Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik permanently in his service, and he became his intimate confidant. The ruler entrusted to him the government of Toledo, a key point in the centre of the Iberian peninsula, which until then had been under the domination of the Fihrīs, supporters of Yūsuf, the *wālī* dismissed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. While Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik was at Toledo, this eastern town showed no sign of rebellion; this calm must be attributed to the energetic attitude of its governor, who also made use of this place as a centre of operations against the revolt which was taking place at this time in the adjacent territories—the rebellion of the Berber Shaḳyā which broke out in 151/768 and which was the most serious of all the many uprisings which took place during ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's reign. The detachments sent by the governor of Toledo succeeded in penetrating into the main stronghold of the chief rebel, the castle of Sopetrán, in what is now the province of Guadalajara. In 162/778 Ḥabīb was once again in action in his territory, against another rebellion—by the *ḳāʾid* al-Sulamī.

In reward for his services, the *amīr* granted great favours and benefits and many estates to Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who in addition did not hesitate to appropriate to himself, with the ruler's connivance, any land which he coveted; on one occasion, confronted by the vigorous support of the judge of Cordova for those who had been dispossessed, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went so far as to repay from his own money the value of the properties which Ḥabīb had seized. On Ḥabīb's death (date unknown), the ruler showed profound grief, which is described in graphic terms by the historians.

Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Malik was the founder of the line of Ḥabībīs, which provided al-Andalus with some notable men of learning and of letters, among whom there stands out the branch of the Banū Daḥḥūn. Among the most noteworthy Ḥabibīs may be mentioned: Ḥabīb Daḥḥūn and Bishr b. Ḥabīb Daḥḥūn, both poets of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II; the *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Ibrāhīm al-Ḳurashī, also contemporary with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II; ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Daḥḥūn, a venerable *faḳīh* who lived to see the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and was the religious counsellor of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]; Saʿīd b. Hishām b. Daḥḥūn, a poet who lived at Porcuna and was the contemporary of Ibn Ḥamdīn (6th/12th century).

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ḤABĪB b. AWS [see abū tammām].

ḤABĪB b. MASLAMA, a military commander of Muʿāwiya. He was born at Mecca c. 617 A.D. in a family belonging to the Ḳurayshī clan Fihr. He took part in the conquest of Syria and distinguished himself in the fights against the Byzantines. By order of Muʿāwiya he conquered Armenia in 21/642 and the following years (for details vide supra i, 635); then he was given the governorship of Northern Syria and fought against the Mardaites (Djarādjima [*q.v.*]) and the Byzantines. After ʿUthmān's death he supported the cause of Muʿāwiya against ʿAlī. At Ṣiffīn (37/657) he commanded the left wing of the Syrian army and served as a representative of Muʿāwiya in the negotiations with ʿAlī, which finally led to the arbitration. He died c. 42/662 not yet 50 years old. According to others (*Aghānī*[1], xiv, 9; Ṭabarī, ii, 139) he was still alive in 51/671. Later writers sometimes wrongly reckon him amongst the "companions" of the Prophet (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 190).

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ḤABĪB al-NADJDJĀR (the carpenter), legendary character who gave his name to the sanctuary below mount Silpius at Anṭākiya [*q.v.*] where his tomb is reputed to be. He is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān; nevertheless Muslim tradition finds him there, in *sūra* XXXVI, 12 ff., under the description of the man who was put to death in a city (*ḳarya*) not otherwise specified, having urged its inhabitants not to reject the three apostles who had come to proclaim the divine message to them. According to Muslim tradition the "city" was Antioch and the anonymous believer was called Ḥabīb. According to al-Ṭabarī he was not a carpenter but a silk-worker, yet the epithet of *nadjdjār* is applied to him by all the other ancient sources (al-Masʿūdī, Muṭahhar [ps.-Balkhī], Balʿamī, al-Thaʿlabī) and by more recent authors. He was stoned or trampled to death by his executioners. More recent legends, such as the one preserved by al-Dimashḳī (*Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 206), embroider the story of his martyrdom with strange new details (walking about with his severed head in his hand). There is nothing to prove that Ḥabīb was the Agabus of *Acts*, xi, 28 and xxi, 10-11, for although the latter suffered martyrdom according to several hagiographic texts (*Synaxaire de Constantinople*, in H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Nouembris*, col. 591, cf. 783 f. and *Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, ed. R. Basset, *PO*, xi/5, 788 f.), it is not stated that this was at Antioch, but either at Jerusalem or in some place not specified. The prehistory of the Muslim legend is not therefore entirely clear.

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Th̲aʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis*, 240 f.; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 6/13, n. 1-2.

(G. Vajda)

ḤABĪB ALLĀH (Ḥabībullāh) **K̲H̲ĀN** (1872-1919), son of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*] and of the concubine Gulrīz, who came from the Wak̲h̲ān; ruler of Afg̲h̲ānistān in succession to his father, from 1 October 1901 to 20 February 1919, when he was assassinated at Kalla-gūs̲h̲ in the valley of Alingār not far from the residence of Ḳalʿat al-Sirād̲j̲ (Lag̲h̲mān). In foreign affairs he adopted a pro-British policy, reinforced by frequent visits to India, by requests for British arbitration on the question of the frontier with Iran (MacMahon Mission, 1902-3, whose findings were accepted by both countries so far as the delimitation of the frontier was concerned, though the related question of the division of the waters of the Hilmand was to drag on at greater length), and by the signing, on 21 March 1905, of an agreement with Sir Louis Dane which confirmed the ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-Durand agreement of 1893. Great Britain pledged itself to guarantee Afghan independence so long as the *amīr*'s actions, in his relations with other powers, conformed with the advice given by the British government; to pay an anuual subsidy of £ 160,000 sterling; to place no limitations on Afg̲h̲ānistān's importing of war materials; and accepted the presence, for an unlimited period, of a political agent at the court of the Viceroy of India and of Afg̲h̲ān commercial agents in India and in Great Britain itself. The *amīr* pledged himself to friendship with Great Britain, and always to consult Britain in any consultations with a third power; accepted the presence at Kābul, for a period of three to five years, of an Anglo-Indian political agent chosen by the *amīr* from among Muslims proposed by the Indian Foreign Office; he did not, however, accept the British request to construct fortifications on the Hilmand. This was the situation which was to form the subject of the Anglo-Russian convention of 31 August 1907 (not, however, formally accepted by the *amīr*), which left Afg̲h̲ānistān under the British sphere of influence, recognizing Russia's interests as equal with those of Great Britain only in the field of commerce. In this field and in that of the local matters concerning frontiers there was also to be possible some direct contact between Russia and Afg̲h̲ānistān, but all political relations were to be left to the British Agent. During the First World War, however, Afg̲h̲ānistān's proclamation of neutrality (*farmān* of 24 August 1914) made it possible to accept a Turco-German mission and also the presence in Kābul of a "provisional Indian revolutionary government". In internal policy, the *amīr*, who was rather less energetic than his father, embarked on a programme of pacification based on acts of generosity such as recalling exiles and the remission of tribute, but always within the framework of a process of irreversible state centralization, even though it was being carried on under the aegis of the *mullā*s and of the military, and under the menace of the palace intrigues conducted by the *Sardār* Muḥammad ʿUmar (b. 1889), the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and his mother Bībī Ḥalīma, but above all by Naṣr Allāh (b. 1874), the *amīr*'s brother, commander-in-chief of the army and a claimant to the throne. The slackening of discipline in the army (whose strength in peace time was 150,000 men) was offset by new military supplies and by general material improvements. The *amīr* took measures against the serious economic situation of the country by means of a fiscal policy which permitted the increase of trade with India (and also with Russia, but without going so far as the establishment of the regular relations desired by the governor of Turkestan, Ivanov), and with Treasury loans to merchants. He carried out some public works, but it was in the field of education that most progress was made. With a military school supplementing it, there began to function from 1903 the high school called Ḥabībiyya, based on the type of the Anglo-Indian colleges and intended to train an administrative cadre: in its 12 classes, with local and Indian teachers, there were taught, together with literature and the religious sciences, geography, chemistry, physics, history, mathematics; while among the languages, together with Persian, were English, Hindustani and, more sporadically, Pashtu. A suitable *Dār al-taʾlīf* attached to the school attended to the preparation of textbooks, most of which were lithographed in India. In Kābul a lithographical and printing works (the ʿInāyat press) was set up. For eight consecutive years from 1911, there appeared the 16-page fortnightly scientific, literary and political periodical *Sirād̲j̲ al-ak̲h̲bār-i afg̲h̲āniyya*, with engraved illustrations and edited by the "father of modern prose", Maḥmūd b. G̲h̲ulām Muḥammad Ṭarzī (b. Kābul, 1285/1868-9, d. Istanbul 1353/1934-5). Thus schools and periodicals were the first two really modern manifestations of Afg̲h̲ān cultural life. The assassination of the *amīr*, however, brought to an abrupt end this interim period of apparent tranquillity and of imposed friendship with Great Britain, and opened the way to new and more definite national claims by the country.

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(G. Scarcia)

HĀBĪL wa **ḲĀBĪL**, names of the two sons of Adam [*q.v.*] in Muslim tradition: Hebel and Ḳāyin in the Hebrew Bible (for the distortion and assimilation through assonance of the two words, compare the pairs of words D̲j̲ālūt - Ṭālūt, Hārūt - Mārūt, Yād̲j̲ūd̲j̲ - Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲; Ḳāyin is, however, attested sporadically). Although the Ḳurʾān does not give these names, it tells however (CV, 27-32/30-5, Medinan period) the story of the two sons of Adam, one of whom killed the other because his own sacrifice was refused when his brother's was accepted. Unlike the Bible, the Ḳurʾān also tells how the murderer learned from the example of a crow how to dispose of his victim's body. From this episode the Ḳurʾān argues for the prohibition of murder, underlined by a consideration inspired, no doubt indirectly, from the *Mis̲h̲na*, *Sanhedrin*, iv, 5: to take the life of an innocent being is as serious a crime as to cause the death of the whole of humanity; to save the life of a single person is as meritorious as to do so for all men. If an exegetical tradition is to be believed, Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 72, is also referring to the first murderer: Ḳābil, having offered the trust (*amāna*) to Adam, broke his word and killed the brother entrusted to his care, but this interpretation, foreign to the context, does not rest on any serious basis. Several later authors certainly know the biblical story: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. S. ʿUkās̲h̲a, 17 f.,

quotes an abridged form of Genesis, IV, 1-8; al-Ṭabarī adduces Genesis, IV, 9-16, following Ibn Isḥāķ; and they lay stress, in accordance with the Bible and the Ķur'ān, on the rejection of the sacrifice as a reason for the fratricide, this rejection being due to the poor quality of the fruits of the earth offered up by Ķābīl. In general, however, Muslim sources show a preference for legendary versions derived from the Jewish *aggada* and the "Treasure Cave", rather than the slightly paraphrased scriptural data. And so they try to find a motive for the drama in distant antecedents which claim to fill a gap in the biblical narrative. Indeed, according to the latter, Adam had only daughters after the fratricide and after the birth of Seth who was to replace Abel (Genesis, V, 4). The legend readily repeated by Muslim authors (following Wahb b. Munabbih) has it, in short, that each of the two brothers had a twin sister (Aķlīmā and Labūdā), each destined to be the bride of the other brother; displeased with this arrangement, Ķābīl had agreed to having a trial sacrifice which should decide the question, but when God's judgment went against him, he murdered his brother and took possession of his own sister (it is to be remarked that a version attributed to the *imām* Dja'far al-Ṣādiķ by al-Tha'labī, 28, refashions the legend, eliminating the motive of consanguineous marriage; the polemical anti-Zoroastrian point is obvious). Tradition also offers a number of variants as to the means of murder: Hābīl was beheaded by a carpenter's axe, his head was crushed by a huge stone while he slept, etc. Lastly, the Muslim legend has received the fable already mentioned by Jerome, *Ep. 36 ad Damasium* and attested in more recent *midrashim* about Ķābīl being killed by his blind descendant (Lemekh). —As is often the case with similar material, Jewish texts of a later period show some traces of the Muslim legend.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, 15 f., 20; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaķāt*, i, 10-14; Ya'ķūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 4 (Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 4 f.); Ṭabarī i, 137-47, 152 (*Chronique de Tabari*, i, 61 f., 89 f); idem, *Tafsīr*, vi, 119 ff. (Dār al-Ma'ārif edition, x, 201 ff.); Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 61 f. (trans. Pellat, i, §§ 49-55); Kisā'ī, *Vita Prophetarum*, 68, 72 f.; Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-madjālis*, 21-30; A. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada, den Apokryphen, der hellenistischen, christlichen und muhamedanischen Literatur*, Vienna-Leipzig 1923; B. Heller, *Abel* (in der islamischen Legende), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, i, 211-4 (these two works give the previous bibliography); D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, 16-8; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 84-8. (G. VAJDA)

ḤĀBIṬIYYA, followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ [*q.v.*].

HABOUS [see WAĶF].

ḤABSHĪ, term used in India for those African communities whose ancestors originally came to the country as slaves, in most cases from the Horn of Africa, although some doubtless sprang from the slave troops of the neighbouring Muslim countries. The majority, at least in the earlier periods, may well have been Abyssinian, but certainly the name was applied indiscriminately to all Africans, and in the days of the Portuguese slave-trade with India many such 'Ḥabshīs' were in fact of the Nilotic and Bantu races.

There is little detailed information concerning the numbers, the status and the functions of the Ḥabshīs in the earliest Muslim period, although the favour shown to the Ḥabshī slave Djamāl al-Dīn Yāķūt by the Khaldjī queen Raḍiyya [*q.v.*] in the early 7th/13th century indicates that even then Ḥabshīs were able to rise to positions of power and eminence (but the story that Djamāl al-Dīn was the queen's lover has no support in the contemporary historians). The Ḥabshīs were certainly well distributed over India by the Tughluķ period, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled widely in the sub-continent between 734/1333 and 743/1342, notices them from north India to Ceylon, employed especially as guards and men-at-arms by sea as well as by land (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 31, 59-60, 93, 185; tr. Gibb, London 1929, 224, 229, 236, 260). Their presence in large numbers in Gudjarāt is nowhere directly recorded, but may be presumed from a reference at the end of the 8th/14th century to the promise of revenue and tribute payments, including 400 Hindū and Abyssinian slaves, to Dihlī by the Gudjarāt *nā'ib* Shams al-Dīn Dāmghānī (777/1375? Accounts vary).

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century the slave Malik Sarwar, who was most probably a Ḥabshī eunuch, became prominent under sultan Muḥammad b. Fīrūz and the later Tughluķs, having in 791/1389 been appointed *wazīr* with the title Khwādja Djahān. In 796/1394 he was appointed governor of the eastern provinces of the empire and sent to Djawnpur as *Malik al-sharķ* to suppress the wave of Hindū rebellion which was threatening the province. Malik Sarwar extended the bounds of the districts for which he was responsible and pacified the province, but never assumed the royal title in spite of his virtual independence. His adopted son nicknamed Ķaranful, also an African slave, did however cause the *khuṭba* to be read in his name, and struck coin, after succeeding Malik Sarwar in the government in 802/1399 as Mubārak Shāh; his younger brother succeeded him on his death the following year and, as Ibrāhīm Shāh, ruled Djawnpur for nearly forty years, a great patron of art and literature. For his reign and that of his successors see IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SHARĶĪ and SHARĶIDS.

In Bengal, where Ḥabshī slaves arrived directly by sea, it is recorded that the Ilyās Shāhī sultan Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh, 863-79/1459-74, maintained some 8000 African slaves mainly for military purposes, many of whom were raised to high rank. They became dangerously powerful under the rule of Djalāl al-Dīn Fatḥ Shāh (886-91/1481-6), who on taking measures against them was assassinated by the Ḥabshī commander of the palace guards, the eunuch Sulṭān Shāhzāda; the latter usurped the throne as Bārbak Shāh, the first of a succession of Ḥabshīs who ruled Bengal from 892/1486 to 899/1493. Bārbak Shāh was killed after a rule of about six months by the Ḥabshī army commander Amīr al-Umarā' Malik Andīl to avenge his master's murder; he was persuaded to ascend the throne himself as Sayf al-Dīn Fīrūz, and ruled with ability and generosity. He in turn was assassinated in a palace plot and succeeded by an infant king of dubious ancestry; the real power was in the hands of the Ḥabshī regent Ḥabash Khān, who was soon murdered by another Abyssinian, Sidī Badr called Dīwāna, who succeeded as Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh; he subjected Bengal to a reign of terror and extortion, and at first only the wisdom of his Arab *wazīr* 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn enabled him to continue. Eventually the extremes of Ḥabshī mismanagement drove the *wazīr* to join the popular revolt against Muẓaffar, who was secretly assassinated during a siege; this brought an end to the Ḥabshī interregnum, which was beginning to threaten not only Bengal's progress and military power but also the institution of the

monarchy itself. The *wazīr* was elected king, as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh, in 900/1493, and shortly thereafter expelled all Africans from Bengal; most of them eventually made their way to Gudjarāt and the Deccan.

It was perhaps in the Deccan that the Ḥabshīs were most conspicuous over a considerable period. Here again records of their presence in the early period are scanty, although Rafīʿ al-Dīn Shīrāzī states in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* that the Bahmanī sultan Fīrūz, 800-25/1397-1422, had many in his *ḥaram* and as his personal attendants; some of the bodyguard were, he says, subverted by his brother Aḥmad, who eventually encompassed Fīrūz's death at the hands of his Ḥabshī *djāmadār*. Foreigners, especially Persians and Turks, had earlier been attracted to the Bahmanī court, and Aḥmad on his accession increased their number. This led to rivalry between the local Dakhnī Muslims and the foreigners, not least on religious grounds since most of the influential foreigners were Shīʿī. The Ḥabshīs, who were Sunnīs, lost favour at the court, and came to support the local Sunnī Deccan Muslim faction in their opposition. The Dakhnī party managed to regain some favour in the later years of Aḥmad Shāh Walī's reign and, coming also to some power, commenced a persecution campaign against the foreigners, not excluding the Persian Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] in spite of his reforms whereby offices were divided between the foreigners and the Dakhnī party; in this division two of the four Bahmanī provinces, Māhūr and Gulbargā, were governed by Ḥabshīs. The persecution culminated in the plot, in which a Ḥabshī leader was the instigator, to discredit Maḥmūd Gāwān, whom the sultan put to death. The hill outside Bīdar town where the Ḥabshī community had their stronghold is still known as the Ḥabshī Koṭ; the tombs of many Abyssinian nobles and soldiers are scattered over the hill (see G. Yazdani, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947, 82 ff.). The next sultan, Maḥmūd Shāh, 887/1482-924/1518, who had succeeded to the throne with the help of an extreme Turkish faction, nevertheless appointed a Ḥabshī *dīwān* of finance, Dilāwar Khān. This officer failed to carry out a plan to assassinate the unpopular *wazīr*, a converted Hindū, at the king's command, and fled the country. Meanwhile a popular Dakhnī revolt had in 892/1487 attempted an unsuccessful coup to dethrone Maḥmūd; he was saved by his foreigners, and gave orders for a general massacre of Dakhnīs and Ḥabshīs. The differences were settled, but the Sunnī Turk Ḳāsim Barīd [see BARĪD SHĀHĪS] as *wazīr* seized much of the government, and Dilāwar Khān returned from exile to assist the king against him; but Dilāwar Khān was defeated and the Barīd family gained a greater ascendancy over the Bahmanī lands. In 901/1495 the Ḥabshī governor of western Telingāna, Dastūr Dīnār, rose in revolt on being replaced by Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, and was defeated by the Barīdī minister with the aid of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān; he was however restored to the fief of Gulbargā in an attempt by Ḳāsim Barīd to curb the ambition of Yūsuf in Bīdjāpur. On the death of Ḳāsim Barīd in 910/1504. Yūsuf marched on Dastūr Dīnār, killed him, and annexed Gulbargā to his dominions. Yūsuf then took vigorous measures to establish the Shīʿī faith, which led to renewed hostilities between the foreign and Dakhnī factions in which the Ḥabshīs again took a leading part.

In Bīdjāpur continuing conflict between Sunnīs and Shīʿa caused first (916/1510) a decree precluding Dakhnīs and Ḥakshīs from holding office in the state; the Sunnī revival under Ibrāhīm (941/1534-965/1558) restored the Dakhnī-Ḥabshī faction to power in 943/1537, but the next sultan reversed his father's religious policy and reinstated the foreigners. Later, in the time of Ibrāhīm II (988/1580-1037/1627), it was a number of influential Ḥabshī officials who restored the dowager queen Čand Bībī; but now factions arose within the Ḥabshīs, and another Dilāwar Khān rose to supreme power in the Bīdjāpur kingdom. On his eventual defeat in 999/1591 he took service with Burhān II in Aḥmadnagar, where the Ḥabshīs had long been influential.

In Aḥmadnagar, in the troubles following the accession of Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shāh — whose mother had been a Ḥabshī—there were at least two Ḥabshī factions independent of the Dakhnī party. They provided the ministers of state and army commanders, and seem to have been for a time the effective king-makers of Aḥmadnagar (for details of the succession struggles see NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS). The most prominent of the Ḥabshīs in Aḥmadnagar in the 11th/17th century was unquestionably the *wazīr* Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], a slave who had originally been purchased in Baghdād, who rose to power when he defeated the Mughal forces in Berar in 1010/1601, and in 1012/1603 established Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh II as the Aḥmadnagar ruler in spite of the presence of Mughal troops in the capital. He reorganized the revenue system of the kingdom, sets its finances on a sound basis, and organized the training of troops, mostly Marāṭhās, as guerillas to fight against the imperial Mughals. On Malik ʿAnbar's death in 1035/1626 the king came completely under the influence of another Ḥabshī, Ḥamīd Khān, and his wife, the latter becoming the recognized means of communication between the sultan and his subjects. On Ḥamīd Khān's decline from power Malik ʿAnbar's son Fatḥ Khān attained the same control over Aḥmadnagar as his father had done, until his defeat, on honourable terms, at Mughal hands.

Besides the important posts held on land by the Ḥabshīs, they were also prominent in the navies of Gudjarāt and the Deccan powers. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century Aḥmad Niẓām al-Mulk, the founder of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty, conquered the region of Dandā Rādjpurī on the southern Konkan coast from Gudjarāt, giving the command of its island fort, Djandjīra (corruption of Ar. *djazīra*?), to his Ḥabshī noble Sīdī Yāḳūt; it seems to have remained entirely under Ḥabshī governorship thereafter. On the Mughal conquest of Aḥmadnagar in 1046/1636 Djandjīra passed to Bīdjāpur, who continued the Ḥabshī tradition, command of the island passing not from father to son but from one commander of the fleet to another. Djandjīra's importance increased at this period, as it came to protect all the trade of Bīdjāpur and also the pilgrim traffic. The Marāṭhās under Shivādjī tried repeatedly (ca. 1070-80/1660-70) to gain possession of Djandjīra: on their last and severest attack the governor appealed for help from both Bīdjāpur and the Mughals. It became apparent that only the Mughals, who saw in this maritime power an ally against the Marāṭhās, were prepared and able to assist the governor, who thereupon transferred his allegiance from Bīdjāpur to the Mughals. The governor was given the title of Yāḳūt Khān and command of the Mughal navy at Djandjīra and Sūrat. The power of the Ḥabshī naval commanders continued until the end of the 11th/17th century, and they were victorious against the English forces as well as against the Marāṭhās; but by about 1730 their sea power had

declined as that of the Marāṭhās had risen, and they were no longer able to protect the Sūrat shipping. The Marāṭhās were however unable to establish any influence over Djandjīra by land, and when in the 19th century control of the Konkan coast passed to the British the internal affairs of the Ḥabshī colony were left undisturbed.

In Gudjarāt there seems to have been a continuous supply of Ḥabshīs by sea through the ports of Bharōč, Sūrat-Randēr and Khambāyat. The sultan Bahādur (933/1526-943/1537) especially welcomed foreigners to his service, and there were said to have been as many as 5000 Ḥabshīs in Aḥmadābād alone (Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, *Ẓafar al-wālih* . . ., ed. Ross, i, 97, 407, 447); many of these appear to have been prisoners taken in the Muslim invasion of Abyssinia in 934/1527. The abler Ḥabshīs rapidly obtained positions of importance: thus Sayf al-Mulk Miftāḥ was governor of the fort of Dāmān, with a force of 4000 Ḥabshīs, at the time of the Portuguese conquest; Shaykh Saʿīd al-Ḥabshī, a cultured and wealthy soldier, who had performed the Ḥadjdj and who maintained a fine library and a public kitchen (Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, ii, 640-3), is remembered as the builder of the exquisite 'Sīdī Saʿīd's' mosque (980/1572-3) in Aḥmadābād; the titles Djudjhār Khān and Ulugh Khān were borne by several Ḥabshī nobles, one Ulugh Khān being the patron of the historian Ḥādjdjī al-Dabīr, in the 10th/16th century, especially after the disorders which began with the accession of Maḥmūd Shāh III in 943/1537. They formed a prominent faction opposed to the local Gudjarātī nobility and the dissension of these rival nobles in the sultanate made possible the almost bloodless conquest of Gudjarāt by Akbar in 980-1/1572-3. See further GUDJARĀT, also IKHTIYĀR AL-MULK, ULUGH KHĀN.

The Ḥabshīs were similarly prominent in the neighbouring sultanate of Khāndēsh [*q.v.*; see also FĀRŪḲIDS], where the practice of the Ḥabshī Malik Yāḳūt Sulṭānī in keeping the male members of the royal house in restraint in the mountain fortress of Āsīrgaṛh has led C. F. Beckingham, in *Amba Gešen and Āsīrgarh*, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 182-8, to suppose that this custom was imported from Abyssinia, the Ethiopian royalty having been detained in a similar way on mount Amba Gešen; but this may be no more than a coincidence, as there are many instances of similar practices in India where no Ḥabshī influence is suspected.

The Ḥabshīs were dominant in the Gudjarāt navies both as commanders and as men-at-arms, and their numbers in Gudjarāt and on the Konkan coast seem to have been greatly augmented through the extensive Portuguese slave-trade (see *inter alia* K. G. Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors*, 1910, 22 ff.; Jean Mocquet, *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes* . . ., Paris 1830, 259-63), which certainly brought 'Ḥabshīs' who were not Ethiopians. Their descendants are still recognized as a separate Muslim community in Gudjarāt (S. C. Misra, *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, New York [1964], 77, s.v. *Sidi*), and in 1899 the *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix/2, 11 ff., describes them as building round mud huts with circular grass roofs —an African rather than an Indian feature. Their chief object of worship then was Bābā Ghor, an Abyssinian saint, whose shrine stands on a hill near the cornelian mines in Ratanpur near Rādjpīpla (where there was once a colony of Ḥabshī miners; *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, ii, 76); they are described as begging in small bands playing, besides drums and rattles, a fiddle ornamented with peacock feathers and sounded by a bow one end of which is equipped with a coconut shell in which stones rattle.

The flow of Ḥabshī slaves into India continued through the Mughal period, and the names of individual Ḥabshīs occur frequently throughout the Mughal histories. They do not, however, seem to have been allowed to acquire enough power ever to have formed Ḥabshī factions of any importance; but they are certainly known as provincial governors, e.g. Ātish Ḥabshī, governor first of Bihār and later of the Deccan (d. 1061/1651); Ḥabash Khān Sīdī Miftāḥ and his son Aḥmad Khān, both of whom attained high rank under Awrangzīb; Dilāwar Khān, (d. 1114/1703), also a governor of the Deccan. Biographies of these and many others are given in the register of Mughal nobility, the *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, cf. index.

In modern India the word *ḥabshī* is often heard applied in a pejorative sense to an Indian of dark skin, and also frequently to a man of Gargantuan appetite.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see the bibliographies to the articles on the major regions of India. No systematic study of the Indian Ḥabshīs has yet been attempted, and much field-work, particularly anthropological and linguistic, is needed. R. Pankhurst, *An introduction to the economic history of Ethiopia*, London 1961, includes as Appendix E 'The Habshis of India', 409-22, incomplete and with dates unreliable. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤABŪS [see ZĪRIDS].

ḤAČ OVASİ [see MEZÖ-KERESZTES].

ḤAḌĀNA, (A.), *ḥiḍāna*, in the technical language of the *fuḳahāʾ*, is the right to custody of the child, a ramification of guardianship of the person which though exercised as a rule by the mother or a female relative in the maternal line may in certain circumstances devolve upon the father or other male relative. This institution is of very great importance in judicial practice because of the numerous conflicts to which the subject gives rise, particularly where the spouses are "separated" and above all where the cause of separation is repudiation of the wife.

A.—In theory this right of custody begins with the birth of the child, whether boy or girl, the parents living together (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 46). However most authors, of whatever school, recognizing that difficulties on this point do not normally arise till dissolution of the marriage, confine their explanations to this hypothesis alone.

When the spouses are not separated there are only two sets of circumstances in which the right of custody sets husband over against wife. The wife has a domicile distinct from that of her husband, either because he permits this to her (Ḥanafī law), or because she has reserved this right to herself by a clause in the marriage contract (Mālikī and Ḥanbalī law); or else the husband decides to take his small child on a journey, unaccompanied by his wife. In these two cases it is only the Ḥanafīs who have drawn the logical conclusions from the principle that *ḥaḍāna* is a prerogative conferred upon the mother, even before dissolution of the marriage. Thus the husband is not entitled to travel with his child, still in custody of the mother, against the wishes of the latter (al-Kāsānī, iv, 44). Authors of the other schools pay less attention to this *ḥaḍāna* during the subsistence of the marriage and their doctrine on the subject is very unstable.

B.—In the majority of the schools *ḥaḍāna* ends at the age of seven for a boy, who can then "feed and clothe himself without the aid of a third party", and at pre-puberty for a girl (about the age of nine). In

Mālikī law it lasts until puberty for boys and until the consummation of marriage for girls.

In the three schools which terminate very early the privilege of the mother and others entitled to *ḥaḍāna* (Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī), the question arises as to what becomes of the minor when no longer in the care of the mother. We must not forget that this concerns a child who has barely attained the age of reason. In Ḥanafī law he or she is then obligatorily given over (*ḍamm*) to the father, or in default of the father through death or unworthiness, to the male relative on whom devolves the *wilāya* of the child's person, with the condition, in the case of a girl, that the *walī* must be a relative "within the forbidden degrees". In other words the boy of seven and the girl of nine are not consulted, since the Ḥanafīs consider them still too young to be able to make a reasoned decision.

The Shāfiʿīs (*Muhadhdhab*, ii, 171) and Ḥanbalīs (*Mughnī*, vii, 614) allow the boy of seven to choose between continuing to live with his mother and moving to his father's house. The same option is given to the girl who has reached the age of nine, but in Shāfiʿī law only.

At puberty (towards the age of fifteen—see BĀLIGH) the boy is accorded the right, by all schools, of having a dwelling independent of that of his father, or that of his mother if he had opted for her at the age of seven as permitted by the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools. However, he is "recommended" to stay with his parents. As for the girl who has reached puberty, it is surprising to find the Shāfiʿī school the most liberal towards her. For the doctors of this school do not forbid her to have a separate abode, although they hold it to be morally "reprehensible" (*makrūh*) (*Muhadhdhab*, ii, 169). In the other schools puberty does not release a virgin girl from the custody of her parents. We have seen that in Mālikī law she remains under her mother's control until consummation of marriage. Much the same solution is reached in Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī law, where the virgin girl (*bikr*) cannot leave her father at puberty, "since she is ignorant of men and their wiles". On the other hand, the girl over the age of puberty who is no longer virgin (*thayyib*), being widowed or repudiated, has freedom of movement. Even here the Ḥanafīs make certain reservations concerning a girl whose conduct is not "sure"; although *thayyib*, she must still live with her father.

C.—The devolution of the right of custody follows differing rules in the various schools, which can be split, from this point of view, into two groups. On the one side we have the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, who make the right of custody, if not an exclusively feminine prerogative, at least a function in which women always take precedence, so much so that of two female relatives of equal degree the uterine will be preferred to the consanguine; and on the other side the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools which, while according an indisputable priority to some women (mother and maternal grandmother, great grandmother, etc.), do not hesitate in certain contingencies to prefer men to women even though the latter be quite closely related to the child.

According to the scholars of the first two schools *ḥaḍāna* belongs in the first instance to the mother; in default of the mother, or if she is unworthy or has forfeited her right, custody passes to the female ascendants of the mother, the nearer excluding the more remote, then to the female ascendants of the father (in Mālikī law maternal aunts come before ascendants of the father); these are followed by the full sister (because of the double link) and the uterine sister, before the consanguine; then nieces (except the consanguine, who is related to the child through the father only); maternal aunts are preferred to paternal aunts.

In these two schools men are invested with *ḥaḍāna* proper only in default of all female relatives within the "forbidden degrees" (for marriage). The two qualities must be united in one and the same woman if she is to bar the devolution of the right of custody upon a man. Thus no account is taken of the female cousin, even if full, since there is no obstacle to marriage between full cousins in Islamic law. Moreover, the presence of a wet-nurse or the daughter of a wet-nurse, despite the existence of a bar to marriage, does not keep men from *ḥaḍāna* since these women are not blood-relatives of the child.

The men in question are, first of all, the *ʿaṣabāt* (males related through males) who come in the same order as in the law of succession: first, therefore, the father; then, in the absence of any *ʿāṣib*, Ḥanafī law calls upon males related through females, but only those with whom marriage would have been impossible if the child had been a girl. Last of all come relatives, men and women, who are not within the forbidden degrees for marriage (full cousins, their issue, etc.)—men exercising *ḥaḍāna* over boys, women over girls. Only in default of all relatives does the *ḳāḍī* designate a person of trust.

In the other two schools (Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī), the priority of women is less absolute than in Ḥanafī and Malikī law, and men may assume *ḥaḍāna* even where there exist fairly close female relatives. Thus in default of the mother and female ascendants of the mother, or if the latter are prevented, or are unworthy or have forfeited their right, *ḥaḍāna* is conferred on the father, then on female ascendants of the father. Another peculiarity of these two schools is that the consanguine sister is preferred to the uterine and the paternal aunt to the maternal (*Muhadhdhab*, ii, 170 and 171; *Mughnī*, vii, 623), both solutions being directly contrary to those of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools.

D.—The Ḥanafī scholars never fail to ponder the nature of *ḥaḍāna*. Is it a "right" (*ḥaḳḳ*) of the custodian or a "right" of the child? They generally conclude by saying that although it is a "right" of the custodian (man or woman)—which explains how the latter may renounce it by refusing the burden—it is above all and first and foremost a "right" of the child, in whose interest all the conditions of aptitude for the function have been established. It is because the child's interest governs all the solutions of *fiḳh* in this matter that the woman custodian (for it is in respect of women that the exigencies of the law are most numerous) is required to be adult, sane, and capable of assuring the safe-keeping of the child: thus a woman would be deprived of *ḥaḍāna* where her occupations kept her too long away from home during the day. It is also necessary that she should not be *fāsiḳa*, *i.e.*, of bad morals, and that her customary residence should not be a place of debauchery, which could prove injurious to the child. Illnesses and infirmities are likewise causes of exclusion from *ḥaḍāna*; this is quite comprehensible since a sick or infirm *ḥāḍina* could not pay the necessary attention to the small child. Slave-girls, at the time when they existed, were deprived of this right.

The teaching of the other schools on all these points hardly varies from the Ḥanafī doctrine.

In two sets of circumstances considerable practical importance attaches to the opinions of the jurists

concerning capacity to exercise the right of custody: first, where the *ḥāḍina* (especially the mother) remarries; second, where the father is a Muslim but the woman called to assume custody is non-Muslim.

On the first point the schools are unanimous. The remarriage of a repudiated or widowed mother is normally a cause of forfeiture of *ḥaḍāna*, unless she marries a man related to the child within the "forbidden degrees". How do the scholars explain the rule and the exception, reconciling them with the principle that *ḥaḍāna* is established in the interest of the child? Their explanation is simple if not pertinent. The mother who remarries after widowhood or repudiation (for in practice it is only she who is concerned) must devote all her time to her new husband—law, morality and religion require it; how could she, under these conditions, give to the child in her custody the care its tender years demand? It is another matter if the new husband is a close relative of the child (uncle for example) because it is supposed that his natural affection will prevent him from taking offence at his wife's attention to the child.

In order of frequency, the second problem connected with the conditions of capacity to exercise *ḥaḍāna* is that of disparity of religion. Suppose the mother, widowed or repudiated by a Muslim husband, is not herself a Muslim. Should the *ḥaḍāna* be left to her? No, reply the S̲h̲āfiʿīs (*Muhad̲h̲d̲h̲ab*, ii, 169) and the Ḥanbalīs (*Mug̲h̲nī*, vii, 613), and their arguments on this point are not without good sense. Is not misbelief (*kufr*) more serious than mere misconduct? Now we have seen that this latter causes forfeiture of *ḥaḍāna*, in the case of women as well as men. Besides, if it is true that this institution was created in the interest of the child, how can it be maintained that this interest is safeguarded when the child's most precious possession (its belonging to Islam) is threatened by possible proselytising on the part of the mother, exerting herself in favour of her own religion?

The Mālikīs, not without a certain hesitation, and the Ḥanafīs much more firmly, decide that the *d̲h̲immiyya* (Christian woman or Jewess) has the right of *ḥaḍāna*. Still, the Ḥanafīs add certain qualifications to the rule (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 49). Thus a non-Muslim woman loses the custody of the child if she has tried to turn it from its father's religion, provided the child has reached the age when it is able to understand its religious duties. Since this age corresponds more or less to that when *ḥaḍāna* normally finishes, at least for boys, the Ḥanafī qualification is of minor importance. More significant is the rule which demands parity of religion where it is an *ʿāṣib* who, in default of women, assumes the *ḥaḍāna*, since the devolution of the right of custody exercised by men follows the same rules as for succession and, as we know, disparity of religion is a bar to succession in Islamic law.

It goes without saying that, whatever school we take, the renegade is excluded from *ḥaḍāna*. Apart from anything else, how could she look after the child when (according to the scholars) she must be immediately imprisoned and held until she reverts to Islam? When for any reason (incapacity, unworthiness, remarriage with someone outside the family, illness) a woman is deprived of her right of custody, she can recover it afterwards when the obstacle has disappeared, except in Mālikī law. This doctrine is explicitly formulated in relation to remarriage, but it is agreed that it extends to the other causes of impediment or forfeiture.

E.—The works of *fiḳh* dwell at length on a question of great practical interest, although its rules are now largely outmoded owing to progress in the speed of communications. It is forbidden for the person in whom custody of the child is confided to settle the child in a place remote from the abode of the father. Ignoring the distinctions and sub-distinctions drawn by the authors, the main point is that the woman (and, when relevant, the man) who has custody of the child is forbidden to remove it to a place so far distant that the father could not easily oversee its education and conduct and supervise its welfare. Defiance of this prohibition would cause forfeiture in favour of another, be it the father or the next woman in line.

The Ḥanafīs, envisaging only the most frequent case, that of a mother, repudiated and so free in her movements, who has custody of her child, add to the general prohibition of causing the child to live remote from the father an important qualification—a qualification recommended, be it said, by common sense and equity. Of all the women who may be entitled to exercise *ḥaḍāna*, the repudiated mother alone can take her child with her if she decides to go back to the land where she herself was born and where the marriage during which she had the child was concluded (both conditions must be met), however remote this land may be. It would indeed have been cruel to take away the young child of a repudiated wife returning to the land where her whole family resided and which her former husband had made her leave by marrying her.

It should be noted that in Ḥanafī law the custodian who breaks the rule forbidding her to remove a child from its father does not thereby automatically forfeit *ḥaḍāna*. The judge will simply order her to return to the place where the father is.

In the three other schools, custody of the child devolves on the father when the repudiated mother settles in a distant land; and the ruling is the same when it is the father who settles far away (which seems hardly fair).

F.—From the double character of *ḥaḍāna*, whereby it is at one and the same time a prerogative of the mother (and others entitled) and also a measure of protection in respect of the small child, derive, respectively, the following consequences:

The woman entitled to custody of the child is not bound to accept it, except where the mother is concerned, and even in her case the Ḥanafīs make it obligatory only when it is impossible to find another custodian, for the interest of the child overrides the "right" of the mother. This explains why any *ḥāḍina* may normally (Ḥanafī law) claim a wage distinct from the cost of maintaining the child, which naturally falls on the father, unless the child has a personal fortune. This presupposes that the parents are "separated" and that the *ʿidda* [*q.v.*] period has expired. Outside the Ḥanafī school, the mother cannot claim a wage distinct from the *nafaḳa* due to the child; and the Mālikīs go so far as to refuse a wage to all those entitled to *ḥaḍāna*; if, in their doctrine, it sometimes happens that a needy mother may draw a *nafaḳa* on the goods of her child, or part of the child's allowance, she does so not in the capacity of custodian but as any mother in need (Dardīr-Dasūḳī, ii, 534).

Although a "right" of women, *ḥaḍāna* is nevertheless established in the interest of children; it is not therefore permissible to modify the imperative rule fixed on this point by *fiḳh*. These rules belong to the public order, in as much as disregard of them would be injurious to the child. It is on the occasion of a

negotiated divorce (*khul*ʿ) that the parties may attempt to circumvent this principle. Although it is permissible for the spouses to agree that the mother should undertake the full cost of maintaining the child, as consideration for the repudiation pronounced by her husband, it is not possible, on the other hand, for the husband to make it a condition of the repudiation that his wife should give up the *ḥaḍāna* (except perhaps in Mālikī law); in such a case the *khul*ʿ would be valid and the purported condition void. Nor could the wife, by agreeing to compensate her husband, obtain a prolongation of the period of *ḥaḍāna*, at least where boys are concerned, for such agreement is admitted in the case of girls (Ibn Nudjaym, *Baḥr*, ii, 98).

G.—Contemporary legislation inspired by Islamic law (codes of personal status and laws relating to the family) has introduced but few changes into the system of classical *fiḳh*.

In countries of Ḥanafī allegiance, the main preoccupation has been to prolong the duration of *ḥaḍāna*, which the classical law of the school restricts unduly.

The Egyptian law of 10 March 1929 (art. 20) authorizes the judge, when "the interest of the children requires this measure", to extend this period to nine years for the boy, and to eleven years for the girl. This disposition was taken up by the Jordanian code of 1951 (art. 123), and the Syrian code of 1953 (art. 147). The Sudanese circular no. 34 of 1932 (art. 1) squarely adopts the Mālikī doctrine (Sudanese Muslims are governed by Ḥanafī law, though ritually Mālikīs); thus the boy is in the custody of females until puberty, and the girl till consummation of marriage. As for the Iraqi code of 1959 (art. 57, al. 5), it permits the judge to prolong the *ḥaḍāna* without fixing a maximum.

The two North African codes of personal status (Tunisia 1956 and Morocco 1958), while reproducing broadly the principles of Mālikī law on the question, add a few modifications inspired by Ḥanafī law, which are not always very felicitous. Thus it is hard to see why the Tunisian code (art. 67) should limit the duration of custody by women to seven years for boys and nine years for girls, when the majority of actual Ḥanafī countries have abandoned this rule of their own school. Due to Ḥanafī influence again is the possibility for the woman entitled to *ḥaḍāna*, even the mother herself when "separated" from her husband, to claim a remuneration distinct from the *nafaḳa* due from the father to his child (art. 103 and 104 of the Morrocan code). The Tunisian code (art. 65) modestly accords her a wage "for laundry and the preparation of food". The two codes adopt a fairly similar solution to that of the Ḥanafī school concerning disparity of religion between child and custodian. In Moroccan law (art. 108) this adoption is heavy with consequences in view of the long duration of *ḥaḍāna* which the code has borrowed from the Mālikī system.

Every non-Muslim *ḥāḍina* (the only case revealed by practice) is deprived of the custody of a Muslim child when it reaches the age of five, the mother being excepted from the rule unless she tries to turn the child from the Muslim religion, in which case she likewise forfeits her right of custody.

Bibliography: All works of *fiḳh* treat the question at length, often in the chapter on *nafaḳāt*. See especially Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324, v, 207 ff.; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1313, iii, 46 ff.; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Cairo 1313, iii, 46 ff. (all Ḥanafī); Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1357, vii, 214 ff.; Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Cairo n.d., ii, 169 ff. (Shāfiʿī); Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-Djalīl*, 1929, iv, 214 ff.; Dardīr-Dasūḳī, *Sharḥ al-kabīr*, ii, 526 ff. (Mālikī); Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, 3rd. ed. Cairo 1367, vii, 612 ff. (Ḥanbalī). See also Bousquet, *Précis de droit musulman*[3], i, no. 95; Syed Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*[6], Calcutta 1928, ii, 248 ff., for the liberties taken with the classical law by the courts in Algeria and India.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ḤADATH, minor ritual impurity which, in *fiḳh*, is distinguished from major impurity (*djanāba* [*q.v.*]). *Ḥadath* is incurred: 1. — by contact with an unclean substance (*khabath*, *nadjas*) which soils the person or clothing, etc.: sperm, pus, urine, fermented liquor, and some other kinds. There is some controversy about corpses or the bodies of animals. It is only in the view of the Mālikī school that the pig and dog, when alive, do not soil. Except with the Shīʿīs, contact with a human being never soils according to Muslim law, unlike the prescriptions of Jewish law; 2. — by certain facts; by the emission of any substance whether solid, liquid or gaseous from the anus, urethra or vagina (further to those which bring about major impurity); by loss of consciousness—sleep, syncope, madness; by apostasy, and in certain other circumstances. The Khāridjī minority alone has elaborated a moral theory of *ḥadath* (slander, false swearing, perjury, obscene proposals, evil thoughts, etc.).

The *muḥdith* regains his ritual purity, which the *ḥadath* has dispelled, by means of the simple ablution (*wuḍūʾ*) which can be replaced, if it is impossible to use water, by the *tayammum* [*q.v.*]; as for the part of the body soiled by *khabath*, this must be washed, likewise in water that is ritually pure, to restore its purity. The same applies to the clothing of the man at prayer, and the place in which he intends to make his *ṣalāt*. Anyone who is in a state of *ḥadath* cannot therefore: a) perform the prayer; b) make the ritual circumambulation of the Kaʿba (*ṭawāf*); c) touch a copy of the Ḳurʾān, but he can carry fragments of it (for example, on a medal or a piece of paper), and can also recite from it. For casuistical details, see the works quoted in the bibliography and also the articles djanāba and ḥayḍ. In general, practising Muslims are very familiar with these rules. As for the requirement, in case of *djanāba*, to make a *ghusl*, this partially explains the existence of *ḥammām*s in urban centres.

Bibliography: The collections of *ḥadīth*s (cf. the *Handbook* of Wensinck), and texts of *fiḳh*, all of which start with the study of ritual purity; reference should be made, in particular, to the works of *ikhtilāf*, such as the *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid* of Ibn Rushd and others. Even a mystic like Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ*, I, Book III, § 21 ff. in the *Analyse* of Bousquet) deals with these questions in a way similar to that of the *fuḳahāʾ*, though in a slightly different spirit. G.-H. Bousquet, *La pureté rituelle en Islam*, in *RHR*, cxxxviii (1950), 53-71.

(G. H. Bousquet)

al-ḤADATH, town, which today has disappeared, in the province of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*], situated in a plain at an altitude of 1000 metres at the foot of the Taurus, near to the three lakes on the upper course of the Ak Su, one of the principal tributaries of the Djayḥān. Known as al-Ḥadath al-Ḥamrāʾ (probably to avoid confusion with Ḥadath al-Zuḳāḳ in the Palmyra desert), it owed its importance to its situation on the Arabo-Byzantine frontier, between Marʿash and Malaṭiya, at the entry of the saddle

which guarded the route to Albistān. Its protection was assured by a fortress built on a hill called al-Uḥaydab, "the Little Hunchback". To the north-west of al-Ḥadath, in the massif of the Nuruhak Dagh, was the *darb al-Ḥadath*, a narrow pass which was the scene of many battles and whose name the Arabs changed to *darb al-salāma* in an attempt to exorcise the evil fate which seemed to be attached to it.

Conquered under the caliph ʿUmar by Ḥabīb b. Maslama, who had been sent by the general ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanam, al-Ḥadath was used by Muʿāwiya as a starting point for his incursions into Byzantine territory. The upheavals at the end of the Umayyad dynasty enabled the Byzantines to re-occupy the region, without, however, succeeding in changing very much the course of the frontier. In 161/778, the Byzantine general Michael Lachanodrakon sacked al-Ḥadath. The caliph al-Mahdī rebuilt it in 163/778 and the town was then called al-Mahdiyya or al-Muḥammadiyya. His successor, Mūsā al-Hādī, re-populated it with inhabitants from neighbouring towns. But these buildings of sun-dried brick could not long withstand the severe winter climate. Furthermore, the Byzantines overran it once again and burned it completely, whence its name Göynük, "burnt", used both in Turkish and Armenian. Hārūn al-Rashīd rebuilt and fortified it and maintained a large garrison there, as in the other frontier-stations of this region. Thus under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Ḥadath became a strategic point which served as a base for their expeditions into Byzantine territory. But in 336/950, Leo, the son of Bardas Phocas, seized al-Ḥadath and left none of its fortifications standing. The town became Muslim again as the result of a victory by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla, who rebuilt the walls in 343/954, but the Byzantines re-took it in 346/957. After this, al-Ḥadath no longer played an important part in the military history of the region. However it fell again into Muslim hands in 545/1150 under the Saldjūḳ sultan of Ḳonya Masʿūd b. Ḳilïdj Arslān; then the Armenians seized it in their turn and made it a base for expeditions against the Muslims. In 671/1272, the Mamlūk sultan Baybars seized al-Ḥadath from the Armenians. The fortress was burned and all that remained was the town, which the Kurds then called Alhan and where they grazed their flocks. In 839/1436, the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy used it as a base for his expedition against the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr.

In 1950 various ruins at Seray-Köy, to the south of the lake of al-Ḥadath, were described and identified by R. Hartmann as being the remains of al-Ḥadath. This identification contradicts earlier opinions, which had situated al-Ḥadath on the site of the present-day Inekli to the north of the lake.

Bibliography: See especially the study by R. Hartmann, *al-Ḥadath al-Ḥamrāʾ*, in *Istanbuler Forschungen*, xvii (1950), 40-50. Principal Arabic sources: Yāḳūt, i, 514; ii, 218 ff.; iv, 838; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 189 ff.; Ṭabarī, *index*; M. Canard, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'Emir Sayf al-Daula*, Algiers-Paris 1934, 44, 92; Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, Paris 1837-45, i/2, 113 and 140, n. 173; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 748. See also Le Strange, 121 ff.; idem, *Palestine*, 443 ff.; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Brussels 1935, index s.v. Ἀδατα; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1935, i, 95; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, Paris 1953, i, 267, 269-70; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 121, 718.

(S. Ory)

ḤADD (A.), plural *ḥudūd*, hindrance, impediment, limit, boundary, frontier [see ʿAWĀṢIM, GHĀZĪ, THUGHŪR], hence numerous technical meanings, first and foremost the restrictive ordinances or statutes of Allāh (always in the plural), often referred to in the Ḳurʾān (sūra ii, 187, 229, 230; iv, 13, 14; ix, 97, 112; lviii, 4; lxv, 1).

In a narrower meaning, *ḥadd* has become the technical term for the punishments of certain acts which have been forbidden or sanctioned by punishments in the Ḳurʾān and have thereby become crimes against religion. These are: unlawful intercourse (*zinā* [*q.v.*]); its counterpart, false accusation of unlawful intercourse (*ḳadhf* [*q.v.*]); drinking wine [see KHAMR]; theft [see SĀRIḲ]; and highway robbery (*ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ* [*q.v.*]). The punishments are: the death penalty, either by stoning (the more severe punishment for unlawful intercourse) or by crucifixion or with the sword (for highway robbery with homicide); cutting off hand and/or foot (for highway robbery without homicide and for theft); and in the other cases, flogging with various numbers of lashes. The number of lashes in the less-severe *ḥadd* for unlawful intercourse is 100, in the punishments for false accusation of unlawful intercourse and for drinking wine 80; the prescribed intensity of the lashes is different, too, generally speaking in the opposite order.

The *ḥadd* is a right or a claim of Allāh (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*), therefore no pardon or amicable settlement is possible once the case has been brought before the *ḳāḍī*, although it is recognized that *ḳadhf* and theft include infringing a right of humans (*ḥaḳḳ ādamī*). On the other hand, active repentance (*tawba*) is taken into account in cases of theft and highway robbery. There is a strong tendency, expressed in a tradition attributed to the Prophet, to restrict the applicability of *ḥadd* punishments as much as possible, except the *ḥadd* for *ḳadhf*, but this in its turn serves to restrict the applicability of the *ḥadd* for *zinā* itself. The most important means of restricting *ḥadd* punishments are narrow definitions. Important, too, is the part assigned to *shubha* [*q.v.*], the 'resemblance' of the act which has been committed to another, lawful one, and therefore, subjectively speaking, the presumption of bona fides in the accused. There are short periods of limitation, in general one month. Finally, proof is made difficult; in contrast with the acknowledgment concerning other matters, the confession of an offence involving a *ḥadd* can be withdrawn [see IḲRĀR]; it is even recommended that the *ḳāḍī* should suggest this possibility to the person who has confessed, except in the case of *ḳadhf*; it is considered more meritorious to cover up offences punishable by *ḥadd* than to give evidence on them; and particularly high demands are made of the witnesses as regards their number, their qualifications, and the content of their statements. These demands are most severe with regard to evidence on *zinā*; a further safeguard lies in the fact that an accusation of *zinā* which is dismissed constitutes *ḳadhf* which itself is punishable by *ḥadd*. The liability of the slave (but not of the woman) to *ḥadd* punishments is less than that of the free man [see ʿABD]. On the liability of the *Dhimmī* see A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beyrouth 1958, 119 ff. (needs considerable elaboration); on that of the *Mustaʾmin*, see W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, 65 ff. See also TAʿZĪR and ʿUḲŪBA.

In theology, *ḥadd* in the meaning of limit, limitation, is an indication of the finiteness which is a necessary attribute of all created beings but incompatible with Allāh.

In *kalām* and in philosophy, *ḥadd* is a technical term for definition of which several kinds are distinguished: *ḥadd ḥaḳīḳī* which defines the essence of a thing, *ḥadd lafẓī* which defines the meaning of a word, etc. Opposed to the definition is the description (*rasm*), but the distinction is not very sharp, so that it is possible to speak of a *ḥadd rasmī*. A perfect or complete definition (*ḥadd kāmil*) must be *d̲j̲āmiʿ māniʿ*, "universal and proper"; this is achieved by giving the *genus proximum* and the *differentia specifica*.

In logic, *ḥadd* means the term of a syllogism; the minor term is called *ḥadd aṣg̲h̲ar*, the major term *ḥadd akbar*, and the middle term *ḥadd awsaṭ*.

In astrology, the degrees of each sign of the zodiac are divided into five unequal portions each of which belongs to one of the five planets; this portion or term of a planet is called *ḥadd*.

In the terminology of the Druzes, the main officers of their religious hierarchy are called *ḥudūd*; this usage is based on an allegorical interpretation of the Ḳurʾānic passages.

Bibliography: General: Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.; Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, s.v.— On *ḥadd* punishments: Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 300 ff.; idem, *Handleiding*³, 304 ff.; J. P. M. Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen in het ḥanbalietische recht*, Leiden 1936; J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, chap. 24 (with bibliography).—On *ḥadd* as "definition" and "term of syllogism": I. Madkour, *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, Paris 1934, 107 ff., 196 ff.; R. Brunschvig, in *Arabica*, 1962, 74-6. There are numerous works defining or rather explaining the technical terms used in one or several branches of knowledge; see Brockelmann, S III, index, s.v. *ḥudūd*, and add: Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bād̲j̲ī, *R. fi 'l-ḥudūd*, *RIEEI*, ii (1954), Arabic part, 1-37; also the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲ʷārizmī and the *K. al-Taʿrīfāt* of al-S̲h̲arīf al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [*qq.v.*] belong to this group.—On *ḥadd* in astrology: Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, transl. De Slane, ii, 221, n. 1; transl. F. Rosenthal, ii, 215, n.—On the *ḥudūd* of the Druzes: Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, ii, 8 ff.; M. G. S. Hodgson, art. DURŪZ.

(B. CARRA DE VAUX-[J. SCHACHT])

Before assuming its philosophical meanings, the word *ḥadd* follows a semantic evolution comparable to that of the Greek words that it translates, ὁρισμός and ὅρος. From its meaning of "limit" it passes to that of "delimitation" or "definition", and from that of "furthest limit" or "extremity" to that of "extreme" or "term" in logic. In order to avoid any ambiguity between the two meanings, modern Arab authors who study mediaeval philosophy often follow *ḥadd*, in the sense of "definition", with the word *taʿrīf* in parenthesis, since one of the uses of *taʿrīf* is in fact "definition", although its meaning includes both description and name.

In metaphysics *ḥadd* means "definition", in so far as it is a statement referring to the thing whose essential elements it sets out. It indicates the thing's quiddity, its *māhiyya* (secondary substance or predicated substance). In its strict sense "definition" can refer only to a substance, but in a wider sense we speak also of definitions of accidents, although these cannot be defined without the mention of an element that is foreign to them, *i.e.*, the substance that receives them. *Ḥadd* is used also in a derived sense, to mean a commentary on the name of the thing; it is then a "nominal definition", which is not composed of direct references to the thing's essence, but explains the name that does refer to the essence. In entities composed of matter and form, "definition" does not refer to form alone, but to everything that goes to make up the entity, *i.e.*, to matter and to form. In entities that have no material element, it obviously refers to form alone; nevertheless, there can be no definition of the entity that is absolutely simple, since different essential elements cannot be distinguished in it. Definition applies to individuals, but there is no definition of the particular as such. The individual can be indicated only by combining various attributes that apply to it alone, for example by pointing out its filiation.

In logic *ḥadd* is used with different meanings according to the three mental processes, which are forming the concept, judging and reasoning. In the logic of the concept *ḥadd* has the meaning of "definition" as in metaphysics, and has also to give the essential elements of the thing defined, but in this case with reference to the concept, *i.e.*, by uniting the essential meanings so as to produce in the mind an intelligible exactly equivalent to the essence of the thing. This statement is more explicit than the name, of which it gives an analysis; it is the name that expresses the meaning in one word only.

Perfect definition, *ḥadd tāmm*, is a statement of *proximum genus* and specific difference: "Man is a rational animal". It cannot be arrived at by demonstration, but only by the methods that make it possible to determine this genus and this difference. The definition is obtained *bi-ṭarīḳ al-tarkīb*, by means of combination, *i.e.*, by taking the essential attribute whose extension is just greater than that of the thing to be defined and combining with it the essential attribute peculiar to the thing. This is obtained by looking for all the attributes that belong to the essence of the genus that has just been defined, by making a kind of division, *ḳisma*, and finally by selecting that one which is predicable only of the thing to be defined.

In this perfect definition are included, on the one hand, all the *summa genera*, and, on the other, all the consequents of the essence. It is, however, often very difficult to find these two attributes. If they cannot be determined, we have to be content with giving a correct but less precise notion, for example by stating one or more of the thing's essential characteristics that are peculiar to it. The statement is thus equivalent in extension, but not in comprehension; it is a description, *rasm*, or an imperfect definition. When the cause of the existence of the thing defined gives the meaning of the thing, a causal definition is obtained, and when cause and effect are united in the same proposition, the definition is complete, *ḥadd tāmm*, and resembles the conclusion of a syllogism. An example is: "Thunder is the noise that is produced in the cloud because of the fire that is quenched there". (For details of the reasoning, see *S̲h̲ifāʾ*, *Manṭiḳ*, v, book 4, ch. 4, 290-1). Definition in no way refers to existence.

While *ḥadd* means "definition" in the logic of the concept, the same word means "term" in the logic of the proposition and in that of syllogistic reasoning. *Ḥadd* is, in that case, the word or statement used as subject or as predicate, major, minor or middle term.

The whole Islamic theory of definition, and that of terms of reasoning, follows Aristotle, sometimes reproducing what he says almost word for word. The brief mention of definitions made by the *Ik̲h̲wān al-ṣafāʾ* is already in conformity with this; they apply the method outlined above to the definition of

species and genera, omitting "Substance", which can be the object only of a "description", *rasm*; it is "the entity that is self-subsistent and receives contrary attributes"—this is in accordance with Aristotelian teaching. Al-Kindī uses the word in its accepted sense. Avicenna is the Hellenizing philosopher who most develops the study of *ḥadd*; it is a theme to which he returns again and again in his works. Al-Ghazālī scarcely mentions it in the first part of the *Maḳāṣid*. Averroes comments on the relevant chapters of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Al-Djurdjānī, in his *Taʿrīfāt*, gives the ordinary meaning, the various philosophical meanings, including that of "defective (*nāḳiṣ*) definition", obtained "by nearest (*i.e.*, specific) difference alone, or by that and *summum genus*". In Ṣūfism, he adds, *ḥadd*, which has then the sense of "limit", "indicates the separation between you and your Lord".

Bibliography: *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, 1957 ed., i, 431-2, definition, 420-1, term; al-Kindī, *Risāla fī ḥudūd al-ashyāʾ*, ed. Abū Riḍā, Cairo 1369/1950, 165; Avicenna, *Shifāʾ*, Cairo ed. 1952 f., *Ilāhiyyāt*, i, bk. V, ch. 8, see also 7 and 9, bk IX, ch. 1, 373, lines 1-2; *Manṭiḳ, Madkhal*, i, 7, 48-9; *al-Burhān*, i, 1, 52; ii, chaps. 8 and 10; iv, ch. 4 and 6 and Index; idem, *Nadjāt*, 1331 ed., 33, 137-40; idem, *Dānesh-nāma*, Tehrān 1331/1371, 25-7, trans. Achéna and Massé, Paris 1955, 32-4; idem, *Fi 'l-ḥudūd*, in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, no. 4, Cairo 1329/1911; idem, *K. al-Ḥudūd*, ed. Goichon, Cairo (IFAO) 1963, 2-12 trans. introductory pages, 3-15 text, with references to the Greek sources; those of *al-Burhān* are indicated in Dr. A. E. Affifi's analytical preface; idem, *K. al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbihāt*, text ed. Forget, 17-21 (trans. Goichon, Paris 1951, 103-11). The fullest account is that of the *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, 1328/1910 ed., 34-46 and 52-3. In the same volume *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muzdawidja*, on logic, ch. *al-ḥadd*, 17-8; Averroes, *Tafsīr mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. Bouyges, commentaries on *Metaph.* Z, 4 and 5, 781-821, texts 10-19, and Z 15, 982-96, texts 53-5; Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, no. 126. (A.-M. Goichon)

HADENDOA [see BEDJA].

ḤADHF [see NAḤW].

AL-**HĀDĪ ILA 'L-ḤAḲḲ**, regnal name of the fourth ʿAbbāsid caliph Mūsā, son of al-Mahdī, who had been proclaimed heir in 159/775-6. His accession took place in Muḥarram 169/August 785, but it did not pass off smoothly. Al-Mahdī died when he was actually on the way to Djurdjān intending to force Mūsā, resident in that province, to renounce his rights in favour of his brother Hārūn, who had been appointed second heir in 166/782-3. Although the chamberlain al-Rabīʿ procured that the oath of allegiance to Mūsā was sworn in Baghdād, a revolt broke out in the capital almost immediately afterwards; it was swiftly put down, before even al-Hādī arrived, but contemporaries saw in it the hand of adversaries of the new ruler.

On returning to Baghdād, al-Hādī first made al-Rabīʿ his vizier, but dismissed him soon afterwards and entrusted the central administration to various persons, none of whom seems to have made any mark. Once in power, al-Hādī continued the persecution of the *zindīḳs* which his father had begun, but abandoned the latter's moderate policy towards the Shīʿīs, adopting an attitude of frank hostility to the ʿAlids; hence he was led to repress brutally an ʿAlid revolt which had broken out in Medina and which ended in the massacre of Fakhkh [*q.v.*]. Other revolts had to be put down, both in Egypt and in ʿIrāḳ. Throughout his reign, the most important question was that of the succession. Al-Hādī wished to annul the right of his brother Hārūn, who then had as his tutor and adviser Yaḥyā the Barmakid. Hārūn, vigorously rejecting his brother's proposals, was finally thrown into prison and threatened with a still worse fate. At this juncture, in Rabīʿ I 170/September 786, there occurred the sudden death of al-Hādī, an event in which, according to some chroniclers, Hārūn's mother al-Khayzurān had some share. Thus ended the short reign of a caliph who left the reputation of being a ruler energetic to the point of brutality as well as addicted to pleasure; through the massacre of Fakhkh he widened the gulf between the ʿAbbāsids and the ʿAlids; his only lasting achievement was perhaps an improvement in the financial departments of the central administration.

Bibliography: S. Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, in *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki), xiii/4 (1946), 1-28; N. Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, New York 1946, 77-112; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, 117-25. (D. Sourdel)

AL-**HĀDĪ ILA 'L-ḤAḲḲ, YAḤYĀ**, founder of the Zaydī dynasty of the Yemen [see ZAYDĪS].

HĀDĪ SABZAWĀRĪ [see SABZAWĀRĪ].

AL-**ḤADĪD**, iron. According to the *Sūrat al-Ḥadīd* (LVII, 25) God sent iron down to earth for the detriment and advantage of man, for weapons and tools are alike made from it. According to the belief of the Ṣābians, it is allotted to Mars. It is the hardest and strongest of metals and the most capable of resisting the effects of fire, but it is the quickest to rust. It is corroded by acids; for example, with the fresh rind of a pomegranate it forms a black fluid, with vinegar a red fluid and with salt a yellow. Collyrium (*al-kuḥl*) burns it and arsenic makes it smooth and white. Ḳazwīnī distinguishes three kinds of iron, natural iron, *al-sābūrḳān*—which can only mean dark iron ores such as micaceous ore, magnetic ironstone etc.—and that which is made artificially, which is of two kinds, the weak (Pers. *narm-āhan*) or female, *i.e.*, malleable iron, and hard or male, *i.e.*, steel (*fūlādh*). According to al-Kindī, however, the kind of iron called *sābūrḳān* is identical with male iron; both kinds are called natural iron, while steel on the other hand is not natural. These contradictory statements cannot be reconciled here. Chinese and Indian iron are particularly esteemed. The applications of iron and iron-rust in medicine and magic are fairly numerous and varied. See further MAʿDIN.

Bibliography: Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 207, transl. Ethé, 424; Dimishḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 54; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Naturw.*, xxv and xxxii (*Sitzungsber. Physikal.-medizin. Sozietät*, Erlangen, vols. 43, 45); Ibn al-Bayṭār in Leclerc, *Notices et extraits*, i, 422; *Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. Ruska, 180; al-Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 247-58. (J. Ruska)

ḤADĪḌ [see NUDJŪM].

ḤADĪDĪ, *makhlaṣ* of a minor Ottoman poet who flourished in the first decades of the 10th/16th century, the author of a verse-chronicle. According to his near-contemporay Sehī, his home was Feredjik (near Enos), where he was *khaṭīb*; he adopted the *makhlaṣ* Ḥadīdī because he was a blacksmith by trade.

His unpublished history of the Ottoman dynasty, completed in 930/1523-4, consists of some 7000 very pedestrian couplets in the *hazadj* metre; the last incident recorded is the appointment of Ibrāhīm

Pas͟ha as Grand Vizier (in 929/1523). In an introduction Ḥadīdī states that his account, as far as the first years of the reign of Bāyezīd II, is a verse-paraphrase of the prose history by 'the S͟heyk͟h ʿĀs͟hiḳ Pas͟ha-og͟hlī', *i.e.*, ʿĀs͟hiḳ-Pas͟ha-zāde [*q.v.*]; but this section, the first two-thirds of the work, contains also some episodes characteristic of the Urud͟j texts, *e.g.*, the passage on Bāyezīd I's suicide, quoted disparagingly by Saʿd al-Dīn (i, 217; cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 627; for another example see A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler* ..., Ankara 1956, 182). The rest of the work is, he claims, original. According to Laṭīfī, he failed to procure the presentation of his work to the Sultan, Süleymān I. Although Pečewī names it among his sources (i, 3), it is probably of minor importance and only a few manuscripts survive, in Istanbul: Esad Efendi (Süleymaniye) 2081, much damaged by fire towards the end; Ali Emiri manzum 1317, modern (for these two, see *Istanbul Kütüpaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, no. 69); University Library T 1268, a good old copy (see L. Forrer, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), no. 17); Veliyüddin (Beyazıt) 152/3443 (see *Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, iv, Ankara 1957, p. X). There is a copy in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Pertsch, *Katal.*, 232), and a good, apparently old, manuscript has recently been acquired by the British Museum (Or. 12896).

Poems by a Ḥadīdī are preserved in some anthologies (see, for example, F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı .... türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, ii, nos. 2665, 2690).

Bibliography: Sehī, 101-2; Laṭīfī, 127-9; M. F. Köprülüzade, in *Mitt. z. osm. Gesch.*, i (1921-2), 220-2; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt͟hmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 45-6 (inaccurate); Babinger, 59 f. (with further references). (V. L. Ménage)

AL-ḤĀḌINA, a small independent region of South Arabia, now in the Upper ʿAwlaḳī Sultanate. It is one of the most fertile districts of South Arabia and is irrigated by canals from the Wādī ʿAbadān. The products of the soil, which is of volcanic origin, include indigo, which is exported to al-Ḥawṭa, *d͟hura* and millet. Al-Ḥāḍina is inhabited by the tribe Ahl K͟halīfa which claims descent from the Hilāl [*q.v.*]. When the Hilāl emigrated from South Arabia they remained behind, whence their name K͟halīfa. In the past they ordinarily acknowledged no authority, but in time of war would serve under the banner of the Sultan of the Upper ʿAwāliḳ in Niṣāb. According to Philby, who visited the region in 1936, they numbered about 300 male adults, giving a total population of about 1,000. There were nine clans in possession of some sixteen villages of which the most important was D͟jabiyya, a market and the seat of the ʿAḳīl or ruler. Al-Ḥāḍina was famed in Landberg's day as a centre for cotton, which was exported to Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb and Ḥarīb. It lies on the caravan roads from Bāl Hāf to Mark͟ha, and D͟jirdān to Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb and Mārib.

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(J. Schleifer-[A. K. Irvine])

AL-ḤĀDIRA (al-Ḥuwaydira), nickname of the Arabic poet Ḳuṭba b. Aws. Very little is known of his life; he belongs to the Banū T͟haʿlaba b. Saʿd b. D͟hubyān, a tribe of the group G͟haṭafān. He had a quarrel with Zabbān b. Sayyār al-Fazārī and satirized him in his verses. In another poem he boasts of the victory of his kinsmen at al-Kufāfa. The leader in this battle, K͟hārid͟ja b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, later on turned Muslim (Ibn Ḥad͟jar, *Iṣāba*, i, 222) whilst al-Ḥādira is called a pagan poet (*d͟jahilī*); so we may infer that he lived into the beginning of the 7th century. His poems, few in number, were collected by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310/921-2). One *ḳaṣīda* is included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (no. viii, ed. Lyall); it is said that this poem was greatly admired by Ḥassān b. T͟hābit.

Bibliography: *al-Hādirae diwanum cum Yazidii scholiis edidit* ...., G. H. Engelmann, Lugd.-Bat. 1858; Brockelmann I, 26; S I, 154.

(J. W. Fück)

ḤADĪTH (narrative, talk) with the definite article (*al-ḥadīt͟h*) is used for Tradition, being an account of what the Prophet said or did, or of his tacit approval of something said or done in his presence. *K͟habar* (news, information) is sometimes used of traditions from the Prophet, sometimes from Companions or Successors. *At͟har*, pl. *āt͟hār* (trace, vestige), usually refers to traditions from Companions or Successors, but is sometimes used of traditions from the Prophet. *Sunna* (custom) refers to a normative custom of the Prophet or of the early community.

I. The development of Ḥadīt͟h

Tradition came to be considered second in authority to the Ḳurʾān, but this was the result of a lengthy process. The Prophet had made a great impression on his contemporaries, and Islam had not only survived his death, but had quickly spread far beyond Arabia. It is therefore only natural that those who had known him should have much to tell about him and that new converts should have been anxious to learn what they could about him. Many of his Companions settled in conquered countries where it is reasonable to assume that they would be questioned about him; but there would be nothing formal about the retailing of stories and little attempt at first to record them. At that time there was no idea that Tradition was second in authority to the Ḳurʾān because there was no collected body of traditions. At the Prophet's death, the Ḳurʾān remained as the source of guidance and it was only gradually, as new problems arose, that men came to feel the need of a subsidiary authority. Individuals and groups in various regions developed an interest in Tradition, and many traditionists engaged in travels to learn traditions from authorities in different countries. The annual Pilgrimage would also provide an opportunity for people of different regions to meet, and traditions would be spread in this way. The demand for traditions was great, and inevitably the supply grew to meet it.

Gradually the necessity of producing authorities for traditions developed, and there is reason to believe that the practice was to some extent in force before the end of the first century; but it was late in the second century before it seems to have become essential to have a complete chain of authorities back to the source. Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767 or 151/768) quotes authorities in his biography of the Prophet, but not always with a complete chain, and the same applies to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) whose law-book *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* gives many traditions with partial chains of authority, some with complete chains, and some with none. When books of tradition came to be compiled the traditions had two necessary

features: (1) the chain of authorities (*isnād*, or *sanad*) going right back to the source of the tradition, and (2) the text (*matn*).

But while traditionists were collecting traditions and attempting to verify their authority, there were others who were nót prepared to lay great emphasis on the importance of tradition. As a result there were disputes between parties; but largely as a result of the genius of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī (d. 204/820) [*q.v.*] the party of Tradition won the day, and *Ḥadīt̲h̲* came to be recognized as a foundation of Islām second only to the Ḳurʾān. Al-S̲h̲āfiʿī laid emphasis on an argument which seems to have been current even before this time (cf. *ZDMG*, lxi (1907), 869), that when the Ḳurʾān spoke of the Book and the Wisdom (cf. ii, 151; iii, 164; iv, 113; lxii, 2) it meant Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīt̲h̲*. Thus *Ḥadīt̲h̲* was given a kind of secondary inspiration. Though not the eternal word of God, like the Ḳurʾān it represented divine guidance.

II. Collections of Ḥadīt̲h̲

The theory was held by some that traditions should be conveyed only by word of mouth and not written, and there are even traditions in the books supporting this view. Abū Dāʾūd (*ʿIlm*, 3) rather curiously gives two traditions, one after the other, the first stating that the Prophet gave command to write traditions and the second stating that he forbade writing them. Whatever justification there may have been for the view that writing was prohibited, there were, even quite early, men who made notes for their own guidance, and these notes formed a basis for larger works produced later. Among them mention may be made of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/712 or 99/717) in Medina who is quoted as transmitting many traditions from his aunt ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, and Muḥammad b. Muslim Ibn S̲h̲ihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) who settled in Syria and was one of the most widely quoted authorities. Reference is even made to *ṣaḥīfa*s (scripts) in which some Companions of the Prophet collected traditions.

When more formal books were first compiled they were of the type called *musnad* works, the word indicating that each Companion's traditions were collected together. While this arrangement has its interest, it is not very convenient. People would want to consult traditions on particular subjects and would therefore need to read through much irrelevant material before discovering what they were seeking. Such works as those of al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203/818) [*q.v.*] and of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) [*q.v.*] are arranged according to this method. Mālik had arranged his *Muwaṭṭaʾ* according to the subject-matter, but the 3rd/9th century was the time when the important *muṣannaf* (classified) works were compiled. They were said to be arranged *ʿala 'l-abwāb* (according to the sub-sections), and this arrangement of the material proved to be much more convenient. Six of these *muṣannaf* works eventually took precedence over others. The most authoritative were considered to be the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Buk̲h̲ārī [*q.v.*] and Muslim (d. 261/875), followed in importance by the *Sunan* works of Abū Dāʾūd [*q.v.*], al-Tirmid̲h̲ī (d. 279/892), al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915) and Ibn Mād̲j̲a (d. 273/886). The *Ṣaḥīḥ*s contain biographical material and Ḳurʾān commentary in addition to details of religious observance, law, commerce, and aspects of public and private behaviour which are the main interest of the *Sunan* works. The corpus of Tradition provides details to regulate all aspects of life in this world and to prepare people for the next. In theory the traditions of al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim are all considered sound, whereas those in the other books have varying degrees of worth; but criticism has been made even of some of al-Buk̲h̲ārī's and Muslim's traditions.

There was no official body to commission the books of Tradition, so they had to make their own appeal to the community. By the 4th/10th century the collections of al-Buk̲h̲ārī and Muslim were fairly generally recognized, and the others gained recognition after longer periods. For example, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 808/1406) did not recognize Ibn Mād̲j̲a's *Sunan*, but spoke of the 'five' books. Nevertheless the six books were eventually recognized, although some people preferred Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ* to Ibn Mād̲j̲a's *Sunan*. Other works also were compiled, and while they did not command so much general respect as the six books, they are recognized as important and are quoted. Among these mention may be made of the works of al-Dārimī [*q.v.*], al-Dāraḳuṭnī [*q.v.*] and al-Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*]. Commentaries were written on the books of Tradition, and there are many works which give selections of one kind or another. A favourite type of work uses the title *Arbaʿīn* from the practice of collecting forty traditions on some particular subject. Larger works were also compiled giving selections of traditions from various sources. One of the best known of these is *Miṣbāḥ al-sunna* by al-Bag̲h̲awī [*q.v.*], enlarged into the still more popular *Mis̲h̲kāt al-maṣābīḥ* by Walī al-Dīn.

The works to which reference has been made are those recognized by Sunnīs. The S̲h̲īʿīs have books of their own, accepting only traditions traced through ʿAlī's family, an important purpose being to support the claims of the S̲h̲īʿa. They are *al-Kāfī fī ʿilm al-dīn* by Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb al-Kulīnī (d. 328/939); *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh* by Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī called al-Bābūya al-Ḳummī (d. 381/991); *Tahd̲h̲īb al-aḥkām* by Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067 or 460/1068), of which he produced a shorter version entitled *al-Ibtiṣār fīmā 'k̲h̲tulifa fīhi min al-ak̲h̲bār*. They are *muṣannaf* works covering subjects similar to those in the Sunnī books.

III. Criticism of Ḥadīt̲h̲

Before the recognized books were compiled the body of Tradition had grown enormously, and serious students recognized that much of it was fabricated. The *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (storytellers) were men who invented the most extraordinary traditions to which they attached seemingly impeccable *isnād*s, their purpose being to astonish the common people and receive payment for their stories. The spurious nature of such was easily recognized. Others fabricated traditions to spread false doctrines, and this was sometimes so cleverly done that it had a chance of being undetected. For example, one such quotes the Prophet as saying, 'I am the seal of the prophets; there will be no prophet after me unless God wills'. The phrase 'unless God wills' is so common that it could easily pass without comment, but men of insight noticed the heretical tendency in spite of the excellent *isnād* which supported it. Some who had invented traditions to teach heretical doctrines afterwards confessed what they had done, but as many of their traditions had been incorporated in books they did not know how to undo the damage. At the other extreme there were pious men who were so disturbed by the laxity of their times that they invented traditions to exhort men to live righteously. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 143/760) is reported to have said,

"I have not seen more falsehood in anyone than in those who have a reputation for goodness". Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl (d. 212/827) is credited with the similar statement, "I have not seen the good man lying about anything more than about *Ḥadīth*". The fact that different types of people invented traditions shows how important *Ḥadīth* had become. Because of this, ingenious men made use of it to propagate their ideas.

Criticism was made of transmitters for various other reasons. Some were accused of carelessness in transmission, others of being inaccurate in old age, others of pretending to transmit traditions when they had lost their books and were depending on a faulty memory. Al-Ḥākim (d. 405/1014) accuses some of tracing back to the Prophet traditions which went back only to Companions or Successors.

As a result of the effort to investigate the genuineness of traditions biographical works were compiled regarding the people who appear in *isnāds*. It was important to know the years of their birth and death, for this shows whether they could have met the people they are said to have quoted. Statements were also recorded regarding the degree of their trustworthiness, but these raised problems for they were frequently contradictory. Although it is said that such material was collected from the first century, the books were mainly compiled from the third century onwards. Arabs were notable as genealogists, and therefore one may not unreasonably assume that while the books began to appear comparatively late, materials for the earliest periods were available. Books were also written confined to traditionists in particular districts, *madhhabs*, or centuries, some including people of other interests. It is important to note that while these are called *ridjāl* (men) works, they include many women traditionists (see further AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL).

The criticism of traditions soon developed a series of technical terms, a number of which are found in the six books, where comments on traditions are common. Al-Tirmidhī made a notable contribution to the criticism of Tradition, for he not only supplied notes to the large majority of his traditions, but concluded with a chapter in which he discussed some points (see *Varieties of the ḥasan tradition*, in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vi (1961), 37 ff.). The use of technical terms seems to have been a gradual development, but although a particular term might be used differently at different periods, fairly general agreement about most of them was eventually reached.

Traditions were divided into *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), *ḥasan* (good), and *ḍaʿīf* (weak) or *saḳīm* (infirm). *Ṣaḥīḥ* traditions have seven grades: (1) those given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim; (2) those given by al-Bukhārī alone; (3) those given by Muslim alone; (4) those not given by either, which however fulfil their conditions (*shurūṭ*); (5) those which fulfil al-Bukhārī's *shurūṭ*; (6) those which fulfil Muslim's *shurūṭ*; (7) traditions sound in the opinion of other authorities. *Ḥasan* traditions are not considered quite so strong, but they are necessary for establishing points of law. Indeed, most of the legal traditions are of this type. There are varieties of the *ḥasan* but authorities are not all agreed on the subject. Al-Tirmidhī has used *ḥasan* along with other words, but in his final chapter he has unfortunately not explained what he means by all the terms he uses. Weak traditions also have various degrees. Allowance is made for using weak traditions dealing with exhortations, stories, and good behaviour, but not for those dealing with matters of law or with things which are allowable or forbidden. Abū Dāʾūd has used *ṣāliḥ* for traditions about which he has made no remark, some being sounder than others. Some have held *ṣāliḥ* to be a grade inferior to *ḥasan*, but this view is not common. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449) distinguishes between *ṣāliḥ al-iḥtidjādj* (fit to be used as proof) and *ṣāliḥ al-iʿtibār* (fit to be considered), the former being equivalent to *ḥasan* and the latter, though weak in itself, deserving consideration to see whether it is corroborated. If that is so it becomes *ṣāliḥ bi-ghayrihi* (fit through another tradition) and *ṣāliḥ al-iḥtidjādj*. But in classical terminology *ṣāliḥ* is applied to transmitters rather than to traditions.

Most of the following technical terms, mainly dealing with the *isnād*, acquired a stable meaning although all authorities did not agree in their interpretation of some. For convenience they are here arranged in five groups.

(i) With reference to the number of transmitters. *Mutawātir* is applied to a tradition with so many transmitters that there could be no collusion, all being known to be reliable and not being under any compulsion to lie. *Mashhūr* is a tradition with more than two transmitters, some such being *ṣaḥīḥ* and others not. *Mustafīḍ* is treated by some as equivalent to *mashhūr*, by some as equivalent to *mutawātir*, but by most as an intermediate class. *ʿAzīz* is used of a tradition coming from one man of sufficient authority to have his traditions collected when two or three people share in transmitting them. *Gharīb* is a tradition from only one Companion, or from a single man at a later stage. It may apply to *isnād*, or *matn*, or both. It is to be distinguished from *gharīb al-ḥadīth* which applies to uncommon words in the *matn* of traditions. *Fard* can be used of an *isnād* with only one transmitter at each stage, or of a tradition transmitted only by people of one district. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) says every *fard* is not reckoned *gharīb*; al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278) considers those from one district to be *fard* and those from individuals *gharīb*. *Shādhdh* is a tradition from a single authority which differs from what others report. If it differs from what people of greater authority transmit, or if its transmitter is not of sufficient reliability to have his unsupported traditions accepted, it is rejected. *Āḥād* is used of traditions from a relatively small number of transmitters, not enough to make them *mutawātir*. *Khabar al-āḥād*, or *al-ḥadīth al-āḥādī* is to be distinguished from *khabar al-wāḥid*, a tradition from a single man.

(ii) With reference to the nature of the *isnād*. *Muttaṣil* is used of an unbroken *isnād* traced back to the source. If it goes back to the Prophet it is *muttaṣil marfūʿ*, if to a Companion it is *muttaṣil mawḳūf*. *Musnad* is generally applied to a tradition with a fully connected *isnād* traced to the Prophet, *i.e.*, both *muttaṣil* and *marfūʿ*, though it has been applied by some to connected traditions going back to a Companion or a Successor. *Marfūʿ* is a tradition traced to the Prophet whether or not the *isnād* is complete; but some would treat it as equivalent to *musnad*. *Mawḳūf* is a tradition going back only to a Companion. *Maḳṭūʿ* is a tradition going back to a Successor regarding words or deeds of his. Al-Shāfiʿī and al-Ṭabarānī used it in the sense of *munḳaṭiʿ*, which has been used of an *isnād* including unspecified people, or one later than a Successor who claims to have heard someone he did not hear. It is also used of one later than a Successor quoting

directly from a Companion; but commonly it is applied when there is a break in the *isnād* at any stage later than the Successor. *Munfaṣil* (separated, divided) may be found applying to a tradition with several breaks in the *isnād*, to distinguish it from *munḳaṭiʿ*. *Muʿallaḳ* (suspended) is used when there is an omission of one or more names at the beginning of the *isnād*, or when the whole *isnād* is omitted. *Mursal* is a tradition in which a Successor quotes the Prophet directly. *Muʿallal* or *maʿlūl* applies to a tradition with some weakness in *isnād* or *matn*. Al-Ḥākim calls it a tradition mixed with another, or containing some false notion of the transmitter, or given as *muttaṣil* when it is *mursal*.

(iii) With reference to special features of *matn* or *isnād*. *Ziyādāt al-thiḳāt* means additions by authorities in *matn* or *isnād* which are not found in other transmissions. Views differ regarding the extent to which such information is acceptable. *Muʿanʿan* is used of an *isnād* where *ʿan* (on the authority of) is used with no clear indication of how the tradition was received. It is held that when those who use it are known to be genuine, and to have heard the person they quote, the tradition is *muttaṣil*. *Musalsal* is applied when the transmitters in an *isnād* use the same words, or are of the same type, or come from the same place. *Musalsal al-ḥalf* is a type in which each transmitter swears an oath, and *musalsal al-yad* is the type in which each transmitter gives his hand to the one to whom he transmits the tradition. *Mudallas* is used of a tradition with a concealed defect in the *isnād*. The defect of *tadlīs* (concealing defects) may consist in pretending to have heard a tradition from a contemporary when that is not so (*tadlīs al-isnād*), or in calling one's authority by an unfamiliar *ism*, *kunya*, or *nisba* (*tadlīs al-shuyūkh*), or in omitting a weak transmitter who comes between two sound ones (*tadlīs al-taswiya*). *Mubham* (obscure) is used when a transmitter is named vaguely, *e.g.*, *radjul* (a man), or *ibn fulān* (son of so and so) without giving the man's *ism*. *Maḳlūb* (transposed) is applied when a tradition is attributed to someone other than the real authority to make it an acceptable *gharīb* tradition, or when two traditions have the *isnād* of the one with the *matn* of the other. Some use *munḳalib* when there is a slight transposition in the wording. *Mudradj* (inserted) is used of a gloss in the *matn*, or of giving with one *isnād* texts which differ with different *isnād*s, or of mentioning a number of transmitters who differ in their *isnād* without indicating this. Generally it is used of inserting something in the *isnād* or the *matn* of one tradition from another to make this appear part of it. *Muḍṭarib* (incongruous) is used when two people or more disagree with one another in their version of a tradition, they being people of similar standing. The difference may affect *isnād* or *matn*. *Iḍṭirāb* makes a tradition weak. When a man is called *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth* it means his traditions are confused. *Isnād ʿālī* (a high *isnād*), which is used when there are very few links between the transmitter and the Prophet, or between him and a certain authority, is considered a valuable type on the ground that the fewer the links the fewer are the possible chances of error. *Isnād nāzil* (a low *isnād*) means that there are many links. The quality of the former is called *ʿuluww* and of the latter *nuzūl*. *Muḥarraf* (altered) is used of a change occurring in the letters of a word. *Muṣaḥḥaf* (mistaken) is used of a slight error in *isnād* or *matn*, commonly confined to an error in the dots. *Mudabbadj* (variegated, embellished) is used when two contemporaries transmit traditions from one another. *Iʿtibār* (taking into consideration) means consideration of whether a transmitter who is alone in transmitting a tradition is well known, or whether, if the tradition is solitary by one authority, someone in the chain has another authority, or whether another Companion transmits it.

(iv) With reference to acceptable traditions. *Maʿrūf* (acknowledged) is applied to a weak tradition confirmed by another weak one, or it is a tradition superior in *matn* or *isnād* to one called *munkar* (see below). *Maʿrūf* is also applied to a traditionist when two or more transmit from him. Otherwise he is *madjhūl*, *i.e.*, unknown either as regards his person, or his reliability. *Maḳbūl* (accepted) is a tradition which fulfils requirements and is either *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḥasan*. *Maḥfūẓ* (committed to memory) applies to a tradition which, when compared with one which is *shādhdh*, is considered of greater weight.

(v) With reference to rejected traditions. *Munkar* (ignored) is used of a tradition whose transmitter is alone in transmitting it and differs from one who is reliable, or is one who has not the standing to be accepted when alone. Some equate *munkar* with *shādhdh*, but *munkar* is normally considered inferior. When one says of a transmitter *yarwi 'l-manākir* (he transmits *munkar* traditions) this does not involve the rejection of all his traditions; but if he is called *munkar al-ḥadīth* they are all to be rejected. *Mardūd* (rejected) is the opposite of *maḳbūl*. More particularly it is a tradition from a weak transmitter which contradicts what authorities transmit. *Matrūk* (abandoned) is a tradition from a single transmitter who is suspected of falsehood in Tradition, or is openly wicked in deed or word, or is guilty of much carelessness or frequent wrong notions. *Maṭrūḥ* (cast out) is held by some to be synonymous with *matrūk*, by others to be a separate class less acceptable than *ḍaʿīf*, but not so bad as *mawḍūʿ* (fictitious), the worst type of all. Some other technical terms are given below. [See also AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL].

The criticism of traditions was very detailed, showing how seriously the work was undertaken, and one recognizes the genuine effort made to clear away what was false. But Western scholars have tended to argue that the criticism did not go far enough. Goldziher, in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, and elsewhere, has shown that *Ḥadīth* is not based on such firm ground as the conventional doctrine would lead one to suppose, and he has been followed by many others. One readily notices phrases from the Old and New Testaments put into the mouth of the Prophet as his sayings. There are references to towns far from Arabia which were to be conquered, even to towns not yet founded in the Prophet's time. Parties which arose in the early Muslim period are named, *e.g.*, Khāridjīs, Murdji'a, Ḳadariyya, Djahmiyya. Reference can be found to the rightly-guided Caliphs, and there are unmistakeable references to the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids. Many miracles are attributed to the Prophet, although the Ḳur'ān does not represent him as a miracle-worker. There is great detail regarding the tribulations before the end of the world, and regarding the Last Judgment. There are also elaborate descriptions of heaven and of hell. The Western mind finds it difficult to accept such material as genuinely coming from the Prophet. Professor J. Schacht has argued cogently that *isnād*s grew as time passed, and so legal traditions which belonged to a later period were eventually

traced back to the Prophet. While one does not feel justified in explaining away the whole body of Tradition on these lines, it is quite clear that much material coming from a later date has been attributed to the Prophet, and this makes it very difficult to find a satisfactory criterion by which one may recognize what is genuine. Material which accumulated within a certain circle may often have seemed to a later generation to have come from a Companion who settled in the area, and by a natural process to have been attributed to him with the assumption that he had the Prophet as his authority. One result of Western criticism is that we must be chary of accusing men like Abū Hurayra of inventing many traditions, for they probably heard and transmitted very little of what they are reputed to have told.

IV. The study and transmission of Tradition

The study of Tradition is called *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth* (the sciences of Tradition). Various works had been written on branches of Tradition, but the first to attempt a comprehensive work was Abū Muḥammad al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/971) whose lengthy work in seven parts is called *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna 'l-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī*. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī wrote a more systematic work entitled *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, divided into 52 *nawʿ* (categories), a method followed by later writers. The work of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, which may be considered the classical work on the subject, has 65 *nawʿ*. The study covers minutely a wide range of subjects, dealing with classes of traditions and transmitters (emphasis being specially laid on knowledge of the Companions —*Ṣaḥābīs*, and the Successors—*Tābiʿūn*), with methods of learning and transmitting traditions, with rules about details of writing traditions and methods of making necessary corrections in one's manuscript, even with the ages at which it is appropriate to begin and to stop transmitting. To give one illustration of the rules for writing, when the phrase *ṣallā 'llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam* comes after *rasūl Allāh*, one must not end a line with *rasūl*, for to do so would mean that someone happening to glance at the next line might think God was being invoked to bless and preserve Himself.

There were a number of recognized methods by which traditions could be received, but everyone was not agreed about the relative importance of some of them. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ gives the following: (1) Hearing (*samāʿ*). Hearing directly from the *shaykh*'s mouth is considered superior to other methods. (2) Reciting to the *shaykh* (*al-ḳirā'a ʿala 'l-shaykh*), commonly called *ʿarḍ* (submitting the material to him). One may recite to him his material from memory or from a book, and he may listen with or without his book for reference according to the quality of his memory. The important matter is that he should be able to guarantee the correctness of what is attributed to him. This method is equally valid if one hears someone else reciting. (3) Licence (*idjāza*). Licence to transmit a *shaykh*'s traditions is of various kinds, some more precise than others as to the material and the person or persons to whom it is given. (4) Handing over (*munāwala*). This applies to a copy of the *shaykh*'s traditions being handed to a student with or without *idjāza*. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ held that *idjāza* must be received to make it valid, but said that a number of traditionists held that *munāwala* alone was sufficient. (5) Correspondence (*mukātaba*). Some held that material received thus may be transmitted though licence has not been given, but others disagreed. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ holds that if the man who receives the traditions is familiar with the *shaykh*'s handwriting he may transmit the traditions, making clear how he received them. If licence is given this is equivalent to *munāwala* with *idjāza*. (6) Bequest (*waṣiyya*). Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says that receiving a book of traditions in a bequest does not give one the right to transmit them, but some consider that it does. *Waṣiyya* is also used of a book entrusted to someone by one going on a journey. (7) A find (*widjāda*). One who finds a book in a *shaykh*'s handwriting may transmit the traditions if he explains how he got them, this giving a suggestion of a connected *isnād*. If the book contains the *shaykh*'s traditions copied by someone else, one may say merely that he said such and such, this not suggesting a connected *isnād*. Some at least of these methods were used in the 3rd/9th century, and possibly earlier. Al-Bukhārī has chapters on reading over traditions to a *shaykh* and on *munāwala* and *mukātaba*, and al-Tirmidhī speaks of reading over material to a *shaykh*.

Different words used in the transmission of traditions are discussed, such as *ḥaddathanī* (he told me), *ḥaddathanā* (he told us), *akhbaranī* (he informed me), *akhbaranā* (he informed us), *samiʿtu* (I heard), *anba'anī* (he announced to me), *anba'anā* (he announced to us), *ʿan* (on the authority of). Various views mentioned by people of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries suggest that in their day there was no general agreement about the relative importance of these terms. Al-Ḥākim is more precise. He says *ḥaddathanī* should be used when one hears a *shaykh* with no others present and *ḥaddathanā* when others are present; *akhbaranī* when one reads over traditions to a *shaykh* with no others present, and *akhbaranā* when one hears someone else reading to the *shaykh*; *anba'anī* when one submits traditions to a *shaykh* and is given *idjāza* by word of mouth. *ʿAn*, which is generally agreed to be allowable when the transmitter is reliable, often appears in al-Bukhārī's traditions. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) justifies it especially when the *isnād* is long, as it avoids tedious details. An *isnād* which begins with one or more of the other words often uses only *ʿan* towards the end; or it may begin with one of the recognized words and continue with *ʿan* to the end.

It is not sufficient, according to the strictest rules, to give merely the contents of a collection of traditions for which one has received *idjāza*; one must inscribe on one's manuscript the name of the *shaykh* from whom one received the traditions, telling how and when this took place, along with the line of authorities through whom he heard it. So not only the separate traditions but also the whole collection must have an *isnād*. This practice has continued in certain quarters, but the invention of printing has largely made it unnecessary. The text of some important scholar is printed, his authority sufficing without any attempt to trace the transmission of his version down to the present day. But manuscripts always give details of the transmission of their contents.

In discussing the age at which people may begin to hear and transmit traditions and the age at which they should stop Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ holds that no hard and fast rules can be laid down. Some say the youngest age is five and that people should stop in their eighties, but he argues that some are not too young before five and some have not become senile in their eighties, although there are others who should stop earlier.

Inconsistency in traditions (*mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*)

has caused difficulty, recognizing the existence of traditions which seem contradictory. Ibn Ḳutayba's *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1326/1908; Fr. tr. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962) is a standard work on the subject. By an exercise of ingenuity it may be possible to reconcile the traditions, or one may be given preference because of the superiority of its transmitters; or by a knowledge of when the traditions were promulgated one may conclude that the later one has abrogated the earlier. This subject has the title of *al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh* (the abrogating and the abrogated). A tradition cannot be abrogated by *idjmā'*; only a tradition can abrogate a tradition.

It is often said that the validity of a tradition depends not on the text but on the *isnād*. While this is generally true, it is not the whole story. For example, al-Ḥākim (*Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, 59 ff.) mentions some traditions with very reliable men in the *isnād* which he holds to be faulty and weak. He argues that one requires considerable knowledge to detect this, and can arrive at a conclusion only after discussion with people learned in the subject.

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ḤADĪTH ḲUDSĪ (sacred, or holy tradition), also called *ḥadīth ilāhī*, or *rabbānī* (divine tradition), is a class of traditions which give words spoken by God, as distinguished from *ḥadīth nabawī* (prophetical tradition) which gives the words of the Prophet. Although *ḥadīth ḳudsī* is said to contain God's words, it differs from the Ḳur'ān which was revealed through the medium of Gabriel, is inimitable, is recited in the *ṣalāt*, and may not be touched or recited by the ceremonially unclean. *Ḥadīth ḳudsī* does not necessarily come through Gabriel, but may have come through inspiration (*ilhām*), or in a dream. One statement, not generally accepted, says God revealed these traditions to the Prophet on the night of the *Mi'rādj*. The words are not God's exact words, but express their meaning. They may not be used in *ṣalāt*, and there is no harm if one touches them when ceremonially unclean. Disbelief in the Ḳur'ān is infidelity, but this does not apply to *ḥadīth ḳudsī*. When quoting a *ḥadīth ḳudsī* one must not say simply, "God said" as when quoting the Ḳur'ān, but either, "God's messenger said in what he related from his Lord", or, "God most high said in what God's messenger related from Him". Some of these traditions quite clearly have their source in the Bible. For example, "what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man" (cf. Isaiah lxiv, 4; 1 Cor. ii, 9), and a tradition telling that on the Day of Resurrection God will say, "O son of Adam, I was sick and you did not visit me", continuing on the lines of Matthew xxv, 41 ff.

The *ḥadīth ḳudsī* do not form a separate group in the books of tradition, but some collections have been compiled from the six Sunnī books and, more commonly, from others. The largest collection, *al-Itḥāfāt al-saniyya fī 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya*, by Muḥammad al-Madanī, or al-Madyanī (d. 881/1476), publ. Ḥaydarābād 1323/1905, contains 858 traditions divided in three groups: (1) those beginning with *ḳāla*; (2) those beginning with *yaḳūlu*; (3) those given alphabetically, this last containing 603. The *isnād* is not given, but as the collection from which each tradition comes is mentioned,

those who desire can find its *isnād* there. A collection of 101 *ḳudsī* traditions entitled *Mishkāt al-anwār* by Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) was published in Aleppo (1346/1927) along with a collection of 40 compiled by Mullā ʿAlī al-Ḳāriʾ (d. 1014/1605). Ibn al-ʿArabī, who divides his collection into three parts, two of 40 traditions and one of 21, gives a full *isnād* in the first, sometimes in the second, and usually in the third. ʿAlī al-Ḳāriʾ merely mentions the Companion reputed to have heard the tradition from the Prophet. Another collection, not published, is by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Muḥammad b. Tādj al-Dīn al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621). It is divided into two parts (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 150 f.), the first with traditions beginning with *ḳāla* and the second arranged in alphabetical order. It would appear that al-Munāwī, whose smaller work has the same title as al-Madanī's, was largely dependent on that work.

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ḤADĪTHA, "New [town]", the name of several cities.

I. Ḥadīthat al-Mawṣil, a town on the east bank of the Tigris, one farsakh below the mouth of the upper (Great) Zāb. Its ruins are to be recognized in the mound of Tell al-Shaʿīr. Various accounts of its origin are given. According to Hishām b. al-Kalbī (*apud* Ibn al-Faḳīh, 129 and Balādhurī, Būlāḳ ed., 340) Harthama b. ʿArfadja, after making Mawṣil the capital, came to Ḥadītha in the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, where he found a village with two churches in which he settled Arabs. That this story is authentic (it is also given in Yāḳūt, ii, 222) is confirmed by Ṭabarī (i, 2807), according to whom in 24/645 Walīd spent some time in Ḥadītha on his way back from Armenia. Ḥamza says that Ḥadītha is the translation of the Persian Nōkard. If this is not an invention of Shuʿūbiyya bias, the best explanation of the name would be that of Balādhurī, namely that inhabitants of the "Newtown" of Anbār Fayrūzshābūr migrated thither and transferred the name to their new abode. When Ḥamza and others ascribe the "foundation" of the town to the last Umayyad Marwān II b. Muḥammad or Bar Bahlūl ascribes it to his father Muḥammad b. Marwān I, the reason may be that these rulers erected some buildings there, but nevertheless the explanations of the name "Newtown" as "newer" than Mawṣil are inventions (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 22; Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten pers. Märt.*, 178; E. Reitemeyer, *Städtegründungen der Araber*, 83). The town's period of greatest prosperity falls within the early ʿAbbāsid period, when the Caliph al-Hādī stayed there before his death and when the rebel general Mūsā b. Bogha made it his headquarters in the reign of al-Muhtadī (Ṭabarī, iii, 578, 1827). The population remained Christian. Mār Abrahām was bishop of Ḥadītha before he became Patriarch and Katholikos (837-50 A.D.) (Budge, *Thomas of Margā*, ii, 103; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, iii/1, 508 note 1).

The town lay on the terraced east bank of the Tigris in the form of a semicircle. Its mosque lay close to the river and the buildings, with the exception of the mosque, were of brick. The tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was shown there, but probably wrongly, as he died in Medina (Muḳaddasī, 139; *Marāṣid*, 292). It is remarkable that Ḥadītha is sometimes described as the northern extremity of Sawād, which had a greater extent than the province of ʿIrāḳ (Yāḳūt, iii, 174; Dimishḳī, 185). Elsewhere it is mentioned as a station on the post-road from Baghdād to Mawṣil. It was ruined as a result of the Mongol invasion.

II. Ḥadīthat al-Furāt, called also Ḥadīthat al-Nūra (Lime-Newtown) on the Euphrates, south of ʿĀna (34° 8′ N. and 42° 26′ E.), a *nāḥiya* of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of ʿĀna. The town itself is built on an island, only the caravan stations being on the western river bank. It has very much declined since 1910, when the reefs and dams in the river were blown up in order to make way for packet-boats which never came into service; it had formerly 400 houses, 2 *djāmiʿ*s and 3 *masdjids*, 2 corn-mills, gardens with 1500 date palms (about 6000 in the whole *nāḥiya*). It was irrigated by great waterwheels called *nāʿūra*, which were erected at the rapids of the river. There are limestone quarries on the western side of the Euphrates valley. There are three saints' tombs of the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries there, from N. to S.: 1. Shaykh al-Ḥadīd (a certain Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim); 2. The Awlād Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī; 3. a certain Nadjm al-Dīn, said to have been one of the occupants of Noah's ark. As to the history of the town, Yāḳūt (ii, 223), following Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Djābir, observes that it was taken before ʿUmar's time in the governorship of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir. It had a strong castle on the island which was of some importance as late as the time of the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim (*Marāṣid*, 292). According to Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī the inhabitants were Christians.

III. Ḥadītha called Djirsh or Djirs, a village in the Ghūṭa of Damascus (Yāḳūt, ii, 225; *Marāṣid*, 292).

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HADIYYA [see HIBA].

HADJAR (locally pronounced *hagar*) is a cognate of the Ethiopic *hagar* "town", and was the normal word for "town" in the epigraphic dialects of pre-Islamic South Arabia. It is still in use today as an element in the place-names given to ruins of pre-Islamic town sites in South Arabia. See Azimuddin Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's in Šams al-ʿulūm*, Leyden 1916, 108. (A. F. L. Beeston)

HADJAR [see AL-ḤASĀ].

ḤADJAR (A.), stone. The word is applied in Arabic as indiscriminately as in European languages to any solid inorganic bodies occurring anywhere in Nature; sometimes indeed it is used in a still broader sense, as in *Sūra* II, 60/57 and VII, 160, where the rock from which Mūsā procures water is called also 'stone'. Although *Sūra* XVII, 50/53: "Say: Be ye stones, or iron" may indicate a certain discrimination between stones and minerals, later texts, or at least some of them, do not maintain it. In the *Book of Stones* ascribed to Aristotle all the substances

described—metals, and even glass and mercury included—are called stones; so too are certain organic substances, the Bezoar [see BĀZAHR] and the "meat magnet", *maghnāṭīs al-laḥm* (*Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, ed. J. Ruska, 1912, 110).

A survey of stones analogous to the surveys of animals and stars by Aristotle and Ptolemy respectively is not known in classical literature. There are a few objective descriptions in Theophrastus and Pliny, but their influence, if any, on Islamic literature has not yet been studied. Aristotle's theories on the origin of minerals in general became known through the Arabic translation of the *Meteorologica* (see AL-ĀTHĀR AL-ʿULWIYYA; the text contained in MS Yeni Cami 1179 has meanwhile been edited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, together with *De coelo*, 1961). It is to be noted that in the editions of the Greek text Book 3 ends (378b 5-6) with the announcement of a detailed discussion of the different kinds of bodies; in the Arabic translation, Book 4 begins (ed. Badawī, 90) with this same announcement, which was therefore judged to be the introduction to this spurious book. However, the promised detailed discussion does not appear there either. This was probably the reason for compiling the spurious *Book of Stones* mentioned above. In Latin translations of the *Meteorologica*, Ibn Sīnā's treatise on the origin of stones and mountains sometimes appears as an appendix, occasionally under Aristotle's name; the Arabic and Latin texts, with an English translation, were published separately by E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville: *Avicennae de Congelatione et Conglutinatione lapidum*, 1927 (see *OLZ*, 1929, cols. 374-6). Fragments of the *Meteorologica* of Theophrastus in Syriac have recently been edited and translated by E. Wagner and P. Steinmetz, *Der syrische Auszug der Meteorologie des Theophrast* (Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Abh. d. Geistes-u. Sozialwiss. Kl. 1964, i); see also P. Steinmetz, *Die Physik des Theophrastos von Eresos*, 1964.

Islamic books on the origin of stones etc. are listed in AL-ĀTHĀR AL-ʿULWIYYA, and also in E. Wiedemann, *Zur Mineralogie im Islam* (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Naturw.*, xxx, *Sitz. d. phys.-med. Soz. in Erlangen*, xliv (1912), 205 ff.). A comprehensive discussion of the subject, dealing with the origin of stones in general and enumerating a great many of them in detail, is contained in al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*, 203-45. Here *maʿdiniyyāt* are divided into metals (the "seven bodies", *al-adjsām al-sabʿa*), stones and oily substances. Ethé's translation (*Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, Leipzig 1868, not mentioned in *GAL*) breaks off after the chapter on metals; the chapters on stones and oily substances were translated by J. Ruska (*Das Steinbuch ... des Ḳazwīnī übers. und mit Anm. versehen*, Beil. zum Jahresbericht 1895/96 der provisor. Oberrealschule Heidelberg, Kirchhain 1896). The relation between 'Aristotle' and al-Ḳazwīnī has been fully discussed by J. Ruska in the introductory chapter of his *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, 1912.

Interest in descriptions of specific "stones" is very many-sided. Apart from the descriptions of substances in medical, commercial, technical and chemical literature, for which, *inter alia*, pharmacological and chemico-alchemical works may be consulted, there exists a special type of stone-books in which genuine information may be found but whose main purpose is magical. The Pseudo-Aristotle mentioned above is one; another, also ascribed to Aristotle, in which a chapter on stones is incorporated, is the famous *Sirr al-asrār* or *al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa*, published by ʿA. Badawī, *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, i, 1954. A bibliography of such literature was compiled by M. Steinschneider, *Arabische Lapidarien*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1895), 244-78, to be supplemented by H. Ritter, *Orientalische Steinbücher*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, iii (1935), 1-15. For the *Lapidario* of Alfonso the Wise, see BALĪNŪS; for the use of stones for magical purposes, see H. Ritter and M. Plessner's translation of *Picatrix* (Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, 1962); a chapter on this subject will be included in the forthcoming volume of studies on this book.

Since no attention has been drawn to the unique place in the mineralogical literature of Islam occupied by the *al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir* of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], a few remarks on it may be added here. The *djawāhir* proper, *i.e.*, pearls and precious stones, occupy only part of the book; it deals also with many metals and other minerals, always giving exact descriptions, indications of the location of mines, specific weights, prices, uses, and tales concerning them, the last often aptly criticized [see ALMĀS]. The book deserves a full translation with careful textual criticism. M. J. Haschmi's doctoral thesis *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Berūnī* (Bonn 1935) was prepared simultaneously with the edition of F. Krenkow (Ḥaydarābād 1355) and relies only on manuscript sources. It should be pointed out that al-Bīrūnī questions the genuineness of Aristotle's book of stones (Haschmi, 35; ed. Krenkow, 41). Only two chapters have so far been made accessible to non-Arabists: P. Kahle, *Bergkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach dem Steinbuch des Biruni*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 321 ff.; F. Krenkow, *The chapter on pearls in the Book of Precious Stones by al-Beruni*, in *IC*, xv (1941), 399-421 and xvi (1942), 21-36.

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(M. PLESSNER)

AL-ḤADJAR AL-ASWAD [see AL-KAʿBA].

ḤADJAR AL-NASR ("the rock of the vulture"), a fortress founded by the last Idrīsids [*q.v.*] in a natural mountainous retreat, placed by Ibn Khaldūn among the dependencies of the town of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]. Its site has now been identified in the territory occupied by the small tribe of the Sumatra, east-north-east of the Moroccan town of al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazarquivir). It is reported to have been known also by the name of Ḥadjar al-Shurafāʾ. In 317/929-30 the Banū Muḥammad, expelled from Fās after the assassination of their prince, the famous al-Ḥadjdjām, settled at al-Baṣra. These descendants of Idrīs would not, however, have escaped the blockade and the Fāṭimid persecutions had it not been for the regard in which the Berbers held the descendants of the Prophet. It is without doubt these sentiments which enabled al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn (Djannūn), the local ruler, to manœuvre skilfully between the Umayyads of Spain and the Fāṭimids and to carve out for himself a principality which in about 361/972 comprised not only al-Baṣra but also Tangiers and Tetuan. Al-Ḥakam II, the *amīr* of Cordova, was finally roused by the activities of Ibn Gannūn into sending a fleet and an army to subdue him. The

Idrīsid then took refuge in his fortress with his harem and his treasure and, after several spectacular reverses, he finally inflicted a bloody defeat on the Umayyad troops on 21 Rabīʿ I 362/30 December 972; their leader, Ibn Ṭumlus, was killed and they had to seek refuge within the walls of Ceuta. In order to avenge this cruel defeat, al-Ḥakam II sent to Morocco his best general, the renowned *mawlā* Ghālib [*q.v.*], who gathered together his army as soon as he disembarked and set off to besiege Ḥadjar al-Nasr. Ibn Gannūn resisted so effectively that fresh reinforcements were sent from Spain, with a large supply of gold to buy over the allies of the Idrīsid. The latter realized that he was lost and was obliged to surrender on 21 Djumādā II 363/19 March 974. A week later Ghālib inflicted on him the bitter experience of attending the mosque of the fortress to hear the prayer pronounced in the name of al-Ḥakam, his conqueror. Ghālib returned to Spain six months later, taking with him Ibn Gannūn and his relations of the Banū Muḥammad branch. The arrival of the Idrīsids at Cordova on 3 Muḥarram 364/23 September 974 was the occasion of magnificent celebrations. Pensions and gifts were accorded to the 700 warriors "who were worth 7,000". (For their further history and the assassination of Ibn Gannūn see IDRĪSIDS). With this exile the decay of the fortress presumably began; the texts make no mention of it after this date.

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HADJARAYN, a town in Ḥaḍramawt on the Djabal of the same name, about five miles south of Mashhad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] on the Wādī Dūʿan. Situated amid extensive palm-groves, it is built against the slopes of the Djabal. The surrounding land is very fertile and produces *dhura*. Irrigation is provided through channels from the *sayl* and from very deep wells. The town is of importance as a centre on the motor road between Mukallā and Shibām. Its houses are built of brick and are large but the streets are narrow and steep. It belongs to the Ḳuʿaytīs of Shibām [*q.v.*] who are represented in it by a member of their family, who bears the title *naḳīb* and lives in a palace on the summit of the hill. Hadjarayn has about 3,000 inhabitants, many of whom have connexions with Java and speak Malay. In the vicinity of the town there are relics of the pre-Islamic period, when the incense trade still flourished in the district. The ruins of an ancient town, Raydūn, with inscriptions are still to be seen about the valley.

Hadjarayn was known to Hamdānī but in the form *al-Hadjarān*. In his time it consisted of two towns, Khawdūn and Dammūn, lying on opposite sides of the *wādī*. Khawdūn was inhabited by the Ṣadaf, Dammūn by the Kinda. At the foot of the fortified hill, on which Hadjarayn lay, there were palmgroves and fields of *dhura* and *burr*, which were watered by a *ghayl* coming from the top of the hill.

Bibliography: J. T. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900; H. Helfritz, *Chicago der Wüste*, Berlin 1932; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahraland und Hadramūt*, Leiden 1897; A. von Wrede, *Reise in Ḥadhramaut* ...., (ed. H. von Maltzan), Brunswick 1870; D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, some of its mysteries unveiled*, Leiden 1932; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna and Brünn 1922-33, 2 vols., index. (J. SCHLEIFER-[A. K. IRVINE])

ḤADJDJ (A.), pilgrimage to Mecca, ʿArafāt and Minā, the fifth of the five "pillars" (*arkān*) of Islam. It is also called the Great Pilgrimage in contrast to the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*] or Little Pilgrimage. Its annual observance has had, and continues to have, a profound influence on the Muslim world. Those not taking part follow the pilgrims in thought; the religious teachers, and nowadays the press, radio and television help them in this by providing doctrine and news bulletins. For the Muslim community itself this event is the occasion for a review of its extent and its strength. To the religious, social and even political significance which such a gathering has today, was added, until the 18th century, an economic aspect: then, at this time of the year, Mecca was the site of one of the greatest commercial fairs of the world in which were found the products of Europe, Arabia and the Indies. Moreover, in those times, when travelling was still difficult, the pilgrimage helped to produce a mingling among the élite of the Muslim world: scholars on the way to Mecca would stay temporarily at places in the way, forming friendships with colleagues or themselves teaching in the local mosques.

i. — THE PRE-ISLAMIC ḤADJDJ.

The investigation of the original meaning of the root *ḥ.dj* goes no further than hypotheses, some however probable. The Arabic lexicographers give the meaning "to betake oneself to"; this would agree with our "go on pilgrimage". But this meaning is as clearly denominative as that of the Hebrew verb. Probably the root חגג, which in North as well as South Semitic languages means "to go around, to go in a circle", is connected with it. With this we are not much farther forward however; for we do not even know whether religious circumambulations formed part of the original *ḥadjdj*. We do know that in the pre-Muslim period two annual markets were held in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, at Ukāẓ and Madjanna. These were followed in the early days of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja by that of Dhu 'l-Madjāz and thence the people went direct to ʿArafāt. The Muslim practice of going out from Mecca to ʿArafāt is therefore probably an innovation; and Islam knows nothing of religious circumambulations in ʿArafāt.

This *Ḥadjdj* to Arafāt was not a local peculiarity; pilgrimage to a sanctuary is an old Semitic custom, which is prescribed even in the older parts of the Pentateuch as an indispensable duty. "Three times a year shall you celebrate for me a *ḥag*" is written in Exodus (xxiii, 14), and "three times a year all thy males shall appear before the Lord Yahwe" (*ibid.*, 17 and xxxiv, 22). But in Arabia also there were probably several places of pilgrimage where festivals like that of the *Ḥadjdj* of ʿArafāt were celebrated. The month of Aggathalbaeith mentioned by Epiphanius seems to presuppose a sanctuary in the north.

The *ḥadjdj* of ʿArafāt took place on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja; the most diverse Arab tribes took part in it, but this was only possible when peace reigned in the land. The consecutive months Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and Muḥarram thus formed a sacred period during which tribal feuds were at rest; weapons were laid aside in the holy territory.

It may be regarded as certain that in Muḥammad's time the sacred festival fell in the spring. Wellhausen has, however, made it appear probable that the

original time of the *ḥadjdj* was the autumn. If, as is probable, the above mentioned intercalary month had for its object to maintain this time of the year, the intercalation did not effect its purpose, but from what cause we do not know. If the *ḥadjdj* originally fell in the autumn, it is natural, when inquiring into its original significance, to compare it with the North Semitic autumnal festival, the "Feast of Tabernacles" (or Day of Atonement), a proceeding which finds further support in the fact that the Feast of Tabernacles in the Old Testament is often called briefly the *ḥag* (*e.g.*, Judges, xxi, 19; I Kings, viii, 2, 65). We will indeed find several features in agreement (see below).

Great fairs were from early times associated with the *ḥadjdj*, which was celebrated on the conclusion of the date-harvest. These fairs were probably the main thing to Muḥammad's contemporaries, as they still are to many Muslims. For the ceremonies had already then lost their religious significance for the people. The following may be stated: a main part of the ceremony was the *wuḳūf*, "the halt", in the plain of ʿArafāt; in Islam the *ḥadjdj* without *wuḳūf* is invalid. This can only be explained as the survival of a pre-Muslim notion. Houtsma has compared the *wuḳūf* with the stay of the Israelites on Mount Sinai. The latter had to prepare themselves for this by refraining from sexual intercourse (Exodus, xix, 15) and the washing of their garments (Exodus, xix, 10, 14). Thus they waited upon their God (נכונים, 11, 15). In the same way the Muslims refrain from sexual intercourse, wear holy clothing and stand before the deity (*waḳafa* = כון = stand) at the foot of a holy mountain.

On Sinai, the deity appeared as a thunder- and lightning-god. We know nothing of the god of ʿArafāt; but he probably existed. Muḥammad is related to have said at the Farewell Pilgrimage: "The whole of ʿArafāt is a place for standing (*mawḳif*), the whole of Muzdalifa is a place of standing, the whole of Minā a place of sacrifice". Snouck Hurgronje has explained these words to mean that the particular places there, where heathen ceremonies were performed, were to lose their importance through these words. A little is known of these heathen places in Muzdalifa and Minā (see below).

It is uncertain whether the day of ʿArafāt was a fast-day or not. In Tradition it is several times expressly stated that Muḥammad's companions did not know what was his view on this question: he was therefore invited to drink and he drank. The ascetic character of the *ḥadjdj* days is clear from the *iḥrām* prohibitions. That these were once extended to include food and drink is clear from Muḥammad's explanation: "the *tashrīḳ* days (11-13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) are days of eating, drinking and sensual pleasure". In early Islam ascetically disposed persons therefore chose the *ḥadjdj* as the special time for their self-denials (see Goldziher in *RHR*, xxxvii, 318, 320 f.).

The *wuḳūf* lasts in Islam from the moment after midday till sunset. Tradition records that Muḥammad ordered that ʿArafāt should not be left till after sunset, while it had previously been usual to begin the *ifāḍa* even before sunset. But the Prophet is said not only to have shifted the time, but even to have suppressed the whole rite by forbidding the running to Muzdalifa and to have ordered that it should be slowly approached. But how tenacious the old custom is, is clear from modern discriptions of the *ifāḍa*. Snouck Hurgronje thought he saw a solar rite in the latter, a view which was more definitely formulated by Houtsma in connexion with the character of the *ḥadjdj* (see below), viz. that it was originally considered a persecution of the dying sun.

The god of Muzdalifa was Ḳuzaḥ, the thunder-god. A fire was kindled on the sacred hill, also called Ḳuzaḥ. Here a halt was made and this *wuḳūf* has a still greater similarity to that on Sinai, as in both cases the thunder-god is revealed in fire. It may further be presumed that the traditional custom of making as much noise as possible and of shooting was originally a sympathetic charm to call forth the thunder.

In pre-Islamic times, the *ifāḍa* to Minā used to begin as soon as the sun was visible. Muḥammad therefore ordained that this should begin before sunrise; here again we have the attempt to destroy a solar rite. In ancient times they are said to have sung during the *ifāḍa*: *ashriḳ thabīr kaymā nughīr*. The explanation of these words is uncertain; it is sometimes translated: "Enter into the light of morning, Thabīr, so that we may hasten".

When they arrived in Minā, it seems that the first thing they did was to sacrifice; 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja is still called *yawm al-aḍāḥī*, "day of the morning sacrifices". In ancient times the camels to be sacrificed were distinguished by special marks (*taḳlīd*) even on the journey to the *ḥaram*; for example two sandals were hung around their necks. Mention is also made of the *ishʿār*, the custom of making an incision in the side of the hump and letting blood flow from it; or wounds were made in the animal's skin. It is frequently mentioned also that a special covering was laid on the animals.

According to a statement in Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld, 76 f. = tr. Guillaume, 50), the stone-throwing began only after the sun had crossed the meridian. Houtsma has made it probable that the stoning was originally directed at the sun-demon; strong support is found for this view in the fact that the *Ḥadjdj* originally coincided with the autumnal equinox; similar customs are found all over the world at the beginning of the four seasons. With the expulsion of the sun-demon, whose harsh rule comes to an end with summer, worship of the thunder-god who brings fertility and his invocation may easily be connected, as we have seen above at the festival in Muzdalifa. The name *tarwiya*, "moistening", may also be explained in this connexion as a sympathetic raincharm, traces of which survive in the libation of Zemzem water. These are again parallels to the Feast of Tabernacles (or Day of Atonement): the goat, which was thrown from a cliff for ʿAzazel, is not difficult to identify as the type of the sun-demon; and the libation of water from the holy well of Siloam was also a rain-charm, for the connexion between the Feast of Tabernacles and rain is expressly emphasized (Zach., xiv, 17). Further we may call attention to the illumination of the Temple on the Feast of Tabernacles, which has its counterpart in the illumination of the mosques in ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa, as well as the important part which music plays at both feasts.

Quite other explanations of the stone throwing are given by van Vloten (*Feestbundel . . . aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje aangeboden*, 1891, 33 ff.) and Chauvin (*Annales de l'Acad. Royale d'Arch. de Belgique*, 5th Ser., Vol. iv, 272 ff.). The former connects the stoning of Satan and the Ḳur'ānic expression *al-Shayṭān al-radjīm* with a snake, which was indigenous to ʿAḳaba. The latter finds in it an example of scopelism: the object of covering the *Ḥadjdj* ground with stones thrown on it was to prevent the cultivation of it by the Meccans. Both these theories have been satisfactorily refuted by Houtsma. Cf.

also Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 430 ff.—On the significance of shaving in connexion with the history of religions, see the article IḤRĀM.

On the *Tashrīḳ* days some of the pilgrims dry the flesh of the sacrificed animals in the sun to take it with them on the return journey. This custom agrees with the meaning of the word *tashrīḳ* given by the Arab lexicographers, *i.e.*, "to dry strips of meat in the sun"; but it may be doubted whether this is the original meaning of the word. A satisfactory explanation has not yet been given; see, however, Th. W. Juynboll. *Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschrīḳ*, in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxvii, 1 ff. It must also be noted that Dozy in his book *De Israëlieten te Mekka*, traces the words *tashrīḳ* and *tarwiya* as well as the whole *Ḥadjdj* to a Jewish origin; but his thesis may be considered definitely refuted by Snouck Hurgronje's *Het Mekkaansche Feest*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

ii. — THE ORIGIN OF THE ISLAMIC ḤADJDJ.

Muḥammad's attitude to the *Ḥadjdj* was not always the same. In his youth he must have often taken part in the ceremonies. After his "call" he paid little attention at first to the festival: in the oldest *sūra*s it is not mentioned and it does not appear from other sources that he had adopted any definite attitude to this originally heathen custom.

Muḥammad's interest in the *Ḥadjdj* was first aroused in Medina. Several causes contributed to this, as Snouck Hurgronje showed in his *Mekkaansche Feest*. The brilliant success of the battle of Badr had aroused in him thoughts of a conquest of Mecca. The preparations for such an enterprise would naturally be more successful if the secular as well as the religious interests of his companions were aroused. Muḥammad had been disappointed in his expectations regarding the Jewish community in Medina and the disagreements with the Jews had made a religious breach with them inevitable. To this period belongs the origin of the doctrine of the religion of Abraham, the alleged archetype of Judaism and Islam. The Kaʿba now gradually advances into the centre of religious worship: the father of monotheism built it with his son Ismāʿīl and it was to be a "place of assembly for mankind". The ceremonies performed there are traced to the divine command (Ḳurʾān, II, 119 ff.). In this period also the Kaʿba was made a *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] (cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 136-45) and the *Ḥadjdj* is called a duty of man to Allāh (III, 91). This is the position of affairs in the year 2 of the Hidjra. It was only after the unsuccessful siege of Medina by the Meccans in the year 5 that Muḥammad was able to attempt to carry out his plans. The first effort was made in the expedition to Ḥudaybiyya, which although it did not bring him to Mecca, yet by the treaty with the Ḳuraysh brought an *ʿumra* into prospect for the next year. In the year 7 Muḥammad instituted the ceremonies at the Kaʿba; but it was only after the conquest of Mecca in 8 that the opportunity was afforded of publicly celebrating the festival. But he did not take advantage of this occasion himself, for in the year 9 he sent Abū Bakr in his stead as leader of the pilgrim caravan to Mecca. While the latter was on the way, he was overtaken by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who had been commissioned to read out to the pagan pilgrims the *barāʾa* (Ḳurʾān, IX, 1 ff.) which had been revealed in the meanwhile; in these verses the performance of the pilgrimage was forbidden to unbelievers, except those with whom the Prophet had made special treaties.

In the year 10 Muḥammad himself led the *Ḥadjdj*. Tradition has much to tell on the subject of this so-called farewell-pilgrimage (*ḥadjdjat al-wadāʿ*). These accounts of the ceremonies performed by Muḥammad agree essentially with the later practice. The arrangements which he made on this occasion are of importance, however, for the history of the *Ḥadjdj*, notably the abolition of the "intercalation" (*nasīʾ*) and the introduction of the purely lunar year, which is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān with the words: "Verily the number of months with God is twelve months in God's book, on the day when He created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred; that is the true religion. In these shall ye do no injustice to one another. But fight the unbelievers, as they fight you, one and all, and know that God is with the righteous. The intercalation is but an increase of the unbelief, in which the unbelievers err, for they make it [*i.e.*, the time in which it falls or should fall] lawful one year and unlawful the next" (Ḳurʾān, IX, 36 ff.). On other ordinances promulgated on this occasion see below. (A. J. WENSINCK)

iii. — THE ISLAMIC ḤADJDJ

A. The journey to Mecca. It is a duty obligatory on every Muslim man or woman who has reached the age of puberty and is of sound mind to perform the *ḥadjdj* once in his or her life provided that they have the means to do so (cf. Ḳurʾān, III, 91/97). The following are exempt for as long as their incapacity lasts: the insane, slaves, those who have not been able to obtain mounts or save the sums of money (procured honestly, *ḥalāl*) necessary for the journey and for the sustenance of their families during their absence. The obligation is lifted also during periods when the route is unsafe by reason of war, abnormal brigandage, epidemics, etc. For certain categories of Muslims who are unable to go, the law provides the possibility of accepting or hiring the services of other Muslims who will take their place on the pilgrimage. Each substitute may represent only one person and must already have made the pilgrimage on his own behalf. In this way invalids and elderly people can delegate someone to replace them. Provision is even made for a substitute to be sent posthumously.

The pilgrimage of a child (with his family) or of a slave (with his master) is considered a meritorious act but does not fulfil the obligation and must be made again when the one has reached puberty and the other become free. Some *ʿulamāʾ* insist that every woman must be accompanied by her husband or a close male relative (brother, son, etc.) who has the right to enter her harem; others say that a woman is obliged to go even if she has no such protector.

In practice, statistics show that only a small number of Muslims, especially in the case of those in countries far from Mecca, is able to perform the pilgrimage. It is beyond the reach of many people of limited means. And it is established that a fair number of those who could have afforded it die without having been to Mecca.

The *ḥadjdj* always takes place on the same dates of the lunar calendar, during the first two weeks of the month to which it gives its name *Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja*. Ever since Islam suppressed the intercalary month [see NASĪʾ] which every three years corrected the discrepancy between the solar and the lunar year (Ḳurʾān, IX, 36-7) the Muslim festivals, and consequently the pilgrimage, fall each year ten or eleven days earlier than the preceding year, and thus

run through the whole cycle of the seasons in 32-3 years. The journey is of course much harder when the *ḥadjdj* takes place in high summer, although the cold of winter, especially at night, can also be painful for the pilgrims, insufficiently protected by their ritual garments. Only Muslims may be present at the pilgrimage, though very rarely Christian travellers have been able to mingle with them, protected by a disguise. In the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries Muslims sometimes took with them Christian slaves, who thus penetrated into the forbidden territories.

Until the 18th century, the methods of travel available to pilgrims were either sailing ships as far as Djudda, or caravans. The latter were in effect convoys organized by the authorities of the great Muslim countries. The dangers of the journey (the risk of losing their way in the deseit, of being caught in a sandstorm or in the torrent of a river-bed filled with water by sudden rain, the danger of attack by Bedouins, of epidemics, etc.) rendered it a serious undertaking, and the pilgrim knew that he might die on the way. For this reason there have long been more men than women pilgrims. The authorities, for their part, had built at the most important points of the route forts, some of them quite small, which were manned by small garrisons and served also as stations for supplies of water and food. A military escort accompanied the convoy, supplying as it passed the annual relief of the garrisons. The nomad tribes whose territory was crossed were won over by the distribution of money (called *ṣurra*, "purse" [*q.v.*]) and of robes of honour. Each section was directed by a pilgrim leader [see AMĪR AL-ḤADJDJ], in addition to whom there were the leaders of secondary caravans in case the main caravan became divided. From the 7th/13th century onwards, a famous palanquin, the *maḥmal* [*q.v.*], was carried to symbolize the political authority of certain Muslim countries, especially Egypt, and then the Ottoman Empire. Other displays of prestige consisted of taking musicians as part of the caravan and of letting off fireworks at certain points; (for details of the material organization of a caravan, see J. Jomier, *Maḥmal*).

An important caravan was mustered at Damascus and reached the Ḥidjāz by following broadly, as far as Medina, the direction later taken by the Ḥidjāz railway through Maʿān and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. It was accompanied by a Syrian *maḥmal* and the journey from Damascus to Medina took about thirty days (see R. Tresse, *Pèlerinage syrien*).

A caravan from the Maghrib, sometimes with a parallel group proceeding by sea as far as Alexandria, made its way first to Cairo, and was sometimes joined en route by groups of pilgrims from Senegal and Timbuktu. Then groups of Egyptians and Maghribīs set off again for the Ḥidjāz at twenty-four hour intervals. Their route led through ʿAdjerūd, ʿAḳaba, the country of Madyan and the eastern shore of the Red Sea. The Egyptian caravan travelled with its *maḥmal*, while the new exterior hangings (*kiswa* [*q.v.*]) for the Kaʿba were carried on other camels. The journey from Cairo to Mecca took about 35 days. However some pilgrims preferred the sea route; indeed at the time of the Crusades there was no choice, and to avoid passing too close to Frankish territory pilgrims coming from Egypt travelled up the Nile and then across the desert to the port of ʿAydhāb, where they took ship for Djudda. In spite of the resumption of the overland caravan under Baybars, the sea traffic continued. Towards the end of the 8th/14th century ʿAydhāb was replaced by the port of Ṭūr (in Sinai), and later it was Suez which, in the 19th century, monopolized the steamship traffic. The last official Egyptian caravan to go by the overland route was in 1300/1883 and it consisted of only 1,170 persons. But once in the Ḥidjāz, the Egyptian pilgrims continued to group themselves into official caravans around their *maḥmal*, which had been brought there by ship, until 1926 when the palanquin was seen in the Holy Places for the last time.

There was also a caravan from ʿIrāḳ, across Arabia, and another from the Yemen (see Burckhardt, *Travels*, appendices i and ii). The pilgrims from central Africa made their way to Port Sudan, where they embarked for Djudda. The arrival at Mecca of the principal caravans, especially those from Syria and Egypt, was a great event for the inhabitants of the city. They camped in places specially allotted to them (see the plan of Mecca in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka I* or in Rifʿat Pasha, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*), and they generally did not appear until a few days before the *ḥadjdj*.

During the last century the journey to the Ḥidjāz has been greatly changed, first by the advent of steam navigation, then by the building of the short-lived Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*] (opened in 1908) and finally by the introduction of motor vehicles into Arabia and the spread of air travel. It has been altered also by public health measures, by the introduction of quarantine, and above all by the use of vaccination, so that the terrible epidemics of earlier centuries are now a thing of the past. Nowadays the death rate is relatively low and the main causes of death are the advanced age of some of the pilgrims, and sunstroke. The annual reports of the Muslim quarantine doctors who have accompanied the pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz form a collection of extremely valuable documents; they consist mainly of technicalities, but often contain much that is of human interest and are often vividly written and sometimes very moving (texts printed practically every year since the beginning of the 20th century by the Quarantine Office at Alexandria, not for sale).

Up to the present only a rough annual figure has been available for the number of pilgrims. For one thing it is difficult to estimate how many Muslims from Arabia itself take part in the *ḥadjdj*, and then the rather fragmentary information provided by the quarantine services or the pilgrimage offices in the different countries, which alone could provide the numbers of non-Arabian pilgrims, would need to be brought together systematically. Dr. Buez, in *Une mission au Hedjaz*, Paris 1873, 84, gives the approximate total of pilgrims for 23 years between 1807 and 1873. The minimum was 50,000 in 1853 and 1859, the maxima 150,000 in 1873 and 160,000 in 1858. In 1926, a very exceptional year for this period, 250,000 pilgrims are reported.

According to the Meccan press during the last few years (but always excluding the pilgrims who come from the Arabian peninsula itself), from 1957 to 1962 there was an annual total of between 140,000 and 180,000. During this period the chief annual contingents varied within the following limits, reckoning in thousands: Egypt 30-40 (with only 10 in 1962 because of tension between Egypt and Saudi Arabia), Iran 10-28, Pakistan 9-23, India 13-20, Indonesia 7-13, Syria 5-13, Sudan 5-7, Nigeria 3-15, Irak 3-11.

Pilgrims have always been able to make financial arrangements with agents (*muḳawwim*), or nowadays with organizations, who undertake to provide for them in advance all the material needs of the journey.

Some pilgrims take advantage of the journey to pay long visits to places on the way and to spend some time in the Holy Cities. Their aim may be devotion, study, commerce, or even simply to work to earn enough to continue their journey. In the Middle Ages many used to arrive at Mecca in Ramaḍān, the month in which the performance of the *ʿumra* is held to be especially meritorious. A special caravan, the *Radjabiyya*, which set off from Cairo in Radjab, is mentioned from time to time in the 8th/14th century chronicles. Devotional motives influenced the decisions of the pilgrims. The year in which the station at ʿArafāt fell on a Friday was held to be particularly blessed, and to die near to the Holy Places was considered to bring especial grace. Until the 19th century many, by carrying on commercial activities during the pilgrimage, were enabled to cover, in part or entirely, the expenses of the journey, and some big merchants were even able to make a considerable profit. Finally it should be mentioned that there exist at the present time in the most impoıtant Muslim cities associations whose aim is to encourage the pilgrimage. (For some aspects of a pilgrimage made by a Shīʿī at the beginning of the 20th century, see Kazem Zadeh, *Relation d'un pèlerinage à la Mecque*, in *RMM*, xix (1912), 144 ff.) The word *ḥādjdj* so often added to Muslim names is an honorific title meaning "one who has made the pilgrimage".

B. Arrival at Mecca. The pilgrim will already have put on the sacred garment or *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] when he passed through (or was on a level with) one of the places prescribed for this by tradition, or before he boarded the plane for Djudda. He is then *muḥrim*, in a state of holiness, observing the prohibitions laid on those who are in this state and repeating frequently the invocation known as *talbiya* [*q.v.*]. The rites on arrival at Mecca are the same for all, for the *ḥadjdj* is in fact an *ʿumra*, that is a rite of visiting the Kaʿba, which is completed by the rites of visiting the Holy Places in the neighbourhood of Mecca. The *ʿumra* consists of walking seven times round the Kaʿba (*ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]), praying two *rakʿa*s facing the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm* and the Kaʿba (this prayer, according to the various juridical schools, is either only *sunna* or *wādjib*), and finally traversing seven times (four times going and three times returning) the distance between Ṣafā and Marwa (*saʿy* [*q.v.*]). What follows these observances depends on the intention which the pilgrim formed at the time of assuming the *iḥrām*. He intended to perform either the *ḥadjdj* alone (*ifrād*) or the *ʿumra* and the *ḥadjdj* together (*ḳirān*); in either of these two cases he does not relinquish the state of *iḥrām* after having performed the rites of arrival. But if he wanted to perform the *ʿumra* first and then to enjoy (*tamattuʿ*) the freedom of a normal life, not resuming the *iḥrām* again until the last minute for the *ḥadjdj*, he deconsecrates himself by having a few locks of hair cut off and coming out of the *iḥrām*. But in this case he will have to offer a sacrifice, which can be made wherever he chooses in the sacred territories and within a period upon the duration of which the jurists differ.

In general, the pilgrim joins a group led by a guide (*shaykh*, *dalīl*, *muṭawwif*). In this town, where the pilgrimage is the sole source of revenue for the inhabitants, who naturally try to gain as much as possible from it, it is useful to have the protection of a guide, no matter what this costs. Some guides visit the various Muslim countries from time to time to recruit their clients in advance.

C. The collective ceremonies of the *ḥadjdj*. Unlike the preceding observances, which each pilgrim carries out individually and at any date he chooses within the months set aside for them, the visits to the Holy Places in the vicinity of Mecca are made collectively in a traditional order, between 8 and 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. We can give here only the broad outlines of the question, which has provoked an abundant literature among the casuists, each juridical school having its own requirements regarding details. These will be found in a table given by al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, 178.

On 7 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, there is preached in the mosque of Mecca a sermon or *khuṭba* in the course of which the pilgrims are reminded of the duties which will fall on them.

It is generally on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja that the pilgrims who have relinquished *iḥrām* for *tamattuʿ* assume it again. This day is called "day of watering", *yawm al-tarwiya*; for, say the Arabic writers, on this day the pilgrims water their animals and provide themselves with water for the following days. This explanation is not accepted by Wensinck and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, among others, who prefer to see in this name traces of an ancient rain rite.

The pilgrim then becomes part of an immense crowd moving towards the east. Tens or hundreds of of thousands of men and women in their white ritual garments enter a desert valley overhung with mountains and rocks. Formerly this was a mass of people on foot, and of camels, in which the pilgrims were accompanied by merchants who were there in order to offer them whatever could be sold in such circumstances. Today, cars and lorries proceed along the metalled road, while a string of first aid posts is set up for some days.

The night from 8 to 9 is spent at Minā (merely from custom) or already at ʿArafāt (25 km/15 miles from Mecca), where in the 10th/16th century a firework display was held.

The central event of the *ḥadjdj* is the station (*wuḳūf*), on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, in front of the *Djabal al-Raḥma*, a small rocky eminence in the valley of ʿArafāt itself. All the juridical schools consider this to be an indispensible *rukn*. The station begins at noon (when the sun has passed its apogee) with the joint recital of the prayers of *ẓuhr* and of *ʿaṣr* brought forward, and it lasts until sunset. A sermon is preached to commemorate that which was given by Muḥammad, but it is almost impossible to hear it in this vast valley (the juridical schools differ on whether there ought to be one or two sermons). Tents are erected as a shelter from the sun. This gathering is without doubt the most impressive moment of the pilgrimage, even though some of those present who have come for merely material purposes continue to go about their business. For the crowd of pilgrims it is a time of prayer and of collective emotion, and invocations are heard on every side.

On 27 May 1960, His Excellency Shaykh Shaltūt, the Rector of al-Azhar, gave, in a lecture on Cairo Radio, the following directives for this station: It is enough, he stated in effect, to spend at ʿArafāt one hour of the time between noon and sunset, and at this time the pilgrim should be completely alone with God, whether standing, seated or lying down. It is not, as some assert, enough to be there, but asleep. The ascent of the *Djabal al-Raḥma* is not prescribed by the Law and can be dangerous with such a crowd of people. Finally he said that it is not necessary to remain there until night, so that one adds to the jostling crush as the crowd leaves ʿArafāt.

The doctors of the law admit that those who have

been delayed can still perform individually a brief but valid station at ʿArafāt during the following night and until, but not beyond, the dawn, before hastily overtaking the main mass of pilgrims; but once this permitted period is over they will have to perform the whole pilgrimage again. In the Middle Ages it was sometimes known for pilgrims to remain twenty-four hours at ʿArafāt in order to be quite sure of the validity of their pilgrimage when there was doubt about when exactly the lunar month began and thus of which day was in fact 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja.

The mass of pilgrims leaves ʿArafāt on the evening of the 9th, when the sun has set. Then there begins the running (called *ifāḍa*), in which the pilgrims retrace the road by which they have come from Mecca. They pass the *ʿAlamayn*, or boundary marks, which show that they are entering again the *ḥaram* which surrounds Mecca. It is said that there is sometimes great confusion among the rushing crowd. The *Maghrib* and *ʿIshāʾ* prayers are recited together at Muzdalifa, the second of the Holy Places outside Mecca which the pilgrims are to visit. The Ḳurʾān speaks of this place under the name of *al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām*. The mosque here is illuminated. The night is passed here by all except the women and the frail and sick, who may omit this and go ahead of the others to Minā in order to proceed calmly during (but not before) the second part of the night to the ritual stoning of ʿAḳaba.

On the morning of the 10th, the day called *yawm al-naḥr*, after the recital of the first prayer (*al-fadjr*), the crowd proceeds from Muzdalifa to Minā, which for three days will be the place where the pilgrims gather. The pilgrims first proceed to throw seven small stones at a construction called *djamrat al-ʿaḳaba* [see AL-DJAMRA] which stands against the mountain at the western exit from the valley of Minā. This is the only stoning which takes place on the 10th. Around this place, which now in the thoughts of the pilgrims symbolizes the Devil, the crush is indescribable and all that can be seen is a mass of outstretched arms.

Next follow the sacrifices which have given this day its name of Feast of Sacrifices. Tens of thousands of sacrificial victims, mainly sheep and goats, are offered for sale by the Bedouins and the merchants of Minā; only dignitaries of high rank sacrifice camels. A rock near ʿAḳaba is held to be the most auspicious site for the sacrifice (Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii, 59; Burton, *A Pilgrimage*, ii, 240), but in fact the doctors of the law insist that sacrifice can be made anywhere in Minā. The pilgrims themselves consume a part of the meat from the slaughtered animals, then the poor take what they want and the rest is abandoned. For the last fifty years, the local authorities have regulated the slaughter and especially the burial of the remains, so as to put an end to the smell which in former times very soon arose from this huge charnel-house. This offering of a victim in memory of that of Abraham springs from a private devotional act, rules for which are sometimes laid down by the doctors; it is not absolutely obligatory. Many offer at this time the sacrifice which is due for their *tamattuʿ* (or their *ḳirān*, as certain doctors stipulate). It should be noted that this is a simultaneous offering of many individual sacrifices and not a collective ceremony.

It is usual after the sacrifice to have the head ritually shaved or the hair cut short. Then the pilgrim returns to Mecca to perform a *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba, which is now seen for the first time adorned with its new exterior hangings (*kiswa*). This is the *ṭawāf* of the *ifāḍa*, which forms an indispensible part (*rukn*) of the pilgrimage. It is best if it is done on the 10th, but it can be transferred to the following days under certain conditions laid down by the jurists. The pilgrims who are making only the *ḥadjdj* or the *ḥadjdj* and *ʿumra* combined (*ḳirān*) have now finished the main part of their observances. Only those pilgrims who have chosen *tamattuʿ* have still to perform the ritual running of the *saʿy*.

After the ritual shaving (or the trimming of the hair of the head or the body) the prohibitions end and the pilgrims can leave the state of *iḥrām*. Conjugal relations (*djimāʿ*), however, are permitted only after the *ṭawāf* of the *ifāḍa* (or the *saʿy* for pilgrims who have chosen the *tamattuʿ*). According to certain doctors the order of performing the stoning, sacrifice, shaving and *ṭawāf* may be reversed. As an act of devotion also the water of Zamzam is drunk and a further visit is made to Minā.

The 11-13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja are called *ayyām al-tashrīḳ* (see below). These are days of social relations, and of visits in company to Minā. Witnesses speak of the striking contrast between this motley crowd, clad in the greatest possible variety of local dress, and the sight of it on the previous day in the uniformity of the ritual garments. In the 10th/16th century a firework display was given on the first night. Each day normally between mid-day and sunset, every pilgrim has to throw seven stones at each of the three *djimār* of Minā, ending with that of ʿAḳaba (the only one which had been stoned on the 10th). This order of stoning follows a tradition of the Prophet who is said to have acted thus [see AL-DJAMRA]. It is also the custom to sacrifice near a granite block on the slope of Mount Thabīr (cf. Burckhardt, *Travels*, ii, 65; al-Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 196, map 184); Abraham is said to have prepared his son for sacrifice here. It is permitted to leave Minā on the 12th and thus to omit the three ritual stonings still prescribed for this day. It appears that the pilgrims usually take advantage of this permission and so return to Mecca. When they are about to leave the town for good, it is the custom for them to perform a last *ṭawāf*, called the 'farewell *ṭawāf*'.

The pilgrims take advantage of their presence at Mecca to visit the places which are connected with memories of the Prophet and his family. Those who have performed only the *ḥadjdj* (*ifrād*) and who now wish to perform an *ʿumra* will again assume the *iḥrām* at a place called Tanʿīm. But it was above all during these days that, until the 12th/18th century, the commercial fair of Mecca reached its height. Finally, a large proportion of the pilgrims make arrangements to go to Medina, either on the way to Mecca or on the return journey, in order to visit the tomb of the Prophet.

The ceremonies briefly described above are the normal ceremonies of the *ḥadjdj*. There is laid down a series of acts which are to be performed in reparation for the omission of one or another of the secondary rites or for any negligence in performing them. They range from the offering of a sacrificial victim to fasting and the giving of food as alms to the poor. But nobody must fast during the feast days at Minā, unless for very special reasons which have been examined by the doctors of law.

D. The spiritual significance of the *ḥadjdj*. The sermons and discourses given in recent years on Cairo Radio allow us to trace in outline the spiritual significance of the pilgrimage as it is regarded today. The primary obligation of the pilgrims is to perform

a monotheistic act of worship; obeying the order of the One God, they come as "guests of God" to visit the "house of God", towards which Muslims throughout the world turn at each of their five daily prayers. Firstly, the pilgrims are exhorted to make this journey for God alone, to purify themselves of all that could estrange them from God, and to avoid all quarrelling. They are to ask of God pardon for their sins and beseech Him to grant them His mercies. Secondly, the traditional formulas of the prayers make the crowd ceaselessly repeat that God is One and has no associates. It is thus expressed in the formula of the *talbiya* [*q.v.*], and in this invocation which is often repeated at ʿArafāt: "There is no god but the One God, Who has no associates; to Him belongs power, to Him belongs glory. He holds all good in His hands and has power over everything". There are many invocations of the same type.

Furthermore, the pilgrim frequently hears preachers telling of the deeds and actions of the Prophet during his last pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj al-wadāʿ*) in the year 10/632. The "descent" of Ḳurʾān, V, 5/3 at ʿArafāt and the *khuṭba* of the Prophet at this same place are especially emphasized. Moreover, everything reminds the pilgrims of the existence of the *Umma* (the Muslim community) and its extent. Sermons and articles are fond of repeating that the pilgrimage is the annual congress of the Muslim world. The equality of all Muslims before God, and its symbolization by the uniformity of the ritual garments, are firmly emphasized. Many pilgrims buy for one of the parts of their *iḥrām* a piece of cloth large enough to serve later as a shroud—the thought of death and judgement is never far off. The pilgrims are counselled to exercise the social virtues of patience and calmness in the face of the thousand and one little incidents which may arise. Finally, in the town of Mecca itself, which saw formerly the defeat of the polytheists at the hands of the Muslims, there are many reminders of the duty of the Holy War (*djihād*), in all the forms of hot or cold war which this struggle can assume in our time. The sacrifice at Minā is used nowadays to demonstrate the necessity of sacrifice in the fight for the cause of Islam.

The memory of Abraham is sometimes evoked concerning the sacrifice, but it is more often linked with the Kaʿba and with the pilgrimage in general, for the Ḳurʾān attributes to Abraham both the building of the sanctuary and the call to the pilgrimage. If the properly performed pilgrimage is rewarded by complete forgiveness of sins (as is taught by a *ḥadīth* frequently quoted, and given by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim), this forgiveness is not linked to any particular rite and certainly not to the slaughter of an animal offered as a sacrifice. The pilgrimage does not include a sacrifice for sin.

As always, the preachers present the ideal state of things; the reality is very much more prosaic. There are all types among the pilgrims, the fervent and the lukewarm, those who are truly pious and those who come out of self-interest or to conform socially. Immediately the period of prohibitions is over, most of them waste no time in returning to the pleasures of life. Until the last century, many of the wealthy pilgrims would buy a concubine slave-girl to take back with them to their country. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that many of the present-day pilgrims who return from the Ḥidjāz, and are welcomed home with great celebrations, have a powerful desire to return again to these places which have made an unforgettable impression on them. It is much more difficult to know the exact kind of spiritual influence which is exerted by the pilgrimage. Does it consist primarily of a development of the sense of belonging to a community? Or is it a loftier attachment to other and strictly Muslim values? This is known only to God.

(A. J. Wensinck-[J. Jomier])

The social, cultural and economic effects of the Pilgrimage in medieval Islam are of immense importance. Every year, great numbers of Muslims, from all parts of the Islamic world, from many races and from different social strata, left their homes and travelled, often over vast distances, to take part in a common act of worship. These journeys, unlike the mindless collective migrations familiar in ancient and medieval times, are voluntary and individual. Each is a personal act, following a personal decision, and resulting in a wide range of significant personal experience. This degree of physical mobility, without parallel in pre-modern societies, involves important social, intellectual and economic consequences. The pilgrim, if wealthy, may be accompanied by a number of slaves, some of whom he sells on the way —as a kind of traveller's cheques—to pay the expenses of his journey. If he is a merchant, he may combine his pilgrimage with a business trip, buying and selling commodities in the places through which he travels, and thus learning to know the products, markets, merchants, customs and practices of many lands. If he is a scholar, he may take the opportunity to attend lectures, meet colleagues, and acquire books, thus participating in the diffusion and exchange of knowledge and ideas. The needs of the pilgrimage—the commands of the faith reinforcing the requirements of government and commerce—help to maintain an adequate network of communications between the far-flung Muslim lands; the experience of the pilgrimage gives rise to a rich literature of travel, bringing information about distant places, and a heightened awareness of belonging to a larger whole. This awareness is reinforced by participation in the common ritual and ceremonies of the pilgrimage in Mecca and Medina, and the communion with fellow-Muslims of other lands and peoples. The physical mobility of important groups of people entails a measure of social and cultural mobility, and a corresponding evolution of institutions. It is instructive to compare the stratified, rigidly hierarchic society and intense local traditions within the comparatively small area of Western Christendom, with the situation in medieval Islam. The Islamic world has its local traditions, often very vigorous; but there is a degree of unity in the civilization of the cities—in values, standards and social customs—that is without parallel in the mediaeval west. 'The Franks' says Rashīd al-Dīn 'speak twenty-five languages, and no people understands the language of any other' (*Histoire des Francs*, ed. and trans. K. Jahn, Leiden 1951, text 11, trans. 24). It was a natural comment for a Muslim, accustomed to the linguistic unity of the Muslim world, with two or three major languages serving not only as the media of a narrow clerical class, like Latin in Western Europe, but as the effective means of universal communication, supplanting local languages and dialects at all but the lowest levels. The pilgrimage was not the only factor making for cultural unity and social mobility in the Islamic world—but it was certainly an important one, perhaps the most important.

Islamic history offers many examples of the impact of the pilgrimage; the biographies of learned and holy men are full of accounts of formative

meetings and studies in the Holy Cities, on the way there, and on the way back. The wandering scholar is a familiar feature of medieval societies: the pilgrimage ensured that the wanderers met, at a determined time and place. It provided the Islamic world as a whole with a centre and a forum, which contributed greatly to the formation and maintenance of an Islamic consensus—almost, one might say, an Islamic public opinion. The Almoravid and Almohad revolutions in the Maghrib were started by returning pilgrims, made aware through travel of the religious backwardness of their own peoples. Indian pilgrims brought the revived Naḳshbandī movement to the Middle East; other Indian pilgrims brought back the stimulus of Wahhābism.

The effect of the pilgrimage on communications and commerce, on ideas and institutions, has not been adequately explored; it may never be, since much of it will, in the nature of things, have gone unrecorded. There can, however, be no doubt that this institution—the most important agency of voluntary, personal mobility before the age of the great European discoveries—must have had profound effects on all the communities from which the pilgrims came, through which they travelled, and to which they returned. (B. LEWIS)

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ḤĀDJDJ, ḤĀDJDJĪ, one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca [see ḤADJDJ].

AL-ḤĀDJDJ ḤAMMŪDA B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ (d. 1201/1787), secretary to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Bey of Tunis (1172-96/1759-82), and then of his successor Ḥammūda b. ʿAlī (1196-1229/1782-1814), composed a *Kitāb al-Bāshā*, a history of the Ḥafṣids and the Turkish governors of Tunis, which is still largely in manuscript. A portion dealing with the wars of Khayr al-Dīn and ʿArūdj was published by Houdas, *Chrestomathie maghrébine*, Paris 1891, 14-96; two other portions were translated by A. Rousseau (Algiers 1849) and Cherbonneau (*JA*, July 1851).

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(R. BASSET*)

AL-ḤĀDJDJ ʿUMAR B. SAʿĪD B. ʿUTHMĀN TĀL, a celebrated Toucouleur conqueror who founded a short-lived kingdom in west Sudan where he imposed the Tidjānī *wird*; he was also called al-Shaykh al-Murtaḍā, at the time when he was preaching. The son of the *tyerno* Saydu Tāl, who was a fervent Muslim, he was born in about 1797 at Halwar (Aloar on the maps), a village in Fūta Toro, 40 km. from Podor (Senegal); he belonged to the Torobe caste, of the Toucouleur race.

At the age of eighteen, after considerable study of the Ḳurʾān he devoted himself to study and meditation, and then received the Tidjānī *wird* of Sīdī (Sayyidī) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Nagel, through the intermediary of Sīdī Mawlūl Fal and the Moorish *shaykhs* of the Id-aw ʿAlī. When 23 years old he set out for Mecca by way of Kong, Sokoto, Fezzān and Egypt. There he was once more initiated by Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ghābī Abū Ṭālib who made him a Tidjānī *muḳaddam* and even *khalīfa* for the negro countries. He visited Medina and Jerusalem, returned to Mecca three times, then stayed at al-Azhar, where he had discussions with the *shaykhs* of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*]. From there he returned through Fezzān and Bornu, after performing several miracles, according to the legend. He escaped from the assassins sent by the sultan al-Kanemi of Bornu who nevertheless had given him his daughter Maryatū in marriage, and also numerous slaves whom he made his *talibes* (*ṭalaba*). For seven years he remained in Sokoto with Muḥammad Bello, the son and heir of ʿUthmān dan Fodio, and married his daughter Maryam. He travelled through Hamdallahi, the capital of Macina, to Segou where he was arrested by king Tyefolo at the instigation of *shaykh* Amadou (Aḥmad) the king of Macina, who looked on him as a dangerous agitator; on being liberated, he returned to Fūta in 1838. At that period he was for the most part regarded as an informed and inspired religious leader.

After being received with great deference by the *almamy* (*imām*), he settled from 1838 to 1848 in Fūta Djallon, at Diegounko near Timbo, where he founded a *zāwiya*; he instructed a large number of disciples and worked the Boure gold-mines. In 1846 he returned alone to preach the Tidjānī *wird* at Fūta Toro, in his own country, with only moderate success; he also visited Gambia, Saloum, Sine, Baol, and Cayor and made friendly contacts with the governor Caille. In 1848, alarmed by his growing power and the number of his devotees, the *almamy*

asked him to leave his territories; he settled in Dinguiraye, which he fortified and where he pushed forward his preparations for conquest and the holy war by recruiting supporters—whom he called *anṣār*—and by laying in stocks of arms and ammunition; his military commander was Alfa ʿUmar, son of the *tyerno* Baïla, whose army was eager to fight for the faith.

He came to blows with the minor chieftain of Yimba who was demanding some small-arms from him, defeated him and seized his territory. Between 1848 and 1854 he conquered the Manding, Tamba Ounde and Bandiougou Keïta chiefs and overran Boure and Bambouk. At Kolon he defeated a Bambara army from Nioro, and captured Koniakari, Yelimane and Nioro in 1854. He overcame Kandia Koulibali, the last Massassi king of Kaarta, and had him beheaded. His authority at that time extended through the entire territory between Fūta Djallon and Hodh.

Meanwhile, on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1268/6 September 1852, after the prayer of the *ʿIshāʾ*, he heard three times a voice authorizing him to wage holy war. From that moment, "he strove to sweep the country clean and impose Islam".

His conquests, though rapid, were precarious. As early as 1854 he was obliged to leave Dinguiraye and resume the struggle against the Bambara of Kaarta: the latter were constantly defeated, but continued to revolt. He also fought against the Diawara of Kingi, suffering heavy losses; the kings of Segou and Macina refused to be his allies. In 1855 he made his headquarters at Nioro, and beat off a siege. Under these threats, he launched an attack against Ahmadou Ahmadou, the king of Macina; the Fulani being Muslim, he fought them in order to impose on them the practice of the Tidjānī *wird*, and won a victory at Kassakeri on 12 August 1856. It was during this period that he established cordial relations with the Moorish *shaykh* Sī Aḥmad al-Bakkāy, the enemy of the Fulani; he warred against the Khassonke and attacked the chiefs of the Bondou and the Fūta.

Al-Ḥadjdj ʿUmar was an excellent military leader and his campaigns were swift and victorious; pagan prisoners and wounded were put to death and the women and children enslaved; on the other hand, any Muslim enemies who were wounded were bandaged and sent home.

In 1857 the people of Kaarta, fleeing from the war, took refuge in Khasso; the *shaykh* laid siege to the French fort of Médine which had received the refugees; the town, defended by the half-caste Paul Holl, resisted for three months and finally Faidherbe relieved it.

In 1858 the *shaykh* fortified Koundian, then invaded the Boundou and the Fūta and attacked Matam in 1859; he was repulsed and returned to Nioro; the French took Guénou and relieved the outskirts of Bakel. In 1859 he lost Dimar and Damga, both occupied by the French, while the Fūta Toro was slipping away from his domination.

He then tried to move the populations of Fūta Toro and Bondou in order to repopulate Kaarta, which had been cleared of its inhabitants; his aim was to bring the loyal populations nearer to Nioro. Despite his great religious prestige, the Toucouleur were reluctant to emigrate; he had villages burnt down to force the people to leave, thereby causing a terrible famine. In 1860 he resumed his conquest of the Bambara empire of Segou, which was decimated. At Tio, in January 1861, he defeated the armies of ʿAlī Diara king of Segou and Ahmadou Ahmadou king of Macina. He took Nyamina, Sansanding and Segou on 10 May 1861; this date marks the islamization of the Bambara country, whose population thenceforward had to observe the five obligations of Islam. Segou was fortified and the Tidjānī practice enforced on all.

He conquered Macina in 1861 after a renewed offensive by ʿAlī Diara and Ahmadou Ahmadou, who were defeated. He suggested to the latter that they should both submit to the judgement of God, on the occasion of a great battle, and on 8 April 1862, with an army of 30,000 Sofas, he defeated the Fulani who were commanded by Ba Lobbo, after which he crushed a second Fulani army of 50,000 men; Ahmadou Ahmadou was wounded.

In 1862 he seized Hamdallahi and had the king beheaded. Macina surrendered; he solemnly designated his son Ahmadou as his successor, and himself took the title of sultan of Macina. The *shaykh* then took and sacked Timbuctu, but the Kounta Moors of the Bakkāʾiyya allied themselves with the Fulani, who plotted together and besieged him in Hamdallahi. The siege lasted for eight months and eventually the town was reduced owing to famine; al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar had it burnt and took refuge among the cliffs of Bandiagara where, deserted by his followers, he died mysteriously, probably by blowing up a keg of gunpowder. The date of his death is taken to be 4 Ramaḍān 1280/12 February 1864. As his heir he left his son Ahmadou al-Kabīr al-Madanī.

His empire stretched from Macina to Faleme and from Tinkisso to Sahel, but it fell to pieces sixteen years after his death. His body never having been found, some believed that he would return.

He was regarded as a saint and man of letters; he knew by heart the two *Saḥīḥ*s, of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, and spent long hours in meditation and prayer before taking his decisions. He had, it is said, received five privileges from God:—he had the power to see God's Messenger, either in dreams or when awake; he knew the unknown "great name" of God; he could read men's hearts; he had God's authorization to direct men spiritually along the right path; he had received God's sanction to wage holy war.

In *khalwa*, he had various visions of the Prophet; he saw also an appearance of *shaykh* al-Tidjānī; he escaped miraculously from the assassins sent by the sultan of Bornu; he persuaded God to send rain; and, another time, he caused a spring to appear.

He was the author of numerous works: the *K. al-Rimāḥ* and the *K. al-Suyūf*, both relating to the Tidjāniyya; *K. Safīnat al-saʿāda li-ahl al-ḍaʿf wa 'l-nadjāda*; *K. al-Nuṣḥ al-mubīn*; *K. al-Maḳāṣid al-saniyya*; *K. Tadhkirat al-mustarshidīn*; *K. Falāḥ al-ṭālibīn*; *Taḳyīd fī khawāṣṣ al-ḥizb al-sayfī*; *Adjwiba fī 'l-ṭarīḳa al-tidjāniyya*.

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ḤADJDJĀDJ, ruler of Kirman [see KUTLUGH KHĀNS].

AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ B. YŪSUF B. AL-ḤAKAM B. ʿAḲĪL AL-THAḲAFĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, the most famous and most able governor of the Umayyads, of the Aḥlāf clan of the Banū Thaḳīf, born

in Ṭā'if about 41/661. His forebears, poor and of lowly origin, are said to have earned their living as stone carriers and builders (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, v, 38; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, iv, 313); his mother, al-Fāriʿa, also from the tribe of the Banū Thaḳīf, was the divorced wife of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, a man as capable as he was unscrupulous, who was appointed by Muʿāwiya as governor of Kūfa. Already as a child al-Ḥadjdjādj had been given the nickname *Kulayb* ('little dog'), under which he often appears in the satires of the poets (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 290 f.); as a young man he was a schoolmaster in Ṭā'if (*ʿIḳd*, v, 13), a detail also satirized by the poets. Apart from this nothing is known of his youth, and little of the early years of his public life: he does not seem to have distinguished himself in the battles in the Ḥarra of Medina in 63/682 (*Aghānī*, xvi, 42) and al-Rabadha in 65/684 (Ṭabarī, ii, 579) or as governor of Tabāla in the Tihāma (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 396).

The change began when al-Ḥadjdjādj, in the first years of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, set out from Ṭā'if to Damascus to serve in the police force (*shurṭa*) under Abū Zurʿa Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Djudhāmī, the vizier of the caliph. He attracted the attention of ʿAbd al-Malik because he succeeded in a short time in restoring discipline among the mutinous troops with whom the caliph was about to set out for ʿIrāḳ against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. In the drastic means with which he discharged this task there could already be recognized the method which was later to make him famous, indeed notorious. On the campaign against Muṣʿab, al-Ḥadjdjādj seems to have led the rearguard and to have distinguished himself by some feats of valour. After the victory over Muṣʿab at Maskin on the Dudjayl in 72/691, on the caliph's orders he set out from Kūfa in the same month at the head of about 2000 Syrians against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the anti-caliph of Mecca. He advanced unopposed as far as his native Ṭā'if, which he took without any fighting and used as a base. The caliph had charged him first to negotiate with Ibn al-Zubayr and to assure him of freedom from punishment if he capitulated, but, if the opposition continued, to starve him out by siege, but on no account to let the affair result in bloodshed in the Holy City. Since the negotiations failed and al-Ḥadjdjādj lost patience, he sent a courier to ask ʿAbd al-Malik for reinforcements and also for permission to take Mecca by force. He received both, and thereupon bombarded the Holy City with stones from the mountain of Abū Ḳubays. The bombardment was continued during the Pilgrimage. Because of his anger at being prevented by Ibn al-Zubayr from performing the *ṭawāf* and *saʿy* al-Ḥadjdjādj did not scruple to bombard the Kaʿba, together with the pilgrims there assembled. A sudden thunderstorm, in which the uneasy soldiers detected a warning of Divine punishment, he was able to interpret to them as a promise of victory. After the siege had lasted for seven months and 10,000 men, among them two of Ibn al-Zubayr's sons, had gone over to al-Ḥadjdjādj, the anti-caliph with a few loyal followers, including his youngest son, was killed in the fighting around the Kaʿba (Djumādā I 73/October 692).

Thus the unity of the state was restored, and the year 73 is sometimes called the "Year of Unity" (*ʿām al-djamāʿa*, *ʿIḳd*, v, 35). ʿAbd al-Malik showed himself grateful and conferred on al-Ḥadjdjādj the governorship of the Ḥidjāz, the Yemen and the Yamāma. The governor himself led the Pilgrimage in the years 73 and 74 and provided for the re-building of the Kaʿba on the original foundations and with the same dimensions as it had had before its restoration by Ibn al-Zubayr. He restored peace in the Ḥidjāz, but with a severity which frequently caused the caliph to intervene. Thus it is not improbable that the complaints of the inhabitants of the Ḥidjāz were among the factors which led to his being transferred to ʿIrāḳ in 75/694; though the immediate reason for this change was the death in this year of Bishr b. Marwān, a brother of the caliph, who until then had been governor of Kūfa. Because of the constant intrigues of the Khāridjīs, the governorship of ʿIrāḳ was the most important and responsible administrative post of the Islamic state. Al-Ḥadjdjādj took over this governorship, at the age of 33, at the beginning of 75/694 (Ṭabarī, ii, 944, line 9, 876, line 3; not so late as Ramaḍān, Ṭabarī, ii, 872, line 9), at first with the exclusion of Khurāsān and Sidjistān (Ṭabarī, ii, 863; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 397; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, i, Cairo 1959, 503). The sermon with which he installed himself in Kūfa is no less famous than that of his compatriot and predecessor in Baṣra, Ziyād b. Abīhi, and like it has found its place in Arabic literature. The most urgent task was to restore discipline among the troops of Kūfa and Baṣra, who were garrisoned at Rāmhurmuz on the farther bank of the Tigris under the command of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, but who, at the instigation of Bishr, had left their camp without leave and were loitering about in the towns. Al-Ḥadjdjādj threatened that any soldier who had not returned to his post within three days would be put to death and his possessions laid open to plunder. This was effective. The soldiers poured back into the camp and al-Ḥadjdjādj himself undertook the distribution of their pay, whereupon he had to suppress another very dangerous mutiny led by Ibn al-Djārūd because of the reduction in the pay granted by the caliph himself. At this time there occurred also a violent quarrel between al-Ḥadjdjādj and Anas b. Mālik which, thanks to the intervention of ʿAbd al-Malik, ended in a moral victory for the old Companion of the Prophet (*ʿIḳd*, v, 36-9). After this the troops were immediately employed in battle against the Azāriḳa, who had chosen as caliph Ḳaṭarī b. Fudjā'a, famous also as a poet; al-Muhallab defeated them in 77/696. At the same time another Khāridjī leader, Shabīb b. Yazīd, was threatening ʿIrāḳ from Mawṣil, but, after several dangerous reverses, he was defeated, with the help of Syrian troops which al-Ḥadjdjādj had requested from the caliph, at the end of 77/spring 697 on the Dudjayl in Khūzistān. And finally al-Ḥadjdjādj defeated in the same year the governor of Madā'in, al-Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who had foolishly taken the first opportunity to rebel in alliance with the Khāridjīs.

After the removal of the Khāridjī danger in ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj was in the year 78 appointed also to the governorship of Khurāsān and Sidjistān (Ṭabarī, ii, 1032 f.). He left Khurāsān to be administered by al-Muhallab, and to Sidjistān, which had to be subdued anew, he sent from Kirmān the well-tried general ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath at the head of a splendidly equipped army, the "Peacock Army" (*djaysh al-ṭawāwīs*, Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf* [*BGA* viii], 314; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, iv, 365-7). This was the beginning of a revolution which was far more dangerous than any earlier one and which was directed not only against al-Ḥadjdjādj, but against the dominating rôle of the Syrians, and thus against the caliph and Umayyad rule itself. Ibn al-Ashʿath at first carried out his campaign carefully and accord-

ing to orders; he pacified each territory as it was conquered, ensured supplies and accustomed his troops gradually to the different climatic conditions. Al-Ḥadjdjādj, with his usual impatience, ordered Ibn al-Ashʿath in several offensive letters to advance without delay, and threatened if he did not do so to transfer the command to his brother Isḥāḳ. Ibn al-Ashʿath left the decision to his chief officers, whom he knew to be opposed to al-Ḥadjdjādj and to this endless war in distant lands. They gave their allegiance to him, and, with an army which soon grew to 100,000 men, Ibn al-Ashʿath marched against al-Ḥadjdjādj, occupied Kūfa and Baṣra, and, in the suburbs of Baṣra, besieged the governor, who was again obliged to call Syrian troops to his aid. The Syrian army, under the leadership of two sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, was instructed first to negotiate with Ibn al-Ashʿath and to hold out to him the prospect of the recall of the hated governor. As he would agree to none of the proposals, the Syrians attacked and defeated him decisively in 82/701 at Dayr al-Djamādjim and at Maskin on the Dudjayl; three years later he died by his own hand (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 400; Ṭabarī, ii, 1135; the chronology of these events is not quite certain).

This was the last revolt of the Arabs of ʿIrāḳ. After al-Ḥadjdjādj had suppressed them and had also pacified the Kurdish and Daylamī brigands (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 323 f.), he strengthened Syrian military rule over the country. In 83/702 he built midway between Kūfa and Baṣra the fortified town of Wāsiṭ, made it his own residence and transferred there the majority of the Syrian troops, ostensibly to protect the inhabitants from encroachments by the Syrians, but in reality to isolate them from the ʿIrāḳīs and to bring them firmly under his authority. Al-Ḥadjdjādj was now master of the whole of the Islamic East with the exception of Khurāsān, where the reigning governor, Yazīd b. Muhallab, the son of the famous conqueror, was only very slowly applying himself to the extirpation of the last followers of Ibn al-Ashʿath. When he did not obey repeated summonses to Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥadjdjādj finally procured from ʿAbd al-Malik his dismissal (85/704; Ṭabarī, ii, 1140 f.) and imprisoned him.

Although ʿAbd al-Malik had now and then restrained the activities of his governor, al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) gave him a free hand in everything and relied on him all the more in that he was indebted to him for his succession to the throne, which al-Ḥadjdjādj had urged to ʿAbd al-Malik against the claims of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (Ṭabarī, ii, 1166 f.; *Aghānī*, xvi, 60). Also al-Walīd's great victories in the East were the result of al-Ḥadjdjādj's efforts: Transoxania was conquered by Ḳutayba b. Muslim, ʿUmān by Mudjdjāʿa b. Siʿr (cf. H. Klein, *Kapitel xxxiii der anonymen arabischen Chronik Kashf al-ghumma al-djāmiʿ li-akhbār al-umma* . . ., thesis, Hamburg 1938, 28), India by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thaḳafī—three outstanding generals whom al-Ḥadjdjādj had wisely appointed in view of their abilities. He did not himself take part in the campaigns, but he prepared them very carefully, sparing no expense, since he calculated that with victory he would recover his expenses many times over. In domestic affairs also al-Walīd conformed to the wishes of his governor, appointing and dismissing officials at his prompting.

Al-Ḥadjdjādj was now anxious to improve the prosperity of the country, which had suffered terribly from the twenty years of war. This too was his ultimate aim in concerning himself with the production of a uniform tradition of the text of the Ḳurʾān: he wanted on the one hand to put an end to the quarrels of the theologians over the different readings and to produce a single text which the Islamic community should be obliged to use, and on the other hand to purge this text of any kind of anti-Umayyad allusions. The division of the Ḳurʾān into separate *adjzāʾ* seems to go back to him (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*[2], iii, 260), and it may have been on his orders that new vowel points were introduced (*op. cit.*, 262). In any case, he declared the new text which he had sponsored to be henceforth the only valid one and forbade most strictly the *ḳirāʾa* of Ibn Masʿūd. In connexion with the monetary reform by ʿAbd al-Malik in 76/695, al-Ḥadjdjādj began to strike purely Arabic coins, which gradually superseded the Byzantine and Sāsānid currencies, until then in general commercial use. For this purpose he founded his own mints, first in Kūfa and then in Wāsiṭ, putting them under the management of a Jew named Sumayr (whence these coins were called *al-sumayriyya*) and punished most strictly the making of counterfeits or even the most trivial faults in production (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337 f.). Many theologians disapproved of the striking of these coins with the name of God upon them (and hence at first called also *al-darāhim al-makrūha*) for they might fall into the hands of infidels (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 468; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337). Yet the new coins established themselves in circulation as legal currency and helped to promote the circulation of money and the stabilization of economic conditions. Al-Ḥadjdjādj caused to be translated into Arabic the tax-*dīwān* which had hitherto been kept in Persian (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 300 f.; cf. also Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1357/1938, 38), in order to be able to study the tax registers himself.

Of especial importance, however, were al-Ḥadjdjādj's efforts to improve agriculture. Like the Sāsānid kings before him, he was anxious to drain the marshes on the lower Euphrates and Tigris by a system of canals, and thus to obtain fertile land; when embankments broke he spared no cost in repairing them (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274 and 294). He gave to meritorious Arabs, such as Bashshār b. Muslim, a brother of Ḳutayba, uncultivated lands as fiefs (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 361). He took further measures against the migration of countrypeople into the towns which had led to a disastrous reduction in the *kharādj*, and forced the newly converted Muslims to return to the fields which they had left and to continue paying *kharādj*. When the farmers of the Sawād complained to al-Ḥadjdjādj about the desolation of the land—a result of the many wars—he is said to have forbidden them to slaughter cattle in order to preserve the animals for ploughing (on this see the two satirical verses in *Aghānī*, xv, 98).

Al-Ḥadjdjādj was the most loyal servant that a dynasty could wish for. His obedience towards the Umayyads and his willingness to serve them were unbounded, and the caliphs repaid him for this with their unstinted favour. ʿAbd al-Malik, it is true, often urged him to practice restraint, for instance when he felt that the governor was extortionate in the raising of taxes, was too liberal with public resources, or was shedding more blood than was necessary. But in his answers, often pointed by verses composed by himself or others, al-Ḥadjdjādj was always able to give practical reasons for his actions, so that no mistrust on the part of the caliph ever resulted. The books of *adab* provide a large number of examples of this correspondence. The caliph and the governor were dependent on each other.

The latter's occasional journeys to Damascus strengthened the relationship, which was a personal as well as an official one: one of al-Ḥadjdjādj's nieces—the daughter of his brother Muḥammad, who under ʿAbd al-Malik was governor in the Yemen —was married to a son of ʿAbd al-Malik, the later caliph Yazīd II; the first son of this marriage was named al-Ḥadjdjādj in honour of the governor (*ʿIḳd*, iv, 452; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 396). The governor for his part named his first three sons after members of the Umayyad house, while his daughter married a son of al-Walīd I, Masrūr (*ʿIḳd*, iv, 422). His relations with al-Walīd seem on the other hand to have been of a more formally correct nature; the relevant correspondence is limited to purely administrative affairs. Al-Ḥadjdjādj feared nothing so much as the death of al-Walīd and the accession of Sulaymān, whom he had made his implacable enemy because of his interference in the question of the succession to the throne; add to this his measures against Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who was Sulaymān's especial protégé. It was thus his anxious wish not to outlive al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, ii, 1272). This wish was fulfilled: he died one year before al-Walīd in Ramaḍān 95/ June 714, only 52 years old, prematurely aged and worn out by the load of strain, danger and disappointment which he had had to bear, and was buried in Wāsiṭ. The cause of death is said to have been cancer of the stomach (*waḳaʿat fī djawfihi ʾl-ākila*: Masʿūdī, *Prairies*, v, 377; Ibn Khallikān, i, 347; according to Barhebraeus, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 195, he died of consumption). The traces of his grave were obliterated in order to preserve it from profanation. His death was mourned by only a few, chief among whom were al-Walīd, the poet Djarīr (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan, 486 f., cf. 496), and also Khālid al-Ḳasrī, the governor of Mecca (*ʿIḳd*, v, 30 f.); above all Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, al-Ḥadjdjādj's *mawlā*, and later governor of Ifrīḳiya, dared to call Sulaymān's attention to the merits of the deceased (Masʿūdī, *Prairies*, v, 404-6).

Scarcely any figure of the early period of Islam has become the subject of Arabic literature to such an extent as al-Ḥadjdjādj. He was a man of mark. The stories and verses in which are reflected the arguments for and against him are innumerable. Most of them are pungent anecdotes and allow us to understand exceptionally clearly the traits of his character. The ʿAbbāsids remembered him with hatred, but in reality envied the Umayyads this governor. There is no doubt that in the interests of the state al-Ḥadjdjādj could be stern and pitiless; every kind of obstinacy was in his eyes a crime against the State. But the mass executions and other atrocities which were attributed to him are the inventions of his enemies. He is often, and justly, compared with Ziyād b. Abīhi, Muʿāwiya's governor: "They both considered themselves not as holders of a lucrative sinecure, but as representatives of public order and of the Sultan, and repaid the trust of their sovereigns, who granted them great authority and left them in office until the end of their lives, by faithfully fulfilling their duties, unconcerned whether or not they found favour with public opinion" (Wellhausen, *Reich*, 159; cf. English tr. *The Arab Kingdom*, 254).

That al-Ḥadjdjādj did in fact have such a conception of his position can be gathered from his own words which are recorded by al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyā al-Nahrawānī (d. 390/1000) in *Kitāb al-Djalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfī wa'l-anīs al-nāṣiḥ al-shāfī*, Ms Istanbul, Topkapısarayı, Ahmed III 2321, fol. 44a. When, after the death of Ibn al-Ashʿath, there was peace in ʿIrāḳ and al-Ḥadjdjādj rewarded the Ḳaysīs richly for their support, ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to him that he must be less generous with public funds. Al-Ḥadjdjādj replied to the caliph with the following verses:

"By my life! The messenger has brought the pages written by you which, after dictation, were folded and sealed.

It is a letter which contains both gentle and harsh things and in which I have been admonished—admonitions are always useful to men of understanding.

Many misfortunes befell me, for this I shall now supply explanations and also reasons and thus justify myself.

When I was a punishing scourge for the people without seeking personal advantage thereby,

—whether they were pleased or angry about this, whether I was praised or blamed or even abused by them—

(and when) in a country into which I came, on my arrival the fires of enmity blazed everywhere,

then I have endured of it all that is known to you and fought unceasingly, until death had almost overcome me!

You have heard how many tumults there have been there, and if another than I had been (there), he would have perished from terror.

Always when they wished to commit one of their unhappy deeds, I have proffered my head without disguising myself,

and if brave men (i.e. the Ḳaysīs) had not defended me against them, jackals and hyenas would have shared out my limbs!"

On the strength of this justification—which tersely outlines the whole of al-Ḥadjdjādj's achievement—the caliph could only write: "Act as you think proper!"

Al-Ḥadjdjādj's assurance and precision in administration, his firmness and knowledge of men, and his quick instinctive grasp in critical moments must have seemed somewhat sinister to his contemporaries. The fact that he did not tolerate bribery and punished the unlawful acquisition of riches, must have made him thoroughly hated by a civil service in which both were traditional. His chief faults were impatience and lack of self-control; he lacked the balance (*ḥilm*) which had earlier distinguished Muʿāwiya. Thus he sometimes demanded the impossible from those under his command, and had fits of rage if his orders were not carried out quickly enough. Nevertheless al-Ḥadjdjādj was a highly cultivated man: his eloquence was unsurpassed (and feared), he attached great importance to a pure Arabic, had literary taste and was accustomed to associate with poets (Djarīr, Farazdaḳ, al-ʿUdayl b. al-Farkh al-ʿIdjlī, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Aʿradj al-Asadī, the poetess Laylā al-Akhyaliyya), but he persecuted the satirists (ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān al-Sadūsī, Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaḳafī, etc.). He was a devout Muslim, but neither bigoted not superstitious; the squabbling of the theologians left him unmoved, but frankness made an impression on him and as a rule procured exemption from punishment.

The unprejudiced judge sees in al-Ḥadjdjādj one of the greatest statesmen, not only of the Umayyads, but of the whole Islamic world.

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277 f., 280, 314-6, 321 f.; *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iḳ fī akhbār al-ḥaḳā'iḳ* (= *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, i), 8-11, 15-7, 19, 53 f., 148; *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, ed. Ahlwardt, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, index; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, index; idem, *al-Shiʿr wa'l-shuʿarā'* (*Liber Poësis*), ed. de Goeje, index; (Pseudo-) Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa*, Cairo 1937, ii, 29-62; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (*Prairies d'or*), especially vol. v, see index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i (al-Azraḳī), 145, 308; ii (al-Fākihī), 20, (al-Fāsī), 171; iii (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī), 52, 80; Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, Cairo 1368, 349-56; idem, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, Cairo 1957, 212-4; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Munadjdjid, i, Damascus 1951, 350-2; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i, Cairo 1948, no. 144 (pp. 341-8); Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1948-50, especially i, 385-8, ii, 135-8, see also index; idem, *Bukhalā'*, Damascus 1955, 140, 337; (Pseudo-) Djāḥiẓ, *Tādj*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bāshā, Cairo 1914, 132 f., 169; *Aghānī*, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 7 vols., Cairo 1940-53, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index; idem, *al-Fāḍil*, ed. Maymanī, 36, 51; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, *Muḥabbar*, ed. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1942, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, Cairo 1937, 155, 205 f.; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, ed. Badjāwī, 18, 84 f.; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1953, i, 85-9, 261; ii, 260 f.; idem, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 7 f., 42-4, 47 f., 72, 76 f., 171 f., 216; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1954, i, 160 f., 295; ii, 15-7; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if*, Cairo 1960, 18, 61 f., 69, 140 f., 167, 181; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1952, 101; Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 46 f., 82 f., 286, 309, 351; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, ed. ʿAwwād, 157 f.; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1958, 268, 272, 307, 323, 343, 407; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, Cairo 1945-51, 279 f., 301, 442, 494, 573 f., 593, 781 f., 882; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer (Bibl. Isl. 21), 19-23; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 22 f., 28 f., 235; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 65; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 851, 862 f., 881 f., 892-5, 916-8, 925-7, 938, 947, 949, 969 f, 979-81, 993-6, 1009 f., 1020, 1034, 1052, 1073, 1087, 1120, 1136, 1150, 1159-61, 1167; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 141-60 (English trans. 226-57); J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj ibn Yousof*, Paris 1904; Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, index; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*^{2}, iii, 103 f., 106, 124, 260-2; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 99 f., 139 f.; A Dietrich, *Al-Ḥaccâc b. Yûsuf'un terceme-i hâline dair bir kaç mülâhaza*, in *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii/1, Istanbul 1957, 147-55. (A. Dietrich)

AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ, B. YŪSUF B. MAṬAR AL-ḤĀSIB, a translator who lived in Baghdād in the late 2nd/8th and early 3rd/9th centuries. His translations include the *Elements* of Euclid (revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra and commented by al-Nayrīzī [*qq.v.*]) and a version, from a Syriac text, of the Astronomy of Ptolemy. The latter, called *K. al-Madjisṭī*, was completed in 212/827-8.

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(Ed.)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BAYRĀM WALĪ (? 753/1352-833/1429-30), patron saint of Ankara and founder of the order of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*], was born at the village of Solfasol, 7 km. north-east of Ankara, the son of a certain Koyunludja Aḥmad; his personal name was Nuʿmān. After studying at Ankara and Bursa, he taught at the Kara Medrese at Ankara, but abandoned the theological career when invited by Sheykh Ḥāmid (on whom see *Shaḳā'iḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 74 f. = tr. Rescher, 29 f.) to join him at Kayseri (they are said to have met on *Ḳurbān bayramî*, whence he was given the name Bayrām); as his *mürîd* he accompanied him to Syria, thence on the Pilgrimage, and back to Akseray. After his master's death (in 805/1402, according to Mustaḳīmzāde, see A. Gölpınarlı, *Manâkıb-ı Hacı Bektâş* . . ., Istanbul 1958, 120) he returned to his native Ankara, where he gathered a numerous following: among his disciples are counted Aḳ Shams al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Dede ʿUmar Sikkīnī (heads of the two branches into which, after his death, his order split), the poet Shaykhī [*q.v.*], the brothers Yazīdjī-oghlu Muḥammad and Aḥmad Bīdjān [*qq.v.*], and Ashraf-oghlu Rūmī, author of the *Muzakkī al-nufūs*, who became his son-in-law. In spite of the extremist tendencies of some of his followers, his own teachings did not exceed the bounds permitted by orthodoxy; he seems to have lived a humble life, supporting himself by manual labour, and practising and encouraging works of charity. His activities are said to have aroused the suspicions of Murād II, which were, however, allayed when he was brought before the Sultan at Edirne; a tradition that he had preached in the Eski Djāmiʿ there is reported by Ewliyā (ii, 437; iii, 430 f.). He was buried in a *türbe* beside the mosque, abutting on the Temple of Augustus, which he founded. Attributed to Ḥādjdjī Bayrām are five poems (fullest text given by Okhan, see Bibl.), much commented on by his followers, in the style of the *ilāhī*s of Yūnus Emre.

The current attribution of the mosque to Miʿmār Sinān (presumably based on Ewliyā, ii, 430) is unjustified (see F. Taeschner's brief description in *ZDMG*, lxxxii, 1928, 108); the only inscriptions (Ger. tr. by P. Wittek in M. Schede and H. St. Schultz, *Ankara und Augustus*, Berlin 1937, 45-6, and cf. 36-41) record a repair in 1126/1714 (the inscription published by Mübārek Ghālib, *Anḳara*, ii, 1928, p. 41, no. 82, has no connexion with the mosque). In the Ankara Etnografya Müzesi are preserved clothes allegedly worn by Ḥādjdjī Bayrām, and the wooden doors (photograph in *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* [Ank. Ün. Ilahiyat Fak.], i, 1956, 231) and shutters of the *türbe* (restored in 1947).

Bibliography: No critical study of the life of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām has been published. The available sources (many in MS) are listed by M. F. Köprülü, *Ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 377, n. 2; some of these have been used for the monographs of Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir (*Ḥādjdjī Bayrām Welī*, Istanbul 1329, reprinted 1331), Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī (same title, Istanbul 1343) and Mehmet Ali Okhan (*Hacı Bâyramı Velî*, Ankara 1950). See also Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ*, tr. Medjdī, 77 = tr. Rescher, 31; B. M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, i, 56-7; Abdulbaki [Gölpınarlı], *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul 1931, 33-9; D. Krencker and M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 60-1 (P. Wittek); for the political and social context of Ḥādjdjī Bayrām's movement see P. Wittek, *De la défaite d'Ankara* . . ., in *REI*, xii (1938), 1-34.

(V. L. Ménage)

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEG [see RIḌWĀN BEGOVIČ].

ḤĀDJDJĪ BEKTĀSH WALĪ [see BEKTĀSHIYYA].

ḤĀDJDJĪ GIRĀY (d. 871/1466), founder of

the Girāy dynasty of Khāns of the Crimea. On his coins he calls himself 'al-Sulṭān Ḥādjdjī Kerey b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khān' (see O. Retovski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, nos. 1-4); according to Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (*Shadjara-i Turk*, ed. Riḍā Nūr, Istanbul 1925, 184) his father and grandfather were Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Tash-timur respectively (cf. M. Riḍā, *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 69-71). The identification of him with Dewlet-berdi (V. D. Smirnov, *Krîmskoe khanstvo* . . ., St. Petersburg 1887, 221-34) seems incorrect. Dewlet-berdi (for a coin of his see Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, vi, no. 568) appears in one source (*ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, 95) as the brother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn; he was still ruling as khān at Solghat (Eski-Ḳîrîm) in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 832/August 1429 (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . ., i, 25; see further Spuler, *Horde*, 157). According to Polish sources (Spuler, *loc. cit.*), Ḥādjdjī Girāy was born near Troki in Lithuania and was assisted in assuming the khānate by Vitovt (Witold, d. 1430); it is known that the Grand Dukes of Lithuania gave sanctuary to Toḳtamîsh and to Ḥādjdjī Girāy's ancestors, and protected them against the khāns dwelling at Sarāy and supported by the powerful *amīr* Edigü (M. Khrushevskiy, *Istoriya Ukrainoy-Rossii*, iv, Lwow 1907), and this same policy was to assist Ḥādjdjī Giıāy in occupying the Crimea and maintaining himself there. One of the main factors facilitating the rise of an independent khānate in the Crimea under Ḥādjdjī Girāy was, according to the native sources (*al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 69-71; *ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, 94-6), the movement westward, over the northern coasts of the Black Sea and into the Crimean peninsula, of the principal tribes—the Shirin, Ḳonghurat and Barîn—upon whose support the rulers of the Golden Horde relied. With their help, Dewlet-berdi and Ulugh-Muḥammed attempted to seize control of the whole territory of the Golden Horde; but Ḥādjdjī Girāy was to attempt to centralize his authority in the Crimea and its immediate neighbourhood, being greatly assisted by Tekine Mîrzā, the leader of the Shirin and the rival of Edigü's descendants. This much is definite, that in 836/1433 and 837/1434 Ḥādjdjī Girāy, as Khān, was fighting with the Genoese of Kefe [*q.v.*], seeking to secure for himself the important revenues brought in by Kefe and the other ports of the Crimea; like the khāns of the Golden Horde before him, he always regarded these ports as being under his suzerainty (see the *yarlîgh* of 26 Ṣafar 857 in A. N. Kurat, *Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 66; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, 220). When in the summer of 836/1433 his vassal Prince Alexis of Mangub took Cembalo (Balaklava), he himself opened hostilities against the Genoese of Kefe. To repel this threat, Carolo Lomellino was sent from Genoa with a force of 6000 men; he recovered Cembalo, but as he was advancing upon Ḥādjdjī Girāy's base of Solghat (Eski-Ḳîrîm) he was defeated in a surprise attack (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 837/end of June 1434). Ḥādjdjī Girāy's forces invested Kefe, but, lacking ships and artillery, could do nothing against the defenders, who possessed fire-arms (for the contemporary report of this campaign by Andrea Gatari, see A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 208; L. Colli, *Khadži Girey-Khan i ego politika*, Izv. Tavr. U Arkh. Komm. no. 50, Simferopol 1913, 113-21). Failing to take Kefe, Ḥādjdjī Girāy attempted to divert commerce to the harbours of Solghat, Kerč and Inkerman which he controlled, and to transport goods to Anatolia in Tatar ships.

It has been stated (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 163, 168) that the khān of Sarāy, Seyyid Aḥmed, seized the Crimea in about 837/1434 and that Ḥādjdjī Girāy was able to resume power only in Radjab 853/August 1449 with the help of Casimir IV; but coins of his are known, struck at Ḳîrîm (Solghat) in 845/1441 and at Ḳîrîm and Ḳîrḳ-yir in 847/1443 (Retovski, nos. 1-4; A. K. Markov, *Inventarnîy kat. musulmanskikh monet Imp. Ermitaža*, St. Petersburg 1896, 534, no. 5), and in the accounts registers of the Genoese of Kefe (spring 845/1442) there is mention of a victory of his (*Agicarei imperatoris tatarorum*) over Seyyid Aḥmed (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . ., i, 35, 36; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 231, n. 1). In 849/1445 Ḥadjdjī Girāy made an alliance with Casimir IV of Poland, close cooperation with Lithuania and Poland being always his policy. In 856/1452 he attacked from the rear and defeated Seyyid Aḥmed when the latter invaded Casimir's territories.

In Djumādā II 858/June 1454 he entered into an agreement with the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II, who had just taken Constantinople, in order to capture Kefe from the Genoese. When the Ottoman fleet approached Kefe, the Khān invested the town by land with 7000 men (18 Radjab 858/14 July 1454), but the town held out; Ḥādjdjī Girāy withdrew, agreeing to accept in future the annual tribute of 1200 gold pieces which the Genoese had earlier undertaken to pay. Later, it seems, the Genoese succeeded in turning the tribal leaders of the Crimea against Ḥādjdjī Girāy; they deposed him and made his son Ḥaydar khān in his place (860/1456). After a few months Ḥaydar was obliged to flee and Ḥādjdjī Girāy resumed power; from thenceforward he had good relations with the Genoese (Colli, *op. cit.*, 120-1; W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 398).

Confronted by the efforts of Seyyid Aḥmed Khān to restore the former power and unity of the Golden Horde, Ḥādjdjī Girāy maintained the old alliance with Lithuania and Poland, who were faced by the same threat, and also acted in concert with the grand prince of Moscow (Spuler, 170-4). He thus played an important part in the fragmentation of the Golden Horde. When Sayyid Aḥmad marched on Moscow in Muḥarram 870/July-August 1465, Ḥādjdjī Girāy attacked him near the Don and obliged him to withdraw. The attempt of the Papacy to use him against the Ottomans (H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, 451) shows that he was at this time one of the most powerful figures of Eastern Europe.

His *yarlîgh* of 26 Ṣafar 857/8 March 1453 gives important details about the extent of his territories: his capital (*Orda-i muʿaẓẓam, Sarāy*) was at that time Ḳîrḳ-yir (cf. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 102 ff.); his suzerainty extended over Ḳîrḳ-yir, Ḳîrîm (Solghat), Kefe, Kerč, Taman, Ḳabada, and Ḳîpčaḳ. The tribal forces of the Crimea, the *Ḳîrîm tumanî* (6000-7000 men), were under the command of the *beg* of the Shirin, Iminek; the tribesfolk of the Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ were not to be relied on. Coins of his, struck at Ḳîrîm in 845, 847, 867 and 871, and at Ḳîrḳ-yir in 847, 858 and 867, are known (see Retovski, Markov, Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*). Pero Tafur's description, of 841/1437, of the *Ordu-bazar* near Solghat (*Travels and adventures*, ed. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 136) shows that he maintained the traditions of nomadic life; but Ḳîrḳ-yir was a powerful fortress.

Ḥādjdjī Girāy died towards the end of the summer of 871/1466 (Heyd, ii, 398; *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, 73), and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors at Saladjîḳ near Baghčesarāy (Simferopol). He had eight sons: Dewlet-yār, Nūr-dewlet Khān, Ḥaydar Khān, Ḳutluḳ-zamān, Kildish, Mingli Girāy Khān [*q.v.*],

Yamghurdjī and Özdemir (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara*, 184).

Bibliography: In the article. See also GIRĀY.

(HALIL İNALCIK)

ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA [see KĀTIB ČELEBI].

ḤĀDJDJĪ NASĪM OGHLU [see AK ḤISĀRĪ].

ḤĀDJDJĪ PASHA, DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHIḌR B. ʿALĪ, eminent 8th/14th century Turkish physician and author of several important medical texts, including the famous *Shifāʾ al-askām wa dawāʾ al-ālām* (Brockelmann, II, 233; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1049). He was born about the second quarter of the 8th/14th century in Konya (and not Aydîn, as stated by Ṭashköprü-zāde, *Shakāʾik al-nuʿmāniyya*, in marg. of Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, 114; Turkish trans. by Medjdī, Istanbul 1269, 74), whence he went to Cairo to study under Mubārak Shāh al-Manṭiḳī and Akmal al-Dīn Bārbartī. As the result of an illness, he changed his studies from *fiḳh* to medicine, and his abilities were great enough to secure for him later the position of chief physician in the Manṣūriyya hospital. Early in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century he returned to Anatolia, where he entered the employ of the Aydîn-oghlu dynasty, serving both as physician and as *ḳāḍī*, and it was to ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Aydîn that he dedicated his *Shifāʾ* (783/1381). His death occurred in the 20's of the 9th/15th century, and he is buried in Birgi.

His works, most of which are in Arabic, include philosophy, mysticism and Ḳurʾānic exegesis, but it is his medical writings which have assured his fame. However, even the scholars who would most insist on his importance in the history of Turkish medicine can claim little originality for his work, and it is probably his Turkish abridgments and simplifications of the *Shifāʾ*—known as the *Muntakhab* and the *Tashīl*—which most command interest today, being amongst the earliest specimens of Ottoman didactic prose. Both have been used and quoted extensively in Vol. ii of the historical dictionary (*Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*) published by the Turkish Linguistic Society.

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(J. WALSH)

ḤĀDJIB, term which may be translated approximately as chamberlain, used in Muslim countries for the person responsible for guarding the door of access to the ruler, so that only approved visitors may approach him. The term quickly became a title corresponding to a position in the court and to an office the exact nature of which varied considerably in different regions and in different periods. Basically the Master of Ceremonies, the *ḥādjib* often appears as being in fact a superintendent of the Palace, a chief of the guard or a righter of wrongs, sometimes even as a chief minister or a head of government. The word *ḥādjib* itself is derived from the verb *ḥadjaba* "to prevent", and should be considered in conjunction with the term *ḥidjāb* which, together with *sitr*, denotes the curtain used, in accordance with a custom widespread in the Orient before the time of Islam, to conceal the sovereign from the gaze of courtiers or visitors (for the arguments for and against this custom, see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥidjāb*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, Cairo 1352/1933, 155-86; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ch. xvii).

i.—THE CALIPHATE.

The *ḥādjib* makes his appearance at the very beginning of the Umayyad period. Certain chroniclers list carefully the names of the persons, nearly all freedmen or clients, who were chamberlains to the first caliphs, from the reign of Muʿāwiya onwards; various texts prove that even at that time palace ceremonial was already developed, so that the importance of the *ḥādjib* can readily be understood. The chamberlain not only introduced into the sovereign's presence friends and visitors; he also supervised the organization of the solemn audiences, at which those present formed themselves into two groups on either side of the hall, leaving the centre of the floor vacant for those who were admitted to address the caliph. At this period the *ḥādjib* figures in the caliph's entourage on a level with the secretaries (*kuttāb*), with no pretension to equal in dignity the representatives of the Arab aristocracy.

The situation changed considerably with the coming of the ʿAbbāsids, who bestowed a more exalted place upon their *mawālī* assistants. The two most important offices of the Court were now those of the *wazīr* and the *ḥādjib*, both granted to *mawālī*, sometimes of very humble origin. The rank of the *ḥādjib* was inferior to that of the *wazīr*, as appears from the account of how the "vizierate" was granted to the *ḥādjib* al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus in the reign of al-Manṣūr. The chamberlain, appointed from among the Palace servants, was the head of the domestic staff of the palace as well as master of ceremonies; he might also occasionally be commanded to eliminate by violent means persons who had displeased the caliph.

During the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid period there was, it is clear, a constant rivalry between the *wazīr*, whose functions are not yet clearly defined but who already assists the ruler in the tasks of administration and government, and the *ḥādjib*, who sometimes managed to procure the removal of the *wazīr* in office and to occupy his place. The chamberlains, former Palace servants, are the rivals of the professional secretaries from whom, for the most part, the viziers were appointed. Thus under al-Manṣūr the chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus was granted the vizierate after the dismissal of Abū Ayyūb and later, under Hārūn, his son al-Faḍl was appointed vizier after the disgrace of the Barāmika [*q.v.*]. In the middle of the 3rd/9th century the rivalry persisted, but at this time the chamberlains were usually recruited from among the new Turkish *ghulāms* [*q.v.*] of the caliphs; such was the case of Ītākh, the *ḥādjib* of al-Mutawakkil, who found himself occupying the highest position when the caliph decided to dispense with a vizier.

At the end of this century the authority of the chamberlain had diminished somewhat compared with that of the *wazīr* who, with a staff of highly specialized *kuttāb*, had become in fact a head of government. He was rivalled also by the *amīr* who, at this period, was the commander in chief of the army. Yet his influence was not negligible, becoming apparent particularly when there were palace revolutions, for he had directly under his orders certain detachemnts of the guard, notably the *Maṣāffiyya*. Thus the attitude of the chamberlain Sawsan was the determining factor in the unsuccessful coup d'état against al-Muḳtadir in 296/908. During the reign of this caliph another chamberlain, Naṣr al-Ḳushūrī, who held office continuously from 296/908 until 317/929 whereas the viziers were constantly changing, came to play an important part in the choice of these ministers whom, moreover, it was his responsibility to arrest when they fell out of favour.

From 317/929 onwards, however, the year of another unsuccessful coup d'état against al-Muḳtadir, the *ḥādjib*'s post assumed more of a military aspect and the chamberlains became rivals of the *amīrs*, who by now had succeeded in gradually supplanting the viziers and in imposing their authority on the caliph. The new chamberlain, an officer and former governor named Yāḳūt, was for some time able to hold his own with the all-powerful Muʾnis and to have his own son appointed Prefect of the Police. But both father and son were dismissed soon afterwards at the demand of Muʾnis, who procured the appointment to the *ḥidjāba* of two devoted officers of his, the Banū Rāʾiḳ. Under the next caliph, al-Ḳāhir, the post of chamberlain was again granted to a soldier, Ibn Yalbaḳ, who, in the course of a short "reign", attempted to gain control of the person of the sovereign and even to impose his own Shīʿī convictions. Thereafter the *ḥidjāba* was associated with the supreme command: the new chamberlain of al-Rāḍī, Ibn Yāḳūt, who was at the same time *amīr*, took over the government and controlled the viziers. The chamberlains were on the point of becoming the real masters of the State, at this period when the authority of the caliph was becoming daily weaker; but they did not enjoy so great financial resources as the provincial governors, to whom they were obliged to yield place. It is for this reason that the caliph finally selected, as the person entrusted with the task of government, the *amīr* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, who received the title *amīr al-umarāʾ* in 324/936. As a compensation, the chamberlain's title was made more exalted: in 329/941 he became *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*, a more impressive title, although the number of *ḥudjdjāb* under him was decreased.

At this period, as appears from the statements of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, the official duties of the chamberlain were still to supervise all the persons concerned with the service or the guard of the sovereign, to control all that went on within the palace, and to organize the audiences, determining precisely the positions of the various dignitaries and courtiers (*tartīb al-ḥawāshī*).

ii.—SPAIN.

In Muslim Spain the position of the *ḥādjib* was very different from what it was in the East. In the amīrate, and later the caliphate, of Cordova, the title of *ḥādjib* was always superior to that of *wazīr*, the latter belonging to mere counsellors of diverse origins, whom the ruler gathered around him and from among whom, almost invariably, he chose the *ḥādjib*. The *ḥādjib* assisted the prince in the tasks of administration and government and acted as chief minister, controlling the three services of the civil administration, namely the royal residence, the chancellery and the financial department. The *ḥidjāba* did indeed remain vacant for some thirty years in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, but it was filled again, on his death in 351/962, by his son al-Ḥakam II; a few years later it served as a spring-board for the ambitions of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the Arab-born secretary who in 367/978 procured for himself appointment to the *ḥidjāba* and managed to gather all power in his hands, becoming, in the reign of the young Hishām II, in effect "Mayor of the Palace"; in 371/981 he adopted a royal *laḳab*, al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh, caused his name to be mentioned in the *khuṭba* immediately after that of the caliph, and then in 386/996 had himself called *al-sayyid* and *al-malik al-karīm*. The prestige thus attached to the title of *ḥādjib* did not disappear, for with the break-up of the Umayyad empire in Spain the princelings of the *ṭawāʾif* adopted the title of *ḥādjib* in preference to that of *malik*, in order to indicate that they regarded themselves as representatives of the caliph.

Bibliography: J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Medine*, Paris 1947, 131; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index; idem, *Questions de cérémonial ʿabbāside*, in *REI*, 1960, 121-48; Yaʿḳūbī, *passim* (at the end of each reign); Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *passim* (at the end of each reign); Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, Baghdad 1964, 71-9; idem, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 154; Ṣūlī, *Akhbar al-Râdi billâh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iii, 272; Ibn Khaldūn-de Slane, ii, 5, 7, 11-6; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 165 ff., iii, 18-20

(D. SOURDEL)

iii. — EASTERN DYNASTIES.

As is shown by such works as Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā* and al-Khʷārizmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, both the palace administration and the bureaucracy of the Sāmānids were modelled on those of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. The Sāmānid *Ḥādjib* thus grew out of the *Amīr*'s own household, although by the middle years of the 4th/10th century, and probably earlier than this, he was no longer purely a domestic official of the palace but primarily a high military commander. Since the core of the Sāmānid army was the Turkish slave guard [see GHULĀM, Persia], the Chief *Ḥādjib* (*al-Ḥādjib al-Kabīr*, *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb*, *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg*) combined the twin functions of head of the palace establishment and Commander-in-Chief of the army. Thus, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ (343-50/954-61) this office was held by Alptigin [*q.v.*], Sebüktigin's master. As Alptigin's career shows, the power of the Sāmānid Chief *Ḥādjib* was such that he could aspire to supreme power in the state after that of the *Amīr*, and could even attempt to play the rôle of king-maker. Other Turkish *ghulām* officers held the rank of simple *ḥādjib* or general beneath the Chief *Ḥādjib*. These *ghulām* generals were sometimes appointed to provincial governorships; until his death in 387/997, Sebüktigin regarded himself as governor in Ghazna for the Sāmānids, and on his tomb he is described as *al-Ḥādjib al-Adjall* "Most exalted general" (cf. S. Flury, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, vi (1925), 62-3). According to Niẓām al-Mulk's account of the training of *ghulāms* at the Sāmānid court (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxvii), the rank of *ḥādjib* was attained after a man had passed through the grades of *withāḳ-bāshī* "tent leader" and *khayl-bāshī* "detachment commander" (the whole of this account should, however, be treated with caution; cf. Bosworth in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 45).

Miskawayh's use of the term *ḥādjib* shows that it was known as a military rank in the Būyid army, again with the meaning of "general". It does not seem to have implied the headship of a palace organization, for this last institution was not developed amongst the Būyids to the same extent as in the more centralized Sāmānid and Ghaznavid states. Miskawayh speaks of the army of ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār (356-67/967-78) and implies an ascending hierarchy of *naḳīb*, *ḳāʾid* and *ḥādjib*: "They [*sc.* the army] .... urged him to treat them just as his father [*sc.* Muʿizz al-Dawla] had done in regard to appointments as *Ḥādjib*, *Ḳāʾid* and *Naḳīb*, and in regard to general promotion policy" (*Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 236, cf. 262, tr. v, 251, cf. 279).

The office of *Ḥādjib* passed from the Sāmānids to

the Ghaznavids, their successors in Khurāsān, and Bayhaḳī's *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* shows the wide extent of its usage in Ghaznavid military life. As with the Sāmānids, the Commander-in-Chief of the army under the Sultan held the title of *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg*, and there were *ḥādjibs*, generals, directly beneath him. These top commanders had the special designation of a black cloak, a distinctive type of belt and a two-pointed cap (*kulāh-i dū-shākh*). The majority of them were Turks. It seems that the Ghaznavid *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg*, compared with the Sāmānid one, was one step further away from possessing direct control over the palace organization, for the day-to-day running of this was in the hands of a *Wakīl-i khāṣṣ* and the palace guard was responsible to a special general officer, the *Sālār-i Ghulāmān-i Sarāy* (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 68, 101, 138). He was nevertheless a most powerful and influential figure. In the succession dispute of 421/1030 after Maḥmūd's death, the *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg* was 'Alī Ḳarīb or 'Ali Khwīshāwand, a kinsman of the dead Sultan, and it was the transfer of his support from Muḥammad to Mas'ūd that gave the latter a bloodless victory over his brother (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 92-3; Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 1, 12 ff., 50 ff.). When the Sultan did not act personally as war-leader, the *Ḥādjib-i Buzurg* had supreme responsibility in the field; thus until just before the final disaster at Dandānḳān in 431/1040, Mas'ūd left the fighting in Khurāsān against the incoming Saldjūḳs to his Commander-in-Chief, Sübashī Tigin.

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkestan*, 227; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 142; Spuler, *Iran*, 337-9; Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 37-77; M. F. Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v. Hâcib, with much useful detail on the Sāmānid and Ghaznavid periods. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

In the Saldjūḳ period, there appears to have been a general tendency for the importance of the office of *amīr ḥādjib* to decline, relative to Ghaznawid times. He was no longer specifically the commander of the army but rather a court official. The various army commanders tended to be referred to by the title *isfahsālār* or *sipahsālār*. The *amīr ḥādjib*, however, like all the *amīrs* naturally took part in military expeditions and in some cases commanded a section of the army of one of the Saldjūḳ sultans or *maliks*. Thus, for example, 'Alī b. 'Umar, the *amīr ḥādjib* of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, led the advance guard against Sandjar (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 386); he eventually became paymaster of the army (*ibid.*, x, 391).

Rāwandī, quoting the alleged practice of the Sāsānian Ardashīr b. Bābak, states (p. 97) that a king needed a *wazīr* for the maintenance of the stability of his kingdom, a *ḥādjib* who would administer punishment (*siyāsat afzāyad*), a courtier (*nadīm*) and a secretary (*dabīr*). Niẓām al-Mulk describes the functions of the *ḥādjib* as those of a court official. But since the court was a military court, the *amīr ḥādjib* was, in practice, normally a Turkish *amīr* and the men under him were usually *ghulāms* (military slaves, see GHULĀM; cf. *Siyāsat-nāma*, 94-5, and the description of Sāmānid practice cited above). He was concerned with military discipline as well as court ceremonial; he was the most important official at the court, ranking above the *amīr ḥaras* (chief of the guard and chief executioner, *ibid.*, 121). Under Muḥammad b. Malikshāh the *amīr ḥādjib* acted as intermediary between the sultan and the *wazīr*; he received the orders of the sultan and passed them on to the *wazīr* (Bundārī, 117). Niẓām al-Mulk also mentions an official whom he calls the *ḥādjib-i dargāh*, who was in charge of ceremony and procedure at the royal court (*ibid.*, 111). It is not clear whether his office was different from that of the *amīr ḥādjib*; but it is probable that the two were the same.

Rāwandī mentions at the beginning of each reign the *wazīrs* and *ḥudjdjāb* of the sultan. Some of these were comparatively unknown persons; others, however, like the *amīr* Ḳomač, *ḥādjib* to Malikshāh and Barkyāruḳ (pp. 125, 139), Khāṣṣ Beg, the *ḥādjib* of Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad (p. 225) and Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd (p. 249), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭoghan-yürek(?), also *ḥādjib* to Mas'ūd (p. 225), the *atābeg* Ayyāz, *ḥādjib* to Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (p. 259) and Arslān b. Ṭoghrīl (p. 282), the *atābeg* Pahlavān, *ḥādjib* to Arslān b. Ṭoghrīl (p. 282), and the *atābeg* Āy Āba, *ḥādjib* to Ṭoghrīl b. Arslān (p. 331) were among the powerful *amīrs* of the day. There does not appear to have been any hereditary tendency in the office, and Rāwandī records only one case of a father and son both holding the office of *ḥādjib*, namely 'Alī Bār, who was *ḥādjib* to Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, and his son Muḥammad, who was *ḥādjib* to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (pp. 153, 203). In addition to the *amīr ḥādjib*, there were a number of lesser chamberlains (*ḥudjdjāb*) at the court (cf. H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Gross-Selğuqen und Ḫorazmšahs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 103, 105).

The great *amīrs* and provincial governors had their own courts and they, too, had their own *ḥādjibs*. Ibn al-Athīr mentions Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghsiyānī(?), who was *amīr ḥādjib* to al-Bursuḳī and subsequently to 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (x, 453, 454).

Many prominent men also had their *ḥādjibs* or chamberlains, who were not necessarily members of the military class; this was also the case in Tīmūrid times (cf. H. F. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 42, 55).

Under the Ilkhāns the *ḥādjib* was a chamberlain, and so far as the royal court or the provincial courts were concerned tended to be a member of the military classes. Under the Tīmūrids the *ḥudjdjāb* are mentioned among the officials of the court and ranked below the *nuwwāb-i ḥaḍrat* (cf. Tādj al-Salmānī, *Šams al-ḥusn*, ed. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1956, 29). There was a change of terminology under the Ṣafawids, the chief *ḥādjib* becoming known as the *ishik-āḳāsī bāshī* [*q.v.*], whose functions were similar to those of the *ḥādjib-i dargāh* mentioned by Niẓām al-Mulk. (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

iv. — EGYPT AND SYRIA.

The chief chamberlain of the Fāṭimid court was an exalted functionary known as the *Ṣāḥib al-bāb* [*q.v.*]; his subordinates, however, were called *ḥādjibs*, and he himself is occasionally referred to as the *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*, in place of his more usual title. In describing the officers required for the Fāṭimid chancery, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (*Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasā'il*, Cairo 1905, 115; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 136-7) speaks of a *ḥādjib al-dīwān*, whose duty was to keep out unauthorized visitors and thus safeguard the secrets of the state. The Seldjūḳid rulers of Syria introduced the military *ḥādjib* familiar in the East; Zangid and Ayyūbid institutions, in this as in other respects, show strong signs of Seldjūḳ influence. The *ḥādjib* is now a military officer, with military functions—as for example to command a citadel (Abū

Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, ii, 69), to act as *Shiḥna* (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 208, 224, 234) or, sometimes, as envoy (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 293), or to "encourage" the troops (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 132; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 133). The term *ḥādjib* was still, however, used in Egypt in the 7th/13th century in the sense of chamberlain (as for example in a verse of Ibn al-Nabīh, d. 686/1287, who links it with the Persian term *pardadār* [*q.v.*]; cited in *Eos*, ed. A. T. Hatto, The Hague 1965, 271).

In the Mamlūk Sultanate, the *ḥādjib* still retains some of the functions of a chamberlain. The chief *ḥādjib*—*ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*—presents envoys, guests, petitioners and other callers at the Sultan's court; he is also responsible for the organization of military parades. The primary functions of the *ḥādjib*s under the Mamlūks, however, were not ceremonial but judicial—the administration of justice among members of the Mamlūk military class, in accordance with the laws of the Mongol *Yasa* [*q.v.*]. According to some Egyptian sources, this separate jurisdiction was set up in the time of Baybars, when the Mamlūks and Mongols became an important element in the Syro-Egyptian state and, though islamized, insisted on following Mongol custom in personal matters. "They therefore set up the *ḥādjib*", says Maḳrīzī, "to adjudicate disputes between them, to restrain the strong among them and give justice to the weak, in accordance with the rules of the *yasa*. They also assigned to him ... disputes concerning *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] ..." (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 221; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, vii, 183 ff.). The *ḥādjib*'s courts thus maintained a form of feudal privilege, whereby the Mamlūks had immunity from the courts and laws to which the natives were subject—that is, the *ḳāḍī*'s courts administering the *Sharīʿa*, and were answerable only to special military courts, with Mamlūk not native judges, administering the *yasa*—the laws of the most powerful and most respected of the steppe peoples, among which most of the Mamlūks were recruited. These special courts dealt with matters concerning members of the Mamlūk class, including lawsuits about their fiefs.

In time, the scope and scale of the chief *ḥādjib*'s judicial actions were considerably increased. At first, he was subordinate to the Sultan's viceroy in Egypt, the *Nāʾib al-salṭana* [*q.v.*], but gained greatly in power when this office was left vacant or, later, allowed to lapse. Maḳrīzī dates the usurpation of Islamic judicial authority by the *ḥadjib*s from the mid 8th/14th century. Sultan Shaʿbān (746-7/1345-6) transferred the judicial power previously exercised by the *nāʾib al-salṭana* to the chief *ḥādjib*, who thus became head of an independent court dispensing administrative (*siyāsī*) justice. During the reign of Ḥādjdjī the *nāʾib*'s authority was restored, and the chief *ḥādjib* reverted to his previous status. This set-back was, however, only temporary. In 753/1352 a group of merchants from the Mongol lands appealed to the Sultan for justice against their Egyptian debtors, after failing to obtain satisfaction through the *Ḳāḍī*'s court. The Sultan referred the case for decision to the chief *ḥādjib* Djurdjī, who dealt with the matter by torturing the debtors until they paid their debts. The sultan was displeased with the *Ḳāḍī*, and forbade him to try cases between foreign and Cairene merchants. From this time on, says Maḳrīzī, the *ḥādjib*s acquired arbitrary authority over the people (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 221-2; cf. *Sulūk*, ii, 863). After the troubles of 806/1403-4, he says, the *ḥadjib*s became more numerous and more oppressive (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 221). In the time of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815-24/1412-21) even the office of *muḥtasib* was given, for the first time, to the *Amīr ḥādjib* instead of to one of the *ʿulamāʾ* as previously (Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 210). The Muslim sources complain of the encroachments of the *ḥādjib*s, who deal with cases involving native civilians, and even presume to give rulings according to Muslim law. Many litigants preferred the more expeditious and better enforced decisions of the *ḥādjib* to those of the *ḳāḍi*, while the *ḥādjib* for his part had a financial interest in dealing with more cases. Maḳrīzī speaks of Mamlūk *amīr*s who held no fief but lived entirely on fees and fines which they collected as judges. "Today the *ḥādjib* has come to be the judge of the mighty and the humble alike, whether the case be one of *sharʿī* or of what they call administrative (*siyāsī*) justice" (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 219-20).

At first there were three senior officers at the centre: the *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*, the *ḥādjib*, and the *ḥādjib thānī*; Barḳūḳ increased the number to five. The position of the chief *ḥādjib* in the table of precedence varies, at different times and in different sources, from the 3rd to the 12th place after the Sultan. The chief *ḥādjib* (*amīr ḥādjib*) of a provincial city ranked third, and sometimes second, after the governor, whom he could replace in an emergency. Subordinate *ḥadjib*s served under him, in varying numbers. In Damascus, Aleppo and sometimes Tripoli the chief *ḥādjib* was an *amīr* of the first class, in Ṣafad, Ḥamāt and Ghazza of the second class. In Barḳūḳ's time there were six lesser *ḥādjib*s in Damascus, three in Aleppo, two or one in other towns.

Ḳāʾit Bay introduced a new functionary, with the Persian title *pardadār*, to discharge the duties of court chamberlain. This office, held by an *amīr* of the second class, continued to the end of the Mamlūk Sultanate.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 402-3, ii, 54-5, 64-5, 208 ff. (on the procedure of the *Dār al-ʿAdl*), 219-22 (cf. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, ii, Paris 1826, 55-66 of Arabic text and 157-90 of French text); Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, vii, 185-6; Popper, v, vi, vii, *passim*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 11-15 = Rosenthal, ii, 14-19; ii, 100-3 = Rosenthal, ii, 111-3, on the historical significance of the restriction of access to the sovereign, and index; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 19-20, 185-6, 218, 233, 238, v, 449-50, ix, 14-6; Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, 114-5; Ibn Iyās, iv, 29-30; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 93 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des mameloukes*, Paris 1923, index; Van Berchem, *CIA*, i, 567-8; A. N. Poliak, *Le caractère colonial de l'état mamelouk* ..., in *RÉI* (1935), 235-6; idem, *Feudalism in Egypt*..., London 1939, 14-5; Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*, 378-80; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army III*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 60; W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans ... systematic notes ...*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1955, 92, 105; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, [2]Leiden 1960, 537-44.

V.—North Africa.

In North Africa, the office of *ḥādjib*, which had existed under the Fāṭimids, disappeared shortly afterwards—certainly under the Zīrids—to be of importance again under the Ḥafṣids. The institution of the *ḥidjāba* seems to have been introduced from Spain into Ifrīḳiya, where at first, in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ (678-82/1279-83), the *ḥādjib* was merely a kind of superintendent of the palace, acting at the same time as the intermediary "between the sovereign and persons of all classes"; after the reign of Abū

Ḥafṣ (683-94/1284-95), the *ḥidjāba* proper was separated from the control of the palace accounts, and the *ḥādjib* acquired increasing importance, to the degree that Abū Bakr (718-47/1318-46) used his *ḥādjib* as his chief minister, introducing in Tunis the practice of the *amīrs* of Constantine and Bougie to make the local *ḥādjib* their right-hand man; the most influential "chamberlain" was Ibn Tafrāgīn, who, in the second half of the reign of Abū Bakr, made the *ḥidjāba*, already an influential office, a post of great responsibility, "by the extent of its powers almost a dictatorship, and soon, under a young sultan, the means to hold him in tutelage and to make all the machinery of the state work as he wished"; for more than twenty years it was he who controlled the whole administration of the realm and directed its policy as he pleased. After the Ḥafṣid restoration in the last third of the 8th/14th century, the title of *ḥādjib* was maintained but the powers attached to the office were suppressed, the chamberlain becoming once more a kind of *chef du protocole*. See H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 54 ff. and index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo ed., ii, 210, tr de Slane, ii, 15, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 18.

Further west, the *ḥādjib* of the Marīnids was at Fās an intimate of the ruler, while at Tlemcen, under the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] he became the major-domo of the palace and minister of finance, but disappeared almost completely after the Marīnid interregnum.

See further ḲAPĪDJĪ, MĀBEYNDJI, PARDADĀR, ṢĀḤIB AL-BĀB, TESHRĪFĀTČĪ. (ED.)

ḤĀDJIB B. **ZURĀRA** B. ʿUDUS B. ZAYD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. DĀRIM B. MĀLIK B. ḤANẒALA B. MĀLIK B. ZAYD MANĀT B. TAMĪM, an eminent *sayyid* of the Dārim of Tamīm in the period of the Djāhiliyya. His name was, according to Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān, Zayd, and his *kunya* Abū ʿIkrisha.

Ḥādjib, a member of one of the noblest families of Bedouin society, was known for his mildness. A particular incident in connexion with Ḳurād b. Ḥanīfa later caused Ḥādjib to kill Ḳurād, which led to clashes between some families of Dārim.

The first battle attended by Ḥādjib was the battle of Djabala [*q.v.*]. He was captured and freed himself by paying the exceedingly high ransom of 1100 camels. He headed the troops of Tamīm in the encounters of al-Nisār and al-Djifār and was defeated.

Ḥādjib continued the tradition of friendly relations between al-Ḥīra and the Dārim and attempted to gain for the Dārim the privilege of the *ridāfa*, which had been entrusted by the rulers of al-Ḥīra to another branch of Tamīm, the Yarbūʿ. The Yarbūʿ refused to cede the *ridāfa* to the Dārim, marched out against the forces of al-Ḥīra sent against them, and defeated them at Ṭikhfa.

Ḥādjib attained fame through a visit to the court of Persia. He asked the Persian ruler to permit his people to pasture their herds in the Persian territory, since they were suffering from a heavy drought caused by the curse of the Prophet on Muḍar. Ḥādjib left his bow as pledge, promising that his people would not harass the subjects of the Persian ruler. When the Prophet lifted his curse, Ḥādjib was already dead. His son ʿUṭārid went to the Persian king, who returned to him the bow and granted him a precious suit of clothes, which ʿUṭārid presented to the Prophet while visiting him with the delegation of Tamīm in 9/630. The Prophet, however, refused to accept the gift.

This widely current story is contradicted by a report recorded in a commentary of Abū Tammām's *Dīwān*. According to this report Ḥādjib gave his bow as pledge when he was entrusted by the Persian ruler to escort a caravan to ʿUkāẓ. After he had successfully carried out his mission he was "crowned" by the ruler of Persia.

Some traditions claim that Ḥādjib embraced the religion of the Magians. Whether Ḥādjib met the Prophet is rather doubtful, since traditions claiming this seem not to be trustworthy. He died in the twenties of the 7th century.

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ḤADJIEWAD [see KARAGÖZ].

BANŪ **HĀDJIR,** Bedouin tribe of Eastern Arabia. Its members (sing. Hādjirī) trace their ancestry to Ḳaḥṭān through Hādjir and Manṣūr, eponym of al-Manāṣīr tribe. The two groups, known together as ʿIyāl Manṣūr, have frequently been allies. Banū Hādjir, according to their traditions, migrated to Eastern Arabia from the Tathlīth area in south-western Arabia. They claim kinship with the Djanb and Āl Shurayf tribes of Eastern ʿAsīr. Their move to the east, said to have been made for economic advantage, probably occurred two or three hundred years ago. Sections of the tribe now range the Ḳaṭar Peninsula and, in Saudi Arabia, the districts north and northeast of al-Ḥasā Oasis known as al-Djawf and al-Bayḍāʾ.

The camel-raising al-Mukhaḍḍaba (also known as al-Makhāḍīb, sing. Makhḍūbī), one of the two main tribal divisions, had the Ḳaṭar Peninsula as its *dīra* until about 1900. The other main division, Āl Muḥammad, whose economy was based on sheep

herding, occupied central al-Ḥasā Province (now Eastern Province). Always loyal to Ibn Saʿūd in his wars against al-ʿUdjmān, Muṭayr, and other tribes, Banū Hādjir were awarded the pasture area of al-Djawf. During the period of *Ikhwān* settlement, Banū Hādjir established colonies in al-Djawf at Yakrub, Shuhaylāʾ, Ṣalāṣil, Fūda, and ʿAyn Dār. With the decline of the *Ikhwān* colonies after 1930, these villages were abandoned. The Saudi Arabian Government was in 1382/1963 encouraging resettlement of these sites; and a few Banū Hādjir groups, particularly Āl Ḥamra, were cultivating small plots.

Ḥamūd b. Shāfī b. Sālim Ibn Shāfī of al-Shabāʿīn (of al-Mazāhima section of al-Mukhaḍḍaba) is paramount *shaykh* of Banū Hādjir. He succeeded his father, who died in al-Kuwayt during the winter of 1375/1955-56. The shaykhly household has summered at al-Rayyān, nine km west of al-Dawḥa, in Ḳaṭar, since 1378/1959.

Bibliography: M. v. Oppenheim and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, iii/1, Wiesbaden 1952, 154-6; G. Rentz, *Notes on Oppenheim's Die Beduinen*, in *Oriens*, 1957, 77-89.

(G. Rentz and J. Mandaville)

ḤADJR (A.), literally prevention, inhibition, is the technical term for the interdiction, the restriction of the capacity to dispose. The term expresses both the act of imposing this restriction and the resulting status; a person who is in this status is called *maḥdjūr* (abbreviated from *maḥdjūr ʿalayh*). Subject to *ḥadjr* are (a) the minor, (b) the insane, (c) the irresponsible, and in particular the spendthrift, (d) the bankrupt, (e) a person during his mortal illness, and (f) the slave. Whether *ḥadjr* comes into being automatically or needs to be imposed by the *ḳāḍī*, is a subject of controversy between the several schools in the cases (b), (c), and (d), and so are numerous questions of detail. Abū Ḥanīfa, for instance, denied that the irresponsible person who was of age was subject to *ḥadjr*; Abū Yūsuf and Shaybānī held that he was, and, in addition to the spendthrift, they regarded as liable to *ḥadjr* a debtor who refused to sell his property in order to pay his debt, a debtor of whom it was feared that he would spirit away his property by fictitious transactions (these two rulings obviously link up with the *ḥadjr* of the bankrupt), and a person who by the use of his own property caused prejudice to his neigbours. The extent of the *ḥadjr* or, conversely, the kind of transactions which the *maḥdjūr* is entitled to conclude on his own, varies according to the type of case; the *ḥadjr* covers all transactions of the insane, so much so that he cannot even validly adopt Islam if he is a non-Muslim, and of the minor; the others are, generally speaking, entitled to make certain dispositions of a personal nature, such as repudiation (supposing they are married), although these may create pecuniary obligations; the bankrupt is, in principle, prevented only from diminishing his assets, and a person during his mortal illness only from concluding unilaterally disadvantageous transactions if, taken together with any legacies he may have made, they amount to more than one third of the estate. The *ḥadjr* imposed on recalcitrant debtors and on persons who cause prejudice to their neighbours applies only to the transactions and dispositions which are directly relevant. Some texts list many more classes of persons under *ḥadjr*, and sometimes even the dead are included. The curator of the *maḥdjūr* (his guardian in the case of a minor) is called *walī*, and his power to represent his ward, *wilāya* [*q.v.*]. It is, as a rule, either the father or the grandfather, or the *ḳāḍī* or his representative, and the master in the case of a slave. He may confer on the minor the capacity to dispose, but not with regard to purely disadvantageous transactions, and in particular, the master may confer the capacity to dispose upon his slave, whether for a single transaction, such as getting married, or in general, for trade; a slave who has received this last permission is called *maʾdhūn*. This permission, too, does not include unilaterally disadvantageous transactions. The revocation of this permission is also called *ḥadjr*.

This concept of *ḥadjr* has formed the subject of a number of legislative measures in Algeria and in British India.

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AL-**ḤAḌR**, Arabic name of the ancient Hatra (Atra, Ἄτραι), situated in the desert to the west of the Tharthār, three short days' march to the south-west of al-Mawṣil. The Arab geographers, who no longer knew the exact site of this former caravan and commercial centre, provide certain legendary details regarding its ancient greatness. According to Yāḳūt (ii, 282), it was built entirely of hewn stone and possessed 60 large towers, each of which was separated from the next by nine smaller towers and linked to a palace and baths. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī do not mention it, however, and the historians' principal reason for naming it is to relate the circumstances of its destruction by the Sāsānid Shāpūr I (Sābūr al-Djunūd), who reigned from 241 to 272 A.D.; the authors are not always entirely certain with regard to the identity of the Sāsānid king, some of them placing the event in the reign of Ardashīr, while others, Firdawsī in particular, put the date in the reign of Shāpūr II, who remained on the throne from 309-10 until 379; it is established that, in 363, the town was already in ruins, and it is probable that the little Arab kingdom of Hatra, a vassal of Rome, fell to the assault of Shāpūr I, after having successfully resisted the attacks of Ardashīr I.

The account of the Sāsānid victory is accompanied by a legend that is very widely disseminated among the Arab authors of the first centuries of Islam and derived from two sources: the first is the *Khudāynāma* translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] under the title *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam*; the second is an Arab tradition transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī and founded mainly on the verses of ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī [*q.v.*] and others of greater or lesser authenticity (see F. Gabrieli, *L'opera di Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, in *RSO*, xiii/3 (1932), 209; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī*: *Collection*

of fragments, in *WZKM*, li/4 (1950), 277 and references cited, with the addition of al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 149). The versions that we possess contain considerable divergencies, but they are all arranged according to a single plan, which is presented in the following way: an ancestor of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], named al-Ḍayzan (see *LA* for the meanings of this word in Arabic) b. Muʿāwiya (usually, b. Djabhala, from his mother's name), who was himself descended from Tanūkh b. Mālik [*q.v.*], reigned over al-Ḥaḍr with the title of Sāṭirūn (= Sanatrukes, according to Nöldeke; this title, signifying "king" in Assyrian, is sometimes regarded as the name of the founder of the town, al-Sāṭirūn b. Usayṭirūn in al-Masʿūdī); as he had plundered the territory of the Sāsānid king, the latter came and laid siege to Hatra; after two (or four) years he had still failed to capture it, and it was then that al-Ḍayzan's daughter, al-Naḍīra, saw Shāpūr, became enamoured of him, and offered to deliver the town to him if he would consent to marry her and give her first place. The circumstances of the capture of Hatra are related in various ways: al-Naḍīra made her father and the garrison intoxicated and gave the key of the town to Shāpūr, or else she showed him the way to enter the citadel by following the course of the Tharthār, or else she showed him how to render ineffective the talisman that protected the town. Shāpūr, now master of the place, massacred al-Ḍayzan and his troops, took away al-Naḍīra and married her. During the wedding night she was unable to sleep, and for hours turned restlessly on her couch, soft though it was; in the morning, Shāpūr discovered in a fold of her belly the cause of her sleeplessness, a myrtle-leaf which had lodged there (acording to another version, the leaf was found under the cushions). On discovering to what extent she had been pampered by her father, Shāpūr, indignant at such ingratitude and fearing a similar act of treachery towards himself, brought about al-Naḍīra's death by tying her by the hair to a horse's tail.

The theme of this legend is repeated in a fairy story by Hans Andersen (see A. Christensen, *La princesse sur la feuille de myrte et la princesse sur le pois*, in *AO*, xiv, 241-57).

Bibliography: For al-Ḥaḍr and al-Sāṭirūn, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 653-4; Ibn Khurrādadhbih, 94, 95, 175; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 129, 130, 135; Ibn Rustih, 90 (trans. Wiet, 100); Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 281; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 284; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, 42-3 and bibl. there given; W. Andrae, *Hatra. Nach Aufnahmen der deutsch. orient. Ges.*, Leipzig 1908; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, ii, 3 ff., 207 and bibl. cited; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 33 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.; E. Hertzfeld, in *ZDMG*, lxviii; F. Sarre and E. Hertzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911-20, ii, I, 306 ff.; Le Strange, 98-9; M. Canard, *H'amdānides*, 108-9.

For the legend of al-Naḍīra, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā, etc., i, 71-2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 119-20; Ṭabarī, i, 827 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 81-6; *Aghānī*, i, 140 (Beirut ed., ii, 116-8); Thaʿālibī, ed. Zotenberg, 492; Eutychius, ed. Cheikho, i, 106-7; Yāḳūt, s.v. Ṭīzanābādh; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 218-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAḌRA, "presence", is used broadly by mystics as a synonym of *ḥuḍūr*, "being in the presence [of Allāh]". Its correlative is *ghayba* ([*q.v.*], with references there given), "absence" from all except Allāh. On the controversy as to whether in expressing this relation to Allāh *ḥaḍra* or *ghayba* is to be preferred—that is, which is the more perfect, final element—see especially R. A. Nicholson's trans. of the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, *GMS* xvii, 1911, 248 ff. The term was later extended by Ibn ʿArabī, in working out his monistic scheme, to the "Five Divine *Ḥaḍarāt*", stages or orders of Being in the Neoplatonic chain [see ʿĀLAM and ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ AL-ḲĀSHĀNĪ]. There is a short statement of these in the *Taʿrīfāt* of Djurdjānī (Cairo 1321, 6), which has been translated by M. Horten in his *Die philosophischen Systeme des spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 294 f., where, and at p. 151, he gives also some minor uses of the term. See also L. Massignon's edition of the *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913, 183, with a reference to Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, and Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 169. In consequence, the Plotinian scheme of dynamic emanation was called in Islam *madhhab al-ḥaḍarāt* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 69; tr. de Slane, iii, 100; tr. Rosenthal, iii,89). Dervishes call their regular Friday service *ḥaḍra* [see DHIKR]. For the use of *ḥaḍra* (*ḥaḍrat*, T. *ḥaḍret*) as a title of respect, see Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, 260-4, and LAḲAB. (D. B. MACDONALD)

ḤAḌRAMAWT. The name Ḥaḍramawt is applicable in its strictest sense to the deep valley running parallel to the southern coast of Arabia from roughly 48° E. to 50° E., between precipitous walls rising to a high plateau (the Djol), which on the south separates it from the narrow coastal plain and on the north from an arid tract merging into the sand desert of the Empty Quarter of Arabia. The eastern end of this valley, where it turns south-eastward into the sea, has the special name of Wādī Masīla, and is not properly speaking part of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. In a more extended sense, however, the name Ḥaḍramawt has always been applied to a much larger area, comprising the districts to the north and south of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt proper, together with an area on the west which includes not only the highlands providing the head-waters of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt but also a number of wādī-systems draining off those highlands north-westward into the Ramlat Sabʾatayn (an outlier of sand desert isolated from the main part of the Empty Quarter) and southwards into the sea. The western limit of Ḥaḍramī territory can be said to lie approximately at longitude 47° E. [see map to AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT].

The Hebrew form of the name, Ḥaẓarmaweth, is partly modelled on the classical Arabic form, but no doubt partly influenced by a folk-etymology assuming a connexion with the idea of "presence of death" (which may also have operated to some extent on the classical Arabic form). The native Ḥaḍramī inscriptions use the spelling *ḥḍrmt*, which contrasts with the Sabaean spelling *ḥḍrmwt*; and this is in all likelihood based on the root *ḍrm* (cf. Arabic *ḍirām* "burning heat"), enlarged by a feminine termination *-ot* and a prefix comparable (as C. D. Matthews has suggested) with the definite article encountered in the present-day dialects of south-east Arabia, which fluctuates between *ʾa-*, *ha-* and *ḥa-*.

I.—PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

Evidence for the early history of this area is extremely scanty. One possible reason for this may be that some of the main urban centres have not undergone those population shifts which have, further west, left centres like Mārib, Ṣirwāḥ, Tumnaʿ,

etc. as deserted ruins capable of furnishing a rich archaeological and epigraphic booty. The two main centres of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, Shibām and Tarīm, are millennium-old foundations still in full occupation; and such archaeological evidence as may have been there has either been destroyed by subsequent occupation or is irretrievably buried under the present towns. The same may well apply to other sites in the Wādī. The only site in the whole area which has been scientifically excavated is Madhāb, an ancient village settlement on the opposite side of the Wādī ʿAmd from the modern Ḥurayḍa, excavated by Caton-Thompson in 1937-8. Some superficial investigations have been made at Shabwa, the ancient metropolis of Ḥaḍramawt. Other important sites which have been recorded are an impressive wall at Mayfaʿat (about 15 km. north of the present-day administrative centre of Mayfaʿa in the Wāḥidī sultanate); the traceable ground-plan of a large settlement at the ancient haven of Cane (just west of modern Bīr ʿAlī), with the adjoining fortress rock of *Mwyt* (modern Ḥusn al-Ghurāb); a strongly fortified wall at Libna, obstructing a valley roughly 30 km. north of present Bīr ʿAlī; and a walled town at Barīra in the Wādī Djirdān to the south of Shabwa. All these have yielded a handful of historically valuable inscriptions, but have never been properly excavated. Apart from some scattered sites which have produced a few, mostly fragmentary, inscriptions, this is the sum total of our primary sources for ancient Ḥaḍramawt. Mention should also be made, however, of a temple site described by W. F. Albright at Khor Rori on the Ẓafār coast about 50 km. east of Salāla, which appears to have been an ancient Ḥaḍrami settlement.

Our secondary sources are the data about the Chatramotitai in Greek and Latin authors (usefully extracted and summarized by C. Conti-Rossini in his *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Rome 1931); and mentions of Ḥaḍramawt in texts from further west, principally Sabaean.

The chronology of ancient Ḥaḍramawt is an even more difficult problem than that of the areas further west. Both primary and secondary sources have furnished us with a fairly ample total of names of kings of Ḥaḍramawt, but the task of sorting these out into even a relative chronology has not yet been satisfactorily achieved. The most that can be said at present is that the earliest Ḥaḍramī texts appear to be slightly later in date than the earliest large bulk of Sabaean texts, and that the independent kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt came to an end around the close of the third century A.D. Thereafter, the "kings of Saba' and Dhū-Raydān" use a formal titulature claiming Ḥaḍramawt as part of their dominions. The first ruler to do this was *šmr yhrʿš*, who figures in the Islamic sources as Shamir Yurʿish (Ṭabarī, i, 910). But even at an earlier period the population of the area appears to have included pockets of Sabaeans, to judge from some fragmentary inscriptions in early Sabaean dialect, and the fact that one "king of Saba'" (assigned by Pirenne to about 250 B.C.) exercised authority over tribes in the "highlands of Ḥaḍramawt" (*CIS*, iv, 126).

During its period of independence, Ḥaḍramawt took part in a kaleidoscopic pattern of wars and alliances with other South Arabian states, the main evidence for which is to be found in Sabaean dialect texts. The two principal political events mentioned in the native Ḥaḍramī texts are the fortification of Libna as a defence against the tribe of Ḥimyar (geographical considerations indicate that this must here imply a section of Ḥimyar occupying the coastal strip west of Mukalla, which is their present-day habitat); and the fortification of *Mwyt* (Ḥusn al-Ghurāb) in the disturbed period following the death of Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*] in the early sixth century A.D.

The situation of the "metropolis" of Ḥaḍramawt (as Eratosthenes terms it) at Shabwa is remarkable, for it lies right on the north-west perimeter of Ḥaḍramī territory in a small wadi draining into the Ramlat Sab'atayn. Evidently it owes its importance to commercial factors, since it was the principal entrepôt for the incense trade. Frankincense, produced in the Mahra country east of Ḥaḍramawt, was at this point handed over to the caravans which assured its transport up the west coast of Arabia to the markets of the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia. The salt workings in the neighbourhood may also have contributed to its commercial importance; according to Philby (*Sheba's daughters*, 91) they are today "the chief or only economic asset of the locality".

Closely connected with the trade factor was the significance of Shabwa as a cult centre. Pliny's descriptions of the methods of handling the incense at Shabwa indicate strong religious sanctions governing the process; and it remained a shrine and pilgrimage centre down to the latest days of the pre-Islamic South Arabian civilization, as is attested by a fifth century A.D. graffito there associated with the monotheistic cult of Raḥmān. In the earlier polytheistic period, the Ḥaḍramī pantheon shows a close similarity to those of other South Arabian areas, dominated by the astral triad of moon, sun and Venus-star; except that the moon god in Ḥaḍramawt bore the distinctive name Sin, borrowed from Babylonian religion. He is commonly referred to as "Sin of *'lm*", and it has been conjectured that the latter term is the name of the principal shrine of this deity.

Muslim sources are agreed that Ḥaḍramawt was the original homeland of the tribe of Kinda, an offshoot of which founded the central Arabian kingdom of Kinda [*q.v.*]; but it has to be appreciated that these were nomads, and down to about the beginning of the Christian era the nomadic populations of South Arabia were culturally totally distinct from the settled folk whose culture is the one to which our main epigraphic evidence bears witness; and this evidence has, for the earlier periods, nothing whatever to say about the nomads. Only in the few centuries before Islam do we begin to see a fusion and intermingling of the two cultures. The early Islamic writer Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb still speaks of Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt as if they are regarded as independent ethnic entities ("Ḥaḍramawt" representing the ancient settled culture), though both inhabiting the geographical Ḥaḍramī area.

The language of the pre-Islamic Ḥaḍramī inscriptions is close enough to Sabaean, Minaean and Qatabanian to rank with them as all dialects of a single "Epigraphic South Arabian" language. With Minaean and Qatabanian it constitutes a group using a sibilant for the causative verbal prefix and pronominal affixes, against Sabaean *h* in these functions. Its own main distinctive peculiarities are the use of a preposition *h*- "to, for" (Sabaean and Qatabanian *l*-, Minaean *k*-); the fact that *ṯ* and *s* have coalesced into a single phoneme spelt indifferently with either letter; and a differentiation between the masculine and feminine forms of the pronominal affix, not found in the other dialects, though parallelled in the modern Sahori dialect (see Beeston, *Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian*, § 37: 6).

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II. — Islamic Period

The editors regret that, for reasons beyond their control, they are obliged to relegate this section of the article to the Supplement.

ḤAḌŪR (Ḥaḍūr Nabī Shuʿayb), a mountain massif in the Yemen on the eastern edge of the Sarāt Alhān, some twelve miles west of Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], lying between the *wādīs* Sihām and Surdūd. It is separated from the Ḥarāz range to the west by the Ḥaymat al-Khāridjiyya [*q.v.*], known in Hamdānī's time as the Balad al-Akhrūdj and inhabited by the Sulayḥ, a branch of Hamdān. The massif is named after Ḥaḍūr b. ʿAdī b. Mālik, an ancestor of the Prophet Shuʿayb b. Mahdam, who is mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (cf. *Sūra* VII, 83 f. and XI, 85 f.). He had been sent to preach to and to warn his people on Djabal Ḥaḍūr and was slain by them there. According to Arab tradition, Ḥaḍūr Nabī Shuʿayb was the highest of the three mountains which remained above the waters during the Deluge. The other two were Djabal Shahāra and Djabal Kanin (3,400 metres) in Khawlān. The main ridge of Ḥaḍūr is about three miles long and has seven peaks, the highest being Djabal Ḳāhir (Djabal Bayt Khawlān) which is 3,760 metres high and is often covered with thick snow in winter for days at a time. On it is the celebrated tomb (with mosque) of the Prophet Shuʿayb, which is much visited (particularly by young women who hope to be cured of barrenness there); on the last day of Ramaḍān and on the festival of ʿArafāt great festivities are held there.

On the range itself there are several villages. It is traversed by numerous *wādīs*, among them Wādī Dāwūd and Wādī Yāzil, which disperse their *sayl*-waters in all directions. In these valleys excellent vines are found in addition to various fruit-trees. In the deeper parts of Ḥaḍūr the cereals particularly grown are *dhura*, barley and wheat. To the east lies the fertile plain of Ḳāʿat Sahmān, which lies on an average of 2,800 metres above sea level and contains several villages, the most important of which is Matna. This was called Khān Sinān Pasha by the Turks and has a *samsara* [shelter house] said to have been built by Sinān Pasha.

In Hamdānī's time the Mikhlāf Ḥaḍūr comprised several districts. The names of all but al-Djaʿlal, Ḥaḳl Sahmān and Masyab seem to have disappeared without trace. The hard white honey of Ḥaḍūr was famous in Arabia and is even mentioned by Imruʾ al-Ḳays in one of his poems. Hamdānī adds that the people of Ḥaḍūr spoke bad and clumsy Arabic (Ḥimyaritic).

Some 25 miles north-north-west is Ḥaḍūr al-Shaykh, quite distinct from the above and the largest mountain of the Sarāt group Djabal al-Maṣānaʿa. It is about 3,310 metres high. Both were explored by Eduard Glaser in 1885.

Bibliography: E. Glaser in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1886, 42-5; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, (ed. D. H. Müller), Leiden 1884-91; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*; C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, *Landeskundliche Ergebnisse*, Hamburg 1934. (J. Schleifer-[A. K. Irvine])

HADY, oblation, from the Arabic root *h d y* which has the meanings "to guide", "to put on the right path", "to make a present". The word is certainly of pre-Islamic origin; it used to denote the sacrificial offerings destined for the lord of the Meccan sanctuary (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 92). The ritual of the *taḳlīd* and the *ishʿār*, to which we shall return, suggests that the *hady* had to be some kind of humped animal, especially selected. It appears that the slaughtered beast was left by the man making the sacrifice for the poor and for animals (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, i, 146). The term and the consecration ritual survived in Islam, which, however, tended to replace *hady* by *ḍaḥiyya*.

Occurring rarely in the Ḳurʾān (only seven times and that in Medinese *sūras*: II, 196, V, 2, 95, 96, XLVIII, 25), *hady* there denotes the oblations intended for the Kaʿba (XXII, 33), without further definition. But *ḥadīth* and Ḳurʾānic exegesis are generally agreed in restricting the word to victims chosen from the *anʿām* (VI, 143) or animals in flocks or herds. It is the normal offering of the pilgrim, which he must for preference choose from the camel family, or failing that from the bovines, or else the sheep, or finally the goat family (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, i, 222; al-Taḥṭāwī, *Ḥāshiya*, i, 555). The sacrifice must take place on the completion of the Pilgrimage, preferably by the sacrificer himself, so marking his return to secular life.

Although the offering of a *hady* is in theory optional, the prescriptions of the *ḥadjdj* and also possible transgressions of the strict taboos of the *iḥrām* in practice render it obligatory. In the first place, we should recollect that the pilgrimage can be performed by three different methods—*ifrād*, *ḳirān* and *tamattuʿ*. The first consists of making the *ḥadjdj* alone, at the prescribed time, the *ʿumra* being performed outside the month of the pilgrimage or simply neglected. In this case, the believer is not bound to offer a *hady*. But he must make compensation if he chooses the *tamattuʿ* (Ḳurʾān, II, 196), that is to say if he accomplishes the *ʿumra* at the same time as the pilgrimage, resumes secular life and dedicates himself once again for the *ḥadjdj*. Similarly, a kind of penalty is envisaged with regard to the *ḳārin*, one who takes the *iḥrām* at the same time for an *ʿumra* and for a *ḥadjdj*, and who releases himself from the vow only when the pilgrimage is accomplished. In these last two methods, which are regarded by jurists as indulgences, one can redeem oneself by the sacrifice of a *hady*. An oblation is similarly owed by the pilgrim who, having taken his *iḥrām*, finds it impossible to reach the holy city on account of a siege or an illness (II, 196). Moreover, certain transgressions of the strict laws of pilgrimage (violation of the prohibition on hunting [V, 95] and the sexual taboo; cutting of the hair or shaving before desacralization [II, 196]) can similarly be redeemed by the sacrifice of a victim. It is important, however, to make clear that although highly commendable, the offering of a *hady* is not obligatory, and one can also secure redemption by fasting or alms-giving (II, 196, V, 95).

From this it emerges that *hady* is sometimes propitiatory, at other times expiatory. But in no case is its meat regarded as impure, since in any event it is consumed either by the sacrificer, his family and the poor (Ḳur'ān, XXII, 28, 36), or by the last-named only (this is the case, for example, with the *hady* owed by the pilgrim when besieged, *muḥṣar* [al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, ii, 144 and 184] and in general with every expiatory *hady*).

The animal offered as *hady* must meet certain requirements in regard to age and appearance defined by *fiḳh*. The legal age varies according to the species: it is 5 years for camels, 2 for cattle, 1 for goats, and 6 months for sheep (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Sharḥ*, iii, 534, 537; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, i, 255). Moreover, the victim must be fat and free from blemish; in particular, it must not be lame, blind or one-eyed, scabby or puny, nor must it reveal certain brand-marks which recall the pre-Islamic *wasm*. Once it is chosen, the pilgrim will proceed to its consecration by the *taḳlīd* and the *ishʿār*. For this purpose, he hangs a sandal (*naʿl*) or a piece of leather from its neck, and with a spear-head cuts a gash in its hump and sometimes in its back (when it is a case of an animal without a hump).

Having been thus consecrated, the *hady* thereafter belongs to the deity. Except for certain circumstances specified by *fiḳh*, it is then no longer possible to exchange, sell or replace it or to inherit it. It is also forbidden to make any profit whatever from it. However, in contradistinction to pre-Islamic practice, it can be ridden by the sacrificer, on condition that no harm comes to it. It is in fact regarded as a valuable object entrusted to the man, who must do everything possible to restore it to its lawful owner, Allāh.

What essentially characterizes the *hady* and distinguishes it from other blood sacrifices is that this is a question of a sacrifice in a fixed place, in that the sacrifice, except when performed under compulsion, must necessarily take place in Mecca. Moreover, and particularly with the *hady* offered for a pilgrimage completed by *ifrād*, *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*, it is often also restricted in time, that is to say the beast sacrificed must be slain towards the end of the pilgrimage, more precisely on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, after the two *wuḳūf*s of ʿArafāt and Muzdalifa, this period being regarded as especially propitious for an approach to the divinity.

It appears that among the ancient Arabs of the Ḥidjāz the sacrifices of Minā took place before sunrise. The institution of the *ḍaḥiyya*, which is the Islamic equivalent of the *hady*, reveals the reformer's desire to break away from sun worship by transferring the time of sacrifice to the hour known as *ḍuḥā*, after the morning prayer. The word *ḍaḥiyya* was thus substituted, especially in current speech, for the term *hady*. But in the books of religious jurisprudence the former denotes sacrifices on the day of *naḥr* (slaughter), sacrificed at places other than Minā, reserving the latter for those at Mecca.

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ḤAFAR AL-BĀṬIN [see BĀṬIN].

ḤĀFIẒ [see ḲĀRI' and ḲUR'ĀN].

AL-ḤĀFIẒ, the regnal name of the seventh Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt, whose real name was Abu 'l-Maymūn ʿAbd al-Madjīd, born at Ascalon (date of birth uncertain: 466, 467 or 468/1073-6) while famine raged in Egypt (Ibn Khallikān, i, 389).

Little is known of his life before he took his place in the political world. In 524/1130 he was called by two army leaders, Hazārmard and Barghash, to be regent and not caliph, following the assassination of his cousin the caliph al-Āmir [*q.v.*] who had left no male heir, but whose wife Djihā was then pregnant (*Nudjūm*, v, 237 ff.).

But this invitation aroused the hatred of Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. al-Afḍal, called Kutayfāt, son of the former Fāṭimid minister al-Afḍal [*q.v.*] who had been assassinated by al-Āmir in 515/1121. The very day on which the regency commenced, Kutayfāt brought off a coup d'état, with the help of Barghash, who had been eliminated from the vizierate. Kutayfāt then overthrew Hazārmard and ʿAbd al-Madjīd, threw the latter into prison, seized the treasures of the palace, and declared himself the representative and lieutenant of the expected imām of the Twelver Shīʿa (Lavoix, iii, p. 163, n. 439). Though he did not suppress the Ismāʿīlī faith, he aroused the hostility of its followers, who no doubt resented its replacement by Twelver Shīʿism as the official doctrine of the state (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, ii, 117-8).

A year later, on 16 Muḥarram 526/9 December 1131, the supporters of the Fāṭimid state made a successful counter coup, with the help of the young followers of al-Āmir, the "Āmiriyya", led by the chamberlain Yānis [*q.v.*], who was of Armenian origin. They killed Kutayfāt, and freed ʿAbd al-Madjīd from prison. At first he was restored as regent, but a few months later a decree (*sidjill*) was read, proclaiming ʿAbd al-Madjīd this time as caliph with the title al-Ḥāfiẓ li-dīn Allāh (Ḳalḳashandī, ix, 291-7). Thereafter an annual feast was celebrated, the feast of victory, *ʿĪd al-Naṣr* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 357, 490; ed. Wiet, ii, 385).

The caliph then tried to assert his legitimacy as a Fāṭimid imām by using the characteristic titles of the Imāmate, such as: Lord and Master, the Imām of this Age and Time (Wiet, *CIA*, 81 f.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, ii, 16). He gave also in the above-mentioned decree several explanations for his succession to the caliphate. Until then the Fāṭimid imāmate had been transmitted from father to son. He claimed that his cousin al-Āmir had nominated him as his successor just as the Prophet had nominated his cousin ʿAlī, that, furthermore, his grandfather, al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], had also foreseen his succession, since he had described his father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who had, however, no right to the succession, as heir-presumptive of the Muslims (*Walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn*). It is also alleged that the child born to al-Āmir's wife was a daughter.

After this al-Ḥāfiẓ paid more attention to the intrigues of the viziers. When he saw that Yānis was becoming powerful and had given his name to a private regiment, the "Yānisiyya", he rid himself of him by poisoning him in 526/1131 (Ibn Aybak, 511; *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 26-7). It was perhaps at this time that he formed his own pretorian guard, called "Ḥāfiẓiyya" in his honour (Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 482, 508).

This time the caliph ruled alone, with the help of his sons. He nominated Sulaymān heir-presumptive and gave to him the duties of vizier (*wāsiṭa*). When, after two months, Sulaymān died, he then appointed another son, Ḥaydara (Ḳalḳashandī, ix, 377-9). But a third son, al-Ḥasan, jealous because of this nomination, plotted against his father and brother. He seized power, killed several army leaders and formed a private corps, *Ṣibyān al-zarad*, the young cuirassiers. But the army, offended by the massacre, gathered in front of the palace and demanded al-Ḥasan's head. Al-Ḥāfiẓ then had his son poisoned by the agency of his Jewish doctor (*Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 27-9).

This time he appointed to the vizierate Bahrām, a Christian Armenian. But this choice provoked a revolt among the Muslims, for once Bahrām came to power he formed an Armenian army of 20,000 men, infantry and cavalry. The Egyptians are said to have feared that he would change the religion of Islam (Ibn Muyassar, 79 ff.).

The Muslim troops being discontented, the caliph incited against Bahrām the governor of Ascalon, Riḍwān b. Walakhashī, who had been banished by Bahrām, but Bahrām sent him away again to the prefecture of al-Gharbiyya. The people of Egypt were grateful to Riḍwān for having prevented the Armenians from entering Egypt when he was at Ascalon. He later gathered troops and Bedouins and drove Bahrām out of Cairo into Upper Egypt. The caliph, however, gave Bahrām a safe-conduct (*amān*) (Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 325) because of the intervention of the king of Sicily, Roger II (*Ṣubḥ*, vi, 458-63).

But once Riḍwān became vizier (*Ṣubḥ*, viii, 342-6), he seized all power and took the title of King (*malik*) (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 305). He was also a Sunnī; and when he attempted to depose the caliph he was assassinated in 542/1147 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 173).

After this al-Ḥāfiẓ appointed no more viziers, but the troubles and the disturbance continued. He died of a violent intestinal colic (*ḳawlandj*) in Djumādā II 544/October 1146.

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(A. M. MAGUED)

ḤĀFIẒ, (KHᵂĀDJA) SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD SHĪRĀZĪ, Persian lyric poet and panegyrist, commonly considered the pre-eminent master of the *ghazal* form. He was born in Shīrāz, probably in 726/1325-6, though Ḳāsim Ghanī argues for 717/1317 and others favour 720/1320. With a few marked absences, he seems to have spent the greater part of his life in Shīrāz, for long moving in or near the court-circle of the Muẓaffarid dynasty. He is believed to have died in Shīrāz, in 792/1390 (or 791/1389), and his tomb is perhaps that city's best known monument. Though credited with learned works in prose, his fame rests entirely on his *Dīwān*. There are few aspects of the life and writing of Ḥāfiẓ that have not given rise, and especially from about 1930 to 1955, to vigorous scholarly dispute over matters of both interpretation and fact. The reverence in which he is held, not only in Persia but widely throughout East and West, as the undoubted composer of some of the world's most sublime and technically exquisite poetry, will doubtless ensure continued concern with these problems, however intractable and ultimately insignificant some of them may seem to be.

Apart from its general historical framework, the presumed facts of Ḥāfiẓ's life were for long largely drawn from biographical prefaces, from the usual anecdotal *tadhkira* sources like Dawlatshāh, or from casual references by writers like Mīrkhᵂānd and his grandson. Such material has of course frequently been viewed sceptically; but most of it is of its nature difficult to disprove conclusively, and in one or two instances (as in an alleged encounter with Tīmūr, in 789/1387) research has only tended to strengthen, if not fully to confirm, the legend. Informative biographies of Persian poets are a notorious rarity, and it seems unlikely at this late date that any significant new material of an explicitly biographical nature will be discovered relating to Ḥāfiẓ. Though not a new technique, it has recently become fashionable to analyse the poems themselves for new biographical evidence or for some bearing on the material already to hand. The latest, and the most comprehensive and ingenious work of this kind, has been done by Ḳāsim Ghanī and by R. Lescot; but the net result so far is somewhat disproportionate to the formidable effort involved. At best, it has now been convincingly demonstrated that the *Dīwān* bears a much more direct relationship to the milieu of its composition than was suspected in the traditional view. Such methods always have their dangers, particularly where the basic biographical material is itself so slight; in the case of Ḥāfiẓ, the problem is exacerbated by the continued lack of a reasonably authentic text. All this being so, it still seems proper to give here the main outlines of the life in more or less traditional form.

Ḥāfiẓ's father, Bahā' al-Dīn or Kamāl al-Dīn (some sources refer to his grandfather), is said to have migrated from Iṣfahān to Shīrāz, where he died in the poet's infancy, leaving the family in poor circumstances. In a close-knit, flourishing centre of Islamic civilization such as Shīrāz at that time was, humble beginnings were only a relative handicap; and it is plausibly suggested that Ḥāfiẓ received a thorough education on the usual classical lines. It was no doubt in youth that he earned the right to use the title *ḥāfiẓ* (Ḳur'ān-memorizer), which became his pen-name; his verse bears ample evidence of familiarity with Arabic, with the Islamic sciences and with Persian literature generally. He is reputed to have been among other things a baker's apprentice and a manuscript-copyist during these years of adolescence and early manhood; but, to judge in particular by the dedication of certain poems to Ḳiwām al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 754/1353), sometime vizier to Shāh Abū Isḥāḳ Īndjū, he was into his poetic stride as a panegyrist before the age of thirty. An oft-cited poem (Brockhaus, no. 579; Ḳazvīnī-Ghanī, 363) mentions nostalgically other Shīrāz notables of this period, including the ruler himself. Already by his twenties, in the wake of the disintegration of the Il-Khānid order, Ḥāfiẓ had

lived through dynastic upheavals in and around Shīrāz.

A second phase in the poet's life begins in 754/1353 with the capture of Shīrāz, after a protracted struggle between the Īndjū and Muẓaffarid dynasties, by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad. The latter ruled for five years, before being deposed and blinded by his son Djalāl al-Dīn Shāh Shudjāʿ. These years were apparently a period of rigid Sunnī observance, hard on Ḥāfiẓ and his fellow-citizens alike; but the poet seems to have recommended himself with some success to Mubāriz al-Dīn's chief minister, Burhān al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh. The long reign of Shāh Shudjāʿ (759-86/1358-84), while at no time settled politically, and though far from being a period of continuous prosperity and success for Ḥāfiẓ, coincides with his phase of maturest composition. It was during these years that his fame spread throughout Persia, as well as westwards into Arabic-speaking lands and eastwards to India; it seems, nevertheless, that he declined invitations to remove to distant courts. The Muẓaffarid dynasty effectively came to an end at the hand of Tīmūr, in 789/1387, during the last few years of Ḥāfiẓ's life, though random representatives of it, like Shāh Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Manṣūr, seem to have shown the poet sporadic favour to the end.

It is generally believed that Ḥāfiẓ was more or less out of favour with Shāh Shudjāʿ for a period of some ten years (768-78/1366-76), during which time he is said to have spent a year or two in Iṣfahān and Yazd. The reason for such a fall has never been fully explained, though it is traditionally related to the poet's allegedly libertine views and behaviour. Though thereafter he enjoyed favour, from time to time, from the throne and from ministers like Djalāl al-Dīn Tūrānshāh, he seems never fully to have regained his former standing. Yet it should be remembered that there is still no real certainty as to what such standing actually signified: certainly there is frequent reference to poverty throughout the poet's life (whether it be regarded as a complaint, a hint or a literary device), and there is no serious suggestion that he held a regular, richly rewarded office as "court poet". At one time he is said to have been a professor of Ḳurʾānic exegesis at a Shīrāz *madrasa*, but there is doubt as to which of his patrons might have obtained him this preferment and no record of his period of tenure.

Legend credits Ḥāfiẓ with editing his *Dīwān* in 770/1368, *i.e.*, over twenty years before his death, but no manuscript of this version is known. Less speculative, perhaps, but still unattested by real evidence, is the edition (with a preface of doubtful biographical value) compiled after the poet's death by a disciple, a certain Muḥammad Gulandām. From this traditional version are assumed to spring the thousands of manuscripts now extant and over 100 printed editions: many of these versions differ widely in the order and number of poems, in the order and number of verses within a given poem, and in their detailed readings. The bibliography is very extensive, and only some of the principal editions or translations can be mentioned here. (In general, it may be said that serious interest in Ḥāfiẓ seems to have passed, after his death, to the Ottoman world and to India, whence it came by the late 18th century to Europe, returning in strength to Persia only in the 20s and 30s of the present century). First, it should be mentioned that several manuscripts are known in Persia, in Europe and elsewhere, which date from about the second and third quarters of the 15th century, *i.e.*, from thirty to sixty years after the poet's death; the most reliable of these contain just under 500 poems, while later versions rise to 600 and beyond. (In 1958, P. N. Khānlarī published a manuscript dated around 813/1410, which contains 152 poems in good textual condition). Derivative manuscripts, sometimes with commentaries in Persian, Turkish or Urdū, continued to circulate throughout the next four centuries.

The earliest historic recension, for long accepted as authoritative, and as a source of Ḥāfiẓ's life, was that of the Ottoman Sūdī (d. 1000/1591); he was at one time charged with having suppressed one or two poems of Shīʿa sympathy, but modern scholarship has justified him by failing to find these poems in early manuscripts, and by casting at least some doubt on Ḥāfiẓ's Shīʿism. This recension was taken as the basis for another long-dominant edition, the three volumes (692 poems) of H. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1854-61. The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw much fragmentary and dilettante preoccupation with Ḥāfiẓ among Europeans (chiefly British and French), but a landmark in printed texts was the Calcutta edition of 1791 (725 poems), associated with the name of Upjohn; this edition was still based on late manuscripts and largely on the Sūdī recension; its introduction provided much of the material for the traditional life. J. von Hammer-Purgstall produced in 1812-3 a massive German prose-translation of the *Dīwān*, which was known to Goethe at the time he was writing the *West-östlicher Diwan*. Between 1858 and 1864, *i.e.*, roughly at the same time as the Brockhaus edition mentioned above, and using substantially the same sources, V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau brought out another three-volume edition of the text, accompanied by a remarkably skilful verse-translation in German. The English renderings, partial or complete, of the late 19th century (those, for example, of H. Bicknell, H. Wilberforce Clarke, Gertrude Bell and W. Leaf) deserve only passing mention, despite interesting merits of their own. By 1900 a largely spurious, second-growth Ḥāfiẓ stood beside the several approximations to the real figure. The 20th century saw the rebirth of serious Ḥāfiẓ scholarship in Persia. Special mention has already been made of the fundamental research of Ḳāsim Ghanī, but there are few eminent Persian scholars of the present day who have not contributed important articles in this field. In particular, three editions merit notice: that of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī, Tehrān 1927 (495 poems, based on a manuscript of 828/1424, but marred by errors); that of Ḥusayn Pizhmān, Tehrān 1936 (994 poems, many marked as doubtful!); and that of Muḥammad Ḳazvīnī and Ḳāsim Ghanī, Tehrān 1941 (576 poems; the most scientific and reliable edition so far, based on some very old manuscripts; contains a good introduction, but lacks a critical apparatus). A new edition, also based on very early manuscripts, is reportedly in preparation by H. Ritter.

It will be seen that the two basic tasks of all research on Persian poetry, the establishment of a significant biography and the edition of an authoritative text, have assumed added and special dimensions in the case of Ḥāfiẓ. In briefest sum, one may state the dilemma thus: no text of Ḥāfiẓ, however good in itself, can be fully intelligible at any level without a marked amplification in our knowledge of his life and times; yet much of such knowledge must come from an analysis of the text, and one can have little confidence in the results of analyses, however scrupulously conducted, that are

based on texts of doubtful reliability. It may well prove that neither task is fully susceptible of solution, even within limited terms of reference: while solidification of the biography must largely wait on the text, such expectation gives no ultimate certainty of a rich yield; any acceptable text will inevitably be based on virtually the sole criterion of seniority of manuscript, and the oldest Oriental manuscripts, particularly if falling outside the author's lifetime, are not necessarily the fullest or the most accurate in any absolute sense. This is especially true of poetry, and indications so far suggest that it is even more than normally true of the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ. There is, too, the fundamental question of the poet's own intent: should everything he ever wrote (or perhaps merely countersigned) be included, even if he might himself have chosen to omit certain items from the supposed canon of 770/1368? Did he have second (or later) thoughts about the inclusion, the order, or the actual text of whole poems or individual verses? If we cannot now hope to answer questions of this kind, we should be cautious in claiming to do more in effect than publishing early manuscripts and observing their differences from later ones. Certain generally useful conclusions may be drawn, but we may well never be sure what such differences signify in any particular case.

Failure hitherto to solve these basic problems has never quenched interest in several secondary problems related to them. Scholars living in an age of non-representational art and literature are perhaps less concerned than most of their forebears (E. G. Browne was in advance of his age here) to discover positively "whether Ḥāfiẓ meant what he said", whether he was a mystic or a libertine, a good Muslim or a sceptic, or all of these by turns. It is now generally claimed (without prejudice) merely that he spoke *through* the standard themes and terminology of hedonism, the lament for mortality, human and mystical love, and so on; that he was a superb linguistic and literary craftsman, who took these forms so far beyond the work of his predecessors that he practically cut off all succession; and that he revolutionized the *ghazal* and the panegyric both, by making the one the vehicle for the other in place of the *ḳaṣīda*. Nevertheless, useful new work has been done (particularly by R. Lescot) in establishing the chronology of certain poems so as to suggest a development in Ḥāfiẓ's attitude, style and methods. The secondary problem most hotly debated in recent years concerns the "artistic unity" of the poems: even supposing that the present varying order of verses were reduced to an original uniformity, is there any genuine unity in these *ghazals*, and did not Ḥāfiẓ invite later confusion by his failure to develop any theme consistently? There are indications that the problem is neither new nor specifically Western, for Shāh Shudjāʿ is supposed to have made some such criticism, according to an anecdote current no later than the time of Khʷāndamīr. Arguments have been put forward, by A. J. Arberry and by the writer, to suggest that the true unity of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry is not thematic or dramatic in the classical Western sense, but lies rather in a subtle weaving of imagery and allusion around one or more central concepts. These arguments have found some favour with J. Rypka and others, but have also been rejected, both explicitly and by implication, as either invalid or unnecessary.

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(G. M. Wickens)

ḤĀFIẒ-I ABRŪ, the *laḳab* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Luṭf Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Bihdādīnī, Persian historian of the time of Shāhrukh, who died in 833/1430. He was also in the suite of Tīmūr as an excellent chess-player and accompanied him and Shāhrukh in some campaigns.

His first known work is probably the anonymous *Dhayl-i Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (unique MS: Nuruosmaniye), which deals with the reign of Üldjaytū and Abū Saʿīd, the first part being an extract from the *Taʾrīkh-i Üldjaytū Sulṭān* by al-Ḳāshānī. The next of his works, completed in 814/1412 by order of Shāhrukh, is the *Dhayl-i Ẓafarnāma-yi Shāmī* about the rest of the life of Tīmūr. Some time later he wrote a history of the reign of Shāhrukh to 816/1413 (unique MS: India Office). In 817/1414 he began at the request of Shāhrukh to translate and to complete an old Arabic geographical work called *Masālik al-mamālik wa-ṣuwar al-aḳālīm*, probably one of the redactions of al-Balkhī. In this unfinished and untitled work he could not repress his interests as a historian and included in it extensive historical passages especially on the history of Fārs, Kirmān and Khurāsān.

While occupied with this geographical work Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was in 820/1417 charged by Shāhrukh to compile a voluminous historical enterprise consisting of three famous older historical books, with supplements and a continuation written by himself. The result of this endeavour was the *Madjmūʿa*, which contains: A. Introduction and Contents. — B. The Chronicle of al-Ṭabarī translated by Balʿamī. — C. Continuation of this work to 656/1258 by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — D. Introduction to the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn and list of its contents by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — E. The *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. — F. History of the Kurtid Dynasty by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — G. Four small treatises on Tughāy-Tīmūr, Amīr Walī, the Sarbadārids and Amīr Arghūnshāh by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — H. Continuation of the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, dealing with the events in Ādharbāydjān and Arabic ʿIrāḳ in the years 703-95/1304-93. — I. History of the Muẓaffarid Dynasty by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — J. The *Ẓafarnāma* of Shāmī. — K. The above mentioned Continuation of this work by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. — L. History of Shāhrukh's reign to Rabīʿ II 819/May 1416. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū makes use in parts F, H and I of sources known to us. The first three-quarters of F are an extract from the *Harātnāma* by Sayf b. Muḥammad Harawī, about the first two-thirds of I are a simplification of the *Mawāhib-i ilāhī* by Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī. In H the history of Üldjaytū's and Abū Saʿīd's reigns is an extract from the *Dhayl-i Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* mentioned above. The other passages of his supplements result from sources unknown to us or from oral tradition. L is the second redaction of his History of Shāhrukh. Some parts in G, H, I and L are closely connected with the historical passages of his geographical work.

The further great historical enterprise of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū is the *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, a universal chronicle divided into four voluminous *Arbāʿ*. The first *Rubʿ* treats of the Prophets, the old Iranian myths and the history of Īrān to the Arab conquest, the second the history of the Caliphate to 1258, the third the history of Īrān in the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods. The fourth, dedicated to Bāysunghur and having a special title *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Bāysunghurī*, is subdivided into two parts, the first dealing with the life of Tīmūr (736-807/1336-1405), the second with the reign of Shāhrukh to Rabīʿ II 830/February 1427. The three first *Arbāʿ* have not the value of sources. The end of the third *Rubʿ*, the reign of Uldjaytū and Abū Saʿīd, is more detailed than in the *Madjmūʿa* (H), and agrees with the above mentioned *Dhayl-i Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. The first part of the fourth *Rubʿ* is a copy of the *Ẓafarnāma* of Shāmī, here and there corrected and completed, divided chronologically into single years and having interpolated the parts of F, G, H, I and K of the *Madjmūʿa* which relate to these years. The second part is the third enlarged redaction of his history of Shāhrukh.

As this survey shows, the works of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū are an interesting example of the manner of working of a Persian historian of the Middle Ages in what concerns the use of works of other authors and his own former books. For the first 22 years of the reign of Shāhrukh his work is the best source. The *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* was practically the sole source of the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn* by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī and hence of the later Persian chroniclers.

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(F. Tauer)

ḤĀFIẒ AḤMED PASHA, (?-1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier. The date of his birth is uncertain. Simone Contarini, in his *relazione* of 1612 to the Signoria of Venice, states that he was then about forty years of age (Barozzi and Berchet, i, 146: "... Cabil bassa già capitan del Mare che regge ora Damasco sarà di 40 anni ..."). He rose in the *enderūn-i humāyūn* to the status of *muṣāḥib, i.e.*, confidant of the sultan, and to the office of *doghāndji bashî*. On leaving the *enderūn-i humāyūn* he became a vizier and also Ḳapudān Pāshā, *i.e.*, High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet—an appointment that he filled (22 Shawwāl 1016/9 February 1608 until 16 February 1609: cf. Naʿīmā, ii, 23 and Salignac, 259, note I) with little distinction, since he failed, in 1017/1608, to safeguard the ships bearing the tribute of Egypt from Alexandria to Istanbul, a number of vessels being lost to a Florentine squadron near Rhodes as a result, in no small measure, of his negligence. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed, deposed from the office of Ḳapudān, was now made Beglerbeg of Shām (Damascus). During his tenure of this appointment (April 1609-January 1615: cf. Laoust, 199-201) he was engaged in operations against the Druze chieftain of the Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn II [*q.v.*]. Some years later, being then Beglerbeg of Diyārbekir, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed was ordered to restore Ottoman control over Baghdād, where the *subashî* Bekir was in rebellion, but he failed in this mission, the forces of the Ṣafawīd Shāh ʿAbbās I seizing the town in the winter of 1033/1623-4. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed became Grand Vizier in Rabīʿ II 1034/February 1625. The main event of his Grand Vizierate was a fruitless siege of Baghdād (Ṣafar 1035/November 1625-Shawwāl 1036/July 1626). He was deprived of the office of Grand Vizier in Rabīʿ I 1036/December 1626, becoming now second vizier, but at the same time receiving in marriage the hand of a sister of Sultan Murād IV. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed was appointed Grand Vizier for the second time on 29 Rabīʿ I 1041/25 October 1631 (Naʿīmā, iii, 79). A revolt amongst troops from Asia Minor brought about his death, however, on 19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632 (Pečewī, ii, 420-1).

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al-**ḤĀFIẒ** al-**DIMA<u>SH</u>ḲĪ** [see ibn ʿasākir].

ḤĀFIẒ IBRĀHĪM, Muḥammad, Egyptian poet and writer, was born between 1869 and 1872 on a house-boat (Arabic: *<u>dh</u>ahabiyya*) anchored on the Nile near Dayrūṭ (*mudīriyya* of Asyūṭ). On the death of his father, when he was four years old, he was given a home by his maternal uncle, first in Cairo and then at Ṭanṭā, where he had the opportunity of attending, albeit irregularly, the few courses given in the al-Aḥmadī mosque, and of familiarizing himself with Arabic classical poetry, especially that of the ʿAbbāsid period, while serving his apprenticeship in the offices of several lawyers. Continually seeking anxiously for the vocation which he had not yet discovered, and weary of living at his uncle's expense, he left Ṭanṭā to enrol in the military college at Cairo; after graduating, he entered Government service first in the War Ministry and then in the Interior. As an officer, he served for a long time in the Eastern Sudan, at the time of Lord Kitchener's campaign, but after a riot in which he had been involved he asked to be retired. Returning to Cairo in 1906 he had the opportunity of attaching himself to Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose disciple he was, and of devoting himself more freely to poetry. He was also at this period in contact with such political leaders as Saʿd Zag<u>h</u>lūl [*q.v.*], Muṣṭafā Kāmil [*q.v.*] and Ḳāsim Amīn [*q.v.*], as well as with the intelligentsia gathered round <u>Kh</u>alīl Muṭrān [*q.v.*] and others. It was only in 1911 that he succeeded in becoming a member of the civil service and in being nominated head of the literary section of the Khedivial Library (now the Dār al-Kutub) at Cairo, a post which he retained almost until his death on 21 July 1932.

Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm must be counted among the representatives of the innovating Egyptian poetical school, whose leader was Sāmī al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*] and who followed their own temperaments and nature, aiming to detach themselves from tradition. But he set himself apart from other spokesmen of the new generation by his more spontaneous adherence to the cause of the people and the cause of the Arab community in general, whose legitimate emotions and ambitions he succceeded in reproducing. In fact, the pieces in his *Dīwān* (Cairo 1937, 2 vols.) reveal a mass of details and direct observations which on the one hand throw light on several aspects of Egyptian political and social life during the first decades of this century, and on the other allow us to glimpse the frequently polemical standpoint of the poet. Particularly in those verses which are immediately recognized as political, he demonstrates his perfect grasp of the reality of the situation, that is, that the three authorities struggling for the good opinion of the public (the British, the Sultan, and the Khedive) must be flattered and that he must above all smother his anger and despair and conceal his thoughts. Thus his occasional poems, in which the poet of the people was forced to adapt himself to the style of panegyrics or threnodies, lack originality and imagination. Suffering, complaints, anxiety and melancholy are the basis for the best verses of Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who reserved for such themes his most delicate choice of images and his most effective vocabulary, in a structure that is far from ignoring the classical tradition completely. His poetry, which cannot be subjected to exhaustive criticism in this article, became known fairly rapidly in the learned circles of al-Azhar and received a flattering welcome among the cultured élite and the political leaders of Egypt. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, in his sympathy with the wretched, became above all the echo of the sufferings and hopes of his people; it was perhaps this predisposition which led him to translate certain episodes from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (*al-Buʾasāʾ*) (Cairo 1903, and reprints), remarkable especially for the splendour of his Arabic prose; another aspect of his narrative style is represented by *Layālī Saṭīḥ* (1st ed.: Cairo 1906, 2nd ed.: n.d.) in which there appear more strongly the moral objectives which the imitators of the *maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*] cherished at the end of the 19th century; this long *maḳāma* contains a critical survey of Egyptian morals and was perhaps written in imitation of the *Ḥadī<u>th</u> ʿĪsā b. Hi<u>sh</u>ām* of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī [*q.v.*], who remains superior to Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in this *genre*. Also noteworthy is the translation, made in collaboration with <u>Kh</u>alīl Muṭrān, of a work of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu entitled in Arabic *al-Mū<u>dj</u>az fī ʿilm al-iḳtiṣād* (Cairo 1913, 5 vols.).

Bibliography: To the references in Brockelmann, S III, 57-71, the following should be added: Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-<u>Sh</u>awḳī*; Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, *Muḥāḍarāt ʿan Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm*, Cairo 1954; <u>Sh</u>awḳī Ḍayf, *al-Adab al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir*, (I) *fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1957, 82-92. (U. Rizzitano)

ḤĀFIẒ RAḤMAT <u>KH</u>ĀN, b. <u>Sh</u>āh ʿĀlam <u>Kh</u>ān b. Maḥmūd <u>Kh</u>ān b. <u>Sh</u>ihāb al-Dīn known as Kōṭā Bābā . . . b. Bharēč <u>Kh</u>ān . . . b. Ḳays ʿAbd al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd, the legendary ancestor of the Paṭhāns or Afg<u>h</u>āns, a *ḥāfiẓ* (memorizer) of the Ḳurʾān, was the head of an important ruling family of Rohilkhand during the 12th/18th century. Some of his ancestors had migrated from <u>Sh</u>ōrābak in the Pi<u>sh</u>in district of West Pakistan to Čač Hazāra where the family ultimately settled. He was born in 1120/1708 at Tor <u>Sh</u>ahāmatpūr, a small little-known village in *rōh* (*i.e.*, a hilly country, a term loosely applied to the tribal areas of present-day West Pakistan and the adjoining territory of Afg<u>h</u>ānistān), after the return of his father from his first visit to India where, in the territory then known as Kaṭēhr (modern Rohilkhand) one of his slaves, Dāwūd <u>Kh</u>ān, had been able to gain wealth and influence with the local rā<u>dj</u>ās and *zamīndārs*, whom he served as a mercenary. Gradually Dāwūd <u>Kh</u>ān was able to carve out a separate principality for himself. His almost meteoric rise to power attracted many of his fellow-countrymen to India including <u>Sh</u>āh ʿĀlam <u>Kh</u>ān, father of Raḥmat <u>Kh</u>ān. On arrival in India he was warmly received by Dāwūd <u>Kh</u>ān, in the manner befitting a master. But <u>Sh</u>āh ʿĀlam <u>Kh</u>ān apparently became jealous of the success of his former bondsman, who had him murdered. Soon afterwards Dāwūd <u>Kh</u>ān was himself killed, and succeeded by his adopted son ʿAlī Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān. A brave and dashing soldier, he was awarded a standard and kettle-drums along with the title of Nawwāb by the reigning Mug<u>h</u>al emperor, and won the favour of the Grand Vizier Ḳamar al-Dīn <u>Kh</u>ān. Emboldened by this patronage the Rohillas, under ʿAlī Muḥammad <u>Kh</u>ān, began their depredations in and around the *parganah* of Bareilly [*q.v.*]. Complaints reached the emperor Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh (*reg.* 1131/1719-1161/1748) who ordered punitive

measures against them. An unexpected victory over an imperial force encouraged the Rohilla adventurers to further annexations. These alarmed Ṣafdar-Djang [*q.v.*], the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh, who had his own plans of expansion. Himself a Shīʿī, he disliked the orthodox Rohillas, and instigated the Mughal emperor against ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān. An expedition, led by the emperor himself, was mounted against the Rohilla chief, who submitted and, on the intercession of the *wazīr*, was forgiven but carried as a prisoner to Delhi. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the right-hand man of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, was, however, left free. The detention of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was taken as a national insult and Raḥmat Khān misused the liberty granted to him by raising a large force and marching to the capital in order to coerce the emperor into releasing his patron ʿAlī Muḥammad. He succeeded in brow-beating the *wazīr* and other counsellors into accepting his demands. Consequently ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was released from captivity, and the governorship of the *ṣūba* of Sirhind, at that time disturbed by roving bands of Sikhs and Djāṭs, was conferred on him. Raḥmat Khan again distinguished himself by breaking the resistance of the refractory *zamīndārs* and dispersing the marauders. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān had not been at his post for long when news of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's invasion of India (1161/1748) reached Delhi. As a precaution against the defection of the Rohillas, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān was removed from Sirhind and reappointed to his old post in Kaṭēhr.

On the death of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1168/1748 and that of the *wazīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān, there was a keen contest for this key-post in the empire. Ṣafdar-Djang, an aspirant to the office, was able to enlist the support of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, who deputed Raḥmat Khān to help him achieve his ambition. Raḥmat Khān marched to Delhi with 1,000 choice troops and by a bold stroke compelled the emperor Aḥmad Shāh (*reg.* 1161/1748-1168/1754) to confer the office of *wazīr* on Ṣafdar-Djang. Soon thereafter ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān died, on 3 Shawwāl 1162/ 14 September 1749, having, according to *Gulistān-i Raḥmat* (see *Bibliography*), nominated Raḥmat Khān as his successor only two days before his death. Raḥmat Khān, however, willingly withdrew in favour of ʿAlī Muḥammad's minor son Saʿd Allāh Khān, his two elder brothers ʿAbd Allāh Khān and Fayḍ Allāh Khān being away in Afghānistān as prisoners of the Abdālī. Raḥmat Khān virtually adopted the rôle of regent during the minority of Saʿd Allāh. This situation tempted the rapacious Ṣafdar-Djang to try and gain the Rohilla acquisitions for himself. He succeeded in pitting Ḳāʾim Khān, the Bangash Nawwāb of Farrukhābād [*q.v.*] against the Rohillas. A pitched battle was fought at a place three miles from Badāʾūn [*q.v.*], in which Ḳāʾim Khān was slain and his large force of 60,000 horse routed. As fruit of the victory Raḥmat Khān annexed many *parganahs* belonging to the vanquished Bangash chief. Ṣafdar-Djang turned the defeat of his own instrument to advantage and captured Farrukhābād, maltreating his fallen ally's family. Aḥmad Khān, younger brother of Ḳāʾim Khān, however, soon recovered his lost patrimony by defeating and killing Nawal Rāy, the deputy of Ṣafdar-Djang. This incensed Ṣafdar-Djang, who assembled a huge force and marched against the Afghāns. On an appeal for help from Aḥmad Khān, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān joined in the battle and their combined troops inflicted a heavy defeat on the Awadh army. Smarting under the blow, Ṣafdar-Djang called in the Marāṭhās under Malhar Rāo Holkar and Djay Appā Sindhiyā. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, finding himself unequal to the Marāṭhas, did not respond to Aḥmād Khān's appeals for help, but Saʿd Allāh Khān, acting independently of the regent, joined the forces of the Bangash Nawwāb. The Marāṭhās completely annihilated Saʿd Allāh's army of 12,000 in a fierce battle near Fatḥgaṛh on 28 April 1751. By imprudently refusing help to a brother Afghān ruler in trouble, Raḥmat Khān brought misery not only to the Afghāns but also darkened his own prospects as an independent ruler of Rohilkhand. Desirous of wielding more power, he began to strengthen his own position and sided with Ṣafdar-Djang, who, after his dismissal from the office of *wazīr*, was trying to make trouble. In the armed conflict that followed between the Marāṭhas and the ruler of Farrukhābād, Raḥmat Khān enigmatically remained neutral. Elated by their victory, the Marāṭhās and their ally Ṣafdar-Djang now thought of invading Kaṭēhr and annexing it. Sensing their designs, Raḥmat Khān and other Rohilla chiefs fled to the difficult reaches of the Terai, where they entrenched themselves. Ṣafdar-Djang and the Marāṭhās laid siege to their camp, but the difficulties of the terrain and the news of Abdālī's impending invasion of India discouraged them. Considering it prudent to retreat, they agreed, at the instance of the emperor Aḥmad Shāh, to open peace negotiations with the Rohillas. The peace treaty was finally signed at Lucknow in February 1752. By it the Rohillas were required to pay an indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees to the Marāṭhās, the price of their participation in the conflict between Awadh and Kaṭēhr. To establish his superiority further, Ṣafdar-Djang compelled Raḥmat Khān to accompany him to Awadh. However, after reaching Mōhāń, 15 miles from Lucknow, Raḥmat Khān was allowed to return to his own country. With a view to further reducing the position and influence of Raḥmat Khān, the two elder sons of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, who had been kept as hostages at Ḳandahār, were released by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1166/1752 on the occasion of his making yet another invasion of India, and were sent back to Kaṭēhr "with a letter strongly recommending their guardians to carry out Ali Muhammad's will". Willy-nilly Raḥmat Khān had to partition the country into three sections, assigning each to the three major sons of ʿAlī Muḥammad, *i.e.*, ʿAbd Allāh Khān, Fayḍ Allāh Khān and Saʿd Allāh Khān (the ruling prince, but the younger son). The presence of Raḥmat Khān as a virtual 'regent' was resented by ʿAbd Allāh, an ambitious and headstrong young man, who attempted to poison him, but the attempt was foiled; it led to the banishment of ʿAbd Allāh Khān from Kaṭēhr. This division of the country and his subsequent loss of revenue and prestige compelled Raḥmat Khān to seek new possessions, and he consequently extended his rule to Pīlībhīt which he renamed Ḥāfiẓābād (a name which never became popular) and which now became the principal seat of his government; Bareilly [*q.v.*], which had all along been the major centre of his activity, was relegated to a secondary position. At Pīlībhīt he constructed a big palace, a *Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ* and a *Dīwān-i ʿĀmm* to complete the appurtenances of rulership. In the meantime, Ṣafdar-Djang was preparing to fight the emperor's party and summoned Raḥmat Khān to his assistance. He at first responded, but on second thoughts considered it prudent to remain neutral. This was construed as an open act of rebellion against the emperor, for as a loyal subject Raḥmat Khān was expected to side

with the emperor's party against a refractory subject. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān had to pay dearly for this political mistake which led to the ruin of the short-lived Rohilla kingdom and dimmed the prospects of Afghān rule in India. In this internal conflict, which may rightly be termed the rebellion of Ṣafdar-Djang, the only Afghān chief who responded to the call of the emperor was Nadjīb al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The very next year Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the third time, and ordered Raḥmat Khān to help the *wazīr* Ghāzī al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk [*q.v.*] realize the *pīshkash* due from Shudjāʿ al-Dawla who had succeeded his father Safdar-Djang in 1170/1756. An agreement was reached eliminating the need for a call to arms. At the battle of Panipat in 1175/1761, which sounded the death-knell of Marāṭhā rule in India, Raḥmat Khān, his son ʿInāyat Khān and his cousin Dūṅdē Khān, father-in-law of Nadjīb al-Dawla, took an active part and helped Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī with their troops. For the help rendered by Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the Durrānī chief conferred the *parganah* of Etawah on him. Raḥmat Khān expelled the Marāṭhās, who still held it. Soon afterwards Shudjāʿ al-Dawla thought of settling old scores with the Bangash ruler of Farrukhābād and in alliance with his former foe, Nadjīb al-Dawla, who had now become *wazīr* and *amīr al-umarāʾ*, commenced operations against Farrukhābād. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān sided with the weaker side and was able to avert the fall of the small Afghān kingdom. The next notable event in which Raḥmat Khān was involved was the attack on Patna, then held by the British, in 1177/1763, and the battle of Buxar fought in 1178/1764 between the British and Mīr Ḳāsim ʿAlī, the deposed *nāẓim* of Bengal and Raḥmat Khān's ally Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, who greatly feared the growing power of the British in India. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was defeated and sought refuge with Raḥmat Khān, who was then encamped at Ḥasanpūr (district Murādābād). Finding him unwilling to render active help, Shudjāʿ al-Dawla turned to the Marāṭhās and they both fell on the British at Kōṙa Djahānābād in 1179/1765. However, their troops could not withstand the destructive fire of the English batteries and were completely routed. Shudjāʿ al-Dawla was compelled to sue for peace, but he bore a grudge against Raḥmat Khān for not having come to his help at a critical juncture. Since the English were convinced of the neutrality of Raḥmat Khān, he was allowed to enjoy a few more years of happiness and prosperity. The danger of growing British supremacy, however, loomed large on the Indian horizon and an acute and shrewd observer like Raḥmat Khān could not easily ignore it. In the meantime Nadjīb al-Dawla, and Raḥmat Khān's cousin and one of his great supporters, Dūṅdē Khān, both died in 1184/1770 and 1185/1771 respectively, thus weakening Afghān power in India. Ḍābiṭa Khān, son and successor of Nadjīb al-Dawla, considered it prudent to become an ally of the Marāṭhās, for he thought that by so doing he would be able to save his possessions from falling into the hands of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, the enemy of his family. Raḥmat Khān, assessing the political situation much more sensibly, sided with the Nawwāb of Awadh, whom the British wanted to use as a pawn and whose territories they reckoned would serve as a buffer state between the British and the Marāṭhās, both struggling for power in India. As his own share of the price of defence against the Marāṭhās, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān bound himself to pay on behalf of the Rohillas forty lakhs of rupees (Rs. 4,000,000) to Shūdjāʿ al-Dawla with the provision to pay Rs. 1,000,000 in cash and the balance in three equal instalments of Rs. 1,000,000 to be spread over three years. To this agreement Sir Robert Barker, the British commander-in-chief, was a witness (cf. C. E. Aitchison, *Treaties, sanads and engagements*, i, 5).

As Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān felt that the conditions binding him to pay forty lakhs of rupees for warding off the menace of the Marāṭhās had not been fulfilled, he declined to pay. This was construed as a breach of agreement solemnly entered into by the Rohilla chief. This naturally led to the outbreak of hostilities between Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān and the Awadh *darbār*. Some of the Rohilla chiefs, including Fayḍ Allāh Khān, second son of ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān and later the founder of the princely state of Rāmpūr (now merged with Uttar Pradēsh), dissociated themselves and took no part in the war, in which the British actively helped the Awadh forces. Consequently the two armies met at the battlefield of Kaṭra Mīrānpūr, 7 *kōs* from Tilhar, in 1188/1774. The Rohillas were greatly outnumbered and the defection of a large body of troops under Bakhshī Aḥmad Khān completed the ruin of the Rohillas and the eclipse of their glorious but shortlived rule in India. Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān was struck by a flying cannon ball and killed outright. His head was severed from his body by one of his former retainers, Murtaḍā Khān Bharēč, and taken to Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, who gloated over it. The corpse was later recovered from the battle-field and the severed head was sewn to it. It was despatched to Bareilly, where it was buried. In 1189/1775 Rāo Pahāṙ Singh, who had received a number of villages in *djāgīr* from Raḥmat Khān, erected a mausoleum over his grave, which was completed by Dhu 'l-Faḳār ʿAlī Khān, a son of Raḥmat Khān, in 1194/1780. It was repaired from time to time but is now in a sad state of neglect.

After the death of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, the victorious armies fell to depredation and spoliation of the helpless population. Thousands of villages which refused to surrender were burnt down and the inhabitants driven out. Hundreds of buildings which had been erected by the Rohilla chiefs or which were an eye-sore to Shudjāʿ al-Dawla as an extreme Shīʿī were razed to the ground. Even the family and close relations of the fallen hero were not spared and were subjected to all sorts of indignities. They were reduced to great straits and even the women-folk were forced to march on foot from Pīlībhīt, where they had taken refuge, to Basawlī. For days together during the fatiguing march via Aonla and Bareilly several members of the ex-ruling family died of hunger and other privations. The prisoners were eventually transferred to the fort at Allāhābād, where they remained for only a few months since the concentration of Rohilla forces under Fayḍ Allāh Khān at Lāldhāng and the serious illness of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla compelled the latter, who had earlier refused to listen to the entreaties of his own mother, to relent and set free some of the prisoners. Maḥabbat Khān, another son of Raḥmat Khān, however, preferred to remain in detention along with his mother, the widow of Raḥmat Khān, and other ladies of his household rather than to win his own personal freedom.

The régime of Raḥmat Khān, a just and humane ruler, was marked by all-round peace and prosperity. "Under his ... rule the peasants were protected; the artisans and craftsmen were encouraged to pursue their vocations in peace and without let or hindrance; trade and commerce flourished and vexatious taxes

upon trade were abolished". A patron of learning and literature, he supported five thousand *ʿulamāʾ* by allowing them stipends from the public treasury. A deeply religious man, he scrupulously observed the Ramaḍān rituals and, after the custom of the *ḥuffāẓ*, also recited privately some parts of the Ḳurʾān himself during the nights of the holy month. A poet in Persian, some poems found in an anthology of Afghān poets preserved in the British Museum are ascribed to him, but it is difficult to establish their authenticity. He is the author of *Khulāṣat al-ansāb*, an account of the genealogy of the Afghāns with a concluding chapter in refutation of Shīʿism (completed in 1184/1770) (MS. I.O.,D.P. 777; cf. also Storey, I/i, 396-7).

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤĀFIẒ AL-DĪN [see AL-NASAFĪ].

ḤAFĪẒ (ʿ**ABD** AL-), ʿAlawī Sultan of Morocco, commonly known both in Europe and Morocco by the name of Moulay Hafid. He was born in 1880 to the Sultan Moulay Ḥasan [*q.v.*] and his legal wife al-ʿAliyya, who belonged to the Arab confederacy of Shāwiyya. On the death of his father, his younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], who had become Sultan, appointed him *khalīfa* at Marrākush. After a long underhand struggle and with the aid of the great *ḳāʾid* Madanī Glāwī [see GLĀWA] he was proclaimed sultan at Marrākush on 16 August 1907. But at Fās in January 1908 he was recognized as Sultan only on the strength of his promises to follow a xenophobe policy imposed by the powerful Moroccan élite. (An attempted Idrīsid restoration took place at this time but without result). In spite of the support which Moulay Hafid found in Germany, the foreign powers did not recognize him until 1909, and then only after he had defeated the troops of his deposed brother and promised to respect the undertakings given by the latter to the European nations at the Conference of Algeciras (1906). Very well-read, a jurist and a theologian, he did not possess his father's moral qualities and was ill-prepared for the insurmountable difficulties he had to face. During his reign France and Germany reached the agreement of 1909 which recognized the "special interests" of the former in Moroccan affairs and made possible the signing of the Franco-Moroccan protocol of 4 March 1910. This act of diplomacy established "the understanding between the two countries" and enabled an international loan to be launched, which was greatly needed by Morocco. In November of the same year, the settlement of the disorders in Melilla resulted in the signing of an agreement between the Sultan and Spain. Serious events occurred in Morocco at the beginning of 1911 and, faced by increasing disorder, Moulay Hafid officially requested the help of the French troops who had been stationed at Casablanca since 1907. They were soon able to relieve Fās and facilitated the arrest and execution of the agitator (*rogī*) Bū Ḥamāra [*q.v.*] who had been at large in the countryside since 1902. The Spaniards, in order to counterbalance the French operations, occupied Larache (al-ʿArāʾish), al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr and then Arzila (Aṣīla). This interference provoked the disapproval of Germany, who sent a gunboat to Agadir and created for herself a zone of influence in the Sūs. The Agadir incident was settled by the Franco-German agreement of November 1911, which gave France a free hand in Morocco in return for considerable territorial compensations in Equatorial Africa. On 30 March 1912 at Fās the sultan signed with M. Regnault, representing the French government, the Protectorate Treaty. Immediately afterwards an insurrection broke out around the capital and, on 17 April, serious riots took place in Fās. They cost the lives of scores of French soldiers and civilians and of a large number of Moroccan Jews whose ghetto (*mallāḥ*) had been plundered. General Lyautey was then appointed Resident Commissioner General of the French Republic alongside H.M. the Sultan of Morocco. The position of Moulay Hafid became impossible, both in the eyes of France and of the Moroccan people, and he decided to abdicate. After he had very skilfully settled his own position and that of his family, the decision was officially announced on 13 July 1912. The Sultan then paid a visit to France, returning thereafter to Tangier, where the palace of the Ḳaṣaba was placed at his disposal. During the 1914-18 War he lived in Spain. He died at Enghien (France) on 4 April 1937. His body was taken back to Fās with the honours appropriate to his rank.

Bibliography: Further to that of the art. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ: L. Harris, *With Moulaï Hafid at Fez behind the scenes in Morocco*, London 1909; *Annuaire du Maroc*, Alger 1912, with a portrait of the sultan and a list of his ministers (p. 163); A. G. P. Martin, *Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine*, Paris 1923; M. Le Glay, *Chronique marocaine*, Paris 1933; Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās bi-djamāl akhbār ḥāḍirat Miknās*, 5 vols. published, Rabat 1929-33; Col. Justinard, *Le Caïd Goundafi*, Casablanca 1951; Ibn ʿAbbūd, *Tāʾrīkh al-Maghrib*, ii, Tetuan 1951; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, i, Rabat 1959; F. Charles-Roux et J. Caillé, *Missions diplomatiques françaises à Fès*, (with portrait), Paris 1955; Michaux-Bellaire, *Une tentative de restauration idriside à Fès*, in *RMM*, v/7 (July 1908); see also *Afr. Fr. B* and *Afr. Fr. RC*, 1906-12 (*passim*) and *RMM* (general index to vols. i-xvi).

(G. Deverdun)

ḤĀFIẒĀBĀD, headquarters of a *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Gūdjrāṅwāla [*q.v.*] district of West

Pakistan, lying between 31° 45′ and 32° 20′ N. and 73° 10′ and 73° 50′ E. on the east bank of the river Čenāb, with an area of 894 sq. miles. It is 33 miles by road from Gūdjrāṅwāla with a population (1961) of 34,576. It is an ancient town and was of considerable importance during Mug̲h̲al times, as it finds mention in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, where it is described as the seat of a *maḥāll*. Its importance declined with the rise of Gūdjrāṅwāla, which lies on the main rail-road to Pes̲h̲āwar and Lahore. It is now a small town mainly known as a wholesale market for agricultural produce, chiefly fine quality rice, cotton, wheat and oil-seeds.

Founded by one Ḥāfiẓ, said to be a favourite of the emperor Akbar, it is of little historical importance. During the Sikh supremacy, it suffered along with other parts of Gūdjrāṅwāla district. Its two leading tribes—the Bhaṭṭīs and the Tārars—resolutely resisted the Sikhs and consequently suffered heavily. During the disturbances after the first World War, Ḥāfiẓābād was also badly affected, with the result that martial law was imposed.

Bibliography: *District Census Report—Gujranwala*, Karachi 1961, 1-5, 1-23; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii, 4-5; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. transl. by Jarrett, index.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤAFRAK, a district in the seventh *Ustān* (Fārs), situated in the plain where the Pulvār Rūd joins the Kurr. Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, London 1921, 126) mentions the district by name, but gives no description of it. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha* (Eng. tr. G. Le Strange, 126) repeats, but does not add to, Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī's words; however, in a further passage (178), he states that the district lies on the route from S̲h̲īrāz to Abarḳūh. The Arab geographers appear to have had no knowledge of Ḥafrak. Ḥafrak is not to be confused either with K̲h̲abr, a town in Fārs, or with the large village of K̲h̲abrak, which is in the same province. On the assumption that an earlier form of the name was Hapirak, an endeavour was made to derive this name from Ha-pir-ti, which was then thought to be the name of the Elamite people, but this, besides being geographically incorrect, is also etymologically wrong, since Ha-pir-ti has been shown to be a misreading for Ha(l)tamti; in this connexion, see Poebel, *The Name of Elam in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hebrew*, in *Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xlviii, Chicago 1931-32, 20-6. (L. Lockhart)

ḤAFṢ b. **SULAYMĀN** [see abū salama].

ḤAFṢ b. **SULAYMĀN** b. al-Mug̲h̲īra, Abū ʿUmar b. Abī Dāwūd al-Asadī al-Kūfī al-Fāk̲h̲irī al-Bazzāz, transmitter of the "reading" of ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*]. Born about 90/709, he became a merchant in cloth, which gained for him the surname of Bazzāz. His fame rests solely on the knowledge he had acquired of the "reading" of the master of Kūfa, whose son-in-law he was. After the death of the latter and the foundation of Bag̲h̲dād he settled in the capital, where he had numerous pupils, then went to spread the "reading" of his father-in-law in Mecca. S̲h̲uʿba b. ʿAyyās̲h̲ (d. 194/809) was also concerned in the passing on of ʿĀṣim's "reading", but Ḥafṣ is considered more reliable, and it is the system passed down by his efforts which was adopted for the establishment of the text of the Ḳurʾān published in Cairo 1342/1923 under the auspices of King Fuʾād, which is gaining recognition as the modern Vulgate. This is underlined by R. Blachère (*Introd. au Coran*, Paris 1947, 134-5), who adds that the Islamic community may well recognize in the future only the "reading" of ʿĀṣim handed down by Ḥafṣ. Ibn al-Djazarī notes that Ibn ʿAyyās̲h̲ differed from Ḥafṣ on 520 points, but that the latter respected the "reading" of ʿĀṣim in full, except for one word, from XXX, 53, which he read as *ḍuʿf*, while his master vocalized it *ḍaʿf* (and it is this vocalization which has been adopted by the Cairo edition).

Ḥafṣ died in 180/796.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 29, 32; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, i, 254 f.; Dānī, *Taysīr*, 6 and *passim*; ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī al-Nābulusī, *Ṣarf al-ʿinān ilā ḳirāʾat Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān*, ed. A. Khalifé, in *Machriq*, 1961, 342-62, 540-69 (*urdjūza* of 520 verses with glosses); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-Tahd̲h̲īb*, s.v.; D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 215-6; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, tables. (Ed.)

ḤAFṢ al-FARD, Abū ʿAmr or Abū Yaḥyā, theologian, concerning whose life practically nothing is known. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 180; Cairo ed., 255), he was a native of Egypt, and, if we accept the traditional chronology of al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's biography (but see J. Schacht, in *Studia Orientalia Joanni Pedersen ... dicata*, 322), it is probably there that he fell out with al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, who is said to have "excommunicated" him (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 330-1); this incident probably occurred between 188/804 and 195/810-1, so that it is unlikely that Ḥafṣ was the pupil of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798; al-Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-sādat*, ii, 47) before joining, in Baṣra, the circle of Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl [*q.v.*], who was resident there until 203/818-9. His adherence to Muʿtazilism does not seem to have been very close; he appears later to have had some disagreement with Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl, before returning to Egypt, where he represented the official theological position during the *miḥna*; nevertheless he seems to have returned to a relatively orthodox attitude.

The fact remains that the heresiographers, who frequently associate him with Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, attribute to him a doctrine which is not Muʿtazilī in that he professed the creation of acts by God (*k̲h̲alḳ al-afʿāl*). The *Fihrist* therefore lists him among the *mudjbira*, and al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ reproves him for anthropomorphism because of his thesis that the *māhiyya* of God is known to Him alone. Ḥafṣ rejected the thesis of al-Naẓẓām on the interpenetration (*mudāk̲h̲ala*) of accidents and preached *mudjāwara*. One original point of his doctrine is the sixth sense which God will create on the Day of Resurrection in order to enable His creatures to see Him.

The *Fihrist* attributes to him six works: *K. al-Istiṭāʿa*, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, *K. fi 'l-mak̲h̲lūḳ ʿalā Abi 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl*, *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Naṣārā*, *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Muʿtazila*, *K. al-Abwāb fi 'l-mak̲h̲lūḳ*, none of which seems to have survived.

Bibliography: further to the works mentioned above: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 25, 74; idem, *Bayān*, i, 25; As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, index; K̲h̲ayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 98; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iii, 54; S̲h̲ahrastānī, *Milal*, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ii, 114-5; S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥ. b. al-Zayyāt, *K. al-Kawākib al-sayyāra ...*, Cairo 1325, 167; M. Horten, *Das philos. System der Spek. Theologen*, 499; Wensinck, in *Handwörterbuch*; A. N. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, 45. (Ed.)

ḤAFṢA, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb and wife of the Prophet, is said to have been born five years before Muḥammad's mission, while the Ḳurays̲h̲ were rebuilding the Kaʿba. Her mother was Zaynab bint Maẓʿūn, the sister of the famous ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Maẓʿūn [*q.v.*]. Married first to the Ḳurays̲h̲ī K̲h̲umays b. Ḥud̲h̲āfa al-Sahmī and widow-

ed while still childless (her husband, a Badrī, died at Medina on the return from Badr), she was offered by her father in marriage to Abū Bakr and to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān; the latter refused, explaining that he did not want to marry at that time; the former said nothing and later made his excuses to ʿUmar, saying that he had understood that Muḥammad himself intended to marry Ḥafṣa. Muḥammad did indeed propose marriage and ʿUmar accepted, naturally with enthusiasm. It is very likely that the Prophet was led to contract this marriage for reasons of policy, wishing to strengthen his bonds with such a valuable supporter as ʿUmar, all the more so because shortly before this he had asked in marriage Abū Bakr's daughter ʿĀʾisha.

The name of Ḥafṣa is mentioned in the sources in connexion with the following events. Hidjra: she emigrated to Medina with her father. Marriage: According to the majority of the sources, Muḥammad married her in the month of Shaʿbān 3/February 625, after his marriage with ʿĀʾisha and before the Battle of Uḥud; she was thus his fourth wife. Episodes concerning Muḥammad's harem: At the beginning of Sūra LXVI are verses alluding to an event or events which are certainly of a domestic nature: God reproaches the Prophet concerning his wives and reminds him that one of them has divulged a secret which he had entrusted to her; an allusion is then made to the alliance of two wives against the Prophet and the passage ends with a threat of general repudiation. The commentators, the authors of books of *asbāb al-nuzūl*, the biographers and the *muḥaddithūn* explain these verses thus: Muḥammad, during a temporary absence of Ḥafṣa, had invited into her room Mary the Copt [see MĀRIYA] and had relations with her there. Ḥafṣa, returning, surprised them and created a scene. Muḥammad then placated her, swearing that he would have no more relations with his slave, but at the same time insisted that she should not breathe a word of the affair. Ḥafṣa was unable to refrain from telling her friend ʿĀʾisha and the news of the incident spread. The Prophet was annoyed and divorced Ḥafṣa, but soon retracted his decision because Djibrīl came down from Heaven and charged him to take back his wife because she was very devout and was to be his wife in Paradise (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 58); moreover, ʿUmar was so grieved by the treatment inflicted on his daughter that he was to be pitied (it was probably ʿUmar's resentment which caused the Prophet to reverse his decision). He freed himself from the oath which he swore concerning Mary by means of a *kaffāra*, and for twenty-nine days avoided his wives. Nöldeke dates this episode to 7/628-9, Caetani to 9/630-1. Some reporters of *ḥadīth*s are obviously not very happy about this story, which they consider as dishonourable to the Prophet: they assert that the secret confided to Ḥafṣa, and by her to ʿĀʾisha, was the fact that Abū Bakr would succeed to power after Muḥammad and that ʿUmar would follow Abū Bakr (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 424, etc.). For verse 1 of the same Sūra LXVI the sources supply another *sabab al-nuzūl*, while keeping for the verses which follow the explanation given above: Muḥammad visited one of his wives, generally given as Umm Salama, but sometimes as Ḥafṣa (Ibn Saʿd, viii, 59, etc.; in this case the names change in what follows) and stayed with her longer than usual because she offered him a honey drink of which he was very fond. ʿĀʾisha then agreed with Ḥafṣa and some of the other wives of the harem on a way of preventing this from becoming a habit: one after the other said to Muḥammad when he visited her that a disagreeable smell came from him and that he must have eaten some *maghāfīr* (a sweet resin from the *ʿurfuṭ* tree). But Muḥammad had not eaten this; the smell could only have come from the drink which he had tasted earlier when visiting Umm Salama; the cause must therefore be the bees which frequented the *ʿurfuṭ* trees. Consequently Muḥammad denied himself the use of honey. But God had allowed it and Muḥammad abrogated the prohibition. According to one *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, iii, 358, iv, 273 f.), the secret which the Prophet confided to one of his wives and the oath to which the Ḳurʾān refers are to be connected with this prohibition of honey (and not with the episode of Mary the Copt). Thus already very early some relaters of traditions, conforming to a different ethical system from that which prevailed in the Prophet's milieu, endeavoured to modify as much as possible the accounts transmitted by the others. This tendency to draw a discreet veil over Muḥammad's domestic life is confirmed in the modern *tafsīr*s and notably in Muḥammad ʿAlī's notes to his edition and translation of the Ḳurʾān published under the auspices of the Aḥmadiyya. Another episode, which has no connexion with the Ḳurʾān, shows us once again ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa conspiring to play a trick on a woman of noble family, Asmāʾ bint al-Nuʿmān al-Djawniyya, whom Muḥammad had sent for from her tribe with the intention of marrying her. After having adorned her for her meeting with the Prophet, they advised her to say when he approached her for the first time "I take refuge with God against you," for, they told her, it pleased him when a woman uttered this sentence on such an occasion. The result of this advice was that Muḥammad threw the sleeve of his mantle over his face and cried out three times "It is I who take refuge" and went away. Immediately after this he sent the new bride back to her tribe with gifts to assuage her sorrow; the poor girl did not marry again and died in grief. Ḥafṣa as one of the four privileged wives of Muḥammad: According to Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 51, the Prophet was authorized by God to invite to him whichever of his wives he chose without observing any order. The wives to whom he gave preference were ʿĀʾisha, Zaynab and Umm Salama, but al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, i, 448 and 467) and al-Yaʿḳūbī (ii, 93) add Ḥafṣa. During the final illness of the Prophet: Some *ḥadīth*s mention attempts made by ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa to arrange for the Prophet to have private conversations before his death with their fathers, to the exclusion of the other Companions, and especially of ʿAlī. This is certainly possible, though these *ḥadīth*s are contradicted by others in the matter of the persons who were summoned by Muḥammad to his bedside, and it is impossible to tell which are nearer to the truth. Some *ḥadīth*s mention Ḥafṣa even in connexion with Muḥammad's delegating to Abū Bakr the leading of the public prayer. On the advice of ʿĀʾisha (or of Abū Bakr through ʿĀʾisha as an intermediary), she is said to have suggested to the Prophet that he should entrust this task to ʿUmar instead of to Abū Bakr, asserting that the latter was too weak and that his voice would be strangled by tears. It seems strange that this advice should come from ʿĀʾisha; it has, however, been pointed out that the person chosen to lead the prayer might have suffered harm instead of gaining advantage by taking the Prophet's place at a time when there was not yet any political significance attached to this duty. But in this case also there are some *ḥadīth*s which are completely different. After the

death of the Prophet: Ḥafṣa, like the other wives of Muḥammad, received an annual endowment and enjoyed the respect of the Muslims, but she did not play any political rôle even during the caliphate of her father; all that is reported of her during this period concerns matters which are of minor importance: some of the Companions asked her to persuade ʿUmar to allocate to himself from the public treasury a more liberal allowance, but ʿUmar would not be persuaded to do this, being inspired by the Prophet's example to live very soberly and modestly; as he ate frugally and dressed in too mean a fashion, she exhorted him to spend more on himself. Overcome with anger by Abū Luʾluʾa's assassination of her father, she was among those who incited ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] to take vengeance on al-Hurmuzān, and it was because of this interference that her brother ʿAbd Allāh exclaimed "God have pity on Ḥafṣa!" (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 259). When ʿĀʾis̲h̲a revolted with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr against ʿAlī, Ḥafṣa wanted to join her in this campaign, but her brother ʿAbd Allāh persuaded her not to become involved. During the conference at Ad̲h̲ruḥ, she urged ʿAbd Allāh to participate in order to prevent a split in the Muslim community. These are the only two actions to prove that she took any part in the events during the period of the civil wars. Death of Ḥafṣa: According to the majority of the sources, Ḥafṣa died at Medina in the month of S̲h̲aʿbān 45/October-November 665, *i.e.*, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya; some, however, give the year of her death as 41/661-2, immediately after his accession, and Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (iii, 73) gives it as 27/647-8(!). Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was governor of Medina at this time, followed her corpse and pronounced the funeral prayer. Text of the Ḳurʾān in Ḥafṣa's possession: The first collection of the fragments of the Ḳurʾān, formed by Zayd b. T̲h̲ābit on the orders of Abū Bakr, was considered as private property and remained in the possession of Abū Bakr; after his death it passed into the hands of ʿUmar and then of Ḥafṣa (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch.*, ii, 15). The committee nominated by ʿUt̲h̲mān to issue the official text made use of these *ṣuḥuf*, but returned them to their owner when the work of collation was finished. After the death of Ḥafṣa, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had them handed over to him and destroyed them (al-Balād̲h̲urī, i, 427). Character of Ḥafṣa: Ḥafṣa did not have an outstanding personality; she was neither lively, witty and attractive like ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, nor discreet, serious and helpful like Umm Salama. Her character does not emerge very clearly from the accounts in which she is mentioned and, although some *ḥadīt̲h̲*s affirm that she certainly took after her father (*e.g.*, Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 141, 237 f.), it is difficult to see in what the resemblance between them lay; perhaps they refer to the ease with which she flew into a passion or her ability to get her own way. Certainly she was not one of the most graceful and submissive of women. When Muḥammad at one time was threatening to divorce all his wives (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, i, 425 f. etc.; Abbott, 52-5), her father advised her not to be excessive in her requests, not to contradict Muḥammad, not to speak behind his back and not to be jealous of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, who was more beautiful and more loved by Muḥammad. Ḥafṣa was certainly not jealous of Abū Bakr's daughter; on the contrary, the two women were great friends; several *ḥadīt̲h̲*s show them eating together, fasting together, helping each other to maintain their own position in the harem, and perhaps to promote the affairs of their fathers. It should however be mentioned that, although in the first years after their marriages Ḥafṣa had the ascendancy over ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, who was still a child, the latter soon took the lead, and dominated one of the two groups of wives (ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, Ḥafṣa, Sawda and Ṣafiyya) which came into existence within the harem. If in fact she had any influence with Muḥammad and later with her father, she exerted it so discreetly that the sources made no mention of it. Ḥafṣa could read and write, while other wives of the Prophet were able only to read, and some were completely illiterate.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ḤAFṢA BINT AL-ḤĀDJDJ AL-RUKŪNIYYA (al-Rakūniyya), poetess of Granada born after 530/1135, d. 589/1190-1. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Iḥāṭa*, i, 316) and other writers praise the beauty, distinction, literary culture, wit, and poetic gifts of this woman, who was remembered in later ages above all for her love-affair with the poet Abū Djaʿfar Ibn Saʿīd of the Banū Saʿīd [see IBN SAʿĪD] family. Abū Djaʿfar was the inspiration of most of her poetry which we possess. After the arrival at Granada of Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān, the son of the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, she frequented his court and indulged in an amorous intrigue with him (though without abandoning Abū Djaʿfar) and was even sent with a delegation to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin at al-Ribāṭ. It was on this occasion that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin is said to have granted her a village or estate near Granada, al-Rukūna, from which her *nisba* is derived but which is otherwise unknown. Jealousy was an element in Abū Djaʿfar's political attitude and Abū Saʿīd's hostility towards him, and the latter finally received orders to execute his rival. After the crucifixion of Abū Djaʿfar in 560/1165 Ḥafṣa lamented her lost lover in verse which expresses a touching grief, dressed in black at the risk of prosecution, then little by little gave up poetry and devoted herself to teaching. She ended her days at Marrākush, where Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr had entrusted the education of the Almohad princesses to her.

Of her poetical production, strongly tinged with the romantic atmosphere which still prevailed in Spain, there remain only about 70 lines which attest a deep skill in a well-learned craft, but some personal touches and genuine sentiments often expressed in a style quite free from rhetorical artificiality may be perceived.

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ḤAFṢIDS (BANŪ ḤAFṢ), a dynasty of Eastern Barbary (627-982/1229-1574), whose eponymous ancestor was the celebrated Companion of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*], the *shaykh* Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā al-Hintātī [*q.v.*], one of the chief architects of Almohad greatness. His son, the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, governed Ifrīḳiya from 603 to 618/1207 to 1221. His grandson, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, was governor in 623/1226, but was got rid of by one of his brothers (Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā) in 625/1228. Under the pretence of defending the purity of Almohad tradition, which he claimed was being undermined, the new governor omitted the name of the Muʾminid caliph from the *khuṭba* (beginning of 627/Nov.-Dec. 1229) and took the title of independent *amīr*; his sovereignty was fully affirmed in 634/1236-7 by the inclusion of his name in the *khuṭba*.

In the 7th/13th century, after its temporary unification by the Almohads, the Maghrib was once again, and not for the last time, divided into three states: the Marīnid empire of Fez, the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom of Tlemcen (Tilimsān) and the Ḥafṣid kingdom of Tunis.

I. The *amīr* Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (625-47/1228-49). Having achieved independence, he gathered together what was to be henceforth the Ḥafṣid territory, i.e., the whole of Ifrīḳiya, by seizing Constantine and Bougie (628/1230) and ridding Tripolitania and the country south of Constantine of the persistent rebel Ibn Ghāniya (631/1234). The following year he annexed Algiers, and then subdued the Chelif valley. He encouraged the expansion of the Banū Sulaym (Kuʿūb and Mirdās) when they pushed back the Banū Riyāḥ (Dawāwida) in the Constantine region and the Zāb. In 636/1238, he subdued the Hawwāra of the Algerian-Tunisian borders. He thwarted a dangerous conspiracy (639/1242), and launched an attack against Tlemcen, which he took early in 640/July 1242, handing it back to the ʿAbd al-Wādid in return for his submission to Ḥafṣid rule. On his way back, he conceded to the chiefs of the tribes of the Banū Tudjīn rule over their respective territories, thus setting up in the Central Maghrib a number of small vassal states capable of ensuring his security. From 635/1238 onwards, the power of Abū Zakariyyāʾ spread as far as Morocco and Spain, whence tokens of submission flowed in. When he died, he was in control of the whole of northern Morocco, and Naṣrids and Marīnids acknowledged his overlordship.

He upheld Almohad tradition in his civil and military administration, and in his capital Tunis, on which he conferred many benefits: *muṣallā*, *sūḳ*, *ḳaṣaba* and *madrasa* (the oldest of the public *madrasas* of Barbary). Mālikism was not interfered with by official Almohadism, nor was the mysticism associated with al-Dahmānī (b. 621/1224), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, Sīdī Abū Saʿīd (d. 628/1231), al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258 [*q.v.*]), and ʿĀʾisha al-Mannūbiyya (d. 665/1267 [*q.v.*]).

Rapid economic growth followed peace and security, and exchanges became more frequent with Provence, Languedoc and the Italian republics, with whom treaties were signed. From 636/1239, relations with Sicily became closer when the Ḥafṣid ruler began to pay yearly tribute in return for the right to maritime trade and freedom to import Sicilian wheat. About the same time, bonds of friendship were forged between the crowns of Tunis and Aragon. Christian merchant communities (Spanish, Provençal and Italian) settled in the ports, particularly in Tunis, with their own *funduḳs* [*q.v.*] and consuls. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century many Spanish Muslims, craftsmen, men of letters and so on, emigrated to Ḥafṣid Ifrīḳiya, and before long constituted a powerful Andalusian body alongside the Almohad caste in the capital (see ANDALUS, vi, appendix).

II. The caliph al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77). As heir presumptive, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad succeeded his father without difficulty. He gave free rein to his love of ostentation, and from 650/1253 he adopted the caliphal title of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh. His self-confident policy was rewarded by important diplomatic triumphs in Morocco, Spain and even in the Ḥidjāz and Egypt. His rule was never jeopardised by a few plots and rebellions, often started or supported by the Arabs. In 658/1260 he executed the chief of his chancellery, the Andalusian writer Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*]. On the whole, relations with Christendom were as easy as they had been under Abū Zakariyyāʾ, though they suffered some setback when the crusade of St. Louis (died at Carthage, 25 August 1270) turned towards Ifrīḳiya. Less than a month later, the crusaders left under the terms of a treaty made with al-Mustanṣir. With his death began a

lengthy period of disturbance and secession (675-718/1277-1318).

III. The reign of his son al-Wāthiḳ (675-78/1277-79) began well, but was marked by the scheming of his Andalusian favourite Ibn al-Ḥabbabar and the rising in Bougie (end of 677/April 1279) in favour of a brother of al-Mustanṣir, Abū Isḥāḳ. As early as 651/1253 he had led a revolt of Dawāwida Arabs, and, after taking shelter at the Naṣrid court of Granada, had been well received by the ʿAbd al-Wādid of Tlemcen when al-Mustanṣir died. Al-Wāthiḳ was at last forced to abdicate in favour of this uncle of his, who entered Tunis as its master (Rabīʿ II 678/August 1279); he had been helped to some extent by military aid furnished by Peter II of Aragon, who was anxious to secure the allegiance of the Ḥafṣid state in his struggle with Charles of Anjou.

IV. Abū Isḥāḳ (678-82/1279-83) executed al-Wāthiḳ, Ibn al-Ḥabbabar and several other notables, and entrusted the governorship of Bougie to his son Abū Fāris. Soon after the Sicilian Vespers (30 March 1282) had tolled the knell of Angevin dominion over Sicily, Ibn al-Wazīr, governor of Constantine, to whom Peter III of Aragon had pledged assistance, proclaimed his independence, but was worsted by Abū Fāris before Peter of Aragon's forces were able to land, and the latter sailed off for Trapani.

Abū Isḥāḳ maintained normal relations with Italy, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to the heir-apparent of Tlemcen. But Ibn Abī ʿUmāra, an adventurer, seized the whole of south Tunisia with Arab help, was proclaimed caliph (681/1282), and was successful enough to cause Abū Isḥāḳ to flee to Bougie to join his son Abū Fāris. The latter obliged him to abdicate in his favour (end of 681/spring 1283).

After the usurper Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-3/1283-4) had been proclaimed in Tunis, he overthrew and put to death Abū Fāris (3 Rabīʿ I/1 June 1283), and even had the ex-caliph Abū Isḥāḳ executed. His triumph was short-lived. The excesses in which he indulged and his ineptness, shown particularly in dealings with the Arabs, provoked their discontent, so that they allowed Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, brother to al-Mustanṣir and Abū Isḥāḳ, to dethrone him.

V. Abū Ḥafṣ (683-94/1284-95) succeeded in the task of restoring Ḥafṣid authority. Pious and peace-loving, he initiated much religious building. Aragon-Sicily became hostile, seized Djarba (683/1284), acquired by the treaty of 684/1285 the "tribute" of Tunis formerly paid by the Ḥafṣid to the Angevins of Sicily, made an alliance with the Marīnids against him (685-6/1286-7), plundered the coasts of Ifrīḳiya, and set up a pretender to the throne of Abū Ḥafṣ in the person of Ibn Abī Dabbūs (1287-8), an Almohad prince who had taken refuge in Aragon. Despite several approaches, the ruler of Aragon-Sicily never succeeded in renewing peaceful relations with Abū Ḥafṣ.

After 684/1285, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, a son of the *amīr* Abū Isḥāḳ and nephew of Abū Ḥafṣ, gained control, with the help of the Arabs, of all the western part of Ḥafṣid territory, including Bougie and Constantine. Next year he marched against Tunis. Thrown back to the South, he seized Gabès and advanced towards Tripolitania, but was forced to draw back to defend his capital Bougie, threatened by an ʿAbd al-Wādid incursion instigated by Abū Ḥafṣ, who still exercised suzerainty over the sultan of Tlemcen. Simultaneously, local independent states developed in the Djarīd, at Tozeur, and at Gabès, while the Arabs of the south and of Tripolitania began to show hostility. On the other hand, the allegiance of the Central and Eastern Arabs won for them, for the first time in Ḥafṣid history, grants of land and of revenues. During the last years of the reign, Bougie annexed the Zāb, to whose governor, from 693/1294 onwards, Abū Zakariyyāʾ conceded the control of all southern Constantine. In the same year, the lord of Gabès also recognized the suzerainty of Abū Zakariyyāʾ. Here begins the decline of Ḥafṣid influence, and from now on the opposition of Bougie to Tunis recalls that of the Ḥammādids to the Zīrids.

VI. Abū ʿAṣīda (694-708/1295-1309). A posthumous son of al-Wāthiḳ, he appointed the great Almohad *shaykh* Ibn al-Liḥyānī to be chief minister. He attempted to reduce the disaffected Kingdom of Bougie (695/1296), soon to be threatened also on the west; for Algiers had submitted to the Marīnids, and when these had mastered the Mitidja they laid siege to Bougie (699/1300). Abū Zakariyyāʾ died in 700/1301, and his son and successor Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ at once used every exertion to bring about a reconciliation with Abū ʿAṣīda; eventually they signed a treaty (707/1307-8) which had as object to reunite the two Ḥafṣid branches, and which provided that on the death of one of the two monarchs the survivor should inherit the vacant throne.

Particularly during the last three years of his reign, the realms of Abū ʿAṣīda were seriously disturbed by the Kuʿūb Arabs. We know of certain treaties he concluded with Christendom, but the levying of the "tribute" of Tunis and the occupation of Djarba kept him opposed to Frederick of Sicily.

VII. Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr al-Shahīd (709/1309). A second cousin of Abū ʿAṣīda, he was proclaimed by the Almohad *shaykh*s of Tunis, who rejected the arrangement whereby all Ḥafṣid territory was to pass to Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ; but the latter took only seventeen days to get rid of him, and forced the reunion of the two Ḥafṣid states.

VIII. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ (709-11/1309-11) was unable, however, to prevent a new defection of the Constantine region under his brother Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, who also made himself master of Bougie in 712/1312. Meanwhile, the old Almohad *shaykh* Ibn al-Liḥyānī had seized the throne of Tunis, which Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ was forced to give up.

IX. Ibn al-Liḥyānī (711-7/1311-7). To begin with, relations between the two Ḥafṣid monarchies were good. But, after resisting the onslaughts of the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen (713-15/1313-15), the ruler of Bougie, Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, attacked Tunisia (715-16/1315-16), and Ibn al-Liḥyānī had to give it up.

X. Abū Ḍarba (717-8/1317-8). The Tunisians made this son of Ibn al-Liḥyānī their ruler, but he resisted for only nine months the attacks of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, and Ḥafṣid unity was again restored.

XI. Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr (718-47/1318-46) had a hard task in putting down many serious revolts spread over the years between 718/1318 and 732/1332, which were stirred up by Abū Ḍarba or by a son-in-law of Ibn al-Liḥyānī, Ibn Abī ʿImrān, and carried on by the Arabs and the ʿAbd al-Wādids. Ḥafṣid territory was continually assailed, and often with success, by the sultan of Tlemcen (719-30/1319-30); finally Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr freed himself from this threat by an alliance with the Marīnid of Fez, whose heir presumptive Abu 'l-Ḥasan married a daughter of Abū Yaḥyā. The difficulties besetting the first fourteen years of the reign led to the defection of many southern localities and to much tribal disaffection. So from 720/1320 Abū Yaḥyā endeavoured

to preserve the unity of his territories by entrusting the administration of the provinces more and more to his sons, advised by chamberlains. The second half of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr's caliphate (733-47/1333-46) is notable for the rise of the Almohad *shaykh* Ibn Tafrāgīn to an all-powerful position as chamberlain (744/1343), the stern quelling of Bedouin turbulence, some diminution of disaffection, the liberation of Djarba from the Sicilian yoke, the lessening of the subordination of Bougie to Tunis, and especially, with Ibn Tafrāgīn's encouragement, the gradual subjection of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, his son-in-law and immediate neighbour now that the latter had annexed Tlemcen and the ʿAbd al-Wādid kingdom.

XII. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad. His father, the late *amir*, had secured the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan's support for his accession to the throne, but Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad soon met his death at the hands of one of his brothers, Abū Ḥafṣ, and this murder was Abu 'l-Ḥasan's excuse for an easy conquest of Ifrīḳiya.

The Marīnid occupation (748-50/1348-50) received little support, and the abolition of the revenues which the Bedouins had been collecting from the settled populations set off an Arab revolt, which resulted in such a resounding defeat for Abu 'l-Ḥasan (749/1348) that his reputation never recovered from it. The loss of the greater part of Barbary and the growing hostility of Ifrīḳiya forced him to escape by sea to the west (Shawwāl 750/late December 1349).

XIII. Al-Faḍl. This son of Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr, governor of Bône, was proclaimed in Tunis, but was soon (751/1350) put down by Ibn Tafrāgīn, who replaced him by a brother of al-Faḍl, Abū Isḥāḳ.

XIV. Abū Isḥāḳ (750-70/1350-69). The new prince was so young that the wily Ibn Tafrāgīn himself was for fourteen years the real power behind the throne. Disturbances and movements towards autonomy multiplied on all sides; the Banū Makkī held the south-east and the Ḥafṣids the Constantine region, whence Abū Isḥāḳ had to endure many attacks, some of them severe (752-7/1351-6).

The Marīnid of Fez, Abū ʿInān Fāris, fired with the idea of imitating his father's heroic exploits, took Tlemcen, Algiers, and Médéa. The mutual hostility of the three Ḥafṣids ruling in Bougie, Constantine and Tunis lightened the task of the invader; who in addition had the support of the Banū Muznī of the Zāb and the Banū Makkī of Gabès.

The second Marīnid conquest of Ifrīḳiya (753-9/1352-8) began brilliantly with the capture of Bougie (753/1352), slowed down for a while, and then (757-8/1356-7) achieved its objective with the capture of Constantine, Bône and Tunis and the submission of the Djarīd and Gabès. Yet the collapse came even more swiftly than it had for Abu 'l-Ḥasan, and for a similar tactless act—the refusal to permit the Dawāwida to collect certain taxes from the settled population. His forces routed, Abū ʿInān Fāris had to fall back on Fez (758-1357). Abū Isḥāḳ and Ibn Tafrāgīn returned to Tunis only a few months after they had been turned out. The Marīnid died in 759/1358 without having succeeded in re-establishing his authority in eastern Barbary.

While an ʿAbd al-Wādid restoration was taking place in Tlemcen, matters in the East returned to the conditions ruling when Abū Isḥāḳ began his reign: Bougie, Constantine and Tunis governed by three different and independent Ḥafṣids, and the whole of the south, the south-east and a part of the Sahel maintaining their independence of the Ḥafṣid of Tunis. When Ibn Tafrāgīn died (766/1364), Abū Isḥāḳ was able to rule in person, but to no great effect. On the other hand, the Ḥafṣid of Constantine, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, seized Bougie from his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh and succeeded in uniting the whole of the Constantine region (767/1366).

XV. Abu 'l-Baḳā' Khālid (770-2/1369-70). The situation rapidly worsened under this prince, who was too young when he succeeded his father, so that for the third time Ifrīḳiya was united by a Ḥafṣid of Constantine and Bougie, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās.

XVI. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (772-96/1370-94). By his qualities of mind and heart and his gentle firmness he restored the prestige of the dynasty, of which he was one of the most notable members. From him descended all the succeeding Ḥafṣid sovereigns. Once he had checked the Bedouins (773/1371) and loosened their hold on the sedentary population, he regained piecemeal the lands his forebears had lost to the south and south-west (773-83/1371-81) and even recovered the Zāb. From 783/1381 onwards Abu 'l-ʿAbbās was occupied in consolidating his achievements and curbing any attempt to revive the suppressed local independencies of the south. Thanks to internal ʿAbd al-Wādid quarrels and the intense rivalry between ʿAbd al-Wādids and Marīnids, he had nothing to fear from the west. Relations between Barbary and Christendom were soured by Ḥafṣid acts of piracy, which grew in impudence when the Franco-Genoese expedition against Mahdia (792/1390) was halted. Later, a reconciliation with the Italian republics was brought about.

XVII. Abū Fāris (796-837/1394-1434) carried his father's task to a brilliant completion. In Constantine and Bougie (798/1396), as well as in Tripoli, Gafsa, Tozeur and Biskra, whose local dynasties he had uprooted (800-4/1397-1402), he appointed officials chosen from among his freedmen. He led daring expeditions into the Aurès (800/1398) and the Saharan borders of Tripolitania (809/1406-7). He cleared up a serious crisis which agitated the Constantine region and the south-east in 810-11/1407-8, and rounded it off by taking Algiers (813/1410-1). There followed a long period of calm, broken by the launching of several attacks in the west whereby Abū Fāris attained control over the ʿAbd al-Wādids of Tlemcen (827-34/1424-31). He intervened in Morocco as well, and even in Andalusia. His relations with Christendom were sometimes friendly, sometimes strained, but at all times close, and much diplomatic activity went on all through the reign.

The propitious state in which Abū Fāris's father had left the realm, and his own military prowess account only in part for his unusual success; he benefited in addition from the popularity which he enjoyed for his care for justice and his policy of religious orthodoxy, which was manifest in many ways: favours bestowed on the pious, the *ʿulamā'*, the *sharīf*s, the celebration of the *mawlid*, his efforts to foster Sunnism in Djarba, religious and civil building, the suppression of taxes not authorized by the *Sharīʿa*, the expansion of the voluntary privateering regarded as *djihād*. Mālikī formalism prevailed, owing to the influence of the famous jurist Ibn ʿArafa (716-803/1316-1401), who was mainly responsible for banishing Ibn Khaldūn to Cairo, where he died in 808/1406. The palace of the Bardo, first mentioned in 823/1420, illustrates how far Andalusian influence had penetrated into Ḥafṣid Barbary. Besides being the ruler of a prosperous state and a generous patron, Abū Fāris won a great reputation in the Muslim world by his far-reaching

and discerning liberality. The septuagenarian who had defeated Alphonso V of Aragon at Djarba two years before ended his days in the Ouarsénis at the head of an expedition marching to subdue Tlemcen (837/1434).

XVIII. Al-Muntaṣir (837-9/1434-5). This grandson of Abū Fāris had to contend with rebellious relatives and their Arab allies. He erected a fountain and the *madrasa* al-Muntaṣiriyya which was to perpetuate his name.

XIX. ʿUthmān (839-93/1435-88). Brother of the foregoing, he carried on the work of his illustrious grandfather Abū Fāris. Pious and just, he initiated many hydraulic works, and constructed numerous *zāwiyas*. He took the Tunisian miracle-worker Sīdī Ben ʿArūs (d. 868/1463) under his protection. He too had to contend with his relatives, especially, for the space of seventeen years (839-56/1435-52), his uncle Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī. This son of Abū Fāris was expelled from the governorship of Bougie in 843/1439, but for long afterwards held out against the troops of the sultan in the Constantinois. ʿUthmān also undertook military operations in the south (845-55/1441-51). But in fact, once the first phase of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan's venture was over (towards 843/1439), the greater part of the country was at peace. The provinces were governed, as they had been in Abū Fāris's day, by the prince's freedmen, with the title of *ḳāʾid*. One of them, Nabīl, affronted ʿUthmān by the assumption of too great authority at the court, and was imprisoned (857/1453). The second part of the reign was clouded by outbreaks of famine and plague, and by the revival of tribal unrest, which was particularly troublesome in 867/1463; it was checked with severity, but not entirely suppressed. On many occasions ʿUthmān marched against the south and south-west (862/1458, 870/1465). An ʿAbd al-Wādid had taken Tlemcen and though brought once to heel (866/1462), he had again to be reduced to obedience (871/1466). The last years of the reign (875-93/1470-88), as indeed those of the dynasty, are obscure. ʿUthmān tended more and more to appoint his own relatives to provincial governorships. It seems that he retained his hold on Tlemcen and in 877/1472 the new lord of Fez, the founder of the dynasty of the Banū Waṭṭās, recognised his suzerainty.

XX. Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (893-4/1488-9). This grandson of ʿUthmān succeeded him. He dealt pitilessly with those of his relatives who challenged his rule, and was in the end himself killed by his first cousin ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ibrāhīm.

XXI. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Ibrāhīm (894-5/1489-90) was soon dethroned by a son of his predecessor and enemy.

XXII. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā (895-9/1490-4). The Ḥafṣid state might conceivably have recovered its strength under this ruler, had he not died of the plague while still young.

XXIII. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (899-932/1494-1526). A first cousin of the preceding, he was given over to pleasure, and the decline of the dynasty went on apace. He restrained the rebellious Arab tribes only with difficulty, and the Spaniards took from him Bougie and Tripoli in 1510.

XXIV. Al-Ḥasan (932-50/1526-43). Son of the former ruler, he was driven from Tunis in Ṣafar 941/August 1534 by the Pasha of Algiers, Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, but after Charles V had occupied La Goulette he restored him to his capital (Muḥarram 942/July 1535). He fought against the Turks of Ḳayrawān (1535-36) and then against Sīdī ʿArafa (1540), the chief of the peculiar marabout state founded at Ḳayrawān by the Shābbiyya tribe. His eldest son Aḥmad deposed him.

XXV. Aḥmad (950-76/1543-69). He too continued the struggle with the Shābbiyya, whose new chief, Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭayyib, had allied himself with the Spaniards and with Muḥammad, the legitimate heir of the late Ḥafṣid ruler. Meanwhile, the pirate Dragut [see TURGHŪD], in alliance with the Turks and Aḥmad, was trying to establish himself in the Sahel. In 959/1552 the Shābbiyya were defeated by Aḥmad. The Spaniards evacuated Mahdia in 1554, and Dragut, returning from Istanbul with the title of Pasha of Tripoli, took Gafsa (December 1556) and Ḳayrawān (December 1557). In 967/1569, the Pasha of Algiers seized Tunis, and Aḥmad went to join his brother Muḥammad at La Goulette. Finally, in 982/1574, Don John of Austria lost Tunis which he had taken the year before, and the city was reduced to the rank of chef-lieu of an Ottoman province.

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ḤĀḤĀ, Moroccan confederation of Berber tribes (*Iḥāḥan*) belonging to the sedentary Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], inhabiting the plateaux of the western High Atlas as far as the sea. In the 1939 census they numbered 84,000, among whom were 20 Jews, despite the traditional prohibition upon any Jew travelling about in this territory. It is a country on the ancient route (prehistoric remains) between North and South, between the plains of Marrākush and Tarūdant, either by the mountain passes or by the coast road. The Ḥāḥā are a good example of Berbers that are islamized (perhaps by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ) but almost devoid of Arab blood. They speak the *tashelḥit* dialect (chleuh) and for the most part understand colloquial Arabic. Their territory includes almost the whole steppe- and forest-covered region of the argan-tree [see ARGAN] but, for lack of rain, they have to resort to extensive agriculture and goat-rearing. The houses are not grouped together in villages but are scattered, and each section lives separately. The confederation first appeared in history in the 5th/11th century (al-Bakrī does not know of it) as a supporter of the Almoravid movement, and later of the empire of the Almohads, either voluntarily or under compulsion. After the collapse of that dynasty, their geographical situation, though not giving them complete independence vis-à-vis the Marīnid sultan, allowed them to show their regard for the nomadic Arabs deported by the Almohads, particularly the Ḥārith and the Kalabiya. Ibn Khaldūn praised their intellectual standing at that time and described them as proud and courageous. Over a century later Leo Africanus, followed by Marmol, confirmed their juridical singularities and attributed to them a territory more extensive than that which they occupy at the present time; it apparently extended as far as the Asīf al-Māl, a tributary on the left bank of the Wādī Tansift. Leo also noted that although some of their elements, no doubt near the plain or the coast road, still paid tribute to the last Arab nomads on the occasion of

their annual migration with their flocks, it was not without resistance. The same author records the presence of numerous Jews in the country, from which they have today practically disappeared. The Portuguese advance in Morocco provoked a strong religious and xenophobic reaction among the Ḥāḥā, who spontaneously assumed leadership of the Holy War and made an appeal to the Saʿdid marabouts. The struggle against the Christians lasted for a long time, at the cost of much bloodshed and misery among the confederation (see R. Ricard, *Sources inédites*, 1st series, Portugal, v, Paris 1953). It was amongst them, at Afug͟hāl, that the founder of the Saʿdid dynasty was buried, and the famous al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*] was also to be interred close by, until the time when the two bodies were transferred with great ceremony to Marrāku͟sh (929/1523). The Saʿdids established a section of their cane-sugar industry among the Ḥāḥā; the surviving remains and thedefore station of the region still testify to the economic significance of these destructive enterprises. In 1002/1594 six hundred men were recruited from the Ḥāḥā and sent to Timbuktu by sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] with the promise of exemption from all levies or taxes (al-Saʿdī, *Tāʾrik͟h al-Sūdān*, ed. and trans. Houdas, Paris 1900, index). The founding of the town of al-Ṣawīra (Mogador) in 1178/1765, by bringing greater wealth to the northern Ḥāḥā, encouraged them to support the cause of the ʿAlawī dynasty. Those in the South, whose centre is still Tamanar, have been a source of constant trouble in the Moroccan Mak͟hzan, penetration of which was only completed under the French Protectorate, and not without difficulties of every sort (on the relations of the Ḥāḥā with the neighbouring tribe of the Seksawa, see J. Berque, *Antiquités Seksawa*, in *Hesp.*, 1953). A Moroccan confraternity, of S͟hād͟hilī origin, bears the name Ḥāḥiyūn (Ibn Ḳunfud͟h, *Uns al-faḳīr*, ed. M. Fasi and A. Faure, forthcoming).

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(G. DEVERDUN)

ḤĀʾIK [see LIBĀS].

AL-ḤĀʾIK, MUḤAMMAD AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-TIṬAWNĪ, compiler of the texts of songs deriving from Andalusian Arab music which, in his time (12th/18th century), were still preserved in Morocco; a great number of them have been transmitted orally from generation to generation down to the present day.

Very little is known of al-Ḥāʾik and his name is known only because it is found at the beginning of the introduction of his still unpublished work *Kunnās͟h al-Ḥāʾik*. His ethnical name, al-Tiṭawnī, suggested that he was an inhabitant of Tetuan, and this has been stated by a number of writers on Moroccan music. However, a manuscript fragment which contains the first eighteen pages, bears, after his name and his ethnical name, the words *aṣl^an^*, *al-Fāsī dār^an^*; this fragment was indeed discovered at Fez, and in no other manuscript is this detail given. Al-Ḥāʾik was, then, a native of Tetuan and probably composed his work at Fez, where he was living; this seems natural, given the courtly ambiance which prevailed there at that period, that is, so far as can be ascertained, in the reign of the sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl b. Mawlāy al-S͟harīf. There exist no other facts about his life; the historians of Tetuan know no more than this and there is nothing in the libraries of Morocco which can throw any light on his biography.

The majority of the musicians of present-day Morocco, who continue the mediaeval tradition, have no knowledge of musical theory, so that the melodies and the texts of songs have undergone alterations; this gives al-Ḥāʾik's work an especial importance in that it has rescued from oblivion all that remained of them in his time. The original manuscript does not survive, or at least it is not known where it is, but a number of copies of it exist in various Moroccan towns; not all of them give the *nawba*s in the same order or contain the same songs, the copyists having given preference to those which were most commonly sung in a given locality.

In 1353/1934-5, there was published at Rabat a book of 182 pages entitled *Madjmūʿat al-ag͟hānī al-mūsīḳiyya al-andalusiyya al-maʿrūfa bi 'l-Ḥāʾik*. Its author, al-Makkī Ambīrkū, has collected the songs of the *nawba*s *Ramal al-māya*, *al-ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳ*, *al-Iṣbahān*, *G͟harībat al-Ḥusayn*, *al-Raṣad* and *Raṣad al-d͟hayl* after having, he claims, compared several MSS. This work, of unequal value, is incomplete, for, in addition to the fact that it contains only six *nawba*s out of eleven, its author has not collected all the songs, nor included those which are found in the margins of the good manuscripts.

In spite of the detailed character of his collection, al-Ḥāʾik did not collect all the Andalusian music which was sung in his time, for several verses of vanished *nawba*s which are still sung at Tetuan are not found in his manuscripts—a further indication that al-Ḥāʾik did not come from Tetuan.

In the absence of a system of musical notation, al-Ḥāʾik, starting from the principle that the musician knows the melody from memory, adds in the margin of each song notes concerning the *mīzān* (rhythm and time) and separates the *as͟hg͟hāl* songs with the number of their *adwār*.

The work begins with an introduction and then sets out the 721 songs which comprise the 24 modes, grouped into 11 *nawba*s. At the beginning of each *nawba* there is a short explanation on the modes, including their origin and their qualities, and illustrated by examples of songs which actually belong to them. Next, arranged by rhythm, are found the various songs which form the *nawba* and whose number is not the same in all cases.

Above the song is given its title of *taws͟hīḥ*, *zadjal* or *s͟hug͟hl*, and almost all of them have in the margin a variant which is sung to the same melody. In the margin there is also given the mode to which the song belongs and its metre, if it has one. The *adwār* are indicated by numbers beside the corresponding verses.

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de la musique marocaine, Paris 1938; H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Bearsden, Scotland 1940, 60; P. P. Garcia Barriuso, *La música hispano-musulmana en Marruecos*, Larache 1941; A. Mammeri, *La musique andalouse à Marrakech*, in *Nord-Sud*, no. 5, Casablanca; F. Valderrama Martínez, *El cancionero de al-Ḥāʾik*, Tetouan 1954.

(F. VALDERRAMA)

ḤĀʾIL [see ḤĀYIL].

ḤĀʾIR (A.), term (proved by various lexicographical investigations to be identical with *ḥayr*, see H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1937, 129) whose meaning is clarified by the study of the remains of *ḥayrs* still surviving around ancient princely residences of the Islamic Middle Ages. The frequent references by Arab authors, which lead to the conclusion that they were either parks or pleasure-gardens, provided sometimes with a sumptuous pavilion, or more exactly zoological gardens like those which are recorded at Sāmarrā or at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (cf. H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, index s.vv. *ḥāʾir* and *ḥayr*), are supplemented by the data provided by the ruins of Umayyad or ʿAbbāsid castles, and by the ruins of the Ghaznawid castle of Lashkar-i Bāzār in Afghānistān.

The numerous enclosures which surrounded the palaces of Baghdād and Sāmarrā in ʿIrāḳ, enclosures filled with rare plants and stocked with animals, to make them hunting-reserves, have, it is true, now vanished without leaving any appreciable traces; but on the other hand, at Umayyad sites with the significant names Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*qq.v.* and ARCHITECTURE] and at Khirbat al- Mafdjar [*q.v.*], various types of outer walling have survived to a degree sufficient to provide valuable information on the appearance and the dimensions of the gardens which they enclosed. In each case are found walls of stone and brick, now fallen into ruin but formerly of considerable height, which were supported by semi-circular buttresses built alternately against the inner and the outer face; these walls enclosed vast areas of arable land irrigated by aqueducts and with other elaborate installations for bringing and holding water; sluice-gates made it possible to drain off superfluous water brought by torrential rain-storms. The areas enclosed may have been pleasure-parks, continuing the tradition of the elaborate 'paradises' of the kings of the ancient Orient. More probably, however, the land was under very productive cultivation, planted particularly with bushes and trees (fruit-orchards and olives in the steppe-country around Palmyra, orange-trees in the Jordan valley); this would explain the presence of edifices built by members of the aristocracy, and sometimes by caliphs, in places which assured the owners substantial revenues from the products of the soil.

Bibliography: On the *ḥayr* of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, see D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-38)*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), 365; on that of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī, A. Gabriel, *Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, viii (1927), 302-29, and xiii (1932), 317-20; K. A. C. Creswell, *Another word on Qasr Al-Hair*, in Syria, xviii (1937), 232-3; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes 1. Les jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, and *16. Retour aux jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, xii (1931), 316-8, and xv (1934), 24-32. On the *ḥayr* of Khirbat al-Mafdjar, R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Oxford 1959, 5-7.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

ḤĀʾIṬ AL-ʿ**ADJŪZ** "the wall of the Old Woman" (the form Ḥāʾiṭ al-Ḥadjūz is sometimes found, notably in al-Harawī) the name given by Arabic writers to a wall said to have been built by the mythical queen of Egypt, Dalūka [= al-ʿAdjūz], who is said to have mounted the throne after the army of al-Walīd b. Muṣʿab [*sic* = the Pharaoh of Moses], in pursuit of the Israelites, had been engulfed by the Red Sea. In ordeı to protect the surviving women, children and slaves from the attacks of the peoples of the East and of the West, Dalūka is said to have surrounded the Nile Valley, from al-ʿArīsh to Aswan, by a rampart flanked by military posts each within call of the next; according to another tradition, this wall, which was decorated with figures of crocodiles and other animals, was also intended to protect the queen's son, a keen hunter, against wild animals.

This legend, which had already appeared in a similar form in Diodorus Siculus (I, 57), probably owes its origin to the Egyptian habit of building here and there small outlook-posts of sun-dried brick which enabled them to keep a watch on the *wādīs* leadirg towards the Nile and remains of which still existed in the 19th century. This wall is mentioned by many Arabic writers, but whereas al-Masʿūdī (332/943) for example saw only ruins of it, al-Harawī (d. 611/1215) had followed along it "on the tops of mountains and in the depths of valleys" from Bilbays to the Nubian frontier "for a distance of about one month's walking", and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), while admitting that the greater part of it had disappeared, stated that he had followed it from farthest Upper Egypt to Dandara.

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(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAḲĀʾIḲ, plural of *ḥaḳīḳa* = truth, as a technical term denotes the gnostic system of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] and related groups. In this technical sense the term is used particularly by the Ṭayyibīs.

During the eras of the prophets of the law—the time of concealment (*satr*)—the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* are hidden in the *bāṭin* [see BĀṬINIYYA], the interior truth behind the exterior (*ẓāhir*) of the scriptures and the law. While the law changes with every new prophetic era the truth of the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* is eternal. This truth is the exclusive property of the divinely guided Imām and the hierarchy of teachers installed by him. It cannot be revealed to anyone except on formal initiation. The *Ḳāʾim* will abrogate all prophetic law and make the hidden truth public. In his era the *ḥaḳāʾik* are fully known free from all symbolism. The teaching hierarchy is no longer needed and discarded.

The two main components of the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* system are an interpretation of history as the permanent struggle and eventual victory of the hierarchy in possession of the esoteric truth over the adversaries, and a cosmology dividing the world into a spiritual, an astral, and a physical realm. History is viewed as a progression of cycles with recurrent types and situations leading to its consummation in the appearance of the *Ḳāʾim*, who will rule and judge the world. The roots of this interpretation of history are Shīʿī, and it appears in its main features already in Ismāʿīlī texts of the 3rd/9th century. The basis

of the cosmology, at least since the early 4th/10th century, was adapted from Neoplatonism. A Neoplatonic cosmology was introduced by the Persian *dāʿī* al-Nasafī [*q.v.*] (d. 332/943-4). His system was criticized in some points by his contemporary Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], but defended by the younger contemporary Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī [*q.v.*]. Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism adopted the cosmological system apparently only under the caliph al-Muʿizz [*q.v.*] (ruled 341-65/953-75). A new system was propounded by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 411/1020), but was not much noticed in Fāṭimid times. Among the Ṭayyibīs in the Yaman a new synthesis introducing mythical elements was adopted by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*] (d. 557/1162). His work remained the basis of the Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* system. Among the Nizārīs interest gradually turned away from the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* and centred more and more on the reality of the Imām viewed as an eternal and absolute figure transcending history and the world.

Bibliography: See ISMĀʿĪLIYYA. Zāhid ʿAlī, *Hamārē Ismāʿīlī madhhab kī ḥaḳīḳat aur us kā niẓām*, Ḥaydarābād Dn. 1954, 576 ff.

(W. MADELUNG)

ḤAKAM, arbitrator who settles a dispute (from *ḥakama*: to judge, from whence is derived also *ḥākim*: any holder of general authority, such as a provincial governor and, more precisely, the judicial magistrate). A synonym, also a technical term and in current use, is *muḥakkam* (from *ḥakkama*: to submit to arbitration, whence also *taḥkīm*, the procedure of arbitration or, more precisely, submission to arbitration).

In pre-Islamic Arabia, given the lack of any public authority responsible for the settling of disputes [see DIYA, ḲIṢĀṢ, THAʾR], *taḥkīm* was the sole judicial procedure available to individuals who did not wish to exercise their right of private justice or who were unable to settle their differences by means of a direct friendly agreement. This procedure was of a purely private character, depending throughout solely on the goodwill of the parties involved. In principle, they chose their *ḥakam* freely, and the only binding force of the latter's decision was a moral one. Thus the arbitrator usually asked the parties to the dispute to hand over to him pledges which would ensure that his judgement was carried out.

Nevertheless arbitration acquired a certain systematization and an institutional character amounting to public justice in the fairs held periodically in various localities, such as ʿUkāẓ: a *ḥakam* was appointed there, to whom, by force of custom, recourse was made for the settlement of disputes arising from the transactions being carried out there.

This state of affairs survived in Arab society after the coming of Islam, for the Ḳurʾān maintained, in principle, the system of private justice; all the same, it recommends Muslims to submit their differences to the arbitration of Muḥammad. An illustration is provided by the famous *taḥkīm* to which, in 37/657, in their struggle for power, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya consented to submit [see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, MUʿĀWIYA, ṢIFFĪN].

In Muslim law, which developed in environments and in social and political conditions entirely different from those of Arabia, arbitration is encountered in its classical form: it is an adventitious procedure, as compared with the organized judicial system of the State.

Nature of arbitration. — Although it proceeds from the will of the parties involved, arbitration constitutes an act of jurisdiction: it is described in the texts as "a branch of the judicial power" (although, on the other hand, an arbitrator's decision is regarded as a transaction). Indeed the *ḥakam* is obliged to give judgement in conformity with the rules of the Law; arbitration in simple equity, by friendly agreement, seems therefore to be impossible. But this disadvantage is offset by the fact that the parties may empower their respective arbitrators to agree, in their name, upon a compromise solution.

Scope. — *Taḥkīm* is possible only for the settlement of private conflicts of interest concerning property.

There may be only a single arbitrator, or the parties may nominate two or more arbitrators. In the last case the arbitrators must, in principle, give a unanimous decision. Nevertheless the question is discussed whether, if the parties agree, a majority decision may be given.

The necessary qualities of an arbitrator are the same as those demanded of a judge; and the same impediments and grounds of objection apply.

Effects. — The agreement to submit to arbitration is not binding, inasmuch as the appointment of the arbitrator is regarded as the nomination of a proxy, so that either party may revoke it *ad nutum*, even when it is the case of a single arbitrator appointed with the agreement of the two parties. This rule admits of only one modification: when the appointment of the arbitrator has been submitted to the judge for his approval, revocation is no longer possible. Nevertheless in the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* one opinion teaches that revocation is no longer possible after the arbitrator has commenced proceedings. The Mālikī *madhhab* rejects these distinctions and recognizes the agreement to submit to arbitration as obligatory in all circumstances.

As for the arbitrator's decision, it is binding in all the *madhhabs*, except for one contrary opinion in the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*. It has therefore full legal force, and does not need to be confirmed by the ratification of a judge. Nevertheless an arbitrator's decision carries less authority than a judge's. On the one hand, it is generally agreed that an appeal against it may be made before the judge, who may annul it if it seems to him to be contrary to the teaching of the *madhhab* which he follows. (Yet it should be remembered that such an appeal may be made also against judicial decisions.) All the same, the party profiting by the arbitrator's decision is free to submit it to a judge, who will confirm it, certifying that it is in conformity with his *madhhab*; in this case the decision will have the validity of a judgement proper. On the other hand, the effects of the decision are strictly limited to the persons who are directly involved. Thus whereas judgements may affect persons not involved in the proceedings but regarded legally as represented by the plaintiff or defendant in the case (one heir by other heirs, the surety by the principal debtor), the decision of an arbitrator is not recognized as having any such effect.

Bibliography: The works of *fiḳh*, under the heading *Taḥkīm*; the Ottoman *Medjelle*, art. 1841-51; E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*[2], Leiden 1950, 29 ff.

(E. TYAN)

AL-**ḤAKAM** B. ʿ**ABDAL** B. DJABALA AL-ASADĪ, satirical Arab poet of the 1st/7th century. Physically deformed, for he was hunch-backed and lame, he possessed some spitefulness, which shows in his diatribes, but he had a lively wit, prompt repartee, humour, and the subtlety of the Ghāḍira clan to which he belonged [cf. AL-GHĀḌIRĪ]. He was born

at Kūfa and lived there till ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr drove out the Umayyad authorities (64/684) whom he followed to Damascus where he was admitted to the intimacy of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He then went back to Kūfa and was closely connected with Bis̲h̲r b. Marwān [*q.v.*] whom he accompanied to Baṣra when the latter was appointed governor there (74/693-4), and whose death he was to lament at the end of that same year. He was also on excellent terms with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bis̲h̲r, and frequented the salon of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, who on one occasion rewarded him richly. While poetry was certainly his means of livelihood, he was far removed from the pompous eulogies that poets used to address to the great; he contented himself with merely sending short letters in verse to his benefactors, appealing to their generosity, and the fear of his satires was generally enough to assure him success; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*Bayān*, iii, 74) and other authors after him even describe how, once his reputation for redoubtable satire was established, he limited himself to sending his walking stick to the powers he wished to appeal to, with the object of his request written upon it, and never had to suffer another refusal. His fame, indeed, rests in part at least on a *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to the senior official of the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲*, Muḥammad b. Ḥassān b. Saʿd, to which he added a few lines every time this intractable administrator gave him cause for complaint (text in *Ḥayawān*, i, 249-53). The fragments of his poetry which have come down to us show al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal as a likeable rogue, given to drink, and always ready to produce a few witty verses to obtain a present or to escape punishment. His satires, in which he is not above using coarse language, are not, however, sordid; the few amatory verses which have been preserved are rather crude, but what is most surprising is to find under his name a poem written with great simplicity on the misdeeds of a mouse and the usefulness of a cat (*Ḥayawān*, v, 297-300). The date of his death is unknown.

Bibliography: references in Nallino, *Letteratura*, 149 (French tr., 228-9); D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Buk̲h̲alāʾ*, ed. Ḥād̲j̲irī, 381-2; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 344.—Some poems can be found in D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, 1344/1926 ed., ii, 260-1; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 458; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, ii, 149-59 and index (Beirut ed., ii, 360-80); Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 161.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-ḤAKAM B. MUḤAMMAD B. **ḲANBAR** AL-MĀZINĪ, a minor poet of Baṣra, of whose work there remain only some lines of *g̲h̲azal* [*q.v.*] that are entirely proper and for the most part set to music, and also a small number of invectives against Muslim b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. The date of his birth, which must have taken place in about 110/728-9, is not precisely known, and the only indications concerning him that we possess are two anecdotes: the first tells of the female slaves of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī (d. 142/759 [*q.v.*]) maltreating Ibn Ḳanbar, even stripping him in the street, because they were astonished to find so ugly a man capable of composing love poems that had become celebrated; the second testifies to his friendly relations with Ruʾba b. ʿAd̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. in about 145/762 [*q.v.*]). Like so many other Baṣran poets, he went to Bag̲h̲dād, where he appears in the company of Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] and, in particular, Muslim b. al-Walīd. The two men were enemies, to the point that they sometimes came to blows, and it is related that Muslim took a long time to get the better of his adversary. The epigrams that they exchanged do not appear to have been scurrilous, and it is interesting to see in them the revival of the old tribal disputes and rivalries between the Muhād̲j̲irūn and the Anṣār, Ibn Ḳanbar acting as defender of the former against Muslim who was an Anṣārī; but we possess too little of his poetry to draw conclusions of any value.

Bibliography: *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xiii, 9-12 (Beirut ed., xiv, 153-60), xxi, 228-71 *passim*; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 579 (although the *Ag̲h̲ānī* relates several details on the authority of Ibn Sallām [139-231/756-845], the latter does not give any account of Ibn Ḳanbar); Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, i, 30, 215; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 153, 761; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 468; Muslim, *Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤAKAM B. **SAʿD**, tribe of Arabia dwelling in the Tihāma [*q.v.*].

(AL-)**ḤAKAM IBN ʿUK(K)ĀS̲H̲A**, an Andalusian adventurer. His ancestor ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a had been one of the numerous *muwallad*s who had joined forces with Ibn Ḥafṣūn to rebel against the central power of Cordova, stationing themselves in the fortresses along the Guadalén, in the region of Jaén and Martos. The rebels submitted without resistance to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, in the course of his first Andalusian campaign, known as that of Monteleón, in 300/913; they were granted *amān* but were transferred together with their families to Cordova, so that the *amīr* could be sure that they remained submissive. It was there that (al-)Ḥakam Ibn ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a lived. At the downfall of the Caliphate he appears in the service of Ibn al-Saḳḳāʾ, the vizier of Ibn D̲j̲ahwar [see D̲J̲AHWARIDS]. The assassination of the vizier led to the imprisonment of (al-)Ḥakam, who nevertheless succeeded in escaping and joining the King of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn. The latter, who also was aiming at annexing Cordova to his possessions, was anticipated by al-Muʿtamid of Seville. But when al-Maʾmūn set him in command of one of his fortresses on the frontier of the Cordovan territory, Ibn ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a, much helped by the hostility which the Cordovans felt for the ʿAbbādids, managed by a sudden attack to gain entrance to the town and kill the governor ʿAbbād, the son of al-Muʿtamid, together with Ibn Martīn, the chief of his mercenaries. He met with no resistance in making himself master of the city, and proceeded to proclaim as ruler al-Maʾmūn, then in Valencia, who on his arrival in Cordova was solemnly recognized as ruler on Friday 23 D̲j̲umādā II 467/13 February 1075. However, he died, possibly through poisoning, four months later on 14 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 467/1 July 1075. The Cordovans rose in revolt and summoned back al-Muʿtamid; Ibn ʿUk(k)ās̲h̲a fled without contemplating resistance, and as he was crossing the bridge over the Guadalquivir he was killed by a Jew on 29 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 467/15 August 1075. As a sign of contempt, his body was crucified together with that of a dog. His son Ḥarīz fled to Toledo, where al-Ḳādir, al-Maʾmūn's successor, put him in command of Calatrava (Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ); he is mentioned as a poet by al-Fatḥ Ibn K̲h̲āḳān and Ibn al-Abbār.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, ii, 161; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Aʿmal al-aʿlām*, index; R. Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 122-6; ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Duwal al-ṭawāʾif*, 101-3; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 386.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-ḤAKAM I B. HIS̲H̲ĀM, Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī, third Umayyad *amīr* of Cordova. The second son of his father, who died prematurely, he succeeded on 3 Ṣafar 180/17 April 796 when 26 years old. At his

proclamation the internal truce was broken and his uncles Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh, sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, disputed his authority and crossed from Barbary to Spain. ʿAbd Allāh made for the Upper Frontier, but he found conditions unfavourable there and went with his sons ʿUbayd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Malik to negotiate with Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle and offer him support in a campaign against Barcelona and the region of the Ebro delta. In the following year Sulaymān also landed in the Peninsula and made to attack Cordova, but was defeated and withdrew to Merida, where he was captured and put to death. ʿAbd Allāh was pardoned on condition that he did not leave Valencia.

The reign of al-Ḥakam I was almost entirely devoted to suppressing the repeated rebellions which were ceaselessly breaking out on the three frontiers of Toledo, Saragossa, and Merida. There was a rising at Toledo, populated for the most part by *muwallads*, in the year following the proclamation of al-Ḥakam I's succession, and the faithful ʿAmrūs was sent to put it down and decimated its citizens in the famous "Day of the Ditch" (*waḳʿat al-ḥufra*). On the Upper Frontier the Banū Ḳaṣī provoked isolated rebellions which the same ʿAmrūs, now transferred to Saragossa, made it his task to suppress. He also punished the *muwallads* of Huesca and founded the citadel of Tudela so as to provide himself with a firm foothold. On the Lower Frontier the centre of neo-Muslim and Berber resistance was Merida, which did not give in till 197/813. Two great insurrections in the capital, Cordova, coincided with these frontier risings. In Djumādā I 189/May 805 a plot to dethrone al-Ḥakam I and replace him by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, his cousin, was uncovered, and 72 Cordovan notables were crucified and exposed on the causeway which runs along the right bank of the Guadalquivir. Thirteen years later, in 202/818, the well-known popular uprising of the Arrabal (Suburb) took place and was savagely repressed. 300 notables were crucified and the rest of the inhabitants of the Arrabal were exiled. Some emigrated to Fez; others joined the Levantine pirates: their wanderings led them to Alexandria and Crete, where they survived for a century and a half. Internal insurrections prevented al-Ḥakam I from undertaking any serious offensive against the kingdom of Asturias. In 180/796 a raid through Old Castile (al-Ḳilāʿ) enabled him to take possession of Calahorra and to reach the coast at Santander, but in 185/801 Barcelona fell to Charlemagne's Franks and so Louis the Pious was able to organize the Spanish Marches. In the same year the troops of al-Ḥakam I were defeated in the defile of Arganzón and counter attacks by the Asturians provoked a new offensive which brought about their defeat at Wādī Arūn (which must be the Orón, near Miranda de Ebro).

In spite of the savage cruelty and continual uprisings of the reign of al-Ḥakam I, it coincides with the period of humanization of al-Andalus and foreshadows the era in which, with the succession of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, ʿAbbāsid influence from the East is to become preponderant and the domination of the neo-Muslims in the civil administration and in military command to become ever greater. At the end of his life al-Ḥakam's character lost some of its asperity as he lost his health and he withdrew into his palace under the guardianship of his faithful foreign mercenaries. Within a fortnight of having his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II recognized as his successor he died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 206/21 May 822, leaving to his son a kingdom completely submitted to the *amīr*'s authority.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², i, 285-307; Simonet, *Hist. de los Mozárabes*, 298-309; Barrau-Dihigo, *Royaume asturien*, 157-64; I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mozárabes*, i, 150-1; and especially E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 151-89, where all the known sources have been used, including the yet unpublished part of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān, Fez ms., 1-101.

(A. Huici Miranda)

AL-ḤAKAM II, AL-MUSTANṢIR BI'LLĀH, second Umayyad Caliph of Spain, son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. His reign was one of the most peaceful and fruitful of the Cordovan dynasty. In his time Cordova, as an intellectual capital, shone even more brilliantly than under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Though nominated heir-apparent in his first youth he was 46 years old before assuming power (2 or 3 Ramaḍān 350/15 or 16 October 961). He had acquired a long and direct experience of public affairs and as a statesman showed himself not unworthy of his illustrious father. The fifteen years of his reign were peaceful; the only alarm to disturb them was a raid by the Danish *Madjūs* [*q.v.*] who landed first at Alcacer do Sal and were repulsed on the plain of Lisbon in 360/971. The indubitable superiority of the Caliphs forces ensured the most complete security of the borderland right from the beginning of al-Ḥakam II's rule. It also imposed a truce on Christian Spain during which embassies arrived in Cordova continuously from 356/966 until 365/975, when count García Fernandez of Castile, with Galician and Navarrese support, broke the peace and was defeated at S. Esteban de Gormaz and later at Langa on the Duero and Estercuel near Tudela. Al-Ḥakam's activity in Morocco, now that the Fāṭimids had removed to Egypt, and until the rise to political and military power of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, known as al-Manṣūr (Almanzor of the Christian Chronicles [see AL-MANṢŪR]), was confined to deposing the Idrīsid princes. In the course of ten years, by dint of intrigues, distribution of gold, and armed intervention, he saw to it that his best general, the famous *mawlā* Ghālib, subdued the Idrīsid al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn and transported him and his relatives to Cordova. This minor triumph was celebrated with great pomp as marking the resolution of the last major problem of al-Ḥakam's foreign policy. His glorious reputation, heightened by the interest and good taste with which he enlarged and beautified the marvellous mosque of Cordova, and his literary and artistic predilections seemed to augur well for a long and fruitful reign, but his health, which had always been delicate, took a serious turn for the worse as the result of a stroke which he had suffered two years before these events, and the *de facto* direction of the affairs of state fell to the minister Djaʿfar b. al-Muṣḥafī. Anxious to ensure that the succession should fall to his only son, the adolescent Hishām II, he was proposing to have allegiance sworn to him with great pomp in the Alcázar of Cordova, but he died on 3 Ṣafar 366/1 October 976, and the *bayʿa* to Hishām II took place on the following day. Even before falling ill he gave evidence of exemplary piety, in contrast with the conduct of his father, and sought with enthusiasm the company of jurists and theologians as well as literary men and scientists.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 233-53, 257-9 (tr. 384-418, 427-9); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ff. 114, 157; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*¹, 47-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 144-7; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, 101-5; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 247-57 and passim (see index); Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp*², ii, 176-99; Codera,

Est. crit. hist. ár. esp., ix, 181-263; and especially Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 165-96, iii, 493-500, who used the text of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muktabis* prepared by E. García Gómez.

(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-ḤAKAMĪ [see ABŪ NUWĀS; AL-DJARRĀḤ B. ʿABD ALLĀH].

ḤAKĪKA, Various approximate translations of this word can be given, as will appear. The meanings that predominate are "reality", in the sense of the intelligible nucleus of the thing existing, or "nature" of the thing, or "transcendental truth" of that which exists. The term is not Ḳurʾānic, unlike *ḥaḳḳ* (the "real", the "true"), a divine Name, from which it must be distinguished (see below). As al-Djurdjānī indicates (*Taʿrīfāt*, Leipzig 1845, 94), *ḥaḳīḳa* derives from (*ḥaḳḳ* →) *ḥaḳīḳ*, which with the addition of the ة becomes an abstract substantive. — For a more precise understanding of the nuances implied, the vocabularies of grammar, philosophy (*falsafa*) and *taṣawwuf* must be examined.

1. In rhetoric (and exegesis, *tafsīr*), *al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the basic meaning of a word or an expression, and is distinguished (a) from *madjāz*, metaphor, metaphorical and figurative meaning, and (b) from *kayfiyya*, in the general sense of analogy. — Ibn Taymiyya has left (ms., coll. Rashīd Riḍā, Cairo) a treatise *al-Ḥaḳīḳa wa 'l-madjāz*. When the *madjāz* becomes so habitual in use that it acquires as it were a "basic meaning", it is then designated *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿurfiyya* (cf. A. Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 31, cited by Macdonald, *EI*[1]). Louis Massignon quotes (*Passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 822) a ms. of al-Ḥallādj entitled *al-Kayfiyya wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*: *kayfiyya* is here clearly differentiated from *madjāz* (cf. *ibid.*, quoting another title *al-Kayfiyya wa 'l-madjāz*, common to both al-Ḥallādj and al-Ashʿarī); *ḥaḳīḳa* then becomes the "basic, divine and definitive meaning" (*ibid.*, n. 2).

2. In *falsafa* (especially according to Avicennan usage), *ḥaḳīḳa* possesses a two-fold meaning, the ontological and the logical. (A) Ontological meaning (*ḥaḳīḳat al-shayʾ*): "Everything has a *ḥaḳīḳa* through which it is what it is ... It is what we have called "existence proper" (*al-wudjūd al-khāṣṣ*); by that, we have not meant to signify concrete (*ithbātī*) existence ... It is clear that each thing has its own *ḥaḳīḳa* which is its quiddity (*māhiyya*)" (Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo ed. 1380/1960, 31; cf. 45). Or again: the *ḥaḳīḳa* is "the property of being requisite for each thing" (*Nadjāt*, Cairo ed. 1357/1938, 299). There is the same idea in the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 139), where it is stated that the *ḥaḳīḳa* of the triangle depends on causes, one formal and one material, and not on causes efficient and final. — It was in the same Avicennan line that al-Djurdjānī was to define *ḥaḳīḳat al-shayʾ* as "the thing as it is in itself" (*Taʿrīfāt*, 95). *Ḥaḳīḳa* must thus be understood not as the thing existing, but as the essence of the thing inasmuch as it exists, the real nature in its absolute intelligibility. The concept that it denotes is in line with the essence, but always in keeping with a connation of "reality", intra- or extra-mental (cf. *Shifāʾ*, 32). We realise that certain texts identify it with quiddity (*māhiyya*) or essence (*dhāt*); these should not, however, be regarded as pure synonyms. It appears that the best translation of *ḥaḳīḳa* must be, according to circumstances, either "nature" or, as Mlle. Goichon suggests (*Introduction à Avicenne*, Paris 1933, 77), "essential reality". — A two-fold series of distinctions has to be established: (i) *huwiyya*, selfness (of the concrete thing); *māhiyya*, quiddity (essential definition); *dhāt*, essence properly speaking; *ḥaḳīḳa*, "essential reality"; (ii) *taḥaḳḳuḳ*, verification (of that which is); *ḥaḳḳ*, Real, transcendingly True; *ḥaḳīḳa*, reality, or transcendental truth. (B) Logical meaning (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-ʿaḳliyya*): it is the truth which "the exact conception of the thing" establishes in the intelligence (A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 84). From this same logical point of view, *ḥaḳḳ* will be the true in the sense of a judgement (*ḥukm*) of equivalence with the real (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 94).

3. In *taṣawwuf*, the philosophical sense of the term is internalized in a line of deeply relished intellectual experience (*maʿrifa*). The *ḥaḳīḳa* is the profound reality to which only experience of union with God opens the way, "essential Idea" according to Nicholson (*The idea of personality in Ṣūfism*, Cambridge 1923, 59); cf. Anṣārī, *K. al-Manāzil*, the ten chapters of the section on "realities" (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*). — There are two attitudes according to the schools. (a) The Ṣūfīs of the "Unity of Witness" (*waḥdat al-shuhūd*), e.g. al-Ḥallādj, reserve for *ḥaḳīḳa* a sense of the absolute intelligibility of things, understood through the spirit of the mystic, which thus leads to the Real but is not itself the Real. "The [essential] reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa*) of a thing is *on this side* of the real (*dūn al-ḥaḳḳ*)", said al-Ḥallādj (cf. Louis Massignon, *Passion*, 568). (b) Later Ṣūfism, from Ibn ʿArabī, was generally to take *al-ḥaḳīḳa* as the ultimate reality of the real itself in the uniqueness of being of all existence (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*); and the *ḥaḳīḳa* of the universe is to be God manifested in His attributes (cf. the central thesis of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* of Ibn ʿArabī). Experience of union or identification will therefore be an effective experience (of intellectual-gnostic type) of the unique "reality" *beyond* the real. — Some Ṣūfi expressions applying this second meaning (al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 95): *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, "unique and universal degree of all realities", also called "presence of union" and "presence of being"; *ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-asmāʾ*, "realities" of the divine Names, determinations of the Essence (*dhāt*) and its connexion with the manifested world, — that is to say, the attributes by which men are distinguished from each other; *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*, the divine Essence in the first of these manifestations, "and it is the supreme Name".

4. Other usages could be reviewed. Some references may be given, by way of example, to the usage of al-Ghazzālī, who stands so to speak on the hinge between the two vocabularies of *falsafa* and *taṣawwuf* (before the full elucidation of the "Uniqueness of Being"). *Al-ḥaḳīḳa* is the profound reality, the quintessence of things, the flesh that is discovered behind the peel. The expression *ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-umūr*, "the essential realities of things", often recurs (e.g. *Munḳidh*, 8), *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* here being almost synonymous with *asrār*; similarly *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳḳ*, "the essential reality of the Real" (e.g. *Ildjām*, 56), which in a flash leads faith (*īmān*) to *yaḳīn*, absolute certainty.

We may further define the meaning of *ḥaḳīḳa* according to two correlative distinctions (*muḳābal*) which frequently serve to explain it. A. *Ḥaḳīḳa* as distinct from *ḥaḳḳ*. The analyses given above form the first step. *Ḥaḳīḳa* and *ḥaḳḳ* can be differentiated as the abstract and the concrete: "reality" and "real", — Deity and God, says L. Massignon (*Passion*, 568). Now, "if reality is on this side of the real" (see above), "everything real, affirms al-

Ḥallādj, has its essential reality" (*ibid.*, 801, n. 1). And again (from al-Sulamī, cf. L. Massignon, *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1954, 310): "The Names of God? From the point of view of our comprehension, they are one single (Name); from the point of view of the Real (*al-ḥaḳḳ* = God), they are Reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa*)". Determined by the definite article, *al-ḥaḳḳ* is the very Name which will most usually denote God in Ṣūfī usage; thus it could not be confused with *ḥaḳīḳa*. But, without the article, *ḥaḳḳ* can assume a fully abstract sense which approximates it to *ḥaḳīḳa*, reality, truth (cf. L. Massignon, ed. of the *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913, 184, n. 1). Subsequently (in later Ṣūfism), *al-ḥaḳīḳa* so coming to denote an effective, deeply felt experience, the man in quest of God will fix his heart upon this by a purification (*tanzīh*) of his idea of the divine attribute (cf. al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Eng. trans. by Nicholson, Leiden-London 1911, 384). It is in this sense that *ḥaḳḳ* can denote in God the essence not manifested, and *ḥaḳīḳa* the divine attributes which are indeed the inmost being of things, their essential reality (cf. *Dict. of techn. terms*, 333 ff.). The Ṣūfīs of the "unity of Being" like to call themselves "the People of the *ḥaḳīḳa*"; but "the People of the Sunna and the Community" claim the title of *ahl al-ḥaḳḳ* (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 166, n. 2).

B.—*Ḥaḳīḳa* differentiated (by contrast) from *sharīʿa*. This is one of the themes of the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī. *Ḥaḳīḳa* here receives a meaning very near to Ghazālī's usage. It is the profound reality which remains immutable "from the time of Adam to the end of the world", like the knowledge of God, or religious practice, which only the inner purpose renders perfect. *Sharīʿa* ("Law") is the reality which can undergo abrogations or changes like ordinances and commandments. Two errors are to be guarded against: that of the pure jurists who refuse to distinguish between inner reality and the regulations of the Law, and that of the *bāṭiniyya* and extremist Shīʿīs (eg. Ḳarmaṭīs), teaching that the Law is abolished when profound Reality is attained. In fact, says al-Hudjwīrī, the *sharīʿa* cannot possibly be maintained without the existence of the *ḥaḳīḳa*, nor can the latter without observance of the *sharīʿa* (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Eng. tr., 383). Each of them rests on three pillars: for *ḥaḳīḳa*, it is the three-fold knowledge (a) of the Essence and Unity of God, (b) of His Attributes, (c) of His Actions and His Wisdom; for *sharīʿa*, the three-fold knowledge (a) of the Ḳurʾān, (b) of the *Sunna*, (c) of the *idjmāʿ* (*ibid.*, 14). In conclusion, the "mutual relation (of *sharīʿa* and *ḥaḳīḳa*) may be compared to that of body and spirit" (*ibid.*, 383).

Thus *ḥaḳīḳa*, in the sense either of profound or essential reality, or of transcendental truth, was to be currently used in very different lexicons (the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 22, was to speak of "the reality of the faith", *ḥaḳīḳat al-īmān*, which only the observance of the whole body of religious prescriptions guarantees; cf. H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 82, n. 1). *Falsafa* was to make it a precise term of ontology and logic; and *taṣawwuf* employed it very differently, depending on whether the inner experience specified was or was not situated within a monist view of the relations of God and the world.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 125; Lane, *Lexicon*, 609; M. Horten, *Theologie des Islam*, 152-3; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, with comm. of ʿArūsī and Zakariyyā, ii, 92 ff.; F. Jabre, *La notion de certitude selon Ghazālī*, Paris 1958, see Index, s.v.; Anṣārī-Harawī, *K. al-Manāzil*, text and Fr. tr. by S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 92-101/121-8.

(L. Gardet)

ḤAKĪM [see ṬABĪB].

ḤAKĪM ATA (d. (?) 582/1186), Turkish saint of Khwārizm, the disciple and third *khalīfa* of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], and the author of popular poems on the mystic life. His personal name was Sulaymān and his *nisba* Bāḳirghānī, *i.e.*, (according to Barthold, *Turkestan*², 150 and n. 1) of Bāḳirghān, a locality near the modern Kungrad, in the delta of the Āmū Daryā, where his tomb is still pointed out.

The legendary biography of Ḥakīm Ata is recounted in the anonymous *Ḥakīm Ata kitābī* (Kazan 1846): as a child he attracted the attention of Aḥmad Yasawī, and at the age of 15 became his *murīd*; he was given the name Ḥakīm ("wise") by the prophet Khiḍr [see AL-KHAḌIR], who inspired him to utter his poems (*ḥikmets*); his *shaykh* having sent him out on a camel with orders to settle wherever the camel brought him, at Bīnawā he attracted the attention of 'Bughra Khān' and received in marriage his daughter ʿAnbar, by whom he had three sons (for a summary see M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, 98-104).

Three works, all very popular down to modern times in Turkestan and especially in the Volga basin, are attributed to him: (1) *Bāḳirghān kitābī* (MSS very common, printed Kazan 1846, etc.) is a collection of the works of 14 authors, consisting of 124 poems (of which 44 are by 'Sulaymān') and 8 versified tales (with two, on the *miʿrādj* and on Abraham's sacrifice of Ismāʿīl, by Sulaymān); the spirit and style is close to that of Aḥmad Yasawī's *Dīwān*; (2) *Ākhir zamān kitābī* (Kazan 1847, etc.), in *hazadj* metre, on the Day of Judgement; (3) *Ḥaḍrat-i Maryam kitābī* (Kazan 1878, etc.), in *madīd* metre, on the death of Mary the mother of Jesus (a story given also by Rabghūzī [*q.v.*]). His *Miʿrādj-nāme* and some of his short poems are included also in the *Dīwān-i Ḥikmet* of Aḥmad Yasawī (Istanbul 1899, 47-56).

Bibliography: M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Türk edebiyātīnda ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 40-2, 98-104 (legends of his life), 193-5 (his works), with references to sources; *IA*, s.v. Hakîm Ata, by R. Rahmeti Arat, with further references.

(Günay Alpay)

ḤAKĪM-BASHĪ [see HEKĪM-BASHĪ].

AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH, sixth Fāṭimid caliph, whose name was Abū ʿAlī al-Manṣūr, one of the most famous caliphs because of his excesses, his cruelty, his persecutions, particularly of the Christians, the divine character which certain of his supporters attributed to him and which is an article of faith with the Druzes, and because of his mysterious end. It is difficult to form an exact idea of his personality, so strange and even inexplicable were many of the measures which he took, and so full of contradictions does his conduct seem. His main characteristic is a tyrannical and cruel despotism, with intervals of liberalism and humility.

Al-Ḥākim, born in 375/985, was only eleven and a half years old when his father, al-ʿAzīz, died at Bilbays on 28 Ramaḍān 386/14 October 996. He had been proclaimed *walī al-ʿahd* in 383/993. On his deathbed, al-ʿAzīz had instructed the chief *Ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān and the leader of the Kutāma, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, to proclaim his son caliph. He made his entry into Cairo on the day following his father's death, dressed in a monochrome

durrāʿa, wearing a turban ornamented with precious stones, with a lance in his hand, a sword at his waist and preceded by his father's corpse. On the following day he was solemnly presented to the dignitaries in the great *īwān* of the Palace, seated on a golden throne, and was greeted with the title of *imām* with the *laḳab* of al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh.

Right at the beginning of his reign, the Kutāma Berbers, who were the mainstay of the dynasty, insisted that the leadership of the government be entrusted to their chief, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, who was renowned for his successes over the Byzantines in Sicily, and he was appointed *wāsiṭa* [see FĀṬIMIDS], with the *laḳab* of Amīn al-Dawla. He showed favour to the Berbers in the army, at the expense of the other elements—Turks, Daylamīs and Blacks, had ʿĪsā b. Nasṭūrus, the vizier of al-ʿAzīz, put to death, and quarrelled with the young caliph's tutor, the eunuch slave Bard̲j̲awān [*q.v.*]. The latter, made anxious by the plan formed by the followers of Ibn ʿAmmār to suppress al-Ḥākim, made an alliance with the governor of Damascus, the Turk Mangūtekīn. But Mangūtekīn, having marched towards Egypt accompanied by his Bedouin ally Mufarrid̲j̲ b. Dag̲h̲fal b. al-D̲j̲arrāḥ [see D̲J̲ARRĀḤIDS], was abandoned by him and defeated near ʿAsḳalān by Ibn ʿAmmār's troops under the command of Sulaymān b. D̲j̲aʿfar b. Fallāḥ. However, Ibn ʿAmmār's government lasted only a short time. One of the most powerful Berbers, D̲j̲ays̲h̲ b. Ṣamṣāma, who had been dismissed from his post as governor of Tripoli, joined with Bard̲j̲awān. A revolt broke out against Ibn ʿAmmār, who was defeated and had to go into hiding, and Bard̲j̲awān seized power and took over the position of *wāsiṭa* at the end of Ramaḍān 387/beginning of October 997 and caused the oath of loyalty to the young caliph to be sworn again. Ibn ʿAmmār, at first pardoned, was later assassinated.

The administration of Bard̲j̲awān, helped by his secretary, Fahd b. Ibrāhīm, had to face numerous difficulties: the Byzantine offensive in northern Syria, a rebellion at Tyre of the adventurer ʿAllāḳa with Byzantine support, and disturbances at Damascus and at Barḳa in Tripolitania. Affairs in Syria ended successfully with the defeat of the Byzantine fleet off Tyre; D̲j̲ays̲h̲ b. Ṣamṣāma, although at first defeated outside Afāmiya, pursued and conquered the Byzantines who were disorganized by the death of their leader Damian Dalassenos (see M. Canard's translation of the account by Ibn al-Ḳalānisī in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, Paris, xix (1961), 297 ff.). Just before the beginning of this campaign against the Byzantines, Mufarrid̲j̲, who wished to make himself master of Ramla, had had to submit to D̲j̲ays̲h̲ b. Ṣamṣāma. Order was restored at Damascus. It was restored also at Barḳa, but the attempt to take Tripoli from the Zīrid ruler of Ifrīḳiya failed. The negotiations with the Byzantines, begun after the Afāmiya incident and initiated either by the Emperor Basil or by Bard̲j̲awān, came to nothing and Basil began a new campaign in northern Syria, and this time was successful. It was after this, but also after the death of Bard̲j̲awān, that, in 391/1001, a ten year truce was concluded with the Byzantines. The peaceful relations between Byzantium and al-Ḥākim were to be disturbed by the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 400/1009, and in 406/1015-6 Basil even forbade commercial relations with Egypt and Syria.

From Rabīʿ II 390/April 1000, Bard̲j̲awān was no longer in power. Al-Ḥākim, whose personality was beginning to assert itself, found the tutelage of Bard̲j̲awān, who kept him shut up in the palace, irksome. He therefore, with the connivance of the slave Raydān, had him assassinated while he was taking a walk with him. Disturbances followed, for the Turks feared that this was a *coup* by the Berber party. The young caliph was obliged to show himself at the gate of the palace to explain the reasons which had compelled him to have Bard̲j̲awān killed, and to demand obedience and help from all his subjects. This murder, and the cold determination with which it was ordered, showed already in this boy of fifteen those bloodthirsty inclinations to which the majority of his ministers and of the important dignitaries were later to fall victim.

From this time on, al-Ḥākim ruled as an absolute despot, obeying only his own caprice and mood of the moment, whether good or bad, decreeing the most extraordinary and the most unpopular measures, later mitigating them or abolishing them, and then again re-introducing them, alternating harshness and liberalism, to end finally in the madness of the last years of his reign.

The chief features of al-Ḥākim's reign were: (1) a series of measures arising from a spirit of Muslim, and specifically S̲h̲īʿī, religious fanaticism—(a) laws against the Christians and the Jews, (b) anti-Sunnī measures, (c) edicts of an ethico-social character (all measures which were annulled more than once although no clear reasons for this can be detected); (2) a great number of executions and cruelties; (3) rebellions and manifestations of discontent among the population; (4) al-Ḥākim's eccentricities, verging on madness, and his claims to be recognized as divine.

There were occasions on the other hand when al-Ḥākim showed remarkable simplicity, humility and asceticism, liberality and sense of justice, so that judgements of him have not always been unfavourable.

The measures taken against the Christians and the Jews were one of the most striking features of his reign, but it must be admitted that there had already been similar edicts issued by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. We list al-Ḥākim's measures briefly here:

393/1003: the demolition of a church which was being rebuilt, and the erection in its place of the Rās̲h̲ida mosque (on this see al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 282); the conversion of two other churches into mosques; the transfer of the Melkite Christians from their own quarter to that of al-Ḥamrāʾ (on which see *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, i, 298); the prohibition of wine, although Muslim law permits it to Christians, and orders to destroy the wine-jars and to empty the wine onto the ground.

395/1004: the forcing of Christians and Jews to wear black belts (*zunnār*) and turbans.

396/1005-6: a new prohibition of wine.

397/1007: the prohibition of the Palm Sunday procession at Jerusalem and elsewhere.

398/1008: the confiscation of the possesssions of the churches and monasteries in Egypt.

399/1009: the forcing of Christians and Jews to wear when in the baths a distinctive badge hung round their necks—a cross for the Christians and a small bell for the Jews; the demolition of two churches in Cairo and one at Damascus and the desecration of their graveyards; the infliction of tortures on a number of Christian officials, which led a number of others to embrace Islam.

400/1009-10: the demolition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; according to Ibn al-

Ḳalānisī, this was because the caliph was indignant at a fraud practised by the monks in the miracle of the descent of the holy fire on to the altar (on this miracle see Kračkovskiy, *The "holy fire" according to the accounts of al-Bīrūnī and other Muslim writers of the 10th-13th centuries* (in Russian), in *Khristianskiy Vostok*, iii/3 (1915), 226-42).

In the same year: the prohibition in Cairo of the Epiphany Procession, the Muslim authorities being forbidden to attend it as they had formerly done; the destruction of the Melkite monastery of al-Ḳaṣīr on the Mukaṭṭam Hills and the desecration of the graveyard; the destruction of a church at Damietta.

401/1010: the repetition of the order to the Christians and Jews to wear black belts; a new prohibition of wine and of its use in the Mass.

402/1011-12: the forbidding of the display of crosses and the sounding of *nāḳūs* [*q.v.*].

403/1012-13 (in 404, according to al-Maḳrīzī): an order to the Christians and the Jews to wear black turbans and head veils (*ṭaylasān*), and to Christians to wear a wooden cross round their necks; an order forbidding them to ride on horseback; the replacement of Christian officials by Muslims. These measures were made still more severe after Christian petitions were received, and a large number of Christians were forced through fear to embrace Islam. This was a disastrous year for the Christians, all of their convents and churches being destroyed and their treasures confiscated. Only the monastery of Sinai was spared, thanks to a ruse on the part of the abbot. But it did not escape confiscations, since, in 411/1021, the abbot complained to the caliph about them.

In general this policy had the approval of the Muslims, who hated the Christians because of acts of misappropriation and of favouritism by the Christian financial officials, which led for example to the execution in 393/1003 of the secretary Fahd b. Ibrāhīm, who had been at the head of affairs for more than five years, and the imprisonment, although temporary, of several Christian secretaries of the various offices. It should be mentioned that these measures were perhaps not always strictly enforced, otherwise it would not have been necessary to repeat them.

On the other hand, in 404/1013 al-Ḥākim allowed the Christians and the Jews, even those who had embraced Islam, to return to their faith and to emigrate to Greek territory. In 411/1021, when he learned that some Christians who had become Muslims were attending Mass in certain houses, he took no action against them, and in the same year he produced a whole series of measures in favour of the Christians: authorizing the rebuilding of the monastery of al-Ḳaṣīr and the restoration of its possessions, granting protection to all the churches of Jerusalem, restoring some churches and returning their possessions to all the churches, and authorizing Christians who had embraced Islam to apostasize.

One wonders whether al-Ḥākim was not at times inspired by the memory of his Christian mother.

The specifically Shīʿī and anti-Sunnī measures encountered a vigorous opposition from the mainly Sunnī population of Egypt, and were, either because of this or in an access of liberalism, sometimes repealed. Although, in 393/1002-3, thirteen people were arrested, publicly exhibited and imprisoned for three days for having performed the prayer of *al-ḍuḥā* [see ṢALĀT] which had been forbidden since 370, in 399/1009 it was once again permitted to perform it, according to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī. Similarly there were authorized the *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*] in the Friday prayer (which was considered as a usage introduced during the ʿAbbāsid period: cf. al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim*, i, 121) and the prayer of the *tarāwīḥ* in Ramaḍān; it was permitted in summoning to the prayer of *al-fadjr* to say twice (*tathwīb*), in accordance with Sunnī practice, "prayer is better than sleep"; it was no longer obligatory to call, in the *adhān*, "Come to the best of works", which was a specifically Shīʿī formula (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 287 and 342, where the dates do not agree). But, according to al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 342, in 403/1012 he ordained a return to the formula "Come to the best of works", suppressed the *tathwīb* and once again forbade the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* and that of the *tarāwīḥ*. The forbidding of women to weep and lament at funerals should probably also be attributed to a reaction against a popular practice which had been forbidden by the Prophet but which the Sunnīs do not seem to have combated very strictly.

One of the measures which often gave rise to disturbances was the anathema pronounced in 395/1005 against the first caliphs and the Companions of the Prophet: orders were given to inscribe these maledictory formulas on the walls of the mosques and of various other buildings and also on the bazaar shops, and this gave rise to a brawl at the time of the return from the Pilgrimage. The edict was therefore repealed two years later and an order was given to efface the anathemas and to punish any who insulted the Companions. This order was renewed in 403/1013. To this reversal of policy and return to Sunnī practices belongs also the authorization to celebrate the fast and the breaking of the fast as the Sunnīs did, when the new moon was actually observed, whereas the Fāṭimid law fixed the beginning of the month by astronomical calculations; and also the suppression of the Feast of Ghadīr Khumm (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 389, 10).

The rigorous measures against the Sunnīs produced a great zeal for Shīʿism and people thronged the lectures which were given at the palace by the chief *Ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, to such an extent that people died of suffocation.

The creation of the *dār al-ʿilm* or *dar al-ḥikma* [*qq.v.*] in 395/1005 was another measure intended to combat Sunnism and promote Ismāʿīlī propaganda.

The edicts of an ethico-social character are among the most curious decisions of this caliph, and when they were not the result of caprice and of outright whims, it is possible to attribute them to an anxiety to promote good morals and to combat libertinism.

The prohibition of wine which we have already mentioned affected the Muslims as well as the Christians. It was not observed during the revolt of Abū Rakwa (see below). It was repealed in 396/1006, when al-Ḥākim's physician had pointed out to him that wine would be beneficial for his health. But this order was re-introduced several times, certainly out of a concern for morality. Of a similar nature were the suppression of houses of ill-fame, the forbidding of people to appear in baths without wearing a loin-cloth, the forbidding of the sale of slave singing-girls, the prohibition of beer (*fuḳḳāʿ*) and of the sale of honey and of raisins (which could be used to make intoxicating drinks), the prohibition of musical instruments and the forbidding of performances by singers and musicians. For the same reasons he forbade women to adorn themselves and to display their jewels, to go to the baths, the cemeteries and even, at one time, to go out at all, in 405 forbidding the shoemakers to make shoes for them so that they were forced to remain indoors. Some women who

went to the baths in spite of the prohibition were walled up there.

Al-Ḥākim also forbade pleasure parties on the banks of the Nile and boating excursions on the Khalīdj; he also ordered all doors and windows which overlooked the Khalīdj to be closed. He even forbade people to walk about at night or to keep shops open after sunset, though at other times he himself took pleasure in strolling in the lighted streets.

All these measures were extremely unpopular; al-Ḥākim was certainly anxious to deal severely with the debauchery and excesses of certain classes of the population and he did not hesitate to punish most severely any infringements of the prohibitions.

Although it can be admitted that the caliph's motives in issuing certain of the prohibitions were serious, the same cannot be said of a number of other measures. Among these was a series of prohibitions concerning food, which were irksome both for trade and for the consumers. He forbade *malūkhiya*, a very popular mucilaginous vegetable, on the pretext that Abū Bakr, ʿĀʾisha and Muʿāwiya had liked it, the salad known as *muwakkaliyya* (rocket), lupins, certain shell-fish (tellina), fish without scales (which recalls the prohibition in Deuteronomy, XIV, 3 ff.). The forbidding of the killing of cattle except for the Feast of Sacrifices may have arisen from the need to preserve them for agriculture (compare the policy of al-Ḥadjdjādj).

But what can be said of the order, twice issued, to kill all the dogs because their barking annoyed the caliph, and of the prohibition of the game of chess? What explanation can be found for al-Ḥākim's confiscation in 399 of his mother's, his sister's and his wives' possessions?

Infringements of all these regulations were sometimes punished by death, for al-Ḥākim resorted to executions for all kinds of reasons, among them to inspire terror and as a method of government. The number of viziers, high officials and ordinary individuals whom he had put to death is considerable. We mention here only few cases: the assassination of Bardjawān and execution of Fahd b. Ibrāhīm (see above); the execution in 395/1004-5 of all the inmates of the prisons; tortures inflicted in 399/1009 on a number of Christian officials (hanging up by the hands, of which some of them died); in 400/1010, the execution of the vizier ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī and of the ex-vizier Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, and in 401/1010 of his successor, the Christian Manṣūr b. ʿAbdūn, and also of Ḥusayn b. Djawhar and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān who, after having fled to the Banū Ḳurra, had returned under safe-conduct; in 404/1013, the mutilation of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Djardjarāʾī and of the black eunuch Ghayn, a high official of the Palace, and in the same year the execution by drowning of several of al-Ḥākim's concubines; in 405/1014, the execution of the vizier al-Ḥusayn b. Ẓāhir al-Wazzān and of two other viziers, one of them being al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt. He even had secretly put to death, in 400/1010, his maternal uncle Arsenius, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, whom he himself had had elected ten years earlier. His hypocrisy and cynicism were such that he would even load with gifts people whom he was soon afterwards to execute.

It is not surprising therefore that the whole population stood in terrible fear of al-Ḥākim.

One of his most cruel acts—for it was inspired solely by the desire for vengeance—was his decision, at the end of 410/March 1020, to burn al-Fusṭāṭ, as a result of the circulation of libellous statements against him, accusing him of abandoning Islam completely and of having abolished its fundamental prescriptions (fasting and the Pilgrimage) after the preaching of al-Darazī and of Ḥamza (see below), and because of the riots which had followed the proclamation of the divinity of al-Ḥākim by a propagandist at the Mosque of ʿAmr. He gave orders to his black troops to plunder and to burn al-Fusṭāṭ, and these troops committed atrocities on the inhabitants. The eunuch slave ʿAdī, whom the caliph had sent to restore order, gave him such an angry account of what had happened that al-Ḥākim had him killed on the spot. But he had to intervene himself to stop the fighting, for the Turks and the Berbers had taken the side of the inhabitants of al-Fusṭāṭ and were fighting against the black troops. Some traditions state that the caliph was hypocritical and cynical enough to ask: "But who gave orders for this?", and that he amused himself by watching the burning of al-Fusṭāṭ from the top of the Muḳaṭṭam hills. The disturbances lasted for a whole week and left much of al-Fusṭāṭ in ruins.

The reign of al-Ḥākim was moreover disturbed by a number of rebellions. First there was a revolt of the Arab tribe of the Banū Ḳurra in the region south-east of Alexandria, the Buḥayra. But the most serious was that of Abū Rakwa Walīd b. Hishām, an Umayyad prince driven out from Andalus. After several adventures in different regions, even in Syria, he appeared in the region of Barḳa and won the support of the Zanāta Berbers. He already had with him the Banū Ḳurra, who had revolted previously. He set himself up as anti-caliph and defeated first one army at the end of 395/1005, then that of the Turk Inal (according to Yaḥyā, the Armenian Ḳābil) which al-Ḥākim had sent against him. At this point al-Ḥākim's distress was all the greater in that the population of Egypt and the troops, tired of the executions and the cruelties that the caliph had inflicted on the Banū Ḳurra and the Kutāma of the Syrian army, showed their joy and hoped that they would be rid of the tyrant. It seems even that the vizier Ḥusayn b. Djawhar had entered into correspondence with Abū Rakwa. Al-Ḥākim then called on the Ḥamdānid *ghulāms* who were in Syria and on the Ṭayyī Bedouin of Mufarridj b. Daghfal and put them under the command of al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ. A battle took place between detachments of the two armies on the outskirts of Alexandria. Then Abū Rakwa penetrated as far as the Fayyūm and sent one of his detachments towards Djīza where the caliph had sent reinforcements under the command of ʿAlī b. Fallāḥ, who was defeated. But in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 396/August 1006, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ gained a decisive victory over Abū Rakwa at Fayyūm and Abū Rakwa, who was fleeting towards Nubia, was captured and delivered up by the *amīr* of the Nubian marches and executed in Cairo in Djumādā II 397/March 1007. The alarm had been great. The caliph had had to humble himself to regain the sympathy of the troops, apologizing for the executions which he had ordered. It seems even that at one point he considered fleeing to Syria, for it was expected that the rebel would enter Cairo and the unrest of the population had caused a serious rise in prices. During the two years that this rebellion lasted, al-Ḥākim's prohibitions concerning food were waived and it was at this time also that he mitigated the anti-Sunnī measures.

A further alarm was caused by the revolt in 402/1011-2 of Mufarridj the Djarrāḥid in Palestine,

encouraged by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī (the vizier al-Maghribī), who had taken refuge with his son Ḥassān b. al-Mufarridj after the execution of his father ʿAlī al-Maghribī in 400. See the article DJARRĀḤIDS for details of how their intrigues were successful in installing in Palestine an anti-caliph in the person of the *Sharīf* of Mecca in 403/1012-3 and how al-Ḥākim bribed Ḥassān to abandon the *Sharīf*, who returned to Mecca and gave himself up to al-Ḥākim, who pardoned him.

The eccentricities in which al-Ḥākim indulged when he was no longer under the tutelage of Bardjawān are well-known. He began to wander around the streets and alleys of al-Fusṭāṭ at night, accompanied by a few companions. When this happened, the merchants would illuminate their shops and houses and the streets were as lively as in the day-time. He liked to watch scenes of wrestling (*muṣāraʿa*) among the street loafers—brawls which sometimes degenerated into murderous battles between rival groups. He showed at times an unhealthy curiosity. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd relates a revolting scene which took place in 407/1016-7, when actually in the street he made one of his black attendants make an old debauchee submit to a degrading assault and laughed as he watched this spectacle. Sometimes during these walks he was seized by a fit of absolute madness. One day as he passed a butcher's shop he seized the butcher's chopper and with it struck and killed one of his attendants, passing on without paying any more attention to the body; the terrified crowd did not dare to do anything and the body remained there until al-Ḥākim sent a shroud in which to bury him.

In 405/1014-5 these expeditions increased; he was seen in the streets several times in one day. He did not give up his outings even when he was ill, but he had himself carried in a litter.

There can also be counted among his eccentricities his sudden fits of humility and of asceticism, unless it is thought that he had always an inclination towards Ṣūfism. In 403/1012-3 we see him forbidding his subjects to prostrate themselves in front of him, to call him "Our Lord", and to beat drums or sound trumpets in the neighbourhood of the palace. He made a great point of celebrating the two great Islamic festivals without a procession and without ornaments. He showed abstinence in all he did—in food and in bodily pleasures. He allowed his hair to grow long and wore coarse garments of black wool, rode only on a donkey and distributed alms lavishly. In 404/1013, after his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ilyās had been proclaimed heir-presumptive, he delegated all the affairs of state to him. It was the heir who rode on horseback in the official processions, wearing all the insignia of the caliph, whereas the latter continued to ride on a donkey. Towards the end of his reign, this humility and asceticism increased to the point that he no longer changed his clothes and wore them filthy with sweat and dust and sticking to his body, that he travelled about the countryside, climbed the Muḳaṭṭam hills and went for longer and longer solitary walks, when, having ordered his attendants to wait for him at a distance, he imagined that he was speaking to God.

His madness (unless it really was absolute religious conviction—Ismāʿīlism taken to its ultimate conclusions) led him to accept and encourage the theories of Ismāʿīlī extremists according to which he was the incarnation of the Divinity. The historians give rather confused accounts of the respective parts played in this affair by the Ismāʿīlī missionaries, Ḥasan b. Ḥaydara al-Farghānī al-Akhram, Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Zawzānī and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Anushtekīn al-Darazī, and it is certain that several episodes have been confused with one another. However, it seems that it was in 408/1017-8 that this theme began to be preached, with the caliph's approval. It is almost certain that Ḥamza preached it first and that al-Darazī was his disciple, although Yaḥyā makes Ḥamza appear after al-Darazī. Furthermore there was rivalry between the two [see AL-DARAZĪ and DURŪZ]. According to one version, al-Darazī was killed by the Turks who were angered by his theories; according to another, the caliph, fearing for al-Darazī's safety, sent him off secretly to Ḥawrān. Al-Akhram is also said to have been a follower of Ḥamza; he is said to have presented to the *Ḳāḍī* while he was judging in the Mosque of ʿAmr a paper which began with the words "*bi-'sm al-Ḥākim al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*"; this started a riot in which his companions were massacred while he himself was able to escape. Some accounts state that he was killed by a Turk. Ḥamza, who was a great favourite of al-Ḥākim and had a special relationship with him, is said by one tradition to have been obliged to go and hide in the Ḥawrān. It is not known what became of him after al-Ḥākim's disappearance, but he is known to have been the founder of the theological system of the Druzes.

It is not clear whether al-Ḥākim's disappearance was directly related to all this and to what extent this preaching can have increased the caliph's madness.

Al-Ḥākim's end was as extraordinary as his life, and it will probably never be known how it came about. On 27 Shawwāl 411/13 February 1021, he disappeared while walking at night on the Muḳaṭṭam Hills and on the plateau which leads from there to Ḥulwān. He walked away from the two attendants who were accompanying him and whom he had ordered to wait for him. They did not see him again and returned to the palace next morning. A search was made and five days afterwards his clothes were found, pierced by dagger blows. According to one plausible version, he was assassinated at the instigation of his sister, Sitt al-Mulk, with whom he had had a disagreement: Sitt al-Mulk had reproached him for his extravagant behaviour, which she said was threatening the existence of the dynasty, while he reproached his sister for her licentious way of life. Fearing that she might be put to death herself, she acted first and arranged with the *shaykh* of the Kutāma, Sayf al-Dawla b. Dawwās, that al-Ḥākim should disappear. There circulated several traditions, none of which is reliable: he was said to have been killed by an unknown assassin, to have taken refuge in a monastery to end his days there, etc. The Druzes believe in a mysterious *ghayba* [*q.v.*] (a well-known Shīʿī theme) which is to last until the time when he will re-appear (the Shīʿī theme of the "return" [see RADJʿA]). The theory that al-Ḥākim withdrew into solitude because he saw the impossibility of realizing his ideas in Egypt (A. Müller) is merely hypothetical.

The picture we have given of the reign of al-Ḥākim does not on the whole present him in a favourable light. It cannot, however, be said that his reign was particularly unfortunate for Egypt. It had some less gloomy aspects.

During his reign the vast Fāṭimid domain lost none of its territory and in fact al-Ḥākim was even recognized at Mosul by Ḳirwāsh, the ʿUkaylid of Mosul, for a time in 401/1010-1. It was during his reign, also, in 406/1015-6, that Manṣūr b. Luʾluʾ of Aleppo submitted

to the Fāṭimid caliphate, and after his disappearance Aleppo had several Fāṭimid governors. It is true that at the end of his reign the situation at Damascus was troubled. In 410/1019-20, he had appointed as governor the *walī al-ʿahd* designate, who had introduced liberal measures, such as the authorization of wine-drinking, which were not in accordance with al-Ḥākim's ideas; he had the support of some classes of the population—the *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*]—while others did not approve of him. As he had in addition entered into relations with the Djarrāḥid, al-Ḥākim recalled him. He obeyed this order immediately; al-Ḥākim was satisfied and sent him back to Damascus. But there broke out a revolt against him and, on the death of al-Ḥākim, Sitt al-Mulk had him arrested and brought back to Cairo.

It is to al-Ḥākim that Cairo owes the building of the mosques of al-Rāshida (see above) and of al-Maḳs and the completion of the mosque known as that of al-Ḥākim which had been begun by al-ʿAzīz. He was also responsible for the foundation ot the first Muslim university, the *Dār al-Ḥikma* mentioned above, with its considerable library. He patronized the development of the sciences and of letters; the historian al-Muṣabbiḥī was one of his close friends and the astronomer ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān wrote for him his work *al-Zīdj al-kabīr*. He was on excellent terms with the physician Ibn Muḳashshir, on whose advice he returned to wine-drinking. It is true, however, that he had another physician put to death.

At the beginning of his reign his intention was to rule in regular consultation with the important men of Cairo, but he soon tired of this. This was no doubt one of his fits of humility which, like the others, seems to have contained more of affectation than of sincerity. But all the historians agree that he was generous, that he did his utmost to combat famine by making gifts and by trying to stabilize the price of food, that his concern for justice was such that he himself attended to the *ḥisba*, and that he appointed in addition to the chief of police two *ʿadl* witnesses, without whose consent no sentence could be pronounced. Yaḥyā states that he never allowed himself to seize anyone's property, that he abolished taxes (*mukūs*) and other unjust dues and that he restored to their owners goods which had been unjustly appropriated. The same writer depicts him among the people, welcoming all their requests and endeavouring to satisfy them. He abolished the "fifth" (no doubt the fifth that Fāṭimid juridical theory decreed should be paid to the caliph on any profit made), as well as the *nadjwā*, the tax which had to be paid by those who were present at the *madjālis al-ḥikma*, the Ismāʿīlī learned meetings which were held at the Palace.

A panegyric of al-Ḥākim by a Jewish writer is found in a fragment of a chronicle published by Neubauer in *JQR*, ix, 25; in it he appears as a benefactor of the country and the author praises his sense of justice (see D. Kaufmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Aegyptens aus jüdischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG*, li (1897), 442-3; but also M. Schreiner in *REJ*, xxxi, 217, on the burning by al-Ḥākim of a Jewish quarter).

It is an account of his liberality also which has been preserved in some of the tales of the *1001 Nights*, such as the story of the Cairo merchant who, having given splendid hospitality to the caliph when he had stopped in front of his garden during an official procession to ask for a drink, received from al-Ḥākim as a reward all the coins struck by the Mint in that year (Lane, *The Arabian Nights* ..., London 1914, iii, 56). Similarly, in the *Ḥikāyat Wardān al-Djazzār maʿ al-marʾa wa 'l-dubb* (*1001 Nights*, Cairo, nights 353-5): a treasure guarded by a bear is discovered by the butcher in question (see the complicated story); he gives it to al-Ḥākim who has come on his donkey to see the treasure that the butcher has told him about; the caliph keeps a part of it and gives the remainder to the butcher who is thus enabled to build all the shops of the *sūḳ* which is called after him Sūḳ Wardān. This story is related by Ibn al-Dawādārī, who claims to base it on the *Ḥall al-rumūz fī ʿilm al-kunūz* of a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ḳayrawānī.

The historians have formed very varied judgments of al-Ḥākim's personality. Dozy and A. Müller have tried to show that there was in him a certain idealism. Ivanow, *Rise*, 123 ff., thinks that he was anxious to realize the ideals of the Sunnīs as well as of the Ismāʿīlīs and to this end to suppress Christianity, and that in addition he was always trying to make the Ismāʿīlī doctrine more perfect. But he sees in him also a desire to "play to the gallery" and thinks that there may have been a histrionic streak in him. He even sees a democratic flavour in some of his acts; but this is going rather far.

Yaḥyā, who was a physician as well as a historian, tried to give a medical explanation of his "madness" as a mixture in his brain of pernicious and morbid humours which from his childhood caused him to suffer from a kind of melancholy (in the true sense) and a trouble of the mind which made him a prey to fantasies. He states that in his youth he was subject to fits and that the ill-constitution of his brain caused him to suffer from insomnia (see Yaḥyā-Cheikho, 218 ff.). This insomnia may explain al-Ḥākim's nocturnal walks.

In any case, al-Ḥākim's personality remains an enigmatic one. He seems to have been several persons in succession or even simultaneously.

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also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Die Chronik des Ibn* ..., Teil 6: *Der Bericht über die Fatimiden*, ed. Salāh ad-dīn al-Munağğid, Cairo 1961, 256-312; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ* ..., x, 384, xiii, 359-60; Ḳayrawānī, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, tr. Pellissier and Rémusat (*Explor. de l'Algérie*, vii), 116 ff.—Among modern works the biography of al-Ḥākim in S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, 278 ff., remains the basic work. See also Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii, 66, iv, 269; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fat. Chalifen*, 164 ff. (very important; his account is in part founded on Ibn Ẓāfir, *al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*); S. Lane-Poole, *A history of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 123 ff.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885 i, 629 ff.; De Lacy O'Leary, *A short history of the Fatimid Khalifate*, index; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh wa asrār al-daʿwa al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1937, a very important and detailed monograph, with an excellent index; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mādjid, *Al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, al-khalīfa al-muftarā ʿalayh*, Cairo 1959; G. Wiet, *Précis de l'hist. de l'Égypte*, 1932, 182-3; idem, *L'Égypte arabe* (vol. iv of *Hist. de la Nation Égyptienne*), 195-204; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*², Cairo 1958, 163-8, 204 ff., 218-38, 249 ff., 258, 272 ff., 310 ff., 331 ff., 352 ff., 378 ff., 428 ff. and *passim*; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-islām al-siyāsī* ..., Cairo 1949, iii, 168-70. See also M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, index. There are also interesting details in Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, see index, and in the *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of the Ḳāḍī al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr (ed. M. Hamidullah), 68, 150-1, 232-3. 241, On the deification of al-Ḥākim, see P. J. Vatikiotis, *Al-Hakim bi-Amrillah: the God-King idea realized*, in *IC*, xxix (1955), 1-18 (revised version in idem, *The Fatimid theory of state*, Lahore 1957, 149 ff.); G. Wiet, *Grandeur de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 168-70; S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955, 83-4.

(M. Canard)

AL-ḤĀKIM AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyiʿ, a traditionist of note, b. 321/933, d. 405/1014. He travelled in various countries to study *Ḥādīth* and heard traditions from about 2000 *shaykhs*. Because he held the office of *ḳāḍī* for a time he became known as al-Ḥākim. He wrote many books, among them *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, an important work on the science of *Ḥadīth*, which set a standard for the method of dealing with the subject. Though he was held in high esteem for his scholarship and was visited by many scholars, his writings have met with criticism. He has been called a Shīʿī, but al-Subkī stoutly denies this. Al-Dhahabī who, in *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, calls him "the great *ḥāfiẓ* and *imām* of the traditionists", also includes him in his *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl* where he says that he made mistakes in his book *al-Mustadrak ʿala 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Ibn Ḥadjar, in the parallel passage in *Lisān al-mīzān*, remarks that he is too distinguished to be mentioned among weak traditionists, but that some say he became careless in old age. In spite of criticism he holds an honoured place among traditionists. Printed works by al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak ʿala 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, Ḥaydarābād 1334-42; *al-Madkhal fi uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1351/1932; *An Introduction to the Science of Tradition*, ed. and trans. J. Robson, London 1953; *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Dr. Muʿaẓẓam Ḥusayn, Cairo 1937.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 473 ff.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, Damascus 1347, 227 ff.; Yāḳūt, index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ, i, 691; Dhahabī, *Huffāẓ*, iii, 227 ff.; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, iii, 64 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 232 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 405 A.H.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v, 521, etc.; Brockelmann, I, 175, S I, 276 f.

(J. Robson)

ḤAḲḲ. The original meaning of the root *ḥḳḳ* has become obscured in Arabic but can be recovered by reference to the corresponding root in Hebrew with its meanings of (a) "to cut in, engrave" in wood, stone or metal, (b) "to inscribe, write, portray" (this also in a Canaanite inscription of the 8th cent. B.C.; S. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, 171, 185), (c) "to prescribe, fix by decree", therefore "prescribed, decree, law, ordinance, custom", (d) "due to God or man, right, privilege" (cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew and English lexicon*, Oxford 1952; L. Koehler and A. W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953). The word *ḥaḳḳ*, meaning "something right, true, just, real", is common in pre-Islamic poetry (the index prepared by the School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University lists 916 places in edited texts); it also occurs, with the meaning "truth", in the proverbs of the Arabs (Maydānī, ed. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, nos. 85, 123, 232). Derived from this again is *ḥaḳḳ* as a Divine Name. This is already attested, in the forms *ḥqt* and *ḥq*, in the South Arabic inscriptions (Y. Moubarac, *Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leurs correspondants en épigraphie sud-sémitique*, in *Muséon*, 1955, 86 ff.), and it occurs also in the Arabic translation of the Diatessaron (A. Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice*, Rome 1888, 172, on John, XIV, 6).

The primary meaning of *ḥaḳḳ* in Arabic is "established fact" (*al-thābit ḥaḳīḳat^an^*), and therefore "reality", and the meaning "what corresponds to facts", and therefore "truth", is secondary; its opposite is *bāṭil* (in both meanings). This is well stated by Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt, s.v.*), whereas some of the lexicographers start from the secondary meaning (cf. Lane, *Lexicon, s.v.*). *Ḥaḳḳ* in its primary meaning is one of the names of Allāh (cf. AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ, no. 52), and it occurs often in the Ḳurʾān in this sense, as the opposite of *bāṭil*. The commentators of the Ḳurʾān usually explain it as *thābit* (*e.g.*, Bayḍāwī on sūra X, 32; XX, 114; XXII, 6, 62; XXXI, 30). A similar usage is implied in pre-Islamic poetry, by the use of the antonym *bāṭil*, in the verse of Labīd (*Dīwān*, ed. Huber, xli, 9): *a-lā kullu shayʾ^in^ mā khala 'llāha bāṭilu*, "Lo, everything except Allāh is vain, unreal." (The occasional explanation of the Divine Name *ḥaḳḳ* as "Creator" is based merely on its alliterative contrast with *khalḳ*, "creation". For another explanation, see Massignon, *K. al-Ṭawāsīn*, 174). But the use of *ḥaḳḳ* in the Ḳurʾān, in Islamic traditions (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices, s.v.*), and in Arabic literature in general, is not restricted to the Divine Name; it may refer to any "reality", "fact", or "truth"; thus, the features of the Day of Judgment, Paradise and Hell are *ḥaḳḳ*. A further meaning of *ḥaḳḳ* (pl. *ḥuḳūḳ*) deriving directly from the primary one, is "claim" or "right", as a legal obligation [see ḤUḲŪḲ]; this use of the term is already fully developed in the Ḳurʾān. Islamic religious law distinguishes the *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*, mainly Allāh's penal ordinances, and the *ḥaḳḳ al-ādamī*, the civil right or claim of a human.

In Ṣūfī terminology, *ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn*, an expression taken from sūra LVI, 95, is that "real certainty"

which comes to the creature with his passing away (*fanā'*) in his *ḥāl* after he has acquired visual certainty (*ʿayn al-yaḳīn*) and intellectual certainty (*ʿilm al-yaḳīn*); cf. Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, *s.v.*; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Būlāḳ 1290, ii, 99 ff. In Ṣūfī terminology, too, the *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs* are such things as are necessary for the support and continuance of life as opposed to the *ḥuẓūẓ*, things desired by the *nafs* but not necessary to its existence. The use of the formula *ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, 'I am the *Ḥaḳḳ*", by al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] was one of the counts on which he was condemned and executed.

To sum up, the meanings of the root *ḥḳḳ* started from that of carved, permanently valid laws, expanded to cover the ethical ideals of right and real, just and true, and developed further to include Divine, Spiritual Reality.

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(D. B. MACDONALD-[E. E. CALVERLEY])

HAKKĀRĪ, (1) name of a Kurdish tribe, who from ancient times have inhabited the practically inaccessible mountain districts south and east of Lake Van, a region called after them Hakkāriyya by Arab geographers and historians [see KURDS], and hence (2) the name of the extreme south-east *vilâyet* of the modern Turkish republic (modern name: Hakkâri), population (1960) 67,766 (the most sparsely populated area of Turkey, with a density of only 7 persons per sq. km.); the chief town is Čölemerik [*q.v.*]. Named by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, s.v.) as a town, district and some villages in the Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [see IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT], Hakkārī is mentioned as a place also in a Geniza document of the early 12th century (S. D. Goitein, in *J. Jewish St.*, iv (1953), 78). The district came under Ottoman suzerainty as a result of the winter campaign of 920-1/1515-6 (Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, ii, 432 ff.); it was sometimes counted as a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Van, but, like other Kurdish districts, it enjoyed the privilege that the Kurdish prince was recognized as the hereditary *sandjaḳ-begi* (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 572-3), so that Ottoman suzerainty was barely nominal. Only in the middle of the 19th century did the Ottoman authorities begin to make the suzerainty real: for a time Hakkārī formed part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum; in 1876 it was made a separate *wilāyet*; in 1888 it was made a *sandjaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Van. It was again made a *vilâyet* in 1935. Until the first World War it had a large population of Nestorian Christians [see NESTORIANS]; even at the present time the inhabitants of the region are predominantly Kurds.

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(ED.)

AL-**HAKKĀRĪ** [see ʿADĪ B. MUSĀFIR].

ḤAKKĪ [see ʿABD AL-ḤAḲḲ B. SAYF AL-DĪN].

ḤAḲḲĪ [see IBRĀHĪM ḤAḲḲĪ, ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ].

ḤĀL, as a term of grammar [see NAḤW].

ḤĀL (pl. *aḥwāl*), Ṣūfī technical term (*iṣṭilāḥa*) which can be briefly translated by "spiritual state". Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/859) outlines the distinction which was to become classic between *aḥwāl* ("states") and *maḳāmāt* ("stations"). We find a more highly developed elaboration in his contemporary in Baghdād, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (165-243/781-857).

The term *ḥāl* belonged to the technical vocabulary of the grammarians, the physicians and the jurists. It seems indeed (cf. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallâj*, Paris 1922, 554) that it was from the medical vocabulary that al-Muḥāsibī borrowed it. In medicine, *ḥāl* denotes "the actual functional (physiological) equilibrium" of a being endowed with *nafs*; in *taṣawwuf*, it was to become the actualization of a divine "encounter" (*wadjd*),—the point of equilibrium of the soul in a state of acceptance of this encounter. Here, and in the later elaboration of the Ṣūfī vocabulary, the original meanings of the grammatical and medical vocabularies approach each other. In grammar, *ḥāl* is the state of the verb in relation to the agent, its "subjective" state. This last notion, which was to be of very direct influence on the philosophical vocabulary of the science of *kalām* (*ḥāl* = intermediate modality between being and non-being, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 38), was for its part to connote many analyses of *taṣawwuf*. In short, the *aḥwāl* can there be defined as modalities of activation, realities essentially "instantaneous" and trans-temporal, which seize the "state" of the subject in the act of "encounter" with an internal "favour" (*fā'ida*), received from God (al-Muḥāsibī).

Thus two notions colour the Ṣūfī *ḥāl*: 1) the idea of activation, of point of equilibrium, and thus of temporal non-succession (which does not necessarily imply non-stability); 2) the idea of "encounter", and hence that the activation takes place under the impact of this "encounter", which will be directly or indirectly related to God. The definition of *ḥāl* as "passive state" often given by Western interpreters appears to be inadequate as a rendering of the exact sense, and transposes too abruptly into *taṣawwuf* a term of Christian mysticism (see below).

Ḥāl appears many times in Ṣūfī texts as the opposite and complement (*muḳābal*) of *maḳām*, or *waḳt* or *tamkīn*.

1.—*Ḥāl* and *maḳām*. The *maḳāmāt* are the "places", the progressive stations that the soul has to attain in its search for God. In general, the authors insist upon the "effort" of the soul in its approach to the *maḳāmāt*, just as they emphasize the "received" character of *ḥāl*. Although the distinction can sometimes apply to the "active" states and "passive" states of Christian mysticism, the equivalence does not appear to be total; to adhere to it would be to falsify the meaning of certain Ṣūfī analyses.—The *maḳāmāt* and the *aḥwāl* are clearly presented as two series of spiritual states, the first acquired, the second received; hence, in the manuals and in descriptions of the soul's ascent, the *maḳāmāt* generally precede the *aḥwāl*. But in fact the difference is one of perspective and stage of analysis. Both are readily called (as with al-Anṣārī and his commentators; cf. also Ibn al-ʿArīf, etc.) *manāzil*, the traveller's "halts" along the route, the resting-places. *Maḳām* evokes the staging posts which continue to remain available—to reach a new *maḳām* does not destroy the preceding *maḳām*; the *ḥāl*, on the contrary, is by nature "instantaneous", there is a succession or alternation of *aḥwāl*, there may be a stabilization of one or the other, but not

a concomitance of several: the heart possessed by a *ḥāl* is seized entirely, even though this *ḥāl* evokes, as it were spontaneously, a second which finally brings it to perfection and denies it (dialectic of the *muḳābals*).

Two remarks follow from this: (a) The same *manzil*, the same resting-place, according to the authors and their analytical processes, may be classed among either the *maḳāmāt* or the *aḥwāl*, for example, *maḥabba* (love of the soul and of God). For al-Kalābādhī, this is the loftiest of the *maḳāmāt* reached; and for al-Anṣārī, the first of the *aḥwāl* (cf. Anawati and Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, Paris 1961, 127-8 and n. 10). (b) Repentance, asceticism, long-suffering, poverty, humility, fear of God, piety, sincerity, etc., the *maḳāmāt* follow one after another, the order no doubt varying to suit each particular treatise, but obeying a progressive principle. The *aḥwāl*, on the other hand, are subject to every sentiment that takes possession of the soul during its quest for God, and they can be received, according to the various degrees of activation, equally well at the start as during the progress or at the conclusion of the procedure. In conformity with a psychological law upon which the writers of *taṣawwuf* insist, they often present themselves in *muḳābal*, in pairs of complementary opposites—contraction and dilation of the heart (*ḳabḍ* and *basṭ*); absence and presence (*ghayba* and *shuhūd*); annihilation and survival (in God: *fanāʾ* and *baḳāʾ*), etc.

It would be fruitless to attempt to draw up precisely defined lists of *maḳāmāt* and *aḥwāl*. Different examples are to be found in practically every treatise of Ṣūfism, *e.g.*, the *Lumaʿ* of al-Sarrādj (seven *maḳāmāt* and about ten *aḥwāl*), the *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī, the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī (ten *aḥwāl*, no "section" entitled *maḳāmāt*), etc.

It must also be noted that certain writers, basing their analyses upon the etymological meanings of these terms, maintain that *ḥāl*, once received through pure grace, can become *maḳām* through the zeal of the recipient. "If the *ḥāl* endures, it becomes a possession (*milk*) and is then called *maḳām*. The *aḥwāl* are given, the *maḳāmāt* are acquired; the *aḥwāl* come from the gift itself, the *maḳāmāt* are produced by the zeal of the man who perseveres in striving", says al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, 85): establishing a continuity between *ḥāl* and *maḳām*, the activation received in the soul being as it were destined to be possessed by it. A further point to note is a phrase of al-Hudjwīrī, according to whom "the fleeting state (*ḥāl*) of the saint is the permanent station (*maḳām*) of the prophet" (*Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, English trans. by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1911, 236). In general, however (cf. below, § 3), the stabilized *ḥāl* is rendered by some word other than *maḳām*.

2.—*Ḥāl* and *waḳt*. Unlike *maḳām*, *waḳt* may be said to occur on the same analytical level as *ḥāl*. As we have seen, *ḥāl* evokes a point of equilibrium, the impact of an "encounter". *Waḳt* (time) must not be understood as a temporal measure; it transcends measured and measurable time, it is "the unit of psychic measure" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 556) of the *wadjd*, of the encounter, or its absence; cf. al-Hudjwīrī (*op. cit.*, 368) for whom, to "the time of encounter", there corresponds "the time of absence (*faḳd*)". A whole Ṣūfī line, culminating in Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda, professes "the spirituality of time". But it is frequently emphasized (*e.g.*, al-Hudjwīrī, 369) that *waḳt* "has need of *ḥāl*", that "*ḥāl* (state) is that which descends upon 'time' (*waḳt*) and adorns it, as the spirit adorns the body". It is the actualization of *ḥāl* which makes it possible not to lose *waḳt*, and it is thanks to *waḳt* that the *ḥāl* received is actualized in the soul. According to the degree of completeness of the spiritual experience, emphasis will be placed on either the one or the other. It is said that Jacob was the possessor of *waḳt*, while Abraham possessed *ḥāl*. Similarly, *ḥāl* qualifies the object of desire (*murād*) and *waḳt* the degree introspectively attained by the one who desires (*murīd*). So much so that the *murīd* (which connotes the idea of novice, beginner) "is with himself in the pleasure of *waḳt*", and the *murād* "[is] with God in the delight of *ḥāl*" (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 370).

Ḥāl, an inner received state, may well at the start of the spiritual life be burdened with speech; however, it must succeed in transcending every description (*naʿt*), just as *wadjd* inserted in time shatters time, when from "encounter" it becomes "ecstasy" (cf. al-Kalābādhī, *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 54).

3.—*Ḥāl* and *tamkīn*. Muḥāsibī, taking his idea of *ḥāl* from the medical vocabulary (cf. above), laid stress on the point of equilibrium experienced internally, from which it followed that *ḥāl*, not measured temporally, was enduring. Other writers (*e.g.*, al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352, iii, 16-7) emphasize the multiplicity of *aḥwāl* in the soul, the lack of continuity in their order, and the extreme difficulty of stabilization.

But it is generally stated that *ḥāl*, the internal reality of self *transiens*, unstable at the start of spiritual life, can tend to become stabilized—beyond speech and beyond temporal order. The vocabulary of al-Djurdjānī, who regards it as becoming *maḳām* because "possessed" by the subject, here seems to be at fault. For preference, it is the idea of *tamkīn*, strengthening, stability, that emerges. The *maḳām* is a place, the station where one remains; *tamkīn* is the spiritual act of enduring and stability. *Tamkīn*, says al-Hudjwīrī, (*op. cit.*, 372), is contrasted with *talwīn*, which indicates a change, an alternating transition from one state to another.

Moreover, *maḳām*, exactly like *ḥāl*, can and must be strengthened by *tamkīn*. And this last is of two kinds, depending on whether the action of God or the subject's act is dominant. In the second case, it qualifies the *maḳāmāt* and the *aḥwāl* and is coloured by them; in the first case, "there are no attributes". The weak soul could not persist in the act of *ḥāl*—which may arise, vanish, give way to some new favour. The soul endowed with *tamkīn* becomes stabilized beyond the reach of every psychological change.

According to al-Anṣārī, the stabilized *aḥwāl* progressively become "ascendencies", *wilāyāt*, then "realities", *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, in order finally to attain the "limits" of the mystical ascent, *nihāyāt*. Cf. S. de Beaurecueil, introduction to *Sharḥ al-manāzil* of ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī, Cairo 1954.

Bibliography: in the article. In addition: (a) many treatises of *taṣawwuf*, *e.g.*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, etc.; (b) among others, *Dict. of techn. terms*, 359 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Emotional religion in Islam*, in *JRAS*, 1901-2, and *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago 1909, 182, 188; E. Blochet, *L'ésotérisme musulman*, 181 ff.; A. J. Arberry, *Ṣūfism*, London 1950, 75-9 (analysis of the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī); Anawati and Gardet, *Mystique musulman*, Paris 1961, 41-3 and index; P. Nwyia, *Ibn*

ʿAbbād de Ronda, Beirut 1961, index; S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Ar. text and Fr. tr. of the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī, Cairo 1962, 71-80/104-20.

(L. Gardet)

ḤALAB, in Turkish Halep, in Italian, English and German Aleppo, in French Alep; town in Syria, the most important after Damascus.

It is situated in 38°68′5″ E. and 40°12′ N., and at an altitude of 390 metres/1275 ft., at the north-west extremity of the inland plateau of Syria and on the banks of a small river, the Ḳuwayḳ (average rate of flow from 2 to 3 cubic metres per second) which descends from the last foothills of the Taurus. It is surrounded by a vast chalk plain with a healthy though severe sub-desert climate with wide variations in temperature (winter average: 5° to 17° Centigrade; summer average: 20° to 30°) and a low and irregular rainfall (annual average: 420 mm/16½ ins. spread over 40 to 50 days). The basic resources of this arid country come from the growing of wheat and cotton and the rearing of sheep; olive and fig-trees and vines also thrive there, and, in addition, in the immediate outskirts of Aleppo there are market gardens along the banks of the river, and pistachio trees (L. *Pistacia vera*), which have for centuries been a great speciality of the town. At all periods these local resources have supplied Aleppo with commodities for trade and for sale in the neighbouring regions and also the opportunity to develop manufacturing industries which are still active today: chiefly textiles and soap-making. In addition it is a market centre for the nomadic Arabs of the steppes of the northern S̲h̲āmiyya who bring to it sheep, alkalis and salt (from the lagoon of al-D̲j̲abbūl).

Aleppo's importance as an urban centre dates largely from pre-Islamic times: it is certainly not an exaggeration to claim that it is one of the most ancient cities of the world and that no other place which is still inhabited and flourishing can boast of a comparable history.

Aleppo is first mentioned in history in the 20th century B.C., under the same name as it now has (Hittite Khalap; Egyptian Khrb; Akkadian Khallaba, Khalman, Khalwan) and in conditions which clearly imply that even at that early date it already had a very long past behind it. It seems that a rural settlement was formed there in prehistoric times and that this village gradually gained ascendance over the others in the area, owing to the relatively wide resources of its site and in particular to the presence there of a rocky eminence on which the citadel still stands today: it was this acropolis, one of the strongest and the most easily manned defensive positions in the whole of northern Syria, which enabled the masters of the place to extend control over their neighbours so as to found the "great kingdom" which was, in the 20th century B.C., to enter into relations with the Hittites of Anatolia.

At first the relations of the two states were friendly; but at the end of the 19th century B.C. the Hittite king Mursil, attempting the conquest of northern Syria, "destroyed the town of Khalap and brought to the town of Khattusa the prisoners of Khalap and its wealth". Aleppo fell next under the power of the Mitannis (before 1650 B.C.) and about 1430 fell again into the hands of the Hittites, who formed there a principality which was destined to collapse at the same time as the Anatolian kingdom. The Aramaeans, who then settled in northern Syria, seem to have neglected Aleppo in favour of new localities which they founded in its neighbourhood. Nothing is heard of the town either in the period of the Assyrian or of the Persian domination; it seems that this temporary disappearance was the consequence of a more or less serious destruction of the settlement, which probably occurred at the time of the fall of the Hittite kingdom and the effect of which was to reduce it to the status of a small rural town.

Aleppo owed its recovery to the conquests of Alexander and to the formation of the Seleucid kingdom. Seleucus Nicator, to whom it was allotted, founded on its site, between 301 and 281 B.C., a colony of Macedonians called Beroia, built according to a regular plan with rectilinear streets crossing at right angles, ramparts whose four sides formed a square, and a system of canals bringing water from the springs of Haylan 11 kilometres away. Though Beroia never took an important part in the destinies of the Seleucid kingdom, this foundation nevertheless formed a decisive turning-point in the history of the place: not only did it restore to it permanently the urban character which it had lost, but its layout was to be maintained in the Islamic town, some of its characteristic features surviving until the present day.

Incorporated into the Roman province of Syria, which was formed in 64 B.C., Aleppo owed to its new masters a long period of peace and the construction of magnificent market buildings (an agora and a colonnaded avenue). A Christian community established itself there at a very early date and it would seem that the town had a very active economic life during the Byzantine period, for many Jews settled there and there grew up at this period, outside the walls, a suburb for caravan trains inhabited by Arabs of the Tanūk̲h̲ tribe, whence its name, of Arabic origin, al-Ḥāḍir ("the settlement of sedentarized Bedouin"). But the Persian invasion of 540 A.D., led by the king Khosroes I in person, inflicted a serious blow on Aleppo: the citadel, into which the population had retreated, held out against the attack, but the town itself was burned. Its defences were rebuilt by Justinian, who built there a fine cathedral, but the sack of Antioch and the constant threat of Persian invasions inevitably prevented the recovery of the district.

It was in 16/636 that the Muslim troops appeared before Aleppo, under the command of K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd: the Arabs in the suburb surrendered immediately, followed very soon by the rest of the inhabitants, in favour of whom Abū ʿUbayda signed a solemn pact guaranteeing them their lives, the preservation of the fortifications and the possession of their churches and houses, against their agreement to pay tribute. As a consequence of this the first mosque of the town was built on a public roadway: it was in fact the monumental arch which stood at the entry to the colonnaded street; its bays were simply walled in to transform it into an enclosed space.

Attached to the *d̲j̲und* of Ḥims, and then to that of Ḳinnasrīn, Aleppo played no administrative or political rôle under the Umayyad caliphate, although some governors of the province did reside in its neighbourhood. Its life seems to have been modified only very slowly by the Muslim conquest: not only did there remain a large Christian community, which continued to be split by the same dissensions as in the past, but in addition it was to be more than a century before the number of Muslims in the region had increased enough to warrant the building of a monumental Great Mosque: it is not known whether it was al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] or his brother Sulaymān [*q.v.*] who was responsible for the construction of this building on the site of the ancient agora, which was

to remain until modern times the chief place of worship in Aleppo.

The ʿAbbāsid caliphate was for Aleppo, as for the whole of Syria, a period of eclipse: it remained during this period a provincial centre, deprived of any political or administrative importance. It fell into the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], was re-taken by the caliph, besieged by the Ḳarmaṭīs in 290/902-3, then from 325/936-7 became subject to Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], who appointed as governor the chief of the Arab tribe of the Kilāb; this encouraged an influx of the Bedouins of this tribe into northern Syria, which was later to have regrettable consequences for the town. Disputed between Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*] and the Ikhshīdids, Aleppo was finally captured from the latter, in 333/944, by the famous Ḥamdānid *amīr*, Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who established himself there.

Thus, for the first time since the advent of Islam, Aleppo became the capital of a state and the residence of a ruler, and was to share in the admiration accorded by historical tradition to the Ḥamdānid prince because of his military successes against the Byzantines, and the brilliant literary activity which centred round the vast palace which he built outside the walls: al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī [*q.v.*], al-Waʾwaʾ [*q.v.*], Ibn Nubāta [*q.v.*], Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*], Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] and many others less famous, were to give to the court of Sayf al-Dawla a brilliance which at this time was unique. In contrast to this, the administrative methods do not seem to have been very favourable to the development of economic activity. Furthermore, during the winter of 351/962, Nicephorus Phocas appeared unexpectedly before the town, took it by storm after elaborate siege operations, and left it as a deserted ruin, having methodically pillaged and burned it for a whole week and either massacred its inhabitants or led them away captive.

It was to be a long time before Aleppo recovered from this catastrophe. Sayf al-Dawla abandoned it for Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] and on his death it passed to his son Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, with whose accession there began the darkest period in the history of the town since the Muslim conquest. The ambitions of the regents, the covetousness of the neighbouring *amīrs*, the successive Byzantine invasions, the Bedouin raids, and the repeated attempts of the Fāṭimids of Egypt to seize a place whose possession would have opened to them the route to ʿIrāḳ all resulted in half a century of disorders, fighting and violence (for details see ḤAMDĀNIDS). Nor did the Fāṭimid occupation in 406/1015 bring any noticeable improvement, because of the revolts of the governors and the weakness of the central administration: the latter soon became so pronounced that in 414/1023 the Bedouin tribes of Syria decided to divide the country among themselves. In this way Aleppo fell to the chief of the Kilāb, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whose descendants, the Mirdāsids, remained in possession of it for slightly over fifty years under the merely nominal suzerainty of the caliphs of Cairo. Ṣāliḥ himself was powerful enough to drive back the Fāṭimids temporarily as far as Palestine, but the division of his territories among his sons was the signal for an incessant series of quarrels and civil wars which brought anarchy and misery to the town and enabled the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids, each in turn appealed to for help by the rival claimants, to intervene continually in the affairs of the dynasty: thus in 457/1065 the Mirdāsid Rashīd al-Dawla Maḥmūd succeeded in taking Aleppo from his uncle with the help of Turkish mercenaries enlisted with funds provided by the Byzantines.

It was in fact in the Mirdāsid period that the Turks began to penetrate into Syria, as isolated bands which the Mirdāsid princes often took into their service, but which usually roamed the region unhindered in search of plunder. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, Aleppo itself was to come under the domination of the Turkish dynasties.

In 462/1070, under the pressure of political circumstances, Maḥmūd had officially caused the *khuṭba* to be recited in the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim and of the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp-Arslān, in spite of the disapproval of the inhabitants, the majority of whom had from the time of the Ḥamdānids been adherents of the Imāmī Shīʿī doctrine. This attachment to the Saldjūḳ empire remained a purely theoretical one, in spite of a military demonstration by the sultan outside the walls of the town in 463/1071. Some years later, on the occasion of a dispute between two Mirdāsids for the succession, Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] sent against Aleppo his brother Tutush [*q.v.*:] the Arabs of the Kilāb and the ʿUḳaylid chief Muslim b. Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], who had joined him, having secretly entered into negotiations with the besieged prince, Tutush raised the siege, to return to the attack in the following years. Unable to hold out against him, the last Mirdāsid, Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Sābiḳ, surrendered the town to Muslim b. Ḳuraysh (472/1079).

This could be only a provisional solution, but the political conditions of the time, in a world which was in the process of change, meant that no stable situation could immediately be established: it was to be another half-century before the fate of Aleppo was settled.

On the death of Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, which occurred in 478/1085 in an encounter with Sulaymān b. Ḳuṭulmısh, Tutush, at the request of the citizens of Aleppo themselves, hastened from Damascus in order to oppose Sulaymān's design on the town, but he in his turn had to retreat before Malik-Shāh; the latter, in 479/1086, sent to Aleppo as governor Ḳāsim al-Dawla Aḳ-Sunḳur [*q.v.*], whose beneficial administration ensured for the town a few years' respite. This annexation of Aleppo to the empire of the Great Saldjūḳs was not to remain unquestioned, because of the political confusion created by the death of Malik-Shāh. Tutush defeated and put to death Aḳ-Sunḳur, who had set himself up as defender of the rights of Barḳyāruḳ [*q.v.*], and thus made himself master of Aleppo; on his death in 488/1095, it passed to his son Riḍwān [*q.v.*]; Riḍwān was succeeded in 507/1113 by his son Tādj al-Dawla Alp-Arslān, who was assassinated in the following year and replaced by his brother Sulṭān-Shāh, a minor to whom there was given as regent one of his grandfather's slaves, Luʾluʾ al-Yaya. This small Saldjūḳid dynasty was not to gain any more than a purely local importance: the smallness of its territory, of modest dimensions and impoverished by so many years of wars, disorders and impositions, its rivalry with the Saldjūḳid dynasty of Damascus, the resistance of the Shīʿī elements of the population (to whom were joined Ismāʿīlīs, who were active and dangerous enough for it to be necessary to humour their demands), all combined to render its authority precarious. The princes of Aleppo were not, any more than were their neighbours, of a stature successfully to oppose the Crusaders, who were able to push forward their enterprises in northern Syria; they even came to attack the town itself (493/1100, 497/1103), which was forced to submit to paying

tribute to them. The assassination of Luʾluʾ was to render this long political crisis still more acute: the Artuḳid prince of Mārdīn, Il-Ghāzī, was chosen as regent, but he was prevented from any effective action by his distance from Aleppo, the ruined state of the town and the dissensions within the family. In 517/1123 moreover, Balak [*q.v.*] ousted his cousins from Mārdīn and deposed Sulṭān-Shāh, but he died the following year without having been able to prevent the Crusaders from desecrating the Muslim sanctuaries on the outskirts of Aleppo. Abandoned, then besieged anew by the Crusaders allied to Sulṭān-Shāh and to Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, the town was saved only by virtue of the energy and devotion of its *ḳāḍī*, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khashshāb, who took over the administration and the direction of political affairs: it was he who, with the agreement of the population, appealed for help to the *atābeg* of al-Mawṣil, Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī, whose successors were to save Aleppo and to re-establish its position.

After some years of instability, the consequence of the assassination of al-Bursuḳī, Aleppo was in 523/1129 officially given by the sultan to the famous *atābeg* ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī [*q.v.*], whose victorious campaigns were to have the effect of freeing it rapidly from the threat of the Crusaders. After him, his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] was not only to continue with increasing success his work of reconquest but also to lift the town out of the state of decay into which it had fallen. He was a prudent and just administrator, who knew how to instil into the population respect for governmental authority; he rebuilt the fortified walls, the citadel, the Great Mosque and the *sūḳ*s and repaired the canals; above all it was he who was responsible for the foundation of the first *madrasa*s which were to support his efforts to restore Sunnī orthodoxy. It is true that in 516/1122 an attempt towards this had been made by the Artuḳid Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, but it had encountered the opposition of the Shīʿīs, who demolished the building as fast as it was erected. Nūr al-Dīn founded at Aleppo no fewer then six *madrasa*s (including the Ḥallāwiyya *madrasa*, the former Byzantine cathedral transformed into a mosque by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Khashshāb as a reprisal for the "atrocities" of the Crusaders, and the Shuʿaybiyya *madrasa*, on the site of the first *masdjid* founded by the Muslims on their entry into Aleppo). He entrusted the teaching in them to Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī *fuḳahāʾ* whom he invited from ʿIrāḳ and Upper Mesopotamia: Raḍī al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kāsānī, Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAsrūn (on whom see Brockelmann, I, 374-5, S I, 649, 971). His *amīr*s followed his example. With the *madrasa*s were built also convents for the Ṣūfīs. The Sunnī propaganda movement thus begun increased in intensity: the failure of the coup attempted in 552/1157, during an illness of the *atābeg*, by the Shīʿī elements of the town with the connivance of his brother Amīr-i Amīrān, clearly shows that the action of the Turkish princes was not long in producing results. Nūr al-Dīn also founded at Aleppo a hospital and a *Dār al-ʿAdl* for his public judicial hearings.

On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, the youth of his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, encouraged the ambitions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who, having made himself master of Damascus, marched on Aleppo, but the authorities and the population, firmly loyal to the Zangid dynasty, held out against him and even appealed to the Ismāʿīlīs for help, forcing him to abandon the siege. Only eight years later was he able to take Aleppo, the Zangids of al-Mawṣil, who had welcomed him on the death of Ismāʿīl, being only too happy to hand it over to him in order to be able to regain possession of the Mesopotamian territories which he had taken from them (579/1183). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave the town to his son Ghāzī who administered it first as governor, then as ruler under the name of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*]. Having extended his authority over all northern Syria, he was the first Ayyūbid ruler who dared to arrogate to himself the title of *Sulṭān*, and the dynasty which he thus founded remained until the Mongol conquest powerful enough to oppose with some success the claims of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*], against whom it obtained support by means of an alliance with the Ayyūbid kingdom of Mayyāfāriḳīn and with the Saldjūḳs of Konya. Ghāzī himself, his wife, Ḍayfa-Khātūn, and his *mamlūk* Toghril, who was proclaimed regent on Ghāzī's death, all displayed remarkable political qualities and were able not only to preserve Aleppo in the hands of the direct descendants of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, ousted everywhere else by those of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, but also to make it the capital of a strong and prosperous state (annual revenue of the treasury in the middle of the 7th/13th century: about 8 million *dirhams*), which was surpassed only by the realm of Egypt. This period marks the apogee of mediaeval Aleppo. Increased by new suburbs in which there lived the Turkish cavalry of the rulers, its industries stimulated by the presence of the royal court, enriched by the trade with the Venetians whom the commercial treaties (1207, 1225, 1229, 1254) had authorized to establish a permanent factory there, its fortifications restored according to modern techniques, its citadel entirely rebuilt to become one of the most splendid works of military art of the Middle Ages, its canal system repaired and extended to reach throughout the town, and its *sūḳ*s enlarged, Aleppo became at this time one of the most beautiful and most active cities in the whole of the Muslim East. *Madrasa*s continued to be built (the Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* of Ghāzī; the Madrasat al-Firdaws of Ḍayfa Khātūn), as well as Ṣūfī convents (the Khānḳāh of Farafra, of Yūsuf II), both erected in a logical and sober style of architecture and housing an intellectual life which was remarkable for its time, as is witnessed by the names of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*], of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*], of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*], of Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (Brockelmann, I, 358), and of ʿAlī al-Harawī [*q.v.*].

The reign of Yūsuf II [see AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR] was to mark at the same time the zenith and the collapse of the dynasty: chosen as sultan by the *amīr*s of Damascus, he annexed central Syria and began at the same time an open conflict with the Mamlūks of Egypt, which was ended by the intervention of the caliph of Baghdād. But, on the other hand, Aleppo, which had already had to defend itself twice against armed bands of Khwārizmīs, was attacked by the Mongols of Hūlāgū; abandoned by its ruler and a proportion of its inhabitants and taken by assault on 8 Ṣafar 658/24 January 1260, it was ruthlessly sacked, and Yūsuf II, taken prisoner by the Mongols, was put to death.

Occupied by the Mamlūks after the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt, retaken by the Mongols, again recovered by the Mamlūks, Aleppo was to remain under Mamlūk domination until the Ottoman conquest; it was made by them the capital of a *niyāba* which came immediately after Damascus in the hierarchy of the provinces: corresponding roughly with the area of the former Ayyūbid kingdom, it owed its importance to its geographical situation, on the northern fron-

tier of the empire, whose protection it ensured. Nevertheless the town recovered only slowly from the disaster it had suffered in 658/1260: the continual threat of a renewed Mongol offensive kept it in a semi-deserted state for nearly half a century; it was 32 years before the citadel was repaired and 130 years before the destroyed fortifications were rebuilt. Once security had been restored, the revolts of its governors, the turbulence of the troops and the severe taxation system scarcely helped to restore its activity, and the ravages of the Black Death of 1348, soon followed by those of Tīmūr, completed its paralysis.

But from the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the destruction of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and of the Genoese factories on the Black Sea, through which the commercial traffic between Europe and Persia had passed, gave Aleppo a considerable economic advantage, which was very soon to make its fortune: the town became the starting point for the caravans which fetched silk from Djīlān to re-sell it to the Venetians in exchange for cloth of Italian manufacture, and thus enjoyed a vigorous impetus whose effect was to change its topography. While its *sūḳ*s grew and were provided with large *khān*s which are among the most remarkable and typical buildings of the town (the Khān of Abrak, the Khān of Özdemir, the Khān of Khayr-bak), vast and populous suburbs grew up along the caravan routes, doubling the area of buildings and necessitating the rebuilding further out of the eastern walls. In all of these suburbs there arose great mosques provided with minarets (the mosques of Altunbughā, of Aḳbughā, of Manklibughā) and *zāwiya*s intended for the devotions of the Ṣūfīs, whose doctrines and practices were then very popular. One of these suburbs housed the Christians—Maronites, and especially Armenians—who served as brokers and dragomans to the European merchants.

Occupied without fighting by the Ottomans after the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ, Aleppo became the capital of a *wilāyet*, which corresponded to the *niyāba* of the Mamlūks and whose governors had the rank of *mīr-i mīrān*.

The rebel governor of Damascus, Djānbirdī al-Ghazālī [see AL-GHAZĀLĪ, Djānbirdī], failed to capture Aleppo in 926-7/1520, which was incorporated in the Ottoman provincial system. The first detailed (*mufaṣṣal*) register in the *Daftar-i Khāḳānī* [*q.v.*] is dated 924/1518; several other surveys were made during the 10th/16th century. During the Ottoman decline, from the late 10th/16th century, it suffered like other provincial capitals from the factional and political activities of the local military forces. For some years the Janissaries of Damascus imposed their domination on Aleppo, from which they were finally expelled only in 1013/1604. Situated at a junction of routes, and adjacent to Turkoman, Kurdish and Arab tribal areas, Aleppo offered obvious advantages to rebels, and served as a base for the Kurd, ʿAlī Djānbulāṭ [see DJĀNBULĀṬ], defeated in 1016/1607, as well as for Abāza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], fifty years later. The domination of the local Janissaries was checked in the following century by the emergence (before 1180/1766) of a rival faction, the Ashrāf—a name which may signify no more than the retainers and clients of the Aleppine *naḳīb al-Ashrāf*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ṭāhāzāde, called Čelebi Efendi. There is evidence that the Ashrāf tended to belong to the higher social groups, while the Janissaries, assimilated to the townspeople, were petty artisans and tradesmen. The factional struggles continued after Čelebi Efendi's death (1786); in a notorious clash in 1212/1798, the Janissaries treacherously slaughtered a party of Ashrāf. The leader of the Ashrāf was now Ibrāhīm Ḳaṭārāghāsī, a former servant and protégé of Čelebi Efendi. On Bonaparte's invasion of Syria, he commanded a contingent of Ashrāf, sent to fight the French: there was a separate Janissary contingent. Ibrāhīm was twice appointed governor of Aleppo, but failed to perpetuate his power there, or to secure the ascendancy of the Ashrāf. The Janissaries regained power after his removal in 1223/1808, and although proscribed by the governor, Čapanoghlu Djalāl al-Dīn Pasha, in 1228/1813, remained a force in local politics. In 1235/1819 they combined with the Ashrāf to head an insurrection against the governor, Khurshīd Pasha. Even after the dissolution of the Janissary corps in 1826, they survived as a faction in Aleppo, as did the Ashrāf, until the mid-19th century.

During the whole of this period, in spite of the heavy taxation (treasury revenues farmed out in 991/1583-4, for the town proper: 3,503,063 *aḳče*s; total together with the surrounding villages: 17, 697,897 *aḳče*s), Aleppo did not merely maintain the commercial importance it had acquired under the last Mamlūk sultans, but developed it to the point of becoming at one period the principal market of the whole of the Levant. The signing of capitulations with the western European powers led, in fact, to the opening of new factories there: beside the Venetians, who in 1548 had brought there their consulate and their commercial headquarters, the French in 1562, the English in 1583 and the Dutch in 1613 also opened there consulates and trading offices which, throughout the 11th/17th century, were in fierce competition. Relegated to second place by the rapid development of Smyrna (Izmir) and by the Ottoman wars against Persia, whose effect was to cut it off from the regions with which it traded, and still more adversely affected by the efforts of the English and the Dutch to make Russia and the Persian Gulf the commercial outlets for Iran, Aleppo nevertheless continued to be a centre of world-wide importance, importing from Europe, via Alexandretta and Tripoli, manufactured goods (cloth, metals, chemical products, glass, paper, etc.) which it re-exported to eastern Anatolia, Kurdistan and Persia, exporting the products of its own industry (silks, cottons) and the raw materials supplied by its hinterland (drugs, cotton, nut-gall). In 1775, the total annual value of this trade stood at nearly 18 million gold francs, but after this date it declined continually because of the slowing down of the industrial and maritime activity of France, which had finally obtained a virtual monopoly over Aleppo. Another reason for this decline was the corrupt administration, and also the earthquake of 1822 which destroyed the greater part of the town; in addition, the constantly expanding place which the new trade with Asia and America was filling in world economy deprived the Levant of much of its former importance: in the period from 1841-46 the trade of Aleppo did not exceed even 2 million gold francs.

The intense commercial activity of its hey-day naturally was reflected in a further extension of the *sūḳ*s, many of which were entirely rebuilt in cut stone; at the same time the governors of the town provided *khān*s to house the foreign merchants. These Ottoman *khān*s of Aleppo are among the best-preserved and most characteristic monuments of the town: some of them are attached to other buildings used for trade with which they form a homogeneous complex covering a vast area (*e.g.*, the *waḳf* of Dukagin-zāde

Meḥmed Pas͟ha, 963/1555: a great mosque, three *k͟hāns*, three *ḳayṣariyyas* and four *sūḳs*, covering nearly 3 hectares; the *waḳf* of Ibrāhīm-K͟hān-zāde Meḥmed Pas͟ha, 982/1574: the customs *k͟hān* and two *sūḳs* consisting of 344 shops, the whole covering 8,000 square metres); others, which conform more closely to the traditional type, are no less noteworthy (the *k͟hān* of the Vizier, the *k͟hān* of Kurt-bak). Thanks to these building works of the Ottoman pas͟has, Aleppo possesses today the most beautiful *sūḳs* in the whole of the Muslim world. The great mosques, built at the same time, which reproduce the building style current in Istanbul, show the same breadth of conception, the same lavish resources, and the same successful result (the *d̲j̲āmiʿ* of K͟husraw Pas͟ha, and of Bahrām Pas͟ha; the Aḥmadiyya *madrasa*, the S͟haʿbāniyya *madrasa*, the *madrasa* of ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha).

At the same time, as a result of the commercial activity in the town and the impoverishment of the country districts, which together produced a drift of the peasants to the town, new suburbs arose, inhabited by small craftsmen (weavers etc.), increasing the town to an area approaching that which it occupies today: at the end of the 11th/17th century, it contained about 14,000 hearths, a considerable figure for the time.

The installation of the European merchants had naturally been profitable to their habitual intermediaries: the Jews and more especially the Christians. The latter in addition, by acting as dragomans for the consulates, were able to obtain diplomas of immunity [see BERATLÎ]. Thanks to the activities of European missions, many of them became Roman Catholics (4,000 Catholics in 1709; 14,478 Catholics as against 2,638 non-Catholics in the middle of the 19th century). Their suburb grew and middle-class houses were built in it which are among the finest in the town, and it even became a centre of intellectual activity.

Thus, in many respects, the first half of the Ottoman period (10th/16th-12th/18th centuries) constituted the culminating point in Aleppo's history.

From 1831 to 1838 the Egyptian occupation [see IBRĀHĪM PAS͟HA], which temporarily removed Aleppo from Ottoman administration, placed a heavy burden on the population because of the financial levies and the taxation which were imposed, but, here as elsewhere, it opened a new chapter in the history of the town: the revolt of 1266-7/1850, led by the leading inhabitants against the Ottoman governor, can be considered as the last spectacular manifestation of a social system which was already doomed. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, profound changes took place, under the influence of Europe, in social (schools, newspapers), administrative (the legal system) and economic life (the introduction of the tomato, and of kerosene and machines). New districts, planned and built in western style (ʿAzīziyya, D̲j̲amīliyya, al-Talal) grew up outside the old town and attracted primarily the more Europeanized elements of the population: Christians and Jews. When Aleppo became linked by railway to Ḥamāt and Damascus (1906), and then to Istanbul and to Bag͟hdād (1912), the proximity of the stations gave a new life to these districts, and today the centre of gravity of the town tends to move towards them.

Joined to Syria at the end of the 1914-18 war, Aleppo increased in administrative importance but suffered a great economic crisis, being cut off by the new political and customs frontiers from the countries with which it had formerly been trading—Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ. This crisis was averted fairly rapidly by the discovery of new outlets for the commerce and manufactures of the town. The capital of a *muḥāfaẓa*, equipped with a veiy elaborate and methodically organized administrative machinery, and provided with many flourishing schools, Aleppo gradually became an industrial town (spinning and weaving mills) and a political and intellectual centre second in importance only to Damascus. Its continually expanding population, which in 1945 was approaching 300,000, even made it appear, immediately after the Second World War, that it had a future as great as its past.

In fact the town of Aleppo now has over 450,000 inhabitants, among them 320,000 Muslims, 130,000 Christians and a few thousand Jews. But it is unfortunate that this development has taken place without any definite measures of town-planning and that the new districts which have grown up on the outskirts, and which are occupied mainly by a population of manual and minor office workers, have not been planned as a harmonious extension of a city whose originality of architecture and intense activity had ensured it a unique place among the other great Muslim cities of the Near East. Although its commercial activity has recently benefited from the construction of the port of al-Lād͟hiḳiyya, the increase in vehicles has led to traffic problems which caused the authorities to open some thoroughfares through the ancient blocks. In addition Aleppo suffers from its situation as the "second" town of Syria, in relation to a capital to which both its history and its ambitions are traditionally opposed; the problems arising from the development of the northern provinces of Syria and of the "market place" which has long served as their centre are among the most urgent of Syria's present concerns.

Bibliography: The basic work remains J. Sauvaget, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, Paris 1941, of which the above article is a résumé and which contains a systematic bibliography and list of the sources. See also *İA*, s.v. Haleb, which is here reprinted (with some additions and revisions). Various later publications should be added, in particular the following studies: M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1951; D. Sourdel, *Les professeurs de madrasa à Alep aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-50), 85-115; idem, *Esquisse topographique d'Alep intra-muros à l'époque ayyoubide*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, ii (1952), 109-133. Some basic texts have been edited or translated: J. Sauvaget, "*Les trésors d'or*" *de Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjami*, Beirut 1950; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī taʾrīk͟h Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, i-ii, Damascus 1951-4; S. al-Dahhān, *Bug͟hyat al-ṭalab li'bni 'l-ʿAdīm*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, i/2 (1951), 207-25 (publication of an extract on the walls and the citadel); D. Sourdel, *La description d'Alep d'Ibn Šaddād*, Damascus 1953; al-Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. and tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953-7, 4-6 (tr. 6-12). For Aleppo in the Ottoman period reference may be made to: Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 206-10 (text of an Ottoman *Ḳānūnnāme* for Aleppo, dated 978/1570); R. Mantran and J. Sauvaget, *Règlements fiscaux ottomans*, Paris 1951, 97-118 (for an earlier German version of this *Ḳānūnnāme* see Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 239-41); B. Lewis, *The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 150-1 (registers of Aleppo in the *Daftar-i K͟hāḳānī* [*q.v.*]); Herbert L. Bodman, Jr., *Political*

factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826, Univ. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1963 (note bibliography, pp. 146-53); Ferdinand Taoutel, *Contribution à l'histoire d'Alep/Wathā'iḳ ta'rīkhiyya ʿan Ḥalab*, 3 vols., Beirut 1958-62; Alfred C. Wood, *A history of the Levant Company*, London 1935. The Turkish historian Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] was born in Aleppo, and devotes some attention to its affairs. For the present-day situation see N. Chehade, *Aleppo*, apud *The new metropolis in the Arab world*, ed. M. Berger, New Delhi 1963, 77-102 (Arabic version: *Takhṭīṭ al-mudun fi'l-ʿālam al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1964, 187-210). The inscriptions have been published, independently of the works of J. Sauvaget, by E. Herzfeld, *CIA*, part ii, Northern Syria, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, Cairo 1954-5.

(J. Sauvaget*)

AL-ḤALABĪ, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a famous Ḥanafī author. Born in Aleppo, he studied first in his native town and later in Cairo, where Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] was one of his teachers; then he went to Istanbul where he lived for more than fifty years, finally becoming *imām* and *khaṭīb* at the mosque of sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ, also teacher of the recitation of the Ḳur'ān at the *Dār al-Ḳurrā'* founded by the Grand Muftī, Saʿdī Čelebi (d. 945/1538-9). He was deeply learned in Arabic language, *tafsīr* and *ḳirā'a*, *ḥadīth*, and particularly *fiḳh*. He led a retired and unworldly life, devoted to study, teaching and writing. One personal feature known of him is his hostility to Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. He died in 956/1549, more than 90 years old.

His main work is the *Multaḳa 'l-abḥur*, a handbook of the *furūʿ* according to the doctrine of the Ḥanafī school. It is based on four works, the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*], the *Mukhtār* of al-Buldadjī, the *Kanz al-daḳā'iḳ* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], and the *Wiḳāyat al-riwāya* of Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūdī (on whom see Ahlwardt, cat. Berlin, no. 4546). Completed in 923/1517, it had an immediate success, acquired very numerous commentaries (the two most popular ones are the *Madjmaʿ al-anhur* of Shaykh-zāde, d. 1078/1667, and the *Durr al-muntaḳā* of al-Ḥaṣkafī, d. 1088/1677), was translated into Turkish and commented upon in this language (*e.g.*, by Muḥammad Mawḳūfātī, who wrote about 1050/1640), and became the authoritative handbook of the Ḥanafī school in the Ottoman Empire. The account of the legal system in the Ottoman Empire in I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris 1787-1820 in 3 vols., 1788-1824 in 7 vols.), is based on this work. It has often been printed, and was partly translated into French by H. Sauvaire (Marseilles 1882).

Very popular, too, were the two commentaries which Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī wrote on the *Munyat al-muṣallī* of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (an author of the 7th/13th century). The larger one, called *Ghunyat al-mutamallī* (or *al-mustamlī*), is an exhaustive treatment of all questions concerning ritual prayer, and it was highly praised for its clear and attractive style.

Directed against Ibn ʿArabī are his *Niʿmat al-dharīʿa fī nuṣrat al-sharīʿa*, and his *Tasfīh* (sic) *al-ghabī fi 'l-radd ʿalā Ibn ʿArabī* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, no. 2973).

Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī was well aware of Ḥanafī works produced in India, and he made an extract of the *Fatāwā Tātārkhāniyya*, compiled by order of Tātārkhān (d. soon after 752/1351), a nobleman at the court of Muḥammad II Ṭughlāḳ (726/1324-752/1351), but his fame does not seem to have spread to any considerable extent to that other great centre of the Ḥanafī school.

On these and his other writings, see Brockelmann, II, 570 f., S II, 642 f., also Brockelmann, I, 478, S I, 659 f.

The main sources for Ibrāhīm's biography are the reports of two near contemporaries of his, Ṭāshköprüzāde [*q.v.*] (d. 968), *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* (transl. O. Rescher, Konstantinopel-Galata 1927, 311 f.), and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971; cf. Brockelmann, 483). This last has not been directly accessible so far, but it is quoted in the accounts of the later biographers, most reliably by Muḥammad al-Ṭabbākh. The *Kawākib al-sā'ira bi-aʿyān al-mi'a al-ʿāshira* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (Jounieh 1949, ii, 77) contains, in addition, some authentic recollections of the father of the author. The entries in the catalogue of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, vi, nos. 12848, 13320, etc.) are invaluable for the additional information they give. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vii, year 956, is a poor extract from the earlier biographies, but Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-nubalā' bi-ta'rīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'*, v, 569-572, is perhaps the most reliable digest of the earlier biographical sources.

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(J. Schacht)

AL-ḤALABĪ, Nūr al-Dīn b. Burhān al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Ḳāhirī al-Shāfiʿī, Arabic author. He was born in Cairo in 975/1567-8 and pursued the usual studies. His main teacher was the famous Shāfiʿī Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī. Later on he taught at the Madrasa al-Ṣalāḥiyya. He died in Cairo on 29 Shaʿbān 1044/17 February 1635. His best known work is the *Insān al-ʿuyūn* commonly known as *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*. It is a biography of the Prophet, written at the request of Abu 'l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, then head of the leading Shaykh-family of Egypt. The work is based on two earlier biographies, *viz.* *ʿUyūn al-athar* by Ibn Sayyid al-Nāsh [*q.v.*] and *al-Sīra al-Sha'miyya* by al-Ṣāliḥī, but it also contains materials taken from other sources. It found a wide circulation, was printed several times and translated into Turkish. For mss of it and of its abridgments see Brockelmann II, 307 and S II, 418. Amongst his other writings enumerated by al-Muḥibbī, we may mention *al-Naṣīḥa al-ʿAlawiyya fī bayān ḥusn ṭarīḳat al-sāda al-Aḥmadiyya* in defence of the Brotherhood of Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-āthār*, iii, 122 ff.; Brockelmann II, 307 and S II, 418.

(J. W. Fück)

ḤALĀL WA ḤARĀM [see sharīʿa].

ḤĀLET EFENDI, Meḥmed Saʿīd, Ottoman statesman, was born in Istanbul *ca.* 1175/1761, the son of a *ḳāḍī*, Hüseyn Efendi, from the Crimea. He was educated in the house of the Shaykh al-Islām Sherīf Efendi. He served under various provincial governors in Rumeli and as Ketkhudā [*q.v.*] of the *nā'ib* of Yeñishehir Fener (Larissa). On returning to Istanbul, he became closely attached to Ghālib Dede [*q.v.*], the *sheykh* of the Mewlewī convent at Ghalaṭa, a connexion which enabled him to complete his literary education. He was at this time serving as secretary to certain Ottoman dignitaries, such as Ḳaṣṣābbashī Meḥmed Agha and later the Phanariot Kallimakhi; shortly afterwards the favour of the *ketkhudā-i rikāb-i hümāyūn* Muṣṭafā Reshīd Efendi procured him a place among the *khwādjegān* [*q.v.*].

On 4 Ramaḍān 1217/29 December 1802 he was appointed ambassador to France, with the rank of *bash-muḥāsib*. His mission to Paris was a failure, but it enabled him to learn about the Western world. After his return to Istanbul (late 1806) he was appointed *beglikdji wekīli* and on 23 Rabīʿ I 1222/31 May 1807, two days after the revolution which deposed Selīm III, was promoted to the post of *reʾīs al-küttāb* [*q.v.*]. At the request of the French ambassador Sebastiani, who alleged that he was pro-British in his policy, he was dismissed on 5 March 1808 and exiled to Kütahya; this banishment was in fact a fortunate accident for him, since Muṣṭafā IV was dethroned on 28 July following. In Shaʿbān 1224/September 1809 he was permitted to return to Istanbul.

The new sultan Maḥmūd II sent him on a mission to Baghdād, where he arrived on 25 Djumādā I 1225/28 June 1810. His task was to persuade the quasi-independent *wālī* Küčük Süleymān Pasha to pay various sums due to the sultan. When Süleymān refused, Ḥālet Efendi retired to Mosul where, with the help of the *mutaṣarrif*s of Mosul and Bābān, he prepared a military expedition against the recalcitrant *wālī*. The expedition was successful, Süleymān Pasha being murdered and the former *ketkhudā* ʿAbd Allāh Agha being appointed in his place.

In 1226/early 1811 Ḥālet Efendi was appointed *ketkhudā-i rikāb-i hümāyūn*, and on 5 Shawwāl 1230/10 September 1815 *nishāndji*. He enjoyed the confidence of Maḥmūd II, who sought his advice in state affairs (for the secret correspondence between Ḥālet Efendi and the *berber-bashî* ʿAlī Agha, see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², x, 262-78, xii, 226-8). He supported the sultan in his policy of subduing the *derebeyi*s [*q.v.*] in the provinces, but he did not favour the project to abolish the corps of the Janissaries: indeed he used them as an instrument to maintain his influence over the sultan. For a time he was so powerful that he controlled nominations to the posts of Grand Vizier and of Shaykh al-Islām. According to Slade, his intimacy with the Phanariots brought him under suspicion, and he tried to justify himself by showing 'as great hatred to the Greeks as he was supposed to have friendship' (*Record of travels*, i, 246). His fall was brought about by the part he played in procuring the deposition, in 1820, of ʿAlī Pasha Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] of Yanya; as his rival the *reʾīs al-küttāb* Djānib Efendi had predicted, the expedition against ʿAlī Pasha provoked the Greek revolt in the Morea (March 1821). Accused of being the cause of this disaster, he was exiled to Konya in Ṣafar 1238/November 1822 and strangled there a few days later. His head was brought to Istanbul and was buried in the Mewlewī convent at Ghalaṭa, near the public fountain and the library which he had founded there.

Ḥālet Efendi was a man of great intelligence and eloquence, whose abilities procured him a predominant position in the early years of the reign of Maḥmūd II. He maintained this position by appointing his own creatures to key posts and by sending any adversary to exile or to death. He was a conservative, strongly opposed to westernization. His rôle in precipitating the Greek insurrection was disastrous for the Ottoman Empire.

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(E. Kuran)

ḤĀLETĪ, ʿAzmī-zāde Muṣṭafā (977/1570-1040/1631), Ottoman poet and scholar, considered the master of the *rubāʿī* in Turkish literature. He was born in Istanbul, the son of Pīr Meḥmed ʿAzmī (d. 990/1582), the tutor of the prince Meḥmed (later Meḥmed III), who left, besides poems in Turkish, Eastern Turkish, Arabic and Persian, an expanded translation of the *Anīs al-ʿārifīn* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ and an unfinished translation (later continued by his son) of the *mathnawī Mihr u Mushtarī* of the Persian poet Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār (see Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS*, ii, 626; Pertsch, *Kat.*, 843 ff.).

Ḥāletī studied under such scholars as the historian Saʿd al-Dīn, who arranged his first appointment as *müderris*. He soon distinguished himself and was made *müderris* successively at the *medrese*s of Eyyūb, Sultan Selīm, the Süleymāniyye (1008/1599) and Wefā (1010/1602).

In 1011/1602 he was made *ḳāḍī* of Damascus; there he met the poet Rūḥī [*q.v.*] who mentions him with praise in a *ḳiṭʿa* chronogram. He was later (1013/1604) moved to Cairo, where for a short time he took charge of the office of the *beglerbegi*, upon the murder of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Pasha, but he was accused of not being firm enough and dismissed. After a short period of disgrace, he was made *ḳāḍī* of Bursa, but was dismissed as a result of the incursions of the famous rebel-chief Ḳalenderoghlu [*q.v.*]. In 1020/1611 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, but was moved to Damascus the same year, where he remained until 1022/1618.

On the accession of ʿOthmān II in 1028/1618 Ḥāletī submitted to the young sultan a petition in verse, and was again made *ḳāḍī* of Cairo. He returned to Istanbul in 1028/1619. He submitted a similar petition to Murād IV, in whose reign he became the *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu (1032/1623) and later (1037/1627) of Rūmeli. He was made a *müderris* of the *dār al-ḥadīth* of the Süleymāniyye a few months before he died in 1040/1631 (indicated in the chronogram on his tomb-stone: *Rūḥ-i pākine dem-be-dem raḥmet*). He is buried in the courtyard of a school at Ṣofular which he had restored.

Despite many vicissitudes, Ḥāletī had, on the whole, a successful career and reached the second highest position of his profession; his *dīwān*, however, is full of complaints against Fate, and the jealousy of intriguing colleagues. The sources generally agree that Ḥāletī was one of the most learned men of his time. He wrote and translated many books on law, and he left a library of several thousand volumes, most of them annotated in his own hand.

Apart from various religious treatises, he is the author of: (1) *Dīwān*, dedicated to Meḥemmed III in its early version. It has not been edited. MSS contain varying numbers of *ḳaṣīda*s, *ghazal*s and *ḳiṭʿa*s. Some include his *rubāʿī*s, some do not. For a fairly good copy, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine 894, which contains 31 *ḳaṣīda*s 721 *ghazal*s, 300

*rubāʿī*s and the *Sāḳī-nāme*. Haletī cannot be considered a major poet, but his *dīwān* contains many poems of impeccable form, fresh inspiration and colourful imagery. He owes his fame and place in Turkish literature almost entirely to his *rubāʿī*s, for which reason he has often been compared with ʿUmar Khayyām. His *rubāʿī*s are either included in copies of his *dīwān* or form an independent *risāla*, where they are alphabetically arranged. In both cases their numbers vary greatly (between 70 and 600). These *rubāʿī*s, exquisite in form, impeccable in style and often very personal in expression, are not always original in subject matter. They treat mostly the old themes common to most *dīwān* poets: All things are ephemeral, Fortune is fickle, life is fleeting, Fate is merciless, the beloved is cruel, consolation is to be found in mystic love, etc. But all these thoughts and feelings are so skilfully expressed that poets, scholars and biographers alike proclaimed him as the greatest master of *rubāʿī* (cf. Nedīm's famous verse: *Ḥāletī ewdj-i rūbāʿīde učar ʿanḳā gibi*, "Ḥāletī soars in the topmost heaven ot *rubāʿī* like the *ʿAnḳā*").

(2) *Sāḳī-nāme* (the Book of the Cup-bearer), a *mathnawī* of 520 distichs in *mutaḳārib*, which Ḥāletī wrote following the vogue of the time, when many poets produced works of varying length in this genre, introduced from Persian. It consists of a short introductory prologue followed by 15 sections (*maḳāle*s) and an epilogue (*khatm-i kelām*). Following the pattern, Ḥāletī uses this genre to glorify mystic love symbolized by wine, elaborates on the transience of worldly things and mocks the ostentatious practices of the hypocritically devout; finally he invites all "men of heart" to join in drinking this wine and become brothers.

(3) *Münsheʾāt*, a collection of the letters Ḥāletī wrote to various important personalities of the time. Although they are written in the usual flowery and bombastic *inshāʾ* style, they contain a number of enlightening references to events and personalities of the time.

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(Fahir İz)

ḤALFĀʾ (A.), alfa-grass, esparto-grass. This name is generally used, loosely, of two rather similar plants: the true alfa-grass (*stipa tenacissima*) with leaves folded into a half-sheath and ears which somewhat resemble those of barley; and the lygeum or esparto-grass or "wild alfa" (*lygoeum spartum*), a smaller plant which has stiffer leaves. The former grows in mountainous districts and on high plateaus; in Tunisia it is called *ḥalfāʾ rūsiyya* and *geddīm*; the latter prefers low-lying ground (*ḥalfāʾ mahbūla, sennāgh*). Although it is difficult to recognize them at first, the experienced eye can distinguish the yellow-green of alfa-grass from the blue-green of esparto-grass. A field of alfa or a pre-Saharan steppe pasture where alfa is predominant is sometimes given the name *zemla*.

The true alfa flourishes in the area extending from the Ḍahra of Morocco to beyond the Djabal Nafūsa in Libya and including the Ḳṣūr Mountains, the plateau of the Awlād Sīdī Shaykh, Djelfa, Bū Saʿāda, the Bū Ṭāleb and the Maʿādid, in Algeria, and the High Tell, the *djabal*s situated to the south of the Dorsal, the chain of the Maṭmāṭa and the plateau of the Ḥāwiya, in Tunisia. This alfa is sometimes subdivided into "sparterie" alfa, with very fine stalks about 40 centimetres long, which have a regular diameter, and "paper-making" alfa, with coarser stalks of varying length.

Usually only the true alfa is used to make pulp for paper-making, since the discovery, in the 1850's, by Thomas Routledge of Eynsham of the possibilities of its use in this industry. The wild alfa or esparto-grass, although its fibres are equally suitable for paper-making, is preferred for sparterie (see below) and rope-making. They are, however, to a certain extent interchangeable.

The alfa fields have given rise to many juridical problems. Originally the state of Tunisia tended to consider the alfa areas as its domain and to instal there workers to harvest it, and public weighing officials. Soon, however, there developed a system of "concessions" with privately employed workers.

The season for the harvesting of alfa, but not of esparto-grass, is officially fixed from September 1st to April 30th, the spring months being left to allow the plant to grow again. The harvesting is done by women and consists of separating the fibrous stalk from the sheath by a sharp pull done with the help of a rod (*moglaʿ*) 30 centimetres long. The woman takes a handful of stalks (*mozla*), twists them round the rod, and, with a brisk action, separates them from the rhizomes. The product of the harvest, first collected into hanks (*zerza*), then bound into sheaves (*ḥnāg*) of from 10 to 12 bunches, is put into a wide-meshed net (*djeyyāba, shəbka*) to be carried to the public weighing machine in the market place (*mənshra*). A good worker can gather as much as 100 kgs. in a day. Among the Awlād ʿAzīz (Maknāsī) a woman's harvesting ability is considered as part of her dowry. After being weighed, the alfa is put into stacks (*gūm*) in the stack-yard to dry thoroughly. After a week it is put into bales which are piled up (*testīf*) to await transport by train or lorries to wholesale markets or factories.

In Tunisia, the markets, the first of which were set up at Sousse and Ḳayrawān, multiplied with the building of the railway between Hanshīr Swātīr and Sousse. Local markets were set up near the stations: Ḥādjeb al-ʿUyūn, Sbeytla, Ḳāṣrīn, Thelepte, Haydra, in the High Tell. Centres at Mazzūna, Sened, Maknāsī, Ḳafṣa, Sīdī Bū Zīd, Fayḍ and Bīr Hafey supply alfa to Sfax or to the recently built cellulose factory at Ḳaṣrīn.

In addition to this industrial use there should be mentioned some uses of alfa in local handicrafts. In Hergla, the Chebba and Kerkena it is used for plaiting the special baskets (*shwāmī*) which are used for holding the pulp of crushed olives when it is put under the press to extract the oil. In Zrība, Takrūna, and the Maṭmāṭa it is used for weaving on a high-warp loom decorated mats with a warp of wool and a weft of alfa, the stalks being either left in their natural colour or died red and black; this craft is done by women and those of Bū Ṭāleb (Algeria) also excel in it. Alfa is used also to make long plaited strips (*ḍfīra*) which are made into hump covers for camels (*bṭāsh*), double panniers (*shārya*) or pairs of saddle-bags (*zəmbīl*), grain silos (*gambūṭ, rwīna*) which are stored in the *ḳṣar*s of the south or in the court-yards of cave-dwellings, sleeping mats, and even sandals (*tarbāga*), which consist of a simple sole fastened to the foot by two or three thongs which are passed between the toes and round the side of the foot and fastened in front. If soaked in lukewarm water alfa can if necessary be twisted into ropes.

In southern Tunisia alfa is used also as fodder for

camels. In spring the semi-nomadic camel-owners graze them on the surrounding alfa-growing plateaus.

Esparto is more easily worked than alfa *rūsiyya* and there are two methods of using it. A. Louis (*Iles Kerkena*, i, 343-56) describes the various processes which transform esparto: from the bale to the soaked fibre (drying, baling, steeping in the sea, drying again, silage) and from the beaten fibre to useful objects.

Fibre which has been steeped in sea-water and beaten on a round stone or a wooden block, then twisted (*teftīl*) once, is made into string or thin ropes (*s͟hrīṭ*, *k͟həzma*, *mradda*), thick ropes for drawing up water from wells or for haulage (*ḥbəl*, *d̲j̲arr*) and even, after being twisted again on an implement for twisting the strands (*ṭag͟hla*), ropes for fishing boats. Twisted cords of esparto are used also for making nets for carrying loads, camel harnesses, sacks and for the partitions of fish-traps, in fact in many objects in current use in agriculture and fishing.

Esparto which is simply soaked and not beaten is used for plaiting. The plaits are then joined to make double donkey-panniers, hump covers for camels, saddle bags, carriers for water-coolers (*nāgla*), and various other everyday objects similar to those made from the true alfa.

This is a family craft and many are skilled in it (though it is agreed that the inhabitants of Kerkena are specialists in twisting and plaiting alfa), hence the proverb "A house without alfa is a deserted house".

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(A. Louis)

ḤALĪ [see ḤALY].

ḤĀLĪ, Kʰwād̲j̲a Alṭāf Ḥusayn, Urdū poet. His ancestor K͟hwād̲j̲a Malik ʿAlī came to India in the reign of Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ and was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Pānīpat. Ḥālī was born at Pānīpat in 1837. His father died when he was nine years old; but in spite of the drawback in his early education he studied Arabic and Persian grammar and elementary logic in Dihlī, and in 1856 occupied a petty clerical post at Ḥiṣār. After the Mutiny in 1857 he remained unemployed for four years and during this period studied exegesis, tradition, philosophy, logic and Arabic literature. About this time he began to compose Urdū poetry on the advice of G͟hālib [*q.v.*] whose pupil he became, though he confesses that he was more influenced by the straightforward expression and lack of exaggeration in the verses of his patron Nawwāb Muṣṭafā K͟hān 'S͟hayfta' in whose service he remained as a courtier until 1869. Then, on S͟hayfta's death, he took up a post in the Pand̲j̲āb Government Book Depot at Lahore to revise the text of Urdū translations of English works. This brought him indirectly in touch with the content and values of European literature which came to exercise considerable influence on his critical outlook. In association with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [see Āzād] and with the encouragement of English officers of the Department of Education in the Pand̲j̲āb, he founded a new school of Urdū poetry, which adopted the *mat͟hnawī* for realistic themes related to Indian life and background. His famous *mat͟hnawī*s *Munād̲j̲āt-i Bewā*, *Barkhārut*, and *Ḥubb-i Waṭan* belong to this period. He also widened the scope of the *g͟hazal* and enriched it with a deep ethical tone.

The most powerful impact on Ḥālī's mind was that of Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān [*q.v.*] whose movements of educational and social reform he began to support in his articles from 1871, whom he came to know better when he moved from Lahore to Delhi to join there the teaching staff of the Anglo-Arabic School, and on whose suggestion he composed in 1879 *Musaddas-i madd-o d̲j̲azr-i Islām* (popularly known as *Musaddas-i Ḥālī*). This work revolutionized Urdū poetry by introducing into it the dynamics of pan-Islamic revivalism and paved the way for Urdū and Indo-Persian political poems which became a powerful means of religio-political propaganda in Muslim India. In 1887 Ḥālī resigned from the Anglo-Arabic School on being awarded a pension by Ḥaydarābād State and dedicated himself to a life of scholarship until his death in 1914.

The *Dīwān* of his Urdū *g͟hazal*s published in 1893 revived in Urdū the moral trend of Saʿdī [*q.v.*] whose biography Ḥālī had published in 1884. The collected edition of Ḥālī's Arabic and Persian prose and verse appeared in 1914. Between G͟hālib and Iḳbāl [*q.v.*], and as a link between them, Ḥālī is regarded as a poet of stature with whom begins the era of westernized Urdū poetry with a strong Islamic orientation.

As a biographer and critic he holds a high position in Urdū literature. His study of G͟hālib (*Yādgār-i*

Ghālib) appeared in 1884 and of the life and work of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (*Ḥayāt-i Djāwayd*) in 1901. The long introduction (popularly known as *Muḳaddama-i shiʿr-o shāʿirī*) to his Urdū *Dīwān* marks the beginning of the modern standards of literary criticism in Urdū.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

HALIDE EDIB [see KHĀLIDE EDĪB].

ḤALĪMA, a mare, or a valley, or a Ghassānid princess, after whom was named one of the most famous of all the *ayyām* [*q.v.*] of pre-Islamic Arabia, sometimes identified with the *yawm* of ʿAyn Ubāgh.

It is possible that *yawm* Ḥalīma was the "day" which witnessed the victory of Ghassān over Salīḥ [*q.v.*] late in the 5th century A.D. But more probably, it represents the victory of the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith b. Djabala over the Lakhmid al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān, who was killed in the encounter. If true, the battle would have taken place in June, A.D. 554, at the spring of ʿUdhayya, in the district of Ḳinnasrīn.

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(Irfan Shahîd)

ḤALĪMA BINT ABĪ DHU'AYB, foster-mother of the prophet Muḥammad. She and her husband belonged to the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr, a subdivision of Hawāzin. Muḥammad was given to her to suckle from soon after his birth until he was two years old. Well-to-do families thought desert-life healthier for infants than that in Mecca. Some modern scholars have doubted the whole episode, but Muḥammad probably lived with this tribe for a time. After the battle of Ḥunayn he honoured his foster-sister al-Shaymā, and responded favourably when men of Saʿd b. Bakr, negotiating for the return of their captured women, pleaded their milk-relationship to him. Further stories connected with the desert residence are legendary: Ḥalīma and her family prospered miraculously while Muḥammad was with them; she therefore asked to be allowed to keep him for a further period after weaning, but while he and his foster-brother were herding lambs, two men cut him open, purified his heart with snow and returned it to his body, and Ḥalīma, fearing demonic possession, hastily took him back to his mother.

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(W. Montgomery Watt)

ḤALḲ AL-WĀDĪ (the "throat", or the "gullet" of the wadi), in French La Goulette (from the Italian form Goletta), township situated on the coastal strip which encloses the wide but very shallow lagoon of Tunis (less than 3 feet deep), to the north of the channel by which it is linked to the sea. After the ports of Carthage were abandoned, this became the port of Tunis; for a long time it had no artificial improvements, the ships anchoring at the entrance to a channel which had to be constantly dredged. There goods were trans-shipped onto flat-bottomed boats which carried them to Tunis, 10 kilometres away, at the west of the lagoon, as is described by al-Idrīsī as early as the 6th/12th century (*Description*, 112/131). The entrance to the channel was guarded to the north by a fortress which is probably the "castle of the chain" mentioned by al-Bakrī in the preceding century (*Description*, 85); it was used for defence and as a customs post. When La Goulette and Tunis were captured from the Ḥafṣids in 940/1534 by Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa), the fortress was extensively rebuilt and became a strong bastion. The following year, however, it was seized by the Emperor Charles V who left a garrison there. During his reign and that of Philip II, the bastion was incorporated in a large citadel. But in Rabīʿ II 982/August 1574, the Turks, under the command of Sinān Pasha and ʿUlūdj ʿAlī, drove the Christians permanently from Tunis and La Goulette. The Turks restored the old fortress, but demolished the other parts of the citadel, of which only the substructure now remains. La Goulette remained until the end of the 12th/18th century a haunt of corsairs, which was scarcely disturbed by the demonstrations of European fleets. Under the Bey Ḥammūda (1782-1814), the fortifications were completed: in about 1829, the traveller Nyssen saw there a second fort (to the south) and several batteries. The Bey Aḥmad (1837-1855) built there an arsenal and a summer palace. La Goulette was the first Tunisian port; between 1861 and 1865 in particular, it "was visited by an average of over 600 ships each year, carrying a total of 80,000 tons", which comprised 90% of the imports and 45% of the exports of the Regency (Ganiage, 55-6). In 1872, that is to say nine years before the establishment of the French Protectorate, La Goulette was linked to Tunis and to the palace of the Bardo by a railway track, which never, however, offered serious competition to the inconvenient small boats.

With the construction of the port of Tunis at the end of the lagoon and the digging out in the mud of a channel 10 kilometres long and 7.5 metres deep, La Goulette became, after 1893, the outer harbour of the capital, with a basin of eleven hectares which now permits ships with a draught of up to 10.5 metres to come alongside: iron ore and phosphates from the Haut Tell are loaded there and hydro-

carbons and coal are unloaded; it contains the main electricity station, whose output has recently doubled. This outer harbour is shortly to be enlarged. There has long been a settlement to the north of the bastion—a fishing village whose inhabitants are mainly of Italian origin and which has become a seaside resort and a popular suburb of Tunis. In 1926 La Goulette had a population of 7,400, of whom 2,000 were Jews and nearly 4,000 Europeans, two-thirds of the latter being Italians; in 1956 its population was 26,300 (including 10,150 Europeans and 3,300 Jews, who have almost all left since Tunisia became independent).

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(J. Despois)

ḤALḲA, as a term of Ṣūfism [see TAṢAWWUF].

ḤALḲA (literally "circle", "gathering of people seated in a circle", and also "gathering of students around a teacher"), among the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs of the Mzāb [*q.v.*] a religious council made up of twelve *ʿazzāba* ("recluses", "clerks"; on the exact meaning of this word, see R. Rubinacci, *Un antico documento di vita cenobitica musulmana*, 47-8), and presided over by a *shaykh*. On the mystical sense of *ḥalḳa*, the *Ḳawāʿid al-Islām* of al-Djayṭālī [*q.v.*], which is the most complete code of the Ibāḍī sect (written probably in the first half of the 8th/14th century), says: "On their arrival the members of the assembly must seat themselves to form the circle (*ḥalḳa*), leaving no space between them; for spaces delight the devil and let him in". Each Mzābī town had such a council, which met in the town mosque, in the chief mosque if there were more than one. Originally the *ḥalḳa* was simply those who assembled around a Muslim legal scholar or theologian, which later, among the Ibāḍīs of Wargla [*q.v.*], of Wādī Rīgh [*q.v.*] and in particular among those of the Mzāb grew into a "council of recluses" to which the whole existence of the Mzābī cities was subject. In fact, before the French annexation of the Mzāb (1882), the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳa*s in the Mzābī towns took precedence over the *djamāʿa*s, *i.e.*, the municipal councils which directed the affairs of the town.

The first mention of the *ḥalḳa* among the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib is found in the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wardjilānī [*q.v.*], in the account concerning the two famous 4th/10th century Ibāḍī *shaykh*s, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yazīd b. Makhlad and Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf. These *shaykh*s, who were natives of the town of al-Ḥāmma in the Tunisian Djarīd and who belonged to the Zenāta tribe of the Banū Wisyān, were very active, particularly under the Fāṭimid caliph Abū Tamīm al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (341-65/953-75). Al-Dardjīnī [*q.v.*] includes them among the Ibāḍīs belonging to the seventh *ṭabaḳa* ("class"), which corresponds to the first half of the 4th/10th century. According to Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjilānī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and Abū Khazar formed part of a *ḥalḳa* and all the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs "who wished to be informed in the humane sciences, the science of good behaviour and the traditions of holy men, came to learn from them so that they soon gained a considerable reputation". Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who was a very rich man, was enabled by his wealth to feed them and provide for their needs. Unfortunately apart from these facts nothing is known of the organization of the *ḥalḳa*. It is known, however, thanks to Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjilānī, that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's disciples were not allowed to marry, which reminds us of one of the obligatory rules imposed on the *ʿazzāba* by the great Ibāḍī reformer Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr (whom we shall mention later), namely that of celibacy (nevertheless Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, who was the *shaykh* of the *ḥalḳa*, did have a wife, a fact which disturbed him greatly). It seems therefore that celibacy was considered essential for a member of the *ḥalḳa* already in this "prehistoric" stage of the institution as represented by the group of students presided over by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. There is reason to suppose that a "council of recluses", composed, as will appear below, of twelve members grouped around a *shaykh*, existed also at a still earlier date among the Nukkār [*q.v.*], an Ibāḍī sect which was hostile to the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs. In fact, according to a passage in Ibn Khaldūn's history of the Berbers, the famous political head of this sect in the first half of the 4th/10th century, Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād [*q.v.*], had with him Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Aʿmā, accompanied by "twelve other persons of influence", with whom he went from the Bilād al-Djarīd into the Aurès (in about 331/942-3), in revolt against the Fāṭimids. Since Abū ʿAmmār was teaching in the first half of the 4th/10th century in the Bilād al-Djarīd (at Tūzer or at Taḳyūs, *i.e.*, Krīz Tagyūs, the ancient Thiges), where he was the teacher of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, it may be that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yazīd b. Makhlad and Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf, who were natives of another part of the Bilād al-Djarīd, were influenced in their ideas on the *ḥalḳa* by the existence of the Nukkārī council of twelve. Among the pupils of Abū Khazar Yaghlā b. Zaltāf was Abū Muḥammad Wīslān/Wāslān b. Yaʿḳūb, a famous Ibāḍī scholar of Djarba [*q.v.*], who is classed by al-Dardjīnī among the persons of the eighth *ṭabaḳa* (second half of the 4th/10th century). According to al-Shammākhī [*q.v.*], he also presided over a *ḥalḳa* in his native island.

To the following *ṭabaḳa* (first half of the 5th/11th century) there belonged another Ibāḍī scholar who was a native of the Bilād al-Djarīd: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, who was responsible for the first rule concerning the constitution of an Ibāḍī-Wahbī *ḥalḳa*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh studied in the Bilād al-Djarīd under the direction of the *shaykh*s Abū Nūḥ Saʿīd b. Zanghīl and Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Miswar, who lived in the second half of the 4th/10th century. After the death of Abū Nūḥ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr went to Ḳayrawān to perfect his knowledge of Arabic language and grammar. Then, after returning to the Bilād al-Djarīd, he settled at Taḳyūs, whence he next went to the Wādī Rīgh (Oued Righ). It was in this oasis that he organized his *ḥalḳa*, at the request of some young Ibāḍī-Wahbī students from Djarba, where they had already heard of this institution. This took place in the year 409/1018-9, and hence the cave in the Wādī Rīgh which was fitted up to be the seat of this *ḥalḳa* was given the name of "ninth". It was apparently in this cave that Abū ʿAbd Allāh drew up the rules of the *ḥalḳa* (in Arabic *Siyar al-ḥalḳa*). There exist two

very similar versions of these rules, one of which is contained in the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲* of al-Dard̲j̲īnī (7th/13th century) and another in the *Kitāb D̲j̲awāhir al-muntaḳāt* of al-Barrādī (beginning of the 9th/15th century). The critical edition of the *Siyar al-ḥalḳa* based on these two versions is by M. R. Rubinacci. This document shows that the members of a *ḥalḳa* were known as *ʿazzāba* (singular form: *ʿazzābī*). They were distinguished from the laity by their tonsure (they had to shave their heads completely) and by their simple white habits. New members were admitted to this council only after a very detailed investigation. At the head of a *ḥalḳa* was a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, who retained this position until his death. He governed the *ʿazzāba*, took charge of the administration, judged, and taught, being responsible for the material possessions (*ḥubus*) and the spiritual well-being of the *ḥalḳa*. He was assisted by a *k̲h̲alīfa* who might take his place if necessary. It was he also who appointed certain experts (inspectors, ushers) known as *ʿurafāʾ* (singular: *ʿarīf*), one of whom supervised the collective recitation of the Ḳurʾān, while another took charge of the communal meals, and others were responsible for the students' education, etc. All the time which the *ʿazzāba* had free after the performance of their professional duties was devoted to prayers and other pious exercises, important among them being the five religious meetings per day, devoted to the recitation and the explanation of the Ḳurʾān. Two of these meetings, one of them held in the middle of the night, were presided over by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the *ḥalḳa*. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* concerned himself also with teaching the students. While the main body of the *ʿazzāba* went about its professional occupations, an *ʿarīf* prepared the communal meals of which there were two a day (in the morning and after the *ʿaṣr* prayer). The lives of the *ʿazzāba* were subject, according to the rules laid down by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr, to a severe discipline. They were governed by a strict moral code and any misdemeanour was punished immediately.

Tradition also attributes to Abū ʿAbd Allāh a missionary zeal, considering him to have been the most active agent in disseminating and popularizing Ibāḍism in the northern Sahara. It is in fact mainly to him that is attributed an achievement which had far-reaching consequences in the history of African Ibāḍism: the conversion of the Banū Muṣʿab, a Berber tribe settled in the Tadmayt, in the area of the present-day Mzāb, which until then had adhered to the Muʿtazilī doctrine. By this he helped to determine and to a certain extent to facilitate the foundation of the oases which were later all to be known by the general name of Mzāb and to become the refuge of the Ibāḍīs of the Mag̲h̲rib (after the fall of Ibāḍism in the Wādī Rīg̲h̲ and the Wargla oasis) and a place where the institution of the *ḥalḳa* became the supreme religious council of the sect, which in some respects replaced the theocratic government of the former Ibāḍī *imāms* of the Mag̲h̲rib. After the death, in 440/1048-9, of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr (who had settled, towards the end of his life, in the Wargla oasis), it was his disciple Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Salām Manṣūr b. Abī Wazd̲j̲ūn who continued the work which his master had begun. It was at this time also that the *ʿazzāba* of the Wādī Rīg̲h̲ decided to write a primarily juridical work for the benefit of their "novices". They produced the *Dīwān al-as̲h̲yak̲h̲*, consisting of 25 volumes.

In the first half of the 6th/12th century there lived the Ibāḍī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* and scholar Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Maʿlā (b. al-Muʿallā), who built up the organization of the *ḥalḳa*. He was the founder of a *ḥalḳa* which was held in the mosque of the town of Tīg̲h̲ūrt (Tuggurt) in the Wādī Rīg̲h̲. It was probably for this council that Abū Zayd drew up a rule which we find mentioned by al-Dard̲j̲īnī and by al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī. This seems to be the beginning of the use of mosques for the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳas*.

After Abū Zayd, it was Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tināwatī al-Ward̲j̲lānī who made a considerable contribution to the definitive elaboration of the rules of the *ḥalḳa*. Abū ʿAmmār, one of the most eminent Ibāḍī scholars of the period, originated from the Berber tribe of the Tināwat, from the fraction which had settled in the Ward̲j̲lān (Wargla) oasis. He lived in the first half of the 6th/12th century. After having begun his studies in this oasis, he went to Tunis, where he studied among other things the Arabic language. Then he performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. He died at Wargla and was buried there. He is renowned in the history of Ibāḍism for the part he played in the organization of authority in the Ibāḍī communities, helping to centralize this in the institution of the *ḥalḳa*. He was responsible for the production for this "council of recluses" of a special code of rules (in Arabic *sīra*) which has to a large extent retained its importance until the present day and which today among the Ibāḍī scholars of the Mzāb is known as *Sīrat Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Ward̲j̲lānī*. It is a small work of about ten pages, of which the Ibāḍī collection at Kraków possesses two manuscripts brought from the Mzāb by the late Z. Smogorzewski and part of which has been translated into French by E. Masqueray (*Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, 254-7, note). The *ʿazzāba*, say these regulations, must cut themselves off from their family and live only in a retreat. They must pray at night on the mountain tops. They must wear only woollen clothes; they must know the Ḳurʾān by heart and must occupy without complaining the post assigned to them by the *ḥalḳa*. An *ʿazzābī* must be anxious to possess the Sciences, he must defend energetically the rights of the weak, and he must maintain order in the town. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the *ḥalḳa* must be intelligent, polite and moderate. He appoints the members of the *ḥalḳa* and distributes them into three sections, the first of which consists of him alone. The second section consists of four other eminent members of the *ḥalḳa*, and they form, with the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, a special council which directs all the affairs of the *ḥalḳa* (there is also a full council composed of all the members of the *ḥalḳa*). When one of the members of the special council dies, another *ʿazzābī* has to replace him. Among the members of the *ḥalḳa* there is a *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*, three others teach the children in the school, five wash the corpses of the dead, one acts as *imām* and recites the prayers in the mosque, and two others manage the possessions of the mosque. One member of the *ḥalḳa* is responsible for distributing the food to the *ʿazzāba* and to the pupils and another supervises the cleaning of the mosque.

Al-Dard̲j̲īnī, who was a member of the *ḥalḳa* of Wargla for two years (616/1219-617/1220-1), has given us a number of details concerning the internal life of this institution (R. Rubinacci, *op. cit.*, 74-5). It is interesting to learn that it was composed not only of the people of Wargla, but also of *ʿazzāba* who were natives of other Ibāḍī communities, including the Mzāb, such as the pious Abā Yazmū al-Muṣʿabī, who had preceded al-Dard̲j̲īnī in the *ḥalḳa* in question by seven or eight years.

The "council of the recluses" soon became an institution so closely linked with the Ibāḍī-Wahbī sect

that Ibn Khaldūn, writing (towards the end of the 8th/14th century) in a passage of his *History of the Berbers* (tr. de Slane, iii, 278) of the Ibāḍī-Wahbī inhabitants of the Wādī Rīgh (which he contrasts to the Nukkārīs), refers to them simply as *al-ʿazzāba*.

A *ḥalḳa* seems to have existed (but only in an undeveloped form, more akin to a simple gathering of a group of students round a famous *shaykh*) on the island of Djarba, in the second half of the 4th/10th century. This institution still existed there in about 916/1510, at the time of Pedro of Navarre's expedition against Djarba. The council of the *ʿazzāba*, presided over by the legal scholar Abu 'l-Nadjāt Yūnus b. Saʿīd, directed at this time the affairs of the Ibāḍī-Wahbī inhabitants of Djarba, in this case assisting the "governor" of this island, one Abū Zakariyyāʾ, who also was an Ibāḍī. At the same period, there were also some Ibāḍī-Wahbī *ʿazzābas* in the Djabal Nafūsa [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL], in the northern part of Tripolitania; they were in communication with the *ʿazzāba* of Djarba. In fact *ʿazzāba* existed in this district until very recently. Indeed, the Ibāḍī *mudīr* of Djādū, who lived in the middle of the 19th century and who was known to H. Duveyrier, bore the by-name of *al-ʿAzzābī*. In the Berber description of the Djabal Nafūsa composed at the end of the 19th century, there are mentioned houses belonging to the families of the *ʿazzāba* in the *ḳaṣr* of Umm al-Djorsān (cf. A. de C. Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1899, 73). It must nevertheless be admitted that very little is known of the history and organization of the *ʿazzāba* in the island of Djerba and in the Djabal Nafūsa.

After the disappearance of the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs from the Wādī Rīgh and Wargla, which took place between the 9th/15th and the 12th/18th century (Ibn Khaldūn still speaks towards the end of the 8th/14th century of the existence in the first of these oases of a large number of Ibāḍīs belonging to the various branches of al-Ibāḍiyya), the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳas* survived in the *ḳuṣūr* of the Mzāb where the remnants of the Ibāḍī population of these two oases had fled. According to the description of the Mzāb given by Leo Africanus in 1526 (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 437), there were already six of these *ḳuṣūr*, inhabited by a wealthy population of merchants. They were apparently al-ʿAṭf (el-Ateuf), Bū Nūra (Bou Noura), Banū Isdjen (Beni Isguen), Ghārdāya (Ghardaïa), Malīka (Melika) and Sīdī Saʿīd (this latter being destroyed by the Turks in the 17th century). To the five of these *ḳuṣūr* existing until the present day must be added a further two: al-Ḳarāra (Guerara), situated at the extreme east of the Shebka, and Barriyān (Berrian), situated a day and a half's march to the north of Ghārdāya. These two places were founded in the 11th/17th century and are outside the pentapolis which forms the Mzāb proper.

Nothing is known of the history of the *ḥalḳas* of the Mzāb in the earliest times, although local traditions mention holy men and scholars who were natives of this country from the first half of the 6th/12th century (Masqueray, *Chronique*, 140-2, note). Apparently this institution did not yet exist in the Mzāb in the time of al-Dardjīnī, in the first part of the 7th/13th century. Indeed the Mzābīs who wished at this time to enter the "council of recluses" were obliged to seek a *ḥalḳa* far from their native district, as for example the pious *ʿazzābī* Abā Yazmū al-Muṣʿabī, who entered the *ḥalḳa* of Wargla. In the 8th/14th and the 9th/15th centuries there arose among the Ibāḍīs of the Djabal Nafūsa a revival of theology and jurisprudence. The remarkable works written at this time by al-Djayṭālī and by other famous Ibāḍī writers reached the Mzāb, where they rekindled the taste for scholarship which had for long been extinguished in this country. Under the impetus of pious *shaykhs*, among whom should be mentioned Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Muṣʿabī (first half of the 9th/15th century), the Ibāḍī *ḥalḳas* of the Mzāb, composed of *ṭalaba* ("students", plural of *ṭālib*, used here in the sense of *ʿazzāba*), who were ignorant and had little influence, reformed themselves and applied themselves to a religious revival. It is from this period that there date the numerous reforms made by the *ṭalaba* (*ʿazzāba*) of the Mzābī *ḳuṣūr*. As a result of these reforms, the *ʿazzāba* of the Mzāb began once again to play a considerable part in the life of the Ibāḍī communities of that country, side by side with the lay municipal councils of the Mzābī towns. Proofs of this exist from as early as the beginning of the 9th/15th century. It was in fact at this period (Radjab 807/January 1405 and Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 811/March 1409) that two decrees were issued, as we read in the first words of these documents, following unanimous agreement, by "the *madjlis Wādī Mizāb*—the *ṭalaba* and the *ʿawāmm* (laity)". There is no doubt that the *ṭalaba* mentioned in these documents (of which the Ibāḍī collection at Kraków possesses a copy made in 1913 for the late Z. Smogorzewski) were merely the delegates of the *ʿazzāba* of all the towns of the Mzāb who had met together in one common session. In another document, which is, however, very late (it dates from the year 1245/1829), the word *ṭalaba* is explained by *ʿazzāba*. We read in fact "*madjlis ʿazzāba Wādī Mizāb—ṭalaba* and laity".

The text of the internal regulations of the *ʿazzāba* of Ghārdāya (tr. A. de C. Motylinski, *Guerara depuis sa fondation*, 23-8) dates probably from the first half of the 9th/15th century. These regulations were drawn up by the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Yaḥyā, a scholar of Ghārdāya, who lived (according to local tradition) in the first half of the 9th/15th century. Adopted with general agreement by the *ʿazzāba* of Ghārdāya, these regulations concern their internal discipline and the organization of the *ḥalḳa*. The document states that these regulations conform "to the traditions handed down by our ancestors". The document next refers to the laxity, the disagreement and the divisions which reigned among the *ʿazzāba* of Ghārdāya in the period immediately preceding the production of these regulations. It deals chiefly with punishments for faults committed by the *ʿazzāba* (including excommunication in the case of an *ʿazzābī* who has committed a sin considered as "great"), and with the admission of new members of the *ḥalḳa* (an examination and a long period of observation of the candidate were obligatory). According to the regulations, an *ʿazzābī* might not reveal the secrets of the *ḥalḳa*, on pain of being excluded from the council. The *ʿazzāba* were expected to uphold the interests of those who had suffered wrongs, and to judge impartially between rich and poor. The regulations deal also with the organization of the meetings of the *ḥalḳa*, the *ḥubus* which provided for the upkeep of the mosque and for the support of the *ʿazzāba* and *ṭalaba*, etc. It is interesting to note that they are silent on the question of the celibacy of the *ʿazzāba*, which had formerly been so important.

The part which the *ʿazzāba* played in the Mzāb immediately before the French annexation of the country was a very important one. An account of the history of one of the Mzābī towns, Ḳarāra (Guerara), composed in about 1883 by Sī Muḥammad b. Shetīwī

b. Slīmān, an orthodox Muslim inhabitant of this town, gives an impressive picture of the importance of the *ʿazzāba* in the government of the town. According to this account, the administration of Ḳarāra was in the hands of three institutions: the *ʿazzāba*, the *dj̲amāʿa* of the laity (in Arabic *ʿawāmm*, which in the Mzāb was used of "everyone who is not a *ṭālib*") and the armed force responsible for maintaining order, composed of soldiers who were known as *makārīs*. The word *makrūs*, of which *makārīs* is a plural, means in Algerian Arabic "an adolescent of 12-14 years" and in the Mzāb "an adult fit to carry arms". "Twelve *ṭalaba*", according to the account of Sī Muḥammad, "known as *ʿazzāba*, and versed in the Ḳurʾān, were in charge of the mosque and responsible for its upkeep. They instructed the children and taught the various sciences to the adults, punished wrongdoers, protected the weak, the widows and the orphans, ... passed acts and pronounced judgements according to the law, determined the boundaries of houses, lands and gardens, and administered the possessions which the mosques had acquired by religious donations and which provided food for the *ʿazzāba* and the *ṭalaba*. After them came twelve men who formed the *dj̲amāʿa* of the *ʿawāmm*. They were responsible for the management of the affairs of the town, both internal and external, but they could not interfere in matters which were the province of the *ṭalaba* of the mosque (= *ʿazzāba*). When they had to deal with a matter which was beyond their competence, they consulted the twelve *ʿazzāba* who had the supreme authority. The *dj̲amāʿa* of the laity, the middle authority, was responsible mainly for the population of the town and the extension of the oases. After them came twelve men known as *makārīs* who were the police authorities, maintaining order and arresting wrongdoers and those guilty of disorderly behaviour". The *makārīs* also formed a separate *dj̲amāʿa*, which, however, possessed no powers other than those which were delegated to it by the two other *dj̲amāʿas*. It must, however, be pointed out that very often the practice did not correspond with the theory; for example, in the town of Guerara itself the lay groups composed primarily of ambitious persons gained the upper hand by by-passing the *ʿazzāba* as early as the time of the first internal struggles (end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century). At the head of the *ʿazzāba* (or, by extension, of the *ṭalaba*) was a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* who, before the French annexation of the Mzāb, was the real president of the Government Council, the representative of the supreme authority of each of the towns in the Mzāb, which were constituted, as appears from what has been said above, as true theocratic republics. These *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s and presidents of the Government ceased to exist as such after the arrival of the French: thus for example the last *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of this type in Malīka, ʿUmar b. Ḥādjdj ʿĪsā, ceased to govern in about 1832. Two exceptions are known, however: the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of Banū Isdjen, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ayyūb, who was still governing in 1883, and the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of G̲h̲ārdāya, Ḥādjdj Ṣāliḥ b. Ḳāsim, who was assassinated in 1881. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of this type were elected by the *ʿazzāba* of the individual towns, but it was necessary to have also the agreement of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of other Mzābī towns. One of these *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s consecrated the person elected by putting on his head, after a suitable speech, a white turban, the symbol of his rank. Besides the councils of the *ʿazzāba* and of the laity, who were responsible for the administration of the individual towns of the Mzāb, there was also a *dj̲amāʿa*, or rather a general *madj̲lis*, composed of the delegates from the *ʿazzāba* of the whole country (at least two *ʿazzāba* from each town). This *dj̲amāʿa*, which was responsible for the most important matters or those matters which concerned all the Mzābī towns together, met in the mosque of the cemetery of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kurtī, situated between Bū Nūra and Banū Isdjen, or in the mosque of the cemetery of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* ʿAmmī Saʿīd al-Djarbī, near G̲h̲ārdāya.

After the annexation of the Mzāb by the French in 1882, the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of the *ʿazzāba* still continued to wield great moral authority in the Mzābī towns, but they had already ceased to possess any political power. Their authority nowadays is limited only to the *ʿazzāba* and the *ṭalaba* of the individual towns of the Mzāb, and to the mosque itself. They also ensure that the lay population fulfils the regulations ot the Ibāḍī doctrine, making use in serious cases of a *tabriʾa* (excommunication). Within this field the authority of the *ʿazzāba* and of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of the *ḥalḳa* is still very great. They control all the Ibāḍī population of the Mzāb. The *ḥalḳa* still remains the supreme religious and moral institution of the Mzābīs. Nowadays a Mzābī *ḥalḳa* has 12 *ʿazzāba* members (sometimes there are 24, 12 of whom, however, are only substitutes). The *ʿazzāba* are recruited from among the *ṭalaba*, *i.e.*, students (in the Berber of the Mzāb they are called *aru*, plural *irwan*), both the oldest and the most learned, though it is true that the moral qualifications of the candidates often take precedence over their learning. One exception only is known: Banū Isdjen, where candidates for admission to the local *ḥalḳa* are subjected to an examination (they have to know the whole of the Ḳurʾān by heart). The candidates must be married, in contrast to the rule of Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Wardjlānī which obliged the candidate to separate from his wife. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, who is today primarily a teacher, teaches the *ṭalaba* in a mosque. The *ṭalaba* are supervised by an *ʿarīf* chosen from among the oldest and most learned of the *irwan*. Another *ʿarīf* supervises the communal meals (which are provided by the *ḥubus* and from gifts). Two or three masters are chosen from among the *ʿazzāba* to teach the children the elements of the Arabic language and also the Ḳurʾān (such an *ʿazzābī* bears the title *muʿallim*). One *ʿazzābī* acts as *imām*, another is *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*, four or five wash corpses, etc. The *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* elected from among the members of the *ḥalḳa* by the other *ʿazzāba* is the thirteenth member of this council. The four oldest *ʿazzāba*, summoned by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, form the special council which acts in more important cases. The decision of this council is binding (also for the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* himself). The *ḥalḳa* meets in the town mosque and the meetings of the *ʿazzāba* are always secret. There are also in the Mzābī towns *ḥalḳa*s composed of women. These female *ʿazzāba* have an *imām* (who also is a woman), but no *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, and the *ḥalḳa*s of women have only a limited power. Thus, for example, the *tabriʾa* concerning a member of such a *ḥalḳa* may be imposed only by a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* from a *ḥalḳa* of men in the area.

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ḤALḲA, term used in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times for a socio-military unit which, during most of the period of Mamlūk rule, was composed of non-Mamlūks. The sources do not indicate the date of its foundation, and there is no convincing explanation of the meaning of its name (for two different views, see Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, i/2, 200-2 and A. N. Poliak, in *BSOAS*, x (1940-42), 872). The *ḥalḳa* had been in existence during most of the Ayyūbid period, being mentioned for the first time in 570/1174 (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, Cairo 1951, 305, reprinted in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, London 1962, 74). Under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn it seems to have constituted the *élite* of his army. Under his Ayyūbid successors, this unit is mentioned only rarely, yet it must have preserved a considerable part of its power and status, for even during the early years of Mamlūk rule it was still very strong. In those years the *ḥalḳa* included a considerable number of pure Mamlūks. The commanders of the unit, called *muḳaddamū al-ḥalḳa*, held honoured positions, and are named side by side with the Mamlūk *amīrs* in all important ceremonies. They also served as envoys to important states, functions which were usually reserved for the *khāṣṣakiyya* [*q.v.*]. Their pay was, however, even in that early period, much lower than that of the *amīrs*. Originally a *muḳaddam ḥalḳa* was entitled to command 40 men during an actual military expedition (but not after its termination). With the decline of the *ḥalḳa* this right had only a theoretical significance.

The members of the *ḥalḳa* were generally called *adjnād al-ḥalḳa*, sometimes *ridjāl al-ḥalḳa*, and sometimes simply *adjnād*.

Until the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn, we find no clear indications of the decline of the *ḥalḳa*. During the reign of his father, Ḳalāʾūn, we still hear of 4,000 *ḥalḳa* soldiers participating in the war against the Mongols in 680/1281 as *élite* troops fighting in the centre (*ḳalb*) of the Sultan's expeditionary force; the number of the Royal Mamlūks fighting in that centre was only 800.

The first conspicuous sign of a major decline appears during the land redistributions (*rawk* [*q.v.*]) of the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries. One of the chief aims of the *rawk*s, which included the regrouping and reallocation of the fiefs (*iḳṭāʿ*), was to reinforce the Royal Mamlūks and to weaken the *ḥalḳa*. These moves against the *ḥalḳa* were completely effective, and led to its rapid decline. After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad it became usual for the members of the *ḥalḳa* to exchange their feudal estates against payment or compensation (*muḳāyaḍa*), a special department called *dīwān al-badal* being established for this purpose. As a result many socially inferior elements—pedlars, artisans and other kinds of "common people" (*al-sūḳa wa 'l-ʿāmma*)—joined the *ḥalḳa*. Towards the close of the 8th/14th century the *ḥalḳa* lost practically all its importance as a fighting unit. Only a few of its members continued to take part in military expeditions, the majority being left behind in Cairo to perform guard duties there during the absence of the main force.

Al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815/1412-824/1421), who tried to rejuvenate the Mamlūk army in general, attempted also to arrest the decline of the *ḥalḳa*, but, as with his other reforms, his success was short-lived. Sultan Barsbāy (825/1422-842/1438) reversed Shaykh's policy towards this unit, and from then on the *ḥalḳa* was on a steady down-grade up to the very end of Mamlūk rule. The very name *ḥalḳa* is gradually replaced by the term *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*], one of its sub-units.

The *ḥalḳa* regiment of Syria, like the whole of the Syrian military society under the Mamlūks, deserves a separate study, for what is true of the armies stationed in Egypt does not, in many cases, apply to the forces stationed in Syria. Generally speaking, the status of the Syrian province was far inferior to that of Egypt. Mamlūk *amīrs* were usually reluctant to serve there, and the élite units of pure Mamlūks were concentrated in Egypt, mainly in Cairo. The Royal Mamlūks, the main cause of the *ḥalḳa*'s decline in Egypt, had no garrisons in Syria; thus in Syria the *ḥalḳa* was a far stronger and a far more important element than was its counterpart in Egypt. The central place which the *ḥalḳa* units occupied in Syria may be seen from Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī's (d. 872/1468) chapter on the Syrian provinces and their armies (*Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, 131-5), where the *ḥalḳa* is mentioned repeatedly but the other units are mentioned only occasionally, if at all. It is true that some of the figures which this author quotes refer to the *ḥalḳa*'s numerical strength in the past (*ḳadīm*an), but this should be taken as an indication of the general decline of the armies of Mamlūk Syria and not of the decline of the Syrian *ḥalḳa* in particular (see also *Zubda*, 103-6, and *BSOAS*, xvi, 71-2). The *ḥalḳa* survived in Syria, after a fashion, into Ottoman times (see B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 479).

Bibliography: D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 448-59 (the reasons for the *ḥalḳa*'s decline being discussed at 455 f.). (D. Ayalon)

AL-ḤALLĀDJ (the wool-carder), Abu 'l-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Maḥammā al-Bayḍāwī, Arabic-speaking mystic theologian (244-309/857-922). His life, his teaching and his death throw light on a crucial period in the history of Muslim culture, and the interior experience which he describes can be considered a turning point in the history of *taṣawwuf*. (This article includes, as well as the article of *EI*[1], some extensive additions drawn from the later works of L. Massignon).

I. — Biographical details

Origins. Al-Ḥallādj was born in about 244/857-8 at Ṭūr, to the north-east of al-Bayḍā in Fars. In Ṭūr an Iranian dialect was spoken; al-Bayḍā was an Arabized town where Sībawayh was born. It is said that al-Ḥallādj was the grandson of a *gabr* and a descendant of Abū Ayyūb, the Companion of the

Prophet. His father, who was probably a wool-carder, left Ṭūr for the textile region which extended from Tustar to Wāsiṭ (on the Tigris), a town founded by Arabs, with a predominantly Sunnī-Ḥanbalī population (with, in the country districts, an extremist Shīʿī minority), and the centre of a famous school of Ḳurʾān readers. At Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥusayn lost the ability to speak Persian. Before he was 12 years old, he learned the Ḳurʾān by heart and became a *ḥāfiẓ*. He very early attempted to find an inner meaning in the teaching of the *sūras* and applied himself to *taṣawwuf* at the school of Sahl al-Tustarī.

At Baṣra. When he was twenty he left Tustarī to go to Baṣra. There he received the habit of the Ṣūfīs from ʿAmr Makkī, and married Umm al-Ḥusayn, the daughter of Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Aḳṭaʿ. He did not take any other wives and he and his wife remained united all their lives, having at least three sons and one daughter. His marriage earned him the jealousy and the opposition of ʿAmr Makkī. When he was absent from home, al-Ḥallādj was able to entrust the support of his family to his brother-in-law, a Karnabāʾī. Through the latter, he found himself in contact with a clan which supported the Zaydī rebellion of the Zandj [*q.v.*], who were contaminated in varying degrees by Shīʿī extremism; this is probably the origin of his persistent but unfounded reputation as being a Shīʿī *dāʿī* or "missionary preacher". He retained from this period some curious and apparently Shīʿī expressions, but continued to lead at Baṣra a fervently ascetic life and to remain profoundly faithful to Sunnism. He went to Baghdād to consult the famous Ṣūfī Djunayd, but in spite of the latter's advice, tired of the conflict which existed between his father-in-law al-Aḳṭaʿ and ʿAmr Makkī, he set off for Mecca immediately after the Zandj rebellion had been crushed.

First Pilgrimage. At Mecca he made his first Pilgrimage, and made a vow to remain for one year of *ʿumra* in the courtyard of the sanctuary, in a state of perpetual fasting and silence. In this he was trying out his personal way to union with God, and, going against the discipline of secrecy, began to proclaim it. ʿAmr Makkī then broke off relations with him, yet he began to attract disciples.

Khūzistān, Khurāsān and departure from Tustar. Having returned to Khūzistān, he gave up the tunic of the Ṣūfīs and adopted the "lay" habit (probably the *ḳabā*, a cloak worn by soldiers), in order to be able to speak and preach more freely. This beginning of his apostolate, the main aim of which was to enable everyone to find God within his own heart, and which earned for him the name of *Ḥallādj al-Asrār*, "the carder of consciences", exposed him to suspicion and hatred and scandalized the Ṣūfīs. Some Sunnīs, former Christians some of whom were to become viziers at Baghdād, became his disciples. But some Muʿtazilīs and some Shīʿīs, who were important treasury officials, accused him of deception and of false miracles and incited the mob against him. He left for Khurāsān to continue his preaching among the Arab colonies of eastern Iran and remained there for five years, preaching in the cities and staying for some time on the frontiers in the fortified monasteries which housed the volunteer fighters in the "Holy War". He returned to the region of Tustar, and, with the help of the Secretary of State, Ḥamd Ḳunnāʾī, was able to instal his family in Baghdād.

Second Pilgrimage, distant journeys, Third Pilgrimage. With four hundred of his disciples, he then made his second pilgrimage to Mecca, where some of his former friends, Ṣūfīs, accused him of magic and sorcery and of making a pact with the *djinns*. It was after this second *ḥadjdj* that he undertook a long tour in India (Hinduism) and Turkestan (Manicheism and Buddhism), beyond the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām*. "Au delà de la Communauté musulmane, c'est à toute l'humanité qu'il pense pour lui communiquer ce curieux désir de Dieu, patient et pudique, qui dès lors le caractérise ..." (L. Massignon). About 290/902, al-Ḥallādj returned to Mecca for his third and last pilgrimage. He returned there clad in the *muraḳḳaʿa*, a piece of patched and motley cloth thrown round his shoulders, and a *fūṭa*, an Indian loin-cloth, round his waist. His prayer at the station of ʿArafāt was that God should reduce him to nothing, should make him despised and rejected, so that God alone might grant grace to Himself through the heart and the lips of His servant.

Final preaching at Baghdād. After returning to his family at Baghdād, he set up in his house a model of the *Kaʿba*, prayed at night beside tombs and in the daytime proclaimed in the streets or the *sūḳs* his burning love of God and his desire "to die accursed for his Community". "O Muslims, save me from God" ... "God has made my blood lawful to you: kill me" ... This preaching aroused popular emotion and caused anxiety among the educated classes. The Ẓāhirī Muḥammad b. Dāwūd was angry that al-Ḥallādj should claim a mystical union with God; he denounced him at the court and demanded that he should be condemned to death. But the Shāfiʿī jurist Ibn Suraydj maintained that mystic inspiration was beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. It was at this period that, according to the hostile account of the grammarians of Baṣra, al-Ḥallādj replied to al-Shiblī, in the Mosque of al-Manṣūr, by the famous *shaṭḥ* ("theopathic phrase"): *Ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, "I am [God] the Truth", proclaiming that he had no other "I" than God.

Arrest. A movement for the moral and political reform of the community was taking shape in Baghdād, inspired by the preaching of al-Ḥallādj and by those of the faithful who were anxious to see in him the hidden "Pole" [see ḲUṬB] of the time. He dedicated to Ibn Ḥamdān and to Ibn ʿĪsā some treatises on the duties of viziers. In 296/908, some Sunnī reformers (under the Ḥanbalī influence of al-Barbahārī, see H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, *passim*) made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power and to raise Ibn al-Muʿtazz to the caliphate. They failed, and the infant caliph, al-Muḳtadir, was restored, his vizier being the Shīʿī financier Ibn al-Furāt. Al-Ḥallādj was involved in the consequent anti-Ḥanbalī repression and succeeded in fleeing to Sūs in Ahwāz, a Ḥanbalī town, although four of his disciples were arrested. Three years later, al-Ḥallādj himself was arrested and brought back to Baghdād, a victim of the hatred of the Sunnī Ḥāmid. He remained in prison for nine years.

Imprisonment. In 301/913, the vizier Ibn ʿĪsā, the cousin of one of al-Ḥallādj's disciples, put an end to the trial (cf. the *fatwā* of Ibn Suraydj) and the imprisoned supporters of al-Ḥallādj were released. Nevertheless, owing to pressure from his enemies and the influence of the chief of police, who was an enemy of the vizier, al-Ḥallādj was exposed for three days on the pillory with "Ḳarmaṭī agent" written above him. He was later confined in the palace, where he was able to preach to the ordinary prisoners. In 303/915, he cured the caliph of a fever, and in 305 "restored to life" the crown prince's parrot. The

Muʿtazilīs denounced his "charlatanism". The vizier Ibn ʿĪsā, who had been favourable to al-Ḥallādj, was replaced in 304-6 by Ibn al-Furāt, who was anti-Ḥallādj, but the influence of the queen-mother prevented the latter from re-opening the trial. It appears that two of al-Ḥallādj's most important works date from this period: the *Ṭā Sīn al-Azal*, a meditation on the case of Iblīs, "the disobedient monotheist", and the short work on the "ascension" (*miʿrādj*) of Muḥammad, who halted on the threshold, two bow-shots from the Divine Essence.

These meditations condemned Iblīs's refusal and suggested that beyond the experience of Muḥammad there could be attained a union in love between man and God. They seem to have been a reply to the Shīʿī extremist al-Shalmaghānī, who considered that faith and impiety, virtue and vice, election and damnation were all *muḳābal* ("related opposites") and equally pleasing to God. Al-Shalmaghānī had a considerable influence at the Baghdād court and even on the course of the trial of al-Ḥallādj.

The condemnation. The trial was re-opened and the case argued in 308-9/921-2. The background to it was Ḥāmid's financial speculation, which had been opposed in vain by Ibn ʿĪsā. It was to destroy the latter's influence that Ḥāmid procured the re-opening of the trial of al-Ḥallādj. He was helped in this by Ibn Mudjāhid, the respected leader of the corporation of the Ḳur'ān readers and a friend of the Sūfīs Ibn Sālim and al-Shiblī but opposed to al-Ḥallādj. The Ḥanbalīs, at the instigation of Ibn ʿAṭā', himself a Ḥanbalī and a mystic, held demonstrations and "prayed against" Ḥāmid: both in protest against his fiscal policy and in order to save al-Ḥallādj. They even demonstrated against al-Ṭabarī, who condemned the riot. These disorders gave the vizier Ḥāmid the opportunity to make Ibn ʿAṭā' appear before the tribunal. But Ibn ʿAṭā' refused to witness against al-Ḥallādj and maintained that the vizier did not possess the right to judge the conduct of "holy men". He was ill-treated by a guard during the court hearing and died from the blows he received.

Ḥāmid and the Mālikī *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿUmar Ibn Yūsuf, who always supported those in power at the time, arranged in advance the judgement of the tribunal which was to condemn al-Ḥallādj. Al-Ḥallādj had said "The important thing is to proceed seven times around the *Kaʿba* of one's heart": they therefore accused him of being a Ḳarmaṭī rebel who wished to destroy the *Kaʿba* of Mecca. There was no Shāfiʿī present at the trial. The Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* declined to give judgement, but his assistant agreed to support Abū ʿUmar, and the syndic of the professional witnesses succeeded in producing eighty-four signatories. Sitting in judgement, Abū ʿUmar, urged by Ḥāmid, pronounced the formula: "It is lawful to shed your blood".

The execution. For two days the grand chamberlain Naṣr and the queen-mother interceded with the caliph, who, stricken with a fever, countermanded the execution. But the intrigues of the vizier triumphed over the hesitation of al-Muḳtadir who, as he was leaving a great banquet, signed the warrant for al-Ḥallādj's execution. On 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, the sounding of trumpets announced the impending execution. Al-Ḥallādj was handed over to the chief of police, and in the evening in his condemned cell exhorted himself to face martyrdom and foresaw his glorious resurrection. These prayers, noted down and handed on, were to be re-grouped in the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*.

On 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, at Bāb Khurāsān "before an enormous crowd", al-Ḥallādj, with a crown on his head, was beaten, half-killed, and exposed, still alive, on a gibbet (*ṣalīb*). While rioters set fire to the shops, friends and enemies questioned him as he hung on the gibbet and traditions relate some of his replies. The caliph's warrant for his decapitation did not arrive until nightfall, and in fact his final execution was postponed until the next day. During the night there spread accounts of wonders and supernatural happenings. In the morning, according to al-Tūzarī, those who had signed his condemnation, grouped around Ibn Mukram, cried out: "It is for Islam; let his blood be on our heads". Al-Ḥallādj's head fell, his body was sprinkled with oil and burned and the ashes thrown into the Tigris from the top of a minaret (27 March 922).

Witnesses reported that the last words of the tortured man were: "All that matters for the ecstatic is that the Unique should reduce him to Unity", recapitulating the appeal to the one authentic *tawḥīd*, that which God utters in the heart of His friends; and that he then recited Ḳur'ān, XLII, 18.

II. — Principal (published) works

(1) Twenty-seven *Riwāyāt*, collected by his disciples in about 290/902, in the form of *ḥadīth ḳudsī*, Arabic text in 3rd ed. of the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj* (Fr. tr. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 893-904); (2) *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, a series of eleven short works (including the *Ṭā Sīn al-Azal*), Arabic text and Persian version of Baḳlī, ed. by L. Massignon, Paris 1913 (Fr. tr. L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 830-93); (3) some poems collected (cf. *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī) in the *Dīwān d'al-Ḥallāj*, Arabic text and Fr. tr., ed. L. Massignon, Paris 1931; new Fr. tr., Paris 1938; (4) some *logia* and especially the *novissima verba* of the last night, collected in the *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, ed. L. Massignon (Paris 1914; ²Paris 1936; ³Paris 1957).

(For the other writings of al-Ḥallādj and the discussion of their authenticity, see L. Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, introd. i-iv; *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, 804-22; *Dīwān d'al-Ḥallāj*, 1931 ed., 1-9; and *Opera Minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 40-5 and 191).

III. — The main accusations

The trial of al-Ḥallādj took place against the background of the religious and political intrigues, and those concerning financial policy, which disturbed the Baghdād court during the minority of al-Muḳtadir. It illustrates the position of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty at the beginning of the 4th/10th century and the rôle played in it by the viziers held together by common interests. Al-Ḥallādj's two main enemies were the Shīʿī vizier Ibn al-Furāt and the Sunnī vizier Ḥāmid. All his sermons in the Baghdād *sūḳ*s were aimed at a drastic application of the values of faith to the inner life and at the proclamation of a union in love between the soul and God: all this within the framework of a dogma which deliberately stressed his Sunnī adherence. But his sermons fell on deaf ears, not only among the political circles of the court, but also in the world of the traditional jurists, the majority of them Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs, who revolved around them. It is surprising that al-Ḥallādj's strongest supporters were recruited among the Ḥanbalīs, whose pietism had at that time a considerable influence among the common people. Al-Ḥallādj's demands for moral reform and his influence on the

people were an annoyance to many of those in power. They based their accusation on two pretexts:

(a) Religious pretext: al-Ḥallādj's unmeasured utterances called in question the esoteric prudence and the discipline of secrecy which had become the rule in Ṣūfī circles since the time when Nūrī and his followers had been called to give an account before the courts of their teaching on the love of God. One result was that the Ṣūfīs such as ʿAmr Makkī and Djunayd who had been al-Ḥallādj's friends blamed him for having spoken publicly of his personal experience and for having expressed it in "theopathic statements" (*shaṭaḥāt*); in addition, some rather confused Ṣūfī tendencies, particularly those concerning "ʿUdhrī love", felt that they had to condemn the search for the One through willing love and the way of suffering. This was perhaps the main reason why the Ẓāhirī Ibn Dāwūd became an enemy of al-Ḥallādj, bent on his destruction. After this al-Ḥallādj was accused of blasphemy and of claims to *ḥulūl* (substantial union with God); and his anxiety to give an inner significance to ritual acts ("proceed seven times round the Kaʿba of your heart") was denounced as a wish to abolish the acts themselves.

(b) Political pretext: this was probably the most telling and the most decisive. Al-Ḥallādj's marriage had connected him with the Zaydī Zandj; his distant travels made him seem to be a Ḳarmaṭī *dāʿī* ("missionary"); and the language which he used, and even his themes of meditation, did borrow a certain number of Shīʿī elements, even although his replies to the interrogations on this matter remained of profoundly Sunnī inspiration. His accusers, who feared his influence on the people as well as on the members of the court, then decided to present him as an agitator and a rebel who was a threat to the order of the Community. A falsely literal exegesis of some of his sayings (see above) accused him of wishing, like the Ḳarmaṭīs, to destroy the Kaʿba at Mecca. It thus became "lawful to shed his blood" in the name of the Community itself.

Actually, during the last years of his life, al-Ḥallādj seems to have drawn onto himself his torture and condemnation—but for quite different reasons: recognizing that the way of union with God through love and suffering which he must follow was something which transcended the juridical framework of the Community, and offering himself as a sacrifice for this Community by submitting voluntarily to its laws.

IV. — Significance of the experience and the witness

In the history of *taṣawwuf*, al-Ḥallādj retains a privileged position in the line known as *waḥdat al-shuhūd*. It has sometimes been suggested that this phrase should be translated as "unity of vision" or of look" (in reference to the meaning of the 3rd form of the root *sh h d*); or, rather better, by "unity of presence". But *shuhūd* really means the act of being present at, of being a witness of, and we consider it advisable to retain the meaning of "unity of witness" (or "monisme testimonial", L. Massignon, *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1954, 103). The *waḥdat al-shuhūd* is not only "sight" or "look", but an actual presence which *is* total witness: it is God witnessing to Himself in the heart of His votary (*ʿābid*). This union with God (*djamʿ*) leads to a unification (*ittiḥād*) which is not a unification of substance, but operates through the act of faith and of love (*ʿishḳ, maḥabba*), which welcomes into the emptiness of oneself the Loving Guest (= God), "the essence whose Essence is Love", as al-Ḥallādj expressed it.

The mystical experience thus understood was to be sharply criticized by the other main Ṣūfī line, that of the *waḥdat al-wudjūd* ("unity of the Being" or "monisme existentiel", Massignon, *ibid.*), which was dominant from the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries [see ALLĀH, 416]. A double objection was made:

(1) An objection to the idea of *ḥulūl*, infusion of substance, "incarnation",—this was an alignment with one of the accusations at the trial. Al-Ḥallādj had in fact written: "Thy Spirit has mingled itself with my spirit as amber mixes with fragrant musk" (*Dīwān*, M. 41), and above all "We are two spirits fused together (*ḥalalnā*) in a single body" (*ibid.*, M. 57). But the whole context of the poems and the writings makes it clear that *ḥulūl* here was not to be understood in the sense, which later became current, of "incarnation" or union of substance. In its most obvious sense the *ḥulūl* of al-Ḥallādj is to be understood as an *intentional* complete union (in love), in which the intelligence and the will of the subject—all in fact which enables him to say "I"—are acted upon by Divine grace. Thus the "we are two spirits fused together in a single body" should be compared with the saying of the Christian mystic St. John of the Cross: "Two natures (God and man) in a single spirit and love of God".

(2) From this arose the second, and most frequent, objection aimed at al-Ḥallādj by the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, which was to be, as expressed by Ibn ʿArabī, that he maintained in the *djamʿ* and the *ittiḥād* a "duality". The monism of the "unity of Being" in fact intends that the *ittiḥād* should operate not, indeed, through *ḥulūl* but through a total substitution of the divine "I" for the empirical "I". To be "one" (*aḥad*) with God is to make actual the divine which in man's spirit has emanated from God (emanated, not been created *ex nihilo*; cf. al-Ghazālī's statement in the *Risāla laduniyya*: "the (human) spirit is from the *amr* of God"). This charge of "duality" aimed at the "unity of witness" reveals the difference in orientation between the two ways: the unification in and through the acts of faith and love (supreme Witness), for the *waḥdat al-shuhūd*; and the reabsorption of the acts of the created being in his first act of existence (conceived here as emanating from the Divine Being) for the *waḥdat al-wudjūd*.

V. — Vocabulary and "technical terms"

The principal writings of al-Ḥallādj are either meditations on themes symbolizing the progress of the mystic in his quest for God, or the direct (poetic) expression of this actual progress. He was constantly making his vocabulary more precise; his profound knowledge of the technical vocabularies of *fiḳh*, of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of the nascent *falsafa* combined to produce a semantic equipment which was strikingly suited to the analysis of the "spiritual states" (*aḥwāl*). "Ḥallādj, a dialectician and an ecstatic (cf. Lullius, Swedenborg), endeavoured to bring dogma into harmony with Greek philosophy on a basis of mystic experience; he was in this a precursor of Ghazālī" (L. Massignon in *EI*¹).

In the last section of the *Kitab al-Taʿarruf*, al-Kalābādhī devotes several chapters to the *iṣṭilāḥāt* ("technical terms") of Ṣūfism. The definitions of these terms are clearly based on al-Ḥallādj: thus *wadjd* ("ecstasy"), *sukr* ("intoxication"), *djamʿ* ("union"), etc., and in particular those *muḳābals*

("related opposites") which are *tadjrīd* ("enclosed solitude") and *tafrīd* ("open solitude"), *tadjallā* ("irradiation") and *istitār* ("the action of veiling, making secret"), *fanāʾ* ("annihilation") and *baḳāʾ* ("continuing existence"), etc. These terms were to have a very precise meaning in the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* of the school of al-Ḥallādj; they were to receive another meaning in the future *waḥdat al-wudjūd*; and in each case were to be understood with reference directly to the experience being described and to the conception of the world which underlay their formulation. Nevertheless their first definition by al-Ḥallādj was of prime importance in the development of the *ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*. It often gave rise to disagreements, even among al-Ḥallādj's followers themselves: as with the use of *ʿishḳ*, concurrently with, and often in preference to, *maḥabba*, for the love of God and of man. *ʿIshḳ* was part of the vocabulary of the earliest Ṣūfism (cf. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); but the sense of "desire", which was one of its usual connotations, was to be rejected, through fear of attributing to God either mutability or passivity. L. Massignon has shown that the editors of the texts of al-Ḥallādj, among them the Shīʿī Baḳlī, had no hesitation in substituting *maḥabba* for *ʿishḳ* in these texts, thus diluting al-Ḥallādj's thesis that *ʿishḳ* is a divine attribute of Essence (cf. *Notion de l'"essentiel Désir"*, in Massignon, *Opera Minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 226-53).

VI. — The school and the sects of the Ḥallādjiyya

It seems that in 309/922 al-Ḥallādj's disciples had been formed into a *ṭarīḳa* (religious fraternity). After the execution of their Master, they went into hiding and dispersed, and thus even became split up. In fact legal persecution continued, and in 311-2/924-5 several followers of al-Ḥallādj were beheaded in Baghdād.

A certain number of disciples fled to Khurāsān, where several of them took part in the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī reform movement. Ibn Bishr and particularly Fāris Ibn ʿĪsā (founder of the *Ḥallādjiyya-ḥulūliyya*) upheld and spread al-Ḥallādj's teaching in the Ṣūfī circles in Khurāsān. The *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* of al-Kalābādhī stems from this tradition. In the 5th/11th century, according to al-Sulamī and al-Khaṭīb, there were still at Nīshāpūr some Ḥallādjī "extremists". Among them may be included Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr (the subject of a study by Nicholson) and Fārmadhī, who was the *shaykh* of al-Ghazālī—hence the latter's favourable judgement of al-Ḥallādj.

Other disciples, such as Ibn Khafīf (who had been al-Ḥallādj's friend at the end of his life rather than his disciple), introduced some Sālimiyya elements into the reform movement of al-Ashʿarī.

In Ahwāz and at Baṣra an ephemeral sect of the Ḥallādjiyya (known however only through the attacks of its enemies, especially al-Tanūkhī) is said to have adopted extreme positions. Its main representative, al-Hāshimī, is said to have declared himself to be a prophet inspired by the Spirit who, after having been "fused" into al-Ḥallādj, abode in one of his sons, hidden from all (Ismāʿīlī influences).

At Baghdād, other Ḥallādjiyya, mentioned by ʿAṭṭār, presented themselves as Sunnīs, but in a very liberal sense, and saw a connexion between the *Ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ* of the Master and the Divine Word addressed to Moses from the Burning Bush (Ḳurʾān, XX, 14). The important Ḥanbalī, Ibn ʿAḳīl (studied by George Makdisi), after having first defended al-Ḥallādj, was obliged to retract.

In his *Farḳ*, al-Baghdādī cites the Ḥallādjiyya among the sects which had to be treated legally as apostates. During the 5th/11th century, there was lively polemical argument. The principal points at issue seem to have been the following:

(a) In *fiḳh*: the five "personal obligations" (*farāʾiḍ*) are replaceable, even the *ḥadjdj* (= *isḳāṭ al-wasāʾiṭ*).

(b) In *kalām*: the transcendence of God (*tanzīh*) beyond the dimensions of the created (*ṭūl*, *ʿarḍ*); the existence of an uncreated Spirit of God (*rūḥ nāṭiḳa*) which comes to unite itself to the created *rūḥ* of the ascetic (*ḥulūl al-lāhūt fi 'l-nāsūt*); the saint (*walī*) becomes the living and personal witness of God (*huwa huwa*), whence the theopathic expression *Ana 'l-ḥaḳḳ*.

(c) In *taṣawwuf*: complete union with the Divine Will (*ʿayn al-djamʿ*) through suffering accepted and desired. The *dhikr* which the *shaykh* al-Sanūsī attributes to the Ḥallādjiyya is modern.

In Shīʿī-Imāmī circles, the first reaction was to condemn and excommunicate the Ḥallādjiyya as *ghulāt*, heterodox extremists. Later the follower of Avicenna Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (7th/13th century) and Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (11th/17th century) declared al-Ḥallādj to be a saint, though it is true that they interpreted his road to union according to their own philosophical tenets. In this way a cult of al-Ḥallādj continued to exist in certain Iranian circles, but it was severely attacked by other movements. In Sunnī Islam the term *Ḥallādjiyya* came to mean no longer a religious fraternity but any jurisconsults, theologians or mystics who, through personal conviction, believed in the sainthood of al-Ḥallādj (cf. above the attitudes of Ibn ʿAḳīl, of al-Ghazālī, etc.): this was strongly condemned by Ibn Taymiyya. The last Ḥallādjiyya adherents were to merge into the *ṭarīḳa* of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. Today there exist no more Sunnīs who are openly Ḥallādjī. Many of them "excuse" al-Ḥallādj according to the Shāfiʿī juridical formula; but they go no further. He continues to be invoked however, and his tomb is visited by pilgrims from distant towns.

VII. — Judgements of his contemporaries and of posterity

Few persons in Islam have been so much discussed as al-Ḥallādj. In spite of the *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*] of the judges who condemned him, he had his devotees among the doctors as well as among the people. We give here, with a note of their opinions, a list of the principal doctors who have taken part in this famous discussion. The various opinions can be divided into three groups: (a) *taraddud* (condemnation), which is subdivided into *radd* (simple rejection) and *takfīr* (excommunication): indicated in the following list by the sigla *rdd*; (b) *taraḥḥum* ("canonization") or *wilāya* (affirmation of sainthood), which is subdivided into *iʿtidhār* (justification with excuse) and *ḳabūl* (full and complete acceptance): sigʾa *w*; (c) *tawaḳḳuf* (suspension of judgement, abstention): sigla *t*.

(A) Jurists (*fuḳahāʾ*): *Ẓāhirīs*: Ibn Dāwūd and Ibn Ḥazm (*rdd*); *Imāmīs*: Ibn Bābūya, Abū Djaʿfar Ṭūsī and Ḥillī (*rdd*), Shūstarī, ʿĀmilī (*w*); *Mālikīs*: Ṭurṭūshī, ʿIyāḍ, Ibn Khaldūn (*rdd*), ʿAbdarī, Dulundjāwī (*w*); *Ḥanbalīs*: Ibn Taymiyya (*rdd*), Ibn ʿAḳīl (who retracted), Ṭawfī (*w*); *Ḥanafīs*: Ibn Buhlūl (*t*), Nābulusī (*w*); *Shāfiʿīs*: Ibn Suraydj, Ibn Ḥadjar, Suyūṭī, ʿUrḍī (*t*), Djuwaynī, Dhahabī (*rdd*), Maḳdisī, Yāfiʿī, Shaʿrāwī, Haythamī, Ibn ʿAḳīla, Sayyid Murtaḍā (*w*).

(B) "Theologians" (*mutakallimūn*): *Muʿtazilīs*:

Djubbā'ī, Ḳazwīnī (*rdd*); *Imāmīs*: Mufīd (*rdd*), Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Maybudhī, Amīr Dāmād (*w*); *Sālimiyya*: *in globo*, (*w*); *Ashʿarīs*: Bāḳillānī (*rdd*), Ibn Khafīf, Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (*w*); *Māturīdīs*: Ibn Kamālpāshā (*rdd*), Ḳārī (*w*).

(C) "Philosophers" (*falāsifa* and *ḥukamā'*): Ibn Ṭufayl, Suhrawardī (*Shaykh al-ishrāḳ*), Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (*w*).

(D) Ṣūfīs (*ṣūfiyya*): ʿAmr Makkī and the majority of the early teachers (*rdd*), with the exception of Ibn ʿAṭā', Shiblī, Fāris, Kalābādhī, Naṣrābādhī, Sulamī (*w*), and Ḥuṣrī, Daḳḳāḳ, Ḳushayrī (*t*). Later: Ṣaydalānī, Hudjwīrī, Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr, Anṣārī, Fārmadhī, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Djīlānī, Baḳlī, ʿAṭṭār, Ibn ʿArabī, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and the majority of the moderns: (*w*). There should be noted the abstention (*t*) of Aḥmad Rifāʿī and of ʿAbd al-Karīm Djīlī. It can be said that, although al-Ḥallādj would have repudiated their prudent esotericism, the Ṣūfīs as a whole made of him their "martyr" par excellence. For the details, discussions and analyses, see L. Massignon, *Passion*, chap. ix, "Ḥallāj devant le ṣūfisme", 400-29.

Al-Ḥallādj's "survival after death" was to develop into a "legend", sometimes scholarly (in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, Malayan and Javanese) and sometimes popular. See L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, chap. x, 430-60, and idem, *La Légende de Hallacé Mansur en pays turcs*, in *Opera Minora*, ii, 93-139.

In the West, there has been as great a diversity of opinion on al-Ḥallādj. The opinions of the earlier writers were superficial. Thus A. Müller and d'Herbelot believed him to be secretly Christian; Reiske accuses him of blasphemy, Tholuck of paradox; Kremer makes him a monist, Kazanski a neuropath, and Browne "a dangerous and able intriguer", etc. But the outstanding researches of L. Massignon restored this incomparable figure to his rightful place in his environment and in the development of Muslim thought. After this, there is scarcely a work devoted to the culture of the Islamic countries which omits to mention al-Ḥallādj; while there is continual confirmation of the value and authenticity of his mystic approach and of the witness of his life and of his death. In addition to the works of the specialists, it can be said that the fame of al-Ḥallādj has become part of universal culture (see, for example, the articles of P. Marechal written as early as 1923, and the recent work (1964) of R. Arnaldez).

Bibliography: To the works of L. Massignon cited in the article add: idem, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 57-70; idem, *Opera Minora*, Beirut 1963, ii, 11-342. There is an exhaustive bibliography of al-Ḥallādj (up to 1922) in L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj, Martyr mystique de l'Islam*, chap. xv (appendix); and up to 1948 in idem, *Nouvelle Bibliographie ḥallāgienne*, in *Opera Minora*, ii, 191-220. To these should be added various more recent works, including: L. Gardet, *Expériences mystiques en terres non-chrétiennes*, Paris 1953, 131-141, 173; A. J. Arberry, *Revelation and reason in Islam*, London and New York 1957, 29-30 and 107-8; L. Gardet, *Thèmes et textes mystiques*, Paris 1958, 19, 135-40; Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1961 (see *index* s.v.); G.-C. Anawati and L. Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, Paris 1961, 35-40, 101-4, 107-10, 118-21, 171-3, and passim; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionnel au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963 (see index, s.v.); R. Arnaldez, *Ḥallāj ou la religion de la croix*, Paris 1964; H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 275-9. A revised edition of *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, considerably augmented from the texts and notes left by L. Massignon, is in course of preparation by G. and D. Massignon.

(L. Massignon-[L. Gardet])

ḤALY, a group of about 35 villages in a cultivated area on the Arabian Red Sea coast, latitude 18° 45′ N. An *amīr* appointed by the Saudi Arabian Government resided, in 1383/1963, at the chief village of al-Suffa, near the coastal road. The larger markets are here and at the neighbouring hamlet of Kiyād. Other important villages are al-Shiʿb, Kudwat al-Aʿwadj, and al-Bayḍayn, all of which had government elementary schools in 1383/1963. The agricultural economy of Ḥaly is based on the seasonal flow of Wādī Ḥaly. Sesame, sorghum, and millet are cultivated in an irrigated area of 200 sq. km which is liable to damage by floods. Some produce is sold in al-Ḳunfidha, 53 km to the northwest. The people of Ḥaly come chiefly from al-Hiyala, Kināna, and al-ʿUmūr tribes.

Ḥaly, also known as Ḥaly Yaʿḳūb or Ḥaly Farʿūn, was ruled by a chief of Kināna when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed there in c. 731/1330. The traveller left a description of Ḳabūla al-Hindī, one of a group of Muslim ascetics at Ḥaly. In later times the district was taxed intermittently by the *sharīf*s of Mecca; and Egyptian troops passed through the villages on their 19th century campaigns against al-Ḥidjāz and ʿAsīr. Occupied briefly by the Wahhābīs in ca. 1218/1803, Ḥaly became a part of the modern Saʿūdī state after ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd conquered al-Ḥidjāz in 1344/1925.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 163-5 (Eng. tr. Gibb, ii, 364-5); K. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 375; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 185-7, 208, 234; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 52, 251.

(J. Mandaville)

ḤĀM (Cham), son of Noah [see nūḥ]; he is not explicitly mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, but is perhaps alluded to as the unbelieving son of the Patriarch who refused to follow his father at the time of the Flood (XI, 44[42]-49[47]). Later tradition is acquainted with the Biblical story in *Genesis*, IX, 18-27 (according to which it is not Ḥām but his son Canaan who was cursed for a sin committed by his father) and with the legendary amplifications elaborated by Jews and Christians; as the story in the Ḳur'ān in conjunction with these details calls for a fourth son of Noah, it is Canaan or an invented son called Yām who fills this rôle. Ḥām's sins—carnal relations in the Ark (according to the Jewish Aggada), an offence against his father—are variously told by Muslim historians, who know also that this character, born white, turned black as a result of his father's curse. It is also told that Jesus (ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]) brought Ḥām back to life for a while (so al-Ṭabarī; Sām according to al-Thaʿlabī) and that the latter told the Apostles some of the episodes of life in the Ark and the end of the Flood. The Muslim authors also mention the lot of the three sons of Noah; a version handed down by al-Ṭabarī, however, softens the fate of Ḥām who, reduced to servitude, nevertheless profited from the leniency of his brothers (it is to be remarked that according to Balʿami, Japhet was similarly cursed, which is explained by the fact that the Iranian author did not favour "the Turks, the Slavs, Gog and Magog", reputed to be descended from the latter). Finally, Muslim historiography has retained from the list of nations in *Genesis* X elements which were adapted to the geographico-political situation of the time; this explains how, apart from the genealogical

link between Ḥām and the black races, produced by multiple incests, Āfrīdūn should also be considered as descended from him, at least according to an indication in *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 144-9.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 18 f.; Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, 25 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 23 f., 26; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 12 f. (Smit, 16 f.); Ṭabarī, i, 187-216 (*Chronique de Tabari*, i, 112-4); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 75-80 (Pellat, i, 32, §§ 66-8), iii, 240, vi, 154; Ps.-Balkhī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, i, 26 ff./27 ff. and the passage referred to above; Kisāʾī, *Vita prophetarum*, 98 f.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 36-8; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 85-7; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 108; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, 27 f.; H. Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen im Koran*, 105 f.; B. Heller, in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, 160 f. = *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 128. (G. Vajda)

Languages. Words derived from this name have served to designate languages related to the Semitic languages. The Hamito-Semitic family (chamito-sémitique, hamito-semitisch) has had its name since 1887. It was generally believed to embrace a Hamitic group as opposed to a Semitic one. This point of view was rectified in *Les Langues du monde*, 1st. edition 1924: In the recognized Hamito-Semitic family there are four distinct branches: Semitic [see sām]; ancient Egyptian with Coptic [see ḳubṭ]; the Berber tongues [see berber]; the Cushitic languages [see kūsh]. It seems that to these should be added the Hausa [*q.v.*] group.

As the non-Semitic branches do not show any common characteristics by which to unite them in a clearly defined group, the term Hamitic must be abandoned; it would be more correct to speak only of Hamito-Semitic with four or five branches.

The history of this study and its bibliography can be found in Marcel Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947; see also by the same author the chapter *Langues chamito-sémitiques*, in the 2nd edition of *Les Langues du monde*, 1952, and *Résultats acquis de la grammaire comparée chamito-sémitique*, in *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris*, Paris 1934.

For a detailed comparison see sām.

Physical types. The terms Hamites (Hamiten, Chamites), Hamitic (Hamitisch, Chamitiques) are sometimes used to designate the African peoples who speak non-Semitic Hamito-Semitic languages and certain others, and seem to be a mixture of Whites and Blacks; these elements are also referred to as African whites and Ethiopians (in the anthropological sense). See William H. Worrell, *A study of races in the ancient Near East*, Cambridge 1927 and, more recently, in R. Biasutti, *Le razze e popoli della terra*,[2] Turin 1953-7. (M. Cohen)

ḤAMĀ [see ḥamāt].

HAMADHĀN (hamadān), city in central Iran located in a fertile plain just south of Mt. Alwand, 48° 31′ E. (Greenw.), 34° 48′ N., altitude ca. 1800 metres/5900 ft.

Hamadhān is a very old city. Whether the name is first mentioned in cuneiform sources dating about 1100 B.C., telling of the conquests of Tiglatpileser I, is uncertain but unlikely. Herodotus (I, 98) says that the Median king Deiokes in the seventh century B.C. built the city called Agbatana, or Ekbatana according to other Classical authors. This name has been interpreted as an Iranian word **hangmata* "(place of) gathering", but an Elamite form **hal. mata . na* "land of the Medes", might suggest another etymology. The city was well known as the capital of the Medes, a winter capital of the Achaemenids, and an important city on the trade route between Mesopotamia and the east under the Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian dynasties. The city is mentioned in Armenian sources as Ahmatan and Hamatan, in the Bible as Aḥmetā (Ezra, VI, 2), and in Syriac sources in various forms. It underwent sieges and suffered destruction several times in its ancient history.

The ancient, but mythical, pre-Islamic history of the city was known and mentioned in many Arabic sources, principally the geographers (see Schwarz, below). After the battle of Nihāwand, in 641 or 642 A.D., the Persian commander in Hamadhān made peace with the victorious Arabs. The circumstances of the Arab conquest of the city are contradictory in the sources, but it seems that the initial agreement of submission was broken by the Persians and the city had to be taken by storm, probably in the spring of 645 (Ṭabarī, i, 2650, 6 and Balādhurī, 309). Arabs from the tribes of Rabīʿa and ʿIdjl were settled in the city, since they are mentioned as residing there in 77/696 (Ṭabarī, ii, 994, 17). Christians and Jews are mentioned as part of the population.

The city is described by the geographers as strongly fortified, perhaps the strongest in the entire area called al-Djibāl by the Arabs, which encompassed ancient Media. In the fighting between Maʾmūn and Amīn for the caliphate in 195/810, the city underwent a long siege (Ṭabarī, iii, 829, 15).

Hamadhān of the 4th/10th century is described by the geographers as a large city, mostly rebuilt since the Arab conquests. It had four gates in its walls, three bazaars, and extensive suburbs. The main mosque was already then called an old structure. In 319/931 the city was taken by the Daylamī leader Mardāwīdj, after which he massacred many of the inhabitants (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 396). The city recovered only slowly from this catastrophe, and in 345/956 it suffered from an earthquake. The religious controversies and struggles of the time were also felt in Hamadhān, for in 351/962 a religious clash in the city cost many lives (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 404).

According to the sources Hamadhān was not a cultural or intellectual centre like Rayy, Iṣfahān, or other cities, but was rather a commercial city in a rich agricultural area. Nor was it an important industrial or textile centre, but such items as gold work and leather articles are mentioned as exported from Hamadhān. The altitude, and consequent cold climate in winter, restricted the agricultural produce of the area. The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (398) gives a few examples of the peculiarities of the Persian dialect spoken in Hamadhān, such as the addition of *-lā* to Arabic proper names.

Hamadhān was plundered by the Ghuzz Turkomans in 420/1029, and in 494/1100 a Saldjūḳ army sacked the city (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 127). A pestilence swept the area in 531/1136 causing many deaths. During the second half of the 6th/12th century Hamadhān was a Saldjūḳ capital. In 618/1221 the city was captured by the Mongols after a long siege and destroyed. Most of the inhabitants were killed or fled. Some inhabitants returned to the ruins but were massacred by a new invasion of the Mongols in 621/1224 (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 176, 192).

Unfortunately, no history of Hamadhān has survived. A history of the city by Abū Shudjāʿ Shīrawayh b. Shahvdār (died 509/1115) was used by

Yāḳūt in his geographical dictionary. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 310) mentions other histories of the city, none of which have survived, an indication of the lack of a strong and continuous scholarly tradition in the city. One of the famous sons of Hamadhān was the rustic poet Bābā Ṭāhir, also a mystic, who lived under the early Saldjūḳs. Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, the geographer (d. *circa* 290/903) also came from the city, but he gives few details about his birthplace.

Under the Īl-Khāns Hamadhān regained its former importance, and Ābāḳā Khān died there in 680/1282. The historian of the Mongols Rashīd al-Dīn was probably born in Hamadhān *circa* 645/1247. The city, of course, passed from under the Djalayir [*q.v.*] to Tīmūr, and later to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, until the Ṣafawids established their rule in the city after 908/1503. Several times during the 10th/16th century Hamadhān was occupied by Ottoman troops. In 1136/1724 Aḥmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, held the city until he was expelled by Nādir Shāh eight years later (a two volume survey [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ] of the town and district of Hamadhān, compiled during this period, is preserved in the Turkish archives—see B. Lewis in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehrān 1963, 260). After changing fortunes Hamadhān reverted to Iran in 1732. In 1789 the city was taken by Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār, founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, and the citadel, on the hill now called al-Muṣṣalā, was destroyed.

The population of the city about 1820 was estimated at 40,000 by Ker Porter. Curzon in 1889 estimated it as 20,000. The 1931 census gave 51,000; in 1934 it was 60,000, and in 1950 about 120,000. The principal remains of the past in or near the city are the Gandj Nāmah, two Old Persian inscriptions by Darius and Xerxes carved on Mt. Alwand 12 kilometres south-west of the city, the pre-Islamic stone statue of a lion mentioned in Arabic sources (see Schwarz, 528), the so-called tomb of Esther and Mordecai, the ʿAlawiyān mosque from the Saldjūḳ period, the Burdj-i Ḳurbān, a mausoleum from Mongol times, and the tomb of Bābā Ṭāhir.

Bibliography: *A Guide to Hamadan* published by the geographical division of the General Staff of the army, under the direction of Ḥ. ʿA. Razmārā (Tehrān 1954) gives a map of the city and general information. Schwarz, *Iran*, v, 513-34, and Le Strange, 194-196, give references to the geographers. There is no general history of the city and historical citations have been mentioned above. For more recent history see R. Ker-Porter, *Travels in Georgia* . . . , London 1821; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892. (R. N. FRYE)

AL-**HAMADHĀNĪ**, Aḥmad Badīʿ al-Zamān "the Prodigy of the Age", Arabo-Persian writer and letter-writer, was born at Hamadhān in 358/968 and died at Herāt in 398/1008. He pursued his early studies in his native town, where his master was Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*]. Aided by an exceptional memory and talents, he was soon noted for his virtuosity in handling the Arabic and Persian languages. He apparently remained true to Shīʿism for the greater part of his life. At about 22 years of age, he settled at Rayy where the intellectual atmosphere appeared favourable to his ambitions; the Būyid *wazīr* Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] granted him his patronage; it is possible that in this town the young man mixed with the local beggars' guild and notably with the unorthodox poet Abū Dulaf, an intimate friend of the *wazīr* (see al-Thaʿālibī, iii, 175-94). It may be supposed that these contacts gave to al-Hamadhānī the idea of composing certain of his first *Maḳāmāt*. Perhaps as a result of a quarrel, the young man went to Djurdjān where he is said to have come into contact with Ismāʿīlī elements. In 382/992 he went to Nīshāpūr, apparently attracted by the renown and the activity of this intellectual metropolis; there he made some useful contacts but clashed with the letter-writer Abū Bakr al-Khʷārizmī, then at the height of his fame; he finally prevailed and eclipsed his adversary, who died, overcome by chagrin. From this time al-Hamadhānī undertook a series of journeys which were also triumphs; perhaps he went to Zarandj (in Sīstān) to the court of the *amīr* Khalaf, whose panegyrist and favourite he was. After the deposition of the Sāmānids, he attached himself for a while to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, whose praises he sang (see al-Thaʿālibī, iv, 200) before settling finally at Herāt where he died, scarcely aged 40; a short time earlier he had embraced Sunnism.

Even in his lifetime it would appear that al-Hamadhānī had created for himself a certain reputation as a poet; the collection of verse which survives under his name (ed. Cairo 1903) does not, however, reveal any originality, and by the subjects dealt with as well as by the style it is related to the poetical works composed at this time in the circles of the wits of ʿIrāḳ and Iran. The same may be said of the "Epistles" or *Rasāʾil* in rhymed and rhythmic prose, part of which has been published (Istanbul 1298, Beirut 1890); the brilliance of the often affected style does not succeed in convincing us that so much artistry should be put to the service of such wordlly and empty preoccupations. Of a completely different interest is the volume of *Maḳāmāt* or "Séances", which has perpetuated the writer's name.

Al-Hamadhānī seems to deserve the title of creator of this genre. The hypothesis of Zakī Mubārak that the idea of the "Séance" is to be found in the works of the grammarian Ibn Burayd arises from a misinterpretation of a passage of al-Ḥuṣrī. The composition of the *Maḳāmāt*, begun about 380/990, seems to have extended over many years. Al-Hamadhānī is said to have dictated not less than four hundred of them; only fifty-two are now known. These "sketches" vary in length but rarely exceed a few pages; they are made up according to a strict balance; they are of rhymed and rhythmic prose, mixed with verse; the learned, sometimes precious, style constitutes the principal but not the sole concern of the author. In fact, he shows himself to be a keen observer of life and men; through his contacts with the beggars' guild, he feels obliged to devote a fairly important place to those who represent it; one séance is even devoted to the vernacular of these rogues; the common people find a place in these narrations as well as the bourgeoisie and the literati; the satire of manners, so rare in Arabic literature, is developed here with burlesque and piquancy; certain séances are sometimes also panegyrics of patrons. It may be said that in al-Hamadhānī's hands the *maḳāma* reflects contemporary society. This writer has the final merit of having given a framework to this genre; with the exception of a few "sketches" which are narratives set in the past (such as the Séance of Ghaylān, Beirut ed., 43-8), the greater part of the collection is made up of accounts which portray a cultivated and cynical bohemian and a bourgeois suffering for his own credulity. The "Séance" thus conceived was to serve as a model for almost a thousand years [see MAḲĀMA].

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 167 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 39; *Maḳāmāt*:

Istanbul 1298/1880, Beyrut (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh) 1889, 1908 (?), 1924, 1958, Cairo (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd) 1342/1923; translations by S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, iii, 78 ff. (6 *Maḳāmāt*), by Grangeret de Lagrange, *Anthologie arabe*, 153 ff. (3 *Maḳāmāt*), by O. Rescher in *Beiträge zur Maqamen-littératur*, v, Leonburg 1913, by W. Prendergast, *The maqāmāt of Badīʿ az-Zamān*, Madras-London 1915, by F. Gabrieli in *Rend. Lincei*, 1949 (1 *Maḳāma*). Studies on the genre and the author: Z. Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1931, 148 ff.; R. Blachère, *Étude sémantique sur le nom Maqāma*, in *Machriq*, 1953, 646 ff.; R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Choix de maqāmāt, traduites de l'arabe avec une étude sur le genre*, Paris 1957 (with the rest of the bibliography); cf. Brockelmann, I, 93 ff. and S I, 150 ff.

(R. Blachère)

ḤAMĀʾIL [see SIḤR, TAMĀʾIM, ṬILASM].

AL-**ḤAMAL** [see NUDJŪM].

ḤAMĀLIYYA, or Ḥamālliyya, Hamallism, an African Islamic movement which is named after *Sharīf* Ḥamāllāh, whose name was thus transcribed by the first French writers (P. Marty, *Étude sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, Paris 1920, v); others have rendered it as Ḥamā Allāh, or Hamala. His followers call themselves *ikhwān*, and they are also known as Ḥamālliyyīn; their Tidjānī adversaries call them "eleven beads", *sapo e gô* (in Tukolor), and regard them as heretics.

This doctrine made its appearance in Mali at the beginning of this century, not as a new confraternity but as an attempt to reform the teaching of the Tidjāniyya, especially in regard to the recital of the prayer *djawarat al-Kamāl*; according to the Ḥamāllists, this has to be recited eleven times and not twelve, as the Tidjānī *wird* lays down.

The founder of this movement was Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as *Sharīf al-akhḍar*, a native of Touat, who is said to have received the Tidjānī *wird* from Ṭāhir b. Abū Ṭayyib (Thaar ben Bou Tayeb), *wakīl* of the Tidjānī *zāwiya* of Tlemcen (Algeria). He settled at Nioro in 1904 and determined to restore the Tidjāniyya to its pristine purity; he caused the chaplet with eleven beads to be adopted, but he died in 1909 without being able to spread his doctrine, despite the help of some Wolof merchants in Nioro.

His disciple, Sharīf Amadou Ḥamā Allāh Ḥaydara, born in 1886 and 26 years of age when his master died, took over the teaching with much greater success. Ḥamā Allāh belonged to the tribe of the Ahl Sīdī Sharīf of Tichit. His grandfather and his father Muḥammad ūld (*walad*) Sayyidna ʿUmar, of a Sharīfian family, were traders who had settled in the town of Nioro at the end of the 19th century; his mother Aïssa Diallo was a Fulani from Niamina. Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh traced back his genealogy to ʿAlī, the Prophet's son-in-law, through ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. He was thus a descendant of the Ḥasaniyya *Sharīf*s. He studied at the Ḳurʾān school of his tribe with Shaykh ūld Sīdī, and then with al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad ūld Mukhtār who later became his enemy, and finally with Shaykh Sīdī Muḥammad. Seldom going out and always wearing white, he dedicated himself to devotions, mortification and ecstasy; he was a mystic who had ecstatic visions which, it was said, put him in direct communion with Allāh or the Prophet and on which his reputation was based; he was visited by large numbers of mystics who shared his ideas and, at the beginning, by some Moors from the locality.

In about 1925, he took the title Shaykh and appointed *muḳaddams*. Without leaving his *zāwiya*, he was able to employ zealous propagandists who spread his teaching to Nioro, Walata, Kiffa, Kayes, Timbreda, Nara and Nema. In a few years his doctrine, which had not had much success with the Moors, had spread over a wide area among the negroes inhabiting the river basins of the Senegal and Middle Niger; he also had *muḳaddams* among the Awlād Zayn, Ahl Terenni, Ahl Togba, Ladoum, Awlād Nāṣir, Awlād Mbārek, Ahl Sīdī Maḥmūd and Laghlal. He preached the purified Tidjānī *wird*, his followers vowed themselves for life and could not adopt any other creed; the obedience of his *ikhwān* had to be absolute. He was reputed to be a *walī*, and by some regarded as *mahdi*. Among his disciples he had officials of the administration and some of the local police. His prestige spread throughout the Sahel, but he lost control over the most turbulent of his followers.

The preaching of Ḥamā Allāh soon came up against very lively resistance from Tidjānī circles, especially among the Kaba Diakité and the Silka, disciples of al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar [*q.v.*]; it was also challenged by the Ḳādiriyya and several Moorish tribes. The origin of this hostility, apart from the matter of the eleven beads, lay in the fact that his preaching was given in Nioro, the fief of powerful ʿUmarian families, and that it revealed a social aspect that was opposed to the structure of society of that period.

Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh granted the *wird* to women, prisoners (Ḥarātīn [*q.v.*]) and young people, releasing them from paternal authority or that of their masters; finally, he authorized women to take part in ceremonies which brought men together without any distinction of caste. He criticized the depravity of women and recommended the wearing of decent garments; secular and social problems he ignored.

It is certain that although Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had prescribed the recital of the prayer *Djawarat al-Kamāl* eleven times on the instructions of the Prophet whom he saw in a dream, which was in conformity with the mystique of numbers, he had the same prayer recited twelve times, for reasons not explained, at a period when he was compelled to struggle against the Turks (ʿAyn Mahdī was captured by the Turkish forces in 1197/1783 and in 1201/1787); it is possible that the innovation derives from his son Muḥammad al-Kabīr. The Ḥamāllist chaplet consists of eleven beads on each side, counting from the pendant.

Al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar Tall, initiated in 1835, practised the eleven recitations until the moment when he received the *wird*, for the second time, from Shaykh Muḥammad Ghālī, in Mecca; but, in his work *al-Rimāh*, he wrote that the true number of recitations was eleven.

Ḥamā Allāh's disciples preached the equality of castes, and of men and women; they made recruits among the opponents of the Tall clan, among people of caste, slaves, and also certain families with mystical tendencies. The doctrine was exalted by the *muḳaddams*, some of whom disturbed public order by extravagant hero-worship of the *Shaykh*; one of the most active was Yacouba (Yaʿḳūb) Sylla of Kayes. The conflict passed swiftly from the social sphere to the political. The French administration tried to temporize and to avoid becoming involved in a religious quarrel, but was compelled to intervene when incidents became more serious: in 1923, politico-religious conflicts broke out between the Laghal and Tenouadjiou tribes, starting a vendetta which lasted for several years. In 1924, the Ḥamāllists attacked

the chief of Nioro's house; Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh, who had not intervened to put a stop to these incidents, was sent to Mederdra. In 1929, Yacouba Sylla was the source of a scandal in Kayes: the Tidjānīs accused him of orgies and seditious songs, and to avoid disturbances he was sent away to Kaedi. In the same year, further serious incidents broke out in Kaedi, on the occasion of his preaching on the equality of women, the wearing of jewellery and the uselessness of the Ḳur'ān; he caused luxurious textiles to be burned and gold necklaces to be sold; later, Yacouba Sylla organized public confessions which led to numerous divorces; he also organized the "dances of Paradise"; on 15 February 1930 a riot in which Tidjānīs and Ḥamāllists were the opponents led to fifteen deaths. In 1933 Fodié Sylla proclaimed himself *Mahdī* and, after attempting to attack the administrative post, was imprisoned in Kidal. The excesses of the two Sylla were castigated by Shaykh Ḥamā Allāh.

In 1933, Ḥamā Allāh was reconciled with the administrative authorities and returned to Nioro. In about 1936, the Ḥamāllists changed their *ḳibla* and prayed in the direction of Nioro, which they called "their Mecca". In 1938, the Tenouadjiou attacked the Ḥamāllist Laghlal and seriously wounded their chief, Bābā, a son of the *shaykh*. Later, he was again attacked and his enemies burned the soles of his feet. Believing himself to be in danger, Ḥamā Allāh took certain religious measures and prescribed the prayer shortened to two *raḳ'as*: his disciples were swift to follow him. In August 1940, Bābā felt that he was in a position to take revenge and attacked Tenouadjiou encampments and caravans on several occasions; the matter ended in the deaths of 400 men, women and children and appalling atrocities. The personal and direct responsibility of the *shaykh* does not appear to have been proved: at least, some Ḥamāllists such as the Reyanes condemned these excesses. However, he was deported to Algeria, and later to France.

In face of rigorous repression, all the more severe since France was at war, the brotherhood went underground; its followers limited the *shahāda* to its first part, or sometimes introduced the name of Ḥamā Allāh in place of the Prophet's, and some had themselves tattooed on the forehead or arms with the brand of his flock. Inquiries into subsequent incidents at Bobo Dioulasso, 'Ayn Berbegha and al-Agher revealed the presence of Ḥamāllists, but did not implicate the brotherhood. The *shaykh* died on 28 August 1942 at Montluçon, where he is buried.

After the 1939-45 war, the Ḥamāllists reappeared but, under pressure and in face of the hostility of the 'Umarian Tidjānīs, they often preserved a semi-clandestine character. Yacouba Sylla, exiled to the Ivory Coast, had enormous success there; he maintains a community of 250 persons whose members pool their resources and indulge in public confession; he has the reputation of being able to read minds and see the past; he does not mix with the Muslim merchants of Gagnoa and preaches the uselessness of the Pilgrimage. In Mopti, Muḥammad Kambiri takes pains to preserve the pure teaching of the *Shaykh* in religious matters. His disciples live apart and do not go the mosque; they practise the Muslim ritual among themselves.

In about 1939, Ḥamā Allāh had converted to his doctrine the Tyerno Bokar Salif Tall, a man very well known in Mali where, among the Fulani, he has left the reputation of being a saint; having undertaken the defence of the *shaykh*, Bokar was abandoned by the Tall family and died soon afterwards, but his disciples have continued his teaching: they practise recitation of prayer with eleven beads according to Ḥamā Allāh, but the emphasis is placed on charity and love of God and man, following Bokar Salif Tall.

In 1950, 70,000 Ḥamāllists were recorded in the district of Nioro, out of a total of 155,000 Muslims; in the town itself, more than half the population is Ḥamāllist; they teach their faith in about thirty Ḳur'ān schools; in the rest of Mali, there are about 150,000 followers at Bamako, Ségou, Timbuktu, Ansongo, Kidal, Kayes and Bandiagara. In Mauritania, they are fairly numerous in Hōdh, and some are found as far away as Atar; in Haute-Volta there are about 80,000 at Ouahigouya, Dori, Yako and Bobo Dioulasso; and there are some in the valley of the Senegal and at Niamey.

The present holder of the *wird* is apparently Sharīf Aḥmad ūld Ḥamā Allāh, who is 50 years of age and lives at Nema, in Mauritania.

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(J. C. Froelich)

ḤAMĀM (pl. *ḥamā'im*, *ḥamāmāt*), a collective substantive which, taken in a wide sense, denotes any bird "which drinks with one gulp and coos" (*kull ṭayr 'abba wa hadara fa-huwa ḥamām*), that is to say the family of the Columbidae, with which the mediaeval Muslim naturalists incorporated that of the Pteroclidae, the sand-grouse (*ḳaṭā* [*q.v.*]), morphologically very closely related to the pigeons. The Columbidae, which *ḥamām* represents, are fairly widespread from 'Irāḳ to the Maghrib with their different species of pigeons and turtle-doves, both resident (*awābid*) and migrant (*ḳawāṭi'*). In the genus *Columba* we find—a) the ring-dove or wood-pigeon, *Columba palumbus* (*warashān*, *sāḳ ḥurr*, *ḥaydhuwān*, *dalam*; Maghrib: *za'ṭūṭ*, *zaṭṭūṭ*), a bird of passage in 'Irāḳ and Syria, absent from Egypt and resident in the Maghrib with the sb/sp. *C.p. excelsus*;—b) Bruce's green pigeon, *Treron waalia*, (*ḥaḳm*, *abu 'l-akhḍar*, *khaḍrā'*), especially in southern Arabia;—c) the stock-dove or blue dove, *Columba oenas* (*yamām*, *ḥamām barrī*), a winter visitor in 'Irāḳ, Egypt and the Maghrib;— d) the rock-dove, *Columba livia* (*ṭūrānī*, *ḥamām khalawī*), with the sb/sp. *C.l. livia*, in the Maghrib, *C.l. palaestinae* in Syria, Jordan and northern Arabia, *C.l. gaddi* from Palestine to 'Irāḳ, and *C.l. schimperi* in Egypt; it is from this pigeon that all the tame and domesticated breeds are descended. The genus *Streptopelia* is represented by—a) the turtle-dove, *Streptopelia turtur* ('Irāḳ: *shifnīn*; Arabia and Syria: *uṭrughull*, *turghull*, *dhikr Allāh*, *Abū dhikrā*, *ṣulṣul*; Egypt: *ḳumrī*; Maghrib: *īmām*), with the sb/sp. *S.t. turtur*, a bird of passage in autumn and spring in

all the Arabic-speaking countries, *S.t. arenicola* which nests throughout the Maghrib as far as Tripolitania, a bird of passage in Syria, Palestine, ʿIrāḳ and northern Arabia, *S.t. lugens*, a resident in south-western Arabia, and *S.t. isabellina* which is restricted to the Nile delta;—b) the red-eyed dove, *Streptopelia semitorquata*, a somewhat rare resident in south-western Arabia;—c) the collared turtle-dove, *Streptopelia decaocto* (*fākhita, sitt al-rūm, yā karīm, karīma*), with the sb./sp. *S.d. decaocto*, a resident of Palestine, Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and *S.d. arabica*, a resident in the Ḥidjāz and the Yemen;—d) the palm-dove or laughing-dove, *Streptopelia senegalensis* (*dubsī, ḳinṭir*; Maghrib: *ḥamām al-ghāba*), with the sb./sp. *S.s. senegalensis*, a resident in western Arabia, Egypt, Tripolitania and the Maghrib; *S.s. aegyptiaca*, a resident in the Nile delta, *S.s. phoenicophila*, a resident in the Saharan regions of the Maghrib and *S.s. cambayensis*, a bird of passage on the east coast of Arabia;—e) the long-tailed dove or Namaqua dove, *Oena capensis* (*yaḥmūm, ḥumḥum/ḥimḥim, umm balīma*), resident throughout Arabia, though rare in the Yemen.

In the restricted sense, *ḥamām* denotes the domestic pigeons deriving from the rock-dove, whether the free or "roof-pigeons" that are established in towns (*ḥamām ahlī, ḥamām al-amṣār*) and on which the Meccans prided themselves (*ḥamām Makka*), or the artificially bred or "dove-cot" pigeons (*buyūtī, dādjin*) trained to live (*muwaṭṭan*) in private lofts (*ʿamūd*, pl. *aʿmida*) or official pigeon-houses (*burdj*, pl. *burūdj*). It is to this last category that mediaeval writers in Arabic devoted so much of their work in both prose and verse; indeed; the contact established between the Muslims and the pigeon-loving Byzantines gave such a fillip to pigeon-keeping (*laʿb bi 'l-ḥamām*) among the Arabs that it quickly became a pastime that attracted several caliphs, such as the ʿAbbāsids al-Mahdī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Wāthiḳ and al-Nāṣir. It is necessary only to recall the lengthy passages devoted by al-Djāḥiẓ to the pigeon (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii) to be able to assess the passion with which this hobby was pursued in the great cities of Baghdād, Baṣra, Damascus and Cairo. On the subject of the "sporting pigeon" (*al-hādī*, pl. *al-huddā'*) the philologists have compiled a large quantity of lexicographical material drawn from the technical vocabulary of pigeon-devotees (*arbāb al-hawādī*). Indeed, in the whole physiognomy of the pigeon there is not a single remex or rectrix without its own name; forms, colours and breeds provided the subject for learned treatises, most of which are lost, although we know their titles and general content from references made to them by later authors when making compilations. Thus, Ibn al-Nadīm names (*Fihrist*, 80, 222) a *Kitāb al-Ḥamām* by the philologist Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/824), a *K. ʿAnsāb al-ḥamām* and a *K. mā wurida fī tafḍīl al-ṭayr al-hādī* by a certain Ibn Ṭarḥān al-Mughannī; al-Ḳalḳashandī refers (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 87 ff., xiv, 369 ff.) to al-Ḳawwās al-Baghdādī who wrote a work on pigeons for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir, and we know that the *ḳāḍī* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (620-92/1123-93), to whom al-Maḳrīzī is much indebted in his *Khiṭaṭ Miṣr*, wrote a *K. Tamā'im al-ḥamā'im* which is often mentioned.

Like falconry, the sport of pigeon-flying (*zadjl, zidjāl*) in competitions (*sibāḳ*) enjoyed very great popularity from the 2nd/8th until the 7th/13th century, among all the Muslim peoples; less onerous than the pursuit of hawking, it provided satisfaction for their love of gambling, the question at stake being whose pigeons were the most highly bred and best trained to return to the loft from the greatest distance. Records of pedigrees (*dafātir al-ansāb*) were kept and, according to al-Djāḥiẓ, selected specimens could reach prices ranging from seven hundred to a thousand *dīnārs* in the Baghdād market. Some long-flight birds (*samāwiyyāt, naḳḳāzāt*) were capable of flying from the Bosphorus to Baṣra, from Cairo to Damascus, or from Tunis to Cairo in a single flight; moreover, the homing pigeon (*zādjil*, pl. *zawādjil*) from the time of its birth received the closest attention from its owner. The moment was awaited when the young pigeon, having grown its feathers, left the nest (*nāhiḍ, budjdj/mudjdj, djawzal, ʿazhal, zaghlūl*) and tried to fly, in order to compel it to return to the nesting-place (*ḳurmūṣ* from the Greek κηραμός, *ufḥūṣa, miḥḍana*) through narrow pierced pigeon-holes (*timrād*, pl. *tamārīd*) at the foot of the loft; the bird was thus obliged to climb up the ladder inside, by a series of jumps which strengthened its muscles: it became an "indoor" pigeon (*bāṭinī*), as distinct from an "outside" one (*ẓāhirī*) which returned to the loft through pigeon-holes at the top. Once it could fly easily and was "accustomed" (*muwaṭṭan*) to the loft where it was born, although still a novice (*ghumr*) in respect of sense of direction (*ihtidā'*), it had to be trained so that its homing instinct should be "acquired" (*mudjarrab*). For this purpose it was mated at a very early age, and the owner relied on the absolute constancy of the pair to make completely certain that the bird would return when taken away from its mate; it was carried in a basket, the distance being increased each time, and was released from each of these stages (*mazādjil*).

Like the Greeks and the Romans, the Muslims made skilful use of the valuable qualities of the homing pigeon, employing it as an entirely trustworthy means of communication. Pigeon post, an official institution integrated into the Intelligence Service (*barīd*), is said by the Muslim historians to have been the work of the *atabeg* of Syria Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (541-69/1146-74). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575-622/1180-1225), an ardent pigeon-enthusiast, restored this institution, which disappeared with the coming of the Mongols (656/1258) under the caliphate of al-Mustaʿṣim bi 'llāh; we know from Joinville that when St. Louis landed at Damietta (1249) "for a moment the sky was darkened" by the cloud of carrier pigeons released by the inhabitants to warn the sultan of the danger threatening their city. The Mamlūk Baybars (658-76/1259-78) made Cairo a centre for pigeon-keeping, and it included nearly two thousand pigeons bearing the symbol of the State (*dāgh*); only the sultan himself used to open the messages, which had to be brought to him by the pigeon-officer (*barrādj, baṭā'iḳī*) as soon as they arrived. These notes were written on special very thin paper called "bird-paper" (*waraḳ al-ṭayr*) and were perfumed if they contained good news, bad news being carried by a bird whose plumage was darkened with soot. It was the custom that the text of the message should have no margin and should be without any preamble of formal praise of Allāh, since it might fall into the hands of infidels, that it should not bear the date of the current year but only the day and month, and that by way of signature at the end there should be the formula *kafā bi'llāh hādiyan* ("Allāh is sufficient guide"). These air-borne letters were rolled up and fastened to one of the carrier pigeon's remiges, without in any way interfering with its flight; ordinarily they were sent in duplicate, without any mention of address; any Muslim, not the intended

recipient, who by chance received a message of this sort felt it his duty to sent it on, after attending to the pigeon's needs and making a note of his action on the back of the message.

It was during the 9th/15th century that the use of the pigeon-post gradually disappeared. Whatever the chroniclers may say, there is every ground for asserting that this method of communication was in current use in Islam well before the 6th/12th century, as is proved by the remains of the "pigeon stages" (*marākiz al-ḥamām*) placed at regular intervals (*mudarradja*) along the shores of the eastern Maghrib, following a continuous line of *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] and ensuring the safe dispatch of the correspondence of the Aghlabid governors of Ifrīḳiya (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries); the modern place-name Hammamet (*al-Ḥamāmāt*, "the pigeons") is a living reminder.

The theme of the "gentle dove", the messenger of love, peace, and good fortune, was the unfailing inspiration of Arab poets of all periods and in all the Muslim countries, and it would be useless to try to enumerate all the *ḳaṣīda*s which, in their conclusion, evoked the image of eternity in the tender cooing of turtle-doves (*al-hawātif*) high up among tall trees. In Islam, as everywhere else, this bird is regarded with popular affection, and a pair in a cage are very often the chosen companions of the Muslim home; at a very early date, this affection found expression in various proverbs and legends which hold up the Columbidae as examples of sweetness, attachment and fidelity, as for instance Noah's dove, or the two carrier pigeons sent from Mecca by Allāh to the Prophet Muḥammad when hidden in the cave. It appears, however, that the latter did not share this feeling of affection since, by a tradition which relies on the testimony of Abū Hurayra (see *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd), he is alleged to have included pigeons among the ranks of the demons. Nevertheless, in the eyes of Ḳur'ānic law the flesh of the columbidae is permitted as food, and mediaeval Muslim medicine credited both it and also pigeon-dung with great therapeutic and aphrodisiac properties (see Ibn al-Bayṭār, trans. L. Leclerc, i, 457); oneiromancy, for its part, allowed great significance to the *ḥamām* seen in a dream, while ornithomancy did the same for the *ḥamām* encountered in the wild.

Bibliography: in addition to the references quoted in the text: Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i, 256-64, *s.v.*; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 170 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*; Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', ed. Bombay, ii, 133; Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, Paris 1894; J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 36-9, 77, and bibl.; G. Jacob, *Studien in arab. Geographen*, ii, 104; S. de Sacy, *La colombe messagère plus rapide que l'éclair*, trans. of *K. Musābaḳat al-barḳ wa 'l-ghamām fi suʿāt al-ḥamām*, of Mīkhā'īl Ṣabbāgh, Paris 1805; P.-A. Pichot, *Les Oiseaux de sport*, Paris 1903, 57-69; R. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Egypt*, London 1930; idem, *Birds of Arabia*, London 1954; Fr. O. Cave and Macdonald, *Birds of the Sudan*, London 1955; J. I. S. Whitaker, *Birds of Tunisia*, London 1905; A. Blanchet, *Les Oiseaux de Tunisie* (Mémoire n° 3, Sté Sciences Nat. de Tunisie), Tunis 1955; R.-D. Etchécopar and F. Hue, with the collaboration of F. Viré, *Les Oiseaux du Nord de l'Afrique* (Publ. Museum Hist. Nat. Paris, ed. Boubée), 1964; Ch. Sibillot, *Le pigeon-courrier à travers les âges*, Charleroi 1899. (F. Viré)

HĀMĀN, name of a person whom the Ḳur'ān associates with Pharaoh (*Firʿawn* [*q.v.*]), because of a still unexplained confusion with the minister of Ahasuerus in the Biblical book of Esther. To the details given s.v. FIRʿAWN, should be added the fact that, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 368, Hāmān built the canal of Sardūs, but Firʿawn obliged him to repay to the peasants the money which he had extorted from them for this.

Bibliography: given in the art. FIRʿAWN; see also J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 149; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 284. (G. Vajda)

HĀMARZ, Persian officer who, at the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*], was in command of the Persian troops who were driven back by the Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*] and who was killed in the battle. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 228 = ed. Pellat, i, 648) calls him, in error, al-Hurmuzān, but he should not be confused with the Persian general of this name [*q.v.*] who was assassinated by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 1030, 1032, 1034 f. (tr. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, Leiden 1879, 335, 338, 340, 342); Ibn al-Wardī, *Ta'rīkh*, Cairo 1285, i, 117; see also the *Bibl.* of the article DHŪ ḲĀR. (Ed.)

ḤAMĀSA (A.), "bravery", "valour" (used nowadays together with *ḥamās*, to translate "enthusiasm"), is the title of a certain number of poetic anthologies which generally include brief extracts chosen for their literary value in the eyes of the anthologists and classified according to the genre to which they belong or the idea which they express; these works are related to a more general category, that of "poetic themes", *maʿānī 'l-shiʿr* [*q.v.*], but differ from it in the apparent effacement of the author who abstains from any comparison or judgement and imposes his taste without indicating the reasons for his choice. The origin of the title, which has embarrassed modern critics, seems however very clear: *al-Ḥamāsa* (verses on bravery in war) is the title of the first—and incidentally the longest—chapter in the oldest and most celebrated anthology of this type, that of Abū Tammām (d. 231/849 [*q.v.*]): following a procedure currently practised until our own times in many literatures, this title has been adopted for the complete work as a whole and has replaced the name which its author had given to it: *al-Ikhtiyārāt min shiʿr al-shuʿarā'* and another name which a copyist had probably attributed to it (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 166). This anthology met with such success, in both Mashriḳ and Maghrib, that later anthologists imitated it and retained the title, which little by little lost its etymological sense to become synonymous with *mukhtārāt*, "selections", "anthology"; this is so much the case that the *Ḥamāsa* of Ibn al-Shadjarī (see below) was also published, in Cairo, in 1306, under the title *Mukhtārāt shuʿarā' al-ʿArab*.

i. — Arabic literature

The *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām marks a new orientation in comparison with earlier anthologies which contained complete poems [see *e.g.*, AL-MUFAḌḌAL AL-ḌABBĪ] or the whole available work of a poet, or even of a tribe [see *e.g.*, HUDHAYL]. Here, on the contrary, the anthologist, himself a poet, allows his own personal taste to be exercised in extracting from a poem the one or more verses which seem to him to illustrate most felicitously a literary genre and later, after Abū Tammām, a given theme. This *Ḥamāsa* is divided into ten chapters of unequal length containing respectively, in no apparent order, lines on bravery in warfare, death (*marāthī*), morality (*adab*), love (*nasīb*), the faults of the adversary (*hidjā'*), hospit-

ality (*diyāfa*), various qualities (*ṣifāt*), the sleep enjoyed by travellers (*al-sayr wa'l-nuʿās*), witticisms (*mulaḥ*) and women's failings (*madhammat al-nisāʾ*). The majority of the poets quoted are ancient ones going back to the pre-Islamic period or to the beginnings of Islam, but some are more recent.

The success of this *Ḥamāsa* inspired several commentaries (see al-Baghdādi, *Khizāna*, Cairo ed., i, 33), of which that of al-Tabrīzī is the best known (see R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 152; see also ABŪ TAMMĀM, adding there: a *Ḥamāsa ṣughrā* or *K. al-Waḥshiyyāt* by him was edited by I. al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1964). In the Maghrib, its vogue was no less great; study of it constituted one of the foundations of literary culture (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28), and al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī, who imitated it, made a new commentary on it.

In order not to be left behind, al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) also composed an anthology which he entitled *Ḥamāsa*, so contributing in a decisive manner to the semantic evolution of the term and its definitive adoption. In the *Ḥamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, the verses are no longer divided under a small number of rubrics, but are grouped together, according to the poetic themes that they contain, in 174 very subtly graded chapters (*e.g.*, thirteen of them are concerned with fleeing from the enemy), with the result that this anthology may be considered to come into the category of *maʿānī 'l-shiʿr*. It should be added that it enjoyed far less success than the earlier work; it does not seem to have been studied in Spain, where al-Buḥturī was, however, held in great esteem, and only a single manuscript of it has been discovered.

The next work chronologically appears to be that of a certain Abū Dumāsh (or Dimās), of which we have only a brief mention in the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 120); then come those of Muḥammad b. Khalaf Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 309/921), of which we know only the title (see *Fihrist*, 213-4, which does not mention the *Ḥamāsa*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 52; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 31-2) and of Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*]), entitled *al-Ḥamāsa al-muḥdatha* (see *Fihrist*, 119; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 84). The two Khālidīs, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hāshim (d. 380/990) and his brother Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd (d. 400/1009), who lived in the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla, are the authors of a *Kitāb Ḥamāsat shiʿr al-muḥdathīn*, the title of which clearly shows the gradual change in meaning of the word *ḥamāsa* (see *Fihrist*, 240; M. Canard, *Sayf al Daula*, Algiers 1934, 293-5; their *Ḥamāsa*, also entitled *al-Ashbāh wa'l-naẓāʾir*, survives in manuscript in Cairo).

In the following century, it was in Spain that al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī (d. 476/1083 [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ]), already the author of a commentary on Abū Tammām, composed a *Ḥamāsa* (quoted by al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 33).

The same literary form was again followed by Ibn al-Shadjarī (d. 542/1148 [*q.v.*]), whose *Ḥamāsa* was published under this title by F. Krenkow at Ḥaydarābād in 1345 (see above). Somewhat later, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan *alias* (al-) Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601/1204 [*q.v.*]) composed a new and more original one; this grammarian and poet, with his inordinate pride and uncommon vanity, thought himself capable, not only of selecting the best poems of the earlier poets, but also of himself writing other and equally good poems; thus, following Abū Tammām, he composed a *Ḥamāsa* in which he included only poems of his own composition (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 72 ff.).

It was an Andalusian living in Tunis, Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Andalusī al-Bayāsī (572-653/1177-1255) who was the author of the next *Ḥamāsa*; a philologist, historian and poet well schooled in classical poetry, he compiled in Tunis in 646/1248 a collection of poems, stories and fables to which he unwarrantedly gave the name *Ḥamāsa* (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*², 107; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 384, 399, 406); this work exists in manuscript at Gotha.

The last *Ḥamāsa* that we know is that of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Faradj al-Baṣrī (killed in 659/1261); it is known by the name *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya* (see al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 33), and a manuscript of it is preserved in Cairo.

The interest of these works, and especially of the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, is multiple. For us, their merit lies in preserving poems by poets otherwise unknown, and of serving in a subsidiary way as secondary sources for the publication of the *dīwān*s of ancient poets, but they also provide us with reasonably precise indications in regard to the tastes of a period. For generations of young Arabic-speakers, in both the Mashriḳ and Maghrib, the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām has largely contributed—in perhaps too fragmentary a form—to the maintenance of the prestige of archaic poetry, considered as a model for imitation, and has at the same time constituted a sort of manual of ethics.

The original meaning of *ḥamāsa* encouraged the provisional adoption of the term as the designation of the epic, and Bocthor was one of the first to suggest translating "epic poem" by *shiʿr ḥamāsī*; however, in Arabic, the use of *ḥamāsa* was short-lived, and today the word has been replaced, in this sense, by *malḥama* (pl. *malāḥim*); however, in order to give the present article greater homogeneity, it is here that the question of the epic in Arabic literature will be discussed.

Accounts of heroic adventures accompanied by wonderful happenings are not rare in this literature [see ḤIKĀYA, SĪRA], and if such were the complete definition of the epic, it would be possible to assert that this literary form was practised by the Arabs; the romance of Baṭṭal [*q.v.*], the *Sīrat al-amīra Dhāt al-Himma* [see DHU 'L-HIMMA], the saga of the Banū Hilāl [see HILĀL], the romance of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*], and the *Sīrat ʿAntar* [see ʿANTAR] in particular offer features which bring them close to the great epics of universal literature, and one cannot fail to be struck by the evident resemblances between the *Sīrat ʿAntar*, considered, however, as a romance of chivalry, and the *Chanson de Roland*; but to be counted true epics, these narratives are in general lacking in the literary elaboration which is the mark of the masterpieces of epic literature. Although the *Sīrat ʿAntar* also contains, to a somewhat limited extent, another element of the epic, namely a feeling of the greatness of the fatherland represented by a hero who possesses all the virtues, in these narratives we are not conscious of the inspiration which animates the *Shāhnāma*, for example, and it may perhaps be thought that, if epics are linked with the awakening of nationalities, the Arabs hardly needed this element during the most brilliant period of their literature which corresponded with the apogee of their power; yet it may be regretted that no genius revealed himself during the centuries of decadence or produced a work comparable with that of Firdawsī, which was then available in Arabic.

To explain the absence of epics in the classical period, it has been said that the Arabs were unacquainted with Homer's masterpieces; in fact feeling convinced of the superior value of their own poetry, they scarcely knew the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and

in any case were daunted by the difficulties of translating verse (see G. Wiet, *Les traducteurs arabes et la poésie grecque*, in *MUSJ*, xxxviii/16 (1962), 361-8; the embarrassment of Mattā b. Yūnus is nevertheless instructive for, in his translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* (ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭūṭālīs, Fann al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 96), he was content to render ἐποποιία by قول (while Badawī, in his own trans., 3 and *passim*, uses *malḥama*).

It has also been said that the rule of the monorhyme excluded long compositions in verse; now the *urdjūza* permits the composition of very long works, and it is precisely in *radjaz* that some poems have been written that come near to being epics, without, however, ceasing to be versified chronicles except when they have a purely didactic character; Ibn al-Muʿtazz is one of the first representatives of this form, which flourished especially in al-Andalus in the hands of Ghazāl, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn ʿAbdūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and others. In certain poems of Abū Yaʿkūb al-Khuraymī, of Abū Tammām, of Abū Firās or of al-Mutanabbī, there is certainly a strong feeling of epic, but it would be exaggeration to regard these *ḳaṣīdas* as true epics.

Rather than attempt to find an explanation for the Arabs' continued ignorance of a noble literary form which has contributed to the universal prestige of the great literatures of antiquity and the Middle Ages, it is fitting simply to reflect that, while possessing all the necessary documentary, literary and technical elements for the creation of the epic, they did not achieve the final stage of the process; they preferred to follow a tradition which may be called national, and which Islam helped to anchor still more deeply in their hearts. This is basically the opinion of many modern Arab critics—from the talented translator of the *Iliad*, Sulaymān al-Bustānī (see his *Introduction*) to Aḥmad Abū Ḥāḳa, author of the *Fann al-shiʿr al-malḥamī* (Beirut 1960)—who agree that the epic genre, in spite of the works mentioned above, is lacking in Arabic literature.

From the nineteenth century onwards, the translation of Homer and the reading of great epics have inspired some more or less successful attempts, among which may be mentioned those of Aḥmad Muḥarram, *al-Ilyādha al-islāmiyya* (an epic of the Prophet), of Būlus Salāma, *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr* (a Shīʿī epic) and *ʿĪd al-Riyāḍ* (a Saʿūdī epic), and of Fawzī Maʿlūf, *Bisāṭ al-rīḥ*, which Abū Ḥāḳa considers the best.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 115-6; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 26-8; Sarkīs, 297, 530; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 150-2; Brockelmann, index; S. Achtar, *Buḥturī*, Sorbonne thesis 1953 (unpublished); Z. al-Mahāsinī, in *Āfāḳ* (Rabat), i/3 (1963), 52-5; F. Klein-Franke, *Die Hamasa des Abu Tammam: Ein Versuch*, Cologne 1963. (CH. PELLAT)

ii. — PERSIAN LITERATURE

When introduced into Iran by the Arabs, the word *ḥamāsa* at first retained its original meaning (bravery) and then, rather later, was used in Persian to denote the heroic and martial epic (*ḥamāsa-i pahlavānī*), a literary genre, the works composed in this form being comparable with the heroic epics of the other Indo-European peoples; this is the meaning of *ḥamasa-sarāyī* (from *sarāyidan*, to sing, and, by extension, to compose), the title of the work by Dr. Ṣafā on the Persian epic.

The earliest texts of a heroic character are concerned with the kings of antiquity and the period when the Iranians were still in direct contact with the Aryans of India. In brief, the heroic legend in Iran started to take shape even before the Iranians emigrated from India towards what was later to be Iran; it was subsequently enriched with new elements and developed into oral or written narratives, particularly during the last period of the Sāsānid dynasty. Upon comparing the Vedas and the Avesta, one observes that the Indo-Iranians, even before their separation, were familiar with the legendary exploits of the same heroes. Some of these narratives were mainly products of the imagination (the creation of the world and of man); others had some historical basis; but, with the passing of time and the accretion of oral elements, they assumed a legendary aspect. In the *Avesta*, the *Yasht* are of great importance in regard to national legends. Several sections allude to legends and beliefs similar to those found in the Vedas: thus Vivasvat, father of Yama, and Trita Aptya (of the Rig-Veda) correspond to Vivanhant, father of Yima (Djam), and to Athwiya (Abtin) father of Thraetaona "the child of Thrita" (Farīdūn) who are named in the *Hom Yasht* (of the *Yasna*), "the most important chapter for the comparative history of the beliefs of Avestan Persia and Vedic India" (J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i, 79); they appear later in Persian epic texts [see DJAMSHĪD, FARĪDŪN]; other *Yasht* mention heroes, most of whom figure in the *Book of Kings* of Firdawsī, and places situated in North-West Persia (ancient Media). According to Nöldeke (in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 131), it can be accepted that, at the period when the *Avesta* took shape, some presentation of the mythical history of Iran, if not written at least traditional, was in existence. But, unlike the Persian epics composed from the 5th/11th century, which bring together a mass of details, these particulars are short and incomplete in the Avestan texts.

On the other hand, striking analogies have been found between the legendary accounts recorded by Greek historians and several episodes in the *Book of Kings* of Firdawsī—but only from the time of the Achaemenids: for example, the fragments by Ctesias, physician to Artaxerxes II (4th century B.C.), collected by Diodorus Siculus (i, 11), provide information from Median tradition; as for the parallels, Achaemenes as a child was brought up by a falcon, according to Aelianus, just as the hero Zāl (in the *Shāh-nāma*) was brought up by the *Sīmurgh* (a kind of phoenix); the histories of Cyrus and Kay Khusraw, the one recounted by Herodotus, the other by Firdawsī, present obvious analogies; on the one hand we find the new-born Cyrus exposed by order of his maternal grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes, but left in the keeping of shepherds by his minister Harpagos and, on reaching manhood, overthrowing the empire of the Medes; on the other hand the infant Kay Khusraw left among the shepherds in the mountains on the orders of his maternal grandfather Afrāsyāb (the murderer of his son-in-law and king of Turan), then recognized as the lawful heir of the kings of Iran and taking vengeance on Afrāsyāb for the murder of his father and his uncle; in the 5th century A.D., Moses of Khorene attributes the same adventure to the Sāsānid king Ardashīr and records other legendary Iranian narratives (the Persian epic had a great influence on the Armenian epic; see F. Macler, in *JA*, ccxxvii, 549). In short, the influence of the Avestan texts was maintained over what was later to become the Persian epic up to the time of the Parthian period and even later, for the

ancient names were often given to the sovereigns and leading personages of the Sāsānid period.

Moreover, on the decline of the Sāsānids, several works were written in Pahlavi containing traditions and stories of heroes; and there were also others during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Of some, only the title is known (through the medium of Arab authors): such are the *Kitāb al-Sakīsarān*, the title of a prose work named by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 118 = tr. Pellat, § 541)—probably Sagēsarān (the chiefs of the Saka, of Sīstān, perhaps connected with the family of the Rustamids, see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 143)—and hence a text of great importance for epic traditions, translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, and the *Kitab-i Paykār*, "Book of combats", named by al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, French tr., 136). Others were preserved in part; such are the history of *Bahram Čūbīn*, which survived thanks to the Arab historian al-Dīnawarī (*Akhbār ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 81-104) and also to Firdawsī (trans. J. Mohl, in-12, vi, 460 and vii); the duel of *Rustam and Isfendyār*, translated into Arabic prose by al-Thaʿālibī (*Ghurar*) and into verse by Firdawsī (iv, 461 ff.); the *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh* mentions a work relating to the hero Pīrūz (Tehrān ed., 66, 70) and an *ʿAhd-i Ardashīr* (61-4) which was used by Miskawayh (*Tadjārib al-umam*); the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* (Tehrān ed., 8) mentions a *Bakhtyār-nāma* devoted to the great exploits of a commander-in-chief under Khusraw Parvīz. The history of Alexander by the pseudo-Callisthenes was probably translated into Pahlavi, and then from Pahlavi into Arabic, with additions relating to Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn [see ISKANDAR NĀMA]); other works concerning the Sāsānid period and mentioned in the *Fihrist* (Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa*, 45 and n.) survive as fragments in the works of Arab authors; several short Pahlavi post-Sāsānid works (collections of moral aphorisms, *pand-nāmak*) are to be found scattered in Firdawsī.

Of all these works, only two survive in their Pahlavi text; they are therefore essential for the study of the genesis of the Persian epic. The *Memorial of Zarīr* (*Aiyatkār-i Zarīrān*; see *Gr.I.Ph.*, index, s.v. Yatkār), the versified form of which (in syllabic metre) has been identified by E. Benveniste, represents the Sāsānid adaptation of a poem of the Arsacid period (before the 3rd century A.D.)—a poem composed "in about the 6th century of our era, the contents of which go back to some vanished Yasht" (Zarīrān is named twice in the *Yasht*); Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*] sometimes drew inspiration from it textually (cf. *JA*, 1932/2, 255 and Firdawsī, trans. Mohl, in-12, iv, 298-9) in writing the thousand or so lines of verse that Firdawsī inserted in his *Shah-nāma*. The second of these works, in prose, is the *Kārnāmak-i Ardashīr* (Book of the exploits of Ardashīr) in which "a whole series of features from the legend of the great Cyrus can be discovered" (see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 91); it was very closely followed by Firdawsī (trans. in-12, v, 265; and *Gr.I.Ph.*, index, s.v. Kārnāmak).

In addition, two important Pahlavi works transmit not only religious but also heroic traditions—the *Dinkart* (written in the 10th century) preserves fragments from the Avesta and numerous facts relating to the earliest Iranian dynasties, and the *Bundahishn* (11th century) contains information about the dynasties of the Kayanids and the Sāsānids.

It is known that the kings of ancient Persia took an interest in the histories of their reigns: under the Sāsānids, "as had previously been the case in the time of the Achaemenids, the royal court kept official annals; it is supposed that these annals were utilized by the author or authors of the *Book of sovereigns* probably written ... under Yazdgard III" (cf. A. Christensen, *op. cit.*, 53 and n. 4). The Greek historian Agathias (d. 582) states that he had been able to consult these royal annals which were housed in the archives of Ctesiphon (*op. cit.*, 70). Now according to Baysonghur's preface to the *Shah-nāma* [see FIRDAWSĪ], in the reign of the last of the Sāsānids, Yazdgard III, the *dihḳān* Danishvar of Madāʾin had all these chronicles, from the earliest times to Khusraw II, written down systematically, with the assistance of *mobads* and learned men (Nöldeke, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 141); this book was entitled *Khʷatāy-nāmak*; several Arab and Persian authors refer to the Arabic translation of it under the title *Siyar al-mulūk*, which corresponds with the Pahlavi title, the word *khʷatāy* ('god') having also the meaning of 'sovereign' (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, Leipzig ed., 102); it gave the history of the kings of Iran, from mythical times to the end of the Sāsānids, mingling legendary and historical facts, the latter being predominant for the Sāsānid period. The Arabic translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (2nd/8th century) was an indispensable source for Arab historians. The Pahlavi original disappeared, but much of it was preserved thanks to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, introd. 42). On account of the copyists' carelessness, copies of the *Siyar al-mulūk* are by no means in agreement: according to Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Kasrawī collated several copies and did not find any two the same. According to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, others (who are named by al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, Leipzig ed., 99) had translated the *Khʷatāy-nāmak* into Arabic, each in his own way, sometimes introducing accounts from other countries into the history of Iran (Nöldeke, *Tabari, Geschichte der Perser ... zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, introd.; and especially the résumé of V. Rosen's study of these Arabic translations and the changes and alterations of the Pahlavi text in these translations: A. Christensen, *op. cit.*, 54 and n. 1). Not one of these translations survives; but fragments from them can be seen in a series of Arabic and Persian works, with occasional variants resulting from the diversity of the sources.

Apart from that of the written sources, the importance of the traditions and legends transmitted orally is not negligible. But it is certain that the earliest Persian epics derive from written sources, using Pahlavi documents (either directly or through Arabic translations), as well as traditions preserved in families and transmitted orally by narrators or story-tellers (*rāwī*) from Khurāsān, Sīstān or Transoxania. Al-Bīrūnī gives the names of some of those he had heard (*Āthār*, 42, 44, 99); the author of the *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh* states that "the *rāwīs* of earlier days based their stories on the ancient books of the Fārsīs" (Tehrān ed., 2). Finally, the influence of the Arab authors who devoted themselves to the history and legends of ancient Iran must not be forgotten.

All these factors led the Iranians to undertake a general compilation, on the lines of the annals drawn up on the orders of the ancient kings: thus, during the 4th/10th century, three prose *Shāhnāma* were written [see FIRDAWSĪ], the last of which, by Abū Manṣūr, was freely used by Daḳīḳī and later by Firdawsī; all that remains of it is the very important introduction, published by Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī (*Bīst maḳāla*, Tehrān 1313/1935, ii, 1-64); it was consulted also by al-Bīrūnī (*Āthār*, 112 and 116), which tends to prove that at the end of the 4th/10th

century, and afterwards, it was regarded as the accepted *Shāhnāma*; al-Thaʿālibī (*Ghurar*) similarly drew upon it to a considerable extent, a fact which explains the points of resemblance between his book and Firdawsī's epic, both as regards the historical facts and also the legendary stories.

In addition to the *Shāhnāma* of Abū Manṣūr, there were also other texts in Pahlavi (or translated into Arabic) which served as sources, during the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th, for writers of epics (analysed by J. Mohl, introd. to the *Livre des Rois*)—epics which were inferior to Firdawsī's in breadth and power but which complete the whole epic structure that he had brought into being; poems celebrating Gershāsp (the most original and the oldest, composed about 458/1066 [see ASADĪ]), his grandson Sām, the three children of his great-grandson Rustam—Djihāngīr, Farāmarz and Banū Gushāsp—, Bārzū [see BĀRZŪ-NĀMA], Bahman, Rustam's redoubtable adversary (by Īrānshāh, in about 499/1106), Shāhryār, Bārzū's son, the last of the family (by Mukhtārī, d. *ca.* 545/1150) and about eight epics celebrating minor heroes (Ṣafā, *op. cit.*, 3rd part, ch. III).

From the 6th/12th century onwards, the decline of the national epic gradually became evident under the influences of Islam, of Arab culture and, later, of the predominance of the Turks; in any case, the great epic and national subjects of Iranian antiquity had already been treated. However, one of these subjects, which Firdawsī was unable to develop to its fullest extent, provided Niẓāmī with the opportunity to write a vast and learned epic (587/1191), the *Romance of Alexander* [see ISKANDAR, ISKANDAR NĀMA, NIẒĀMĪ]—a subject to which Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī later returned, not to speak of the adaptations made in Turkey, India and other Oriental countries. The first epic to honour a contemporary prince was the *Shāhānshāh-nāma*, written by Muḥammad Pāʾīzī in honour of sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārizm Shāh, in about 596/1200. The most important historical epic, after Firdawsī's, is the *Ẓafar-nāma* (Book of victory) of Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī which continues the *Book of Kings* from the occupation of Iran by the Arabs up to the period in which the author was living, the time of the Mongol invasion; hence the real interest, at once historical and literary, of the third and last part of this poem which consists of 75,000 *bayts* (completed in 735/1335). Another epic relating to the history of the Mongols down to the successors of Čingīz-Khān is the *Shāhānshāh-nāma*, completed by Aḥmad Tabrīzī in 739/1338. The epic by Adharī Ṭūsī (d. 866/1462), devoted to the history of the Bahmanid sultans of Dekkan, left unfinished, was completed by an anonymous author. Tīmūr's resounding exploits were celebrated by Hātifī (d. 927/1521), a nephew of Djāmī, under the title *Ẓafar-nāma* (ed. Lucknow 1869); to the same poet we owe about a thousand lines of verse of an epic on the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl which he left unfinished. The reign of this same ruler and that of his son formed the subject of an epic written by Ḳāsimī Gunabādī and completed in 939/1533 (ed. Bombay 1287); to him we owe also an epic on the reign of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr. The capture of the island of Kishm and the town of Hurmuz (Djārūn) from the Portuguese was recounted in verse by Ḳadrī (*Djangnāma-i Kishm*, 1032/1623, and *Djārūn-nāma*). Lastly, a *Shāhānshāh-nāma* was written by Ṣabāʾ (d. 1822) in honour of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. These are the principal epic works, most of them written under the influence of Firdawsī or Niẓāmī. In addition, throughout the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, a series of secondary works commemorated certain sovereigns and leading personages of Iran, India and Turkey (*Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 238).

As regards the second category of these epics (devoted to heroes of the Shīʿī faith; Ṣabā, *op. cit.*, 305 ff.), the oldest is the *Khāvarān-nāma* of Ibn Ḥusām (d. 875/1470), celebrating the virtues and exploits of the caliph and *imām* ʿAlī. The anonymous *Ṣāhib-ḳirān-nāma* (1072/1662) similarly honoured Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. One of the most important of these works, the *Ḥamla-i Ḥaydarī*, glorifies the lives of Muḥammad and ʿAlī, their saintliness and their achievements; its authors are Muḥammad Rafīʿ Bādhil, a native of Mashhad, who had emigrated to India where he held high office; after his death (1123/1711), his work was completed by Abū Ṭālib Fanduruskī. The same subject was used in a more extended work (30,000 *bayts*) written in a better style than the preceding one, composed in the 19th century by Mullā Bamūn ʿAlī (*takhallus*: Rādjī) entitled *Ḥamla-i Rādjī* (ed. 1270/1854). Ṣabā, named above, is the author of the longest of the works in this category, the *Khudāvand-nāma*, on the same subject as the *Ḥamla-i Ḥaydarī*; here, more than in these other works, the influence of Firdawsī is to be discerned.

As *ḥamāsa* denoted exclusively the heroic epic, it has been necessary to leave out of this account the cycle of romantic epics (the earliest of which, Zaryadres and Odatis, was known as early as the 4th century B.C., according to Atheneus, XIII, 575), that is to say the episodes devoted to love, which are treated briefly in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī and which the poets of different periods (Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw and Djāmī in particular) magnified into vast versified romances (not to mention Firdawsī's other works, for example *Farhād u Shīrīn*, and Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*; see also ASADĪ).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, two essential works: Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 130 ff. (2nd ed. 1920); English trans. by L. Bogdanov, *The Iranian national epic*, Bombay 1930, Persian trans. by Buzurg ʿAlawī, *Ḥamāsa-i Millī-i Īrān*, Tehrān 1327 (solar); Dh. Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsa-sarāyī dar Īrān*, Tehrān 1334/1956. Reference may also be made to A. Christensen, *Heltedigtning og Fortaellingsliteratur hos Iranerne i oldtiden*, Copenhagen 1935. (H. MASSÉ)

iii—TURKISH LITERATURE.

From the 19th century onwards the Arabic adjective *ḥamāsī* became in Turkish the equivalent of the adjective "epic", while *ḥamāsiyya* indicated an epic poem (see H. C. Hony and Fahir Iz, *A Turkish-English dictionary*[2], Oxford 1950, s. vv. *hamasi*, *hamasiyat*; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Osmanlica-Türkçe Sözlük*, Istanbul 1952, s.v. *ḥamāsī*); *ḥamāse* became the synonym of the Persian *destān*, which also is used to render "epic" (see M. N. Özön, *op. cit.*, s.v. *destān*). In the *Türkçe Sözlük* ([3] Ankara 1955), published by the Türk Dil Kurumu, the two terms, Arabic and Persian, are found linked together: *hamaset destanı*.

In Turkish literature the Persian term *destān* was used for the ancient popular epics in syllabic verse, transmitted orally, then also the first verse chronicles of epic type, celebrating the prowess of a historical character who had become a legendary figure. The ancient epics of the Turks of Central Asia, sung by the *ozan* or popular poet-musician accompanying

himself on the *ḳopuz*, have not survived, and the *Oghuznāme*, the national epic of the Oghuz Turks, can be studied only through a prose compilation made in the 9th/15th century, the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* [see DEDE ḲORḲUT]. The same is true of the epic literature of the Islamicized Turks transplanted into foreign countries, who, taking for their model the Persian or Arabic heroic tales, created for themselves a new national epic celebrating the exploits of the conquerors of Anatolia and dominated by the ideal of the Holy War: the saga of Sayyid Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*], that of Melik Dānishmend [*q.v.*] and that of the dervish-*ghāzī* Ṣarī Ṣalṭuḳ Dede [*q.v.*] have survived only in the form of prose compilations made in the 8th/14th or 9th/15th centuries. But although the ancient *destān*s, epic poems transmitted by oral tradition, have not survived, there are known some works of epic character, which are composed according to the rules of Arabo-Persian prosody, in the *mathnawī* form and in *ramal* metre, and which have the title of *destān*. Among the earliest may be mentioned the *Destān-i Maḳtal-i Ḥüseyn*, an epic poem commemorating the tragedy of Kerbela, composed in 762/1361 by the poet Shādhī for the *emīr* of Ḳasṭamonu, Kötürüm Bāyezīd (MSS: University of Bologna, Marsigli collection no. 3325; Ankara Univ. Lib., Üsküdar Kemankeş coll. no. 528). Towards the 9th/15th century there appeared verse chronicles of epic type which, while recounting the exploits of historical characters, preserved the heroic spirit of the ancient epics; the poet often gives to these verse chronicles the name of *destān*. To this category belong the *Ghazāwetnāme* which forms part of the *Iskendernāme* of Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] (d. 816/1413) and which relates, in the form of an epic poem, the history of the first Ottoman rulers up to Emīr Süleymān (d. 813/1410), and the *Destān of Umūr Pasha*, the second part of the *Düstūrnāme* of Enwerī, written in 869/1465, which celebrates the exploits of Umūr Aydînoghlu [*q.v.*]; to describe this part of his work, written in the form of a popular tale in verse, the poet uses the term *destān* (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha*, Paris 1954, 31-5, 72, verse 744).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited in the article, see, on Turkish epic literature: A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura Turca*, Milan 1956, 308-13; P. N. Boratav, *Littérature turque*, in *Histoire générale des littératures*, Paris 1961, i, 782, 787-8, ii, 183-4; I. Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend*, Paris 1960, i, 41-52; eadem, *Abū Muslim, le "Porte-Hache" du Khorassan, dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962, 29-43; F. Taeschner, *Die osmanische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, v/1, *Turkologie*, Leiden 1963, 258-62.

(I. MÉLIKOFF)

iv.—CENTRAL ASIA

However near to extinction the tradition of oral heroic poetry among the Turkic-speaking peoples may or may not be, it is one of the most important in living memory and deserves closer study in the West than it has as yet received.

Oral heroic narrative in Turkic dialects ranges from the hero-tales of the Altaic tribes (Schiefner, Radloff, Ulagashev) to the full-scale epics of great bards like the Kirgîz Sagîmbay and Sayakbay (*Manas*) or the Özbek Fazîl Yuldash-oghlî (*Alpamish*). If we go north of the Altai to include the hero-tales of, in part, non-Turkic tribes, we can trace one of several hypothetical lines of epic development entire, from shamanistic adventures in the upper and lower worlds, where the hero is borne on the wings of eagles if not of thought itself, to military expeditions against empires beyond the steppe, where man's dream of free movement at speed had matured in the taming of that heroic beast, the horse.

If, as is probable, some Huns were Turks, the Turkic peoples will have had some form of heroic poetry for at least the past fifteen or sixteen hundred years. As companion of a Byzantine ambassador extraordinary, Priscus witnessed a performance of panegyric heroic poetry glorifying Attila as he presided at a banquet. 'When evening fell, torches were kindled, and two barbarians went into the presence of Attila and recited lays of their composition lauding his victories and warlike qualities. The feasters gazed at them fixedly, and while some took delight in the verse, others recalled the battles and were fired in their hearts, while yet others, because their bodies were grown frail with age and their spirit abated, shed tears.' (Ἐπιγενομένης δὲ ἑσπέρας δᾶδες ἀνήφθησαν, δύο δὲ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀττήλα παρελθόντες βάρβαροι ᾄσματα πεποιημένα ἔλεγον, νίκας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον ᾄδοντες ἀρετάς. ἐς οὓς οἱ τῆς εὐωχίας ἀπέβλεπον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥδοντο τοῖς ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολέμων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι διηγείροντο τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐχώρουν ἐς δάκρυα, ὧν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἠσθένει τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡσυχάζειν ὁ θυμὸς ἠναγκάζετο. C. Müllerus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* IV, 1885, 92b). It is as unnecessary to infer that the Huns copied such poems from their Gothic allies as that these copied them from the Huns. Indeed, although there may have been mutual influence and although each of the two peoples may have cultivated both panegyric and epic lay, the extant evidence permits us safely to infer only the panegyric lay for the Huns and the epic lay for the Goths. The fact that δύο.., παρελθόντες βάρβαροι is not in the dual does not exclude the possibility that the 'two barbarians' performed as a pair, as the two performers in the Old English *Wīdsīþ* may have done in a passage which could refer to panegyric (lines 103 ff.). The fragments of heroic poetry cited by al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] c. 1077 A.D., largely derive from highly stylized laments for dead heroes, and from panegyric or more frequently self-panegyric (whether the first person sing. or pl. is directly stated or only implied). The fragments show Muslim Turks at grips with an alien people, the Tangut of the Koko Nor region, or with fellow-Turks of the 'idolatrous' Buddhist religion, the Uigur—patterns which are repeated in the 19th and 20th century epics, with the Kalmîk as hated enemy. The form is that of long couplets with rhyming caesura: A+A, A+X, B+B, B+X, etc. This enables scholars to reassemble couplets scattered by al-Kāshgharī, as Brockelmann has done, under the three heads: 'Battle with the Tangut', 'Campaign against the Uigur', 'Battle with the Yabaḳu' (a Turkicized Mongol tribe), furnishing some idea of what a 9th or 10th century Turkic lay may have looked like: but there can be no guarantee of unbroken sequence among these couplets, as some have assumed. The only internal sign of Islamic influence, and it is a negative one, is the unquestioning assurance with which the warriors desecrate the images of the Buddhist Uigur.

Although there is no surviving epical version, the legend of Oghuz Ḳaghan, the mythical eponymous founder of the Oghuz tribes, cannot be omitted from even the briefest account of Turkic epic. Both Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (Chap. I) and Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*] quote the legend; but the most important witness to it is

the text in the unique Schefer ms. Paris, Bibl. nat. suppl. turc 1001, written in the Uigur script. It is reasonable to assume that the account of the realms subdued by Og͟huz Ḳag͟han must postdate the period of Čingiz and his immediate heirs; but, after this, opinions diverge. Pelliot (followed by S͟hčerbak) considered the text to be a recension in the Uigur of Turfan towards 1300 A.D., though adapted orthographically in Kirgiz territory in the course of the 15th century (while S͟hčerbak considers the writing to resemble that of the *yarlik* of Toktamis͟h). Bang, on the other hand, held that it was written in 'later East Turkic' but that beyond this its date and dialect are totally inscrutable. Sümer argues that it was written in Iran, under G͟hazan K͟hān or his successor, by an Uigur *bak͟hs͟hi* or *bitikči* on the basis of Türkmen oral narrative. The text is incomplete at beginning and end, and there are other imperfections. As the text stands, it is not possible to determine whether the hero's birth is miraculous or merely remarkable, though one must suppose the former in the light of what follows. For, later, Og͟huz Ḳag͟han's acquisition of at least the first of his two wives (future matrons of groups of tribes) is due to heavenly intervention. His first exploits are against wild beasts, and preeminently a unicorn. Before he sets out to conquer nations, he assembles his princes, proclaims himself Ḳag͟han, and chooses 'Grey Wolf!' as his war-cry. And, indeed, before his first battle, a grey wolf emerges (like his first wife) from a heaven-sent ray, and leads the army. Together they conquer Asia, Egypt and Byzantium. Various Turkic tribes, like the Kipčak and Karluk, are founded en route; and when Og͟huz Ḳag͟han comes to rest he gives each of the three sons of his first wife, Kün (Sun), Ay (Moon) and Yultuz (Stars), a third of a golden bow, and the sons of his second, Kök (Sky), Tag͟h (Mountain) and Tengiz (Sea), each a silver arrow as insignia of their tribal organization. The legend is evidently a tribal origin-myth fused with a wishful travesty of the saga of the more dazzling Mongols as reflected in their *Secret History*, from the totemistic Grey Wolf onwards, but always at the poetic level of myth and folk-tale. The form of the narrative is prose, but Riza Nur and Pelliot each detected a group of lines (both situated at high points in speeches by Og͟huz Ḳag͟han) in octo-syllabic rhyming metre (XI, 6-XII, 3; XLII, 3-7), which Pelliot interprets as citations from an epic poem now lost. Nevertheless, prose or rhyming prose breaking into verse at points of heightened interest is a favoured narrative vehicle among the Turkic and neighbouring peoples. As to the influence of the legend in later days, it is thought that the figure of Manas in the 19th and 20th century Kirgiz cycle owes something, in his rôle of conqueror, to the figure of Og͟huz Ḳag͟han.

Some modern epics, like the Kirgiz 'national epic' *Manas* [*q.v.*], are confined to one Turkic people, though some of its characters (including Manas himself) may also appear in the epics of other Turkic peoples. Other epics, like *Alpamis͟h* [*q.v.*], *Edige-batir*, *Koblandi-batir*, *S͟hora-batir* and the romantic epic *Kozi Körpös͟h*, may be shared by several peoples, although not always at the same level of literary development. For example, among the Özbek at least ten variants of *Alpamis͟h* are known, among the Kazakhs two, among the Karakalpaks one, and the scale ranges from shorter poems of *ca.* 2,500 lines to full scale epics of some 14,000; whereas in the Altai it appears as the rather primitive hero-tale of *Alip-Manas͟h*, but again, among the 14th-15th century Og͟huz, in the highly polished version of 'Bamsi-Beyrek' in the *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut* [*q.v.*]. *Manas* is unique in that by a process of dynastic and other cyclization, it has engulfed not only Kirgiz epics which were once independent of it (*e.g.*, *Er Kökčö*, *Er Tös͟htük*, the latter a tale of a hero's adventures in the underworld much as in Altaic hero-tales) but also the bulk of Kirgiz oral folklore, leaving only such 'minor epics' as *Djanis͟h and Bayis͟h* (closely linked with the Türkmen-Özbek *Yūsef and Aḥmed*, *v. infra*), *Kurmanbek*, *Sarindji*, *Er-Tabildi* intact. The *Manas*-bards (*manasči*) were either permitted or encouraged to record in the laboratory such high numbers of lines of *Manas* and of its continuations *Semetey* (2nd generation) and *Seytek* (3rd generation) as 250,000 (*Sagimbay*, 1867-1930) and 400,000 (Sayakbay, b. 1894) respectively. The *ca.* 12,500 lines of *Manas* recorded by Radloff in the latter part of the 19th century on the other hand represent rather the 'bare bones' of possible live performances, having been taken down by the frustrating method of dictation to hand. Genuine performances suited to various types of patrons and audiences could last from one evening to many weeks of evenings and so run to many thousands of lines. Such length was obtained not so much by wealth of incident as by means of 'static' lyrical elaboration of any matter of beauty or interest. This fluidity in the treatment of basic themes also extended in part to the subject-matter itself; for example, as a compliment to Radloff (or so he thought), his singer introduced the White Czar (a figure to whom the great Manas himself looked up in awe), compounding him of the remote Czar of Russia and the great white god of the shamans. So far, two main 'schools' of *Manas* tradition have been distinguished: those of Tien Shan (Sagimbay) and Issik Kul' (Sayakbay). Themes of *Manas* are the hero's miraculous birth and prodigious boyhood; his unification of the Kirgiz tribes after defeating rebellious kinsmen and other k͟hāns; his various expeditions, above all the Great Expedition to China with its tragic return, ending in Manas' death; and his resurrection, linked with legends attached to ancient tombs in Kirgizia. Unusual depth is given to the epic by the unhappy rôle of Manas's milk-brother Almambet, a Chinese (Radloff: Oirot-Kalmik) prince converted to Islam, to whom he entrusts the leadership of the Great Expedition, demoting loyal old Bakay in order to do so and thereby inflaming Kirgiz jealousy. In addition to relying on magic animal helpers who are clearly of shamanistic origin, Manas has the stock Turkic retinue of forty warriors (*kirk-čoro*), most of whose names are common to Radloff and the 20th century bards. The chief Kazakh heroic epics are: *Alpamis-batir*, *Edige-b.*, *Er-kokča*, *Er-sayn*, *Er-targin*, *Kambar-b.*, *Koblandi-b.* and *S͟hora-b.* (period of the capture of Kazan). *Kiz-žibek* and *Kozi Körpös͟h and Bayan Sulū* (the Turkic Romeo and Juliet) are of a more lyrical and romantic turn. *Ayman S͟holpan and Uraḳ-batir* derive from the times of Russian expansion into Central Asia. As stated above, the poem of *Alpamis͟h* attained truly epic dimensions in Özbek. Özbek shares the military romance of *Yūsuf and Aḥmed* with the K͟hʷārizm-Türkmens (*Boz-Og͟hlan*) and also has the historical *dāstān S͟heybānī-k͟hān* and the romances *Kuntugmis͟h*, *S͟hīrīn and S͟hakar*, and *Orzigul*. The leading epic of the Karakalpaks is *Ḳirk-ḳiz*—'The Forty Maidens'. Although this poem has undergone much influence from the recent past, the heroine Gulaym conforms to an ancient Central Asiatic type of warrior-maiden remembered in poetry over a wide area despite the intrusion of Islamic notions of womanhood. Gulaym's

father Allayar, ruler of the Karakalpak stronghold of Sarkop, gives her the fertile region of 'Miueli' (Fruit-land'?), which she fortifies and develops. Her father falls to the Kalmîk Khān, but she avenges him with the help of her lover, the Khʷārizmian hero Arîslan. In Ādharbāydjān the story of the Robin Hood-like Köroghlu [*q.v.*] = Gorogli—Ravshan, 'Son of the Blind Man'—is widely known but has not been taken to the stage of epic. As well as in Turkey, Armenia, Georgia and Persian Ādharbāydjān, the *Gorogli* cycle is known in the lands of the Türkmens, Kazakhs and Özbeks, the last of whom told it elaborately, though not yet epically, as 'The Forty Dastans of Gorogli'.

In the epics of the Kazakh, and, through them, of the Kîrgîz, the heroic prestige of the Nogay, like that of the Achaeans in Homer, is great. In Radloff's version of the Kîrgîz epic, Manas himself is of the Sarî-Nogay, whereas Sagîmbay makes him the grandson of the eponymous Nogay-khān. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the standing of the historical Nogay (d. 1299), and then of his following, among the Tatars of the Golden Horde and also among their eastern neighbours. As was stated above, the Kazakhs also know an epic of Edige, another Emir of the Horde (d. 1419). It is from this time onwards that the modern epics receive traces of names or events, however faintly or however generalized, which can be related to known history rather than to myth and legend. The Kîrgîz, Kazakhs and Karakalpaks share the conception of the perfidious, jabbering, heathenish Kalmîk as paramount enemy. This must derive from the centuries of Kalmîk expansion and pressure on the Turkic tribes (15th-18th centuries), yet after their decline the Kalmîk remained the classic adversary right through the period of the great khānates (which also left their precipitates in the epics) and Russian expansion, up to the present day. Despite the emphasis on the heathenry of the Kalmîk enemy, however, the positive influence of Islam on Turkic epic remains superficial, whereas the deeper layers often reveal shamanistic conceptions [see SHAMANISM]. In recent centuries the epics have come increasingly under the influence of such literary forms as the Persian *dāstān*, whose name has been adopted even for extempore oral epic, and ultimately also epic in book-form, which has preserved several earlier popular versions of epics (*e.g.*, *Kambarbatîr*—see bibliography). Turkic epic shares with oriental music the advantages and disadvantages of improvised performance. On the one hand there are the freedom and ecstasy of the inspired bard.—It is said that when the *manasči* Keldîbek (b. circa 1755) began to sing, the *yurt* trembled and a great whirlwind arose, and in its gloom and din supernatural horsemen, battle-comrades of Manas, flew down so that the ground shook beneath the thud of the hooves. On the other hand, a political disaster could all but shatter a great tradition in a single generation, and a new start must be made. One result of this is a marked diversity of tradition and the repetition of stock motifs in ostensibly different epics over a wide area—such epics are apt to be attracted into the orbits of others. For example, *Ḳozî Ḳörpösh* runs parallel to *Alpamîsh* for part of its course. Another result of extemporization in frenzy, instead of recitation from memory of a perfected work of art, is the total absence of archaic language: each generation has created the fabric of its epics anew within the broad lines laid down by tradition.

The materials for the study of Turkic epic poetry are at present available only in the Soviet Union. Until the conditions governing the recording, editing, and publication of epic performances are more widely known, it will not be possible for others to assess those texts, far from complete in number, which have found their way to the West. Epic poetry of its nature is intimately bound up with political life, and the *Iliad* will have been no exception, so that it is not of itself disturbing that modern bards have become, for example, radio personalities. But the Central Asiatic and Mongolian epics have experienced such marked fluctuations of fortune, following political decisions, as to abash the disinterested scholar. Some recent publications, however, both editions and critical studies, encourage the belief that the basic recordings of a still living major tradition of heroic epic are intact and may one day be given to the world in full.

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Interpretation and discussion. (a) *General*: N. K. Chadwick, *The oral literature of the Tatars*, in H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *The growth of literature*, iii, part I, Cambridge 1940; C. M. Bowra, *Heroic poetry*. London 1952[1], 1962[2] = *Heldendichtung*, Stuttgart 1964, *passim*; *Voprosï izučeniya éposa narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958 (contributions on C. Asiatic epic by V. M. Žirmunskiy, A. K. Borovkov, Kh. T. Zarifov, M. Takhmasib); L. Klimovič, *Iz istorii literatur sovetskogo vostoka*, Moscow 1959: Pt. III (pp. 181 ff.) *Ob ustnom narodnom tvorčestve*; V. M. Žirmunskiy, *Narodnïy geroičeskiy épos*, Moscow-Leningrad 1962: III. *Épičeskoe tvorčestvo narodov Sredney Azii*; IV. *Sredneaziatskie narodnïe skaziteli*; V. *Manas*. (b) *Specific*: P. Pelliot, *Sur la légende de Oguz khan en écriture ouigur*, in *T'oung Pao*, xxvii (1930), 374 ff.; Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlara ait destanî mahiyetde eserler*, in *AÜDTCFD*, xvii (1959), 359-456; E. Rossi, *Il "Kitāb-i Dede Qorqut"*, Rome 1952, pp. 14 ff. *Gli Oğuz. La letteratura degli Oğuznāme*; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 97 ff., 107 ff. (Kāshgharī; Oghuz Ḳaghan); V. M. Žirmunskiy, *Skazanie ob Alpamïshe i bogatïrskaya skazka*, Moscow 1960; R. Z. Kïdïbaeva, *Ideyno-khudožestvennïe osobennosti éposa "Sarïnži-bokey"*, Frunze 1959; R. Z. Kïdïrbaeva, *Narodno-poétičeskie traditsii v épose "Žanïl-mïrza"*; S. Zakirov, *"Er Töshtük" éposunun variantlarï žana ideyalïk-körkömdük özgöčöktörü*, Frunze 1960; B. Kebekova, *"Kurmanbek" éposunun variantlarï*, Frunze 1961; M. Mamïrov, *Sayakbay Karalaevdin "Manas"*

éposunun ideyalîk-körkömdük özgöčölügü, Frunze 1962; B. Kebekova, "*Er Tabîldî" éposunun ideyalîk bagîtî žana körkömdük özgöčölügü*, Frunze 1963; M. Mamîrov, "*Semetey" éposu—"Manas" trilogiyasînîn ékinči bölügü* (*Sayakbay Karelaev varianti boyunča*), Frunze 1963; *Kirgizskiy geroičeskiy épos Manas*, Moscow 1961 (contributions by A. A. Petrosyan, M. Auézov, V. M. Žirmunskiy, M. Bogdanova, etc. Bibliography (1849-1960) listing 695 items. Authoritative); S. M. Abramzon, *Étnografičeskie syužeti v kirgizkom épose "Manas"*, in *Sovetskaya étnografiya*, ii (1947), 134-54; A. Inan, *Manas destanî üzerine notlar*, in *TDAYB*, 1959, 125-59; B. Kerimzhanova, *Semetey i Seytek*, Frunze 1961; A. S. Orlov, *Kazakhskiy geroičeskiy épos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945; T. G. Winner, *The oral art and literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia*, Durham N.C., 1958, 54-58 (Folklore: 'The Heroic Epos'); V. M. Žirmunskiy and Kh. T. Zarifov, *Uzbekskiy narodnîy geroičeskiy épos*, Moscow 1947: shorter version in German by W. Fleischer, *Das Uzbekische heroische Volksepos*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, (Ost) Hrsg. Th. Frings u. E. Karg-Gasterstädt, lxxx (1958), 111-56; *Ob épose "Alpamîsh". Materialî po obsuždeniyu éposa "Alpamîsh"*, Tashkent 1959 (contributions by Kh. T. Zafirov, V. M. Žirmunskiy, A. K. Borovkov, Sh. M. Andullaeva, Kh. S. Suleymanov, M. I. Bogdanova, etc.); I. T. Sagitov, *Karakalpakskiy geroičeskiy épos*, Tashkent 1962.

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v.—Urdu Literature

In the Deccan, where Urdu literature developed earlier, epic begins with Nuṣratī's *ʿAlī Nāma*, celebrating the exploits of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II (1656-1672) of Bidjāpūr. In northern India it developed very late, but elements which can be described vaguely as epical are found in the *shahr āshūb* poems lamenting the economic and social decline of Dihlī and its environs written from the early eighteenth century up to a few years after the Mutiny of 1857, beginning with Shāh Ḥātim Dihlawī (1699-1791), continuing through the *mathnawī*s and satires of Mīrzā Rafīʿ 'Sawdā' (1713-1781) and Mīr Taḳī 'Mīr' (1733-1810), and culminating in the famous *shahr āshūb* of Mīrzā Khān 'Dāgh' (1831-1905). The eighteenth and early nineteenth century ornate and rhymed prose *dāstān* shows the fossilization of a possible epic residue in stale magical romance. These *dāstān*s, which are rooted in the Amīr Ḥamza cycle, current in the Islamic world from Turkey to Indonesia, later developed into voluminous, long-drawn-out, stereotyped, repetitive narratives *Ṭilism-i hūshrubā* and *Būstān-i khiyāl*. Situated in a world of magical phantasmagoria, their content deals with an endless struggle, plot and counter-plot by a triangular set of characters: degenerate pseudo-heroes whose literary ancestry going back to the Ḥamza cycle, their helpers the *ʿayyār*s (tricheurs), their opponents the pagan magicians who with some stretch of imagination might be equated with the predatory Marātha and Djāt bands which had engulfed the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century.

The first heroic epic poem in the modern sense is, perhaps, a short anonymous Dakanī *mathnawī* written to lament the fate of Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] fighting with his back to the wall. Mūʾmin Khān 'Mūʾmin' (1800-1851) is the most eminent of Urdu poets who wrote short heroic poems supporting the *djihād* and the movement of Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*]. Mawlawī Liyāḳat al-Lāh and others among Barēlwī's group of *mudjāhidīn* used the short *razmiyya mathnawī*s for incitement and the call to the *djihād* in an unpoetic and colourless style.

The *marthiya* written in Lakhnaʾū in the middle of the nineteenth century lamenting the tragedy of Karbalā (61/680) receives epical treatment and rises to epic grandeur in the work of Mīr Babar ʿAlī 'Anīs' (1802-1874) and his contemporary Mīrzā Dabīr (1803-1875). In the vein of martyrological epic it dwells upon the theme of the heroic resistance and suffering of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, fighting heroically against overwhelming odds; it contains elaborate descriptions of the desert and the hero's horse and sword, but confuses anachronistically the emotional and social, and to a large extent geographical, milieu of 1st/7th century ʿIrāḳ with nineteenth-century Awadh.

After 1857, when Urdu poetry entered its modern phase, the epic theme and glory of historical Islam became the dominant note underlying the political poem which began with Alṭāf Ḥusayn 'Ḥālī''s [*q.v.*] *musaddas Madd-u djazr-i Islām* and culminated in the poems of Iḳbāl. In the political poem the epic intent emphasizes revivalism and juxtaposes it with modernism; usually the treatment is not narrative and the epic motive is served by references to particular men or events in Islamic history. Ḥafīẓ Djāllandharī has written a narrative *Shāhnāma-i Islām* which is versified history and lacks genuine epic elements.

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ḤAMĀT, town in central Syria, 54 km. north of Ḥimṣ and 152 km. south of Ḥalab on the road which connects these two towns, and built on both banks of the Nahr al-ʿĀṣī [*q.v.*] or Orontes, which at this point winds a great deal. The steppe plateau which surrounds the town is in part made into ploughed land (cereals), Mediterranean-type orchards and market gardens, thanks to the hydraulic installations which bring water from the river to its fertile soil.

The town of Ḥamāt goes back to early antiquity: it was occupied by the Hittites, who left inscriptions there, then, in about the 11th century B.C., it passed into the hands of Aramaean kings: it is at this period that it is mentioned in the Bible under the name of Hamath. After having been forced, in the reign of Solomon, to recognize the supremacy of the Hebrews, these kings regained their independence, then, in the middle of the 9th century B.C., fought on the side of the Aramaean kings of Damascus against the Assyrian Salmaneser and finally, in 738 B.C., had to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser; soon afterwards, in 720 B.C., following a revolt, the Aramaean kingdom

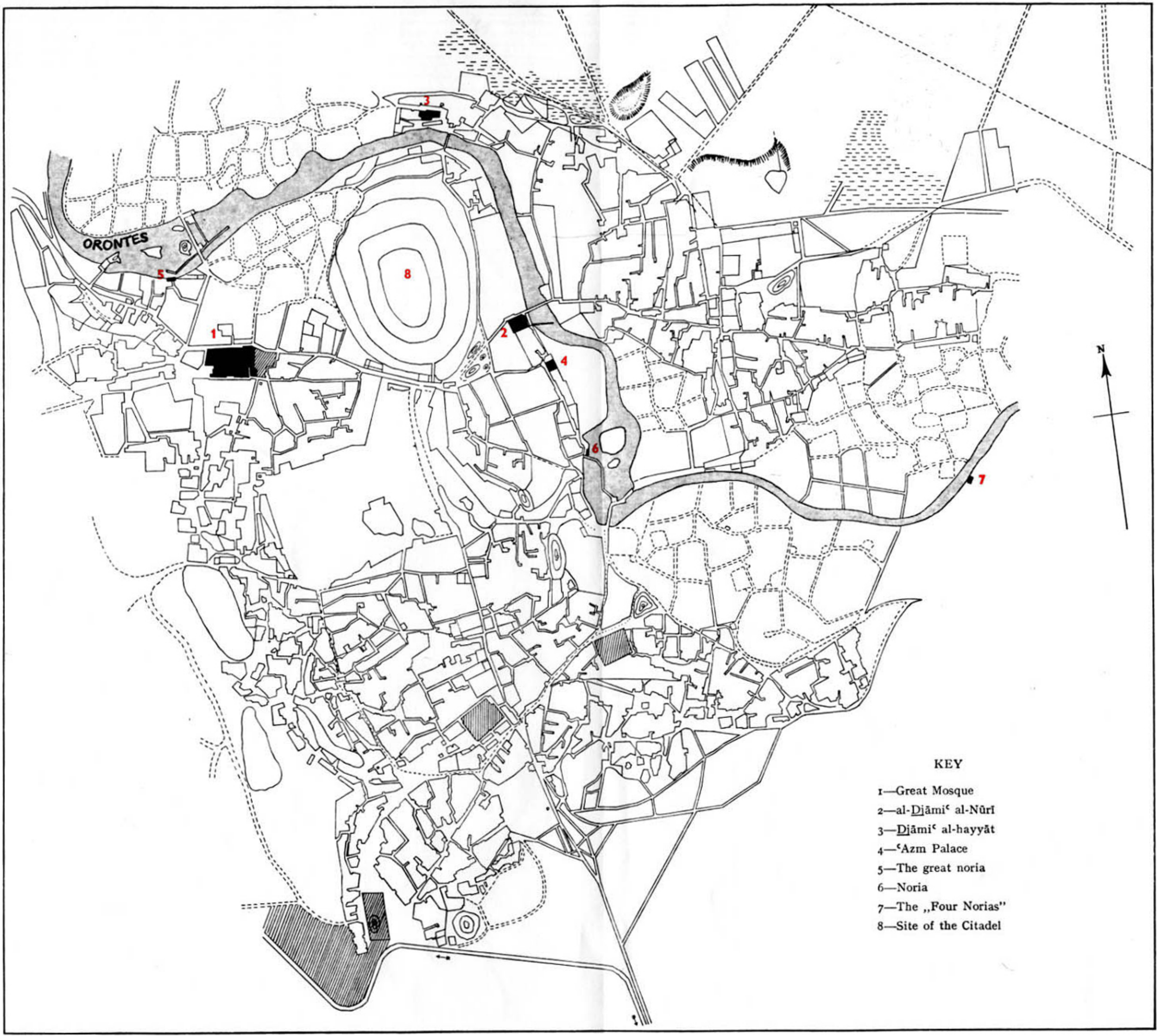
of Ḥamāt was incorporated into the Assyrian empire. In the Hellenistic period, the town received, probably under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the name of Epiphania, which it did not retain after the Arab conquest. This took place in 15/636-7 and the town, now of little importance, which had been taken "by capitulation", belonged until the beginning of the 4th/10th century to the *dj̲und* [*q.v.*] of Ḥimṣ. Little is known about its organization at this time; we know only that already in the Umayyad period it contained a Great Mosque, which seems to have been built on the site of a Byzantine church, parts of which were re-used in building it, and which was restored under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī, and that during the reign of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (end of the 3rd/9th century) it was a large market town protected by walls.

During the reign of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla, the town of Ḥamāt was incorporated into the district of Ḥalab, and until the beginning of the 6th/12th century its destiny was to continue to be linked with that of this town, which at that time was going through a troubled period. It is known that after the raid of Nicephorus Phocas in 357/968, during which the Great Mosque at Ḥamāt was burned, northern Syria had been under the nominal domination of the Fāṭimids, who allowed the Mirdāsids to ravage it, and had then passed into the hands of the Saldj̲ūḳid princes. On the death of the last Saldj̲ūḳid, Riḍwān, in 507/1113-14, Ḥamāt was probably occupied by the *atābeg* of Damascus, Tug̲h̲takīn [*q.v.*], but in 509/1116-17 it fell into the power of the governor of Ḥimṣ, K̲h̲īrk̲h̲ān b. Ḳarādja, who later gave it up to his brother S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. During the first third of the 6th/12th century Ḥamāt was one of the principal stakes in the struggles between the rulers of northern Syria and those of southern Syria, while the Franks also coveted it, though they never succeeded in taking it. On the death of Maḥmūd, in 517/1123, the town of Ḥamāt was taken again by Tug̲h̲takīn, then, in 522/1128, belonged to his son and successor Tādj̲ al-Mulūk Būrī [*q.v.*], who installed there his own son Sevindj̲. After concluding an agreement with Zangī [*q.v.*], Būrī send Sevindj̲ to him in 524/1130, when he was immediately and treacherously imprisoned. Zangī was thus able to enter Ḥamāt together with K̲h̲īrk̲h̲ān b. Ḳarādj̲ā to whom he handed over the town, re-taking it from him shortly afterwards. The other son of Būrī, Ismāʿīl, succeeded in seizing it again and in holding it from 527 to 529/1133-5, but was finally forced to withdraw before Zangī, who then occupied it definitively. Ḥamāt next passed into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], then of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.], who occupied it in 570/1174-5. It was the latter who handed it over, in 574/1178-9, to his nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, whose descendants remained masters of the town throughout the Ayyūbid period and even after the intervening period of the Mongol invasion (which they made no attempt to resist) until the beginning of the Mamlūk period. The principal line becoming extinct in 698/1299, the town had become the headquarters of a Mamlūk *niyāba* of Syria, but the nephew of the last prince, the famous author Abu 'l-Fidāʾ [*q.v.*], succeeded, thanks to the friendship of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in getting himself restored, in 710/1310, to the governorship of the town, then, in 720/1320, in receiving the title of *sulṭān*, which was also accorded to his son al-Malik al-Afḍal Muḥammad. The latter, however, incurred the wrath of the sultan of Cairo and was exiled to Damascus until his death in 742/1342.

In the Ayyūbid period, and during the governorship of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, the town of Ḥamāt (which was the birth-place of the geographer Yāḳūt [*q.v.*]) enjoyed true prosperity. Its unusual appearance is stressed by eastern and western travellers, and in particular by Ibn Dj̲ubayr. While possessing no monuments of outstanding grandeur, it occupied an unusual site, on both banks of the Orontes, with its houses crowded close to the river, and possessed its own peculiar charm which, it was said, was appreciated only by those who explored its various quarters. Along the river thirty-two water-wheels or norias (*nāʿūra*) of various sizes (the tallest being 22 metres high) raised water to aqueducts which supplied both sections of the town and irrigated the surrounding gardens; drinking water was provided, it is not known exactly from what date, by a special aqueduct which came from the region of Salamiya. On the right bank there extended a quarter which Ibn Dj̲ubayr describes as a "suburb" and which, joined to the other bank by an arcaded bridge, was especially remarkable for its *k̲h̲āns*; it was here that travellers stayed. The town proper was situated on the left bank, which was higher (reaching in places as much as 40 metres above the level of the river) and dominated by a line of mountains; it consisted of a lower and an upper town, both surrounded by a wall which dated from al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, also a citadel, built along the bank of the river on an isolated eminence overlooking the lower town; each of these towns had a mosque (that of the lower town having been built by Nūr al-Dīn and that of the upper town being the original Great Mosque) and *sūḳ*s; the lower town possessed in addition a hospital and three *madrasas* (one of which had been founded by Nūr al-Dīn for the great jurist Ibn Abī ʿAsrūn), but the *sūḳ*s of the upper town were the more famous.

From the middle of the 8th/14th century, Ḥamāt was administered by Mamlūk governors, who continued at first to use the former palace of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar ʿUmar, which today is ruined, and who caused to be engraved the numerous texts of decrees which are still visible on the walls and the columns of the Great Mosque. The town suffered at the hands of Tīmūr, to whom the destruction of the citadel is attributed. But the Mamlūk administration concerned itself with the prosperity of Ḥamāt and it was during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries that the Mamlūk governors built or rebuilt two of the most important norias of the town and also the largest aqueduct.

In the Ottoman period Ḥamāt became, at the time of the first administrative reorganization of the empire, the headquarters of a *liwāʾ* belonging to the *eyālet* of Tripoli; but in the middle of the 18th century the town was attached to the *pas̲h̲alık* of Damascus as a fief (*mālikāne*) of the Pas̲h̲a. It was at this time that Asʿad Pas̲h̲a al-ʿAẓm built there a residence which still exists, now used as a museum, and which, while not the equal of the "ʿAẓm Palace" at Damascus, is nevertheless a very fine specimen of Ottoman civil architecture, and remarkable for its terraces overlooking the Orontes. In the 19th century, at the time of a new administrative reorganization, Ḥamāt was attached to the *wilāyet* of Damascus. In 1906 the town was linked by railway to Aleppo in one direction and to Ḥimṣ and Damascus in the other. At the beginning of the 20th century its population seems to have been stable: approximately 60,000 inhabitants are recorded in 1893 and in 1930. By this time such importance as the town had arose


ORONTES
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KEY
1—Great Mosque
2—al-Djāmiʿ al-Nūrī
3—Djāmiʿ al-hayyāt
4—ʿAzm Palace
5—The great noria
6—Noria
7—The „Four Norias"
8—Site of the Citadel

from its position as a market used mainly by the Bedouin from the surrounding district, who obtained there the various products which they needed and notably some very good textiles, while it remained one of the most picturesque cities of Syria, with nine norias still working out of the eighteen recorded in the 18th century. But, since 1945, the town of Ḥamāt has shared in the general tendency to expansion of the towns of Syria and its population now exceeds 150,000.

There remain in Ḥamāt several monuments worthy of note. The most important is the Great Mosque, which dates from the Umayyad period; as is proved by the presence in its courtyard of a pavilion on columns intended as the local *bayt al-māl*. The hall of prayer is of an original plan: its three naves are in fact each of different width and its eight pillars support five cupolas in the form of a cross. The courtyard is surrounded by vaulted porticoes with semi-circular arches, some of which appear to date from the time that the mosque was built. The western portico opens into an adjoining mausoleum, which contains the tomb of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III (683-98/1284-98), the last direct descendant of the nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Of its minarets, the one, isolated, to the east of the hall of prayer, bears an inscription of 529/1135, but is built on a base which seems earlier; the other, abutting on the north portico, dates from the Mamlūk period.

On the right bank of the Orontes is the *Dj̲āmiʿ al-Nūrī*, the mosque of the lower town, founded by Nūr al-Dīn, in which still survive important parts of the original building and which is particularly famous for the interesting *minbar* which belongs to the first foundation. On the opposite bank of the Orontes is the *Dj̲āmiʿ al-ḥayyāt*, or mosque of the snakes, so-called because of the form of the small columns which frame one of the windows of the hall of prayer and which resemble intertwined snakes. Beside this mosque is the tomb of Abu 'l-Fidā'.

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(D. Sourdel)

HAMAWAND, also ḤAMAWAND (generally Arabicized as Aḥmadwand, though Ḥama is the normal hypocoristic form of Muḥammad), a small Kurdish tribe of obscure origins, numbering about 10,000 souls, now settled mainly in the Čamčamāl and Bāzyān districts west of Sulaymāniya, in ʿIrāḳ. The chief family is divided into the four branches Ramawand, Ṣafarwand, Ras̲h̲awand and Bagzāda. Ag̲h̲as of this family were until recently established in some fifty villages of the area, having both tribal followers and client villagers in their service.

With the exception of one offshoot, which went to S̲h̲īrāz, the tribe is supposed to have migrated from the area of Kirmāns̲h̲āh, in Persia, about 1185/1770. They supported the Baban princes of Sulaymāniya until their autonomy came to an end in 1847. For some decades thereafter the tribe continued to harass the Ottoman and Persian authorities equally, and earned themselves considerable notoriety by taking to systematic brigandage over the whole area between Bag̲h̲dād, Kirmāns̲h̲āh and Mosul. In 1889, however, having suffered losses at the hands of the Persians, they retired to Bāzyān and were then deported by the Ottoman authorities, half to Adana and half to Tripoli in North Africa. Seven years later the latter contingent, men, women, and children, fought its way back to Bāzyān and the whole tribe was shortly allowed to reunite. As late as 1908 caravans travelling from Kirkuk to Sulaymāniya did so in terror of attack from the tribe.

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(D. N. MacKenzie)

ḤAMAWĪ [see SAʿD AL-DĪN ḤAMAWĪ].

ḤAMḌ, WĀDĪ AL-, Iḍam of the classical Arab geographers, a seasonal watercourse in north-western Arabia which enters the Red Sea 50 km. south of al-Wadj̲h. Wādī al-Ḥamḍ is one of the major physiographic features of western Arabia; it and its tributaries drain a basin 455 km. long lying between the mountain chain of al-Ḥidj̲āz and the *ḥarra*-capped plateau to the east. Wādī al-Dj̲izl, the main tributary of the system in the north, drains the southern and western slopes of Ḥarrat al-Raḥāh and Ḥarrat al-ʿUwayriḍ. Tributaries in the south-east flow from Ḥarrat K̲h̲aybar. The southern limit of the Wādī al-Ḥamḍ watershed lies 75 km. south-southwest of Medina in the upper reaches of one of the several *wādī*s known as al-ʿAḳīḳ [*q.v.*]. The Wādī al-ʿAḳīḳ which drains a large plateau area east of Ḥarrat Rahaṭ and southeast of Medina is not, as often reported, part of the Wādī al-Ḥamḍ system. Classical Iḍam lay in the *dīra*s of As̲h̲djaʿ and Dj̲uhayna. Its

upper reaches near Medina were called al-Ḳanāh, and a tributary of Wādī al-Ḥamḍ near the city is still known by that name. The name Iḍam occurs in the works of the early poets, and there are records of Muslim raids into the valley in the years 8/629-30 and 10/631-32. The Damascus-Medina pilgrim track and the Ḥidjāz Railway route enter Wādī al-Ḥamḍ at Hadiyya Station, 165 km. from Medina, and follow its course nearly all the way to the Holy City.

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Maps: In the series U.S. Geological Survey, Miscellaneous Geologic Investigations, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1: 500,000, see the following sheets: (a) *Northwestern Hijaz*, I-204B, 1959, (b) *Northeastern Hijaz*, I-205B, 1959, and (c) *Southern Hijaz*, I-210B, 1958. (J. Mandaville)

ḤAMD ALLĀH b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmād b. Naṣr al-**MUSTAWFĪ** al-**ḲAZWĪNĪ**, Persian historian and geographer, born about 680/1281-2 at Ḳazwīn, d. after 740/1339-40. He came of a Shīʿī family which had provided a series of governors of Ḳazwīn in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. His great-grandfather had been the Auditor-General of ʿIrāḳ and the family had since then borne the appellation Mustawfī. Ḥamd Allāh was appointed financial director of his home town and of several neighbouring districts by the well-known minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who also inspired his historical studies. About 720/1320 he began with a *Ẓafar-nāma*, closely imitating Firdawsī in style and diction, which in 75,000 verses describes Islamic history up to 734/1333-4, that is, almost to the end of the Īlkhān empire. Ḥamd Allāh worked for 15 years on this material and in that connexion wrote his own studies of Firdawsī. This work has not been published. *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (completed 730/1330) is similar in content, concise and very readable in style; in essentials it depends on known sources (al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and also on the *Shāh-nāma* for the mythical period), but it contains a quantity of useful information about the author's times which is not to be found elsewhere, so that it is indispensable as a source for the later Īlkhān period (pub. in facsimile with English paraphrase by E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson, Leyden and London, 1911-14: *GMS*, xiv/1 and 2). Even more important is his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (Hearts' Bliss), an essentially cosmographical and geographical work, which is also written in an easily comprehensible manner. This work is practically our only source for the whole human geography of the last period of the Īlkhān empire; it still assumes the unity of that empire, which was crumbling from 735/1335 onwards. Only from the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* can we gather all the essential facts on the organization of administration, commerce, economic life, sectarian divisions, tax-collection and similar subjects; apart from literary sources (some classical geographers, reference books like Yāḳūt, the cosmography of al-Ḳazwīnī, and the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn Balkhī), Ḥamd Allāh used to a great extent his own knowledge and official documents available to him as a financial official (complete edition, Bombay 1894; *The Geographical Part*, text and translation, by Guy Le Strange, Leyden and London 1915-19: *GMS*, xxiii/1-2). The two last-named works were frequently transcribed because of their clear structure and simple style, and still deserve high regard as outstanding products of Persian mediaeval geography and historiography.

Bibliography: Storey, i/2/1, 81-84, 1233 (MSS., editions, selections, translations); Browne, iii, 87-100 (with a quotation from the *Ẓafar-nāma*); Spuler, *Mongolen*², esp. 10, 19, 321 f.; N. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skiye nazvaniya životnykh v trude Khamd-allakha Kazvini* (Mongolian animal-names in Ḥamd Allāh's work), in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, i (1926), 195-208.

(B. Spuler)

ḤAMD ALLĀH, shaykh, Ottoman calligrapher [see khaṭṭ]

ḤAMDALA means the saying of the formula *al-ḥamdu li'llāh* (for the different vocalizations—*du, di, da*—see *LA*, iv, 133, 7 ff.) "Praise belongs to Allāh"; for from Him all praise-worthiness proceeds and to Him it returns. *Ḥamd* is the opposite of *dhamm*, being praise for something dependent on the will of him who is praised and it differs in this from *madḥ* which is not so limited; it is thus different from, although it may be an expression of *shukr*, "gratitude", the opposite of which is *kufrān*; *thanāʾ*, often rendered "praise", more exactly "taking account of", is used both of praise and dispraise. The phrase is formally *ikhbārī* or *khabarī*, "narrative", but in its use it is *inshāʾī*, "assertive", for the speaker makes it an expression of the praise which he at the moment directs towards God (Muḥammad ʿAbdū in *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, Cairo, 1323, 28; see, too, the elaborate discussion by al-Baydjūrī in his *Ḥāshiya* on the *Kifāyat al-ʿawāmm* of Faḍālī, Cairo 1315, 3 ff. In Lane's translation, "Praise Be" (*Lexicon*, 638) he meant an emphatic affirmation, not a *duʿāʾ*; this is plain from his letter to Fleischer on the translation of *tabāraka* (*ZDMG*, xx, 187). But this use of "be" is misleading and hardly defensible as English. Perhaps the *inshāʾī* force could be indicated by a mark of exclamation as Palmer does in his translation of the Ḳurʾān. As the phrase occurs twenty-four times in the Ḳurʾān, besides other forms such as *lahu 'l-ḥamd*, it naturally became frequent in Muslim usage. All things come from Allāh, and for all things, pleasant or grievous, He is to be praised. Yet the word *ḥamdala* does not seem to belong to the classical language and is thus later than *basmala*, which may even be pre-Islamic. In the *Ṣaḥāḥ* and the *Lisān* it does not occur, though *basmala* is in both, in the latter fortified with a verse from ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (Schwarz, *Dīwān*, no. 413, ii, 241; the evidence for the line and the usage is fullest in the *Tādj*, s.v.). In the *Miṣbāḥ* (finished 784/1382) *ḥamdala* is mentioned, but only under *basmala*; it has no entry of its own. Finally, it is entered in its place in the *Ḳāmūs*; so slowly did it win recognition as a word. Besides its broad, devout usage the phrase is statedly a part of the *ṣalāt* and of the supplemental *tasbīḥ*, being repeated thirty-three times in the latter (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. iii; *Lexicon*, 1290b). Further, as one of the seven *mathānī*, i.e. the verses of the *Fātiḥa*, it has part with the *Fātiḥa* in various mystical and magical usages and meanings. Thus it is the *mathnā* assigned to the first of the seven stages of the Rifāʿī *ṭarīḳa* (W. H. T. Gairdner, *Way of a Mohammedan Mystic*, 12, 23). Even in orthodox tradition the *Fātiḥa* has begun to have magical value; cf. in al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-Tafsīr, Bāb Fātiḥat al-Kitāb*) the story of the man who used it as a charm (*ruḳya*) against snake-bite, and the Prophet approved. For later elaborate developments in magic, see al-Būnī, *Shams al-maʿārif*, faṣl X, and Aḥmad al-Zarḳāwī, in *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, 175. But the *ḥamdala* does not seem to be used by itself in magic as is the *basmala*. Again, the tendency to use the phrase as an introductory

formula soon expressed itself as a tradition from the Prophet: "Whatever is not begun with praise of Allāh is maimed" [see BASMALA]. Thus the *ḥamdala* became one of the three required things at the beginning of any formal writing. But this requirement was distinctly later, for, while the use of the *basmala* in this way held from the earliest times, we do not find the *ḥamdala* prefixed to the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām nor to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* nor even to the *Fihrist*. See on this usage and the traditions supporting it, the commentary of Sayyid Murtaḍā on the *Iḥyā'*, i, 53 f. and on the praiseworthiness of this exclamation especially v, 13 ff. (*Kitāb al-Adhkār*). The Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) in the mosques usually begins with the *ḥamdala*; and in earlier days a *khuṭba* lacking the *ḥamdala* was called *batrā'*.

Bibliography: References as above and also Bayḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i, 5, 26 ff.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 45 ff.; Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ*, i, Cairo 1307, 115 ff. There exist numerous minor works, still in manuscript, on the *basmala* and the *ḥamdala* but these works often merely reproduce what is to be found in the *Tafsīrs* and the treatises. (D. B. MACDONALD)

HAMDĀN, a large Arab tribe of the Yemen group, the full genealogy being Hamdān (Awsala) b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Rabī'a b. Awsala b. al-Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān. Their territory lay to the north of Ṣan'ā [*q.v.*], stretching eastwards to Ma'rib [*q.v.*] and Nadjrān [*q.v.*], northwards to Ṣa'da [*q.v.*], and westwards to the coast (Abū Arīsh). The eastern half belonged to the sub-tribe of Bakīl, the western to Ḥāshid [*q.v.*], and these are still found there.

In the Djāhiliyya Hamdān worshipped the idol Ya'ūḳ (but probably not Yaghūth as sometimes stated; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 20, 22). Ibn al-Kalbī (*Aṣnām*, 10) suggests that they may have accepted Judaism at the time of Dhū Nuwās; many of their allies of Bal-Ḥārith (al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b) were Christian. There is little mention of them in poetry and in the accounts of early battles. When Abraha [*q.v.*], ruler of the Yemen, marched against Mecca, Hamdān joined in the attack made on him by a Yamanī prince, Dhū Nafr, allegedly to defend the house of God. On the "second day of Kulāb" they, along with Kinda and Ḳuḍā'a, supported Bal-Ḥārith against Tamīm. Again with Bal-Ḥārith they defeated their neighbours on the east, Murād, at Mulāḥa (Razm in the Djawf), allegedly on the very day of the battle of Badr in 624. Another victory over Murād was at al-Ḳā' (in the Djawf).

To seek alliance with Muḥammad a deputation from Hamdān came to Medina in 9/631, led by the poet Mālik b. Namaṭ and Abū Thawr Dhu 'l-Mish'ār, probably a prince (Ibn Hishām, 963; cf. Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 73 f.); but this deputation seems to have represented only a part of the tribe. Others are said to have submitted to 'Alī on his expedition to the Yemen in 10/631-2 (al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 274). Muḥammad set 'Āmir b. Shahr (of Bakīl) over Hamdān (Ṭabarī, i, 1851-3). At the *ridda* some of the tribe were inclined to revolt, but most stood firm behind the leaders (cf. W. Hoenerbach in *Abh. der Akad. der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Kl.), Mainz 1951, 274-7). According to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959, 438 f.) Hamdān became dispersed as they moved into the conquered lands, apart from those who remained in the Yemen. For a time, however, there was a strong body of them in Kūfa (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, index), including 'Āmir b. Shahr (*Usd*, *s.v.*) and the poet A'shā of Hamdān (d. 83/702 [*q.v.*]). They were nearly all fervent supporters of 'Alī and his sons (cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index). Twelve thousand of them are said to have been in 'Alī's army at Ṣiffīn, and their leader Sa'īd b. Ḳays took a prominent part in the battle. For a time they were reckoned, along with Ḥimyar and Madhḥidj, a "seventh" of the Arabs (Ṭabarī, i, 2495). The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) [*q.v.*] belonged to the group remaining in the Yemen.

Bibliography: (additional to that in article): al-Hamdānī, 49.9-15; 53.26-54.1; 67.14 f., 21-5; 85.6; 86.25; 101.1-3; 103.21; 105.13 f.; 106.16 f.; 107.9 f.; 108.22-4; 115.9; 125. 1 f.; 132. 5 f; 183.23; 190. 19 f.; 194. 21-4; 198. 13-16; Yāḳūt, see index, p. 262; Ṭabarī, index; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, T. 9.10 and Register, p. 200; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ibn Hishām, 52, 950, 963.

(J. SCHLEIFER-[W. MONTGOMERY WATT])

ḤAMDĀN ḲARMAṬ B. AL-ASH'ATH, the leader of the Ḳarmaṭian movement in the *sawād* of al-Kūfa. Originally a carrier from the village of al-Dūr in the *ṭassūdj* of Furāt Bādaḳlā, he was converted to the early Ismā'īlī movement by the *dā'ī* [*q.v.*] al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī. The date 264/877-8 given in this connexion by a much later report may be approximately correct. When al-Ḥusayn died or left the district, Ḥamdān became his successor. He organized the movement throughout the *sawād* and appointed the *dā'īs* for the major districts. His main assistant was his brother-in-law 'Abdān [*q.v.*], who soon became the leading spirit and conducted the propaganda quite independently. The movement spread rapidly among the peasants, and many of the Bedouin clans and tribes in touch with the *sawād* also became adherents. Various taxes were collected from the converts, culminating in the fifth on all income to be saved for the expected Mahdī. Eventually a kind of communal ownership of goods was introduced and care was taken of the needy in the community. In 277/890-1 a fortified *dār al-hidjra* was built as a place of refuge and congregation. As the Baghdād government had not since the time of the Zandj revolt re-established effective control over the region, the movement escaped its notice until the year 278/891, when some people from al-Kūfa accused it of creating a new religion and permitting warfare against the Muslims. No action was taken. As this, however, was the first Ismā'īlī movement of which the government took notice, the name 'Ḳarmaṭian' was later applied to other groups not organized by Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ.

The doctrine propagated by Ḥamdān and 'Abdān probably closely resembled that ascribed to the Ḳarmaṭians by al-Nawbakhtī. Its central theme was that the appearance of the Mahdī Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the seventh Imām and seventh Apostle of God, was at hand, ending the era of Muḥammad, the sixth Apostle. He would rule the world, establish justice, abolish the law of Islam, and proclaim the hidden truth of the former religions. This truth could already be attained at least partially by the converts on initiation. The doctrine had a distinctly antinomian character. Reports of the Sunnī sources that the followers of Ḥamdān dispensed with the Islamic ritual and law are trustworthy, but not so their allegations that this led to licentiousness and libertinism among them.

This was essentially also the teaching of the leaders of the Ismā'īlī movement with whom Ḥamdān kept up correspondence. When the later Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mahdī succeeded to the leadership in Sala-

miyya, he introduced certain doctrinal changes which aroused the apprehension of Ḥamdān. ʿAbdān was sent to find out the reason for the change. He learnt that the new leader denied any connexion of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl with the movement and claimed the Imāmate for himself. Thereupon Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān broke off the propaganda, causing a momentous split in the Ismāʿīlī movement. This happened about the year 286/899. Ḥamdān soon afterwards went to Kalwādhā and from there disappeared. A report of Ibn Mālik that he was killed in Baghdād does not seem reliable.

Bibliography: The report of Akhū Muḥsin, probably mostly taken from Ibn Rizām, is best preserved by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, vi, Cairo 1961, 44 ff., and also by al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafā'*, ed. Bunz, Leipzig 1909, 101 ff., and by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, transl. S. de Sacy in *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, pp. CLXVI ff.; Ṭabarī, iii, 2124 ff.; M. J. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*², Leiden 1886, 16 ff.; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1958), 36 ff.; idem, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 59 ff. (W. MADELUNG)

AL-**HAMDĀNĪ**, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. YAʿḲŪB B. YŪSUF B. DĀWŪD B. SULAYMĀN DHI 'l-DUMAYNA AL-BAKĪLĪ AL-ARḤABĪ, often named IBN DHI/ABI 'l-DUMAYNA or IBN AL-ḤĀ'IK "the weaver's (*i.e.*, the poet's) son" after his ancestor Sulaymān, who was a poet (cf. *Iklīl*, x, 197), South-Arabian scholar, most famous as antiquarian, genealogist, geographer and poet. On account of his rich and varied literary production he was called "the tongue of South Arabia" (*lisān al-Yaman*).

Al-Hamdānī, whose family originated from al-Marāshī in the territory of Bakīl, was born in Ṣanʿā' in the latter half of the 3rd/9th century, perhaps in 280/893 according to a cryptic notice in the recently discovered 10th *maḳāla* of his *Sarā'ir al-ḥikma* (*Iklīl*, i, ed. al-Ḥiwālī, Preface p. 62). Having received an excellent education in all branches of learning, he made extensive travels and acquired a detailed knowledge of Arabia, as is shown by his classic description of this peninsula (*Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿarab*), which is perhaps a supplement to the otherwise unknown work *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (cf. al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, i, 283). He visited ʿIrāḳ, lived for a long time in Mecca and was in contact with many eminent scholars, such as the older Anbārī, Zāhidī and Ibn Khālawayh.

The main authority of al-Hamdānī for South-Arabian archaeology and genealogy was Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd, called al-Yaharī (after his ancestor Dhū Yahar) and al-Ḥanbaṣī (from his castle in Bayt Ḥanbaṣ near Ṣanʿā'). The rich material supplied by this authority, by the records (*sidjill*) of the tribe of Khawlān in Ṣaʿda, and by other oral and literary sources was collected in his magnum opus, the encyclopaedia *al-Iklīl*, "the Crown". For our knowledge of the South-Arabian tribes the *Iklīl* plays the same fundamental rôle that the *Djamharat al-ansāb* of Ibn al-Kalbī does for the Northern ones. Only four of its ten parts are so far known to exist in manuscript: I, II, VIII, X. The first two books—treating the genealogy of Mālik b. Ḥimyar, *viz.* al-Hamaysaʿ b. Ḥimyar—were discovered in 1932 in the Berlin ms. Or. oct. 968, of which a facsimile edition was published in 1943. This ms. gives the text in the recension of Muḥammad, the son of the famous Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, made about 600/1200. According to the introduction the redactor made only some minor omissions from the original text. There are, however, several later additions incorporated, among them some marginal notes of Nashwān. A second ms. of book II exists in Cairo. Book VIII, containing descriptions of the old castles of the Yaman, with much poetry inserted, enjoyed great popularity; it is preserved in several MSS. of mediocre quality, so that all editions and translations are unreliable in details. Extracts from this book in a better recension were found in the Ambrosiana (see *Orientalia*, N.S., xii, 135-45). Book X finally gives the genealogies of the twin Hamdān tribes, Ḥāshid and Bakīl.

Of the remaining, lost, parts of the *Iklīl*, book III is said to have treated the merits (*faḍā'il*) of Ḳaḥṭān, books IV-VI the old history of South Arabia (*al-sīra/siyar al-ḳadīma, al-wusṭā, al-akhīra*) until the beginning of Islam, book VII a critic of false traditions, and book IX finally the Ḥimyaritic inscriptions (*masānid*). Quotations from this book in the commentary on Nashwān's Ḥimyaritic *ḳaṣīda* show that al-Hamdānī had some knowledge of the *musnad* writing, but no real understanding of the inscriptions.

Apart from genealogical, historical and topographical material, the *Iklīl* provides us also with a rich anthology of old Yamanī poetry. At the end of book I there are given three complete *ḳaṣīdas* of ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ b. Abu 'l-Ṭalḥ al-Shihābī, who is otherwise little known (cf. *Ṣifa*, 58). The work also preserves numerous samples of al-Hamdānī's own poetry, which was collected in a *Dīwān* of six volumes and commented upon by Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980), but is now lost. Al-Hamdānī's famous *ḳaṣīda al-Dāmigha* is preserved at the end of the Berlin MS. of the *Iklīl*, I-II. With this fervent defence of the Banū Ḳaḥṭān against the Banū ʿAdnān, al-Hamdānī engaged himself in the old fatal controversy between northern and southern tribes that had been started about 200 years earlier by Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī with his *Mudhahhaba*. His engagement in the tribal *mufākhara* may have been fatal for al-Hamdānī, who was accused by his enemies of blasphemy against the Prophet, as belonging to the Banū Hāshim (cf. *Iklīl*, i, ed. al-Ḥiwālī, Preface p. 49, the passage from the *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr* of Ibn Abu 'l-Ridjāl).

Al-Hamdānī spent the greater part of his life in Rayda, where he enjoyed the favour of Abu Djaʿfar al-Ḍaḥḥāk, called Sayyid Hamdān, and wrote his *Iklīl* in the castle of Talfum. Having moved from there to Ṣaʿda, he was involved in political controversies and put in prison by Asʿad b. Abū Yuʿfir al-Ḥiwālī (d. 332/943) on behalf of the Rassī Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir b. Yaḥyā al-Hādī in Ṣaʿda. In his *Ḳaṣīdat al-djār*, printed by al-Ḥiwālī in his preface to *Iklīl* i (pp. 49-56), al-Hamdānī blames Asʿad, while Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ukaylī, who released him from prison, is praised in the context of *Iklīl* i. A second imprisonment brought about a strong reaction among the Arabs and led to the battle of Katafā, and eventually to the death of al-Nāṣir and his brother Ḥasan. Having been released from prison with the consent of Ibn Ziyād, the ruler of Zabīd, al-Hamdānī praised the leaders of the revolt in poems (see *Iklīl*, i, ed. al-Ḥiwālī, pp. 331 ff.). Hence there are strong reasons to disbelieve the current statement, made by Ṣāʿid al-Ḳurṭubī in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (ed. Cheikho 59) on the authority of the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir (350-366), that al-Hamdānī died in prison in Ṣanʿā' in the year 334/945 (*ibid.*, Preface 48, 59 s.).

Only one other book of al-Hamdānī, *K. al-Djawharatayn al-ʿatīḳatayn*, on the two precious metals gold and silver, has been preserved and is being edited by Toll in Uppsala. Of the astrological work *Sarāʾir al-ḥikma* a fragment has recently come to light (v. supra). Of the remaining works attributed to al-Hamdānī nothing has been recovered so far; some of these are cited in the *Iklīl*. Their titles are: (1) *al-Siyar wa'l-akhbār* (= *Iklīl* iii-v?), (2) *Ayyām al-ʿarab*, (3) *al-Yaʿsūb* (on shooting and hunting), (4) *al-Ḳuwā* (on medicine), (5) *al-Zīdj* (astronomical tables), (6) *al-Ṭāliʿ wa'l-maṭāriḥ* (mentioned only in Ḳifṭī's *Inbāh*).

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B. Biography: Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 58-9; al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, 163; idem, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāh*, ed. Muḥ. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1369, i, 279-284 (main biographical source); Yāḳūt, *Irshād al-arīb* (*GMS* VI), iii, 1, 9; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāh*, Cairo 1326, 217 (from Khazradjī); short biographies in Fīrūzābādī's *K. al-Bulgha fi taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-lugha* (Berl. Ahlw. 10060, f. 63 b) and Ibn ʿAzm's *Dustūr al-iʿlām* (Berl. Ahlw. 9876/7, f. 50 b).

C. Editions and translations: (1) *Ṣifa*: *Al-Hamdânî's Geographie der arab. Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller, i-ii, Leiden 1884-1891; L. Forrer, *Südarabien nach al-Hamdānī's "Beschreibung der arab. Halbinsel"*, Leipzig 1942 = Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXVII/3 (partial translation); (2) *Iklīl*: i-ii (and *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Dāmigha*): Facsimile edition, Berlin 1943; i: ed. O. Löfgren, fasc. 1-2 (Uppsala 1954/65) = Bibliotheca Ekmaniana 58; ed. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963; ii (last section) ed. Löfgren: al-Hamdānī, *Südarabisches Muštabih*, Uppsala 1954 = Bibl. Ekmaniana 57; viii: D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen u. Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklîl des Hamdânî*, i-ii, Vienna 1879-81 = *SBAk. Wien*, phil.-hist. Classe, xciv-xcvii; idem, *Auszüge aus dem VIII. Buche des Iklîl*, Vienna 1899 = *Südarab. Alterthümer im Kunsthist. Hofmuseum*, 80-95; ed. Anastās Mārī al-Karmalī, Baghdād 1931; ed. Nabih Amin Faris, Princeton 1940; idem, *The antiquities of South Arabia* (translation), Princeton 1938 = *Princeton Oriental Texts*, iii; x: ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1368/1949

(O. Löfgren)

HAMDĀNIDS, three families of the Banū Hamdān whose tribal rule over Ṣanʿāʾ and its dependencies extended from 481-570/1088-1175. Throughout Yemen's long history of political anarchy, the large and powerful tribe of Hamdān [*q.v.*], many of whose members were Shīʿī, either of the Zaydī or Ismāʿīlī sect, often imposed their rule over Ṣanʿāʾ and its environs whenever there was a decline of a larger dynastic state. Such was the case with the weakening of the Ṣulayḥid [*q.v.*] dynasty, whose members were of a sub-tribe of the Hamdān, towards the end of the 5th/11th century.

Upon the transfer of the capital of the Ṣulayḥid state from Ṣanʿāʾ to Dhū Djibla in 481/1088-89 by the second ruler of this Fāṭimid dynasty, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, ʿImrān b. al-Faḍl, one of the leaders of the Banū Hamdān from the sub-tribe of al-Yām, and Asʿad b. Shihāb, maternal uncle of al-Mukarram Aḥmad, were appointed as the Ṣulayḥid governors over Ṣanʿāʾ. On the death of al-Manṣūr Sabā, the third Ṣulayḥid ruler, in 492/1098-99, and the resultant decline of his state, the rule of Ṣanʿāʾ passed more directly into the hands of the Banū Hamdān in the person of Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm al-Mughallasī.

Ḥātim died four years later and was succeeded by his second son, ʿAbd Allāh. Intratribal strife, perhaps in part caused by sectarian differences, began, with control of Ṣanʿāʾ as the prize; only two years after ʿAbd Allāh came into power, and although he was recognized as a just ruler, he was killed by poison in 504/1110-11. He in turn was succeeded by his younger brother, Maʿn b. Ḥātim. By now the dissension in the tribe had reached full force, with the elders, led by the *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, son of the former Ṣulayḥid governor, ranged against Maʿn while a large group of the tribe came to his support. At length, in 510/1116, Maʿn was deposed and imprisoned by the *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad, and the tribal control of the city passed into the hands of another Hamdānid family.

Hishām b. Ḳubayb (not Ḳubbayt as in Lane-Poole) b. Rusaḥ and his brother, al-Ḥumās, ruled in succession for the next seventeen years (the year of Hishām's death is not known). Upon the demise of al-Ḥumās, in 527/1132-33, he was followed by his son Ḥātim. With the continuance of tribal discord the Ṣanʿānīs rose in revolt and deposed Ḥātim in favour of Ḥamīd al-Dawla Ḥātim, the son of the *Ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, in 533/1138-39. He is reported to have entered Ṣanʿāʾ with 700 Hamdānī horsemen in support of his régime.

By this time Yemen had reverted to its usual state of political and religious anarchy with the main towns and districts of both the coast and the highlands in the hands of local independent rulers, a condition ripe for the rise of religious reformers and adventurers. One of these reformers was the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, a direct descendant in the sixth generation from al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Yaḥyā, the founder of the Zaydī sect in the Yemen. Al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, rising in 532/1137-38, proclaimed his leadership of the Zaydīs in their chief centre, Ṣaʿda, and set out to conquer the highlands, taking Nadjrān, al-Djawf, and al-Ẓāhir before marching against Ṣanʿāʾ. In 545/1150-51 he attacked and defeated Ḥamīd al-Dawla, but was unable to seize Ṣanʿāʾ from the Hamdānids.

On the death of Ḥamīd al-Dawla in 556/1161 control over Ṣanʿāʾ passed to his son, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim, during whose reign the Mahdid [*q.v.*] ruler of Zabīd in the Tihāma began his campaigns for territorial conquest and the spread of the apostate religious doctrines instituted by his father, ʿAlī b. Mahdī (d. 554/1159). In 568/1172-73 the Mahdid attacked the Zurayʿid [*q.v.*] ruler of ʿAdan by laying siege to the city. The Zurayʿids, unable to withstand the Mahdids alone, requested and received the assistance of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim and that of two other Hamdānid tribes of the highlands. In a series of encounters during the first part of 569/1173 the Mahdid was driven back to the Tihāma by the allies.

Shortly after the return of ʿAlī b. Ḥātim to Ṣanʿāʾ the Ayyūbids under Tūrān Shah reached the outskirts of the city in their conquest of Yemen. ʿAlī fled to the safety of his mountain fortress leaving the city open to the invaders, and with the capture

of Ṣanʿāʾ by the Ayyūbids in 570/1174-75 the Fāṭimid rule of the Hamdānids of nearly a century came to a close.

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(C. L. Geddes)

ḤAMDĀNIDS, Taghlibī Arab family which, in the 4th/10th century, provided two minor dynasties, which arose, owing to the decadence of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, in Mesopotamia or Djazīra (Mosul) and in Syria (Aleppo), and whose most distinguished representative was the *amīr* of Aleppo, Sayf al-Dawla.

The Ḥamdānids are descended from ʿAdī b. Usāma . . . b. Taghlib, which is why they are called Taghlibīs and ʿAdawīs (see their genealogical tree in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, C, 32 and in M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1951, 287-8; cf. the appendix to the edition of the *Dīwān* of Abū Firās by S. Dahan, Beirut 1944). They came originally from Barkaʿīd in the eastern part of the Djazīra (on Barkaʿīd, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 105).

The first Ḥamdānids. The first member of the family on whom historical information is available is Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥārith, who appears in 254/868 with other Taghlibīs in an army which was fighting against the Khāridjīs of Djazīra, but is found from 266/879-80 onwards, and particularly in 272/885-6, among the Khāridjīs, whence his nickname of al-Shārī. In 279/892-3, at the time when al-Muʿtaḍid assumed power and decided to re-establish the authority of the caliph in Djazīra, Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn was in possession of certain places there, including Māridīn, and, on the left bank of the Tigris, Ardumusht (on this place see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 112 and *passim*). In 282/895, the caliph seized Māridīn, which Ḥamdān had left; then his troops took Ardumusht, which Ḥamdān's son, Ḥusayn, who had been left to guard the fortress while his father fled, yielded to the caliph's forces, himself going over to the caliph's side. After a vigorous pursuit along both banks of the Tigris, Ḥamdān gave himself up to the caliph outside Mosul and was imprisoned. (On this episode, see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 301-2; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *apud* Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent*. . ., in *ZDMG*, xli, 243; Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, ed. Dahan, 148, in the great *ḳaṣīda* which he wrote in praise of his family.)

His son Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, now on the side of the caliph, gave the latter valuable support in the fighting against the Khāridjīs and their leader Hārūn al-Shārī. It was due to him that Hārūn was captured, and the grateful caliph rewarded him by pardoning his father Ḥamdān and granting him the command of a corps of Taghlibī horsemen, which several members of the family joined. He took part in the fighting in the Djabal against Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf [see DULAFIDS] in 283/896, and in the expeditions against the Ḳarmaṭīs. During the caliphate of al-Muktafī, he was responsible in 291/903, under the orders of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *ṣāḥib dīwān al-djaysh*, for the victory in Syria over the Ṣāḥib al-Khāl, who was captured. He also took part in Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's expedition in which he re-conquered Egypt from the last Ṭūlūnid ruler in 292/904-5, refusing to accept the governorship of Egypt. He again fought the Ḳarmaṭīs in Syria in 295/907-8. Having taken part in the conspiracy to put Ibn al-Muʿtazz on the throne in 296/December 908, he fled after the plot failed. His brother, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, was ordered to pursue him but was unable to overtake him. Ḥusayn finally asked for *amān* through the mediation of his brother Ibrāhīm, which was granted. He was even appointed governor of Ḳumm and Kāshān in the Djabal. He returned to Baghdād and received in 298/910-11 the governorship of the Diyār Rabīʿa. But he quarrelled with the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, revolted, and was captured by the eunuch Muʾnis in 303/916. He was imprisoned, and put to death in 306/918 in circumstances which are obscure, perhaps as the result of a Shīʿī conspiracy in which he is said to have take part while in prison, for he had pronounced Shīʿī sympathies (see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 330-1, 338-9).

Ḥusayn's brothers, ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, Ibrāhīm, Dāwūd and Saʿīd, had remained loyal to the caliph. The first had been appointed governor of Mosul in 293/905-6. He subdued the Kurds of the region, directed, as has been said, the operations against his brother Ḥusayn in 297, but in 301/913-4 was dismissed for reasons which are not clear, revolted, but then gave himself up to Muʾnis, was pardoned and was re-instated as governor of Mosul in 302/914-5. He was under suspicion at the time of Ḥusayn's revolt in 303, and for a time both he and his brother Ibrāhīm were imprisoned. Soon he was again given a command in the army, and fought under Muʾnis against Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, the governor of Ādharbaydjān and Armenia, who revolted in 307/919. His brother Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of the Diyār Rabīʿa in 307 (being succeeded, on his death in 308, by his brother Dāwūd); while Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ was appointed in 308/920 governor of the Ṭarīḳ Khurāsān and Dīnawar and was re-appointed in 313/925-6 to the governorship of Mosul as well, to which were shortly added the regions of Bāzabdā and of Ḳardā on the left bank of the Tigris. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ was to retain these positions until his death in 317/929; in the history of the caliphate he played an active political and military rôle which took him away from Mosul, where he left as his lieutenant his son al-Ḥasan, the future Nāṣir al-Dawla. In 311/923-4 he was given the task of ensuring the security of the Pilgrimage route: on his return he was attacked by the Ḳarmaṭī Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān and taken prisoner, but was freed in 312/928. In 315/927-8, the Ḳarmaṭīs had reached ʿAyn al-Tamr near al-Anbār on the Euphrates and presented a serious threat to Baghdād. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, with his three brothers Sulaymān, Saʿīd and Naṣr, served in the army sent to halt the Ḳarmaṭīs. According to one tradition, it was due to the initiative of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, who persuaded the commander of the army to destroy the bridge over the Nahr Zubāra, that Baghdād was saved and the Ḳarmaṭīs forced to turn their attentions elsewhere.

However, Hārūn b. Gharīb, the son of the maternal uncle of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, was ambitious to take the place of the commander-in-chief, the eunuch Muʾnis, who was friendly to the Ḥamdānids. Having obtained the governorship of the Djabal, he dismissed Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ from his governorship of Dīnawar. Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ then came with his troops to Baghdād. He took part in the conspiracy which came to a head at the beginning of 317/February 929 and whose aim was to overthrow al-Muḳtadir and to replace him by his brother Muḥammad al-Ḳāhir. Working closely with the chief of police, Nāzūk, he played a very

important part in the conspiracy and it was he who installed al-Ḳāhir in the palace and procured al-Muḳtadir's abdication; at the same time, keeping his own interests in view, he caused to be bestowed on himself the governorship of a wide area. But there arose a counter-revolt; the new caliph was besieged in his palace and Abu 'l-Haydjā' died heroically defending al-Ḳāhir to the end. Al-Muḳtadir, returned to power, evinced the most profound grief at Abu 'l-Haydjā''s death.

Abu 'l-Haydjā' was at this period the most notable member of the Ḥamdānid family. His great qualities of valour and generosity and his frank and independent spirit commanded respect and were universally esteemed. But he possessed also the spirit of intrigue which was characteristic of the great feudal lords of the time and he was finally the cause of his own undoing. Abū Firās gives him an important place in his *ḳaṣīda* and praises his powerful sword-strokes. Like Ḥusayn, and probably the whole family, he had definite Shīʿī tendencies, which were to re-appear in his son Sayf al-Dawla: Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions that he was responsible for the restoration of the tomb of ʿAlī at Kūfa (on Abu 'l-Haydjā', see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 341-76, and on his brothers, *ibid.*, 378-81).

Abu 'l-Haydjā''s two sons were to be the most famous members of the Ḥamdānid family and, inheriting their father's prestige, were to follow his political example and to make renowned the two emirates, Mosul and Aleppo, which they governed. But Abu 'l-Haydjā' may be considered as the founder of the emirate of Mosul and of the Ḥamdānid dynasty.

The Ḥamdānid emirate of Mosul. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the son of Abu 'l-Haydjā' and the future Nāṣir al-Dawla, had at first some difficulty in making himself *amīr* of Mosul. On his father's death he inherited only a part of his domains, on the left bank of the Tigris, his claim to Mosul being denied. He regained it in 318/930, however, but was deprived of it again as a result of the intrigues of his uncles, Naṣr and Saʿīd, who left him only the western part of the Diyār Rabīʿa. In 322/934 he again became master of Mosul and of the Diyār Rabīʿa, but was ousted once again by his uncle Sāʿid, who was intriguing against him from Baghdād. He therefore rid himself of him by a villainous murder, then Mosul was re-occupied by the troops of the vizier Ibn Muḳla. Ḥasan, who had fled to Armenia, prepared from there the re-conquest of Mosul. He defeated the lieutenants of the caliph and of the rival Taghlibī clan, the Banū Ḥabīb, who had sided with the caliph against him. At the beginning of 324/end of 935, the caliph al-Rāḍī finally appointed him governor of Mosul and of the three provinces of the Djazīra (Diyār Rabīʿa, Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr). He nevertheless had to fight, with the help of his younger brother ʿAlī, the future Sayf al-Dawla, in order to wrest Diyār Bakr from one of his former auxiliaries, a Daylamī, and Diyār Muḍar from some Ḳaysī tribes and an officer of the caliph. In 936 he was master of the whole of the Djazīra and henceforward was to be able to give free rein to his ambitions.

The crisis in the caliphate which had forced the caliph al-Rāḍī to hand over his powers to an *amīr al-umarā'* gave rise to rivalry among all the candidates for this position. Ḥasan, with the power which the possession of a rich province gave him, desired the position and engaged in a conflict with the *amīr al-umarā'*, Badjkam [*q.v.*], who tried unsuccessfully to dispossess him of Mosul. At one moment Ḥasan gave his support to another *amīr al-umarā'*, Ibn Rā'iḳ, and to the caliph al-Muttaḳī, who were being threatened by the ambitious Aḥmad al-Barīdī of Baṣra, but then had Ibn Rā'iḳ assassinated and himself took his place at Baghdād in 330/942 after having brought back the caliph to his capital (4 June 942). He had earlier received the title of Nāṣir al-Dawla (Defender of the dynasty), while his brother ʿAlī, who, with his cousin Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān, had helped him, received that of Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the dynasty). Nāṣir al-Dawla governed the attenuated ʿAbbāsid empire for about a year, but had to give up the position to one of his officers who had led a revolt against him, the Turk Tūzūn, and returned to Mosul. The caliph al-Muttaḳī quarrelled with Tūzūn and put himself under the protection of the Ḥamdānid, but the latter, after being defeated by Tūzūn, abandoned the caliph who, after trying to gain the protection of the Ikhshīd of Egypt, who was master of Syria, returned to Baghdād. Nāṣir al-Dawla then concluded in 332/944 a pact with Tūzūn which assured him the governorship of the Djazīra. Next he unsuccessfully opposed the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla when in 334/January 946 the latter took possession of the capital, and concluded an agreement with him in 335/946. He was confirmed in his possessions and the Buwayhid even supported him when his troops revolted. But twice there was conflict between them, in 337/948-9 and in 347/958-9, because of the Ḥamdānid's refusal to fulfil his financial obligations to the central power as represented by the Buwayhid. In 347 Nāṣir al-Dawla even had to take refuge with his brother Sayf al-Dawla, the master of Aleppo (from 336/948, see below), until the signing of a new treaty which Muʿizz al-Dawla concluded with Sayf al-Dawla, regarding Nāṣir al-Dawla as the subordinate of his brother. Nāṣir al-Dawla was once again driven out of Mosul by Muʿizz al-Dawla, and for the same reasons, in 353/964, but he was able to make a victorious return there with his sons. However, Muʿizz al-Dawla would have dealings only with Abū Taghlib, the eldest son of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who was already beginning to follow a policy of his own.

This year 353 marks the decline of the power of Nāṣir al-Dawla, who, now old and in conflict with his sons, was deposed by them and exiled in 356/967 to Ardumusht, where he died in 358/969.

Nāṣir al-Dawla's power had extended over the Diyār Rabīʿa, Mosul, the districts on the left bank of the Tigris, and Raḥba in the Diyār Muḍar. As we shall see, he had left the Diyār Bakr to his brother Sayf al-Dawla, who also held the greater part of the Diyār Muḍar. At the beginning of his reign, Nāṣir al-Dawla had made two unsuccessful attempts, in 324/935-6 and in 333/944, to extend his domination to Ādharbaydjān. His penetration into Armenia in 323/935 when he was forced to leave Mosul (see above) was also only temporary, and it is doubtful whether he was able to make his authority recognized there as Sayf al-Dawla did later. In the Byzantine war Nāṣir al-Dawla played only a part of little importance (on the reign of Nāṣir al-Dawla see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 377-407, 409-52, 507-39, and art. NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA).

He was succeeded by his son Faḍl Allāh Abū Taghlib al-Ghaḍanfar. Abū Taghlib came into conflict first with his brother Ḥamdān, who alone had opposed the removal of Nāṣir al-Dawla and who had a certain amount of power at his command, for he held the governorship of Nisibis in the Diyār Rabīʿa, of Māridīn and of Raḥba in the Diyār Muḍar, and he

had in addition seized Raḳḳa and Rāfiḳa after the death of Sayf al-Dawla of Aleppo. In order to fight against Ḥamdān, Abū Taghlib made an agreement with Bakhtiyār, who had succeeded Muʿizz al-Dawla at Baghdād, and Ḥamdān was forced to abandon his possessions and to flee to Baghdād. Bakhtiyar succeeded in procuring his return to Raḥba in 359/970; but the war between the two brothers recommenced, resulting in a battle, in which Ḥamdān mortally wounded another of his brothers, and in further quarrels in the Ḥamdānid family, several members of which abandoned Abū Taghlib. Ḥamdān was defeated, however, and again obliged to flee to Baghdād where he was joined at the end of 360/971 by his brother Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm.

Abū Taghlib did not on the other hand enter into conflict with his cousin at Aleppo, Abu ʾl-Maʿālī Sharīf, the successor of Sayf al-Dawla, who, having difficulties in Syria, tacitly accepted the nominal suzerainty of the emirate of Mosul over that of Aleppo which had been granted to Abū Taghlib by the caliph al-Muṭīʿ, thus continuing the state of affairs which had existed during the time of Nāṣir al-Dawla. Nor did he oppose Abū Taghlib's seizure of the Diyār Bakr and the Diyār Muḍar.

But Abū Taghlib's chief opponent was the Buwayhid Bakhtiyār, master of the caliphate and the representative of the central power to which the Ḥamdānid had to pay tribute. Hostility between the two was inevitable, especially as the Ḥamdānid's ambition was to play in Baghdād the rôle which had formerly been played by his father Nāṣir al-Dawla, and also as two of his brothers were there, one of whom especially, Ḥamdān, was urging Bakhtiyār to drive Abū Taghlib out of Mosul. At first Abū Taghlib and Bakhtiyār followed a policy of alliance, which showed itself in their common attitude towards the Ḳarmaṭīs and the Fāṭimids, but in 368/973, prompted by Ḥamdān, Bakhtiyār undertook the conquest of Mosul and marched on the town. A shrewd move by Abū Taghlib in the direction of Baghdād led Bakhtiyār to negotiate. The terms of the agreement, which contained one clause requiring the Ḥamdānid to keep Baghdād supplied with wheat, were observed by neither side and hostilities recommenced, ending in a new agreement in 974. Relations then improved, and Abū Taghlib, to whom Bakhtiyār had persuaded the caliph to grant the *laḳab* of ʿUddat al-Dawla, gave the Buwayhid his support against the rebel Turkish leaders and advanced even as far as Baghdād. But it was due to the intervention of the Buwayhid of Shīrāz, ʿAḍud al-Dawla (the son of Rukn al-Dawla of Rayy), that Bakhtiyār was restored to his throne at Baghdād. In 364/975 Abū Taghlib obtained a new treaty, which freed him from the payment of tribute. When ʿAḍud al-Dawla attempted, in 367/977, to gain for himself Bakhtiyār's position at Baghdād and to send the latter to seek a new fortune in Syria, Abū Taghlib gave his support to Bakhtiyār, who was trying to recapture Baghdād, on condition that his brother Ḥamdān, who was with Bakhtiyār, was handed over to him; he then had Ḥamdān put to death. But the troops of Bakhtiyār and Abū Taghlib were defeated by ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 367/978. The Buwayhid seized Mosul and forced Abū Taghlib to flee. He reached Nisibis, then Mayyāfāriḳīn, then Arzan and Armenia, then Ḥiṣn Ziyād in the Byzantine territory of Anzitene held by the Byzantine rebel Skleros, hoping to obtain his help by forming an alliance with him. But his hopes were disappointed; he returned towards Amid without encountering any opposition from the Buwayhid troops who were engaged in besieging Mayyāfāriḳīn. After the capture of this town in 368/978, Abū Taghlib no longer felt secure and turned towards Raḥba. From there he tried in vain to reach an agreement with ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who was now master of the greater part of the Djazīra, and decided to continue into Syria into Fāṭimid territory, while the Buwayhid army arrived to occupy the Diyār Muḍar. Avoiding passing through the territory of his cousin at Aleppo, Saʿd al-Dawla, who had acknowledged the suzerainty of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and had been invited by him to arrest the fugitive, he managed to reach the Ḥawrān. He hoped to enter Damascus and to obtain from the Fāṭimid caliph the governorship of this town, which at that time was in the hands of a rebel, al-Ḳassām. But the latter prevented him from entering the town and Abū Taghlib, after some skirmishes, headed southwards and reached Kafr ʿĀḳib on the Lake of Tiberias. He began negotiations with the Fāṭimid general Faḍl and promised to help him to reconquer Damascus. But Faḍl had undertaken to support Mufarridj b. Daghfal b. al-Djarrāḥ, the master of Ramla, who was disturbed by the presence and the ambitions of Abū Taghlib. Faḍl, violating his agreements, on the contrary promised Ramla to Abū Taghlib. Finally Abū Taghlib joined forces with the enemies of Mufarridj, the Banū ʿUkayl, and with them embarked on an action against him. Mufarridj then appealed to Faḍl. In the ensuing battle Abū Taghlib was taken prisoner by Mufarridj and put to death (369/979)

Abū Taghlib had had to endure violent Byzantine attacks in 361-2/972, but in the following year his lieutenant took prisoner the Domesticus Melias, who died in captivity. In /974, the Emperor in revenge ravaged Mesopotamia. It appears that about this time Abū Taghlib paid tribute to the Empire. At the time of the revolt of Skleros, after the death of John Tzimisces in /976, the Byzantine rebel relied on the help of Abū Taghlib, with whom he concluded a pact, and we have seen that in 368/978 he spent some time at Ḥiṣn Ziyād, the headquarters of Skleros (on the reign of Abū Taghlib see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 541-77, 838 ff.).

The Ḥamdānid dynasty of Mosul ended tragically. It had indeed led a rather precarious existence from the time of the arrival at Baghdād of Muʿizz al-Dawla.

Abū Taghlib's sister, Djamīla, who had fled with her brother, also met a tragic end. One tradition had it that she took her life after being handed over to ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The other members of the Ḥamdānid family at Mosul, notably Abū Taghlib's two brothers Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn and Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm, transferred their allegiance to the Buwayhid. After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, a Kurdish *amīr*, Bādh, had taken possession of the Diyār Bakr. In order to halt Bādh's attempts to gain the remainder of the Djazīra, the Buwayhid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, who had come to the throne in 379/989, authorized the two brothers to return to Mosul. They attempted there to regain power and fought against Bādh with the help of the Banū ʿUḳayl. Bādh was killed in a battle against Ḥusayn in the region of Balad. Bādh's successor, his nephew Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān, carried on the struggle against the two brothers and took Ḥusayn prisoner, but released him on the intervention of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz, who received him in Syria and made him governor of Tyre in 387/997. Another of Abū Taghlib's brothers, Abu ʾl-Muṭāʿ Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn, also entered the service of the Fāṭimid, and became governor of Damascus

in 401/1010-1. Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm was arrested and put to death by the ʿUḳaylid *amīr* with whom he had fought against Bā**dh**. Mosul then passed into the power of an ʿUḳaylid dynasty.

One of Ḥusayn's grandsons, Ḥusayn Abū Muḥammad, who like his ancestor bore the title Nāṣir al-Dawla, played an important rôle in Egypt in the reign of al-Mustanṣir, first as governor of Syria, then in Cairo during the disturbances of 459/1065 and the following years. He was at one moment absolute master in Cairo, tried to re-establish the ʿAbbāsid suzerainty there and deprived the caliph of all authority. He died in 465/1072, the victim, with his brother Fa**kh**r al-ʿArab, of a conspiracy [see FĀṬIMIDS, AL-MUSTANṢIR and NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA].

The Ḥamdānid emirate of Aleppo. The formation of the Ḥamdānid emirate of Aleppo was the work of ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Hay**dj**āʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, Sayf al-Dawla. After the assassination of Ibn Rāʾiḳ, Nāṣir al-Dawla had tried to gain control of his fief of the Diyār Muḍar and of northern Syria. But the lieutenants whom he sent there had only a precarious authority and were disposed to render allegiance to the I**kh**s**h**īd. In 332/944, the caliph, who was under the protection of the Ḥamdānid, sought the support of the I**kh**s**h**īd and tried to go to Syria. Fearing that the whole of Syria and the Diyār Muḍar would fall into the hands of the I**kh**s**h**īd, Nāṣir al-Dawla sent troops under the command of Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd b. Ḥamdān, who gained control of Aleppo. The caliph left for Raḳḳa, accompanied, or rather escorted, by Sayf al-Dawla who had left Nisibis with him. However, the I**kh**s**h**īd, who had driven Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd out of Aleppo, had arrived at Raḳḳa, to meet the caliph there. The caliph received the I**kh**s**h**īd and confirmed him in the possession of Syria. Then the I**kh**s**h**īd, who had refused to commit himself further, returned to Egypt, while the caliph retraced his steps to Ba**gh**dād. As the authority of the administrators whom the I**kh**s**h**īd had appointed in northern Syria seemed rather precarious, Sayf al-Dawla decided to seize northern Syria, with the help of troops and money supplied by his brother. He entered Aleppo in Rabīʿ I 333/October 944, by arrangement with the Kilābīs of the region and without any fighting. Then the I**kh**s**h**īd reacted; after a war of more than two years, interrupted in 334/945 by a truce which the death of the I**kh**s**h**īd encouraged Sayf al-Dawla to repudiate, a definitive peace was concluded between the Ḥamdānid and the son and successor of the I**kh**s**h**īd, Unu**dj**ūr, and in 336/947 Sayf al-Dawla became master of a state which comprised northern Syria (*djund* of Ḥimṣ and of Ḳinnasrīn, ʿAwāṣim), the Syrian frontier marches, which submitted to him in 335/946, and the greater part of the Diyār Muḍar and the Diyār Bakr (see above). This Syro-Mesopotamian state remained theoretically subordinate to that of Mosul, Nāṣir al-Dawla being the elder, but in practice it was territorially and politically more important, and Sayf al-Dawla (who until then had fought for Nāṣir al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ, in Mesopotamia, even in Armenia, where in 328/940 he had received the submission of the Armenian princes, and against the Byzantines) became in fact independent of him and of the caliph.

From the time he became master of Aleppo, responsible for the defence of the Syro-Mesopotamian frontier (which extended from Cilicia to **Sh**ims**h**āṭ and to Ḳālīḳalā in Armenia), Sayf al-Dawla's main task was the war against the Byzantines; but he had also to fight against the rebel tribes in Syria. He built himself a splendid palace outside Aleppo, his main capital, the second being Mayyāfāriḳīn, on which too he lavished every care. He gathered round him a number of members of his family, including his cousin Abū Firās, whom he had made governor of Manbi**dj**, and formed for himself a court made famous by the poets who were attached to it. He reigned in Aleppo from 336/947 until 356/967. The first period of his reign was marked by successes both within the realm and outside it, but in the later period, from 350/961-2 onwards, he suffered serious reverses—the temporary occupation of his capital by the Byzantines, the loss of Cilicia, internal disturbances and rebellions, and finally his own illness (hemiplegia). He died at Aleppo in Ṣafar 356/ February 967, aged 51. Nevertheless the brilliance which he conferred on the emirate of Aleppo by his military victories and by his cultural influence, and through the poets and the prose-writers of what has been called the "circle of Sayf al-Dawla", has made him one of the most famous rulers of Islam. Without going into detail, we refer the reader to the article SAYF AL-DAWLA, which will deal with his campaigns against the Byzantines and against the tribes, the beginnings and the end of his career, his internal and external policy and his cultural rôle (on him see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 489-505, 596-663, 741-827. Ulla S. Linder Welin, *Sayf al-Dawlah's reign in Syria and Diyārbekr in the light of the numismatic evidence*, offprint from *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, i, Lund 1961, deals with the political events as reflected in the coins issued by Sayf al-Dawla).

Sayf al-Dawla's successor was his son Saʿd al-Dawla Abu 'l-Maʿālī, who at that time was at Mayyāfāriḳīn and did not arrive in Aleppo until June-July 967. He was the son of the sister of Abū Firās al-Ḥari**th** ibn Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ Saʿīd and was only 15 years of age. He had to face the rebellion of Abū Firās, his father's cousin, who was at that time governor of Ḥimṣ. Abū Firās was killed in battle in 357/April 968. After this Saʿd al-Dawla had to leave Aleppo because of the threat of the Byzantine armies, which at the end of 968 reached as far as Ḥimṣ and Tripoli but did not, however, trouble Aleppo, where Saʿd al-Dawla had left his chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) Ḳar**gh**ūyah, who had been his father's chamberlain and had already governed Aleppo during the absence of Sayf al-Dawla. Saʿd al-Dawla was unable to return to Aleppo as soon as the disturbance was over because Ḳar**gh**ūyah, ambitious to seize power for himself, had come out in open rebellion (358/968). The young *amīr*, deprived of Aleppo by Ḳar**gh**ūyah and of Raḳḳa by Abū Ta**gh**lib, wandered from Sarū**dj** to Ḥarrān, Mayyāfāriḳīn and Manbi**dj**, whence he advanced towards Aleppo. But he had to retreat before the presence of the Byzantine forces. In fact, Peter the Stratopedarch and Michael Bourtzes had taken Antioch at the end of 358/October 969, and Peter the Stratopedarch had entered Aleppo and imposed on Ḳar**gh**ūyah a treaty making Aleppo a Byzantine protectorate (Ṣafar 359/December 969-January 970) which excluded Saʿd al-Dawla from the emirate of Aleppo in favour of Ḳar**gh**ūyah and, after him, of his lieutenant Bak**dj**ūr. Saʿd al-Dawla obtained refuge at Ḥimṣ, whence he succeeded in returning to Aleppo only in 367/977, after Ḳar**gh**ūyah had been removed by his lieutenant Bak**dj**ūr.

At first Saʿd al-Dawla's authority extended only over the Syrian provinces, Abū Ta**gh**lib having in 360/971 seized the whole of the **Dj**azīra. However, by

recognizing the suzerainty of the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 368/979 (which gained for him from the caliph the *laḳab* of Saʿd al-Dawla), he succeeded in recovering the Diyār Muḍar, with the exception of Raḥba and Raḳḳa, from Abū Taghlib, now a fugitive. He had appointed Bakdjūr governor of Ḥimṣ, but he lost no time in entering into conflict with him. Bakdjūr relied for help on the Fāṭimid, who had promised him the governorship of Damascus and whose plan was to take advantage of the enmity between Bakdjūr and Saʿd al-Dawla to seize the emirate of Aleppo for himself. In order to fight against Bakdjūr, Saʿd al-Dawla relied on the help of the Byzantines, who, in 371/981-2, had just sent an army to Aleppo to remind the *amīr* of his obligations under the treaty of 359, which from then on he was obliged to fulfil more or less scrupulously. It was a Byzantine army which, in 373/983, forced Bakdjūr, who had come to lay siege to Aleppo, to raise the siege, and which also returned Ḥimṣ to Saʿd al-Dawla. The conflict between Bakdjūr and Saʿd al-Dawla ceased during the time that Bakdjūr, driven out of Ḥimṣ, was governor of Damascus for the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz, particularly as Saʿd al-Dawla, no longer able to rely on support from the Buwayhids whose power was then in decline, made overtures to the Fāṭimid caliph and recognized his sovereignty in 376/986. But hostilities recommenced when Bakdjūr, engaged in conflict with the Fāṭimid vizier Ibn Killis, was obliged to abandon Damascus and installed himself at Raḳḳa, whence he marched against Aleppo. He received little support from the Fāṭimid, whereas Saʿd al-Dawla received Byzantine reinforcements, and he was defeated at Nāʿūra to the east of Aleppo in 381/991, captured and executed. But Saʿd al-Dawla quarrelled with the Fāṭimid caliph over the arrest of Bakdjūr's children, which was done contrary to a promise that he had given, and if he had not died in Shawwāl 381/December 991, like his father of hemiplegia, he would certainly have attacked the Fāṭimid possessions in Syria, as he had haughtily threatened the Fāṭimid ambassador that he would do.

Saʿd al-Dawla's policy had been to manœuvre among Byzantium, the Buwayhid and the Fāṭimid. He was not absolutely loyal either to the Fāṭimid or to the Emperor, for in 375/985 the Emperor had to invade his territory because he was not fulfilling his obligations. Saʿd al-Dawla avenged himself for this intervention, which had led to the capture of Killis and the bombardment of Apamea and of Kafarṭāb, by sending Karghūyah against the monastery of Dayr Samʿān [*q.v.*] where he massacred a great number of monks and led others in captivity to Aleppo. However, a new agreement was concluded in 376/May 986, which did not prevent Saʿd al-Dawla from supporting the rebel Skleros when the latter was set free by the Buwayhid at the end of 986, and in addition from recognizing at the same time (December 986) Fāṭimid suzerainty. In internal affairs he had only a precarious authority (on all this see M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 665-94).

Saʿd al-Dawla was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Abu 'l-Faḍāʾil Saʿīd al-Dawla. The history of his reign is almost exclusively that of the attempts of Fāṭimid Egypt to gain the emirate of Aleppo, which were opposed by the Byzantine emperor. A first attempt in 382/992 by the Fāṭimid general Mangūtekīn, who laid siege to Aleppo, failed, less by reason of the operations of Bourtzes, the Byzantine governor of Antioch, than because of Mangūtekīn's lack of vigour and the excellent resistance of Aleppo. A second attempt by the same Mangūtekīn in 384/944 was almost successful, for Bourtzes, to whom Saʿd al-Dawla and his minister Luʾluʾ, the former chamberlain of Saʿd al-Dawla, appealed for help, was defeated at the Ford of the Orontes, and Aleppo was besieged for about eleven months. But on the one hand the persistence of Luʾluʾ and on the other the arrival of the emperor Basil II in person, sent for from Bulgaria by a Ḥamdānid ambassador, in the spring of 995, forced Mangūtekīn to retreat. The Ḥamdānid *amīr* and Luʾluʾ humbly prostrated themselves before the emperor in gratitude for this. Later, the Egyptians extended their authority further and further over the emirate of Aleppo. In 388/998 they even defeated the Byzantines outside Apamea, which remained in Egyptian hands. In 389/999 a new Byzantine campaign, which advanced as far as Beirut, strengthened the defence of Aleppo against the Egyptians by the establishment of a Byzantine garrison at Shayzar. But in 391/1001 Basil II concluded a peace treaty with the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who, on his side, signed a treaty with the *amīr* of Aleppo.

After this the emirate of Aleppo steadily declined. After the beginning of the reign of Saʿīd al-Dawla, a large number of Ḥamdānid *ghulāms* had passed into the service of Egypt. Luʾluʾ aimed to seize entirely the power which he was in fact already wielding, for he completely dominated Saʿīd al-Dawla, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. He therefore had Saʿīd al-Dawla assassinated in 392/1002. From then on he held the power, which he shared with his son Manṣūr. In 394/1003-4, he rid himself of the members of the Ḥamdānid family: the two sons of Saʿīd al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī and Abu 'l-Maʿālī Sharīf, were exiled to Cairo; a son of Saʿd al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, fled, disguised as a woman, to the court of the emperor Basil.

Luʾluʾ died in 399/1008. His son Manṣūr succeeded him and received investiture from the Fāṭimid caliph with the title of Murtaḍā al-Dawla (the Approved of the dynasty). His reign was marked by an attempt to restore the Ḥamdānids in the person of Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, the son of Saʿd al-Dawla. At the request of a large faction at Aleppo, his brother-in-law, the Marwānid Mumahhid al-Dawla of the Diyār Bakr, obtained the Emperor's permission for Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ to leave Constantinople. He reached Mayyāfāriḳīn, whence he marched with a small army on Aleppo. But he was not given the Emperor's support. Manṣūr b. Luʾluʾ enticed over to his side the Kilābīs who had joined Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ and obtained in addition Egyptian help, for he was scarcely more than a Fāṭimid governor. The defeated Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ fled towards Malaṭya and from there returned to Constantinople. The Emperor wished to send him back into Muslim territory but Manṣūr intervened to persuade the Emperor to keep him with him. It is probable that he was converted to Christianity and served in the Byzantine army, for there exists his seal with on one side his name in Arabic and on the other the representation of a person who seems to wear his hair in military style and to wear a belt with a legend in Greek: Hagios Theodoros (Saint Theodore Stratilates?). (See Halil Edhem, *Sceaux du Musée de Constantinople*, 1321, 42, no. 31).

By a curious trick of fate, Mansūr b. Luʾluʾ, after he had been dethroned by Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās in 406/1015-6, also took refuge in Byzantine territory and received as a fief the castle of Shīḥ al-Laylūn, near to the frontier; he also made an unsuccessful attempt to return to Aleppo and served in the Byzantine army, for he appears on the side of Romanus Argyrus

at the battle of Aʿzāz in 421/1030 (see Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. Dahan, *sub anno*; cf. M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 709-11 and 859).

Thus ended, after that of the Ḥamdānids of Mosul, the dynasty of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. Both were of a character uncommon at this time, in that they were Arab dynasties. Both played an important political rôle; they had their period of greatness which was followed by decline. The historian of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ibn al-Azraḳ, has given a melancholy account of this (see M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla. Recueil de textes*, 1934, 279-80). The patronage of Nāṣir al-Dawla and of Sayf al-Dawla favoured in Mosul and Aleppo a remarkable literary development. The names of Ibn Nubāta, of Kus̲h̲ād̲j̲im, of al-Nāmī, al-Sarī, Babbāg̲h̲ā, Abū Firās, of al-Mutanabbī and others will always be associated with the Ḥamdānid dynasty. The Ḥamdānids have been praised, by writers impressed by their efforts in the Holy War, by their Arab qualities of courage and generosity and by the ostentation with which they surrounded themselves, and they retained enormous prestige. But they have also had their critics. In their own time, Ibn Ḥawḳal (119-20, 140 ff., 153-4) did not spare them his criticisms, for he was outspoken in his judgement of their tyrannical administration and their cupidity. Of present day writers, Kurd ʿAlī has also reacted against the unbounded admiration which the Arab world has accorded them.

Bibliography: The outstanding study of Freytag, *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden in Mosul und Aleppo*, in *ZDMG*, x (1856) and xi (1857), although now out of date, remains of importance. See now M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers-Paris 1951, with bibl. in the introd., 15-71. Information on the members of the family is given also in Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahan, Beirut 1944, index. (M. Canard)

ḤAMDĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH (853/1449-909/1503), Turkish poet, born at Göynük near Bolu. He was the youngest of the twelve (or seven) sons of the famous *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Aḳ S̲h̲ams al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who had succeeded Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Bayram as the superior of the Bayrāmiyya. Ḥamdī lost his father at the age of ten. He had an unhappy childhood, which probably inspired him to write his famous *mat̲h̲nawī Yūsuf we Zuleyk̲h̲ā*. In the introductory part of this work he relates that his lazy, ignorant and quarrelsome brothers ill-treated him and were jealous of him because of the great affection their father Aḳ S̲h̲ams al-Dīn showed him. "Joseph reached the extremity of his misfortunes, there is no end to my suffering" (*Yūsuf we Züleyk̲h̲ā*, Istanbul, MS Üniversite T.Y. 675, fols. 11b-12a). Although he has nothing laudatory to say of his brothers, some of them are mentioned in the sources as outstanding *ʿulemāʾ* (Hüseyn Enīsī, *Menāḳib-i Aḳ S̲h̲ams al-Dīn* and Tas̲h̲köprü-zāde, *al-S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, *passim*).

Very little is known about his early life and his education. Judging by his works and by the fact that he was for a short time *mudarris* at the *madrasa* of Meḥemmed I in Bursa, he must have had a classical training. From various complaints and remarks scattered in his works, particularly in his *mat̲h̲nawī Leylā we Med̲j̲nūn* (Istanbul, MS Üniversite T.Y. 800, fol. 110) it seems evident that Ḥamdī did not enjoy protection or encouragement from any sultan, vizier or other dignitary. According to some *ted̲h̲kire*-writers (Laṭīfī, Ḳinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebī, Beyānī, s.v.) he originally submitted his *Yūsuf we Züleyk̲h̲ā* to Bāyezīd II, with a dedicatory introduction. As there was no response from the sultan, he removed the dedication in subsequent copies and replaced it with lines complaining of Fate. During his short stay in Bursa as *mudarris*, Ḥamdī became a disciple of the *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲* Ibrāhīm Tennūrī, one of his father's *k̲h̲alīfa*s, and retired to Göynük where he lived a secluded life. His circumstances must have been difficult as Ḥasan Čelebī reports that he made his living by copying and selling his own works. He died at Göynük where he is buried beside his father.

Apart from various treatises on religion and mysticism mentioned in the sources, which have not come down to us, Ḥamdī is the author of the following works: (1) *Dīwān*, a small volume, copies of which are extremely rare and which is not characteristic of the poet, since Ḥamdī distinguished himself in the *mat̲h̲nawī* genre and his conventional *ḳaṣīda*s and *g̲h̲azal*s, mostly with a mystic leaning couched in *ṣūfī* terminology, are of rather limited inspiration. For a fairly good copy see Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi no. 2626; (2) *Yūsuf we Züleyk̲h̲ā*, a *mat̲h̲nawī* on the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, treated in a mystical manner. Originally based on the data given in the Ḳurʾān and its commentaries, later elaborated by outstanding Persian poets, the story was made the subject of a *mat̲h̲nawī* by several Eastern and Western Turkish poets. Ḥamdī's work, completed in 897/1492, became immensely popular and very many copies are to be found in the libraries of Turkey and Europe (for copies in Istanbul libraries see *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkçe Hamseler Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, 22-37). Ḥamdī says in his work that he followed the *Yūsuf we Züleyk̲h̲ā* attributed to Firdawsī and particularly that of D̲j̲āmī. In fact most of the *mat̲h̲nawī* is in line with D̲j̲āmī's with the difference that he uses the *k̲h̲afīf* metre instead of D̲j̲āmī's *hazad̲j̲* and he intersperses the *mat̲h̲nawī* with *g̲h̲azal*s following the tradition of S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ī; (3) *Leylā we Med̲j̲nūn*, a *mat̲h̲nawī* completed in 905/1499-1500, based on the well-known legend of Arabic origin, also a parallel to D̲j̲āmī's homonymous work. Although not inferior to the *Yūsuf we Züleyk̲h̲ā* this *mat̲h̲nawī* did not enjoy the same popularity and was almost ignored after Fuḍūlī's (a good copy dated 936/1530 is MS Ayasofya 3901/2); (4) *Tuḥfet al-ʿus̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ*, an allegorical *mat̲h̲nawī*, the most original of Ḥamdī's works. A young merchant (the human soul) sets forth from Caesarea (the sacred country), as the result of guidance by the *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲* Ewḥad al-Dīn, with servants and merchandise (the capabilities of the soul) for Constantinople (this sad world), where his great beauty causes the Byzantine vizier (beshrouded reason) to select him as a fitting husband for his equally beautiful daughter (bodily delight). The young merchant abandons his true faith and devotes himself to his beloved. Two sons are born to them. At a service in the church of St. Sophia, the young merchant sees his volume of the Ḳurʾān which he had placed there when he abandoned Islam. As he opens the pages of the volume, he lights on a verse exhorting those whose hearts have grown hard to return to God. The young merchant cries aloud as the light of divine guidance streams into his soul. The vizier and his daughter embrace Islam at this holy sign and all three depart for Caesarea. Since most *mat̲h̲nawī*s elaborated usually one of the known and common themes of the Islamic world, this original tale does not seem to have aroused much interest, as the MSS are extremely rare (a good copy is in the British Museum, MS Or. 7115); (5) *Ḳiyāfet-nāme*, (the Book of Features), a short *mat̲h̲nawī* in *k̲h̲afīf* metre on the tra-

ditional science of physiognomy, dealing with the relationship between physical features and moral characteristics, without particular literary value (a good copy dated 991/1583 in Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi, in a *medjmūʿa*, no. 3613, fols. 84-90); (6) *Mewlid*, a *mathnawī* on the life of the Prophet with particular emphasis on the events accompanying his birth, his heavenly journey, miracles and death, one of the many poems of this genre, the most famous of which is Süleymān Čelebī's *Wesīlet al-nedjāt*. Ḥamdī's work varies in many details from that of Süleymān Čelebī and it has none of its religious lyrical fervour. For a fairly good copy see Süleymaniye-Fatih no. 4511; (7) *Aḥmediyye*, a poem in *mathnawī* form in praise of the Prophet. Although some sources give its name as *Muḥammediyye*, Ḥamdī himself is quite clear about it: "I called this poem *Aḥmediyye* and completed it in 900" (Selimağa-Kemankeş, no. 1111). Ḥamdī's works have not been edited. For extracts see *Bibliography*.

Bibliography: The *tedhkires* of Sehī, Laṭīfī, ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, Ḳinalī-zāde Ḥasan Čelebi, Riyāḍī, Ḳāf-zāde Fāʾiḍī, Beyānī, s.v.; Ḥüseyn Enīsī, *Menāḳib-i Aḳ Shems al-Dīn*, Süleymaniye-Hacı Mahmut no. 4666, *passim*; Tashköprü-zāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, *passim*; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, ii, 138-225 and vi, 74-85; M. Fuad Köprülü, in *IA*, s.v.; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 347. (Fahir İz)

ḤAMDĪ BEY, ʿOTHMĀN [see ʿothmān ḥamdī bey].

ḤAMDŪN al-ḲAṢṢĀR, Ḥamdūn b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmāra Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḳaṣṣār, a celebrated Ṣūfī and learned divine, was a follower of Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*] and the chief of the Malāmatīs (who incurred blame by concealing their good deeds, in order to avoid self-conceit). He lived and taught in Nīshāpūr, where he died in 271/884, and was buried in the cemetery of Hīra. Among his associates were Abū Turāb al-Nakhshabī, ʿAlī Naṣrābādī and Abū ʿAlī al-Thaḳafī. His followers formed a sect of Ṣūfīs called Ḳaṣṣārīs or Ḥamdūnīs: among his pupils was ʿAbd Allāh Mubārak.

He taught asceticism and also tolerance of others, counselling men to associate with the learned, but to have patience with the ignorant. He advised contentment with little, "Sufficiency will bring you ease without weariness: you weary yourself in seeking too much". Association with the Ṣūfīs, he said, teaches tolerance, for ugliness in their fellow-beings is excused by them, and beauty is not praised, lest praise should lead to pride. To a man who reviled him, Ḥamdūn said, "My brother, if you were to accuse me of all ill-doing, you would never revile me as I myself do".

Bibliography: al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 114-9 and index; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, x, 231-2; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, 125, 126; ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. Nicholson, i, 331-5; Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 71, 72. (Margaret Smith)

ḤĀMĪ, a coast-town in Ḥaḍramawt, about 18 miles north-east of Shiḥr [*q.v.*], near Raʾs Sharma in a very picturesque and fertile district. Like Makalla and Shiḥr it belongs to the Ḳuʿayṭī of Shibām [*q.v.*] and has, as the name shows, thermal wells of the temperature of boiling water. The houses of the little town are low and built of mud; in the centre of the town and on the shore there are two important *ḥiṣn*. The inhabitants are mainly fishermen; their number was estimated by Capt. Haines at 500 in 1839. Behind the town lie thick palm-groves and fields with luxurious crops of Indian corn.

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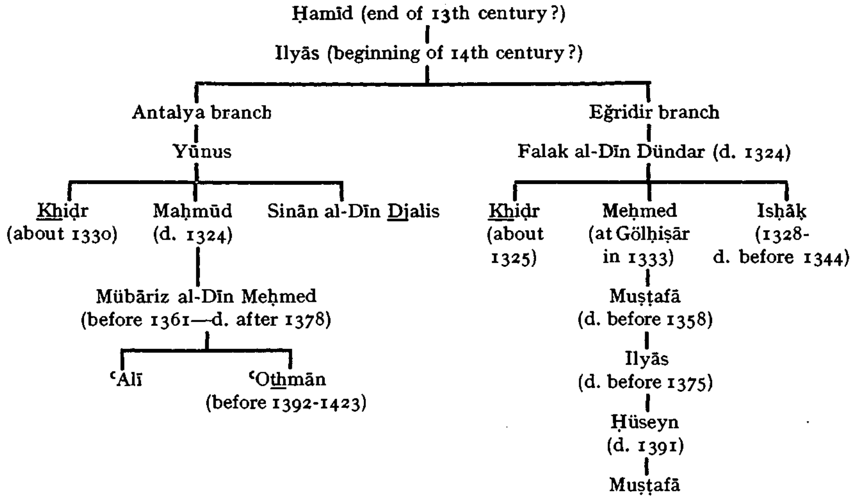
ḤĀMĪ-I ĀMIDĪ, Aḥmed Ḥāmī, (1090?-1160/1679?-1747), an Ottoman poet from south-east Anatolia. He was born at Āmid (Diyār-Bakr) and taught by Ḥāsim Āmidī and Āgāh Samarḳandī. In 1121/1709 he went to Istanbul, where, through the patronage of Muḥsin-zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, he entered the Imperial *Dīwān*. He returned to his native town in 1129/1717 when his patron was appointed *Beglerbegi* of Diyār-Bakr. After acting as secretary (*kātib*) there, he fulfilled the same function in Erzurum, taking part later in the Tabrīz campaign and being promoted to the rank of the *Khwādjegān* [*q.v.*]. He retired from service to the State in 1138/1726, and devoted himself to poetry. He also built a mansion (*ḳonaḳ*) in his native town and a pavilion (*köshk*) on the Tigris. He visited Istanbul once again in 1143/1730. Towards the end of his life the *Wālī* of Diyār-Bakr made him the gift of a village. He died in his native town.

His *Dīwān*, of which several copies are in existence in Turkish libraries (two MSS copied in 1207/1792 are in the author's possession), has been printed in Istanbul (1272). Ḥāmī is the author of skilfully written *ḳaṣīdas* and *marthiyas*. Among the former, a *ḳaṣīda* of 370 couplets ending in the *redīf* "*üzre*" and a *lāmiyya* (poem rhyming in "l") are the best known. He was able to describe events from daily life without too great an addiction to metaphor and simile.

Bibliography: Rāmiz, *Tedhkire* (Ist. Univ. Lib. T.Y. 91), 65; Esʿad (Ṣaḥḥāflar-Sheykhi-zāde), *Baghče-i ṣafā-endūz* (Ist. Univ. Lib. T.Y. 2095), 112 (a copy in the author's handwriting can also be found at the Süleymaniye Library, MS Esad Ef. 84); Faṭīn, *Tadhkira* (*Khātimat al-ashʿār*), Istanbul 1271, 58; ʿAlī Emīrī, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarāʾ-i Āmid*, Istanbul 1328, 187-209; Bursalī Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, ii, Istanbul 1333, 139-40; Gibb, *Ottoman poetry*, iv, 71-3; Şevket Beysanoğlu, *Diyarbakırlı fikir ve sanat adamları*, Istanbul 1957, i, 211-24. (Abdülkadir Karahan)

ḤĀMĪ 'l-ḤARAMAYN [see khādim al-ḥaramayn].

ḤAMĪD, or **ḤAMĪD OGHULLARI**, the sons of Ḥamīd, one of the Turkish principalities in Anatolia in the 8th/14th century. Founded in the region of Uluborlu in Pisidia by Ilyās, the son of the eponym, it rapidly embraced the whole region of the Pisidian lakes, and then the Pamphylian plain and the mountain passes linking them, thereby constituting a state that was situated on an important road and so controlled one of the principal variants of the South-North route from the Mediterranean to the Mongol Empire. Two branches had their respective centres at Eğridir [*q.v.*] and in the region of Antalya and its *yayla* Korkuteli, ruled by Yūnus, elder son of Ilyās. The Eğridir branch, whose tenure was for a time interrupted by the defeat and death of Falak al-Dīn Dündar, the younger son of Ilyās, at the hands of the governor of Anatolia for the Īlkhānids, Demirtash, in 724/1324, was revived by Isḥāḳ in 728/1328 and by his brother Meḥmed, who was ruling in Gölḥiṣār in 733/1333 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, trans. Gibb, ii, 423).



A prince of this family was in command at Ṣuhud near Afyon Ḳaraḥiṣār in 769/1368. This northern principality was absorbed by the Ottomans in 793/1391. The Antalya branch was exposed to the attacks of the Cypriots who occupied the town from 1361 to 1373 (Mübāriz al-Dīn then retreated to Korkuteli). Annexed by Yīldīrīm Bāyezīd in 794/1392, the southern principality was restored in 805/1402, after the battle of Ankara, by a certain ʿOthmān, who reconquered all its territories except Antalya, despite his alliance with the Ḳaraman oghullarī, and whose defeat and death in 826/1423 marked the end of the dynasty.

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ḤĀMID b. al-ʿAbbās, Abū Muḥammad, born 223/837, died 311/923, in early life, according to the satirist Ibn Bassām, a waterseller and vendor of pomegranates, was one of the ablest financiers of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from al-Muwaffaḳ to al-Muḳtadir. He combined the collection of the *kharādj* and domains (*ḍiyāʾ*) of Wāsiṭ (from 273/886) with that of Fars (from 287/900) and Baṣra. He succeeded Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] as vizier on 3 Djumādā II 306/11 November 918, but showed himself inadequate, so that the caliph al-Muḳtadir appointed as *nāʾib*, to assist him, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*]. His vizierate, which lasted until 20 Rabīʿ II 311/7 August 923, was marked by a sullen rivalry between the vizier and his assistant; Ḥāmid was forced to bring Ibn al-Furāt to trial, adopted a tax policy which resulted in riots in Baghdād, and took violent measures against dissidents: Ḳarmaṭīs, Ṣūfis (*e.g.*, the condemnation and execution of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]) and particularly Imāmīs (*e.g.*, the imprisonment of the *wakīl* of the *imām*, Ibn Rūḥ); all these actions hastened his fall. He was tortured and humiliated by the son of the new vizier, Ibn al-Furāt, who had taken over his office, and returned to die at Wāsiṭ, probably poisoned.

Bibliography: Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, index (a portrait of this wily and ruthless financier is given in the preface, 18 n. 1); ʿArīb, *Ṣilat Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*, 73-110; Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, i, 58-91; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlí ibn ʿÍsà*, Cambridge 1928, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 413-26 and index (bibliog. at 414 n. 3); idem, in *Arabic and Islamic studies ... H. A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 602-8. (L. Massignon*)

ḤĀMID b. **MUḤAMMAD** al-**MURDJIBĪ** [see al-murdjibī].

ḤAMĪDĀBĀD [see isparta].

ḤĀMIDĪ (830?-90?/1427?-85?), a poet at the Court of Sultan Meḥemmed the Conqueror. He was born in Iṣfahān and educated there. Ḥāmidī left his native town at an early age and after visiting many cities entered the Ottoman dominions in 861/1457, where he succeeded in making the acquaintance of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha, becoming later a poet at the Court of the Conqueror. For almost twenty years he enjoyed the Sultan's favours as one of his constant companions. During that time he copied many rare and valuable works for his patron's library and also presented *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals* to the Sultan or made translations for him. In 881/1476, however, he incurred the Sultan's displeasure and was sent to Bursa where he became *türbedār* at the *ʿimāret* of Murād I. He was later pardoned and appointed *türbedār* of Emir Timürtash. Two of his sons, Maḥmūd and Djelīlī are known, the latter being a talented poet who flourished at the beginning of the 10th/16th century.

Ḥāmidī's works include the *Kulliyāt-ī dīwān*, ranking first in importance, the *Djām-ī sukhangūy* (or *Fālnāme*) and a *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*. The *Kulliyāt* includes a *mathnawī* in Persian entitled *Ḥasbiḥāl-nāma*, and having a certain autobiographical character, as well as *ḳaṣīdas*, *taʾrīkhs*, *ghazals* and *muḳaṭṭaʿāt*. Most of it is in Persian, although there are also some Turkish *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. Of the known MSS of the *Kulliyāt* (in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and the library of the Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara), the Ankara MS has been published in facsimile (Ismail H. Ertaylan, *Külliyāt-ı*

Dīvān-ı Mevlānā Ḥāmidī, Istanbul 1949). For criticism see Ahmed Ateş, in *Belleten*, xiv (1950),116-26; Ali Canib Yöntem, in the newspaper *Yeni Istanbul*, 3 October 1950.

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul 1314, 119; ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi, *Mashāʿir al-shuʿarā* (Ist. Univ. Lib. T.Y. 2406), 80b-82a; Beligh, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-ı ʿirfān*, Bursa 1302, 454-5 (a copy of this in the author's handwriting is in the Ist. Univ. Lib. no. T.Y. 6195, f. 222a); ʿAṭā (Enderūnlu), *Taʾrīkh*, v, 160. (ABDÜLKADIR KARAHAN)

AL-**ḤĀMIDĪ**, (1) IBRĀHĪM B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ABI 'L-SUʿŪD AL-HAMDĀNĪ, the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs in the Yaman. According to ʿUmāra, not supported by Ṭayyibī sources, the Ṣulayḥid Queen al-Sayyida in 526/1132 appointed him chief *dāʿī*, but then transferred the headship to the Amīr of ʿAdan, Sabaʾ b. Abi 'l-Suʿūd b. Zurayʿ, who supported the claim of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥāfiẓ to the Imāmate. If the report is reliable, Ibrāhīm may have been deposed for his sympathy with the claim of al-Ṭayyib. After the death of the *dāʿī* al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥasan in 533/1138, the first Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā, chose him as his assistant. After Dhuʾayb's death in 546/1151 (Hamdānī: 536/1141-2) he became his successor as the highest religious authority in the absence of the Imām. The situation of the Ṭayyibī community was precarious, because it found little protection among the princes of the Yaman, while the Zurayʿid rulers of ʿAdan actively championed the cause of the rival Ḥāfiẓī community. Ibrāhīm resided in Ṣanʿāʾ, whose Yāmid rulers had left the community but did not interfere with the missionary work. There he died in Shaʿbān 557/July 1162.

Ibrāhīm apparently was the founder of the peculiar Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* [*q.v.*] system. He introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* into the literature of the community and relied heavily on the works of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī while interpreting them according to his own ideas. His main work *Kanz al-walad* became the model of a series of later Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* works.

(2) ḤĀTIM B. IBRĀHĪM (1). He succeeded his father as the third *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. He gained support among the tribes of Ḥimyar and Hamdān, who conquered the fortress Kawkabān for him. This roused the jealousy of the Yāmid ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿAlī b. Ḥātim. He made war on them and in 364/974-5 took Kawkabān. Ḥātim stayed some time in Bayt Radm and then moved to Sh-ʿāf in the mountainous region of Ḥarāz, where he succeeded in converting the people, who had been Ḥāfiẓīs. Conquering several fortresses, he chose al-Ḥutayb as his residence. After his main supporter Sabaʾ al-Yaʿburī was killed and the Ayyūbids extended their rule over most of the Yaman, Ḥātim's activity was restricted to the clandestine organization of the Ṭayyibī propaganda. On 16 Muḥarram 596/6 November 1199 he died in al-Ḥutayb and was buried there.

In his major work *al-Shumūs al-zāhira*, Ḥātim made use of the Mufaḍḍal literature of the *ghulāt* [*q.v.*], while at the same time condemning some of their views. His short treatise *Zahr badhr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* has been edited by ʿĀdil al-ʿAwwāʾ (*Muntakhabāt Ismāʿīliyya*, Damascus 1958).

(3) ʿALI B. ḤĀTIM (2). He took the place of his father as the fourth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. As the Yaʿburīs in Ḥarāz turned away from him he took up residence in Ṣanʿāʾ. The Ayyūbids did not interfere with his activity. He died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 605/31 May 1209, in Ṣanʿāʾ.

Bibliography: The main biographical source, Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, is not edited. It has been studied by Ḥ. F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955, 269 ff.; ʿUmāra in H. C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 102. Other sources are edited and discussed by S. M. Stern, *The succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 214 ff. For their works see W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, Tehrān 1963, 52 ff., 61 ff. (W. MADELUNG)

ḤAMĪDĪ, ḤAMĪD AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR ʿUMAR B. MAḤMŪD, born in Balkh, died in 559/1164, a *ḳāḍī* who in 551/1156 began to compile his collection of twenty-three Ḥamīdian sessions (or scenes) (*maḳāmāt-i Ḥamīdī*) to serve as a pendant in the Persian language to the celebrated Arabic *Maḳāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, as he states in his preface. Like these authors, he subordinated matter to form, above all endeavouring in his writings to show himself as a consummate stylist. For the most part, his *maḳāmāt* describe some episode in his adventures or travels; others deal with more general subjects (a season of the year, some mystical point, war or love); four of them are debates (*munāẓara* [see ASADĪ]); the thirteenth describes Balkh, at one time a prosperous place but devastated in 548/1153 by the invasion of the Ghuzz; he apologizes for ending the work *ex abrupto* because, he says, he has been overwhelmed by the calamities of the time. His work was praised by the poet Anwarī (in lines translated by E. G. Browne) and by Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī (*Čahār maḳāla*, tr. Browne, 14, n. 6).

Bibliography: Rieu, *Cat. Persian Mss. British Museum*, 747 (list of the *maḳāmāt*); Ethé, *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 228; Browne, ii, 346 (extract translated from the 13th *maḳāma*); A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 806-7. (H. MASSÉ)

ḤAMĪDĪZĀDE MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI [see MUṢṬAFĀ EFENDI].

ḤĀ-MĪM B. MANN ALLĀH B. ḤĀFIẒ B. ʿAMR, known as AL-**MUFTARĪ**, Berber prophet of the beginning of the 4th/10th century, who appeared among the Ghumāra Berbers, or, to be more exact, in the tribe of the Madjkasa settled not far from Tetuan. He began to preach his religion in 313/925 and was killed not far from Tangier, in a battle against the Maṣmūḍa, in 315/927-8. His religion appears to have survived him for a period whose length is unknown, but which did not go beyond the end of the 4th/10th century.

Just as in the religion of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], this doctrine, about which we have very little information, was in part a garbled version of Islam, with a 'Ḳurʾān', in Berber, only two daily prayers, a weekly fast day, a fast of three or ten days in Ramaḍān, a tithe given in alms, but no ablution or pilgrimage. Forbidden foods were fish, birds' eggs, and the heads of any animals. On the other hand the meat of wild animals was allowed, but not that of the wild boar. Breaches of these laws were punished by fines of which Ḥā-Mīm and his relatives reaped the benefit. Lastly, two women played an important rôle in this religion, a paternal aunt of the prophet and a sister of his, both of them sorceresses.

In short, this belief appears to have been a mixture of distorted Islam and Berber beliefs.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afr.*, 100-1, trans. 197 f.; *K. al-Istibṣār*, 79 (trans. Fagnan, 143-6); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 192 (trans. Fagnan, i, 275); Ibn Abī Zarʿ al-Fāsī, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, 62-3 (Latin trans., 84); Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ed. de

Slane, i, 287 (trans., ii, 143-4); R. Basset, *Recherches sur la religion des Berbères*, Paris 1910, 47-8; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, 175-82; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 128.

(R. Le Tourneau)

al-**ḤAMMA**, Sp. Alhama, a name commonly given to hot springs and which, in those regions of Spain long occupied by the Muslims, replaced the old Romance terms Caldas (*aquas calidas*) and Baños (*balneos*). This same name was also given, however, to two rivers which are in no sense thermal: one rises in the province of Soria and is a right-bank tributary of the Ebro; the other is a minor stream of the northern slope of the Sierra Nevada which flows into the river Fardes. The Alhamas which are best known for their history and their baths are four: that of Almería, which according to the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* had the best medicinal waters of the Peninsula; that of Aragón, known to the Hispano-Romans as Aquae Bilbilitanae; that of Murcia, also Roman, which was reconquered by James I of Aragón, who handed it over to Castile; finally, the best known, that of Granada. It was rich through its celebrated textile factories, well fortified by nature and art, and the summer residence of the kings of Granada. It lies about 25 miles from the capital. The Muslims possessed it till 887/1482, in which year, after a stubborn resistance, it was taken by assault by Diego Ponce de Merlo, the marquis of Cadiz, and Diego Hernández Portocarrero, the governor of Andalusia. The sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī tried three times to retake it with much persistence and bloodshed, but the Catholic Monarchs were determined to keep it and from it to dominate the whole kingdom of Granada, so they reinforced it with numerous troops and the sultan had to give up the attempt. Well-known *romances* such as "Ay de mí Alhama" sing of this loss which was so severely felt by the Muslims, and the epic assault was commemorated in a fine bas-relief in Toledo cathedral.

Bibliography: Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico de España*, s.v.; *Enciclopedia España*, iv, 660-3; Aguado Bleye, *Manual de Historia de España*, ii, 44; Soldevila, *Historia de España*, ii, 419.

(A. Huici Miranda)

ḤAMMĀD b. al-**ZIBRIḲĀN** [see next art.]

ḤAMMĀD ʿADJRAD (in *status constructus*), Arab satirical poet whose genealogy has not been exactly established; his *kunya*, Abū ʿUmar, would justify the following: Ḥammād b. ʿUmar b. Yūnus (rather than b. Yaḥyā or Yūnus b. ʿUmar) b. Kulayb al-Kūfī. Born at the latest at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, this *mawlā* of a clan of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa probably owes his by-name (*ʿadjrad* = completely naked) to the saying of a Bedouin. His biographers agree in declaring that he achieved fame only under the ʿAbbāsids, but they do not fail to point out that al-Walīd II b. Yazīd II (125-6/743-4) had him come to his court, with a certain number of other poets, and that he returned to his native land after the death of the Umayyad caliph (R. Blachère, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, 110, does not quote him, however). This is, in any case, the only datable information we possess on his life, which appears to have been quite eventful. Only al-Djahshiyārī (*Wuzarāʾ*, 190) represents him as a secretary in the chancellery and notes that he had served under Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl at al-Mawṣil and ʿUḳba b. Salm b. Ḳutayba in Baḥrayn, and it is possible that this activity dates before the year 140/758. Under al-Saffāḥ he seems to have enjoyed the company of the governor of Kūfa, Muḥammad b. Khālid, and to have been the tutor of the caliph's son, Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-ʿAbbās; under al-Manṣūr he was in touch with the *wazīr* al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus [*q.v.*], and the caliph himself is said to have appreciated his satirical verve. According to one tradition, the latter even induced him to accompany, with other dissolute characters, Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-ʿAbbās to Baṣra on his nomination as governor of the city (147/764-5), for al-Manṣūr wished to discredit his nephew and to disqualify him for the caliphate. This prince was about the only person with whom Ḥammād ʿAdjrad remained on good terms and whose eulogy he composed, although al-Ḥuṣrī (*Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 312) wonders whether one of his *ḳaṣīdas* addressed to Muḥammad is *madḥ* or *hidjāʾ*; he mourned him at his death, in 150/767-8. But since he had composed for him some amorous verses about an ʿAbbāsid princess, Zaynab, her brother Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had been striving to take revenge. Therefore the poet left Baṣra to take refuge with al-Manṣūr, who did indeed protect him and even engaged him to satirize his enemy. Some biographers describe his stay in Baghdād, with others of his kind, during the reign of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), but the traditions concerning his death diverge widely. According to some, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who was three times governor of Baṣra (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 281), had him assassinated at al-Ahwāz, where his presence is indeed attested; according to others, he died of sickness between al-Ahwāz and Baṣra, but the date of this event varies considerably according to the sources, and is placed in 155, 161, 167 or 168. The date 161 appears probable because, on the one hand, he died before Bashshār (d. 167 or 168/784-5), and, on the other, legend tells that the latter, by a strange irony of fate, was buried next to him.

The greater part of Ḥammād's extant verses are nothing but diatribes against Bashshār, and the *Aghānī* is full of anecdotes about the contentions of the two men. Although the blind poet recognizes the talent of his adversary, certain of whose verses had affected him grievously (*Aghānī*, Beirut ed., xiv, 328; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 30; idem, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 66), criticism is unanimous in considering that the two poets cannot be compared. According to the *Aghānī* (xiv, 332), the scholars of Baṣra found only about forty verses of merit in the epigrams of Ḥammād, while they discovered more than a thousand in those of Bashshār; al-Djāḥiẓ, while occasionally appreciating the talent of Ḥammād (cf. *Ḥayawān*, i, 239, 240-2), places him well below his adversary (cf. *Ḥayawān*, iv, 453-4) and even judges him far inferior to Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*].

Skilled at setting friends at loggerheads, incapable of respecting his own friendships, he let fly at them, even at Muṭīʿ b. Iyās [*q.v.*], sallies which were often scurrilous, practised a sordid blackmail, and busied himself in bringing dishonour to his victims in terms which detract from his own character. There is no reason to be surprised that posterity, since the end of the 2nd/8th century, should hold against him accusations of Manichaeism, which he certainly did not deserve, for he does not seem capable of feeling the slightest religious sentiment; his *zandaḳa* lay, in fact, in an attitude of profound religious indifference, of libertinism and of impertinence, which was shared more or less by his habitual companions, amongst whom figured his two namesakes Ḥammād al-Rāwiya [*q.v.*] and the grammarian Ḥammād b. al-Zibriḳān (on whom see particularly *Ḥayawān*,

iv, 445, 447; *Aghānī*, index; al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 347). Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 473) does not mention him amongst the *zanādiḳa*, and G. Vajda has dealt conclusively with the accusations of Manichaeism made against the libertines with whom he is generally mentioned (see *Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 173-229).

From his poetic works, which were certainly abundant, there survive only a few relatively feeble verses, mostly satirical. There are some poems, however, in which he displays a wisdom that is surprising for him, also some erotic verses which do not lack freshness and were deemed worthy of being set to music.

Bibliography: Notices and verses are to be found in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 754-6 and index; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 372; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 23-6; *Aghānī*, xiii, 70-98 (Beirut ed., xiv, 304-63); Ṣūlī, 3-8, 10; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 148; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 249-54; Ibn Khallikān, i, 165; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 157; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 349-50; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, i, 197-212. (Ch. Pellat)

ḤAMMĀD al-RĀWIYA, *i.e.*, "the transmitter", Ibn Abī Laylā, a collector of Arabic poems, especially the *Muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*]. He was born at Kūfa in 75/694-5 (the date 95 is a misreading). He was of Iranian stock, his father being a captive from al-Daylam, named Sābūr or Hurmuz or Maysara. Ḥammād, like his namesakes and boon-companions Ḥammād ʿAdjrad and Ḥammād b. al-Zibriḳān, belonged to a set of beaux-esprits at Kūfa, who at their merry gatherings used to drink wine and recite verses and were in the eyes of the pious suspect of heresy (*zandaḳa*). Ḥammād was very fond of poetry; many anecdotes show him in conversation with al-Ṭirimmāḥ (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 95), al-Kumayt (*Aghānī*[1], xiv, 113), ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (*Aghānī*[1], x, 50), Kuthayyir (*Aghānī*[1], viii, 152 f.), al-Farazdaḳ (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 73), Djarīr (*Aghānī*[3], viii, 36), Dhu 'l-Rumma (Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 177), and other poets. His intimate knowledge of the poetry, genealogy, history and lore of the Bedouins won him the favour of the caliphs, especially al-Walīd b. Yazīd, and their dignitaries. It is uncertain whether he was invited already by Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik; for the story (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 75 ff.) is chronologically inconsistent, because Yūsuf b. ʿUmar was appointed governor of the East only in 120/738. The downfall of the Umayyads hit him hard. It seems that he went to al-Manṣūr (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 80) but felt disappointed (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 82 f.; viii, 253 f.) and returned to Kūfa where he died in 155/772 (Yāḳūt) or in 156/773 (*Fihrist*). Later dates are unwarranted. He was mourned by Muḥammad b. Kunāsa in an elegy (*Fihrist*, etc.). Amongst his pupils were his *rāwī* al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 70, 72), Khalaf al-Aḥmar (Yāḳūt, iv, 179), and al-Aṣmaʿī who owed nearly all the poems of Imraʾ al-Ḳays to Ḥammād.

Ḥammād was no scholar, but rather a dilettante who enjoyed poetry as one of the good things in life and did not care too much about authorship and authenticity. He took no interest in the studies of grammar which were making rapid progress during his later years. There was in addition the rivalry between the schools of Baṣra and Kūfa. He was held in high esteem by Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*], the founder of the Baṣra school (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 73), but was denounced in the next generation. According to the Baṣran Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Ḥammād knew nothing about grammar, prosody, and correct speech (*Aghānī*[3], viii, 283; Djumaḥī, 14), whilst his rival, the Kūfan Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, did not deny his vast knowledge, but accused him of having ruined the tradition of Bedouin poetry beyond repair by his clever forgeries (*Aghānī*[3], vi, 89).

Ḥammād collected, according to al-Naḥḥās, d. 337/948-9 (Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, 48), the seven long odes, commonly known as *al-Muʿallaḳāt*. Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī quotes poems of al-Ḥuṭayʾa from the book (*kitāb*) of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, mainly to blame him for admitting spurious verses (Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, 123, 127, 136; cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG*, xlvi, 48 ff.). In the Dīwān of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl there is a piece (no. 26, ed. Lyall) which corresponds to the verses copied by Ibn al-Kalbī from a manuscript which again is called "the book of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya". Otherwise traces of Ḥammād's literary activities are scarce.

Bibliography: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 14; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 288; *Aghānī*[3], vi, 70-95; *Fihrist*, 91-2; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 90-2; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, 43-50; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 137-40; Ibn Khallikān, i, 292-4; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ii, 356; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*[2], ii, 253; Lyall, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ii, xiii n, xxvii f.; Arberry, *The Seven Odes*; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 103-5. (J. W. Fück)

ḤAMMĀDA (a.) is synonymous with 'plateau' in the Sahara of the southern Maghrib and Tripolitania, but is used only by some of its Arabic-speaking inhabitants. The word stands for large areas which are the outcrops of horizontal beds of secondary or tertiary limestone or sandstone (or calcareous or gypso-calcareous crusts of the quaternary era), and which stand out as a result of the erosion caused by running water during periods which were less arid than the present. The surface of the *ḥammāda*s is almost always rocky and totally devoid of vegetation, except in small basins where the limestone has dissolved (*ḍāya*; classical *aḍāt*); it is often blackened, consolidated and rendered barren by a "desert patina" due to the exudation of iron salts; it is sometimes partly covered by a *reg* formed by the breaking up of angular stones. The edge of the *ḥammāda*s, steep and jagged, is called *kreb* in southern Morocco. The principal *ḥammāda*s are those of the Drāʿ or of Tindouf, of the Saoura and the Guir in Southern Morocco, those of Tademaït and Tinghert in Southern Algeria, that of Murzūḳ and the Ḥammāda al-Ḥamrāʾ, in Southern Tripolitania. The use of the word *ḥammāda* is extended to even very small hills with calcareous incrustations in the lower steppes and in the Sahel of Tunisia and even to small plateaus on the Tunisian backbone (*ḥammāda* of the Awlād Ayar, of the Awlād Aoun, of the Kessera). The term *ḥammāda* is not found in Eastern Libya beyond lat. 14° E. (Greenwich) and has not the same meaning in the East, where it is applied to semi-arid plains. In the Sahara the word *ḥammāda* is rivalled and replaced, over fairly large areas, by *ḍahr* (back, reverse of slope), both in the Tuniso-Tripolitanian range of plateaus and in the Mauritanian Adrar, or, less frequently, by the word *gāʿda* (Djabal ʿAmūr, eastern Morocco, Mauritania). Lastly the huge plateaus of primary sandstone which surround the Ahaggar massif are called *tassili*, a Ṭuāreg Berber term; in the south of Morocco *kemkem*, another word of Berber origin, is the synonym of *ḥammāda*; the great lava plateaus of the Tibesti are called *tarso* by the Tūbū. (J. Despois)

ḤAMMĀDIDS (Banū Ḥammād) a Central Maghrib dynasty (405-547/1015-1152) collateral with that of the Zīrids of Eastern Barbary, taking its name from its founder Ḥammād b. Buluggīn b. Zīrī b. Manād.

The aspirations towards Ifrīḳiya of the Ṣanhādja *amīrs*, the Zīrids, lieutenants and vassals of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, brought about the split between the Central Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya proper. Under the second Zīrid, al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn, his uncle Abu 'l-Bahār b. Zīrī had already tried without success to carve out a kingdom in the Central Maghrib (379-83/989-93). Now al-Manṣūr's successor Bādīs had to confront a powerful Zanāta wave which broke from Tiaret to Tripoli from 386/996 and at length overwhelmed him (391/1001), thanks mainly to his uncle Ḥammād b. Buluggīn. In 395/1004-5 he gave Ḥammād the task of pacifying the restive West, and undertook never to recall him and to give up to him Ashīr, the Central Maghrib and any town he was able to conquer. Ḥammād met with such success that in 398/1007-8 he founded a new town north-east of Msīla with an eye to its serving as his capital, the celebrated Ḳalʿa (Ḳalʿat Ḥammād/Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād/al-Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*]). Ḥammād disobeyed Bādīs's order to surrender part of the Constantine territory to his heir, and, with his brother Ibrāhīm, rebelled (405/1015).

I. Ḥammād b. Buluggīn (405-19/1015-29). He severed his relations with the Fāṭimids of Cairo and had made with al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, who marched against him and besieged the Ḳalʿa for two years; at the end of this time a reconciliation between the two cousins was brought about (434/1042-3). There is some uncertainty about the date of al-Ḳāʾid's repudiation of the Fāṭimids and his recognition of the ʿAbbāsids, but it must be around the time of al-Muʿizz (whose break with Cairo was an established fact by 439/1047) since he sent him a body of cavalry which participated in the famous battle of Ḥaydarān (443/1052). But most likely it was after this Hilālī victory, which put an end to the culture of Ḳayrawān, that he once more recognized Fāṭimid suzerainty, thus acquiring the honorific appellation of Sharaf al-Dawla which had formerly been borne by his cousin.

III. Al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḳāʾid (446-7/1054-5). His father's advice to deal circumspectly with his uncles was unheeded. His violent and tyrannical disposition got the better of him, and led to his assassination, after nine months' rule, by one of his cousins, who succeeded to his throne.

IV. Buluggīn b. Muḥammād b. Ḥammād (447-54/1055-62). As the alliance between the Ḥammādids and the Hilālī Athbadj grew closer, so the Zīrids relied more and more on the Riyāḥ and the Zughba. Then, when thrown out of Ifrīḳiya by the Riyāḥ, it was the turn of the Zughba to put themselves at the disposal of the Ḥammādids. In 450/1058-9 Buluggīn obliged the Biskra chiefs to recognize him and treated the

Genealogical table of the dynasty

- I.—Ḥammād b. Buluggīn b. Zīrī (405-19/1015-28)
  - II.—al-Ḳāʾid (419-46/1028-54)
    - III.—Muḥsin (446-7/1054-5)
  - ʿAlannās
    - V.—al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89)
      - VI.—al-Manṣūr (481-98/1089-1105)
        - VII.—Bādīs (498/1105)
        - VIII.—al-ʿAzīz (498-515 or 518/1105-21-2 or 1124-5)
          - IX.—Yaḥyā (515 or 518-47/1121-2 or 1124-5 to 1152)
  - Muḥammad
    - IV.—Buluggīn (447-54/1055-62)

transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids of Baghdād; thus the Ḥammādid kingdom came into being. Bādīs laid siege to the Ḳalʿa and after six months gained a decisive victory in 406/1015; but death overtook him when he seemed about to reduce his uncle to obedience (end of 406/May 1016). His successor al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs dealt the rebel so crushing a blow (468/1017) that he sued for pardon, which was granted him. This peace, consolidated by alliances by marriage, which gave him complete sovereignty over all Central Maghrib, was to be respected by Ḥammād until his death (419/1028). It would seem that he had returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance.

II. Al-Ḳāʾid b. Ḥammād (419-46/1028-54) successfully checked an adventure of the Maghrāwī *amīr* of Fez, and made him swear allegiance (430/1038-9). In 432/1040-1 he broke the pact his father Zanāta with severity. After the Almoravids had taken Sidjilmāssa, one of the main routes for gold whose importance had increased with the Hilālī invasion, Buluggīn attacked the Zanāta of Morocco and seized Fez (454/1062). But shortly afterwards on his way back he was assassinated by his cousin al-Nāṣir b. ʿAlannās who then entered the Ḳalʿa.

V. Al-Nāṣir (454-81/1062-89) gradually established his authority and attracted important allies: the petty king of Sfax Ḥammū b. Mallīl, and the *muḳaddam* of Ḳasṭīliya paid him homage, and a delegation of Tunisian *shaykhs* asked him to appoint a governor. This was ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Khurāsān, the first Khurāsānī prince to govern Tunis with a council of *shaykhs*. Al-Nāṣir invaded Ifrīḳiya at the head of an imposing coalition which included the Athbadj. But Tamīm and the Riyāḥ put up such a defence that at Sabība (between Ḳayrawān

and Tebessa) he suffered a defeat comparable in gravity with that inflicted on al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs at Ḥaydarān. Anarchy and devastation spread throughout Central Maghrib, which now experienced the evils that Ifrīḳiya had suffered for years. The crushing of the Ṣanhādja at Sabība (457/1065) finally sealed the ascendancy of the Hilālīs over all eastern Barbary, while the Riyāḥ held sway in Ifrīḳiya and the Athbadj in Central Maghrib. Just as the Zīrids had been forced to give up Ḳayrawān and to retire on Mahdia, so the Ḥammādids lost their hold on the Ḳalʿa and fell back on Bougie, named al-Nāṣiriyya after its founder al-Nāṣir who installed himself there shortly after 461/1068-9. There was some indication of a revival of Zīrid-Riyāḥid power when they seized Khurāsānī Tunis (459-60/1067), and to thwart this al-Nāṣir led the Athbadj in an attack on Ifrīḳiya (460/1067-8), took Laribus and then Ḳayrawān (though this he had to give up), and he returned to the Ḳalʿa. Al-Nāṣir certainly played some part (though the affair is obscure) in the sale of Ḳayrawān by the Zughba in about 470/1077-8, the year in which a Zīrid-Ḥammādid pact was concluded; al-Nāṣir married Tamīm's daughter Ballāra. This peace, which was destined to last until the end of Tamīm's reign (501/1108), marks the peak of Ḥammādid superiority over their Bādīsid cousins, overwhelmed by the Hilālī invasion. Al-Nāṣir led a number of expeditions to the West and made allies of the heads of an important Zanāta tribe, the Banū Mākhūkh. On many occasions he had to take vigorous action against the Zanāta when they joined with the Arabs in acts of brigandage.

VI. Al-Manṣūr (481-98/1088-1105). In spite of his youth, this son of al-Nāṣir and Ballāra followed firmly in his father's footsteps and was the recipient of Ibn Ḥamdīs's panegyrics. Although the district was overrun by Arabs, he stayed in the Ḳalʿa until he left it for Bougie (483/1090-1). Ibn Khaldūn considers that he was the first of his line to issue a coinage, and it was he who "civilized" the Ḥammādid kingdom, hitherto semi-nomadic and totally lacking in the polish of the Bādīsids of Ḳayrawān. On his accession, he instructed Abū Yaknī to remove Balbār, an uncle of his and governor of Constantine, and rewarded him with the governorship of that city and of Bône. In 487/1094, Abū Yaknī rebelled and tried to bring about a great coalition of al-Manṣūr's enemies—Tamīm (to whom he offered Bône), the Arabs and the Almoravids. Al-Manṣūr recovered Bône and Constantine. Abū Yaknī took refuge in the Aurès, and was later put to death. Al-Manṣūr had also to intervene in the West, which had been overrun by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn as far as Algiers (473-5/1080-3). From Tlemcen the Almoravids were attacking Ṣanhādja territory with the connivance of the Zanāta, themselves egged on by the Banū Mākhūkh, notwithstanding their relationship by marriage to al-Manṣūr. Al-Manṣūr punished the Banū Mākhūkh, and invested Tlemcen so closely that Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn sued for peace. The Almoravids soon broke this peace, and again had to be forced to withdraw. But later (after 484 ?/1091) al-Manṣūr met defeat at the hands of the Zanāta of Mākhūkh and was obliged to fall back on Bougie. Not satisfied with the murder of his wife, Mākhūkh's sister, he wrought further vengeance by sacking Tlemcen (496/1103). The next year saw the end of Ḥammādid-Almoravid hostility, with the signing of a peace treaty. This done, al-Manṣūr turned to the repression of the Zanāta of Central Maghrib.

VII. Bādīs (498/1105). This son and successor of al-Manṣūr was a Caligula whose bloody tyranny fortunately endured for less than a year.

VIII. Al-ʿAzīz (498/1105 to 515 or 518/1121-2 or 1124-5). Unlike his brother Bādīs, he enjoyed a long and peaceful reign. He took pleasure in the company of lawyers. He made peace with the Zanāta and married one of Mākhūkh's daughters. Nevertheless, his fleet subdued Djerba (the date is uncertain) and in 514/1120-1 he laid siege to Tunis and obliged the Khurāsānī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to offer submission. About this time he laid on his son the duty of recovering the Ḳalʿa from Hilālī occupation.

IX. Yaḥyā (515/1121-2 or 518/1124-5 to 547/1152) drove the Khurāsānī Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from Tunis and deported him to Bougie where he eventually died, and assigned the town to one of his uncles (522/1128). Tunis stayed in Ḥammādid hands until 543/1148-9. A Ḥammādid army took the citadel of Tozeur (the date is uncertain) whose rebellious chief was imprisoned in Algiers, where he ended his days. Yaḥyā launched a great attack by sea and land against Mahdia (529/1135) at the instance of some Arab clans and of the inhabitants who were vexed because their prince al-Ḥasan, last of the Zīrids, had yielded to certain demands of Roger II of Sicily. The venture was a failure, for al-Ḥasan was able to enlist the support of Arab contingents and a Sicilian fleet. In about 536/1141-2, Yaḥyā strove to get on good terms with the Fāṭimid al-Ḥāfiẓ, but in the end acknowledged the ʿAbbāsids, for in 543/1148-9 he minted coins at al-Nāṣiriyya (Bougie) in the name of the caliph al-Muḳtafī. Towards 537/1143 the ambitions of the Normans towards Ifrīḳiya became dangerously obvious when they made an onslaught upon Djidjelli. In 539/1144-5 it was the turn of Brechk, between Cherchell and Tenes, to undergo attacks by the Sicilian fleet. Yaḥyā's luckless cousin, the last Zīrid al-Ḥasan, had been expelled from his capital Mahdia (543/1148) by Roger II's admiral George of Antioch, and he was obliged to live under surveillance at Algiers, for Yaḥyā was anxious lest the fugitive should establish contact with the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose growing influence was giving good cause for anxiety. In 543/1148-9 Yaḥyā concentrated in Bougie such of his treasures as remained at the Ḳalʿa. Now came the lightning conquest of Central Maghrib (547/1152). ʿAbd al-Muʾmin captured in turn Tlemcen, Miliana, Algiers (where the last Zīrid al-Ḥasan and the Athbadj *amīr* both submitted), and finally Bougie (Djumādā I 547/August 1152). Yaḥyā fled to Bône, and thence to Constantine. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's son ʿAbd Allāh seized the Ḳalʿa and sent his troops on from there against Constantine. A bloody battle ended in victory for the attackers; the last Ḥammādid surrendered and was removed to Bougie, where the Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin treated him and his family with kindness, and finally to Marrākush where they were granted handsome pensions and Yaḥyā had ample leisure to indulge in hunting, his favourite pastime. He followed ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to Salé in 548/1153-4, and ended his days there in 557/1161-2.

The history of the Ḥammādids is even less clear than that of the Zīrids, with which it is closely interwoven, in sources that are mainly bookish, partial, biased and second-hand. Of Ḥammādid daily life and institutions, unquestionably ruder and simpler than those of Zīrid Ifrīḳiya, we are in almost complete ignorance.

Bibliography: H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, 2 vols., Paris 1962, and

bibl., especially L. Golvin's works as well as his *Recherches archéologiques à la Qal'a des Banū Hammād*, Paris 1965.

(H. R. Idris)

ḤAMMĀL (A.) "street-porter", "bearer". In old towns with narrow winding streets, the use of porters is indispensable for the transport of packages, cases, furniture, etc., which elsewhere is effected by means of beasts of burden, carts or, at the present day, by motor vehicles. The most elementary equipment used by the *ḥammāl* is a simple rope, fairly thick, which he first ties round the object to be carried and then loops over his forehead; in this way the burden is held on the porter's back, and he controls its lateral movement by keeping both hands on it. In certain cases, especially in Istanbul, the *ḥammāl*'s equipment is more elaborate; on his back he wears a small leather apron (*arkalık*) and a kind of padded saddle (*semer*) on which the weight of the burden rests. When the burden is beyond the powers of one man or is particularly difficult to handle, two or more porters take a long pole, called *sırık* in Turkish, from which they hang the chest or bale of goods by means of ropes. The shouts of the porters as they clear a way for themselves add to the picturesqueness of eastern streets: *bālək!* in the West, *rāsak! ḍahrak! djambak!* "[Mind] your head, your back, your side" in the Arab East, *dokunmasın!*, *varda!* or *varda destur!* in Turkey.

Works of *ḥisba* are hardly concerned with porters, except in forbidding them to interfere with the flow of traffic or to overload themselves in a manner dangerous for themselves and for passers-by (see R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/3 (1960), 360). On this point Ibn ʿAbdūn (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, 91) states that a porter's load must not exceed half a *ḳafīz*, that is about 116 litres of dry foodstuffs.

In Fās, the *ḥammāla* mostly carry cereals, while the *zərzāya* form a special guild which has had a long history and which possesses its own particular organization; no doubt their name derives from that of the villages of Zərzāya (in Berber, *azərzay*, pl. *izərzayən*, which has given the singular *zərzāy* in Arabic). According to the local tradition, the Berber porters are said to have received certain privileges as early as the reign of Idrīs II [*q.v.*], and in practice it is still native Berbers of the same tribe who form the guild (see M. Lakhdar, *Les izerzaïn ou portefaix berbères*, in *Hespéris*, xix (1934), 193-4). Leo Africanus (trans. Epaulard, i, 193-4) speaks of them at some length; he relates that their *amīn* each week selected those who were to work and be at the disposal of the public for that period, and that their takings went to a communal fund, the contents of which were divided at the end of the week; they maintained constant solidarity and received the benefit of exemption from taxes and the free baking of bread.

R. Le Tourneau recently made a study (*Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, index, s.v. portefaix) of their organization which has hardly been modified since. They are divided into several groups which elect their *amīn* for six months; these *umanāʾ* in their turn elect, for one year, an *amīn* in chief who is recognized by the government as head of the guild. Their numbers are very much the same as in the time of Leo Africanus (about 300), and the members of the guild are replaced frequently, a factor which explains the short period in office of the *umanāʾ*. They all dress in the same way and are equipped with a rope and sack; they stand together in groups at various points of call where clients come to fetch them. Their charges are not governed by a tariff, and in general they seem to be satified with what they are given. Moreover their honesty is proverbial, and any shortcoming is severely punished by the *amīn*. Quite recently, they were still sleeping, at night, in small groups in the markets, stores and *funduḳ*s and making their rounds for the purpose of preventing thefts and giving the alarm in case of fire.

Bibliography: in the text.

(Cl. Huart-[Ch. Pellat])

ḤAMMĀM or steam bath, often still referred to as "Turkish bath" (and in French as "bain maure"), is a building typical of the Islamic world where archaeological remains witness to its existence as early as the Umayyad period (in addition to references in texts which mention the construction of baths in the first towns founded after the conquest: the bath of ʿAmr at Fusṭāṭ in Ibn Duḳmāḳ, i, 105; the first three baths of Baṣra, in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 353) and where it has continued until the present day to occupy a position of primary importance, recognized by the Arab writers themselves (who for example mention *ḥammām*s among a town's ancient claims to pre-eminence, and compile contemporary detailed lists of these buildings in addition to inventories of monuments).

The ritual use of the *ḥammām* in the performance of the major ablution explains why it has always been considered one of the essential amenities of the Muslim city, gradually assimilated as "a sort of annex of the mosque" (W. Marçais), while at the same time the life of a whole quarter revolved around it. Thus the Muslims gradually forgot the prejudices that had at first surrounded it as being an element which was borrowed from a foreign civilization (as late as the 4th/10th century mention is still found of *ḥammāmāt rūmiyya*) and whose decoration was for a long time derived from conventions of pre-Islamic times. People went to it for relaxation as well as to fulfil the laws of hygiene or a religious regulation, and the public baths, which were numerous in every town (and reserved on certain days or at certain times for men and at others for women), formed considerable sources of revenue for the private individuals or the authorities who established them. The popularity of the use of the *ḥammām* had also led to the installation of private baths in the precincts of palaces or within larger town houses.

Information on the number of baths existing in the Middle Ages in the chief Muslim towns can be found in the early sources, and this information has sometimes been used as a basis for modern estimates of the populations of towns at that period. In fact the value of the details thus provided varies greatly according to whether they are obtained from accurate inventories of monuments or simply from estimates by chroniclers.

To the first category belong for example the data provided by Ibn ʿAsākir on Damascus in the 6th/12th century (57 baths *intra muros*: *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ al-Munadjdjid, ii/1, Damascus 1954, 162-4) and, a century later, by Ibn Shaddād on the baths of Aleppo (80 public baths *intra muros* and 94 *extra muros* plus 31 private baths, making a total of 195: *Description d'Alep*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, 130-8) and of Damascus (85 baths *intra muros* and 31 *extra muros*, making 116 in all: *Description de Damas*, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1956, 291-302), data which seem reasonable when we consider that about 30 years ago Damascus had 60 baths of various dates, 41 of which were still in use.

On the other hand the contradictory data given by

such a writer as Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ about Baghdād seem much less reliable: for a period extending from the 3rd/9th to the 4th/10th century the figure he gives for the number of baths in the town varies from 60,000 to 1,500 [see BAGHDĀD]. Similarly for Cordova at the end of the 4th/10th century we find figures ranging from 300 baths in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, ed. Dozy, 247; Fr. tr. Fagnan, 383) to 600 in the period of al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 355). The information given by Leo Africanus for Fez in the 10th/16th century seems more reliable (100 baths listed, whereas in 1942 not more than 30 existed), also that given for 11th/17th century Istanbul by Ewliyā Čelebi (61 baths *intra muros* and 51 *extra muros*, plus private baths, making a total of about 150), details which can hardly be accused of exaggeration. But we have given these few statistics only as examples to demonstrate the extent of the potential documentation, which would demand careful comparisons between parallel sources of information (with recourse where possible to archives) in order to produce a reliable contribution to social and economic history.

From another aspect there should be mentioned the graphic descriptions of Muslim baths which feature in the accounts of early or later Western travellers, from Chardin or La Boullaye le Gouz for example (on the less well-known account of the latter, see *Voyages et observations*, Paris 1657, 40-2) to E. W. Lane (*Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chapter 16; see also the text of N. Diaz de Escovar, *De como se construia un baño en tiempo de los árabes*, cited by E. Lévi-Provençal), not forgetting the iconographic material provided by some Persian or Turkish miniatures, such as the representation of a *ḥammām* by an artist of the school of Bihzād (see B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961).

But even more useful information could be obtained from the juridical works and from the manuals of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*], which provide much detail on the control exercised by the *muḥtasib* over the cleanliness of the buildings as well as over the seemly behaviour of the users and of the bath attendants.

Unfortunately at present there has been no sufficiently detailed study of the number and the use of the *ḥammām*s which are still functioning in the old quarters of various Islamic towns, on the model of what has been done for Damascus, where an archaeological inventory of the buildings of this type, begun in 1931, has very recently been completed by some new observations. The existence of these baths is in fact a proof of the continued vitality—at least among the common people—of habits which have long been traditional in Muslim society and many aspects of which need to be clarified by means of sociological and linguistic studies, in particular the local variations in arrangement and terminology.

The details thus collected could then usefully be compared with those supplied in addition by juridical or literary texts, for example the nomenclature of the various personnel connected with the running of the *ḥammām* which is found in a writer such as the 4th/10th century Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (*Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, Baghdād 1964, 19). In the latter case for instance, a brief research has shown that two members of the staff, the *waḳḳād* ("stoker") and the *zabbāl* ("superintendent of the supply of dung-fuel for the furnace") are still called by these names in Damascus (at Fez they are called *sakhkhān* and *ghabbār*), while it appears that there is no longer in use today the term *ṣāḥib al-ṣundūḳ* for the superintendent of the changing-room (called *gellās* in Fez and combined in Damascus with the *muʿallim* or "proprietor") nor that of *ḳayyim* for the lessee of the bath. The posts of *muzayyin* ("barber") and *ḥadjdjām* ("cupper", "blood-letter"), also mentioned by Hilāl, seem to have lost their importance in favour of that of *mukayyis* or *kayyās*, the "masseur" (who wields the *kīs* or bag of tow used to massage the clients), who is probably connected with the *ḥakkāk* ("beater") attested in Cordova in the 4th/10th century and with the *dallāk*, with the same meaning, mentioned for Istanbul by Ewliyā Čelebi.

Thus we have to deal with an extremely rich and changing vocabulary, which reflects the variations which must have existed between the usage peculiar to each region and each period and is often preserved in the abundant literature of proverbs, tales and popular legends which seems always to have surrounded the *ḥammām*, a favourite centre for local beliefs and superstitions and in particular the favourite haunt of *djinn*s [*q.v.*] (see for example the "Farce of the *Ḥammām*" published by E. Saussey, *Une farce de Karagueuz en dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *BEO*, vii-viii (1937-8), 5-37).

It is, however, the architectural aspect of the Islamic bath which would be most worthy of study, so much were buildings of this type governed by the factors of siting (*e.g.*, the necessity for an abundant supply of water) and by the practical exigencies imposed by the solution of difficult and often interesting problems. Not only do the *ḥammām*s which are identifiable and available for archaeological study today provide, because of the long periods they have occupied the same sites, excellent starting points for the exploration and the reconstruction of the stages in the development of the towns to which they belong; but in addition the older parts of them provide significant illustrations, in compositions which are often original both in plan and in form, of the methods of construction, the tastes in ornament and the technical abilities of their early builders.

For this reason it would be particularly useful to know the stages in the evolution of these buildings, which have not yet been traced with the necessary thoroughness—chiefly because of lack of sufficient numbers of preliminary monographs—but the broad lines of which at least we can already attempt to trace. This evolution is in fact dominated, from the first appearances of the *ḥammām* in the Umayyad period until the spread of these buildings into the furthest provinces, by the existence of a rigid procedure, which is apparent in the most varied interpretations and which was conditioned by the nature of the operations performed in Muslim baths.

The order in which these operations are performed has remained practically the same everywhere. The clients of the *ḥammām*, who have removed their clothes and put on a simple loin-cloth composed of towels knotted together, gradually accustom themselves to an atmosphere which becomes increasingly hot and humid as they proceed towards the centre of the building, where their spell in the sweating-room produces an intense perspiration. They pass into the hands of specially-trained staff, male for men and female for women, who wash them clean with soapy lather, rub them vigorously, massage them, remove their body-hair and shave them. They next proceed either to wash in warm water or to immerse themselves in baths of warm or hot water. Finally a brief period of relaxation in a rest room is intended to restore bodies exhausted by this vigorous treatment.

To provide for this programme, the *ḥammām*

consists basically of a certain number of rooms each with its especial function: first an undressing and rest room, generally known as *mus̲h̲allaḥ* or *mas̲h̲laḥ* in the East, *maslakh̲* in Egypt and Morocco, and *maḥras* in Tunisia, which communicates with latrines and may be linked to the central part of the bath by staggered corridors of varying length; then a transition room, without means of heating but whose atmosphere is nevertheless already warmed by its proximity to the heated section and which in winter is used for undressing, and which may be known as "outside" (*barrānī*) as in Fez, or "first room" (*bayt awwal*) as in Cairo, or more precisely as "intermediate outside" (*wasṭānī barrānī*) as in Damascus, or *bīt al-barəd* in Tunis (adjoining a *bīt al-bədəl*); next a first heated room, or warm room, which in Damascus is called "intermediate interior" (*wasṭānī d̲j̲uwwānī*), in Fez "middle" (*wusṭā*), and in Tunis usually *bīt əs-sk̲h̲ūn*; finally a second heated room, the hot room proper or steam bath (*taḥmīm*; *ʿarrāḳa* or *zḳāḳ* in Tunis) which may be called simply *ḥarāra* as in Cairo, or more expressively "interior", *d̲j̲uwwānī* at Damascus and *dak̲h̲li* at Fez. This steam room is generally provided with a certain number of alcoves (called in Damascus *maḳṣūras*), where are found either benches of stone or brickwork (*maṣṭabas*), used for the attentions given to the bathers by the staff, or pipes bringing supplies of hot or cold water (*ḥanafiyyas*), or stone basins which serve as little swimming pools (*mag̲h̲ṭas*), filled with hot or cold water.

Although in some cases light and air are obtained through vents with adjustable flaps, usually neither windows nor ventilation holes are provided for in the central section, where the efficient retention of heat and steam is ensured by means of thick walls, crowned by vaults or cupolas which are equally thick, with steam-proof linings of marble or of varnished plaster over paved floors, provided with runnels to carry off the water. Light penetrates only through thick pieces of glass, a sort of "bottle-ends" inlaid in the domes, where they often form simple decorative motifs. Furniture is provided only in the changing and rest room, which is the most luxuriously arranged, with wooden benches, covered with cushions, generally disposed around a pool with a fountain (in Tunis: *k̲h̲aṣṣa*). The clients' entrance itself, the only opening through which this tightly closed building is in contact with the world outside, is only rarely conceived as an architectural motif to embellish an important façade.

To the collection of rooms accessible to the public, or used by the owner of a private bath (for the two types of building, conceived according to the same model, have never differed from each other except in size or in the degree of richness in their decoration), are joined the indispensable annexes which house the heating system and its services, which are not linked by any passage to the *ḥammām* proper but which possess their own exit onto the street, used especially for deliveries of fuel. The furnace room, which in Damascus is called *k̲h̲izāna* or "reserve" of heat and steam (in Tunis: *fornāḳ*), is separated from the hot room only by a thin partition, pierced with holes through which the steamy air passes: in it a continually stoked furnace maintains the temperature of the cauldrons (in Tunis *naḥāsa*) of boiling water. From these hot water is circulated in the interior of the bath, where it is complemented by the circulation of cold water, by the system of ventilation from the stove and by the circuit evacuating the waste water, all of which are usually led through earthenware pipes embedded in the walls or beneath the floor. Finally, the supply of water from outside is assured either by pipes, drawing it off from the town system of water supply when one exists, or by the use of an elevating machine, usually worked by a draught animal.

Based on this classical and complete arrangement, there emerged later developments, some successful and some not, which may take the form either of a slightly different arrangement (*e.g.*, the situation of the boiler in the centre of the steam room instead of in an adjacent room separated from it by a partition), or particularly by simplifications involving most often the omission of one or several of the rooms whose purpose was to permit a gradual increase in the temperature. These various modifications correspond to local habits or temporary customs which, in the present state of the documentation, it is still difficult to ascertain precisely.

Among the types of baths on which most information is available, however, are the Umayyad *ḥammāms*, successors to the *thermae* of antiquity from which they presumably derive—which explains their sudden appearance in the 2nd/8th century in an already developed form—but not without undergoing transformations profound enough to banish any idea of a mere slavish imitation of their models. We have only to compare the most important remains of baths from this period with earlier buildings to realize, in spite of the striking similarities in the methods of construction (the use of hypocausts and of heating pipes in the walls for example), the originality of the layout, in which we no longer find for example the traditional succession of the *apodyterium*, the *frigidarium*, the *tepidarium* and the *calidarium* nor their relative proportions.

In fact only the first of these terms can continue to be applied to the changing and rest room of the Umayyad *ḥammām*, which more or less retained the functions and appearance of the ancient *apodyterium*, even to the extent of including in its decoration statues and frescoes with figures imitated from Hellenistic works. But the adjacent unheated room has no longer any feature in common with the *frigidarium* (even though the frequently used name of "cold room" has led to a certain amount of confusion in this matter), of which it has retained neither the vast dimensions nor, more especially, the appointments (galleries, swimming-pools, gymnasiums) which made this room the chief element in the antique baths and the centre of the social and sporting activities which took place there. Finally, the two heated rooms also differ from the ancient *tepidarium* and *calidarium* or *sudatorium* in that they have come to fill, in relation to the other sections of the *ḥammām*, a place whose importance indicates a change from the customs practised in late antiquity.

This fact was first pointed out by D. Schlumberger, when he published the results of his preliminary investigations of a small private *ḥammām* of the Umayyad period, that of the castle of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-G̲h̲arbī [*q.v.*] near Palmyra. But the same adaptation of the antique plan to new requirements by the suppression of the *frigidarium* and parts of the architectural features henceforward of no use, is seen in the ruins of many other Umayyad sites, the true nature of which was first defined in the researches of J. Sauvaget. In fact not only is it illustrated by the famous baths of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmrā [*q.v.*] and of Ḥammām al-Ṣarak̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (the former of which owes its fame to its rich décor of paintings and both of which possess examples of an interesting elaboration of the rest room, adapted in this case to the function of

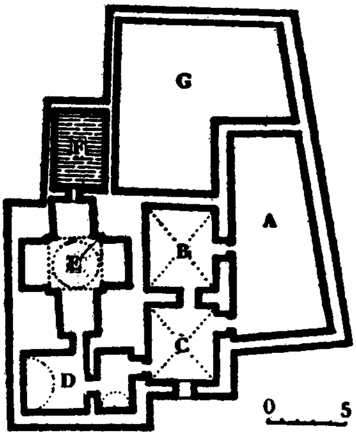


Fig. 1. Plan of a typical Umayyad *ḥammām* : the *ḥammām* of ʿAbda, where A and B are the undressing rooms, C is the unheated room, D the hot room, E the steam room, F the boiler, and G the service court (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Remarques*, fig. 7)

reception room for official personages), but it also explains the less well-known buildings, of sometimes doubtful date, the remains of which are still visible in the Syro-Jordanian steppe (at Djabal Says, Khirbat al-Bayḍā, ʿAbda, Ruḥayba and al-Ḥuṣub), and in which there regularly appear, besides the series of three small rooms—unheated, warm and hot—a room reserved for rest or for undressing and another, formerly containing the boiler, which was flanked on one side by the steam room and on the other by the essential service court (fig. 1).

The only exception to this uniform type is the magnificent *ḥammām* of Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*], recently discovered in an Umayyad residence in the Jordan valley, which deserves in this connexion a special mention. Its two small interior rooms supplied with steam by an orifice made in the wall of the adjacent furnace room, and the two intermediate rooms of the same dimensions which preceded them, were in fact accompanied by a huge square hall, more than 30 metres long, with interior pillars and a roof of cupolas to which were annexed elaborate latrines and a small room with an exedra decorated with especial care. This vast *apodyterium*, access to which was through a huge porch, surmounted by a princely statue, which itself served as ante-room to the room with exedra where probably the owner of the bath sat, had been provided with a remarkable ornamentation—a mosaic pavement and painted and sculpted stucco in all its upper section. The presence of a large swimming-pool occupying the whole of the length of the south wall of the room reveals in addition a deliberate adaptation of the *frigidarium* of antiquity. This arrangement is quite exceptional in an Islamic *ḥammām*, and has already been proved to be compatible with the luxurious tastes of the founder of the castle; it must be seen in this setting of costly fantasy in order to understand why (apparently) no later building was inspired by it.

The arrangement of the later mediaeval baths, so far as can be judged from the scattered examples which exist, merely reproduces, with further simplification, that of the classical Umayyad prototypes: four rooms, consisting of an undressing room, two intermediate rooms and a steam room adjacent to the section containing the heating apparatus. This

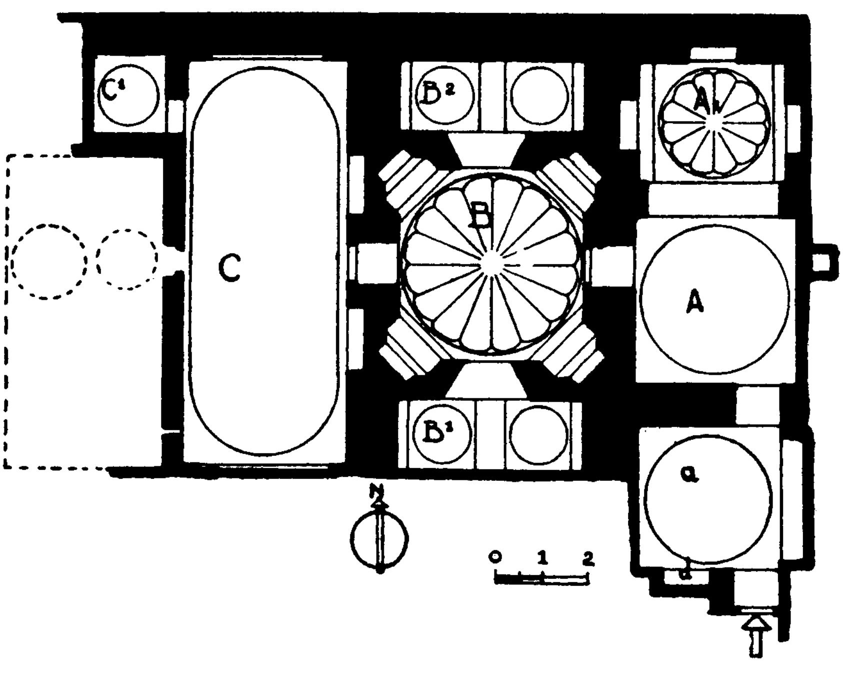


Fig. 2. Ayyūbid type: restoration of the original plan of the Sūḳ al-Bzūriya bath at Damascus, where A indicates the unheated rooms, B the hot room and its annexes, and C the steam room (cf. M. Ecochard, *Monuments ayyoubides*, fasc. ii, fig. 57)

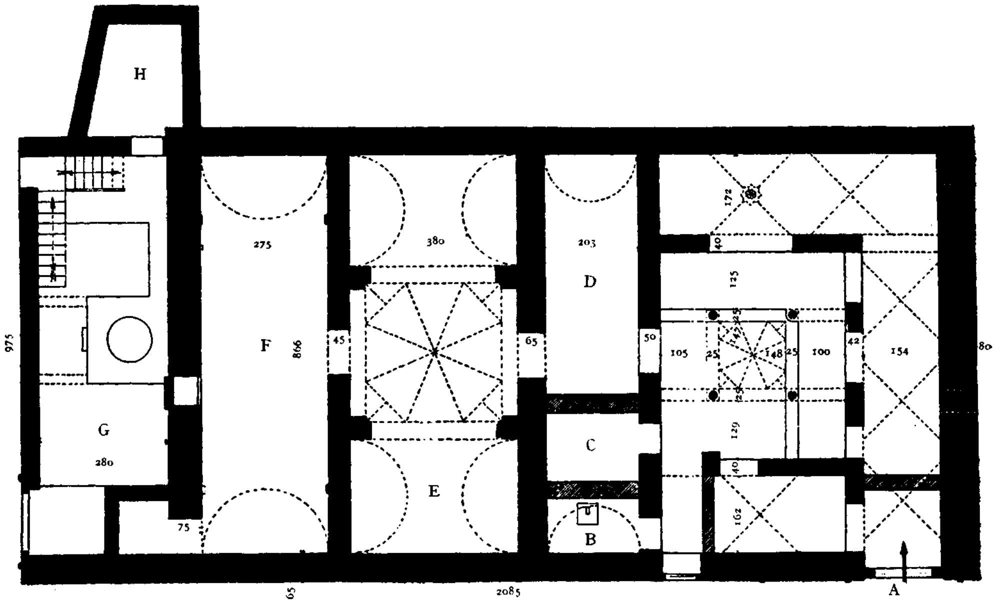


Fig. 3. Typical plan of a Marīnid bath at Rabat (cf. H. Terrasse, in *Mélanges William Marçais*, fig. 3)

A = entrance
B = latrine
C = store-room
D = frigidarium
E = tepidarium
F = calidarium
G = furnace
H = pool

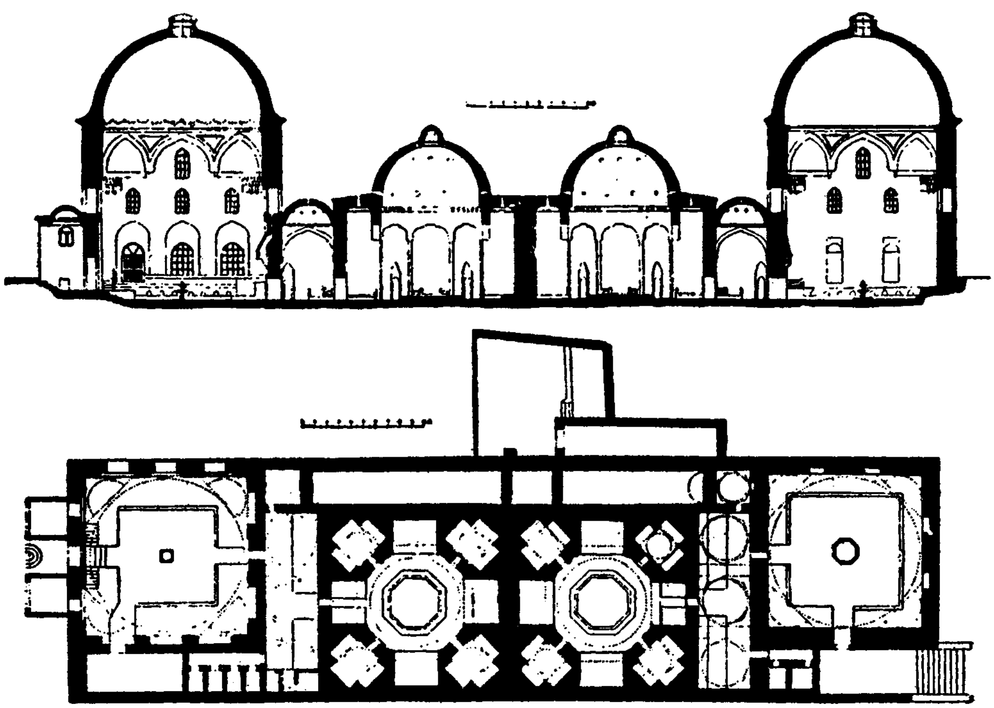


Fig. 4. Monumental Ottoman type: the Haseki (Khāṣṣeki) *ḥammām* at Istanbul (cf. B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture*, fig. 34)

is the plan to which in particular the Damascus baths of the Ayyūbid period conform. These have been the object of especially detailed archaeological studies and can therefore be profitably cited here, although unfortunately there exist no architectural data on the hiatus of four centuries which separates them from the Umayyad buildings or on the Iranian baths of the Saldjūḳ or earlier periods which might perhaps foreshadow some of their features (the brief notes by E. Schroeder, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, Oxford 1939, 998,concerning the existence of an early *ḥammām* at Nigar to the south of Kirmān are in this respect quite inadequate).

At Damascus, in the 6th/12th century, we first notice the abandoning of the system of hypocausts in favour of a more simple solution, which consists of passing the chimney of the stove beneath the paved floors that are to be heated: hence the rooms of the central part of the *ḥammām* are laid out according to the axis of this flue pipe. Next the effect of Mesopotamian influences on the architectural methods is felt in the lavish use of conches and ribbed cupolas. Finally there should be mentioned the clear predominance, in the arrangement of the whole, of the middle or warm room, which may have an elaborate octagonal form and which then forms the centre of the plan of the building (fig. 2).

The modifications which the following periods brought to this scheme involved firstly the disappearance, in the 9th/15th century, of the intermediate unheated room, then the continual expansion of the hot room which increased in decoration and in size, thanks to the multiplication of the *maḳṣūra*s which surrounded it, until, in the 12th/18th century, it predominated over all the other rooms and, in still more recent buildings, became the only room. Before a more than local importance is attributed to this arrangement, a similar evolution (which would have to be linked with a previous change in the habits of the users of the baths) would have to be established in other Syrian towns, in particular in Aleppo. It would also be useful to know whether it appeared in a neighbouring province such as Egypt, particularly in Cairo, where some early *ḥammām*s with a radiating plan, the majority of which go back to the Mamlūk period, have not yet been the subject of sufficiently detailed archaeological research.

In Spain and the Maghrib on the other hand, the buildings appear to belong to a different tradition, which is of Andalusian as well as Umayyad origin. Some very early specimens, including baths of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries at Granada and Tlemcen, thus show a very great simplicity in conception and execution, with no attempt at architectural decoration anywhere except in their changing rooms. Next, in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, there appears a certain elaboration of the buildings due to the adoption, within axial and rectangular plans, of the types of cold, warm and hot rooms (with the warm room predominating) which were found in the Ayyūbid *ḥammām*s in the East. But the possible connexions between the well-known Marīnid baths (fig. 3) and their Eastern models at varying distances from them have not yet been studied nor even mentioned with the attention which the hypothesis deserves.

The baths built after the Saldjūḳid conquest in Iran, and the baths of Turkey, form a particularly important chapter in the history of the *ḥammām*, especially noticeable in the remarkable proliferation of buildings of this type in Anatolia and Istanbul. More solidly built than the Ṣafawid baths, on which in any case studies and surveys are lacking (one rare example is a bath of Kashān, the plan of which has been published by P. Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, pl. 45), the Turkish *ḥammām*s have often been cited as works of the utmost technical perfection, conforming to the habitual Muslim arrangement while also inheriting the experience which the Byzantine buildiers had acquired earlier in this field. The Ottoman period above all saw the erection of many harmoniously arranged buildings, in which the principle of a multiplicity of rooms was abandoned in order to put the emphasis on the changing room and the steam room, which were most frequently built as majestic domed halls. These baths often consisted of two symmetrical groups of buildings which had no communication with each other—since one was reserved for men and one for women—but which were supplied by the same service annexes, on the model of various works of Sinān [*q.v.*] and of the Khāṣṣeki Ḥammāmī in Istanbul (fig. 4).

Bibliography:The references to the Arabic sources have been given in the text; see also al-Hamadhānī, who gives, in the *maḳāma ḥulwāniyya*, a humorous description of the behaviour of the attendants of a *ḥammām*. On the role of baths in Muslim society, particularly in some large towns, see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, ch. xxi; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique*, Paris 1937, 333, 338-41; E. Lévi Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 430-1; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 247-9; E. Pauty, *Les hammams du Caire*, Cairo 1963 (*MIFAO*, vol. lxiv); R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, 503-5. On the layout and functioning of the bath from Damascus examples, with extremely detailed technical and architectural descriptions, the basic work is M. Ecochard and Ch. Le Cœur, *Les bains de Damas*, 2 vols., Beirut (*PIFD*) 1942-3; see also the review by J. Sauvaget, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1943-5), 327-32, and J. de Maussion de Favières, *Note sur les bains de Damas*, in *B. Et. Or.*, xvii (1961-2), 121-31 and 12 pl. For the purely archaeological point of view see K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, Oxford 1932, 253-80 (Ḳuṣayr ʿAmrā and Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh); D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-1938)*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), 213-23; J. Sauvaget, *Les ruines omayyades du Djebel Seis*, in *Syria*, xx (1939), especially 246-7, 254; idem, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, i: *Châteaux de Syrie*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939), 15-6, 26 and n. 1, 36-9, 52; R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar*, Oxford 1959, 45-105; J. Sauvaget, *Un bain damasquin du XIIIe siècle*, in *Syria*, xi (1930), 370-80; M. Ecochard, *Trois bains ayyoubides de Damas*, apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, Paris 1940, 92-112; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, especially 215-7 and 315-6; H. Terrasse, *Trois bains mérinides du Maroc*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 311-20; L. Torres Balbás, *Cronica arqueológica*, in *al-And.*, vii (1942), 206-10 (Gibraltar), ix (1944), 475-7 (Ronda), xi (1946), 443-6, xvii (1952), 176-86 (Torres Torres and other places in the Levant), 433-8 (Murcia); K. Klinghardt, *Türkische Bäder*, Stuttgart 1927; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture*, London 1959, 74-6. See further ILIDJA, ḲAPLIDJA.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

In the Maghrib the *ḥammām*, as well as being a place intended for the major purification of the

Believer and for his bodily hygiene, is a meeting place and a centre of social life. With its entrance near the mosque, of which its acts almost as the antechamber, and sometimes situated in the middle of a *sūḳ*, it assumes in the Maghribī city the character of a social centre. The *ḥammām* is often several centuries old and proudly displays its letters of pedigree; and its double entrance door, painted in green and red, is sometimes surmounted by a marble plaque with an inscription testifying to its early foundation.

Although it is true that the forty or so Turkish baths in Tunis differ in size and in the comforts which they offer to their patrons, there is scarcely any variation in the general layout of the building and the way in which it works.

The area reserved for the users consists of two quite distinct parts: the section for dressing and resting and the bath proper, which includes warm and hot rooms, usually three in all, one leading into the next (see above).

The proprietor of the *ḥammām* (*ḥammāmdjī*) and the attendants formerly came from among the Mzabis from southern Algeria who had settled in Tunis. They formed a guild. In addition to the manager, the personnel consists of: one in charge of the dressing room (*ḥārəz əl-maḥraṣ*) helped by staff stationed in the rest room (*ḥārəz əl-maḳṣūra*); one in charge of the linen (*ḥārəz əl-bədəl*) assisted by a number of cubicle stewards and servants who wash the loin-cloths and several masseurs (*ṭayyāb*) whose services are available on request; one in charge of the heating (*frānḳī*) with one or two assistants. The name of "master of the bath" (*raʾīs al-ḥammām*) which is often given to him is a clear indication of the importance of his duties. Formerly the master of the furnace and his assistants were always natives of Ouargla (southern Algeria) and they too belonged to a special guild. They were employed without a contract, receiving each year from the owner a lump sum. The hairdresser and coffee waiter available for the clients do not form part of the staff but are tenants of the *ḥammām*. The staff of the women's baths are all women: the manageress and her deputy are assisted by a number of female attendants (*ḥārza*). There are no professional masseuses.

The client presents himself to the manager, who acts as cashier. When he enters the dressing-room he is taken in charge by the *ḥārəz əl-maḥraṣ* or the superintendent of the *maḳṣūra*, who gives him a loin-cloth (*fūṭa*), a bath towel (*bəshkīr*) and a pair of pattens *ḳabḳāb*). He is given also a second towel in which to wrap his clothes. He then goes into the *bīt al-bārəd*. On coming out of this "cold room", he gives his long bath-robe to the *ḥārəz əl-bədəl*, in charge of the linen, and, wearing only a loin-cloth, is led into the second room (*bīt əl-skhūn*). As soon as he has become sufficiently accustomed to the heat, he proceeds to the third room where he waits until he starts to sweat. After sweating abundantly he leaves the *ʿarrāḳa* and returns to the second room for friction with a special glove (*kāsa*), the scouring of his skin and, if he wishes, massage (*təmsīd*). The friction-glove is made of a mixture of woollen and goat's hair threads sewn together and arranged so as to form a rough surface. This vigorous friction enables the top layer of skin, together with the dirt (*ūsakh*) accumulated in the pores, to be rubbed off in greyish rolls.

When the friction, scraping and massage are completed, the bather goes into the cubicle to complete the purification and attentions necessary for hygiene. When asked by the cubicle steward, he slips his loin-cloth under the door, takes the two *bəshkīr* which the steward passes to him, wraps himself in them, and goes towards the *bīt əl-bədəl*. The *ḥārəz əl-bədəl* dries him, envelops him in fresh dry towels and wraps his head in a sponge-cloth in the form of a turban.

Then the superintendent of the dressing-room or of the rest room receives the bather in either the entrance hall or one of the little rest-rooms adjacent to it, wishes him good health and prepares a place for him to lie down. The coffee waiter comes to offer him refreshments. This is the time of relaxation after all the attentions which the bather has received, which lasts until the call inviting the clients to give up their places to other bathers.

The majority of *ḥammāms* serve at different times both men and women, though some are strictly reserved for one or the other sex. A veil stretched across in front of the entrance hall is often used to indicate that is is the women's turn. When woman are bathing the usual manager and staff are replaced entirely by women.

Formerly the Tunisian lady went to the bath with much ceremony and an escort of two or three servants. One carried the clean linen wrapped in a silk scarf (*ṣorra*), another, the silver or copper bucket (*ṣṭol əl-ḥammām*) in which were placed the traditional objects: a copper bowl with a long handle to ladle out the water (*ṭāṣa*), the box of fuller's earth (*ṭaffāla*), the coarse-toothed comb (*khallāṣ*), the fine-toothed comb made of tortoise-shell (*fəllāya*), the friction-glove and the small round "curry-comb" (*maḥākka*, *ḥakkāka*) made of threads of coarse wool or of hempen tow mounted on a cork disc. The clay (*ṭfal*) had been bought long before in the *sūḳ* and perfumed with rose-water, essence of rose geranium or orange-flower water.

Although most town houses contain all that is necessary for a woman's toilet, the Tunisian woman still patronizes the *ḥammām*. Nowadays many modern beauty-products replace the traditional lotions taken with the clean linen in the suitcase to the bath; but some of the procedures are repeated from one generation to another: after washing the body and the friction comes the application of *ṭfal* to the hair, the removal of bodily hair, etc. The session at the bath might be prolonged if the master of the heating did not produce a violent jet of steam, the *ḳaṭṭūs*, to remind the bathers that it is time to wrap themselves in the towels held out for them by the attendants and to go and rest in the *maḳṣūra*.

These women's sessions provide the occasion, both in towns and villages, for the young bride to parade herself before her friends in the various items of her trousseau. The proceedings are enlivened with songs, "youyou" and lengthy gossip. Women also take advantage of meetings at the *ḥammām* in order to make themselves up and wear all their finery.

In addition to its use for ritual purification [see WUḌŪʾ] the *ḥammām* is considered, in the popular phrase, as a "silent doctor" (*əṭ-ṭbīb əl-bakkūsh*), able by its warm atmosphere, as well as by the abundant perspiration which it produces, to cure all ailments and particularly the various forms of rheumatism.

All the great occasions in life are accompanied by a bath in the *ḥammām*. The expectant mother comes there in order to ensure an easier delivery; forty days after the birth, she comes again for purification. The young boy is taken there before his circumcision. The young bride visits it three times during the period of the marriage festivities: *ḥammām əl-ūsakh*, the bath for cleanness, seven days before the wedding; *ḥammām əl-dbagh*, the bath for the application of

henna on the third day of the celebrations; and *ḥammām əl-təshlīl*, the rinsing bath, on the eve of the consummation of the marriage. The future husband invites his friends to accompany him to the bath at the beginning of the marriage celebrations, returns after the application of henna, and is there again a few hours before entering the conjugal home and on the day following the wedding night.

The popular poets have not failed to write of the delicious bodily languor which drives away all memory of suffering and anxiety, the beneficial heat which induces rest and relaxation, the indefinable atmosphere of well-being and of mystery peculiar to *ḥammāms*: "water of winter, heat of summer, sweetness of autumn and smile of spring".

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(A. Louis)

ḤAMMĀM AL-ṢARAKH is a ruined bath building which stands within an isolated enclosure wall about sixteen miles east of Zarḳaʾ in the Balḳā, and three miles south-east of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥallābāt. It was visited and first planned by H. C. Butler in 1905 and 1909; but the most recent drawings of the building were made by L. H. Vincent with K. A. C. Creswell in 1926 (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, i, 274-5). The ruins have since suffered much from earthquake and stone-robbers, so that all published photographs, including some more recent than 1926, show walls and vaults standing intact which no longer exist. Here, therefore, we describe a past state of affairs.

A square, stone-paved and cement-lined pool and a circular well close to the main building are the only visible signs of water. The bath is stone-built and vaulted throughout of locally quarried materials, the walls being for the most part of limestone ashlar, the vaulting partly of ashlar but mostly of rough-hewn shale fragments or a concrete of light volcanic cinders. Vaults and arches throughout are slightly pointed: barrel-vaults over rectangular and cross-vaults over square compartments. On the walls Butler and Musil (in 1909) both found traces of figured frescoes. The roofs were covered with a fine water-proof cement mixed with crushed pottery.

The building closely resembles Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [*q.v.*] in plan and has analogies in certain respects with the bath at Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*]. It comprises two clearly differentiated parts: a large hall with a deep recess on one axis flanked by two secluded chambers; and a series of smaller rooms. The hall served undoubtedly as an apodyterium and reception room, and the smaller rooms for bathing.

The hall is nearly square (8.9 × 7.9 m), with its corners towards the points of the compass. The shorter, south-west, wall containing the entrance is now totally destroyed. In the middle of the south-east side there is a deep recess, or *īwān*, from which two doors give access to two small flanking rooms each lit by three slit windows and furnished with a square niche in a back corner. The main hall is lit by three windows set high in the wall opposite the recess. It is roofed by three barrel-vaults resting on two transverse arches which spring from low wall-piers attached to the long walls. The central vault is carried into the recess. Similar vaults cover the flanking rooms.

A door in the north-east wall leads into the baths proper, which are strikingly small in relation to the hall. Three or four connecting rooms provide a sequence of increasing temperature. No furnace or hypocaust is visible, but vertical flues in the walls of the second and third rooms prove that these were heated, a tepidarium and calidarium respectively, the first being a cold room. Architectural interest is chiefly centred in the calidarium, a domed square with semi-circular apses in two opposite walls. In this room four wall arches carry ashlar pendentives supporting a dome comprised of shale fragments compressed between projecting radial ribs made of wedge-shaped lengths of shale. Eight round windows lighted the dome. The apses are semi-domed, with voussoirs set in wedge-like courses radiating from a lunate block at the centre of the springing. Each recess had a round-headed window.

Opposite the door of the calidarium a vaulted passage, nearly as wide as the room itself, leads to a rectangular chamber now totally demolished. Similar arrangements well preserved at Khirbat al-Mafdjar prove that this contained a boiler, doubtless heated by a furnace below, to provide steam for the calidarium.

The plan of Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh is almost identical with that of Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra, and this, with the frescoes, may suggest that the same mind planned both, and for the same purpose: to provide at once for the relaxation and official receptions of some Umayyad prince. No residence in either case stood near. In both a rectangular recess formed the princely *miḥrāb*, directly confronting the axis of an assembly hall and apodyterium. This reflects a simpler ceremonial than the separate and elaborate reception

room at Khirbat al-Mafdjar, attributed to al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Ḥammām al-Ṣarakh may then be dated some years or decades earlier; perhaps to the Caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, if Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra and another closely similar bath at Djabal Says (*Syria*, xx, 246-56) have been rightly so attributed.

Bibliography: H. C. Butler, *Ancient architecture in Syria*: *Section A*: *S. Syria*, 77-80; and appendix, xix-xxv; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, 273-84.

(R. W. Hamilton)

ḤAMMŪDIDS, dynasty which reigned over various towns in Muslim Spain from 407/1016 till 450/1058. Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn [*q.v.*], on his second succession to the caliphal throne in Shawwāl 403/ May 1013, had to distribute large fiefs among the Berbers who had raised him to power. He allotted to ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd the governorship of Ceuta and to his brother al-Ḳāsim that of Algeciras, Tangier, and Arzila. The two were genuine Idrīsids [*q.v.*], their great-grandfather Ḥammud being the great-grandson of Idrīs II. ʿAlī, who considered himself to be the heir of Hishām II [*q.v.*], proclaimed his independence, and on the pretext of liberating Hishām (whom he thought to be still alive), decided to make himself master of Cordova. Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn put up almost no resistance and was defeated and made prisoner in Muḥarram 407/July 1016. The ambitious ʿAlī ordered the corpse of Hishām II to be disinterred, and on it being proved that he had been murdered, took it upon himself personally to execute Sulaymān as a regicide and had himself recognized as caliph with due form and ceremony. Thus he became the first non-Marwānid to occupy the Cordovan throne since the restoration of the Umayyads on Spanish soil. During the first eight months of his rule he won the approval of his subjects by applying the law strictly to the Berbers, who had become accustomed to immunity. But soon, seeing that Cordovans were beginning to mutter against him as a foreign usurper and to show their sympathy for the Umayyad pretender al-Murtaḍā, he forgot his moderation, allowed the Zanāta to enjoy their privileges and immunities, and subjected the capital to a reign of terror until he was murdered by three Slav palace slaves. His Zanāta partisans called upon his brother al-Ḳāsim, who was in Seville as governor, and proclaimed him caliph. The only pretender to dispute the throne with him was a great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who was proclaimed caliph on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 408/29 April 1018 by the Slav *fatā* Khayrān, lord of Almería, and the Arab Mundhir of Saragossa, but on attacking Granada before making for Cordova he was vanquished and killed. The Cordovans could now enjoy an unexpected tranquillity for three years, thanks to the moderation of al-Ḳāsim who, surrounded by a bodyguard of Negro mercenaries, won over the Slav chiefs who had upheld al-Murtaḍā. This liberal régime could not last. The Berbers of the capital, feeling themselves disregarded, invited Yaḥyā, the eldest son of ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, to cross from Morocco to Málaga and march against Cordova. His aged uncle al-Ḳāsim gave up the struggle and took refuge in Seville. Yaḥyā was proclaimed caliph in the Alcázar of Cordova on 22 Rabīʿ II 412/5 August 1021. He could maintain himself on the throne for only a year and a half, for his insufferable arrogance alienated the sympathies of the very Berbers who had enthroned him, and he fled to Málaga. His uncle al-Ḳāsim returned from Seville to install himself once more in the capital, but after six months, on 21 Djumādā II 414/10 September 1023, the Cordovans, weary of the insolence of the Africans, rebelled and forced him to flee. The Sevillans declined to receive him and when he went to take refuge at Jerez his nephew Yaḥyā went from Málaga to besiege him. He gave himself up and was imprisoned with his two sons, to be murdered after a few years in prison. Yaḥyā reigned at Málaga until 427/1035. He had successors at Málaga until 449/1057, in which year Bādīs (see zīrids of Spain), the Berber prince of Granada, entered it and dethroned the last Ḥammūdid, Muḥammad II al-Mustaʿlī. At Algeciras al-Ḳāsim's son Muḥammad al-Mahdī reigned from 431/1039 to 440/1048 and his son al-Ḳāsim al-Wāthiḳ from 440/ 1048 to 450/1058. In this latter year Málaga was occupied by the Abbādids of Seville.

Bibliography: Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², ii, 310-21, iii, 5-17, 234; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 328-30; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 115 ff.; Ibn Ḥayyān, in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i, 78-82; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 315-9; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 35-8 (trans. 42-6); Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 188 ff.; Nuwayrī, ed. Gaspar Remiro, 231 ff.; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 142; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, Escorial MS., art. on ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, in Dozy, *Notices*, 160-1 (ed. Muʾnis, index); Codera, *Estudios criticos de historia árabe-española, Coll. de estudios árabes*, vii, 301-22 (Ḥammūdids of Málaga and Algeciras, after Ibn Ḥazm).

(A. Huici Miranda)

HĀMŌN, Moses, chief Jewish physician to Süleymān I. His father, Joseph Hāmōn, a native of Granada, served as physician at the court of Bāyezīd II and Selīm I. Probably born *ca.* 1490, Moses Hāmōn became a leading court physician and influential courtier under Süleymān I. He seems to have allied himself with the powerful court faction headed by Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*], the Sultan's favourite consort, her daughter Mihr-i Māh [*q.v.*] and the latter's husband, the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], who, *inter alia*, conspired against the heir presumptive, Prince Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], executed in 1553. Shortly before Hāmōn's death in 1554, he was dismissed as a result of the intrigues of envious colleagues or the temporary disgrace of Rüstem Pasha.

Hāmōn possessed a valuable collection of manuscripts, among them the famous Dioscorides codex of the 6th century A.D., now in Vienna. He wrote an early Turkish treatise on dentistry and was instrumental in the printing of several Hebrew works and of a well-known Persian translation of the Pentateuch. He also played an important part in Jewish communal affairs.

Bibliography: H. Gross, in *REJ*, lvi (1908), 1-26 and lvii (1909), 55-78; U. Heyd, in *Oriens*, xvi (1963), 152-70 (and the sources cited there).

(U. Heyd)

HAMPĪ, the name now commonly given to the ruins of the capital city of the Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] empire, on the right bank of the Tungabhadrā river 60 km. north-west of Bellary. The name seems to be derived from the prominent temple to Pampāpati (Kannada *h* < Old Kann. *p*) in the *bāzār* area.

The Vidjayanagara empire is of importance for the Muslim world not only as an active Hindū power which defied its Muslim neighbours for over two centuries, but also for the evidence it offers of the progressive synthesis of certain aspects of Hindū and Muslim cultures from the 8th/14th to the 10th/ 16th centuries; this article is concerned with that

synthesis as expressed in its buildings.

Most of the buildings of Vid̲j̲ayanagara are characteristically Hindū works in the late Hoysaḷa style; but in some the Muslim influence is apparent, especially where the building concerned is (presumably) one built for the Muslim community or by a section of it. It is known that the ruler Devarāya I (1406-22 A.D.) had many Muslim mercenaries in his service: the first of his line to appreciate the advantages of cavalry, he had imported many horses from Arabia and Persia and enlisted trained troopers to ride them; and reference is made also to the 'Turkish' bowmen he attracted by liberal grants of cash and land (the adjective is perhaps not to be taken literally, as *turaka, turas̲h̲ka* in non-Muslim Indian texts frequently means no more than 'Muslim'). They are no doubt responsible for reconstructions in the walls and gates of the citadel of Hampī: thus, the northern gate is of the typical Hindū beam-and-bracket construction, but the remains of the turret above it show arches and parapets of the same general shape as exhibited in the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] buildings at Gulbargā; the southern gateway, one of the main entrances to the city, shows a tall domed structure supported on four open arched sides, similar to the late Bahmanī and Barīd S̲h̲āhī tombs at Bīdar [*q.v.*]. Within the citadel is a large high-walled enclosure generally referred to as the *zanāna*; the accounts of travellers to the Vid̲j̲ayanagara court suggest that the kings did indeed keep their women in seclusion—a practice which was known in early Hinduism but seems to have been most freely adopted by Hindūs as a direct imitation of Muslim practice—but that they were allowed to watch spectacles taking place in the city. The so-called "watch towers" on the walls of the enclosure appear to have been built for the pleasure of the ladies of the *zanāna*, a purpose similar to that seen in the Mug̲h̲al palaces [see BURD̲J̲, iii, *ad fin.*]; these towers, one square and one octagonal, have arched openings on all their faces and are thus strikingly unlike any other Hindū work in the sub-continent, although the synthesis of the Hindū and Muslim styles appears here in that the roofs are of the stepped pattern which characterizes the temple roof (*śikhara*). Within the enclosure stands the finest and most complete of the mixed-style buildings, known as the Lotus Pavilion; this is an open pavilion on the ground floor, with massive piers and foliated arches showing a triple recession of planes of the intrados which recalls the style of the Lodī mosques of Dihlī [*q.v.*]. The upper storey is provided with numerous small arched windows in each face, originally equipped with wooden shutters, and is separated from the ground storey by a deep eaves roof on corbelled brackets very similar in effect to the deep eaves of the Bīd̲j̲āpur buildings. The roof, however, is of the Hindū pyramidal stepped variety. This appears to be a late building (ca. 983/1575 ?).

Outside the *zanāna* enclosure is a long oblong building with eleven tall arched openings alternating with walls of blind arches, generally known as the 'elephant stables', but which Havell takes to be the mosque built by Devarāya II (1422 ?-46 A.D.) for his Muslim troops. The arched chambers are domed, and the central chamber is surmounted by a square turret, probably originally crowned by a stepped tower of the Hindū pattern, approached by steps from within and therefore providing access to a high place to cry the *ad̲h̲ān*. A local tradition asserts that this building was later used as a stable for the state elephants, but there seems to be no trace of the occupancy of these animals; further work on the site, including excavation, will be necessary if the thesis that it was the mosque can be supported. A structure in the army commander's enclosure has been identified by Longhurst as Devarāya's mosque; but this building faces due north (the *ḳibla* here being slightly north of west) and the identification may be rejected.

Near the 'elephant stables' is an oblong arcaded building called a 'guard-room' by Longhurst and 'Rām Rād̲j̲'s treasury' by Havell; it has also been known as the 'concert hall'. This shows the best use of the structural arch in the Hampī buildings: foliated arches with radiating brick voussoirs, supported on slender columns; the roof is incomplete. Its purpose cannot now be known, but it obviously reflects work by Muslim craftsmen.

Other buildings of Muslim style at Hampī include some of the constructions associated with the elaborate irrigation system, the relation of which with the irrigation systems of the Muslim cities of Bīdar and Bīd̲j̲āpur has not yet been ascertained. These include two baths—the *ḥammām* was another Muslim institution borrowed by these Hindū dynasties—and an octagonal pavilion with fountains. About 1.8 km. to the west of the citadel stand two Muslim tombs whose style resembles that of the early Bahmanī period at Bīdar; nothing is known of the history of these tombs.

That the synthesized tradition of the Hampī buildings endured after the conquest of Vid̲j̲ayanagara by the Deccan Muslim confederacy at Tālikoṭā [*q.v.*] in 972/1565 is shown by the palace of the last dynasty built twenty years after the conquest at their new capital of Čandragiri, in the North Arcot district of Madras some 370 km. south-east of Hampī. This is a three-storeyed building with a façade 45 m. wide, each storey showing a range of pointed arches; inside there are excellent pillared halls, the upper one of intersecting arches roofed by shallow domes. The roof is crowned by seven pyramidal towers of the Hindū *śikhara* type.

Bibliography: In addition to the detailed bibliography of the article VID̲J̲AYANAGARA: A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi ruins described and illustrated*, Madras 1917: descriptions uncritical, map inadequate, no plans, illustrations poor and without scale; E. B. Havell, *Indian architecture* . . ., London ²1927, specially 185-92: written generally to prove Havell's untenable thesis of the essentially Indian nature of Indian Islamic art. For the Čandragiri palace: R. F. Chisholm, *The old palace of Chandragiri*, in *Ind. Antiquary*, xii (1883), 295-6. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

AL-ḤAMRĀʾ, the name of several places in Morocco. This name has been or is still borne by:—

(1) Marrākus̲h̲: on the basis of numerous documents emanating from the Naṣrids and Saʿdids, Colonel de Castries has proposed translating the expression "*ḥamrāʾ Marrākus̲h̲*" by "l'Alhambra de Marrakech", and applying it to the palace or *ḳaṣaba* of the Saʿdids in that town. But other texts suggest that, even in the diplomatic vocabulary, the word *ḥamrāʾ* had progressively assumed the sense of capital (substantive or adjective) in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries; and it seems that the true meaning of this word is optative, in that red, one of the Prophet's favourite colours, is a sign of joy, good fortune and above all power. Since the 19th century it has been customary in Morocco to reverse this expression (perhaps under European influence), and one writes "*Marrākus̲h̲ al-ḥamrāʾ*" (Marrākus̲h̲

the Red) or simply *al-Ḥamrāʾ*. On this question, see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, 17-23, which gives the bibliography. See further Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Zarhūnī, *Riḥla*, Rabat MS; French trans. Col. Justinard, *La Riḥla du Marabout de Tasaft*, Paris 1940, 17, 127, 128, 163, 197, and J. Caillé, *Les Accords internationaux du sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah*, Paris 1960, 155.

(2) Several villages in southern Morocco, see V. P. Lancre, *Repert. alpha. des confédérations de tribus ... et des agglomérations de la zone française de l'Empire chérifien*, Casablanca 1939, 380, 422.

(3) Al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]: the identification is given by al-Bakrī, *K. al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, 110, Fr. tr. M. G. de Slane, Algiers 1911-13, 216.

4) Dar al-Hamara: Marmol, *L'Afrique*, Fr. tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, Paris 1667, ii, book IV, 200, gives this name to an ancient Roman town situated to the North of the mouth of the Wādī Lukkus, and adds in the table of contents "on the mountain of the Zarhoun" ... but this mistake has not been made on the map of the "Kingdom of Fez" (between pp. 136 and 137). Marmol identifies this locality, without either proof or reason, with "l'Epticienne de Ptolemée". Dar al-Hamara has not yet been discovered.

5) Fās: al-Khūrī, in his *Akrab al-mawārid*, Beirut 1889, records under the word *al-ḥamrāʾ*, though without any evidence, "the name of the new town of Fās". We know of a mosque at Fās with this name, the significance of which remains enigmatic.

(Sidjilmasa did not bear the name *al-ḥamrāʾ*, but rather *al-ʿamrāʾ*: see D. J. and J. Meunié, *Abbar, cité royale du Tafilalet*, in *Hesp.*, i/2 (2e trim.), 1959.)

Bibliography: in the article.

(G. DEVERDUN)

AL-ḤAMRĀʾ, the Alhambra of Granada [see GHARNĀṬA].

ḤAMRĪN, DJABAL, modern name of an isolated western chain of the mountains of the Iranian border, about 500 miles long. Its northern extremity crops up in the Djazīra, south of the Djabal Sindjar and the Tigris flows through it at al-Fatḥa. At Shahrabān it is crossed by the great road from Baghdād to Hamadān and Tehrān, at Ahwāz it separates the plains of the ancient Elam, the modern Khūzistān, from those of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and is finally united with the Iranian plateau in the province of Fārs. This range has had its name repeatedly changed. Its Assyrian appellation is not certain. The Syrians called it Ūrukh or Orukh, which appears in Polybius, v, 52 with reference to the campaign of Antiochus III against Molon, as τὸ Ὀρειχὸν ὄρος. Bārimmā is the oldest Arabic name, which may be traced to the Syriac Bēth Remmān, *i.e.*, temple of Rimmon, probably an Assyrian sanctuary. The mountains took this name from a village on the eastern bank of the Tigris, where the river flows through the mountains. It lay on the Baghdād-Mawṣil road, was inhabited by Jacobites and for a time formed a bishopric with Bēth Wāzīḳ. Ḳudāma and Yāḳūt give the Syrian name Sātīdamā to the western part of the range in the Djazīra; the word means blood-drinker and appears elsewhere as the name of frontier rivers. Later in Ibn Ḥawḳal, this western part is called Djabal Shaḳūḳ, traces of which name remain in that of the modern village of al-Shaḳḳ. Iṣṭakhrī and Yāḳūt, following Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, say that there were springs of pitch in the midst of the waters, as indeed is still the case at the place where the Tigris breaks through the Bārimmā, and that the range extended from the centre of Djazīra in the west, to the borders of Kermān in the east, where it becomes the hills of Māsabadhān (Pusht-i kūh). The remarkable length of this homogeneous range has given rise to fanciful notions, so that Yāḳūt, for example, speaks of *al-djabal al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-arḍ*, as comparable with the ocean surrounding the earth. The modern name of Ḥamrīn appears first in Yāḳūt (iii, 7) under the form Ḥumrīn. It is found also as early as 758/1357 in the great *waḳfiyya* inscription of the Madrasa al-Mirdjāniyya (cf. L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie, Inst. Français d'Arch. Or.*, Cairo 1912, 16, 28). The part west of the Tigris is now called Djabal Makḥūl. A parallel range is called Djabal Mukayḥil, *i.e.*, coloured with *kuḥl*, probably after a village on the Tigris (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii, 218, and *Marāṣid*). Such names derived from colours are nowadays fast driving out the ancient names from Arab nomenclature; even Ḥumrīn is a modern name, the "reddish", from *aḥmar*, in spite of the old Syriac ending in *-īn*. A place close to the Tigris bears the ancient, expressive name of Khanūḳa which means the "strangled" or "confined".

In the unpublished Turkish work *Djāmiʿ al-anwār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* of Ṣafā al-Dīn ʿĪsā al-Ḳādirī al-Naḳshbandī al-Bandanīdjī of 1077/1666 a tomb of Mādjid al-Kurdī (d. 567/1171-2) is mentioned as a well-known place of pilgrimage on the Ḥamrīn; it has not yet been identified (see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 60).

Bibliography: *BGA*, (ed. de Goeje), Indices; Yāḳūt, i, 464, cf. *Marāṣid*, ed. Juynboll, s.v.; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii, 218; Georg Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, Index s. Bēth Remmān; Le Strange, index; E. Herzfeld, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie ...*, in *Memnon*, i (1907), 1 and 2; Friedr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1910-1, chap. iii; G. C. Miles, *Some coins from Sinjār*, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, lvi (1939), 247-8; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, i, 126, 128-9.

(E. HERZFELD*)

ḤAMŪLA, name given in some parts of the Arab Middle East to a group of people who claim descent from a common ancestor, usually five to seven generations removed from the living. The word is derived from the Arabic verb *ḥamala*, to carry, and literally means a "female carrier". Some writers believe that the reference is to a beast of work and that the word was originally used in this sense to describe the landless patronymic groups who worked as tenants for landowners. A more plausible explanation is that the reference is to a woman in her capacity of bearing children. E. Peters [see *Bibl.*] suggests that such reference symbolizes descent from 'one womb' and signifies full brother unity and hence a high degree of group cohesion.

The *ḥamūla* is usually a territorial group whose members cooperate economically and politically. In Arab villages in Palestine during the Ottoman régime each *ḥamūla* occupied a special quarter (*ḥāra*) and its members held adjacent plots of common land (*mushāʿ*). The members cooperated in agricultural work, exchanged gifts on special occasions and helped each other economically when in need. Politically, the *ḥamūla* formed a "blood group" whose members paid or received blood compensation (*diya*) collectively in cases of homicide. Its members were described as 'those who stand together in one line' (*yaṣuffu maʿa baʿḍ*). They literally "stood" in this way on two major occasions: in a peace-making ceremony (*ṣulḥa* [*q.v.*]) and in the graveyard when

burying one of their number.

The men of a *ḥamūla* were also linked together through the sharing of a number of rights and obligations in relation to one another's sisters and daughters. They had a priority right in marrying a woman from within the *ḥamūla* (a first, or a classificatory, father's brother's daughter — *bint ʿamm*) over any outsider. They were also bound to protect the honour of *ḥamūla* women. Through the practice of preferential in-*ḥamūla* marriage they were further linked together by matrilateral and affinal ties. Children born of such marriage had the same men as both paternal and maternal uncles or cousins (*muʿammamīn wa mukhawwalīn*) and in cases of disputes were not likely to harbour conflicts of loyalties.

In subsequent decades law and order came progressively under the control of the centralized government, and common land was increasingly converted to private property. As a result the *ḥamūla* lost some of its economic and political functions. Also, stratification cut across *ḥamūla* boundaries and the principle of in-*ḥamūla* marriage came into conflict with the principle of equality of status between spouses in marriage [see KAFĀʾA], and this brought further disruption to the *ḥamūla*.

However, largely through the enduring ties resulting from in-*ḥamūla* marriage, from co-residence and from continued cooperation in a number of ways, the *ḥamūla* has shown a remarkable degree of persistence in the face of drastic social change. Under some circumstances it has assumed new functions in new political and economic situations.

Bibliography: Most of the material so far published on the *ḥamūla* deals only with peasant and Bedouin communities in Palestine and Israel: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908; J. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche Orient*, Paris n.d. [?1946]; Hilma Granquist, *Marriage conditions in a Palestinian village*, Helsingfors 1931-3; eadem, *Arabiskt Familjeliv*, Stockholm 1935; *Conditions in Arab villages, 1944*, in *General Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, London, July and September 1945; R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947; Afif Tannous, *The Arab village community in the Middle East* [Smithsonian Report for 1943, publication 3760], Washington D.C. 1944, 523-44; A. Granott, *The land system in Palestine*, London 1952; E. Peters, *The proliferation of segments in the lineage of the Bedouin in Cyrenaica*, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xc/1 (1960); A. Cohen, *Arab border villages in Israel*, Manchester 1965. (A. COHEN)

HĀMŪN, name for a salt plain in eastern Īrān, Afghānistān and Balūčistān, usually the drainage area of a river. The etymology of the word, found in Pahlavi as *dasht-ē hāmūn*, is disputed, but it is used especially for the lake in Sīstān into which the Hilmand River [*q.v.*] drains. This lake or swamp changes its size and even location according to the season. The usual name for the lake, until recent times, was Zarah or Zirih (compare Avestan *zrayah* "lake"), but this name is now used for the depression in Afghānistān south of Sīstān into which the Hilmand flows when the water is excessive (Gawd-i Zarah). One may find much information about the lake of Sīstān under the name Zarah in the Arabic and Persian geographers.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 338; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. Bahār, Tehrān 1936, *passim*; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 185; G. P. Tate, *Seistan*, Calcutta 1910-12, 2 vols. (R. N. FRYE)

HAMZA, orthographical sign *alif*, which is the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, with numerical value *one*; transcribed ʾ internally and at the end of words, ignored initially (except in special cases) in the system of the *EI*.

Definition: *unvoiced glottal occlusive*. For the Arab grammarians, *hamza* is a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ* defined as: *shadīda madjhūra*, having as *makhradj*: *akṣā ʾl-ḥalḳ* "the farthest part of the throat" (like *h*) (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*², § 732). For the phonological oppositions of the phoneme *hamza*, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse*, 178; for the incompatibilities, *ibid.*, 201.

Hamza madjhūra. Hamza, a priori, should be unvoiced, J. Cantineau has said (see below); nevertheless he placed it, "with every reserve" it is true, as a voiced sound opposite the unvoiced *h* (*Consonantisme*, 280). The symmetry of the system benefited by this, but there is very little probability that *hamza* was voiced in Arabic. There was simply a mistake on the part of the Arab grammarians, who were unable to distinguish sufficiently the vowel articulated with the *hamza* and the unvoiced consonantal element of the *hamza*; the vowel having become an integral part of the *hamza*, the latter was then of course voiced. The *makhradj* given in the definition of *hamza* is that taught by Sībawayhi, followed by grammatical tradition. As for al-Khalīl, he does not even seem to have perceived a consonantal element in the *hamza*. He considers it like *alif, wāw, yāʾ*: they are called *djūf* (pl. of *adjwaf*) "because they come out of the *djawf*, the hollow of the breast"; "they are *fiʾl-hawāʾ*, in the air [expired]; they have no articulatory region to which they can be assigned except the *djawf*, the hollow of the breast" (see *Traité*, § 44 j *n.* and § 46 f). His *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* begins with *ʿayn*, *akṣā ʾl-ḥuruf kullihā* "the farthest away of all the *ḥurūf*", according to his description. See *Traité*, § 46 a-f; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 22, *Esquisse*, 187.

Alif as sign of two *ḥarf*s. In phonetics, the Arab grammarians considered *alif* as the sign of two *ḥarf*s: *hamza*, here definite, and *alif ḥarf al-madd*, called *alif layyina* (*ḥarf muʿtall*), except only al-Mubarrad, who ignored *hamza* (see *Traité*, § 44 a *n.* and particularly Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 46).

The Arabic script is derived from the Nabatean Aramaic writing. This, like the more ancient Aramaic writing, denoted the Semitic glottal occlusive by the character *ālaf*. In Aramaic this occlusive had become very much weakened; in Nabatean *ālaf* served to denote final *ā* in all emphatic states. Thus there is already in this script the double use of *ālaf*, but in a restricted manner as regards to notation of *ā*. There is no example of the notation of this long vowel in the middle of a word. Such notation by means of *alif* is an Arab innovation (J. Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, i, Paris, 1930, 47). But this introduction of *alif* for *ā* in the script of the text of the Ḳurʾān was carried out irregularly, under the influence of partial improvements, inserted at various periods, without any definite plan (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*², Paris 1959, 71, 80, 93-4, 101). The Cairo edition of the Ḳurʾān (published under the patronage of King Fuʾād I), which is an archaizing edition, makes good the *alif*s lacking in the text with a superscript upright *alif* (see *ibid.*, 152-3). Even in current Arabic writing, *alif* is lacking in the ductus of some words, for example. in *lākin* "but" and some demonstrative pronouns

Modifications. "A glottal occlusive ʾ, which should *a priori* be unvoiced, is attested in all ancient Semitic languages and in some modern dialects" (J. Cantineau, *Consonantisme*, 288). It was therefore part of the common Semitic consonantal system. In Arabic, one modification of *hamza* which appears

to be unconditioned is the development of initial *hamza* into *ʿayn*: the *ʿanʿana* of the Tamīm and the Ḳays (see *Muzhir*[3], i, 221 end: C. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.*, § 2 o, 8 *q*, 14 *f*). They said, for example, *ʿudhn* for *ʾudhn* "ear". More important modifications affected *hamza* in the Ḥidjāz where it became very weak.

The Arab grammarians (Sībawayhi, ii, Ch. 411; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], 658-62) designated all the accidents which can befall *hamza* as *takhfīf al-hamza*. This *takhfīf*, literally "weakening", includes (1) the *hamza bayna bayna*; (2) the phonetic change of *hamza* into another articulation; this is the *ibdāl* of *hamza*, which is properly a *ḳalb*; (3) the suppression (*ḥadhf*) of *hamza*. All this has been set out in detail in H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 17 to 20, and by J. Cantineau in *Cours*, 77-84.

(1) The *hamza bayna bayna*. The 105th question discussed in the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* by Ibn al-Anbārī demonstrates the difficulty which the Arabs found in explaining this; many authors have written of it (references in *Traité*, § 45 b). The European writers, G. Weil, A. Schaade (references *ibid.*), were no more successful in achieving a satisfactory explanation and J. Cantineau is not very clear in *Cours*, 77. The Arabs, as the existence of *hamza* in their language indicates, were a people who practised "the hard attack" on vowels (see J. Marouzeau, *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*[3], s.v. *attaque*); that is to say, in the articulation of a vowel, there was first precession (closing) of the vocal cords; then their sudden opening produced the explosive glottal stop, the *hamza*; then came the vibrations of the vowel; and when the vowel was ended the vocal cords closed. This explains why they needed a *hamza* to pronounce an initial vowel and why they were unable to pronounce two vowels successively with a simple hiatus; when the first vowel was ended the vocal cords closed into the position for the hard attack on the second.

The *hamza bayna bayna*, according to the Arab grammarians, was produced intervocally, when, after articulation of a vowel belonging to a preceding syllable, the following syllable had to be enunciated beginning with a *hamza*, as follows: *-āʾa-* in *sāʾala*, *-aʾa-* in *saʾala*, *-āʾu-* in *tasāʾul*, *-aʾu-* in *laʾuma*, *-āʾi-* in *ḳāʾil*, *-uʾi-* in *suʾila*, etc. After the articulation of the first vowel, the vocal cords closed, as has been said, into the position for the hard attack on the second, but, after the closure of the vocal cords there was no explosive glottal stop: the *hamza* was reduced to the firm clear interruption established by the closure of the vocal cords. One passed from this closure, characterized by strong articulatory tension (since it begins the first part of the syllable, with increased tension) direct to the vocalic vibrations; this was sufficient to maintain the autonomy of the syllable. But it is apparent that, according to the extent to which the glottal stop was attenuated, many degrees of weakening of the *hamza* were possible, right up to its absence (*hamza bayna bayna*).

The Arab grammarians were unable to make this analysis. They lacked a proper notion of the vowel; their *ḥaraka* is not a *ḥarf* and has no autonomy; they had to proceed by means of the detour of the *ḥarf al-madd*, of which the *ḥaraka* formed part. They recognized the weakness of the *hamza bayna bayna*, near the state of *sākin*, but still *mutaḥarrik*. In the expression of Sībawayhi *hamza bayna bayna* (ii, 452, *l.* 10) they saw the indication of an "intermediate" *hamza*, that is, one placed between two *makhradj* (as is made clear in *Mufaṣṣal*[2], 165, *l.* 19-20): for (ʾ)*a*, between the *makhradj* of the *hamza* and the *makhradj* of the *alif* (of which the *fatḥa* is a part); for (ʾ)*i* between the *makhradj* of the *hamza* and the *makhradj* of the *yāʾ* (*sākina*) (of which the *kasra* is a part), etc. These explanations remain obscure by reason of the deficiency of the means of analysis at the Arabs' command.

(2) The *ibdāl* (*ḳalb*) of *hamza*. This *ibdāl* was produced only in the middle of a word or in the conjunction of two different words. In both cases the standardizing activity of the Arab grammarians led to the acceptance of the sequences *-iʾa-* > *-iya-*, *-uʾa-* > *-uwa-*, as permitted (though not obligatory) assimilations, *e.g.*, *muliʾat* in *Ḳurʾān*, LXXII, 8 is read as *muliyat*; *muʾadjdjal* and *muwadjdjal* "which has a fixed term". They rejected *-iʾu-* > *-iyu-*, *-iʾi-* > *-iyi-* and *-uʾi-* > *-uwi-*, though these pronunciations have existed among the Arabs. In these cases they admitted the possibility only of a *hamza bayna bayna*. On the other hand, after *ū* and *ī*, they rejected the pronunciation of a *hamza bayna bayna* but admitted assimilation: *khaṭīʾat* > **khaṭīyat*, then *khaṭiyyat* "sin", *maḳrūʾun* > **maḳrūwun*, then *maḳruwwun* "read (passive participle)".

In the middle of a word, in the sequence *-aʾa-*, the weakness of the *hamza* might lead to its disappearance. The *hamza* simply dropped out and the two adjointing short vowels contracted into one long vowel: *-aʾa-* > *-ā-*. This may explain the form *sāla* for *saʾala* "to ask".

(3) Suppression (*ḥadhf*) of the *hamza*. Except in the case of pause, *hamza* placed between vowel and consonant or consonant and vowel *may* disappear: between vowel and consonant, it disappears and there is a compensatory prolongation of the vowel, *e.g.*, *raʾs* > *rās* "head", *dhiʾb* > *dhīb* "wolf", *muʾmin* > *mūmin* "believer"; between consonant and vowel it simply drops out, *e.g.*, *ḥawʾab* > *ḥawab* "wide valley", *sawʾat* > *sawat* "turpitude"; this may explain *yasalu* for *yasʾalu* (unaccomplished of *saʾala*). Cases of compensatory prolongation of the vowel are few, as *al-marʾat* > *al-marāt* "the woman", *al-kamʾat* > *al-kamāt* "the truffle".

Meeting of two *hamza*s. The Arabs generally experienced especial distaste for repeating the same consonant successively when the separator was a simple short vowel (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 28). This distaste was much increased when it was a question of repeating *hamza*. There are no Arabic words with *hamza* as 1st and 2nd or 2nd and 3rd radicals. *LA* (i, 14-5/i, 23a-24b) gives only 7 roots with *hamza* as 1st and 3rd radicals, all only slightly productive and of secondary origin (see *Traité*, § 20 a). Nevertheless the Arabic language was unable to avoid the meeting of two *hamza*s, whether in the pattern of morphological forms or in the employment of words with *hamza* as their 1st or 3rd radical.

Thus the Arab grammarians distinguished between a meeting of two *hamza*s in the same word and a meeting of two *hamza*s in two different words (at the end of one and the beginning of the next). All the details cannot be given here, but reference may be made to H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 20 d-p, or to J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 82-3. For two successive *hamza*s in the same word, the following normal changes may be briefly indicated: *ʾaʾ* > *ʾā*, by dissimilation and compensatory prolongation of the vowel, *e.g.*, **ʾaʾkharu* > *ʾākharu* "other"; *ʾuʾ* > *ʾū*, similarly by dissimilation, *e.g.*, **ʾuʾsaru* > *ʾūsaru* "I am bound"; *ʾiʾ* > *ʾī*, equally by dissimilation, *e.g.*, **ʾiʾthar* > *ʾīthār* "to choose". For haplologies or dissimilations occurring in nouns and particles, see *Traité*, § 30 h and i.

For the repercussions of the weakness of *hamza* on the morphological system see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 81-2, or *Traité*, § 22. The dissimilation **ʾarʾā* > *ʾarā* "I see" may be noted. Dissimilation may also have been at work in *ʾasʾalu* > *ʾasalu* "I ask"; *saʾala* and its unaccomplished may have undergone various influences (see *ibid.*, § 22 b and d).

For the treatment of the pause on *hamza* see J. Cantineau, *loc. cit.*, 80-1 or *Traité*, § 21.

The action of the Arab grammarians in the question of *hamza* may be summed up as follows: adhering to the tradition of the Tamīm, their efforts at standardization were a reaction against the pronunciation of the Ḥidjāz. As possible, but not obligatory, *ibdāl* they accepted only *iʾa* > *iya* and *uʾa* > *uwa*; as possible, but not obligatory *ḥadhf* they accepted cases like *raʾs* > *rās*, *dhiʾb* > *dhīb*, *muʾmin* > *mūmin*. In the meeting of two *hamza*s, apart from cases like *ʾaʾ* > *ʾā* given above, they set up as standard the weakening (*hamza bayna bayna*) of one of the two *hamza*s. But one thing remained outside the scope of their attack: the diversity in writing *hamza*.

Orthography of *hamza*. The very first rudimentary attempts to put the Ḳurʾān into writing were made according to the local pronunciation of the Ḥidjāz, which subjected *hamza* to all the *takhfīf* already described. The Ḳurʾānic orthography however was surrounded with a holy reverence which forbade any change in the traditional ductus of the words. When the Muslim community and its leaders wished to fill in the inadequacies of this orthography and pass from *scriptio defectiva* to *scriptio plena* (see R. Blachère, *Introduction*, 4, 71, 78-98) they had to give a sign to *hamza*, properly pronounced, in contrast to the usage of the Ḥidjāz. They used a point, but of a colour different from that of the vowel points. The system lasted a long time; "it was still the current usage in the 5th/11th century at the time of al-Dānī" (*ibid.* 97). The current sign appears to use a little *ʿayn* instead of the point. Placed over *alif*, the complementary sign indicated for *alif* the glottal occlusive pronunciation (*hamza*). When, by *ibdāl*, this glottal occlusive had become *w* or *y*, entailing *wāw* or *yāʾ* in the ductus of the word, the sign of *hamza* was placed above them; this is the origin of *wāw* and *yāʾ* as *kursī* of *hamza*. When nothing remained in the spelling to recall the glottal occlusive, the *hamza* was put back in the empty space, so to say, that is, without *kursī*. These are, schematically, the principal lines of the story of writing *hamza*. It was conditioned by the anxiety to preserve the glottal occlusive *hamza* in an unalterable text which had not made provision for it. But there remain obscurities in the orthography of verbs with *hamza* as 2nd radical, in the accomplished of the forms *faʿila*, *faʿula*, *fuʿila*. See *Traité*, § 16; on the writing of *hamza*, al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 277-80; on the usage of the Cairo Vulgate, R. Blachère, *Introduction*, 151-2.

Difficult cases. According to Ibn al-Sikkīt (C. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.*, § 14 s), *hamza* sometimes develops into *h* among the Ṭayyiʾ, *e.g.*, *hin* for *ʾin* "if". "But it is difficult to say whether we can speak here of a sound change", adds C. Rabin. For *ʾa* as interrogative particle, Wright (*Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 282 C) quotes the ancient dialect forms *hamā* (= *ha* + *mā*) for *ʾamā* (= *ʾa* + *mā*) and *hadhā-lladhī* for *ʾadhā-lladhī* "Is this he who?" Is there development from *hamza* to *h*? G. Garbini, *Sull' alternanza h-ʾ in semitico* (in *AIUON*, sezione linguistica, i (1959), 47-52) on every occasion when he acknowledges an alternation *h-ʾ*, considers that the *h* must be regarded as primitive and the *hamza* as secondary, thus: *h* > *ʾ*, in accordance with the general tendency of "the laryngeals and the pharyngeals" to weaken.— Matters are not so simple as that. But one point at least may be observed: *hamza* as a demonstrative element appears in Arabic with the three vocalic states (as does an independent base): *ʾa*, *ʾā*, *ʾay*, employed as vocative particles.

Modern dialects. J. Cantineau (*Cours*, 84-5) has set out the situation of *hamza* in the modern dialects: in eastern dialects, where "*hamza*, though weakened, has remained a phoneme in the phonological sense of the word" (84); and in Maghrib dialects where "*hamza* is no longer a phoneme and has almost entirely disappeared" (*ibid.*). Reference should be made to him.

Bibliography: In the text *Traité* refers to H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut, 1961. The publications of J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique*, *Consonantisme du sémitique*, are quoted respectively as *Cours*, *Esquisse*, *Consonantisme*, with reference to the Jean Cantineau memorial volume *Études de linguistique arabe*. The article *hamza* in *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*, i, 1-32 (Cairo 1956, Madjmaʿ al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya) gives an account of the whole Arab viewpoint, but without references, or with vague references only. The exclusion of *hamza* from the number of the *ḥurūf*, attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrad by 4 MSS of the *Sirr ṣināʿa* of Ibn Djinnī (see the edition, i, 46), is attributed in this *Muʿdjam* (p. 1) to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Thaʿlab. The art. *hamza* in *LA* (i, 10-4/i, 17-22) gives the names of all the *hamza*s distinguished by the Arabs, *takhfīf* and the treatment of the *ḳirāʾāt*. For the *khaṭaʾ al-ʿawwām*, the mistakes of the ordinary people over *hamza*, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, ed. Grünert, 392-400 (repeated in the *Muzhir*[3] by al-Suyūṭī, i, 311-3). The *Cours* of J. Cantineau or H. Fleisch, *Traité*, give further precise useful references; otherwise see under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic see MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF. For the use of *hamza* as *mater lectionis* for the *iḍāfat* of Persian, see IḌĀFA, ii.

(H. FLEISCH)

ḤAMZA B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** [see ḤAMZA B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB].

ḤAMZA B. **ʿABD** AL-**MUṬṬALIB**, the paternal uncle of the Prophet, was the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Hāla bint Wuhayb. He played a part in negotiating with Khuwaylid b. Asad, the father of Khadīdja, for the Prophet's marriage, and on his conversion became one of the bravest champions of Islam, although he had previously been an opponent of the new religion. He defended the Prophet against the insults of Abū Djahl, took part in the action against the Jewish Ḳaynuḳāʿ clan, and led an expedition to the sea coast at al-ʿĪṣ with thirty of the Muhādjirūn. On the way they encountered the followers of Abū Djahl but there was no fighting, thanks to the intervention of Madjdī b. ʿAmr al-Djuhanī. Ḥamza fought with great courage at Badr (2/624), distinguishing himself in single combat with many polytheists, but in the following year he was slain fighting heroically at Uḥud by the Abyssinian slave Waḥshī who thereby gained his manumission. After he fell, his body was barbarously mutilated by Hind bint ʿUtba who chewed his liver. This was evidently a survival of prehistoric animism.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 69, 120, 184, 232, 322, 344, 419, 433, 442, 485, 516, 563, 567, 584, 607;

Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 3-11; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* (Cairo edition), i, 353-4; H. Lammens, *L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sīra*, in *JA*, 1911/1, 209-50; Sprenger, *Das Leben des Moḥammad*, ii, 69, 81, 88; iii, 108, 120, 172, 180; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, 23, 25, 30, 45, 46, 138; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, *Dīwān* (ed. Rhodokanakis), no. xxxix, 20; *Aghānī*, iv, 25; xiv, 15, 22; xix, 81-82.

Like so many heroes, Ḥamza passed into the world of legend after his death and became the central figure of a popular romance to whom were attributed all manner of fantastic adventures. These took place in lands which the real Ḥamza never visited—Ceylon, China, Central Asia and Rūm. The explanation suggested by Bahār (*Sabk-shināsī*, i, 284-5) is that the source was a work, no longer extant, entitled *Ḳiṣṣa-i maghāzī-i Ḥamza* which is mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*. This deals with the exploits of a Persian Khāridjī leader, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh, who led an insurrectionary movement against Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successors. According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, Ḥamza undertook expeditions to Sind, Hind and Sarandīb (*i.e.*, India and Ceylon). His boldness appealed to the Persian imagination long after the Khāridjī movement had died down and, by identification with the Prophet's uncle, he became an orthodox Muslim hero in popular literature, acceptable to all.

Before passing to the Romance of Amīr Ḥamza, it is necessary to discuss the career of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh very briefly. His name is given in the *Zayn al-akhbār* of Gardīzī as Ḥamza b. Ādharak, which is spelt in the Arabic sources as Adrak or Atrak. Ṭabarī gives only a brief outline of his life but a more detailed account occurs in the Persian sources. He was a native of Sīstān and the son of a *dihḳān*, tracing his genealogy to Zav, the son of Ṭahmāsb. Since one of the Caliph's agents had made insulting remarks about his lineage, he rebelled. Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr (whom Gardīzī follows) state that this took place in 179/795-6. In the *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, however, the date is given as 181/797-8, which is accepted by Mme Pigulevskaya. Ḥamza successfully defied al-Rashīd and prevented the men of Sīstān from paying the *kharādj*. Against his growing power, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, the governor of Khurāsān, asked for help from the Caliph who came in person to Sīstān in 192/807-8. Although the latter gave him a written promise of safe-conduct, Ḥamza refused to accept it and determined on further resistance. After the death of al-Rashīd, he led expeditions to Sind and Hind and died in 213/828-9. Gardīzī says, on the other hand, that he was killed in battle in 210/825-6.

In favour of Ḥamza the Khāridjī, it can be said that he was certainly a patriot and champion of local rights but the good in him was outweighed by the ruthlessness and cruelty he displayed to gain his ends. Shahrastānī (96) mentions the religious views of his associates, the Ḥamziyya. These held rigid views on predestination—that even the children of their adversaries and of polytheists were destined for hell-fire. He also states that Ḥamza was one of the companions of al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ruḳād who rebelled in Sidjistān. "Khalaf the Khāridjī opposed him in the doctrine of predestination and on the category of persons worthy to hold power, and so they separated. Ḥamza held it lawful that there could be two Imāms at the same time as long as there was general theological agreement and the enemy were not subdued" (Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 76-80).

There is every indication that the Romance of Amīr Ḥamza (called variously *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, *Ḥamza-nāma*, *Ḳiṣṣa-i Amīr Ḥamza*, *Asmār-i Ḥamza* or *Rumūz-i Ḥamza*) was of Persian origin. The action centres round the Sāsānian court at Ctesiphon, and Van Ronkel draws an interesting parallel between events in the Romance of Ḥamza and the adventures of Rustam in the *Shāh-nāma*. Earlier and simpler recensions reveal some traces of archaic phraseology which might easily be as early as the 5th/11th century. It is significant also that none of the Arabic sources makes any reference to the existence of a Romance before the 7th/13th century. At that time Ibn Taymiyya refers to stories current among the Turcomans of Syria about the mighty feats of Ḥamza (*Minhādj al-sunna*, Būlāḳ 1322, iv, 12). In the Persian version the number of sections varies between 69 and 82. At least three different recensions can be recognized from the numerous lithographed editions and manuscripts (see *BSOAS*, xxii/3 (1959), 473-4). One of these was the archetype of all subsequent versions in various languages. The Romance was ascribed to Djalāl-i Balkhī, but in a manuscript at Dresden the author's name appears as Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maʿālī. An anonymous poetical version entitled *Ṣāḥib-ḳirān-nāma* is mentioned by Dr. Ṣafā (*Ḥamāsa-sarāʾī dar Īrān*, 379). It is in 62 sections and was composed in 1073/1662-3.

There is a considerable difference between the Arabic *Sīrat Ḥamza* and the Persian Romance. In its most complete form the Arabic version is in ten parts, and many new names and episodes appear. The hero is not the well-known uncle of the Prophet as in the Persian version, but is an entirely different person who is, however, some relative of the Prophet. Copies of the Arabic version at Gotha and Paris are ascribed to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Kūfī al-Bahlawān who may be the same as the author of *Sayf b. Dhī Yazan*. To complicate further the vexed question of authorship, a copy of the Arabic version in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan is said to be by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dahhān.

From Persia the Romance of Ḥamza spread to India and achieved great popularity at the Mughal court. The story was much embroidered at this period and it became a favourite subject for the miniature-painter. An Urdū translation was made which, according to Garcin de Tassy, was written by a certain Ashk. The latter mentions a version in fourteen volumes prepared for Maḥmūd of Ghaznī—a statement of dubious authenticity. In the majority of Urdū versions the story has been divided into nineteen *daftar*s, each of which has a title of its own. A partial English translation from the Urdū was published at Calcutta by Shaykh Sadjdjād Ḥusayn in 1892. Translations were also made into Bengali and Tamil.

According to Köprülü, the Ḥamza cycle became very popular among the Turks. Ewliyā Čelebi mentions a series of miniatures depicting the combats of Ḥamza with well-known champions and demons. The earliest Ottoman version was made by Ḥamzewī (d. 815/1412-3) in twenty-four volumes. It was in prose, freely interspersed with verses. Copies of Turkish versions are to be found in Vienna (Flügel, ii, 29-30), in Paris (Blochet AF 352: S 632, 647-9, 654, 656), and in Milan (Ambrosiana, no. 226, 330). In the 10th/16th century, Ākhūremīrizāde Hāshimī wrote, in the popular language of the story-tellers, a poem *Berḳ-i pūlād-dil* on the exploits of the son of Ḥamza, which is mentioned by ʿĀshıḳ Čelebi.

Among the adaptations and imitations of the Romance in other languages, the Georgian romance cycle entitled *Amiran-Darejaniani* is important as one of the first made from the Persian. It is attributed to Mose Khoneli who is said to have lived in the 12th century. A full Georgian translation, however, was not made until the 19th century (Bodleian Library Ms. Wardrop c. 3). Other versions were made in Malay (*Ḥikāyet Amīr Ḥamza*), and Javanese (*Menak*) from which the Balinese and Sundanese translations originated.

Bibliography: 1 On Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh see Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 554; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 304-5; Ibn al-Athīr, 101, 103-4; Ṭabarī, 638, 650; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 42; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār), introduction, 32, 156-79 passim, 210; *Zayn al-akhbār* (ed. Nafīsī), 103-8; *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳ* (ed. Bahmanyār), 44, 267; Spuler, *Iran*, 53, 55, 169; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫarigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 41; O. Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.—A.D. 1957*, London 1958, 103-7; N.V. Pigulevskaya and others, *Istoriya Irana s drevneyshikh vremen do kontsa 18 veka*, Leningrad 1958, 110-1; B. Składenek, *Powstanie Charydżyckie Ḥamzy al-Ḫāriǧī w Sistanie*, in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, i/33 (1960), 25-37.

2. On the Ḥamza Romance see Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān* i, 34-5; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*, 211; *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, 176; Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes im Oesterreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in anderen Sammlungen*, Vienna-Leipzig 1925; S. van Ronkel, *De Roman van Amir Hamza*, Leiden 1895; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii, 228; C. Virolleaud, *Le roman iranien de l'émir Hamza*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres*, April-June 1948; idem, *Le roman de l'Émir Hamza, oncle de Mahomet*, in *Ethnographie*, liii (1958-9), 3-10; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOD*, i, 71-2; *TM*, i, 9-10; *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 2, 319; D. M. Lang and G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Amiran-Darejaniani*: *A Georgian romance and its English rendering*, in *BSOAS*, xxii/3 (1959), 454-90. This contains further bibliographical information concerning manuscripts and lithographed editions. There is an English translation of the Georgian version by R. H. Stevenson entitled *Amiran-Darejaniani: a cycle of medieval Georgian tales traditionally ascribed to Mose Khoneli*, Oxford 1958; Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*[2], Paris 1870-1, i, 236; Borst, *Twee Soendasche Amir Hamzah-Verhalen*, in *TITLV*, lxxviii (1938), 137-57. (G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS)

ḤAMZA B. **ʿALĪ** B. AḤMAD, the founder of the Druze religious doctrine. He was of Persian origin from Zūzan and a felt-maker.

Among the Ismāʿīlī followers of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] there had been speculations encouraged by his strange conduct and predictions of earlier authorities that he might be the expected *Ḳāʾim*. While the leaders of the official propaganda organization tried to counteract these speculations, al-Ḥākim early in 408/summer 1017 began to favour a movement led by al-Ḥasan al-Akhram proclaiming his divinity. Al-Akhram tried to win over prominent officials by sending them letters and was honoured in public by al-Ḥākim. In Ramaḍān 408/January-February 1018 he was murdered while riding in the retinue of al-Ḥākim. The caliph punished the murderer but cut off completely his connexion with the movement.

Ḥamza had participated in the proclamation of al-Ḥākim's divinity and the end of the distinction between exoteric and esoteric Islam, but had remained in the background. After al-Akhram's death he suspended his propaganda. In Muḥarram 410/May 1019 al-Ḥākim again showed his favour to the movement. Now Ḥamza claimed the leadership as the Imām and *ḳāʾim al-zamān* and adopted the title *Hādī al-mustadjībīn*. The centre of his activity was the Raydān mosque near the Bāb al-Naṣr outside the walls of Cairo. He met a prominent rival in the Turkish official al-Darazī [*q.v.*] who, after trying in vain to come to terms with Ḥamzā, acted independently and attracted many of Ḥamza's followers. On 12 Ṣafar 410/19 June 1019 Ḥamza sent a delegation to the chief Ḳāḍī in the Old Mosque with a letter demanding his conversion. Three of the men were killed by the mob and riots ensued. Al-Ḥākim had the transgressors arrested and executed at various times. The Turkish troops were incensed by this and turned against their countryman al-Darazī, besieging him in his residence (*dār*). Forty of his followers were killed but he escaped to the palace. The Turks demanded his extradition from al-Ḥākim, who put them off to the following day. On their return he informed them that al-Darazī had been killed. Now all the soldiers turned against Ḥamza in the Raydān mosque and besieged him with twelve of his men. Ḥamza escaped and had to hide a short time but by Rabīʿ II 410/August 1019 regained al-Ḥākim's favour. He now built up a strong missionary organization, attributing cosmic ranks to its leaders. The movement spread rapidly, particularly in Syria. When al-Ḥākim disappeared in Shawwāl 411/January 1021, the adherents of the Ḥākim-cult were persecuted and Ḥamza had to hide. In some letters (which appear to be genuine) he promised his followers his triumphal return. According to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd he was killed some time after his flight. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muḳtanā, who became the leader of the movement, pretended to be in touch with him and still in 430/1038 predicted his near reappearance.

For Ḥamza's religious doctrine see DURŪZ.

Bibliography: Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa*, *apud* F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, 202 ff. (copied with an erroneous "correction" by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, transl. S. de Sacy in *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, pp. CCCCXXX ff.) is based on a good source, but the stories of al-Akhram and al-Darazī are placed a year too late. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux and H. Zayyat, Beirut 1909, 220 ff., 237 (followed by al-Makīn) replaces al-Akhram wrongly by al-Darazī. Al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, *apud The Governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, London 1912, 612. For the evidence of the Druze writings see de Sacy, *op. cit.*, particularly i, pp. CCCLXXXVII ff., 101 ff., ii, 101 ff.; H. Wehr, *Zu den Schriften Ḥamzas im Drusenkanon*, in *ZDMG*, xcvi (1942), 187 ff.; W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 115 ff.; A. F. L. Beeston, *An ancient Druze manuscript*, in *Bodl. Libr. Rec.*, v (1956), 286 ff.; M. G. S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the origin of the Druze Religion*, in *JAOS*, lxxxii (1962), 5 ff. (W. MADELUNG)

ḤAMZA B. **BĪḌ** AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-KŪFĪ (the spelling Bīḍ is attested by a verse where this name rhymes with *tanbīḍ*; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, iv, 47), is one of those Arab poets, full of wit and verve,

whom the great men of the day did not take seriously but loaded with riches to gain their eulogies and escape their sarcasms, for they were quick to get the laugh on their side and, free of all scruples, did not hesitate to use blackmail. Ḥamza b. Bīḍ, who is treated by his biographers with indulgence and sympathy, is said to have succeeded in extracting from the great men whose company he frequented a million *dirhams*, and this figure does not appear exaggerated, if we are to judge by the sums which the slightest scraps of verse brought him. A childhood friend of Bilāl b. Abī Burda [see al-ASHʿARĪ, Abū Burda] who did not, however, succeed in detaining him at Baṣra, he lived on familiar terms especially with the Umayyad princes and the sons of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*], whom he always approached with success, even when he went to see them in prison. The *Aghānī* reproduces several anecdotes which show with what spontaneous audacity he managed, thanks to two or three verses, to provoke the hilarity of his friends and to make them loosen their purse-strings; at times he was commissioned by groups in difficulty to make petitions on their behalf, for his tongue was feared because his predictions or maledictions had a curious tendency to come true. Verses addressed to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, foretelling his accession to the throne, could still encourage Hārūn al-Rashīd, while yet heir presumptive; other verses gained the admiration of a grammarian like al-Naḍr b. Shumayl [*q.v.*], who made al-Maʾmūn appreciate them. Taken as a whole, the poetry of Ḥamza b. Bīd is of great simplicity and in certain respects recalls the satirical songs of our days by the humour it exudes, the use of droll terminology (*fakhkhāra* to indicate the head, for example) and the complete absence of affectation. Although the critics seem to reproach him for his habit of drinking wine, which was however quite customary at that period, for his effrontery and for his libertinism (*khaliʿ mādjin*), it is astonishing that the *Aghānī* includes him among the *fuḥūl* of his generation and that Yāḳūt does not hesitate to class him among the best and to describe him as *mudjid*. He died in 116/734-5.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 454; idem, *Bayān*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʾtalif*, 100; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 591; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 15-26 (Beirut ed., xvi, 143-63); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 280-9; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, index. (Ch. Pellat)

ḤAMZA b. ḤABĪB b. ʿUmāra b. Ismāʿīl, Abū ʿUmāra al-Taymī al-Kūfī al-Zayyāt, one of the "Seven Readers" of the Ḳurʾān. A *mawlā* of the family of ʿIkrima b. Ribʿī al-Taymī, he was born in Ḥulwān in 80/699 and became a merchant; his surname al-Zayyāt arises from the fact that he transported oil from Kūfa to Ḥulwān, whence he brought cheese and nuts. Having settled at Kūfa, he became interested in *ḥadīth* and the *farāʾiḍ*, on which he left a *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ* which was probably collected by his pupils (*Fihrist*, 44). His fame, however, rests particularly upon his "reading". A pupil, in this field, of al-Aʿmash [*q.v.*] and of Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan, both of whom followed Ibn Masʿūd, of ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] and of Ibn Abī Laylā who founded his authority upon ʿAlī, he established an independent system which became canonical and was put together in a *Kitāb Ḳirāʾat Ḥamza* (*Fihrist*, 44); he was criticized, particularly by Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn ʿAyyāsh, perhaps because of their insufficient knowledge of his "reading". Notable among his numerous pupils were Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Kisāʾī, but those who passed down his "reading" are his immediate disciples, Khalaf b. Hishām (150-229/767-843) at Baghdād and Khallād b. Khālid (d. 220/835) at Kūfa. Ḥamza died at Ḥulwān in 156/772.

The "reading" of Ḥamza, which had become quite widespread in the Maghrib, was ousted, thanks to the zeal of a scholar of al-Ḳayrawān, al-Khayrūn (d. 306/918), by that of Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], which owed its diffusion to the fact that it was adopted by the Imām Mālik, so that it followed the spread of Mālikism; however, it is still in use in some areas in Maghrib where the appellation Ḥamzāwī is not uncommon.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 529; *Fihrist*, 44; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 167; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i; Ibn al-Djazarī *Ḳurrāʾ*, i, 261-4, no. 1190; idem, *Nashr*, i; Dānī, *Taysīr*, 6-7, 9 and *passim*; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, s.v.; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 289-93; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, tables; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1959, index. (Ch. Pellat)

ḤAMZA b. ʿUMĀRA [see KARBIYYA].

ḤAMZA FANṢŪRĪ, Indonesian Ṣūfī, author of Malay treatises and poems, from Pansur, *i.e.*, Barus on the west coast of Sumatra. He lived before Shams al-Dīn of Pasai (d. 1630) who cited his poems and commented on them, and before the doctrine of emanation in seven grades became popular in Indonesia through the influence of Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh's (d. 1620) work *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala*; his lifetime may thus have been the second half of the 10th/16th century. He belonged to the school of mysticism characterized by names like Ibn al-ʿArabī and ʿIrāḳī. Works: *Asrār al-ʿārifīn*, *Sharāb al-ʿāshiḳīn* and poems (*Rubāʿī*) (ed. J. Doorenbos, *De geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, 1933, uncritical, many poems clearly not by Ḥamza; see Drewes, *TITLV*, lxxiii, 391), *Kitāb al-Muntahī* (unpublished, see Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise geschriften*, 25). His doctrine: H. Kraemer, *Een Javaansche primbon*, 1921, 24-44, in *Djâwâ*, iv, 29 ff.; A. Johns, in *JMBRAS*, xxviii/1, (1955), 74. (P. Voorhoeve)

ḤAMZA al-ḤARRĀNĪ, ancestor of the Banū Ḥamza who for several generations held the office of *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [see SHARĪF] in Damascus, with the result that in the end the family was named *Bayt al-Naḳīb*.

As early as 330/942 a representative of this house, Ismāʿīl b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Natīf, was acting as *naḳīb*. Several of his descendants distinguished themselves through their ability and learning. Two sons of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, the *sayyid* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad and the *sayyid* Shihāb al-Dīn, left their names in the history of Damascus. The former, called *al-Zurayḳ* on account of his blue eyes, was made responsible for the teaching at the *madrasa* al-Nāṣiriyya and for the direction of the *Khānḳāh* al-Asadiyya. He died on 2 Ṣafar 814/26 May 1411 at the age of 35. His brother Shihāb al-Dīn succeeded him as head of the Nāṣiriyya. In 818/1415 he was temporarily deprived of part of his duties, whereby he lost a thousand dirhams a month; later, in about 830/1427, he received most of the appointments of shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAdjlūnī, who resigned them in his favour. Shihāb al-Dīn's son ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Aḥmad, born in 818/1415, was a well-known teacher at the *madrasa* al-ʿImādiyya, who died of an illness in 874/1469.

In the 11th/17th century Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥanafī, who was born in 1007/1598, is noteworthy. He was *raʾīs* in Damascus and taught

in the *madrasa* al-Ḥāfiẓiyya. He died in 1067/1657. His son Ḥusayn, born in 1031/1622, made a prolonged visit to Istanbul and afterwards held the post of *nāʾib* in Damascus where he taught in the *madrasa* al-Fārisiyya (built in 808/1405) and wrote a collection of poems known by the title *al-Ḥusayniyya*; he died in Ramaḍān 1072/April-May 1662 and was buried on the slopes of Ḳāsiyūn.

In modern times, the most illustrious member of the family was Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Nasīb Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥamzāwī al-Ḥanafī, born in Damascus in 1236/1821. After the serious study of literature and Muslim law he was appointed *ḳāḍī* in 1260/1844. He stayed for a long time in Istanbul and Anatolia. On returning to Damascus, he became a member of *al-Madjlis al-Kabīr*. At the time of the massacres in 1860 he distinguished himself by protecting numerous Christians; seven years later he held the office of *muftī* of Syria.

He ranks as one of those scholars whose writings, especially on religion and *fiḳh*, are unusually voluminous. Part of his reputation he owes to his rare virtuosity in calligraphy : he was able to write the *fātiḥa* on a grain of rice and to engrave on the stone of a signet-ring the names of the warriors who had fallen at Badr. He died in his native town in 1305/1887.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 34, 496; S II, 31, 775; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 15-6; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 105-8, 125-8, iv, 124; Sakhawī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, iii, 163; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 174, 464, ii, 140; Dj. Zaydān, *Mashāhīr al-Sharḳ*, ii, 164-8; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, 1706-8; Adīb Taḳī ol-Dīn al-Ḥuṣnī, *Muntakhabāt al-tawārīkh li-Dimashḳ*, ii, 768-86; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, iii, 71; Khayr al-Dīn al-Zarkalī, *al-Aʿlām*, viii, 63-4.

(N. Elisséeff)

ḤAMZA AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, (Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan, [Ibn] al-Muʾaddib), philologist and historian of the 4th/10th century. Born about 280/893, he died after 350/961 (the year in which his *Chronology* was completed; note also that ʿAḍud al-Dawla, for whom he is supposed to have written one of his works, was so named only in 351) and, it is said, before 360/970-71. Most of his life was spent in his native Iṣfahān. He mentions three visits to Baghdād, one dated in 308/920-1, and another, his third, in 323/935. He had contact with many important scholars, among them al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Durayd. He appears to have been a prominent citizen of Iṣfahān, highly regarded because of his vast learning which caused the malevolent to dub him "drivel merchant". His scholarly interests gravitated toward history, proverbs, poetry, and lexicography. The following works are preserved or known through occasional quotations:

On history, (1) a History of Iṣfahān, which seems to have combined political and biographical information, and (2) the famous Chronology of pre-Islamic and Islamic dynasties (*Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa 'l-anbiyāʾ*), a survey of world history which has been studied in the West since the eighteenth century and which was first published in its entirety with a Latin translation by I. M. E. Gottwaldt (St. Petersburg-Leipzig 1844-48, repeatedly reprinted, *e.g.*, Beirut 1961; English trans. of part of the work by U. M. Daudpota, in *Journal Cama Or. Inst.*, xxi (1932), 58-120).

On proverbs, (3) *al-Amthāl ʿalā afʿal*, dealing with comparative proverbs and including some appendixes on other types of proverbial expressions and on superstitious beliefs and amulets, and (4) *al-Amthāl al-ṣādira ʿan buyūt al-shiʿr*, preserved in Ms. Berlin Or. qu. 1215.

On poetry, (5) an edition of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, which goes beyond being a mere collection of poems and contains much valuable literary information. Further, (6) a *Kitāb Maḍāḥik al-ashʿār* (cf. Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 293-5) and (7) a *Ris. al-ashʿār al-sāʾira fi 'l-nayrūz wa-'l-mihradjān* (cf. Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 31, 52; apparently identical with the work on "Persian Festivals" by ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī, summarily referred to in connexion with his chapter on the subject by Nuwayrī, i, 185).

On lexicography, (8) the partly preserved *Muwāzana* (*bayn al-ʿarabī wa-'l-ʿadjamī*), written for ʿAḍud al-Dawla, in which, as is shown by numerous citations, the author was greatly concerned with finding—often far-fetched—Persian etymologies (for those, *e.g.*, of *asṭurlāb* and *awdj*, cf. Bīrūnī, *Ifrād al-maḳāl*, 69, and *Tamhīd al-mustaḳarr*, 17 [*Rasāʾil al-Bīrūnī*, Ḥaydarābād 1368/1948]), and (9) *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, on misspellings caused by the ambiguities of the Arabic script, which, in addition, is an outstanding achievement in the field of cultural history (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir*, ii, 171, 245, and idem, in *al-Thaḳāfa*, v (1943), reprinted in Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Muntaḳā*, Cairo 1955, ii, 177-84).

A quotation dealing with the interpretation of *sūra* XXXV, 1, supposedly from a *R. al-Muʿriba ʿan sharaf al-aʿrāb* (?) (Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād*, Būlāḳ 1288, viii, 31) is doubtful. Other titles are mentioned in *Fihrist*, 139.

Ḥamza is described, in particular by al-Ḳifṭī, as a Persian nationalist with strong prejudices against the Arabs. This may well be a true description. We do find him greatly concerned with matters Persian, but he also shows himself fully aware of the importance of the cultural rôle of the Arabs. His works prove him to be a thorough and, to a degree, original scholar who always looks for the best sources and the most authentic information available, using, for instance, Jewish and Byzantine informants on Jewish and Greco-Roman chronology, who always probes deeply and intelligently, and who reports many unusual and highly interesting matters which give a greater insight into the immense variety and curiosity of Muslim intellectual life in the ninth and tenth centuries. His importance was acknowledged by later Muslim scholars through the wide use they made of his works, in particular, his chronological history and the collection of *afʿal* proverbs.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 139; Abū Nuʿaym, *Taʾrīkh Iṣbahān*, i, 300; Samʿānī, 41a; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 335 f.; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 209-13; E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahanis*, in *MSOS As.*, xii (1909), 109-69; idem, *Altarabische Amulette und Beschwörungen*, in *ZA*, xxvi (1911), 270-6, and *Abergläubische Vorstellungen der alten Araber*, in *MSOS As.*, xvi (1913), 37-50 (for Ibn Abī Sarḥ as Ḥamza's source, cf. J. A. Bellamy, in *JAOS*, lxxxi (1961), 224-46); Brockelmann, I, 152, S I, 221 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 118, 139, 383, 466 f.; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 128-38; E. Wagner, *Die Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Dīwān*, in *Abh. Akad. Wiss. und Lit., Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl.*, 1957, 303-73 (cf. Muhalhil, *Sariḳāt Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1957).

(F. Rosenthal)

ḤAMZA BEG, Prince of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] dynasty (the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* mentioned in the *Bibl.* to that article has now been published by

Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer, 2 vols., Ankara (TTK, Series III, no. 7) 1962-4).

ḤAMZA BEG (IMĀM), second *imām* of Dāghistān, leader of the popular politico-religious movement which disturbed the northern Caucasus from 1832 to 1859 and which is known as *Murīdism*, from the religious ideology from which it arose. This movement was based on Muslim mystical influences which originated in Bukhārā, in particular those propagated by the Naḳshbandīs [*q.v.*], but made use of religious dogma for political ends and was closely linked with the practical conception of the Holy War. It was a consequence of the Russian punitive expeditions in the Caucasus and was directed at the same time against the Russians, their allies the Avar khāns, and the mountain peoples who had submitted to their domination. After the death of the first *imām*, Ghāzī Muḥammad, or Ghāzī Mollā, who was surrounded and killed in the village of Gumri on 17 (29) October 1832 by a Russian detachment, Ḥamza Beg (called by the Russians Gamzat Bek) became *imām* of Dāghistān. Although Ḥamza Beg belonged to the family of the Avar khāns, being a *čanḳa*, *i.e.*, the son of the khān by a woman of humble birth, and consequently had no right to the succession, he nevertheless aspired to the khān's throne and made use of the movement for his own ends. On 13 August 1834, he defeated and massacred the Avar khāns, on the River Tabor, near their capital Khūnzāḳ, which he occupied after driving out the Russians. This act cost him his life: he was assassinated on 19 September 1834 in the main mosque of the town by the brother of the famous Ḥādjdjī Murād [see MURĀD], *nā'ib* of Shāmil [*q.v.*]. The latter replaced Ḥamza Beg as *imām* of Dāghistān, and with him Murīdism received its definitive form. It was to last until the surrender of the *imām* Shāmil on 25 August 1859.

Bibliography: E. I. Kozubskiy, *Pamyatnaya knižka Dagestanskoy oblasti*, Temir-Khan-Shura 1895; A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane : le Dâghestân*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; N. A. Smirnov, *Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v XVI-XIX vekakh*, Moscow 1958; and especially: idem, *Myuridizm na Kavkaze*, Moscow 1963 (Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR). (I. MÉLIKOFF)

ḤAMZA ḤĀMID PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Muṣṭafā III, was the son of a merchant of Develi Ḳara Ḥiṣār, named Aḥmed Agha; born in Istanbul *ca.* 1110/1698-9 he entered upon his official career in the offices of the Sublime Porte. Owing to the protection of the celebrated Rāghib Pasha [*q.v.*], whose pupil he was in the elaborate prose of the official style, he was nominated *mektūbdju* (Secretary to the Grand Vizier) on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1153/5 February 1741, a position he held for many years. On 19 Muḥarram 1169/25 October 1755 he was appointed *re'īs al-kuttāb* (Minister of Foreign Affairs), and, in addition to other high offices in the years following, three times filled the office of *ketkhudā* (Minister of Home Affairs) but only for short periods and without further distinguishing himself. After being appointed vizier in Rabī' I 1176/September-October 1762 he took the place of the Grand Vizier Rāghib Pasha on 9 Ramaḍān 1176/24 March 1763, when the latter fell severely ill and on his death (24 Ramaḍān/8 April) he succeeded him. But he was not a strong enough man for this position, for, as his biographers say, he was slow in coming to a decision and was too fond of ease and comfort. The only noteworthy event of his period of office was his sending Aḥmed Resmī Efendi [*q.v.*] to the court of Frederick II in response to Count Rexin's embassy (cf. Zinkeisen, v, 897 ff.). After less than seven months of office he was deposed on 23 Rabī' II 1177/31 October 1763 and sent to Crete as governor, where he remained, except for a brief interval, till 1183/1769. In this year, on 16 Rabī' I/20 July, he was given the governorship of Djidda and Ḥabesh and died in Mecca in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1183/March-April 1770.

Bibliography: Süleymān Fā'ik, *Sefīnet al-ru'esā'*, 93 f.; Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzerā'*, suppl. ii, 8 ff.; *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, ii, 255; *IA*, s.v. (by I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı); Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, i, *passim*; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, viii, 259-62 and *passim*; L. Bonneville de Marsangy, *Le Chevalier de Vergennes, son ambassade à Constantinople*, Paris 1894, 222 f., 230 ff.; I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1956, iv/1, index.

(J. H. MORDTMANN-[E. KURAN])

ḤAMZA MĪRZĀ, Ṣafawid prince, second son of Muḥammad Khudābanda, born *ca.* 973/1565-6. In 985/1577 Shāh Ismā'īl II ordered that Ḥamza Mīrzā be put to death at Shīrāz, together with his father and brother, Abū Ṭālib, but Isma'īl II was assassinated before the order could be carried out.

After the accession of his weak and purblind father, as Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 985/February 1578, Ḥamza Mīrzā was made heir-apparent at the instance of his mother, Mahd-i 'Ulyā, who, until her murder by the *ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*] in 987/1579, was the real power behind the throne; he also had the support of the Turkmān-Takkalū *ḳizilbāsh* faction, which then dominated the political scene in the capital, Ḳazwīn.

In 989/1581 Ḥamza Mīrzā suppressed a revolt staged by the Shāmlū-Ustadjlū faction in Khurāsān in support of his younger brother, 'Abbās Mīrzā [see 'ABBĀS I], and thereafter he played an increasing part in state affairs. Though endowed with great personal bravery, he was proud, quick-tempered and impulsive, and lacked the maturity of judgement needed to steer a safe course between the rival *ḳizilbāsh* factions. In 992/1584-5, when the *amīr al-umarā* of Ādharbāydjān, Amīr Khān Turkmān, obstructed his efforts to identify those responsible for his mother's murder, Ḥamza Mīrzā listened to the promptings of the Shāmlū-Ustādjlū faction, and put the Turkmān chief to death. This action provoked a Turkmān-Takkalū revolt in support of his youngest brother, Ṭahmāsp. Ḥamza Mīrzā crushed the revolt, but was unable to prevent the occupation of Tabrīz by the Ottomans under 'Othmān Pasha in 993/1585. The following year, the Shāmlū-Ustādjlū faction, for reasons which are not entirely clear, conspired with the Turkmān-Takkalū faction to arrange the assassination of Ḥamza Mīrzā in the Ṣafawid camp near Gandja. Their tool was Ḥamza Mīrzā's personal barber who, on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 994/6 December 1586, stabbed the prince to death while he was in a drunken stupor.

Bibliography: Iskandar Beg Turkmān, *Ta'rīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, 2 vols., Tehrān 1955-6, index, s.v.; Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh 'Abbās-i Awwal*, i, Tehrān 1955, index, *s.v.*

(R. M. SAVORY)

SILIḤDĀR **ḤAMZA PASHA**, Ottoman Grand Vizier, was born at Develi Ḳara Ḥiṣār *ca* 1140/1728-9, the son of a landed *agha* named Meḥmed; he began his career in 1156/1743-4 in the *ḥalwa-khāne* (honey-bakery) of the *Kilār-i humāyūn* (Imperial Privy Commissariat), but his gifts soon won him a position among the pages of the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*],

where he won the favour of Muṣṭafā III. When the latter came to the throne on 16 Ṣafar 1171/30 October 1757, he at once appointed Ḥamza his *silihdār* [*q.v.*], afterwards granted him the rank of vizier (Shawwāl 1171/June 1758) and betrothed him to the infant princess Hibet Allāh, who died however in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1175 /July 1762. From 1172/1759 to 1182/1768 he filled in quick succession no fewer than twelve governorships in Rumelia and Anatolia, in accordance with the system then in force of annual change of office; in this period he fell into disgrace for a few months in 1178/1765 and was banished to Dimetoḳa with loss of his rank. As *wālī* of Egypt in 1179/1766 he came into conflict with the Mamlūk *amīr*s and the celebrated *shaykh al-balad* ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*] and was finally driven out of the country by them (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1180/April 1767). When in 1182/1768 the Sulṭan was eager for a breach with Russia, but found his bellicose plans opposed by the Grand Vizier Muḥsin-zāde Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and the Shaykh al-Islām Walī al-Dīn Efendi, he dismissed the former on 23 Rabīʿ I 1182/7 August 1768 and appointed in his place on 20 Rabīʿ II/3 September his old favourite the Silihdār Ḥamza Pasha, who was at that time *wālī* of Anadolu. A few days after his arrival in the capital the new Grand Vizier had the ultimatum to Russia approved at a great council (4 October) and imprisoned the Russian resident Obreskov, who declined to fulfil the demands of the Porte, in Yedikule (6 October); in consequence the disastrous war with Russia broke out, which was concluded only by the peace of Küčük Kaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1774. Ḥamza Pasha did not live to see the beginning of hostilities; he was suddenly dismissed from office on 5 Djumādā I 1182/17 October 1768, the reason given being insanity, but others say at the instigation of the Khān of the Crimea; he was sent to Crete as governor of Canea; but on his way there he died at Gelibolu in the same month.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, suppl. ii, 16 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii,254 f.; *IA*, s.v. (by I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı); Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, *passim*; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, viii, *passim*; I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1956, iv/i, index. (J. H. Mordtmann-[E. Kuran])

ḤANĀBILA (a.), pl. of Ḥanbalī, denotes the followers of the school of theology, law and morality which grew up from the teaching of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) whose principal works, the *Musnad* and the *responsa* (*masāʾil*), had begun to be codified even during the lifetime of their author. Ḥanbalism, while being hostile to the very principle of speculative theology (*kalām*) and to esoteric Ṣūfism (*ḥulūl*, *maʿrifa*, *ibāḥa*) did not develop in complete isolation. A great number of Ḥanbalī authors were themselves dogmatic theologians or Ṣūfīs. The often intransigent rigidity of the dogmatic position of Ḥanbalism, which purported to recognize no other sources than the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, did not fail on the contrary to influence consistently the very formation of the other Muslim schools.

1. Ḥanbalism from 241 to 334/855-945. It was during the period from the Sunnī reactionary movement of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) to the advent of the Būyids in 334/945 that Ḥanbalism was truly constituted as a school. The great collections of *responsa* which were then produced, thanks to the zeal of a considerable number of theologians coming from very different regions of the Muslim world, undoubtedly bear witness to a common effort in the search for a unity of doctrine. But there is every reason to suppose, if one may judge by those which have been preserved, that these works were, to a large extent, collections in which the accent was placed, according to the personalities of the reporters or their interests, on particular ideas of Ibn Ḥanbal or particular aspects of his doctrines. They were never simple works of pure theoretical speculation, but the response to a need for religious and moral direction. Very often they went hand in hand with the transmission of *responsa* attributed to other teachers, notably the teachers of the school of Ḥidjāz or that of Khurāsān, like Mālik b. Anas, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak or Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh. They contributed towards the settling of Ḥanbalī doctrine at a very early stage, without, however, ending in a very rigorous systematization, and at the same time allowing divergences from the thought of the founder of the school to survive.

Two of the sons of Ibn Ḥanbal played an important rôle in the transmission of his work. The elder of the two, Ṣāliḥ (d. 266/879-80), made his career in the service of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate as *ḳāḍī* at Ṭarsūs and at Iṣfahān. The younger, ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), in particular put in order the materials of the *Musnad*, to which he made a certain number of additions and to which his pupil Abū Bakr al-Ḳaṭīʿī (b. 368/978-9) put the finishing touches. The additions of al-Ḳaṭīʿī are, within the Ḥanbalī school, quite often disputed (on the other compilers of *masāʾil*, see aḥmad b. ḥanbal, the *Masāʾil*).

Several other eminent traditionists reported the *Masāʾil* and may be regarded as true disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal. Thus Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī (d. 275/888-9), was the author of the *K. al-Sunan*, and his *K. al-Masāʾil* (published in Cairo in 1353/1934) is the sole collection of *responsa* available today. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890-1), who is sometimes compared with al-Bukhārī and with Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, followed the teaching of Ibn Ḥanbal and collected a large number of *Masāʾil* certain of which are considered rare; his *ʿaḳīda* defends, on the basis of the nature of the faith and of the Ḳurʾān, and equally on the basis of the condemnation of *kalām*, the most characteristic ideas of Ḥanbalism.

One name dominates the history of Ḥanbalism during this period; that of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923-4), who was a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī, knew the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh and taught at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Mahdī. In his *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, he collected and classified the *responsa* of Ibn Hanbal which had already been the subject of individual recensions. This enormous compilation was still used, in the 8th/14th century, by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Ḳayyim. Still other works are attributed to Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, and enjoyed a great authority, in particular a *K. al-Īmān*, a *K. al-Sunna*, his *K. fi'l-ʿilm* and a *K. al-ʿilal*. In addition Abū Bakr al-Khallāl composed the first history of Ḥanbalism which is known to us. His work was finished by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/973-4), known by the name of Ghulām al-Khallāl [*q.v.*].

Two other names are closely connected with the history of Ḥanbalism at the end of the 3rd/9th and at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. The first is Abū Bakr al-Sidjistānī (d. 316/928), a son of the traditionist Abū Dāwūd. From him we have a *K. al-Maṣāḥif* (edited by A. Jeffery, Leiden 1937) and a short profession of faith in verse in the best Ḥanbalī tradition. Several other works of exegesis or tradition are attributed to him. The second is Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 327/938-9), whose work enjoyed a wide popularity. His *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl* was considered

one of the most important works which had been written in this discipline. His *Tafsīr*, in the judgment of Ibn Kat͟hīr, constituted the work *par excellence* of traditional exegesis and surpassed in its doctrinal value that of al-Ṭabarī. His *K. al-ʿIlal*, on the subject of defects in *ḥadīt͟h*, demonstrates this tendency to follow the classifications (*abwāb*) of *fiḳh*. There is further attributed to Abū Muḥammad al-Rāzī a refutation of the D̲j̲ahmiyya and a eulogistic biography of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

The considerable rôle which Ḥanbalism played, on the other hand, in the religious and political history of the Caliphate is illustrated by the activities of al-Barbahārī (d. 329/940-1 [*q.v.*]), traditionist and jurisconsult, pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwazī and of Sahl al-Tustarī, a vigorous preacher who struggled bitterly against S̲h̲īʿism and Muʿtazilism for a reform of the Sunnī Caliphate. The excess of his zeal led, in 323/935, to the condemnation of Ḥanbalism by a decree of the caliph al-Rāḍī.

His contemporary Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-K̲h̲iraḳī (d. 334/945-6), who left Bag̲h̲dād to take refuge in Damascus with the advent of the Būyids, is the author of the first manual of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, the *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, which was commented upon in turn by Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1012-3), the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) and the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). The *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, upon which, according to Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503-4), there were almost three hundred commentaries, still remains today an excellent introductory manual to Ḥanbalī doctrine in the sphere of *furūʿ*.

2. Ḥanbalism under the Būyids (334-447/945-1061). From the moment of the installation of the Būyids in Bag̲h̲dād Ḥanbalism was an active and numerically strong school which possessed a doctrinal literature comparable to that which the other schools were able to offer. The progress of Imāmī S̲h̲īʿism, encouraged by the Būyids, and of Ismāʿīlism after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and the foundation of Cairo, came into conflict with the Ḥanbalī theologians and preachers, who exercised a decisive influence on the beginnings of the Sunnī restoration which began to assert itself from the reign of al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1021). Ḥanbalism then took the rôle of a politico-religious opposition party and was in the forefront of the ideologies which were developed or founded for the defence of the Caliphate and Sunnism.

From among the numerous representatives of Ḥanbalism whose names have been preserved for us in bio-bibliographical works we shall here cite only those few teachers who appear to us to be, both for their work and their activities, most typical of the vitality and the internal diversity of the school.

Abū Bakr al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ād (d. 348/959-60) held sessions of popular exhortation at Bag̲h̲dād in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. He compiled the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, wrote a *K. al-Sunan* and, apart from a treatise of *fiḳh*, a *K. Ik̲h̲tilāf al-fuḳahā'*.

Abū Bakr al-Ād̲j̲urrī (d. 360/971), who was educated at Bag̲h̲dād and afterwards led a life of seclusion at Mecca, is claimed at the same time by Ḥanbalism and S̲h̲āfiʿism. His *K. al-S̲h̲arīʿa* (published Cairo, 1369/1950) shows obvious affinities with the professions of faith in the Ḥanbalī style. It seems that one can see in him one of those S̲h̲āfiʿī teachers who, refusing any concession to *kalām* or to As̲h̲ʿarism, were Ḥanbalī in *uṣūl* and S̲h̲āfiʿī in *furūʿ*.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971) is the author of three celebrated *Muʿd̲j̲ams*, of a *K. al-Sunna* and a *K. Makārim al-ak̲h̲lāḳ* . . . (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 49-51).

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn b. Samʿūn (d. 387/997), through his Ḥanbalī training and his inclination towards Ṣūfism, is one of those many scholars whom it is difficult to place, with any degree of certainty, within the confines of one school. The *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 155-62) and Ibn ʿAsākir (*Tabyīn al-muftarī*, 200-6) each lay claim to him. Ibn Samʿūn, who commented upon the *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of al-K̲h̲iraḳī, held sessions of religious and moral exhortation at Bag̲h̲dād which acquired a widespread reputation.

His contemporary Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/997), educated at Bag̲h̲dād, retired when nearly forty, after travels to Mecca and Syria, to his native town. We owe to him several important works, in particular a renunciation of legal stratagems (*ḥiyal*) which were employed in certain schools of *fiḳh*, and two professions of faith which were subsequently widely used: the *Ibāna kabīra* and the *Ibāna ṣag̲h̲īra*. The *Ibāna ṣag̲h̲īra* (cf. H. Laoust, *Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, *PIFD*, 1958) is primarily designed to be a profession of popular faith addressed more particularly to young people and to the non-Arabs. Its purpose was to lead back to the imitation of the Prophet all those who were tending to waver in their faith because of the proliferation of sects and doctrines.

Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1012-3; *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 171-7), one of the intimate circle of the caliph al-Ḳādir, was first and foremost a teacher and a *muftī*. His most famous work is his *K. al-D̲j̲āmiʿ fi 'k̲h̲tilāf al-fuḳahā'*, subsequently often used in Ḥanbalism. There are further attributed to him two dogmatic treatises which are also often cited: a *K. fī uṣūl al-dīn* and a *K. fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Ibn Ḥāmid, both by his teaching and his written works, contributed to the education of numerous Ḥanbalīs, whether natives of Bag̲h̲dād or attracted to the ʿAbbāsid metropolis by the reputation of its learning.

One of his disciples was the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066), who made his career at Bag̲h̲dād in the service of the caliph al-Ḳā'im. The work of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, almost totally lost, is known to us through his *Aḥkām sulṭāniyya* (published Cairo 1356/1938) which would appear to have been copied verbatim from the treatise on public law of al-Māwardī (d. 456/1064), unless the two works both stem from a common source. Those of his works which were most frequently used were his commentary upon al-K̲h̲iraḳī, a treatise on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*K. al-Mud̲j̲arrad*), another on the divergent opinions of legal scholars (*K. al-Ik̲h̲tilāf*), and finally an important treatise of dogmatic theology, the *K. al-Muʿtamad*, an abbreviated version of which has survived (ms. at the Ẓāhiriyya in Damascus). The *K. al-Muʿtamad*, constructed in the fashion of contemporary treatises of *kalām*, devotes considerable space to the theory of the Caliphate. The *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, who was present in 433/1041-2 and in 445/1053-4 at the formal reading of the *Ḳādiriyya*, was, as much through his official duties as through his scholarship and his teaching, closely associated with the policy of Sunnī restoration under al-Ḳā'im.

3. Ḥanbalism during the final two centuries of the Caliphate of Bag̲h̲dād (447-656/1061-1258). In 447/1061 Tog̲h̲rïl Beg occupied Bag̲h̲dād and put an end to the S̲h̲īʿī dynasty of the Būyids. The attempt of al-Basāsīrī, in 451/1059, to re-establish S̲h̲īʿism in Bag̲h̲dād had all the characteristics of a desperate and ephemeral action. In 459/1067 the Niẓāmiyya was inaugurated at Bag̲h̲dād for the teaching of S̲h̲āfiʿī *fiḳh*. The Sunnī reconquest of central and southern Syria followed. In

467/1074-5 the *amīr* Atsīz re-established the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* at Damascus. The political disruption of the first great Saldjūḳid empire began in 485/1092 with the death of Malik Shāh. A short time afterwards the Crusaders made their appearance in Syria and Palestine, occupying Antioch in 491/1098, Jerusalem in 492 and Tripoli in 503/1109-10. However, the momentum of the movement of Sunnī restoration continued, with the revival of the Caliphate beginning with all-Muḳtafī (530-55/1136-60), and with the constitution, in Syria, of the dynasty of the Zangids and the Ayyūbids. This period of two centuries was the golden age of Ḥanbalism which, however great its attachment to the traditionalism of its *credo*, itself also appeared, through the personality of its principal representatives, as a movement of profound diversity.

The *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar al-Hāshimī (d. 470/1077-8), a successor in spirit of al-Barbahārī and Ibn Baṭṭa, distinguished himself in particular by the energetic drive he brought to bear in support of the Ḥanbalī *credo* and the restoration of the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. We see him then at Baghdād taking command of a series of popular uprisings against Muʿtazilism and Ṣūfism; in 460/1068 against the teaching of Muʿtazilism at the Niẓāmiyya; in 461 against Ibn ʿAḳīl, who was condemned for his sympathies towards Muʿtazilism or al-Ḥallādj; in 464 against various forms of corruption; in 465 again against Ibn ʿAḳīl, who was forced to recant in public; finally in 469 against Ibn al-Kushayrī who, in his teaching at the Niẓāmiyya, had taken up again against Ḥanbalism the old charge of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*).

Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1116-7), on the other hand, was a technical specialist in *fiḳh* who lived far from any political agitation (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 258). In the *Hidāya* he endowed Ḥanbalism with a manual of *fiḳh* which long remained authoritative. His *K. al-Tamhīd fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, preserved in manuscript at Damascus, on the metholology of law, deserves to be edited. Several others of his works are frequently cited in the literature of the school: two treatises on *ikhtilāf*, another, more controversial, on the law of succession, and a short profession of faith in verse, the *Dāliyya*, which was still learned by heart in the 8th/14th century and in which Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is extolled as the safest guide to follow after the Prophet and his companions.

Abu 'l-Wafāʾ ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119-20) is not only one of the great scholars of Ḥanbalism but also one of the most famous Arab prose writers. Several of his masters were Ḥanafīs or Shāfiʿīs. In his youth he was interested in Muʿtazilism and in the doctrine of al-Ḥallādj; we have referred above to the two struggles which, in 461/1069 and 465/1073, saw him opposed by the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar and to his retraction. In 475/1082-3 he conducted a vigorous academic attack against Ashʿarism; in 484/1091-2, at the time of the arrival of Malik Shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk at Baghdād, he was summoned to explain to the latter the meaning and the importance of Ḥanbalism. He enjoyed a considerable reputation with the Caliphs al-Muḳtadī (467-87/1074-94) and al-Mustaẓhir (487-512/1094-1118). His interventions in political life were frequent.

Ibn ʿAḳīl was a particularly prolific author (*Dhayl*, i, 158). His voluminous *K. al-Funūn*, of which only one volume survives, is a treatise of *adab* which was much used by Ibn al-Djawzī. His more technical works, however, should not be forgotten: the *K. al-Fuṣūl*, also known by the name of *Kifāyat al-muftī*; the *K. al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-dīn*, his main treatise of dogmatic theology; the *K. al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, on the methodology of law; finally the *K. al-Intiṣār li -ahl al-ḥadīth*, the title of which emphasizes well enough the place that the study of tradition held with this author (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAḳīl et la résurgence de l'islām traditionaliste*, *PIFD*, 1962).

In the century which preceded the fall of the Caliphate three names dominate the history of Ḥanbalism. The first is the vizier Ibn Hubayra (d. 560/1165) who, while still a youth, wandered through the markets of Baghdād with a Ṣūfī preacher to exhort the population to live according to the dictates of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. Ibn Hubayra owed his career to the caliph al-Muḳtafī (in 555/1150) who, in 544/1149-50, appointed him vizier. Al-Mustandjid (555-66/1160-71) retained him in office, though not without difficulties. In 557 Ibn Hubayra founded, in the quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra, a *madrasa* destined for the purpose of teaching Ḥanbalī tradition and *fiḳh* and for the benefit of which he made a *waḳf* of his valuable personal library. His political programme rested on two aims: the restoration of the Sunna and of the authority of the Caliphate. To succeed in this he tried, on the one hand, to free the Caliphate from Saldjūḳid control and to spur on Nūr al-Dīn to the conquest of Fāṭimid Egypt; on the other hand he endeavoured to band together, around the Ḥanbalī *credo* and opposed to Shīʿism, all the families of Sunnism. His *K. al-Ifṣāḥ* consisted of a commentary upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and of Muslim; he included therein a treatise of *ikhtilāf* (published Aleppo 1928). The work, read and commented upon in the mosques at the request of the vizier, seems to have enjoyed, at least during his lifetime, a fairly wide-spread popularity (*Dhayl*, i, 251-89).

The *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166 [*q.v.*]) is the founder of the first great Ṣūfī order, that of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. His doctrinal position is difficult to ascertain, owing to the distortions to which his personality and his ideas were subjected by his principal biographer, al-Shaṭṭanawfī (d. 713/1313-4), and the legends transmitted by his admirers. The *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir belonged to Ḥanbalism not only by education but also by the very nature of his work. The *K. al-Ghunya*, edited many times, constitutes his principal treatise of dogmatic and moral theology. Here are to be found, grouped together, a profession of faith, a manual of *ādāb sharʿiyya*, a précis of the fundamental rules of *fiḳh* and elements of heresiography—the whole in the pious and militant tradition of Ḥanbalism.

Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), jurisconsult, traditionist, historian and above all preacher, was intimately connected with the political life of his time. He had, for teachers, Ḥanbalī scholars many of whom were well known, and owed the first successes of his career to the vizier Ibn Hubayra, during the caliphates of al-Muḳtafī and al-Mustandjid. The outstanding period of his activity as an official preacher is set in the caliphate of al-Mustaḍiʾ (566-74/1171-9). The advent of al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225) did not immediately put an end to his activities but progressively marked the beginning of his decline. In 590/1194 he was arrested and held for five years under house arrest at Wāsiṭ; his death followed shortly after his release. His massive work (cf. *Dhayl*, i, 416-20) embraces, it might be said, all the types of Islamic literature. Strongly influenced by Ibn ʿAḳīl and by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, he is the historian of the Caliphate in the *Muntaẓam* and of Ṣūfism in the

Ṣifat al-ṣafwa. His *Talbīs Iblīs*, directed against the *bid*ʿas introduced into Islam by Ṣūfism, *falsafa*, the sects or the doctors of the law, is in the aggressive tradition of Ḥanbalism. But his best known works are the eulogistic biographies (*manāḳib*) which he devotes to the religious and political personalities of the first centuries of Islam. An uncompromising critic, he also composed refutations of al-Ḥallād̲j̲, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlī and the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

In the following fifty years, Ḥanbalism still had several eminent representatives at Bag̲h̲dād. Ibn al-Māristāniyya (d. 599/1203), who was interested in the sciences inherited from Greek antiquity and composed a history of Bag̲h̲dād, energetically defended the policy of Ibn Hubayra in the eulogistic monograph which he devoted to him (*D̲h̲ayl*, i, 442-6). Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sāmarrī (d. 616/1219-20), who was *ḳāḍī* at Sāmarrā, *muḥtasib* at Bag̲h̲dād and entered the service of the Chancellery, left two highly regarded treatises of *fiḳh:* the *K. al-Mustawʿib* and the *K. al-Furūḳ* (*D̲h̲ayl*, ii, 121-2). Isḥāḳ b. Aḥmad al-ʿUlt̲h̲ī (d. 634/1236-7), a Ṣūfī and relentless polemist, was noted for his reforming zeal, which went to the lengths of criticizing the Caliph al-Nāṣir for his policy and Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī for his complacency towards *taʾwīl* (*D̲h̲ayl*, ii, 205-11). Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī (d. 656/1258), a son of the celebrated preacher, made his career in the service of al-Nāṣir, al-Ẓāhir and al-Mustanṣir. Killed with his three sons at the time of the capture of Bag̲h̲dād by the Mongols, he left an apology for Ḥanbalism. In the course of an official journey he had founded a *madrasa* at Damascus, the D̲j̲awziyya, which served as the tribunal of the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī*.

In the provinces Ḥanbalism also made a very early appearance. At Iṣfahān, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mandah (d. 395/1004-5) and his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (d. 470/1077-8) are often mentioned as important authors (*Ik̲h̲tiṣār*, 339 and 396).

At Herāt, al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9 [*q.v.*]) gave Ḥanbalism its most celebrated Ṣūfī treatise, the *K. Manāzil al-sāʾirīn*.

At Damascus one of the earliest teachers of the school appears to have been the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Abū Ṣāliḥ Mufliḥ (d. 333/941-2), founder of a mosque to which he gave his name outside the Bāb S̲h̲arḳī (*Bidāya*, xi, 204-6). It was particularly with Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-S̲h̲īrāzī (d. 486/1093) that Ḥanbalism became firmly rooted in Palestine and Syria (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 248-9; *D̲h̲ayl*, i, 68-73). His son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 536/1141-2), himself also a preacher and author of a refutation of As̲h̲ʿarism, founded at Damascus the first great Ḥanbalī *madrasa* (*D̲h̲ayl*, i, 198-201).

Two other families of Ḥanbalī scholars were eminent at Damascus under the Zangids and the Ayyūbids; that of the Banū Munad̲j̲d̲j̲ā and particularly that of the Banū Ḳudāma, natives of Palestine (cf. H. Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Ibn Ḳudâma*, *PIFD*, 1950). To this last family belonged the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* ʿAbd al-G̲h̲anī (d. 600/1203-4), a traditionist of Ṣūfī tendencies hostile to As̲h̲ʿarism, and the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223), to whom we owe a treatise of Ḥanbalī law, the *Mug̲h̲nī* (12 vols., Cairo 1922-30), which has enjoyed and continues to enjoy a great reputation. The town of Ḥarrān, on the other hand, was also from very early times an active centre of Ḥanbalism. The most renowned teacher of this school was Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 652/1254-5), to whom is owed the *Muntaḳā* (Cairo 1932) and the *Muḥarrar* (Cairo 1950).

4. Ḥanbalism under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans. Ḥanbalism remained very active in Syria and Palestine under the Baḥriyya Mamlūks. It then had as its most celebrated representative Aḥmad b. Taymiyya (d. 728/1328, see IBN TAYMIYYA), whose family had sought refuge in Damascus in 666/1267-8 before the threat of a Mongol invasion. It was at Damascus that Ibn Taymiyya was educated, interesting himself not only in Ḥanbalī literature but in all the Muslim schools, as well in the field of *fiḳh* as in *kalām* or *falsafa*. Intimately concerned in the religious and political life of his time, Ibn Taymiyya very soon found himself, because of his polemical zeal, clashing with numerous opponents and was subjected to frequent persecutions. Sent to Cairo in 705/1305-6 he was imprisoned once for almost eighteen months until 707 (25 September 1307). Exiled to Alexandria for seven months, he was freed and taken back to Cairo by al-Malik al-Nāṣir after the fall of Baybars al-D̲j̲ās̲h̲nikīr. He returned to Damascus in 712/1313. Imprisoned once, in 720/1320, in the citadel for a period of about five months for holding, on the question of repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*), a doctrine deemed to be heretical, he was imprisoned a second time in 726/1326 for his views on the visitation of tombs (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*), which he denounced as heretical. It was in prison, in the citadel of Damascus, that he died on 20 D̲h̲u'l-Ḳaʿda 728/26 September 1328. As much by his doctrinal works as by his teaching or his personal activities, Aḥmad b. Taymiyya left a deep imprint on the history of Ḥanbalism.

His principal pupil, Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 751/1350-1; *D̲h̲ayl*, ii, 447-53), who shared some of his later persecutions, was more a preacher than a polemist and commented on the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī (3 vols., Cairo 1916). We owe to him also an important treatise on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn* (3 vols., Cairo 1915), a treatise of public law built around a theory of proof, the *Ṭuruḳ ḥikmiyya* (Cairo 1317, and later eds.), and finally a profession of faith in verse, the *Nūniyya*, principally directed against the D̲j̲ahmiyya and the Ittiḥādiyya (published several times in Cairo since 1902).

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rad̲j̲ab (d. 795 /1393), from a family which originated from Bag̲h̲dād but which had settled in Damascus, was a pupil of Ibn al-Ḳayyim. Jurisconsult and traditionist, he established himself, by his *D̲h̲ayl*, as the trustworthy and precise historian of Ḥanbalism. His great legal work, the *Ḳawāʾid* (Cairo 1933), deserves to be made the subject of a monograph. To Ibn Rad̲j̲ab are owed also several dissertations which endeavour to establish, on points of dogma, and not without a certain rigidity, the so-called position of the Ancients (*salaf*).

Under the Circassian Mamlūks (784-923/1382-1517) Ḥanbalism lost some of its importance in Syria and Palestine for reasons that are hard to ascertain, though doubtless its hostility to the school of Ibn ʿArabī and that of the Ittiḥādiyya, whose influence was increasing, contributes to the explanation of this relative decline. Though greatly weakened, however, Ḥanbalism did not disappear altogether. Represented by great families of jurisconsults who monopolized, along with the teaching, the official posts and the profits derived therefrom, it was distinguished by several theologians whose importance deserves emphasis. The list of them is found in the *Muk̲h̲taṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, the work of the venerable *muftī* of the Ḥanbalīs in Damascus, the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muḥammad D̲j̲amīl al-S̲h̲aṭṭī (published Damascus 1330/1921), which is based on *al-Manhad̲j̲ al-aḥmad*, still unpublished, of Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn al-

ʿUlaymī (d. 927/1521 [*q.v.*]), the historian of Jerusalem and Hebron.

The chief *ḳāḍī* Burhān al-Dīn Ibn al-Mufliḥ (d. 884/1479-80) belonged to a family which gave to the school several other equally well-known *ʿulamāʾ*; among other works he composed a history of Ḥanbalism, as yet unedited.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Mardāwī (d. 885/1480-1) is particularly known, in the literature of the school, through a voluminous manual of *furūʿ*, the *K. al-Inṣāf*, and a treatise of legal methodology, the *K. al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*. His influence made itself felt upon several of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Egypt at this time (*Mukhtaṣar*, 69). Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAskarī (d. 912/1506-7) continued his work (*ibid.*, 78-9).

After the conquest of Syria and Egypt (1517) the Ottoman régime, to the extent that it gave pre-eminence to Ḥanafism or Māturīdism, was not favourable to the development of Ḥanbalism. Several scholars, however, in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, deserve to be mentioned.

Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā al-Ḥudjāwī (d. 968/1560-1), a native of Jerusalem who enjoyed great authority in these three countries, is above all the author of the *K. al-Iḳnāʿ* (publ. Cairo) which long remained one of the fundamental treatises of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* and is continually used (*Mukhtaṣar*, 85).

Manṣūr al-Bahūtī (d. 1051/1641), who taught at the University of al-Azhar, similarly left several valuable manuals [see AL-BAHŪTĪ].

Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1679), who was born at Damascus, studied in Cairo and died at Mecca, is above all, in the eyes of posterity, the author of the *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (*Mukhtaṣar*, 61).

ʿAlī al-Burādiʿī (d. 1150/1737-8), who was official preacher in Damascus at the mosque of Sinān Pasha and directed the ʿUmariyya *madrasa*, left behind him the reputation of being a great preacher (*Mukhtaṣar*, 123).

The *Shaykh* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baʿlī (d. 1192/1778), whose family also gave other eminent scholars to Islamic sciences, was initiated in the mysticism of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Fāriḍ under the direction of the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (*Mukhtaṣar*, 133) — a fact which does not constitute an isolated phenomenon, for there was no shortage of Ḥanbalīs who attempted to achieve the intelligent co-existence of the Sharīʿa and the *ḥaḳīḳa*.

The dominant fact in the history of Ḥanbalism under the Ottomans was the appearance of Wahhābism with the *shaykh* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792; see WAHHĀBIYYA and H. Laoust, *Essai sur Ibn Taymīya*, 506-40). Born at ʿUyayna, in about 1115/1703, but educated for the most part in Mecca and Medina, he succeeded in winning over to his cause, after several unsuccessful attempts, at Darʿiyya, the *amīr* Muḥammad b. Saʿūd. Thus was born, in 1157/1744, the Saʿūdī state which, after diverse vicissitudes, has survived up to the present day. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb remains, throughout this long history, the accredited theoretician *par excellence* of the movement. Apart from several professions of faith, his most important work is his *K. al-Tawḥīd* (printed several times). The fundamental works characteristic of the movement are to be found in the *Madjmūʿat al-tawḥīd al-nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1346) and the *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa'l-masāʾil al nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1346, 4 vols.).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his disciples made much use of the work of Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, in particular the *Wāsiṭiyya*, the *Siyāsa sharʿiyya*, the *Minhādj al-sunna* and the various dissertations of this author against the cult of saints and certain forms of Ṣūfism (notably that of the Ittiḥādiyya). After Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Ḳayyim is also often cited. But other authors, early or late, such as the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā or al-Ḥudjāwī, are also used by the Wahhābī writers.

Within Ḥanbalism, however, Wahhābism did not gain the unanimous support of the doctors of the law; certain authors did not follow it or were even hostile to it. Such was the case with Ibn Ḥumayd al-Makkī (d. 1295/1878; Brockelmann, S II, 812), the author of an important collection of Ḥanbalī biographies, *al-Suḥub al-wābila*; an edition of this work would be a great contribution to a better understanding of modern and contemporary Islam.

Passionately discussed at the time of its appearance and at other periods of its history, Wahhābism, which had bitter enemies in the Ottoman Empire, in Persia and in different Arab countries, exercised an influence more or less lasting and more or less profound in the Maghrib, India and the Arabian peninsula. Its influence on the Syro-Egyptian Muslim reform movement made itself particularly felt with Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) in the period after the first world war. It has sometimes been sought to establish an influence if not of Ḥanbalism, at least of the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, in the birth of the movement of the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (cf. J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Religious and political trends in modern Egypt*, 1950, 16). For the rest, Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* remains operative, in a large measure, in Saʿūdi Arabia. Numerous Ḥanbalī publications have also been brought out, in the course of the last century, not only in Arabia but also in India, Syria and Egypt.

Bibliography: H. Laoust, *Le hanbalisme sous le caliphat de Bagdad (241-656/856-1258)*, in *REI*, 1959, 67-128; idem, *Le hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides*, in *REI*, 1960, 1-71. Reference may be made also to the following printed sources: Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 526/1132), *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fīkī, 2 vols., Cairo 1371/1952; Ibn Radjdab (d. 795/1393), *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, partial edition by Laoust and Dahan, *PIFD*, 1951, complete edition by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fīkī, 2 vols., Cairo 1372/1953; al-Nābulusī (d. 797/1395), *K. Ikhtiṣār*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd, Damascus 1350/1932; Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1678), *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 9 vols., Cairo 1351/1933; Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1921. A useful introduction to the subject is Ibn Badrān, *Madkhal ilā madhhab al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, Damascus n.d. (H. LAOUST)

ḤANAFIYYA, the Ḥanafī *madhhab* or school of religious law, named after Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit. It grew out of the main body of the ancient school of Kūfa, and absorbed the ancient school of Baṣra, too. As early as the generation following Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), we find Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*] (d. 182/795) refer to him as "the prominent lawyer" (*Kitāb al-Kharādj*, 11), and al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] (d. 189/805) speak of the "followers of Abū Ḥanīfa". Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] (d. 204/820) refers repeatedly to the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa as a homogeneous group (*Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth*, on the margin of *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 122, 337, and elsewhere). The transformation of the bulk of the ancient school of Kūfa into the school of the Ḥanafīs was helped by the extensive literary activity of Abū Yūsuf and, above all, of al-Shaybānī whose main works, the *Kitāb al-Aṣl* (edition begun by Shafīḳ Shaḥāta, Cairo 1954), the *Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (ed. Abu 'l-Wafā al-Afghānī,

Cairo 1356), and the *Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (Būlāḳ 1302, on the margin of Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-Kharādj*), became the standard texts of the school. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī came to be regarded as the two main companions of Abū Ḥanīfa, and together with him they form the triad of the highest authorities of the school although other companions of his, such as Zufar b. al-Hudhayl and al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Luʾluʾī, were equally prominent at the time. They often disagree with one another, and the uniform character of the doctrine is much less pronounced in the Ḥanafī *madhhab* than in the other schools. (The differences of opinion of the three authorities are listed in Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī, *Mukhtalif al-riwāya*.) For adventitious reasons, Abū Ḥanīfa and his school became the main target of the Traditionists [see AHL AL-ḤADĪTH] in their attack against the use of subjective opinion (*raʾy*) in religious law [see AṢḤĀB AL-RAʾY].

Having originated in ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥanafī school was favoured by the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs. It has always been well represented in its home country and in Syria. It spread early to the East, to Khurāsān, Transoxania, and Afghānistān (where the present constitution gives official recognition to the Ḥanafī doctrine), also to the Indian subcontinent, to Turkish Central Asia, and to China. Numerous famous representatives of the school came from Khurāsān and Transoxania. From the 5th/11th century until well into the time of the Mongols the family of the Banū Māza wielded political power in Bukhārā as the hereditary chiefs (*raʾīs*) of the Ḥanafīs in the town, with the title of *ṣadr*. In Khurāsān, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, the Ḥanafīs developed a special law of irrigation, adapted to the system of canals there (cf. Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, 8). In the Maghrib, too, the Ḥanafī school had adherents alongside the Mālikīs during the first few centuries of Islam, particularly in Ifrīḳiya under the Aghlabids [*q.v.*]; in Sicily they even predominated (al-Muḳaddasī, 236 ff.). Finally, the Ḥanafī school became the favourite school of the Turkish Saldjūḳid rulers and of the Ottoman Turks; it enjoyed the constant favour of the dynasty and exclusive official recognition in the whole of the Ottoman Empire. As a legacy of former Ottoman rule, the Ḥanafī doctrine has retained official status, as far as Islamic law has remained valid, even in those former Ottoman provinces where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, *e.g.*, in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, and Syria.

Among the well-known members of the Ḥanafī school in the older period, of whom more or less considerable works have survived, are al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874), the court lawyer of the caliph al-Muhtadī, who wrote a handbook on *waḳf* which has become a classic, a handbook on the duties of the *ḳāḍī*, and a work on legal devices (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]); al-Ṭaḥāwī [*q.v.*] (d. 321/933), a convert from the Shāfiʿī school; al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd (d. 334/945), who abbreviated the contents of the main works of al-Shaybānī in a book called *al-Kāfī*; Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī [*q.v.*] (d. 375/985), a fertile writer on *fiḳh* and other branches of religious sciences; and al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*] (d. 428/1036), upon whose *Mukhtaṣar* later works draw a good deal. During this whole period there was in the Ḥanafī school a strong tradition of producing books concerning the application of Islamic law in practice. The *Mabsūṭ* of Shams al-Aʾimma al-Sarakhsī [*q.v.*] (d. 483/1090), a commentary on the *al-Kāfī* of al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd, marks the transition to a more logical and systematic arrangement of the subject-matter within each chapter; it was followed by the *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ* of al-Kāsānī (d. 587/1191), which has a strictly systematic arrangement. These older works were, however, ousted by later handbooks and their commentaries in a process common to all schools of Islamic law. One of the most important of these is the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] (d. 953/1196; English transl. by Charles Hamilton, London 1791, reprinted Lahore 1957); it acquired numerous commentaries, and Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī (7th/13th century) produced a synopsis of it which he called *Wiḳāyat al-riwāya*. Another member of the literary family deriving from the *Hidāya* is the *Djāmiʿ al-rumūz* of al-Ḳuhistānī (d. 950/1543) which enjoyed great authority in Transoxania. The second important later work is the *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī [*q.v.*] (d. 710/1310), again with numerous commentaries, *e.g.*, the *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of al-Zaylaʿī (d. 743/1342), and particularly the *Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ* of Ibn Nudjaym [*q.v.*] (d. 970/1563). The same Ibn Nudjaym wrote the *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, a treatise on the systematic structure of positive law. In the Ottoman Empire, the *Durar al-ḥukkām* of Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480), a commentary on his own *Ghurar al-aḥkām*, gained particular authority. Based on Ḳudūrī's *Mukhtaṣar*, the *Mukhtār* of al-Buldadjī (d. 683/1284), the *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ*, and the *Wiḳāyat al-riwāya* is the *Multaḳa 'l-abḥur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī [*q.v.*] (d. 956/1549); this work soon became the authoritative handbook of the Ḥanafī school in the Ottoman Empire. The two most popular commentaries on it are the *Madjmaʿ al-anhur* of Shaykh-zāde (d. 1078/1667), and the *Durr al-muntaḳā* of al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 1088/1677). This same al-Ḥaṣkafī is the author of the *Durr al-mukhtār*, on which Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d. 1252/1836) wrote a commentary called *Radd al-Muḥtār*, a highly esteemed work which pays particular attention to the problems of the contemporary world. The latest great exposé of the Ḥanafī doctrine in the traditional style is the *Hukukı islâmiyye ve istilahatı fıkhıyye kamusu* by Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, *mufti* of Istanbul, 6 vols., first ed. Istanbul 1950-2 (Publications of the University of Istanbul, no. 402, of the Faculty of Law, no. 90). The most authoritative handbook of traditional Ḥanafī doctrine in India, after the *Hidāya*, is the so-called *Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* [*q.v.*], not a collection of *fatwā*s but an enormous compilation of extracts from the authoritative works of the school, made by order of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr (1067/1658-1118/1707). Parts of it were translated into English by N. B. E. Baillie and by Mahomed Ullah ibn S. Jung.

Among the more important collections of Ḥanafī *fatwā*s are those of Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Māza (d. about 570/1174), called *Dhakhīrat al-fatāwā*, of Ḳāḍī-Khān [*q.v.*] (d. 592/1196), of Sirādj al-Dīn al-Sadjāwandī (end of the 6th/12th century), who is also the author of a very popular treatise on the law of inheritance, of al-Bazzāzī al-Kardarī (d. 827/1424), of Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] (d. 982/1574), and of al-Anḳarawī (d. 1098/1687).

Famous Ḥanafī works on *uṣūl* are the *Kanz al-wuṣūl* of al-Pazdawī (d. 482/1089), the *Kitāb al-uṣūl* of Shams al-Aʾimma al-Sarakhsī (see above), the *Manār al-anwār* of Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (see above), the *Tawḍīḥ* of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Maḥbūbī, known as Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Thānī (d. 747/1346), on which the Shāfiʿī author al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] (d. 792/1398) wrote a commentary called *Talwīḥ*,

the *Taḥrīr* of Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457), with its commentary called *Taḳrīr*, by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādjdj (d. 879/1474), and the *Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl* by Mullā Khusraw (d. 885/1480). (On the work of al-Pazdawī, see R. Brunschvig, *Théorie générale de la capacité chez les Hanafites médiévaux*, in *Revue Intern. des Droits de l'Antiquité*, ii (1949), 157-72).

Works of Ḥanafī *ṭabaḳāt*: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad (d. 775/1373), *al-Djawāhir al-muḍīʾa*; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā [*q.v.*] (d. 879/1474), *Tādj al-tarādjim* (ed. G. Flügel, *Die Krone der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Leipzig 1862); Kemāl Pasha-zāde [*q.v.*] (d. 940/1534), *Ṭabaḳāt al-mudjtahidīn* (digested by G. Flügel, *Die Classen der hanefitischen Rechtsgelehrten*, in *Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.*, viii, Leipzig 1860, 269-358); Ṭashköprüzāde [*q.v.*] (d. 968/1560), *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* (German transl. by O. Rescher, Konstantinopel-Galata 1927); Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī (d. 1304/1886), *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya* and *al-Taʿlīḳāt al-saniyya*.

In British India, from 1772 onwards, Islamic law as it was administered locally fell under the influence of English legal thought, and an independent legal system, substantially different from Islamic law according to Ḥanafī (and, for the Shīʿa minority, according to Shīʿī) doctrine, came into being. This is properly called Anglo-Muhammadan law (see SHARĪʿA—India and Pakistan). There are numerous handbooks of Anglo-Muhammadan law, the most elementary but the most scholarly of which is A. A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*, 3rd ed., London 1964, completed by his *Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan*, Oxford 1965.

For the Ottoman Empire, the actual legal system and the administration of justice at the end of the 18th century are described in I. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1787-1820 in 3 vols., 1788-1824 in 7 vols. Then, in 1877, Ottoman Turkey enacted a codification of the law of contracts and obligations and of civil procedure, according to Ḥanafī doctrine, as the Ottoman Civil Code, or the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*]. Traditional Islamic law cannot be adequately expressed in the form of a code, and the *Medjelle*, having been undertaken under the influence of European ideas, is not an Islamic but a secular code, however often modern lawyers may have used it as an authoritative statement of Ḥanafī doctrine. It also contains certain modifications of the strict doctrine of Islamic law, mostly by way of omission. But through the intermediary of the *Medjelle*, the Ḥanafī form of Islamic law has deeply influenced the "civil law" of several countries in the Near East. In Egypt, about the same time, Muḥammad Ḳadrī Pasha put the Ḥanafī law of family and inheritance, of property, and of *waḳf* into the form of codes, but these efforts, only the first of which was officially sponsored, were never enacted as codes.

The only Western accounts of the strict Ḥanafī doctrine of Islamic law are L. Blasi, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, Città di Castello 1914, and *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, ed. J. Schacht, now replaced by J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*², Oxford 1966.

Bibliography: *IA*, s.v. Hanefîler; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, part I, chap. 2 (on the emergence of the Ḥanafī school), part IV, chap. 4 (on the reasoning of the early Ḥanafī authorities); idem, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, chap. 9 (on the consolidation of the Ḥanafī school), chap. 13 (on the Ḥanafī school in the Ottoman Empire), chap. 14 (on the Ḥanafī school in Mughal India and on Anglo-Muhammadan Law), and chap. 15 (on the influence of the Ḥanafī school on the civil laws of the Near East).—On the spread of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, Heidelberg 1922, 202-6 (Eng. tr., 210-5); Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha, *Naẓra taʾrīkhiyya fī ḥudūth al-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Cairo 1344, 8 ff.—On authoritative Ḥanafī works, see N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance, with . . . a bibliography*, New York 1916, 161 f., 173 ff., 177 ff. (reprinted Lahore 1961); J. H. Harington, *Remarks upon the authorities of Mosulman law*, in *Asiatick Researches: or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal*, x (Calcutta 1808), 475-512(on Ḥanafī works used in India).

(W. Heffening-[J. Schacht])

ḤANBALĪS [see ḤANĀBILA].

HANDASA [see ʿILM AL-HANDASA].

ḤANDŪS [see SIKKA].

HĀNIʾ b. **ʿURWA** al-**MURĀDĪ**, a Yemenī chief of Kūfa who lost his life during the attempt made by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Ṭālib to seize power, at the end of 60/680. Hāniʾ possessed great influence among the Yemenīs of Kūfa who, represented by the Madhḥidj, Kinda and Hamdān, formed a numerous element in the town; an anecdote related in the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad and in the *ʿIḳd* gives further proof that it was an advantage to enjoy his favour. He had a thorough knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, and his name is mentioned in a list of readers belonging to the nobility (*al-ashrāf al-ḳurrāʾ*). But the fact to which Hāniʾ owes his renown is his participation in the preparations for al-Ḥusayn's revolt. We know that the ʿAlid, urged by the Shīʿīs of Kūfa to come there and place himself at the head of his supporters, at first sent his cousin Muslim b. ʿAḳīl to take stock of the situation and to rally the support of those who sympathized with the movement. These steps not having passed unnoticed, the caliph Yazīd appointed ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] governor of Kūfa, with instructions to bring this dangerous situation under control. The house of Hāniʾ, used as a meeting-place by the conspirators, was almost the scene of an attempt against the life of Ibn Ziyād himself (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 244, 246-9; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, 247 f., etc.); Muslim came there to take refuge, on learning that the net was closing round him. Finally Ibn Ziyād invited Hāniʾ, who on the pretence of illness had for some time absented himself from his meetings, to come and see him. Hāniʾ hesitated, but in the end allowed himself to be persuaded, relying on the powerful influence he possessed, and unaware that a spy had discovered the part that he had taken in hatching the plot. When he had come into Ibn Ziyād's presence, the latter overwhelmed him with reproaches and accused him of giving asylum to Muslim. Hāniʾ denied the charge, but the spy was summoned and Hāniʾ was compelled to admit that Muslim had been given protection by him; nevertheless he tried to excuse himself and, possibly feeling convinced that the revolt would be successful, ventured to promise Ibn Ziyād that no harm would befall him (according to al-Masʿūdī, he advised him to flee with his family to Syria). Instead the governor, who had been instructed to arrest Muslim, demanded that he should be handed over to him, but this Hāniʾ obstinately refused, even under the threat of execution; in a fury, Ibn Ziyād struck his face with the stick he was holding; streaming with blood, Hāniʾ made a vain attempt to wrest the spear from one of the guards, and was locked up in a wing of the castle. When the news that he had been killed spread about, an angry crowd of Madhḥidjīs gathered, but dispersed

when Ibn Ziyād sent the *ḳāḍī* Shurayḥ with assurances that Hāniʾ was still alive. Finally Muslim was discovered in his latest hiding-place, taken to the castle and beheaded; Hāniʾ was taken to the sheep-market and also put to death (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 268 f.), being perhaps later crucified in the place known as al-Kunāsa (*ibid.*, ii, 231). The news of this double execution reached al-Ḥusayn after he had arrived in ʿIrāḳ. Elegiac verses on Muslim and Hāniʾ, attributed to Ibn al-Zabīr al-Asadī or other poets, are repeated in several sources. Together with Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, Hāniʾ became a character in the *taʿziya* (E. Rossi and A. Bombaci, *Elenco di drammi religiosi persiani*, Vatican 1961, index).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 229-32, 244, 246-9, 250-4, 268-70, 284, 292; ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, 62; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 247 ff., 250-2, 255, 259, 260; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 287-9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 71 ff. (Cairo 1376/1956, i, 123 f.); *ʿIḳd*, ed. A. Amīn etc., Cairo, i, 160 f., ii, 378 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 135 f., 140 f.; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1368/1949, 97-100, 108; idem, *Aghānī*[1], xiii, 37, xiv, 98; Ibn ʿAsākir, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329-32, iv, 336 f.; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Kaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, 162 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 19-24, 29 f., 54, 188; Bayyāsī, *K. al-Iʿlām bi-'l-ḥurūb fī ṣadr al-Islām*, ms. Cairo, ii, 31, 32, 33; *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 159 f.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Bodl., fol. 20 v; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1348-55, viii, 153, 154, 168; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, viii, Beirut 1367/1948, 199-202, 208 f.; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Mūsawī al-Muḳram, *al-Shahīd Muslim b. ʿAḳīl*, Nadjaf 1369/1950, 129-34, 138 f., 147-53; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Tod des Husein ben ʾAli und die Rache, Ein historischer Roman* ..., Göttingen 1883 (*Abh. der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxx), 31-7, 43 f., 46; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, Berlin 1901, 61, 62-4; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 144, in the reprint (= *MFOB*, v, 142). The poems are also in *The Naqāʾiḍ of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq*, ed. Bevan, 246; *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 359. (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ḤANĪF (a.) (pl. *ḥunafāʾ*), means in Islamic writing one who follows the original and true (monotheistic) religion.

1. The Ḳurʾān. The word *ḥanīf* is used especially of Abraham as the type of this pure worship of God; II, 135/129; III, 67/60, 95/89; IV, 125/124; VI, 79, 161/162; XVI, 120/121, 123/124; XXII, 31/32. In most of these verses the *ḥanīf* is contrasted with the idolaters (*mushrikūn*). It is also asserted that Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian (III, 67/60; cf. II, 135/129), and that the people of the book were originally commanded to worship God as *ḥunafāʾ* (XCVIII, 5/4). In the remaining two passages where the word is used in the Ḳurʾān (X, 105; XXX, 30/29), Muḥammad and his followers are commanded to worship God as *ḥunafāʾ*, not idolaters. In III, 19/17 Ibn Masʿūd read *ḥanīfiyya* instead of *islām*: "the true religion in God's sight is the *ḥanīfiyya*" (A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, 32). All this indicates that there is a definite conception of the *ḥanīf* and his religion in the Ḳurʾān. This conception is closely linked with the resistance of the Muslims to the intellectual criticisms of Muḥammad's religion by Jews and Christians. In effect the Muslims are to defend themselves by saying that their religion is the pure worship of God, revealed by Him to previous prophets and to Muḥammad, but partly corrupted in the course of time in Judaism and Christianity [see taḥrīf]. Further this religion is in accordance with the natural disposition (*fiṭra* [*q.v.*]) created in men by God (XXX, 30). Thus the *ḥanīfiyya* is contrasted both with polytheism and with the 'corrupted' monotheism of the Jews and Christians. It must indeed for a time have been the name applied to Muḥammad's religion, as is evidenced by the reading of Ibn Masʿūd in III, 19/17, which could hardly be an invention of his own, by the reference to Abraham as *ḥanīf muslim* in III, 67/60 and also by later Islamic usage. This name presumably belongs to the years immediately following the *hidjra*, especially after the break with the Jews. The technical use of *muslim* and *islām* is said not to be before the end of 2 A.H. (R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, Edinburgh 1953, 108), and may be later.

2. Later Islamic usage. The apologetic position associated with the Ḳurʾānic conception of *ḥanīf* is maintained. *Ḥanīf* is occasionally used as the equivalent of *muslim* (Ibn Hishām, 293, 982, 995; cf. 871). More frequent is the use of *ḥanīfiyya* for the 'religion of Abraham' or for Islam (Ibn Hishām, 143, 147; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 128; iii/1, 287). The form *taḥannuf* is used to mean "the adoption of Islam" (*Kāmil*, 526, poem by Djarīr; *LA*, x, 404; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2827). These ideas were sometimes employed in the elaboration of Ṣūfī doctrines. Al-Ḥallādj spoke of himself as "the least *ḥanīf* of the community of Muḥammad" (Massignon, *Akhbār*[3], 161); and al-Anṭākī and al-Bisṭāmī spoke of the basic form of monotheism as *al-ḥanīfiyya* (Massignon, *Passion*, 607; *Essai* [2], 282; etc.). The general Islamic usage underlies the question in *Kāmil*, 244, "What is a *ḥanīf* ʿ*ala 'l-fiṭra* ...?" (cf. Diyārbakrī, ii, 177). In the verses quoted by Yāḳūt, ii, 51, and other authors, which contrast the *ḥanīf* with the Christian priest and Jewish rabbi, the word almost certainly means Muslim; and the same may be true of the verse of Ṣakhr (*Hudhailiten*, ed. Kosegarten, xviii, 11) where wine-drinking Christians make a noise round a *ḥanīf* (and the scholiast suggests *muslim*). The poem ascribed to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt, which speaks of the *dīn al-ḥanafiyya* as the only religion which will survive the resurrection (cf. Schulthess, *Beiträge sur Assyriologie*, viii, 3), is presumably of Islamic inspiration. So too is the verse in Ibn Hishām (180) which speaks of "establishing the *ḥanīf* religion". A case can also be made for holding that the religion of him who *yataḥannafu* with whom the Christians ally themselves (Djarīr, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ii, 595) is Islam, and that *al-ʿābid al-mutaḥannif* who observes his prayers (*ṣalāt*) (poem by a Nadjdī pagan, Djirān al-ʿAwd, *LA*, x, 404; cf. *Khizānat*, iv, 198) is a Muslim. Another possible interpretation of the last two passages is considered below.

3. Christian usage. The word *ḥanīfiyya* is more frequently used for Islam by Christian writers than by Muslims (*JSS*, ii (1957), 360, n. 4; in Eutychius, *Burhān*, 1, the rendering "Muslims" is almost certain). The word occurs in a letter written about 590/1194 by a Spanish Christian king to the Almohad ruler (quoted by Ibn Khallikān-De Slane, iv, 338). Most revealing, however, is a passage in the *Risāla* of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (London 1880, 42) where, after speaking of Abraham worshipping the idol as a *ḥanīf*, he adds that "he abandoned the *ḥanīfiyya*, which is the worship of idols, and became a monotheist and believer, for we find that the *ḥanīfiyya* in the revealed books of God is a name for the worship of idols". This statement may have been sharpen-

ed in the interests of anti-Islamic polemic, but it has ample justification in earlier Syriac usages. It was probably because of Christian polemics that the Muslims in the main abandoned the word.

4. Pre-Islamic usage and religious practice. The fact that Muḥammad was able to regard himself and the Muslims as following Abraham the *ḥanīf* shows that there was no organized religious body in the early 6th century A.D. known as the *ḥanīfiyya*. Since the whole conception, however, had a bearing on apologetics, Muslim scholars tended to look for a basis in pre-Islamic history; that is, they tried to find actual *ḥanīf*s. Their statements on such matters must therefore not be accepted without careful scrutiny. Thus, when men are said to have set out to seek "the *ḥanīfiyya*, the religion of Abraham" (Ibn Hishām, 143, 147), it may be true that they set out on a religious quest, but it is practically certain that they did not use that phrase. The primary question, which has been much discussed by modern scholars, is whether there is any conclusive evidence that *ḥanīf* was used before the revelation of the Ḳur'ān for a religious ascetic, Christian or otherwise. The suggestion of Ibn Hishām (152) that *taḥannuf* and *taḥannuth* are the same is an example of the attempt to find corroborations of the Ḳur'ānic conception of *ḥanīf*, for *taḥannuth* almost certainly is derived from Hebrew and means devotional exercises, and thus has no connection with *taḥannuf* (H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into . . . the Qoran*, London 1902, 10n.). Some of the verses quoted above (such as those of Ṣakhr and Djirān) may be interpreted of a pre-Islamic Arab ascetic; so may that of Dhū Rumma (*LA*, xiii, 206) mentioning a *ḥanīf* who turns west. Yet several such "possible" interpretations are not conclusive evidence of the supposed pre-Islamic use of *ḥanīf* for "ascetic".

The result of careful examination of the passages of early poetry is that the word *ḥanīf* "seems generally to mean *Muslim* and in the odd occurrences which may be pre-Islamic to mean *heathen*" (A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 114). This last point is paralleled by the use of *ḥanīf* and its derivatives in early translations into Arabic to represent the Syriac *ḥanpo* (pl. *ḥanpé*) etc.; and the Syriac word normally means "heathen", but sometimes has the connotation of "a person of Hellenistic culture" (cf. N. A. Faris and H. W. Glidden, *The development of the meaning of the Koranic Ḥanīf*, in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xix (1939), 1-13, esp. 6-9, where much fresh pre-Islamic material is adduced; Ar. tr. in *Abḥāth*, xiii (1960), 25-42). Even Syriac material, however, must be used with care, since the hellenized pagans of Ḥarrān, who came to be known as Ṣābians [see AL-ṢĀBI'A], in their attempts to establish themselves as a "people of the book" seem to have taken over the Ḳur'ānic conception of the *ḥanīfiyya* and to have claimed that they were *ḥanpé* and the heirs of the original *ḥanpūtho* (*loc. cit.*, 8, giving a passage from Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 288/901), quoted by Barhebraeus, *Chronicum Syriacum*, Paris 1890, 168). Such assertions by Thābit and possibly other Ḥarrānians are doubtless the source of al-Mas'ūdī's references to the Ṣābians as following the religion of the *ḥanīfiyya* (*Tanbih*, 6, 90 f., 122 f., 136, 145; cf. Glossary). Al-Mas'ūdī, however, who is here dealing with the pre-Christian Roman emperors, appears to be following Christian sources which used *ḥunafā'* in the sense of "pagan", since the forty emperors preceding Constantine could be described as "pagan" but not as "Ṣābian"; his acceptance of the identification of the *ḥanīfiyya* with the Ṣābian religion would then be part of the attempt to illustrate factually the Ḳur'ānic conception of *ḥanīf*. A similar borrowing of *ḥunafā'*, "pagans", from a Christian source is found in al-Ya'ḳūbī, i, 51 f., where it is applied to opponents of Saul and David (*i.e.* the Philistines, cf. I Samuel, 17), who are further described as worshippers of stars (cf. Theodore Abū Ḳurra, *al-Dīn al-Ḳawīm*, in *al-Mashriḳ*, 1912, ad init., *al-ḥunafā' al-awwalīn* as star-worshippers).

5. Etymology. Suggestions that *ḥanīf* is formed from the Arabic root or is derived from Hebrew or Ethiopic have little to commend them. The source must be Syriac, probably with the plural *ḥunafā'* (representing *ḥanpé*) coming first. In some Aramaean circles, however, the primary meaning of "heathen" or "pagan" was overshadowed by secondary connotations, such as "of Hellenistic culture", so that the word could be applied to philosophically-minded persons who were essentially monotheistic. The Ḳur'ānic usage neglected the primary meaning and developed some of the secondary connotations, a semantic process not unknown elsewhere (cf. "snob" in French).

6. Conclusions. The common Islamic conception of *ḥanīf* and the *ḥanīfiyya* is derived solely from the Ḳur'ān. The word *ḥanīf*, if used independently of the Ḳur'ān (as by pre-Islamic Arabs or Christians), means primarily "pagan". It is therefore vain to look for religious or ascetic movements or individuals to whom this name was actually applied in pre-Islamic times. The movements and individuals exist, but any assertion that some one is a *ḥanīf* (in the Islamic sense) is the work of a later Muslim apologete, or one under Islamic influence like Thābit b. Ḳurra, and is therefore historically valueless.

Bibliography: in the article. Earlier literature is summarized in Faris and Glidden, *op. cit.*

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤANĪFA B. LUDJAYM, ancient Arab tribe, part of Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*] on a level with Tha'laba and 'Idjl. The chief subdivisions were al-Dūl (or al-Du'il), 'Adī, 'Āmir, Suḥaym. They were partly nomadic, partly agricultural (date-palms and cereals), and also partly pagan, partly Christian. The town of al-Hadjr, capital of al-Yamāma, belonged chiefly to them, also the town of Djaww (later al-Khidrima). Other localities mentioned as belonging to them (and as chiefly occupied by them) include: the *wādī* of al-'Irḍ, al-Awḳa, Fayshān, al-Kirs, Ḳurrān, al-Manṣif (a fortified town), Tala' b. 'Aṭā, al-Thaḳb (or al-Naḳb), Tu'ām, Ubād, 'Uthāl. The Ḥanīfa are said to have moved from al-Ḥidjāz to al-Yamāma after the extinction of an older culture there [see ṬASM]. Their separation from the rest of Bakr apparently took place towards the end of the war of Basūs [*q.v.*], and they were absent from the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. This absence may be connected with the fact that they recognized the suzerainty of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra and were employed in conducting Persian caravans from the Yemen to 'Irāḳ. In extending their influence over the region between al-Yamāma and 'Irāḳ they came into conflict with Tamīm, and there were several battles. The leader about 600 A.D., Ḳatāda b. Maslama, was succeeded by Hawdha b. 'Alī, apparently a Christian, who on one occasion was well received at the Persian court and given a crown, in reward for his services in conducting caravans. With the decline of the Persian empire after 628, Hawdha began negotiations with Muḥammad, but had not become a Muslim before his

death in 630. Thumāma b. Uthāl, who may have been Hawdha's successor, is said to have become a Muslim after being captured in a raid. He was leader of the loyal Muslims of Ḥanīfa in the wars of the *ridda*, when a large section of the tribe revolted against Medina under Musaylima [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel; al-Hamdānī, see *Index Historicus*; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, Cairo, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1205, 1737-9, 1748 f., 1929-57, etc.; Ibn Hishām, 945 f., 965, etc.; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 18, 25 f., 33, 55; Caetani, *Annali*, 10 A.H., § 32A, 67-9A; W. Hoenerbach, in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, No. 4, 1951, 255-67; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 132-7. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ḤANĪFA, WĀDĪ [see wādī ḥanīfa].

HANSALIYYA, a religious brotherhood of Moroccan origin which established itself in the Central Atlas and in the neighbourhood of Constantine.

It appears to have its origin in the *zāwiya* founded towards the end of the 6th/12th century by a Berber from the Sūs, Saʿīd u ʿAmur al-Ahansalī, on the banks of the *asīf* Ahansal, in the heart of the Berber country. From modest beginnings this *zāwiya* became better known in the second half of the 11th/17th century, when a descendant of the founder, Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Ahansalī, who died in 1702, founded a new *zāwiya* in the same region and founded a brotherhood. Abū ʿUthmān had pursued long studies in Morocco and had spent several years in the Orient. He had been initiated by Sayyidī ʿĪsā al-Djunaydī at Damietta.

His son Yūsuf succeeded him and acquired a certain political as well as religious influence in the region of the Wādī al-ʿAbīd, especially after the death of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl. On his death the brotherhood declined in Morocco but took on new vigour in the region of Constantine. Nevertheless, several *zāwiya*s of the order remained in the region of Wawizaght and at the time of the French occupation were playing a minor political rôle under the direction of Sayyidī Moḥā u Aḥmad al-Ahansalī. If this little brotherhood still survives, which is not certain, it no longer exercizes more than a very feeble influence.

One of the sons of Sayyidī Yūsuf, Sayyidī Saʿdūn, threatened by the Moroccan authorities, fled to the Constantine area about 1730, made converts there, and erected a *zāwiya* of minor importance; it appears that there is an offshoot of this *zāwiya* at Le Kef in Tunisia.

The Hansaliyya combined the customary mystic practices—the *wird* and recitations of the verses of the *Damyāṭiyya*, a mystic poem by the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dīrūṭī al-Damyāṭī—with dances, songs, and flagellations which induced ecstasy. In Morocco, in the milieu where they arose, they long enjoyed the reputation of miracle-workers in communication with the *djinn*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fez 1309/1891, ii, 170; Salāwī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, iv, 57; Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers 1884, 385 ff.; Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 492; Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1934, 264, 267; de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1904, 55; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La zaouia d'Ahançal*, in *AM*, xxvii (1927), 87-113; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse au Maroc*, Paris n. d., 163-82, and genealogical table at end. (R. Le Tourneau)

HĀNSAWĪ, Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad, also called Ḳuṭb Djamāl al-Dīn, a Ṣūfī mystic of the Indian Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] order, b. 580/1184-5, d. in Hānsī 659/1260-1. He was a descendant of the theologian and religious lawyer Abū Ḥanīfa, and was a senior *khalīfa* of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd "Gandj-i Shakar" [*q.v.*] during the time the latter spent at Hānsī [*q.v.*]. He is said to have been the *khaṭīb* of Hānsī when he joined Farīd al-Dīn, and to have resigned this post and its consequent material benefits as a necessary condition of his spiritual discipline.

He is known as the author of two works: his *Mulhamāt* (Arabic; lith. Alwar 1306, Dihlī 1308) is a collection of Ṣūfī aphorisms, with particular reference to the difference between the externalist recluse (*zāhid*) and the true mystic (*ʿārif*), without much specific reference to purely Indian conditions; and his *Dīwān* (Persian; lith. Dihlī 1306) is the earliest known poetical work of a Čishtī mystic, which in addition to its mystical content is valuable for the light which it throws on contemporary religious and political thought and institutions, the popular beliefs, customs and practices, and the attitudes of the mystics to all these, of the early 7th/13th century in north India. A manuscript copy of the *dīwān*, no. 360 in the Bibliotheca Nova of the library of the University of Uppsala, is described by K. V. Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala verzeichnet und beschrieben*, in *MO*, xxii (1928), 298-302, 428; *ibid.*, xxix (1935), 150 ff., where a short extract from the *Mulhamāt* is also given, 152 ff. The table of contents of the *Dīwān*, with translations of some verses, is given by Zetterstéen in *Selections from the divan of Jamāluddīn Aḥmad Hānsawī*, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i (1948), 165-82.

Bibliography: Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā'*, Dihlī 1302, especially 178 ff., which also contains a notice of the two sons of Djamāl al-Dīn: the younger, Burhān al-Dīn, was also admitted as a disciple of Farīd al-Dīn; Muḥammad Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī, *Gulzār-i abrār*, MS A.S.B. Calcutta, 17^{r-v}; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1309, 67 ff.; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira ʿulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow 1914, 42; many references *passim* in the hagiographical literature, for which see Bibliography to čishtiyya. See also K. A. Nizami, *The life and times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1955, index; idem, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1961, index. On the *Mulhamāt* cf. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allāhābād 1946, 85 f. (J. Burton-Page)

HĀNSĪ, a town of the Indian Pandjāb, situated 29°7′ N., 76° o′ E., in the Hariyānā [*q.v.*] region of which it was the old capital until supplanted by Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*] in 757/1356. It is known from inscriptions that it was occupied by the Tomārs and Čawhāns before the Muslim conquest, and was perhaps occupied from Kushāṇa times, 1st or 2nd century A.D.: certainly the old fort, to the north-east of the present town, is an extensive *tell* representing an accumulation of many cultural layers. Hānsī was already a major stronghold when Masʿūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, stormed this "virgin fortress" in the winter of 429/1037-8 (Abu 'l Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Ta'rīkh-i Masʿūdī*, Tehrān 1324/1945, 533-4; Eng.

tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* . . ., ii, 140), capturing it at his second attempt. From that time Hānsī became an important forward position in the Ghaznawids' Indian province, and we read of Masʿūd's second son, Madjdūd, who had been appointed governor of that province, spending the winter of 433/1041-2 at Hānsī waiting his chance to launch an attack on Dihlī. Two years later, however, the Dihlī rādjā Mahīpāl recaptured Hānsī, and it was strengthened by him and subsequent builders. Towards the end of the next century it was enlarged and further strengthened by Prithwī Rādj as a bulwark against the Ghūrī forces; but, after the defeat of the Hindū forces at Tarāwarī by Muḥammad b. Sām, Hānsī also surrendered (588/1192). At the end of that year a Čawhān army invaded Hariyānā, compelling the Muslim governor Nuṣrat al-Dīn to take refuge in the fort; but they were overcome by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak (details incorrect in Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge history of India*, iii, 41, cf. Hoḍīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1939, 179-80). Within a few months Aybak had taken Dihlī, and made it the headquarters of Muslim power in India; the Muslim hold on Hānsī thereafter remained secure.

Hānsī frequently figures in the chronicles of the Dihlī sultanate both as an important stronghold (for its strategic importance see HARIYĀNĀ, of which it was the principal town) and as an *iḳṭāʿ* of numerous officials: doubtless a convenient one for the sultan to have at his disposal, for it was far enough from Dihlī to make appointment—or banishment—to it a reality, but it was sufficiently close to the power of arms at the capital to prevent a rebel from easily asserting his independence. For example, it was the *iḳṭāʿ* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE] in about 640/1242, to which he was banished in 650/1252-3 after the conspiracy against him; when he had gathered some local support there he was sent further, to Nāgawr, and Hānsī was nominally given to an infant son of the king but in practice was occupied by one of Balban's opponents (Minhādj-i Sirādj Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Bibl. Ind. 202; Eng. tr. Raverty, ii, 140); other princes had held this *iḳṭāʿ* previously, for example Abu 'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd, the son of Iletmish, who died in 626/1229, held Hānsī before 623/1226 (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 180) and there built the *ʿīdgāh* (no date; inscription in J. Horovitz, in *EIM*, 1911-12, 28 and plate XIX/1, 2). The prestige of Hānsī declined after the foundation of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza by Fīrūzu Shāh Tughluḳ in 757/1356, which took over the function of headquarters of a *shiḳḳ*; in the previous reign, however, Hānsī had been described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as "an exceedingly fine, well-built and populous city". It certainly remained in operation as a stronghold for some time, for in 923/1517 Ibrāhīm Lodī confined his brothers there to keep his kingdom secure while he was faced with a rebellion at Djawnpur.

Hānsī itself is little mentioned during Mughal times; it appears in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* merely as a *maḥall* in the *sarkār* of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza in the *ṣūba* of Dihlī. For its general history under the Mughals and their successors see HARIYĀNĀ, and for the period in which Hānsī became the headquarters of the English adventurer George Thomas see also MARĀTHĀS. Thomas is said to have re-fortified Hānsī; certainly a military fort was established there by the British in 1803, and one Mīrzā Ilyās Beg was appointed *nāẓim* of Hariyānā by General Ochterlony; but the country remained subject to constant raids and was for long in disorder until the British established direct rule over the region in 1818.

Monuments.—The old fort has already been mentioned; it was dismantled after the mutiny of 1857, but gateways and lengths of bastioned wall remain. The *dargāh* of Sayyid Shāh Niʿmat Allāh, who accompanied Muḥammad b. Sām in 588/1192 and was killed at the conquest of Hānsī, stands in the fort; Hindū materials were freely used in its construction, and if the date 588 in the inscription of the attached mosque is correct it must be the oldest mosque in India (some doubt; cf. Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 19). On the west of the town stand the mosque and tomb of the "four Ḳuṭbs", Ḳuṭb Djamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī [see HĀNSAWĪ] and his three successors; the shrine itself was not built until 903/1496, but in a mosque in the enclosure is a tombstone with an Arabic inscription of 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 622/4 November 1225, the oldest dated tombstone in India; another mosque nearby bears the date Muḥarram 877/June 1472; and in the same enclosure is the tomb of ʿAlī Mīr Tudjdjār (*sic*; the word is used as a singular in Urdū), a disciple of Ḳuṭb Djamāl al-Dīn. This is the finest building in Hānsī, a square domed mausoleum with glazed tiles in inlaid patterns in the spandrels of the openings and filling the small blind arches above the level of the doors; it appears to date from the 9th/15th century, although the local tradition assigns it to the 7th/13th. Also to the west of the town is the *ʿīdgāh* already referred to. Further still is a mound, with a small mosque, called the Shahīd Gandj, traditionally supposed to be where 150,000 Muslims were slain, presumably in Masʿūd's first unsuccessful attempt on Hānsī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the bibliography to HARIYĀNĀ; general account in *Punjab District Gazetteers, ii a, Hissar District, Part A*, Lahore 1916. For the monuments: H. B. W. Garrick, *Report of a tour in the Panjab* . . ., in *ASI*, xxiii, Calcutta 1887, 13-9 and Plates V-VII; the monuments are cursorily described in this volume, and their serious study is now an urgent necessity. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

HĀNSWĪ [see HĀNSAWĪ].

ḤĀNYA [see IḲRĪTISH].

ḤANẒALA B. **ABĪ ʿĀMIR** [see GHASĪL AL-MALĀʾIKA].

BANŪ **ḤANẒALA** B. **MĀLIK**, a branch of the tribe of Tamīm [*q.v.*], of the group of Maʿādd, descended from Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. The chief subdivisions were Dārim (from which came the poet al-Farazdaḳ), Yarbūʿ (to which Djarīr belonged) and the Barādjim (five families descended from Mālik b. Ḥanẓala). They inhabited the Yamāma between the hills Djurād and Marrūt, near *ḥimā* Ḍariyya [*q.v.*]. Among their villages were al-Ṣammān (with wells, cisterns and irrigation) and al-Raḳmatān; but they were mainly nomadic.

In history they appear at the first "day of Kulāb" (probably before 550 A.D.) as supporters of Shuraḥbīl, prince of Kinda, there defeated and killed by his brother Salama. Towards 570 Zurāra b. ʿUdas, chief of Dārim, was in good relations with the king of Ḥīra, but the death of the latter's brother while among Dārim led to a raid (second "day of Uwāra") as a result of which 100 captives of Ḥanẓala were burnt alive by the king. Another important battle was on "the day of Rahrahān", a few years later, when B. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*], annoyed because Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra had given hospitality to the killer of their chief, attacked a caravan of Ḥanẓala and made some prisoners and took booty. An attempt by Laḳīṭ to revenge this defeat led to the more disastrous defeat

at Shiʿb Djabala. Ḥanẓala were part of the forces of Tamīm on the second "day of Kulāb", when they successfully repulsed an attack. Among the first of the tribe to become a Muslim was al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*] of Dārim. It was among Tamīm that the prophetess Sadjāḥ appeared in the "wars of the *ridda*"; among those supporting her was Mālik b. Nuwayra (Yarbūʿ), who was put to death by Khālid b. al-Walīd. To Ḥanẓala belonged Asmāʾ bint Mukharriba, mother of Abū Djahl [*q.v.*]. After the conquests many of the tribe settled in Baṣra and elsewhere in ʿIrāḳ, and to them the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] and Sayābiga [*q.v.*] became clients (Pellat, *Milieu Baṣrien*, 37, 41). Some Khāridjī leaders came from Ḥanẓala, notably ʿUrwa b. Udayya who led the opposition to ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn and was executed in Baṣra about 58/678; also his brother, Abū Bilāl Mirdās (killed 61/681).

Bibliography: Caussin de Perceval, *Les arabes avant l'Islamisme*, index; *Mufuḍḍaliyyāt* (ed. Lyall), 122 f., 428-36; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, index; Ṭabarī, index, s.v. ʿUrwa b. Udayya, etc.; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 137-41, 372-4. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤANẒALA B. ṢAFWĀN, one of the people of the Interval (*fatra* [*q.v.*]), regarded as a prophet sent to the Aṣḥāb al-Rass [*q.v.*], who maltreated and killed him before being destroyed themselves. The formation of the legend apparently began in the 3rd/9th century (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, index) but Ibn Ḳutayba does not mention Ḥanẓala among the prophets of the *fatra*, and al-Masʿūdī, in the *Murūdj* (i, 125, iii, 105), devotes only a few lines to him. Later on, the necessity felt by the exegetists to explain the Ḳurʾānic expression Aṣḥāb al-Rass (XXV, 40/38, L, 12) brought about a widespread development of the legend, which finally attributed to Ḥanẓala the role played by Khālid b. Sinān [*q.v.*] in the removal or destruction of the fabulous bird called *ʿanḳāʾ* [*q.v.*], which was ravaging the Aṣḥāb al-Rass (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 367). Furthermore, the verse (XXII, 44/45): "how many stone-built wells, how many powerful palaces [are abandoned]!" inspires a commentary in which Ḥanẓala appears and, once more, the Aṣḥāb al-Rass. The latter, near ʿAdan, had a well which supplied them with abundant water and a king who governed them with justice and assured their happiness; when the king died, his people embalmed him in order to preserve his image and, urged by Satan who had entered the king's dead body and had proclaimed that he was not dead, began to worship this idol, which Satan had ordered to be concealed by a veil. However, God sent to this people the prophet Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān al-ʿAbsī (who received his inspiration only while sleeping) to reveal to them Satan's deceit and to turn them from their worship of him, but the Aṣḥāb al-Rass had no faith in his words, killed him, and cast him into the well. Divine retribution soon followed, the people were destroyed and their country was given over to *djinns* and wild beasts.

Bibliography: besides the references in the text: Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1292, 129-33; Damīrī, s.v. *ʿanḳāʾ*; Maḳdisī, *Création*, iii, 134 in the text, 138 in the translation; R. Basset, *1001 Contes, etc.*, iii, 86-8, who reproduces a passage from Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāya*, ii) after Hammer, *Les origines russes*, St.-Petersburg 1852, 15-16, 87, and accompanies it with a comparative study of the legend of the demon who assumes the features of one deceased. (CH. PELLAT)

ḤANẒALA B. ṢAFWĀN b. ZUHAYR AL-KALBĪ, general and governor of the Umayyads who, in Shawwāl 102/April 721, was appointed by the caliph Yazīd II governor of Egypt in place of his brother Bishr b. Ṣafwān, who had been sent to Ifrīḳiya. During his three years in Egypt (Shawwāl 102—Shawwāl 105/April 721—March 724) he had statues destroyed and paintings effaced, on the orders of Yazīd. Hishām, after removing him from office, was obliged to send him back to Egypt (7 Shaʿbān 118/20 August 736), as the incompetence of his successor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, was causing this province to be in danger of recapture by the Byzantines. He had been governing it for five years and eight months when Arab rule in the Maghrib was seriously threatened by the revolt of the Khāridjī Berbers, who completely destroyed an Arab army on the banks of the Subū and killed Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, the governor of Ifrīḳiya (123/740-1). Ḥanẓala, on Hishām's orders, arrived in Ṣafar 124/December 741-January 742, in time to repel the Berbers who had invaded Ifrīḳiya and were threatening Ḳayrawān. After establishing his headquarters in the capital, Ḥanẓala made a sortie and defeated successively ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Yazīd al-Hawwārī, at al-Aṣnām (Djalūlā?), and ʿUkkāsha b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī, at al-Ḳarn (the chronological order of these two victories varies according to the sources); ʿUkkāsha was then arrested and put to death (Djumādā II 124/April-May 742).

The disturbances which resulted in the fall of the Umayyads had their repercussions in the Maghrib. A usurper, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī, who was descended from ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, returned from Spain, raised a revolt at Tunis, and called on Ḥanẓala to hand over Ḳayrawān to him; because of religious scruples, the latter offered no resistance and left the capital (Djumādā I 127/February 745) to return to the East.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index (ed. with Fr. tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1942, 1947, index); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 305-6; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 382; Ṭabarī, ii, 1871; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, ed. Guest, London 1912, repr. Beirut 1959, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 277 ff., 312 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo 1312, v, 124, 147; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ed. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden 1848-51, i, 45-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. Desvergers, Paris 1841, 13-4 of the text, 38-41 of the translation; idem, *ʿIbar*, vi, 111 (tr. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 217-9, 362, 365); Nuwayrī, appendix to vol. i of the *Histoire des Berbères*, 362-5; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, Tunis 1286, 40; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, i, 273, 297-302, 322-3; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān*, i, Tunis 1963, 91; F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hishâm*, Alexandria 1935, index. (R. BASSET*)

ḤĀRA, "Quarter" or "ward' of a town [see MADĪNA, MAḤALLA].

ḤARĀFĪSH, ḤARĀFISHA [see ḤARFŪSH].

ḤARAKA WA-SUKŪN "motion and rest", a technical expression used, on the one hand, in philosophy and theology, and, on the other, in grammar.

I.—PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY

I.—The *Falāsifa* take the Greek theories for their base. Thus al-Kindī exactly reproduces Aristotle's thought when he writes, like him linking time and motion, that time is a duration that is counted by motion (*mudda taʿudduhā 'l-ḥaraka*; cf. *Phys.* IV, 219 b: ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως ... ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐστι τὸ ἀριθμούμενον, that is to say that time is the *counted*

number of motion). Furthermore, al-Kindī knows the famous formula: time is the number of motion; he identifies it with the preceding one (*Li-anna 'l-zamān innamā huwa ʿadad al-ḥaraka, aʿnī annahu mudda taʿudduhā 'l-ḥaraka*). There is no motion without body and time; these three realities are simultaneous in existence. Motion presupposes something moveable that is a body; if there is neither motion nor time there is nothing that goes from ... to (*fa-lā shayʾ min ... ilā*; cf. *Phys.* V. 224b I: ἔκ τινος εἴς τι), and thus there is no duration, and without duration there is no body, no means of being at all (*fa-lā ḥal al-battata*). Thus al-Kindī defines motion, in general, as "the fact that the manner of being of an essence is modified" (*tabaddul ḥāl al-dhāt*). This internal modification involves a close relationship between the motion of beings and their nature. "Nature is the principle (*ibtidāʾ*) of motion, and of rest after motion". Al-Kindī defines the efficient cause thus: "the principle of motion of a thing of which it is the cause". Nature is thus the way that leads to rest (*al-ṭarīḳ ila 'l-sukūn*), and rest coincides with the final state, the realization of actuality or the last fulfilment. It is here a question of natural motion, as Ibn Rushd states, when commenting on the definition of nature: ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ἡ πρώτη (*alladhī minhu 'l-ḥaraka al-ūlā*), in these words: "the name of nature is applied first to the substance (*djawhar*) that is the form (*ṣūra*) and is the principle of motion in things that are essentially and fundamentally natural" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 514-5).

As in Aristotle, *ḥaraka* is used of local motion (*ḥaraka makāniyya, ayniyya, naḳl*, φορά = change of position, *tabaddul makān*); of increase and decrease (*rubuwwiyya* and *iḍmiḥlāliyya*, or again *tabaddul makān*, but in so far as the limit of the motion is a coming towards, or a drawing away from, the centre of the being in question; Aristotle (*Phys.* IV, 213b 4) already thought that motion with respect to place could be either a change of position or an increase); of alteration (*ḥaraka istiḥāliyya, tabaddul kayfiyyāt*); and finally of generation and corruption (*al-kawn wa- 'l-fasād, tabaddul djawhar*). These different types of motion can be related to nature: "It is said of the motion of generation and of the motion of growth (*numū*) that they are a type of nature, for they are the way that leads to this nature, that is to say, form, and they are its principle. Form exists in them in an intermediate manner: it is, in motion, between pure potentiality and pure actuality, or again, it is partly potential and partly actual" (Ibn Rushd, *Tafsīr*, ii, 515). Averroes refers to another current definition: motion, in general, is a gradual transition of that which is potential to actuality (*khurūdj mā bi-'l-ḳuwwa ila 'l-fiʿl ʿalā tadrīdj*). Al-Djurdjānī states that "gradual" is added in order to exclude generation (*kawn*) from the definition of motion. *Kawn* here signifies, not generation in time, such as a gestation or a maturation that amount to alterations and changes of form and size, but creation, the act that causes a being to enter instantaneously upon existence. Such is the opinion of Ibn Sīnā; on the subject of the active cause considered metaphysically he writes: "Metaphysicians do not understand by *agent* simply the principle of setting in motion (*mabdaʾ al-taḥrīk*), as do physicists, but the principle that gives existence, as the Creator does to the world. As for the efficient physical cause, it causes to exist only the actual setting in motion, according to one of the types of motion; that is why, in the physical realities, that which gives existence is the principle of motion" (*Shifāʾ, al-Ilāhiyyāt*). This distinction is important; cf. Aristotle, *Phys.*, V., 225a 26: "It is impossible for the non-being to be moved. If this is so, generation (leaving non-being) is not a motion ..., nor is corruption (returning to non-being)". On this subject al-Tahānawī writes: "The Moderns have deviated from this definition, since the gradual process is the fact that a thing arrives at one time after another time. Consequently time enters into the definition of motion. Now, time is understood as being the measure (*miḳdār*) of motion, and this necessarily involves a vicious circle ... They say then that motion is the first fulfilment (*kamāl*) of that which exists potentially, in so far as it exists potentially (they thus reproduce Aristotle's expression, *Phys.* III, 201 a 11). The explanation is this: when, for example, a body is in one place and it can arrive at another place, it has two possibilities, that of arriving at the second place, and that of directing itself towards it (*tawadjdjuh*). Each time that it is possible for it to arrive there, it receives a (new) fulfilment in arriving. There is, then, perfection in both cases: orientation towards a second place and arrival at that place. But the orientation necessarily precedes the arrival; as long as the orientation exists actually, the arrival exists potentially. The orientation is, then, a first fulfilment for this body, which necessarily exists potentially with respect to its second fulfilment, that is to say, with respect to its arrival". This passage shows that in the definition of time as the "measure" of motion confusion is caused by forgetting that time is not a number that counts but a number that is counted. It is this confusion that causes a vicious circle. Besides, *tawadjdjuh* is not enough; it is potential motion, but not yet a real motion, the actuality of a potentiality. Al-Kindī's *tabaddul*, because of its root meaning and the shade of meaning of the *maṣdar* of the Vth form, more accurately renders the reality.

Precise details of the types of motion are given. Thus it is pointed out that quantitative (*min kam ilā kam ākhar*) motion affects both matter and form, and that rarefaction (*takhalkhul*) and condensation (*takāthuf*), growth (*numū*) and shrinking (*dhubūl*), becoming fat (*siman*) and becoming thin (*huzāl*) must be distinguished. Change of position is distinguished from movement on the spot (*waḍʿiyya*), in the motion of rotation (*ʿala 'l-istidāra*): "each part of the moveable object leaves each one of the parts of its position—in a case where there is a position—, but the whole remains attached to its position. We add "in a case where there is a position", in order to include in the definition of motion the encompassing Sphere (which, properly speaking, has no position)" (al-Tahānawī).

The theory of motion is linked, as it is for the Greeks, with the organization of the *cosmos*. The circular motion of the celestial spheres, the most perfect motion, is eternal because its limit coincides with its origin, and there exists no time outside it; time cannot preexist the motion of the encompassing Sphere. The motion of the spheres determines the various motions in the time of the beings of the sublunary world, in particular that of the elements upwards (*al-ḥaraka al-ṣāʿida*) or downwards (*al-hābiṭa*). The composition of the elements is thus considered as motion: a change in the manner of being of that which is not compound (*al-tarkīb ḥaraka, wa-in lam yakun ḥaraka lam yakun tarkīb*) (al-Kindī).

A distinction is also drawn between essential (*dhātiyya*) motion, which moves a body without the intervention of the motion of another, and accidental

(*ʿaraḍiyya*) motion, like that of a man who is on a ship under way; and between natural motion and forced motion (βία, *al-ḥaraka al-ḳasriyya*), in which the motive force (*al-ḳuwwa al-muḥarrika*) is external to the object moved (*al-mutaḥarrik*); this applies to artificial motions. A being can receive the principle of its motion from another being (*min ghayrihi*: God, Nature), but have it in itself and move with a natural motion. Forced motion occurs when its principle remains external to the body: "When the principle of motion in a body comes from outside (*min khāridj, min ghayrihi*) . . ., that which results from this motion is an artificial (*ṣināʿī*) product of the same type as the art" (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, 282). Motion is simple or compound. Simple (*bāsiṭa*) motion is voluntary (*bi-'l-irāda*)—that of the stars, or involuntary—that of physical nature, that is to say, of the elements. Compound (*murakkaba*) motion stems from animal (*al-ḳuwwa al-ḥayawāniyya*) or non-animal force. In the latter case, we have vegetative (*nabātiyya*) motion; in the former, voluntary animal (*irādiyya ḥayawāniyya*) motion, if it is accompanied by conscience (*maʿa shuʿūr*), or imposed (*taskhīriyya*) motion, without conscience, such as the motion of the pulse. "Voluntary motion has a proximate principle, a more distant principle and a most distant principle. The proximate principle is the motive force that is in the muscles of the organs; then comes the consent which gives the faculty of desiring (*al-ḳuwwa al-shawḳiyya*). The most distant is the imagination (*takhayyul*) and the reflexion (*tafakkur*). When a form is sketched in the imagination or the reflexion, the faculty of desiring mobilizes itself to consent to it, and the motive force that is in the limbs puts itself at its service" (*Shifāʾ*, *ibid.*, 284).

As for speed, rapid (*sarīʿa*) motion and slow (*baṭīʾa*) motion are distinguished. "Rapid motion is that which covers a distance equal to another in a time shorter than that in which the other distance is covered; if one assumes the equality of the two motions with respect to the distance covered, the time of the rapid motion is less; if one assumes this equality with respect to the time, the distance covered by the rapid motion is greater" (al-Tahānawī). The cause of speed or slowness is in the hindrance offered by the medium traversed: for example, the resistance of water or air, if it is a question of a natural motion. If it is a question of a forced or a voluntary motion, they are the slower as the body displaced is greater (*akbar*). The initial force is taken into consideration only in the case of unnatural motions, such as the force with which an arrow is shot.

Rest is presented at the limit of motion as a second fulfilment, following the pattern of the immutability proper to that which is perfect. There is also a type of rest closer to the inertia of matter, from which motion is unleashed. This idea is in Ibn Rushd: every agent that acts "goes back to a cause which is the principle of a change (*taghyīr*) following a state of stability (*thabāt*) and rest (*sukūn*); this is what is called motion" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 491). The commentator does not exactly follow Aristotle, who makes of the agent a principle of both change and stopping (*Metaphys.* 1013 a 29 and 1013 b 24). The idea of a rest before motion is clearly expressed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ. The body is not moveable because of its corporeity (*djismiyya*), even though the Spheres exist only with their motion. The mover of the body is another substance, the soul (i, 228). The act of the universal soul is to impart to them their revolutions (*idārāt*), and to this end to keep at rest (*taskīn*) the individual centre of each of them. The soul is alive by itself. Thus motion is life. In certain bodies it is essential, as in fire; when its motion ceases and it is at rest, it is extinguished. Elsewhere it is accidental, as in water, air and earth, which continue to exist if their motion stops. Motion is a form which the soul puts into the body *after* having given it its shape (*shakl*). Rest is the absence (*ʿadam*) of this form; it is better suited (*awlā*) to the body than motion, since the body has dimensions and cannot be moved in all these directions at once. Its motion in one of these directions suits it no better than motion in another. In itself motion is a spiritual form which penetrates all parts of the body and withdraws from them instantaneously; in the same way light penetrates a translucent body in one instant. But once the motion of the body has penetrated it completely in one instant, it spreads little by little after the fashion of heat.

2.—*Kalām.*—The speculation of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ is akin to that of the *Mutakallimūn* in the questions that it raises. For theologians motion is a proof of the existence of God (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 22). They take *ḥaraka* only in the sense of local motion, the sense of the lexicographers. They define it as the integration of two arrivals (*madjmūʿ al-ḥuṣūlayn*), when a body arrives at a place after having arrived at another. But this is not simple succession, in which one takes each isolated point in the trajectory, one after the other; motion would then be a succession of rests. In reality it is "the double act of being in two different places at two different instants" (*kawnāni fī ānayni fī makānayni*). The force of these duals is important here; it consists not in enumerating two things, but in encompassing two separate terms in the unity that binds them together, that is to say, in their continuity. Most interesting too is this other problem: the point of departure at which the body is at rest and from which it is set in motion partakes at the same time of rest and motion; but then we cannot clearly distinguish between motion and rest; the object at rest, at the time when it is at rest, begins to tend (*shāriʿ*) towards motion. These speculations border on what we call dynamics, continuity and integration of motion. Unfortunately the solution offered is purely verbal and is expressed by rhetorical juggling which cannot be translated: *al-ḥaraka kawn awwal fī makān thānī, wa-'l-sukūn kawn thānī fī makān awwal*, that is to say that motion consists in being in a second place from the first time onwards, and that rest consists in being in the first place of origin at a second time. Be that as it may, this rhetorical form meets as best it can the demands of the dialectic of motion (cf. al-Tahānawī).

Another problem: at the first moment of its creation in becoming (*ḥudūth*), a being is neither in motion nor at rest. The Ashʿarīs think that beings and accidents are renewed at each instant; this leads to the atomicity of time and motion (cf. al-Bāḳillānī). The Muʿtazilīs all admit that rest lasts, that it has duration and is not ceaselessly renewed by an act of immobilization; but they diverge on the question of knowing if the same is true of motion, a question which relates to our modern principle of inertia. If motion has no duration as such, it is a succession of rests, when one believes with Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī that the creation of a substance localizes it, sets it in a determined place in a state of rest. But how can one conceive of a being's being in a place without having arrived there? Creation would then be a motion that culminated in the localization of the being created, except that this motion would be preceded by no localization either in the same place

or in another. But this restriction (*ḥaṣr*), which consists in speaking of a motion or a rest divorced from that which fundamentally defines them, the relation of anteriority and posteriority, leads to denying both motion and rest. Thus Abu 'l-Hudhayl postulates, for the first moment when creatures come into being, a situation intermediate (*wāsiṭa*) between motion and rest. It is from similar problems that Leibnitz's metaphysics sprang, in the West, as the foundation of modern dynamics.

3.—*Ḳur'ān and Tafsīr*.—The Ḳur'ān exhibits no uses of *ḥaraka* and *sukūn* that lend themselves to a commentary on the physical reality of motion and rest. The ingenuity of the commentators makes up for this. Thus Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, on XL, 61 ("God has made for you the night that you may rest in it"), writes: "Motions produce fatigue, because they necessarily develop heat and dryness which give rise to a distressing irritation". Furthermore, the great number of motions disperses the animal spirits which participate in sensation, and the acuity of the senses is blunted; from this comes sleep. Everything serves al-Rāzī as an excuse for giving scientific accounts of the motions of the heavens and the beings of this world: the fastening down of the earth by the mountains, the *tasbīḥ* of the stars, the separation of heaven and earth when they emerged from chaos, and in particular the verses in which occurs the verb *sakhkhara*, signifying that God imposes on such and such a being a function to fulfil in creation. Al-Kindī does the same in a *risāla*, in which, while dealing with the prostration of creatures, in connexion with Sūra LV, 6, he makes a study of celestial motions.

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

ii. — GRAMMAR

A kind of primary datum of experience reveals to the Arab grammarian the existence of the *ḥarf* [*q.v.*] in one of the two states *mutaḥarrik* and *sākin*. When *mutaḥarrik*, the *ḥarf* is followed by one of the three *ḥarakas*; when *sākin*, the *ḥarf* is not followed by a *ḥaraka*; this is *sukūn*, "rest, quiescence". This division *mutaḥarrik-sākin* admits of no exceptions; for this reason *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'* had to be subjected to it, with the following result: *mutaḥarrika* [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀ', production of the *ḥurūf*]; *sākina* (and even *sākina* by nature), *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'* are *al-ḥurūf al-mu'talla* "the weak", the *ḥurūf al-madd*. These *ḥurūf al-madd* signify the utterance of a vocalic element, with the tone *a* for *alif*, the tone *u* for *wāw* and the tone *i* for *yā'*. But in this utterance what is considered is not at all the *quantitative* prolongation but a *quality* of the latter, its continuum.

The *ḥarakas* are not *ḥurūf*, and therefore cannot be affected by the production of the *ḥurūf*, as set out in the article cited above. They are thought functions of the *ḥurūf al-madd*; as Ibn Djinnī explains, "the *ḥarakāt* are a part of the *ḥurūf al-madd wa 'l-līn*, which are *al-alif*, *al-yā'*, *al-wāw*, and just as these *ḥurūf* are three in number, so there are three *ḥarakāt*: the *fatḥa*, the *kasra*, the *ḍamma*. The *fatḥa* is a part of the *alif*, the *kasra* is a part of the *yā'*, the *ḍamma* is a part of the *wāw*" (*Sirr al-ṣinā'a* i, 19, lines 8-11). But which part? Their beginning' their first part; *al-ḥarakāt awā'il li-ḥurūf al-madd* (*ibid.*, 20, line 14, 27, line 1, 35, line 3). The proof of this is that if a *ḥaraka* is increased by *ishbā'* it acquires a *madda*, of the same nature as itself, and achieves the dimensions of a complete *ḥarf*, the corresponding *ḥarf al-madd*, so that the *alif* is a *fatḥa mushba'a*, etc. (*ibid.*, 27, lines 1-2). Thus, in view of the relation of the *ḥaraka* to the *ḥarf al-madd*, Ibn Djinnī (19, lines 11-3) considers "little *ḥarf*" as a suitable appellation of the *ḥaraka*; *al-fatḥa* is *al-alif al-ṣaghīra*, etc.

The *ḥarakas* are deficient by their nature: as regards their content, as we have just seen, they are part of another,as regards their existence they cannot maintain themselves by themselves, but need the support of a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ* or one acting as if it were *ṣaḥīḥ*; and their place on this support, *fi 'l-martaba* "according to rank" (that is, in accordance with the natural order), is "after the *ḥarf*" (*ibid.*, 32-7). But the latter also needs the *ḥaraka* in order to exist. When there is a *ḥaraka* after the *ḥarf*, it is a *ḥarf mutaḥarrik*, it *possesses* its *ḥaraka*; in *iskān* the *ḥarf* is *bereft* of its natural appurtenance. It can manage without this if it can rely on the *ḥaraka* of a preceding *ḥarf mutaḥarrik*. But, without a *ḥaraka* either after or before it (which would be the case of the first consonant in an initial group), *iskān*, for the Arab grammarians, is inconceivable in the Arabic language. Thus there is a necessary association between *ḥarf* and *ḥaraka*. Thus the *ḥarf* continues to be conceived within syllabism. This may be called "implicit syllabism" (as in the case of the Canaanite alphabet), in contrast to the "explicit syllabism" of Akkadian cuneiform and the Ethiopic script.

The dipththong exists in Arabic: *aw* and *ay* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 7), but it has no name in Arabic grammatical nomenclature, extensive though this is. Nowhere else is it discussed. Now in Arab phonetical theory it comes in here quite naturally, as Ibn Djinnī shows (*ibid.*, 21-30), that is, in the manner in which the *ḥurūf sākina*, *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'*, may come after a *ḥaraka*. Every *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*, whether *mutaḥarrik* or *sākin* (including *wāw mutaḥarrika* and *yā' mutaḥarrika*), can come after any *ḥaraka*. But it is not so with these three *ḥurūf sākina*. There are impossible cases: these are *alif* after *kasra* or *ḍamma*, that is *ia*, *ua*. There are cases of difficulty or repugnance which demand a corrective; these are *wāw* after *kasra* or *yā'* after *ḍamma*, that is *iu*, *ui*; in the first case the *wāw* is made by *ḳalb* into *yā'*, and in the second, the *ya* is made by *ḳalb* into *wāw*,that is, *iu* > *ī*, as in *mīzān*, and *ui* > *ū*, as in *mūḳin*. But *wāw* or *yā'* after *fatḥa* presents no difficulty for the language. This is the case of the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, which ought to have deserved special attention, but, from the Arab viewpoint, it was simply that *wāw* and *yā'* came after *fatḥa* and remained unchanged—though this was in contradiction with the theory of the *ḥaraka* as a part of the *ḥarf al-madd*, its *awā'il*, which announces and requires its completion, and Ibn Djinnī's efforts were directed to demonstrating that this theory held good. Some authors reserved the name of *ḥarf al-līn* for the *ḥarf al-madd* in this position; but this has remained a special usage.

The name *ḥaraka* cannot be disassociated from its sub-divisions, *fatḥa*, *kasra*, *ḍamma*. These latter terms are purely Arabic, and have some relation to the physiology of the mouth during the emission of the sounds to which they refer, notwithstanding the legendary part in their creation attributed to Abu

'l-Aswad al-Du'alī (al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, 16, lines 8-10). As regards the term *ḥaraka* "movement", *i.e.*, the movement of the articulatory organs, obtained through a certain connected sound to which the term was transferred, a very simple observation might have led to the idea; and this would naturally lead to its opposite *sukūn*, "rest, quiescence". In our view, all these terms, *ḥaraka*, *sukūn*, *fatḥa*, *kasra*, *ḍamma*, represent an Arab creation, expressing one of the first insights of the Arabs as they pondered over their language. Thus they soon spread in the grammatical science of the Arabs and there is no need to seek the origin of the concept of *ḥaraka* in the philosophy and the musical science of the Greeks, as M. Bravmann seeks to do (*Materialien*, 12).

The signs representing the *ḥaraka*s and the *sukūn* belong to the supplementary elements added to the Ḳur'ānic script without affecting the ductus of the word, and constitute what is known as the *scriptio plena* (R. Blachère, *Introduction*[2], 79, 92-102). To denote the *ḥaraka*s a dot was used at first, above the *ḥarf* for *fatḥa*, below for *kasra*, and in the middle to the left for *ḍamma*, with two points in the case of *tanwīn*, not in black like the ductus of the word, but coloured, usually red, in order to distinguish them and to change nothing of the true body of the word (al-Dānī, *K. al-Nuḳaṭ*, 134, line 1). R. Blachère (*ibid.*, 95-6) describes this insertion of vowel-points, in which at first only the vowels of *iʿrāb* were indicated, the vowels of inflexion, which were especially important since they determined the function of the word in the sentence. He says nothing about *sukūn*. As al-Dānī reports (*ibid.*, 137, lines 5-7) it was first marked by a little red horizontal line (*djarra*) above the *ḥarf*. Other signs were subsequently employed before the current little circle came into use (see Wright, *Ar.Gr.*[3], i, 13C).

A particular case of *sukūn* is the *djazm*, quiescence of the final *ḥarf* of the *muḍāriʿ*, which is then *al-madjzūm*, the apocopated.

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HARAM (plur. *ahrām*, *ahrāmāt*, and in the popular dialect of Egypt, *ihrām*, the latter also used as a singular), a word of doubtful origin = pyramid. In Muslim literature, although the pyramids of Saḳḳāra (*al-haram, al-mudarradj*) as well as those of Abūṣīr, Dahshūr, Maydūm, etc., are well known, the *ahrām* are pre-eminently the pyramids of Cheops and Chephren, or sometimes also of Mycerinos, west of Djīza (Giza). They have been mentioned and described times without number by the geographers, but as a rule their accounts have little value as original documents. The most important sources are collected in al-Maḳrīzī's chapter on pyramids. In these we find it repeatedly stated that the ʿAbbāsid al-Ma'mūn was the first to try to have the Great Pyramid opened, which was done only after incredible trouble. But in spite of the detailed accounts on this point, it is improbable for reasons already set forth by De Sacy that this Caliph could have undertaken this task himself, especially when we remember how brief his stay in Egypt was. We also know that the pyramids had already been broken into in ancient times. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that it was about that time that further progress into the interior of the Pyramid of Cheops was made for the first time in the Muslim period and that the tomb-chamber, of which we have numerous more or less clear accounts, was gradually reached. The belief generally current that rich treasures were concealed there was no doubt a stimulus to this work. In later times we learn of an unsuccessful attempt by al-Malik al-ʿAzīz to destroy the Little Pyramid (593/1196-7). Ḳarāḳūsh had previously by Saladin's orders removed a series of the smaller pyramids of Djīza to use the stone to build walls and bridges at Djīza (cf. also *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 151). Furthermore, in all the stories about these colossal erections, whose original significance was the object of the most fantastic speculations, the kernel of fact is enveloped in fairy-tales such as are associated with no other ancient monuments in Egypt. Some of them even go back to Herodotus, like the story of the woman, the spirit of the pyramid of Mycerinos, who destroys the reason of any one approaching it by her beauty and her smile; this is apparently a survival of the story of Rhodopis, the traditional builder of this pyramid (Wiedemann, 485 ff.). Herodotus likewise already mentions subterranean canals connecting the Nile and the pyramids (*ibid.*, 466). In other cases, as Maspero has shown, distinct recollections of Old Egyptian ideas have survived; for example, in the description of the guardians of the western and eastern pyramids, there is reflected the impression made on later ages by the monuments of the period of the Pharaohs. But it is legends from the sphere of Coptic-gnostic ideas that have become most strongly associated with these buildings. The two great pyramids there became the tombs of the prophets Hermes and Agathodaemon, and with this was combined the tradition that they were built to conceal treasures and prevent the wisdom of the first generations of mankind from being destroyed by the inundation of the deluge prophesied by the astrologers. Another tradition is that which is associated with the legendary figure of Shaddād b. ʿĀd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The main Arabic sources as well as modern literature are quoted in E. Graefe, *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Maḳrīzī's Ḫiṭaṭ*, 1911 (cf. the new edition by G. Wiet), and in G. Wiet's introduction to his new edition of Vattier, *L'Égypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe*, 1953, 80 f.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 80 f. (tr. Gibb, i, 1958, 51-2); J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, 61 f.; M. Plessner, in *Stud. Isl.*, ii (1954), 45-60; De Sacy, *Observations sur l'origine du nom donné par les Grecs et les Arabes aux Pyramides d'Aegypte*, in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 1801, vi, 456-503; Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch, passim*; Ebers, *Ägyptische Studien*, 153 f., where further literature is given; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, 1 (1847), 654; Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des Merveilles* (= Ps.-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, 1938), and Maspéro's researches on it in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, 99 f., 154 f.; cf. the latter's *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, i; Berthelot, *Les merveilles de l'Égypte et les savants Alexandrins*, *ibid.*, 242 f., 271 f.; von Bissing, *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*; Baedeker's *Egypt*.

(E. GRAEFE-[M. PLESSNER])

ḤARĀM [see SHARĪʿA].

AL-ḤARAM AL-SHARĪF, "the Noble Sanctuary",

after Mecca and Medina the acknowledged third holiest Muslim sanctuary, is located in the south-eastern part of the present Old (*i.e.*, walled) City of Jerusalem. An understanding of the history and significance of the Ḥaram has been complicated by two factors: first, the contrast between an extreme paucity of early sources (written or archaeological) and a systematized explanation of the Ḥaram's significance in the *faḍāʾil* or holy guidebooks of the late Mamlūk period; and, second, the lack of any complete archaeological survey of the area (with the single exception of *al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* [*q.v.*]) coupled with centuries of reconstructions and repairs which have often obliterated the original character and purpose of many buildings. In addition, as we shall try to show, the very concept of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf developed slowly over the centuries, as the character of the city of Jerusalem changed. Because of these limitations, a full account of the history and of the problems of the Ḥaram as a whole can best be given in connexion with the development of the whole city (al-Ḳuds [*q.v.*]). We limit ourselves here to a brief description of its more salient features and to a definition of the problems which are peculiar to it alone.

As it is visible to-day the Ḥaram is a large trapezoidal platform (southern end: 281 metres; northern end: 310 metres; eastern end: 462 metres; western end: 491 metres), whose eastern border and parts of the southern one coincide with the walls of the present city. Its size remained constant throughout the Muslim Middle Ages, since an inscription to that effect (Max van Berchem, no. 163, with important commentaries) still exists and was seen as early as the 4th/10th century. This platform is totally artificial; its northern side was cut out of the natural rock, while its southern end was raised over rocks and valleys, including, in the southeastern corner, the Tyropaeon valley, now 28.50 metres below the surface. The underground parts of the Ḥaram include 37 cisterns and, at the southern end, a vast complex known as Solomon's Stables consisting of vaults on thick piers and the so-called Double Gate just under the Aḳṣā mosque. Although much repaired and restored by the Romans, throughout the Middle Ages, and in the modern period, this platform can be assumed to have been a Herodian creation for the Jewish Temple. While this seems clear for the size of the platform, it is less so for its present level above the ground. The ruined state of the Temple area at the time of the Muslim conquest is attested by the more or less legendary accounts of ʿUmar's visit, by Christian sources, and by the character of the outer masonry of the walls. It would follow that the existing pavements and in general the surface planning of the Ḥaram were for the most part Muslim creations.

The Ḥaram is to-day surrounded with walls on its southern and eastern ends. These are Ayyūbid, Mamlūk, and Ottoman. From the evidence of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and of Eutychius it appears that sizeable walls were erected in Fāṭimid times. Earlier walls existed, as we know from inscriptions and from al-Muḳaddasī, but they do not seem to have been as spectacular. Walls existed also on the western side, but the growth of the city over the Tyropaeon valley after the Crusades has all but obliterated their traces (one exception being the Herodian Wailing Wall) and replaced them with façades of various religious and secular buildings.

A series of gates led from the Ḥaram to the outside. To-day there are 15 of them: East: Golden Gate (now blocked); South: Single, Double, and Triple Gates; West: *bāb* al-Mughāriba (on top of an older gate known as *bāb* al-Nabī), *bāb* al-Silsila, *bāb* al-Mutawaḍḍā, *bāb* al-Ḳaṭṭānīn, *bāb* al-Ḥadīd, *bāb* al-Nāẓir, *bāb* al-Sarāy, *bāb* al-Ghawānima; North: *bāb* al-ʿAṭm, *bāb* Ḥiṭṭa, *bāb* Asbāṭ. With the exception of *bāb* al-Sarāy, this list is already found in Mudjīr al-Dīn in the 9th/15th century and can be assumed to represent the last stage of major developments on the Ḥaram, *i.e.*, the Mamlūk period. For earlier times, especially before the Crusades, the question of the gates is far more complex and has been the subject of numerous controversies (summary and bibliography in O. Grabar, *A new inscription from the Ḥaram*, in *Studies . . . in honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell*, London 1965). All problems concerning the gates have not yet been solved but the following points can be justified. First, from the Mamlūk period onwards, only northern and western gates were open, but in Fāṭimid times southern ones were still used and both these and the Golden Gate to the East were built in their present shape in Umayyad times, although based on Herodian plans. Second, as the character and shape of the city changed, emphases on more or less significant gates shifted as well, but certain names of gates (Ḥiṭṭa, Nabī, Asbāṭ, etc.) had acquired a permanent religious value and shifted from one place to the other. Third, while all early gates were entrances *to* the Ḥaram, some of the later ones (*bāb* al-Ḳaṭṭānīn, for instance) were entrances *from* the Ḥaram to institutions which bordered it.

Approximately in its centre the Ḥaram is provided with a smaller platform reached by eight sets of stairs; on it are found the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] and a number of smaller sanctuaries. This second platform was almost certainly a Muslim creation, but its peculiarly asymmetrical character suggests that older buildings or ruins influenced the size and location of the Muslim work.

A large number of sanctuaries are found on the Ḥaram. The most important ones are the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra and the Aḳṣā mosque, whose architectural history and religious significance have been fairly well established. Other sanctuaries still await proper study and it may suffice to mention their purposes. A first group comprises monuments attached to the events surrounding the Ascension of the Prophet: dome of the Ascension (*miʿrādj*, [*q.v.*]), place of Burāḳ [*q.v.*], etc. A second group commemorates Prophets whose lives were associated with Jerusalem: Abraham, Joseph, Jacob, Jesus. Finally there is a number of *minbars*, *miḥrāb*s, *dikka*s for prayer, and fountains, most of which illustrate the characteristically Mamlūk concern for small constructions dedicated to precise religious functions. Many of these are now disused, but some, like the fountain of Ḳāytbāy, are exquisite works of art.

There is no doubt that all these sanctuaries did not appear at one time. If we are better informed on the later ones, the reason is that so many memories and monuments were obliterated during the Crusades. For earlier times we possess only lists (Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih) of monuments. It seems, however, that the growth of individual small sanctuaries on the Ḥaram took several centuries and that it was not before the Fāṭimid period that the whole area had acquired its full complement of religious associations and of monumental expressions of these associations. The reasons for this are to be found primarily in the peculiarities of the history of Muslim Jerusalem. The former Temple area became first of all the site of the Muslim congregational

mosque in the city, then that of the monumental Dome of the Rock expressing Umayyad power and ambitions, and only later a complete ensemble with precise religious meanings and with an attempt at architectural organization. It is the accidental inheritance by the Muslims of such a vast area and precise developments in the history of the Muslim faith that made it a unique sanctuary; it was not, as in Mecca, a pre-established body of beliefs and practices which so transformed it, nor as in Medina, the desire to commemorate the earliest years of the faith. Mediaeval Muslims themselves seem to have been conscious of the anomalous position of the Ḥaram. In early centuries it was called *al-masdjid al-ḥarām*, "the sacred mosque", or *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā*, "the farthest mosque", the first term being canonical for Mecca only, the second one being more precisely the name of the congregational mosque of Jerusalem. Still in the 8th/14th century the term *al-ḥaram al-sharīf* was not considered proper and it would seem to have been imposed in Ottoman times by popular usage rather than by full agreement on the unified holiness of the area. Still to-day a confusion exists between the Ḥaram area as merely the "mosque" of the city of Jerusalem and the Ḥaram as the unique place of a number of holy events. In spite of these confusions and of the complicated history of the area, the depth of its religious and symbolic significance is proved by the vast literature which grew around it and by the facts that it contains the first masterpiece of Islamic architecture and that princes and laymen over many centuries lavished money and efforts on its beautification.

Bibliography: A full bibliography will be found in the articles AL-ḲUDS and ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA. In addition to references in the text, the most important guides to the problems of the Ḥaram are Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa ʾl-Khalīl*, 2 vols., Cairo 1283 (partial translation by H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, Paris 1876), and the second volume of Max van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Jérusalem*, Cairo 1925.

(O. GRABAR)

AL-ḤARAMAYN, the two holy places, usually referring to Mecca and Medina, occasionally, in both Mamlūk and Ottoman usage, to Jerusalem and Hebron [see AL-ḤARAM AL-SHARĪF, AL-KHALĪL, AL-ḲUDS, AL-MADĪNA, MAKKA. On the title Servant (or Protector) of the two holy places see KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN]. The following article deals with the administration of Ottoman *waḳf*s in favour of the Holy Places.

Such *waḳf*s were established from early times by the Ottoman Sultans and by members of their household and court, and in the 9th/15th century were already administered by special departments. The oldest of these appears to be the *Ewḳāf-i ḥaremeyn muḳāṭaʿadjilighi*, the records of which, preserved in the state archives [see BAŞVEKÂLET ARŞIVI], run from 884/1479 to 1280/1863-4. This was followed by the *Ewḳāf-i ḥaremeyn muḥāsebedjiliği*, with records from 905/1499-50 to 1255/1839-40. Its original purpose was apparently to deal with those revenues—a much smaller group—received directly instead of by *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*], but its functions were later greatly extended.

Probably as a result of the practice by ladies and princes of the Household of appointing the Chief Eunuch as administrator of the *waḳf*s they established for the Holy Places, he acquired control of a group of pious *waḳf*s. During the reign of Murād III, with the rise in influence of the black at the expense of the white eunuchs, this control passed from the Chief White Eunuch to the Chief Black Eunuch, the *Kızlar Aghası* [*q.v.*]. In Muḥarram 995/December 1586, according to the historian of the Ministry of *Waḳf*s, a decree of the Sultan appointed the *Kızlar Aghası* Ḥabeshī Meḥmed Agha superintendan (*nāẓir*) of the *waḳf*s in favour of the *ḥaramayn*, thus establishing a system which, with some changes, lasted until the 19th century. Two other functionaries, under the *Kızlar Aghası*, dealt with these *waḳf*s. They were 1) his chief secretary (*yazıdjı* [*q.v.*]), 2) an inspector (*müfettish* [*q.v.*]). The first such inspector, Amasyalı Meḥmed Efendi, known as Memek Čelebi (d. 1009/1600-1; cf. ʿAṭāʾī, *Dheyl*, ii, 448, who calls him Memekzāde, and remarks that his relationship with the *Kızlar Aghası* brought him great wealth and influence) was appointed in Muḥarram 995, at the same time as the transfer of these *waḳf*s to the *Kızlar Aghası* (*Taʾrīkhče*, 16).

The *Kızlar Aghası*'s jurisdiction in matters of *waḳf* was in time greatly extended. In Ramaḍān 1006/May 1598 a number of *waḳf*s established for imperial mosques in Istanbul were, because of peculation and maladministration, placed under his authority (Uzunçarşılı, 178). Others in the capital and provinces followed, and the *Kızlar Aghası* thus came to control a great mass of *waḳf*s all over the Empire—an important source of power and profit. Though the two main accounting departments still bore the name of *ḥaramayn*, they came to deal with many other *waḳf*s established for mosques and other pious purposes and, consequently, with the pay and appointment of mosque functionaries, as well as with transfers, appointments, dismissals, promotions etc. directly dependent on the *ḥaramayn* departments. *Waḳf*s called 'of the *ḥaramayn*', enjoying fiscal privileges, are found all over the Empire (as for example in Hungary, L. Fekete, *Die Siyāḳat-Schrift*, i, Buda-Pest 1955, 74, 100, 755 ff., and in Palestine, U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine ..*, Oxford 1960, 145). The revenues came to a separate treasury in the palace, known as the *ḥaremeyn dolabı*. The *Kızlar Aghası* held a weekly *dīwān*, at which the affairs of the *waḳf*s under his control were examined, with the benefices and offices supported by them. In the late 18th century, according to d'Ohsson, the *Ḥaremeyn muḥāsebesi ḳalemi* dealt with all the imperial mosques, as also all those of the capital and the European provinces, the *Ḥaremeyn muḳāṭaʿası ḳalemi* with *waḳf*s in all the provinces of Asia and Africa (*Tableau*, ii, 528). According to Hammer (*Staatsverfassung*, ii, 150, 160), the *muḥāsebe* issued nomination certificates for religious functionaries in the capital and European provinces, the *muḳāṭaʿa* for Anatolia (cf. Gibb-Bowen i/1, 76-7, 131-2, i/2, 92, 97, 171, 176). During the reigns of Muṣṭafā III and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I attempts were made to remove these *waḳf*s from the control of the *Kızlar Aghası*, who was, however, able to recover them (d'Ohsson, ii, 535 ff.; *Taʾrīkhče*, 21 ff.). He finally lost them in the course of the reforms of the eighteen twenties and thirties, when they were entrusted to a newly created special department, which was merged into the Ministry of *Waḳf* in 1836.

(See further KHAZĪNE; KIZLAR AGHASĪ; WAḲF, Ottoman. On the sending of funds and gifts to the holy places see ṢURRA).

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devletinin saray teşkilâtı, Ankara 1945, 177-81.

(B. Lewis)

HARAR, capital of Ethiopia's largest province, an important commercial centre, and one of the main Muslim cities in East Africa. Since the governorship of Ras Makonnen, Emperor Hayla Sellassie's father, Harar has played an increasingly important part in the life of Eastern Ethiopia and is at present the seat of the Imperial Military Academy and an agricultural college. Its famous market, favourable climate (with an annual mean temperature of 20° C), and turbulent history, together with its picturesque setting as a mediaeval walled city, have made Harar one of the principal tourist attractions of modern Ethiopia. Its cosmopolitan population, estimated at some 60,000, consists of Gallas, Somalis, Monophysite Amharas, Levantines, and Europeans, but somewhat less than half can be described as genuine Hararis and speakers of the indigenous Semitic language. The principal name associated with the study of the history, Islamization, and language of Harar is that of Enrico Cerulli.

The history of Harar is very largely identical with that of Islam in Ethiopia in general and has as such been discussed under AL-ḤABASH.

At a later period the Walasma sultans transferred their capital to Harar, possibly to extricate themselves from the pressure exerted by their generals who drew support from the Danākil [see DANKALĪ] and Somalis [*q.v.*]. Chief among those forceful military commanders was Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (nicknamed Grañ [see AḤMAD GRAÑ] 'the lefthanded'), who soon became the effective master of all the newly conquered Muslim possessions in Ethiopia and assumed the title of Imām. In the middle of the 11th/17th century a new Muslim state was established as the independent Emirate of Harar which continued until Menelik's conquests at the end of the 19th century when, in 1887, Harar was incorporated in the Christian Ethiopian Empire.

The Ḳādiriyya is the foremost Islamic order in East Africa and is particularly strong in the Harar region. In *madhhab*, the people of Harar belong overwhelmingly to the Shāfiʿite rite.

Harari (or Adareñña) is the Semitic language spoken in the town of Harar.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie*, 1897; R. Burton, *First footsteps in East Africa or an exploration of Harar*, 1856; E. Cerulli, *La lingua e la storia di Harar* (*Studi Etiopici*, vol. i), 1936: W. Leslau, *The Verb in Harari*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1958; idem, *Etymological dictionary of Harari*, 1963; idem, *Ethiopians speak; studies in cultural background*, i, *Harari*, 1965; C. Mondon-Vidailhet, *La langue Harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghê*, 1902; P. Paulitschke, *Die geographische Erforschung der Adal-Länder und Harar's*, 1884; R. Società Geogr. Italiana, *L'Africa Orientale* (index: Harrar), 1936; *Guida dell'Africa Orientale*, 1938, 442 ff.; S. P. Pétridès, *Le héros d'Adoua, Ras Makonnen*, 1963; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, 1952.

(E. Ullendorff)

ḤARAS [see ḲAṢR].

AL-**ḤARĀSĪS** (Ḥarsūsī; in their own speech: Ḥarséh (Ḥarsáy)) a bilingual, nomadic Arabian tribe of 400 or fewer arms-bearing males, Shāfiʿī Sunnīs in religion and Hināwīs in regional political faction; identified as to *dīra* with the barren steppe called Djiddat al-Ḥarāsīs—below the south-east corner of *al-Rimāl*, "The Sands" (al-Rubʿ al-Khālī [*q.v.*])—but usually ranging in the area of seaward-trending, forage-filled *wādīs* towards the coasts of al-Baṭāḥira and the southern al-Djanaba [*qq.v.*]. Their eponymous tribal area, called by them and by al-Mahra [*q.v.*] simply *a-Giddét*, extends east-north-east and east from the (inland) terminal basins of Wādī Muḳshin and Wādī ʿĀra [*qq.v.*]—the latter in Ḥarsūsī and Mahrī: ḥa-Wōdī dhŌreh—to Sayḥ al-Uḥaymir (a smaller portion of the south-east Arabian steppe desert) and the rough north-south strip of al-Ḥuḳf or al-Ḥiḳf. From Ramlat al-Saḥma (a marginal district of "The Sands") it extends south across the small, land-locked drainage of a-Ṣighōt and its terminal sand-district, a-Baṭḥāt, to the group of *wādīs* which, through Sāḥil al-Djāzir, enter Ghubbat Ṣawḳirah of the Arabian Sea. (Of these the chief, north-east to south-west, are: Haytām (Hītōm), Arōnib, Ghadān (or the eastern Ghadūn), Wōṭif, and south of al-Djāzir, ʿAynína—the upper portion of which, among multilingual southern Arabs, goes under variations, some of them with *ḥa-*, of the Djunaybī (and Baṭḥarī) toponym ha-Rikāt, "the rāk (arāk) tree").

The Ḥarsūsī country is touched to the north-east by a motor track from east coastal Raʾs al-Daḳm, and is crossed from south-west to north-east by a motor track from southern coastal Salāla [*q.v.*]; Mahrī, etc.: Ṯsalōlet; but Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī: Ṯsalúlt), the two joining and continuing north through the *sayḥ* or steppe of al-Durūʿ to ʿIbrī and al-Buraymī [*qq.v.*]. Without a single permanent water source (except potential *ḳalamas* drilled and usually capped by oil explorers), al-Ḥarāsīs at times, even in summer, pasture their animals without watering, while themselves subsisting on milk (*djazaʾa*, *yadjzaʾu*; see AL-DAHNĀʾ).

Bertram Thomas (*Alarms and excursions*—note typographical error on p. 283: "Hasaris") was much attracted by the intelligence and friendly spirit of those from the tribe who aided him as guides and linguistic informants. To this association is owed the first Western study of Ḥarsūsī speech. Like the other southern tribal tongues from old South Semitic which have long outlived the related Ancient South Arabian, this one deserves further investigation. For the oft-occurring *bāl* of Mahrī and Ḥarsūsī (= Ar. *baʿl*, "lord or owner of; having, characterized by, located at or near") Ḥarsūsī has also a variant *bōl*. (*Cf.* Baṭḥarī: *baʿal*, with *ʿayn*, and Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī: *baʾl*, with reduction to *hamza* (beside occas. Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī *bāl*). For fem., Ar. *baʿla*, Ḥarsūsī and Mahrī have *bālit*, contra Baṭḥari *baʿlet*, Shaḥrī-Ḳarāwī *baʾlit*. For Ar. *ilāhī* (*rabbī*), Ḥarsūsī has *a-belī*, contra Mahrī *a-bālī*, both doubly determined by definite article and by possessive pronoun.

Ḥarsūsī, with considerable speech variation between individuals, appears to be more deeply influenced by Arabic than the others of the "four strange tongues" of the tribes *down-country* (from ʿUmān)—which is what Ḥadara, with *ḥ*, means, having despite Thomas nothing to do with Hadoram, with *h*, of Genesis, x, 27. Yet Ḥarsūsī staunchly retains many old and interesting vocables, which at the same time make it, if it be only a branch of Mahrī, a quite distinctive one.

The tribe has these main sections (names in Arabic): (1) Bayt ʿAksīt, (2) Bayt Muṭayra, (3) Bayt ʿAfarrī, (4) Bayt Ḳadharān, and (5) Bayt Barḥāh, besides, as one of the largest groups, Bayt Shaʿla, which is either a section or a subsection of (1) or of (2). The shaykhly authority rests in (1), the principal leader (Ḥarsūsī *muḳaddam*, pl. *muḳad-(d)amat*) in 1962 being Sharḳī b. ʿAks (Ḥarsūsī

ʿakis and *ʾakis*). The second in rank is Sh. Sālim b. Huwayla of (2), which was formerly the shaykhly clan.

Bibliography: See that of the art. AL-BAṬĀḤIRA. Also: B. Thomas, *Alarms and excursions in Arabia*, London and Indianapolis 1931; Samuel B. Miles, *The countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, London 1919; Maria Höfner, *Die lebenden südarabischen Mundarten*, in *Handb. d. Orientalistik*, ed. Spuler, iii, *Semitistik*, pts. 2 and 3, 331-41, Leiden 1954; Wilfred P. Thesiger, *Arabian sands*, London 1960 (from his exploration accounts, mainly in *GJ*, London 1946-50); Arabian American Oil Company, *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952 (in Engl. and Arabic); Charles D. Matthews, papers on southern non-Arabic and mixed place names in Proceedings of Int. Cong. Or., Munich, 1957, and Moscow, 1960, and in *MEJ*, xiii/2, 1959 (in Readers' Commentary), and monograph (in preparation), *The southern borderlands of the Arabian Empty Quarter*.

Maps: Bartholomew's "Southern Arabia" (Pl. 33) in *The Times Atlas of the World, Mid-Century Edition*, ii (1960) (this excellent map has among some defects the erroneous correction of Sayḥ al-Uḥaymir to conform with unimportant "Haima"—near, to the south-west—which, however, should have been Hadjma or Hadjlat Hadjma); "The Arabian peninsula", 2nd edn., 1962, of a 1: 2,000,000 map (1st edn., 1958) in a series by the U.S. Geological Survey and Arabian American Oil Company (this sheet separate in Eng. and in Ar.). Area maps are to be published in an official British series. (C. D. MATTHEWS)

HARĀT (HERĀT), a city and district on the Harī Rūd in western Afghānistān, altitude: 3,030 feet, 34° 22′ N., 62° 9′ E. Among the forms of the name preserved in Arabic and Persian literature we find Harā, Harāh and older Harē from Harēv. Armenian has Hrev.

The city is mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions (Haraiva), in the Avesta, and in Greek as Ἀρία or Ἀρεία. Alexander the Great built a city here called Alexandria in Aria. Other towns on the Harī Rūd are mentioned by Ptolemy, Isidore of Charax, and others, an indication of the fertility of the river valley. In the trilingual inscription of Shāpūr I at Naḳsh-i Rustām the province of Harāt is called in Parthian *ḥryw* (line 2) and in Greek PHN (the Middle Persian form is illegible). The Middle Persian form of the name Harēv later became Harē. In the Pahlavi list of the cities of Īrānshahr (see Markwart, below) we find the name written *ḥrʾy* to which the Arabs added a feminine ending. Under the Sāsānids Harāt was an important military centre on the frontier against the Hephthalites, although at times it was under Hephthalite rule [see HAYĀṬILA].

The Arab army under al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays in its conquest of Khurāsān in 31/652 seems to have avoided Harāt, but we may assume that the city submitted to the Arabs, since shortly afterwards an Arab governor is mentioned there. Nothing is known of events in Harāt during the civil war and under the early Umayyad Caliphate, but apparently Harāt revolted and was reconquered in 41/661. In 83/702 Yazīd b. al-Muhallab defeated certain Arab rebels, followers of Ibn al-Ashʿath, and forced them out of Harāt. The city was the scene of conflicts between different groups of Muslims and Arab tribes in the disorders leading to the establishment of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. Harāt was also a centre of the followers of Ustādhsīs [*q.v.*.]

Harāt was a great trading centre strategically located on trade routes from the Mediterranean Sea to India or to China. The city was noted for its textiles during the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, according to many references in the geographers. Harāt also had many learned sons as one may see in al-Samʿānī s.v. al-Harawī. The city is described by al-Iṣṭakhrī (263), and Ibn Ḥawḳal (437) as having four gates, a strong inner citadel and extensive suburbs. There is much information in the Arabic and Persian geographers about the city in the 4th/10th century. According to the account of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (152) Harāt flourished especially under the Ghūrid dynasty in the 6th/12th century. The great mosque of Harāt was built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn the Ghūrid in 598/1201. During the Ghaznawid and early Ghūrid periods of the 5th/11th century the heretical sect of the Karāmiyya was strong in Harāt, but Ghiyāth al-Dīn, after first supporting them, later turned to the Shāfiʿī rite of Sunnism.

Harāt was captured by the Mongols in 618/1221 and the pillage and slaughter is described by Sayf al-Harawī (66-72, see *bibl.*). The city was destroyed a second time and remained in ruins from 619/1222 to about 634/1236, but people returned to the city, including some who had been captured by the Mongols, and much of the city was rebuilt. In 642/1244 a local prince Shams al-Dīn Kurt (or Kart) was named ruler of Harāt by the Mongol governor of Khurāsān and in 653/1255 he was confirmed in his rule by the founder of the Il-Khān dynasty Hülegü. Shams al-Dīn founded a new dynasty and his successors, especially Fakhr al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn, built many mosques and other buildings. The members of this dynasty were great patrons of literature and the arts. The history of the dynasty is given by Spuler (below).

Tīmūr took Harāt in 782/1380 and he brought the Kurt dynasty to an end a few years later, but the city reached its greatest glory under the Tīmūrid princes, especially Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara [*q.v.*] who ruled Harāt from 874/1469 to 912/1506. His chief minister, the poet and author in Persian and Turkish, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] was a great builder and patron of the arts. The present Muṣallā area, and many buildings such as the *madrasa* of Gawharshād, ʿAlī Shīr *maḥāl*, many gardens, and others, date from this time (see Togan, below).

The village of Gāzirgāh, over two km northeast of Harāt, contained a shrine which was enlarged and embellished under the Tīmūrids. The tomb of the poet and mystic Khwādja ʿAbd ʿAllāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088), was first rebuilt by Shāh Rukh about 829/1425, and other famous men were buried in the shrine area.

In 913/1507 Harāt was occupied by the Özbeks but after much fighting the city was taken by Shāh Ismaʿīl in 916/1510 and the Shāmlū Turkomans assumed the governorship of the area. At the death of Shāh Ismaʿīl the Özbeks again took Harāt and held it until Shāh Ṭahmāsp retook it in 934/1528. Several times later for brief periods the Özbeks held the city but the Ṣafawids ruled it most of the time until the revolt of the ʿAbdālī Afghāns in 1128/1716. Several Ṣafawid expeditions to retake the city failed, and the Afghāns remained in possession of the city until 1142/1729 when they submitted to Nādir Shāh. Another revolt of the Afghāns was suppressed by Nādir Shāh in 1732. In 1160/1747 the nephew of Nādir Shāh, one ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, revolted in Harāt but after Nādir's death in that year Harāt fell under Afghān rule.

In 1837 the Persians laid siege to Harāt but failed to take it. In 1856 they captured the city but were forced to evacuate it the next year as a result of a peace treaty in Paris between Great Britain and Persia. Since that time the city has been part of Afghānistān, the capital of a province.

The histories of Harāt, both those preserved and those lost, are listed in Sayf al-Harawī (pp. vii-x; see below) and in Togan (442, *Bibliografya*). The present city has a population of ca. 100,000. The climate is mild, and in summer there is a west wind of "one hundred and twenty days".

Bibliography: On the pre-Islamic city see J. Markwart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 11 and 46.

General histories are by Sayf al-Harawī, *The Ta'rīkh Nāma-i-Harāt*, ed. M. aṣ-Ṣiddīqī, Calcutta 1944; Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Zamčī al-Iṣfizārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, Tehrān 1959. For Harāt under the Kurt dynasty see B. Spuler, *Mongolen*², 155-161. The Tīmūrid age in Harāt is described by W. Barthold, *Herat unter Ḥusein Baiqara*, trans. by W. Hinz (Leipzig 1938); Eng. tr. by V. and T. Minorsky in *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72. For a plan of the city in Tīmūrid times with photos of buildings see Z. V. Togan's article, Herat, in *IA*. For a description of the city and surroundings in the 9th/15th century see A. M. Belenitskiy, *Istoričeskaya topografiya Gerata XV v.*, in *Alisher Navoi*, ed. A. K. Borovkov, Moscow 1946, 175-202.

On the cultural life of Harāt under the Tīmūrids see D. N. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven 1962, 102-7. For a description of the city in 1885 see C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, London 1888, 23-43. Nineteenth century Harāt is described in G. Malleson, *Herat*, London 1880. For a tourist guide to the sights of Harāt see E. Caspani and E. Cagnacci, *Afghanistan crocevia dell'Asia*, Milan 1951, 260-4; Mohamed Ali, *A new guide to Afghanistan*, Kabul 1958, 216-22. A. Khalīlī, *Āthār-i Harāt*, 3 vols., Harāt 1930-1, is an account of the monuments and tombs of Harāt (in Persian). See also A. Lézine, *Herat, notes de voyage*, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 127-45. (R. N. Frye)

ḤARĀṬĪN [see ḤARṬĀNĪ].

AL-**HARAWĪ** [see AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ].

AL-**HARAWĪ** AL-**MAWṢILĪ**, *shaykh* Taḳī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr, a Syrian author of the 6th/12th century and celebrated ascetic and pilgrim who, after a life of travelling, spent his last days at Aleppo, at the court of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī [*q.v.*]. This ruler held him in high regard and built for him, at the gates of the town, the Shāfiʿī *madrasa* in which he taught and which still houses the remains of his tomb.

The Arabic sources mention this "wandering ascetic" (*al-zāhid al-sā'iḥ*) and devote varying biographical notes to him, though without describing in any detail his education, tastes or the activities that won him the appreciation of the caliph al-Nāṣir and several Ayyūbids. They reveal only that, having been born in al-Mawṣil of a family originating in Harāt, he left that town in order to lead a wandering existence, became known as a preacher in Baghdād and Aleppo, acquired a reputation as a mystic and conjuror and even as a magician, and to these varied talents owed the influence that he held over the master of Northern Syria; he died in 611/1215, after having had inscribed on his mausoleum, built in imitation of the Kaʿba, certain gnomic maxims and an epitaph with a text of somewhat lyrical character. But his writings, which reveal his immense interests as well as a true originality of mind, allow us to suppose further that in Syria, then so disturbed through the Crusades, he was on various occasions entrusted with missions to obtain information and undertake secret political negotiations, and that these later permitted him, on the strength of his experiences, to play the part of a more or less occult counsellor to those in power at the moment. Certain references to his travels and to the eminent personages whom he met make it possible to fix a number of precise dates in his life, between 569/1173 and 588/1189, and to establish the routes of his principal journeys in Palestine, Egypt and Sicily, as well as to Rūm, in the reign of sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whom he also accompanied on some of his military expeditions.

His religious preoccupations, tinged with Shīʿī sympathies, and the place which, in a revival of Islam, he accorded to the veneration of local sanctuaries, appear through his *K. al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyārāt* or "Guide des lieux de pèlerinage" (ed. with French tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1952-57), written with constant attention to accuracy and concision. But his recollections as a courtier and envoy, his knowledge of warfare and government as well as his inclinations as a moralist not devoid of secular culture are the main themes of his *Tadhkira Harawiyya fī 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya*, Memoir of al-Harawī on ruses of war (ed. with French tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Les conseils du šayḫ al-Harawī à un prince ayyūbide*, in *BEO*, xvii (1961-2), 205-66), and they recur in the *Waṣiyya Harawiyya*, last counsels of al-Harawī (ed. with French tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Le testament politique du Shaykh ʿAlī al-Harawī*, in *Islamic and Arabic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965), which, before his death, he dedicated to his patron at Aleppo. Moreover, this last work is unique in providing us with clear information about the nature of his relations with this sovereign: these were based on an essentially political foundation, misunderstood in the accounts of contemporary biographers.

Bibliography: For the life and personality of al-Harawī, see particularly the introductions to the French translations of the three works mentioned above. Cf. also Brockelmann, I, 629-30, and S I, 879; Ibn Khallikān, no. 432 (tr. de Slane ii, 286-8); Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. G. al-Shayyāl, iii, 224-5. For al-Harawī's tomb and its inscriptions, see *RCEA*, nos. 3609-3614 and 3614 A-B; E. Herzfeld, in *CIA*, *Alep*, i, 262-8, and ii, pl. CXI-CXIV; cf. J. Sauvaget, *Les "Perles Choisies" d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, Beirut 1933, 116, n. 1. (J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ḤARĀZ, a mountain complex and district in the Yemen, situated between the Wādī Surdud and the Wādī Sihām, with the Tihāma districts of Liʿsān and the Banū Saʿd to the west and Ḥaymat al-Khāridjiyya [*q.v.*] to the east. Apparently composed of rocks of the trap series (basalt) and of granite, it has the shape of an irregular star with Djabal Shibām or Ḥarāz (2930 m.) at the centre. A northern projection consists of Djabal Banī ʿAytharī (2450 m.), Djabal Ḥaṣabān (2600 m.), Djabal Banī Luʿf (2300 m.) and Djabal Maghāriba. To the west lie Djabal Masār (2800 m.) and Djabal Ṣaʿfān (2000 m.), to the south Djabal Lahāb (2400 m.), and to the south-east Djabal Hadād. Between Djabal Ḥaṣabān and Djabal Masār is the Wādī Shadhb, a tributary of the Wādī Surdud, and between Djabal Ṣaʿfān and Djabal

Lahāb the Wādī Birār or Ḥidjān, whose steep course is followed by a branch of the Ṭarīḳ al-Shām between Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿā [*q.v.*], though it is not suitable for motor traffic. The massif is very steep and precipitous at its edges but the area on top, between 2200 and 2500 m., has the character of undulating hill land, split up by innumerable valleys and gullies and with the aforementioned peaks rising in isolation out of it. All of the upper reaches is inhabited and there are countless villages and castles, even to within a short distance of the summits of the mountains. The chief town of the district is Manākha with 200-300 houses, lying at 2322 m. just northeast of Djabal Shibām and formerly the residence of the Ḳāʾimmaḳām of Ḥarāz, Ḥayma and Djabal ʿĀniz (southeast of Ḥarāz). Manākha had become the main trading centre of Ḥarāz by Niebuhr's day, having supplanted al-Mawza on Djabal Lahāb, which is noted by Hamdānī as the *sūḳ* of the area. Five miles west of Manākha lies al-ʿAttāra (1900 m.) where the Dāʿī of Yām (Nadjrān) [*q.v.*] used to reside. Other towns of note are Masār, almost on top of the Djabal, Mitwaḥ and Djirwāh on Djabal Ṣaʿfān, Lakama on Djabal Shibām, Usil west of al-ʿAttāra, and ʿAmḳa on Djabal Ḳuṣayba in Hawzan, just south of al-ʿAttāra. Closely associated with Ḥarāz is the Tihāma town of Ḥadjayla in the Wādī Birār.

The climate of the district is unusually wet and subject to sudden temperature changes. Frequent rain storms associated with south-westerly winds and a mist, known locally as *sukhaymānī* or *ʿumma*, combine to make this one of the most fertile parts of Arabia with very varied flora and fauna. Agricultural activity is intense. After a belt of thorn bushes and myrrh trees, coffee cultivation begins at 1300 m. near Usil and continues to 2100 m., mainly on the western slopes. It is carried out on a fantastic system of terracing which covers almost all parts of the mountain slopes, often extending for 2000 feet or more without a break, irrigation being provided by a network of canals and cisterns. Above the coffee belt, *ḳāt* is extensively grown and, in the vicinity of permanent water sources, there flourish many types of fruits, including pears, peaches, apricots, plums, figs and grapes, even bananas. Wheat, barley, and leguminous crops are also found. The broken terrain of the mountains, however, provides little opportunity for rearing livestock other than sheep and goats. Outlets for trade in these commodities are found in Ṣanʿā, and also in the Tihāma through various markets, notably Ḥadjayla, Sūḳ al-Khamīs, Sūḳ al-Rabūʿ, Sūḳ al-Ithnayn and Sūḳ al-Djummāʿ.

The inhabitants of Ḥarāz stand in marked contrast to those of the Tihāma in physical characteristics, religion, customs and practices. Most tribes are Shīʿa Zaydīs but the divided nature of the mountain encourages the existence of numerous sects. Thus there are Dāwūdīs among the Banū Muḳātil and on Djabal Ṣaʿfān, Sulaymānīs on Djabal Maghāriba, other Ismāʿīlīs in Hawzan, Lahāb and al-ʿAttāra. In Manākha there are Yaʿḳūbīs, while a few Shāfiʿīs, more typical of the Tihāma, are to be found on Djabal Ṣaʿfān. There used to be many Jews also, particularly in Manākha, Hadjara and Hawzan. In Manākha they owned land and virtually controlled the coffee trade. Tribal divisions are equally numerous, almost every valley forming the boundary between two tribes. Hamdānī described Ḥarāz and Hawzan as two Himyarite stocks. In the former there were also Ḥanātila, Luʿf and Nashū of the Banū Hamdān. According to Glaser (1885) the district was divided as follows: 1. Banū ʿArrāf on Ṣaʿfān; 2. Ṣaʿfān proper; 3. Masār; 4. al-Maghāriba; 5. Banū Ismāʿīl northwest of Masār; 6. Ḥaṣabān; 7. Hawzan; 8. Thuluth east of Lahāb; 9. Lahāb; 10. Banū Muḳātil; 11. al-Yaʿābir south of Manākha; and 12. al-ʿUḳmur between Manākha and Ḥayma.

The history of the district in ancient times is hardly known, though *CIH* 343 briefly alludes to *hwzn* (Hawzan). Hamdānī's description of the Mikhlāf Ḥarāz agrees substantially with what we know today. He mentions its fertility, that it produced corn, honey and sesame (*wars*), and that its dialect was midway between good and bad Arabic. His data on the towns, many of which are no longer attested, are discussed by Glaser. In more recent times, whenever the power of the Imāms of Ṣanʿā was weak, the more fertile parts of western Yemen tended to come under the control of various northeastern tribes. Thus in 1763 Ḥarāz had become subject to the newly founded Makramī dynasty of Nadjrān and remained so until 1872 when the Turks destroyed the citadel of the Dāʿī of Yām, Aḥmad al-Shibāmī, at al-ʿAttāra, whereupon the Yām made peace and retired to Nadjrān. The Turks themselves placed great importance on controlling Ḥarāz, making Manākha their headquarters, and it became the scene of bitter struggles between them and the Yemenīs.

Bibliography: A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, 37-48; E. Glaser, in *Pet. Mitt.*, xxxii (1886), 33-37, 45; al-Hamdānī, *Djazīra*; H. C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1774; C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, *Landeskundliche Ergebnisse*, Hamburg 1934, 44-73; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh-i Yemen we Ṣanʿā*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1290-1 A.H.; *Yemen Sālnāmesi*, Ṣanʿā 1308 A.H., 108 ff. (A. K. IRVINE)

ḤARĀZEM, SĪDĪ [see IBN ḤIRZIHIM].

ḤARB, a powerful Arab tribe of Yemenī origin in the Ḥidjāz between Mecca and Medina. They are divided into two great bodies, the Banū Sālim and B. Muṣrūḥ. To the B. Sālim belong amongst other clans, al-Ḥamda, al-Ṣubḥ, ʿAmr, Muʿara, Walād Salīm, Tamīm (not the celebrated great tribe of this name), Muzayna, al-Hawāzim (Awāzim, Hāzim), and Saʿdīn (Saadīn, sing. Saadanī); to the Muṣrūḥ, amongst others: Saʿdī (Saʿadī), Laḥabba, Bishr, al-Ḥumrān, ʿAlī, al-Djahm, Banū ʿAmr.

Doughty gives amongst others the following villages of the B. Sālim (between Medina and Yanbuʿ and on the great Wādī Ferrā (probably Ferraʿa)), Djadayda, Umm Thayyān (Dayyān), Kayf, Dār al-Ḥamra, al-Kissa, al-Khurma, al-Wāsiṭa, al-Massāniyya, al-Ṣafra (with extensive date-palm groves and a large market; besides the chief article of commerce, the date, which is here sold very cheaply, and the excellent honey from the adjoining mountains, genuine Mecca balsam is sold here, and is found genuine nowhere else in Arabia except at Badr), al-ʿAlī, Djadīd, Baddur (Badr?), Madsūs, Shātha (Swayka); of Muṣrūḥ: al-Kharaybi (near Mecca), Klays, Rābuḳ (not far from here the traveller Charles Huber was murdered by his retinue, the Ḥarb), al-Swarḳiyya. A portion of the Ḥarb also live in the great Wādī al-Ḥumḍ (al-Ḥamḍ near Wādī Rumma), the small harbour of Līth and the Djabal Figgara (Fiḳḳara between Medina and Yanbuʿ, belonging to the B. Sālim).

The Ḥarb came from Yemen to the Ḥidjāz (a clan of the Wādiʿa of the Ḥāshid [*q.v.*] bears the same name) in the Muslim period. At the beginning of the last century the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] succeeded only after

hard fighting in overcoming them. During Palgrave's stay in Nadjd, in 1862, the Shammar chief Ṭalāl b. Rashīd in person led an expedition against the Ḥarb tribes and conquered a portion of them. Palgrave gives the number of the Ḥarb who were under the Shammar chiefs as 14,000, Doughty on the other hand only 2000.

In his *Djazīra* al-Hamdānī mentions the Ḥarb as neighbours of the Balī and the Djuhayna in the country between Khaybar and Medina and near Mecca.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, 82, 110, 120, 130; Burckhardt, *Travels*, 306, 406, 423; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 153, 154, 207, 1030; xiii, 144-6, 196, 452, 453 469, 480; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 153 (§ 225); W. Palgrave, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 42, 66; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i, 125, 128, 144, 235; ii, 20, 21, 24, 85, 114, 174, 308, 309, 461, 478, 511, 512-13. (J. Schleifer)

[Owing to circumstances beyond their control, the Editors are unable to supply, as they had planned to do, a revised text of this article. For the convenience of readers they re-print the article which appeared in the first edition. A new article will, it is hoped, be included in the Supplement.]

ḤARB, war.

i. — Legal Aspect

Ḥarb may mean either fighting (*ḳitāl*) in the material sense or a "state of war" between two or more groups; both meanings were implied in the legal order of pre-Islamic Arabia. Owing to lack of organized authority, war became the basis of inter-tribal relationship. Peace reigned only when agreed upon between two or more tribes. Moreover, war fulfilled such purposes as vendetta and retaliation. The desert, adapted to distant raids and without natural frontiers, rendered the Arabs habituated to warfare and fighting became a function of society.

Islam, prohibiting the shedding of blood by one Muslim against another, prohibited all kinds of war (*ḥarb*) except a holy war (*djihād* [*q.v.*]). Only a war having an ultimate religious purpose, that is, to enforce the sacred law (*sharīʿa*) or to check transgression against it, was lawful. No other form was legal within or without the Islamic state.

Thus, Islam prohibited the inter-tribal warfare of the Arabs, because such wars were regarded as too ungodly and brutal, motivated by earthly interests, and permitted only a war which fulfilled a religious purpose. Thus, only one kind of war was lawful—the *djihād*—invoked for the purpose of expanding or consolidating the area of the validity of Islamic law.

As in the *jus fetiale*, *ḥarb* must be declared and prosecuted in accordance with certain prescribed rules. In the first place *ḥarb*, in the sense of fighting, must be distinguished from such duties as prayer or fasting, defined as individual duties; *ḥarb* is a collective duty (*farḍ al-kifāya*), binding on the community as a whole. Since a permanent state of war existed between the Islamic state (*dār al-Islām*) and other countries (*dār al-ḥarb*), Muslims were permanently in a state of hostilities with non-Muslims. But in fulfilling the collective duty of war not all Muslims were under an obligation to fight; only a few were called upon to fulfil the duty on behalf of the community. If no one fulfilled the duty at all, the whole community was liable to punishment. Only when Islam was threatened by a sudden attack did the duty become obligatory on all, including women, children and slaves.

As a collective duty war was a state instrument. Thus, only the *imām* (or his deputies in the provinces) was charged with the duty of prosecuting the war. In order to be lawful war was not only declared by the *imām*, but he was also charged with calling the believers to battle. Since in legal theory a state of war was always in existence (except when a peace treaty was still binding), the declaration of war by the *imām* merely meant that the circumstances in which the believer can fulfil the duty of *ḳitāl* had arisen. Calling the believers to battle was merely to summon to the duty of fighting those who were under an obligation to take up arms.

Nor was the prosecution of war lawful unless preceded by an invitation addressed to the enemy to accept Islam. Since *ḥarb* meant in theory the litigation between belief in Allāh and His prophet and misbelief, the unbelievers were first offered Islam before fighting took place. Followers of the recognized revealed religions were given the choice between Islam, submitting to Muslim rule and payment of the *djizya*, and fighting. An invitation to Islam was first forwarded to the enemy, and only refusal to accept it rendered fighting lawful. This rule was based on the Ḳur'ānic communication: "We never punish until we have first sent an apostle" (XVII, 18); and a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet said: "I have been ordered to fight the polytheists until they say there is no god but Allāh; if they say it, they are secured in their blood and property" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 236). The jurists differed as to whether the invitation should be renewed if war broke out again with an enemy. The Mālikī and Ḥanafī jurists maintained that renewal of the invitation was commendable (*mandūb*); the Shāfiʿī jurists left it to the *imām* to make a choice, depending on the merit of the situation; and the Ḥanbalī jurists insisted that only those who had not received an invitation should be notified.

In the prosecution of war, the Muslim warriors were under an obligation to refrain from unnecessary shedding of blood or the destruction of property. Non-combatants, such as women, children, monks, the aged, blind and insane, unless they helped in the war, were excluded from molestation. If combatants were captured, they were liable to be killed or enslaved and their property taken as spoil. However, the detailed rules concerning the treatment of enemy persons and property varied in accordance with the various schools of law (see *corpus juris* of each school of law under such headings as *djihād*, *siyar* or *ghanīma*).

Hostilities came to an end either by Islam's victory over the enemy, agreement to submit to Muslim rule at the expense of paying the *djizya* in the case of *dhimmī*s, or peace with the enemy for a limited period, if the *imām* decided that fighting was harmful to Islam. Such peace was of a limited duration, not exceeding ten years, until the *imām* could resume the war. The *imām* should not terminate the fighting if the number of Muslim warriors was not less than half the number of enemy warriors (Sūra VIII, 66-7), until victory was attained.

Bibliography: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharādj*, Cairo 1352; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr* (of al-Shaybānī), ed. S. Al-Munajjid, Cairo 1957; Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, iv, Cairo 1322; al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1858; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿā'im al-Islām*, ed. Fyzee, Cairo 1951; W. Heffening, *Das Islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925; M. Hamidullah, *Muslim conduct of state*,

Lahore 1954; M. Khadduri, *War and peace in the law of Islam*[2], Baltimore 1955 and bibliography.
(MAJID KHADDURI)

ii. — THE CALIPHATE

We shall not provide here a history of wars nor even a study of the place of war in the life of Muslim societies. We shall merely give some notes on the art of war itself, which may be supplemented by the articles DĀR AL-ḤARB (on the concept of the theoretical state of war between Islam and all neighbouring non-Muslim lands), DJIHĀD (concerning the Holy War), DJAYSH (on armies and military organization), and ḤIṢĀR (for siege operations), in addition to other more specialized articles which will be mentioned in their place. In addition we shall not encroach on the period of fire-arms for which reference should be made to the article BĀRŪD.

The theoretical literature on the art of war continues, despite a certain evolution in practice, the traditions of the early Arabs, the Greeks and above all the Sāsānids. Translations of Greek, Persian and even (indirectly) Indian works had been made before the *Fihrist*, and there survives one part of the translation of the *Tactica* of Aelianus, the author of classical antiquity who also in Byzantium was the most consulted on these matters. But, in general, we have to deal with more popular traditions, accounts of the actions of early Arab heroes, of victorious generals and of the first caliphs, and especially of Alexander and of the great rulers of Persian history. These materials are incorporated in works of *adab* such as the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Ḳutayba or *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, and the later encyclopaedias; and they are found more particularly in the literary genre of the Mirrors for Princes [see SIYĀSA] such as, for example, the *Sirādj al-mulūk* of al-Ṭurṭūshī which, among many other instructive anecdotes for princes, include some concerning the conduct of armies and of war operations. The experience of later generations however is also added, and it is this which, though without any rupture with tradition, is the more direct inspiration for the works written under the influence of the reigning military aristocracies, in Central Asia, during the period of the Crusades, and later under the Mamlūks, from which last period a great number survive, written for the most part from the point of view of military exercises (lists in L. Mercier, *La parure des Cavaliers*, Fr. tr., 1924, 432-59; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xvii (1929), 116-54, and George T. Scanlon, *A Muslim manual of war*, 1961, 6-20). We shall mention here only the earliest which have survived: the Ghaznawid and Ghūrid *Kitāb al-Ḥarb wa'l-shadjāʿa* published by I. and M. Shafīʿ in *IC*, 1957 (the military section of the treatise, belonging to the genre Mirror for Princes, entitled *Adab al-mulūk* by Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, beginning of the 7th/13th century), and the *Tadhkira fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* of ʿAlī al-Harawī, ed. and Fr. tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *BEO*, xvii (1962) (to be compared with a paragraph of the *Traité d'Armurerie . . . pour Saladin*, ed. and Fr. tr. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, xii (1948), 23-4, 148-9 and 159-60) for the Ayyūbids; also two published works written in the Mamlūk state, that of ʿĪsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Aḳsarāʾī (in which are found the extracts from Aelianus), ed. and German tr. Wüstenfeld, *Das Heerwesen der Muhammedaner*, in *Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, xxvi (1880), and the *Tafrīdj al-kurūb fī tadbīr al-ḥurūb* of ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Awsī al-Anṣarī, ed. and Eng. tr. George T. Scanlon in the recent work cited above. There is also some information in the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn and in the jurists such as al-Māwardī or al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbbāsī (*Āthār al-uwal fī tartīb al-duwal*, beginning of the 8th/14th century), even in ordinary *fiḳh* (cf. the example given by M. Talbi in the *Cahiers de Tunisie*, iv (1956)). Naturally a history of war would begin primarily with the combing (which has never been done from this angle) of the chronicles and even of the popular romances of chivalry, which abound in accounts of battles, of varying precision and reliability. Finally there should be remembered the useful information to be extracted from some passages of two Byzantine works: the *Taktikon* of Leo VI and the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos (beginning of the 10th and middle of the 11th century A.D. respectively).

In theory, war is justified only when it is for the faith, the *djihād*, and ordinary war, *ḥarb*, between Muslims is condemned, whence the efforts made by rulers to represent their adversary as having at least in some respect contravened the commandments of the faith or infringed orthodoxy. However Ibn Khaldūn, as a sociologist, considers war to have been an integral part of human society from the tribal state onwards—though he adds that according to the Law the Holy War and the suppression of revolts are the only form of war justified.

Except in cases of a formal *djihād* against unbelievers, no regular and legally valid "declaration of war" is provided for but quite often two adversaries send each other challenges, announcing that the only solution possible between them is the sword, showing the judgement of Allāh. Nor is there legally a state of war for any except the combatants, and although of course "civilians" may be pillaged, taken prisoner, etc., it can also happen, even in the *djihād*, to the great scandal of the strict Muslims, that trading caravans pass unmolested between the armies, indifferent to the quarrels of the rulers (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 281).

Nowhere more than in these works is one conscious of the connexion between war and policy and of the fact that the success of the first depends in large part on the quality of the second. The Prince is therefore recommended to seek to gain the goodwill of his subjects, and more particularly of his troops, by his conduct towards them and especially by paying them regularly and well—which presupposes a sound financial situation; when troops are reviewed he must of course inform himself of their condition, or verify this personally. In addition, he must keep himself informed on the general situation of the enemy state, or the state which is virtually so, its material resources and the state of its morale, in order when possible to make contact with dissident elements, especially within the army itself. Hence the necessity of maintaining a system of espionage [see DJĀSŪS] in which use may be made of the entourage of ambassadors (who must be changed frequently to avoid the danger of their forming friendships in the enemy country), and also of merchants and pilgrims, real or pretended (ʿAlī al-Harawī was one of these). Naturally, as it is known that the enemy can do the same, it is necessary to have a system of counter-espionage, especially within the army, while avoiding taking measures against men who have received letters from the enemy so long as they have not actually succumbed to temptation. It is advisable all the same to make them renew their oath of loyalty. All this produced an atmosphere of petty and almost puerile ruses and of general suspicion which was typical of the warfare

and even of the whole of "political" life of that time.

To this information there is added, in the case of war or the threat of war, information on the movements of the enemy, one means for acquiring which is the *barīd* [*q.v.*]; there are sometimes even services for rapid communication (watchtowers, particularly on the coast, visual signalling and pigeon post); on all this see J. Sauvaget, *La Poste aux Chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamluks*, 1941.

In the actual military operations morale is important. It is encouraged at first by gifts and promises on setting off, by the hope of booty, and is renewed before battle is joined by accounts of the exploits of ancestors and,in the case of *d̲j̲ihād*, pious exhortations —the equivalent of those heard for example by the Christian enemies who followed the Cross.

Obviously the military teaching and practices of the classical Muslim armies have little in common with the raids and single combats of pre- and proto-Islamic times (on which see D̲J̲AYS̲H̲ and G̲H̲AZW). The specialists, as with *fiḳh*, distinguish the *uṣūl* and *furūʿ*. The *uṣūl* are primarily the theoretical division of the army into five elements (*k̲h̲amīs*): the centre or heart (*ḳalb*), the right wing (*maymana*), and the left wing (*maysara*), the vanguard (*muḳaddama*) and the rear-guard (*sāḳa*), which, *mutatis mutandis*, apply when the army is on the march or in camp as well as in battle. The *furūʿ* are the operations by the irregulars, who do not form part of the army proper but who may play a part in the preliminaries and on the fringes of the battle.

When the campaign has been decided upon, the necessary forces are mustered, the arms are distributed (other than the individual weapons always carried by the soldiers) and the command is allotted, if the Prince is not leading the army himself. Women and children (who, among the nomads, go with the fighters and encourage them, risking capture in the case of defeat) are excluded from the regular armies of organized states. The baggage may be either at the head or the rear of the marching column. The route should have been studied with regard to the nature of the terrain, the provision of supplies and the enemy's movements; unless the safety of the situation is certain, the country must be explored from all sides by scouts and small reconnaissance parties and a signal given at any indication of an approach by the enemy. It may happen that the vanguard travels several hours ahead of the centre and, if precautions are insufficient, is taken by surprise and outnumbered. While on the march, the army halts in camps whose sites must similarly be chosen to ensure security, and particularly supplies of water, etc. If the halt is long, the camp is made roughly in a square surrounded by ditches, the troops being arranged within it in such a way as to preserve the separation of the five corps and the headquarters, with transverse lanes between the sections roughly on the model of Greco-Roman camps.

When battle is imminent, it is important to choose its ground so as to be incommoded as little as possible by sun and wind, avoid the risk of flood, and to escape being dominated by an enemy occupying higher positions; if the enemy on his side has taken similar precautions, an attempt must be made to manœuvre, so that as the battle develops the desired disposition may be achieved. Astrologers are often consulted on the most propitious time to give battle and sometimes a "council of war" is held.

During the battle each of the five theoretical *k̲h̲amīs* enjoys a certain autonomy of command, although naturally the commander-in-chief can give orders for the manoeuvre of one section for the benefit of the others or take from one group reinforcements for others. In principle each *k̲h̲amīs* forms a continuous line, although it may sometimes be divided into little groups, *kardūs* (squadrons) plur. *karādīs* (an innovation which is said to have been introduced, in imitation of Byzantine practice, by Marwān II). There are usually three ranks. The first consists of the archers and cross-bowmen, the second of infantry, protected by their shields and armed with lances or swords, the third of the heavy cavalry (light cavalry were normally found only among the irregulars). In the centre the leader's standard should be seen unfurled; battles have been lost because its fall had been taken as a signal of defeat. The battle consists basically of a cavalry charge, which may be repeated about three times if the enemy line has not been broken before this. The rôle of the infantry and archers consists of breaking from a distance, and then from close at hand, the enemy assault, which however the cavalry engages on the spot if it has been able to get through to it. When the cavalry is attacking, spaces are left between the infantry, or they stand aside, to make way for the charge by their cavalry. If the charge has not been broken by the counter-charge, it may lead rapidly to the retreat of the enemy cavalry, producing disorder in the enemy ranks. In the case of great numerical or other inferiority, the lines may be replaced by a formation in solid squares to withstand the shock of attack. A charge is not usually made simultaneously in the centre and on the flanks, although there may be an attack from one section of the enemy at one point and from another elsewhere; as a result one part of the army may be defeated while another is victorious, and there have been cases when each side has thought itself to be victorious or to be vanquished. In general, however, one of the two cavalry detachments which have been victorious in their sectors proceeds before the other to fall upon the other sections of the enemy army. In fact the great danger is that as soon as victory seems certain they hurl themselves on the enemy's baggage etc. to seize booty and from then on are incapable of offering resistence if the enemy unexpectedly returns to the attack.

Frequently attempts are made to organize ambushes, either by taking advantage of a mountain pass on the route of the enemy army or by trying through manœuvres during the course of the battle itself to lure the enemy into positions prepared in advance. This preparation of ambushes was often combined with cavalry action in the tactics of simulated flight, in which the Turks in particular excelled. Whereas the Arabs, although much lighter and more rapid than the Crusaders must have been (relying as they did on massive shock tactics), generally attacked in one single line, the Turks attacked, shooting as they went, in such a formation as to shower the enemy with arrows from all directions; they did not persist in an effort to break the enemy lines, but, having made contact, attempted to draw them in pursuit, thus disorganizing their lines, and then to make a sudden turn, with the eventual help of fresh forces who had been placed in ambush. It is strange that the successive semi-nomad peoples who had owed their success partly to these tactics, once they became more settled and in possession of empires whose armies were of the more traditional and heavier type, one by one forgot their primitive method of fighting and were beaten by newcomers who still practised it.

During the battle, the leader replaces as far as possible the soldiers' mounts which have been killed

and arms which have been lost or rendered useless. *Fiḳh* debates, but in general disapproves of, the killing of non-combatants, women, children, old men and also men of religion. During sieges in particular, but occasionally also in battles in open country, individuals or groups may obtain *amān* [*q.v.*] even from an ordinary individual. It is a great misfortune if the defeat is such as to prevent the burial of those killed, who are often left by the enemy lying where they are after having been robbed. But in general the aim is less to kill than to capture and, once the battle has been fought and won, the enemy camp is pillaged [see GHANĪMA]. In principle the Prince reserves for himself the legal fifth, but more often the pillage was completely unorganized, and during it the troops observed neither the basic rules concerning the sharing of booty nor indeed any discipline at all. In particular, each one seized for himself all the male and female prisoners he could capture and later either sold them as slaves (causing a fall in prices if they were numerous) or kept them for himself. The peasants, whenever possible, robbed the fugitives belonging to either side.

Once victory has been gained, the conqueror or his vizier sends letters of victory (usually *fatḥ*) which as the centuries progress become increasingly the occasion for stylistic exercises by the heads of the *Dīwān al-rasāʾil* (see, *e.g.*, the correspondence written by the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil for Saladin and the letters on the capture of Jerusalem). These "communiqués" naturally exaggerate the strength of the enemy and the importance of the victory won, and minimize the losses. In the case of war against infidels and heretics, a special report is submitted to the caliph, who sends congratulations and awards honours. The victorious general may also be awarded honours by his prince; and if it is the prince himself who has conducted the war, he provides celebrations, games, banquets and donatives, although these were neither regular nor obligatory.

The prisoners who were the Prince's share were employed by him on heavy work for which he would have had difficulty in finding native labour (the building of fortresses, etc.). For the wealthy prisoners of course a ransom (*fidāʾ*) was expected, and often received, from either the prisoner's family or the enemy prince. There might also take place an exchange of prisoners if there was a peace treaty or a truce. Finally—but especially in the case of war against the infidel—money was given or bequeathed by devout persons to be used for the freeing of Muslim prisoners (and correspondingly on the other side for the ransoming of Christian prisoners). When, in a town for example, civilians were captured who might not be Muslims, they were ransomed by their co-religionists, and the documents of the Geniza [*q.v.*] for example have preserved letters concerning the ransoming of Jews. The ransom of an ordinary prisoner naturally corresponded roughly with the price of a slave.

Muslim law does not appear to have concerned itself with the condition of prisoners as such while in Islamic territory (they were slaves); it did on the other hand consider the way in which Muslims who had fallen into the hands of unbelievers in foreign lands should behave in order to safeguard their faith (Erwin Graef, *Religiöse und rechtliche Vorstellung über Kriegsgefangenen in Islam und Christentum*, in *WI*, viii (1963), 89-139).

A war, especially if there was no siege, rarely lasted for long, and there were seldom more than a few thousand actual fighting troops engaged, even although the total army of the state in question consisted of more than this. This was because it was difficult to obtain food supplies while on a campaign. Furthermore, because of the climate, it was not possible in general to plan a campaign in winter and, after the officers had become farmers or tax-collectors, it was no longer possible to detain them on a campaign during the time of the harvest; in any case they were reluctant to remain under arms for more than a few weeks, their ordinary means being insufficient to maintain them for longer, and they also disliked the absence from their family. Very often the war is decided in a single battle, which may be followed by several sieges of strongholds.

War is often ended by a peace in the form of a capitulation or a treaty negotiated after an exchange of embassies; on other occasions, especially in wars with infidels, the peace is limited to a truce of a set time and over a limited area; often also the war can cease without there being any official peace.

The above remarks do not apply indifferently to all periods, to all peoples (the exception of the Turks has already been pointed out), or to all places. The semi-heavy cavalry, which at first played only an insignificant rôle, increased in importance from the 8th/14th century onwards. The tactics of classical warfare are impossible in mountain fighting, in which cavalry can play only a minor part, and in marshes such as those of the *Baṭīḥa* of ʿIrāḳ. This was one of the reasons why, during the last years of the autonomous caliphate, there were mixed with the Turkish cavalry Daylamīs, mountain dwellers fighting on foot. It could happen that if each of the two rival armies was unable to fight on the terrain of the other, then neither could win or be defeated: for example the early Almohad infantry were unable to attack the Almoravid cavalry on the plain, but equally could not be attacked by them in their mountains. In the east of the Muslim world elephants [see FĪL] terrified the horses of an enemy who was unused to them. We have not dealt here with naval warfare [see BAḤRIYYA] but we must emphasize the rôle which a navy could play in transporting land troops: across the Straits of Gibraltar for example, or from Egypt to the Syrian ports which the Crusaders were attacking from the land.

On the frontiers, the *ghāzī*s and *murābiṭūn* inflicted on the enemy not battles but sudden raids (delayed on the way back by their booty, which included many animals), which were answered by counter-raids. This did not, however, exclude various forms of peaceful relationships between the frontier populations in the intervals between raids, such as are described in the Greek and Arabic romances of chivalry (Digenis Akritas, Dhu 'l-Himma [*q.v.*], Sayyid Baṭṭāl [see AL-BAṬṬĀL], etc.); the romances of the Turks of the *ūdj*, the followers of the Arab *ghāzī*s and the Byzantine *akritai*, are more uncompromisingly warlike.

The resounding victories of the Mongols raise the question whether they possessed a clear technical superiority over their adversaries. The matter has not been sufficiently studied, but it would seem that this was not so. Their successes appear to have been due to their discipline; to the speed of their movements and to the art of concealing them; to the excellence of their system of espionage and intelligence; to the combined use on a large scale of traditional siege weapons, transported by means of prisoners, and of the ruses practised by nomads in open country; to the terror inspired by their appearance, their distant and unknown origin, their exceptional readiness to

massacre and, as a result of this terror, the ready co-operation and the voluntary capitulations which they obtained—to the fact in short that success breeds success. But the relatively minor battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] was enough to break the spell and to reduce them to the status of ordinary adversaries.

In the first generations following the Arab conquest, the governor of a province, who was still essentially the general of an army of occupation, was called *wāli 'l-ḥarb*, although his authority in fact considerably exceeded the conduct of war, if there was one, and even the maintenance of the army.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited, see DJIHĀD and DJAYSH. The general histories of war and of military art have nothing of interest in the Muslim field; the only useful general presentations are those of A. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Islam*, i, and Reuben Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, ch. ix. Among the important battles (apart from sieges) of which we possess circumstantial accounts are *e.g.*, that of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*] and that of Malazgirt [*q.v.*] studied by Cl. Cahen in *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 613-42.

(CL. CAHEN)

iii. — THE MAMLŪK SULTANATE

This article will deal with Mamlūk expeditions from their departure from Cairo, where the main body of the army was garrisoned, until their return to the Egyptian capital. Expeditions in the direction of Syria will be discussed, for this was the chief theatre of operations. The passages dealing with the actual fighting will be confined to field battles; for siege warfare, see ḤISĀR.

From mobilization up to arrival at the place of assembly.

A decision to dispatch a large expedition against a strong enemy was usually made known by the hoisting, some time in advance, of a special flag called *djālish* or *shālish* [*q.v.*] over the *ṭablkhāna* [*q.v.*], accompanied by the beating of special drums (*kūs* [*q.v.*]). Shortly after this ceremony the army was passed in review, and a few days later the *nafaḳat al-safar* (on which see D. Ayalon in *JESHO*, i (1950), 56 ff.) would be distributed, in time for the soldier to replenish his equipment and stores.

The mobilization of the expeditionary force on the eve of their move from Cairo was called "the general muster" (*al-nafīr al-ʿāmm*). Troops detailed to take part in the campaign received written orders (*awrāḳ* or *awrāḳ al-tadjrīd*) to this effect. The military police (*nuḳabāʾ al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya* and *nuḳabāʾ al-ḥalḳa*: see NAḲĪB) were responsible for seeing that the members of the expeditionary force presented themselves on time and in the appointed place (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, British Museum, Ms Add. 23,325, fol. 186a, fol. 268; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 193, 210, 222; *Sulūk*, i, 544; ii, 260, 518, 520; *Nudjūm*, v, 17, 76, 411).

Shortly before the army set out, various supplies were prepared in the stations lying along its route. These stocks (*iḳāmāt*, sing. *iḳāma*, or *iḳāmāt wa-anzāl*) consisted of barley, wheat, chickens, pigeons, geese, sweets, melons and various other kinds of food, as well as fire-wood, horses, riding-camels and camels of burden.

Except when, as in some of the great Syrian battles, an enemy aggressor dictated the time, military campaigns were undertaken by the Mamlūks mainly during the spring, when the weather was mild. Winter campaigns, especially towards Syria, were rare, and provoked bitterness and complaints.

The army's departure from Cairo to the nearby place of assembly was called *tabrīz*. The Sultan and *amīrs* went there one after the other, each heading his *ṭulb* (see below). Usually this procedure lasted from morning till noon. Only very rarely did it take several days (for two typical instances of such departure see Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 14, 131; *Badāʾiʿ*, v, 37).

The expeditionary force was called *tadjrīda* (pl. *tadjārīd*). When the Sultan himself went to battle he was always the commander of the *tadjrīda*. Otherwise it was the highest ranking *amīr* taking part, *i.e.*, the *amīr* who, by his rank and office, was entitled to sit nearest the Sultan in the official ceremonies. The usual title of this commander, up to about the middle of the 9th/15th century, was *muḳaddam al-ʿaskar* (or *al-ʿasākir*). Very rarely he was called *muḳaddam al-djaysh* (or *al-djuyūsh*). Sometimes his title was abbreviated to *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*]. In campaigns entailing sea voyages, two commanders were sometimes appointed, one on sea (*muḳaddam al-ʿaskar fi 'l-baḥr*) and one on land (*muḳaddam al-ʿaskar fi 'l-barr*) (*Nudjūm*, vii, 548). On religious functionaries accompanying the army, see ḲĀḌĪ AL-ʿASKAR.

The place of the army's assembly. With the exception of the first few years of their rule the Mamlūks always assembled their campaigning armies near Cairo. Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637/1240-647/1249) built in 676/1248 the town of al-Ṣāliḥiyya, in the north-eastern part of Lower Egypt, with a double purpose: to serve as a resting place for the incoming armies after their crossing of the Sinai desert and as a point of concentration for the outgoing armies before starting their organized march into Syria. The second of these functions was discarded by the Mamlūks shortly after their coming to power. Sultan Ḳuṭuz, on his march to ʿAyn Djālūt, was probably the last to use it for this purpose (*Sulūk*, i, 330_{4-6}, 373_{15-17}, 381_{6-21}, 382_{15-16}, 411_{4-5}, 429_{13-14}; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xx, 18_{18}; *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 184_{22-4}, 232_{8-11}). Thenceforward the Mamlūks used to assemble their armies near Cairo. At first the place of assembly was by Masdjid al-Tibr (frequently distorted into al-Tibn), but from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards it was al-Raydāniyya [*q.v.*] which served in the same capacity (the pilgrims' Caravan to Mecca used also to assemble in that place).

The Sultan at al-Raydāniyya. The focal point of the army's camp at al-Raydāniyya was, quite naturally, the sultan's tent. It was placed at the end of the row of the *amīrs*' tents, which were arranged according to the principle that the less important ones came first, while the more important ones came last (Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, 136-7) [see KHAYMA, MUDAWWARA]. The system of guarding the Sultan's tent was, according to the Mamlūk sources, very similar to that employed in the Cairo citadel, especially the guarding inside the tent (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 48_{2}-49_{13}, 56_{15-17}; *Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ*, 258_{1-4}; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 210_{30-36}; *Ḥawādith*, 680_{11-12}). The whole of the Sultan's *cortège* was called *al-rikāb al-sharīf* (or *al-sulṭānī*).

The army in the field did not carry with it any special structures for performing the daily prayers. This might imply that when in the field the army prayed under the open skies. The sole exception seems to have been that of Baybars I, who, in 661/1262-3, ordered the making of a tent-mosque (*djāmiʿ khām*), which had to be pitched on the right of the Royal tent. This mosque had *miḥrāb*s and a *maḳṣūra* in it (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, ed. Sadeque, pp. 89-90; British Museum, MS Add. 23,331, fol. $71b_{3-7}$). In all probability Baybars followed here, as in other

matters, the example of the Mongols. Of their employment of tent-churches we are informed by William of Rubrouck (London 1900, xxix, xxxi, 29). Berke Khān, the ruler of the Golden Horde and Baybars' ally, had tent mosques (*masādjid khām!*), where the five daily prayers were performed (Yunīnī, ii, 365_{6-7}). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 380 = Gibb, ii, 482) saw these mosques in the Golden Horde at a much later date. For the strict performance of the prayers by soldiers on campaign, as a habit, under Baybars I, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, fol. $63b_{13-16}$.

From al-Raydāniyya to Damascus (or Aleppo). The army always departed from al-Raydāniyya in separate groups, and entered the Syrian capital in the same way (*arsālan, afwādjan, ʿalā dafaʿāt*). Thus the expeditionary force stretched over a long distance during its advance. On some occasions we are told that the left wing (*al-maysara*), the right wing (*al-maymana*), and the centre (*al-ḳalb*) of the Egyptian army entered Damascus on three successive days (*al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xx, 22_{3-6}; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* (ed. Roemer), ix, 32_{10-13}). Only further evidence will show whether the Mamlūk army always advanced in the same formations which it used in the field of battle.

One of the most common measures of protection taken by the advancing army was the sending out of special scouts (*kashshāfa*) in various directions.

The military expedition was accompanied by a very large camel caravan, which carried its baggage (*thaḳal*, pl. *athḳāl*). Each Mamlūk participating in a campaign received at least one camel. Sometimes the Mamlūk received two camels, while the non-Mamlūk soldiers of the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] received 3 camels per two men (see D. Ayalon, in *JESHO*, i (1958), 270-1). Sultan Barḳūḳ gave his Mamlūks 7,000 camels and 5,000 horses when he planned in 796/1394 his campaign against Timurlang (Ibn al-Furāt, 380_{13-16}; *Nudjūm*, v, 562_{6-8}). In the biggest *tadjrīda*s 800 to 1,000 camels were needed to carry the light armament alone (Ibn al-Furāt, 371_{8-11}; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, fol. $99a_{6-7}$). Mules were very rarely employed for carrying the baggage. They were used in 691/1292 by the Sultan's army in the region of Aleppo because most of the camels died in an epidemic (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, fol. $177a_{6-9}$). The employment of wheeled vehicles (*ʿadjal*), mainly for carrying siege machines, was also extremely rare.

Though the advancing army was always accompanied by numerous physicians, surgeons, chemists and great quantities of drugs (see, *e.g.*, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 49_{6-7}), it would appear that its numerical strength was often reduced as a result of maladies which attacked its members during the march (this is quite apart from epidemics, which always took a heavy toll of the Mamlūks, and particularly of the younger ones amongst them; see D. Ayalon, in *JRAS*, 1946, 62-73. The sources do not inform us how and where the sick were treated. The weak and those who lagged behind were often sent back to Egypt.

The Mamlūk sources furnish rich and reliable information on the time-table of the army along its main route of advance: Cairo-Gaza-Damascus-Ḥamāt-Ḥimṣ-Aleppo (for a detailed list of the stations along this route see W. Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, 47, 48-9). This information is not spread, however, evenly over the whole Mamlūk period, for the sources mention the time-table only when the Sultan himself headed the military expedition. Data on regions lying outside the line Cairo-Aleppo, viz., the Delta area, Central and Upper Egypt and the Ḥidjāz is sparse.

The march from Cairo to Aleppo took 30 to 40 days; from Cairo to Damascus 20 to 25 days; from Cairo to Gaza 10 to 12 days; from Gaza to Baysān 5 to 6 days; from Baysān to Damascus 3 to 4 days; from Damascus to Ḥimṣ 2 to 3 days; from Ḥamā to Aleppo 2 to 3 days. The above figures sometimes include the resting days in the intermediate stations and sometimes not. The average lengths of rests in the main stations were: in Gaza—3 to 5 days; in Baysān—2 to 3 days; in Damascus—5 to 7 days; in Ḥamā—2 to 3 days. The length of the resting time in Ḥimṣ as well as the length of time needed to cover the distance between Ḥimṣ and Ḥamā has not been established.

A fundamental aspect of the Mamlūk military expedition was that, at least for most of the period, there was, in effect, no fixed ratio of officers to men. True, according to rule, the *Amīr* of a Thousand had to have under his command a thousand *ḥalḳa* soldiers and an unspecified number of *Amīrs* of Forty and *Amīrs* of Ten, while the *muḳaddam ḥalḳa* had to command forty *ḥalḳa* soldiers during a campaign (see D. Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 450-1). It is not clear how far this was in fact applied in the early Mamlūk period, when the *ḥalḳa* was still strong and numerous. But for most of the period the *ḥalḳa* was in steady decline, and under the Circassians had stopped going to battle almost completely. When the *ḥalḳa* did go to war, their numbers never exceeded a few hundred. The very name *muḳaddam ḥalḳa*, so frequent in the Baḥrī period, disappears altogether under the Circassians (see *BSOAS*, xv, 448 ff. and ḤALḲA). This implies that the above-mentioned proportion between the simple soldiers and their superiors in the campaign had only paper value.

As for the Royal Mamlūks (*al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*, see *BSOAS*, xv, 204 ff.), who constituted the backbone of the army, and who bore the brunt of the fighting, we do not know even the theoretical ratio of their officers and men in the campaign. It is stated that during the cadastral survey (*al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*) of 715/1315 the number of the Royal Mamlūks was 2,000 and the number of their commanders (*muḳaddamū al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*) was 40. But we do not know whether the same proportion existed before or after that year, and especially whether it had ever been adopted in the field of battle.

In the present state of our knowledge there is only one formation participating in battle which can be adequately described. This formation, which was called *ṭulb* (pl. *aṭlāb*), and which is mentioned most frequently in the sources, was of a very loose character and the number of soldiers included in it might vary considerably. The formation which went out to war under the command of an *amīr* constituted a *ṭulb*. At the same time, all the Royal Mamlūks taking part in a campaign, whose number far exceeded that of the soldiers of all the other *aṭlāb* put together, formed only one *ṭulb* (for further details see ṬULB).

Secrecy and military ruses. Little or no attempt was made to hide or disguise the preparations for a Mamlūk campaign. The hoisting of the war-flag, the muster, inspection, and pay-parade long befoie the departure of the expeditionary force gave ample warning to the enemy of the impending attack. Since the Mamlūks hardly ever used the sea-route in order to transport their armies or equipment to Syria, they had to confine themselves to a single land-route from Cairo to Gaza, a fact which greatly facilitated the enemy's task of watching their movements. In Syria the situation, though somewhat better, was not fundamentally different. Though there were two

routes from Gaza to Damascus, the one following the coast, then turning right through the valley of Esdraelon to Baysān, and the other passing through Karak in Transjordan, it was the first route which was mainly used, because it was far better than the second. Besides, the supplies prepared along the army's route of advance long before its departure, without any attempt of disguise, told the enemy from exactly what quarter to expect the attack.

One can find, however, some instances of attempts to mislead the enemy. Once, when Baybars I set out at the head of a group of horsemen, he forbade his men to buy food and fodder in order to conceal their identity (*Sulūk*, i, 598). Sultan Ṭaṭar (824/1421)was considered one of the greatest experts among the Mamlūk Sultans in the employment of ruses. When he set out against his rival *amīrs* in Syria he did not hoist the *djālīsh* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 490-8). He also cut all communications between Egypt and Syria. These acts, which are called "the concealment of news" (*ta*ʿ*miyat al-akhbār*) (*Nudjūm*, vi, 494-5; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 72_{5-7}; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 152-3), are praised by the historian, who says that in this respect Ṭaṭar followed the example of the early Mamlūk Sultans (*Nudjūm*, vi, 494-6). There are other instances of cutting the communications between various parts of the realm in order to disguise the army's movements. Other ruses employed by the Mamlūk Sultans are recorded. Sultan Barsbāy distributed the *nafaḳat al-safar* to make Ḳarā Yuluk believe that he (*i.e.*, Barsbāy) intended to attack him. Fearing, however, that he would not be able to get his money back, he distributed the *nafaḳa* to the *amīrs* only and not to the Royal Mamlūks (*Nudjūm*, vi, 685-7). Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh employed many ruses against the *amīr* Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (*Nudjūm*, vi, 336-7). One of these was lighting many fires in the camp which he had already left, thus making Nawrūz believe that his adversary was still there together with his army (*ibid.*, 147_{5-7}). In their battles agains the Mongols, soldiers of the Mamlūk army sometimes wore *sarāḳūdj* hats in order to mislead their enemy about their identity. Armenian soldiers in the Mongol camp also wore the same head-gear so as to pass as Mongols (*Sulūk*, i, 511_{10-11}, 783_{14-15}; *ibid.* (Quatremère's translation), i/1, 235; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, fol. $78b_{2-3}$, $80b_{7-8}$; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, index, s.v. *sarâqûj*).

Discipline. Mamlūk army discipline had greatly deteriorated in the Circassian period in comparison with the Baḥrī period and reached its lowest ebb in the closing decades of Mamlūk rule (for the state of Mamlūk discipline in peace-time. see *BSOAS*, xv, 211-3).

In the Baḥrī period there were few instances of insubordination in connexion with a campaign, and when these did occur they were severely punished (see, *e.g.*, *Sulūk*, i, 544_{13-15}; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 2). Under the Circassians a wholly different situation prevailed. Shirking from participation in an expedition became more and more frequent among the Royal Mamlūks, the only military body worthy of its name in that period; and threats of capital punishment (mainly by strangling, *shanḳ*) were totally unheeded. It even happened that a whole expeditionary force, with the exception of its commanders, failed to report for duty in spite of being repeatedly summoned. Such instances of total disobedience occurred, however, from time to time only with the smaller expeditions which were sent to Upper or Lower Egypt, the Ḥidjāz, etc. (*Nudjūm*, v, 28, vii, 756_{9-13}, 755_{2-5}; *Ḥawādith*, 6_{14}-7_{21}, 553_{14-19}). Sometimes the members of the expedition, having gathered at the place of assembly, set out for the field of battle without waiting for the order to move (*Nudjūm*, vi, 259_{1-19}, vii, 264_{8-9}). When a certain expedition did go to war with determination and without being prodded, the historian considers it to be "a very grand thing" (*shayʾ* ʿ*aẓīm ila 'l-ghāya*) (*Nudjūm*, vii, 408_{1-3}). A unique case of real enthusiasm for war which seized the whole Mamlūk army in the Circassian period was the expedition against Cyprus in 829/1426 (*Nudjūm*, vi, 600).

Another form of insubordination was the return of big sections of the expeditionary force, or even the whole of it, from the battlefield or from one of the stations en route to Cairo without the Sultan's permission. This phenomenon became common from the start of the long series of battles between the Mamlūks and the Turkoman chieftain Shāh Suwār and his Ottoman allies during the reign of Sultan Ḳāitbāy, but the first signs of it had already appeared at an earlier date (Ibn Khaldūn, v, 483_{13-15}). The number of soldiers returning to Cairo against orders was particularly great when the campaign was long and hard. Scarcity of food and fodder and high prices forced many of them to sell their horses, arms and field-dresses (on the field-dress of the mamlūk, see L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 19-20) and return home. The Sultan's anger was of no avail, for "his only choice was to keep silent". The deserters usually came back secretly and kept in hiding, until the Sultan's wrath subsided, but it did happen that they entered Cairo openly and impudently demanded additional pay. The Sultan never succeeded in sending them back to the front which they deserted (*Nudjūm*, vii, 487_{5}-8_{8}; *Ḥawādith*, 602_{21}-3_{13}, 672_{20-23}; *Badāʾi*ʿ, iii, 88_{12-14}, 89_{2-3}, 227_{22}-8_{2}, 229_{14-22}, 254_{22-23}, 255_{12-14}, 269_{11-16}, iv, 116_{8-23}, 437_{3-6}, v, 68_{12-13}). One of the main reasons for the Mamlūks' failure to maintain their hold over Cyprus was that the garrison stationed there frequently returned to Cairo, in utter disregard of the orders of the Sultan, whose attempts to send them back usually ended in complete failure (*Nudjūm*, vii, 724_{6-8}; *Ḥawādith*, 435-7, 448_{5-19}, 454_{5}).

A legal release from a campaign was called *dustūr*. This term, very frequent in the Ayyūbid period, gradually died out in the period of the Mamlūks.

The battle order in the field. The arrangement of the army in battle order was called *tartīb* or *ta*ʿ*biya* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 444_{3}, 493; *Ḥawādith*, 646) or *muṣāfafa* (*Nudjūm*, vii, 67) or *ṣaff* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 493), while the battle itself was called *maṣāff* [*q.v.*] (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 113_{24}; *Nudjūm* (C), vi, 10_{8}; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 170_{9}, 172_{22}). In almost every important field battle of the Mamlūks the Mamlūk army and the enemy's army were divided into three main bodies when they faced each other. These were the centre (*al-ḳalb*), the right wing (*al-maymana*) and the left wing (*al-maysara*). The strongest of these three was always the centre. It included the choicest troops, who fought under the Royal banners (*al-sanādjiḳ* or *al-a*ʿ*lām al-Sulṭāniyya*) and were commanded by the Sultan himself. The Royal banners betrayed the Sultan's position, a fact which endangered his personal safety in an emergency. When the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Nāṣir Yūsuf fought the Baḥrī Mamlūks he got away from underneath the banners, and thus escaped capture (*Sulūk*, i, 375_{5-8}). Sultan Ḳalāūn, in his battle against the Mongols, gave orders to furl the Royal banners, in order to avoid being identified by the enemy (*al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xiv, 492_{1-3}). In another battle the Royal banners were moved backwards, while the Sultan remained on the

same spot (*Manhal*, i, $154b_{22}$). On the Royal Banners see also Ibn K͟haldūn, *Muḳaddima* (ed. Quatremère), ii, 46 = tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52.

Close by the two wings were placed the auxiliary forces (the Bedouin horsemen near one wing, and the Turcoman horsemen near the other). Occasionally infrantrymen (*mus͟hāt, rad̲j̲d̲j̲āla*) were posted in front of the battle-array described above (Ibn Iyās, iv, 448, 451, v, 8). The use of infantry seems to have increased in the later years of Mamlūk rule (see Ibn Ṭūlūn, ed. R. Hartmann; al-Anṣārī, *Ḥawādit͟h al-zamān*, Cambridge Un. Lib., MS Dd, 11, 2). This may have been the result of the growing use of fire-arms. The infantrymen employed in the field of battle were mainly recruited from amongst the peasants and semi-nomads of D̲j̲abal Nābulus and other parts of Syria (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 81; *Nud̲j̲ūm* (Cairo), vii, 303_{17}; *Sulūk*, i, 388_{5-6}; ii, 93_7; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 41, 169_{16}; *Ḥawādit͟h*, 701_{7-8}; *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 51_{5-7}; iv, 408-9, 448_{12-18}, 451_{17-18}; v, 8_{2-3}, 63_{2-3}).

Sometimes the battle-array was rather more elaborate. Amīr Minṭās͟h, in his fight against Barḳūḳ, arranged his army thus: *ḳalb, maymana, maysara,* and two additional wings (*d̲j̲anāḥān*). In addition, he posted at the rear of both the *maymana* and *maysara* a reserve unit or rearguard (*radīf*). Barḳūḳ could not do the same, because his army was too small (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, v, 493_{10-13}). In 802/1400 the army of Sultan Farad̲j̲, which numbered 5,000 horsemen and 6,000 infantrymen, was arranged in his battle against Amīr Tanam between Ramla and Gaza in the following manner: right wing, left wing and "centre within a centre within a centre" (*ḳalb fī ḳalb fī ḳalb*); each of these formations had its own rearguard (*radīf*) (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, vi, 35_{10-13}). In 820/1417 al-Muʾayyad S͟hayk͟h, who was stated to have been a great military reformer and an expert in warfare and in the arrangement of troops in the field of battle (*wa-kāna imāmᵃⁿ fī . . . maʿrifat taʿbiyat al-ʿasākir*) paraded his army in battle array by Tall al-Sulṭān (near Aleppo). He decided not to leave the arrangement of the *ṭulb*s of the *amīr*s to anybody else, but to do it himself. He arranged them not according to the order in which the *amīr*s used to sit in the Sultan's presence during official ceremonies, but according to their offices or functions (*bi-ḥasab waẓīfatihi*) (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, vi, 363_{6-12}. See also *Manhal*, iii, $168a_{2-8}$; *Badāʾiʿ*, ii, 8_{23-5}; *JAOS*, 1949, 142; *BSOAS*, xv, 454-5). This would seem to imply that the order of the *amīrs*' *ṭulb*s in the battlefield was then normally an exact copy of the order of their sitting at official ceremonies. In 842/1438 the *amīr* Āḳbug͟hā al-Timrāzī arrayed Sultan D̲j̲aḳmaḳ's army against *amīr* Ḳurḳmās as follows: *maymana, maysara, ḳalb, d̲j̲anāḥān*. This battle array was called *taʿbiyat al-mud̲j̲annaḥ* (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, vii, 46_{6-8}). A vanguard placed before the centre was called *d̲j̲ālīs͟h al-ḳalb* (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 15_6). Occasionally the centre itself seems to have been divided into several sections, including wings, as may be deduced from the expression *d̲j̲anāḥ al-ḳalb al-aysar* (*Nud̲j̲ūm* (C), vii, 303_{13-14}).

The sources furnish very little information about the places occupied by the armies of the various Egyptian *amīr*s and the governors of the Syrian provinces within the left and right wings and the centre. Concerning the army of the province of Ḥamāt, it is explicitly stated that it had customarily been placed at the hand of the right wing since the days of Saladin (*Sulūk*, i, 201_{3-6}; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 24_{28-9}).

The actual fighting. A recurrent phenomenon in the main battles fought out between the Mamlūks and their adversaries was that the wings were usually defeated first, sometimes at the very start of the fighting, whereas the centre held out much longer. Very shortly after the opening of the fighting, the whole elaborate array would be greatly upset, for a wing of one of the opposing armies would soon crumble under the impact of the enemy's onslaught, and its soldiers take to flight, while the victorious wing on the opposite side would pursue it at full speed. It is noteworthy that even the side that was ultimately defeated succeeded quite often, during the initial stages of the fighting, in routing one of the enemy's wings and pursuing it. Both the pursued and the pursuing wings would get very far away from the main scene of the battle, and thus would be kept in complete ignorance of the progress of the fighting (this occurs in the battle of Gaza against the Franks in 642/1244 (Sibṭ, 494_{8-16}) in the battle of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf against Aybak in 648/1251 (Makīn, 53-5; *Sulūk*, i, 324-7; *Nud̲j̲ūm* (Cairo), vii, 6_{16}-7_2) in the battle of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt and in the battle of Barḳūḳ against his rivals at S͟haḳḥab in 792/1390 (Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 185-7; Ibn Ḳāḍī S͟huhba, fol. $59b_{20-25}$; *Manhal*, fol. $47b_{5-6}$). It happened more than once that the pursuing wing, on returning to the field of battle, discovered that the army to which it belonged had already been utterly routed.

The great field battles which the Mamlūks fought were usually short, and only rarely lasted more than one day. One of their most protracted battles was against Timurlang, but this was a combination of a field battle and a siege of the town of Damascus, and sieges were usually very long in the Middle Ages. In those very few cases when the battle continued into the next day, fighting would stop during the intervening night. The Mamlūks never fought a night battle against a foreign enemy.

One of the classical tactics employed by the Turkish and Mongol tribes in the field of battle was, as is well known, the encirclement of the enemy, and his annihilation within the tightening ring. The making of a ring (*ḥalḳa*) around the opponent is mentioned very frequently in the *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] training-books composed during the Mamlūk period, and very rarely in actual military exercises. The same tactics were also very common in hunting (*ḍarb ḥalḳat ṣayd*), especially in the early decades of Mamlūk rule (*Sulūk*, i, 498_7, 520_{1-6}, 549_{9-11}, 584_{1-8}, 789_{5-6}, 859_{20-21}, 421_{10-14}; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, fol. $52a_{7-10}$, $93b_{11-16}$; Quatremère, *Sultan Mamlouks*, i/2, 147 ff.). As far as can be learnt, however, from the available sources, the Mamlūks did not employ this method of warfare in any of their great battles, *i.e.*, they never encircled the enemy *in the battlefield* and annihilated him after encirclement (they did so to certain sections of the defeated and pursued enemy, usually far away from the scene of the main battle. In the case of ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt the picture is not clear). One possible explanation for this fact is that neither of these two adversaries could employ the tactics of encirclement successfully against the other, because both of them were well versed in it (the K͟hʷārizmians employed it with great success against the Franks in the battle of Gaza in 642/October 1244, see Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, 494_{3-16}. In 701/1302 the Mamlūks quelled a great rising by the Bedouins in Upper Egypt by encircling them in a "*ḥalḳa* like the hunting *ḥalḳa*"—al-Manṣūrī, fol. 231a-232a). Another possible explanation is that the Mamlūk art of war might have gradually diverged from that of their Turco-Mongol nomad brethren under the influence both of sedentary

living and of Muslim military precedent. The same might be true, though to a lesser degree, of the Mongol armies of Iran. As is well known, hunting was one of the main means of training for real war of the nomads of the steppe. In the reign of Baybars I the use of *ḥalḳat ṣayd* is mentioned much more frequently than in the reigns of later sultans. This might indicate the deterioration of nomad war usages amongst the Mamlūks with the passing of time (for Mamlūk military training see D. Ayalon, *Notes on the* Furūsiyya *exercises and games in the Mamluk Sultanate*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix, 31-62; T. Scanlon, *A Muslim Manual of War*, Cairo 1961).

Of the practices employed in Mamlūk battles, the two following are worthy of note.

(a) In the battle of Abulustayn (675/April 1277) the Mongols dismounted from their horses and fought "to the death" (*Nahdj*, xiv, 424_{5-6}; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 271-2; *Nudjūm* (C), vii, 168). This kind of warfare seems to have been quite common with the Mongols (for its repeated use in their war against the Khwārizmshāh see Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, 443_{18}-44_{7}). The Mamlūks do not seem to have used it at all. In the early Muslim period, however, this practice is often mentioned in the sources as having been employed in critical or desperate conditions (see, *e.g.*, Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 288; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 93_{14-19}; Ṭabarī, i, 1614_{8f}; iii, 853_{21}-54_{11}; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 338).

(b) Authors of Mamlūk military treatises mention the employment of a tremendous noise as a means of frightening the enemy, and indeed the Mamlūks did use this method quite frequently, and with considerable success. According to Mamlūk sources it was particularly successful in the siege of Acre (690/1291). During the final assault on the town the Mamlūks used a huge quantity of drums (*kūsāt*) carried on the backs of 300 camels, which produced a terrible thunder, so that "the world turned upside down". The Bedouin adversaries of the Mamlūks were particularly sensitive to the use of drums (*Duwal al-Islām*, ii, 147_{5-7}; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 321_{3}; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 6_{7-9}; *Sulūk*, i, 765_{1-2}; ii, 162_{8}; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 112_{10-11}).

When the Mamlūks were forced to fight their major battles on Egyptian soil, they usually preferred the vicinity of Cairo as the field of battle. On several occasions the boundary between the Sinai desert and Egypt proper, which was called "the head (or the beginning) of the sand" (*raʾs al-raml* or *awwal al-raml*) was recommended as more suitable for the defender, on the ground that the attacker would be exhausted immediately after crossing the desert. Both Barḳūḳ, when he fought Minṭāsh and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, and Ṭūmānbāy, when he fought the Ottomans, rejected the suggestion, and chose the vicinity of Cairo instead (*Nudjūm*, v, 409_{8-9}, 411; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, fol. $38b_{5-8}$; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 114_{8}; ix, 80_{24-7}; *Badāʾiʿ*, v, 136_{6-9}, $_{23-4}$, 139). Apparently the fact that Sultan Aybak defeated al-Nāṣir Yūsuf at al-ʿAbbāsa (648/February 1251) soon after the last-named had crossed the desert, thus removing for ever the Ayyūbid menace to Mamlūk rule, did not induce his successors to follow in his footsteps.

The Kerchief of Safe Conduct. When one of the rival parties wanted to negotiate a truce, a peace or a surrender, an envoy or envoys would be sent to the enemy's camp carrying a special cloth or kerchief called "the kerchief of safe conduct" (*mandīl al-amān*). This kerchief, the colour of which is not specified, was usually worn round the neck, or put on the head (it was rarely tied round the waist or held in the hand). Such a kerchief could also be sent by the victorious side as a sign of acceptance of the offer of negotiations (Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 145_{12}; *Manhal*, v, fol. $20a_{18}$; *Nudjūm*, v, 309_{7}; vii, 415_{10-11}, 439_{3-4}; *Badāʾiʿ*, ii, 11_{20-26}; iii, 109_{13}, 306_{6}, 353_{10f}; Ibn ʿArabshāh, *al-Taʾlīf al-ṭāhir*, British Museum, MS Or. 3026, fol. $86a_{14-16}$, fol. $97a_{18-19}$. See also L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 63, note 4, and Dozy, under *Mandīl*). Rarely a shirt (*ḳamīṣ al-amān*) was used for the same purpose as the kerchief (Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 228_{7}; see also Manṣūrī, fol. $123a_{13}$).

Casualties. The figures quoted by the Mamlūk sources for their own and enemy casualties are, on the whole, quite moderate, though by no means free from exaggeration. Very illuminating in this context is the view expressed by the Mamlūk historian Ibn Taghrībirdī. He, and his near contemporary Ibn Khaldūn (see *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 9 f. = tr. Rosenthal, i, 16), who spent many years in the Mamlūk Sultanate, belong to the very few Muslim historians who question the veracity of figures mentioned in the historical sources. But while both of them criticize the figures pertaining to the sizes of the armies, only Ibn Taghrībirdī includes in his criticism the figures of those killed in action. The same author, who states on several occasions that the numbers quoted in the sources of those carried off by the plague are extremely exaggerated, adds on one of these occasions that the same is true of those killed in earlier battles (*al-waḳāʾiʿ al-mutaḳaddima*), when the sources spoke of one hundred thousand persons, or less, down to one thousand or even to one hundred, slain in a single battle. Our historian argues that even when the number of the slain does not exceed one thousand, their bodies are scattered over a wide area, and in order to count them one has to engage many thousands of those who remained alive, and even then it would take a long time to establish the exact number of the dead. Then he adds: "And we have not seen and we have not heard that any king had ever appointed anybody to count the numbers of those killed in any battle conducted between himself and his enemy, unless the number of the slain was one thousand or less. As for those killed in the battles of Hūlākū, Ghāzān and Timur, the establishment of their exact numbers is sheer madness, and whoever believes in these numbers is nothing but a madman". Then our chronicler concludes that he mentioned the battles of these three Khāns specifically only because they lived nearer his own time, but he meant any battle which took place either in the Muslim period or before it (*Ḥawādith*, 337_{14}-8_{13}. For the author's view of the exaggerations of the historian concerning the sizes of expeditionary forces, etc., see *Nudjūm*, vi, 603_{14-16} and also *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 131_{6-8}, ix, 20_{9-14}. For his carefulness in quoting the numbers of Mamlūks cf. *ibid.*, vi, 687_{7-10}).

In spite of the quite numerous great battles of the Baḥrī period and the constant expeditions against the Bedouins in the Circassian period, Mamlūk sources do not furnish very rich information about the numbers of those killed in action. Data about the number of the wounded are scant. Very meagre are also the data about the prisoners of war.

The casualties suffered by the Mamlūks in the 9th/15th century were, in most cases, slight, if their encounters with Timur at the opening of this century and with the Turkoman Shāh Suwār and the Ottomans in its closing decades are excepted. The small number of casualties resulted from the lack of real fighting in the period, a fact which, amongst other causes,

greatly contributed to the accelerated decline of the Mamlūk army. Two statements by Ibn Taghrībirdī, the greatest authority on Circassian Mamlūk military society, about the intimate connexion between the scarcity of fighting, the lightness of casualties and the degeneration of the army, are of great importance (the author, who died in 874/1470, knew only of the very first battles against Shāh Suwār). In his first statement he says that the Mamlūks of his time "are a people who eat unearned bread", for they owe everything they have to the feats of the Mamlūks of past generations. There were no real wars in the 9th century A.H. after the war against Timur. The battles fought during the reigns of al-Nāṣir Faradj, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh and al-ʿAzīz Yūsuf were only substitutes for war. The greatest battle of the century was that of Shakḥab (792/1390), yet the number of those killed on both sides was under 50. After Shakḥab there were battles in which not a single soldier lost his life (*Nudjūm*, vi, 688). In his second statement, which he makes on summing up Sultan Ḳalāūn's rule, our author says that had Ḳalāūn's only positive act been the good upbringing he gave his Mamlūks, this alone would have justified his claim to greatness. Their good behaviour and discipline were in complete contrast to those of the Mamlūks of his own time. This should be coupled with the fact that, except for the war with Timur, there was no real war in the ninth century. The biggest military operation of that century was the conquest of Cyprus, but even this operation did not constitute a real battle, for the Cypriots surrendered to a small contingent, before the main body of the Mamlūk army reached the battlefield. The rest of the Mamlūk naval campaigns were no more than "sea voyages there and back" (*safar fi 'l-baḥr dhahāb^{an} wa-ayāb^{an}*). This, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, is in glaring contrast to the big and constant battles and to the fighting fervour which marked the period between the reigns of Salāḥ al-Dīn and al-Ashraf Khalīl. It is remarkable, he adds, that the Mamlūk soldiers of earlier generations were modest and shy, in spite of their victories and achievements. They effaced themselves in the presence of the great and of the veterans, and did not despise those who occupied lower positions than themselves. The Mamlūks of his own time were, in contrast, holding "their buttocks in the water and their nose in the sky (*ist fi 'l-māʾ wa-anf fi 'l-samāʾ*). None of them is capable of holding the horse's rein properly. They are experts in overcoming the weak and the powerless. Their *djihād* is the humiliation of their commander. Their *ghazwa*s are the looting of the hay and the dried clover" (*Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 328_3-9_{15}. On the breakdown of the discipline of the Mamlūks under the Circassians, see *BSOAS*, xv, 206-13. There is a marked tendency in the Circassian period to idealize the Baḥrī period, but this tendency is by no means without solid foundation).

The dead soldier's inheritance. The death of a soldier during a campaign often caused serious complications. One of the greatest difficulties was to obtain reliable testimony concerning the will he made before he died. The testimony of his fellow-soldiers was not considered good enough. In the meantime the deceased's property would be squandered. In order to safeguard the interests of the deceased's legal heirs, Sultan Baybars I decreed in Shaʿbān 663/May 1265, with the approval of the Chief Ḳāḍī, that every field commander would appoint a certain number of upright and devout persons, who would be authorized to testify to the dead soldier's last will. This decree had a welcome from the army. Earlier, in Radjab 662/April 1264, Baybars promulgated another decree safeguarding the interests of the deceased soldier's orphans. This one does not seem to have been confined to soldiers participating in a campaign (*Sulūk*, i, 512_{1-7}, 536_{10-16}; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, $206_{11-16, 19-28}$).

The return of the victorious army to the capital. The announcement of a victory in the capital was accompanied by the playing of bands and particularly by the beating of drums in the Cairo citadel and at the gates of the houses of the *Amīr*s of a Thousand. This way of announcing the victory was called *duḳḳat al-bashāʾir* (or *al-kūsāt*, etc.). Sometimes the drums would not stop beating for seven days running. The town was decorated for many days. The decoration usually included the construction of wooden "towers" (*ḳilāʿ*) in the streets, the repainting of the city's gates and the drawing of gilt coats of arms (*runūk*, sing. *rank*) on them. The returning army used to march through Cairo (*shaḳḳa al-Ḳāhira*) in a magnificent procession. Shackled prisoners, severed heads, torn, broken and reversed banners, cleft and sometimes also reversed drums formed part of the procession. The chief commanders of the expeditionary force received sumptuous robes of honour (*khilaʿ*, sing. *khilʿa*) and other gifts.

The behaviour of the Mamlūk army during a defeat. The behaviour of an army in a defeat or during a retreat is one of the best criteria for judging its efficiency and morale. Judged by this criterion alone, the Mamlūk army would not have justified its great reputation. That it would be easily dispirited as a result of a military setback in the years of its decline is to be expected. The extraordinary thing is that, as far as one can judge from a single important instance, its behaviour was not fundamentally different when it was at, or near, the peak of its power. The only major defeat suffered by this army in the Baḥrī period was in the first battle against Īlkhān Ghāzān (699/1299). The retreat soon turned into a panic flight. Even the grand *amīrs* abandoned the soldiers under their command and fled for their lives. In order to facilitate their flight the soldiers threw away their helmets and wore kerchiefs instead. Many of them took off their field-dresses and went into hiding in Damascus from fear of the wrath of the mob. Others tried to disguise their identity by cutting their beards. Both the Egyptian and Syrian armies withdrew to Egypt. Their soldiers reached Cairo in tiny isolated groups or even singly (*mutafarriḳīn furadāʾ*), most of them half-naked and horseless. According to one historian the number of those killed in the actual fighting was quite small; many found their death during the flight. It took several months to re-organize and re-equip the army, but Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad rose to the occasion in spite of his youth. The maintenance and reorganization of such huge armies could be carried out in Egypt because of the great prosperity of that country in that time, as explicitly stated by the sources (*Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 122_{18-19}, $124_{1-8, 13-14}$, 128_{13}-9_3; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd* (in *Patrologia Orientalis*), xiv, 637_8-8_3, 670_8-71_3; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 60_{23}-61_2, 80_{1-5}; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 17-18, 37-40).

In the battle against Timurlang (Djumādā I 803/January 1401) the Mamlūk defeat was not severe, and therefore the retreat was very orderly at the beginning; but as soon as the *amīrs* learnt of Sultan Faradj's departure, they also departed hastily without taking leave, and each of them reached Egypt with not more than one or two Mamlūks

(*Nudjūm*, vi, 61_{14-17}).

A most striking proof of the deterioration of the Mamlūk army's discipline early in the 9th/15th century is afforded by its attitude immediately after Sultan Barsbāy raised the siege of the fortress of Āmid in 836/1433. Failing to capture it, Sultan Barsbāy decided to make a treaty with its defender, Ḳarā Yuluk, and return to Egypt. The besieging army remained intact throughout the long siege, and suffered only few losses. There was, of course, no question of any defeat. Yet as soon as the news of the treaty spread in the camp, the whole army did not bother to wait for the order of retreat, but turned its back on the fort and started a headlong stampede towards Egypt. In this chaotic flight each made his own way, and the huge army soon disintegrated into tiny groups which rushed towards Egypt in different ways, unbeknown to one another. The *amīrs* fled in one direction, whereas their Mamlūks, together with their *ṭulb*s, ran away in another. The Sultan himself was left with a few followers, and was exposed during the whole night to great danger. The contemporary historian believes that Ḳarā Yuluk could have inflicted heavy losses on the retreating army had he possessed sufficient courage to pursue it (*Nudjūm*, vi, 206-9).

In the numerous defeats which the Mamlūk army suffered at later dates all its retreats were most disorderly. The soldiers returned home hungry, naked and barefoot. Some of them came back on foot, others riding donkeys and yet others riding camels (see *e.g.*, *Badāʾiʿ*, ii, 112_{6-8}, iii, 12_{5-6}, 34_{13-16},; v, 72_{6-8}, 128_{8-11}).

Battles within Mamlūk military society. Whereas the Mamlūks fought against their external enemies with considerable zeal and determination, at least until the early decades of Circassian rule, their internal battles were in most cases conducted with little determination and ferocity, and in a rather leisurely manner. The number of casualties was usually very small. The expression "insignificant fighting" (*ḳitāl hayyin*) is very frequent in connexion with this kind of warfare. It was almost impossible to foresee the results of these battles, for the two rival camps were always in a fluctuating state, with Mamlūks constantly going over from one side to the other. When the scales were definitely tipped in favour of one rival, it often happened that most of the Mamlūks of the losing side would go over *en bloc* to the winning side (see, *e.g.*, *Nahdj*, xiv, 579_5-80_3; *Manhal*, iv, fol. $216a_{18-20}$; *Nudjūm*, vi, 35-6). Even in the battles between Barḳūḳ and his rivals, which were much fiercer than the ordinary Mamlūk skirmishes, and later in the battles which these rivals conducted amongst themselves, there was a constant flow of Mamlūks from one camp to the other. Because of this flow and because the combatants on both sides wore more or less the same dress, the supporters of one rival had sometimes to bear distinguishing marks (see, *e.g.*, Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 170_{22-3}). Only the battles between Sultan Faradj and his Circassians were distinguished by their particular ferocity (see *JAOS*, lxix (1949), 141-2).

The Cairo citadel (*ḳalʿat al-djabal*) occupied a most central place in the Mamlūk internal strifes. In spite of its being strongly fortified, its sieges usually were of short duration, for it passed from hand to hand without much struggle. Sieges which lasted seven days were quite rare (*Sulūk*, i, 800_{20}; *Ḥawādith*, 179_{18-21}, 233_{8-9}; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 147_3, 181_{18}; *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 455_3). The longest siege of the citadel under the Mamlūks lasted 31 days (*Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 362_1-363_2). The Madrasat al-Sulṭān Ḥasan, which is situated opposite the citadel, always played an important rôle in these sieges.

Though inter-Mamlūk fighting caused considerable damage to the civilian population, many inhabitants of the capital enjoyed witnessing it in the same way that they enjoyed witnessing the spectacle of the *maḥmal* procession. Sometimes the spectators suffered heavier casualties than the Mamlūks (*Ḥawādith*, 171_{21-3}; *Nudjūm*, vii, 405, 417_{14}-18_4).

It was only very rarely that the Mamlūk rival factions called the Egyptian Bedouins to help them against each other. When in 902/1497 they did call them, the Mamlūks fought the Mamlūks, while the Bedouins fought the Bedouins (*Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 356_{7-9}, 357_{19}-58_2). A few years later, in 906/1501, the Mamlūk factions again contemplated calling the Bedouins for help, but then discarded the idea on the grounds that such a step was too humiliating (*Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 450_{8-10}). As for the Bedouins, they showed little enthusiasm for a trial of arms with the Mamlūks, as long as they were not attacked by them. Once Barḳūḳ asked the Bedouins to help him against his rivals, but they excused themselves, saying that they were not able to fight the Mamlūks (Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 72_{11-19}).

See further the articles on the individual battles—ʿAYN DJĀLŪT, ḤIMṢ, MARDJ DĀBIḲ, SHAḲḤAB, WĀDĪ AL-KHAZINDĀR etc.; for siege-warfare see ḤIṢĀR.

(D. AYALON)

iv. — OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

A major field campaign was perforce an enterprise involving the Ottomans in a long and complicated process of preparation. News from abroad—espionage reports, in fact—had an obvious relevance to operations in the field and the Ottomans strove to be well informed about the international scene (*e.g.*, through Ragusa: cf. N. H. Biegman in *Belleten*, xxvii (1963), 237-55 ; on Jewish spies in the Ottoman service see A. Arce, *Espionaje y última aventura de José Nasi* . . ., in *Sefarad*, xiii (1953), 257-86). Routes followed in earlier wars sometimes came under renewed consideration at a later date—Meḥemmed II would seem to have studied some of the campaigns of Bāyazīd I and Murād II as a guide to his own action (cf. H. İnalcık, in *X. Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi Tebliğleri*, Istanbul 1957, 220). Moreover, advice about the best routes available might also be sought from soldiers and officials well acquainted with a particular theatre of war (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 521).

The great campaigns stood in close relation to a number of geographical zones. In time of war against Persia, Erzurum (reached from Istanbul either along the sea route to Trebizond or overland) was a base area of vast importance for the Ottoman armies. So, too, the region of Diyarbekir, Van and Mosul, with Aleppo as a rear base—fortress towns which also fulfilled a similar rôle in relation to ʿIrāḳ, when that land was the theatre of war. Against Russia the Ottomans made much use of the sea routes from Istanbul to the Crimea and to the fortresses located on the rivers flowing into the Black Sea—*e.g.*, Azov and Yenikale (Don and the Strait of Kerch), Ochakov and Kilburun (Dnepr and Bug), Akkerman (Dnestr) and Kilya, Ismail, Tulcea, Braila, Silistra and Ruschuk (Danube), to all of which must be added the fortresses guarding Moldavia (*e.g.*, Bender, Iasi, Kaminiec and Khotin). As for campaigns on the middle Danube, here the main line of advance was from Istanbul through Edirne, Plovdiv, Sofia and Nish towards Belgrade, beyond which the

Danube itself and the Tisza offered access into the Hungarian lands, the Sava and the Drava into the regions of Hercegovina, Dalmatia and Bosnia. The great centre of Salonika was well situated to act as a base area for operations directed against Greece and Albania (cf., on communications in the Ottoman Empire, the works of Jireček and Taeschner).

The vast extent of the empire, the great distances to be overcome meant that full mobilization was, in general, a slow and laborious affair. It was the custom to send out in December orders calling the *sipāhīs*, *i.e.*, the "feudal" horsemen in the provinces, to a campaign envisaged for the following year (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 521; J. Cuspinianus, *De Turcorum origine*, 63r-v; I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 43; Sutton, ed. A. N. Kurat, 35-7, 90-1, 151-3). Marsigli (*Stato militare*, ii, 106) indicates how, for a campaign in Europe, the troops from Asia Minor and the Arab lands passed over into the Balkans at Istanbul and Gallipoli or straight to Salonika from the ports of Syria and Egypt, the various contingents joining the main line of march thereafter at Philippopolis (Filibe [*q.v.*]), Sofia and Nish. Of the troops from Europe the Bosnians made for Eszék, the Albanians for Nish, the men of Transylvania for Pest via Szolnok and the Wallachians, Moldavians and Krim Tatars for Belgrade via Temesvár (Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 106). It was seldom possible, in time of conflict with Austria or Persia, to concentrate the imperial forces in the actual theatre of war until the summer was far advanced, with the result that major field operations often had to be compressed into the months of August, September and October. The diminution, in the late summer, of natural sources of fodder in the area of operations tended to restrict the length of the campaign season, since the Ottomans took with them to war—and therefore had to feed—a large number of transport animals (cf. de Warnery, *Remarques*, 37-8). With the onset of winter (often harsh in the Balkans and as a rule severe in Armenia and the adjacent regions) the time for withdrawal to winter-quarters was almost at hand.

The preparations for a new campaign included the bringing together of vast supplies of war material. Orders would go out to the cannon foundries (Ṭop-k͟hāne) at Istanbul and elsewhere for the casting of new guns and to the mines of the empire for supplies of metal (lead, copper, iron) and for the fabrication of picks, shovels, crowbars, axes, nails, horse-shoes, axles for gun-carriages and waggons, etc. (cf. art. BĀRŪD, 1063; also J. Grzegorzewski, in *Archiwum Naukowe*, vi (1912), *passim*; Gökbilgin, *Yürükler*, 169). Austrian accounts of material captured from the Ottomans during the long war of 1094/1683-1110/1699 embrace a wide range of articles and equipment—*e.g.*, cramps, shovels, scythes, sickles, anvils, bellows, iron, lead, horse-shoes, nails, slow-match, linseed-oil, resin, pitch, cauldrons, camel-hair and horse-hair, ropes, cord and cables, cotton-wool, sacks, sheep-skins, grease, tallow, waggon-jacks, etc. (cf. Boethius, *Kriegs-Helm*, i, 153; *Archiv f. Kunde österreich. Gesch.-Quellen*, iv, 444; Veress, *Gyula Város*, 452; also (for Peterwardein, 1716) *Mon. Hung. Hist., Scriptores*, xxvii, 585). These inventories include the guns, fire-arms and other weapons taken from the Ottomans and, in addition, list the amounts of captured gun-powder, sulphur and saltpetre (essential items that the Porte drew both from inside the empire and from foreign sources: cf. the references in BĀRŪD iv (1063) and D͟JIZYA ii).

Of the first importance also was the obligation to make available adequate supplies of food for the troops in the field. The Ottomans, on campaign, led a frugal and sober life, a little bread (or biscuit), mutton and rice (pilav), dried beef, onions and the like forming, with water, the main ingredients of their diet. This temperate approach to eating and drinking tended, as some of the Western sources indicate, to make the Ottoman soldier more resistant to disease and of greater endurance than his Christian foe (cf. Menavino, in Sansovino, *Historia Universale*, 73r; Georgieviz, *Epitome*, 52-53; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 518; de Courmenin, *Voiage*, 261; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 23). The central government took elaborate measures to meet the need for supplies and provisions. Large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep accompanied the Ottomans to war as sustenance for the troops in the field (cf. Magni, *Turchia*, i, 290). On the local population dwelling close to the line of advance would fall the burden—against payment, however—of bringing to the troops on the march grain and victuals of various kinds (cf. da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*, 48-9; Spandugino, in Sathas, *Documents Inédits*, ix, 230-1; de Courmenin, *Voiage*, 255-6). At times, indeed, when a major campaign was in view, an edict might be issued, forbidding the export of supplies from a given area (cf. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 525). The government—with the armed forces in mind—promoted the cultivation of rice in the Balkan lands, *e.g.*, along the rivers Maritsa and Vardar (cf. FILĀḤA iv, 907).

A great campaign meant the gathering together of vast numbers of transport animals, waggons and carts. Oxen and buffalo (some of them bred under government control, *e.g.*, in Cilicia: cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, iii, 40) hauled the large guns, while camels (drawn from Asia Minor and the Fertile Crescent), mules and draught horses ("*bārgīr*", levied from the lands along the lower Danube) acted as beasts of burden. The *sipāhīs*, *i.e.*, the "feudal" warriors, and also the "*Altī bölük*", or mounted regiments of the imperial household, came to war with their own horses, more swift and more light in physique than the heavier "*bārgīr*". It was, in addition, the custom, for purposes of transport, to requisition waggons and animals, together with personal labour service, from the rural population on or near the line of march (cf. Menavino, in Sansovino, *Historia Universale*, 43r, 105r-106v; Spandugino, in Sathas, *Documents Inédits*, ix, 218; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 230; I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 203; Montecuculi-Crissé, iii, 294, 295, 305-306; L. Barbar, in *Wiener Staatswissenschaftliche Studien*, xiii/1, 43 ff.; B. A. Cvetkova, *Impôts extraordinaires*, 225).

The opening of a campaign was attended with elaborate ceremonies. Of the six *tūg͟hs* [*q.v.*] or horse-tails marking the exalted rank of the Sultan two would be erected in the first courtyard of the imperial palace at Istanbul. Should the Grand Vizier—and not the Sultan—be in charge of the campaign, then one of the three *tūg͟hs* assigned to him was exposed to public view. After six weeks this *tūg͟h* (known as "*ḳonak tūg͟hī*", *i.e.*, "tough de station", because it travelled and halted one day's march ahead of the main forces) was moved to the first encampment of the campaign located at Dāwūd Pās͟hā near Istanbul, the war being in Europe, or else sited close to Üsküdar (Skutari), hostilities being in Asia. On the following day contingents drawn from the crafts of Istanbul and destined to practise their trades on campaign for the benefit of the troops—millers, bakers, butchers, saddlers, etc.—went out in ceremonial procession to the encampment. Two days

later the Janissaries and, in succession after them, the other corps and regiments of the central government moved to the camp, where the Grand Vizier, as *Serdār*, or commander-in-chief, now joined them, having taken formal leave of the Sultan (cf. I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 215; Galland, *Journal*, i, 177 ff.; de la Croix, *Mémoires*, i, 266 ff., 295 ff.; Kéralio, *Histoire*, i, 52 ff., ii, 73 ff., 82 ff., 88 ff.; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 21 ff.; Montecuculi-Crissé, iii, 289; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, vii, 387 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 488 ff.).

Much care was taken to make the line of march, at least within the confines of the empire, as smooth and as practicable as possible. Orders would be sent to the authorities in the provinces, bidding them repair the relevant routes in order to facilitate the passage of waggons and guns. Piles of stones and wooden stakes served to mark out the actual line of advance that the troops had to follow (cf. *Trésor politique*, iii, 861; I. Dujčev, *Avvisi*, 69, 264; Magni, *Turchia*, i, 288; Auer, ed. Lukinich, 50; L. Barbar, *op. cit.*, 22, 27, 28). The crossing of rivers (*e.g.*, in Europe, the Sava, the Drava, the Danube or the Tisza) was a problem of particular importance. Supplies of tools, chains, timber, cables, nails, etc. had to be assembled for the building of great pontoon bridges. Sometimes pre-fabricated parts of the structure would be carried to the designated site in boats or on waggons and carts. Moreover, to ensure that the work went ahead with despatch, orders might be issued requisitioning the services of local skilled craftsmen, *e.g.*, carpenters and smiths (cf. Barovius, *De rebus Ungaricis*, 134-5; Szamosközy, *Történeti Maradványai*, 147-8; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, ii/1, 521, 525, 543; Auer, ed. Lukinich, 80; Magni, *Turchia*, 391-3; de la Croix, *Mémoires*, 298-300; Molnar, in *Müvészettörténeti Értesitö*, vii/4, 259-63).

The Ottomans, in the time of their splendour, observed a strict discipline on the march. Even the slightest damage to orchards, gardens and cultivated fields along the route was visited with severe punishment (cf. Menavino, in Sansovino, *Historia Universale*, 73r; Georgieviz, *Epitome*, 53-4; Chesneau, *Voyage*, 108-9). Such discipline seems, however, to have been far less good, when the empire was in decline (cf. de Warnery, *Remarques*, 89). Written commands transmitted from the *serdār*, through the *Čawush-bashî* and his subordinates, to the various corps and regiments made known the order of march, the chief elements of which—in the actual theatre of war—included an advanced screen of raiding and reconnaissance horsemen (*e.g.*, *akindjîlar* and Tatars), a vanguard of picked cavalry under the *Čarkhadjî-bashî*, a main force embracing the Janissaries, the *Altî bölük*, the specialist troops (*e.g.*, armourers, artillerists, etc.), together with the mass of the "feudal" *sipāhīs* on either flank, and a rearguard covering the baggage and supplies (cf. de Promontorio-de Campis, ed. Babinger, 49, 61; *Ordo Portae*, ed. Şerif Baştav, 8-11; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 112-7; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 493 ff.).

The movement from one camping site to the next began in the small hours of the morning. It was now that the personnel entrusted with the choice and delimitation of a new site went forward, under suitable escort and with tents, baggage and equipment, to fulfil their duties. Access to pasture for the animals and to water for beasts and men alike was a factor of much importance in the selection of the next site. Experience from earlier campaigns, expert local advice and careful reconnaissance meant of course that the choice could often be made, in principle at least, well before the actual moment of need. With the forward movement thus begun, the various corps and regiments set out in succession, marching until about the hour of noon, when the new camp, in normal circumstances, would be at hand. The centre of the encampment was reserved for the tents of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier and the high dignitaries of the Porte. Around them would lie the Janissaries, the *Altî bölük*, the artillerists with their cannon—in short, the troops belonging to the imperial household. Beyond this central nucleus stood the *Beglerbegs*, the *Sandjak begs* and the *sipāhīs* of the provinces, each corps having its own quarters. Much colourful detail can be gleaned about such encampments from the European sources—*e.g.*, on the lanterns used for marching in the hours of darkness, the water-carrier (*sakkā*) with his buffalo skins, the "baraques" of the artisans and craftsmen (each with a small pennant above it, pointing to a particular trade or occupation), the enclosure where strayed animals waited for their owners to reclaim them or the canvas barriers erected around the quarters of the Sultan and painted to look like walls. The deepest impressions left on the Christian mind would seem to have come, however, from the frugal and sober habits of the Ottoman soldier, the absence of drunkenness, the wonderful silence prevailing in such encampments and from the care taken to maintain a high standard of personal and public cleanliness amongst the troops (*e.g.*, regular visits to the barber, frequent washing of clothes, lavish provision of latrines both within the quarters of each individual unit and within the camp as a whole)—all of which stood in marked and favourable contrast to the practices normal in the armies of Christendom (cf. Spandugino, in Sathas, *Documents Inédits*, ix, 230; *Trésor politique*, iii, 865 ff.; de Courmenin, *Voiage*, 258-9; de la Croix, *Mémoires*, i, 289 ff., 301 ff.; Galland, *Journal*, i, 113 ff., ii, 113 ff.; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 516 ff.; Magni, *Turchia*, i, 288 ff., 301 ff., 336-7, 348-9; Guilleragues, *Ambassades*, 323 ff.; Benaglia, *Relatione*, 101 ff.; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, i, 81, ii, 56 ff.; de La Motraye, *Voyages*, ii, 5 ff.; Villars, ed. Vogüé, i, 77 ff.; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 13, 22, 27-8). There is often mention, too, of the pomp and circumstance of Ottoman warfare—*e.g.*, of the uniform and equipment of the Janissaries, of the respect accorded to meritorious conduct in the field (the granting of aigrettes, of honorific robes and of gratifications in cash) or of the brilliant-hued pennants used to distinguish one from the other the various regiments and corps and also the personal retinues of the great dignitaries (cf. *Trésor politique*, iii, 841, 843, 853; de Germigny, in *L'Illustre Orbandale*, i, 109; Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, Supl. I, i, 86-7; Benaglia, *Relatione*, 234; Magni, *Turchia*, i, 339; Brue, *Journal*, 24, 27, 58-9; Perry, *View of the Levant*, 42).

An assessment of Ottoman tactics in the field demands some degree of caution. The rôle, in warfare, of the Janissaries, the *Altî bölük* and the specialist corps of the imperial household was a most important one, but it can be given too much emphasis. The main weight of the Ottoman forces—and this fact determined in large measure their system of tactics—was to be found in the *sipāhīs*, the "feudal" warriors from the provinces, who far out-numbered the troops of the central government. On the battlefield, subject of course to variations imposed by the terrain, the normal order consisted of a firm centre embracing the Janissaries and other élite elements

with trenches, cannon and waggons as protection (in short, a "Wagenburg" arrangement) and on each side a powerful wing of *sipāhī* horsemen. The tactics appropriate to such forces aligned in such an order are not hard to define: harassment of the foe, skirmishes, sudden thrusts, feigned retreats, infiltration toward the flank and rear of the opposing troops and at last a general onset of horsemen, with the foe, should all go well, overrun and cut down in flight and relentless pursuit. To considerations of this kind must be added factors of a strategical nature: time and distance (in relation to war against Austria and Persia), climate (the approach of winter) and logistics (food and munitions for the men, fodder for the animals). The influence of these factors was such that, in the golden age, a major Ottoman campaign assumed the form of an offensive brief in duration, but waged with vigour to ensure, if possible, a rapid and decisive result—the emphasis resting, of course, in the tactical sense, on warfare highly mobile and fluid in character.

As the art of war changed and became more elaborate in Europe, so, in the course of time, new tactics, indeed a distinctive system of warfare was evolved, first in Austria and then in Russia, to meet the Ottoman armies in the field. Raimondo di Montecucculi, one of the greatest theoreticians of war and himself victor over the Turks at St. Gotthard in 1075/1664, laid down in his famous memoirs the principles of action destined to govern all the campaigns of Austria and Russia against the Ottomans in the late 11th/17th and the 12th/18th centuries: "... Attaquer avec les cuirassiers l'infanterie de l'ennemi ... soutenir et repousser sa cavalerie avec nos piques et notre mousqueterie, et battre sans relâche l'une et l'autre avec l'artillerie, et toutes sortes de bouches à feu ..." (Montecuculi-Crissé, iii, 302). The tactical formation which embodied these principles was the square or rectangle, each side (two or three lines deep) consisting of alternate groups of foot and horse with chevaux de frise in front of them, the guns being at the corners of the square, the reserve troops and baggage inside it. Modifications of later date involved the disappearance of the pikes and the chevaux de frise, the diminution in the size of the squares and an increase in their number—changes designed, in short, to obtain greater freedom of movement (cf. Montecucculi, *Mémoires*, ii, *passim*; Röder von Diersburg, ii, 33; Eugen, *Feldzüge*, ii, 552 ff., *passim*; Vauban, ii, 281 ff.; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 63 ff., 74 ff., 90 ff., 109 ff.; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 86; Bruce, *Memoirs*, 43, 46; Poniatowski, *Remarques*, 103; Manstein, *Mémoires*, 124, 178 ff.; F. Ley, *Münnich*, 62-3; Anthing, *Campagnes*, i, 142-3, ii, 78-9; Smitt, *Suworow*, 157 ff., 431; de Volney, *Considérations*, 19-20, 47; von Berenhorst, *Betrachtungen*, 362 ff.; Criste, *Kriege*, 272 ff.).

The Ottoman armies still contained much sound material, both in respect of equipment and of men. Praise is given in the European sources to their muskets, mortars and mines (see above, BĀRŪD, 1064). On favourable ground the Janissaries still fought well, as at Gročka in 1152/1739 (cf. Criste, *op. cit.*, 272-3). Nevertheless, the old Ottoman tactics met with little success against the co-ordination of all arms and all categories of troops practised in Austria and Russia, the increasing reliance of the Christians on massed gun-fire and musket-fire, and their conviction that the best means to overcome the Muslim foe was to force him into a major battle. The Ottomans, during the war of 1683-99, began, in 1687, to entrench themselves in elaborate fashion, renouncing to some extent the open and mobile order of battle normal to them before this time. Such a change—itself a consequence of the severe defeats endured at the hands of the Austrians since 1683—was soon shown to be of doubtful advantage. At Zenta in 1109/1697 the Ottomans, unable to hold their entrenchments under the efficient fire of the Austrian guns, suffered yet another formidable reverse (cf. Röder von Diersburg, ii, 22; Marsigli, *op. cit.*, ii, 125; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 122 ff.).

Much information, often of great detail, is to be found in the European sources of the late 17th and of the 18th centuries, *e.g.*, on the incompetence of Ottoman generals, the tactics of the *sipāhīs*, the skill of the Ottomans with the sabre, the use of smoke signals to launch an attack, the wild rush of the Janissaries towards the foe and on the unwieldiness of the Ottoman guns (cf. Villars, ed. Vogüé, i, 367, 368; Vauban, ii, 283; Eugen, *Feldzüge*, ii, 568 ff.; Röder von Diersburg, ii, 107 ff.; Poniatowski, *Remarques*, 104-5; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 24, 60 ff., 77-78, 114; Kéralio, *Histoire*, i, 113 ff.; Smitt, *Suworow*, 162 ff.; Criste, *Kriege*, 273 ff.). The resultant picture—even when all allowances have been made—is of a war machine outmoded beyond hope of renovation. Soldiers of such great reputation as Lorraine and Villars and authors of genuine insight like de Warnery and Kéralio underline the basic defects of Ottoman warfare—incompetence in the high command, lack of an efficient artillery, ignorance of tactics and of the art of manœuvre (cf. Villars, ed. Vogüé, i, 79-80, 368, 380; de Warnery, *Remarques*, 114; Kéralio, *Histoire*, i, 114-5). Reform on European lines had in fact become for the Ottomans a most urgent and unavoidable need. The last word on their traditional style of warfare can be left to Maurice de Saxe, who wrote that neither valour, nor number, nor wealth was lacking to them—but order, discipline and "la manière de combattre" (*Rêveries*, i, 87).

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V.—PERSIA

The conduct of war in the early centuries of Islamic Persia was based essentially on the military heritage of earlier Persian empires, but it also contained elements from the Arab desert tradition of warfare and the Turkish steppe tradition of raiding.

We first hear of Persian military methods in the Islamic period from the accounts of the Arab conquest of al-ʿIrāḳ and Persia under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The mailed cavalryman, armed with sword, lance, mace or bow, was characteristic of the Sāsānid army, and the deployment and tactics of such cavalrymen must have been similar to the type of heroic warfare depicted in the *Shāh-nāma* (on which see Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*², Berlin and Leipzig 1920, 53 ff.). War elephants were also used, and their use later passed to several of the Islamic dynasties of Persia (for the military use of elephants, see FĪL). At the battle of Buwayb on the Euphrates banks in 13/634, the Persians advanced against al-Muthannā's Arabs in three cavalry columns, each headed by an elephant protected by a group of infantrymen. At al-Ḳādisiyya in the following year,

Rustum's troops (allegedly numbering 120,000, of whom a large proportion must have been infantry conscripts and camp followers) advanced on the first day of battle in thirteen ranks, each behind the other, and rained arrows on the Arabs. Being without adequate protective clothing or helmets, the latter suffered considerably, but nevertheless stood firm and were able to advance and use their lances and swords at close quarters (Ṭabarī, in Sir W. Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*[4], Edinburgh 1915, 104 ff., and R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 431-2).

With the decline of direct Caliphal authority in Persia and the rise of virtually independent dynasties (sc. in the 3rd/9th century and after), two trends of military significance may be noted. Firstly, the emphasis on the cavalry arm increased with the popularity in armies of Turkish military slaves (*g̲h̲ulāms* [*q.v.*]), for these were primarily cavalrymen, using the weapon of the steppes, the bow. Secondly, multi-national, professional armies became the norm, and the supreme commander or ruler had a problem in wielding together for action the disparate elements composing his forces. According to Niẓām al-Mulk, Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna drew advantage from this diversity. He kept the various nationalities, Turks, Indians, K̲h̲urāsānīs, Arabs, etc., in their ethnic groups, and encamped thus when the army was on the march; on the battlefield, the spirit of emulation spurred them all on to prodigies of valour (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxiv). But on more than one occasion, the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳs had difficulty in holding their forces together on the battlefield. In 465/1073, for instance, Malik S̲h̲āh had to defend his throne against his uncle Ḳāwurd, the representative of conservative Turkmen feeling. In a battle outside Hamad̲h̲ān, Malik S̲h̲āh's own Turkish troops turned against the Kurdish and Arab contingents of his army, because these last had played the decisive rôle in crumpling and routing Ḳāwurd's right wing and had thus outraged the feelings of Turkish solidarity amongst the Sultan's own Turks (Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 48). However, where the ruler or commander had at his disposal a force of dependable *g̲h̲ulāms*, these could be moved along the front to whichever part needed strengthening or watching (cf. Bayhaḳī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Mas'ūdī*, cited in C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2 (1960), 47).

The Arab raiders, like the Turkmen marauders from the steppes in later centuries, had travelled with a minimum of baggage. But in a settled land like Persia, the large-scale movement of troops was bound to be a complicated affair. The reduction of fortresses and walled towns demanded siege machinery; if agriculture was to flourish and the taxable capacity of the land to be maintained, an army could not expect to live off the countryside, so supplies had to be taken along; and such non-combatant bodies as the court and harem and the *dīwān*s of the administration frequently accompanied the army on its campaigns. When in 420/1029 Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna marched against the Būyids of Ray and D̲j̲ibāl, his full expedition comprised, besides the fighting men, 12,000 camels carrying the armoury, 4,000 camels for the treasury, wardrobe and domestic equipment, 300 elephants for transporting the tents and 2,000 horses for conveying the harem and courtiers (S̲h̲abānkāra'ī, *Mad̲j̲ma' al-ansāb fī 'l-tawārīk̲h̲*, MS Yeni Cami 909, ff. 178b-179a). In the 6th/12th century under Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, the Sald̲j̲ūḳ army also had with it on the march a travelling hospital (*māristān*) mounted on 40 camels (Bundārī, 136-7; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲ al-ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 404-5; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 82-3). Naturally, the speed at which such armies could move was slow, and the successes of the indifferently-armed but highly mobile Sald̲j̲ūḳ raiders in K̲h̲urāsān are in large part explicable by their advantages over the heavily-burdened and less manoeuvrable G̲h̲aznavid professional armies.

In addition to such impedimenta as these, an army on the march might have to take with it equipment for coping with particular types of terrain or climatic conditions. In 430/1039 Mas'ūd I of G̲h̲azna sent back to his capital for equipment suitable for steppe and desert warfare (*ālat-i d̲j̲ang-i biyābān*) so that his forces in K̲h̲urāsān might meet the Turkmens on more equal terms (Bayhaḳī, ed. G̲h̲anī and Fayyāḍ, Tehrān 1324/1945, 588). Beasts of burden were used to trample ways through snow, or else peasant corvées were impressed for the task. As a protection against rain, troops of the G̲h̲aznavids are mentioned as wearing oiled cotton coats (*bārānihā-yi kirbāsīn*) (Bayhaḳī, 134, 534). Thus when an army was campaigning outside its normal sphere of action, local conditions had to be provided for if the army was to function at optimum efficiency; the sources often note the effect of the damp climate of the Caspian coast region in rusting weapons, and the Turkish archers of Ibn Rā'iḳ's general Bačkam were in 326/938 routed in K̲h̲ūzistān by the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla because continuous rain had ruined their bowstrings (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 254-5).

The plundering of the countryside by a passing army was an age-old custom in Persia (cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 213, on the scorched-earth tactics of Sāsānid troops). Certain troops and commanders acquired particularly bad reputations for their plunderings and excesses against the civilian populations, such as the Daylamīs of Mardāwīd̲j̲ b. Ziyār (Mas'ūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ix, 22-4), and the Turkmens—many of them fresh from the Ḳipčaḳ steppes and still pagan—of the K̲h̲ʷārizm-S̲h̲āh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad. A G̲h̲aznavid commander in K̲h̲urāsān cut down all the pistachio-nut trees in the Bayhaḳ oasis and sent some of the trunks off to G̲h̲azna for fuel (*Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Bayhaḳ*, 273). Other commanders had a good reputation for the discipline which they kept over their soldiers whilst on the march, *e.g.*, Ya'ḳūb b. Layt̲h̲ (*Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 46 ff.). It was recognised that violent behaviour was morally indefensible and contrary to the *S̲h̲arī'a*, but it was sometimes excused on the grounds of necessity (see the apologia of Sulaymān b. Ḳutalmis̲h̲ for his ravaging of the region of Aleppo in 477/1084-5, in Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, x, 90). Not infrequently the civilian population of a whole region might be evacuated in face of an advancing enemy, as is said to have been done by 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad in the Sīr Daryā valley when the Mongols were approaching (*ibid.*, xii, 179).

The commander of an advancing army had to plan his strategy with regard to such considerations as the availability of supplies, the maintenance of his communications and the type of terrain and natural conditions which he would have to face when giving battle. In a land of hydraulic constructions like Persia, it was often possible to divert rivers and irrigation channels to flood the land in face of an approaching enemy. In 456/1064 Ḳutalmis̲h̲ b. Arslan Isrā'īl rebelled against Alp Arslan; he shut himself up in Ray and made the roads thither impassable by diverting water over the salt flats and

into the *wādīs* (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23-4). But the *locus classicus* for this tactic was Khwārizm, where an army advancing north-westwards along the Oxus could be halted by the flooding of the very complex irrigation system of that region (for examples from the 6th/12th century, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 154, 325, 337, 339, 349). On the other hand, such a decision to flood territory might affect both sides. When the Ghūrid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn faced Sandjar at Nāb in the Harī Rūd valley in 547/1152, he decided to flood his own rear to prevent his soldiers yielding; this manoeuvre recoiled upon him disastrously, for the Turkish troops in the Ghūrid army deserted to the Saldjūḳs, and the Ghūrīs were pushed back into the flooded lands and swamps (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, 358-60).

When the army halted and prepared for battle, guards were posted and scouts sent out to investigate the terrain and the enemy positions (Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xx; on this work, see *Bibliography*). According to this author, the ʿĀriḍ or head of the military branch of the administration then inspected the whole of the army, from the officers downwards, their weapons and their mounts, and passed them as fit for battle. Commanders exhorted their troops, often promising special rewards for outstanding feats of bravery (cf. Bosworth, in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2, 69-70, 74). If the enemy were infidels, religious enthusiasms could be roused, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir has a section on the *lashkar-i ṣalāḥ* "those who support the soldiers by their prayers and intercessions" (ch. xxxiv). During Alp Arslan's Anatolian campaign of 463/1071, the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim composed special prayers for the Muslim forces; copies were sent to the *khaṭībs* attached to the Saldjūḳ army and the prayers were read out before the battle of Malāzgird (Mantzikert) (Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 47-8; Cahen, *La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmanes*, in *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 633). The armies which campaigned against the Greeks and Georgians in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus usually included religious elements, to be equated here with the *ghāzīs* [*q.v.*], who not only exhorted the faithful but who might themselves join in the fray. For the coalition of 570/1174-5 of the Muslim rulers of north-west Persia against the Georgians, the mother of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Arslan b. Toghrïl fitted out a group of ten such men under the Imām of Hamadhān, and when the Muslim troops flagged, the Imām led his little group into battle with a charge of such vehemence that the day was saved for Islam (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 299-300).

In an age when belief in the influence of the stars on human affairs was all but universal, the decision to give battle might be made on such irrational grounds as the prognostication of the commander's personal astrologer, an important figure in his entourage (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 328). The old Arab practice of personal combats between the champions of each army before the signal for a general engagement was given, was still common, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir devotes a section to the *mubārizān* (ch. xxvii). The outcome of these combats might well affect the morale of the onlooking armies and thus influence the subsequent fighting. In the third battle between the rival Saldjūḳs Bark-yāruḳ and Muḥammad at Rūdhrawār in 495/1102, the personal combats were indecisive, so the two armies disengaged and peace was arranged (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 224-7).

We pass now to the arrangement of forces on the battlefield itself. Pre-Islamic Persian commanders sometimes deployed their troops in long, unbroken lines (Arabic, *ṣufūf*), which then advanced on the enemy (as at al-Ḳādisiyya, see above), but this was usually modified by breaking the troops up into fighting groups. The classic formation resulting from this was a quinquepartite one (*taʿbiya*), called by Fakhr-i Mudabbir the "Persian" method, as used by the Sāsānids, as opposed to the "Turkish" one. It was used both for the army on the march and as arranged for battle, provided in this latter case that the ground was reasonably level and open. It comprised a vanguard (*muḳaddam*), a left wing (*maysara*), a centre (*ḳalb*), and right wing (*maymana*) and a rearguard (*sāḳa*, *khalīfa*) containing the reserves, the whole body being preceded on the march by a screen of scouts (*ṭalāʾiʿ*). Fakhr-i Mudabbir says that the general in charge should place his archers on the left wing, the men with javelins on the right and the men armed with maces, clubs, swords and battleaxes in the centre; action should then start with the movement forward of the left wing, followed by the centre and right wing (ch. xxiv).

The historical sources give plentiful examples of the use of this quinquepartite formation, although when the armies actually engaged, the vanguard had normally dropped back to merge with the three component blocks of the front line. When in 389/999 Maḥmūd of Ghazna defeated the Sāmānid Amīr Abu 'l-Fawāris ʿAbd al-Malik and his amīrs near Marw, the Sultan himself held the centre with 10,000 cavalry and 70 elephants, his brother Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr had the right wing with 10,000 cavalry and 30 elephants and the former commanders of his father Sebüktigin had the left wing with 12,000 cavalry and 40 elephants (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, iii, 342-3, tr. vi, 367-8). In 526/1131 the Saldjūḳs Masʿūd b. Muḥammad and his brother Saldjūḳ Shāh faced Sandjar and his protégé Toghrïl b. Muḥammad at Dīnawar. Both sides employed this formation and, like Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Sandjar placed a protective screen of elephants before his lines. Masʿūd b. Muḥammad took the centre himself, placing the Amīrs Ḳarāča Sāḳī and Ḳïzïl on his left and the Amīrs Yürünḳush Bāzdār and Yūsuf Čāʾūsh on his right. Facing him, Sandjar held his own centre with 10,000 troops; his nephew Toghrïl, the Amīr Ḳamāč and another commander, the Amīr-i Amīrān, were on the left; and the Khwārizm-Shāh Atsïz and other commanders were on the right. Masʿūd's army was defeated by a tactic frequently practised on such occasions and reminiscent of the classic enveloping movement employed with such success by Hannibal against the Romans at Cannae: Ḳarāča Sāḳī drove into Sandjar's centre, but Toghrïl and Atsïz dropped back from the wings and enveloped and annihilated Ḳarāča's forces (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 476). It was possible in battle, however, for one wing of each army to push back the opposing wing so that a circular formation resulted. This occurred during the first engagement of the Khwārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his son Djalāl al-Dīn with the Mongol Djoči. The only way out of this impasse was for the Mongols to launch an attack on the centre, but Djalāl al-Dīn stood firm, and the two armies disengaged when night fell (Djūzdjānī, tr. 268-70; other examples of this pattern of battle in Djuwaynī-Boyle, 351-2, 360).

The use of elephants to form a screen before the front ranks of the *taʿbiya* was especially favoured by such dynasties as the Ghaznavids, Saldjūḳs and Ghūrids (for details, see FĪL), but other means might be used to protect the front line. At the battle of

Bazimdjā near Baghdād in 549/1154 between the Caliph al-Muḳtafī and a Turkish army under the Amīr Masʿūd Bilālī, the latter army had with it great numbers of Turkmens, together with their tents, flocks, families and other baggage. The Turkish *amīrs* placed these thousands of horses and sheep before their front rank as a barrier, stationing armoured troops behind them; the Caliphal forces nevertheless broke through (Bundārī, 236-9).

In confused fighting, when the troops were densely packed together, the army's standard (*ʿalam* [*q.v.*]) was important as a rallying-point. Under the Ghaznavids and Saldjūḳs, the office of standard-bearer (*ʿalam-dār*) was usually given to a trusted *ghulām*. The capture of an army's standard had a dispiritng effect on the troops, and might well decide the outcome of the battle. When the Khʷārizmian prince Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Tekish (the later ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad) was campaigning against the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳūhistān, his standard mysteriously drooped and snapped; this was taken as an ill omen, and he made peace and withdrew his forces (Djuwaynī-Boyle, 315). The waving of flags, in addition to the use of drums and trumpets, was one of the chief means by which a commander could pass instructions to a distant part of the battlefield (cf. *Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xxviii); and as an aid to the directing of the fighting, the commanders of the Ghaznavids were often given personal elephants to use as vantage-points (Bayhaḳī, 483).

Fakhr-i Mudabbir regards the use of ambushes and secret attacks, launched at such unguarded times as the midday siesta and in the early morning when guards are changing duties, as a most important aspect of the art of war (ch. xxii). The old raiding tactic, common to both the desert Arabs and the Turkish nomads, of an impetuous attack, a feigned flight and a return to the onslaught (*karr wa farr*), could still be made to work in certain conditions. The local chiefs of Ṭabaristān used it with effect against the invading Ghaznavids in 426/1035 (Bayhaḳī, 458). At Malāzgird, Alp Arslan successfully drew the Greek army into an ambush by means of a feigned retreat (Cahen in *Byzantion*, ix, 634-5). For a battle outside Baghdād in 621/1224, Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārizm-Shāh had inferior numbers; he therefore posted a detachment of men in an ambush, made two or three assaults on the forces of the Caliphal general Ḳushtemür, and then a feigned flight and return (Djuwaynī-Boyle, 422-3).

During his Indian campaigns, Sebüktigin is said to have used a technique of successive attacks. He separated his *ghulāms*, who were armed with clubs and maces, into groups of 500 men, and each group attacked in turn, falling back to allow another group to move up (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, i, 85-6).

Whilst the flexibility of cavalry made it very useful in open conditions, where the opposing forces might be spread over a wide front, infantry often came into its own in broken or precipitous terrain or where the fighting was close and confused. The Daylamīs were famed as tough infantrymen, and at times they were mounted on camels or mules and rushed to the battlefield. In a battle of 322/934 with Yāḳūt, governor of Fārs, ʿAlī b. Būya's Daylamīs dismounted and advanced on the enemy behind a solid wall of shields, from which they employed their characteristic weapons of the *zhūpīn*, a pronged javelin which could be used either for thrusting or throwing, and the battleaxe (Miskawayh and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, i, 297-8, iii, 423, tr. iv, 336-7, vi, 449). Similarly, the Ghaznavids had a permanent force of crack palace infantry (*piyādagān-i dargāhī*) who were carried on swift camels to distant battlefields and then dismounted to fight (Bayhaḳī, 603-4). When in 501/1107-8 the Saldjūḳ Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh faced the Mazyadid "King of the Arabs", Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa, the ground at al-Nuʿmāniyya between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ was too swampy for horses to manoeuvre, so Muḥammad's Turks dismounted and fought on foot (Ḥusaynī, 80). The Ghūrīs of central Afghanistan were, like the Daylamīs, a race of mountaineers and were famed as infantrymen. Djūzdjānī mentions a peculiar tactic of theirs, the use of the *kārwa*, a protective screen of cowhide padded with cotton; this was placed over the shoulders and formed a defence for advancing soldiers (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. 352-3; according to Raverty, the *kārwa* was used in Afghanistan until the introduction of firearms).

Since Persia is a land of predominantly land-locked rivers, few of which are in any case perennial, amphibious operations are only rarely mentioned in the sources. The Oxus was unsuitable for large-scale navigation, and armies attacking Khʷārizm marched along its banks rather than sailed down it. Only on the edge of the Persian world, in the Indus valley, do we hear of extensive river warfare. In 418/1027 Maḥmūd of Ghazna led an expedition against the pagan Djāts of the lower Indus region, employing 1,400 ships armoured with spikes and carrying fighting men. When battle was joined, the Muslim troops rammed the Djāts' ships and hurled *nafṭ* at them; soldiers waiting on the river banks then finished off the undrowned survivors (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 88-9; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 121-2).

The conventions of warfare included the ones that quarter, *amān*, should be freely given and that prisoners-of-war should not be slaughtered or ill-treated (*Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xxiv). The sources usually therefore mention breaches of these conventions, as in Kirmān during the time of the Saldjūḳ Arslan Shāh b. Toghrïl Shāh (d. 572/1176-7), when inexperienced soldiers and *ghulāms* of his killed captives from an invading army (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, 46). It was not, however, regarded as unethical to masquerade in the characteristic dress of the enemy; it is recorded that the Khʷārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad was fond of the tactic of donning in battle the distinguishing garb of the enemy in order to confuse him (Djuwaynī-Boyle, 352).

After the battle, the victorious army divided up the captured booty [see GHANĪMA]. In the absence of the ruler himself, the *ʿĀriḍ* often supervised this procedure, taking out the ruler's fifth and those items specifically reserved for him, such as precious metals, weapons and elephants. The remainder was then divided out amongst the fighting personnel though not, according to the *Ādāb al-mulūk*, ch. xxxii, amongst the camp following (cf. Bosworth in *Isl.*, xxxvi/1-2, 62, 74).

The Mongols and Tīmūrids brought into the Persian world fresh military ways. During the period of their dominance (sc. the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries), the older techniques of warfare, based essentially on slow-moving, heavily-armed professional armies, were temporarily eclipsed; they re-emerged under the Ṣafawids and their successors, but were then revolutionized by the introduction of firearms. The Mongol armies were composed almost

wholly of cavalrymen, with the bow as their basic weapon; these armies have therefore been cited by military historians as showing that cavalry need not depend on a stable infantry base, as was usual in earlier times in the classical and Near Eastern worlds (cf. D. Martin, *The Mongol army*, in *JRAS*, 1943, 49). Before embarking on a campaign, such commanders as Čingiz and Tīmūr carefully mapped out their operations; this attention to planning and detail gives a striking impression of modernity compared with the more empirical and haphazard methods of earlier conquerors and commanders. Spies would be sent out, and before the Manchurian campaign of 1211 and the Khwārizmian one of 616/1219, Čingiz obtained information on local conditions from traders and others familiar with those lands. According to Sayfī Harawī, Čingiz had maps of Afghanistan prepared for himself, and Ibn ʿArabshāh likewise mentions Tīmūr's interest in maps. By such means as these, Čingiz learnt about the topography of Sīstān and Balūčistān and was able to send the minimum force necessary with his son Čaghatay to try and intercept Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm-Shāh on his return from India (A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 109-10, 425). The Mongols also spread rumours about the enormous size of their forces and sent secret agents to provoke dissension and treachery. On the battlefield, captives were used to swell the apparent numbers of the Mongols, and dummies mounted on horses were even used (Martin, *op. cit.*, 59). These tricks doubtless contributed to the obviously exaggerated numbers for the Mongol armies given in the sources.

The basic formation of the Mongol army was a tripartite one, comprising a centre (where the Khān's personal bodyguard of picked men, *baʾatur* [see BAHĀDUR], was usually stationed) and two wings, any of which components could function as separate military units. The Mongols entered a new territory in widely separated colums, with screens of scouts and with couriers to maintain contact with the other columns. Čingiz usually endeavoured to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle before penetrating far into unfamiliar ground, and his great enemy the Khwārizm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad sought by all means possible to avoid such an engagement, compelling the Mongols to reduce the countryside of Transoxania and thus isolate Bukhārā and Samarḳand. On the battlefield, the Mongol light cavalry would gallop forward showering arrows whilst one or both of the wings began an enveloping movement against the enemy's flanks or rear. At times, riders would dismount in order to shoot in a more accurate or concentrated way, as did the troops of Ghāzān Khān in his battle of 699/1299 with the Mamlūks at Madjmaʿ al-Murūdj near Salamiyya in Syria. However, surprise was a great feature of both the strategy and tactics of the Mongols; such stratagems as the feigned retreat were highly favoured, and proved successful on a remarkable number of occasions. The Mongols also pursued fugitives relentlessly, to prevent the defeated forces from regrouping; after the defeat of the Mamlūks mentioned above, Mongol soldiers appeared as far south as Jerusalem and Ghazza (Martin, *op. cit.*, 59-76).

In the military sphere as elsewhere, the Mongols and Tīmūrids left a lasting imprint on the Persian world. It was not surprising that the Özbek army of Shaybānī Khān, of which Bābur was originally a member, should still follow the Mongol pattern of battle-array, with the positions in the battle-line handed down hereditarily and the warriors of greatest trust stationed on the extremities of the two wings (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 154-5). The army of the Turkmen Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty was divided in the Turco-Mongol fashion into the three divisions of a centre (called by the Mongol term *manḳalay* "forehead", "front"), a left wing (*sol*) and a right wing (*sagh*) (Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x (1939-42), 154 ff.).

With the advent of the Ṣafawids, artillery and firearms came into prominence and wrought a fundamental change in the art of war; for a consideration of military techniques in this later period see BĀRŪD V.—THE ṢAFAWIDS.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references given in the text): There has been little systematic study of the military history of mediaeval Persia. Some of the strategic and tactical aspects of the Ghaznavid-Saldjūḳ fighting are considered in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 241 ff., and there exists a study of the battle of Dandānḳān, based on Bayhaḳī's account, by B. N. Zakhoder in *Russkiy Istoričeskiy Žurnal*, 1943, Turkish tr. in *Belleten*, xviii (1954), 581-7. There is a general survey of the art of war in Persia up to the coming of the Saldjūḳs by Spuler in his *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 494-9; in his bibliography (Nos. 365 and 366) are cited two general works on the military history of Persia, Dj. Ḳūzānlū, *Taʾrīkh-i niẓāmiyya-yi Īrān*, Tehrān 1310/1932, and Gh. Ḥ. Muḳtadir, *Taʾrīkh-i niẓāmī-yi Īrān*, Tehrān 1319/1940. The Mongols as soldiers have attracted rather more attention; see Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², 413-6, and D. Martin, *The Mongol army*, in *JRAS*, 1943, 46-85 (the same author's article *Chinghiz Khan's first invasion of the Chin empire*, in *ibid.*, 182-216, illustrates Mongol strategy and tactics but in a non-Persian context). Quatremère's notes to his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, i, Paris 1836, still contain valuable material on the art of war in this period. Of the Persian Mirrors for Princes, chs. xx and xli of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* of Kay Kāʾūs are relevant, but of outstanding value is the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa kifāyat al-mamlūk* or *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjāʿa* of Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, written under Sultan Iletmish of Delhi in the early 7th/13th century. The greater part of it deals specifically with the art of war, and its information seems to be based primarily on Ghaznavid and Ghūrid practice (see on it I. M. Shafi, *Fresh light on the Ghaznavīds*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 189-234, and Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 16; Cl. Cahen has used material from it for his appendix on the weapons of the Ghūrids in *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BÉt.Or.*, xii (1947-8), 160-2).

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

vi. — INDIA

1. General.—The army in India (for its composition, organization, training and pay, see LASHKAR) was distributed in various places of a ruler's dominions according to their strategic importance, in order to avoid difficulties of transport; for example, the north-west frontier provinces, where there was the continual threat of Mughal raids, were always well provided with experienced troops under able and loyal commanders during the Dihlī sultanate period. The main army was concentrated in the capital, or

in a city or camp where the ruler was residing, with detachments and garrisons at many provincial headquarters under the command of *kōtwāls* [*q.v.*]. The garrison system, which the Indian sultans seem to have inherited from the ʿAbbāsids through the Gh̲aznawids, was always well maintained, many rulers attaching great importance to keeping old forts in good repair and building others as the dominions were enlarged, modifying them for artillery as this became available [see ḤIṢN]. When the need for war arose, the first attempts to meet the situation would be made by local troops; if these were inadequate, reinforcements would be called for from neighbouring areas before aid was requested from the capital. The forces at the capital (*ḥas̲h̲m-i ḳalb*) had as their main component the cavalry, well accoutred and mounted on Arab or Turkoman horses; and this branch was of course fully mobile and could easily be sent to a distant part of the dominions. The other fighting branches, however, the elephants and the infantry, were less mobile; elephants were maintained especially in the capital, since possession of them was a royal prerogative and no sultan would permit them to be concentrated in a town away from the capital, where they might be used against him in the event of rebellion. The infantry (*pāyak*) maintained in the capital were employed as bodyguards and for local defence; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī comments on their skill with the bow, and mentions that the best *pāyaks* came from Bengal. Obviously they were not readily transportable on distant campaigns, although on major expeditions they could march with the baggage train, for which they would provide a continual escort; but a class of infantry (*pāyak bā asp*) is mentioned which seems to have been provided with horses maintained by the government. On remoter campaigns infantry could be drawn from standing local troops, locally conscripted, or provided by feudatory rulers; and local arrangements were similarly necessary to facilitate the passage of the army on its line of march.

2.—The army on the march. Armies would commence the march at an auspicious moment fixed by the astrologers, and before leaving, rulers, commanders and troops would visit saints and shrines for protection and blessing—indeed, holy men were called *las̲h̲kar-i duʿāʾ*. The army would be led by an advance party, including the scouts, standard bearers and musicians—importance was given to the spectacular side, cf. Amīr K̲h̲usraw, *K̲h̲azāʾin al-futūḥ*, ʿAlīgaṛh 1927, 101-2; S̲h̲ams-i Sirād̲j̲ ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āhī*, Bibl. Ind., 1890, 369-70—and officers of the commissariat who would ensure that adequate stores were available along the route. The sultan moved in the main party, accompanied on major expeditions by the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *ḥaram*—a practice continued by the Mug̲h̲als, in Humāyūn's time the Mug̲h̲al camp assuming the dimensions of a city under canvas moving from place to place, while by the time of Awrangzīb the march had become very cumbrous, with its heavy artillery, baggage train, the imperial treasure on several hundred camels, the imperial archives, fresh water for the court (Ganges water was favoured; cf. GANGĀ *ad fin.*), the imperial kitchen and provisions, the imperial wardrobe, presents for use as diplomatic gifts, and the imperial tents and other appurtenances of the camp, as well as the tools of war: besides projectile engines, saps and mines for use in sieges [see ḤIṢĀR], armouries for the supply of missiles and replacement of broken weapons (*zarrād-k̲h̲āna*; cf. Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Bibl. Ind., 1862, 6), and the royal armoury (*ḳūr-k̲h̲āna*). The march was also attended by large numbers of imperial and other servants.

Transport was provided by draught- or pack-buffaloes, camels, ponies and elephants. The latter were also used in river-crossings, either by fording or, in deeper water, to break the force of the current to enable troops to cross (ʿAfīf, *op. cit.*, 111). But pontoon bridges were also used, as well as river boats when these were available—as they would have been in the sultan's territory, cf. Ahl Allāh Mus̲h̲tāḳī, *Wāḳiʿāt-i Mus̲h̲tāḳī*, B.M. Add. 11633, fol. 49 r.; and the large force of woodcutters used, *e.g.*, by Islām S̲h̲āh Sūr against Humāyūn (ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Dāʾūdī*, B. M. Or. 197, fol. 114 r.), must have been employed for river crossings *inter alia*.

Stores were available to a marching army within its own frontiers from the various state granaries as well as from local tributary chiefs, who demonstrated their loyalty by gifts of provisions, and from landholders under the sultanate who were required to supply grain as well as transport and boats—often, indeed, also to join the marching army or to supply some member of their family for that purpose. Grain was also brought to the army, on the march or on the battlefield, by corn-merchants (*band̲j̲ārās*), often nomads, who were encouraged by good prices (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āhī*, Bibl. Ind., 1862, 304 ff.); it was often provided by the local population on payment—the *kotwāl* of the camp ensured that grain was available at reasonable rates—or, in the last resort, was obtained by plunder; but since this alienated the local population, who might flee, in which case supplies would of course fail, this was seldom resorted to. In any case, compensation would later be paid for stores taken or for land or crops damaged, the rate being assessed by the local *amīn* (called also *munṣif*, *mus̲h̲rif* in the Sūrī period), cf. ʿAbbās Sarwānī, *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar S̲h̲āhī*, B.M. Or. 164, 73 v.

Although rapidity of movement sometimes permitted little halting—forced marches were not unknown—the army on the march generally encamped at night. The site was when possible carefully chosen, as adequate water, forage and firewood had to be available, and for preference a locality defended by river or hill was selected. The fighting arms were naturally in the forward and flanking positions, corresponding to their places in the order of battle (see below), the sultan's personal party was in the middle of the camp, and behind were the armouries, transport and camp-followers. If the camp was in the vicinity of the enemy's forces, and hence in danger of attack by skirmishing parties or patrols, it would be defended by a ditch and parapet, certainly from K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī times (cf. Baranī, *op. cit.*, 301); in Tīmūr's campaign against Maḥmūd Tug̲h̲luḳ it is recorded that trees were felled to form an abatis within the ditch (*Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, tr. Elliot, iii, 437), and that lines of tethered buffaloes were placed in front of the first rank of troops as a defence against elephants, which could be further impeded by caltrops; Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat also used the abatis to protect a flank, guarding his front by picketed carts (although this device is referred to in India in the 7th/13th century, see Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Mubārak, *Ādāb al-mulūk wa kifāyat al-mamlūk*, India Office MS 647, f. 87 v.; in the battle between Humāyūn and Sultan Bahādur of Gud̲j̲arāt in 942/1535 gun-carriages were so used by both sides); and a little later, in the time of S̲h̲īr S̲h̲āh Sūr, the parapets were formed of sandbags. The same defences were applied to the last

camping-ground, *i.e.*, the camp at the battlefield, with such additional protection as the exigencies of the campaign seemed to call for. This was certainly continued until late in the Mug͟hal period, for in the campaign of D̲j̲ahāndār S̲h̲āh's son ʿIzz al-Dīn against Farruk̲h̲siyar in 1124/1712 we read of his throwing up a parapet about 2 m. high inside a wide ditch around his camp, on which he mounted guns and mortars (K̲h̲ʷāfī K̲h̲ān, *Muntak̲h̲ab al-lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., 1869, ii, 699).

3.—Battle-ground. In addition to the requirements of the encamped army (see above) the actual terrain of combat was selected with great care: the presence of a hill or some other natural defence at the rear or on the flanks would relieve the commander from making extensive arrangements for the protection of that quarter. The ideal ground had, in addition to these natural defences, an extensive plain of hard or smooth ground—stony ground was when possible avoided as it damaged the horses' hoofs—free from dust, sand or mire, neither too near nor too remote from habitation, and with an independent water-supply. The battle-field itself might be further defended by entrenchment, abatis or stockade, as in the case of the camp; in later periods such defence might be provided also for individual pieces of artillery.

These requisites seem to have been sought at all periods of the Muslim power in India. Tīmūr thoughtfully adds (*Tūzuk*, 191) that the sun should not be in front of the battle-ground, lest the eyes of the troops be dazzled.

4. Order of battle.—The general order of filing an army in the field—vanguard, right wing, left wing, centre and rear—persisted in Muslim India with little variation, but with bewildering changes of terminology, from the days of the G̲h̲aznawids; the composition of the various elements was, however, never firmly established, and at different times places were found for elephants or for artillery in one or more of these traditional elements. The main arm in terms of which all dispositions were conceived was invariably the cavalry.

In advance of the vanguard were the scouts and skirmishers (*ṭalāya*, *muḳaddama-i pīs̲h̲*, *yazkī* in Sultanate times; under Tīmūr and Bābur *ḳarāwal*; under the later Mug̲h̲als *muḳaddamat al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, *manḳala* and *ṭalīʿa* are used besides *ṭalāya*), light squadrons trained to reconnoitre the roads and the enemy's positions and to bring back quick information; they were instructed not to move in a body yet to maintain touch with one another, not to engage the enemy unless they were attacked, and to retreat with caution lest their withdrawal be interpreted as flight and thus cause a general stampede (*Ādāb al-mulūk*, fols. 84 v.-86 v.). They might be divided into left and right sections (*Ḳarāwal-i dast-i čap*, *ḳarāwal-i dast-i rāst*), as with Tīmūr.

The vanguard proper was called *muḳaddama* under the Dihlī sultans, *harāwal* under Tīmūr and the Mug̲h̲als. With Tīmūr the *harāwal* had its own van, the *harāwal-i harāwal*, the main body being the *harāwal-i buzurg*; Bābur in the battle of Pānīpat added to this a vanguard reserve, *ṭarḥ-i harāwal*.

The wings (*d̲j̲ināḥ* < Ar. *d̲j̲anāḥ*) were in Sultanate times called *maysara* (left) and *maymana* (right), each divisible into left and right sections; under Tīmūr the right and left wings were called *baranghar* and *d̲j̲aranghar* respectively, with the possibility of much subdivision: *e.g.*, for the right wing the *harāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (van of the right wing), *čapāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (left section of the right wing), *s̲h̲aḳāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (right section of the right wing), possibly also *harāwal-i čapāwal-i barang̲h̲ar* (van of the right section of the right wing); and so similarly for the left wing. Bābur's army was disposed in much the same way, the terms *yamīn-i barang̲h̲ar* and *yasār-i barang̲h̲ar* being used for the right and left sides of the right wing (corresponding terms also for the left wing); each wing had in addition a flanking party (*tulg̲h̲uma*, *tulḳuma*) of light cavalry to encircle the enemy's flank and take him in the rear; and each wing had also its own reserve (*ṭarḥ*).

The centre was known in Sultanate times as *ḳalb*, with its two sections, *dast-i čap-i ḳalb* and *dast-i rāst-i ḳalb*, to left and right respectively; it was followed by the rearguard, *suḳḳa* or *k̲h̲alf*. In Tīmūr's accounts the centre is *ḳol* or *g̲h̲ol*, the rearguard *ʿaḳab*; Bābur uses similar terms, though the later Mug̲h̲als sometimes reverted to the earlier terms, and used in addition *čandāwal* or *čag̲h̲dul* for the rearguard. The term *ilatmas̲h̲* is used in the accounts of Akbar's campaigns for units filed between vanguard and centre, but apparently sometimes posted on the flanks of the centre just clear of the rear of the right and left wings, or in front of them; in such cases their function must have been similar to that of the *tulg̲h̲uma*.

At all times the centre was where the ruler or his deputy took his station, accompanied by the *ʿulamāʾ*, physicians, astrologers, etc., and the personal bodyguard; and this was the usual station for the elephants, certainly at least the ceremonial elephants carrying the standards and the *čhatra* and those carrying bands of musicians. Wives or favourite children not infrequently accompanied the royal commander in the *hawda* of his elephant, although Awrangzīb deprecated this practice, declaring that unnecessary persons round the commander hindered efficient leadership and organization. The chain of command was passed from the commander to all branches of the army through adjutants (*tawāčī*, *yasāwal*, *sazāwal*), who were also responsible for ensuring that proper battle array and battle discipline were maintained; the orders might be communicated through flag signals, drum-beat or trumpet-blast, as well as by couriers.

The composition of the other divisions of the army varied greatly throughout the Muslim period, except perhaps for the rearguard, which at all times comprised the kitchens, armouries, wardrobes, treasury, spare animals, prisoners, wounded, and a fighting contingent for the defence of the centre from any attack from behind. For the rest, at least a few general principles can be enumerated. In Sultanate times there were three ways of drawing up: infantry, cavalry or elephants could form the front line, according to the exigencies of the situation. When the infantry led, four lines of foot-soldiers, their accoutrements somewhat different for each line, were arrayed with wide gaps left in their ranks so that the cavalry behind them could observe the situation, and charge or retreat through them. A mobile cavalry force was kept on the right wing, a company of archers on the left wing; operators of *mand̲j̲anīḳ*s and *ʿarrāda*s [*qq.v.*, see also SILĀḤ] were placed on the right of the centre, archers and naphtha-throwers on the left of the centre. These conventional dispositions were in fact no impediment to the battle-situation, as there was also a conventional and disciplined order of the use of these auxiliary forces (see below, Strategy and tactics).

When the cavalry led, their front rank was drawn up similarly to the method described above for the

front line of infantry; the foot-soldiers would then form the second line, and, as was the case also when the infantry led, the elephants would for the most part be stationed in the centre, although selected beasts might be deployed to support either flank.

The third possible order was when the elephants led, followed immediately by the cavalry, as in Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's battle against the usurper Khusraw Khān in 720/1320 (Amīr Khusraw, *Tughluḳ-nāma*, Ḥaydarābād 1352/1933, 92-3); or when they were placed in front of each wing, as in ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's battle against the Mongols at Kīlī in 699/1299. The usual place of the elephants, however, was in the centre protecting the king. They were armoured with iron sheets, and carried *hawdas* in the form of armoured turrets in which sat archers, naphtha-throwers and operators of projectile engines —an Indian device adopted by the Muslims which goes back in time to the 4th or 3rd century B.C. (cf. Sarva Daman Singh, *Ancient Indian warfare* . . ., Leiden 1965, 82 ff.) and persisted certainly into Mughal times, cf. Barbosa, *Travels*, tr. and ed. M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Socy. London 1918, i, 118.

It is less easy to determine the manner of drawing up under the Mughals. Artillery became increasingly important, and often occupied the first line of the vanguard on heavy carts chained or roped together, so that they might serve also as a barrier to a sudden enemy onslaught; between the carts gabions and mantlets formed a protection for the supporting matchlockmen; and in front of them an entrenchment might be formed. Lighter pieces of ordnance followed, swivel-guns (*zanbūrak*, *shuturnāl*) on camels, and small cannon (*gadjnāl*, *hathnāl*) in the *hawdas* of elephants. The cavalry followed. In the vanguard there were also mortarmen (*dīgandāz*), grenadiers (*raʿdandāz*) and rocketmen (*takhshandāz*). Artillery might be stationed also in the front rank of the two wings and of the centre, with elephants also in front of each body of troops.

The size of the various branches of the field force is also difficult to ascertain in most periods; but in a Mughal account of a force of 40,000 cavalry the vanguard is said to have 8,000, the centre 12,000, the two wings 11,000 between them, the reserves 4000, and the rearguard 4,500. If, say, 40 elephants were available for a particular campaign, seven were placed in front of the vanguard, fifteen in front of the centre, six in front of each of the two reserves, two in front of each wing, and two in the rearguard.

The field force was under the command of the ruler or his deputy—a prince of the royal blood, or the *wazīr*, or some other favoured noble—who as *sar-i lashkar* took command of the centre also. In the army of the Dihlī sultanate, the vanguard was commanded by the *muḳaddam* or *sar-i lashkar-i muḳaddama*, and the left and right wings by the *sar-i fawdj-i maysara* and *sar-i fawdj-i maymana* respectively. The ruler's special cavalry contingent in the left and right wings of the centre (the *khāṣṣa-yi khayl*) was commanded by the *sar-i djandar*, with its two divisions under a *sar-i djandar-i maysara* and *sar-i djandar-i maymana* respectively (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 1931, 62). These officers were mostly in command of the cavalry; the terms for commanders of infantry are uncertain, although the *sahm al-ḥashm*, *nāʾib sahm al-ḥashm* and *shimla al-ḥashm* all seem to be concerned particularly with infantry (Yaḥya b. Aḥmad, *ibid*; Baranī, *op. cit.*, 30). The horses were under the supervision of an *ākhur bak*, the elephants under a *shaḥna-yi pīl*, the camels under a *shaḥna-yi nafar* (Baranī, *op. cit.*, 24), while the armouries were in charge of the *sar-i silāḥdār*. The Mughal terms seem less stereotyped, and the force commanders are often called by their offices in the static army establishment [see LASHKAR] with its decimal organization. In the time of Akbar the *manṣabdārs* [*q.v.*] were deputed to various commands, and in his multiracial army a Rādjpūt section would be commanded by a Rādjpūt *manṣabdār*, the Afghān section by an Afghān *manṣabdār*, etc. The horses were under the supervision of an *akhtabegī*, the artillery and other firearms under a *mīr ātish*, and other armament, and the standards, under a *dārogha-yi ḳurkhāna*.

5. Strategy and tactics.—The following account does not include the tactics of siegecraft, for which see ḤIṢĀR.

Before a battle took place an appreciation of the situation was made by the ruler, the *sar-i lashkar*, generals of wide experience, and officials of the *dīwān-i ʿarḍ*, and the campaign was carefully planned. This war council was usual in the Sultanate period (*e.g.*, Amīr Khusraw, *Tughluḳ-nāma*, 48, 84; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. Mahdi Husain, Agra 1938, 254), and was considered equally valuable by Tīmūr (*Tūzuk*, 5 ff.) and by the Mughals (*e.g.*, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., 1935, iii, 25 ff.; Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., 1886, ii, 48, 482). An impassioned oration by the ruler or commander-in-chief to his subordinates was often a feature of such an *andjuman*, and this was extended into a direct appeal to the soldiery by Shīr Shāh, Akbar and the later Mughals, usually on the eve of battle but on occasions during its course.

A battle was usually begun in the morning and would be suspended in the evening, although the defenders endeavoured to delay engagement as long as possible so that they could retreat under cover of darkness if defeated. The commencement was signalled by drum-beat and by the war-horns blown by *čāwūshes*, and engagement would begin to the accompaniment of war-cries; secret passwords were also in use to establish identities in the event of hand-to-hand fighting.

In the usual pattern of the assault, in the Sultanate period, battle was first joined by the vanguard (cf. Baranī, *op. cit.*, 260), followed by the movement of the right wing; the centre then made its advance, and finally the left wing. A force would aim to create panic among its opponents first by an incessant rain of arrows, from cavalry, infantry, and from the *hawdas* of the elephants; these included poisoned and incendiary arrows. *Mandjanīḳs* carried in the *hawdas* were similarly used to discharge large stones and naphtha-containers at the enemy. An early elephant-charge was also employed with the intention of spreading panic, after which the other arms would engage. The chief target was always the enemy centre where their commander would be stationed. In the event of the vanguard or a wing suffering a reverse it would receive reinforcements from reserves or from other wings—but with caution, lest the enemy seeing a wing being reinforced by troops moving from the centre should conclude that the centre also was broken.

Tīmūr's keen tactical insight is reflected in a long and detailed statement of the principles of field engagement in different situations in the *Tūzuk* (Bombay ed., 191-207), emphasizing the need for continual appreciations of the situation throughout the course of a battle. He advocates delaying the attack until the enemy has begun the aggression, then—with a force of between 9000 and 12,000—

moving first the vanguard against them, followed by the van of the right wing in support, closely followed by the van of the left wing; if this was insufficient, the first corps of the right wing was to proceed, followed by the second corps of the left wing, the second corps of the right wing, and then the first corps of the left wing; if the assault from none of these units resulted in victory, further action—presumably by the centre—was to await Tīmūr's order as commander. A more complicated order of attack is given for field forces of from 12,000 to 40,000.

Tīmūr's descendants profited from his scientific approach to warfare, and his principles were generally maintained, although of course the pattern of battles changed considerably after the introduction of artillery. Thus at the battle of Khanuwā, near Āgra, in 933/1527, the battle was commenced by the fire of small-calibre matchlocks and culverins from the right wing of Bābur's army under Muṣṭafā Rūmī, after which the heavy artillery of the centre, under the *mīr ātish* Ustād ʿAlī Ḳulī, opened fire slowly at the ironclad elephants of the enemy; when the artillery battle was well under way Bābur ordered the charge of his flanking parties (*tulghuma*), the heavy artillery was moved forward, and the cavalry moved around the advanced light artillery (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. Beveridge, 568-9). Generally, however, the heavy artillery was unable to move up after the cavalry had advanced beyond the forward entrenchments, and in the event of a retreat the guns could hardly be saved: they had to be spiked and abandoned. In Akbar's reign the guns were given greater mobility by being mounted on individual gun-carriages, instead of being manhandled from carts as before, drawn by bullocks and often pushed into position from behind by elephants. This increased mobility is seen, for example, in the battle of Dharmat, near Udjdjayn, of 1068/1658 between Awrangzīb and Mahārādjā Djaswant Singh, which began with the usual long-range fire of rockets and cannon; the Rādjpūts, in spite of the casualties caused by Awrangzīb's forward guns, wheeled and attacked this artillery and temporarily silenced it, but the gunners managed to recover, and mounted their guns on high ground where it was less prone to attack and could more easily bombard the enemy's centre. The artillery barrage might, however, be withheld, as in the battle of Sāmogaṛh later the same year when Dārā Shikōh was misled by the silence of Awrangzīb's heavy ordnance and launched a premature attack; at last Awrangzīb's heavy guns replied, causing appalling carnage.

The cavalry was still a paramount arm even after the great improvement in small arms and artillery—often handled by European mercenaries—in the 11th/17th century. After the initial softening-up by fire, the cavalry would attack, discharging arrows as they did so, eventually coming to close quarters and fighting with the sword (the principal weapon of the Mughal cavalryman) or lance (the favoured weapon of Rādjpūt cavalry). The cavalry appear not to have used firearms from horseback until the Durrānī [*q.v.*] troops did so in the late 12th/18th century. In the thick of battle Indian horsemen, especially the Rādjpūts, would often dismount, bind themselves together by their shirt-tails, and fight to the death with maces, clubs, axes and daggers [for the weapons in use see SILĀḤ, India].

The fiercest fighting took place around the elephant of the rival commander, who considered it dishonourable to retreat if merely wounded by arrows. The death or disappearance of the leader usually meant the loss of the campaign; thus in the battle of Sāmōgaṛh, already mentioned above, Dārā lost the day after the *hawda* of his elephant had been struck by a rocket and he mounted a horse instead: his troops saw the empty *hawda* and believed their commander to have fallen. The importance attached by both sides to the death of the commander is shown earlier in the suppression of Kishlū Khān's revolt by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ in 728/1328: Muḥammad placed one Shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn, who resembled him personally, in the centre under the royal umbrella, and lay in ambush himself with 4000 horse; the rebels attacked the centre and killed the Shaykh, and confident of their victory dispersed to plunder the camp when Muḥammad emerged and broke Kishlū and his unsuspecting forces.

These tactics were suited in particular to the plains of northern India, and the northern powers—the rulers of the Dihlī sultanate and the imperial Mughals alike—found difficulty in devising others suitable to the swamps of Bengal or the broken ravines of the Deccan. The Marāṭhās under Shivādjī and his successors had brought guerilla warfare to a fine art, and on many occasions used it to harass the armies of the Mughals and of the Deccan sultanates. The qualities of Marāṭhā warfare were appreciated by Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*], who organized a corps of guerilla fighters for the Niẓām Shāhī [*q.v.*] sultanate.

It was long before the rulers of Muslim India realized the potentialities of naval warfare, although individual men-of-war were certainly commissioned as escorts for the pilgrim traffic by sea; after the Mughal conquest of Gudjarāt and the Konkan coast, however, they came to appreciate the possibilities of sea and land cooperation, as in some battles fought along these coasts, and eventually the hereditary admirals of Djandjīra [see ḤABSHĪ] were appointed as admirals of the Mughal fleet. For the navies of Muslim powers in India, and their naval strategy and tactics, see BAḤRIYYA, India (in Supplement).

6. Tricks and stratagems.—One device to deceive the enemy as to the strength of the attacking army was the simulated arrival of fresh reinforcements: squadrons of the army would be sent away under cover of night to return in the morning, beating drums and flying colours as though they were a new army approaching; similarly, Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ is reported as sending 1000 men to receive a mere force of 100 joining his army. A simulated flight often won an advantage, as in Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's battle against Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh of Bengal in 754/1353 near Lakhnawtī: the Bengali forces, thinking Fīrūz to be in full retreat, emerged from their stronghold in pursuit, and in consequence suffered a severe reverse (ʿAfīf, *op. cit.*, 114). But the device was a familiar one, and mistakes arose: thus in the battle of Tukarōʾī [*q.v.*; see also DĀWŪD KHĀN KARARĀNĪ] in 982/1574 Dāwūd put to flight Akbar's vanguard, *ilatmash* and centre, but did not follow up, thinking their flight to be a ruse; but the Mughal right wing counterattacked strongly, and Dāwūd lost the day. This simulated flight was often the occasion for ambuscade (*kamīn*) by a detachment of the army drawn up in a carefully chosen position near the rear-guard; although the *kamīn* might be posted for other purposes, for surprise marauding raids on the enemy or his line of communications, or merely to keep fresh in case of being needed at any point for reinforcement. The Mughal armies, however, despised this form of warfare and did not employ it.

Also despised by the Mughals, and never carried

out with much enthusiasm even in Sultanate times, was the night attack (*shab-khūn*), which Abu 'l-Faḍl calls 'the trade of cowards, disdained by heroes' (*Akbar-nāma*, iii, 51). It was often used against the Muslim armies, however, who were instructed to be prepared for it; the *Ādāb al-ḥarb* prescribes the division of the camp into four groups for the purpose: foot-soldiers, well accoutred, were to guard all entrances, the right wing and centre remained alert in their proper positions with lights extinguished, or lighted in different places to mislead the invaders, the left wing prepared for battle with the invaders, while a fourth group left the camp in order to guard and patrol the approaches. The attackers would have blocked the roads to the camp, and might cry out deliberately that such-and-such a general had been captured or killed, in order to spread despondency among those encamped.

Not indeed part of the army in the field, although vital to its commanders, were the spies—from whom would have come the information necessary to effect the *shab-khūn*; but their intelligence was valued at all stages of the campaign. See further DJĀSŪS.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see S. Sabahuddin, *Conduct of strategy and tactics of war during the Muslim rule in India*, in *IC*, xx (1946), 154-64, 291-6, 345-52; xxi (1947), 7-15, 123-4: extended treatment with constant reference to and quotation of campaigns. Almost all the Indian historical chronicles give descriptions of battles in detail; for these see Bibliographies to articles on the major Indian dynasties, especially DIHLĪ SULTANATE and MUGHALS, also Storey, 92-157, 433-780. For the Mughal period see especially W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moguls*, London 1903, and references quoted there; also Abdul Aziz, *The mansabdari system and the Mughal army*, Lahore 1946. Some useful information on *ḥarb* in the Dihlī Sultanate period, as well as information on the Sultanate army and its administration, in I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*, Lahore 1942 (⁴Karachi 1958), ch. VII 'The Army'.

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See further the bibliography to LASHKAR.

(S. A. A. RIZVI and J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤARB B. UMAYYA B. 'ABD SHAMS, the father of Abū Sufyān and father-in-law of Abū Lahb [*qq.v.*], one of the leading figures of Mecca in his day. He is said to have been the first to use Arabic writing, and one of the first to renounce wine. A companion of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he succeeded him as war-leader, and led the clan of 'Abd Shams and, according to some traditions, all Ḳuraysh in the so-called sacrilegious war [see FIDJĀR]. After his death the leadership is said to have passed to the Banū Hāshim. The story of his contest of merits and subsequent quarrel with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is no doubt a projection backwards of the later conflict between the houses of Umayya and Hāshim.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali*, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, 82.

(ED.)

ḤARBA, spear [see 'ANAZA, 'AṢĀ, ḲAḌĪB, SILĀḤ].

ḤARBĀ', a ruined city in 'Irāḳ, pre-Muslim (and possibly Babylonian) in origin, and situated south-west of Balad on the west bank of the Shuṭayṭ which is a former bed of the river Tigris: 34° 3′ N., 44° 10′ E. It was known to the Sāsānids and their Arab successors in 'Irāḳ, as also to the Arab geographers—Ya'ḳūbī, Mas'ūdī, Yāḳūt—and to Ṭabarī. The crossing of the Tigris by troops of the Khāridjī leader Shabīb in 76/696, operating against al-Ḥadjdjādj, was near this spot. The city at that period or later was known for its textile and (probably) pottery manufacture. A great irrigation or river-reclamation work was carried out here by the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 629/1232, and the existing Dudjayl channel, and the great four-arch Ḥarbā' bridge, 24 m. long and 12 m. broad, (from which the place is now called Djisr Ḥarbā') survive from this enterprise. The 90-metre-long inscription on the bridge gives details of the construction, and heaps praises on its builder. The remains are rendered conspicuous by the cupola of the tomb of a Shaykh (or Sayyid) Sa'd, which is visible from far off.

(E. HERZFELD-[S. H. LONGRIGG])

ḤARBĪ [see AMĀN, DĀR AL-ḤARB, MUSTA'MIN].

ḤARBIYE, (< Ar. *ḥarbiyya*) the Ottoman and Turkish war college. Ottoman reforms in the 12th/18th century included some innovations in military training, notably the opening of the Hendesekhāne by the Comte de Bonneval in 1734 and the opening of the Mühendiskhāne-i Berrī-i Hümayūn in 1791-95. A number of military training centres for Maḥmūd II's new army were set up in various parts of Istanbul in the 1830's, including the Alay Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyesi (Rami, 1832), the Mekteb-i Fünūn-i Ḥarbiye (or 'Asākir-i Khāṣṣa-i Shāhāne Ḥarbiye Mektebi, founded by Meḥmed Nāmiḳ Pasha, the Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye Nāẓirī, at Mačka in 1834), the Topkhāne-i 'Āmire Mektebi, and the Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye-i Shāhāne (Selīmiye barracks, Üsküdar, 1835). In 1846, these were centralized in a single Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye in the Pangaltí quarter of Istanbul, which drew most of its students from a network of military secondary schools founded during the same period in Istanbul and other towns, mainly in the European parts of the empire. The curriculum of the Ḥarbiye emphasized mathematics and foreign languages (at first French, from the 1880's also German) in addition to technical military subjects. In 1848, the two-year course was supplemented with a second two-year course for general staff officers, extended to three years in 1881. Colmar von der Goltz-Pasha, inspector of imperial military schools from 1884 to 1895, added participation in manœuvres to classroom instruction. In 1909, the Ḥarbiye's teaching staff consisted of nine Germans, eight Turks, and two Armenians. From 1909, staff officers were trained in a separate military staff college (Erkān-i Ḥarbiye Mektebi) located at Yíldíz Palace, to which lieutenants and captains were competitively admitted after a regular tour of troop service. With

the outbreak of the First World War, the staff and students of both schools were transferred to active service, and the schools therefore ceased to function; their reopening after the armistice was impeded by the successive requisitioning by the Allied authorities of suitable buildings. A temporary military school was opened under the aegis of Muṣṭafā Kemāl at Djebedji near Ankara in 1920. In 1923 the Ḥarbiye reopened at Pangaltı, and in 1936 (now renamed Harp Okulu) it was transferred to a new building in the government quarter of Ankara. The staff college reopened as Mekteb-i ʿĀlī-i ʿAskerī in the old war ministry building at Bāyezīd in 1923, and as Ḥarb Akademisi back at Yıldız in 1927. Between 1847 and 1945, the Ḥarbiye graduated 32,799 lieutenants, the yearly average rising from about 25 to about 100 in the 1870's, and over 500 at the turn of the century, and from 114 under the early Republic to nearly 1,000 in the 1940's. Between 1851 and 1930, a total of 967 of these graduated from the staff course or staff college as staff captains. Even during the Ottoman period most of the officers were Turks—a majority of them from Istanbul and the European provinces; the proportion of Syrians and Iraqis among the staff officers, for example, was about 6% before 1900 and 14% between 1900 and 1914.

The founding of the Ḥarbiye was one of the first durable Ottoman measures of Westernizing reform, preceding that of the Mülkiye [*q.v.*] by twenty-five years, and almost from the start, its students and graduates have been in the forefront of political change. The Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī [*q.v.*] Djemʿiyyeti was secretly founded in 1889 at the separate military medical college, but in 1897 a special court martial held a mass trial of Ḥarbiye students for subversive activities, of whom 78 were deported to Libya. In 1920, 250 Ḥarbiye students made their way from occupied Istanbul to Anatolia. A silent march by the Harbiye students on 21 May 1960 was one of the preludes of the military coup six days later. Harbiye staff and students were prominently involved in the two abortive coups (February 1962 and May 1963) under Colonel Talât Aydemir; the suppression of the second of these led to wholesale forced resignations from the student body.

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(D. A. Rustow)

ḤAREKET ORDUSU, literally "action army", the name usually given to the striking force sent from Salonica on 17 April 1909, under the command of Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*], to quell the counter-revolutionary mutiny in the First Army Corps in Istanbul. The striking force also known as the Army of Deliverance, reached the capital on 23 April (n.s.) and, after some clashes with the mutineers, occupied the city on the following day.

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(Ed.)

HAREM [see ḤARĪM, SARĀY].

ḤARF, letter of the alphabet, word; Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr al-ṣināʿa*, i, 15-19), examining the etymology of the word, finds an original meaning of *ḥadd*, "limit": *innamā ḥarf al-shayʾ ḥadduh wa-nāḥiyatuh*; and, in speaking of the *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*: *ḥadd munḳaṭaʿ al-ṣawt wa-ghāyatuh wa-ṭarafuh* (16, lines 6-7), "the limit where the cutting of the *ṣawt* occurs, its end, its extremity." This explanation introduces an element from a system which was elaborated much later: the *maḳṭaʿ*, but it is important because of the use of the word *ḥadd*, "limit." The *LA* contains a long article on *ḥarf* (x, 385/ix, 41a). It retains as the primary meaning of *ḥarf*: *al-ṭaraf wa 'l-djānib*, "the extremity, the side", whence it derives the name *ḥarf* for the letters of the alphabet. Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, in the *Sharḥ* of his *Shudhūr al-dhahab* (Cairo 1951/1371) indicates only (p. 14, l. 13): *ṭaraf al-shayʾ*. With regard to the ancient Semitic languages, Arabic *ḥarf* "extremity, side" is related to Syriac *ḥarpā* and *ḥerpā* "edge, point" (Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, s.v.). In Hebrew, the relation is more remote: *ḥerpā(h)* "invective, reviling", which can be explained by "stinging, sharp words" (see Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, under *ḥ r f*).

The *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi begins with the broad tripartite division: "*ism*, *fiʿl*, *ḥarf*, the last meaning what is neither *ism* nor *fiʿl*." This division came to the Arabs from Aristotelian logic [see FIʿL]. Fr. Prätorius (in *ZDMG*, lxiii (1909), 504-5) has related *ḥarf* to the term *hóros* which is used in Aristotelian logic. M. Bravmann (*Materialien*, 8-9) accepted this and rejected the criticism of J. Weiss (in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 349-82). *Hóros*, too, signified "limit", thence, among its derived meanings, "determination of the meaning of a word", whence, "definition". In Arabic, *ḥadd*, "limit, definition", has followed the same path; as for *ḥarf*, it has three derived meanings: (1) "word", (2) "letter of the alphabet", (3) the designation of the third term in the broad tripartite division.

It is difficult fully to clear up the processes by which these meanings are derived; for if, on the one hand, there was Greek influence on the development of meanings of an Arabic term (*ḥarf*), the primary meaning of which corresponded with that of the Greek term (*hóros*), the Arab world, on the other hand, offered for the possibilities of semantic derivation a completely different milieu of thought. The following is a possible explanation: from *ḥarf*, "extremity, side" (*LA*), "limit" (Ibn Djinnī), might have derived the meaning of "word" (recorded in Lane's *Lexicon*, s.v.). Then, in a very simple analysis of the phonic components of the word, it was enough for the first specialists on the Arabic language to pronounce a word slowly in order to divide it into what we call syllables and where they found "limits", *i.e.*, *ḥurūf*. The short vowel gave them no difficulty, since for them it had no autonomy but was a sort of accident of the stable element [see ḤARAKA WA-SUKŪN]. The *ḥarf* of the *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* was taking shape. Finally, in that which was neither *ism*, nor *fiʿl*, it was easy to notice that many of these units, and some of the most common of them, had only one *ḥarf*: one has only to think of *wa-* the very common conjunction, *fa-*, *bi-* "in", *li-* (conj. and prep.), the interrogative

ʾa; or only a single *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*: the negatives *lā, mā*; *fī* "in", the vocative *yā*; or two *ḥarf*: *min, ʿan*, etc. (see below); and this without being subject to any *iʿrāb*, inflexion. It was the domain of the *ḥarf*.

This presentation has the advantage of following a natural order in the analysis of the primary linguistic datum: the sentence. But it reduces heavily the extent of Greek influence: it takes it back to the suggestion of a point of departure, the choice of a word (*ḥarf*) meaning, like the Greek *hóros*, "limit".

The Arab grammarians tried to find a precise definition of *ḥarf*, the third term in the division given in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, and in its comprehension and extension. Already in the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī (d. about 340/951), p. 17, l. 11, is found the definition which was to be accepted later by the great grammarians and, without essential change, even in some modern grammars, *e.g.*, *al-Ḳawāʾid al-djaliyya, al-k. al-thālith*, of Eddé (2nd ed. Beirut 1911, 111): *al-ḥarf mā dalla ʿalā maʿnan fī ghayrih*, "the *ḥarf* is that which indicates a meaning in something else". It cannot do without this something else—verb, noun or pronoun, and determines a meaning in it. This is why these *ḥurūf* are called also: *ḥurūf al-maʿānī*, *e.g.*, al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw* (Cairo 1959/1378, 54). On the discussion of the definition indicated above, see Ibn Yaʿīsh, pp. 1066-1071 (for § 497 of the *Mufaṣṣal*) and Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 297, l. 8 (with reference to i, 8, lines 14 ff., where *ism* is discussed) (Istanbul ed. 1275, with marginal *Sharḥ*).

When thus defined, *ḥarf* is usually translated by "particle". But how far had this concept of *ḥarf* to be extended? Many "grammatical instruments" (*adawāt*, sing. *adāt*), the term of al-Farrāʾ (see *ZDMG*, lxiv, 381-2 and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 187, lines 17 and 19) came of themselves. Other cases were less clear: Ibn al-Sarrādj saw a *ḥarf* in *ʿasā* and *laysa*; Thaʿlab agreed for the first, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī for the second; al-Zadjdjādjī (*al-Djumal*, 53 f.) placed *kāna* and its "sisters" among the *ḥurūf*; al-Suyūṭī (*Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ*, Cairo 1327, i, 10, l. 7 f.) examined the question and reaffirmed the general opinion that these were verbs.

Al-Zamakhsharī (*Mufaṣṣal*[2], § 497-624; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1066-1250) presents all the different *ḥurūf* grouped according to their grammatical use, *e.g.*: *ḥurūf al-ʿaṭf* (of co-ordination), *ḥurūf al-nafy* (of negation); so more briefly in Eddé, *op. cit.*, 111-4. These *ḥurūf* re-appear amongst the 'Particles' of the European grammars, *e.g.*, S. de Sacy, *Gr. Ar.*[2], i, 466 f.; Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 278 f.; but without the systematic presentation given by the Arabs. Ibn Hishām [*q.v.*] arranged his *K. Mughnī 'l-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb* alphabetically, starting from the *ḥurūf*, the particles. It is not a classification of the *ḥurūf*: to him they were a means to present his great study of Arabic syntax. He had to insert, though, words like *kull* which do not belong to the *ḥurūf*.

The *Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir fi 'l-naḥw* of al-Suyūṭī (ii, 2nd ed., Ḥaydarābād 1360, 11) enumerates all the *ḥurūf*: uniliterals: 13; biliterals: 24, triliterals: 19, quadriliterals: 13; quinquiliterals: 1; total 70. Expressions such as: *khalfa, warāʾa*, "behind"; *amāma, ḳuddāma*, "in front of"; *bayna*, "between", are not included. These expressions, which the European grammarians regard as prepositions, were placed by the Arab grammarians among the *ẓurūf* (sing. *ẓarf*), see, *e.g.*: al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 44, l. 8-9; 72, l. 7-8; 74, l. 1-2. In the same work of al-Suyūṭī (ii, 11-4) are to be found all the grammatical classifications of *ḥurūf*, according to every possible way of regarding them.

The *Dict. of Tech. Terms* (i, 320-4) mentions 18 separate meanings of the term *ḥarf*. Two (2 and 3) concern the usage of the *ahl al-djafr* [see DJAFR]. Three refer to the script: nos. 1, 4, 5; no. 1 is useful to recall: *muʿdjama* — *muhmala* [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ]. The others (apart from the last one) repeat phonetic divisions: they are to be found, as far as they are worth mentioning (except no. 6), under ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. The last one refers to *ṣarf*: *aṣliyya* — *zāʾida* [see ṢARF]. No. 6: *muṣawwita* — *ṣāmita*, comprises two groups: the *ḥurūf al-madd wa 'l-līn*, and the other *ḥurūf*, *mutaḥarrika* or *sākina* respectively. This division is useful, for it can provide the means of expressing 'vowel' and 'consonant' in Arabic. The first term is already ancient: in fact *al-muṣawwitāt* occurs in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (compiled in 377/987), 16, line 12, to designate the vowels of the Greek alphabet. After these 18 divisions come *al-ḥurūf fī 'ṣṭilāḥ al-ṣūfiyya* [see ḤURŪFĪ].

Ḥarf has also assumed the meaning of 'Ḳurʾānic reading', *i.e.*, a word with various readings, *e.g.*, *hādhā fī ḥarf Ibn Masʿūd ay fī ḳirāʾat Ibn Masʿūd* (*LA*, x, 385/ix, 41a). But what is the meaning of *aḥruf* in the *ḥadīth*: *nazala 'l-Ḳurʾān alā sabʿat aḥruf kulluhā shāfin kāfin* "The Ḳurʾān has been revealed according to seven *aḥruf*, each effective, sufficient"? The most widespread explanation (Abū ʿUbayd, al-Azharī, Ibn Athīr Madjd al-Dīn, *Ḳāmūs*) is that which attributes to *aḥruf* the sense of *lughāt* 'dialects' (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.); reference may be made also to the *K. al-lughāt fi 'l-Ḳurʾān*, published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1365/1946 and chapter 37 of al-Suyūṭī's *Itḳān, Fīmā waḳaʿa fīhi bi-ghayr lughat al-Ḥidjāz*. According to the notice given by Abū ʿUbayd in *LA* (x, 385/ix, 41b), this *ḥadīth* does not refer to words with seven *ḳirāʾāt*, but to *lughāt*, "dialectical words or expressions" found at various points of the Ḳurʾān, some from the dialect of the Ḳuraysh, others from that of Ahl al-Yaman, or of the Hawāzin or the Hudhayl, etc.; it continues: *wa maʿānīhā fī hādhā kullihi wāḥid* (*wāḥida*, in *TA*, vi, 68, line 18), "and their meanings in this are a single [meaning]", *i.e.*, they do not add a further meaning to that of the Ḳurʾānic text.

Bibliography: In the text; see also ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. (H. FLEISCH)

ḤARFŪSH, family name of the Shīʿī amīrs of the Baalbek region in Ottoman times. Technically a part of the *vilayet* of Damascus, the region of Baalbek was historically more closely associated with Mount Lebanon, and the Ḥarfūsh amīrs were frequently the virtual vassals of the Lebanese amīrs of the Maʿn and Shihāb dynasties. The origins of the Ḥarfūsh family are not clear; but it was already well-established in the Baalbek region in the latter half of the 10th/16th century, when Mūsā Ḥarfūsh conspired with other neighbouring chieftains against Ḳorḳmaz Maʿn of the Shūf in 992/1584-5 (see FAKHR AL-DĪN). His successor Yūnis Ḥarfūsh later became an ally of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn II, acting as his vassal. The Ḥarfūsh amīrs continued to control the Baalbek region, imposing on it their oppressive rule, until the Ottoman system of provincial administration was reorganized in 1864. Earlier on, in 1850, Muḥammad Ḥarfūsh had led a rebellion against the Ottomans, who retaliated strongly. The Ḥarfūsh amīrs were overthrown and hunted down until their power was completely destroyed in 1866, and the remnants of the family were reduced to pauperism.

Bibliography: Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, vii, 9; ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf, *Dawānī*

al-ḳuṭūʿ fi taʾrīkh banī al-Maʿlūf, Baabdā 1907-8, 155, 159, 213, 217, 228, 231; A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900*, London 1939, 59; Ṭannūs al-Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān fi djabal Lubnān*, Beirut 1859.

(K. S. Salibi)

ḤARFŪSH (a.; sometimes also Kharfūsh), "vagabond, ne'er-do-well", often used in the sense of "ruffians, rascals, scamps"; plural *ḥarāfīsh*, *ḥarāfīsha*. From the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th century the term appears in chronicles and other works dealing with the Mamlūk domains of Egypt and Syria. The last author to make relatively frequent use of the term seems to be the chronicler Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524), and a final reference, obviously in a period when the term had disappeared from common use, occurs in al-Muḥibbī's 11th/17th-century biographical dictionary *Khulāṣat al-athar* (see below).

The *ḥarāfīsh* represent the lowest element in the strata of Mamlūk society, forming groups in the urban centres of Cairo and Damascus and, at least temporarily, also in Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Made up of professional beggars, able-bodied as well as infirm, street-entertainers, and the unemployed, the *ḥarāfīsh* seem to have developed a guild-like organization headed by a *shaykh* who bore the title *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh*. Often attacked by the orthodox writers for their barbarous speech and dress as well as for their heretical religious tendencies, the *ḥarāfīsh* were a despised and feared group given to rioting and plundering on occasion. To pacify and control this unruly but organized element, the sultan and the chief *amīrs* gave them alms and, in times of famine, numbers of *ḥarāfīsh* were assigned to the more affluent *amīrs* and to wealthy merchants and other non-governmental figures, who then became responsible for feeding them.

The development of the organization of the group (called a *ṭāʾifa* by some contemporary writers) is seen in the rise of the office of the *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh*, which first appears in the late 8th/14th century and persists until the end of the Mamlūk rule. The "*sulṭān*", who was the head of the guild-like organization, was responsible to the state for the discipline of his followers. Ibn Iyās (*Die Chronik des Ibn Iyās*, Bibliotheca Islamica, Band 5e, 41) mentions the *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh* along with the heads of artisan guilds who accompanied the last Mamlūk sultan in the ceremonial procession on his departure for Syria to fight the Ottoman Turks.

During the Ottoman period the term disappears and is replaced by *djuʿaydī* as a general term for "vagabond, beggar". However, in a notice regarding the head of the artisan guilds in Damascus, the *shaykh al-mashāyikh*, in the 11th/17th century, we are told that he was "formerly known as *sulṭān al-ḥarāfīsh*, then he was called, out of respect, *shaykh al-mashāyikh*" (al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iv, 144). From the 10th/16th century until it fell into disuse at the end of the 19th century, the title of *shaykh al-mashāyikh* was handed down in the Damascene family of the Banū ʿAdjlān.

The connexion between the lowly *ḥarāfīsh* on the one hand and the respectable guild organizations on the other is not clear. Nor is their connexion with Ṣūfism—in its folk manifestations—easily explicable. The clearest indication of a relationship of the latter sort is in the figure of a popular saint known as ʿUbayd al-Ḥarfūsh or al-Ḥurayfīsh (d. 801/1399) whose work of pious devotions *al-Rawḍ al-fāʾiḳ* is still printed, most recently in 1949 (cf. Brockelmann, S. II, 229). In a verse cited by al-Sakhāwī (*al-Tibr al-masbūk*, 349), ʿUbayd wrote that the *ḥarāfīsh*, although poor, substisting on a morsel and in rags in a deserted mosque, will be forgiven their sins because they are neither liars nor hypocrites.

Undoubtedly the *ḥarāfīsh* represent one of those urban groups in the Muslim world that appeared periodically under different names, made up of impoverished, uprooted former artisans and peasants as well as professional beggars, who robbed and looted as well as begged for a livelihood, and who, in different periods, allied themselves with various elements in the government—at times with the sultan, at others with the *amīrs*. They should be compared—for differences as well as similarities—with the earlier *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] and *aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], as well as with the later *zuʿar*.

A single literary reference to this group occurs in the *Alf layla* in the story of "The Ḥarfūsh and the Cook" (cf. Habicht, *Tausend und eine Nacht*, iv, 138-40, translated in Payne, *Tales from the Arabic*, i, 9; R. Burton, *A Thousand and One Nights' entertainment*, Suppl. i, 4).

Bibliography: For a discussion of the word itself cf. *TA*, iv, 297 (*ḥ r n f sh*) and *ibid.*, 305 (*ḥ r f sh*); Dozy, i, 374; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, i b, 195-7. Additional material, both on the term and on the history of the group will be found in the article by W. M. Brinner, *The significance of the Ḥarāfīsh and their 'Sultan'*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 190-215. A study by Ira M. Lapidus, *The Muslim city in Mamlūk times* (in the press), adds further citations and discussion of the *ḥarāfīsh*.

(W. M. Brinner)

HARGEISA, administrative headquarters and capital of the former British Somaliland Protectorate, now of the northern region of the Somali Republic, lying in 9° 33′ N. lat. and 44° 04′ E. long. With a population of some 35,000 Somali and lying in territory normally grazed by the Habar Awal clan, the town is of recent formation. It has developed from the cultivating *ṭarīḳa* community (of the Ḳādiriyya) established by Shaykh Maḍḍar (Habar Awal, Ḥüseyn Abokor, Rēr Ḥosh, 1241-1336/1825-1918) in the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the Shaykh, who enjoyed a considerable reputation for piety and miraculous works, the community grew and prospered, attracting members of many different Somali clans. The main crop was sorghum, and the *ṭarīḳa* which straddled the caravan routes from Harar and the Ogaden was well-placed to be an important trading centre. Swayne, who visited the *ṭarīḳa* at the end of the nineteenth century, describes it as comprising a few hundred mud and wattle huts surrounded by a high mat fence enclosing a square mile or two of cultivated fields and subject to attack from surrounding Somali and Ethiopian raiders. During their rule on the coast, the Egyptians gave the Shaykh arms; and under the British he at first received a stipend. Later, after his death, and the development of Hargeisa as an administrative centre, especially when the town became the capital of the Protectorate, the *ṭarīḳa* declined and is no longer the tightly-knit theocratic unit which it was formerly. Shaykh Maḍḍar is buried beside the stone house given him by Lord Delamere in recognition of the Shaykh's kindness on a hunting expedition and his shrine is frequently visited, especially by women in search of blessing. The Shaykh's staunch support of British interests was recognized by the appointment of the local Ḳāḍī from amongst his descendants.

After the transfer of the Protectorate capital from

Berbera, Hargeisa began to assume its present character. As befits the main centre of trade in the interior of northern Somaliland it now boasts a modern hospital, some cinemas, a power station and broadcasting service, an aerodrome and most of the appurtances of modern government. A local government council was opened in 1953, and a legislative council in 1957. The latter merged with the Somalia legislative assembly at Maḳdis̲h̲u when the Protectorate and U.N. Trust Territory of Somalia joined to form the independent Somali Republic on 1 July 1960.

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HARG̲H̲A, the Arabic form of the Berber name of the tribe to which Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*] belonged, the Arg̲h̲en (the prosthetic *hā'* is general in Arabic transcriptions of the names of Berber tribes, and the suffix *a* [< *at*] in the plural has been substituted for the *-ən* of the Berber plural). The original home of this tribe is not known with any certainty. H. Basset and H. Terrasse (*Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, in *Hespéris*, 1924/1, 19) identify the Harg̲h̲a with the G̲h̲eg̲h̲āya (Ig̲h̲ig̲h̲ayən), who are also referred to by historians as belonging to the confederation of the Harg̲h̲a. But E. Lévi-Provençal (*Doc. inéd. d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, 55, n. 2) and R. Montagne (*Les Berbères et le Makhzen*, 64) consider on the contrary that the latter were natives of the Anti-Atlas, south-east of Taroudant, where some of the Arg̲h̲ən still exist, surrounded by other tribes bearing the names of particular elements of the confederation of the Harg̲h̲a, as given by al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ. A little above Tinmel there still exists a village with the name Arg̲h̲an, whose inhabitants maintain that their ancestors came from Sūs (E. Doutté, *En tribu*, 120-1). It is therefore possible that one fraction of the Arg̲h̲ən, whose original home was in the Anti-Atlas, may have settled on the northern slopes of the Great Atlas. E. Lévi-Provençal (*Six fragments inédits*, 8) records among the Harg̲h̲a a *ribāṭ* (*rabṭa*) which Ibn Tūmart had built, and gives its name as Īgīllīz (Īgīlīz in al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ); now, among the G̲h̲eg̲h̲āya (see E. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la toponomie du Haut Atlas*, in *REI*, 1942, 117) there still exists a village named Glīz which must be the same one; at the foot of the mountain a number of grottoes had been excavated, and one of them which the Almohads had venerated was called in Arabic *al-g̲h̲ār al-muḳaddas* because Ibn Tūmart was accustomed to retreat there to pray and meditate. (It is perhaps not by chance that ʿAbd al-Muʾmin gave the name Īgīlīz to the obsidional town which he founded to the north of Almoravid Marrākus̲h̲, the modern Gīlīz).

Before the appearance of Ibn Tūmart, the Harg̲h̲a were a branch of the main confederation of the Maṣmūda [*q.v.*], from among whom seven fractions in all adopted the Mahdī's cause immediately after his return to the Atlas—the Harg̲h̲a, Hīntāta, Tinmel[lel], Gedmīwa, Genfīsa, Urīka and Hazraga (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ, vi, 225; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *op. cit.*, 16-9).

After the recognition of Ibn Tūmart by the Harg̲h̲a, the Almoravids tried to seize the Mahdī while he was in Īgīlīz, by taking the tribe from the rear, but their attempt failed (516/1122): after a second attempt by the Almoravids against Īgīlīz (517/1123), Ibn Tūmart finally abandoned his *ribāṭ* in order to settle at Tinmel[lel] [*q.v.*] which he made the capital and bastion of his movement (518/1124). Thenceforward, Īgīlīz was no more than a sanctuary and place of pilgrimage which the Almohad caliphs visited from time to time, until the day when the dogma of the Mahdī was officially repudiated by Idrīs al-Maʾmūn, the ninth Almohad caliph (626/1229-629/1232).

The Harg̲h̲a comprised one of the least powerful fractions, but Ibn Tūmart had endeavoured to bring them into prominence. On the one hand, he had incorporated with them the members of the tribes who came from the Anti-Atlas (see R. Montagne, *op. cit.*, 64), on the other hand he had attached several of his principal companions, especially ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥsin al-Bas̲h̲īr and others to them; but the Harg̲h̲a, fearing to be dispossessed of their rights as relatives and heirs of Ibn Tūmart, were utterly opposed to all such adoptions, and from the times of the Mahdī's death tried to reject them. The members of his family, led by his two brothers, did not indeed approve of the nomination of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin as caliph; on being condemned to live under surveillance in Marrākus̲h̲, they escaped and tried to rebel, but failed and were executed. In this way the part played by the Harg̲h̲a in the history of the Almohads came to an end, and they sank back into obscurity.

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HARĪ RŪD, the river of Harāt, which flows for almost 350 miles from the Dai Zangī mountains, west of the Kūh-i Bābā range in central Afg̲h̲ānistān to the oasis of Marw. The river flows south of Harāt, and some thirty miles west of the city it changes direction and flows north. For about sixty miles it forms the boundary between Īrān and Afg̲h̲ānistān before flowing into the Soviet Union. It irrigates the Tad̲j̲and oasis and then is lost in the sands. In the early spring the river is swift and deep at Harāt but in the late autumn it is low and passable.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, s.vv. Harāt and Sarak̲h̲s; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 329 (sketch-map); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, tr. 212; Le Strange, 407 ff.; C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, London 1888, 175; T. Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910. (R. N. Frye)

ḤARĪB, a district of South Arabia on the *wādī* of the same name and lying immediately to the west of Bayḥān [*q.v.*]. The Wādī Ḥarīb rises under the name of Wādī ʿAyn in Bilād al-D̲j̲uraybāt in the highlands of Murād [*q.v.*] and runs northeastwards for about 30 miles through rugged and barren hills to disappear into the desert of Ramlat Sabatayn. About halfway along its course it is joined from the east by the Wādī Mablaḳa and widens into a broad silt plain. Some ten miles further north it unites

with the Wādī Muḳbal which runs almost parallel to it a short distance to the west. Finally, just before its entry into the desert, it receives, also from the west, the Wādī Ablaḥ, which is separated from the main area of Ḥarīb by the Ḳaran mountains and an isolated spur thereof, Dj̲abal Ḥas̲h̲fa. At present the boundary between the Yemen and Bayḥān traverses Ḥarīb so that the upper reaches of Wādī ʿAyn and the plain at its confluence with Wādī Mablaḳa belong to Bayḥān, while Wādī Ḥarīb proper lies in the Yemen, coming under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Mārib [*q.v.*]. It is interesting to note that at some time in antiquity Ḥarīb may have constituted the westernmost region of Ḳatabān [*q.v.*], for across the gap between Dj̲abal Ḳaran and Dj̲abal Ḥas̲h̲fa there is found an ancient stone wall, al-Ḳayd, whose defence-works are directed westwards. Just west of Ḥarīb lie the lands of Murād which may have been independent or belonged to Sabaʾ [*q.v.*] before being incorporated into Ḳatabān. In the 6th century A. D. Ḥarīb formed part of Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*].

At present the chief town of the district is Darb Āl ʿAlī which is situated within the Yemen between Wādī Muḳbal and Wādī Ḥarīb. Landberg described it as inhabited by about 250 *as̲h̲rāf*, drawn from four families, who own most of the land of Ḥarīb. The most important was the Āl ʿAlī b. Ṭālib, the family of the *Amīr* of Ḥarīb. There were also resident there several families of merchants and artisans (*ḳarawī*, pl. *ḳirwān*), each with its own hereditary profession. About five miles further north, at the confluence of the two *wādī*s, lies Darb Bū Ṭuḥayf, which belongs to the Āl Abū Ṭuḥayf who claim descent from the Hilāl [*q.v.*]. The Banū ʿAbd (of Murād) occupy parts of the *wādī*, including the town of Darb Āl ʿAmr in Wādī ʿAyn and the hills of Dj̲abal Ḳaran. On the latter is the tomb of a saint, Abū ʿĀmir Uways b. al-Murādī al-Ḳaranī, a contemporary of the Prophet. The village of al-Sāḥa, near Darb Āl ʿAmr, also belongs to a clan of Banū ʿAbd, the Āl G̲h̲ut̲h̲aym, who are noted locksmiths. Some members of this clan emigrated to Ṣanʿā [*q.v.*] and practised their profession there. Hamdānī also gives the inhabitants of Ḥarīb as the Murādī tribes of Rabīʿ, K̲h̲alaf and ʿUd̲h̲r. The Āl Rabīʿ, who are *mas̲h̲āʾik̲h̲*, still lead a nomadic life in Ḥarīb, Bayḥān, and also in al-Dj̲ūba in Murād. As is often the case in this part of Arabia, many of the towns are occupied by *raʿiyya* or dependent classes, while their patrons live outside the towns in tents.

The identification of Ḥarīb with Pliny's Caripeta can no longer be regarded as sound. Nevertheless the area is covered with evidence of ancient occupation in the form of ruined towns and the remains of irrigational systems. A particularly important site is Had̲j̲ar Ḥinū al-Zarīr, just across the frontier from Darb Āl ʿAlī and north of the isolated Dj̲abal Ḳarn ʿUbayd. It was briefly visited by an American archaeological mission in 1951, though not excavated, and is reported as having several buildings still largely intact and many inscriptions. According to tradition it was named after one al-Zarīr b. Ṣaʿaḳ, who once ruled there, and inhabited by smiths who were *raʿiyya* of the Ḥimyarites. There may be some truth in the latter tradition since there is abundant evidence of the existence of an iron-smelting industry in the general area. Landberg also mentions a site called Timnaʿ, with associated ruins, in the plain of al-Dj̲ufra on Wādī Ablaḥ, which he supposed to have been the ancient capital of Ḳatabān, but it has now been demonstrated that the latter actually lies elsewhere [see BAYḤĀN]. There are also reports of a ruin field called Had̲j̲ar Ḥarīb north of Darb Bū Ṭuḥayf but little information is available on it.

Although the main caravan route from Bayḥān to Mārib by-passes Ḥarīb to the north, there is an alternative road from Wādī Bayḥān which takes advantage of an impressive stepped pass leading through the mountains into Wādī Mablaḳa. Traditionally cut by a certain Bārg̲h̲āl, it is called *MBLQT* in a Ḳatabanian inscription at the pass, which records that it was built by a *mukarrib* of Ḳatabān, Yadaʿ ʾab D̲h̲ubyān b. S̲h̲ahr, who probably reigned about 200 B.C. From there the road runs past Darb Āl ʿAlī and through the wall, al-Ḳayd, whereafter there is a choice of three mountain roads into the Wādī al-Dj̲ūba.

Several other places with the name of Ḥarīb or *ḤRB* are known from Hamdānī and the inscriptions.

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(A. K. IRVINE).

ḤĀRIM, small town in northern Syria dominated by a fortress of the same name and situated in 34° 10′ E. and 36° 11′ N., 88 km. west of Aleppo, 39 km. east of Anṭākiya and 21 km. south of the lake of ʿAmḳ [*q.v.*]. Its site, at the foot of the western slope of the Dj̲abal al-ʿAlā, makes it into a point of remarkable strategic importance. Situated slightly off the road from Anṭākiya to Aleppo, yet sufficiently close to control it, it guards the entry to the massifs of the Dj̲abal al-ʿAlā and the Dj̲abal Barīs̲h̲a.

Consisting at first simply of an enclosure of sheep-folds (whence probably the origin of the name Ḥārim, from the Semitic root *ḤRM*, with its connotations of prohibition, exclusion, etc.), then, under the Byzantines, a small castle, Ḥārim was occupied by the Arabs at the time of the conquest, then re-taken by the Byzantines, and finally conquered by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Sulayman b. Ḳutulmis̲h̲ in 477/1084. Malik-S̲h̲āh occupied it in 479/1086. Then, after the Frankish conquest in 491/1098, it became an important fortress. The Crusaders made it into a strong castle which commanded the route out to Dj̲isr al-Ḥadīd [*q.v.*] and ensured the safety of Anṭākiya. After several attempts, Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in taking Ḥārim in 559/1164 and granted it as a fief to the *amīr* Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya. In 579/1183, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seized it from the Zangids and gave it to one of his followers, Ibrāhīm b. S̲h̲irwa. The attacks made by the Crusaders to recover Ḥārim were all unsuccessful and the fortress remained in the hands of the Ayyūbids. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir G̲h̲āzī, the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, rebuilt it entirely, as is indicated by an inscription of 595/1199 engraved above the lintel of the entrance gate. In 658/1260, the Mongol Hūlāgū occupied Ḥārim, which from then on played only a minor rôle in the military history of northern Syria.

Nowadays, Ḥārim, the site of which is still marked by the ruins of its fortress, has a permanent market in which the agricultural products of the region are sold. Its gardens have always been famous, as is witnessed by various Arab writers, and its olive groves occupy the lower slopes of the Dj̲abal al-ʿAlā.

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part, 219 ff.; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 449; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, index; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1913, 220-38; G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1958, especially i, 93-5, 382, iii, 120; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, Paris 1953, i, 217; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1936, index; Froment, *Carte touristique et archéologique du Caza de Ḥārem*, in *Syria*, xi (1930), 185, 192; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii, 210-1.

(S. Ory)

ḤARĪM (also *ḥaramgāh*, *zanāna*, etc.), a term applied to those parts of a house to which access is forbidden, and hence more particularly to the women's quarters. In ancient Arabia women seem to have enjoyed some measure of personal freedom, though the use of the veil was not unknown, especially in towns. It became commoner after the advent of Islam, with the adoption, on the one hand of a stricter code of sexual morality, on the other of a more urban way of life. The provisions of the Ḳur'ān on the veiling and seclusion of women (XXXIII, 53-9) were elaborated and made severer by jurists and commentators, and used to justify a system that owed more to the earlier city civilizations of the Middle East than to Islam. In the great houses, in the cities of the Islamic Empire, the free Arab lady known to us from early poetry disappears. While the lower and middle classes seem generally to have practiced a form of monogamy, the wealthier classes maintained elaborate gynaecea, in which, besides their legal quota of wives, there were establishments of concubines, attendants, eunuchs and guards. So normal did this become in medieval Muslim society that Muslim travellers are shocked when they visit other societies in which women enjoy greater social freedom. The system survived into comparatively modern times, and has not entirely died out even at the present day. In its Turkish form, *harem*, the word has passed into many European languages.

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On the psychology of harem women, see E. F. Gautier, *Mœurs et coutumes des Musulmans*, Paris 1931, 36 ff.

See further ʿABD (on slavery); D̲J̲INS (on sexual life); ḤID̲J̲ĀB (on the veil); K̲H̲ĀDIM, K̲H̲AṢĪ (on eunuchs); ḲAYNA (on slave singing-girls); MAR'A (on women in general); NIKĀḤ (on marriage); SARĀY (on the palace, including the imperial *harem*).

(Ed.)

ḤARĪR, silk. The etymology of the word is obscure; its synonyms *ibrīsam* and *ḳazz*, as well as *dībād̲j̲* which more particularly denotes silk brocade, are Persian loanwords; *k̲h̲azz*, properly speaking a mixture of silk and wool, but sometimes also used for silk, is etymologically isolated in Arabic, and perhaps connected with *ḳazz*. *Ḥarīr* occurs in the Ḳur'ān, sūras XXII, 23 = XXXV, 33, and LXXVI, 12, where it is said that the raiment of the people of Paradise will be silk. A group of traditions which, together with others, express an ascetic tendency in early Islam, forbids the use of silk to men but allows it to women. The prohibition is often expressed in the form that he who wears silk in this world, shall not wear it in the next. (Another version forbids it to men only if it is worn for ostentation. On the other hand, the wearing of silk is occasionally not recommended even for women.) The use of silk in garments by men is allowed only as appliqué work, as a border not more than two fingers broad, etc. When the Prophet was presented with a silken robe, he wore it once during the ritual prayer, but then expressed strong repugnance for it. The traditions declare that the use of silk for upholstery is like its use for clothing, and they explicitly forbid its use in saddle-cushions and the like. Sufferers from itch, however, may use silk garments, and the Prophet allowed their use to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, who complained of lice. A contrary tendency is attested by traditions according to which some ancient authorities used to wear silk, and by counter-traditions which threaten those who regard silk and *k̲h̲azz* as allowed, with punishment. On the details of the traditions, see A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. clothes; the same, *Concordance*, s.v. *ḥarīr*. As a result of these traditions, all schools of religious law forbid to men the wearing of garments made completely of silk next to the skin, and they differ on many questions of detail which do not fall exactly under this close definition. The S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, in addition, forbid sitting or leaning on silk (as material of cushions, etc.), or using it as hangings on walls, except for the Kaʿba, but they allow the wearing of garments made partly of silk if its quantity is not greater than that of the other material. The Mālikīs forbid the use of silk garments even to sufferers from itch, lice, etc.; they also forbid sitting on silk but allow its use for hangings. The Ḥanafīs permit lying or sleeping on silk, also the use of silk cushions and of silk prayer mats; according to Abū Ḥanīfa (against the *mas̲h̲hūr*

of the school) it is permitted to wear outer garments of silk provided they do not touch the body. All these prohibitions apply to men only. If a man performs the ritual prayer in a garment of silk, he commits a sin but his prayer does not become invalid. Different from the question of wearing silk garments is the question of wearing silk material in order to fulfil the minimum requirement of covering one's "nakedness" (*ʿawra*), particularly during the ritual prayer; in this last case, if one must chose between silk and material which has become ritually unclean, the use of silk is generally preferred. The unlawful use of silk at a wedding dinner-party (*walīma*) cancels the religious obligation of accepting a personal invitation to it [see ʿURS]. The works of *fiḳh* treat of the rules regarding the use of silk either in a special section on clothing or in the chapters on ritual prayer and/or on the *walīma*; the doctrines of the four *sunnī* schools of religious law are conveniently set out in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *K. al-fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, ii (*ḳism al-muʿāmalāt*), 2nd ed., Cairo 1933, 12 ff. See also Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3,4], 157; Guidi and Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, i, 57 f., ii, 63; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, 60 f. (for the Shāfiʿīs, the Mālikīs, and the "Twelver" Shīʿīs respectively).

Circumstances beyond our control have obliged us to refer the reader to the Supplement for articles on the silk trade and industry in mediaeval Islam and post-Mongol Persia. What follows here is divided into four sections:

i. A brief general survey of the silk industry and trade, especially with Europe, from the point of view of the European economic historian;

ii. A detailed examination of the Ottoman silk industry;

iii. A survey of the silk industry in the Arab lands;

iv. A contribution by an art historian, reviewing the products of the Islamic silk industry particularly as they are represented in the museum collections of the Western world.

For some information on silk cultivation and the mediaeval silk trade, see FILĀḤA, TIDJĀRA, TŪT.

(ED.)

i. — SURVEY OF THE TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the mediaeval and early modern period silk ranked among the three or four most important commodities of intercontinental trade. At least until the beginning of the 19th century silk and silk textiles were the most important exports from Muslim countries. Within this long period the most striking fact is the gradual transfer of silk culture from east to west. While Muslim demand and technique remained, so far as we can judge, practically static in the centuries following the Mongol invasions, silk weaving and the breeding of silkworms were steadily spreading in Europe.

The growth of the European silk industry influenced Muslim production in two ways, negatively by increasing the competition in the highly specialized field of silk weaving, positively by raising the demand for raw silk. The mechanization of European sericulture and silk weaving in the 19th century was the final blow to the traditional Muslim crafts; it is clear, however, that this was not a completely new point of departure, but the result of a development that had begun several centuries before.

It is at present impossible to point to any decisive moment in this long development. In the 7th/13th century the near monopoly of the Muslim weavers on the European market had first been broken by the weavers of Lucca. In the 9th/15th century Italian silk fabrics figured among the Venetian exports to the Levant, and at the time of the Portuguese discoveries they had reached the Central Asian and Indian markets. In the factories of the Levant they were met by a counter-current of Muslim silk fabrics on their way to Europe, but this counter-current grew steadily weaker. What once had constituted the bulk of Muslim exports to Europe had, by the middle of the 11th/17th century, become limited to a few specialized qualities. It was not a question of quantity and price only. As early as 979/1571 a Venetian traveller in Persia noted that the finish of the Persian smooth stuffs and damask was inferior to the Italian. Around 1153/1740 an English merchant (J. Hanway) stated that Persia in good years would be a promising market for "rich silks, gold and silver lace, velvets and other rich manufactures". Even at that time it might seem like carrying coals to Newcastle, but a century later the German expert, Blau, found that the Persian weavers were working for the home market only, their products being too coarse to be exported. In 1889 some 15% of the total imports into Persia were English, Austrian, French and Russian silk fabrics (Curzon).

The towns which were admired by the mediaeval and early modern travellers for their flourishing silk industry, Yazd, Kāshān, Iṣfahān, Damascus and others, maintained their traditional crafts into the present century. Without statistical data it is impossible to decide when they passed from stagnation to decline. It is interesting to note, however, that the movement towards the west took place within Islam as well as from Islam to Europe. In Bursa, conveniently situated both in relation to the caravan routes from Persia and to the important market constituted by the Ottoman court, silk weaving expanded spectacularly in the 9th/15th century and maintained its prosperity at least to the end of the 12th/18th century. The prosperity of the silk industry in Izmir and on Chios belongs to an even later date and reached its highest level at the end of the 12th/18th century, when the fabrics of Izmir competed successfully with local products in the market of Bursa. In this case, at least, decline did not begin before the industrialization of European production.

These developments in the weaving industry necessarily influenced the localization of sericulture. Until *ca.* 900/1500 the Caspian provinces, Māzandarān, Gīlān, and Shīrwān, were by far the most important districts from the point of view of international trade. The production of other regions, such as Syria or Khurāsān, was mostly manufactured locally. The earliest reasonably reliable estimates of the production of raw silk in Persia date from the first half of the 11th/17th century, when the firm rule and active commercial policy of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] had brought the sericulture of the Caspian provinces to a peak of prosperity. The often quoted estimate of Olearius from 1047/1637, who put the average "harvest" at 20,000 bales (roughly 2,000 tons), was, however, considerably higher than the contemporary estimates of Dutch and English merchants, who presumably had a better knowledge of local conditions. Though the estimates which were sent to the Dutch and English East India Companies vary, 1,000 tons would probably be a realistic figure for the annual production of raw silk in Persia at the death of ʿAbbās I. Two-thirds of the annual production was exported to Europe, and the most important district

was Gīlān, which alone accounted for half the total production.

The 11th/17th century was to all appearances a prosperous one for the Persian producers and for their middlemen, the Armenian merchants. This prosperity came to a sudden end with the political break-down of the early 12th/18th century. Around 1153/1740, according to Hanway, the production of Gīlān had fallen to *ca.* 160 tons annually, while the breeding of silkworms had come to a complete stop in S̲h̲īrwān.

Political stability in the second half of the 12th/18th century brought renewed prosperity to Gīlān, which from this time on completely overshadowed the other Persian silk-producing regions. The highest production figures in the whole history of Gīlān were probably reached shortly after the middle of the 19th century, when the mechanization of the European silk industry and better means of access to the Caspian provinces brought the demand to unprecedented heights. Around 1850 Blau estimated the annual production of Gīlān at 350-420 tons; in 1864 it was more than 1,000 tons. This was the peak, however. The same year disease (*pebrine*) appeared among the silkworms, probably (as in France) the result of unlimited expansion without change of technique.

Persian sericulture never recovered fully from this blow. At the very moment when heavy investments were necessary to exterminate the *pebrine* and to mechanize silk-winding, prices of raw silk took a downward turn, partly as a result of the long depression in Europe, partly because of Japanese competition. After 1890 conditions improved to some extent, but the highest production figure reached before 1914 was *ca.* 550 tons.

Syrian silk appears among the European imports from Syria in the middle ages, but primarily it was manufactured locally, particularly in Damascus. It was probably during the wars between the Ottoman Empire and Persia in the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries that it first came into prominence as a substitute for the Persian raw silk. The French specialized in the silk of Lebanon, while the other nations seem to have preferred the qualities from northern Syria.

In spite of some expansion, mostly in Lebanon, the Syrian production of raw silk was much smaller than the production of Persia until the last decades of the 19th century. The earliest reliable statistics show an annual average of *ca.* 110 tons between 1861 and 1870. The Syrian silkworms were hit by disease like those of Persia, but the consequences were less serious. The more intimate connections with Europe and a considerable import of French capital facilitated a rapid change of technique. The *pebrine* was exterminated within a few years and the mechanization of silk-winding got under way. Before the first world war the production of Syria and Lebanon equalled that of Persia.

The prosperity of the sericulture of western Anatolia dates from the beginning of the 11th/17th century. Before the 19th century it produced mainly for the silkweavers of Izmir, Chios and Bursa, but as early as 1837 steam-power was used in the winding of silk in Bursa. This is probably the main reason why this region was able to expand far beyond the older producers of Persia and Syria in the late 13th/19th century. On the eve of the first world war production had reached 1000 tons annually [see BURSA].

With a total of a little more than 2000 tons annually around 1914 the Muslim countries accounted for less than 10% of the world production of raw silk. The war caused a serious decline and recovery was delayed by the low prices of raw silk during the depression and later by the introduction of artificial fibres. At present the economic importance of sericulture in the Muslim countries is negligible. Including exported fresh cocoons the production amounted in 1962 to *ca.* 320 tons of raw silk, or little more than 1% of the world production.

Bibliography: Information on the silk industry and sericulture is extremely scattered—as on most other aspects of the economic history of Islam. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1886, is fairly complete on the period up to ca. 900/1500. Not quite so useful are Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII*e *siècle*, Paris 1896 and idem, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIII*e *siècle*, Paris 1911. For recent statistics see *Statistique de la production de la soie en France et à l'étranger*, Syndicat de l'Union des Marchands de Soie, Lyon 1872—and the *Production Yearbook* of FAO. Otto Blau, *Die commercielle Zustände Persiens*, Berlin 1858; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, 2 vols., London 1892 (with list of the most important travellers in Persia); G. Ducousso, *L'industrie de la soie en Syrie*, Paris-Beirut 1913; *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der oostindische compagnie in Perzië*, ed. H. Dunlop = *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën vol. 72*, The Hague 1930 (important on the 11th/17th century); D. Chevallier, *Lyon et la Syrie en 1919*, in *Revue historique*, ccxxiv, Paris 1960.

(N. Steensgaard)

ii. — The Ottoman Empire

The word for "silk" in Ottoman Turkish is *ipek*, in Kïpčak Turkish *yipek*; in Eastern Turkish the word *torḳu*, *torg̲h̲u* means silk or silk stuff; the word *ag̲h̲ï*, found in the inscription of Kültegin (S 5) means rich silk stuff, valuable goods (see Maḥmūd Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān Lug̲h̲āt al-Turk*, s.v.); in old Ottoman the expression *aḳ ḳumās̲h̲* is occasionally found for silk stuff.

By the end of the 8th/14th century Bursa was one of the principal silk markets of the world, as is evident from the descriptions of J. Schiltberger (*Travels and bondage . . .*, ed. J. B. Telfer, London 1879, 34) and Clavijo (*Narrative of the embassy . . .*, tr. Markham, London 1859, 159; see also Pero Tafur, *Travels and adventures, 1435-39*, tr. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 149, and B. de La Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, 134). Just as the silk industry and trade of Byzantium depended in large measure on silk from Persia (R. S. Lopez, *Silk industry in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Speculum* xx (1945)), so the development of the silk trade and industry in the Ottoman Empire is connected with the fact that the Persian silk caravans came increasingly to the Ottoman capital of Bursa.

It is known that the weaving of silk stuffs was carried on in various towns of Seld̲j̲ūḳ Anatolia (see below). In early Ottoman sources it is noted (ʿĀs̲h̲ïḳ Pas̲h̲a-zāde, ed. ʿĀlī, 56; ed. Giese, 52; Gn. tr. R. Kreutel, 87) that during the reign of Murād I, Alas̲h̲ehir (Philadelphia), still in Byzantine hands, was famous for its red silk stuffs, from which banners and robes of honour (*k̲h̲ilʿa*) were made. Pegolotti's mention (early 8th/14th century, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge Mass. 1936, 208, 297, 300; see W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 674) of *seta turci* presumably refers to the principality of

Aydīn, so that silk for local needs was apparently produced here. A document of the reign of Meḥemmed II shows that silk was produced in the Tokat-Amasya region in the 9th/15th century (see R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī*, Ankara 1956, p. 41, no. 31). The 9th/15th century registers of the *ḳāḍīs* of Bursa contain no indication that silk was then made there or that Anatolian silk was used. The silk production and export of the Morea, on the other hand, had been famous since Byzantine times (see F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, ii, Paris 1959, docs. 1681, 1859, 2071, 2202; iii, Paris 1961, docs. 2448, 2508). Although the silk of the Morea was not so esteemed as that of Persia, a *ḳāḍī*'s record shows that it was coming to Bursa in 906/1500 (Bursa Şeriye sicilleri, no. 18/17). Silk produced in Albania was exported to Bursa and to Europe in the 10th/16th century (see H. Inalcık, *Sûret-i defter i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 126; F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekçilik*, Istanbul 1960, 207; and, in a *defter-i mufaṣṣal* of the reign of Selīm I, Başvekâlet Arşivi, tapu no. 80, *Defter-i resm-i ḥarīr-i wilāyet-i Mora*).

All the same, in both the Seldjūḳ and the Ottoman periods, the raw material for international trade and for local silk manufacture in Anatolia came mainly from the districts south of the Caspian Sea. In the time of the Ilkhāns, the Persian silk caravans followed the *Shāhrāh-i Gharbī*, which led via Sulṭāniyye, Erzurum, Erzindjan and Sivas to Konya; two minor routes branched off at Sivas for Constantinople (Z. V. Togan, in *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1954), 45). With the establishment of the Ottoman state, some of these caravans began to come by these routes to Bursa, instead of continuing to Constantinople or Foča; yet even in the 8th/14th century a shorter route, Erzurum—Erzindjan—Tokat—Amasya—Bursa, had surpassed them in importance, and the old sea-route from Trebizond to Constantinople, formerly very active, thenceforward declined. At Bursa, now a Muslim city, Persian merchants could easily and safely establish direct contacts with Italian merchants. Orkhān granted trading concessions to the Genoese and built a *bezzāzistān* at Bursa; later references in *waḳf*-registers to this *bezzāzistān* mention a *mīzān* (balance) for silk in it.

It may justly be claimed that the Ottomans consciously followed a policy of making their new capital a principal entrepôt for Persian silk, of gaining control of the silk-routes, and, in the 10th/16th century, of occupying the Persian centres of silk-production. The factors prompting this policy were the rich revenues which silk brought to the Treasury, the great demand for silk stuffs in the palace and among the wealthy classes, and the increasing dependence of the fortunes of the industry on such a policy (see H. Inalcık, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Belleten*, xv/60 (1951), 664-75); the acquisition of silk and silkstuffs was also regarded as a means of amassing wealth (see H. Inalcık, *15. asır Türkiye iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi kaynakları*, in *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 55-65).

As early as the reign of Bāyezīd I, Ottoman conquests extended control over the silk-routes, in the north towards Amasya, Tokat and Erzindjan, and in the south towards Malatya. When the attempts in the 10th/16th century to control Tabrīz and to establish close relations with Gīlān and Shirwān are being considered, the economic motive must not be overlooked; from the time of the submission of Amīr Dūbādj (Muẓaffar Sulṭān) to Süleymān I in 940/1533, the Ottomans regarded the rulers of Gīlān as their vassals (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², ii, 163).

The Persian silk exported to Anatolia came principally from Māzandarān, Gīlān and Shirwān. The products of the first two districts were collected first at Sulṭāniyya, and in later years mainly at Tabrīz; as early as 741/1340, the *tamghā* [*q.v.*] on silk at Tabrīz amounted to 300,000 *dīnārs* (ʿAbd Allāh al-Māzandarānī, *Resālā-ye Falakiyyā*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, p. 59). Here the silk was bought by the great merchants and the caravans were assembled; these caravans reached Erzurum by the middle valley of the Aras, known as Čuḳūr-i Saʿd (or Sāʿat). The caravans of silk from Shirwān and Gandja reached Erzurum via Shamākhī and Tiflīs. The caravans bound for Aleppo, also an international silk-market, went via Tabrīz, Van, Bidlīs and Diyārbakr, or along the valley of the Euphrates via Erzindjan and Kemakh. The sea-route from Trebizond was also used (Dalsar, *op. cit.*, p. 195, doc. 81, of 1016/1607). From the 8th/14th century onwards, Bursa began to rival Aleppo as a destination for Persian silk-caravans (the statement of W. Heyd, ii, 673, that the Ottomans obstructed the silk-routes is baseless). The caravans depended largely on the supply of horses and camels by the Türkmen nomads; at the end of the 9th/15th century a horse was hired for the journey Tabrīz-Bursa-Tabrīz at 400 *aḳčes* (about 9 ducats). Several caravans came to Bursa each year; an average caravan consisted of 300-400 beasts and carried 200 *yük*s of silk (a *yük* consisted of 400 or—according to another note—550 *lidre*s; the *lidre* of silk was 120 *dirhams*, so that one *yük* was the equivalent of *ca.* 154 Kg.); a caravan of 919/1513 brought 400 *yük*s of silk (Dalsar, p. 168, doc. 41). The Persian silk-merchants resident at Bursa in the 9th/15th century were mainly from Tabrīz, Gīlān, Čuḳūr-i Saʿd and Shirwān (on them see *Ikt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 62-4). At this period Armenian merchants were in the minority. Most of the silk brought to Bursa was the highly-prized fine silk of Astarābād (*setta stravai*). The *ḳāḍīs*' registers of Bursa contain records that silk was sold there on behalf of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu ruler Yaʿḳūb and the Ṣafawid shāhs Ismāʿīl, Ṭahmāsb and ʿAbbās (Dalsar, docs. 40, 62, 67, 240). Of these merchants, called indiscriminately ʿAdjam in Ottoman sources, some were certainly Ādharī Turks; the records distinguish the 'resident' (*mutamakkin*) from the 'travelling' (*saffār*) merchants.

Government regulations provided that the silk must be unloaded at the *bezzāzistān* (R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī*, p. 41, no. 31). There the silk was weighed on a scales (*mīzān*) set aside for it (in the 11th/17th century the *mīzān* at Bursa was in the ʿAdjem khānī, later called the Ḳoza khānī, see Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 19), the dues on it were collected, and the owner was given a *tedhkire* stating the weight of the silk and certifying that the dues had been paid : these details were also entered in the *mīzān defteri*. In the 11th/17th century, on every *wazna* (*vezne*), that is 30 *lidre* (4500 gr.), of silk a *mīzān resmi* or *terāzū resmi* of 52 *aḳčes* each was collected from seller and buyer (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa*, in *Belleten*, xxix/93 (1960), 58). Meḥemmed II introduced another *mīzān resmi* on the frontier at Tokat. This second tax annoyed the Persians, and in 877/1472 Uzun Ḥasan took and sacked Tokat. Silk in transit through Uzun Ḥasan's realm paid fairly high dues at Erzindjan and Kharput or (on the other route) at Diyārbakr and Mardin (W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 197). The Ottomans later

established another *mīzān* at Erzurum (on measures to counter-act tax-avoidance see below, p. 214). Whatever its destination, all imported silk had to be brought to the Bursa *mīzān*. Sales were carried out in the *bezzāzistān*, after the *mīzān resmi* had been paid, by brokers (*dellāl*) under the control of the *simsār* [*q.v.*]. The broker took a fixed due (*dellāliyye*) (see Anhegger and Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 41-3; for a *ḳānūn* controlling brokers, *op. cit.*, 57-9; for their malpractices, Dalsar, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-5, 224, 285). The activities of the *simsār* were supervised by the sultan's *khāṣṣa ketkhudāsī* in Bursa, who took charge of the revenues raised. Silk-merchants could not leave the *khān* before obtaining the permission of its supervisor and the *simsār's* attestation that the dues had been paid.

The following table gives the amounts for which at various dates the three-year farm of the Bursa *ḥarīr mīzānī* was leased:

	million *akčes*	
892/1487	6.0	
914/1508	5.4	
918/1512	7.35	
928/1521	2.1	
930/1523	3.0	
947/1540	2.9	
950/1543	3.8	
965/1557	4.2	
1015/1606	5.2	(including *gümüsh yasaghī* and *ḳaṣṣābiyye*)

The silk trade developed considerably during the reign of Bāyezīd II, who built at Bursa two great 'sulṭānī' khāns, those popularly known as the Koza khānī (or ʿAdjem khānī) and the Pirinč khānī. Under Selīm I, there was a great regression; only towards the end of the reign of Süleymān I do the figures for the silk-trade approach again those of the reign of Bāyezīd II. For comparison it may be noted that the silk *mīzān muḳāṭaʿasī* for Aleppo under Selīm II amounted only to 400,000 *akčes*. It has been calculated that in 978/1570 the total annual silk production of Persia was 22,000 *yüks*, of which 3,000 were exported to Turkey (P. Masson, *Hist. du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1897, 416). In about 905/1500, the Bursa silk industry needed a daily supply of 5 fardellos (1250 Bursa *lidres*) (G. R. B. Richards, *Florentine merchants in the age of the Medici*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, 110). The silk merchants of Bursa would gather at the *bezzāzistān* and buy the imported silk en bloc at a single price, later distributing it among themselves (Dalsar, p. 221; for the same system under the Byzantines, see Lopez, *op. cit.*, offprint p. 18). Silk brought to Bursa was rapidly sold out; if caravans were delayed, prices rose and there was speculation. The Bursa agents of Italian companies competed to buy and send off silk as quickly as possible (Richards, *op. cit.*, 127; Inalcık, *Bursa*, docs. 10, 18, 32). In the 9th/15th century the principal buyers were Genoese, Venetians, Florentines and Jews. Meḥemmed II encouraged the Florentines during the war with Venice (867/1463-884/1479), and the Medicis took an increasing interest in the trade. Silk prices at Bursa at various dates were as follows:

	price in *akčes* per *lidre* of good quality fine silk	
872/1467	50	
883/1478	67	(one *altīn* = 45 *akčes*)
893/1488	70	(one *altīn* = 49 *akčes*)
899/1494	82	
907/1501	65-70	(one *altīn* = 53 *akčes*)
919/1513	77	
925/1519 Astarābādī	93	
925/1519 Albanian	72-80	
927/1521	62	
981/1573	60.5	(one *altīn* = 60 *akčes*)
989/1581	135-150	

The great increase in price in 989/1581 was due to the war with Persia. The type of silk most in demand was fine silk, because it matured rapidly and took colours well; it was known as *tilānī*. Thick, poor quality silk was called *kenār* and *tisāk*.

Most of the silk brought to Bursa was exported to Europe. In the 9th/15th century European merchants from the *Dār al-ḥarb* paid an *ad valorem* customs duty on goods imported and exported: at different periods the rate was 2%, 4% and 5%; after the end of the 10th/16th century the rate of 3% became established in the capitulations (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa*, 60). Silk in transit, sent by Persian merchants to Europe through Ottoman territory, paid customs dues at Bursa (Dalsar, p. 184, doc. 67). That *dhimmīs* too were subjected to paying these dues gave rise to long disputes (Dalsar, docs. 201-5).

The silk trade between Persia and Turkey was a dominant element in the economies of both countries. The Ottoman silk industry was dependent upon Persian silk; moreover the trade brought an average of 70,000 *altīn* a year into the treasury. In Persia, the currency in circulation was kept supplied by gold and silver earned in the Ottoman markets. The consequent shortage of currency harmed the Ottoman economy (see H. İnalcık, *Türkiyenin iktisadī vaziyeti*, 651-5), so that efforts were made to prevent the movement of large quantities of precious metals, and even copper, into Persia through the dealings in silk; restrictions were imposed, and payment in goods, and especially in cloth, was encouraged (H. Inalcık, *Bursa*, 54).

The wars with Persia in the 10th/16th century seriously affected the silk trade and had profound repercussions upon the economies and finances of the two countries. The first stage begins with Selīm I's imposition, as a weapon of war, of a commercial blockade. His intention was to prevent the Persians from acquiring war materials, silver and iron, and, by forbidding the trade in silk, to reduce the Shāh's income from dues (*bādj*), one of his main sources of revenue (see Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 257). But the blockade had no effect, since most of the merchants began to use the routes through Aleppo and Iskandarūn. Thereupon Selīm resorted to more violent measures: Arab, Persian or Ottoman merchants with stocks of Persian goods had their goods confiscated (letter to the sultan of Egypt, in Ferīdūn, i, 425). The silks and cloths of all the Persians at Bursa were confiscated and listed, and the merchants themselves were transported to Rumeli and Istanbul (921/1515; see Dalsar, p. 198, doc. 86). The import and sale of Persian silk was forbidden. Anyone proved to have sold silk was fined its value (Dalsar, pp. 195-208, docs. 83-118). When Süleymān came to the throne he released the merchants, and restored their goods or paid them compensation. Nevertheless the ban on the import and trade in silk by Persian merchants was maintained for a time. This blockade had important effects: firstly, it increased the state control of the sale and distribution of silk; the scarcity and high price of silk obliged many merchants and weavers to go out of business; instead of the Persian and Ādharī Turkish merchants, known collectively as ʿAdjem, Armenians began to gain control of the

trade; and finally the government encouraged the production of silk within the Ottoman empire—it is at this period that silk from Albania and Rumeli is mentioned on the Bursa market. Nevertheless when the silk-routes were re-opened under Süleymān, the industry again became dependent on Persian silk and there was a new expansion in the trade and manufacture of silk. Yet in this reign too, during the wars with Persia (for example in 953/1546), the Ottoman government imposed restrictions on the movement of gold and silver currency into Persia: the consequent shortage of silk harmed the Bursa industry and led to a fall in the state-revenue derived from it (Dalsar, p. 171, doc. 48; p. 173, docs. 50-1; p. 219, doc. 149). In the ensuing period of peace the silk trade flourished again, and we find Shāh Ṭahmāsb himself employing an agent in 983/1575 to buy cloth for him at Bursa from the proceeds of six *yük* of silk (Dalsar, p. 181, doc. 62). But in the long period of war from 986/1578 to 1049/1639, silk became an important political weapon for each side. As early as 987/1579 the Ottoman state revenue from the trade had been halved (Dalsar, p. 173), and the Ottomans again imposed a strict control on the export of gold and silver. In 994/1586 the shortage of silk had left three-quarters of the looms of Bursa idle, and the quality of the fabrics produced had begun to decline (Dalsar, p. 335, doc. 273). The peace of 998/1590 extended Ottoman sovereignty over the silk-producing regions of Gandja and Shirwān north of the river Kur [*qq.v.*]. Next year the ruler of Gīlān, Aḥmad, attempted to exchange Persian for Ottoman protection, but was later obliged to flee to Ottoman territory (Ferīdūn, ii, 162-4; Selānīkī, 250-2). One of the terms of peace was that the Shāh should send to the Ottoman government 200 *yük* of silk annually, later reduced to 100 *yük* (Ferīdūn, i, 172). The restrictions on the export of gold and silver caused an acute shortage of currency in Persia (CSP Col., *East Indies, China and Japan 1617-1721*, London 1870, doc. 446). Before Shāh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] launched his counter-attack in 1012/1603, he sought means (no doubt at the suggestion of the Sherley brothers) to export Persian silk direct to Europe, via the Indian Ocean; the English would thus escape the obligation to pay customs-dues in Turkey and the Shāh would deprive his enemy of a rich source of revenue. In 1019/1610 he sent an embassy to Lisbon and exported 200 *yük*s of silk by sea, hoping to prove that this route was cheaper. When the attempt to make an agreement with Spain failed, the Shāh turned to England, and in 1026/1617 Sir Thomas Roe opened negotiations with the Shāh. Of the 3-4 million gold pieces which Persian silk cost annually, England undertook to pay two-thirds in goods and one third in coin (see H. Inalcık, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî vaziyeti*, 666). In order to maintain control of it, the Shāh made the silk trade a state monopoly and forbade the export of silk to Turkey. The Ottomans and Venice—the two states most affected—watched these developments with anxiety. In 1028/1619 and 1031/1622 consignments of Persian silk were indeed sent to England by sea. The English were hoping also to establish another export route via Russia; this prompted the Ottomans to make threats to England (*op. cit.*, 669-79). After the Ottoman-Persian peace of 1027/1618, Persian silk was again exported to Aleppo, Bursa and Foča. Shāh ʿAbbās's policy was not followed by his successor, who abolished the state monopoly of silk; and the use of the Indian Ocean route did not develop, mainly because England was reluctant to provide the gold and silver currency required for it. Nevertheless in 1043/1633 the Venetians were concerned at learning that English merchants were buying large quantities of silk at Bandar ʿAbbās (CSP, Venetian, xxiii, doc. 101). In 1075/1664 the French too were attempting to divert the Persian silk-trade through the Persian Gulf and Surat (P. Masson, *op. cit.*, 326-7).

During the period 986/1578 to 1027/1618 some tendencies which had begun earlier became more apparent. Firstly, silk production within Turkey increased, the earliest records of silk-production at Bursa dating from 996/1587 (Dalsar, p. 386, docs. 299-301). In the years after 1000/1590, the annual *mīzān resmi* levied on silk produced at Bursa amounted to 40-50,000 *aḳčes* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Fekete tasnifi no. 1796). Secondly, in the 10th/16th century Foča, further to the west, began to rival Bursa as a trade centre frequented by Eastern merchants; Persian silk-merchants, in order to evade the dues levied at Bursa, increasingly came to Foča, and later to Izmir/Smyrna (Dalsar, p. 178, doc. 58; p. 271, docs. 200-1). Armenian merchants, progressively extending their hold over the trade, began to export silk direct to Europe, so that Leghorn became a great European silk-mart. The Ottoman state retaliated by exacting the double of the *mīzān resmi* from silk which did not pass through Bursa (Dalsar, docs. 200-205) and by levying customs dues on all silks destined for Europe, even if they were the property of *dhimmī*s (Dalsar, p. 184, doc. 67; the latter regulation had been applied to Jewish *dhimmī*s so early as 928/1521 : p. 271, doc. 202). Some Muslim merchants employed Muslim slaves and agents to carry silk to Italy (Dalsar, p. 171, doc. 47).

In the second half of the 11th/17th century, Izmir gained in importance, as being the port where European merchants could most easily buy Persian silk, and began to rival Aleppo and Ṣaydā/Sidon. In 1201/1787 the value of the silk exported that year from Izmir was 1,865,000 gold pounds, representing 4% of the total exports. The most important purchasers there were the British, the Dutch and the French. The most active caravan route in the 12th/18th century was that from Erzurum via Tokat to Izmir (P. Masson, *Commerce... XVIIIe siècle*, 552); for a detailed description of the route in the preceding century see J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages ...*, i, Paris 1679, 5-70). From January to October a continual succession of caravans brought silk to Izmir. The hire of a baggage-camel was 40 *ḳurush*; the various customs and dues levied along the route amounted to 122 *ḳurush* per *yük*; the customs dues on entering Izmir were 46 *ḳurush*. In about 1081/1670, of the total Persian silk production of 22,000 *yük*s, 3000 *yük*s came to Izmir (Masson, i, 421: here a *yük* is defined as 276 *libre*). A new customs-post had been set up at Erzurum in the 10th/16th century; here, in the middle of the 11th/17th century, a due of two *ḳurush* (*écu*) was levied on each *batman* of silk from Shamākhī, Gandja and Tiflīs, and a lower rate, 1½ *ḳurush*, on the finer and more costly silk of Gīlān (with the aim of attracting Gīlān silk to the Erzurum route). Each camel-load (800 *lidre*) of silk paid a tax of 80 *ḳurush* (J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages ...*, Paris 1679, 20). Again according to Tavernier (i, 21), Gīlān silk was of three types, which he calls *charbasi*, *carvari* and *loge*; while from Shamākhī, Gandja and Tiflīs there came only two types, *charbasi* and *ardache* (sometimes *ardasse*).

It has been suggested (Dalsar, 161, 306) that in the 11th/17th century the import of cheaper silk-stuffs from Europe led to a decline in local silk-weaving

and that it became more profitable to produce raw silk for sale to Europe. This suggestion seems to be incorrect, the change not occurring until the 19th century; until that time European silk-stuffs could not compete with the products woven at Damascus, Aleppo, Istanbul and Chios to suit Turkish taste, and imports from Europe remained at the earlier limited level. Even so late as 1202/1788, the value of all kinds of silk imports from France did not exceed 400,000 gold pounds. The silk-stuffs most appreciated in Turkey came from Venice (Masson, *op. cit.*, ii, 446-7). All the same, the progressive increase in the demand for raw silk in the West which accompanied the expansion of the silk industry there and the consequent rise in price had its effect upon the increase of silk production in Turkey. As early as the mid-11th/17th century, Bursa was famous for silk production (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ii, 35). In 1091/1680 G. Wheler noted (*A journey in Greece*, London 1682, 209) that the plain of Bursa was covered with mulberry-orchards and that much silk was produced in the whole area between Bilediik, Izmid and Bandirma. Velvet was woven at Bilediik in 982/1574 (T. Dağlıoğlu, *Onaltıncı asırda Bursa*, Bursa 1940, p. 83, doc. 115). Bursa silk was exported to the industrial centres of Aleppo, Damascus, Diyārbakr, Tokat and Istanbul (Dalsar, 387-9); Amasya, an old centre of silk-weaving, later became important for silk manufacture (for the activities of a Swiss who established a spinning-mill here see G. Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure*, Paris 1867, 449-51). In about 1040/1630, ʿAlāʾiyya and Alashehir are also mentioned as producing silk. That silk production continued in the Morea in the Ottoman period has been noted above: in the 12th/18th century raw silk was exported to Western Europe from the Morea (Masson, *op. cit.*, ii, 626) and from the neighbourhood of Salonica (for the silk of Zagora near Salonica and of Southern Macedonia, see N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1956, 257-60).

In the 12th/18th century, Turkish-produced raw silk so increased both in quantity and in quality as to compete with Persian silk. Skilled artisans were brought from France to the Morea to improve the technique of silk-reeling (Masson, *op. cit.*, ii, 446). Bursa and the surrounding region surpassed all other areas. In the 12th/18th century the demand in Europe for Bursa silk led to the danger that the Turkish weaving industry would be deprived of raw material, so that the government set limits to the quantity exported. By a regulation (*niẓāmnāme*) of 1806, a quota of Bursa silk was set aside for sale at a fixed price to the tradesmen of Istanbul; the rest could be sold, when the Sultan had authorized it, to Europe (Dalsar, pp. 393-4, doc. 308). The annual demand of European merchants for Bursa silk was 21,750 okes (*ca.* 27,900 kgs.). Since they were ready to pay 29-30 *ḳurush* for 350 *dirhams* instead of the fixed price (*narkh* [*q.v.*])of 21.5 *ḳurush* at Bursa or 23.5 at Istanbul, illegal sales could not be prevented.

In the 19th century, as the weaving industry declined in the Ottoman Empire (see below), the production of raw silk expanded greatly. In order to assure the production of silk to the quality which the mechanized European industry demanded, from 1830 onwards the government published instruction manuals entitled *Taʿlīmnāme-i ḥarīr* (*e.g.*, the *Taʿlīmnāme-i ḥarīr*, Istanbul 1269, written in Armenian by Khwādja Agob and translated into Turkish by him and Djewdet). From 1838 onwards special steam-machines (Fr. *filature*, Turkish *mandjilnik*) were installed at Bursa for the extraction of silk from the cocoon; there were 3,000 of them by 1856, at which date it was estimated that there were, installed in the houses, 8,000 such machines worked by pedals. According to Sandison's *Report on the trade of Brussa for the year 1846* (PRO, FO 78, 701), in that year 215,000 okes of silk (*ca.* 267,600 kgs.) were produced in Bursa; he writes also "Brusa silk and cotton stuffs are always falling more into disuse". It is noticeable indeed that raw silk was increasingly being exported to Europe. In 1855 some four million kgs. of cocoons were raised, producing 400,000 kgs. of raw silk. In 1888 a school, the Dār al-Ḥarīr, was opened at Bursa with the aim of teaching the scientific principles of silkworm rearing. After a great fall between the years 1860 and 1880 as a result of disease, production rapidly increased again: the tax-revenues on silk cocoons allocated to the administration of the Ottoman Public Debt [*see* DÜYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE] in 1881 amounted to 14,695 gold pounds, but in later years the figure rose to 200,000 (Dalsar, 209); silk production, having been half a million kgs. in 1885, increased to 1½ million kgs. in 1901 (see the *Sālnāmes* of Bursa for this period). All the same, half the silk exported from Turkey to Europe in 1881 had originated in Persia, the Caucasus region and Turkestan.

THE SILK-WEAVING INDUSTRY

A silk-weaving industry existed in Anatolia, before the period of the Ottomans, under the Seldjūḳs. Among the 'gifts' (*multamasāt*) sent from Anatolia to Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] as vizier of the Il-khānid sultan, were 2,000 rolls of *kamkhā* (T. *kemkhā*) and 10,000 cubits of velvet from Erzindjan and 4,000 rolls of *kamkhā* from other cities of Anatolia (Z. V. Togan, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1954), 42, n. 5). Among the tribute sent to the Il-khānid ruler in 657/1258 there figure *nakh* and *kamkhā-i Anṭālī* (*i.e.*, of Antalya) (see Aḳserāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, 62). A few silk fabrics woven in Seldjūḳ Anatolia are to be found in museum collections (a fragment bearing the name of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I is in the Musée des Tissus at Lyons, see E. Diez and O. Arslanapa, *Türk sanatı*, Istanbul 1956, 259-60). Favourite types of material imported into Seldjūḳ Anatolia were *atlās-i Istanbūlī*, *zarbāft-i Rūmī*, various types of *Rūmī dībā*, *Shushterī* and *ʿAttābī* garments, gold *Iskandarānī* brocades and *ḳuṭnī* handkerchiefs (Ibn Bībī, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿalāʾiyye* . . ., facs. of MS Aya Sofya 2985, Ankara 1956, 32, 49, 56, 155, 436). Al-ʿUmarī (*ca.* 730/1330) says of Akīra, adjacent to the Ottoman principality, that "its silk is quite equal to Byzantine (*Rūmī*) brocade and cloth (*ḳumāsh*) of Constantinople. Most of it is exported" (R. B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, xv-xvi (1951), 59). In the *Čengnāme* which he wrote for the Ottoman ruler Emir Süleymān (early 9th/15th century), Aḥmad-i Dāʿī lists the following types of material: embroidered *dībādj-i Shushdar* from which robes of honour [see KHILʿA] were made for sovereigns (for Shushdar brocade see Rāwandī, *K. Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Ikbal, *GMS* n.s. ii, London 1921, 513-4), *nakh*, *zarbāft*, *Dimishḳī kamkhā*, *ḳaṭīfa*, *wālā-yi Khaṭāʾī*, *ʿAttābī* of ʿAdjam (for this see R. B. Serjeant, *op. cit.*, in *Ars Isl.*, x (1943), 99, and A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, iii, London and New York 1937, 1996, n. 1), *Khwārizm shālī*, *aladja Iskandarānī* for making *djubbas* (R. B. Serjeant, in *Ars Isl.*, xiii-xiv (1948), 100-6; *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, 14-5, 242-3, 247), *sundūs* (for

this green brocade made in Yazd, see Serjeant, *op. cit.*, 87, 94), *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ-i Ḳirimī* (for *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* see T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i, Istanbul 1946, 62), *sharb-i Shāmī* and crimson *wālā* of Yazd.

It is a point worthy of note that the silk industry of the Ottoman Empire developed in cities lying on the caravan-routes from Persia, *i.e.*, Erzindjan, Tokat, Amasya and Bursa, on the one route, and Mardin, Marʿash and Aleppo on the other. The silk industry of Istanbul was introduced from Bursa. As early as the end of the 8th/14th century, Bursa, the Ottoman capital, possessed an industry in silk fabrics, whose products were exported to Europe and to Eastern countries (H. Inalcık, *Bursa* ..., 50-1). This industry gradually expanded. At Bursa, Persian merchants who had brought in supplies of raw silk exchanged them mostly for European woollens and for Bursa silk fabrics. Under the names *Bursa ḳumāshī* or *Rūmī aḳmisha, tāfta, wālā, kamkhā* and *ḳaṭīfa* were imported into Uzun Ḥasan's territories; and we have noticed the record of Shāh Ṭahmāsb buying fabrics in Bursa. When Selīm I seized Shāh Ismāʿīl's treasury, he found in it 91 vestments of Bursa fabric (T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i, Istanbul 1946, 42). For the trade in Bursa fabrics in the bazaars of Tabrīz, see *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia*, ed. M. Grey, London (Hakluyt Soc.) 1873, 173. Bursa fabrics were prized also in Italy (G. R. B. Richards, *op. cit.*, 88, 156). The customs' registers for Kili, Aḳkermān and Kefe of the end of the 9th/15th century show that Bursa fabrics were then being exported to Northern Europe; Russian merchants had bought silk and taffeta in Bursa in 918/1512 (Dalsar, docs. 36, 76); the kings of Poland had Turkish silk-stuffs bought for them at Bursa (Dağlıoğlu, doc. 46; Dalsar, docs. 73, 190; A. Refik, *Onaltıncı asırda Istanbul hayatı*[2], Istanbul 1935, 108); and Turkish silk fabrics were used in Sweden for the making of ecclesiastical vestments (T. Öz, *loc. cit.*; A.J. B. Wace *apud* T. Öz, introd., p. 3). All the same, the products of the Bursa industry were mostly consumed locally: the Bursa registers of the effects of deceased persons (*tereke defterleri*) show clearly that the rich used great quantities of silk fabrics for clothes and for house-furnishings: from brocade and velvet were made *ḳaftān*s [*q.v.*], *dolama*s (a kind of under-shirt), *fiston*s (skirts), sashes, shawls, *čarshaf*s and kerchiefs [see LIBĀS], and pillows, bedspreads and cushions [see MAFRŪSHĀT]. Brocades and velvets also provided a means, like precious metals and stones, of accumulating wealth. The Palace bought extensive supplies of silk-stuffs from Bursa: the fabrics needed for clothing the personnel of the palace and for ceremonial occasions (made up by the palace tailors, who in 1018/1609 numbered 319) were ordered by the Chief Tailor (*Terzi-bashī*) and bought by the *khāṣṣa khardj emīni* at Bursa from private firms (R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī* ..., 35-6; Inalcik, *Bursa* ..., 64; Dalsar, pp. 226-33, doc. 160; T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i, Istanbul 1946, and ii, Istanbul 1951; idem, *Turkish textiles and velvets*, Ankara 1950 (with many illustrations of garments); the register of contents of the Inner Treasury (*Enderūn khazīnesi*), dated Shaʿbān 910/January 1505, reproduced in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşiv kılavuzu*, ii, Istanbul 1940, no. 21; other sources on the ceremonial garments worn on special occasions are the *teshrīfāt* registers, the *inʿām* registers, and the *Sūr-nāme*s, especially the record of the wedding of Khadīdje Sulṭān in 1085/1674: A. Bādī, *Riyāḍ-i belde-i Edirne*, Edirne, MS Selimiye 2315, ii, 270-9; *Sūrnāme-i Wehbī*, Istanbul, MS Ahmed III 3593). The cost of the various fabrics bought for the Palace in 954-5/1547-8 amounted to 12,000 gold pieces (Inalcık, *Bursa* ..., 64). Analysis of the Palace treasury inventories of the early 9th/15th century shows that garments were made from Bursa fabrics, as well as from rich fabrics from Yazd, Europe and India. From the 10th/16th century onwards fabrics manufactured in Istanbul and Chios (Saḳız) are frequently mentioned, and there are records of *ḳutnī* of Baghdād, Damascus and Biledjik, *kemkhā* of Damascus and Amasya, *merre* of Aleppo, fabrics from Mardin and Marʿash, and velvets of Menemen, Aydos, Göynük and Üsküdar.

In about 907/1502 there were over a thousand silk looms working in Bursa (*Ḳānūnnāme-i iḥtisāb-i Bursa*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7 (1942), 30). The silk-weaving industry of Istanbul developed during the 10th/16th century; the number of looms producing various kinds of brocade (called *serāser, shāhbenek, zerbāft*) rose from a hundred to 318 in 972/1564, at which date a firman was issued ordering their reduction to the former number; at an inspection made in 985/1577, 268 looms making the silver brocade *serāser* were found, and it was ordered that their number be reduced to 100 and that the others turn to making ordinary *serenk* brocade (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 108, 116-8). According to Ewliyā Čelebi (i, 615-8) there were in Istanbul (in about 1050/1640) 105 sellers of satin, 16 sellers of brocade, 70 weavers of velvet, 100 makers of velvet and *serenk* pillows, 100 weavers of *dārāyī*, 5 makers of *khilʿa*s, 17 makers of sashes and 400 weavers of bath-towels (*peshtemāl*); silk fabrics were sold in the Bezzāzistān-i Djedīd, Chios fabrics at Ghalaṭa. At Istanbul many new types of fabric, known as Istanbulkārī, began to be manufactured (T. Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 4, 44). In the first half of the 10th/16th century a silk factory attached to the palace was established at Istanbul: it is referred to as the Khāṣṣa Kārkhāne or the Kārkhāne-i ʿĀmire (Dalsar, docs. 22, 23; T. Öz, *op. cit.*, i, 47, with a plan); it employed *kemkhādjı*s under the *Kemkhādjı-bashı* and *ghazzāz*es under the *Ghazzāz-bashı*. According to the registers of the palace craftsmen (*ehl-i ḥiref:* see T. Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 2; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Omanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 463; R. M. Meriç, *Türk nakış sanatı tarihi araştırmaları*, Ankara 1953), in 964/1557 145 weavers were employed, in 1047/1637 32, and in 1098/1687 only four; in the middle of the 12th/18th century, however, the number had risen to eight *ghazzāz* and three *kemkhā-bāf*. Of 268 silk looms functioning on the open market in Istanbul in 985/1577, 88 were run by slaves attached to the Palace (for slaves sent to Bursa in 936/1530 to be attached to master-craftsmen and learn the art of weaving various fabrics, see Dalsar, doc. 245). In 1171/1758, 40 pillow-making workshops, one silk-spinner's workshop and one guild-room were set up in Üsküdar as a *waḳf* for the Ayazma Djāmiʿi (T. Öz, i, 44). In the first half of the 19th century, there were 5000 weavers in Üsküdar, later left unemployed as a result of the competition of the products of Western mechanized industry (C. Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, New York 1878, 59). In 1843 the State founded a modern silk-factory at Hereke, but the Ottoman silk industry remained in general a field for private enterprise.

The numerous types of silk fabrics are classified in the *iḥtisāb* regulation for Bursa (*Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7, 28-31) into three main groups: velvets (*ḳaṭīfe*), brocades (*kemkhā*) and satins (*tāfta, aṭlas*), the first being fabrics with a nap, the second those with a

design woven in, and the third smooth, light and brightly-coloured fabrics. The various types had different names according to the number of threads in the warp, the use of gold or silver threads, the degree of twisting of the threads, and the patterns woven in. (There is as yet no systematic classification of the very numerous types of Turkish fabrics; see, meanwhile, T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, i-ii, Istanbul 1946-51; A. J. B. Wace, *The dating of Turkish velvets*, in *Burlington Magazine*, lxiv (1934); *Brief guide to Turkish woven fabrics*, Victoria and Albert Museum no. 3, London 1950; *2000 years of silk weaving*, New York 1944; Nurettin Yatman, *Türk kumaşları*, Ankara 1950; O. Ş. Uludağ, *Bursa kumaşları*, in *Belleten*, i/3-4 (1937), 753-60. The principal collection of Turkish silk fabrics is in the museum of Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul; others are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Benaki Museum, Athens, the Mevlâna Müzesi, Konya, the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, the Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara, and in the Kenan Özbel collection of the Ministry of Economics, Ankara).

Specialists have reached the conclusion that in the fields of colour and design Ottoman Turkish fabrics blended diverse influences to create a characteristic style, and that this style had a profound influence in the Near East, in the Mediterranean countries, and in Western Europe (see A. J. B. Wace, *apud* T. Öz, i, 2-5, and idem, *Turkish woven fabrics*, 5-16). In this style are to be detected the influences not only of Persia, Byzantium and Italy, but also the Uyghur tradition of Central Asia which was especially prevalent in Anatolia in the period of the Il-khāns (the "three circles", "tiger stripes" and Buddhist sun medallions commonly used in Ottoman designs are found also in Uyghur pictures, *op. cit.*, 10; for the *dībā-i Turkī* sent to Hārūn al-Rashīd and the changes in Persian textiles under the Seldjūks and the Il-khānids see P. Ackerman, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, iii, London and New York 1937, 2043-4, 2071, 2195); but there were peculiarities of style characteristic of the various Ottoman silk-weaving cities, such as the type connected with the name of Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī at Bursa in about 890/1485. In the 9th/15th century the great majority of the weavers at Bursa were local Muslim Turks. In 906/1501 an Italian weaver resident at Bursa, a certain Tomasino Caviae, is mentioned. In 920/1514 Selīm I transported the best craftsmen from Tabrīz to Istanbul (Ferīdūn, i, 405). In the 11th/17th century the number of Greek weavers at Bursa began to increase. The brocades of Europe, Kefe and Chios were imitated at Bursa.

Organization of the Industry

Those employed in the silk industry were organized into various *ḥirfet*s, trade guilds. The entrepreneurs were in two main groups, the *khāmdjī*s (dealers in raw silk) and the *doḳumadjī*s (weavers). The *khāmdjī* merchants would buy raw silk at the *bezzāzistān* and have it spun by *dolābdjī*s into warp threads (*mashdūd*) and woof threads (*pūd*). The warp threads, called *mashdūd* because they were more tightly twisted, varied in the number of strands according to the type of fabric to be woven, from 1800 (*tāfta*) to 8150 (*gülistānī kemkhā*); the *dolābdjī*s or *ibrīshīm büküdjü*s who performed the spinning worked for the *khāmdjī*s but constituted a separate *ḥirfet*. The *khāmdjī*s then had the warp and woof threads dyed, by the *boyadjī*s (*ṣabbāgh*s). The following list of stock and tools recorded in the effects of a deceased *boyadjī* (Bursa, Şeriye sicilleri A6/6, of 893/1488) throws light on the technique of dyeing: vegetable dye, red dye, indigo, *Hindī* indigo, *ala* indigo, valonia, alum, cauldrons, ladles, trays, sieves, troughs, mallets, work-benches. The dyed silk was sold by the *khāmdjī*s to the *doḳumadjī*s (weavers), who were organized into different *ḥirfet*s: *ḳaṭīfedji*s, *kemkhādjī*s, *wāledjī*s, *fuṭadjī*s. For each type of fabric a distinct type of loom was used, with the appropriate number of teeth (a loom was valued at 3000 *aḳčes*, *i.e.*, some 60 gold pieces, in about 893/1488).

The most numerous and influential *ḥirfet* at Bursa was the *ḳaṭīfedji*s, whose products were world famous; as an example, the organization of their *ḥirfet* may be summarized as follows: the number of *ustas* (*ustādh*, master-craftsmen) was limited; these chose from among themselves a council of control known as the 'Six' (*Altılar*: for the election see Dalsar, pp. 318, 330, 397-8), who were, in descending order, the *shaykh*, the *kahyā* (*ketkhudā*), the *yigit-bashi*, the *ishdji-bashi*, and two *ahl-i khibra*; the *ḳāḍī* would confirm this election, as being to an official body, and register the result. The principal duties of this council were to ensure that regulations concerning the quality and prices of manufactured goods were carried out; to carry out the examinations for promotion from apprentice (*shāgird*) to journeyman (*ḳalfa*) and from journeyman to master, and to issue licences (*idjāza*); to investigate and settle disputes and malpractices in the guild; to represent the guild in dealings with the government; and (most important of all) to prevent competition and underhand practices in the employment of workmen and in the buying of stocks. In the carrying out of these duties the *kahyā* usually acted as the principal officer; the *yigit-bashi*, with his assistant the *ishdji-bashi*, would investigate complaints and make a report to the *ahl-i khibra*, on the basis of which they made the final decision (see *Ḳānūnnāme-i iḥtisāb-i Bursa*, p. 28). The *shaykh* was the spiritual head of the guild and presided at ceremonies. The guild co-operated closely with the government, and if there was any resistance to the decision of the Altılar the latter could call upon the local state officers to enforce it (Dalsar, pp. 111-7). The regulations of the guild were confirmed by the Sultan, so becoming an *iḥtisāb ḳānūnu*; as such, their application became the responsibility of the *ḳāḍī* (see the *Ḳānūnnāme* cited, pp. 28-31). Until it was dyed, the silk was under the control of the *mīzān emīni*, thereafter, until the fabric was finished, of the *muḥtesib* [see ḤISBA]. The woven fabric was inspected for its dimensions by the *tamgha* (*damgha*) *emīni*, who stamped it, a *tamgha resmi* being levied on each *top* (roll) of fabric.

The weaving was in general carried out on looms set up in private houses. According to the *tereke defterleri* of the 9th/15th century, large numbers of slaves were used in the industry, being bought specifically for the purpose and employed on the principle of *mukātaba* [*q.v.*] (see H. Inalcık, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (1953-4), 57-9). At the same time there were quite big 'factories' (*kārkhāne*): in Istanbul, 400 *peshtamāldjī*s were working in a single large *kārkhāne* near Ḳırḳ-česhme (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 616 = tr. Hammer, i/2, 222); and in about 995/1587 there is a record of several 'big businessmen' at Bursa owning from 20 to 60 looms (Dalsar, doc. 273). Women, as well as men, were found among the masters and the workpeople (Dalsar, p. 320). The workpeople were divided into three main groups: *ḳul*s, *shāgird*s and *edjīr*s (Dalsar, doc. 241), the last being the true employees, whose daily wage was calculated on the basis of the number of *dhirāʿ* woven (Dalsar, doc. 242). The *shāgird*s were the young apprentices

who worked for a small wage under contract for one year or for three years (in 957/1550 a *shāgird* was engaged for three years, to be paid 600 *aḳčes*, see Dalsar, doc. 246); in the contract the master undertook to teach the craft within a specified time (see *e.g.*, Dalsar, docs. 246, 248). The weavers sold their products at specified shops in the market, and were not permitted to sell their goods elsewhere. When one branch of the industry expanded, its members could easily form themselves into a new *ḥirfet* (Dalsar, doc. 322).

The Ottoman silk industry, under the pressure of economic factors, progressively expanded in output but declined in quality—a tendency already visible at the end of the 9th/15th century (see *Ḳānūnnāme-i iḥtisāb-i Bursa*, 28-31). The widespread demand among the common people for cheaper goods forced the relaxation of the old guild standards of quality and the toleration of a more loosely woven *gülistānī kemkhā*, deemed suitable to their needs (*ibid.*, 29). The establishment of new looms by untrained workers (called *khām-dest*) without the authorization of the guild and the consequent increase in the number of looms working provoked violent resistance on the part of guild-members from the 11th/17th century onwards (Dalsar, docs. 3, 4, 21, 236-8, 240-1, 260), and the intervention of the authorities on behalf of the guilds was fruitless. A decline in quality resulted also from the occasional shortages of silk and of the crimson dye gum-lac (T. *lök*); the number of threads in the warp was reduced and poor dyes were used (in the 9th/15th century the warp was composed of 4500-5000 threads, in the 11th/17th century of only 2400; for the dyes used see N. Baylâv, *Türkiye'nin boya bitkileri ...*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, i, Istanbul (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi) 1963, 732-44). At the same time cotton or linen threads were increasingly used in the woof. The fall in quality was encouraged also by the import from Europe of low-grade, cheap and showy materials, which induced the Turkish weavers to compete with them. From the 11th/17th century onwards there was increasing demand for silk-stuffs from Venice and Chios which copied the Ottoman designs.

Bibliography: in the article. (H. İNALCIK)

iii.—THE ARAB LANDS IN THE POST-MONGOL PERIOD.

The Mongol invasion of the Muslim world resulted in the dislocation of many trades and the transfer of artisans, especially those engaged in the silk industry; yet only about one-tenth of Arab territory, including Baghdād and Mawṣil, was adversely affected by the Mongols. Moreover, even those once prosperous centres with thriving silk trades, supposedly destroyed by the Mongols, were reported half a century later by Marco Polo to have maintained or recovered their prosperity. Pedro Teixeira, like Marco Polo, was impressed by the flourishing silk industry in Baghdād and Mawṣil.

The making of silk was almost confined to Syria and Tunisia, where the climate is especially suited to the breeding of silkworms and the growth of mulberry trees. Algeria and Morocco were also silk producing countries but on a limited scale. There was a *mukhattam* [*q.v.*] factory in Tilimsān and a Jewish controlled industry in Fās. The Arabs in North Africa introduced silk into Sicily and Spain and from there it was introduced into the Rhône Valley and Milan. Other Arab countries tried unsuccessfully to make silk; they managed, however, to maintain *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] factories dependent upon imported raw silk. The *ṭirāz* factory in Cairo goes back to Fāṭimid times and functioned throughout the Mamlūk period. European travellers who visited Egypt in Ottoman times noted a silk industry using Syrian raw material. Muḥammed ʿAlī Pasha planted three million mulberry trees, which grew well, but the climate was not suitable for the breeding of the silkworm.

Syrian silk deserves a more detailed study. Ottoman registers for Syria-Palestine compiled in the 10th/16th century show extensive silk cultivation and manufacture; there is similar evidence of silk exports. Aleppo and Damascus were not only famous for the manufacture of good locally reared silk, but were also great centres for trading in a lower-grade silk imported from Persia. European factors residing in Syria competed for raw silk, Syrian and Persian, to barter it for woollen cloth. Muslim merchants managed to strike hard bargains with the Europeans, forcing them to barter their woollens for large amounts of raw silk, the balance being paid by Europeans in cash-producing commodities such as dyes. Thus woollens were subsidiary to silk in Syria, while the contrary was true in Europe. Russian activities in north-western Persia cut off Persian silk from Syrian markets. Syrian locally-produced silk partly filled the gap, perhaps at the expense of local industry. The price of raw silk rose sharply, thus encouraging greater production in Syria. Volney noted the great number of new mulberry trees along the Syrian coast. Increasing in the nineteenth century, the production of raw silk fell later as a result of the competition of Far Eastern silk and artificial silk.

The silk industry in the Arab countries produced textiles for home consumption only. There seems to have been no appreciable foreign market for textiles, because many countries maintained their own industries. Descriptions of Arab dress in Ottoman times show that silk textiles were more commonly used than woollens, but less than linen or cotton.

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(A. K. GHARAIBEH)

iv—PRODUCTS OF THE ISLAMIC SILK INDUSTRY.

The Arabs, for whom, with their nomadic origins, wool was the most important raw material for textiles, were also familiar with silk from the earliest times. Although the Prophet forbade the wearing of silk clothing as a luxury, because it threatened to lead to effeminacy, silk weaving flourished greatly in the Islamic world, and Islamic silk mills dominated world trade from the 9th to the 14th century A.D. The words Atlas (German for satin), damask (Damascus) and muslin (Mosul) are taken from Arabic, and taffeta from Persian. The development of the textile arts in Islam was linked with their last phases in the ancient world whose territories were occupied by the Arabs—those of the ancient

Orient in the time of the Sāsānids in Iran and Mesopotamia, and those of the late Greek and Byzantine civilizations in Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor. In the Carta Cornutiana, a document relating to the founding of a village church near Tivoli, not far from Rome, written in 471 A.D., the excellence of Persian textiles was praised, just as it had been by Herodotus and Xenophon. Under the Sāsānid rulers Sh̲āpūr II (310-379) and Kawād̲h̲ I (488-531), Syrian weavers were transported to Persia. In the rock tomb of King K̲h̲usraw II (590-628) in Ṭāḳ-i-Būstān, clothing woven of Iranian silk is represented. It is probable that in Alexandria, later in Cairo and Tyre, in Damascus and Ctesiphon, and later still in Bag̲h̲dād, Rayy and many other places, the first Caliphs encouraged a new and fruitful development of silk mills and made possible the founding of new silk factories in the conquered territories from India and Bahā al-Dawla, now in the Columbia Textile Museum in Washington, with inscriptions in cuneiform Kūfic (Pl. IIIa). The Būyids in Western Iran considered themselves the legitimate successors of the Sāsānids. There is a remarkable piece of fabric, dating from the same period, in the Louvre in Paris, from a church at St. Josse near Calais, whose Kūfic inscription refers to Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna (Pl. IIIb). In one instance Dorothy Shepherd was able to classify a particular piece of material as being of a known species of Iranian silk (Pl. IIb). On the back of a piece of silk in the church in Huys (Belgium) she discovered an inscription which was identified by W. B. Henning as being 7th century Sogdian, and which, it is believed, points to Buk̲h̲ārā as its place of origin. According to the inscription, the material in question was known as *Zandaničī*, no doubt named after the place of manufacture. Some of these pieces of silk,



(a) *Ṭirāz* with Kūfic inscription giving the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi ʾllāh.



(b) *Ṭirāz* with floriated Kūfic inscription.

Turkestan in the east to Sicily and Spain in the west. Iran's key position under the Achaemenids and the Sāsānids, between Eastern Asia and Europe, was maintained by the Islamic peoples, and extended and strengthened by their expansion on the trade routes by land and sea. The costly raw material, the silk itself, was at first imported from its land of origin, China. Under the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527-65) monks brought silkworm chrysalises to Byzantium in their pilgrims' staffs. At that time the breeding of silkworms was also started in the countries of the Near East, which gradually became independent of imports. Just as in Byzantium State factories for silk weaving had been set up in the gynaeceums, employing almost exclusively women, so too the caliphs and other Islamic rulers created court and state factories, the products of which were known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*]. They are known particularly on account of the robes bestowed by the rulers upon those they wished to honour [see K̲H̲ILʿA], which were woven in these factories, generally of linen but sometimes also of silk; these often bore an inscription (figs. a and b), usually worked in silk, giving the name of the ruler, the place, the manager of the factory and the year of production. Many remains of such garments, with inscriptions, have come to light in Egyptian tombs, giving proof of how numerous the weaving mills were at that time (Pls. IIa, VIa). A particularly magnificent example is a robe of honour bestowed by the Būyid ruler depicting lions beside a tree of life, found their way, as coverings for relics, into the treasuries of Western churches, as at Rome, Aix, Sens (Pl. Ia) and Nancy. They are in fact early Islamic pictures, executed on a background of Sāsānid silk, depicting the lion-hunts of the Persian Sh̲āhinsh̲āh (Berlin, formerly State Museums), and splendid fragments of these have also found their way into European church treasuries such as those of Passau (Pl. IVa), Trier, Cologne (St. Kunibert) (Pl. Ib), Milan (St. Ambrose) and Prague (Cathedral Treasury). There is one such piece with an Arabic inscription, another from Rayy in which the Kings are portrayed on horseback beside the trees of life and above the lions. Silk weaving flourished particularly in early and mid-mediaeval times in Rayy, where among other things double cloth was made, with different designs on the two sides (Pl. IVb, c). These were sometimes used as palls. There was a considerable exchange of ideas and inspiration between the Byzantine and Islamic weaving industries, just as had existed between Iran and Byzantium in Sāsānid times. One group of Byzantine silk mills, which must be considered as the forerunners of the damask mills, was decisively influenced by the geometric style of stucco decorations at Sāmarrā, which led to the arabesque. These pseudo-damasks, as they are called, are now claimed by Sigrid Müller-Christensen, with some justification, to be Islamic work. The abstract leaf design of the arabesque became increasingly dominant in Islamic

textile ornamentation, and finally asserted itself completely at the same time as cursive Kūfic was replaced by Naskhī [see KHAṬṬ]. When the Mongols overran Western Asia (1256-59), Chinese weavers brought new influences to bear in almost all the Islamic countries. Under the Mongol dynasties in Iran and Turkestan, Chinese motifs such as the Fonghoang, the Dragon, the Ky-lin and others were introduced into Islamic textile designs, even in places such as Egypt and Asia Minor where the Mongols did not penetrate. Chinese damasks encouraged a great flowering of damask weaving in Mamlūk Egypt and in Syria; this is clear from findings in many tombs, among which have been found a remarkably large number of pieces of material bearing inscriptions of the Mamlūk Sultan Muḥammad Nāṣir (Pl. VIc, e). In 723/1323 this Sultan received from the embassy of a Mongol Khān 700 lengths of silk, in some of which his name was woven. A gold brocade of this kind is preserved in the vestments collection of the Marienkirche in Danzig.

In Andalusia there were important silk mills from the time of the Umayyad dynasty, as can be seen from a *ṭirāz* fabric bearing the name of Hishām II, after the model of the Egyptian fabrics. Attempts were made to imitate Baghdād silk textiles, and in at least one case a fabric which was certainly manufactured in Spain was given an Arabic inscription, which, for the sake of advertisement, falsely claimed that it was of Baghdād manufacture. The silk woven in Almeria was considered comparable with Persian textiles. As a result of the discoveries of silk garments in the tombs of Spanish princes in the Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas near Burgos (Pl. VIIb), which are mainly of Spanish-Moorish silk material, our knowledge of Spanish-Moorish silk weaving has been extended and deepened. In Granada too, where the Alhambra style (Pl. VIIc) was taken over in the textile arts also, and in Murcia, Malaga and other places there were silk mills. In Sicily, at the court of Palermo, Byzantine factories were supplanted by Arab, which continued there even after the conquest by the Normans and under the rule of the Hohenstaufen (Pl. VIIa). The German coronation robe in Vienna bears impressive witness to the high standing of their silk weaving and embroidery.

As early as the end of the 7th/13th century, Marco Polo noticed that there were flourishing silk mills in the parts of Asia Minor, such as Ḳonya, which were under the dominion of the Turks (Pl. VI d). In the Ottoman period, flowers such as carnations, tulips and hyacinths enriched the plant designs. Üsküdar velvet was prized throughout the then known world (Pl. VII d, e).

Islamic silk weaving and embroidery reached its highest fulfilment in Persia with the coming of the Ṣafawids. The chief factories were now in Tabrīz, Ḳazwīn and Iṣfahān. There were many exchanges of inspiration between textile designs (including those of knotted carpets) and china mosaic work and the flourishing art of miniature painting. The pictorial silk and velvet materials are unique. In Sāsānid Iran the mythical big-game hunt of the Shāhinshāh had been depicted in the tombs of Ṭāḳ-i-Būstān, on silver dishes, and on silk materials as well. Now it was figures from the Alexander legend, King Khusraw and the beautiful Shīrīn, the poor poet Madjnūn and the unattainable Princess Leylā, who found their place in the pictures woven in costly silk and velvet brocades. The names of artists, such as Shāh Muḥammad Mūʿizz al-Dīn and, above all, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, are known to us from their signatures (Pl. VIIIa).

Where once the silk textiles of the Near East had made their way into occidental church treasuries, where they were used as wrappings for relics or as vestments, they now came to the courts of European princes; a delegation (1635-1639) led by Olearius was sent by Duke Frederick III of Holstein Gottorp to Shāh Ṣafī (1629-1642) in Iṣfahān, and the velvet brocades which were among the presents Olearius brought back for his sovereign were used as tapestries in the Rosenborg Castle, in Copenhagen. Apart from the Spanish princes and the Kings of Sicily, whose cerements were sometimes of silk of Arab manufacture, it seems that European princes only occasionally used Arab silks for clothing; those who did included Cangrande VII della Scala (d. 1329) in Verona, the confidant of the Emperor Henry VI, and Duke Rudolf IV of Habsburg (1339-65) (Pl. Va). The inspiration given to European textile art by Arab silk materials, particularly apparent at first in Italy and Spain, spread throughout Europe, and can be seen even in Italian, Spanish, French, German and Dutch paintings, which all reveal the influence of Islamic silk textiles in the garments of the people represented.

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1959; Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford 1928; W. F. Volbach, *I tessuti del museo sacro del Vaticano*, Vatican City 1942; A. J. B. Wace, *The dating of Turkish velvets*, in *Burlington Magazine*, lxiv (1934); G. Wiet, *Exposition des tapisseries et tissus du Musée Arabe du Caire*, Paris 1935.

(H. J. Schmidt)

al-ḤARĪRĪ (sometimes Ibn al-Ḥarīrī in Yāḳūt), Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī, Arabic poet and philologist known principally for his *Maḳāmāt*. Born in 446/1054, probably to a landed family living at al-Mashān, near Baṣra, where he spent his childhood, he commenced his studies at Baṣra; his biographers agree that he studied under al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣabānī, but the latter is said to have died in 444/1052 (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 218; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 373; al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 227), so that there is a discrepancy here to clear up. He then carried out the duties of *ṣāḥib al-khabar*, that is chief of intelligence [see barīd, khabar], and his descendents still occupied this important post in 556/1161, when ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (apud Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 262) visited Baṣra. Al-Ḥarīrī lived in the district of the Banū Ḥarām, which was to give its name to his first *maḳāma*, but his office was at al-Mashān. His duties left him with sufficient leisure to take part in the serious conversation of the bored bourgeois society of the decadent Baṣra of his day, to apply himself to poetry and to write books.

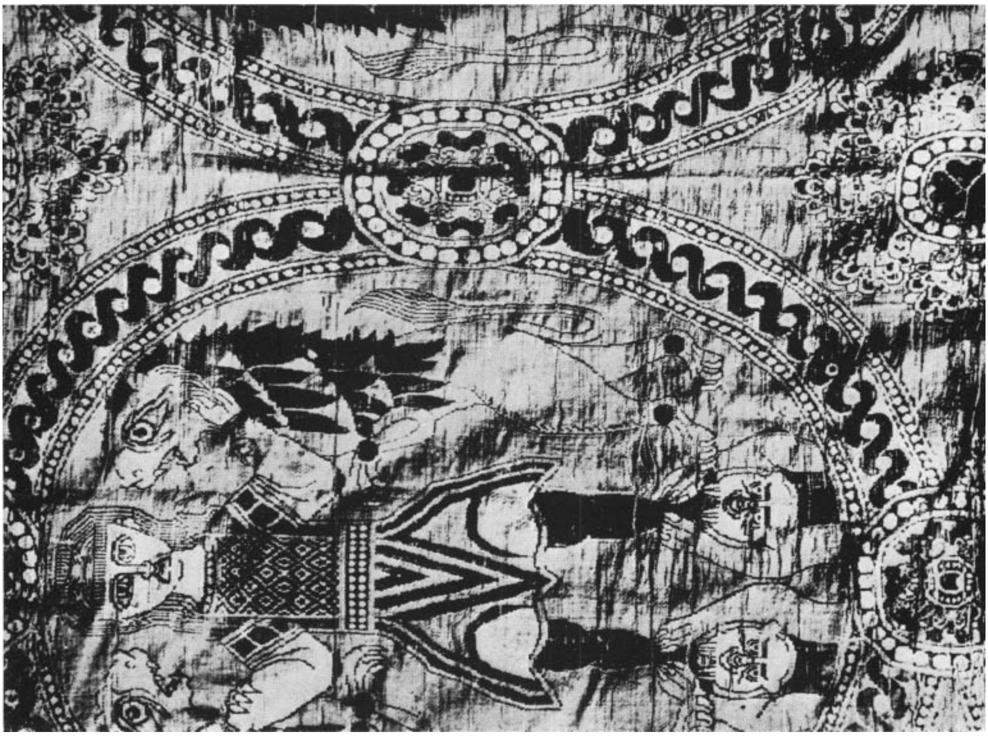
His best-known work is the *Maḳāmāt* or *Sessions*, which imitate very closely those of al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*]: the narrator, called al-Ḥārith b. Hammām, is like ʿĪsā b. Hishām, while the hero, a quick-tongued rascally Bohemian named Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, recalls Abu ʾl-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī. According to al-Ḥarīrī himself (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 262-3) or his son (*apud* Ibn Khallikān, i, 419), Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī was a real person and may even on his appearance in Baṣra have inspired the first *maḳāma* of al-Ḥarīrī, *al-Ḥarāmiyya*, which is the 48th of the collection; however, his hero may perhaps be only identical with a Bohemian called Abū Zayd al-Muṭahhar b. Sallām al-Baṣrī, with whom al-Ḥarīrī had some dealings (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 272; Ibn Khallikān, i, 420). According to Ibn al-Tilmīdh (*apud* Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 283), the *Maḳāmāt* were begun in 495/1101, which seems to confirm the existence of Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, for he might have been driven from Sarūdj when the town was taken by the Crusaders in 494/1100 [see sarūdj] and have taken refuge in Baṣra. Al-Ḥarīrī, whose duties brought him into contact with various high dignitaries of Baghdād, might have been encouraged in his enterprise by the future vizier of al-Mustarshid (512-29/1118-35), Ibn Ṣadaḳa [*q.v.*], to whom he dedicated his *Maḳāmāt*, at any rate if the dedication on the autograph manuscript that Ibn Khallikān happened to see in Cairo in 656/1258 is to be believed; one must then, it seems, reject the version attested by the son of al-Ḥarīrī, who wanted to curry favour with Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*], that it was dedicated to this latter, the minister only from 521/1127. The date of completion of the *Sessions*—the editing of which was sometimes laborious—is not known with certainty, but from 502/1108 the Andalusian Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Ḳuḍāʿī, who had studied them under the author, made them known in Spain and explained them some years later to Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī [*q.v.*]; from the beginning of the 6th/12th century they were part of the curriculum of literary Andalusians (see for example al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, Damascus 1962, 32, 33, 44, 51, 60, 79).

They were already classics in the lifetime of the author, who died on 6 Radjab 516/10 September 1122, and he himself boasts of having personally authorized 700 copies (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 267); they never afterwards ceased to be popular with the literary public, in spite of the criticisms of various detractors, such as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and the author of the *Fakhrī*; (al-)Shumaym al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] himself, who claimed to be able to surpass all literary works, admits that despite several attempts he did not succeed in writing *maḳāmāt* better than those of al-Ḥarīrī, which decided him to write a commentary, one of the twenty which are known and of which the most famous and the most complete is that of al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222 [*q.v.*]).

The reasons for this extraordinary success, which gave rise to countless imitations in Arabic, in Persian, and even in Hebrew and in Syriac [see maḳāma], are somewhat difficult to understand and must be accounted for by the decline of literary taste. Indeed, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī are no more than a pale reflection of those of al-Hamadhānī; it is not merely the number of the *Sessions* which shows the constant concern with imitation (for at the end of the 5th/11th century there survived probably only the 50 sessions of Badīʿ al-Zamān, of the 400 which he wrote); this concern moreover is quite superficial, for al-Ḥarīrī, by confining himself to relating the meetings of al-Ḥārith b. Hammām and Abū Zayd al-Sarūdjī, restricts the scope of the *Sessions* and, neglecting depth, puts all his effort into form. What he had in great measure certainly is an unequalled mastery of the Arabic language and a perfect command of its inexhaustible vocabulary; verbal exuberance leads to acrobatics which the followers of al-Ḥarīrī, who regarded him as the most perfect representative of the genre, delighted in, whereas he merely set the style.

The *Maḳāmāt* first became known in the West through partial translations: in 1656, Latin tr. of the first *Maḳāma* by Golius (following on a new edition of Erpenius's grammar); in 1731, edition of the first *Maḳāmāt* by Schultens, who in 1731 and 1740 translated six of them; in 1737, Reiske published the tr. of no. 26. The first extended tr. (extracts from 17 *maḳāmāt*) is that of Venture de Paradis: made between 1786 and 1795, it was not published until 1964 by A. Amer (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis*, v). The first complete edition is the work of Caussin de Perceval (1819), but it is the authoritative edition of S. de Sacy (1822; 2nd ed. revised by Reinaud and Derenbourg, Paris 1847-53) which made al-Ḥarīrī best-known—even to the Orientals, who had forgotten him; it was followed by other oriental and European editions and by translations into various languages: German, by Rückert, Frankfurt 1826, 1837 (43 *maḳāmāt*; 2nd ed. of 24 *maḳāmāt* by Annemarie Schimmel, Stuttgart [1966]); English, by Chenery, London 1867 and by Steingass, London 1898; French (partial), by Raux, Paris 1909. A Hebrew translation of the *Maḳāmāt*, by the Spanish Jewish poet Judah al-Ḥarīzī (ca. 1170-1230), entitled *Maḥbĕrôth Ithiēl*, was first published in London in 1872 and re-edited in Tel Aviv, by I. Perez, in 1951. See further A. Percikowitsch, *Al-Harizi als Übersetzer der Makamen Al-Hariris*, Munich 1931; I. Schirmann, *Die hebr. Übersetzung der Makamen des Hariri*, Frankfurt 1931.

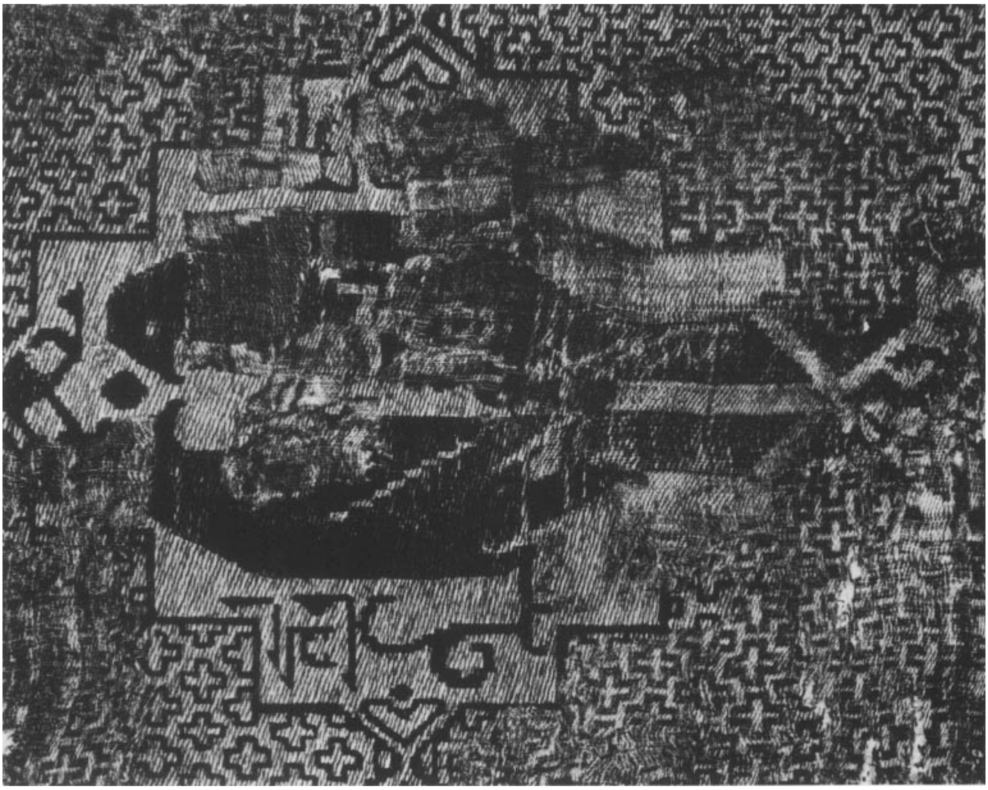
Al-Ḥarīrī is also the author of the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawaṣṣ*, a collection of critical notes on the incorrect use of certain expressions; after S. de Sacy had published an extract from it in



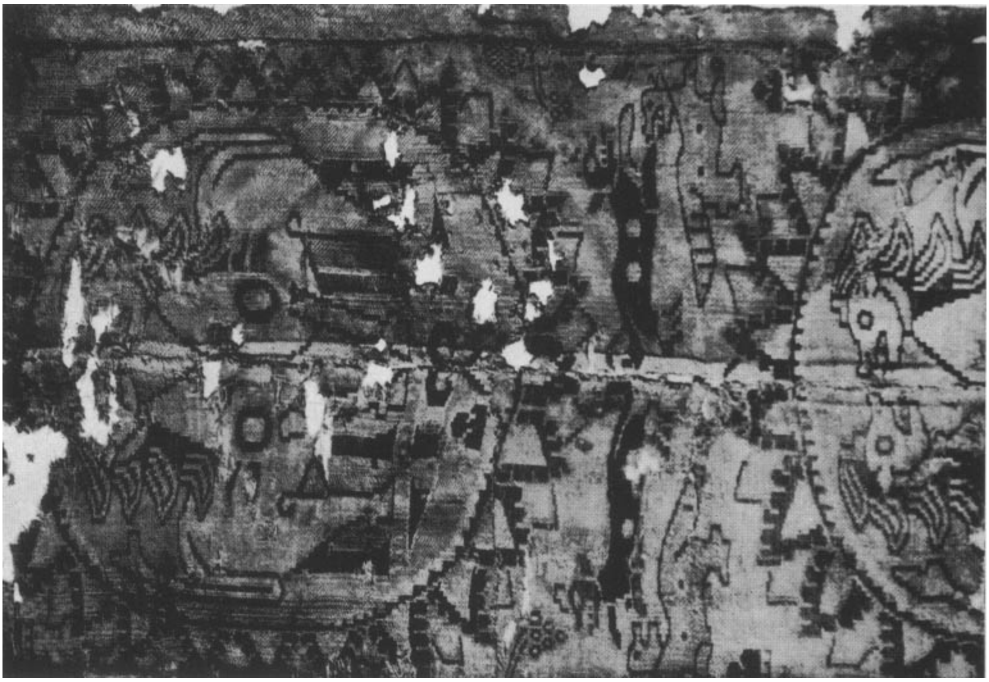
Iran, 3rd/9th century; Sudarium of St. Victor, Sens Cathedral.



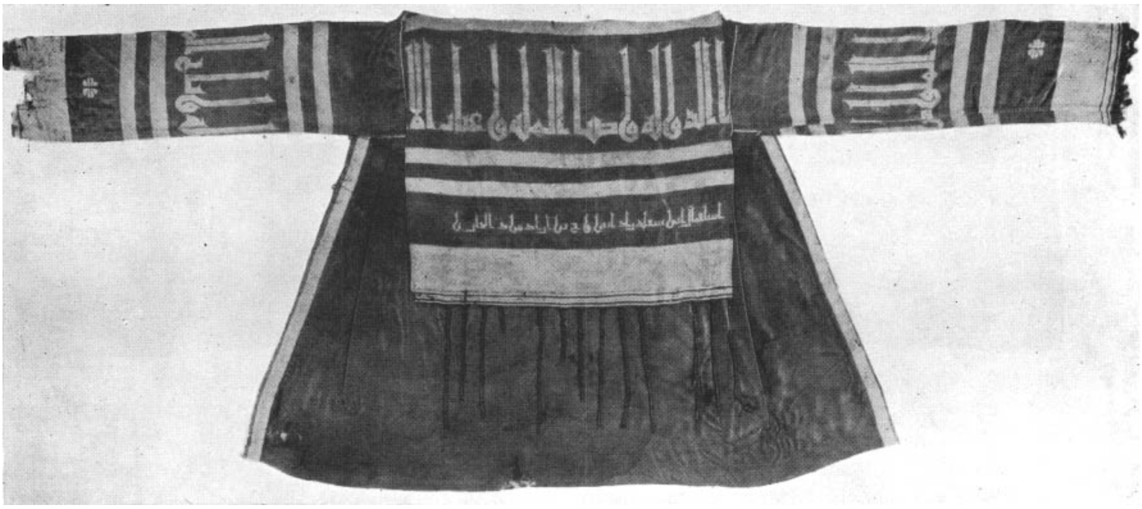
Iran, 1st/7th century; Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne.



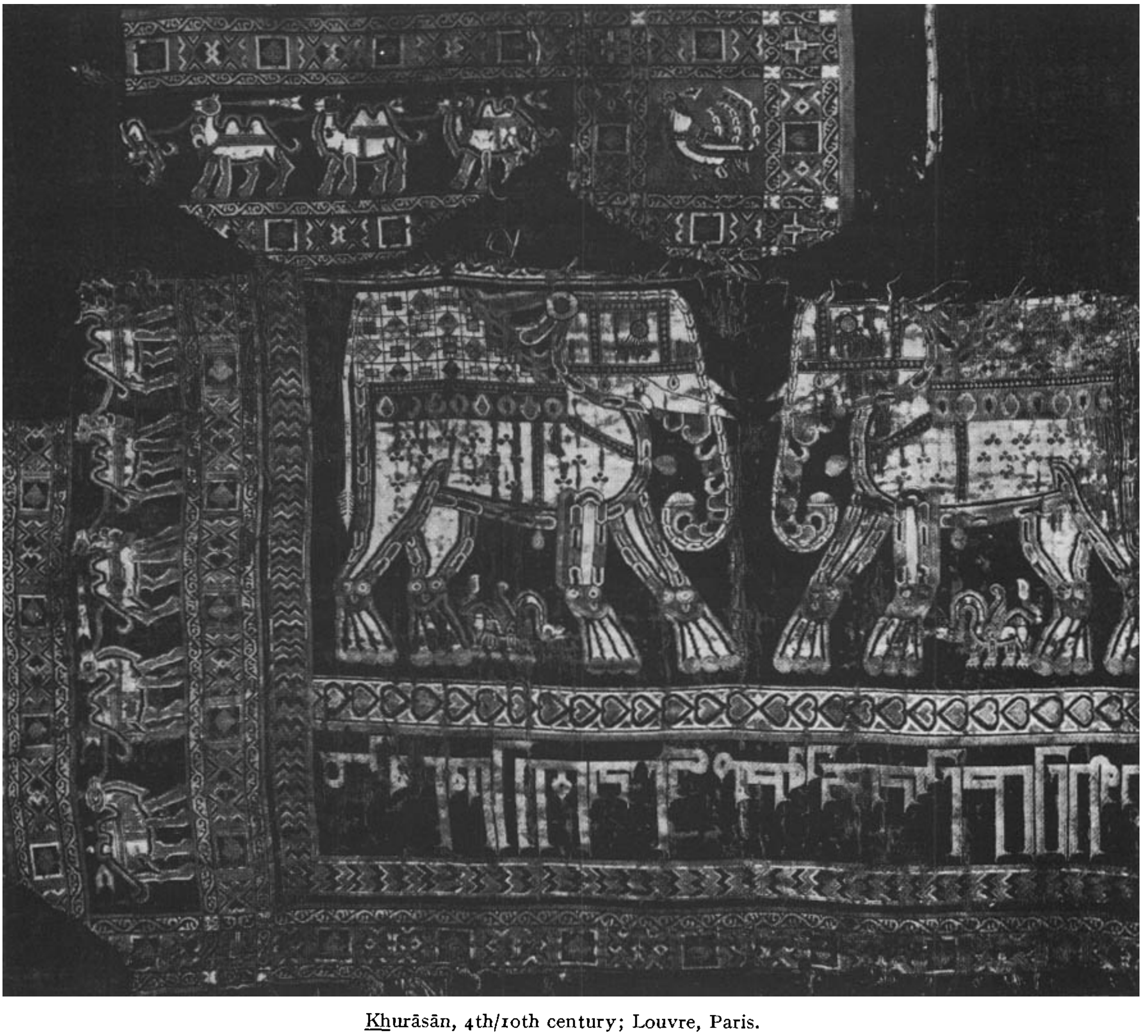
Egypt, 4th/10th century; Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



'Zandanīčī' silk, 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



Khilʿa with inscription of Bahā al-Dawla, ca. 390/1000; Textile Museum, Washington.



Khurāsān, 4th/10th century; Louvre, Paris.

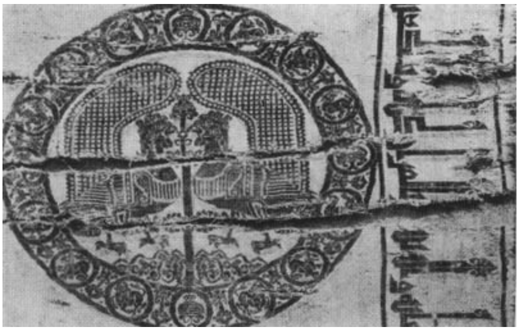


(a)

(a) Double-weaving, Baghdād, 6th/12th century; Cathedral Treasury, Passau.

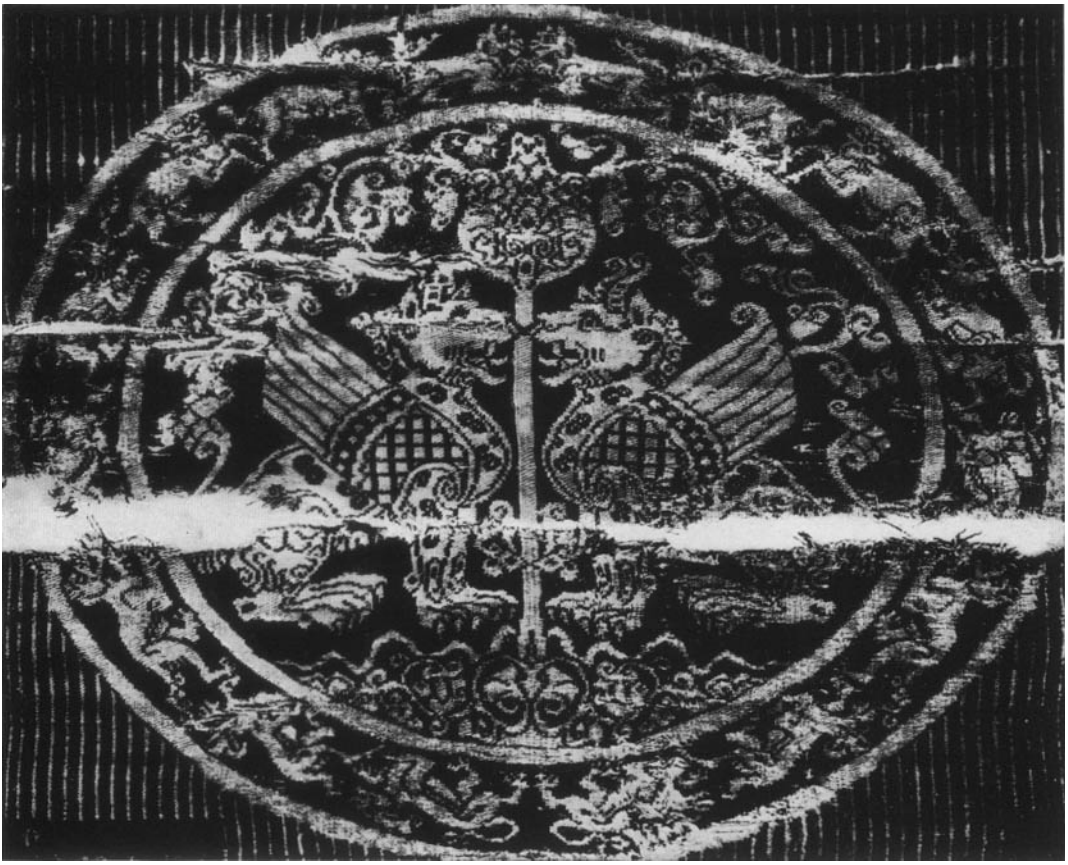
(b) Double weaving, Iran, 5th/11th or 6th/12th century; Textile Museum, Washington.

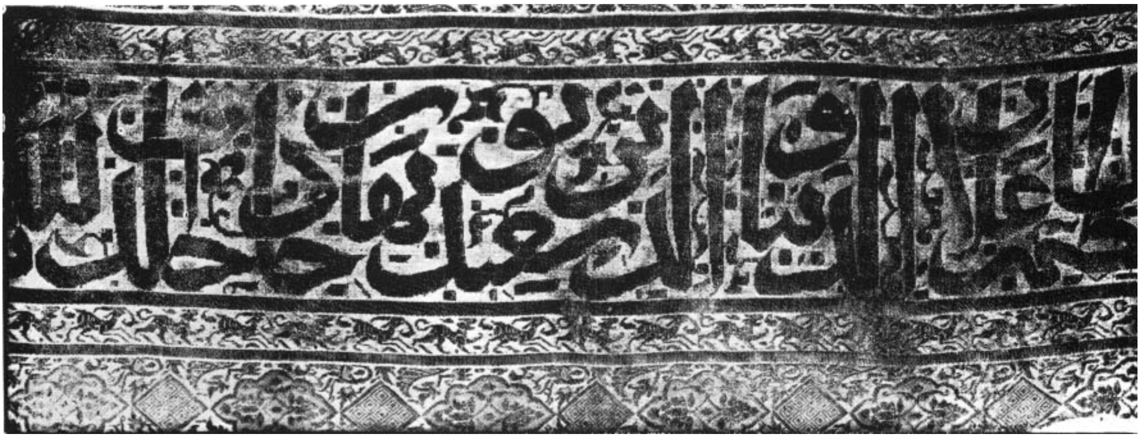
(c) Double-weaving, other side of *b*.



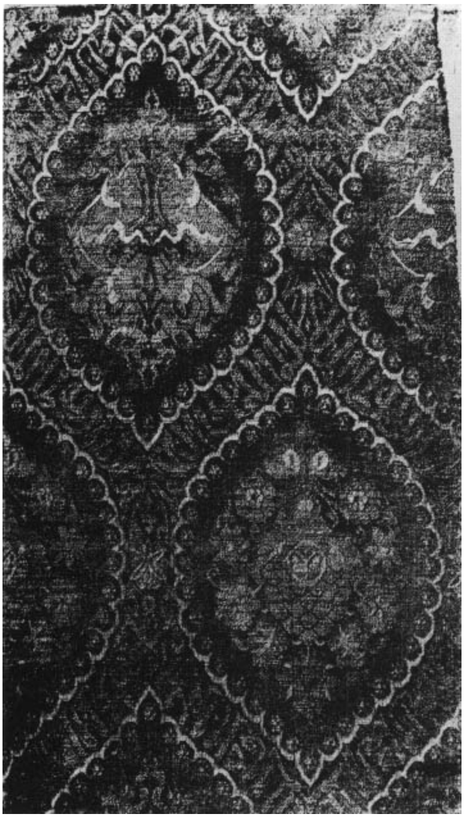
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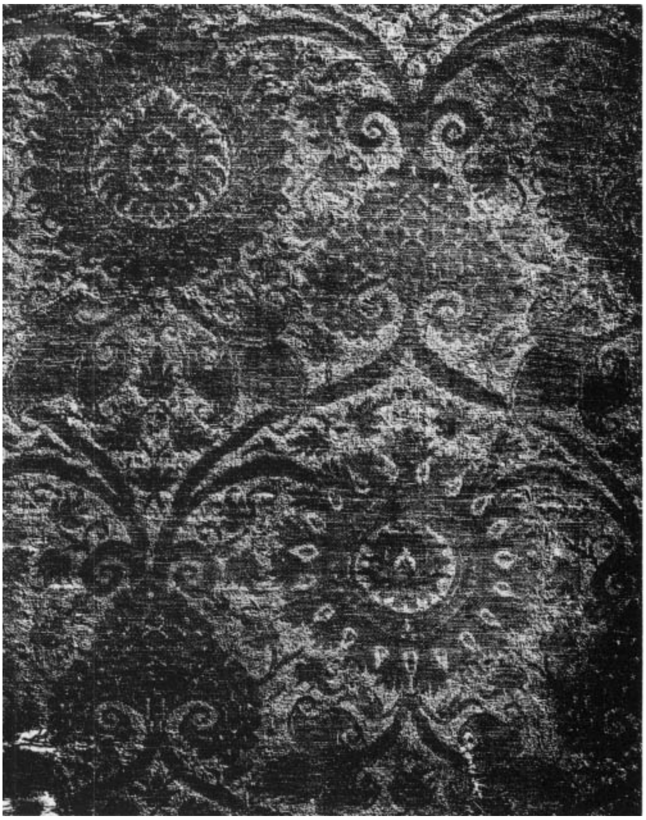




Funeral-gown of Rudolf IV of Habsburg; Dom und Diözesanmuseum, Vienna.

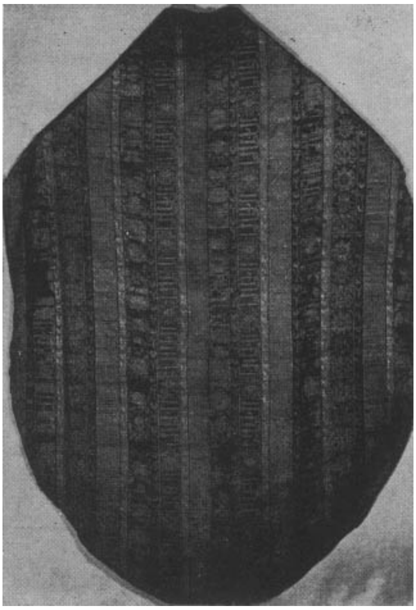


Silver-brocade, Iran, 8th/14th or 9th/15th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

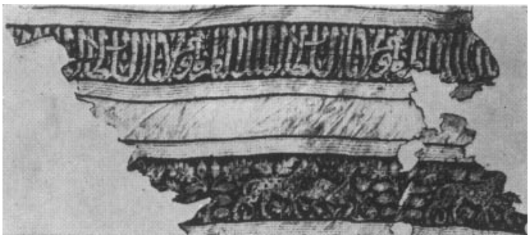


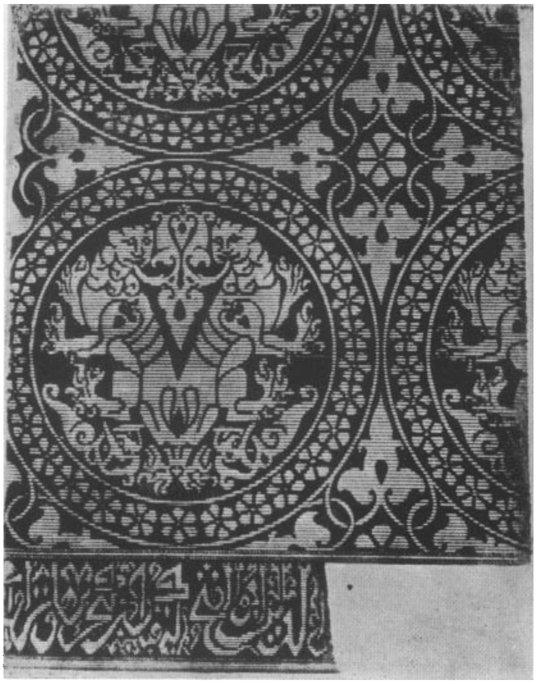
Gold-brocade, Iran, 9th/15th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

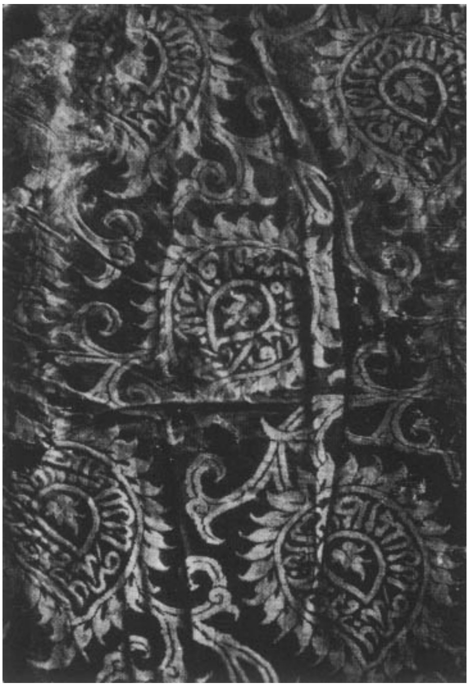

(a)

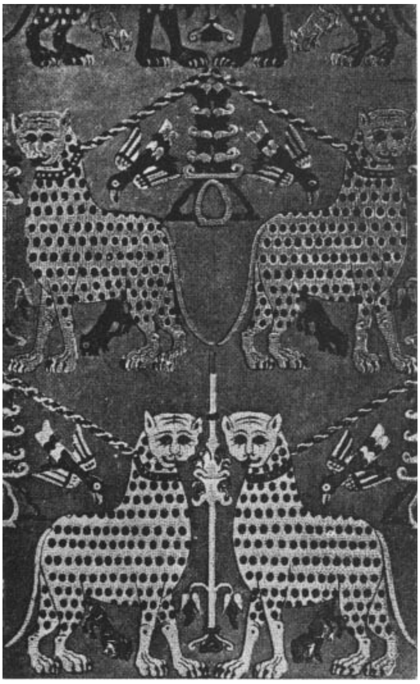

(b)

(a) Egypt, 6th/12th century; Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.
(b) Chasuble of silk-brocade, Syria, 8th/14th century; Church of St. Mary, Danzig.
(c) Fabric with the name of the Mamlūk sultan Muḥammad al-Nāṣir; Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.
(d) Gold-brocade with the name of Sultan Kay-ḳobād, Asia Minor, 7th/13th century; Musée des tissus, Lyon.
(e) Silk-damask with the name of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir; Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.


(c)


(d)


(e)



(a)



(b)



(c)

(a) Sicily 7th/13th century; Chinon Cathedral.
(b) From the tomb of Maria of Almenar, Hispano-moresque, 7th/13th century; Cistercian Monastery, Las Huelgas.
(c) Hispano-moresque, 8th/14th century; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
(d) Velvet-brocade, Üsküdar, 10th/16th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
(e) *Ḳaftān* of Bāyezīd II, late 9th/15th century; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul.

(e)



(d)





(a) Silk-brocade, made by Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Iran, 10th/16th century; Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels.



(b) Velvet-brocade, Iran, 10th/16th century; Textile Museum, Washington.



(c) Wall-carpet with the design of a *miḥrāb*, Iran, 11th/17th century; Mosque of Shaykh Ṣafī, Ardabīl.



(d) Silk-brocade, Iran, 12th/18th century; Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

his *Anthologie grammaticale* (Paris 1828-9, Arabic text, 25 ff. = trans., 63 ff.), Thorbecke produced a complete edition of it in Leipzig in 1871. To the Istanbul edition (1299) is appended a commentary by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī, who disputes many assertions made by the author.

His letters (*rasāʾil*) have been collected; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī has preserved some in his *Kharīda*, and Yāḳūt has included a few in his biography of al-Ḥarīrī; two among these in which all the words contain a *sīn* and a *shīn* respectively (hence their names of *sīniyya* and *shīniyya*) are typical examples of al-Ḥarīrī's taste for mere virtuosity without content.

He is also the author of a *Dīwān*, which has not survived, and of a didactic *urdjūza* on grammar, the *Mulḥat al-iʿrāb*, written at the prompting of Ibn al-Tilmīdh and accompanied by a commentary, of which Yāḳūt gives some idea.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 261-93 = *Irshād*, vi, 179-84; Ibn Khallikān, i, 419 ff.; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*; V. Chauvin, *Bibl.*, ix, 99 ff.; Dumas, *Le héros des maqâmât de Hariri, Abou-Zaid de Saroudj*, Algiers 1917; L. Bercher, *Trente-cinquième séance de Hariri, dite "de Chiraz"*, in *RT*, 1922; Crussard, *Étude sur les Séances de Harîri*, Paris 1923; O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqamen-litteratur*, Istanbul 1914; Brockelmann, S I, 486-99; R. Blachère and P. Masnou, *Al-Hamadānī, choix de maqāmāt*, Paris 1957, 42-7. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH-[CH. PELLAT])

ḤARĪRIYYA, sect of Rifāʿiyya in the region of Damascus, founded by ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarīrī al-Marwazī, d. 645/1247 at Baṣar (Ḥawrān). Its excessive pantheism, apparent in the works of its poet Nadjm al-Dīn b. Isrāʾīl, was repudiated by Ibn Taymiyya in a very important *fatwā* (xxvi, n. 2 in the collection made by Ibn ʿUrwa, *Tafsīr al-kawākib al-darārī*, MS Damascus, *tafsīr*, no. 151). Cf. al-Fārūthī (d. 694/1294) *apud* Abu 'l-Hudā, *Kitābat al-djawāhir* Istanbul 1302, 326. (L. MASSIGNON)

AL-**ḤĀRITH, DJABAL** [see DJŪDĪ].

AL-**ḤĀRITH** B. **DJABALA**, A.D. 529-569, the most famous of all the kings of Ghassān [*q.v.*] in the military annals of Arabia, and in the history of Byzantium and of Monophysitism in the sixth century.

As the phylarch and ally of Byzantium he led his mounted contingent against the Persians and their Arab allies, the Lakhmids, in the wars of Justinian's reign and distinguished himself in two of its military operations: the battle of Callinicum, A.D. 531, and the Assyrian campaign, A.D. 541. At Yawm Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] in A.D. 554 he triumphed decisively over the Lakhmid Mundhir.

As a believer in the One Nature of Christ, he revived the Monophysite Church after its disestablishment during the reign of Justin I, A.D. 518-27. Throughout his long reign, he afforded it protection from the hostility of the Chalcedonians and sought to keep its unity intact against divisive and schismatic movements, such as the Tritheistic heresy of Eugenius and Conon.

Byzantium recognized his services and worth and bestowed on him its highest honours and titles: he became *patricius*, *biṭrīḳ* [*q.v.*] and *gloriosissimus*.

Bibliography: Procopius of Caesarea, *History*, I, xvii, 45-8; xviii, 26, 35-7; II, i, 1-11; xix, 12-8, 26-46; xxviii, 12-4; *Anecdota*, ii, 23, 28; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, French trans. by J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1901, ii, 245-8, 269; R. Aigrain, *Arabie*, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, iii, cols. 1203-13; Irfan Kawar, *Procopius and Arethas*, in *BZ* l, (1957); idem, *The Patriciate of Arethas*, in *BZ* lii, (1959). (IRFAN SHAHĪD)

AL-**ḤĀRITH** B. **ḤILLIZA** AL-YASHKURĪ, a pre-Islamic Arab poet to whom is attributed principally a *ḳaṣīda* which mediaeval critics regarded as the seventh of the *muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*]. The information that we possess in respect of his life deserves no credence, and the poem that is the cause of his renown is in itself so suspect that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn considers it to be totally apocryphal (cf. also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 449, on the questions of other verses). This *ḳaṣīda*, in *khafīf* metre and with *-āʾū* rhyme (with an *iḳwāʾ* in one verse in *-āʾi*), is said by legendary tradition to have been improvised (though it has none of the signs of improvisation) in the following circumstances: after the king of al-Ḥīra al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ had restored peace between the tribes of Bakr [*q.v.*] and Taghlib [*q.v.*] which the war of al-Basūs [*q.v.*] had broken, hostages from the two tribes were compelled to remain with the sovereign; during the reign of ʿAmr b. Hind (554-570 [*q.v.*]) the Taghlabī hostages having died by accident, their tribe asked for recompense from the Bakr, who refused, and then complained to the king; it was then that al-Ḥārith, who had the task of pleading the case for his tribe against the Taghlib (whose spokesman was ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*]), recited his poem in the *madjlis* of the king, who had ordered hangings to be set up to keep him apart from the poet, since the latter suffered from tubercular leprosy (*baraṣ*); overcome by al-Ḥārith's talent, ʿAmr b. Hind is said to have had the hangings drawn up, one after another, and to have treated the poet with singular marks of esteem, although in general he inclined towards the Taghlib.

The political aim of this *muʿallaḳa* is undeniable; the section reserved for *nasīb* and descriptions is cut short, while the plea on behalf of the Bakr is more highly developed and is accompanied by criticisms of the Taghlib who are invited to put an end to their recriminations. The poem, an eloquent fragment, would be of documentary interest if it could be regarded as authentic.

Bibliography: it is possible that the lines attributed to al-Ḥārith were put together by Sukkarī from the works of the Banū Yashkur (cf. *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 226), but indeed it seems clear that the poet's *dīwān* has never been separately established; a short *Dīwān*, accompanied by that of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, has, however, been published by F. Krenkow in *Machriq*, and then separately, Beirut 1922; the *muʿallaḳa* had previously been published twice, with the commentary of Zawzanī and Latin translation, first by W. Knatchbull, Oxford 1820, later by J. Vullers, Bonn 1827; a French translation was given by Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai*, ii, 366-73 (reproduced in L. Machuel, *Auteurs arabes*, Paris 1924, 80-6); finally, the English translation by A. J. Arberry, *The seven odes*, London-New York 1957, 222-7, is preceded by a study on the poet and a comparison of the earlier translations (210-21). Comments and lines of verse will also be found in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 151-2 and index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 127 (al-Ḥārith is placed in the sixth class of pre-Islamic poets); *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, 263-8, 515-8; *Aghānī*, ix, 171-4 (Beirut ed., xi, 37-44); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 198 (Cairo ed., i, 295); Abkāryūs, 105-7; L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 416-20; F.

Bustānī, *Rawāʾiʿ*, no. 26; idem, *al-Madjānī al-ḥadītha*, i, 139-50; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 28, 74; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 26 (French trans., 43); Brockelmann, S I, 51; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi'l-adab al-djāhilī*, 236-43; R. Blachère, *HLA*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

BANU 'L-**ḤĀRITH** B. **KAʿB**, usually called Balḥārith, an Arab tribe belonging to the Yemenī group. Their genealogy is: al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. ʿUlā b. Djald b. Madhḥidj (Mālik).

They lived in the district of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] and were neighbours of the Hamdān. The following places amongst others belonged to them: al-ʿArsh, al-ʿĀdh, Baṭn al-Dhuhāb, Dhu 'l-Marrūt, al-Furuṭ (pl. Afrāt, between Nadjrān and the Djawf), Ḥadūra (Khadūrā), ʿIyāna, al-Khaṣāṣa (between Ḥidjāz and Tihāma), Ḳurrā, Saḥbal, Ṣamʿar, Sūḥān or Sawḥān, Mīnān or Maynān, Shaṭṭ Ziyād (belonging to the clan Ziyād); wādīs: al-ʿAwhal al-Aʿlā and al-ʿAwhal al-Asfal, al-Nuḍārāt, Thadjr; waters: ʿAynā Dhiʾb, al-Bathrā, al-Djafr, al-Harār, Ḥimā, al-Kawkab, Khaṭma (Khiṭma, a well in the sand), Khulayḳā, al-Malaḥāt, Māwa, al-Shalīla (belonging to the clan Dāʿir), Shisʿā, Yadamāt; mountains: Tukhtum. Sections of the Balḥārith lived also in Raydat al-Ṣayʿar in Ḥaḍramawt, in the town of Radāʿ (inhabited by the ʿAns and Khawlān), in the villages al-Ṣamaʿ and Ḥadaḳān, which belonged to the Bakīl, and in al-Faladja near Damascus.

In the Djāhiliyya a section of the Balḥārith worshipped the idol Yaghūth. Another section professed Christianity. The ʿAbd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān, a prominent family of the Balḥārith, built a large church, Dayr Nadjrān, also called the Kaʿba of Nadjrān (according to many authorities, a tent composed of 300 pieces of hide).

Historical. The idol Yaghūth was the cause of a battle between the Balḥārith and the Murād, who claimed Yaghūth for themselves, at al-Razm (in the south of Nadjrān, in the land of the Murād) on the same day as the battle of Badr (17, 19 or 21 Ramaḍān of the year 2). The Balḥārith, allied with the Hamdān, inflicted a severe defeat on the Murād, and Yaghūth remained in their possession. On the "second day of Kulāb" (in the Dahnā) the Balḥārith (under Nuʿmān b. Djassās) fought against the Tamīm tribes Ribāb and Saʿd b. Zayd-Manāt under Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim). On the side of the Balḥārith were Hamdān, Kinda, Ḳudāʿa and other tribes, in all about 8000 strong, divided into four divisions, with four leaders, who all bore the name Yazīd and were under the supreme command of ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Ṣalāt. In this battle the Balḥārith were defeated. The chiefs of the allied armies fell and ʿAbd Yaghūth was wounded. Of other battles of the Balḥārith we may mention that of Ḥiḍra (in Tihāma) against the Daws, in which the Balḥārith were again defeated, and that of Baṭn al-Dhahāb.

We find the Balḥārith already in possession of Nadjrān when the ʿAzd, with whom they had many disputes, left the Yemen under ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir Muzayḳiyāʾ after the bursting of the dam of Maʾrib. When Muḥammad's call had gone out through all Arabia, the Christians among the Balḥārith (in about 8/630) sent a deputation to the Prophet in Medina, which consisted mainly of ecclesiastics, including a bishop, Abu 'l-Ḥāritha. They arranged an interview with the Prophet at a place near Medina, where they were to undergo a trial by the ordeal called *mubāhala* *q.v.*] or *liʿān* (ceremony of objurgation). But when they were convinced of Muḥammad's mission and feared a defeat, they begged the Prophet to cancel the arrangement. The Prophet agreed on condition that they paid tribute. In Rabīʿ I of the year 10/632 Muḥammad sent Khālid b. Walīd with 480 men to the Balḥārith to demand that they should adopt Islam. Those who were heathen and a number of the Christians submitted and Khālid remained among them to instruct them in the Ḳurʾān and the institutions of Islam. After some time Khālid returned with a deputation of the Balḥārith (among them two members of the Christian family of ʿAbd al-Madān) to the Prophet. Muḥammad gave each member 10 ounces (400 *dirhams*) and appointed one of them, Ḳays b. al-Ḥusayn, *amīr* of the Balḥārith. When in 11/633 the false prophet al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī [*q.v.*] appeared, the Balḥārith, influenced by his emissaries, followed him. They drove out the governor of Nadjrān (ʿAmr b. Ḥazm), and al-Aswad entered the town in triumph. The Muslims remained faithful to Islam under Abū Bakr, and the Christians renewed the treaty.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen*, table 8, 16, and *Register*, 210; Yāḳūt, index s.v.; Hamdānī, *Djazīra*, index s.v., and 55, 8 ff.; 83, 9 f.; 93, 15 ff.; 169, 7 f.; H. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 68; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1724-7 and index s.v.; *Aghānī*, x, 82; xiv, 26; xv, 73 and index s.v.; Ibn Hishām, 401, 958-62; (transl.) A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 270-7, 645-8; Ibn Saʿd, index (part iii) s.v.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, index s.v. Hârith (Benou-l)-ibn-Càb; Caetani, *Annali*, year 10, §§ 4 ff.; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, iii, 508-10; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, index s.v.; O. Blau, *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 562.

(J. SCHLEIFER)

[Owing to circumstances beyond their control, the Editors are unable to supply, as they had planned to do, a revised text of this article. For the convenience of readers they re-print the article which appeared in the first edition. A new article will, it is hoped, be included in the Supplement]

AL-**ḤĀRITH** B. **SURAYDJ** (or ʿUMAYR) B. YAZĪD B. SAWĀ (or SAWWĀR) B. WARD B. MURRA B. SUFYĀN B. MUDJĀSHIʿ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM, leader of a rebellious movement in Khurāsān against the Umayyad administration. His father, Suraydj, had his abode in the quarter of the Banū Mudjāshiʿ in Baṣra and received a yearly *ʿaṭāʾ* of 700 *dirhams*.

Al-Ḥārith is mentioned as one of the courageous warriors in the battle against the forces of the Khāḳān at Paykand in 111/729. He was flogged on the order of the governor of Khurāsān, al-Djunayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, having opposed the latter's injustice. The verse referring to this event says that "he refused to be a '*djanība*' (*i.e.*, a horse driven alongside) of the Murra when they went astray and their *imām* committed iniquities". He rebelled in 116/734. Aided by the native forces of Djūzdjān, Fāryāb and Ṭalḳān, al-Ḥārith captured Balkh and marched at the head of a force, which grew to the figure of 60,000, against Marw, defended by the new governor, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hilālī. The defeat of al-Ḥārith at Marw reduced the number of his followers to 3000. The news that he was being dismissed by the Caliph, Hishām, and replaced by Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī drove ʿĀṣim to negotiate with al-Ḥārith. The basis of their agreement was to be their common call to Hishām to put a stop to iniquity; if he refused, al-Ḥārith and ʿĀṣim would revolt against his rule.

After his arrival the new governor, Asad b. ʿAbd

Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], succeeded by vigorous action in recapturing Balkh and compelled al-Ḥārith to cross the Oxus. Al-Ḥārith, aided by the forces of the local leaders, laid siege to Tirmidh, but failed to conquer the city and was compelled to retreat to the fortress of Tabūshkān in Ṭukhāristān. A force sent by Asad under the command of Djudayʿ al-Kirmānī besieged the fortress; the adherents of al-Ḥārith insisted on leaving and surrendered to the besieging force. Some of them were decapitated; the women were sold as slaves (118/736).

Al-Ḥārith with his force joined the Khāḳān of the Türgesh [*q.v.*]. He fought valiantly on the Khāḳān's side in the encounter of Kharīstān and defended his retreat when his army was defeated (119/737). Al-Ḥārith assisted the Khāḳān in the preparations for a new expedition and received from the Khāḳān 5000 horses. The Khāḳān was, however, murdered and the power of the Türgesh collapsed. Asad died in 120/738.

The new governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār, marched in 122/740 with an army against Shāsh, which served as a base for the forces of al-Ḥārith. There was an encounter between the troops of Naṣr and al-Ḥārith but the battle between the forces of Shāsh and the army of Naṣr was prevented by an agreement between them, by which the ruler of Shāsh would deport al-Ḥārith to Fārāb. The assumption of H. A. R. Gibb that the object of the expedition against Shāsh was the expulsion of al-Ḥārith is plausible. Naṣr apprehended that the dangerous rebel might incite the Turkish rulers to lead a new expedition against him. These fears would seem to be reasonable in view of the instability of the central government after the death of Hishām, the tensions between the Muḍarīs and the Yemenīs in Khurāsān, as well as the dissatisfaction of the native rulers with the policy of Naṣr in Transoxania. This explains why Naṣr pleaded with the Caliph, Yazīd b. al-Walīd, to pardon al-Ḥārith. The letter of safe-conduct granted to al-Ḥārith by the Caliph promised to return the confiscated property of the adherents of al-Ḥārith and to act according to the ordinances of "The Book and the Sunna".

When al-Ḥārith came back to Marw in 127/745 he reiterated the demand to act in accordance with the ordinances of "The Book and the Sunna". He justified his struggle against the administration and his secession from the community by the statement that "the few who obey God are many and the many who disobey God are few". He was welcomed by Naṣr and the people of Marw; his son Muḥammad and his daughter al-Alūf, who were detained, were released. Naṣr offered to appoint him as governor of a district, but he refused. He divided the gifts given to him by Naṣr among his adherents. He demanded of Naṣr that he should appoint as officials only decent and righteous people.

Shortly after his arrival, al-Ḥārith was joined by 3000 Tamīmīs who gave him the oath of allegiance. He encamped outside Marw, and instructed Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*] to read his "*sīra*", setting himself up against Naṣr. Djudayʿ al-Kirmānī joined al-Ḥārith for a short time. However they fell out, their forces clashed and al-Ḥārith was killed in 128/746.

Al-Ḥārith is mentioned as a Murdjiʾī. His secretary was Djahm b. Ṣafwān. In his political activity he followed in the steps of Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ, who fought for the rights of the *mawālī*; some of the companions of Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ fought on the side of al-Ḥārith. Al-Ḥārith and his followers are the only group in early Islam which seceded from the community and aided the unbelievers against their brethren with the aim of establishing a government acting according to the ordinances of the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna. In the force of al-Ḥārith are mentioned "*ahl al-baṣāʾir*", people of a religious conviction, whom al-Ḥārith used to consult. When al-Ḥārith returned he came back with his *ḳāḍī*. The black flags raised by al-Ḥārith seem to have been an imitation of the *sunna* of the Prophet. A special feature of this peculiar group was the habit of appealing to the enemy during the battle to join them by using moral and religious arguments. Al-Ḥārith seems to have had a feeling of mission. He apparently lived an ascetic life and wanted to establish a just government resembling that of the Prophet and the first Caliphs. He demanded that the principle of election of the *Shūrā* [*q.v.*] should be followed. A satirical verse recited after his death claims that he hoped to be a Caliph: "The son of a saddle (Ibn Sardj) hopes to be a Caliph: How remote are the means of the Caliphate from a saddle".

Bibliography: H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 69-94; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califfato di Hishām*, Alexandria 1935, 44-70; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 190-3; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 288-306 (English trans. 459-498); G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, Amsterdam 1894, 24-32; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., f. 66b; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. f. 295b, 982b; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 460; v, 36; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, ix, 313, 322; x, 26; *Arabskiy Anonym XI Veka*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevič, Moskow 1960, f. 258b; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, iv, 228, 229; v, 35, 56; Ḥasan Ibr. Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām al-siyāsī*, i, Cairo 1935, 538, n. 4.

(M. J. KISTER)

ḤĀRITH AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ [see AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ].

ḤĀRITHA B. BADR AL-GHUDĀNĪ, poet and notable of the Tamīmī clan of the Banū Ghudāna, at Baṣra. Born probably shortly before the Hidjra, he appears while still young to have been a follower of the prophetess Sadjāḥi [*q.v.*] and then, having settled in Baṣra, he fought at the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] against ʿAlī, but afterwards joined his cause; however, as soon as Ziyād arrived in ʿIrāḳ in 45/666 he became a fervent supporter of the new governor, who finally entered him on the tribal pay-roll of the Ḳuraysh to increase his emoluments. Some satirical verses of the poet whom Ziyād matched against him, Anas b. Abī Unās, reveal that at some point he was nominated *ʿāmil* of Surraḳ, in Ahwāz, but it was chiefly during the disturbances which followed the death of Yazīd I that he played some part in politics, although this is not made very clear in the sources which allude to it; however, he seems to have taken part in the struggle against the Khāridjīs who were threatening Baṣra, and to have met his death by drowning during a campaign, in 64/684 or 66/686 (I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 158, wrongly gives the date 50).

Ḥāritha is a picturesque figure of the first half of the 1st/7th century. Though well known for his eloquence, wisdom and knowledge of historical traditions and genealogy, the reputation that he has left behind is principally that of an inveterate drinker, whose foibles Ziyād tolerated, whilst his sons were not averse from keeping him company. He may be regarded as one of the first bacchic poets of the Muslim period, but almost nothing of his work survives; some gnomic verses of his are still quoted, and also a funeral oration for Ziyād, part of which has been preserved (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 159;

al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 914; *Aghānī*, xxi, 19; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Thanawiyya).

Bibliography: al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ṭabarī, i, 322, ii, 26, 78, 449, 580-2, 585; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 914-16; *Aghānī*[1], xxi, 20-44, and index; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 160; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 1331/1913 ed., iv, 322-3, 325; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 1937; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 304-5, 383-4; H. Lammens, in *RSO*, iv, 120-1; idem, *Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, *passim*; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 146 (Fr. tr., 224-5); Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 154-6.

(H. LAMMENS-[CH. PELLAT])

HARIYĀNĀ, name given to the tract of country in the Indian Pandjāb to the north-west of Dihlī, surrounding the towns of Hānsī [*q.v.*] and Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*] in the present Ḥiṣār district and extending east into the Rohtak [*q.v.*] district; it lies south of the Ghaggar stream—which partly coincides with the ancient Saraswatī river which once joined the Indus [see SINDHU], now little more than a monsoon drainage channel whose waters are lost in the Rādjāsthān sands—and is traversed by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's West Djamnā canal [for the history of this see references s.v. DJAMNĀ]. The name seems to mean "green tract", although the region is now semi-desert (for the modern condition see O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*, London 1954, who, however, conflates Hariyānā and Sirhind); a popular etymology connects the name with a legendary king called Hari Čand.

The region was of some strategic importance to the rulers of Dihlī, as it lay on the more southerly route to that city from Khurāsān via Multān and the southern Pandjāb (the northern approach to Dihlī being through Sirhind [*q.v.*]). According to a Sanskrit inscription of the time of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, "Hariyāṇaka" was ruled first by the Tomārs, then by the Čawhāns, then by the "Śaka" kings Sāhavadīna (Shihāb al-Dīn, i.q. Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām), Ṣuduvadīna (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak; at this time the Sanskrit character *ṣa* was generally pronounced in north India as *kha*), etc., down to Gayāsadīna; it bears the date 1337 VS = 680/1281 (*Epigr. Indica*, v, Appendix p. 34; plate in *JASB*, xliii, 104). Certainly it was held by the Čawhān kings of Dihlī immediately before the Ghūrid conquest, its ruler Hammīr being slain at the same time as Prithwī Rādj of Dihlī. The region is frequently mentioned in the chronicles of the Dihlī sultanate as forming an *iḳṭāʿ* of officials at the Dihlī courts. It was sufficiently close to the capital to prevent any attempt at independence by a rebel official, although there was the incident of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, son of Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*], who was governor of Hariyānā when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ made his expedition to the south of India in 736/1335: on rumours of the sultan's death in the pestilence in Telingānā, Ibrāhīm seized the tribute of treasure on its way to Dihlī from Sindh on the pretext that the roads were unsafe; when the rumours were proved false he allowed the convoy to proceed to the capital, but his acts were reported to the court and he was put to death. His aim seems to have been, however, the Dihlī throne rather than mere independence at Hariyānā, which could not have been sustained once the imperial armies had returned to Dihlī.

Hariyānā was a region in which Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ took an especial interest, it being the home of his mother who was of Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūt descent; he was quick to realize its strategic importance, and besides carrying out his scheme of irrigation mentioned above, as part of his policy for the encouragement of agriculture, built there the three minor forts of Muḥammadpur, Ẓafarābād and Rāḍābād (now all disappeared, although villages so named still exist) and the major forts of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*] and Fatḥābād [*q.v.* in Supplement], besides strengthening that of Hānsī. From this time the administrative centre of Hariyānā shifted from Hānsī to Ḥiṣār Fīrūza.

The Hariyānā district lay on Tīmūr's route of devastation to Dihlī, and indeed a detachment of his troops was attacked there by a Djāṭ tribe. The history of the district thereafter is one of confusion; but it is known to have come, about 814/1411, into the possession of Khiḍr Khān, who subsequently became the first of the Sayyid dynasty of Dihlī, and it certainly remained a possession of the Dihlī sultanate throughout the Sayyid and Lodī periods. It passed naturally to the Mughals after their conquest, and seems to have been peaceful until the early 18th century. It became the scene of much turbulence and confusion after the invasion of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], and a contested region between the rising Sikh power, the enfeebled Mughal empire, and the predatory Bhaṭṭī chiefs, Muslim converts from Rādjpūt stock, of Bhaṭnēr and Fatḥābād. As the Sikh power increased the Bhaṭṭīs sought Mughal aid, and a Bhaṭṭī chief was at one time appointed *nāẓim* of Ḥiṣār; but neither he nor subsequent governors of Hānsī and Ḥiṣār could stem Amar Singh's Sikh forces, and the whole district fell into Sikh hands until the Mughal-Sikh treaty of Djind, in 1781, restored Hariyānā to the Mughal empire, Fatḥābād and Sirsā to the Bhaṭṭīs, and assigned the remainder of the conquered districts to the Sikhs. In 1797-8 the English adventurer George Thomas overran Hariyānā and established his capital at Hānsī; he was eventually overcome by Bourquin for Sindhia, and in 1801 Hariyānā passed into Marāthā hands; in 1803 it was ceded by Sindhia to the British government.

The district is well known for cattle breeding, and Hariyānā cattle are much prized in India.

Bibliography: in addition to references in the article, see the bibliographies to HĀNSĪ, ḤIṢĀR FĪRŪZA, and ROHTAK. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

HARKARN, B. MATHURĀDĀS, a Kaṅbōh [*q.v.*] of Multān, known chiefly for his collection of letters (*inshāʾ*), entitled *Irshād al-ṭālibīn* but popularly called *Inshāʾ-i Harkarn*. Nothing is known about his early life or the teachers from whom he learnt Persian, the court language of the day. He was employed for some time as a secretary (*munshī*) by Iʿtibār Khān *khwādja-sarāy*, most probably a Hindu convert to Islam and an influential eunuch, who was from very early years a confidant and retainer of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. It is not exactly known when Harkarn entered the service of Iʿtibār Khān. In 1032/1622 Iʿtibār Khān was appointed governor of Āgra, where Harkarn got the chance to display his talents as an official secretary, as he had spent a lifetime in the exercise of that profession (cf. preamble to his *Inshāʾ*). After the death of Iʿtibar Khān, later called Mumtāz Khān, Harkarn left Āgra and while in Mathurā, probably on a pilgrimage, he compiled his *Inshāʾ* between 1034/ 1625 and 1040/1631 (cf. Ethé, 2069). Divided into seven *bābs* (sections) it contains model letters of appointment of state officials, besides various kinds of other official documents (ed. with English transl. by Francis Balfour under the title *The Forms of Herkern*, Calcutta 1781, 1804[2], reprinted

1831; lith. Lahore 1869, 1871). The *Inshā'* of Harkarn was used by the British in India, during the days of the East India Company, as a model for diplomatic correspondence with the native princes and potentates. It was also extensively used in *maktabs* (primary schools) and *madrasas* in India to give a good grounding to students in Persian letter-writing. With the discontinuance of Persian as the court language this book fell into disuse.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤARRA, a basalt desert, "a district covered with black broken stones, which looks as if it had been burned by fire". Such *ḥarras*, which owe their origin to subterranean volcanoes which have repeatedly covered the undulating desert with a bed of lava, are found particularly in the east of Ḥawrān and stretch from there to Medina. Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā' bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, Mecca ed., 1316, 38 gives a detailed description of a great earthquake at Medina which began on 1 Djumādā II 654/26 June 1256 and lasted several days (see also Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte von Madyna*). There is perhaps, as Wetzstein suggested, an allusion to these fearful stony wastes in Jeremiah xvii 6 (חררים). Yāḳūt, ii, 247 ff., details no less than 29 of these *ḥarras* with their names (see *ZDMG*, xxii (1868), 365-82). An accurate map, with an index of names to the whole territory in which *ḥarras* are found, is published in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsch. Palästinavereins*, xii, in the narrative of A. Stübel's journey to Dīret al-Tulūl and Ḥawrān (1882). The same author has also discussed the supposed origin of such deserts of stones in *Die Vulkanberge von Ecuador* after v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, i, 90, note 5 (where also, i, 89 ff., bibliographical references are given). See also v. Oppenheim in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1896 (*Zur Routenkarte meiner Reise von Damaskus nach Baghdād in dem Jahre 1893*); Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, 24, 419 f. and index; D. G. Hogarth, *The penetration of Arabia*, London 1904, 4, 81, 168 f., 259, 284, 339; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 72. (Ed.)

AL-ḤARRA, Of all the *ḥarras* dealt with in the preceding article, the one that stretches through the gardens of Medina on the north-eastern side of the town, known as the *Ḥarrat Wāḳim*, became, thanks to a famous battle in 63/683, al-Ḥarra *par excellence*.

The situation in Medina was seriously disturbed some time after the accession to the throne of Muʿāwiya's son Yazīd. It led to a rebellion provoked by the indignation felt by men of piety at Yazīd's scandalous conduct and the conviction that it was impossible to obey an *imām* of such a type. Beneath the religious aspects of the movement, economic motives may have been concealed. For it is certainly possible that the interests of a great part of the local elements had been upset or threatened in a general way by Muʿāwiya's fiscal reforms, which compelled the provinces to contribute towards the expenses of the State, and, in particular, by the reorganization of the system of pensions, which Muʿāwiya had proposed to establish upon the basic principle that pensions must be the reward for services, especially military, rendered to the government (cf. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 408-13); in the Holy Cities there was a group of individuals and families, their exact number difficult to define, who, under this principle, could no longer be on the pay-roll in their capacity as heirs of the first beneficiaries of pensions.

The governor of Medina, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān, appointed by Yazīd (end of 62/682 or beginning of 63/683), was too young and inexperienced to control the situation (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 402). The caliph himself then proposed (al-Balādhurī, 31) that a Medinese delegation should be sent to him in the hope of being reconciled with the malcontents by means of his generosity, but the delegates, though loaded with gifts and bounties, on their return to the Ḥidjāz incited their fellow-citizens to revolt by their accounts of the caliph's scandalous mode of life.

Alarmed by the situation in the Ḥidjāz, Yazīd once again tried the method of conciliation: he sent, first to Medina, then to Mecca, a mission headed by al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr [*q.v.*], but it did not succeed in restoring calm. The Medinese malcontents found an opportunity to come out in open revolt when a *mawlā* arrived to supervise the harvests from the lands (*ṣawāfī*) belonging to the caliph. A scene then took place in the chief mosque (beginning of 63/682) that is reminiscent of pre-Islamic customs: the rebels took off their sandals, turbans and burnous which they heaped up in the court-yard, to signify that they were depriving the caliph of his sovereignty, just as they cast off these garments. They ended the meeting by nominating as their chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Hanzala [*q.v.*], "with a view to securing the deposition of Yazīd"; but as the Muhādjirūn were dissatisfied with this choice, which gave predominance to the Anṣār, they also nominated ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ al-ʿAdawī as commander of the group of Ḳurayshīs and their *mawlās*, and Maʿḳil b. Sinān al-Ashdjaʿī commander of the non-Ḳurayshī Muhādjirūn. (It should be noted here that the Ṭālibīs and the ʿAbbāsids had refrained from joining the dissidents and continued to hold aloof when the revolt broke out.) Wellhausen observes, we think justly, that in this great revolt the Anṣār did not fight for themselves as a separate party. Lammens, on the other hand, lays stress on the Anṣārī character of the movement; but even if the Anṣār were in a majority in Medina and included the most active agitators there, the presence of groups of Ḳurayshī and non-Ḳurayshī Muhādjirūn, exerting such pressure that it was decided to give them their own chiefs, contradicts his opinion.

After the scene in the mosque, the attitude of the rebels towards the Umayyads became so aggressive that the latter, with their *mawlās*, adherents and servants, gathered together inside the precincts of Marwān's houses (*dār*) outside the town and appealed to the caliph for immediate aid. Though disgusted by their lack of initiative (for in fact they numbered about a thousand men), Yazīd decided to send an army to the Ḥidjāz; but the principal objective was to subdue Ibn al-Zubayr, since it was thought that a military demonstration would suffice to bring the Medinese to heel. The choice of a general presented difficulties. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*], a former governor of Medina, refused the mission since he was unwilling to shed the blood "of Ḳurayshīs", and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] certainly had no desire, after the slaughter of the ʿAlids at Karbalā', to undertake a second equally odious campaign. Yazīd then approached Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī [*q.v.*], an old soldier who was deeply devoted to the Umayyads and who did not trifle in matters of discipline. Since

he was of great age and his infirmities had grown worse during the preparations for the expeditionary force, Muslim set off in a litter.

Although the exact numerical strength of his army cannot be given (estimates vary from 4,000 to 12,000 men), it is at least possible to say that it had been very well equipped, in anticipation of a difficult and detested campaign; each soldier received a bonus of 100 *dīnārs*, in addition to his ordinary full pay.

On the news of Muslim's advance, the rebels tightened their siege of the *dār*; finally the Umayyads were driven out, after swearing that they would not give any assistance to the Syrian army; they met Muslim at Wādī 'l-Ḳurā; a number of them continued their journey towards Syria, but the greater part, with Marwān at their head, joined the expeditionary force.

Reaching the oasis of Medina, Muslim went to pitch his camp on the *ḥarra*. The Medinese had had time to dig and fortify a trench, on the vulnerable side of the town (or to repair the one dug by the Prophet in 5/627), and it was there that a savage battle took place when the three days' respite allowed by Muslim for negotiation had elapsed and when a final appeal for unity had failed. The offer of two annual payments made by Muslim in the caliph's name, and the promise of a marked reduction in the price of corn (al-Bayhaḳī, 65, etc.) provide further, and specific, proof that economic motives also had led the Medinese to revolt. Muslim controlled his troops' movements from the top of a platform (*kursī*) or stretcher (*sarīr*), but it seems that when the Medinese cavalry charged and reached his tent he mounted his horse and took an active part in the battle, at least during the critical moments (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 414-6). At first, the battle went in favour of the rebels, but it ended in the defeat of the Medinese when Marwān obtained permission from the Banū Ḥāritha to pass through their quarter with a detachment of cavalry and took the defenders of the trench from the rear. The Medinese fled "like ostriches"; the Ḳurayshīs were the first to take to flight and seek refuge in Mecca. Ibn Ḥanẓala resisted bravely and fell with his eight sons (or most of them) and a handful of men as resolute as himself. Pursuing the fugitives into the town, the Syrians abandoned themselves to an appalling pillage which continued for three days and which certain sources state had been authorized by Yazīd himself in the event of the army meeting resistance; the Negroes took the opportunity to riot. Wellhausen raises doubts as to the reality of this pillaging, and Lammens shortens its duration, but the sources are unanimous on this point and add details that are difficult to disregard. Estimates of the number of victims differ widely (from 180 to 700 Anṣār and Ḳurayshīs, from 4,000 to 10,000 other insurgents). The date of the battle is fixed as Wednesday, the penultimate (or antepenultimate) day of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 63/27 or 26 August 683. On the following day, in Ḳibā, Muslim compelled the defeated to renew their oath of loyalty to Yazīd and, going beyond the ordinary formula, demanded that they should recognize themselves to be the slaves of the caliph, who was thus free to sell them and their possessions alike. Some individuals who refused to submit to this demand or who stipulated as a condition for their *bayʿa* that Yazīd should undertake to follow the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna* of the Prophet (according to one account, also that of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar) were executed. Among those whom Muslim did not spare was his old friend Maʿḳil b. Sinān, leader of the Muhādjirūn during the revolt (but he had sworn that, if he met him, he would kill him). One of the caliph ʿUthmān's sons, who was suspected of having wanted to play a double game, had his beard torn out. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, on the contrary, was treated with the greatest consideration, on the orders of Yazīd himself. The Ḳurayshīs' chief during the revolt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭīʿ, had been one of those who had fled to Mecca. Muslim b. ʿUḳba was given the nickname Musrif, apparently on account of the massacre of al-Ḥarra, since the term has the meaning "prodigal [of human blood]". After a short stay in Medina, he continued on his way to Mecca where he had to fight ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

ḤARRĀN, named Κάῤῥαν by the Greeks, Carrhae by the Romans, and called Hellenopolis—"the heathen city"—by the Fathers of the Church because of the pagan religion of its inhabitants, is situated in Northern Mesopotamia on the small river Djullāb at the intersection of important caravan routes to Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia. To-day it belongs to Turkey. According to Yāḳūt (ii, 331), Ḥarrān is in the Fourth Clime, only one day's march from Urfa and two day's march from Raḳḳa. The town is a very ancient settlement, and is believed to have been the birthplace of Abraham. It was the home of the Moon-God, Sīn, and according to al-Bīrūnī Ḥarrān was dedicated to Sīn; the shape of the town resembles that of the moon (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 204).

i. — History

For the pre-Islamic history of Ḥarrān reference may be made to A. Mez's monograph (*Die Stadt Harran bis zum Einfall der Araber*, Strassburg 1892) and Weiss-

bach's article in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. χαῤῥάν (pp. 2009-21). Ḥarrān was peacefully occupied by the Arabs during the Caliphate of ʿUmar in 19/640. At that time it was one of the most important towns of Diyār Muḍar. According to Balā̲d̲h̲urī, who gives a full account of the conquest of the D̲j̲azīra, Ḥarrān capitulated to ʿIyā̲d̲h̲ ibn G̲h̲anam (Balā̲d̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 174). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa states that the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar II transferred a school of medicine from Alexandria to Ḥarrān (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 116). Marwān II made Ḥarrān his residence and the capital of the Umayyad Empire. Though information about his building activities is meagre, we may presume that the first mosque of Ḥarrān was constructed during his reign (see below). Yaʿḳūbī mentions that Marwān built his palace in a place called *dabāb al-bayn* and spent some 10 million dirhems on it (*Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 405). Mez tried to identify the Citadel with Marwān's palace (*op. cit.*, 11), but D. S. Rice refuted his theory (see D. S. Rice, *Mediaeval Ḥarrān*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 42, n. 7). When the ʿAbbāsids occupied Iran and the larger part of Mesopotamia, it was from Ḥarrān that Marwān set out at the head of an army of 12,000 to meet the ʿAbbāsid army. After his defeat the palace at Ḥarrān was looted and destroyed (Ṭabarī, iii, 45).

During the ʿAbbāsid period Ḥarrān is not mentioned until Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, when he constructed a canal from the river D̲j̲ullāb to Ḥarrān to assure the water supply of the city. Then in 215/830 the Caliph al-Maʾmūn passed through the town during his campaign against the Byzantines. It was at that time that al-Maʾmūn offered the heathen inhabitants the choice between the adoption of Islam, or of any one of the tolerated religions, or extermination. They claimed to be Sābians, which was one of the accepted religions, and that saved them from extermination (Ibn al-Nadīm al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *al-Fihrist*, translated in Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg 1856, ii, 14-17). Ḥarrān played an important part in the cultural field during the early ʿAbbāsid period. The town was the home of one of the most important schools of translators, and under the guidance of T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] Sābians translated numerous Greek books on mathematics and astronomy into Arabic. The famous astronomer al-Battānī [*q.v.*], Albatenius in Latin, was a native of Ḥarrān and worked there. Ḥarrān was also a Ḥanbalī stronghold (Muḥammad D̲j̲amīl al-S̲h̲aṭṭī, *Muk̲h̲taṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1920, 48). The Sābians did not enjoy religious freedom for very long; their persecution started in the early 5th/11th century, and the last Sābian temple was destroyed at that time.

Ḥarrān subsequently came under the suzerainty of a nomad petty dynasty, the Numayrids [*q.v.*]. The dynasty was founded by a certain Wat̲h̲t̲h̲āb (380-410/990-1019) (Rice, *op. cit.*, 56-7, and 74-84). There is an inscription on the south-east gateway of the Citadel, which gives the name of Manīʿ, the third Numayrid ruler. The inscription gives the date 451/1059, which means that he must have been the lord of Ḥarrān by that time. He maintained the position until his death in 456/1063 (Rice, *op. cit.*, 53 and 55). The Numayrids recognized the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid caliphs, who ruled over Ḥarrān and the region until 474/1081. In that year the ʿUḳaylid S̲h̲araf al-Dawla, an ally of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, occupied Ḥarrān. Yaḥyā b. al-S̲h̲āṭir was appointed governor of the city, but two years later the Ḥarrānians rebelled against him and against the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. The rebellion was quickly and cruelly suppressed. After the Crusaders occupied Edessa they cut off the water supply from Ḥarrān in 1104 (J. B. Segal, *Edessa and Ḥarrān* (*An inaugural lecture delivered on 9th May 1962*), SOAS Londen 1963, 23-4). ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī founded the Zangid dynasty in Mosul and attached Ḥarrān to his principality in 521/1127.

Ḥarrān flourished and was beautified by Nūr al-Dīn, who took possession of the city in 544/1149, and later by Saladin. It became customary at about that time to appoint two governors of Ḥarrān, one for the city and another for the Citadel. By the end of the 6th/12th century, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Gökbüri was the lord of Ḥarrān, having received the city as a fief in 557/1181 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 37). It was in Gökbüri's time, in 1184, that the famous Spanish-Arab traveller, Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, visited Ḥarrān and gave a detailed account of its mosques and bazaars (see below). Muẓaffar al-Dīn recognized the suzerainty of Saladin. It was Saladin who enlarged and re-decorated the Great Mosque of the city. The enlargement was necessary since the number of Muslims had greatly increased. Later, in 587/1191, Saladin offered Ḥarrān to his brother, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, who rebuilt the citadel (Ibn S̲h̲addād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-k̲h̲aṭīra fī umarāʾ al-S̲h̲ām wa ʾl-d̲j̲azīra*, Bodleian Library MS, tr. in Rice, *op. cit.*, 45). There were two great earthquakes in Ḥarrān during the 6th/12th century, the first in 508/1114 and the second, the stronger, in 552/1157. Between 599 and 626/1202 and 1228-9, Ḥād̲j̲ib ʿAlī was governor of Ḥarrān for the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf (Ibn S̲h̲addād, Rice's tr., *op. cit.*, 42). In 635/1237 the K̲h̲ʷārizmians, fleeing from the Mongols, occupied the town of Ḥarrān, and afterwards the citadel. Three years later, in 638/1240, the town and the citadel were re-taken by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Nāṣir. Ayyūbid rule in Ḥarrān, and Ḥarrān's history as a city, however, soon came to an end. Shortly after the Mongols appeared before its gates, first the city, and shortly afterwards the citadel, surrendered peacefully to them. Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, the grandson of the famous S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥayāt, whose shrine still stands outside the city walls to the west (see below), negotiated with Hulagu over the surrender of the citadel (D. S. Rice, *A Muslim shrine at Ḥarrān*, in *BSOAS*, xvii/3 (1955), 441). In 662/1263, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya, the famous theologian, who was later active in Damascus, was born in Ḥarrān. After the abortive expedition of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭaybars to Ḥarrān in 670/1271, the Mongols removed the inhabitants to Mosul and Mārdin, destroyed its mosques and buildings and walled up the city gates (Ibn S̲h̲addād, cf. Rice's translation, *A Muslim shrine . . .*, 477). After the Mamlūk victory over the Mongols in 703/1303, the D̲j̲azīra, including Ḥarrān, came under Mamlūk rule. The town, however, was never rebuilt. The citadel, it seems, fulfilled an important function in 715/1315, as is attested by an inscription on its south-west tower (see below). Today the whole town is in ruins, inhabited only by nomad Beduins who live in mud-brick bee-hive huts.

ii. — Architecture

The town, which was oblong in shape, was surrounded by a stone wall surmounted by intermediate towers and intersected by eight gates (Pl. IX, nos. 5-12). The perimeter of the town is given in a manuscript as 7612 cubits, that is 3943 metres (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 38). The ruins of Ḥarrān in modern times were mentioned and its plan shown

for the first time by E. Sachau (*Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 223) and a quick survey was carried out by C. Preusser in 1911 (*Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Leipzig 1911, 59-63, Abb. 19-24, Tafeln 72-77). Our knowledge of the town and its monuments, however, is mainly derived from the full survey of the town carried out by Seton Lloyd and W. C. Brice in July 1950 (*Harran*, in *Anatolian Studies*, i (1951), 77-111, plan of the site on p. 85), and from the excavations of the late D. S. Rice. The following main monuments and ruins have been recorded: (a) the Great Mosque, or D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Firdaws (no. 1 on Pl. IX); (b) the Citadel (no. 2); (c) a basilican church near the north-east corner of the site (not marked on the plate); (d) a large mound, south of the mosque, ca. 28 m. high (no. 3); (e) the Mausoleum of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥayāt (no. 4); and (f) traces of eight gates in the city wall (nos. 5-12), of which the Aleppo gate (no. 11) is particularly interesting as it has been fairly well preserved.

Rice worked at Ḥarrān in 1951-52, 1956 and 1959. In 1951 he uncovered the south-east gateway of the Citadel, which can be dated to the 5th/11th century (see D. S. Rice, *Mediaeval Ḥarrān: Studies on its topography and monuments I*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 36-84; idem, *Unique dog sculptures of Mediaeval Islam*, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxi, 20 September 1952, 466-67). He carried out a two-week season in 1952 and a three-week season in 1956, on both occasions working in the Great Mosque (see *From Sīn to Saladin: Excavations in Harran's Great Mosque* . . ., in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxxi, September 1957, 466-9; also Seton Lloyd, *Seeking the Temple of Sin, Moon-God of Harran, and light on the strange Sabian sect through 1400 years*, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxii, 21 February 1953, 288; the Director's report in *Anatolian Studies*, vii (1957), 6); and a final excavation between 15 July and 1 September 1959. In that year the work in the Great Mosque was completed and the plan of the mosque established, a deep sounding having been made on the high mound south of the mosque (cf. Director's report in *Anatolian Studies*, x (1960), 8).

(a) The Citadel (Pl. IX, no. 2) was mentioned for the first time by Muḳaddasī in the 4th/10th century. Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, who visited Ḥarrān in 580/1184, describes it as a very strong fortress with a moat around it paved with stones (*Riḥla*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1907, 257). Ibn S̲h̲addād remarked that the Citadel was called *al-Mudawwar* "the round one" (cf. Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 37). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī called it *Ḳalʿat nad̲j̲m*, "the star citadel", and gave its perimeter as 1350 paces and the height of the walls as 50 ells (cf. *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1915, 103). Nearly all Arabic sources mention that there was a Sābian temple inside the Citadel. The Citadel is in the south-east corner of the town. It is an irregular rectangle with an eleven-sided tower on three of its four corners. There must have been a fourth tower, but that has been destroyed. Lloyd and Brice gave the Citadel's dimensions as 130 x 90 metres (*Anatolian Studies*, i, 97). It had three storeys and about 150 chambers, some of them with brick vaulting. Lloyd and Brice recognized four building periods in the Citadel. They presumed that the first period elements, forming the nucleus of the structure, must have been erected well before Islam; the second and third periods they dated to Islamic times; and the fourth period they considered to be Crusader, by reason of an ornamental archway behind the west tower (*op. cit.*, 79, 101, and 104). The Crusaders, however, never occupied Ḥarrān. Of the three surviving towers, the one in the West corner is the best preserved (Pl. Xa). There are two solid towers flanking an entrance in the south-eastern side of the enclosure. That gateway deserves special attention, as Rice exposed it in 1951. The entrance has a horseshoe arch springing from two moulded imposts decorated with guilloche patterns. Below the imposts are two pairs of dogs in relief on either side, represented with their heads facing backwards and with collars on their necks (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, Pl. vii, 64). At the threshold of the gateway Rice found fragments of a Kūfic inscription giving the name of Manīʿ, the third ruler of the Numayrid dynasty, and the date of construction 451/1059. From the Kūfic inscription and the glazed pottery excavated in the gateway, Rice concluded that this part of the Citadel dated from the 5th/11th century (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 42 f.; idem, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxi, September 1952, 466-7). This part of the Citadel may very well represent the second building phase in its structural history as recognized and mentioned by Lloyd and Brice. The third phase of building can be explained by Ibn S̲h̲addād's account, which states that the Citadel was rebuilt by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, to whom the town of Ḥarrān and the Citadel were given by his brother Saladin in 587/1191 (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 45). There is a second, undated, inscription on the wall of the south-western tower, which is Mamlūk in character. It refers to a restoration of the Citadel. Rice attributes it to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who sent an expedition to Malatya in 715/1315 (Rice, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, fig. 1, pp. 46-7). That must have been the latest phase in the history of the Citadel. Finally, Rice mentioned that there were no pre-Islamic structures visible in the Citadel. Further excavations are required to establish its earlier history.

(b) The Great Mosque or D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Firdaws (no. 1 on Plate IX and Plate Xb). Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, who visited Ḥarrān in 580/1184, gave a detailed description of the Great Mosque and praised its beauty. He mentioned that it had a great courtyard, in which there was a domed structure, that there were three more domes in the building, and that the sanctuary had five aisles and 19 doors opening into it—nine doors on either side and the 19th under a big central arch (*Riḥla*, 246). The plan of the mosque was first drawn by Preusser in 1906 (*Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Leipzig 1911, Tafel 73), and later by Creswell in 1919 and 1930 (plan published in *Early Muslim architecture*, i, fig. 489). The earliest history of the mosque is not known, as the historians are silent on the subject. Though there are no reports that Marwān II, when he made Ḥarrān his capital, erected a congregational mosque there, we may presume that he did so. The great square minaret in the northern part of the building, still preserved up to 26 m., is regarded as dating from the Umayyad period (Plate Xb). Creswell assumes that after 215/830, when the Caliph al-Maʾmūn forced the pagan inhabitants to choose between the adoption of Islam or any one of the tolerated religions, many of them became Muslims, and therefore the number of Muslims greatly increased. Therefore, the Congregational Mosque of Marwān II may have been enlarged (Creswell, *op. cit.*, i, 409). There is no reference to such work, but it is known from an inscription that Nūr al-Dīn restored, embellished and enlarged the

mosque.

Rice's excavations in 1952, 1956 and 1959 established a plan of the mosque which differed from that of Creswell. (The new plan of the Great Mosque is to be published shortly in Creswell's new edition of *Early Muslim architecture*, i. A monograph on the Great Mosque is under preparation by R. H. Pinder-Wilson, D. Strong and R. W. Hamilton.) The mosque is a square enclosure measuring 103 × 103 m. It had three entrances, one on each side except the *ḳibla* wall. There was a large court-yard surrounded by porticoes, one on the north side, one on the west, and two on the east. There were nineteen openings into the sanctuary, the central one being under a great arch, just as described by Ibn Djubayr. The ornamentation of this great arch betrays an Ayyūbid origin. A capital near the east wall has an inscription giving the date of the completion of Nūr al-Dīn's work as 570/1174 (Rice, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxxi, September 1957, p. 467, fig. 13.) There were four aisles in the sanctuary (not five as mentioned by Ibn Djubayr), formed by three arcades. The aisles ran parallel with the *ḳibla* wall. The pavement of the first aisle is different from that of the other three, which, as Rice concluded, may indicate an addition of Nūr al-Dīn (Rice, *op. cit.*, 467). The arches of the façade of the sanctuary were supported by pilasters to which columns were attached. Inside the sanctuary the arcades differed from one another. The first arcade had double columns resting on rectangular bases; the second arcade was formed by single columns, although its central arch was supported by two pairs of columns. The third arcade, next to the *ḳibla* wall, was rather complicated, having pilasters alternating with pairs of columns, which may indicate a different building period. Rice has already suggested that there are indications that the mosque may once have contained only two aisles (Rice, *op. cit.*, 468). The *miḥrāb* was semicircular, and was situated some 5 metres to the east of the axis of the building. There was also a flat-*miḥrāb* on the *ḳibla* wall, west of the semicircular *miḥrāb* (Rice, *op. cit.*, 468). The best preserved parts of the mosque are the eastern façade of the mosque and the square minaret which was attached to the Northern section of the building (Plate Xb). In each of the three entrances Rice found Babylonian stelae, dating from the time of Nabonidus (6th century B.C.), incorporating relief figures, one of which represents the Moon-God Sīn, the second one the Sun-God, Shamash, while the third figure has not yet been identified (Rice, *op. cit.*, 468). Rice's excavations not only established the plan of the Great Mosque but also confirmed that the larger part of the building which is visible to-day dates from the Ayyūbid period.

(c) The mausoleum of Shaykh Ḥayāt (no. 4 on Plate IX). This small mausoleum is outside the city walls to the west, close to the north-western corner of the town. According to Christian tradition, this was either the grave of Terah, Abraham's father (B. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals*, London 1852, i, 342), or the ruins of St. John's church (Mez, *op. cit.*, 15, and Rice, *A Muslim shrine* . . ., 436). When Ibn Djubayr visited the place there was a small mosque there and the dwelling place of the Shaykh. In the published work of Ibn Djubayr the Shaykh's name is given as Abu 'l-Baraka Ḥayyān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*Riḥla*, 244). Rice studied and photographed the small enclosure and described it as consisting of a small mosque and a mausoleum or *ziyāra* of the Shaykh. It is a domed building dating from the Ayyūbid period. The building has been restored several times and there are some later additions (Rice, *op. cit.*, 436). There is an inscription on the east wall of the building, first interpreted and published by M. van Berchem. The correct interpretation, however, is provided by Rice. The inscription states that the shrine was erected by Shaykh ʿUmar, son of Shaykh Ḥayāt, and gives the date as Djumādā II 592/ May 1196 (Rice, *op. cit.*, 437-8, Pl. IV). Rice points out that the Shaykh's name is missing from the manuscript of Ibn Djubayr, and that the name Ḥayyān was incorrectly inserted by the editor (Rice, *op. cit.*, 439-40). This small building is used to-day as a mosque.

(d) The city gates (nos. 5-12 on Plate IX). Ibn Shaddād enumerates eight city gates, starting in the south and proceeding clockwise: Bāb al-Raḳḳa (no. 10 on Plate IX), al-Bāb al-Kabīr (no. 11), Bāb al-Niyār ("the Gate of the Fires"), Bāb Yazīd, Bāb al-Faddān, al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, Bāb al-Sirr, and Bāb al-Māʾ (Rice, *Mediaeval Ḥarrān*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii, 37). The Aleppo Gate (no. 11 on Plate IX) which is identical with the Bāb al-Kabīr of Ibn Shaddād, is the best preserved. It was first illustrated by Chesney in 1850 (R. A. Chesney, *The expedition for the survey of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates*, London 1850, i, 115), then it was photographed and published by Preusser (C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler*, Pl. 72) and it appears also in Seton Lloyd and W. Brice's article (*Anatolian Studies*, i, Pl. IX/2). An inscription on the gate gives the name of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, Saladin's brother (Rice, in *The Illustrated London News*, ccxxi, 1952, 467).

(e) The bazaars. Very little is known about the bazaars of Ḥarrān. Ibn Djubayr mentions them, saying that they were very well arranged, that they were roofed, and that at every point where four roads met there was a great dome. He also states that the Djāmiʿ Masdjid adjoins the markets (*Riḥla*, 245). Ibn Djubayr's last sentence gives some clue to the whereabout of the bazaars, though they are also visible on Strzygowski's photographs (*Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, figs. 269, 281). To obtain further knowledge of the bazaars and of some other monuments of Ḥarrān, or to find the Sābian temple, which must have been very close to the Great Mosque, the continuation of Rice's excavations is essential.

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(G. Fehérvári)

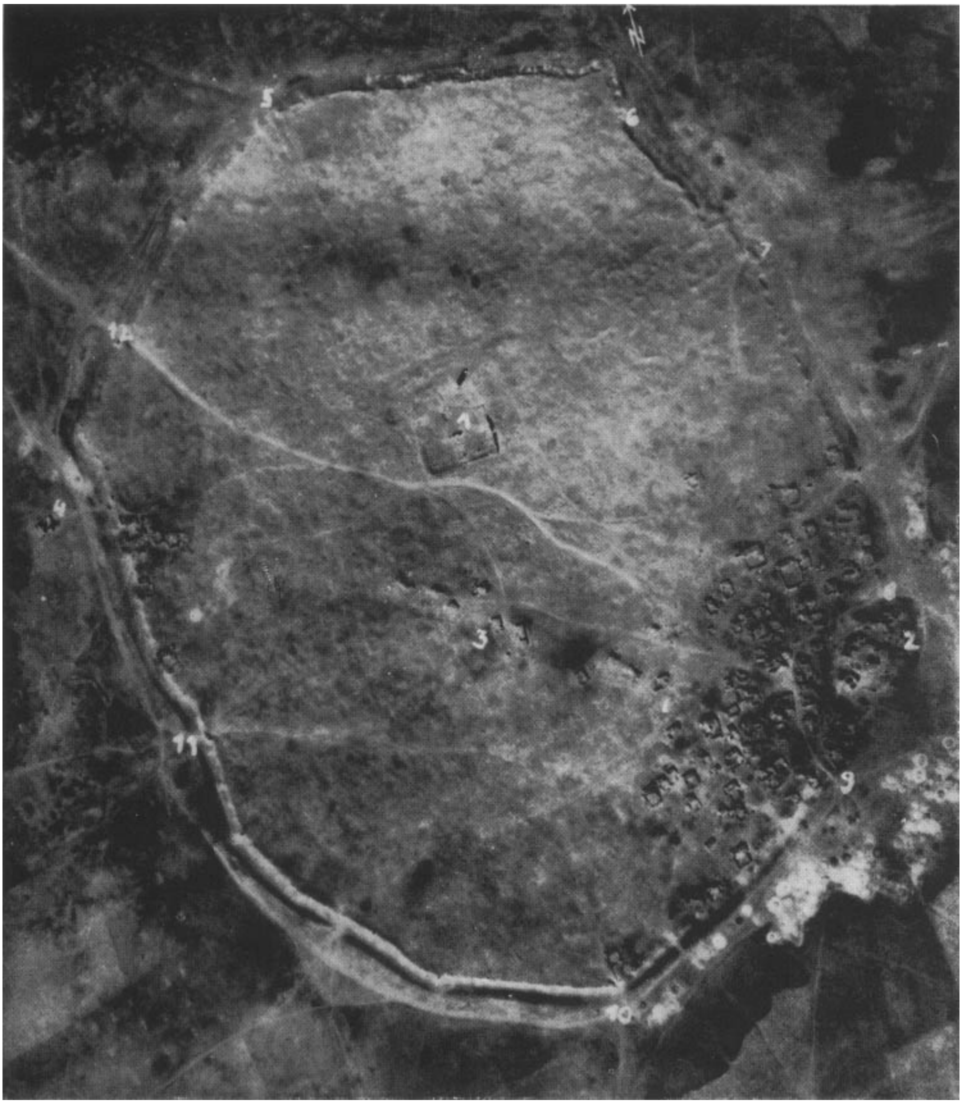
ḤARRĀNIANS [see ṢĀBIʾA].

HARRAR [see HARAR].

ḤARSŪSĪ [see ḤARĀSĪS].

ḤARṬĀNĪ (pl. ḤARĀṬĪN), the name given, in north-west Africa, to certain elements of the population of the oases in the Saharan zone. From the ethnic point of view, they seem to have arisen from inter-breeding, perhaps at some very remote period, between white invaders and the indigenous negroid inhabitants (calling to mind the enigmatic Bāfūr in Mauritania). But the ethnic type of the Ḥarāṭīn is markedly different from that of the Negroes; those from Southern Morocco are sometimes even of a mongoloid type. Rather than being a distinct race, they constitute, in the eyes of the other native inhabitants, above all a kind of caste, formed of men theoretically free but of an inferior status, ranking between the *aḥrār* "free men" and the *ʿabīd* "slaves, captives": peasants.

A sedentary population, they cultivate the palm-groves on behalf of the landlords to whom they are "attached". In Mauritania, however, the nomads



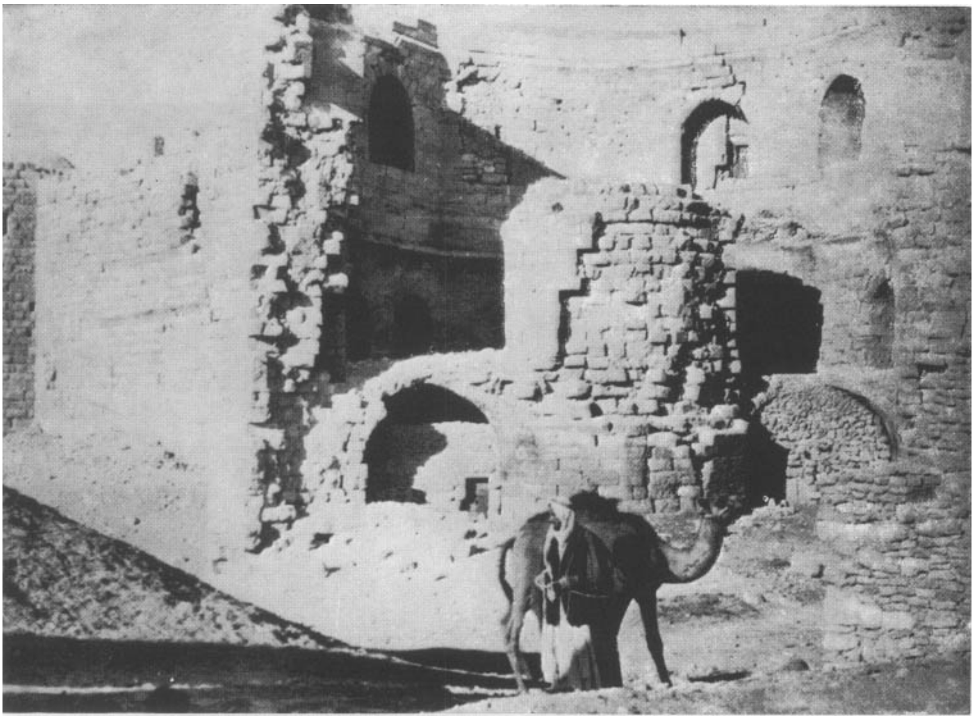
Key:

1. The Great Mosque.
2. Citadel.
3. The large tell.
4. Mausoleum of Shaykh Ḥayāt.

5-12. Gates (after the plan by Seton Lloyd and W. Brice).

5. Anatolia Gate.
6. Lion Gate.
7. Moṣul Gate.
8. Baghdād Gate.
9. Raḳḳa Gate.
10. Raḳḳa Gate.
11. Aleppo Gate.
12. Modern breach.

(Photograph from the papers of the late Professor D. S. Rice)



(a) West tower of the Citadel.

(Photograph by courtesy of Professor Seton Lloyd)



(b) Great Mosque, East façade and Minaret. From the south-east.

(Photograph by D. S. Rice, reproduced by courtesy, of Mrs. M. Rice and S.O.A.S., University of London)

employ them as herdsmen. When they can do so, they readily emigrate to the towns in the North where they work mainly as gardeners, well-diggers and water-carriers.

It was partly from the Ḥarāṭīn, brought from Mauritania, that the Moroccan sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] recruited his "Negro guard", *dj̲aysh̲ ʿabīd al-Buk̲h̲ārī*, vulgo *Bwāk̲h̲er* (cf. al-Nāṣirī, *al-Istiḳṣā'*, tr. Fumey, in *AM*, ix (1906), 74-8).

The exact etymology of *ḥarṭānī* is unknown, as is that of the corresponding Berber term, *āḥarḍān* (pl. *iḥarḍānen*). The Berber dialect of the Twāreg has the word *as̲h̲ardan* "mulatto". But it is possible that the term does not refer to the colour of the skin. In the Arabic dialects of the Mag̲h̲rib the adjective *ḥarṭānī* is not applied exclusively to human beings. In the different regions, it is variously applied to a horse of mixed breed (Mauritania), an ungrafted tree, a wilding (Algeria) or a holding of land that is not free (Zaʿīr, in Morocco). It might be connected with what was originally a term of abuse, to be compared with the Berber names for a species of lizard, root *ḥrdn*.

An Almohad prince, the *sayyid* Abū Zayd, son of sultan Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Mu'min, bore the epithet al-Ḥarḍānī, but unfortunately the historians do not explain its significance (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 205, 236).

As for the Arabic etymologies hitherto suggested, these are quite unfounded. They are — 1. *ḥarrāt̲h̲īn* "ploughmen", when they cultivated only with the hoe; 2. *ḥurr t̲h̲ānī* "free man of secondary rank" or "man who had become free, a freedman". These are neither phonetically nor semantically possible.

We should add that, in certain regions of the Mag̲h̲rib, the word Ḳeblī/Geblī (pl. Ḳbāla/Gbāla), lit. "native of the South[-East] or *ḳibla*", is almost synonymous with Ḥarṭānī.

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(G. S. Colin)

HART̲H̲AMA B. **AʿYAN**, a general and governor of the ʿAbbāsid period, a native of K̲h̲urāsān. As a supporter of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] in the reign of al-Manṣūr, he was brought to Bag̲h̲dād in chains and remained in obscurity throughout the reign of al-Mahdī. He then became the confidential adviser of al-Hādī who is even said to have ordered him to kill Hārūn, and was stopped from doing so only by al-K̲h̲ayzurān's intervention. However, on the death of al-Hādī, it was he who brought Hārūn out of prison and took part in his enthronement. The new caliph consequently entrusted him with important offices, appointing him to be governor first of Palestine, then of Ifrīḳiya, whence he was recalled to take over command of the guard under the orders of Dj̲aʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. Next he took a share in the arrest of the Bārāmika and became one of the most prominent military leaders. After the uprising of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layt̲h̲ [*q.v.*], he was given the governorship of K̲h̲urāsān and was in Samarḳand when the caliph died in 193/809. In the ensuing struggle between al-Ma'mūn and al-Amīn he sided with the former and, together with Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], was given command of the troops which laid siege to Bag̲h̲dād in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 196/August 812. Although still faithful to al-Ma'mūn, he vainly tried to procure the escape from Bag̲h̲dād of the defeated caliph, al-Amīn, who was captured by Ṭāhir's soldiers while making away in a boat. Hart̲h̲ama played a major part in restoring calm in ʿIrāḳ after the revolt of Abu 'l-Sarāyā [*q.v.*].

On being appointed governor of Arabia and Syria, he decided not to take up his post but instead to go to Marw to see al-Ma'mūn and to put him in touch with the situation; but al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*], who had been described by Hart̲h̲ama as a *mad̲j̲ūs* and accused of committing acts of tyranny, had him arrested and imprisoned, with the caliph's approval; some days later he was put to death by his rival, in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 200/June 816. His son Ḥātim b. Hart̲h̲ama, then governor of Armenia, tried to lead a revolt, but the attempt was cut short by his death; however, it is said that the punishment meted out to Hart̲h̲ama was not unconnected with the affair of Bābak [*q.v.*].

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(Ch. Pellat)

HARŪD [see HARĪ RŪD].

HĀRŪN B. **ʿIMRĀN**, the Aaron of the Bible. The Arabic form of the name derives from the Syro-Palestinian. The Ḳur'ān, which mentions him from the second Meccan period onwards, places him in its lines of prophets, associating him, as does the book of Exodus, with Moses at the time of the flight from Egypt [see FIRʿAWN] and accords him a rôle in the making of the Golden Calf, in which, however, the initiative is attributed to the "Sāmirī" [*q.v.*]. Ibn Ḥazm, on the other hand, severely criticized the Biblical account, which he regarded as falsified. Hārūn is also the brother of Maryam [*q.v.*], but this name is given in the Ḳur'an only to the mother of Jesus [see ʿĪSĀ]. The death of Hārūn is accompanied in later tradition by legendary details which come from the Jewish Aggada, while Muslim legend has probably influenced the Midrashic versions of a later date. The legend may be summarized thus: Mūsā and Hārūn one day discovered a cave from which a light was gleaming. They entered it, and there found a golden throne inscribed with the words: "For him whom it fits". As it seemed too small for Mūsā, Hārūn seated himself in it; whereon the angel of death forthwith appeared and took his soul. Being born three years earlier than Moses, he was then 127 years old. When Moses returned to the Israelites, they asked him about his brother and, hearing of his death, accused him of having murdered him. Angels then appeared bearing the bier of Hārūn and proclaimed: "Do not suspect Mūsā of such a crime". In another version, Mūsā led the Israelites to the grave of Hārūn and the latter, on being recalled to life, declared his brother's innocence. According to one tradition, the seventy notables of Israel carried away by the "cataclysm" (*rad̲j̲fa*, Ḳur'ān, VII, 155/154)

were killed for having accused Moses of the murder of his brother, but they were afterwards brought back to life and became prophets.—At Ṣalkhad [*q.v.*] a footprint of Hārūn was shown.—In the historiosophy worked out by the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], Hārūn is a *ḥudjdja* or a *waṣī* together with Mūsā.

Bibliography: The verses of the Ḳurʾān listed in the index of R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, s.v.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 43-4; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 40-1 (G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 49-50); Ṭabarī, i, 448, 473-93, 502; idem, *Tafsīr*, new edition, xiii, 80-152 (old edition, ix, 31-53); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 93-5 (trans. Ch. Pellat, i, 39, §§ 87-89); *K. al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 92/95; Balʿamī, *La Chronique de Ṭabari*, i, 296, 317 f., 345, 358, 391, 395 f., 543; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 100, 123-5, 146; Kisāʾī, ed. Eisenberg, 222 f., 238; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317, i, 161 (1317 impression, i, 140); Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *Asās al-taʾwīl*, ed. A. Tamer, Beirut 1960, 196; Corbin-Mo'in, *Commentaire de la Qasida ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1955, 109; Harawī, *Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 17, trans., 43; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 149; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 283 f.; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes* . . ., 81, 102; H. Speyer, *Die Biblischen Erzählungen* . . ., 260 f., 323-6; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, index, s.v. Aaron/Hārūn; Jewish sources summarized by A. Marmorstein, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, i, cols. 13-16; H. Schwarzbaum, *Jewish, Christian, Moslem and Falasha legends of the death of Aaron, the High Priest*, in *Fabula*, v, 185-227.

(G. Eisenberg-[G. Vajda])

HĀRŪN B. KHUMARAWAYH [see ṬŪLŪNIDS].

HĀRŪN B. YAḤYĀ, a person known only from an account left by him and inserted in the *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (ed. De Goeje, in *BGA*, vii, 119-30). Nothing is known of his origin. According to J. Marquart, he was a Syrian, and a Christian—a fact which would have hastened his release during his stay in Constantinople (*Streifzüge*, 207). Taken prisoner in Palestine by the Byzantines, he was transferred across Asia Minor, to Constantinople, and was probably placed in one of the prisons reserved for Muslim prisoners (for these prisons cf. *REI*, 1947, 49 n. 1). Released by the authorities and awaiting his final liberation, he had time to visit parts of the town and to study closely the famous monuments there. His description contains archaeological information of the highest interest and can be considered one of the most—if not the most—important of all accounts left by visitors to the Byzantine capital in the Middle Ages. After the ransom of the Arab prisoners Hārūn b. Yaḥyā left Constantinople for Salūḳiya (Thessalonica), from where he travelled to Venice and later Rome, of which too he left a description.

The date of his stay in Byzantium is disputed. According to Marquart and Vasiliev it took place between 267/880 and 276/890. G. Ostrogorsky thinks it was during the winter of 912-3, during the short reign of the Emperor Alexander (*Zum Reisebericht des Hārūn-ibn-Jahja*, in *Sem. Kondakov*, v (1932), 254), a date accepted also by H. Grégoire (*Un captif arabe à la cour de l'Empereur Alexandre*, in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), 666-73). As for V. Minorsky, he places it at about the year 900 (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 419, n. 2).

Hārūn b. Yaḥyā's account was translated and commented upon for the first time in German by J. Marquart (*op. cit.*, 206-37) then, in English, by A. A. Vasiliev (*Hārūn-ibn-Yaḥya and his description of Constantinople*, in *Sem. Kondakov*, v (1932), 149-63); there are three French translations: the first by Mehmed Izeddin (*Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IXe siècle*: *Hāroun-ibn-Yaḥyā*, in *REI*, 1947, 41-62), the second by M. Canard (in Vasiliev's *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/2 (1950), 382-94) and the third by G. Wiet, in Ibn Rusteh, *Les atours précieux*, 134-46.

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(M. Izzedin)

HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD, Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the fifth ʿAbbāsid caliph, is, thanks to the "Arabian Nights", an almost legendary figure, so that the "good Hārūn al-Rashīd" of the "golden prime" of the ʿAbbāsids has obscured his true historical personality. His reign, which saw many incidents of critical importance, was a turning point in the history of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate; it marked the decline in administrative efficiency and initiated the political disintegration of the Islamic empire.

He was born in al-Rayy in Muḥarram 149/February 766 (another account in Ṭabarī, iii, 599, puts it as early as Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 145/March 763). He was the third son of al-Mahdī, and his second son by al-Khayzurān [*q.v.*], a slave girl from the Yemen who, being freed and married by al-Mahdī in 159/775-6, played an influential role in the reign of both her husband and her son. The ʿAbbāsid Court at which Hārūn spent his carefree and serene youth surrounded by eunuchs [see KHAṢĪ] and *Mawālī* [*q.v.*] was beginning to show signs of laxity and splendour. His early upbringing rendered him susceptible to influence, especially that exerted by his mother and by his secretary-tutor Yaḥyā b. Khālid [see AL-BARĀMIKA]. Early in his youth, Hārūn was appointed the leader of two expeditions against the Byzantines, in 163/779-80 and 165/781-2, when he was accompanied by high ranking officials and veteran generals. The former culminated in the capture of Samālū, the latter was a marked success, in that the ʿAbbāsid army reached for the first and last time the coast of the Bosphorus. It cannot be assumed that Hārūn, hardly more than a boy, played a leading role in these expeditions. However, he was appointed governor of Ifrīḳiya, Egypt, Syria, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, with Yaḥyā b. Khālid in charge of the actual administration, and second in succession to the throne in 166/782, ostensibly on the strength of these victories, but in reality because of the instigation of his mother and Yaḥyā b. Khālid, in order to enhance his prestige and pave his way to the throne. In the struggle between various political groupings, each identifying itself with an *amīr* through whom it sought to achieve absolute power, intrigues were a common weapon at al-Mahdī's court. These intrigues showed their effect when al-Mahdī ultimately decided to nominate Hārūn the first in succession; but he died in obscure circumstances in 169/785 before fulfilling his wish. Under al-Hādī [*q.v.*], Hārūn, ill-treated and humiliated, would have renounced his claim to the Caliphate but for the encouragement of Yaḥyā b. Khālid.

However, Hārūn was proclaimed Caliph, after the mysterious death of al-Hādī which was due to a court conspiracy, on 15 Rabīʿ I 170/14 September 786. He was then in his early twenties, and his accession to the throne was due to fortuitous as well as fortunate circumstances in which he had no real

share. It was therefore a matter of course that the grateful Hārūn should bestow the right to govern on Yaḥyā b. Khālid who, together with his two sons al-Faḍl and Dja'far, remained in power for about 17 years. Their downfall in Muḥarram 187/January 803 marked, more or less, the end of the importance of the viziers as initiators of policies and not merely heads of the administration. Political necessity drew al-Rashīd to rely more and more on his *mawālī* and eunuchs, who were entirely dependant on the Caliph and therefore loyal to him. They, in fact, proved equal to their task in many decisive moments (Ṭabarī, iii, 678, 682, 705, 716, etc.) and played an important rôle in controlling other political groupings.

Despite the glorious picture of the golden age, Hārūn's reign was, in fact, a long sequence of political disturbances flaring up in the eastern parts as well as the western parts of the empire. Syria, a province inhabited by unruly tribes with Umayyad sympathies, never ceased to be the bitter enemy of the 'Abbāsids. Frequent fights between the two rival factions, the Yamanīs and the Muḍarīs, eventually developed into a war with the 'Abbāsid army, because governors used to take sides with one faction against the other. The feuds continued with brief intervals until 180/796, when the situation became so serious that al-Rashīd had to send Dja'far b. Yaḥyā, who succeeded in quietening the situation and disarming the tribes. Al-Rashīd's move to al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] at about this time was partly due to the disturbances in Syria (Ṭabarī, iii, 706). As to the Egyptian risings of 172/788 and 178/794-5, they were mainly due to maladministration and arbitrary taxation, as Egypt had to subsidise the 'Abbāsid army fighting in Ifrīḳiya. But Harthama b. A'yān was able to restore peace to Egypt. Instability in Ifrīḳiya started after the death of the competent governor Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*] in 170/786, and successive governors failed to restore order. Harthama b. A'yān [*q.v.*] was able to subdue 'Abd Allāh b. al-Djarūd's rebellion in Ḳayrawān in 178/794-5, but disturbances blazed up again in 180/797 and al-Rashīd consented to bestow the governorship of Ifrīḳiya on Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab [*q.v.*] only in return for an annual payment of 40,000 dīnārs. The process of disintegration, which had already started in Spain with the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty (138/755) and in al-Maghrib with the foundation of the Idrīsid dynasty (172/788), was aggravated in Ifrīḳiya by the foundation of the Aghlabid [*q.v.*] dynasty (184/800), alleviated in the last case however by financial benefits to the central treasury. Finally the Yemen was a place of unrest owing to its remoteness and its mountainous nature; al-Rashīd's governor and Mawlā Ḥammād al-Barbarī employed a harsh policy towards the people of the Yemen, who therefore revolted under al-Hayṣam al-Hamdānī in 179/795. Thanks to local support, the revolt lasted for nine years and resulted in al-Hayṣam and many of his followers being sent to al-Rashīd, who had them strangled. The lot of the Yemenīs improved only when Ḥammād was dismissed after 13 years of governorship.

The causes of the unrest in the eastern part of the empire were more complicated. The unrest was partly due to the disappointment of the lower classes, whose condition was not improved by the advent of the 'Abbāsids. Moreover, the 'Abbāsids had to contend with a population more attached to their old local tradition than to Islam, and sometimes, as was the case with large parts of Daylam and Ṭabaristān, completely unaffected by it. Al-Rashīd himself converted 400 Ṭabaristānīs to Islam in 189/805 (Ṭabarī, iii, 705, 1014-15). The dissatisfaction manifested itself in the form of 'Alid or Khāridjī risings. It was as early as 176/792-3 that the Ḥasanid Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥḍ [*q.v.*] rebelled in Daylam and won considerable support from the native princes and the people. Al-Rashīd sent al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who through diplomacy and promises of amnesty persuaded Yaḥyā to give in. But Yaḥyā's submission did not entirely satisfy al-Rashīd, who a little later found a pretext to have the amnesty annulled and threw Yaḥyā into prison (*Maḳātil*, 309-22). The number of the Khāridjīs was considerable in Kirmān as well as in Fārs and Sīstān; they continued in their hostile attitude towards the new régime, and during the reign of al-Rashīd seem to have recovered from the heavy blow inflicted upon them in the late Umayyad period. There was a series of revolts, the most serious being that of al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf al-Shārī [*q.v.*], and that of Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shārī. The former, with headquarters in Naṣībīn, took place in 178/794 in the entirely tribal province of al-Djazīra and defeated successive 'Abbāsid armies. Then al-Rashīd sent Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, of the same tribe as al-Walīd, whom he killed in 179/795. The latter broke out in Sīstān when Ḥamza occupied Harāt in 179/795 and extended his authority to Kirmān and Fārs, and al-Rashīd was unable to subdue the rebels (Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux* ..., 52-5). Khurāsān became the scene of a series of local risings due to the incompetence of the successive governors with the exception of al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī and al-Faḍl al-Barmakī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203.). The situation worsened when 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Māhān was appointed governor in 180/795-6. His notorious deeds caused two serious revolts, namely that of Abu 'l-Khasīb Wuhayb b. 'Abd Allāh in 185/801 at Nasā, and that of Rāfi' b. al-Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] in 190/806 at Samarḳand.

In his religious policy al-Rashīd stressed the religious character of the Caliphate, and continued the anti-'Alid and anti-*zandaḳa* policy of his predecessors. He initiated his reign by a general amnesty, but the potentially dangerous 'Alids and the *Zindīḳs* were excluded from it. His suspicions included even the politically inactive and pious Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*] who was suddenly arrested and sent to Baṣra, then to Baghdād. Although it was alleged that al-Kāẓim was killed by al-Rashīd's orders (*Maḳātil*, 335; *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 66, 71 ff.) it seems more likely that his death in 183/799 was natural (Ṭabarī, iii, 649). Al-Rashīd's attitude towards the *dhimmīs* seems to have been stricter than that of his predecessors. In 191/806 he ordered churches along the Muslim-Byzantine frontiers to be demolished, and ordered the *dhimmīs* of Baghdād to wear different clothes from those of the Muslims and to ride different animals (Ṭabarī, iii, 712-3; *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Arnold, 31-2; Fattal, *Le statut* ..., 66). His motive in so doing may have been to win over Muslim public opinion or else the necessity to be on guard against foreign spies.

A great part of al-Rashīd's fame was due to his interest in the wars against the Byzantines. In waging *djihād* against the infidels, Hārūn was in fact fulfilling one of the important duties of the Caliph in the eyes of Muslims. Border attacks and counter-attacks occurred with almost annual regularity, but the interesting aspect of al-Rashīd's expeditions was his personal participation in a number of them. He organized the border area as a separate adminis-

trative unit called al-ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*] with a centre in Manbidj. In 181/797, al-Rashīd profited by the Byzantine internal troubles as well as their conflict with the Bulgarians, and took the fortress of al-Ṣafṣāf, while a division of his army penetrated as far as Ancyra. The empress Irene (better known in Muslim sources as ʿUghusta [*i.e.*, Augusta]), then already the real ruler of the Byzantine State (797-802), demanded a peace treaty which al-Rashīd first refused and subsequently accepted because of the Khazar menace. But when Nicephorus ascended the throne in 802, hostilities were resumed and al-Rashīd himself led the Muslim army in 187/803 and 190/806. In the second expedition al-Rashīd met with considerable success, taking Heraclea and Tyana. Nicephorus, threatened by the Bulgarians from the east, had to accept a very humiliating peace-treaty by which he had to pay personal poll tax on behalf of himself and his son.

Having chosen ʿIrāḳ as their residence, the ʿAbbāsids had lost interest in the Mediterranean fleet. Al-Rashīd was the first ʿAbbāsid Caliph to pay attention to naval power. Successful raids on Cyprus in 190/805 and Rhodes in 192/807 had no lasting effect. It might seem surprising that by the end of al-Rashīd's reign the situation on the frontiers was virtually unchanged; the campaigns were, in fact, bedevilled by many problems such as difficulties of supply and the harshness of the weather. Encouraged by the weakness of the central government in Armenia, where a slow process of Arab colonization was in progress, the Khazars made occasional raids on Muslim territories. Only the efforts of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī and Khuzayma b. Khāzim succeeded in controlling the situation. An exchange of embassies and gifts is alleged to have taken place between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, which resulted in giving Charlemagne rights of protection over Jerusalem. Nothing has yet been found in Arabic sources to substantiate this allegation, and although they may have had political interests in common, there seems to be no truth in it.

The later period of al-Rashīd's reign reveals a certain lack of competence in him as a ruler. Some of his decisions, such as the covenant of the Kaʿba (186/802), make him at least partly responsible for the civil war and the disintegration of the empire. It was again in Khurāsān that the trouble started. Al-Rashīd did not heed the reports of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān's misrule and contented himself with the precious gifts he sent; but when Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth's revolt became dangerous, ʿAlī was finally disposed of in 191/806. This did not put an end to the revolt of Rāfiʿ, whose authority had increased by 192/807-8. In spite of ill health, al-Rashīd, accompanied by his two sons al-Maʾmūn and Ṣāliḥ, marched against the rebel with a considerable ʿIrāḳī army (Gabrieli, *La successione di Harun al-Rashid*, in *RSO*, xi, 349), but he had to halt at Ṭūs in Ṣafar 193/November 808, as his health began to deteriorate. Meanwhile the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*] came out in his rear in several areas, especially in Ispahān. Al-Rashīd died on 3 Djumādā II 193/24 March 809.

Opinions on his character are contradictory. He has been represented by various chroniclers as pious and dissolute, statesmanlike and incompetent at the same time. In fact, politically, his reign was not a period of ideal stability. Moreover, he virtually dismembered the empire by the unwise decision to apportion it between his sons al-Amīn [*q.v.*], al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] and al-Muʾtamin, and thus initiated its decline. This move by al-Rashīd may have been inspired by the wish to safeguard not only the succession of his direct descendants against the ambitions of many ʿAlid and ʿAbbāsid contenders, but also to ensure ʿAbbāsid authority over all the provinces; but this can hardly have been the right approach. Economically, the commercial activities, which reached as far as China, made al-Rashīd's name known to the whole world of the time, and increased the splendour of his court, which was a centre of art and culture.

Bibliography: The chief source is Ṭabarī, iii, 599-764; Ibn al-Athīr gives a summarized version of Ṭabarī with fresh information here and there (al-Kāmil, vi, 65-152); Other sources are Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 491-524; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. al-Munajjid, 1956 (index); Djahshiyārī, Cairo 1938, 177-288; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 287-414; Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, ed. Nadjaf 1934, 308-36; and *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, 1871, 278-80, 290-319. Information will be found in other later histories, and also in al-Dhahabī's *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS.British Museum Add. 23,278 with incomplete chronological sequence, fols. 36 a, 36b, 40a-70a; some local histories are useful in this respect such as al-Azraḳī's *Akhbār Makka*, 1859; *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarā Bahār, Tehrān 1314 (where the author's sympathies are strongly against the central regime); al-Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, Tehrān 1939; Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. 1853; and Ḳummī's *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, etc. Modern works: Apart from the general works on the Caliphate: see E. H. Palmer, *Haroun al-Rashid*, London 1881 (in many ways out of date); H. St. J. B. Philby, *Haroun al-Rashid*, Edinburgh 1933 (dependant on secondary sources and intended for the general reader); N. Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946 (exposing the role played by Khayzurān and Zubayda on the political scene and at the court); A. Joumard, *Haroun al-Rashid*, 2 vols, 1956 (an attempt to present the reign of al-Rashīd as an ethnic struggle between Arabs and Persians); L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, Paris 1912; F. Gabrieli, *La successione di Harun al-Rashid e la guerra fra al-Amin e al-Maʾmun*, in *RSO*, xi (1926-28), 341-97; D. Sourdel. *La politique religieuse du calife ʿAbbaside al-Maʾmun*, in *REI*, xxx (1962), 28-30; On relations with the Byzantines see: *Cambridge Medieval history*, iv, 124-127; E. W. Brooks, *The Byzantines and Arabs in the times of the early ʿAbbasids*, in *EHR*, xv (1900), 728-47, xvi (1901), 84-92; G. Ostrogorsky, tr. J. Hussey, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford 1956, 162-9, 173; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1961 (see index); idem, *Byzance et les Arabes* (introduction). On the relations with Charlemagne see: F. F. Schmidt, *Karl der Grosse und Harun al-Rashid*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 409-11; E. Joranson, *The alleged Frankish protectorate in Palestine*, in *AHR*, 1927, 241-61; H. B. Bittermann, *Hārūn al-Rashīd's gift of an organ to Charlemagne*, in *Speculum*, iv (1929), 215-7; Buckler, *Hārūn al-Rashid and Charles the Great*, 1931 (see Appendix and bibliography); S. Runciman, *Charlemagne and Palestine*, in *EHR*, 1935, 606-19; M. Khaddūrī, *al-Ṣilāt al-dīblūmāṭiḳiyya bayn al-Rashīd wa Shārlamān*, Baghdad 1939. See also Le Strange, *Baghdad during the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1924.

(F. Omar)

AL-HĀRŪNIYYA (in modern Turkish Hârûniye) was in the Middle Ages a fortress town of the marches of the Djazīra (*al-thughūr al-djazariyya*) between Marʿash and ʿAyn Zarba, to the east of the middle

Djayḥān (Ceyhan). It owes its name to Hārūn al-Rashīd who founded it in 183/799 when he was organizing the defence of the frontiers, and fortified it, according to Yāḳūt, with two ramparts and iron gates. Ibn Ḥawḳal stresses its prosperity and the valour shown by its inhabitants in their battles against the Byzantines, but he mentions that at the time when he was writing it had been captured by the Byzantines. It was finally conquered and destroyed on 23 Shawwāl 348/27 December 959 by Leo Phocas, who took 1500 prisoners; rebuilt by Sayf al-Dawla, it was then re-taken by the Crusaders and annexed to the kingdom of Little Armenia. Hârûniye is now a *nahiye merkezi* of the *ilçe* of Bahçe, in the *vilâyet* of Adana; pop. (1960), 4507.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 179 and index; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Le Strange, 128-9; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, 95; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 279, 799; *İA*, s.v. Hârûniye (addenda by Besim Darkot).

There was another place with the same name in ʿIrāḳ, not far from Djalūlā; according to Yāḳūt, it had an old bridge, built by a Khosroes, of stones clamped together with lead.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, s.v.; Le Strange, 62.

(T. H. WEIR*)

ḤARŪRĀʾ (ḤARAWRĀʾ, according to Yāḳūt, ii, 246, but wrongly), a locality, village or district (*kūra*) near al-Kūfa. During the pre-Islamic period and in the first century of Islam at least, Ḥarūrāʾ stood on the banks of the Euphrates or one of its canals, for a line of al-Aʿshā (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 730) speaks of "*shaṭṭ Ḥarūra*", but in the 3rd/9th century it was described as being in the desert (*ṣaḥrāʾ*) by the traditionist Ibn Dīzīl al-Hamdānī (d. 283/896; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, i, 215); the hydrographic system of the region had thus probably undergone a transformation.

Of no importance from the point of view of commerce or agriculture, Ḥarūrāʾ owes its fame to an historical event that took place there; it was the place where the supporters of ʿAlī who were opposed to the arbitration offered by Muʿāwiya at Ṣiffīn [see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB] made their first secession. Certain individuals only had revealed their opposition at Ṣiffīn by crying out *lā ḥukma illā li 'llāh*, but their numbers increased during the return of ʿAlī's army to al-Kūfa, and those who met together at Ḥarūrāʾ (from which they were known as Ḥarūrīs) in Rabīʿ I 37/August-September 658 (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 521 v.) were several thousand strong, perhaps twelve thousand. It was a real mutiny for, even though these opponents restricted themselves to the provisional choice of a leader to direct prayer (ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Kawwāʾ al-Yashkurī) and a military leader (Shabath b. Ribʿī al-Tamīmī), they no longer recognized the authority of ʿAlī; they proclaimed that the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*] must be made to God and according to the precept *al-amr bi'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* ("to command what is proper and forbid what is blameworthy") and that a committee (*shūrā*) should thereafter choose the head of the community (this did not prevent the dissidents, before leaving for al-Nahrawān, from taking as their chief ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, i, 214 ff. and cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 540 f.; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 555; *ʿIḳd*, i, 260 etc.). The motives for this demonstration were no doubt religious, but it is only the Khāridjī traditions, preserved in Ibāḍī sources, that allow us to perceive them clearly. E. L. Petersen (*ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya* [see *Bibl.*], 39 and n. 41) does not appear to attach any importance to these traditions, which he leaves aside for later explanation. It was M. Kafafi (Kafāfī) and L. Veccia Vaglieri who discovered and studied them and, feeling convinced of their antiquity, quite independently of each other came to regard them as the key to the understanding of the religious motivation of the Khāridjī secession; the grave accusation brought against ʿAlī by his headstrong adversaries of having committed an act of unbelief (*kufr*) in accepting the arbitration, their insistence upon breaking away from the caliph who refused to show repentance and break the pact of Ṣiffīn, their exaltation which led them to face death in the certain knowledge that Paradise would be the reward for their obedience to God, these at last have found the logical basis that hitherto was missing. These Khāridjī traditions are set forth at length in two late Ibāḍī sources, the *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* of al-Barrādī, written in the Maghrib at the end of the 8th/14th century or at the beginning of the 9th/15th, and the *Kitāb al-Kashf wa-'l-bayān*, written before 1070/1659 by an Ibāḍī theologian of ʿUmān, al-Ḳalhātī (see Brockelmann, S II, 568). While al-Barrādī says they were taken from a *Kitāb al-Nahrawān*, probably the work of one ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī (1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries), al-Ḳalhātī is silent as to his sources; however, M. Kafafi, who has given a résumé, states that they go back to an ancient period. A comparison of the pages of al-Barrādī and the résumé of those of al-Ḳalhātī shows that the two authors have not drawn upon the same source; however, the subject-matter is substantially the same.

Evidently preoccupied with the secession of the Ḥarūrīs, ʿAlī sent to Ḥarūrāʾ, to parley on his behalf, his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, and then also went there himself to discuss the matter with the dissidents. The arguments which the Ḥarūrīs used in these discussions have not been reproduced in al-Ṭabarī or in the other Sunnī sources or those favourable to ʿAlī, while the arguments of the latter and of Ibn ʿAbbās are included. The rebels' argument was, briefly, as follows: "When we had shed the blood of ʿUthmān, we were in the right path, because he had made innovations (*aḥdāth*); so, too, when we shed the blood of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and their adherents on the Day of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] because they were rebels; and also when we shed the blood of the supporters of Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr, because they were rebels and transgressors against the Book of God and the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Has a command come down from heaven compelling ʿAlī to change his attitude? No. He must therefore persevere in the line of conduct followed at the start, continue the war and refuse arbitration". Ibn ʿAbbās vainly reminded his opponents of the verses in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 39/35, V, 1-3/1-2) on the nomination of arbitrators in certain cases; the Ḥarūrīs replied that any question for which a decision (*ḥukm*) on the part of God existed could not be submitted to arbitration; God had laid down the ruling to be followed in the case of a band of rebels (*fiʾa bāghiya*), for He said (XLIX, 9): "If two parties of Believers fight against each other, re-establish peace between them! If one of them persists in rebellion against the other, fight against that party which is rebelling (*allatī tabghī*) until it bows before Allāh's command". Are not Muʿāwiya, ʿAmr and their supporters a *fiʾa bāghiya*? And the Ḥarūrīs add that God said (VIII, 40/39): "Fight them, till there is no sedition (*fitna*) and the religion is God's entirely". Has Muʿāwiya returned to obedience to God? The answer could only be negative. Therefore Allāh had already made

known His *ḥukm* for a similar case and it must be applied; it must be regarded as one of His *ḥudūd* [see ḤADD], like the *ḥudūd* regarding the fornicator and the robber. Men have no choice in a question on which God has given His judgement (*lā ḥukmᵃ illā li'llāh*). In their discussions, the Ḥarūrīs resorted to still other arguments and other verses of the Ḳurʾān to justify their secession, but those summarized above were the most difficult to refute. Ibn ʿAbbās was compelled to recognize their validity (even the Sunnī sources and those that favour ʿAlī state that he failed in his task); as for ʿAlī, he persuaded the dissidents to abandon their secession, though how he succeeded in doing so is not very clear. The arguments that he put forward (and which differ materially in the various sources) do not seem sufficiently compelling to win over adversaries so stubborn in their convictions. Must we then accept the statement of al-Fazārī in his *K. al-Nahrawān* that he promised to resume the war against Muʿāwiya and backed up his promise with the firmest assurances? A sentence slipped into some sources: "we shall levy taxes, we shall fatten the mules, then we shall march towards them" (al-Balādhurī, 523v.; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3353; Mubarrad, 558, etc.) suggests that ʿAlī made concessions; even Ṭāhā Ḥusayn recognizes that there was a misunderstanding at that time. In any case it is certain that when, some time after his return to al-Kūfa, ʿAlī clearly stated his intention to respect the Ṣiffīn agreement, the Ḥarūrīs, who had returned to the town with him, became incensed. It was as a result of this statement by ʿAlī that the dissidents secretly held meetings, raising the question whether to remain in a country where injustice ruled was compatible with the duties owed to God; those who held that it was necessary to leave it went away into hiding, invited the dissidents in al-Baṣra to follow suit and gathered together at al-Nahrawān, thus seceding for the second time. It is possible that, at the beginning of the Khāridjī movement, a distinction was made between *al-Muḥakkima al-ūlā* = the first to have cried out at Ṣiffīn *lā ḥukmᵃ illā li 'llāh*, *al-Ḥarūriyya* = those who had been present at the gathering at Ḥarūrāʾ but who, on returning to ʿAlī's ranks, did not feel obliged to enter into open rebellion (while perhaps remaining attached to their idea that the Ṣiffīn agreement was a sin for which repentance must be shown), and *al-Khawāridj* = those who left al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra in order to break every link with ʿAlī; but this is merely a hypothesis to justify these different terms, for it is to be noted that the last two terms were used indiscriminately in the sources (in fact of a much later date).

At Ḥarūrāʾ, or nearby, two battles took place, one in 67/686, in which al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] was defeated by the army of Muṣʿab [*q.v.*], the other on 9 Shawwāl 315/8 December 927 when the Sādjid Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj, fighting for the caliph al-Muḳtadir against the Ḳarmaṭī sovereign of Baḥrayn Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān al-Djannābī, was defeated and captured (it should, however, be observed that most of the sources do not mention Ḥarūrāʾ in connexion with this battle, merely saying that it took place outside al-Kūfa, or at the gates of that town).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 521 r.-v., 522 v.-523 v., 525 v.-526 v., 529 r.; Ṭabarī, i, 3349-53, 3362 f., 3387-9, ii, 716, 725, 730, 863, 907, 1347, 1348; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, iii, 683 f.; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 222 (ʿAlī's discussion with the Ḥarūrīs is wrongly placed at al-Nahrawān, for ʿAlī addresses Ibn al-Kawwāʾ, who was among the dissidents in Ḥarūrāʾ and not with the Khāridjīs at al-Nahrawān); Yaʿḳūbī, 223 (superficial and confused); Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 528 f., 539 f., 558 f.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Būlāḳ 1293, i, 260 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 389 f., v, 226, 318; idem, *Tanbīh*, 381 f.; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ms. Istanbul, ii, 24-9; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 272-5, iv, 222 f.; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1329, i, 204 f., 206, 215 f. (tradition partly different from those of the other sources); Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Paris, 184 r.-185 r.; Barrādī, *K. al-Djawāhir*, lith. Cairo 1302, 118-25 (trans. in L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Traduzione*... [see below], 23-35; *ibid.*, 19-23, biographical notes on the dissidents of Ḥarūrāʾ named by al-Barrādī); Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, lith. Cairo 1301, 48-60 (trans. L. Veccia Vaglieri, *ibid.*, 80-3); al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vi, nos. 1171, 1185, 1198; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 6, 14-15, ed. Nadjaf 1371/1951, 26; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. M. Badr, 56 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *K. al-Fiṣal*, iv, 153 ff.; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 86 f. (trans. Haarbrücker, 129, some names of persons who returned to ʿAlī's ranks); J. Wellhausen, *Die relig. polit. Oppos.-parteien*, 4, 17; L. Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 37, §§ 170-3, 177, 179, 181, 184, 190-2, 195-9 and cf. 193-4; A.H. 38, §§ 115, 129, 135, 147 (p. 123 f.); Fr. Buhl, *ʿAlī som Prætendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921, 1-98, in particular 69 f. (*Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet i Anledning af Hans Majestæt Kongens Fødselsdag*); M. Kafafi, *The rise of Khārijism according to Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azdī al-Qalhātī*, in *BFA*, xiv (1952), 29-48; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī — Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iv (1952), 1-94; eadem, *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita*, in *AIUON*, n.s. v (1953), 1-98; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *al-Fitna al-kubrā*, ii: *ʿAlī wa-banūhu*, Cairo 1953, 103-5; E. L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah. The rise of the Umayyad Caliphate*, in *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen), xxiii (1959), 157-96 (the rebellion of the Khāridjīs is touched upon at 186 f.); idem, *ʿAlī and Muʿawiya in early Arabic tradition. Studies on the genesis and growth of Islamic historical writing until the end of the ninth century*, Copenhagen 1964, 38 f.; — For the battles of 67/686 and 315/927: M. J. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, Leiden 1886, 95 f.; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur les Sadjides*, in *JA*, 4th ser., x (1847), 428 f.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

HĀRŪT WA-MĀRŪT. In one of its admonitions to the unbelieving Jews of Medina, the Ḳurʾān (II, 102/96) expresses itself thus (from A. J. Arberry's translation): "[the children of Israel] follow what the Satans recited over Solomon's Kingdom. Solomon disbelieved not, but the Satans disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down upon Babylon's two angels Hārūt and Mārūt; they taught not any man, without they said, "We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve ..."". The Ḳurʾānic narrative, linked somewhat artificially with Solomon, whose relations with demons are well-known [see SULAYMĀN], thus reflects a legend concerning the fallen angels who made themselves masters of the arts forbidden to men. The exegetic tradition relating to this passage can explain how the angels had come to that place from heaven. The sight of men's sins had impelled the angels to make derogatory remarks about mankind. When God

challenged them to do better if placed under the same conditions, they accepted a test, for which Hārūt and Mārūt were chosen. Having come down to the earth with instructions to avoid the grave sins of idolatry, fornication, murder and the drinking of wine, they almost immediately were captivated by a wondrously beautiful woman. Being caught unawares at the very moment when she was granting them her favours, they killed the man who had witnessed their misconduct. God caused them to be watched while doing so by their brothers who had remained in heaven, and who consequently could only say "Indeed Thou wast right". Left to choose between punishment in the world and the eternal pains of hell, the two guilty angels preferred to expiate their offence here below; they were then imprisoned and hung by the feet in a well in Babylon where they have been in torment ever since. In the final analysis, this theme derives from the account in *Genesis*, VI, 1-4 concerning the loves of the "sons of Elohim" and the daughters of men, expanded in the apochryphal books where there appears the supplementary theme of the fallen angels, masters of magic (*Jubilees*, V, 6; *Enoch*, chaps. VI-VIII, etc.; allusion in the New Testament, *2nd Epistle of Peter*, II, 4 and *Epistle of Jude*, 6); in the *Midrash Abkir*, an Aggadic Jewish work of a late period, but rich in traditions left aside by the great rabbinical texts, the guilty angels bear the names of Shemḥazaī, ʿUzza and ʿAzaʾel. According to its version of the legend, which also recurs in more than one Muslim text, the angels who had fallen into sin lost the use of the ineffable Name of God which would have allowed them to return to heaven; the woman whom they had lusted after, having learned this Name from them, made use of it to escape from them and to make her way to heaven where, as a reward for her virtuous resistance, God changed her into a star. On this point, an astrological motif is grafted onto the legend, for the names given to this woman, Anāhīd, Bīdukht, Zuhra—in the Jewish version Naʿamah—seem, with the possible exception of the last, to be firmly connected with the planet Venus. As regards the names Hārūt and Mārūt, it is hardly possible to discover any etymology (contrary to the opinion of A. J. Wensinck in *EI*[1]) other than Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, "integrity" and "immortality", two of the "archangels" (Amesha Spenta) of Zoroastrianism; it is still not clear how the synthesis of the Iranian features and the Jewish legend of the fallen angels took place, nor how the hypothetical version which had substituted Iranian names for the Semitic names of the heroes of the story came into Arabia as early as the beginning of the 7th century A.D.; yet traces of it have been found in the Manichaean books. We can therefore conclude without being overrash that the immediate source of the allusion in the Ḳurʾān and of certain elements in the later Muslim legend is to be found in the syncretistic beliefs developed on the fringe of the main Jewish, Christian and Mazdean religions. Variations on the Ḳurʾānic theme which we have not touched on here in detail have been severely criticised by more than one theologian: see *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 14 ff.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iii, Cairo 1354/1935, 244; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, i, 37-8.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 18; idem, *Tafsīr*, on Ḳurʾān II, 102/96, ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, ii, 412 ff. (earlier ed., i, 356 ff.); Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 32-4; M. Grünbaum, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Mythologie aus der Haggada*, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 226-9, 322 f.; B. Heller, *La chute des anges Schemchazai, Ouzza et Azael*, in *REJ*, lx (1910), 202-12 (with earlier bibliography); E. Littmann, *Harut und Marut*, in *Andreas-Festschrift*, Leipzig 1916, 70-87; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 146-8; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, 22-5; P. J. de Menasce, *Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmane: à propos de Hārūt et Mārūt*, in *Études Asiatiques*, 1947, 10-8; B. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, Philadelphia 1952, especially 113-7, 278. (G. VAJDA)

AL-ḤASĀ, (or AL-AḤSĀʾ, also AL-ḤASĀʾ), oasis, or more properly group of oases, in eastern Saudi Arabia, approximately from 25° 20′ to 25° 40′ N., and 49° 30′ to 49° 50′ E. The name has been also used to designate the entire region of Eastern Arabia. The capital is al-Hufūf [*q.v.*], about 65 kms. inland from the Persian Gulf. The name derives from *ḥisy*, an excavation in sandy soil which, having a stony substratum, holds rain water for a long time, this water being easily reached with little digging. The average elevation of the oasis is 175 m. above sea level.

Al-Ḥasā, with some 180 square kms. of garden area, has roughly the shape of an "L", with al-Hufūf at the apex, the northern oases forming the vertical stroke and a large group of gardens and villages, sometimes referred to collectively as al-Shurūḳ. forming the horizontal stroke. The vertical branch, oriented due north-south, is about 25 kms. long; the horizontal branch is about 18 kms. long and is oriented east-west. The cultivated portions are not continuous but are interrupted by sandy areas, limestone outcrops, and some fairly large *sabkhas*, which serve as catchment basins for the highly saline water drained from the gardens, especially during the winter period of low evaporation. Al-Ḥasā has a warm and humid climate in the summer, though less humid than the coastal regions, but its winter weather is quite mild. The average annual precipitation is about 70 mms. The total population is now estimated at about 200,000, about half of whom live in the capital, al-Hufūf, and in the town of al-Mubarraz, some 1.5 kms. north of the capital. The remaining population is distributed among some 50 villages and hamlets in the cultivated areas, the largest having about 4,000 inhabitants. The population is about equally divided between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs of the Ithnāʿasharī persuasion. All four orthodox schools of law are represented among the Sunnīs of al-Ḥasā, but the two predominant ones are the Ḥanbalī, which has increased in importance in recent times, and the Mālikī, which has a distinguished tradition in the oasis. Al-Ḥasā was in the middle ages an important centre of Mālikī learning.

With over 12,000 hectares under cultivation and close to three million palm trees, al-Ḥasā is the largest and richest oasis in Saudi Arabia. The mainstay of al-Ḥasā's agriculture is the abundant water furnished by over sixty flowing artesian springs, several of which have a flow of over 75,000 litres per minute. At least since the early middle ages, when the region was called Hadjar, after the name of its capital, the most abundant and famous local produce has been dates, giving rise to the dictum of something being "like carrying dates to Hadjar", as a parallel to the "coals to Newcastle" phrase. The most extensively grown local variety is called *ruzayz* (after which the inhabitants are sometimes jokingly called *ruzayzīs*) and the variety considered to be the best in quality is *khulāṣ*; over seventy different varieties of dates

have been recorded in al-Ḥasā, some of them being used only as fodder [see TAMR]. Another item of economic importance for which the area has long been famous is the local breed of tall, white donkeys, which once were widely exported, in particular to Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. Dietary changes and the introduction of wheeled transport brought about a foreseeable decline in the economic importance of both dates and donkeys. On the other hand, the increased cash wages due largely to the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province have given rise to an increase in commerce, services, and light industry, as well as some greater variety in agricultural produce. The manufacture of textiles to make the locally worn cloak (*bis͟ht*) has long enjoyed a well-deserved reputation and is still an important part of the economic picture of al-Ḥasā.

History. The detailed study of the history of al-Ḥasā, particularly with regard to the earlier periods, is yet to be undertaken. It has been suggested that the region called Attene in antiquity might be the same as present-day al-Ḥasā, but no other references in old sources can be connected with the oasis. The area was certainly known as al-Ḥasā (or al-Aḥsāʾ) during the time of the Prophet. The majority of the people of the area accepted Islam at an early date, although they rebelled against the central power a number of times. Most notable among these rebellions was that of the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*], who, when they brought the Black Stone from Mecca, kept it in this area for about twenty years.

In mediaeval Arabic sources al-Ḥasā is said to be a fortress in al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] not far from al-Had͟jar, the ancient capital of the district. This fortress was founded by the famous Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir al-D͟jannābī [*q.v.*] in 314/926 near a locality then called al-Ḥasā. He called the fortress al-Muʾminiyya, but both fortress and settlement continued to be known by the old name. In 443/1051, the area was visited and described by the Persian Nāṣir-i-K͟husraw, whose account of the Ḳarmaṭī government is particularly valuable. The Ḳarmaṭī power was eventually crushed by a dynasty native to al-Ḥasā, the ʿUyūnids.

Remains of ʿAbbāsid pottery in the oasis suggest that al-Ḥasā was already densely populated during early Islamic times. It does not seem likely, however, that the Portuguese and the Persians, who ruled or occupied the island of al-Baḥrayn in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries respectively, extended their rule to the oasis. In later times, and by reason of its geographical location as well as its resources, the oasis was coveted by the Wahhābīs [*q.v.*] from Nad͟jd and by the Turks, while the lords of the Banū K͟hālid, who had for many years been the masters of al-Ḥasā, fought to maintain their position. The oasis changed hands a number of times. Al-Ḥasā first yielded to the Wahhābīs in 1209/1793. Between 1235/1819 and 1241/1825 the oasis was occupied by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha's Egyptian army; and between the latter date and 1247/1830, it was in dispute again between the Banū K͟hālid and the Wahhābīs, who finally gained the upper hand but were forced to another brief relinquishment of the area to the Egyptians in 1255/1839. The Turks occupied the oasis in 1289/1872 and made the area a *sand͟jaḳ* of the *wilāyet* of Baṣra. During the Turkish occupation, al-Ḥasā was the administrative centre of the *sand͟jaḳ* and the residence of the Mutaṣarrif Pas͟ha. The Turks were finally expelled from al-Ḥasā by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd in 1913.

The rule by Egyptians, Turks, and Wahhābīs until 1332/1913 was not a secure one. Two powerful Bedouin tribes of eastern Arabia, the Banū K͟hālid and the ʿUd͟jmān, continuously raided the villages of al-Ḥasā and endangered the trade routes. The area was finally pacified under the rule of the present dynasty. From 1913 until 1952 al-Ḥasā continued to be the administrative centre of the entire area of eastern Saudi Arabia, which was then called al-Ḥasā Province. The name of the oasis was also used to designate the oil concession (The Hasa Concession) obtained from Ibn Saʿūd by Frank Holmes in al-ʿUḳayr in 1923, which covered the lands lying between the sands of al-Dahnā to the west and the Gulf to the east, and between ʿIrāḳ and Kuwayt to the north and a line running due west from the base of the Ḳatar peninsula to the south.

In 1952 the capital of the province was moved from al-Ḥasā to the town of al-Dammām [*q.v.*] on the Gulf coast, and the province itself changed its name from al-Ḥasā Province to the Eastern Province. The amīrate of al-Ḥasā has jurisdiction over only the oasis area and reports to the provincial government in al-Dammām. In the 1960's the Saudi Arabian Government undertook elaborate agricultural extension work in the oasis, including sand stabilization, drainage, and the establishment of experimental farms.

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Futher bibliography: S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; J. B. Kelly, *Eastern Arabian frontiers*, London 1964. (ED.)

ḤASAB WA-NASAB, a *muzāwad͟ja* [*q.v.*] in the Arabic manner used of two aspects of the single idea of nobility. The second term denotes kinship, the relationship, particularly ancestral, i.e. the genealogy of an individual or a tribe, the record of which, in the time of the D͟jāhiliyya, was carefully maintained by the *nassāba* and which, under Islam, formed a branch of history [see NASAB]. The *nasab*, which was an element of honour, was based not only on consanguinity but also on maternal descent, although the relationship on the paternal side, which was more easily traced, seems to have been the more important. Normally, all the members of a tribe had a collective *nasab* going back to the ancestor from whom the tribe was named and a narrower *nasab* which began with the founder of the clan, without the links in this chain necessarily being very illustrious. The *nasab* to be proud of was one which went back very far into the

past and was stained by no dishonour; the slightest stain on the other hand was exploited by enemies who, in their *hidjā'* [*q.v.*], cast aspersions on the ancestors of the individual or the clan concerned. It was with the intention of emphasizing the equality of the Believers and of achieving the unity of the Community that the Prophet forbade *al-ṭaʿn fi 'l-ansāb, i.e.*, attacks based on the real or imaginary defects of an ancestor, especially of the eponymous ancestor of the tribe or the clan.

While the only people deprived of *nasab* were solitaries, outcasts and of course slaves, the possession of *ḥasab*, according to the pre-Islamic conception of it, necessitated not only the existence of ancestors but the doing honour to them by performing memorable deeds of prowess or displaying outstanding virtues, in particular exemplary generosity. The memory of the great deeds performed in the past by members of the tribe was passed down from father to son to form a collective *ḥasab* of which all could boast; the valour of the group was measured so to speak by the total of these exploits and virtues, which provided for all a model to imitate, an ideal moral standard to attain and a patrimony to safeguard; it was in fact a sort of tribal *sunna*.

In contrast to *nasab*, *ḥaṣab* could be acquired also by an individual by means of virtuous acts or brave exploits. Thus, the *ḥasib* was a person who either possessed a noble ancestry or had acquired nobility personally, without necessarily requiring an outstanding *nasab*, whereas the *nasib* had to be equipped with both *nasab* and *ḥasab*.

The appearance of Islam did not entirely banish these ideas, which remained very much alive among the Arab tribes (and even among the *fuḳahā'*, who had to know a woman's *ḥasab* in order to assess her *mahr* [see ṢADĀḲ]), but the earlier ideas were in fact modified by the tendancy to egalitarianism and by the preponderant place accorded to the Faith. The Ḳur'ān makes no reference to them, but *ḥadīth*, where it is authentic, reveals an abrupt change in conception which the numerous philological works and commentaries enable us to understand. While forbidding attacks on genealogies, the Prophet proclaimed: "Learn enough genealogy to know your *aḥsāb* and fulfil the duties imposed by family relationships" (here, *aḥsāb* seems to be related to the etymological meaning of the root *ḥsb* "to count", that is "to know what you are worth collectively"), but there are also attributed to him the *ḥadīth*s: *ḥasab al-radjul khulūḳuh* "a man's *ḥasab* is his moral qualities" and: *ḥasab al-radjul naḳā' thawbayh* "... is the cleanness of his two garments", which some interpret as a sign of wealth. In fact one *ḥadīth* announces unexpectedly: *al-ḥasab al-māl wa'l-karam al-taḳwā* "*ḥasab* is wealth and generosity is religious piety". Thus the excellence of ancestors would be replaced by wealth, and the generosity which procures *ḥasab* by religion; there is nothing surprising in the fact that any Believer could acquire a nobility which formerly had been reserved for those with ancestors and that *ḥasab* should not in theory be considered as an Islamic quality, but it is most extraordinary that wealth should take its place. The matter should not be exaggerated however, and the following commentary by Ibn al-Sikkīt (in *LA*, s.v. *ḥsb*) would serve to show the *ḥadīth* in its true perspective, if it did not deviate from Islamic moral standards by taking no account of transient circumstances: "A man may possess *ḥasab* and generosity (*karam*) even if he has no ancestors of nobility (*sharaf*), whereas *sharaf* and glory (*madjd*) exist only through the ancestors: the Prophet thus substituted wealth (*māl*) for the nobility of the individual (*al-nafs*) or of his ancestors, which means that the poor man with *ḥasab* is neither respected nor esteemed, whereas the rich man who is without it is respected".

Bibliography: B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 81-8, 114 and references there given; see also Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 107 ff. (tr. Pellat, §§ 955 ff.) and the theory of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, 243 ff. (tr. de Slane, i, 280 ff., tr. Rosenthal, i, 273 ff.).

(ED.)

ḤASAN, AL-MALIK AL-NĀṢIR NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ, 19th Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, in the line known to contemporary chroniclers as *Dawlat al-Turk*. He was the most prominent of eight sons of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn who ruled in turn during the years 741/1340-763/1362 and who are frequently designated in European documents of the period as "Ḥasan and his brothers" (*e.g.*, *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), 492: "Nasser Hassan et suo fradeli"), see Zambaur, *Manuel*, i, 103, 106; and Wiet, in *Mém. Inst. Egypte*, xix, genealogical tree p. 279). Owing to the sustained attempt at dynastic succession Ḥasan was very young (11 years) at his first accession to the Sultanate on 14 Ramaḍān 748/18 December 1347, and did not in fact rule during his first reign, which lasted for just under four years (until 17 Djumādā II 752/11 August 1351). As happened frequently under the Mamlūks, *de facto* power was divided among rival factions of *amīrs* surviving from the period of a deceased sultan (*ḳarāniṣ*, see Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 217 ff.), a struggle in this case coloured by the rise to a significant position of the Circassian elements, who had been favoured by his brother and predecessor al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḥādjdjī and who towards the end of the 8th/14th century were to emerge as the rulers of Mamlūk Egypt and Syria [see ČERKES ii and BURDJIYYA]. Nine months after attaining his majority Ḥasan is reported to have abdicated (*Nudjūm*, v, 91), owing to the pressure of the *amīrs* Ṭāz and Minkalī. These arranged the succession of Ḥasan's brother Ṣāliḥ, who was three years older and who, under the regnal name al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, managed to stay on the throne for about three years, until his deposition on 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354; he remained imprisoned until his death seven years later. Instrumental in this act and in the immediate restoration of Ḥasan were the *amīrs* Ṣarghitmish and Shaykhūn, the *Atābak al-ʿasākir* [*q.v.*] and first bearer of the title al-Amīr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]. It was owing to the latter's intercession with Ḥasan that the *amīr* Ṭāz, instead of being condemned to death for his insurrection, was merely rusticated to Syria and the governorship of Aleppo. Soon after his second accession Ḥasan's position was weakened by the murder of Shaykhūn during a quarrel with a fellow *mamlūk*. Further, and possibly as a result of this act, Ṣarghitmish acquired more power than pleased the Sultan and had to be incarcerated in Alexandria, where he later died. Finally Ḥasan's second and last reign was brought to an end by one of his own ambitious *mamlūk*s, Yalbughā, who murdered the Sultan in the Citadel while he, having got word of the conspiracy, was arranging an escape to Syria in bedouin dress, on 12 Djumādā I 763/9 March 1362.

The periods of rule of Sultan Ḥasan are thus conspicuous neither for their length nor for evidence of his political competence. The major event of his first reign, whose cause can hardly be laid at the

door of the Sultan but whose repercussions must have made government in Egypt and Syria more difficult than usual, was the plague of 749/1348 [see ṬĀʿŪN]. The devastation of the Mamlūk dominions and decimation of their population which followed in its wake are described in some detail by the chronicler Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nudjūm*, v, 62-76). Of Ḥasan's foreign relations, however, there is documentary evidence sufficient to indicate sustained activity: with the Byzantine Empire (M. Canard, in *AIEO*, iii (1937), 27-52), with the monks of Mt. Sinai (Ernst, *Sultansurk.*, Docs. XIII, XIV, XV), and with the Republic of Venice (Thomas-Predelli, *Diplomatarium*, ii, Docs. XII, XIII, XLVII). Yet another trace of his reign is the *madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo, construction of which was begun in 757/1356 (*Nudjūm*, v, 158).

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, v, 54-108, 147-74, a fairly exhaustive account, though additional references in Arabic chroniclers can be found in Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī*, *MIE*, xix, p. 133 (no. 916), and in Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*, Wiesbaden 1960, 59. See also, Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, 476-89, 500-05; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 242-4; Thomas-Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, Venice 1880-96, ii, Docs. XII, XIII, XLVII; and M. Canard, *Une lettre du sultan Malik Nasir Hasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1937, 27-52. For the *madrasa*, cf. Wiet, *Cairo*, Norman, Okla. 1964, 139 ff. and Index.

(J. WANSBROUGH)

MAWLĀY AL-**ḤASAN**, ABŪ ʿALĪ, sultan of Morocco from 12 September 1873 to 9 June 1894. He was the son of Sayyidī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān whom, at the age of 37, he succeeded without dispute. Soon after his accession, however, revolts broke out at several places: Azammūr, against the local governor; Meknès, where an uncle rose as pretender to the throne; Fez, where the tanners rebelled in order to obtain the abolition of a local tax. The sultan repressed these risings quickly and without excessive cruelty. He passed a great part of his reign on expeditions aimed at maintaining the submission of many Berber tribes. It was while returning from such a long campaign, which had taken him as far as Tāfīlālt, that he died in the Tādla region. His death remained secret until the army had arrived at Rabat, where his young son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] was proclaimed sultan.

Like his father and his grandfather Mawlāy al-Ḥasan understood the pressing necessity to modernize Morocco and thought that the first sector to be reformed was that of the army. He therefore created permanent and regular units, in which sundry renegades served, and invited foreign instructors, above all French and English, from 1877 onwards. Moreover, several groups of infantry were sent to Gibraltar to be trained with English troops. The sultan bought arms in Europe and installed a cartridge factory at Marrākush and an arsenal at Fez, the *Makīna*. He even established the nucleus of a national fleet. He occupied himself also with the technical training of the Moroccans and sent several to Europe, envisaging the modernization of certain Moroccan industries.

But relations with the European powers, more and more attracted by Morocco, absorbed a great part of his activity. He received a growing number of embassies, and it was on his initiative and that of Great Britain that the first international conference concerned with Morocco was held at Madrid from 19 May to 3 July 1880. This conference dealt with the "protection" rights of the European powers in the Sharīfian Empire. Pious and conservative in his internal policies, Mawlāy al-Ḥasan thus, without fully realizing the implications of his initiative, enmeshed Morocco in an international process which was to end in the Protectorate of 1912.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ḤASAN, *amīr* of the Čūbānid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** [see NĀṢIR AL-DAWLA].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** [see ZĪRIDS].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** [see AL-ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH, IBN MĀKŪLĀ, NIẒĀM AL-MULK].

AL-**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ABI 'L-ḤUSAYN** [see KALBIDS].

(AL-)**ḤASAN** B. **ʿALĪ** B. **ABĪ ṬĀLIB**, son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima [*q.v.*], claimant to the caliphate until he renounced the office in favour of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, and, in the eyes of the Shīʿīs, the second *imām*.

Early years. — He was born in 3/624-5 (the month is uncertain; mid-Ramaḍān?) and given the name al-Ḥasan by Muḥammad, while his father wanted to call him Ḥarb; he lived with the Prophet for only seven years, but was nevertheless able later to recollect some of his phrases and actions (for example that Muḥammad threw back into the heap of *ṣadaḳa* dates one which he had already put into his mouth, for he was unwilling to eat anything from the *ṣadaḳa*). Tradition, including also that preserved in Sunnī collections, relates, as evidence of the love that Muḥammad felt for his grandchildren, not only the phrases he is said to have used concerning them, but also charming anecdotes that testify to his affection (*e.g.*, Muḥammad descended from the *minbar* during one of his discourses in order to pick up al-Ḥasan who had stumbled over his long tunic and fallen down; "Alas", he said, "your riches and your children are a seduction"; he allowed his grandchildren to climb on his back while he was prostrating himself in prayer, etc.). More important for the deductions drawn from them by the Shīʿīs are certain phrases attributed to the Prophet (*e.g.*, "They will be the *sayyids* of the young in Paradise", a *ḥadīth* whose veracity was contested by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam; see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, iv, 5), and above all the fact that he took them, with their father and mother, under cover of his mantle and declared that they were People of the House free from all impurity [see AHL AL-KISĀʾ and FĀṬIMA]. After their grandfather's death (which was followed soon by that of their mother), al-Ḥasan and his brother played no part in the important events of the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. They lived, says one source, in a state of obedience to their father; in fact, even if they followed him in some of his demonstrations of opposition to ʿUthmān, they took an entirely passive part (in any case they were still very young). Their names are mentioned on the occasion of the siege of ʿUthmān's house [see ʿUTHMĀN], for ʿAlī, according to several traditions, sent

them to carry water to the caliph, who was dying of thirst, and ordered them to defend him when the danger from the besiegers grew greater. When al-Ḥasan entered the house, ʿUthmān's murder had already taken place, but he was in time to see that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had had a part in the assassination and it is for that reason that, from then onwards, he called him al-Fāsiḳ (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 58).

The caliphate of ʿAlī.—When ʿAlī was elected caliph and Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha rebelled, al-Ḥasan was sent, with ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, to Kūfa to persuade the inhabitants to take his father's side and send him reinforcements [see AL-DJAMAL]; later, during the campaign against Muʿāwiya, he took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*].

His caliphate.—After the murder of ʿAlī, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] invited the people to nominate him as caliph (ʿAlī had not dared to give advice on the question of the succession), and al-Ḥasan made a speech, reported in many texts, for the purpose of praising the merits of his family and his father and, finally, of himself, by insisting on the fact that he had lived in intimacy with the Prophet. Ḳays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī was the first to do homage to him; however, he tried to impose a condition, that the *bayʿa* should be "on the Book of God, the *Sunna* of the Prophet and the war (*ḳitāl*) against those who declared licit that which is illicit (*al-muḥillūn*)", but al-Ḥasan succeeded in avoiding this commitment by saying that the last condition was included in the first (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1). According to al-Balādhurī, the oath taken by those present stipulated that they should make war on those who were at war with al-Ḥasan, and should live in peace with those who were at peace with him. This formula astonished the assembly; if al-Ḥasan had spoken of peace, was it because he desired to conclude a peace with Muʿāwiya? Al-Ḥasan could count on 40,000 former adherents of ʿAlī, either because they had clung obstinately to their political ideas, or because they feared reprisals from Muʿāwiya. That this fear existed can be conjectured from the fact that Muʿāwiya lost no time in promising *amān* to all those who asked him for it, and pursued this policy with success when he entered ʿIrāḳ. Granted the method of the ancient Arab chroniclers, it is difficult to place all the episodes of the struggle between Muʿāwiya and al-Ḥasan in precise chronological order. However, it is evident that Muʿāwiya was not slow to demonstrate, either in a speech or in letters to al-Ḥasan, his decision not to recognize the election of the latter to the caliphate; he soon prepared for war, summoning to join him the commanders of his forces in Syria, Palestine and Transjordania. At the start, there was an exchange of letters, embellished with verses, between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiya and between ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (in some sources ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās or simply Ibn al-ʿAbbās) and Muʿāwiya on the subject of spies whom the latter had sent to Kūfa and Baṣra (*al-Aghānī*, xviii, 162, etc.). The correspondence continued for some time in a polemical form, returning to old questions—which makes it more interesting (at least if the letters reproduced by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *Maḳātil* are authentic). When Muʿāwiya's warlike intentions became clearer (he had advanced to Mosul, but, at the same time, he was probably making offers by letter for a settlement of the dispute), al-Ḥasan had to prepare for war. At first his supporters did not respond to his appeal; it was only when ʿAdī b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*] urged them on that they began to enlist. To halt Muʿāwiya's advance, al-Ḥasan sent an advance-guard of 12,000 men to meet him, under the command of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, whom he instructed to consult Ḳays b. Saʿd and Saʿīd b. Ḳays al-Hamdānī. His aim may have been to remove from his side this Ḳays, who represented the party for war to the death, because he was already intending to negotiate with his adversary; al-Ṭabarī at least says so expressly (i, 1 ff.). Then he too began to advance (two or three months after the election). At the Sābāṭ of al-Madāʾin he halted and made a speech which disturbed his followers, who probably were already suspicious owing to certain words he had used or else to the slowness of his advance. He stated that he would not entertain any feeling of rancour against a Muslim, that the reconciliation refused by his men was better than the split that they wanted (see, *e.g.*, al-Dīnawarī, 230). His soldiers wondered whether in fact he wished to make peace with Muʿāwiya. The reaction was violent: one group, evidently those most determined to continue ʿAlī's policy, sacked his tent and seized the carpet from under his feet, and his silk cloak was all but torn from his shoulders. Al-Ḥasan shouted for his faithful followers from the Rabīʿa and the Hamdān and, with their help, escaped from these fanatics, took horse and rode away. When he reached Muẓlim Sābāṭ, a certain al-Djarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadī, a man of Khāridjī opinions, wounded him in the thigh with a dagger, crying out as he did so "You have become an infidel (*kāfir*) like your father". Bleeding profusely, al-Ḥasan was carried to al-Madāʾin and cared for in the governor's house. After this, the news of the attack on al-Ḥasan became widely known, having been purposely divulged by Muʿāwiya, and it led to desertions; Muʿāwiya advanced as far as al-Akhnūniyya, facing the troops of ʿUbayd Allāh encamped at Maskin; at the same time his advance guard approached al-Madāʾin. It was here that the negotiations, which had probably been opened some time earlier in spite of the opposition of al-Ḥusayn and had been continued by means of envoys representing the two disputing parties, came to a successful conclusion. Al-Ḥasan's troops had no wish to fight, and each day an increasing number of ʿIrāḳīs joined Muʿāwiya.

The conditions of the agreement concerning al-Ḥasan's abdication.—On the matter of the conditions of the agreement, there are in the sources certain variants which it is impossible to correct and reconcile. According to some accounts, Muʿāwiya gave carte blanche (but in respect of what?) to al-Ḥasan, who later regretted not having asked for more. The compensation in money was the sum of one million *dirhams* (annual appanage? in addition to the single payment of 5 million to be taken from the treasury of Kūfa?) and the revenue from a district in Persia (Dārābdjird? Fasā? al-Ahwāz?), which al-Ḥasan was never able to collect since the people of Baṣra were hostile, maintaining that it was a dependency of their own. Some traditions add other conditions which, however, must be suspected of having been interpolated later, in order to reduce the criticisms brought against al-Ḥasan and to show that he had raised certain problems and held firm in regard to his own point of view. These are the conditions: power was to be restored to al-Ḥasan after the death of Muʿāwiya (but the idea of a pre-determined succession had not yet made its appearance, and we know what difficulties Muʿāwiya was later to encounter in securing its acceptance by the Muslim community; from a letter of Muʿāwiya, we may deduce that he represented the matter as being poss-

ible in the future, but without giving any undertaking on his part); according to another source, Muʿāwiya pledged himself not to designate a successor, the choice being referred to a committee (*shūrā*) (but if so Muʿāwiya did not and could not contemplate his son's succession!); again, Muʿāwiya promised to follow "the Book of God, the *Sunna* of the Prophet and the conduct of the righteous caliphs" (but such a condition in the sense that ʿAlī's party gave to it implied the condemnation of ʿUthmān's policy; could Muʿāwiya accept that?); a general amnesty was to be granted; two million *dirhams* were to be paid to al-Ḥusayn (this condition to show that al-Ḥasan had also thought of his brother?); preference would be given to the Hāshimīs (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) over the Banū ʿAbd al-Shams (Umayyads) in the granting of pensions (*aʿṭāʾ*) and awards (an admissible condition?).

During his halt at al-Akhnūniyya, face to face with al-Ḥasan's advance guard, Muʿāwiya informed ʿUbayd Allāh b.ʿAbbās that al-Ḥasan had asked him to make peace, but he was not believed; he then negotiated in secret with ʿUbayd Allāh through the intermediary of a third party and offered him a million *dirhams* if he would join him, and this ʿUbayd Allāh did, unbeknown to his troops. This defection was to lead to a split in the ranks of the advance guard; it seems that 8,000 men followed the example of their general. Ḳays b. Saʿd then took command of the 4,000 who had not left him and invited them to choose between obedience to a misguided *imām* (Muʿāwiya) and war under the command of a leader (himself) who was not an *imām* (a speech handed down with certain variants); it seems that the soldiers preferred to fight, but soon the situation changed, with the result that Ḳays consented to lay down his arms. From Maskin, where he had gone, Muʿāwiya went on to Kūfa; al-Ḥasan rejoined him and declared officially in the mosque that he had renounced the caliphate.

Al-Ḥasan's abdication naturally provoked certain reactions: Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] told him that he would rather have heard that he had died before that day; the same Ḥudjr, or another adherent, accused him of having humiliated the Muslims; others suggested that he should review his decision; some years later, the Shīʿīs, gathering together, showed their disapproval of the fact that al-Ḥasan had not asked for sufficient guarantees, for he had not secured an undertaking in writing from Muʿāwiya that the latter would leave him the caliphate after his death. Muʿāwiya took various measures to prevent future insurrections: some of the tribes that were devoted to the ʿAlids he transferred from Kūfa, replacing them by others from Syria, Baṣra and Mesopotamia (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1920).

What were the motives that led al-Ḥasan to abdicate? We can accept those specified in the sources—love of peace, distaste for politics and its dissensions, the desire to avoid widespread bloodshed—but it is also probable that he was aware that his cause was lost; if it is true that ʿAlī habitually emptied the State treasury (every week, it is said!) to share out the contents, he must have been short of money; moreover, defections had been frequent in the last years of his father's caliphate and had even increased during his own; thus he could not rely on soldiers who had little desire to fight. The consequences of the abdication weighed heavily on the ʿAlids who later claimed the throne. In the polemics against them, the argument that they had lost all claim on account of al-Ḥasan's renunciation was not easy to rebut; a *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, ii, 169, Fr. tr. 238 f.) purported to show al-Ḥasan's lack of resistance as a great merit: Muḥammad is alleged to have said "This my son is a lord by means of whom God will one day reunite two great factions of Muslims".

After the abdication.—During the journey back to Medina, at al-Ḳādisiyya, al-Ḥasan received a letter from Muʿāwiya asking him to take part in the campaign against a Khāridjī, Ibn al-Ḥansāʾ al-Ṭāʾi, who had just started a revolt. Al-Ḥasan replied that he had given up fighting against him in order to bring peace to the people, and that he would not fight at his side. Having settled in Medina, al-Ḥasan lived quietly, at least in appearance, without engaging in politics; as before, he went from one marriage to another, so earning for himself the title of *al-Miṭlāḳ* "the Divorcer". He had 60 or 70 or 90 wives and 300 or 400 concubines. This life of sensual pleasures does not appear, however, to have aroused much censure. In 49/669-70 (other dates: 50, 48, 58, 59), he died of a somewhat prolonged illness, or else from poisoning, attributed by many of the sources to one of his wives, by name al-Djaʿda, daughter of al-Ashʿath; Muʿāwiya is said to have suborned her with the promise of a large sum of money and of marrying her to Yazīd; but it should be noted that al-Ḥasan was in no way anxious to reveal his suspicions to his brother al-Ḥusayn, for fear that vengeance for his death might be taken against some innocent person; the Yemenī chief al-Ashʿath was regarded by the Shīʿīs as a traitor, in the pay of Muʿāwiya, and it is quite possible that the hatred felt for him had been transferred to his daughter. Al-Ḥasan had expressed the wish to be buried beside his grandfather Muḥammad, but Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and ʿĀʾisha together agreed to prevent al-Ḥusayn from carrying out this request (another version: ʿĀʾisha consented, but Marwān was obdurate; *Usd*, 14 f.). They were on the point of taking up arms, but al-Ḥasan had stated that, in the event of opposition, he could be buried in the Baḳīʿ, and Abū Hurayra convinced al-Ḥusayn that the best course would be to take this solution. As we do not know the exact dates either of the agreement for the abdication or of the official ceremony at Kūfa, the length of al-Ḥasan's caliphate cannot be determined; the sources, confronted with the same difficulty, give different periods—five months and ten days, six months and a few days, eight months and ten days.

Al-Ḥasan's physical and moral attributes.—This grandson of Muḥammad was the one who resembled him most closely. According to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, he had a defect of speech inherited from one of his uncles; it is sometimes added that he was a good orator (and several of his speeches have been reported). He is said to have been a ruler of mild disposition who never lost his composure (*ḥalīm*), generous and pious (it was from piety that he made numerous pilgrimages on foot); but the information that we possess about him stops short at this point, and the absence of any praise of his intelligence, skill or bravery is striking. He was a personage who shone with a reflected light, emanating from his grandfather and his parents.

Al-Ḥasan in the opinion of the Shīʿīs.—All Shīʿīs, of whatever group, regarded and continue to regard al-Ḥasan as their second *imām*; they have never ceased to affirm that he was designated by his father to succeed him as ruler of the faithful. The prerogatives that they attribute to him in his capacity as *imām* are the same as those of the other *imāms* of

their lines (the differentiation of the lines starting with a later *imām*); thus the questions relating to impeccability, infallibility, etc. do not concern him personally.

The abdication of al-Ḥasan, so much criticized in his own time by many of his supporters, thus did not invalidate his position as *imām*; his conduct was justified as springing from his pious detachment from mundane matters. The gap left by the lack of extraordinary qualities was filled, in the S̲h̲īʿī texts, by accounts of his miracles, among which were the following: at the time of his birth he praised God and recited the Ḳurʾān; D̲j̲ibrīl rocked him in his cradle; an angel protected him, and also his brother, when they were asleep far away from their home; while still a child, he called to a palm-tree, and the tree came to him as a son to his father; as a child, he drew honey from a pebble, and Muḥammad showed no surprise; he made an old palm-tree bear fruit; he raised the sanctuary of Mecca into the air; he made the houses of Medina tremble; he flew up into the sky, disappeared and returned after three days; he transported the place where he and other Muslims were together present to Mecca, so that they might see the pilgrims performing the *ʿumra*, and then swiftly restored it to the original spot; he asked God to send him food for 70 travelling companions and, the gates of heaven having opened, angels descended bearing cups, ewers, tables ready prepared, and food that was not only sufficient to satisfy the whole company but did not diminish; he caused water to gush forth when his comrades were searching for it; he took the stars from heaven and then restored them to their places; he revived a dead man, etc. After consulting sources differing from our own, Donaldson summarizes other accounts also, but he is mistaken when he says that the number of al-Ḥasan's miracles is limited to sixteen. The S̲h̲īʿis further maintain that Muʿāwiya tried to poison al-Ḥasan 70 times, but never succeeded in killing him because he cured himself by going to Muḥammad's tomb; that the Umayyads shot 70 arrows into al-Ḥasan's body before his burial (Donaldson); that, as a member of the sacred group consisting of Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, himself and al-Ḥusayn, al-Ḥasan shared their prerogatives: creation as images of light thousands of years before the creation of the world, the sending of light into Adam's loins and thereafter into the loins and the wombs of the forebears of the Five. Al-Ḥasan is one of the principal characters of the Persian religious dramas (*taʿziya*).

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AL-ḤASAN B. ʿAMMĀR [see AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH].

AL-ḤASAN B. HĀNIʾ [see ABŪ NUWĀS].

AL-ḤASAN B. ḤAYY [see AL-ḤASAN B. ṢĀLIḤ B. ḤAYY].

AL-ḤASAN B. ḲĀSIM [see IDRĪSIDS].

AL-ḤASAN B. AL-K̲H̲AṢĪB [see IBN AL-K̲H̲AṢĪB].

AL-ḤASAN B. MAK̲H̲LAD [see IBN MAK̲H̲LAD].

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD [see AL-MUHALLABĪ].

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿAṬṬĀR [see AL-ʿAṬṬĀR].

AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ṢABBĀḤ [see ḤASAN-I ṢABBĀḤ].

AL-ḤASAN B. SAHL, secretary of and governor for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, and brother of the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*]. Iranian by birth, the son of a Zoroastrian convert, al-Ḥasan entered the service of the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] during the reign of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd. He later took part in al-Maʾmūn's action against his brother al-Amīn, and when al-Maʾmūn assumed the title of caliph in 196/814 he was put in charge of taxation (*al-k̲h̲arād̲j̲*) in the provinces which the new ruler controlled. After al-Maʾmūn's troops had captured Bag̲h̲dād, his brother sent him to ʿIrāḳ with instructions to ensure control there, while the caliph remained at Marw. It was at this time that he was confronted first with the ʿAlid revolts of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā and Abu 'l-Sarāyā, which he was able to suppress only with the help of the troops of the general Hart̲h̲ama, and then with a revolt by the population of Bag̲h̲dād which aimed to depose al-Maʾmun and appoint Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] to the caliphate. After the mysterious assassination of al-Faḍl b. Sahl and the return of the caliph's court to Bag̲h̲dād, it was expected (according to some authors) that al-Ḥasan would succeed his brother as vizier. In fact he withdrew from politics, afflicted, it is said, by "neurasthenia", but mainly shocked by the circumstances of his brother's death. He retired to his estates at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, near Wāsiṭ, and it was there that there took place, in 210/825, the elaborate celebration of the marriage of his daughter Būrān [*q.v.*] with the caliph al-Maʾmūn, who had retained his esteem for his former supporter. He then made his daughter a gift of the palace to the south of Bag̲h̲dād, called al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḥasanī, which he owned and which was

to become one of the caliph's palaces. He died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ in 236/850-1 without having held any further office.

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(D. Sourdel)

AL-ḤASAN B. ṢĀLIḤ B. ḤAYY AL-KŪFĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, traditionist and Zaydī theologian of whose life little is known. It seems that he was born in 100/718-9 and, after giving his daughter in marriage to the son of Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī, went into hiding with his son-in-law, so eluding al-Mahdī's search until his death which occurred at Kūfa in 168/784-5. According to the *Fihrist* (178; Cairo ed., 253), he was the author of several works, among which are mentioned: *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, *Kitāb Imāmat wuld ʿAlī min Fāṭima*, *al-Djāmiʿ fi'l-fiḳh*, etc. With his two brothers ʿAlī and Ṣāliḥ, who shared his doctrine, he was regarded as the founder of the Zaydī sect of the Ṣāliḥiyya, which seems to be iden tical with that of the Abtariyya (Butriyya), and only differs from the Sulaymāniyya in points of detail.

Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 509) places al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ among the number of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, and Ibn al-Nadīm remarks that the majority of the *muḥaddithūn* are Zaydīs; moreover, the relations between the latter and the Muʿtazila are well known, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 25) makes it clear that al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ is of the same opinion as the Muʿtazila on the question of the imāmate which, according to him, can belong to any family whatsoever. In fact, the main features of the doctrine which is attributed to him are essentially concerned with the imāmate, which is elective and can be conferred on the *mafḍūl*, even if the *afḍal* is known [see IMĀMA] at least insofar as the latter gives consent; consequently the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is legitimate, given that ʿAlī, who was the best of the Muslims after the Prophet, agreed to forego the office; unlike the other Shīʿīs, the Ṣāliḥiyya thus considered that the Companions were not at fault in not giving preference to ʿAlī (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iii, 80, where he uses the name al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayy, as does also al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 85). With regard to ʿUthmān, the Ṣāliḥiyya do not excommunicate him and, considering that on the one hand he ranks among the *ʿashara mubashshara* [*q.v.*] and is consequently *muʾmin*, and that on the other hand he performed actions which should earn him the title of *kāfir*, they refuse to take sides (*tawaḳḳuf*). In another connexion, this sect is in favour of the use of force (*sayf*) to compel recognition of the imāmate of any descendant of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn who is worthy of it, and admits the possibility that two *imāms* may reign in two different countries and be obeyed, even if they take contrary decisions and one of them declares the murder of his rival to be lawful. Al-Shahrastānī adds that, in his time, the adherents of this doctrine confined themselves to the *taḳlīd* and appealed neither to *raʾy* nor to *idjtihād*. In regard to the *uṣūl*, they followed the Muʿtazila, whom they respected more deeply that the masters of Shīʿism, whilst, for the *furūʿ*, they adhered to the doctrine of Abū Ḥanīfa, except on certain points on which they followed al-Shāfiʿī or the Shīʿa.

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(Ch. Pellat)

AL-ḤASAN B. TĪMŪRTĀSH [see ČŪBĀNIDS].

ḤASAN B. USTĀDH-HURMUZ, Abū ʿAlī, one of the leading figures of the Būyid régime at the end of the 4th/10th century. His father, Ustādh-Hurmuz, one of the *ḥudjdjāb* of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, is said to have been born in about 300/912; on entering the service of the son and successor of the great Būyid in Fārs, Sharaf al-Dawla, he became governor of ʿUmān for him and then, wishing to transfer his allegiance to the other son, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, master of ʿIrāḳ, he had to return to private life (374/984). The son, Ḥasan, who was born in about 350/961, had for some time been in the service of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla in Baghdād. But some years later they changed places: Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, evicted from ʿIrāḳ by Sharaf al-Dawla, who was succeeded by Bahāʾ al-Dawla, became master of Fārs (380/990), in addition to Kirmān which he already held. Ḥasan came there to see him, and had the governorship of Kirmān given to his father, which he was to retain even after the death of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla and the conquest of Fārs by Bahāʾ al-Dawla. It was Ḥasan who, in Fārs, quelled the revolt of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's cousins, the sons of ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]; it was mainly he who kept up resistance to Bahāʾ al-Dawla in Ahwāz. In 388/988, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla met his death in a new revolt by Bakhtiyār's sons. Ḥasan then rallied his Daylamī army to the cause of Bahāʾ al-Dawla who, in 391/1001, restored to him the governorship of Ahwāz. His administration there proved to be so successful that Bahāʾ al-Dawla now entrusted him with the administration of ʿIrāḳ, which at that time was racked by widespread disturbances (392/1002); and despite setbacks in his struggle against the lord of the Baṭīḥa, Ibn Wāṣil, and the Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (with whom he was later reconciled), he retained this province until his death, which took place unexpectedly in 401/1011, at the age of 49 or 51. Though disagreeing about his birth, the authors are unanimous in praising the impartial energy of his administration, which restored order and a sound financial system; for the sake of public order, he forbade the celebration in Baghdād both of the Shīʿī *ʿashūrāʾ* and also of the Sunnī counter-pilgrimage to the tomb of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr; and there is a pretty story to illustrate his scrupulous regard for the property of foreign merchants. His obsequies were conducted by the celebrated *sharīf* al-Rāḍī, who wrote a *ḳaṣīda* on him. His father, whom, when he himself was appointed to ʿIrāḳ, he had enabled to succeed him in Ahwāz, survived him until 405/1015.

Bibliography: Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rudhrawārī and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ in Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, iii (and trans., vi), and, for the later period not covered by this work, from 393/1003, Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, Ibn al-Athīr, ix, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (unpublished), all derived from Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ's lost work.

(Cl. Cahen)

AL-ḤASAN B. YŪSUF [see AL-ḤILLĪ].

AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB was a pious man, who, following the example of his father and grandfather, abandoned all political aspirations and reconciled himself to ʿAbbāsid rule. His daughter became the wife of al-Saffāḥ while he himself lived at the Caliph's court, and is even said to have occasionally communicated the views of his ʿAlid relatives and their dependants to al-Manṣūr. In 150/767 al-Manṣūr made him gover-

nor of Medina, but in 155/772 he aroused the Caliph's wrath and was dismissed, imprisoned and had his property confiscated. But restitution was made to him by al-Manṣūr's successor, al-Mahdī, who gave him back all that he had lost, after al-Mansūr's death. He died in 167/783 at al-Ḥādjir, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and was buried there.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 144, 149, 258, 358 f., 377, 400, 453 f. and 2518; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 456; Ibn Ḥazm, *Nasab Ḳurays͟h*, 280; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 420, 454; vi, 4, 21 f., 53.

(Fr. Buhl*)

AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD, a descendant of the preceding, founder of an ʿAlid dynasty in Ṭabaristān [*q.v.*]. The high-handed rule of the Ṭāhirids on the one hand and, on the other, the settlement of ʿAlid elements in the region led to a rising in favour of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, *al-dāʿī al-kabīr*, in 250/864. Al-Ḥasan, who was living at Rayy, was proclaimed sovereign by a section of the population of Ṭabaristān and received the allegiance of Wahsūdān b. Djustān of Daylam [*q.v.*]. He succeeded in defeating the Ṭāhirid troops and seizing the towns of Āmul and Sāriya, while Djustān II took Rayy, which he had to abandon in 253/867 before the threat of the army sent by al-Muʿtazz and commanded by Mūsā b. Bug͟hā. Al-Ḥasan had furthermore to be perpetually on his defence against attacks on all sides and was more than once driven out of the country, on which occasions he always found support in Daylam, so that in 257/871 he was able to take Djurdjān and in 259/873 Ḳūmis. In this latter year, Djustān made an unsuccessful attempt to re-conquer Rayy, but he had also to assist the *dāʿī* in his struggle against Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layt͟h al-Ṣaffār [see ṢAFFĀRIDS], who had undertaken an expedition against Ṭabaristān; al-Ḥasan was again forced to retire to Daylam but was saved by tremendous rains which obliged his enemy to withdraw. Thus the *dāʿī* was able to return to Ṭabaristān and dwell there undisturbed until 266/888, when Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh invaded Djurdjān and conquered a part of it. While al-Ḥasan was fighting with him there, another ʿAlid, in order to have himself proclaimed ruler, spread the news in Ṭabaristān that the *dāʿī* was killed or wounded, but on al-Ḥasan's return he was defeated and killed. Al-Ḥasan died in 270/884 in possession of his territory, which he passed on to his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd, *al-dāʿī al-ṣag͟hīr*; his family continued to rule in Ṭabaristān till 316/928. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who possessed rare energy and the capacity for stubborn resistance, was a sincerely religious man, well educated, and a patron of letters.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1528-33, 1583-6, 1698, 1737 f., 1840, 1873, 1880, 1883-5, 1940, 2104; *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, 570-4; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 85-8, 109, 138, 166, 171 f., 177, 180, 183-5, 199, 208, 233, 286; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 342 ff., viii, 353; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, transl. Browne, 162 ff.; A. Müller, in *Isl.*, i, 542, 545, ii, 27-32; Th. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, 194-7; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, Paris 1932; B. Spuler, *Iran*, 71 n. 6, where further references are given, and index. (Fr. Buhl*)

ḤASAN ABDĀL, a small town about 40 km. east of Āṭak, Pākistān, 33°48′ N., 72°44′ E., which forms a part of the ruins around the ancient Taxila. It is known as the site of a spring which has attracted legends of sanctity from Buddhist, Hindū, Muslim and Sikh sources, and in its form of the sacred tank of the Serpent King Ēlāpatra was described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. It is now known by Muslims as the spring of Bābā Walī, and by the Sikhs as that of Pandjā Ṣāḥib (Pandjābī *pandjā* 'group of five (sc. fingers)', *i.e.*, 'hand'), from the shape of a mark on a rock from underneath which the water flows. Sikh popular tradition ascribes the mark to the hand of their founder Guru Nānak, although the story is acknowledged by many including some devout Sikhs, to be an invention of the 12th/18th century; certainly there was no shrine of Sikh worship at Ḥasan Abdāl before the time of Randjit Singh.

The 'Bābā Walī' mentioned seems to be the saint Ḥasan of Ḳandahār, called Abdāl, who came into India in the train of Tīmūr, and was an ancestor of the historian Mīr Maʿṣūm, author of the *Taʾrīk͟h-i Maʿṣūmī*, who recorded his descent from the saint in an inscription on the Buland Darwāza of Fatḥpur Sīkrī. A variant tradition, however, collected by Cunningham (see *Bibliography*), makes one Ḳandahārī saint of Bābā Walī and a Gūdjar saint of Ḥasan Abdāl. The shrine of Bābā Walī stands high on a hill, and the spring at its base is enclosed by a Sikh *gurudwāra*, a tank canopied with mulberry-trees and filled with fish, and several tombs in ruins (one shown in *Annual Report ASI 1919-20*, Pl. Ib), one of which is said to be of a daughter of Akbar(?) and associated in British memories with the tomb of "Lalla Rookh" —the last poem in Moore's romance was recited by the disguised prince at Ḥasan Abdāl; but the historicity of the lady referred to is in doubt.

Historically Ḥasan Abdāl is of interest as having been a popular camping ground of the Mug͟hal emperors on their way to and from Kas͟hmīr; from the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. Blochmann, i, 446) it is apparent that the town bore the name Ḥasan Abdāl in Akbar's time, and that Akbar visited the tomb of Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ there (= the tomb mentioned above as illustrated in *ARASI*, obviously a "Bag͟hdādī octagon" and hence stylistically in the mid-10th/16th century tradition). Opposite the shrine and on the far side of its stream are the remains of a Mug͟hal garden with parterres and fountains, and of a bath; the site is known as Wāh, said to have been so called from the emperor Akbar's cry of admiration at its pleasant prospect.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, i, 446, 515; *Taʾrīk͟h-i Maʿṣūmī*, tr. Elliot and Dowson, i, 239; M.S. Elphinstone, *Account of the kingdom of Caubool*, i, London 1839; A. Cunningham, *ASI*, ii, s.v.

(J. Burton-Page)

ḤASAN AG͟HA, successor of K͟hayr al-Dīn as governor of Algiers, when the latter was recalled to Istanbul on 17 Rabīʿ I 942/15 October 1535 to become *ḳapudan-pas͟ha*.

Ḥasan was of Sardinian origin; he was captured as a child by an Algerine pirate and made a slave of K͟hayr al-Dīn, who set him free and made him a eunuch and his confidant. While his master was in command at Algiers he performed various civil and military duties, K͟hayr al-Dīn leaving him at the head of the government with the title of *k͟halīfa*. Until the attack by Charles V (1541) he seems to have acquitted himself well in his duties. It appears that the Count of Alcaudete, the governor of Oran, may have been in contact with him before the Emperor's attack and have believed that he could count on Ḥasan to surrender the town without too much difficulty. It is even possible that the negotiations continued after the defeat of the Spanish expedition.

Subsequently, Ḥasan led a victorious expedition against the Kabyle chief of Kūko in 1542. He may a little later have undertaken a campaign against Tlemcen, but this is doubtful. He gave up his duties in unknown circumstances and died unremarked at Algiers at the end of 1545, aged about 58.

Bibliography: Haëdo, *Hist. des Rois d'Alger*, chap. 3; H. de Grammont, *Hist. d'Alger sous la domination turque*, Paris 1887, 56-72; P. Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran (1534-1558)*, Paris 1900, 68-75; R. Basset, *Documents musulmans sur le siège d'Alger en 1541*, Paris-Oran 1890; S. Lane-Poole, *The Barbary corsairs*, London 1890, 112-23. (R. Le Tourneau)

AL-ḤASAN AL-AʿṢAM, famous Ḳarmaṭī leader of Baḥrayn, born at al-Aḥsā in 278/891, died at Ramla in 366/977. His father Aḥmad b. Abī Saʿīd al-Ḥasan al-Djannābī was the brother of Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān [see AL-DJANNĀBĪ]; he died by poisoning in 359/970. Al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam probably never held power alone, it being, after the death of Abū Ṭāhir, held collectively by the latter's brothers; but he was on several occasions in command of the Ḳarmaṭī armies. In 357/968, he took Damascus and defeated the Ikhshīdid governor. He fell into disgrace for misappropriating some of the booty, but regained command after the Fāṭimid conquest of Syria and the change in the attitude of the Ḳarmaṭīs, who allied themselves with the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. With the help of the Buwayhid Bakhtiyār and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam in 360 gained a complete victory outside Damascus over the Fāṭimid general Djaʿfar b. Falāḥ, who was killed, and he had the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz cursed in the mosques. He next took Ramla, penetrated into Egypt and laid siege to Cairo. But a sortie by Djawhar [*q.v.*] and the defection of his allies ʿUḳayl and Ṭayyiʾ forced him to retreat, and he returned to al-Aḥsā. Damascus remained in the hands of the Ḳarmaṭīs.

Al-Muʿizz, who arrived in Cairo in 362/973, sent al-Aʿṣam a letter (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, 251 f.) reproaching him for having abandoned the Fāṭimid cause, to which al-Aʿṣam sent an insolent reply. In 363/974 he marched once again against Egypt and laid siege to Cairo. But he was betrayed by his ally al-Ḥasan b. al-Djarrāḥ [see DJARRĀḤIDS] and defeated by the Fāṭimid troops under the command of the son of al-Muʿizz, the future al-ʿAzīz, and returned to al-Aḥsā.

The Ḳarmaṭīs who remained in Syria joined forces with the Turk Alptekīn, a Buwayhid afficer who had fled from Baghdād and seized Damascus. A Fāṭimid army commanded by Djawhar arrived outside Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 365/August 976. Alptekīn and the inhabitants of Damascus then appealed for help to al-Aʿṣam, whose arrival from al-Aḥsā obliged Djawhar to retreat in Djumādā I 366/December 976. Pursued by al-Aʿṣam and Alptekīn, Djawhar abandoned Ramla, then ʿAsḳalān, which he was forced to leave in humiliating conditions. After this, al-ʿAzīz, who had been caliph since 365/975, himself took the field, and Alptekīn and al-Aʿṣam, who had returned to Ramla, suffered a severe defeat there. While the fleeing Alptekīn was soon captured, al-Aʿṣam reached the Lake of Tiberias, where he received an emissary of the caliph and made peace on condition that the caliph paid him an annual tribute of 30,000 *dīnārs*, paid in advance for the current year. Then al-Aʿṣam returned to al-Aḥsā.

These last details are from the account of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (followed by Ibn al-Athīr), who states that the battle outside Ramla took place in Muḥarram 367/August-September 977. But the other sources make al-Aʿṣam die at Ramla in Radjab 366/March 977, a few days after he arrived, already sick, in this town. If, as is probable, al-Aʿṣam died in 366, there may have arisen a confusion between him and his brother or cousin Djaʿfar, who, according to Ibn al-Dawādārī, succeeded al-Aʿṣam in the command of the Ḳarmaṭīs allied to Alptekīn, after his death.

Al-Aʿṣam has sometimes been considered as the principal promotor of the change in the attitude of the Ḳarmaṭīs towards the Fāṭimids.

Bibliography: There is a notice on al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam in al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 115. Among the historians see, under the dates indicated, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 1-2 (reproduction of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī who copies Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ), 3 f., 15-21; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *PO*, xviii, 817 (119), xxiii, 351-2 (143-4), 358 (150), 389-90 (181-2); Ibn Ẓāfir, MS Brit. Mus. Or. 3685, fol. 48 f.; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, MS Paris 5866, fol. 12r, 14r, 60v; Ibn al-Athīr *sub annis* 357, 360, 364; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 88 f.; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Shayyāl, 139, 180 f., 200-4, 247-8, 250-1; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 379; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo ed., iv, 31, 56, 58-9, 62, 70, 74-5, 128; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Chronik*, Sechster Teil, *Der Bericht über die Fatimiden*, Cairo 1961, 134, 144, 148-9, 156, 159 f., 175 f., 178-9. For the modern works, see S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, i, Introduction, 219 f., 227-39; Quatremère, *Vie du khal. fat. Moezz-lidin-Allah*, in *JA*, 1837, 76 f.; Defrémery, *Hist. des Ismaéliens de la Perse*, in *JA*, 1856, ii, 376-80; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten ...*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxi (1876), 50-1; idem, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 114 f., 121 f., 137; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes ...*, 157, 182, 183 f., 186-7, 188 f., 190-1; B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism*, 81 f.; H. I. Ḥassān and T. A. Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh*, Cairo 1948, 103 f. and index; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 35 f., 55 f., 65 f., 85 f. (a very important work). (M. Canard)

ḤASAN AL-ʿASKARĪ, Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the eleventh Imām of the Twelver Shīʿa. He is known as al-Ṣāmit, al-Zakī, al-Khāliṣ, al-Naḳī, al-Rafīḳ and al-Hādī. He was commonly called Ibn al-Riḍā (Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā the eighth Imām) among his followers in his lifetime. His *nisba*, al-ʿAskarī, like that of his father the tenth Imām, derives from ʿAskar Sāmarrā. He was born in al-Madīna. Most Twelver Shīʿī authorities give the date of his birth as Rabīʿ I 230/November 844, but al-Kulīnī gives Ramaḍān 232/April 847 (*Uṣūl*, 324). His mother was an *umm walad* named Ḥudayth. Some sources name her Sūsan or Salīl. He was brought to Sāmarrā with his father in 233/847-8 or 234/848-9 and continued to live there. Although he led a life of confinement and strict retirement, he was under constant surveillance during the six years of his Imāmate and was for a while imprisoned by al-Muʿtamid. His brother Djaʿfar took part in intrigues against him.

According to the Twelver Shīʿī traditions, Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī was nominated Imām by his father, the tenth Imām, soon after the death of the previously nominated Imām, his brother Muḥammad Abū Djaʿfar, and a few months before the death of their father in 254/868. The death of Ḥasan's brother, Muḥammad, in the lifetime of their father gave rise

to sectarian dissent, on the ground that the tenth Imām was the last Imām, and owing to the claims of Djaʿfar to the Imāmate.

The eleventh Imām fell ill on 1 Rabīʿ I 260/25 December 873 and died seven days later. He was buried in his house beside his father. His Bāb was ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd. Early Shīʿī authorities (al-Kulīnī, *Uṣūl*, 326; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 365) say that during the week of his illness, the caliph al-Muʿtamid sent his doctors and servants to attend the Imām, and that a considerable number of ʿAlid and ʿAbbāsid notables visited him. Later Shīʿi sources accuse al-Muʿtamid of poisoning him.

At the death of the eleventh Imām, further dissension arose among the Shīʿa on the question of his posterity [see MUḤAMMAD AL-ḲĀʾIM]. Some believed that he left a child named Muḥammad; other denied it. The latter were of no unanimous view: some held that Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī was al-Ḳāʾim and would return; others regarded his childless death as a proof of their error in supporting his Imāmate and turned to his brother Djaʿfar. Al-Shahrastānī mentions twelve dissentient sects (*Milal*, ed. Cureton, ii, 128-31) while Masʿūdī speaks of twenty (*Murūdj*, viii, 40).

Bibliography: An early and detailed account of the life, miracles, companions and agents of the eleventh Imām is given by al-Kulīnī, *Uṣūl*, lith. Bombay 1302, 324-33 and 202-4. A full account of the sources with extensive citation is given by Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehrān 1302, xii, 154-79. See also al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, Tehrān 1308, 365-8; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, ed. Ritter, 78-89; Ibn Khallikān (De Slane trans.), i, 390-1; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 189; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 366; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Aʾimma al-ithnāʿashar*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1958, 113; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 141 ff.; Abu ʾl-Maḥāsin, *Nudjūm* (Cairo ed.), iii, 32.

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(J. ELIASH)

ḤASAN BABA, dey of Algiers from the beginning of 1682 till 22 July 1683. He first exercised the functions of corsair-captain (*raʾīs*) at Algiers; in this capacity he took part in the revolt of 1671 which replaced the powers of the *aghas* by that of the deys. Son-in-law of the first dey, Ḥādjdj Muḥammad Ṭrīḳī who was also a corsair, he already played an important part in the days of this timid old man. Thus, when Ḥādjdj Muḥammad fled to Tripoli on receiving news that a French fleet was coming to attack Algiers, Ḥasan Baba had no difficulty in seizing power (beginning of 1682). He engaged in a brief campaign to repulse the Moroccan troops threatening Tlemcen, but hurried back to Algiers, towards which Duquesne's fleet was sailing. The fleet arrived there on 29 July, bombarding the town from 26 August to 12 September. During this time the dey exercised a rigid authority over the town.

Having on this occasion gained nothing, Duquesne returned in 1683 and began to bombard the city afresh on 26 June. This time the dey agreed to negotiate and to hand over hostages, among whom was a *raʾīs* whom he regarded as his rival, Ḥādjdj Ḥusayn nicknamed Mezzomorto. The latter succeeded in procuring his release by Duquesne on 22 July and led the other corsairs to make an attack on Ḥasan Baba, who was murdered the same day.

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(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI ʾL-ḤASAN YASĀR AL-BAṢRĪ (21/642-110/728), famous preacher of the Umayyad period in Baṣra, belonging to the class of the "successors" (*tābiʿūn*). His father, whose name was originally Pērōz, was made prisoner at the taking of Maysān in Irak, and is said to have been brought to Medina, where he was manumitted by his owner, a woman whose identity cannot be definitely established, and married Ḥasan's mother, Khayra. According to tradition, Ḥasan was born in Medina in 21/642 (for a critique of this tradition see Schaeder, *op. cit.* in bibl., 42-8). He grew up in Wādī ʾl-Ḳurrā and, one year after the Battle of Ṣiffīn, went to Baṣra. As a young man he took part in the campaigns of conquest in eastern Iran (43/663 and the following years). Thereafter he lived in Baṣra until his death in 110/728. His fame rests on the sincerity and uprightness of his religious personality, which already made a deep impression on his contemporaries (Ritter, 14 ff., 33, n. 5), and above all on his famous sermons and pronouncements in which he not only warned his fellow citizens against committing sins, but commanded them to consider and to regulate their whole life *sub specie aeternitatis*, as he did himself. These sermons, of which only fragments have been preserved, are among the best surviving specimens of early Arabic prose. Their vivid images and striking antitheses place them in the class of great rhetoric. It was not without reason that anthologists such as Djāḥiẓ and Mubarrad quoted them together with the famous speeches of the political leaders of the Umayyad period as models of style, and many of his sayings have even found their way into the great dictionaries. Two famous examples are: *ḥādithū hādhihi ʾl-ḳulūba faʾinnahā sarīʿatu ʾl-duthūr* "Repolish these hearts (the seats of religious feeling), for they very quickly grow rusty!" (Ritter 34, mistranslated); *idjʿali ʾl-dunyā ka ʾl-ḳanṭarati tadjūzu ʿalayhā walā taʿmuruhā*! "Make this world into a bridge over which you cross but on which you do not build!" (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 158). It is natural that there is hardly any work of hortatory literature in which some of Ḥasan's sayings are not quoted. His political judgements of the earlier caliphs are not, as is usually the case, confessions of allegiance to a political party, but arise from his religious principles. He criticized fearlessly the rulers of his time, the governors of ʿIrāḳ. When he went so far as to criticize the founding of Wāsiṭ by Ḥadjdjādj in 86/705, he incurred the displeasure of the governor and had to go into hiding until Ḥadjdjādj's death (Schaeder, 55-63; Ritter, 53-5). Nevertheless Ḥasan disapproved of those who took part in attempts to remove by rebellion the evil governors (*taghyīr al-munkar*). When the followers of the rebel Ibn Ashʿath (81/700) ordered him to join them, he explained that the violent actions of tyrants were a punishment sent by God which could not be opposed by the sword but must be endured with patience (Schaeder, 56-7; Ritter, 51). In his sermons he constantly warned against worldly attitudes and attachment to earthly possessions: men are already on the way to death and those who are already dead are only waiting for the others to follow (Ritter, 20). He was suspicious of those who amassed riches. He rejected a suitor for his daughter's hand who was famous for

his wealth simply because of his riches (Ritter, 25), and it did not occur to him to accept uncultivated land (*mawāt*) which was being distributed free: "if I could have everything that lies between the two bridges for a basketful of earth, it would not please me" (Ritter, 25-6). Ḥasan called the worldling, whose faith sat lightly on him and who sinned without concern, by the term *munāfiḳ*, which only he used in this sense. Hence he appears in the doxographies as the chief representative of the doctrine that the *ṣāḥib al-kabīra* was a *munāfiḳ* (Ritter, 42-4). He judged sins strictly (*ta͟shdīd al-maʿāṣī*) and considered that the sinner was fully responsible for his actions. He cannot exculpate himself by saying that God created all actions. This is the attitude of the Ḳadariyya. Ibn Taymiyya recognizes the connexion between *ta͟shdīd al-maʿāṣī* and Ḳadariyya when he says: "Men call everyone who judges sin harshly a Ḳadarī", and states that for this reason Ḥasan has been accused of adhering to Ḳadarī doctrine. There is no doubt that Ḥasan had taken the standpoint of the Ḳadarīs, although attempts were made already at an early date to clear his reputation of this stain (Ritter, 57 ff.). It appears to be demonstrated also by the *risāla* to ʿAbd al-Malik (ed. Ritter, 67-83). Ḥasan's *u͟k͟huwwa* "brotherly feeling" and his altruism are also stressed. One of his admirers was the poet Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*], who called him as a witness for his divorce from his wife Nawār (Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 70).

Not much of Ḥasan's work has survived. In addition to the fragments of sermons already mentioned we have a *risāla* to ʿUmar II of an ascetic and hortatory character (Ritter, 21 ff.), a *risāla* to a "brother" in Mecca, to whom he recommended *mud͟jāwara*, residence in Mecca (Ritter, 8-9), a work on the 54 *farīḍa*, whose authenticity is not yet established (Ritter, 7-8). According to the *Fihrist* (34, 1), Ḥasan had written a *tafsīr*. L. Massignon, in *Essai*, 162-3, cites a few details of Kur'ānic exegesis. G. Bergsträsser, in *Islamica*, ii, 11 ff., deals with Ḥasan's much sought-after "readings" of the Ḳur'ān. Measured by later standards, Ḥasan handled *ḥadī͟t͟h* in a very careless fashion. His own sayings were circulated as *ḥadī͟t͟h*s, and he did not protest (Ritter, 11). Hence he is judged harshly by the critics of the *muḥaddi͟t͟hūn*. D͟hahabī designates him in the *Mīzān*, s.v., as *ka͟t͟hīr al-tadlīs* "rich in forgeries" (Ritter, 2-3).

Influence: The Ahl al-sunna wa 'l-d͟jamāʿa and the Muʿtazilīs both considered him as one of them, although the latter at times claimed that their origin was not connected with him. The followers of *futuwwa* considered him, because of his *u͟k͟huwwa*, as their *imām* (Ritter, 40 ff.). His name appears in the *silsila*s of many Ṣūfī orders as a link in the chain, and he is cited innumerable times in moral works of exhortation. The influence of his ascetic piety persisted in Baṣra (Ritter to be corrected). In the chief work of the Ṣūfī school of Baṣra, the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, it is stated: *wa 'l-Ḥasanu raḥimahu 'llāhu imāmunā fī hād͟ha 'l-ʿilmi 'llad͟hī natakallamu bih, a͟t͟harahu naḳfū wa sabīlahū natbaʿu wa min mi͟shkātihi nastaḍī'* "and Ḥasan is our *imām* in this doctrine which we represent. We walk in his footsteps and we follow his ways and from his lamp we have our light" (*Ḳūt*, i, 149).

Bibliography: Sources: There is hardly any Arabic annalistic or general biographical work which does not contain something concerning Ḥasan and hardly a work on ethics, exhortation, mysticism or *adab* which does not cite one of Ḥasan's sayings. The following may be mentioned: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/1, 114 ff.; *Fihrist*, 183; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Susanna Wilzer (Bibl. Isl. 21), 18 ff.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-a͟k͟hbār*, Cairo 1925, index; Ibn K͟hallikān, no. 155; S͟hahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-nihal*, ed. Cureton, 32; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, *passim*; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1932-8, *passim*; Hud͟jwīrī, *Ka͟shf al-maḥd͟jūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, *GMS* xvii, 86 f.; Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tad͟hkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, i, 24 ff.; Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Ādāb Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, Cairo 1931; *A͟k͟hbār Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, ms. Ẓāhiriyya, Damascus, cf. *Fihris* (*Ta'rī͟k͟h*), 306 (not seen); D͟jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1949, index; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, index; *D͟jamharat rasā'il al-ʿArab*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, Cairo 1937, i, 378-89.

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ḤASAN BEY-ZĀDE, Aḥmed (d. ? 1046/1636-7), Ottoman historian, was the son of 'Küčük' Ḥasan Bey, who was *Re'īs al-küttāb* for the four months of K͟hādim Mesīḥ Pa͟sha's Grand Vizierate (D͟hu'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja 993—Rabīʿ II 994/December 1585—April 1586) and died in Muḥarram 995/December 1586. Obliged by poverty to abandon the theological career, Ḥasan Bey-zāde entered the *ḳalem* service (probably in 998/1590 or 999/1591) as a clerk to the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*. He was present on the Hungarian campaigns of 1005/1596 and 1007/1598 as secretary of the *serdār*. At the beginning of the Uyvar/Neuhausel campaign of 1008/1599, Ibrāhīm Pa͟sha made him his *ba͟sh ted͟hkered͟ji* (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrī͟k͟h*, ed. of 1281-3, i, 214), in which post, with a short period as 'acting' *re'īs al-küttāb* during the Kani͟zha campaign (Solakzāde, 656), he served successive *serdār*s until at least 1013/1604. He is mentioned as *defterdār* of Anadolu in 1018/1609 (Naʿīmā, ii, 71). Thereafter, but with many periods out of office, he held a succession of posts whose sequence and duration is not yet established (*defterdār* of Tuna (twice), Aleppo, Karaman; *beglerbegi* of Kefe, Karaman). According to Ḥād͟jd͟jī K͟halīfa (i, 285 = ed. Flügel, no. 2160) he died in 1046/1636-7.

His History of the Ottomans, as yet unpublished, falls into two parts: the first two-thirds is an abridgement of the *Tād͟j al tawārī͟k͟h* of Saʿd al-Dīn [*q.v.*]; the rest is apparently original and, for the later reigns, of great importance, since it depends on Ḥasan Bey-zāde's own experiences. Manuscripts are fairly numerous: to those listed in Babinger, 174 and 414, in *Istanbul Kütüpaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, 1944, 116-8, by O. F. Köprülü [see *Bibl.*], and in F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı ... türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, i, 1961, nos. 745-7, add Konya, Mevlana Müzesi 3086. The History was first composed in 1031-2/1622-3 (see Flügel, ii, 255); but the manuscripts vary both in their content (? two recensions, see *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4, 99) and in the points to which they reach: at least three (Nuruosmaniye 3106, Tarih Kurumu 517, Konya) have continuations to 1039 (= Solakzâde, p. 749, see below),

and two (Vienna 1049, Köprülü) to 1045/1636 (= Solakzāde, 763). The work served as a main source for Pečewī (see *Ta'rīkh*, i, 3 etc.), Kātib Čelebi (see *Fedhleke*, i, 11 etc.) and Naʿīmā (perhaps indirectly, through Shāriḥ al Manār-zāde, see *Ta'rīkh*, i, 10, and NAʿĪMĀ); while Solakzāde [*q.v.*] frequently follows it so slavishly that he reproduces verbatim Ḥasan Bey-zāde's autobiographical references : thus at *Ta'rīkh*, 610 and 635, for example, *ishbu ṣāḥib al-ḥurūf* and *bu faḳīr* refer to Ḥasan Bey-zāde (Naʿīmā, e.g., at i, 309, occasionally does the same). It remains to be investigated whether a complete edition of the work is required or whether its essential information is in fact already available through these published texts.

Ḥasan Bey-zāde is the author also of *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-ʿālam* (MS: Istanbul, Belediye O.49), dedicated to Čelebi ʿAlī Pasha (Grand Vizier 1029-30/1619-21); it is a collection of maxims of government, abridged from the *Rawḍ al-akhyār* of Meḥmed b. Khaṭīb Ḳāsim (d. 940/1533, see *ʿOthmānlī mü'ellifleri*, ii, 17; Brockelmann, II, 429), itself based on the *Rabīʿ al abrār* of al-Zamakhsharī. A *medjmūʿa* in the possession of Prof. Cavid Baysun (for details see *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4, 100, n. 8 and *TM*, x, 322-3) contains some poems composed by Ḥasan Bey-zāde (who used, besides his personal name Aḥmed, the *makhlaṣ* Ḥamdī), and three *fetḥnāmes* (one incomplete) which he wrote for the capture of Kanizhe (1009/1600). In the Public Record Office in London are preserved two letters informing Queen Elizabeth of this victory, one from the Sultan (SP 102/4, partial trans. in B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman Okl. 1963, 166-8), the other from the Grand Vizier (SP 102/61): these were probably composed by Ḥasan Bey-zāde.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN-[V. L. MÉNAGE])

ḤASAN BUZURG, founder of the Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

ḤASAN ČELEBI [see ḲINALĪZĀDE].

ḤASAN DIHLAWĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN ḤASAN B. ʿALĀ AL-SIDJZĪ AL-DIHLAWĪ (b. 655/1275, d. 737/1336), eminent poet and hagiographer of Islamic India, is principally known for his *Dīwān* and for the *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, a compilation, made between 707/1307 and 721/1321, of the *dicta* of his preceptor Niẓām al-Dīn al-Awliyā [*q.v.*]. The authoritativeness of the later work is acknowledged by his contemporaries, including the historian Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī [*q.v.*], as well as in all subsequent hagiographies compiled in India. He was a close friend of Amīr Khusraw and, like him, attached at Multān to the court of Prince Muḥammad (Shahīd), son of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (665/1266-686/1287). They were both attached to the court of ʿAlā al-Dīn Khaldjī (696/1296-716/1316). Later he migrated to Dawlatābād in Dakhan and died there. His fame as a poet was eclipsed by that of Amīr Khusraw, but in his own right he is the master of a direct, appealing style.

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(AZIZ AHMAD)

ḤASAN FEHMĪ, Ottoman statesman, was born near Batum, the son of Ḥādjdjī-oghlu Sherīf Molla and grandson of one Meḥmed Agha. After primary education there he went to Istanbul, where he studied Arabic, Persian, and French with private tutors, as well as law. He began government service as an employee of the Translation Bureau in 1858, subsequently becoming an official in various commercial courts. While so employed he wrote for the newspapers *Taḳwīm-i Tidjāret* and *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith*. In 1868 he became president of the first *medjlis* of the Commercial Court, but was dismissed, probably in late 1871, during the Grand Vizierate of Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*]. For some years thereafter he practised law privately.

Upon the institution of the constitutional regime by Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], Ḥasan Fehmī, then chief clerk of the Translation Bureau, was elected a deputy by the Istanbul electors on the fourth ballot, on 1 March 1877. When the chamber met on 21 March, it elected him one of the four secretaries for the first session. On the closing day of that session, 28 June 1877, Ḥasan Fehmī made the major speech, pointing with pride to the chamber's free discussion and to its beneficial actions, even though in his view it had not accomplished all it should have done.

Chosen again on 12 November 1877 as an Istanbul deputy for the second session of the parliament, Ḥasan Fehmī became president of the chamber by election on the third ballot, taking office on 31 December. As president he was more moderate and courteous than had been his predecessor Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] in the first session, but allowed more digression by those who spoke. The session over which he presided, prorogued by the sultan on 14 February 1878, passed no bills, but effectively criticized the ministry. Ḥasan did not, like Aḥmed Wefīḳ, assume the rôle of government spokesman. After the chamber's dissolution Ḥasan Fehmī continued as vice-president of a special chamber committee, over which the sultan presided, to aid refugees from the Russo-Turkish war.

In 1878 Ḥasan Fehmī was appointed Minister of Public Works. While occupying this office he taught commercial law and international law in Istanbul. He was also for a time director of the civil list (*Khazīne-i Khāṣṣa nāẓiri*). His lectures on law were published in summary form in a book entitled *Telkhīṣ-i ḥuḳūḳ-i düwel*, but after a *jurnal* submitted to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II the book was suppressed and he was reprimanded. In 1881 Ḥasan Fehmī attained

the rank of vizier, and became Minister of Justice. In the first months of 1885 he was sent on a special diplomatic mission to London to negotiate the Egyptian question. In 1889 he became collector of customs (*Rüsūmāt emīni*), in 1892 *wālī* of Aydîn, and in 1895 *wālī* of Selânik, then again collector of customs and president of the Council of Accounts (*Dīwān-i muḥāsebāt*). He was the second Turkish delegate to sign the peace after the Greco-Turkish war of 1897.

Despite his many offices under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, Ḥasan Fehmī retained the reputation of being untainted by the régime, and after the revolution of 1908 was regarded by some affection by the Young Turks as an "Old Young Turk" and a living link between the first and the second constitutional periods. During the two years following the revolution he was twice Minister of Justice and once President of the Council of State in various cabinets, and became a member of the Senate. He died in 1910 in his house at Edirne Ḳapî and was buried in the family cemetery at Fātiḥ on Agha Yoḳushu. His wife was the daughter of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ghālib Pasha.

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ḤASAN FEHMĪ efendi, known as Aḳshehirli, an Ottoman Sheykh al-Islām. The son of ʿOthmān Efendi of Ilgin, he was born in 1210/1795-6, and held various appointments in the teaching branch of the *ʿIlmiyye* [*q.v.*] profession. In 1275/1858-9, on the death of Yaḥyā Efendi [*q.v.*], he was appointed to the office of *Ders Wekīli*, with the duty of teaching and preaching on behalf of the Sheykh al-Islām. Djewdet, who had reason to be hostile to Ḥasan Fehmī, indicates that the appointment was made for want of any one better, and says that he was known among the students as *kadhūbī*—the liar (*Tezâkir 13-20*, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1960, 69; according to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, he earned this soubriquet by not fulfilling the promises he made to the influential people whom he approached). His position became much stronger after the accession of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whose preceptor he was. In 1863 he accompanied the Sultan to Egypt, where he is said to have had learned conversations with the Azharī Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Saḳḳāʾ [*q.v.*]. In 1867 he became Ḳāḍīʿasker of Anatolia, then of Rumelia, and in April 1868 was appointed, for the first time, as Sheykh al-Islām. This was a time when the modernization of the apparatus of government was reducing the jurisdiction and power of the office of the Sheykh al-Islam; the creation in particular of new administrative bodies dealing with law and education meant a curtailment of his authority in matters previously regarded as his exclusive concern [see bāb-i mashīkhat]. Ḥasan Fehmī tried to resist these encroachments. The first object of his counter-attack was the committee which, under the chairmanship of Aḥmad Djewdet [*q.v.*] and the authority of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, was preparing a new Ottoman civil code, the famous *Medjelle* [*q.v.*]. Djewdet and his committee had successfully resisted the pressure of the extreme Westernizers, egged on by the French ambassador Bourée, for a French-style code, and were preparing a modern statement of Ḥanafī Muslim law. They now had to face the opposition, on the other side, of the *ʿulamāʾ*, led by the Sheykh al-Islām, who saw in the preparation of this code under the department of justice a usurpation of the functions and prerogatives of his own office. Ḥasan Fehmī offered various obstructions to the work; in 1870 he procured the removal of Djewdet to other duties and the transfer of the *Medjelle* committee, under a new chairman, to the jurisdiction of his own office. Djewdet later returned to the chairmanship, but the feud between him and Ḥasan Fehmī continued (Ebul'ulâ Mardin, *Medeni hukuk cephesinden Ahmet Cevdet Paşa*, Istanbul 1946, 64, 70, 78-80, 82, 84, 88 f., 91 ff., 98-9, 106, citing Djewdet's own account of these matters from his unpublished memoranda).

Another objective was the newly opened *Dār al-Funūn*, designed by the Ministry of Education to grow into a university and serve as the corner-stone of a modern educational system. Ḥasan Fehmī was not present at the ceremonial opening in 1870; there is good reason to believe that he was instrumental in bringing about the closing of the *Dār al-Funūn* in the following year. There is some evidence that one of the circumstances leading to this closure was a public lecture given by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, which was reported to the Sheykh al-Islām as being heretical and blasphemous (Osman Keskioğlu, *Cemaleddin Efgani*, in *Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1962, 92-6, where other Turkish sources are cited; M. Z. Pakalın, *Son sadrıazamlar ...*, iv, Istanbul 1944, 136 ff.; Osman Ergin, *Türkiyede maarif tarihi*, ii, Istanbul 1940, 460 ff.; Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī, *Dār al-Fünūn taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1927 (not seen); E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-09*, Cambridge 1910, 7; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, Princeton N.J. 1963, 271).

Ḥasan Fehmī was dismissed from office in September 1871, ten days after the death of his protector the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v.*], and two weeks after the return of Djewdet as chairman of the *Medjelle* committee and a member of the Council of State. He returned to office for a second term as Sheykh al-Islām in July 1874, and remained until May 1876. He lost no time in resuming his quarrel with Djewdet, whom he blamed for the transfer of the *Medjelle* committee from the *bāb-i fetwā*, under his own jurisdiction, to the Sublime Porte (Mardin, *op. cit.*, 114 ff., 123 f.). The work on the *Medjelle* proceeded, however, and by now the Sheykh al-Islām was even willing to attend the first prize-giving ceremony of the Galatasaray school in 1875 (Maḥmūd Djewād, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Neẓāreti taʾrīkhče-i teshkīlāt we idjrāʾātî*, Istanbul 1338, 152). The last eight and a half months of his tenure of office coincided with the second Grand Vizierate of Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*], and ended with his tall. The riots of 10 May 1876 were directed especially against the Grand Vizier and the Sheykh al-Islām, the rioters demanding the dismissal of both. Ḥasan Fehmī's unpopularity was no doubt due in part to his association with a very unpopular minister. There is also some evidence that he was personally unpopular among the *ʿulemāʾ* and theological students (see for example Meḥmed Memdūḥ, *Mirʾāt-i shuʾūnāt*, Izmir 1328, 64-5, where he is accused of giving advancement only to his own followers, and of appointing unqualified persons). Prof. Davison (*Reform ...*, 325) hazards the guess that his unpopularity among the students may have been due to the influence of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, against whom he is said to have acted in 1870.

The hostility of Djewdet, better grounded and more potent, will no doubt have had some effect. Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha is said to have tried to pacify the students by offering to replace Ḥasan Fehmī, but without avail. Both were dismissed on 11 May 1876. In 1877 Ḥasan Fehmī was sent to Medina, where he died in 1881.

Ḥasan Fehmī combined the offices of Chief Muftī of the capital (Sheykh al-Islām) and chief preceptor of the palace, and was therefore called *Djāmiʿ al-riyāsatayn*. This combination was unusual but not unprecedented (see for example SAʿD AL-DĪN). He was the author of a number of books, chiefly text-books and commentaries, some of which were printed. He also composed poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: in addition to works cited in the article *ʿIlmiyye Sālnāmesi*, 1334, 599-601; *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, i, 216-7; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1340, 306-7; Aḥmed Rāsim, *Istibdāddan ḥākimiyet-i milliyyeye*, ii, Istanbul 1925, 120 ff.; Ismail Hami Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iv, Istanbul 1955, index; Niyazi Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964, index. (B. LEWIS)

ḤASAN FEHMĪ, a Turkish journalist who achieved a brief celebrity in 1909 as editor of the newspaper *Serbestī*, in which he made violent attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ]. His murder on the Galata bridge by an unknown assailant on the night of 6-7 April 1909 (n.s.) was blamed by both the liberals and the Muhammadan Union [see ITTIḤĀD-I MUḤAMMEDĪ] on the Committee, and his funeral was made the occasion for hostile demonstrations and speeches. A period of mounting tension followed, culminating in the mutiny of troops of the First Army Corps on 31 March o.s. = 13 April n.s.

Bibliography: Turkish newspapers 7-13 April 1909, n.s.; F. McCullugh, *The fall of Abd-ul-Hamid*, London 1910, 23-4, 62-3, 71-4; A. Sarrou, *La jeune-Turquie et la révolution*, Paris-Nancy 1912, 76; Yūnus Nādī, *Ikhtilāl we inḳilāb-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1325 (solar), 19 ff.; Ali Cevat Bey, *Ikinci meşrutiyetin ilânı ve otuzbir Mart hadisesi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, Ankara 1960, 46; Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk inkilâbı tarihi*², i/2, Ankara 1964, 129, 183-4; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*², 1965, 210-1. (B. LEWIS)

ḤASAN KĀFĪ [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ (d)].

ḤASAN KÜČÜK [see ČŪBĀNIDS].

ḤASAN, MĪR [see MĪR GHULĀM ḤASAN].

ḤASAN PASHA, son of Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and placed in command at Algiers three times: 1544-1551, 1557-1561, and 1562-1567. The son of an Algerine woman, he was less than 28 years old when appointed pasha of Algiers for the first time. His first command (as deputy to his father, who was both Beylerbey and Ḳapudan Pasha) was marked at the beginning by the strengthening of the fortifications of Algiers, found to be inadequate after the expedition of Charles V in 1541. On the other hand, he tried to settle the question of Tlemcen, still as much under the influence of the Spaniards of Oran as that of the Turks of Algiers. To this end he organized two campaigns against Tlemcen: one, in 1544, was victorious; the other, in 1546, was cut short when he learnt of the death of his father in Istanbul and hastened back to Algiers. From this time he received the title of *beylerbey* which his father had always held.

From 1550 onwards he had in addition to cope with the Moroccans. The Saʿdid Muḥammad al-Shaykh had taken Fez in 1549 and thus become ruler of all Morocco. Ḥasan Pasha thought to ally himself with him against the Spaniards of Oran, but the Saʿdid profited from this alliance to seize Tlemcen (9 June 1550). Ḥasan Pasha reacted at once, retook Tlemcen, and even pursued the Moroccan troops as far as the Moulouya. This was the beginning of a Moroccan policy which the Turks were long to pursue.

The *beylerbey* was recalled to Turkey in September 1551 as the result of many intrigues. He was once again sent to Algiers in June 1557 to replace Ṣāliḥ Pasha, who had died the year before.

Relations were again strained between the Saʿdids and the Turks, for the Moroccans had retaken Tlemcen. Ḥasan Pasha rapidly ejected them and even entered Morocco, but for fear of having his lines of communication cut by the Spaniards he did not push on as far as Fez. At the same time he sent to Morocco some Turks, pretending to be deserters, who succeeding in assassinating the Saʿdid ruler on 23 October 1557. He then turned against the Spaniards, whom he heavily defeated on 26 August 1558. In 1559 he wished to strengthen the Turkish hold on Kabylia and inflicted a serious defeat upon his enemies in September 1559. After this he tried to enroll the Kabyles in his service against the Moroccans. The outraged Janissaries seized the *beylerbey* and sent him in chains to Istanbul (September 1561).

Quickly vindicated, Ḥasan Pasha returned to Algiers a year later. He at once made serious preparations against the Spaniards of Oran. The siege of Mers el-Kebir lasted two months (3 April-7 June 1563), but failed, as a consequence of the arrival of a relieving fleet. In the following year Ḥasan Pasha received orders to prepare his fleet for the Ottoman attack on Malta, and he took part in this in July 1565. Although the siege failed, the Algerians and their commander served with distinction.

The Ottoman archival sources provide some supplementary details on Ḥasan Pasha's career. Upon his recall from Algiers in 1551, he was appointed *sandjaḳ-begi* of Manisa, but held office for only a short time: he was retired, with a *dirlik*, in 962/1554 (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme register no. i, p. 212, no. 1326, of 15 Muḥarram 962). The text of the firman ordering him to participate in the attack on Malta is preserved (Mühimme, vi, p. 263, doc. 561). As beylerbey he followed his father's policy of hostility to the French, and was hence accused of piratical activities against French ships (Mühimme, vi, p. 637, doc. 1398). After his second recall from Algiers in 1567, he played a part in the battle of Lepanto [*q.v.*]: he was ordered to command part of the fleet sent from Istanbul to the Archipelago (Mühimme, xii, p. 244, doc. 510), and during the battle fought in the centre, with the Ḳapudan Pasha, Müʾedhdhinzāde ʿAlī Pasha. On 2 December 1571 he was again appointed beylerbey of Algiers (Mühimme, xvi, p. 313, doc. 555) but did not go to his post (Mühimme, x, p. 99, doc. 157, of 23 Shaʿbān 979/12 January 1572), probably because he was already ailing. He died in 1572, and was buried beside his father at Beshiktash. His elder son Maḥmūd commanded a ship at Lepanto; the younger, Meḥmed, was a *müteferriḳa* (Mühimme, xxv, p. 93, doc. 1050, of 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 981).

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1888, 50; A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des chérifs au Maroc*, Paris 1904, chaps. 4 and 6; P. Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran*, Paris 1900, chaps. 9-13; Aziz Sami Ilter, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler*, Istanbul 1936, i, 124-40, *passim*; R. Le Tourneau, *Les débuts de la dynastie saʿdienne*, Algiers 1954, chap. 4; Sir Godfrey Fisher, *The Barbary States*, London 1957, 76, 81-2, 85.

(R. Le Tourneau and Cengiz Orhonlu)

ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A, governor of the Bag̲h̲dād *eyālet* (*wilāyet*) (and intermittently of adjacent provinces also) from 1116/1704 to 1136/1723, and father and predecessor of Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], founded the line of Mamlūk rulers of ʿIrāḳ which lasted till 1247/1831. A Georgian by origin and son of an officer of Murād IV, he was born about 1068/1657, educated in the Sarāy schools, and advanced rapidly to the governorships of Konya, Aleppo, Urfa and Diyārbakr. In ʿIrāḳ he showed exceptional gifts of character by his piety, firmness and justice, and, by yearly (at times monthly) expeditions, successfully imposed discipline on the unruly Arab and Kurdish tribes, secured a high (if never flawless) standard of law and order, and demanded justice and honesty from his subordinates. The Ottoman declaration of war on Persia in 1136/1723 involved Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a in important military operations and a large-scale invasion of enemy territory in the winter of that year. He died at Kermāns̲h̲āh before the spring, and his posthumous title of "conqueror of Hamadān" was strictly earned not by him but by his son Aḥmad: but his own lengthy tenure of the Pas̲h̲alïḳ was rightly judged as outstandingly successful.

Bibliography: As for Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*].

(S. H. Longrigg)

ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A, Čataldjalï, Ottoman Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a. The son of a Janissary from Čatald̲j̲a, he was trained as a saddler in the household of the *Čās̲h̲nagīr* Meḥmed Ag̲h̲a. The patronage of the *Dār al-saʿāda ag̲h̲asï* Muṣṭafā procured him appointment in the Palace service successively as *Maṭbak̲h̲ emīni*, *Čawus̲h̲-bas̲h̲ï*, *Ḳapïd̲j̲ï-bas̲h̲ï* and *Mīrak̲h̲ur-i ewwel* [see sarāy]. Upon his appointment as Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a in 1035/1625-6 he was given in marriage ʿĀʾis̲h̲a Sulṭān, the daughter of Aḥmed I.

As Admiral, he procured the installation of D̲j̲ānïbek Girāy as K̲h̲ān of the Crimea (1037/1627-8). In 1040/1630-1 he destroyed the Cossack fleet which had ravaged the Black Sea coasts while he was cruising in the Ionian islands and he repaired and re-fortified Özi ([*q.v.*], Oczakov) on the Dnieper. The jealousy of the *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* Red̲j̲eb Pas̲h̲a, who suspected that he was aspiring to supersede him, led to Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a's dismissal as Ḳapudan (12 Rabīʿ I 1041/8 October 1631) and appointment as beylerbey of Budin. While he was supervising the movement of troops in Rumeli, he died at Dog̲h̲an Köprüsü in Northern Thessaly. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried by a *mekteb* (in *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, ii, 132: a *mesd̲j̲id*) which he had founded in the Gedik Pas̲h̲a quarter.

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ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A [see d̲j̲ezāʾirli g̲h̲āzī ḥasan pas̲h̲a, kāhya ḥasan pas̲h̲a, k̲h̲ādim ḥasan pas̲h̲a, ṣoḳollï, tiryākī ḥasan pas̲h̲a, yemenli ḥasan pas̲h̲a, yemis̲h̲d̲j̲i ḥasan pas̲h̲a].

Dāmād **ḤASAN PAS̲H̲A**, (? -1125/1713), Ottoman Grand Vizier. The sources refer to him sometimes as "Moralï", *i.e.*, "from the Morea" and sometimes as "Enis̲h̲te", *i.e.*, "brother-in-law" (of the sultan, in this instance). He became a *čokadār* and then, in 1095/1683-4, rose to the rank of *silāḥdār*. On the accession to the throne of Süleymān II in Muḥarrem 1099/November 1687 he was made governor of Egypt (with the status of vizier)—an appointment that he held until 1101/1689-90, when, according to the *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, he became *mutaṣarrïf* of Brusa and Nicomedia (Izmid). Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, in 1102/1690-1, received the hand of K̲h̲adīd̲j̲a Sulṭān, a daughter of Meḥemmed IV. After serving for some time as *Bog̲h̲āz muḥāfïẓï* he was sent, in 1105/1693-4, to govern the island of Sāḳïz (Chios). The war of the "Sacra Lega" (Austria, Venice, Poland) against the Ottoman Empire was still in progress (1684-99). Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a now, in 1106/1694, had to meet at Chios the assault of a Venetian naval force sailing under the command of Antonio Zeno and consisting of about one hundred vessels, great and small, with more than eight thousand troops on board. Effective resistance was not possible and Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a, after a brief siege, surrendered the island to the Venetians, the Muslim garrison and the Muslim population on Chios being allowed to depart, with their arms and baggage, for Čes̲h̲me on the mainland of Asia Minor. As a punishment for this reverse Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a suffered a brief incarceration, after which he became governor of Kefe (Kaffa) in the Crimea (*Nusretnâme*, i/1, 27). He was raised, in 1106/1695, to the rank of fifth and then of second vizier (*Nusretnâme*, i/1, 27, 33). Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a now held office in succession as *muḥāfïẓ* of Edirne (1107/1695-6: *Nusretnâme*, i/1, 110), as *Beglerbegi* of Anadolu (1109/1697: *Nusretnâme*, i/3, 302) and as *Beglerbegi* of Ḥaleb (1109/1697: *Nusretnâme*, i/3, 307). Appointed to be *ḳāʾimmaḳām* at Istanbul in 1110/1698 (*Nusretnâme*, i/3, 353), Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a continued to serve in different capacities, until, not long after the accession of Aḥmed III, he was made Grand Vizier on 8 Red̲j̲eb 1115/17 November 1703, retaining that office till 28 D̲j̲umādā I 1116/28 September 1704. Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a became governor of Egypt for the second time in 1119/1707 and then, in 1121/1709, governor of Tripoli in Syria. He served as *Beglerbegi* of Anadolu once more in 1124/1712 and later in the same year was transferred to Raḳḳa in Syria. He died in Rebīʿ II 1125/May 1713.

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Seyyid **Ḥasan Pasha**, Ottoman Grand Vizier under the sultan Maḥmūd I; a native of a village in the district of Sharkī (Shebin) Ḳara Ḥisār, he entered the Janissary Odjak, in 1146/1733-4 attained the rank of *ḳul-kāhyasī* (lieutenant-general), took part in the Persian campaigns and in mid-Rabīʿ I 1151/29 June-8 July 1738, during the war with Austria, was promoted to be Agha of the Janissaries. After receiving the title of vizier on 22 Ramaḍān 1152/26 December 1739 for his bravery in this war, he was appointed Grand Vizier on 4 Shaʿban 1156/23 September 1743, owing his nomination to the favour of Bashīr, the influential *Kīzlar-aghasī* (chief black eunuch) of the Imperial Ḥarem. The continuation of the war with Nādir Shah [*q.v.*], the cessation by the convention of 18 January 1744 of the border warfare with Austria, which had been going on intermittently since the Peace of Belgrade (1739), and various diplomatic steps, instigated by the celebrated adventurer Aḥmed Pasha Bonneval [*q.v.*] with a view to the reception of the Porte into the European Concert, all fell within his period of office. As a result of Palace intrigues he was dismissed on 22 Radjab 1159/10 August 1746 and banished to Rhodes. In the following year (mid-Rabīʿ I 1160/13 March-1 April 1747) the governorship of Ič-il and a little later (mid-Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda/12-23 November) that of Diyārbakr was given him, and he died in the latter town at the end of 1161/1748.

Illiterate, but a wise and experienced man, he occupied with success the highest posts of the Empire for almost a decade. As a pious Muslim he built in 1158/1745 in the Bāyazīd quarter of Istanbul, near a khān constructed by himself, a two-storey building including a mosque, a *madrasa* and a public fountain.

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(J. H. Mordtmann-[E. Kuran])

Sherīf **Ḥasan Pasha**, Ottoman Grand Vizier in the reign of Selīm III, was the son of Čelebi Ḥādjdjī Süleymān Agha, one of the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] of Rusčuḳ, who is mentioned in the year 1183/1770 as leader of the troops of Rusčuḳ, Silistre and Yergögü (Giurgewo) in the war against Russia (1769-1774). He himself took part with distinction in the raid led by the Crimean Khān into the Ukraine in the winter of 1769, a campaign celebrated through Baron de Tott's description (*Mémoires*, ii, 202-67), as *serdengečdi aghasī* (chief of the volunteers). In the course of the campaign he was rewarded for the financial support which he had given the Grand Vizier Muḥsinzāde Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] by being granted the rank of *ḳapudjī bashī*, and on 23 Djumādā II 1187/11 September 1773 was appointed commandant of Rusčuḳ with the rank of vizier. Being transferred shortly afterwards to the post of commandant of Silistre, he defended it with success when the Russians attacked at the end of the year. After the conclusion of peace (July 1774) he fell into disgrace, lost the rank of vizier and spent a number of years in exile in Gümüldjine and Salonica. After the outbreak of war with Russia at the end of 1201/autumn 1787 he was again given various military commands on the Danube and, following the death of Djezā'irli Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed on 1 Shaʿbān 1204/16 April 1790 Grand Vizier and *Serdār-i ekrem* (commander-in-chief) in his place. While his brother Seyyid Meḥmed was able on 25 Ramaḍān/8 June to inflict at Yergögü a considerable reverse on the Austrians who had declared war on the Ottoman Empire, his own campaign against the Russians was most unfortunate; towards the end of the year the latter captured in rapid succession the fortresses of Kili, Tulča, Isaḳdja and Ismāʿīl and, as Sherīf Ḥasan Pasha had moreover brought suspicion upon himself by all kinds of arbitrary actions and the frankness of his reports, he was surprised in the night of 9 Djumādā II 1205/12-13 February 1791 in his quarters in Shumnu (Shumla) and shot by the Sultan's orders.

Bibliography: Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, suppl. ii, 43 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 160; Wāṣif, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 63, 267, 290; Djewdet, *Ta'rikh*², iv, 62, 67, v, 18-102; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, vi, 768, 796-814; I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1956, iv/1, index.

(J. H. Mordtmann-[E. Kuran])

ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ, grandson of the *ḳizilbāsh* chief Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, the governor of Ḳazwīn and Sāudj Bulāgh, who died in 946/1539-40. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū was born at Ḳumm in 937/1530-1, and was trained in the Ṣafawid army as a *ḳūrči*.

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū is chiefly remembered as the author of a twelve-volume general history entitled *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*. Only two volumes are extant, but these are probably the most valuable ones. Vol. x, covering the period 807-899/1405-1493, exists only in MS. in Leningrad (Dorn 287). C. N. Seddon published (Baroda 1931) the text of Vol. xi, covering the period 900-985/1494-1577, and (Baroda 1934) an abridged translation of this volume (see Storey, i/1, 306-08; Rieu, *Supp.*, 55; description by Seddon in *JRAS*, 1927, 307-13, and reviews by V. Minorsky in *BSOS*, vii/2 (1934), 449-55, and vii/4 (1935), 990-3).

Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, as a *ḳizilbāsh* officer, concentrates on military affairs, and has less information on administrative matters than other chroniclers of the period; moreover, political caution leads him to present the actions of the *ḳizilbāsh* in the most favourable light. Despite this, the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* contains valuable biographical material, and remains the best authority for the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76). From 948/1541-2, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū accompanied the Shāh on most of his expeditions, and was an eye-witness of events from that date until 985/1578, in which year he brought his chronicle to a close with an account of the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

Bibliography: references in the text.

(R. M. Savory)

ḤASAN-I ṢABBĀḤ, first *dāʿī* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs at Alamūt. Ḥasan was born at Ḳumm, son of an Imāmī Shīʿī of Kūfa, ʿAlī b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī. He studied at Rayy and there, sometime after the age of seventeen, was converted to Ismāʿīlism. (The tale of his schoolfellow pact with ʿUmar Khayyām and Niẓām al-Mulk, his later enemy, is a fable.) In 464/1071-2 he became a deputy of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭṭāsh, chief Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in the Saldjūḳ domains; in 469/1076-7 he was sent to Egypt, presumably for training, where he remained about three years. (The stories of his conflict there with the *wazīr*, Badr al-Djamālī, are not dependable.) On returning to Īrān, he travelled widely in the Ismāʿīlī cause. In 483/1090 he seized the rock fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in Rūdhbār in Daylamān with the aid of converts among the garrison. This was one of the first coups in a general rising against the Saldjūḳ

power by the Ismāʿīlīs, which emphasized seizing fortresses and assassinating key opponents and had wide success after Malikshāh's death (485/1092); these insurgents were called Nizārīs [*q.v.*] after they broke with the Fāṭimid Egyptian government in 487/1094 in support of the claims of Nizār to the imāmate. Meanwhile Ḥasan, as leader in Rūdhbār, was taking a number of strongholds there and making them as self-sufficient as possible. After 498/1104, under Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, the Saldjūḳ forces recovered many fortresses, including the headquarters of Ibn ʿAṭṭāsh's son near Iṣfahān; Ḥasan's post at Alamūt proved a crucial stronghold, resisting persistent Saldjūḳ assaults. In 511/1118 a major siege of Alamūt broke up only on Muḥammad's death. By this time, Ḥasan seems to have been recognized as chief throughout the Nizārī movement. His remaining years, till 518/1124, were mostly peaceful and devoted to consolidating into a cohesive (but territorially very scattered) state such of the Nizārī holdings as had been retained.

Ḥasan led a retired and ascetic life and imposed a puritanical regimen on Rūdhbār. He executed both his sons, one for alleged murder, the other for drunkenness. He was learned in the philosophical disciplines and wrote cogently. We have a portion of his autobiography, an abridgement of a treatise of his on theology, and possibly other writings. He expounded in Persian an intensely logical form of the Shīʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, that one must accept absolute authority in religious faith; this form of the doctrine became central to the Nizārī teaching of the time and greatly affected al-Ghazālī.

Neither in the intellectual nor in the political sphere do we know how far Ḥasan was an originator, how far simply the most successful exemplar of the new ways used by the Nizārīs. Among later Nizārīs, Ḥasan came to be looked on as the chief figure of the "*daʿwa djadīda*", the reformed Ismāʿīlī movement dating from the break with the Egyptian government. He was the *ḥudjdja*, the living proof of the vanished *imām* after Nizār's death, and the authorized link with the line of *imāms* who subsequently appeared in Alamūt. He was called *sayyid-nā*, "our master", and his tomb became a shrine. Outsiders ascribed to him the organization of the whole Nizārī movement and especially the organization and training of the *fidāʾīs*, dedicated assassins, who later may have formed a special corps.

What we have of Ḥasan's writings, in addition to brief citations and perhaps summaries in later Nizārī works, is preserved in al-Shahrastānī and in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, and Djuwaynī (who is less full); the latter two give primary data on his life. For discussion and bibliography, see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: the struggle of the early Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs against the Islamic world* (The Hague 1955). For an uncritical but interesting modern Ismāʿīlī evaluation, see Jawad al-Muscati, *Hasan bin Sabbah* (2nd. ed.: Ismailia Association Pakistan, Karachi 1953 or 1958).

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Ashraf b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [see zayn al-ʿābidīn], born about 230/844 at Medīna of a Khurāsān slave girl, died in Shaʿbān 304/beginning of 917 at Āmul as ruler in Ṭabaristān, is still recognized under the official name of al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr as Imām by the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] in the Yemen.

Al-Uṭrūsh came to Ṭabaristān in the reign of the ʿAlid al-Dāʿī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [see al-ḥasan b. zayd b. muḥammad]; his brother and successor al-Ḳāʾim bi 'l-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥammad b. Zayd distrusting him, he endeavoured to found a kingdom of his own in the east, at first with the support of the governor of Naysābūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī, who took Djurdjān from al-Ḳāʾim. But tale-bearers cast suspicion on al-Uṭrūsh and al-Khudjistānī threw him into prison in Naysābūr or Djurdjān and had him scourged, which injured his hearing and to this he owes his epithet "the deaf". On his release he returned to al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad and in 287 or 288 or (according to Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, Tehrān 1307, 229, line 14, ed. Cairo 1949/1368, 694) not till 289/900-1 he shared in the latter's defeat at Djurdjān by Muḥammad b. Hārūn, then a partisan of the Sāmānid [*q.v.*] Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. Al-Ḳāʾim died as a result of a wound; al-Uṭrūsh fled and went to Dāmaghān and Rayy among other places. On the death of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid in 289/902, he came forward again, especially as Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who had quarrelled with the Sāmānids, supported him. Al-Uṭrūsh received a welcome from Djastān of Daylam (or his son Wahsūdān; cf. Vasmer, in *Islamica*, iii, 165 ff.). The friendship of the Djastānids, which dated from the time they and al-Uṭrūsh were with al-Ḳāʾim, was as fickle as their attitude to Islam, which their ancestor Marzbān had adopted only a century earlier. Several joint undertakings thus came to nothing; al-Uṭrūsh recognized the necessity of first of all securing a following of his own, and through them the followers of the Djastānids. He conducted Islamic missions and ʿAlid propaganda from Hawsam among the not yet converted tribes on the coast of the Caspian Sea and in Gīlān and also built mosques.

The Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl in 298/910 sent Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlūḳ to Ṭabaristān with orders to prevent the foundation of the new state; but a Khurāsān army superior in numbers and still more so in equipment was completely defeated by the Daylamīs under al-Uṭrūsh at Shālūs in Djumādā I 301/December 913; many fugitives were driven into the sea; a detatchment led by Abu 'l-Wafāʾ Khalīfa b. Nūḥ escaped to the fortress of Shālūs, surrendered to al-Uṭrūsh on a promise of pardon, but was shortly afterwards massacred by his general and son-in-law al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Al-Uṭrūsh had in the meanwhile gone to Āmul with the rest of the army, sent for by the terrified inhabitants, and had taken up his abode in the former palace of al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad. He was able to instal his officials from Shālūs to Sāriya, unhindered by the Sāmānids, because just then Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl was murdered and his son Naṣr had first of all to make his position secure against his family and the notables. The Ispahbed Sharwīn b. Rustam of the house of Bāwand, which had been very dangerous to the earlier ʿAlids, made peace with al-Uṭrūsh.

In accordance with the usual experience in the foundation of ʿAlid states, more difficulty was found in getting the numerous relatives to work together. As al-Uṭrūsh was at least 70 when he entered Āmul, and his sons seemed rather incapable, the tension that had formerly existed between al-Ḳāʾim Muḥammad and al-Uṭrūsh was now repeated between the latter and the already mentioned general al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim. The latter broke for a time with al-Uṭrūsh and even took him prisoner on one occasion, but had to fly to Daylam in face of the general indignation. But equally general was the pressure

brought by the notables upon the dying al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u> to designate this same al-Ḥasan as his successor, and they at once paid homage to him after the death of al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u>.

Al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u> owed his rise not only to the skilful way in which he took advantage of the political discord on the Caspian Sea but also to his unusual intellectual ability. He was also a poet (cf. Brit. Mus. MS, Suppl. 1259, iv, and specimens in the *Ifāda*, see *Bibl.*), but he particularly cultivated dogmatics, tradition and law (cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 183, lines 11 ff.). His *Ibāna* has been preserved indirectly (see *Bibl.*); he differs from the Yemen practice in the ritual of burial and minor points of the law of inheritance; he also recognized the validity of the formula of repudiation when pronounced three times in succession as equivalent to three separate repudiations, by which he aroused the opposition of the Twelver <u>Sh</u>īʿīs, who were numerous in the north; one of his sons, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, actually joined them; and he himself used their form of washing the feet, of course combined with the general <u>Sh</u>īʿa refusal to recognize the rubbing of the covered foot as a substitute for washing; he also showed himself less strict against members of other faiths, which is intelligible in view of his political and missionary aims. A particular Zaydī sect, the Nāṣiriyya, was called after him, which was only merged in the Ḳāsimiyya, which had become predominant in the Yemen, by the Imām al-Mahdī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, son of the above mentioned al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim.

The latter, known as al-Dāʿī al-Ṣa<u>gh</u>īr, succeeded al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u> and was able to conquer Naysābūr in 308/920 through Laylā b. Nuʿmān, an old general of his predecessor, and even to send an army against Ṭūs. But he was killed in 316/928 when going from Rayy to the relief of Āmul, which was occupied by Asfār b. <u>Sh</u>īrwayh al-Daylamī and Abu 'l-Ḥa<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ā<u>dj</u> Mardāwī<u>dj</u> b. Ziyār. His power had always been limited by the sons of al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u>: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim <u>Dj</u>aʿfar b. al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u> had taken Āmul in 306/918 with the help of Muḥammad b. Ṣaʿlūḳ, governor of Rayy, and again in 312/925, on each occasion holding it for a short time. In 311/924 his brother Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad had entered it; his son Abū ʿAlī Ḥusayn and his brother and successor Abū <u>Dj</u>aʿfar had also to fight an anti-Imām in <u>Dj</u>aʿfar's son Ismāʿīl, who however was poisoned in 319/931. In the meanwhile, another relative of al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u>, Abū Faḍl <u>Dj</u>aʿfar, had set himself up with the title al-<u>Th</u>āʾir fi 'llāh and soon after 320/932 was able to occupy Āmul for a time, aided by his policy of taking sides alternately in the wai between the Ziyārid Wa<u>sh</u>mgīr with the Būyids who were now coming to the front, especially as the Fīrūzānid al-Ḥasan and a certain Ustundār of the Bādūs(e)pānids who had once been conquered by the Dāʿī al-Kabīr al-Ḥasan b. Zayd also intervened.

This little ʿAlid state in the north of the Muslim world was continually able to hold its own, although its importance and size constantly changed, among the petty native princes, the Fīrūzānids, notably Mākān b. Kālī, and <u>Dj</u>astānids, Ziyārids, Ispahbads of the house of Bāwand, Būyids and Sāmānids, even in spite of domestic troubles. It lasted down to about 520/1126, the year of the death of Abū Ṭālib al-Ṣa<u>gh</u>īr Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭḥānī b. al-Muʾayyad, who could not prevail in Daylam against the Assassins; we can hardly reckon in this line the alleged ʿAlid dynasty of Kiyā-Ḥusaynī in Gīlān from the end of the 8th/14th to the end of the 9th/15th century. Abū Ṭālib was the great-grand-nephew of the Imām al-Nāṭiḳ Abū Ṭālib (see *Bibl.*) who, born in 340/951, has given us the most important account of al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u>, based on the stories of eye-witnesses, such as his father.

Al-Bīrūnī, permeated by the ancient Persian traditions, blames Ḥasan al-Uṭrū<u>sh</u> for destroying the family organization of the Ka<u>dh</u><u>kh</u>udā, established by the mythical Farīdūn (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, text 224, tr. 210; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 214, and idem, *Sočinenya*, i, Moscow 1962, 273).

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(R. STROTHMANN)

ḤASANAK, properly, Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās (d. 423/1032), the last *wazīr* of Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] of <u>Gh</u>azna. Becoming governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān at an early age, Ḥasanak went on the pilgrimage in 414/1023 and allowed himself to be persuaded (Bayhaḳī, 209) to return via Cairo and there to accept a robe of honour (*<u>kh</u>ilʿa*) from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir. This resulted in his being suspected by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ḳādir of being an adherent of the Fāṭimid Caliphate. After his return to <u>Gh</u>azna, therefore, the ʿAbbāsid Caliph demanded of Maḥmūd that he should have him executed «as a Ḳarmaṭī» [*q.v.*]. (This indicates that in Ba<u>gh</u>dād at that time Fāṭimids and Ḳarmaṭīs were classed together). Maḥmūd clearly regarded the accusation as unfounded, and went so far as to appoint Ḥasanak *wazīr* in 415/1024, his predecessor Maymandī being thrown into prison. Maḥmūd attempted to pacify the ʿAbbāsid Caliph by sending the robe of honour, and other presents which Ḥasanak had received, to Ba<u>gh</u>dād, where they were burnt.

During the last six years of Maḥmud's reign, Ḥasanak exerted a remarkable influence over him, but seems to have opposed his son Masʿūd [*q.v.*] and supported the descendants of Masʿūd's brother Muḥammad. This brought about his downfall after Maḥmūd's death (23 Rabīʿ II 421/30 April 1030). He was immediately banished to Herāt (Bayhaḳī,

52), accused of offending against Masʿūd (Bayhaḳī 64) and, mainly as a result of efforts by the finance minister, Abū Sahl Sawsanī, tried on the old charge of being a Ḳarmaṭī. The ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Ḳādir also, evidently offended that his wishes in 415/1024 had not been complied with, again interfered. After a trial which Bayhaḳī (178-89) describes in detail, in an account clearly sympathetic to Ḥasanak, the latter, clad only in a shirt, was strangled on Wednesday 28 Ṣafar 423 (the corresponding 14 February 1032 was a Monday), and his head given in derision to his chief opponent Sawsanī; his corpse remained tied to a pillory for seven years.

According to all that can be ascertained from the sources, Ḥasanak did not die merely as a result of court intrigues and the dynastic struggle of Maḥmūd's two sons. He was evidently also a victim of the deeply rooted fear felt by the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs and the Ghaznavids of an Ismāʿīlī revolution, a fear not entirely unfounded in view of the numerous subversive currents all over Western Asia and Persia during the 5th/11th century, even if in individual cases it was directed against the innocent.

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(B. Spuler)

ḤASANĪ, name given in Morocco to the money minted on the orders of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan from 1299/1881-2 onwards.

The object was to replace the previous Moroccan coinage consisting of a multitude of bronze, copper or silver coins; the gold coins had practically disappeared a long time before. The currency previous to Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was victoriously rivalled by different foreign currencies, mainly Spanish, French and English, especially since the financial crisis created by the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60 (cf. G. Ayache, *Aspects de la crise financière au Maroc après l'expédition espagnole de 1860*, in *RH*, ccxx (Oct.-Dec. 1958), 3-42).

The coins minted were the *riyāl* or douro of a nominal value of 5 French francs, and the *nuṣṣ* (*niṣf*) *riyāl* or half-douro, both of the standard of 900/1,000, then three other coins of the standard of 835/1,000: *rubʿ riyāl* (quarter of a douro), *dirham ḥasanī* or *ḥasanī* (tenth of a douro) and finally *bilyūn* or *gersh* (*ḳirsh*) equal to a twentieth of a douro. All these coins were silver.

Bibliography: In his account of Moroccan money, Ch. de Foucauld (*Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 22, n. 1) does not mention *ḥasanī* coins, although his journey took place after Mawlāy al-Ḥasan's monetary reform; Ch. R. Leclerc, *Le Commerce et l'industrie à Fez*, in *Afr. Fr. —Renseignements coloniaux* (August 1905), 309-10; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *L'organisation des finances au Maroc*, in *AM*, xi (1907), 171-251; R. Sidbon Beyda, *La question monétaire au Maroc*, Paris 1921; A. Reynier, *La Banque d'Etat du Maroc et les banques d'émissions coloniales*, Casablanca 1926; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 284-5; J. L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, iii, Paris 1962, 429-36.

(R. Le Tourneau)

ḤASANĪ (pl. Ḥasaniyyūn), name of the ʿAlid [*q.v.*] *sharīfs* descended from al-Ḥasan, son of ʿAlī and Fāṭima. *Ḥasanī* is thus contrasted with *Ḥusaynī*, the name of the descendants of their second son. In Morocco, the surname of Ḥasanī is particularly reserved to those *sharīfs* descended from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] in order to distinguish them from their Idrīsid [*q.v.*] cousins. The Ḥasanī family have played a considerable part in the history of the Maghrib and the Western Sahara, not only by reason of their number but also in giving birth to two great Sharīfian dynasties; that of the Saʿdids [*q.v.*] in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries and that of the ʿAlawids [*q.v.*], which has been reigning in Morocco from the middle of the 11th/17th century to the present day (the ʿAlawids are also known under the names of Filālīs or Sidjilmāsīs and the Saʿdids under that of Zaydānīs).

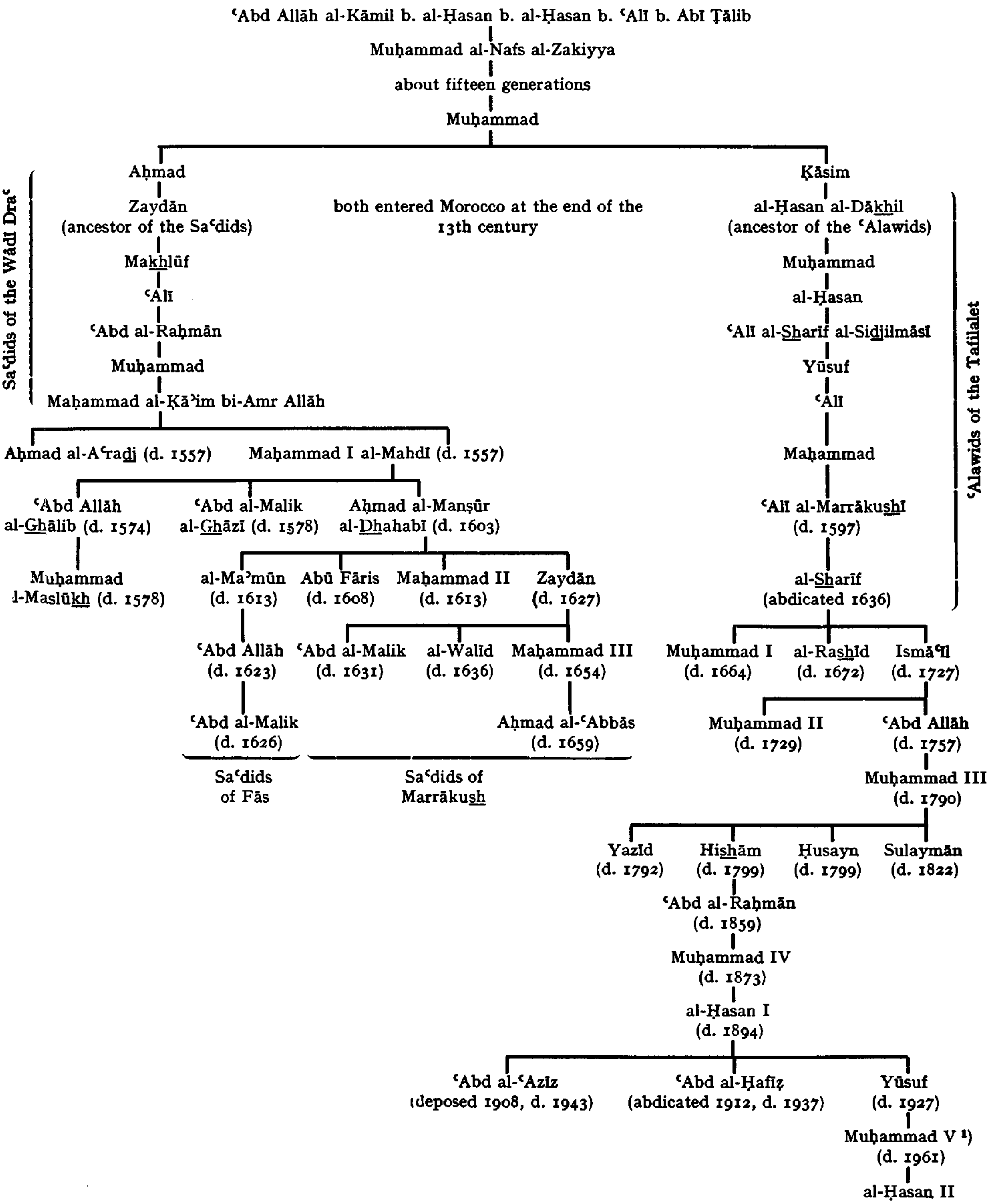
The date and reason for the establishment of the Ḥasanīs in southern Morocco are not precisely known, and it is hardly possible to verify the legends handed down to us in the abundant literature. The Arabic writers, however, are agreed in fixing the arrival of the first *sharīfs* at Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 7th/13th century, either brought back from Arabia by pilgrims or as a result of the journey of a special deputation which sought them at Yanbūʿ, a little port in the Ḥidjāz. The inhabitants of the oases of the Tafilalet (capital: Sidjilmāsa) welcomed them in the hope of ensuring for themselves good date-harvests in the future. The first of these *sharīfs* bore the same name as his ancestor al-Ḥasan. He is now known by the surname of al-Dākhil, that is, the first to enter. A first cousin of this personage, Zaydān, appears to have been summoned about the same time and for the same reasons by the tribes of the oases of the Wādī Draʿ. It has been suggested that these ʿAlids may have come to Morocco with the Maʿḳil tribes [*q.v.*], who at that time were establishing their rule over the Moroccan oases south of the Atlas, where the *sharīfs* would have played their traditional part as bringers of good luck and judges in the quarrels of these nomads from Arabia. The hypothesis is attractive but has not yet been verified.

Several Arab authors have questioned the direct lineal descent from Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and even the Sharīfian origin of the first Saʿdids, but today the genealogy of all the Ḥasanīs, though perhaps not always unquestionable, is in fact not questioned. The genealogical table published here is complementary to that given for the ʿAlids, and therefore does not go back earlier than the common grandfather of the Saʿdids and the ʿAlawids.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, Fās 1309/1891-2; Idrīs b. Aḥmad, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, 2 vols., Fās 1309/1891-2; Ḳādirī, *al-Durr al-sanī*, Fās 1309/1891-2; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, 3 vols., Fās 1316/1898-9; A. Cour, *Établissement des dynasties des Chérifs*, Paris 1904; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922; J. D. Brèthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca [1939]; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca 1949-50; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, new ed. Casablanca 1955-6, French trans. in *AM*, ix (1906), x (1907), xxxiv (1936); G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956.

(G. Deverdun)

Genealogical Table of the Ḥasanī Sovereigns of Morocco
(cf. the table for the ʿAlids, at vol. i, p. 401)



[1]) banished from Morocco from 19 August 1953 until 16 November 1955, his place being taken by his uncle ʿArafa b. al-Ḥasan.

ḤASANWAYH, name of one of the Kurdish chieftains (and of the dynasty descended from him) who, in the 4th/10th century and at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, succeeded in founding and maintaining in Western Iran and Upper Mesopotamia more or less autonomous and lasting principalities.

Ḥasanwayh b. Ḥusayn (Abu 'l-Fawāris) belonged to a branch of the Kurdish tribe of the Barzikānī, other groups of which were led by several of his relatives (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518-9). The death of two uncles (349/960 and 350/961) and the use of force against a nephew enabled him to gather into his hands a certain number of fortresses and "protections", *ḥimāyāt* [*q.v.*], in the middle Djibāl (Ḳarmīsīn region). The assistance he gave the Būyids in their struggles against the Sāmānids and their Iranian allies earned him favours from Rukn al-Dawla which in turn permitted him to increase his influence over the Kurds of these areas. This emboldened him to resist with force the governor of the province of Hamadhān, Sahlān b. Musāfir, after trouble over the taxes he owed, and things might have gone badly for him if the expedition against him organized by Rukn al-Dawla's *wazīr*, Ibn al ʿAmīd, had not been interrupted by the latter's death. The dead man's son and successor, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd, negotiated with him, and in return for tribute of 50,000 *dīnār*s and considerable numbers of animals, granted him financial autonomy, with the right to collect taxes in his province (Ṣafar 360/December 970). He became reconciled with Sahlān, who was himself semi-independent, and allied himself with him by marriage. In the struggle between the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*] and his cousin ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] he contrived, while promising his aid to the former in view of his connexion with the Būyid of the Djibāl, Fakhr al-Dawla, to confine this to sending him his sons ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ and Badr and postponing his own arrival until Bakhtiyār was beaten and put to death. Several unpublished letters written by Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sābiʾ (*Rasāʾil*, Paris MS, fols. 55 v., 94r., 97r.; Leiden MS, fols. 129r., 200 v.) in the name of Bakhtiyār or of the caliph al-Tāʾiʿ, bear witness to these negotiations. Meanwhile, Ḥasanwayh seems to have managed to make his peace with ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who at least took no measures against him; he died in 369/979 in his fortress of Sarmādj (south of Bīsutūn).

Dissension broke out among his numerous sons. In the struggle in which Fakhr al-Dawla set himself up against his brothers ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla of Rayy, several Ḥasanwayhids including ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ were on the side of the first, while others including Badr supported ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The defeat of Fakhr al-Dawla involved his Kurdish allies, Sarmādj was taken from one of them, Bakhtiyār, and in the end all the sons of Ḥasanwayh were put to death except Badr (Abu 'l-Nadjm) who, with the title of *ḥādjib*, was installed as general leader of the Barzikānī Kurds in the name of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, heir to the possessions of Fakhr (370/980). These facts are substantiated by a letter of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yūsuf (C. Cahen, *Une correspondance buyide inédite*, in *Studi orientalistici . . . Levi Della Vida*, i, 87).

Abu 'l-Nadjm (later Nāṣir al-Dawla) is considered by the historians to be a prince worthy of all praise. Though a faithful vassal of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, whom, for example, he assisted in fighting the Ziyārid Ḳābūs [*q.v.*], he was equally loyal to Fakhr al-Dawla once more, when the latter had peacefully succeeded Muʾayyid al-Dawla after ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla had died. In the quarrels between the various claimants to the succession of ʿAḍud al-Dawla he successfully supported Fakhr al-Dawla against Sharaf al-Dawla, suppressed the revolt of a Barzikānī chieftain near Ḳumm, and on Fakhr al-Dawla's death appears as a counsellor to the government of the young heir and his mother, whom he assisted for example in repelling the claims of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ʿUtbī, trans. Reynolds, 424). He came meanwhile to a good understanding with the new Būyid in Baghdād, Bahāʾ al-Dawla, through whose efforts the Caliph conferred upon him in 388/998 the *laḳab* mentioned above. At that time he possessed the territories of Sābūr-Khʷāst, Dīnawar, Nihāwand, Asadābād, Barūdjird, and several districts of Ahwāz, as well as Ḳarmīsīn, Ḥulwān and Shahrzūr from time to time. Abū Shudjāʿ Rudhrawārī, who regards the Barzikānī as "the worst tribe on earth for brigandage", hymns his skill, energy and justice, which enabled him to impose on them a respect for order, to conduct a sensible financial administration, to develop the mountain roads and the markets (including, at Hamadhān, a market for the sale of his own produce), to foster religion, and to secure by large gifts the safety and welfare of the pilgrimage which crossed his territory; several surviving coins show that he struck his own coinage (some new coins of his have been published by G. C. Miles in *Mém. de la mission arch. en Iran*, xxxvii, 143-5).

The last period of his principality brought him several trials nevertheless. In the quarrels in which the Būyids or their dignitaries opposed each other, the assistance or hospitality which he gave to some involved him in the anger of others. The Ḥasanwayhids had immemorially been rivals of the Shādjahān Kurds, their western neighbours (towards Ḳarmīsīn and Ḥulwān) and of the most influential family among them, that of the ʿAnnāzids [*q.v.*]; Badr had expelled from his territory Abu'l Fatḥ ibn ʿAnnāz, who had taken refuge among some ʿUḳaylī [*q.v.*] Bedouins in Upper Mesopotamia; in 397/1006-7 there were hostilities from this quarter. Again, Badr had alienated his eldest son, Hilāl, and preferred a younger; at one moment victorious with the help given him by the vassal ruler of Shahrzūr, Hilāl was finally vanquished by an army sent by Bahāʾ al-Dawla; but through this affair Ibn ʿAnnāz, with whom Badr had been obliged to reconcile himself, had improved his position. More generally, the Kurdish subjects and neighbours of Badr ceased to respect him, and it was in fighting a minor group that Badr met his death in 405/1014.

This was the end of the family. It is true that in the previous year Bahāʾ al-Dawla had died and Ṭāhir (Ẓāhir), a son of Hilāl, had again taken Shahrzūr; and Hilāl, being freed, arrived to take his father's place. But after a few months they were conquered and put to death by the son of Abu 'l-Fatḥ ibn ʿAnnāz, Abu'l Shawḳ [see ʿANNĀZIDS], whose power in the Djibāl was henceforth to replace that of the Ḥasanwayhids. There remained in the hands of the family, which had been stripped of all other possessions, only its old stronghold of Sarmādj, where the last heir died in 439/1047, at the moment when a new conqueror was entering the country, the Saldjūḳ Turk Ibrāhīm Ināl.

Bibliography: Apart from the occasional sources given in the article, all the information derives from the history of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, as it has been transmitted to us (apart from the brief extract

preserved for the years 389-92) through the works of Miskawayh and Abū Shudjāʿ up to 389, Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Malik al Hamadhānī up to 367, Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī [see BŪYIDS/BUWAYHIDS]. Further information beyond that given here may be found in V. Minorsky's articles KURDS, in *EI*[1], and ʿANNĀZIDS, in *EI*[2], and in his commentary on *Abu Dulaf's travels in Iran*, 1955, 93 (on Sarmādj); see also Zambaur, 211, and B. Spuler, *Iran* (index).

(CL. CAHEN)

ḤASDĀY B. SHAPRŪṬ (ca. 294-365/905-75), Jewish dignitary at the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and al-Ḥakam II, in Cordova (see ḲURṬUBA). He mastered Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and the Romance vernacular, and specialized in medicine. Originally perhaps a court physician, he soon figures as a supervisor of customs and as a diplomat dealing with embassies from Byzantium and Germany, going on a mission to León, bringing to Cordova the Queen of Navarre and her grandson Sancho of León (347/958). Assisted by a Greek monk he studied, and improved on the earlier Arabic translation of, the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides, sent from Byzantium.

He was the head (*Nasī*) of the realm's Jewry. Hebrew accounts, poems and documents tell of his services to and contacts with Jews in Spain, the East, Byzantine Italy, Toulouse, and the Khazar kingdom; of his court at which Hebrew scholars and poets served, and of his fostering the development of a native school of Jewish learning. Probably this activity, which made Spanish Jewry independent of foreign lands in communal administration and cultural orientation, was favoured by the Spanish caliphate.

Bibliography: S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*[2], Philadelphia 1957-8; D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii; E. Ashtor, *History of the Jews in Muslim Spain* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1960, Ch. v and 159 ff., 233-8.

(M. PERLMANN)

ḤĀSHID WA-BAKĪL, a large confederation of tribes in the highlands of northern Yaman. For well over two millennia the confederation has kept its identity and territory with little change.

The article on the confederation by J. Schleifer in *EI*[1], based in the main on al-Hamdānī's survey (4th/10th century) and on E. Glaser's visit to the land of Ḥāshid in 1884, sets forth many details not repeated here.

Since the dawn of history the confederation has occupied a large part of the region between Ṣanʿāʾ and Ṣaʿda, with Ḥāshid generally established on the western side and Bakīl on the eastern. As both Ṣanʿāʾ and Ṣaʿda have often been capital cities for Yamanī dynasties, the confederation has been in the main current of political life. Virtually every historical work on the Yaman discusses the doings of Ḥāshid and Bakīl, so that it is impossible to review their annals comprehensively in a short space.

The later kings of Sabaʾ included a dynasty sprung from Ḥāshid and another from Bakīl. Even then the two tribes were commingled, though often hostile towards each other; both dynasties had Maʾrib as their capital and the palace of Salḥīn as their residence, and both venerated the same deities.

J. Ryckmans, who has worked with the Sabaean inscriptions, identifies Ḥāshid as intra-Hamdān and Bakīl as ultra-Hamdān. The Arab genealogists disagree with this identification. According to Ibn Ḥazm, the children of Hamdān's son Nawf (wrongly given by Ibn Ḥazm as Nawfal) were a multitude of tribes (*buṭūn djamma*), all going back to Nawf's grandsons Ḥāshid and Bakīl, "the two tribes of Hamdān (*ḳabīlā Hamdān*)". This scheme places Yām [*q.v.*] among the branches of Ḥāshid and Arḥab among the branches of Bakīl. At present the tribe of Yām lives north of the confederation and is regarded as a separate entity, while the tribe of Arḥab lives to the south and is more closely associated with Ḥāshid than with its reputed ancestors of Bakīl.

Another version, recorded by al-Suwaydī, gives Bakīl as grandson rather than brother of Ḥāshid (Bakīl b. Djusham b. Ḥāshid). This version is less plausible, as it makes every branch of Bakīl also a branch of Ḥashīd; it probably reflects the common tendency to regard Bakīl as the junior partner in the alliance, a tendency also illustrated by the assigning to Bakīl of second place in the joint name.

For centuries men, families, and larger groups have moved back and forth between Ḥāshid and Bakīl without bringing about a complete amalgamation. The verb *tabakkala* is used by al-Hamdānī in the 4th/10th century for members of Ḥāshid transferring their allegiance to Bakīl, the converse of which would be *taḥashshada*.

After the introduction of Islam, the confederation continued to furnish rulers for the Yaman. The royal Rasūlid genealogist, al-Malik al-Ashraf, states that the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries and the roughly contemporaneous Hamdānids were both descended from Ḥāshid, their lines bifurcating from Ḥāshid's son Djusham al-Awsaṭ (Ḥāshid's father was Djusham al-Akbar).

Over the centuries Ḥāshid and Bakīl, in a manner not uncharacteristic of brothers, have often fought with each other, just as they did in Sabaean times. Almost always, however, they have both stoutly resisted the imposition of outside authority. As Zaydīs they have been inclined to be on good terms with the Zaydī Imāms, who have kept strongholds such as Shahāra in the country of Ḥāshid, but even under the Imāms they have shown a spirit of independence rather than subservience. The Imāms have frequently chosen members of the confederation as provincial governors. When the Turks were in the Yaman, they had little success in extending their jurisdiction into the territory of Ḥāshid and Bakīl.

Sources used by the British Admiralty in 1916 estimated the number of fighting men in the confederation at about 50,000, making it probably the strongest military force in the region. The paramount chiefs, coming from the Ḥimrān of Ḥāshid, also enjoyed a degree of ascendancy over Bakīl.

On the rôle of these tribes in the events following the revolution of September 1962 see YAMAN.

The majority of the members of the confederation are townsmen and villagers, engaged in agriculture and the raising of horses and sheep and to some extent in trade. The nomadic elements range northwards and eastwards, penetrating into al-Djawf (Djawf Ibn Nāṣir), where the influence of the confederation is not inconsiderable. Descendants of the Prophet (Sayyids) are held in high esteem by these Zaydīs, especially in the land of Ḥāshid, where at Ḥūth they have one of their main centres in the Yaman.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited under the article in *EI*[1], see J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam*, Louvain 1951; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948; al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*

fī maʿrifat al-ansāb, ed. K. Zetterstéen, Damascus 1949; al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab fī maʿrifat ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab*, Cairo n.d.; J. Werdecker in *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte*, xx (1939) (on Glaser's journey of 1884); Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7. (G. Rentz)

HĀSHIM, BANŪ [see hāshimids, hāshimiyya, ḥidjāz, makka].

HĀSHIM b. ʿABD MANĀF, great-grandfather of the prophet Muḥammad. As a grandson of Ḳusayy, who had made the tribe of Ḳuraysh dominant in Mecca and had reorganized the pilgrimage, he held the offices or functions of *rifāda* and *siḳāya*, that is, the provision of food and water for the pilgrims. For the first he collected contributions in money or kind from the chief men of Mecca. One year when food was scarce in Mecca, he brought baked cakes or loaves from Syria, and crumbled (*hashama*) these to make broth (*tharīd*) for the pilgrims; after this he was known as Hāshim, though his proper name was ʿAmr. To improve the water supply he dug several wells. He is credited with the introduction of the system of two trade journeys a year (cf. Ḳurʾān, CVI, 2), presumably by making a journey in summer to Syria. He died on such a journey at Ghazza (Gaza), leaving behind in Medina a son ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib [*q.v.*] by Salmā bint ʿAmr of the clan of al-Nadjdjār. Hāshim may have been in his time the leader of the alliance of the Muṭayyabūn or its later developments, from which the descendants of his brothers Nawfal and ʿAbd Shams were excluded. Much of this traditional account (though sometimes doubted) has probably a solid basis in fact, but the story of the wager between Hāshim and Umayya is doubtless an invention reflecting the later dynastic rivalries.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 87-9; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1858-61, iv, 34-8; also i, 67, 134; iii, 47.
(W. Montgomery Watt)

HĀSHIM b. ʿUTBA b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ al-Zuhrī Abū ʿUmar, a Companion of the Prophet and a neph w of the more famous Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*]. Converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca, he distinguished himself at the battle of the Yarmūk, where he lost an eye, and held important commands under his uncle at Ḳādisiyya and Djalūlā, where he led the Arab forces. He was killed fighting on the side of ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali*, index; Ṭabarī, index. (Ed.)

Aḥmed **HĀSHIM**, (1884-1933), Turkish poet and writer, the main representative of the Symbolist movement in Turkey, was born in Baghdād. His father ʿĀrif Ḥikmet belonged to the well-known Alūsī family and was a government official who had served in various districts as *ḳāymaḳām* and *mutaṣarrif*. His mother was a Kāhya-zāde. Both families included many members who occupied high posts in the Ottoman administration. Hāshim lost his ailing mother, who does not seem to have had a happy life and who was the only true companion of his childhood, at the age of eight. He recalled later in his poems the memory of his walks with her along the Tigris. Being himself of poor health and extremely sensitive, this unhappy childhood left a lasting mark on his life and work. In 1895 his father brought Hāshim to Istanbul, where he improved his Turkish at a private school and then in 1896 at the Galatasaray lycée where the children of the upper classes gathered and where he made friends with many future poets and writers, particularly Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, one of his future biographers. He also made there his first contact with French literature (many subjects being taught in this lycée by French teachers). His literature teacher Müftüoghlu Aḥmed Ḥikmet [*q.v.*] awakened in him a taste for poetry and is said to have given him a first inkling of the kind of poetry which he later developed (Aḥmed Hāshim, *Bize göre*, 40; A. Ş. Hisar, *Ahmed Haşim, şiiri ve hayatı*, 13). He graduated from Galatasaray in 1906 and entered the Tobacco Administration (*Reji Idaresi*) helped by the novelist Khālid Ḍiyā (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil), who was a senior official there. He also registered at the Law School (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*), which he never completed. During this period he studied contemporary French poets extensively, mainly the symbolists (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk yıl*, v, 157-8). Except for a two-year interval in Izmir, where he taught French in the local lycée, he lived in Istanbul earning his living mainly as a translator in Government offices until the First World War, during which he served in the Army as reserve officer, fought at Gallipoli and toured Anatolia. After the war he became an official of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyūn-i ʿUmūmiyye* [*q.v.*])and later taught aesthetics and mythology at the Academy of Fine Arts and French at the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) and the War Academy. In 1924 he went to Paris and made close contact with French literary circles, contributing an article *Tendances actuelles de la littérature turque* to the August 1924 issue of *Mercure de France*. In 1928 he made another trip to Paris. The same year he developed liver trouble and his health gradually deteriorated. His visit in 1932 to Frankfurt for treatment gave no respite and he died in Istanbul on 4 June 1933, at an age when he had just begun his most mature work.

Aḥmed Hāshim possessed an extremely sensitive, infinitely restless and constantly changing temperament. His great affections and friendships would change to deep hatreds overnight and then he would forgive and forget everything in turn. According to the reports of his close friends (among others Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu and A. Ş. Hisar, see *Bibl.*), in spite of his brilliant intelligence, poetical genius and wide culture, he suffered from a strong feeling of inferiority and a series of complexes. He always thought that his physique was intolerably ugly, that he was awkward and unsociable and unattractive to women. He was convinced that Fate had been unkind to him. He always felt lonely and unloved in the world. He never recovered from the circumstances of his childhood and from the feeling of being "strange and different" in the early years of his youth. This made him at times cruel and cutting. He lived as a bachelor and married just before his death the woman who had looked after him, so that "he could have a mourning widow after him".

Aḥmed Hāshim began to write his first poems at Galatasaray when he was fifteen. In these early poems there is a distant echo of the "Indian School" of *dīwān* poetry in the style of Sheykh Ghālib. But he is more obviously following in the steps of the Tanẓīmāt poet ʿAbd-al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid in the choice of morbidly sad and melancholy subjects and of Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn in the vaguely symbolist imagery. In this period his style and language follow more closely the taste of Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn and particularly Tewfīḳ Fikret in the choice of the Arabo-Persian sophisticated vocabulary and in the weaving of Persian *iżāfe*s.

After these imitative experiments Aḥmed Hāshim

did not write for a few years but read extensively the French impressionists and particularly the symbolists, whom he found close to his nature and his conception of poetry. Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Henri de Régnier, Mallarmé, Samain and the Belgian Verhaeren were his favourites.

In 1909 a group of young poets and writers who thought that the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement was now out-moded, set up a short-lived new literary group: the *Fedjr-i Ātī* ("Dawn of the Future"). Although Hāshim joined this new circle, because many of his friends were members, he himself was already a distinctly independent personality in Turkish poetry. Liberating himself completely from the influence of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* poets and not caring much for a group movement, he concentrated on developing modern Turkish symbolism, the theory of which he elaborately expounded in various articles and particularly in the preface to *Piyāle*. "Unlike prose, poetry is not to be understood but to be felt... meaning and clarity are not the aims of the poet... Poetry, like the words of prophets, should be open to diverse interpretations".

Aḥmed Hāshim's works underline his desire to escape from surface representation and invest his art with a deeper level of consciousness. For him the Universe exists in and through the mind and conception of the poet. There is no internal and external world, no division into subject and object, all is apprehensible by the poet in search of beauty in a transcendental reality existing deeper than mere appearances.

In his poetry, he sought to convey by his acute perception of all the senses and dreams his own communication with and interpretation of that mystic reality.

For him the unity of music and poetry was a means to this deeper communication and his verse is freer and more pliant in both form and rhythm than that of the earlier modernists. His poetic technique shows a rejection of the straight comparison and plainly-worked simile and a preference for symbolic imagery inspired by his growing interpretation of that 'deeper reality' in general symbolical conceptions.

Some of his poetry seems obscure as a result of his development of an essentially personal range of symbols with which the reader must be acquainted in order to evaluate his verse more deeply. He did not wish to be more 'explicit'. This symbolic technique called upon the deeper imagination of both reader and poet and freely created more associations and nuances which would be stifled by a more concrete and surface technique. Aḥmed Hāshim deliberately attempted to evolve a poetry whose language, of rhythm and symbol, with its own word-values and phrase-orders, defied logical analysis yet liberated and stimulated the mind to a deeper level of consciousness.

In the limited subject-matter and vocabulary of Aḥmed Hāshim, dawn, twilight, evening, night, darkness, the moon, moonlight, lakes, ponds, deserts, roses, carnations, storks, nightingales, melancholy, hopeless love, distant and unknown lands and death are ever-recurring themes and motifs. His poems are generally short. He ignored all movements and changes in Turkish language and literature and remained faithful to *ʿarūḍ* until the very end, as he considered the syllabic metre (*hedje wezni*) "only fit for folk poems". He lived through wars and revolutions, but his poetry remained completely unaffected by these. However, the language reform movement did eventually influence him and his last quatrains are written in every-day Turkish without the sophisticated Arabo-Persian vocabulary and without Persian *iżāfe*s. Unlike Djenāb Shehāb al-Dīn, whose experiments in simple (*sade*) Turkish were mainly unsuccessful, Aḥmed Hāshim's were among his best. And judging by them, it is safe to say that he would have grown to surpass his early work had he lived longer.

Except for a few articles, Aḥmed Hāshim's prose consists mainly of short essays on casual themes, as he was sometimes a columnist in various dailies. His style is condensed, colourful and pithy, often tinged with cutting irony.

Aḥmed Hāshim is the author of (1) *Göl sāʿatleri*, Istanbul 1921 (contains poems previously published in the then leading literary review *Dergāh*), (2) *Piyāle*, Istanbul 1926, 1928 (contains his early poems, the *Shiʿr-i Ḳamer* series and the famous introduction which was first published in *Dergāh* as a kind of manifesto, (3) *Ghurabā-khāne-i Laḳlaḳān*, Istanbul 1928 (contains selected essays first published in the newspaper *Aḳsham*), (4) *Bize göre*, Istanbul 1928, 1960 (part of his essays published in the newspaper *Iḳdām*, (5) *Frankfurt Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul 1933, 1947 (travel impressions), (6) *Ahmed Haşim'in şiirleri*, Istanbul 1933 (collected verse published after his death by the Semih Lutfi Kitabevi).

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(FAHİR İZ)

AL-**HĀSHIMĪ** (Shaykh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Hāshimī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥasanī al-Tilimsānī), theologian and *ṣūfī* of Sharīfī descent, born 22 Shawwāl 1298/17 July 1881 at Subda (in the department of Oran, Algeria) where his father, a small land-owner, held the office of judge (*ḳāḍī*). After his father's death, Muḥammad went to Tlemcen, where he followed various occupations: farm-worker, tailor, seller of drugs and spices. He attended regularly the mosques and *madrasas* to gain instruction in the religious disciplines and joined the mystic order (*ṭariḳa*) of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*] "famed particularly for the learning of its members" (E. Doutté). His spiritual director (*murshid*), Muḥammad b. Yallas, had been the disciple in turn of the *shaykhs* Muḥammad al-Habrī (d. 1900) and Ibn al-Ḥabīb al-Būzīdī (d. 1909); then, on the latter's death, he attached himself to the *shaykh* Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī (Ben ʿAlīwa) of Mostaganem. In 1911, Muḥammad al-Hāshimī set off with his master for the East. After a stay of two years at Adana (Turkey), he settled at Damascus, where he completed his theological education under different *ʿulamāʾ*: Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, Yūsuf Nabhānī, Abu 'l-Khayr al-Mīdānī, etc. Shortly after the death of his master Ibn Yallas (1928), he received from the *shaykh* al-ʿAlawī the office of *khalīfa* of the ʿAlawiyya-Darḳāwiyya-Shādhiliyya *ṭarīḳa* in the countries of the Near East.

From then on he devoted himself exclusively to the teaching of theology (*tawḥīd*) and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*). His lectures at the Umayyad Mosque and in a number of *madrasas* (Shāmiyya, Nūriyya) were very well attended; he founded *zāwiyas* in Damascus and in the surrounding villages, at Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt and Ḥalab as well as in Transjordan and Palestine. On his death at Damascus at the age of 80 (12 Radjab 1381/19 December 1961), he left behind him several thousand disciples and the reputation of a "renewer" (*mudjaddid*) of religion. The quality of his teaching and the virtue and wisdom which he disseminated caused him to be known as "the Shaʿrānī of his time".

His written works consist of ten or so treatises or opuscula on *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. (1) In *tawḥīd*, he professes an Ashʿarism enriched by the addition of Avicennan ideas (the distinction of the necessary, of the possible and of the impossible and the grasping of these three categories by the intelligence in order to recognize the divine qualities, the attributes of the Prophet and the limits of the created world) and by the developments of the theological school of North Africa (in particular of the *imām* al-Sanūsī, the doctor and *ṣūfī* of Tlemcen, d. 895/1490). The basic idea is that knowledge (*ʿilm*, *maʿrifa*) and more especially the knowledge of *tawḥīd* is an individual obligation upon the believer; it not only protects him from the error of denying (*kufr*) or of "associating" (*shirk*), but it illuminates him with a certainty (*yaḳīn*) which is of divine origin. For the benefit of readers with varying intellectual capacities, al-Hāshimī wrote a brief "Sunnī profession of faith" in prose, which he turned into verse in order to make it more easily memorized (*ʿAḳīdat ahl al-sunna maʿa naẓmihā*), then a short commentary on this text (*Sharḥ naẓm ʿAḳīdat ahl al-sunna*) and, finally, a much more elaborate commentary entitled *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-djanna fī sharḥ ʿAḳīdat ahl al-sunna* (these three works were printed in Damascus in 1379/1960). Before this trilogy, there had already been published: *Sabīl al-saʿāda fī maʿnā kalimatay al-shahāda* (Damascus 1347/1939), *Risālat al-baḥth al-djāmiʿ ... fī mā yataʿallaḳ bi 'l-ṣanʿa wa 'l-Ṣāniʿ* (Damascus 1374/1955) and *Risālat al-ḳawl al-faṣl al-ḳawīm fī bayān al-murād min waṣiyyat al-ḥakīm* (Damascus, 1376/1957), a short theologico-mystic commentary on the allegory of the swords which, taken separately, are easily broken and if joined together form a solid support. (2) In *taṣawwuf*, several treatises written in reply to the theoretical or practical questions of his pupils have not yet been printed. The only works at present available are the *Sharḥ Shitrandj al-ʿārifīn* ("Commentary on the Chess-board of the Gnostics"), an explanation of a curious diagram attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, in which human destiny and the mystic's progress towards God, together with the perils and the grace which attend them, are illustrated by the hundred squares of a chess-board (Damascus 1357/1938, reprinted 1964) and *al-Ḥill al-sadīd limā stashkalahu al-murīd* (Damascus 1383/1964), which investigates in what conditions a disciple may be permitted to change one *shaykh* or *ṭarīḳa* for another. Shaykh al-Hāshimī was responsible for the first edition of the *Miʿrādj al-tashawwuf*, a technical glossary of Ṣūfism by Ibn ʿAdjība [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: the essential work on the ʿAlawiyya branch of the Darḳāwa is M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, devoted to the *shaykh* Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī and describing the essential aspects of the mystic method of training (*wird*, *dhikr*, *khalwa*) used also in the Syrian *ṭarīḳa* (the author makes occasional references to al-Hāshimī). Notices on al-Hāshimī are found in the following works, written by two of his disciples: Saʿīd al-Kurdī, *al-Djunayd*, Damascus 1368/1949, 142-6, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿĪsā, *Ḥaḳāʾiḳ ʿan al-taṣawwuf*, Aleppo 1384/1964, 355-61.

(J.-L. Michon)

HĀSHIMIDS (al-Hawāshim), the dynasty of Ḥasanid Sharīfs who ruled Mecca almost without interruption from the 4th/10th century until 1343/1924. After the First World War the dynasty provided kings for Syria and Iraq, which later became republics, and gave its name to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (see following article). The eponym of the dynasty was Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*], the great-grandfather of the Prophet.

The majority of the Shīʿa recognized as their Imāms descendants of ʿAlī's martyred younger son al-Ḥusayn. Descendants of the elder son al-Ḥasan found their opportunity to wield temporal as well as spiritual power during the chaotic period following the Ḳarmaṭī occupation of Mecca.

The Hāshimid line of Meccan Sharīfs was descended from Mūsā I al-Djawn ("The Black"), a great-grandson of al-Ḥasan and a younger brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. One of Mūsā I's sons, Ibrāhīm, was the ancestor of the Ukhayḍirids [*q.v.*] of al-Yamāma, and the other, ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ (also called al-Riḍā), was the sire of the Meccan Sharīfs. From ʿAbd Allāh's son Mūsā II sprang three of the main branches of the dynasty—the Mūsāwids, the Hawāshim, and the Ḳatādids. From Sulaymān, another son of Mūsā II, came the fourth main branch, the Sulaymānids (strictly speaking, therefore, all four branches were Mūsāwids).

The Sharīfate lasted nearly a millennium, with the Mūsāwids, Sulaymānids, and Hawāshim reigning for well over two centuries and the Ḳatādids for the remaining seven centuries and a quarter.

The first of the line to make himself master of Mecca was the Mūsāwid Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad of the fourth generation after Mūsā II. Djaʿfar is said to have supplanted a representative of Egypt at an uncertain date, probably in the early years of the second half of the 4th/10th century. Djaʿfar's success may have been connected with the rising power of the Fāṭimids. Early in the 5th/11th century the Mūsāwids under Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Ḥasan failed in an attempt to bring the Caliphate back to Mecca, and their authority was later challenged by the Sulaymānids, who developed a base for their power farther south on the Red Sea coast [see ʿasīr]. Neither the Mūsāwids nor the Sulaymānids got an enduring grip on the Sharīfate. In the second half of the 5th/11th century they gave way to the Hawāshim (so called here to distinguish them from the larger entity of the Hāshimids), whose eponym was a descendant of Mūsā II named Hāshim.

In or about 597/1201 (the correspondence of dates in *EI*², i, 552 is inexact), one of the greatest of the long line of Sharīfs, Ḳatāda b. Idrīs, swept down from his stronghold of Yanbuʿ and drove the Hawāshim out of Mecca. Ḳatāda was in the tenth or twelfth generation after Mūsā II, and all the Meccan Sharīfs who succeeded him came of his stock.

In the mid-7th/13th century Muḥammad Abū Numayy I, the eighth Ḳatādid, first mounted the throne as a partner of his father al-Ḥasan. Nearly two centuries then elapsed before the accession of Muḥammad Abū Numayy II, son of Barakāt II [*q.v.*].

The descendants of Abū Numayy II in time split into three principal clans which often contended with

one another for sovereignty over Mecca. The first clan to establish itself was Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh (the ʿAbādila), named after a grandson of Abū Numayy II, but it soon yielded to Dhawū Zayd, named after a great-great-grandson. The third clan, Dhawū Barakāt, named after a son of Abū Numayy II, shared dominance with Dhawū Zayd from 1082/1672 until Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh regained power under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿīn b. ʿAwn in 1243/1827. Muḥammad and the seven rulers among his descendants, the last of the Meccan Sharīfs, are known collectively as Āl ʿAwn. In 1334/1916 Muḥammad's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī assumed the title of King, and in 1343/1924 he abdicated as the forces of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd drew near Mecca.

It is impossible to devise a complete list of the Hāshimid Sharīfs of Mecca. The sources for their history, though ample, contain gaps and contradictions. A general idea of the course of their succession and of the imperfections of the chronology may be got from the genealogical tables in Snouck Hurgronje and al-Sibāʿī. The picture is further complicated by the fact that many Sharīfs reigned more than once (Saʿīd b. Saʿd of Dhawū Zayd, for example, reigned five times between 1099/1688 and 1129/1717, and his father had reigned four times before him). The reign of at least one Sharīf lasted less than a day. Very often two or more Sharīfs shared the rule as partners (*shurakāʾ*).

The total number of Hāshimids who held office as Sharīf of Mecca between Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī appears to have been just short of a hundred. Of them less than twenty belonged to the first three branches and slightly more than eighty to the fourth, the Ḳatādids.

Not only was the rule of the Hāshimids disturbed by frequent internecine struggles, but it was often interfered with and on a few occasions briefly suppressed by Muslim sovereigns outside al-Ḥidjāz, beginning with the Fāṭimids and ʿAbbāsids and ending with the Ottomans and Āl Suʿūd. In the *khuṭba* the Sharīfs almost invariably recognized one or another of these sovereigns as their overlord. Given the tremendous internal and external pressures on the Sharīfate, its survival for so many centuries should be accounted one of the more remarkable phenomena of history and also regarded as an impressive token of the esteem enjoyed by the Prophet's family in the Islamic world.

Further details on Hāshimid rule and individual Sharīfs will be given in the article MAKKA.

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HĀSHIMIDS, the royal family of the Ḥidjāz (1908-25), ʿIrāḳ (1921-58), and Jordan (1921-). The family belongs to the Dhawū ʿAwn, one of the branches of the princely line of the Hāshimids of the Ḥidjāz. Their rise to eminence in the Arab world was begun by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his sons, ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh, and Fayṣal, who in 1894 were brought to Istanbul by the Ottoman government. The youngest son, Zayd, was born there.

In 1908, Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] succeeded in obtaining appointment as Sharīf and Amīr of Mecca. He soon became supreme in the Ḥidjāz and began to expand his influence in the border areas. He actively sought to limit the influence of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd and of Sayyid al-Idrīsī in ʿAsīr. In this phase, the Amīr acted as the loyal representative of the sultan. Ideologically conservative, Ḥusayn was never close to the Young Turks and relied on his personal connexions among the older Ottoman statesmen. In 1914, when the Unionist government attempted to apply centralizing measures in the Ḥidjāz, relations between the Amīr and the government entered a crisis which, however, was settled to the satisfaction of the Amīr.

In the early phase of World War I, Ḥusayn cautiously looked to his own interests. Still seeking predominance in Arabia, the Amīr demanded an Ottoman guarantee of the Ḥidjāz as a hereditary autonomous amīrate. At the same time, he was negotiating with the British in Egypt and with certain secret Arab nationalist societies. The agreement with the British, embodied in an exchange of letters with Sir Henry McMahon, was not entirely satisfactory, but the Ottoman government, always deaf to the Amīr's requests, became threatening in the spring of 1916. As a result, in June 1916, the Arab Revolt began. The term "Hāshimid" was used in official documents to describe the Amīr and his acts. In November, Ḥusayn issued a proclamation as *malik al-bilād al-ʿarabiyya*. The Allies, however, addressed him only as "King of the Hijaz."

At the end of the war, Fayṣal, the third son, was pre-eminent. As commander of the Northern Arab Army, he was the commander of Allied Forces in Syria and Transjordan. As representative of the Ḥidjāz at the Peace Conference, he negotiated with the Great Powers. Fayṣal proved unequal to the task of mediating the opposing aims of the Allies and of the notables of Syria and Palestine, who formed themselves into the Syrian General Congress in 1919. The Congress refused to accept the mandate system. Fayṣal, after accepting the crown of Syria from the Congress in March 1920, somewhat reluctantly acceded to armed resistance to the French and was forced to flee from Syria when the French defeated the Arab forces in July 1920 [see MAYSALŪN].

Ḥusayn, King of the Ḥidjāz, still dreamed of being king of Arabia. He was unsuccessful, however, in his efforts to persuade the British to support him against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd. Nevertheless, he would not seek an accommodation with the Wahhābī leader, despite the military superiority which the Nadjdī forces had demonstrated in 1919. Ḥusayn, doubtless seeking support in the contest, adopted the title of Caliph in 1924. Suʿūdī military force prevailed, and Ḥusayn fled from the Ḥidjāz in October 1924, leaving ʿAlī as king. The latter followed his father when Ibn Suʿūd completed the conquest of the Ḥidjāz in December 1925. Ḥusayn, who spent his remaining years in Cyprus, died in ʿAmmān on 4 June 1931. ʿAlī lived in Baghdād until his death on 13 February 1935.

Fayṣal [*q.v.*], with British backing, became king of ʿIrāḳ on 23 August 1921. He worked diligently to form the heterogeneous elements of his kingdom into a unity and to create viable relations with the mandatory power. His activities culminated in the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 and the admission of ʿIrāḳ to the League of Nations on 3 October 1932. With ʿIrāḳī independence achieved, Fayṣal sought to create a union of ʿIrāk with Syria, but he failed to win the approval of the dominant political coalition in Syria.

The death of Fayṣal ushered in a period of drift.

The reign of the young king Ghāzī [*q.v.*] (8 September 1933 to 4 April 1939) was marked by tribal rising, military coup, rapid succession of cabinets, and increasing agitation against the British connexion. The course of affairs during the reign of Fayṣal II was set by ʿAbd al-Ilāh, who was regent during the minority of the king (4 April 1939-2 May 1953). The Regent's policy of furthering Pan-Arab aspirations under ʿIrāḳī leadership through cooperation with Great Britain passed its first hurdle when the government of Rashīd ʿĀlī al-Kīlānī was suppressed by the British in May 1941. In 1942-3, the ʿIrāḳī government initiated talks for the purpose of creating a federation of ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, and Lebanon (the "Fertile Crescent"). The result, however, was the Arab League, which under Egyptian leadership thereafter blocked ʿIrāḳī hopes. After 1945, ʿIrāḳ committed itself firmly to Great Britain and the western powers. Egypt took the lead in opposing the ʿIrāḳī foreign policy, and when ʿIrāḳ signed the Baghdad Pact with Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain (24 February-12 October 1955), Egyptian and Syrian displeasure became intense. ʿAbd al-Ilāh and Fayṣal II were killed in the military coup of 14 July 1958.

ʿAbd Allāh, the second of Ḥusayn's sons, who had been the most eminent before 1918 and the first to embrace Pan-Arabism, moved to Transjordan in late 1920 with the avowed aim of restoring Fayṣal in Syria. He was persuaded instead to become *amīr* of Transjordan under British mandate. The Amīr was a loyal friend of Great Britain, and on 22 March 1946 a new treaty was signed which proclaimed ʿAbd Allāh to be the sovereign of an independent state. During and after World War II, ʿAbd Allāh worked to expand his kingdom into Greater Syria (Transjordan, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon), to the embarrassment of ʿIrāḳ and of the British government. The Greater Syria plan was strongly opposed by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. When the King included Arab Palestine in the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan in 1950, Egypt directed an attempt to expel Jordan from the Arab League. (The new name had been adopted in May 1946, but was not used by any other government until 1950.) The King's outspoken British orientation and the existence of the British-commanded Arab Legion facilitated the continuous stream of extreme nationalist propaganda which the opponents of his policies directed against him. On 20 July 1951 ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated.

King Ṭalāl (20 July 1950-11 August 1952) was incapacitated throughout most of his reign, and his younger brother Nāʾif acted as regent until 5 September 1951. The state of Ṭalāl's health was such that Parliament deposed him and the throne passed to his son, Ḥusayn, who did not reach his majority until 2 May 1953. The kingdom was shaken by the problem of incorporating western Jordan at the time when the "positive neutralism" of republican Egypt was exciting the younger generation and opposition politicians throughout the Arab world. King Ḥusayn adopted a nationalist course which culminated in the removal of General John B. Glubb from the command of the Arab Legion and the termination of the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty in 1956-7. The King, however, soon broke with his Egyptian-oriented colleagues and accepted American financial assistance. With Ḥusayn now the object of Egyptian hostility, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ joined together in the Arab Federation in response to the formation of the United Arab Republic in 1958. The Federation came to an end with the extinction of the Hashimite kingdom in ʿIrāḳ.

Genealogy of the Hāshimids and the Dhawū ʿAwn

- Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿīn b. ʿAwn (Amīr, 1828-36, 1840-52, 1856-8)
  - ʿAbd Allāh (Amīr, 1858-77)
    - ʿAlī (Amīr, 1905-8)
  - al-Ḥusayn (Amīr, 1877-80)
  - ʿAwn al-Rafīḳ (Amīr, 1882-1905)
  - ʿAlī
    - al-Ḥusayn (1852-1931, Amīr, 1908-16)
      - ʿAlī (1879-1935)
        - ʿAbd al-Ilāh (1913-58)
      - ʿAbd Allāh (1880-1951)
        - Ṭalāl
          - al-Ḥusayn (1935-)
        - Nāʾif
      - Fayṣal I (1883-1933)
        - Ghāzī (1912-39)
          - Fayṣal II (1935-58)
      - Zayd (1898-)
  - ʿAbd al-Ilāh (Amīr, 1879-80, 1881-2)

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HĀSHIMIYYA, a term commonly applied in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries to members of the ʿAbbāsid house and occasionally to their followers and supporters. From early ʿAbbāsid times it was understood to denote the descendants of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*], the common ancestor of the Prophet, ʿAlī, and al-ʿAbbās; its use by the ʿAbbāsids was thus interpreted as expressing a claim to the Caliphate based on kinship with the Prophet in the male line. Van Vloten, followed by other scholars, showed that the name had in fact a different origin. From some passages in the chronicles, confirmed by the heresiological literature, it is clear that the term Hāshimiyya was applied in Umayyad times to a religio-political faction—those who believed that the Imāmate had passed from the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] to his son Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*]. After the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716, his followers split into several groups, the most important of which held that the Imāmate had been transferred to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās and thus, through him, to the house of ʿAbbās. The ʿAbbāsids inherited the party and organization of Abū Hāshim, along with his claims; it was this party, the Hāshimiyya, which was the main instrument of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda and movement in Khurāsān, and thus of the overthrow of the Umayyad Caliphate. The doctrinal content of the Hāshimiyya preaching has been the subject of some disagreement. As the followers of an ʿAlid pretender, the group may be described as of Shīʿite origin —but at a time when this term had not yet acquired its later and more definitely sectarian significance, and when the split of the house of the Prophet into different branches, with different claims and separately organized followings, had not yet taken place. The view of Van Vloten and Wellhausen, that the ʿAbbāsid preaching was of an extremist character [see GHULĀT], has been followed by some scholars, but rejected by others, notably Moscati and Cahen, who sees in the ʿAbbāsid movement an urge, focussed around the still undifferentiated family of the Prophet, towards profounder islamization and the ending of racial domination. Of this family, the ʿAbbāsids were the most active and best organized, and were therefore able effectively to mobilize the support and goodwill which the family could command. After the ʿAbbāsid victory there was some—perhaps deliberate—ambiguity in the use of the terms Hāshimiyya and Hāshimiyyūn. Statements attributed to al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr—as for example in the inaugural *khuṭba* at Kūfa and in the correspondence with the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*]—already put forward a specifically ʿAbbāsid claim to the Caliphate, in reply to the ʿAlid's assertion that no one had more Hāshimī blood than he (Ṭabarī, iii, 29 ff., 209 ff.). The third ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], is said to have abandoned the claim to the Imāmate derived from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and Abū Hāshim, and to have based the claim of the dynasty on their descent from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as the kinsman and rightful successor of the Prophet (Nawbakhtī, 43). From this time onwards the political and messianic aspirations which found expression in Shīʿism are focused on the descendants of ʿAlī and more especially of Fāṭima rather than on the Banū Hāshim as such; it may be noted that already in the surviving *Hāshimiyyāt* of Kumayt [*q.v.*], with their sometimes almost messianic overtones (*e.g.*, ed. Horowitz, Leiden 1904, 154, 3), the poet restricts his praises to the Prophet, ʿAlī, and the ʿAlids. In ʿAbbāsid times the name Hāshimiyya was applied to the family of the Prophet in general but more specifically to the ʿAbbāsids themselves, and the sectarian connotation of the term was lost in an oblivion from which it was rescued only by modern scholarship.

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AL-**HĀSHIMIYYA**, name of the administrative capital of the ʿAbbāsids before the building of Baghdād, referring not to a single place but to wherever the Caliph chose to establish his residence. The confusion as to the location of al-Hāshimiyya stems from the existence of more than one place of that name, as each in turn was occupied for a period as the official residence of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. The founder of the dynasty, al-Saffāḥ (d. 132/754), after leaving al-Kūfa, settled at a site opposite Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*], where he built a city and named it al-Hāshimiyya (situated midway between al-Kūfa and Baghdād; cf. Yāḳūt, iv, 946—confuses with Madīnat b. Hubayra; Iṣṭakhrī, *BGA*, i, 85; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *BGA*, ii, 166; Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 53, 115, 130*i*). Previously the Caliph had begun construction at Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra itself, but he abandoned this location when the

populace, in preference to al-Hāshimiyya, persisted in referring to the town by the name of its founder, the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra. This same Yazīd originally built a city on the Euphrates near al-Kūfa, but was forced to abandon this site by order of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (presumably Madīnat Ibn Hubayra, which Ṭabarī and Yāḳūt confuse with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra; cf. *Annales*, iii/1, 80, 183; *Muʿdjam*, i, 680, iii, 208; iv, 123, 946; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287). In 134/752, al-Saffāḥ moved once again and established his capital near al-Anbār, formerly the Persian city Fīrūz Sābūr, but he died in 136/754 before completing it (*Futūḥ*, 287; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 429-30; *Buldān*, 237; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, 189; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 372-3; Ibn Rustah, *BGA*, vii, 109; Ṭabarī, iii/1, 80, 87; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 339; *K. al-ʿUyūn* in *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, i, 211). The authorities report that al-Manṣūr, who now became Caliph, established his residence at a new location in the general vicinity of al-Kūfa which, according to al-Ṭabarī, was adjacent to Madīnat Ibn Hubayra (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 450; al-Ṭabarī, iii/1, 271, 272, 319). This site is not to be confused with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, which, as previously noted, was situated midway between al-Kūfa and Baghdād. These accounts seem to suggest that the centre of al-Manṣūr's administration was the city near al-Kūfa which was first built and later abandoned by the governor of Marwān II. There were, therefore, no less than four ʿAbbāsid capitals: the three capitals of al-Saffāḥ at Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, at the site opposite that town, and at al-Anbār, and also the capital of al-Manṣūr at Madīnat Ibn Hubayra. The proclivity of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs for this constant moving is still unexplained; but it does suggest that they were searching for a site which could satisfy certain particular needs. Following a riot in the court of his palace, al-Manṣūr began the journey which led to the founding of Baghdād. In 146/763, the administrative agencies of the government were moved to the new location signifying the formal transfer of the capital (al-Ṭabarī, iii/1, 129-33, *sub anno* 141/758, 271, 418 ff. also gives dates 136, 7; Khaṭīb, Cairo ed., i, 67 = Paris ed., 2; *Muʿdjam*, i, 680).

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ḤASHĪSH is a narcotic product of *Cannabis sativa* L., hemp. When cultivated under certain favourable climatic and soil conditions, especially in India and neighbouring areas, the plant is more active physiologically; it is there called *C. Indica* Lam. Both of these "varieties" are morphologically alike. It is a dioecious plant; the dried flowering tops of the pistillate plants contain a resin whose chief constituent is cannabinol. Cannabin also comes from these tops; today its tannate is used as a hypnotic, narcotic, and sedative used in hysteria, acute mania, nervous insomnia, and in menopausal nervous disturbances.

The Indian hemp was known as a useful plant in early historic times. In the earliest scientific literature, the ancient Mesopotamian lexical lists, there is evidence that *Cannabis* was used both in the manufacture of cloth and as a drug. In Sumerian, it is *A.ZAL.LA* and in Akkadian *azallû*. These terms are cognate to the Syriac *ʿazal* "to spin." In the list, it is equated with *gurgurru* from *garāru* "to roll, to twist." Thus, the Persian word for hemp, *gargarindj*, is related to the late Assyrian *gurgurangu*. Another equivalent in the list is *šami nissati* "herb of grief." An interesting equivalent is the Sumerian *GÁN.ZI.GÙN.NU* where *GÁN* is probably *ḫabbilu* "robber," and *ZI* is *napištu* "soul." *GUN.NU* is "to twist, to weave." The entire meaning, therefore, of the Sumerian word is "plant + narcotic + weaving," or hemp. In Babylonian medicine, it was used externally with other ingredients for the stomach, swellings, and loss of control of the lower limbs. Internally, it was used for depression of the spirits and renal calculus.

Towards the end of the eighth or first half of the seventh century B.C., the word *qunnabu* or *qunubu* is mentioned in a Sargonid text. The cognates, Arabic *kanib* and Persian *kanab*, often refer to the hemp seed and its narcotic properties. The Greek (Wellmann, Dioscorides, III, 148) κάνναβις and Latin *Cannabis* also are related.

In ancient Egypt, hemp is noted as a drug in the Berlin and Ebers papyri, internally, by smoking, and in a salve. It was called *šmšm t* (von Deines, Grapow, VI, 493).

According to Laufer, the Persian *bang* is a narcotic prepared from the hemp seed. *Bang* is cognate to the Sanskrit *bhaṅgā* and Avestan *baṅha* "narcotic", Arabic *bandj*, Portuguese *bango* and French *bangue*. *Bandj*, in the old Arabic literature, was often used for henbane as a substitute for hemp, thus creating confusion; the two were often used together in prescriptions.

In ancient China, from 1200-500 B.C., when the *Rh-Ya* was compiled, the hemp plant, *ma*, was known. In the biography of the physician Hoa-tho the narcotic properties of hemp are demonstrated in its use in surgery. Soubeiran gives the modern name as *ma-iao*, after Tatarinov.

Herodotus (fifth century B.C.) relates the use of hemp by the Scythians as a means of cleansing their bodies. The hemp is thrown on red-hot stones in an enclosed space. The odour is inhaled until intoxication; then they dance and sing. Galen discusses the use of hemp seed to excite sexual pleasure, to extinguish flatus, and for earache. Paulus Aeginata (seventh century A.D.) uses hemp as a carminative.

As a drug, hemp was used in Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and also in India. In the latter, it fell at first into the hands of the priestly caste who employed it in the Hindu religion and customs. Later, it spread among the people as *bhang*, a product of the dried leaves reduced to powder and mixed with flour and spices, and *ganja* the flowering and fertilized tops of the female plants. In India, it was originally eaten; later its smoking became more common. *Ganja* is actually a resin with a rusty green colour and a characteristic odour; this resin is *charas*. In India, men in leather jackets or leather suits pass through a field of *C. sativa* rubbing and crushing roughly against the plants in the early morning after a fall of dew. The resinous matter which sticks on is then scraped off and forms the *ganja* of commerce. Sometimes, the plant is trodden with the feet or rubbed between the hands.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Arabs acquired a knowledge of *ḥashīsh* after their predecessors all about them had been using the plant in weaving and medicine for over a thousand years. One of the earliest physicians in Islam to use *Canna-*

bis was Djābir b. Ḥayyān (2nd/8th century). It is found as *bandj* in his *Kitāb al-Sumūm* (47b, 131b) where it is used for narcotic purposes.

Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī al-Harawī (fl. 4th/10th century) of Harāt, in his *Kitāb al-Abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, describes hemp, *shāhdānadj* (today, in Persian, it is the hemp seed) as useful for the manufacture of rope, and medicinally for headache and earache.

Under another synonym, *ḳinnab*, Maimonides (348) also calls it *shahrānadj* and *shahdānadj al-barr* ("wild hemp"). Actually, in Arabic works, these names generally designate the seed and not the resin or leaves. According to Meyerhof, it was not often that the Arabs used the resin (today called *ḥashīsh* and sometimes adulterated with leaf extracts).

ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl (d. 694/1294-5), in his *al-Muʿtamad fiʾl-adwiya al-mufrada* (Cairo 1951, 258, 399-400), gives *shāhdānaḳ* as *ḳinnab* for ear pain and for the head. Ibn Rasūl states that there are two varieties, a garden type and a wild one. A dose is seven *dirhams* of the oil extracted from the seed. Ibn al-Bayṭār (1271, 1349, 1845), of the 7th/13th century, has the word *shahdhanaḳ*, also from *shāh dānah* "king of the grains," in his work *Djāmiʿ al-mufradāt*.

The *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* (444) gives *ḳanneb* as the Moroccan synonym. In Morocco, *ḥashīsh* is given in an electuary (*maʿdjūn*) or in various confections. It is also prepared as *kif* which is smoked in small pipes especially by the lower classes. This is also true in other regions of North Africa.

How *ḥashīsh* came to become the common Arabic term for Indian hemp narcotic is uncertain. Those who take *ḥashīsh* are called *ḥashshāshūn* (Dozy, i, 289), also as *ḥashīshiyyūn* or *ḥashīshiyya*. (The word *ḥashīsh* originally meant "dry herb" coming from *ḥashsha* "to dry" as with drug plants.) This last name is also sometimes used of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, who are alleged to have used—or even introduced—the drug [see ḤASHĪSHIYYA].

Numerous references to *ḥashīsh* in *The Thousand and One Nights* (*ca.* 600/1200) are to be found. In these tales, hemp is used mainly as an odorant to drug people or animals. In his *Travels*, Marco Polo discusses *ḥashīsh* in its use as a stupefying agent.

Closer to modern times, the use of *ḥashīsh* in Egypt was found to be so widespread and deleterious that Bonaparte issued edicts prohibiting the drinking or smoking of hemp products. These turned out to be ineffective, since its habitual use had been going on for so many hundreds of years.

Today, the use of hemp drugs to produce euphoria and greater sexual pleasure is very widespread in India, Asia Minor, Egypt, and in other parts of Africa. In Egypt, *ḥashīsh* is today very cheap and is smoked commonly by the poorer classes. This is also generally true for the region from Tripoli to Morocco, especially in Algeria. On the west coast of Africa, the Negroes cultivate the *C. sativa* and smoke the fresh or dried leaves in pipes which contain a piece of glowing charcoal. In the Rif, the drug is used by the Sanūsī in religious ceremonies. The same is true in the Congo where the Kassai and Baluba tribes have lost some ancient fetishes and have substituted *riamba* or hemp. The drug is regarded as a means of protection against illness and as a symbol of peace.

Hemp preparations are also smoked in East Africa, Madagascar, and in South Africa. In the latter, a hemp product called *dagga* is responsible for 17% of all admissions to the Pretoria Mental Hospital. The Hottentots, Bushmen and Kaffirs smoke hemp alone or with tobacco. In Turkey a preparation from hemp called *esrar* ("secret") is smoked with tobacco. It is also chewed there.

In Syria, much hemp is grown. There are many dens in Damascus where *ḥashīsh* and opium are smoked. Addiction also occurs among the Uzbeks and Tatars.

In India, where hemp smoking is popular, it has been shown that moderate use causes no moral injury. On the other hand, excessive consumption is physically and mentally injurious and leads to moral weakness and depravity. The drug is smuggled today into Egypt from Syria and Lebanon. A United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs declared in 1950 that 60,000,000 square metres were under Indian hemp cultivation with an annual production in Syria and Lebanon alone of 300 tons.

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(M. LEVEY)

ḤASHĪSHIYYA, a name given in mediaeval times to the followers in Syria of the Nizārī branch of the Ismāʿīlī sect. The name was carried from Syria to Europe by the Crusaders, and occurs in a variety of forms in the Western literature of the Crusades, as well as in Greek and Hebrew texts. In the form 'assassin' it eventually found its way into French and English usage, with corresponding forms in Italian, Spanish and other languages. At first the word seems to have been used in the sense of devotee

or zealot, thus corresponding to *fidāʾī* [*q.v.*]. As early as the 12th century Provençal poets compare themselves to Assassins in their self-sacrificing devotion to their ladies (F. M. Chambers, *The troubadours and the Assassins*, in *Modern Language Notes*, lxiv (1949), 245 ff.; D. Scheludko, *Über die arabischen Lehnwörter im Altprovenzalischen*, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xlvii (1927), 423). But soon it was the murderous tactics of the Nizārīs, rather than their selfless devotion, that fascinated European visitors to the East, and gave the word a new meaning. From being the name of a mysterious sect in Syria, assassin becomes a common noun meaning murderer. It is already used by Dante ('lo perfido assassin ...', *Inferno*, xix, 49-50), and is explained by his commentator Francesco da Buti, in the second half of the 14th century, as 'one who kills another for money'.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the name assassin—and the sect that first bore it—received a good deal of attention from European scholars, who produced a number of theories, mostly fantastic, to explain its origin and significance. The mystery was finally solved by Silvestre de Sacy in his *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'origine de leur nom*, read to the *Institut* in 1809 and published in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal*, iv (1818), 1-85 (= *Mémoires d'histoire et de littérature orientales*, Paris 1818, 322-403). Using Arabic manuscript sources, notably the chronicle of Abū S̲h̲āma, he examines and rejects previous explanations, and shows that the word assassin is connected with the Arabic *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲* [*q.v.*]. He suggests that the variant forms Assassini, Assissini, Heyssisini etc. in the Crusading sources come from alternative Arabic forms *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī* (pl. *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya* or *has̲h̲īs̲h̲iyyīn*) and *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲* (pl. *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲īn*). In confirmation of this he was able to produce several Arabic texts in which the sectaries are called *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī*, but none in which they are called *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲*. Since then, the form *ḥashīs̲h̲ī* has been amply confirmed by new texts that have come to light—but there is still, as far as is known, no text in which the sectaries are called *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲*. It would therefore seem that this part of S. de Sacy's explanation must be abandoned, and all the European variants derived from the Arabic *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī*.

This revision raises again the question of the meaning of the term. *Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲* is of course the Arabic name of Indian hemp—*cannabis sativa*—and *ḥas̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲* is the common word for a hashish-taker. De Sacy, while not accepting the opinion held by many later writers that the assassins were so called because they were addicts, nevertheless explains the name as due to the secret use of hashish by the leaders of the sect, to give their emissaries a foretaste of the delights of paradise that awaited them on the completion of their missions. He links this interpretation with the story told by Marco Polo, and found also in other eastern and western sources, of the secret 'gardens of paradise' into which the drugged devotees were introduced (Marco Polo, edd. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London 1938, i, 40 ff.; cf. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronicon Slavorum*, iv, 16; J. von Hammer, *Sur le paradis du Vieux de la Montagne*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii (1813), 201-6—citing an Arabic romance, in which the drug used is called *Band̲j̲*). This story is early; the oldest version of it, that of Arnold of Lübeck, must date from the end of the 12th century. Their chief, he says, himself gives them daggers which are, so to speak, consecrated to this task, and then "et tunc poculo eos quodam, quo in extasim vel amentiam rapiantur, inebriat, et eis magicis suis quedam sompnia in fantastica, gaudiis et deliciis, immo nugis plena, ostendit, et hec eternaliter pro tali opere eos habere contendit" (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, xxi, Hanover 1869, 179). This story, which may well be the earliest account of hashish dreams, is repeated with variants by later writers. It is, however, almost certainly a popular tale, perhaps even a result rather than a cause of the name *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya*. The use and effects of hashish were known at the time, and were no secret; the use of the drug by the sectaries, with or without secret gardens, is attested neither by Ismāʿīlī nor by serious Sunnī authors. Even the name *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya* is local to Syria (cf. Houtsma, *Recueil*, i, 195; Ibn Muyassar, *Annales*, 68) and probably abusive. It was never used by contemporaries of the Persian or any other non-Syrian Ismāʿīlīs; even in Syria it was not used by the Ismāʿīlīs themselves (except in a polemic tract issued by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir against his Nizārī opponents —A. A. A. Fyzee, *al-Hidāyatu 'l-āmiriya*, London-Bombay 1938, 27), and only occasionally even by non-Ismāʿīlī writers. Thus Maḳrīzī, in a fairly lengthy discussion of the origins and use of hashish, mentions a Persian *mulḥid* (probably an Ismāʿīlī) who came to Cairo at about the end of the 8th century A.H. and prepared and sold his own mixture of hashish—but does not call the Ismāʿīlīs *ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲iyya*, or mention any special connexion between the sect and the drug (*K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, ii, 126-9). *Ḥas̲h̲īs̲h̲ī* would thus appear to have been a local Syrian epithet for the Ismāʿīlīs, probably a term of contempt —a criticism of their behaviour rather than a description of their practices.

Bibliography: B. Lewis, *The sources for the history of the Syrian assassins*, in *Speculum*, xxvii (1952), 475-89; idem, *The Ismāʿīlites and the Assassins*, in *A history of the Crusades*, editor-in-chief K. M. Setton, i, *The first hundred years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin, Philadelphia 1955, 99-132; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, espec. 133-7. For the history of the sect see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA and NIZĀRĪS. (B. LEWIS)

ḤĀS̲H̲IYA, pl. *ḥawās̲h̲ī*, meaning (1) the *margin* (of pages in [*fī*, *ʿalā*, *bi-*] which notes could be written), then (2) the *marginal note* itself (or "note" in general), and, finally, (3) *gloss*, used in the sing., undoubtedly as a profession of modesty, in titles of independent works, at times of some length, dealing with comments on subjects treated by earlier authors. This last usage is comparatively late; none of the ca. 150 titles listed in Brockelmann, S III, 892-4, antedates the 8th/14th century. Although it was used as a book title all over the Muslim world, *ḥās̲h̲iya* enjoyed particular favour among scholars of the eastern region.

Ḥawās̲h̲ī, in the second meaning, appears loosely used in titles of books no later than the 5th/11th century, the presumable date of the *Ḥawās̲h̲ī* of a certain Ibn Masrūr on Aristotle's *De sensu* (Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Bustān al-aṭibbāʾ*); in the case of *Ḥawās̲h̲ī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm* (Brockelmann, S I, 820), the attribution of both title and work to Ibn Sīnā is dubious. The use of *ḥās̲h̲iya* in the sense of marginal note must, however, be much earlier. The practice itself of using the margins of pages for annotations was, of course, not an invention of Islamic times, but, with the general increase in book production, it achieved there the status of a scholarly custom.

Since, in the manuscript age, nothing not firmly anchored in the text could be expected to survive the next copyist, the only possible position for a permanent annotation was within the text itself, and

the practice of inserting notes immediately after passages to be annotated was not infrequently followed; such notes were introduced by a number of different terms, among them, if rarely, *ḥāshiya*. The margins were used to note down textual corrections, variant readings, lexicographical explanations (sometimes in another language), additional information and references, criticisms of the author's views, and the like, with certain marks often, but by no means regularly, used to indicate the passage of the text to which a given *ḥashiya* referred. It also was not unusual to fill the margins with material that had no direct relation to any particular passage of the text. This could include extensive remarks, quotations, and even occasionally entire commentaries or other complete works. The custom of using margins for other works carried over into printing and was expanded there.

In the 7th/13th century, the Shāfiʿite Ibn Djamāʿa expressed his opinion on marginal notes in these terms (*Tadhkirat al-sāmiʿ*, Ḥaydarābād 1353, 186-91): "There is nothing wrong with writing important notes (*ḥawāshī, fawāʾid, tanbihāt*) in the margins of a book one owns .... Only important notes that pertain to the contents of the book in question should be given, such as notes that call attention to difficult or doubtful passages, allusions, mistakes, and the like. Problems and details that are alien to the contents should not be allowed to deface the book, nor should there be so many marginal notes that it becomes disfigured or the student is at a loss to find out where they belong."

Bibliography: F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, in *Anal. Or.*, xxiv, Rome 1947, 17 f., 39 f., 51 f. (F. ROSENTHAL)

ḤĀSHIYA, the entourage of a ruler [see ḲAṢR].

ḤASHMET (?—1182/1768), Ottoman poet, born in Istanbul. His father was the *ḳāḍīʿasker* ʿAbbās Efendi. Ḥashmet became a *müderris*, but, because of his satires, was exiled in 1175/1761, first to Bursa and later to Rhodes, where he died. In his youth he had been under the protection of the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Rāghib Pasha, himself a poet, and dedicated some works to him. His scattered poems were collected while he was in exile in Bursa by one of his admirers, Saʿīd Imām-zāde, who also wrote a short biography of Ḥashmet to figure at the beginning of his *dīwān*; here one finds the information that Ḥashmet was a peerless swordsman and archer. The romantic epigrams which he exchanged with the contemporary poetess Fiṭnat [*q.v.*] are famous.

Works: (I) *Dīwān*. In this work (Būlāḳ 1841), besides two long poems in Arabic recounting the "beautiful names" of God and Muḥammad, these poems are for the most part *naẓīre*s to the works of well-known poets, but are, nonetheless, very musical and contain some original images. The *terkīb-i bend* expressing his grief at the death of his father is notable for its simple, sincere tone. (II) *Intisāb al-mulūk* or *Khʷābnāme*, a prose work, printed as a supplement to the *Dīwān*, in which Ḥashmet recounts a dream which he had on the night of the accession of Muṣṭafā III. All the rulers of the world come to the new sultan and ask for a job, each according to the speciality of his own country: the Russian to be chief furrier, the Englishman to be overseer of the powder-magazine, the Dutchman to be head gardener, the Frenchman to have charge of the wardrobe, and so on. (III) *Sūrnāme* or *Welādetnāme*, a prose work describing in a lively and colourful way the celebrations on the occasion of the birth of a daughter to Muṣṭafā III (simplified version in Latin transcription by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, Istanbul n.d.). (IV) *Sanad al-shuʿarāʾ*, a *risāla* written against those who condemn poetry and poets from the religious point of view. In this work, which consists of four sections and a conclusion, Ḥashmet claims that poetry has a divine origin, that there are passages in metre in both the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, and that Muḥammad, his Companions and Muslim rulers have all attributed great value to poetry and poets. (V) *Shehādetnāme*, a short *risāla* explaining the material and spiritual effects of the *shahāda*. (VI) Although Meḥmed Saʿīd Imām-zāde mentions that Ḥashmet was writing a lexicographical work entitled *Durratayn* and containing Arabic compound words, no such work has been found.

Bibliography: Rāmiz, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul Un. Lib., MS T. 91; M. Nādjī, *Esāmī*, 1308, 121; Meḥmet Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 233; Bursalı Meḥmet Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı Müʾellifleri*, ii, 141; Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 322; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 140-50; Rieu, *Cat. of Turkish manuscripts*..., 204. (MEHMED KAPLAN)

ḤASHR [see ḲIYĀMA].

ḤASHW [see NAḤW].

ḤASHWIYYA (Ḥashawiyya, Ḥushwiyya, or Ahl al-Ḥashw), a contemptuous term derived from *ḥashw* ("farce" and hence "prolix and useless discourse") and with the general meaning of "scholars" of little worth, particularly traditionists; this term is sometimes associated with *ghuthāʾ* and *ghuthar*, and even with *raʿāʿ*, "the scum of the populace" (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif*, 96; tr. Lecomte, 90), and used by some Sunnis of extremist traditionists or those whose researches are of very little value. Fairly close to Nābita [*q.v.*] and to Mudjbira [*q.v.*], it is used, in a narrower sense, of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] who, uncritically and even prompted by prejudice, recognize as genuine and interpret literally the crudely anthropomorphic traditions. A few names of individuals who made themselves notorious in this way and who belonged neither to the Karrāmiyya nor to the anthropomorphist Shīʿīs are mentioned by al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton, 77); the Sālimiyya (see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, lxi, 79) also came into this category. Al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ*, 7) uses the name Ḥashwiyya for well-known traditionists such as Sufyān al-Thawrī or Mālik b. Anas, whom he classes among the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*].

The Muʿtazilīs applied the name of Ḥashwiyya to the majority of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*, because, although without the unquestioning acceptance of the Ḥashwiyya proper and often with the reservation "without comment" (*bilā kayfa*), they yet admitted some anthropomorphic expressions.

Bibliography: G. van Vloten, in *Actes du XI^e Cong. int. des Orient.*, 99 ff.; M. Th. Houtsma, in *ZA*, xxvi, 196 ff. (with bibliographical references); A. S. Halkin, in *JAOS*, liv (1934), 1 ff.; A. N. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, 99; Khafādjī, *Shifāʾ*, s.v. (ED.)

ḤĀSIB [see ILM AL-ḤISĀB].

ḤĀSIK (HASEK), a town in the Mahra country [*q.v.*], east of Mirbāṭ [*q.v.*] in 17° 21′ N. Lat. and 55° 23′ E. Long., at the foot of the high mountain of Nūs (Lūs), the ʾΑσίχων of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Before the town lies the "bay of herbs" (Djūn al-Ḥashīsh), the bay of Ḥāsik (Raʾs Ḥāsik), also called Kuria Muria Bay after the two islands lying opposite (Kharyān and Maryān in Idrīsī). Idrīsī describes Ḥāsik as a small fortified town four days

east of Mirbāṭ, with many inhabitants, who are fishermen. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa landed here on his way through to ʿUmān and found the houses built of fishbones with roofs of camelskins. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's and Idrīsī's time there was great intercourse between Ḥāsik and the island of Soḳoṭrā [*q.v.*] to the south. The frankincense which was produced in the Mahra country was exported through Ḥāsik. The town is now quite ruined. It is called Sūḳ Ḥāsik and is inhabited by the Ḳara and other tribes of the frankincense country.

Opposite Ḥāsik, according to Miles about 20 miles from the coast, lie the "seven isles of Zenobia" (the ἑπτὰ νῆσοι, αἱ Ζηνοβίου λεγόμεναι of the *Periplus*), the Kharyān and Maryān group of Idrīsī, called the Djazāʾir Ibn Khalfān, after a prominent Mahrī family, by the Arabs of the south coast. The most westerly of the islands and the one nearest the coast bears the name Ḥāsikī or Ḥāsikiyya, *i.e.*, the island belonging to Ḥāsik (the Portuguese, who visited this island in 1588, called it Hezquiye). Like the most easterly of the islands, Ḳibliyya, it is covered by a large number of peaked hills mainly composed of red and streaked granite and inhabited by pelicans and diving birds. Hulton, who visited the islands in 1836, found only one of them, Hallaniyya, inhabited. He found that the language resembled that of Soḳoṭrā. The huts in which the few inhabitants lived consisted of loose stones above which were laid fishbones covered with seaweed. They belonged to the Bayt (Banū) Djanaba (Djenabi = Ζηνοβιος of the *Periplus*), the same tribe as lived on the coast between Ḥāsik and Raʾs al-Ḥadd. Their ancestors are said to have migrated hither several centuries ago, after being driven from Ḥāsik and Mirbāṭ as a result of feuds with their neighbours. Ptolemy and Pliny call the people of these islands ʾΑσχῖται or Ascitae, a name doubtless connected with Ḥāsik, although the ancients connected this name with ἀσκός "wineskin".

Bibliography: Hamdānī, *Djazīra* (ed. Müller), 52, 1; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 214-5, tr. Gibb, ii, 391; Hulton, *Account of the Curya Murya Isles near the south-eastern coast of Arabia*, in the *Journal of the London Royal Geog. Soc.*, xi (1841), 156-64; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 264, 305, 306, 311, 312, 335-47, 656-7; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 95, 98-9, 313-4. (J. Schleifer)

ḤĀSSA [see ḤISS].

ḤASSĀN, BĀ (Banū), a branch (*baṭn*) of the South Arabian tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*], living in Ḥaḍramawt and descended from Ḥassān b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiya b. Thawr b. Mur(at)tiʿ b. Kinda. One member of it was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī Ibn/Bā Ḥassan al-Ḥaḍramī (750-818/1349-1415), whose chronicle (*Taʾrīkh Ibn Ḥassān*, also called *T. al-Bahāʾ*) was used by ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad Abū/Bā Makhrama (833-903/1430-98) and his son al-Ṭayyib (870-947/1465-1540) for the biographical dictionary *Ḳilādat al-naḥr*. A copy of that chronicle is now in the Bodleian Library. Other works by him are cited by al-Saḳḳāf (see *Bibl.*) but seem to be lost.

Another *baṭn* Ḥassān is said by al-Ḳalḳashandī to belong to the ʿUdhra b. Zayd al-Lāt branch of Kalb [*q.v.*]. Other Ḥassāns are enumerated by Hamdānī in his *Iklīl*, ii (see *Bibl.*), where the genealogy of Āl Ḥassān Dhi ʾl-Shaʿbayn is given (Berlin MS, fols. 158b-159a).

Bibliography: ʿAbd Allāh al-Saḳḳāf, *Taʾrīkh al-shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, i, Cairo 1353, 74-6; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿarab*, Baghdad 1332, 1378, s.v. (Abyārī's ed., Baghdad 1959, omits this and six further sections = 4 pages!); al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab*, Nadjaf 1345, 53; al-Hamdānī, *Südarab. Muštabih*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala 1953 (= Bibl. Ekmaniana 57), 19; O. Löfgren, *Über Abū Maḫrama's Ḳilādat al-naḥr*, in *MO*, xxv (1931), 120-39; R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for South Arabian history*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 299; idem, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1957, 11; idem, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963, 53. (O. Löfgren)

ḤASSĀN B. MĀLIK, grandson of the Kalbī chief Baḥdal b. Unayf [*q.v.*] and cousin of the caliph Yazīd I, his father being the brother of Maysūn, the famous wife of Muʿāwiya (it has been thought, erroneously, that he was the uncle of Yazīd I, because he is often referred to simply as Ibn Baḥdal). This relationship, the nobility of his clan (the Banū Ḥāritha b. Djanāb) and the power of the Kalb tribe earned for him under Muʿāwiya and Yazīd the governorships of Palestine and of Jordan. Before this, he had fought at Ṣiffīn in the ranks of the Syrian army, in command of the Ḳuḍāʿa of Damascus (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, 233). It was he who accompanied the young Yazīd when he arrived at Damascus to assume the caliphate, and he continued to exert a strong influence over his royal cousin, who had become also his brother-in-law. On the death of Muʿāwiya II, the son and successor of Yazīd I, there arose a crisis (64/684) in which Ibn Baḥdal played an important part by supporting the claims to power of the two young half-brothers of Muʿāwiya II, Khālid and ʿAbd Allāh. Having entrusted Palestine to a chief of the Djudhām, Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ, Ibn Baḥdal betook himself to the *djund* of Jordan and then to Djābiya in order to follow events from closer at hand. The situation at this time was favourable to the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, for al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], the governors of Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn, and the rival of Ibn Baḥdal who had driven Rawḥ out of Palestine had either secretly or openly taken his side. But the cunning ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] arrived from ʿIrāḳ and changed the course of events through his intrigues (at least according to the account of Ibn Saʿd, which seems to be the most objective). In fact ʿUbayd Allāh persuaded Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], already on his way to Mecca to offer homage there to Ibn al-Zubayr, to retrace his steps, and to go to Palmyra, where he next set himself up as a candidate (on the later manoeuvres of ʿUbayd Allāh at Damascus, see AL-ḌAḤḤĀK B. ḲAYS AL-FIHRĪ where, at p. 89b, l. 50, for Ḳuraysh read Ḳays). Three parties were formed: the supporters of Ibn Baḥdal, those of Ibn al-Zubayr, and the neutrals, who did not mind whether the caliphate remained with the Umayyads or fell into the hands of anyone else; Marwān, it seems, had little confidence in his success. While al-Ḍaḥḥāk was still at Damascus, Ḥassān attempted to bring the situation to a head: he caused to be read out in the Great Mosque a message in which he extolled the claims of the Umayyads and accused Ibn al-Zubayr of unworthy behaviour and hypocrisy. This resulted in an upheaval, which is known as the "Day of Djayrūn". Finally, it was decided to invite the Umayyads and the Syrian leaders to a conference at Djābiya in order to reach an agreement (ʿUbayd Allāh, not being one of the *ashrāf* of Syria, was excluded from it). Owing to his prestige Ibn Baḥdal presided, but he did not succeed in getting his candidate appointed. After 40 days of discussion Marwān

b. al-Ḥakam was proclaimed caliph. Before Ibn Baḥdal would recognize him, he had stipulated that the young Khālid should succeed after Marwān and that his tribe should receive important privileges and his own family retain certain prerogatives which it had enjoyed under the Sufyānids. From then on his influence declined steadily. Before his death Marwān obliged him to recognize ʿAbd al-Malik as his successor. In the revolt of ʿAmr al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*], Ḥassān supported ʿAbd al-Malik and found himself among the Umayyads witnessing the assassination of the rebel. After this event no more is heard of this Kalbī chief who had, at one juncture, been the arbiter of the destinies of the Umayyad dynasty. The probable date of his death is given as 69/688-9 (al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, MS Bodl., fol. 58 v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 313).

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(H. Lammens-[L. Veccia Vaglieri])

ḤASSĀN B. AL-NUʿMĀN AL-GHASSĀNĪ, an Umayyad general who played a decisive part in the consolidation of the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by storming Carthage and finally defeating al-Kāhina [*q.v.*]. It is difficult, however, to trace the course of his actions on account of the uncertainty of the chronology and a host of discrepancies. The dates given for his arrival in Ifrīḳiya are Muḥarram 68/ July-August 687, 69/688-9, 73/692-3, 74/693-4, 78/ 697-8; and for his fall 76/695-6, 77/696-7, 78/697-8, 79/698-9, 82/701-2, 84/703-4 and 89/707-8. The chronology given by the earliest chroniclers, *i.e.* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and the pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, and confirmed by Ibn ʿAsākir, is the most probable. It agrees with the logical sequence of events and makes it possible to avoid inconsistencies.

Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī [*q.v.*] met his death in 69/688-9 when fighting against the Rūm, after evacuating Ifrīḳiya. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, occupied by the struggle against the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, was unable to find a successor for him immediately. But in 73/692-3 Ibn al-Zubayr was defeated and put to death, and the war with the Byzantines was resumed. It was, therefore, probably at this time that Ḥassān was sent with a strong army to reconquer Ifrīḳiya. After taking Carthage and laying it waste—the inhabitants set sail for Sicily—he pursued the Rūm and their Berber allies into the region of Bizerta. Defeating them once again, he drove back the former to Béja (= Vaga), where they consolidated themselves, and the latter to Bône. After halting at Ḳayrawān, he marched against the Kāhina. He by-passed the fortress of Madjdjāna without attacking it, and went on, to meet a complete disaster on the borders of the Meskiana. Hotly pursued as far as Gabès, he was forced to evacuate Ifrīḳiya and went to await the caliph's orders at the Ḳuṣūr Ḥassān (so named in memory of himself) four days' journey to the east of Tripoli.

The fall of Carthage had caused deep concern in Constantinople. The emperor Leontius, who overthrew Justinian II in 695, sent the patrician John with a powerful fleet to recapture the town, certainly after the evacuation of Ifrīḳiya by Ḥassān. The latter stayed for three years in Tripolitania. Then, with a new army, he resumed the offensive, probably in 78/697-8, with the help of certain Berber groups who were dissatisfied with the policy of the Kāhina. The latter was defeated and perished in the battle. Next Carthage, abandoned by its defenders, was once again captured and laid waste. On being dismissed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the caliph's brother and governor of Egypt, who replaced him by his protégé Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (Ṣafar 79/April-May 698), Ḥassān returned to the East. When passing through Egypt he was stripped of all the booty taken in Ifrīḳiya. He died fighting against the Byzantines in 80/699-700.

Ḥassān's campaigns mark the final consolidation of the Arab conquest. To him is owed the construction of the arsenal at Tunis, *Dār al-sināʿa* [*q.v.*], on the orders of the caliph, who was anxious to create a powerful fleet, and the rebuilding of the great mosque of Ḳayrawān in more durable materials. Following the example of the attempts then being made in the East, he tried to provide Ifrīḳiya too with an efficient administration and, in order to guarantee the cooperation and loyalty of the Berbers, he gave them a share in the *fayʾ*, particularly in the distribution of land.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Ifrīḳiya*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 76-87 and n. 97; Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1960, ii, 277; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1932, 231; Pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Imāma wa ʾl-siyāsa*, Cairo 1904, 97, 102 (on this work, see H. Pérès, *Le K. al-Imāma* ..., in *RT*, 1934, 317-35); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1332, iv, 146-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1357, iv, 146-7; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. M. J. Müller, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, Munich 1878, 25 (ed. Ḥ Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, i, 164, ii, 311-2); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 34-9; Nuwayrī, in the appendix to the *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, Paris 1925, i, 338-43; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Beirut 1958, i, 453-4 and iv, 401; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. Hadj-Sadok, Algiers 1949, 5 and n. 45; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 63; Bakrī, *Masālik*, tr. de Slane, 22-3, 52, 82-5; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 90; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1960, 249; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1951, i, 31-8; Ibn Nādji, *Maʿālim*, i, 54-63.—M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, 1854-72, i, 118, 121; Ch. Courtois, *Reliques carthaginoises et légende carolingienne*, in *Rev. Hist.*, 1945, 69; Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine*, Paris 1896, 581-7; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 207-24; E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952, 270-2.

(M. Talbi)

ḤASSĀN B. THĀBIT B. AL-MUNDHIR B. ḤARĀM, of the Khazradj tribe of Yathrib (later Medīna), traditionally known as the "poet laureate" of the Prophet, is more correctly the most prominent of several poets who were associated with the rise of Islam, and one who already had an established reputation in the Djāhiliyya. When

Muḥammad arrived at Medina, Ḥassān was of mature age (though probably not yet 60—which is the age given by most authorities including Ibn Isḥāḳ who relies directly on Ḥassān's grandson Saʿīd—or even 52 or 53 years old as other authorities suggest), and had written panegyrics on the Ghassānid and Lakhmid princes, visited them in their courts and received gifts from them. Equally uncertain is the date of his death, which is variously given as 40/659 or before that year, 50/669 or 54/673. As the last we hear of Ḥassān is some time before ʿAlī's assassination, a date around 40/659 is the most likely.

It is not certain exactly when Ḥassān embraced Islam, although it is stated that his brother Aws was one of the earliest converts and was assigned the Immigrant ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as his "brother" and guest in Medina, a fact which probably partly accounts for the Umayyad sympathies with which Ḥassān is credited, and which are represented by (or—in the case of spurious poems—reflected in) the comparatively large number of elegies on ʿUthmān (8 out of 32) ascribed to Ḥassān in the *Dīwān* and elsewhere. However, Ḥassān himself had an *uṭum* of his own, was rich and kept such company as Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm [*q.v.*] the Awsī poet and Sallām b. Mishkam, chief of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr.

In the year 5/627 Ḥassān figures in the story of the slander against ʿĀʾisha, when he is said to have been punished for taking part in the slander, to have been attacked and wounded by Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭil [*q.v.*], and then reconciled by the prophet and given Sīrīn, an Egyptian slave girl, and other gifts. However, the story (and Ḥassān's supposed prominent part, which is assigned by certain authorities, including Ibn Hishām, to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] rather than to Ḥassān) received excessive attention from later generations, and should be viewed both as a whole and in detail against the background of friction between the newcomers and the Medinese themselves, both in Medina and in the course of the campaign against the Banu 'l-Muṣṭaliḳ when the story originated. For an examination of the controversial details see W. ʿArafat, *A controversial incident in the life of Ḥassān b. Thābit*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955).

It was then, or soon after the siege of Medina, that the Muslims, and particularly the Medinese among them, realized the need for the systematic support of poets, and Ḥassān's contribution was especially welcome. For better effect, advice and the necessary data were given by Abū Bakr. Once he joined the Muslim community, Ḥassān employed his talents on behalf of Islam, though he took no part in fighting, probably because of advanced age, rather than cowardice as is most frequently suggested. In any case, even before Islam, Ḥassān's role as a poet predominates.

In 9/630, the "Year of Delegations", Ḥassān is said to have had occasion to recite poetry on behalf of the Prophet in the presence of the important Tamīm delegation. Prominence is usually given to this visit, the purpose of which, however, is not certain; and the suggestion that the delegates were converted on hearing Ḥassān's poem is doubtful. The fact that three different sets of poems are found, each of which is claimed to be the one which served the occasion, is indicative both of the doubtful character of such poetry and of the high esteem in which Ḥassān was held.

Little is heard of Ḥassān himself afterwards, except when ʿUmar sought his expert opinion on a poem by al-Ḥuṭayʾa slandering al-Zibriḳān b. Badr; or when he is occasionally heard reciting his own poetry. On one occasion, some time later in his life, he came reluctantly out of retirement to support his less able son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in a battle of slander against al-Nadjāshī [*q.v.*]. Otherwise he was growing old, happy and waxing sentimental when reminiscing on his visits to the Ghassānids, but sad and reprobatory when contrasting the dignified carousing he had known at the princely court of the Ghassānids with the unrestrained enjoyment of newly found luxury by his own son and his boon-companions.

In the revolt against ʿUthmān, Ḥassān, Kaʿb b. Mālik, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr [*qq.v.*] and others were vociferous in support of the besieged caliph and (according to Ṭabarī, i, 2971) even tried to dissuade the rebels from their intention. After ʿUthmān's death they went to Muʿāwiya, who gave Ḥassān and Kaʿb a present of money each and later rewarded al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr with a governorship.

Ḥassān had one daughter, who on one occasion displayed a talent for poetry, and by Sīrīn, according to most sources, one son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was as provocative as his father but shared neither Ḥassān's ability as a poet nor his longevity.

Ḥassān's *Dīwān* in the recension of Ibn Ḥabīb [*q.v.*] contains 228 poems on different subjects, the *Sīra* 29 more, while other poems and single lines are found elsewhere ascribed to him. Nevertheless at an early period doubts were cast on the authenticity of this poetry generally or on specific poems or lines; recently a detailed study of the poetry ascribed to Ḥassān was made by the author of this article with a view to establishing, on internal as well as external evidence, the authenticity or otherwise of each poem. This study indicated that some 60-70% of this poetry may be spurious. The poetry in the *Dīwān* presents such a variety of spirit and style, is so full of contradictions and anomalies and contains such a high proportion of inferior verse, that the poems could not have been the work of a single author nor all of them by a poet of high repute.

This spurious poetry should be viewed in the light of the eventful century following the rise of Islam in which the events involved the same tribes who had taken part in the early struggle. Earlier verse was forgotten or overwhelmed, replaced or supplemented by new poetry. Verse naturally accompanied tribal, sectarian or factional disputes; but was written also to clear the reputation of persons whose record in the early stages was not complimentary, or else to supplement and embellish the accounts of the *maghāzī*. Some of these poems were the work of narrators or forgers, while others were ascribed to Ḥassān deliberately for prestige or else accidentally. Evidence sometimes indicates that a poem may be only partly authentic. More than 30 poems, parts of poems, or single lines are also ascribed by Ibn Hishām and other authorities to Ḥassān's son or to other persons, including some of Ḥassān's contemporaries. The long poems of boasting can be seen on internal evidence to be by descendants of the Anṣār and reflect the inferior status to which they were reduced after the Battle of al-Ḥarra in 63/682.

Although only briefly, the spurious character of such poetry was noted by early critics, and Ibn Isḥāḳ was the subject of severe censure by Ibn Sallām and Ibn al-Nadīm, for including in his *Sīra* spurious poetry ascribed to Ḥassān and others, although Ibn Isḥāḳ himself pleaded good faith and lack of the appropriate critical experience. His editor Ibn Hishām omitted or rejected on expert authority a large number of such poems, branding some outright as forgeries, and others as doubtful.

In the case of Ḥassān, Ibn Hishām rejected 15 out of 78 poems which appear in the *Sīra*, of which total 29 are not in Ibn Ḥabīb's recension of the *Dīwān*, while 10 out of the 15 so rejected are in the *Dīwān*. Ibn Sallām writes in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (179) briefly but significantly, "more poetry was fathered on Ḥassān than on any one else. When the Ḳuraysh quarrelled among themselves and slandered each other, they ascribed to him a great deal of poetry which is impossible to sift." For a more comprehensive view of the sources of this poetry and of the opinions of early critics, see W. ʿArafat, *Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the Sīra*, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958). The main reason for ascribing to Ḥassān a larger proportion of such poetry is Ḥassān's higher reputation, already recognized at the advent of Islam.

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(W. ʿArafat)

HATAY, the name given by the Turks to the Sanjak of Alexandretta, at the time of the crisis of 1936-9. For the history of the area see ANṬĀKIYA and ISKANDARŪN.

HĀTIF, invisible being whose cry rends the night, transmitting a message; a prophetic voice which announces in an oracular style a future happening. Already in the Bible this voice is confused with that of the prophet (Ezekiel, XXI, 2, 7; Amos, VII, 16). On the eve of Muḥammad's call, mysterious voices were proclaiming his coming. These were the voices of "one who was calling" (*munādī*) or "who was shouting" (*ṣāʾiḥ*: *Aghānī*[1], xv, 76; in the legend of Madjnūn, *hātif* is the equivalent of *munādī* and of *ṣāʾiḥ*: *ibid.*, i, 169; ii, 4; i, 174; a third equivalent, *tālī*, is found in al-Ṭabarī, iii[4], 2337). It is also the voice coming from an idol (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 110) or from the entrails of a calf sacrificed before an idol (al-Ṭabarī, i[3], 1144 f.; Ibn Hishām, 134; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 105), or the voice of a mysterious horseman (*ibid.*). It is a *hātif* which brought the poet Abū Dhuʾayb news of the approaching death of the Prophet (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1286/1869, v, 188).

According to al-Djāḥiẓ, this voice usually announces the death of a great person; "nomads and semi-nomads," he says, "scarcely conceal their belief in the *hātif*; on the contrary, they are amazed that anybody can dispute its value" (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-5/1905-7, vi, 62 and cf. 64).

A passage of al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 323, admirably describes the psychological genesis of this phenomenon: "The particular characteristic of the *hātif*," he says, "is to produce an audible voice without possessing a visible body. There are varying opinions on the subject of the *hawātif* and the *djinns*; some say that this phenomenon, mentioned by the Arabs and used by them to announce news, finds its origin in the solitude of the deserts, the isolation of valleys, the journey across vast spaces infested by *ghūls* [*q.v.*] and the swamps filled with wild animals. For, when man ventures into these places alone, he thinks; and when he thinks he becomes fearful and cowardly; in this state he is inclined to false ideas and harmful illusions, created by the black bile, which make him imagine events and people, and to believe the impossible, in a similar way to someone who is the victim of an obsession ... The basis of this phenomenon lies in a wrong way of thinking in which man creates in his imagination what he reports about the activity of the *hawātif* and the *djinns*."

This phenomenological explanation does not remove all its mystery from the *hātif*, and the question put by al-Djāḥiẓ to the man who claimed to know everything, was much repeated: "Let me know [about the origin] of the verses [pronounced by] the *hātif* and about the news which is spread during the night" (*K. al-Tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr*, ed. Pellat, Paris 1955, 42).

In modern Arabic the word *hātif* has been adopted as the equivalent of telephone.

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HĀTIF Aḥmad, *sayyid* of the line of Ḥusayn; his family, natives of Urdubād (Ādharbaydjān), in the time of the Ṣafawids settled in Iṣfahān, where he was born. He was the most notable poet under the dynasties of the Afsharīs and the Zand. He divided his time between his native town, Ḳumm and Kāshān. He was a man of erudition and a physician, and had a knowledge of Arabic, in which language he wrote some poems; in Persian he was the author of an important collection consisting of *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs* and other short works, in which the influence of Saʿdī and Khādjū can be discerned. He owes his fame mainly to a *tardjīband* (strophic poem) as remarkable for its finesse and profundity of thought as for its style, the subject being the uniqueness of God; it is one of the masterpieces of mystical poetry. He died in Ḳumm in 1198/1783.

Bibliography: *Dīwān* (ed. Waḥīd Dastgardī, Tehrān). Translations of the *tardjīband*: by Schlechta-Wssehrd (in *ZDMG*, v, 80 ff.), by E. G. Browne (iv, 284 ff.). Translations of poems: Bland (*Century of Persian ghazals*, 38 ff.); Jouannin (in *JA*, xi (1827), 244 ff.); Defrémery (*ibid.*, vii (1856), 130 ff.). (H. Massé)

HĀTIFĪ, ʿAbd Allāh, Persian poet, son of Djāmī's sister, born in Khardjird in the district of Djām, a dependency of Herāt, died in 927/1521. He wrote a *Tīmūr-nāma*, an epic known also as *Ẓafar-nāma* (lith. Lucknow 1869), on the subject of Tīmūr's conquests. He had planned to write a *Khamsa*, a collection of five long poems, but this work he was unable to complete; of it we possess a *Shīrīn and Farhād*, a charming *Laylī and Madjnūn* (ed. W. Jones, Calcutta 1788) and a *Haft manẓar* on the model of the *Haft paykar* of Niẓāmī. He was influenced by this poet (though not by his artifices and obscure allusions) and also by Amīr Khusraw. He eschewed the eulogies and panegyrics traditionally placed at the head of long poems; but at the beginning of *Laylī and Madjnūn* he proclaimed his Shīʿism and his devotion to the poet Ḳāsim al-Anwār. At the beginning of the *Tīmūr-nāma* he makes an allusion to his lyric poems, the complete collection of which has not survived. According to Sām Mīrzā (*Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*), he was visited by Shāh Ismāʿīl when returning from the conquest of Khurāsān (917/1511) and was invited to compose a poem on that sovereign's achievements, but he wrote only about a thousand lines of verse of this work.

Bibliography: On the *Ẓafar-nāma*: C. A. Storey, ii/2, no. 358; on the *Ismāʿīl-nāma*, *ibid.*, no. 373. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg, *Ātash-kada*, 65; Riḍā-Ḳulī-Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā*, ii, 54; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 3, 346; Bābur, *Mémoires*, tr. Pavet de Courteille, i, 409; Hammer, *Redekünste Persiens*, 355; Ouseley, *Notices*, 143; Rieu, *Catal. Persian Mss.*, 652; Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, index; Storey, ii/2, no. 373.

(Cl. Huart-[H. Massé])

ḤAṬĪM [see kaʿba].

ḤĀTIM b. **HARTHAMA**, the son of Harthama b. Aʿyan [*q.v.*], held a number of appointments in the service of the Caliphs. In a letter from al-Amīn to Ṣāliḥ, dated Shawwāl 192/July-August 808, *i.e.*, nearly a year before the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the heir apparent advises his brother to confirm Ḥātim b. Harthama, like his father a man of proved loyalty, in his post, and to entrust him with the guarding of the Caliphal palaces (Ṭabarī, iii, 769; cf. Gabrieli, *Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in *Rend. Lin.*, Ser. vi, vol. iii (1927), 203). Later, al-Amīn appointed him governor of Egypt, with religious and fiscal authority (*ʿala 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-kharādj*). He had already served in Egypt as police chief (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*) during his father's governorship in 178/794. He arrived there as governor in 194/810, with a force of 1000 Khurāsānī *abnā'* [*q.v.*]. He first stopped at Bilbays, and compelled the recalcitrant Arabs of the Ḥawf, or eastern Delta, to pay the *kharādj* which they had withheld; he then moved on, taking a hundred hostages with him, and reached Fusṭāṭ on 4 Shawwāl 194/11 July 810. When the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn began, Harthama was identified as a supporter of al-Ma'mūn. Al-Amīn therefore dismissed and replaced Ḥātim, who left Egypt in Djumādā II 195/March 811. He is said to have been the first to construct and use the summer residence and belvedere called *Ḳubbat al-hawā'* [*q.v.*], 'Dome of the air', on the slopes of Muḳaṭṭam, by the present site of the citadel of Cairo. At the time of his father's death in 200/816 he was governor of Armenia. When he received the news he wrote to the local rulers and nobles (*mulūk* and *aḥrār*; var. Kurds, *akrād*) inviting them to join in a rising, but was himself overtaken by death while making his preparations. According to Ibn Ḳutayba, it was said that the revolt of Bābak [*q.v.*] was caused by these events.

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(B. Lewis)

ḤĀTIM al-**AHDAL** [see al-ahdal].

ḤĀTIM al-**ṬĀ'Ī** b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, Abū Saffāna or Abū ʿAdī, poet, who lived in the second half of the 6th century A.D., traditionally the most finished example of the pre-Islamic knight, always victorious in his undertakings, magnanimous towards the conquered and proverbial for his generosity and hospitality. According to legend, his mother Ghunayya (var. ʿInaba, etc.) was so generous that her brothers had to obtain a declaration that she was incapable of managing her affairs; from his youth the extravagances in which Ḥātim indulged provoked the anger of his grandfather, his guardian since the premature death of his father, so that he left him. In the *adab* books there are a number of traditions giving instances of his generosity, and it is even said that after his death he used to entertain travellers who asked for hospitality; he would rise from his tomb, slaughter a camel, and his son ʿAdī [*q.v.*] would be ordered in a dream to replace the dead animal. This tomb was probably on a hill (ʿUwāriḍ, see Yāḳūt, iii, 740) at Tungha, in Wādī Hā'il (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 880) where he had lived. Four stone figures stood on either side of his tomb (cf. *Dīwān*, No. xiv; Lane, *The Thousand and one nights*[2], ii, 295 ff.), young girls with their hair loose, representing mourners. Also to be seen near the tomb were the remains of the great cooking pots which Ḥātim used to prepare meals for his guests. According to Palgrave (*Narrative*, i, 199), the tomb was still known in the district (cf. R. Basset, *Notes sur les Mille et une nuits*, iii, in *Revue des Trad. pop.*, 1897, 146-52).

As a poet, Ḥātim has left mostly verses in praise of liberality and altruism, but the *Dīwān* bearing his name is probably largely apocryphal and also may originally have been much larger (cf. *Fihrist*, 132, which speaks of 200 leaves). His wife Māwiyya also inspired some of his poems.

The figure of Ḥātim quickly became very popular in *adab* literature, and there are scarcely any works which do not include stories of his proverbial generosity. However, no Arabic writer has made him the principal character of a literary work, although in the eastern parts of the Muslim world he has become a much loved romantic figure.

In Persian, he is the hero of a romance, *Ḳiṣṣa-i Ḥātim Ṭā'ī* (or *Ḳiṣṣa-i haft sayr (su'āl)-i Ḥātim Ṭā'ī*), translated by D. Forbes (London 1830) from a version which differs appreciably from the Calcutta editions (ed. G. J. Atkinson, 1818 and ed. 1827); the *Haft inṣāf-i Ḥātim Ṭā'ī* forms a sequel to these. A shorter sketch of the life and deeds of Ḥātim has been given by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-5) in *Ḳiṣāṣ u āthār-i Ḥātim Ṭā'ī* (or *Risāla-i Ḥātimiyya*, ed. Ch. Schefer, in *Chrest. persane*, i, 173 ff.). The *Dāsitān-i Ḥātim Ṭā'ī* (Istanbul 1878) is a Turkish version of the romance. A Tatar version was published in Ḳazān in 1876. Various editions of a translation of the *Ḳiṣṣa-i Ḥātim* in Urdu under the title of *Ārā'ish-i maḥfil* are mentioned in the India Office Catalogue, ii/2, 135 ff. (cf. Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la litt. hindouie et hindoustanie*, i, 552 ff.;

on a verse translation of the romance, see *ibid.*, i, 497, iii, 148; an analysis in Arabic is given in the review *Thaḳāfat al-Hind*, Dec. 1954 ff.). An adaptation of the romance exists in Malay (there is a MS in Paris; see A. Cabaton, *Cat. rom. des mss. . . . indo-polynésiens*, 227, no. 61, ii); three chapters of it have been edited by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga (*Tjèritèra dari pada sè orang bèrname Hatim Tayi*, in *Uittreksels uit Maleische Geschiedenissen*, 5-18 (appendix to his *Maleisch en Nederduitsch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1825; Dutch trans. in *De Oosterling*, i (1835), 352 ff.).

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ḤAṬṬĪN [see ḤIṬṬĪN].

HAUSA, name of a people, now predominantly Muslim, dwelling mainly in the Northern Region of Nigeria.

i. — Origins and history.

Our sources for the early history of the Hausa are limited to the oral traditions of the folklore and to three chronicles, written at a late date, but purporting to go back to the tenth century A.D. and certainly themselves ultimately dependant upon this oral tradition. They are: "The Kano Chronicle" (Palmer, *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos 1928, iii); "The Hausa Chronicle" (Mischlich and Lippert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Haussastaaten*, Berlin 1903); the "Song of Bagauda" (Hiskett, in *BSOAS* xxvii/3 (1964) and xxviii/1 and 2 (1965). In addition we have the traditional account of the history of Katsina which was recorded by F. de F. Daniel earlier in the present century and is preserved in an undated and unpublished work under the title of *A history of Katsina*.

It seems probable that the early autochthons of Hausaland were a negro people who lived by a hunting economy and who at a certain point in their history became mixed with immigrants of probable Hamitic origin. This mixing took place in the Sudan, but there is evidence that in earlier times the negro stock lived as far north as the northern edge of the Sahara. Discoveries of arrow heads and agricultural implements suggest that what is now the territory of nomads was once the habitat of sedentary negro agriculturalists akin to the Hausa.

Hausa legends of origin are confused. Some name Biram as the ancestor of the *Hausa Bakwai*—the Seven Hausa States. Others, particularly the well-known Daura legend of the snake-killer, most conveniently available in Hodgkin's *Nigerian perspectives* (London 1960, 54 ff.), attribute the origin of the Seven to Bawo, son of Abuyazidi, alias Bayajidda, the "King of Baghdad" and husband to the daughter of the king of Bornu. This legend of the incoming migrants from the north is repeated elsewhere in the Sudanese cycle of myths of origin, as for instance in the henna legend of Bornu. The fact which emerges is that at a point which is generally taken to be the 4th/10th century, but which may have been considerably earlier, the autochthonous negro population of Hausaland bordering on the southern Sahara became host to and was subsequently dominated by, strangers from the north. These strangers appear not to have been negroid. They were also not in the first instance Muslim, although the Kano Chronicle hints that they may have already been influenced by monotheism. Certainly the cult of the autochthons was alien to them and it was not until several generations had elapsed that they became absorbed into it.

The causes of these immigrations are still to be clearly defined. They may, however, be sought in the political and religious upheavals of the North African littoral during the early Christian era and the "Song of Bagauda"—a Kano tradition—attributes what was probably the last major wave in the tenth century to famine further north.

As for the autochthons upon whom these immigrations impinged, they are remembered for us in the Barbushe legend of the Kano Chronicle and in popular legend. These were a pagan people, ruled by a hunter-priest-king who practised seclusion and divination and who appears to have presided over a cult of idol worship based on animism. The "Song of Bagauda" portrays these people as living in small open autonomous village and clan groups scattered over the country-side. Later, warrior chiefs and early Sudanese *condottieri*—the incoming immigrants already mentioned, or their descendants—found "an easy prey" and the small open settlements became subjected to the walled city states which the invaders began to build:

"The people were living widely dispersed over the
open country, not subject to any authority.
There was no chief, no protecting town wall.
Tunbi together with Washa saw an easy prey
And they joined forces, conquering the people
of Kano.
The elders said: let a chieftaincy be established.
They appointed Bagauda, the protector.'
(*BSOAS*, xxviii/1 (1965), 115).

By the beginning of the 8th/14th century the immigrants appear to have become seduced by the surrounding paganism, for we find that the chief Tsamia has "discovered the secret of the god" and a *modus vivendi* is apparent in which the rulers give a measure of official recognition to the indigenous cult.

During the reign of Yaji (750-87/1349-85) Mandingo missionaries arrived in Kano and under their tutelage the chief introduced the Islamic rites of slaughter and prayer. The Mandingoes also caused a mosque to be built. Clearly however, a strong anti-Islamic faction remained. Islam prevailed, but paganism, neither then nor later, was by any means extinguished. The arrival of the Mandingoes may be regarded as the first definite stage in the Islamization of the Hausa. It is significant that they arrived in the 8th/14th century. It was in 725/1325 that Mansa Musa made his famous pilgrimage and it is probable that we have here an aspect of the Islamic expansion which took place under this ruler. It may well be that the Mandingoes were merchants as well as missionaries and that they came in search of the gold of the Sudan.

The arrival in Hausaland of the famous North African divine, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī, during the reign of Mohamma Rimfa (867-904/1463-99) marks a further stage in the establishment of Islam. In particular, he appears to have introduced the Sharīʿa and certain elements of Islamic constitutional theory to the Hausa, thus providing an ideological focus around which subsequent constitutional development could coalesce. Traditionally, al-Maghīlī also personifies the introduction of Islamic mysticism into the Western Sudan.

Our initial sources for the early period are confined almost entirely to Kano, but it is probable that the pattern was similar over the rest of Hausaland. In Katsina, according to Daniel, Islam was received by the people but rejected by the court (in contrast to Kano where the opposite was the case). However, this is subject to the caveat that it may reflect the later rivalry between Kano and Katsina for precedence in Islam, together possibly with echoes of the rivalry between Habe and Fulani. The kingdom of Gobir is known to have existed from the first half of the 8th/14th century, although our informant, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tells us only that it was pagan. Kano, Katsina, Zaria and Zamfara are listed by Leo Africanus in the 9th/15th century. By the 11th/17th century the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi is speaking specifically of the seven Hausa tribes.

It appears that an early formative influence upon Hausa political institutions was that of Mali, for the Mandingo missionaries were employed by the Kano chief. As we know from the accounts of the Saharan travellers, the medieval kingdoms of the Sahara developed largely under Mamlūk influences and there is evidence in the surviving ceremonial of the Hausa courts that these influences extended to Hausaland. Certainly by 813/1410 the rulers of Kano were using chain mail, iron helmets and *lifidi* (Ar. *libd*)—the North African quilted horse armour. By 844/1440 they were employing eunuchs and a feudal system based on slave settlements was fully established.

In the 9th/15th century a further development also becomes apparent, for influences from Bornu begin to appear in Hausaland. Bornu and Kanem had of course been in contact with North Africa and Egypt from a much earlier date, and therefore Bornu represented in some measure simply an additional channel for incoming Islamic influences. However, the Bornu kings had already established a specific constitutional framework and its influence in Hausaland is to be seen, for instance, in the wide-spread adoption of Bornu titles. The results which flowed from these circumstances have been aptly described by M. G. Smith (*Historical and cultural conditions of political corruption among the Hausa*, in *Comparative studies in society and history*, vi/2 (1964)): "Thus political centralization, tributary links with Bornu, commercial development and the adoption of Islam by the rulers went hand in hand. Simultaneously the chiefs became kings, free of traditional norms and political restraints", while among the people Islam, the institution of slavery and the hardening feudal structure of society produced a stratification into peasants, a trading class, an Islamic learned class, throne slaves and a ruling aristocracy.

Throughout this period Islam advanced slowly, but with the powerful pressures of trade and a superior culture behind it. At the same time, pre-existing African institutions continued to be fully effective, and, as we can see from the evidence of Islamic and pagan names in the king lists of the Hausa Chronicle (probably the most useful evidence that this otherwise suspect document provides), the dispute between paganism and Islam continued to characterize the history of the Hausa states. By the end of the 12th/18th century the pattern was one of a number of independent principalities with territorial boundaries broadly defined in the course of previous centuries, but still constantly in dispute. The rulers of these states paid lip-service to Islam and to the Sharīʿa and each was supported by a hierarchy of *malams* reputedly learned in Islam, whose function was to give an air of legality to the *sarkis*' rule. In fact however, it appears that their governments were discrete and arbitrary and very largely at their individual whim. Islam both constitutionally and in ritual observance was but casually observed and was involved in an accommodation with pre-existing African custom and belief, of which the Hausa *malams* were the principal agents.

It was in protest against this situation that, in 1804, Shaihu Usumanu dan Fodio (ʿUthmān b. Fūdī) launched the *djihād*. This *djihād* was the violent culmination of an intellectual argument which had been developing over the preceding centuries and which changed its emphasis, but by no means ceased when the *djihād* was successfully concluded. When Shaihu Usumanu and his followers—mainly Fulani, but with not insignificant contingents of Hausa peasantry attached—won their war, they set up a system of government which is usually thought of as a loose feudal empire. The son of the Shaihu, Sultan Muḥammad Bello, ruled from Sokoto over what had been the eastern half of the old kingdom of Gobir, while from Gwando ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the brother of the Shaihu, ruled what had previously been Zamfara and part of Kebbi. For the rest, the former Habe kingdoms were parcelled out among the Shaihu's flag-holders who ruled under varying feudal obligations to Sokoto. Some Habe escaped the Fulani and preserved substantial rump kingdoms further north.

The structure of this Fulani polity was not fortuitous. It was an attempt to actualize in the Sudan the medieval Islamic constitutional theory of the central "imāmate" delegating authority to provincial governors and commanders. In theory, at any rate, this structure was unified by the authority of the *imām*, which flowed from divine sanction, and by the universal applicability of the Sharīʿa. This theoretical basis of the Fulani state we find exposed in the apologia of the Fulani leaders, particularly in the *Ḍiyāʾ al-ḥukkām* of ʿAbd Allāh.

The Fulani achieved some initial success in their political objectives, though inevitably this fell short of completion. Culturally, their success was both more complete and more lasting. But during the following hundred years the centrifugal forces of dynastic rivalries and tribal tensions caused the structure of their empire to decay, both morally, in that the high Islamic ideals of the founders shrank to mere personal piety in the later rulers, and politically, in that the Fulani lost a measure of physical control. Nevertheless, this process can be, and often is, exaggerated. Barth, who visited Hausaland in about 1850, makes it clear that Fulani rule was still substantially effective. At the turn of the century, when the British took over, Fulani power was certainly tattered at the edges, but the core was still intact and tribute continued to be paid to Sokoto. The notion of a corrupt, disintegrating and ineffective Fulani rule involves major exaggerations and misunderstandings; it owes its origin to the no doubt sincere

but certainly mistaken interpretations of Lugard and certain—though by no means all—of his early administrators.

At the beginning of the present century the British took over administrative responsibility for what was formerly the Fulani emirates, and to them they added Bornu. These became the Northern Provinces and subsequently the Northern Region of the Protectorate of Nigeria. They were governed by what has become known as "Indirect Rule". This is frequently thought of as the brain-child of Lugard. In fact, it involved little change, either in practice or in theory, from the central imāmate already discussed. Sokoto retained its religious authority, which was by no means merely nominal. Emirs and local chiefs continued to exercise their traditional functions, but subject to the direction and control of European political officers. Taxation was modified in an effort to eradicate the grosser forms of peculation. Muslim Law was regulated only in so far as was necessary to avoid violence to the Western conscience. In the early years of the Administration at any rate, it seems that "Indirect Rule" was a principle rather than a closely defined policy and that the degree of direct intervention depended largely on the personalities and zeal of individual administrative officers.

The progress of Northern Nigeria to self-government took place over the following half century. It was characterized by the rapid extension of Islam in the measure that the *Pax Britannica* achieved security and facilitated communications. Modern means of mass communication have greatly accelerated this process since the Second World War.

The existence of substantial and relatively well-trained indigenous Civil Service cadres made possible the smooth transfer of power when self-government became complete on 1 October 1960. The form of government adopted by Northern Nigeria was democratic and secular, although, as is to be expected, Islamic institutions and attitudes inform all political and social activities, and probably the greatest cohesive factor in Hausa society remains a devotion to the Islamic way of life.

Hausa institutions: slavery.

Slavery has been one of the most important of the institutions influencing the development of Hausa society. There are two aspects: the slave trade; domestic slavery.

The slave trade from the Sudan was ancient. It seems probable that the Romans traded in slaves from the countries south of the Sahara and that the Arabs, Berbers and other Saharans simply took over a trade which already existed. By the 9th/15th century Hausaland had become involved in the complex of the trans-Saharan slave trade, which focused at points along the southern edge of the Sahara. There was a southern and a northern area of activity. The slaves were harvested from the Plateau and from the forest and riverain country in the course of war, raiding and kidnapping. It was native Sudanese who conducted these activities and it appears that the Arabs did not penetrate in person into these sub-Saharan areas until relatively late times. A proportion of the slaves were brought to Kano and other Saharan "ports" and from here they passed into the northern transit area, where Arab and Saharan middlemen took over. Having completed the Sahara crossing, they became destined for North Africa, Egypt, the Levant, Istanbul and other parts of the Turkish empire, and Arabia.

A larger proportion, however, were probably absorbed into the domestic slavery of the Sudan itself. Barth's well-known observation that "the quiet course of domestic slavery has very little to offend the mind of the traveller ..." (*Travels*, London 1857, ii, 151) appears truthfully to reflect the reality of this institution in Hausaland. The Hausa extended family is known as the *gandu*, a largely self-supporting unit based on agriculture and formerly dependent on slave labour. The *gandu* slaves were readily assimilated into the kinship group of the *gandu* head and as Baba of Kara (Mary Smith, *Baba of Kara*, London 1954) records, the *gandu* head assumed a paternal relation towards his slaves and their children, all of whom were brought up in Islam and became Hausa-speaking. The main hardship involved in the system, apart from some deprivation of liberty, was the constant danger of kidnapping and consequent separation from the *gandu* kin. Slaves were readily freed and, as elsewhere in Islam, became clients of their former master.

The results of the system were far-reaching. The master-client relationship became fundamental in Hausa society, while the *gandu* became over the centuries a melting-pot where Gwaris, Plateau peoples, Nupe, Yoruba and others acquired Islam and the Hausa tongue and where exotic influences and techniques introduced across the Sahara met and mingled with the indigenous techniques of the Sudan. In short, slavery, for all its evils, has been a unifying force in Hausaland and it is probable that the heritage of attitudes and loyalties which it has left behind remains one of the strongest bonds of Hausa society.

Trade.

In Hausaland trade was closely related to the constitutional and historical developments which we have already described. The early indigenous settlements must have lived by hunting and by some farming and probably had little trade. According to the Kano Chronicle there was, in these early days, no market.

The visit of the merchants from Mali may have been exploratory, but by the middle of the 9th/15th century commercial activity had become established, associated with the increasing influence of Bornu in Hausaland. In the reign of Dauda (824-41/1421-38) a Bornu nobleman settled in Kano and is credited with the founding of the first market. Slave harvesting to the south appears suddenly to have become wholesale. The camel was introduced into Kano at this time. Touareg came to Hausaland, drawn certainly by trade, and merchants from Gwanja found their way to Katsina. There are also references about this time to trade with Zaria and Nupe and the pattern which emerges is that of *fatauci*—the long distance trade of the Hausa—extending northwards into the Sahara and southwards and then laterally to encompass Nupe and Ashanti and, in the east, Bornu.

By the 11th/17th century the trans-Saharan trade had diminished somewhat, although the extent of this decline has been over-stated. However, there is evidence that it was compensated for by an increase in the lateral trade. The Kano Chronicle tells us that cowries first came to Hausaland between 1114/1703 and 1143/1731. Doubt has been thrown on this statement, as part of an assumption that the Saharan cowry exchange area must have reached Hausaland at an earlier date. This is still an open question, but it is certainly arguable that cowries did in fact come to Hausaland only at this late date, borne up from the coastal cowry exchange area as part of an expanding tide of lateral trade. But despite this lateral

trade, the Saharan traffic passing via Hausaland remained significant and Monteil (*De Saint-Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris 1895) has described the annual salt caravans which were still plying the Saharan routes into Hausaland at the close of the nineteenth century.

Internal trade—*kasuwanci*—centres round the institution of the market, which takes place once or twice a week and is organized on a trade and craft basis. As in other Islamic markets, each trade has its own quarter and all are communally responsible for the proper running of the market, under a market head. Market dues are payable and Usumanu dan Fodio lists such imposts—considered by him illegal—as *tasuwa* (a tax on butchers) and *agama* (on cottons and other market goods). Clapperton and Barth give further details. The market is supported by *fatauci*; by the predominantly agricultural economy of the Hausa and by the very numerous and diversified crafts and techniques of which they are masters. In addition, the market has great social and psychological significance and, as M. G. Smith has pointed out, despite Islam, the institution still rests upon the sanctions and approval of the pre-Islamic spirits.

The *bori* cult.

In so far as it can be translated, the word *bori* means "the spirits of the possession cult" and this possession cult appears to represent the pre-Islamic religion of the Hausa. It has flourished on into Islam and is still practised both by Muslim Hausa and by the non-Muslim Maguzawa. The Hausa conceives of a whole spirit world which can best be visualized as parallel to the human world, but inhabited by the *bori*. Unlike the supernatural worlds of Islam and Christianity, this spirit world is in no way transcendent. It is imminent in man's immediate surroundings and is fraught with dangers for humans unfortunate or foolish enough to trespass upon it.

The spirits are of two kinds: those of the city and those of the "bush". The first are largely exotic and contain many Islamic importations; the second probably represent the original nature spirits of African popular belief. At some point Allāh became involved in the cult, but as a rather remote and shadowy deity who resembles the Sky God of the southern peoples of West Africa. Most of the spirits are disease demons, such as Kalgo who gives rheumatism and Mai-Aska the Barber, who causes baldness and rashes. Malam Alhaji, clearly an Islamic borrowing, is normally benign, a kind of "Father Time" who carries off old people. The *bori* live in their own city, *Jan Kasa*, popularly thought to be situated somewhere in the Sahara.

The spirits are responsible for all diseases and the cure depends on discovering the spirit responsible and then on correct placation. They must also be consulted and placated in all such important events as marriage; child-birth; building a house; setting up a market and so on. The adepts of the *bori* cult are the *masu bori*, who become possessed or are "mounted" by the particular spirits with whom they are identified. Each spirit has a peculiar sacrifice by which he or she is conjured up. Thus one has a lame hen; another a white hen and yet another a speckled hen and so on.

There are periodic *bori* dances in the course of which possession takes place. There is often also a permanent *gidan tsafi*—a "temple" at which offerings can be made.

Islam has clearly become involved in the *bori* cult, in that many *bori* spirits now bear Muslim names. Also the Islamic *d̲j̲inn* have taken their place among the *bori* spirits, as have also the ogre-like figures of the pagan ancestors. The synthesis between Islam and the *bori* cult and the persistence with which nominally Muslim Hausa continue to consult the *masu bori* are main targets for the disapproval of the Muslim moralists.

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(M. Hiskett)

ii.— Language.

The Hausa language is spoken as a mother-tongue by some twelve to fifteen million people, both of Habe and of Fulani stock, living mostly in the Northern Region of Nigeria and in the adjacent Republic of Niger, but also in small colonies of settlers and traders in most of the large towns and ports of Africa north of the Congo from Cameroon to Tripoli and from Dakar to Port Sudan. In Northern Nigeria it constitutes the majority language and is used as a second language to English in the legislature the law courts and for government business, and as the language of instruction in most of the primary schools. It is now written for official and scholastic purposes in the Roman script (with the addition of three special letters), but the older Arabic script (known as *ajami*) is still extensively used for private correspondence and religious tracts. There is a government controlled agency, the Hausa Language Board, which seeks to arbitrate on matters of spelling punctuation and new vocabulary. Hausa is also spoken as a second, or third, language by severa million more people in Northern Nigeria, notably Nupe, Kanuri and Birom, and it is used as a lingua franca or trade language over a large part of West Africa. Compared with some other African languages it shows remarkably little dialectal variation, the principal dialects being those of Kano, Katsina and Sokoto. Standard written Hausa is based on the

dialect of Kano, the largest Hausa speaking town and the provenance of most Hausa traders in foreign parts.

Hausa belongs to the Chadic group of the Hamitic, or, as it is now often called, Afro-Asiatic, family of languages, being the only language of the group that is spoken by more than a few hundred thousand speakers. Structurally it is extremely reminiscent of some Indo-European languages, both in its clause structure and word order and in the use it makes of grammatical categories such as dative and subjunctive. Its sound system, however, is in some ways peculiar, especially in the use it makes of glottalization to give distinctions of meaning. All the four basic consonants, P,T, K, and S, occur in voiceless, voiced and glottalized varieties, and most of these can be either palatalized or labiovelarized as well, at least in the older dialects of Katsina and Sokoto. Medially, however, these latter distinctions are generally speaking allophonic. Basically it has only two vowels, A and I/U, but the pronunciation of these varies considerably according to phonetic environment (in the case of I/U, also from dialect to dialect), and developed from them by the addition of H or the semivocalic Y and W are the long vowel and diphthongal sounds *aa*, *ai*, *au*, *ii*, *uu* (the last four as in Arabic and *aa* as with *fatḥa* plus *alif*), and also, in syllables of a restricted pattern, *ee* and *oo*. Various forms of consonant-vowel and vowel-consonant harmony operate in the syllable (including the spreading of glottality beyond the domain of the initiating consonant, as with the emphatic consonants in Arabic), and there is also both complete and partial (*umlaut*) vowel harmony in successive syllables of both single words and closely connected word groups, also many instances of vowel *ablaut*, both grammatical and dialectal. The syllable is always of CV, CVV, or CVC structure, the first C including the glottal stop (comparable with Arabic *hamza*, but not written in the Roman orthography, except where it occurs medially, mainly in Arabic loanwords), and the typical word is a disyllable. The fact that no word begins with a vowel effectively prevents such interverbal elisions and crases as are typical of many African languages, in all but the most rapid speech, whilst giving to Hausa speech a rather staccato quality. Syllables have one of two significant tones, 'high' and 'low', this alternance serving to distinguish both lexical items and grammatical forms. Falling tones also occur in some special cases. Tone is minimally distinctive in many pairs of words, but the fact that neither it nor vowel length is indicated in the standard orthography often makes the elucidation of a Hausa text rather difficult for one who is not deeply read in the language. There is normally a progressive downdrift in the clause, which may be arrested, however, by a succession of high toned syllables; but this downdrift may be reversed by interrogative and other special intonations. Unlike the case with many African tone languages, both lexical and grammatical tones are relatively invariable, and there are no 'displaced tones' or 'tonal perturbation'. Stress is a secondary feature, generally linked to tone and vowel length and rarely in itself discriminatory. Ideophones and interjections tend to fall outside the normal pitch range, having either exceptionally high or exceptionally low tones.

Morphologically and syntactically, almost all Hausa words can be divided into the following categories: nouns, verbs, ideophones and particles. The first two normally consist of a root or base, simple or extended to a maximum of four syllables, and a termination, in most cases purely vocalic. Ideophones and particles cannot be so analysed and many of these have consonantal endings, the final consonant, however, having a restricted range corresponding to the range of coda consonants within words of all classes. Prefixes and suffixes are few, mainly the feminine suffix -(*i*)*yaa*/-(*u*)*waa*, the 'ethnic' prefix *bà*- (e.g. *Bà-haush-èe* 'a Hausa man', fem. *Bà-haush-ìyaa*, pl. *Haus-aa-waa*), and a *ma*- prefix, which, as in Arabic, is employed to form verbal derivative nouns. Perhaps the most striking feature of the language is the contrast between the morphology of the verb and that of the noun. The former is organized in a homogeneous, all-embracing, system of seven 'grades' (these having varied, often rather subtle, semantic correlates) each grade occurring in from one to four distinct forms, depending on purely syntactic criteria, and making a total of twelve forms in all. Any of these twelve forms may further be pluralized or intensified in meaning by a reduplication of (the first syllable of) the root. Morphologically these verbal forms differ from one another only in their termination and/or their tone pattern; there are none of the affixes that are common—and functionally comparable—in other African languages. The tense (better described as an aspect) system is expressed outside the verb proper by means of various forms of subject pronoun (in several persons and tenses distinguishable only in spoken, not in written, Hausa), whose presence (like that of the subject prefixes in Bantu languages) is normally obligatory in all but the imperative. Conversely the noun presents a complex and heterogeneous system of inflexion, employing all morphological devices from simple tonal or terminal vowel change (as with verbs) to infixation, suffixation, reduplication, or a combination of two or more of these. The main function of such inflexion is to indicate plurality: there are at least eight classes of noun plural, with three or more subclasses in each, and the choice between each of these is determinated by a whole complex of criteria in the singular form: tone pattern, radical structure phonology, terminal vowel and even sometimes etymology and meaning. Many nouns have two or more different plural forms in use even in the same locality, whilst many other nouns have none. There is also a great variety of nominal forms derived from verbal roots, but these do not as a rule pluralize. Etymologically unrelated verbs and nouns not infrequently have phonically identical bases, but these very rarely share a common form, *i.e.*, termination plus tone pattern, the verbal forms, which are grammatically determined, taking priority over the nominal.

In common with other Hamitic languages, Hausa has a system of three genders, masculine, feminine and plural, the last being, in cases where there is sex reference in the singular, notionally as well as grammatically common. The masculine-feminine dichotomy cuts right across the singular-plural class system, there being both masculine and feminine nouns in almost all the eight classes (contrast Arabic). Most, but by no means all, nouns ending in -*a*(*a*) are feminine and the others almost all masculine, and names of animals, as in French, are as a rule, assigned exclusively to one or other gender (except for domestic animals, which usually have distinct words for the two sexes). But there is a class of adjectival nouns which exhibit all three forms (except that, where the masc. form ends in -*aa*, this form is common to the feminine), these concording with the gender of the noun they qualify or refer to.

Gender concords also operate in the preverbal tense-marking, and other forms of personal pronoun (with masc./fem. distinction in both the 2nd and 3rd persons singular), in demonstratives and specifiers (but not numerals), in the genitive copula (agreeing with the head noun) and in the identity particle equivalent to '(it) is', where the system of agreement is very complex. A curious feature of the language is that, where the male and female of a species are designated by different words, the plural form of the latter is common in meaning. Thus 'ewes' signifies sheep, 'hens' poultry, 'mothers' parents and 'daughters' children; exceptions are 'men' and 'women', and 'stallions', not 'mares', signifying horses.

Tenses are relatively few in number, by African standards, but their usages, especially in combination with one another and with the many conjunctional particles, are as complex as anything in French or Latin. In the indicative tenses there is a partial distinction between those used in general and those used in relative constructions, the latter including not only relative clauses proper, but also certain types of question and of emphatic statement. This binary system is very similar to that of Fula and some other quite unrelated languages, as is also the usage of the subjunctive. There are fewer negative tenses than affirmative ones, and these are common to both systems. Other modes of the verbal notion, such as inception, continuance, repetition, priority, isolated occurrence etc., are conveyed by means of a set of auxiliary verbs. Word order is more flexible than in English, various types of inversion and front-shifting being common, and subtler shades of meaning can be conveyed by the insertion in the clause of special particles similar to those of Ancient Greek and Modern German. Various forms of ellipsis, often involving suppression of the verb, are also common, both in spoken and written Hausa, these giving the language at times a very terse and almost 'telegraphese' quality. It has a wealth of proverbs, idioms and stylistic variants and is capable of rendering almost any Western thought or idiom. Much poetry is written in the language, this being characterized by dialectal forms and other special conventions. The prosody is based upon that of Arabic poetry.

Hausa possesses a very large vocabulary, of mixed origin. Most of its basic verbal roots (some three thousand in number) are of indigenous origin (though a number of these show a remarkable phonic resemblance to Germanic verbs of similar meaning), as are its numerous ideophones. But, as is to be expected of a traders' and a Muslim's language, many of its nouns are palpably loanwords from other languages. These include a great number of Arabic words, not only in the specialized spheres of religion, literacy, politics, justice, war, trade, crops, dress, horse equipment etc., but also words for such general concepts as 'affair, plan, discussion, argument, skill, just, generous, treacherous, brave, etc.' There are also at least a hundred Arabic verbs in everyday use, covering such general notions as 'understand, agree, promise, test, destroy', these being mostly taken over in either the first or the second form, but adapted, like the Arabic nouns, into the Hausa phonological and morphological systems (Hausa glottalized consonants, for example, substituting for the emphatic ones of Arabic, and Arabic loan nouns invariably having regular Hausa plural forms). Arabic loans represent a number of different historical layers, routes and media of borrowing, sometimes everyday and learned forms of the same Arabic word co-occurring in the language (*e.g.*, *laïfii* and *'aibùu* 'fault, blemish'). It is interesting to note that many Arabic words have been taken into Hausa that have not been taken into Swahili, and *vice versa*. One or two more literary constructions, *e.g.* the 'cognate accusative', would also appear to have been borrowed from Arabic. Recently, since the European occupation of West Africa, however, the language has become swamped by loanwords from English and French, in their respective areas (these again being assimilated to native models), and borrowing from Arabic appears to have virtually ceased.

Bibliography: Standard dictionaries of the language are: G. P. Bargery, *A Hausa-English dictionary and English-Hausa vocabulary*, London 1934; R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of the Hausa language*, London 1949. Grammars: C. T. Hodge, *An outline of Hausa grammar*, Baltimore 1947 (supplement to *Language*, xxiii/4 (1947)); R. C. Abraham, *The language of the Hausa people*, London 1959; C. H. Kraft, *A study of Hausa syntax* (*Hartford studies in linguistics*, no. 8), 3 vols., Hartford, Conn. 1963. The influence of Arabic upon Hausa has not been exhaustively studied; the following may be consulted: J. H. Greenberg, *Arabic loan-words in Hausa*, in *Word*, iii (1947), 85 ff.; idem, *Hausa verse prosody*, in *JAOS*, lxix (1949), 125 ff.; idem, *An Afro-Asiatic pattern of gender and number agreement*, in *JAOS*, lxxx (1960), 317 ff.; idem, *Linguistic evidence for the influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa*, in *Journal of African History*, i (1960), 205 ff.; F. W. Parsons, *An introduction to gender in Hausa*, in *African Language Studies*, i (1960), 117 ff.; N. Pilszczikowa, *Le Haoussa et le Chamito-Sémitique à la lumière de l'*Essai comparatif *de Marcel Cohen*, in *RO*, xxiv (1960), 57 ff.; S. Brauner, *Bemerkungen zum entlehnten Wortschatz des Hausa*, in *Mitt. des Inst. für Orientforschung*, x (1964), 103 ff.; M. Hiskett, *The historical background to the naturalization of Arabic loan-words in Hausa*, in *African Language Studies*, vi (1965), 18 ff. (F. W. Parsons)

iii. — Hausa Literature

Hausa literature falls into three main categories, or perhaps it is nearer the mark to distinguish two traditions, and a subsequent process of synthesis which is currently in progress. But for convenience we shall pursue our discussion under the following heads: (a) the folk literature; (b) the literature of Islam; (c) modern literature.

(a) The folk literature. This is in fact an oral literature at the ultimate provenance of which we can only guess. It is highly improbable that it was ever recorded in writing before the commissioning of such work by European enquirers. As in all folk literature, the term "folk" does not mean "simple", and whatever aspect we study—provenance, interpretation or classification—we are aware of a complex convolution of ideas, motives and themes around which it is impossible to draw precise boundaries of time, type or origin.

The tales may conveniently be classified as tales about animals, tales about people and historical tales, though clearly such a classification is arbitrary and there are constant blurred edges where the division is not precise.

The concept behind the animal stories, probably the earliest chronological stratum of this folklore, is that all the animals once lived together in amity, but the tricks of the spider and the thefts and deceits of the hyena sowed discord and forced them

apart. The lion was king before man overcame him with his poisoned arrow—thus the Hausa proverb *Dan Adam abin tsoro*—"Man is a thing to be feared". In these stories the characters of the animals are stereotyped. The spider is a slick trickster, the hyena a cunning but gullible thief usually caught out by her vanity. The he-goat is the most intelligent of the animals, the jackal the most learned, and so on. The plots are elementary and have little regard for cause and effect, or for natural laws. The audience expects that the animals will behave according to their well-known characters. What delights is to see these expectations fulfilled. The animal characters function at the same level of intelligence and motivation as humans. When man figures in these stories his rôle is that of a being on terms of equality with the animal world except when his superior skills enable him to triumph. This notion of man's immanence in the world of nature is to be contrasted with the developing concept of his transcendence over and apartness from the animals, which appears in the more complex stories about people. We therefore suppose that these animal stories form an early stratum which has its roots certainly in a pre-monotheistic and not improbably in a pre-social era.

The tales about people appear to reflect the increasing complexity of man's relationship to his environment, and the development of his own society. Creation and cosmology myths now become common. Typically, giant pagan ancestors of the Barbushe type (Palmer, *The Kano Chronicle*, in *Sudanese Memoirs*, iii, Lagos 1928, 97 ff.) meet, wrestle, and leap so high in the sky that their fighting causes the sound of thunder. More subtly, the woman with many mouths appears, and stories of the "Pandora's Box" type offer their explanations of good and evil. Possibly such stories as that of the man who married the monkey woman, and the women who grew spider's eyes mark an awareness of group differentiation and incipient tribalism.

Of particular importance in these stories is the character of Auta, the "Baby of the Family", who is at first simply the enviable character blessed with luck, but who subsequently becomes the hero and *deus ex machina* of the later historical stories.

The historical stories seem to be an extension of the cosmology and creation myths, for the Barbushe-type ogres who figure in them are certainly associated with the first confrontation between the autochthons and the early immigrants. The subsequent growth of city states we find represented in such typical stories as No. 8 in Rattray, *Hausa Folk-lore*, i, where Auta is credited with the building of the first walled town. By far the richest stratum of the historical tales concerns Islam—and not unexpectedly so, since this is, apart from the advent of the Europeans, the last major social disturbance to have activated the folklore process. Here the conflict between Islam and paganism is sometimes overt, as in the story *Ba sarki sai Allah*, in Tremearne, *Hausa superstitions and customs*, London 1913, no I. Elsewhere paganism is represented by some custom abhorrent to Islam, for instance dog-eating as in *HSC*, 30; cannibalism in many examples and most interestingly in *HSC*, 76 and 96, where the pre-Islamic custom of burying live victims with the king is overcome by Islam. Frequently, as in *HFL*, i, 8, Auta becomes the hero of Islam, and the hunter ancestors—for instance the Girringas in *HSC*, 98—represent paganism.

The sources for these tales are many. Predictably, we find the familiar and timeless themes of universal folklore—Cinderella; Jack the Giant-Killer; the jealous step-mother; the child-eating witch, and so on. Their appearance should in no way surprise us, since they merely serve to confirm what we already know from historical and archaeological evidence, that Africa has been constantly in touch with the great currents of human culture. These classical themes usually appear as a core around which chronologically later events and experience have left their own deposits. Thus most typically in *HSC*, 3, where the Cinderella core is embedded in the Indian story of a miraculous fish (with possibly also a reference to Ḳur'ān, XII, 31). The Oedipus core is also common, and is often associated with the legendary figure of "the king of Agades" (*HSC*, 64), a character of some significance in view of the persistent traditions of immigration into Hausaland from Agades, by which we understand the Saharan north.

Again predictably, the *Arabian Nights* figure in this folk literature in instances too numerous to list. Suffice it to record Aladdin, Ali Baba, the Isle of Women among other familiar characters and themes from the *Nights*. To the *Nights* also may be attributed tales of bawdy humour in which jealous husbands are cuckolded and foolish lovers are discomfited. But such robust humour is ubiquitous and of great antiquity, and it would be unwarranted to conclude that the *Nights* were necessarily the direct or the sole source.

The style of these tales tends to short staccato sentences where grammatical structures are simple and literary conceits few. On the other hand idiom is vivid and varied, as is to be expected in tales meant to be told. There are few Arabic loan words, and those that do occur are either basic Islamic terms or thoroughly naturalized. Many stories begin with some such conventional opening as *Ga ta nan, ga ta nan* and end with the formula *Shi ke nan, kungurus kan kusa*. In these folk tales Hausa humour is catholic and at times broad. Fun is poked at the pompous. The slave is also a frequent butt for ridicule. But on the whole the Hausa are amused less by simple incongruity and more by the spectacle of human gullibility, by him who is the victim of his own short-comings and by him who is hoist by his own petard.

(b) The literature of the Islamic period. This literature, written initially in the *ajami* script, is almost entirely in verse. Also, apart from a few contemporary compositions, it is religious. Popular tradition has it that poetry in Hausa was first composed and written down by ʿĪsā, son of ʿUthmān b. Fūdī (Usumanu dan Fodio). So far, nothing leads us to dispute this tradition and we therefore accept that Hausa first started to be used in formal composition at the end of the 18th or in the early 19th century.

There are four main categories of this verse: (1) *Begen Annabi*—eulogy of the Prophet Muḥammad; (2) *Wa'azi* (Arabic *waʿẓ*)—the threat of eternal punishment and the promise of divine reward; (3) *Tauhidi* (Arabic *tawḥīd*)—Muslim theology, the 'science of the unity'; (4) *Fikihu* (Arabic *fiḳh*)—Muslim law. The first is primarily devotional. The remaining three had a twofold purpose. Firstly, that of the evangelical Fulani, to reach the common people with a message of salvation. Secondly, in the post-djihād era, the purpose of the propagandist, to uphold the Muslim hierarchy by the sanctions of Islam. These two purposes provide us with the very *raison d'être* of such a literature in Hausa rather than in Arabic.

Our present evidence strongly indicates that the poetry grew out of the religious and theological

tensions associated with the Fulani *djihād*, its immediate prelude and its aftermath. It is to be regarded as an extension of the theological and devotional writings in Arabic, which had a much earlier origin. To some extent it reflects the inadequacy of Arabic literacy in the Sudan at a point when the intellectual battles of the day could no longer be confined within the circle of those fully literate in Arabic. An important consequence was to make Hausa no longer purely a vernacular, but to give it a status as a language of learning of the second rank, as we see clearly from the testimony of Baba (Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London 1964, 132).

Of the four categories, *Begen Annabi* is certainly the most pleasing by Western standards, since it attempts to express the emotions of personal religious experience in terms of human devotion. Its imagery is closely influenced by detail from the *sīra* literature, from the infancy legends of Muḥammad, and by incidents from *Ḳur'ān* and *ḥadīth*. The most impressive example—moving and sincere—is a *takhmīs* by ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān on an original by the Shaihu. Unfortunately, it is still unpublished.

Wa'azi at its best can be fine apocalyptic ranting, full of the fiery colour and sulphurous imagery of the mediaeval Muslim hell, and its counterpart of lush and fleshy delights in Paradise. A memorable example is the poem known as *Wakar jan mari*—'The song of the red leg irons' also attributed to ʿĪsā b. ʿUthmān, and as yet unpublished.

Tauhidi is the most intellectual of Hausa writing. The unpublished work *Ku san samuwar Jalla* is an example of high quality. This presents the arguments for God's existence, His unity, omnipotence and so on, in Hausa verse, but with extensive use of Arabic philosophical terms in various degrees of naturalization. It will be clear that such an exercise requires considerable command of the original Arabic disciplines and is the product of a high order of intellect.

Fikihu is aesthetically unattractive, but certainly not without interest to the European reader, for it is a rich source of information on pre-Islamic custom. To the Muslim it is of paramount importance, for upon this and upon *tauhidi* depend his chances of salvation. Correspondingly, those who can write this verse hold the salvation of the masses in their hands and their authority in the Muslim hierarchy is thus considerable.

These categories of learned poetry are the main channel whereby the esoteric Arabic vocabulary, known initially only to an élite, passed through the process of naturalization into common speech. A high proportion of this vocabulary has not yet reached the vernacular, but the poetry remains popular and by a process of constant enquiry and the scholia of the *malams* [*q.v.*] the borrowing of this class of learned Arabic words into Hausa is still proceeding.

In addition to these learned categories there is popular poetry such as *yabo*— "praise song"; *zambo*—"satire", and the incantations of the *bori* practitioners. These categories are not normally written and therefore belong to the oral literature.

The learned poetry is metrical and the metres conform to the classical Arabic metres, although it appears that certain minor variants are allowed to the Hausa poet which would be improper to his Arab counterpart. Among the most popular metres are *al-ṭawīl*, *al-kāmil*, and *al-wāfir*. Tone plays no part in this metrical system.

The popular poetry is also metrical, and while it does not conform to the Classical Arabic metres it appears to have been influenced by them. Certainly, to all intents and purposes it too is quantitative, but it may be that remnants of an earlier qualitative—that is a tonal—system have survived marginally in some of this poetry. This, however, has yet to be convincingly demonstrated.

(c) Modern literature. By this we mean works printed in *boko* (Roman characters), the great bulk of which has been produced over the course of the last fifty years. To some extent it is an artificial development, having been initially the introduction of missionaries, European administrators and the Western education system. Subsequently it was nurtured by Departments of Education and such quasi-government organizations as the Northern Regional Literature Agency. Its dissemination has been closely linked to the growth of government sponsored education. It has been written, in the main, by men who have passed through the primary and secondary schools created or supported by the Administration. But as more Northern Nigerians began to feel at home in both the world of Islamic Africa and the world of the secular West, so a synthesis became apparent in which the two earlier traditions were drawn together to emerge in a new form of literature influenced by, but certainly not slavishly following Western patterns.

Our purpose is best served by a brief analysis of certain outstanding examples of this literature, for it is still not yet sufficiently extensive to allow of further general conclusions. *Shaihu Umar* (Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Zaria 1955) is the story of a boy and his widowed mother who fall foul of the slave raiders. It has a carefully constructed plot in which a series of incidents and blows of fate arbitrate the lives of these people, who are shown as the helpless victims of their own social and political institutions. It is a story of great human sympathy, of charity and social concern and is at first sight far removed from our traditional *genres*. Yet the institutions which support the plot are those of traditional Muslim learning, slavery, the life of the Sarki's court and Hausa kinship custom. Indeed it portrays the Islamic life of the Western Sudan at its dramatic *fin de siècle*, immediately prior to the beginning of the European Administrations. Even the hyena, that ancient rascal of a remote indigenous traditions, enters the story at one point to intervene drastically in the hero's life.

Gandoki of Alhaji Bello (first printed Zaria 1934 and subsequent undated editions) is a very different tale. Here the plot is rudimentary and without chronological discipline. It starts with a vivid picture of experiences in the fighting which took place against Lugard's columns at the turn of the century, and the central character is a roistering pagan-slaying boastful warrior who clearly has the blood of the Nagwamatse in his veins. Then suddenly the story moves into the fantasy world of jinns and ogres and the hero moves through a series of marvellous adventures in which the author's debt to the *Arabian Nights* is evident. Yet despite the clearly Islamic influences, both literary and moral—for Gandoki is a devout Muslim—it is clear that the ogres and pagan enemies whom he slays or enslaves have stepped out of the Barbushe cycle, for they are the giant elephant hunters and bogey-men of the cosmology and early history myths. Once again our traditions have converged, but to produce a very different though equally entertaining result.

Magana jari ce of Alhaji Abubakar Imam (fifth

edition, Zaria 1960) is justly famous. This, a much larger work than the previous two, is a series of short stories based largely on the animal cycle but borrowing such exotic themes as "The Pied Piper", which it then presents delightfully in an African setting, and numerous themes from the *Nights*. The whole is connected by the parrot who is both narrator and hero, in that he has to invent his tales in order to prevent the young prince from rushing headstrong to his doom at the hands of the jealous vizier. The parallel with the *Nights* is obvious, but the parrot is also the spider trickster of the animal tales and certainly reminiscent of Abū Zayd, the witty, unscrupulous, improvising *rāwī* of the *Maḳāmāt*. The work is a mine of information on Hausa custom, is immensely rich in linguistic material and is unquestionably a classic of Hausa literature. Perhaps more overtly than our two previous examples it combines the three traditions which we have described and illustrates their leavens at work.

Clearly Hausa literature is now at a point where past tradition and recent intellectual experience provide the materials for important and exciting new developments. One such is represented by the recent works of Malam Shuʾaibu Makarfi, *Zamanin nan namu* (Zaria 1959) and *Jatau na Kyallu* (Zaria 1960). These are full length plays on such moral and social themes as juvenile delinquency, mercenary mothers and prostitutes, written in the latest idiom of the Kano streets and market-place, full of English and other neologisms, but interspersed with unctuous asides and moralizing (in verse) by a *mai shela* or 'herald' who performs a function very similar to that of the chorus in a Greek tragedy.

Bibliography: (a) In addition to works mentioned in the text, *Labarun Hausawa da makwabtansu*, Zaria 1932, i-ii; Edgar, *Litafi na tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, Lagos 1924, i-iii; Shön, *Magana Hausa*, ed. Robinson, London 1906. (b) The only collections of learned poetry at present available are Robinson's *Specimens of Hausa literature*, Cambridge 1896, a rather haphazard collection in an archaic orthography and indifferent translation; also *Wakokin Hausa*, Zaria 1957, Hausa texts transcribed into Roman script, a better selection than Robinson but marred by certain errors and misreadings of the *ajami* manuscripts; M. Hiskett, *The 'Song of Bagauda': a Hausa king list and homily in verse—I*, in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), an edited Hausa text, with English translation in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965). For a discussion of the significance of the poetry, M. Hiskett, *The historical background to the naturalization of Arabic loan words in Hausa*, in *ALS*, vi (1965); for metre Greenberg, *Hausa verse prosody*, in *JAOS*, lxix (1949); M. Hiskett, *The 'Song of Bagauda'—III*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965). (c) No critical work on modern Hausa literature has yet been written. Catalogues of NORLA and their successors, Gaskiya Press, Zaria give lists of titles of Hausa novels, etc., which are currently available.

(M. Hiskett)

See further NIGERIA.

ḤAWĀLA, literally "draft", "bill", is the cession, i.e., the payment of a debt through the transfer of a claim. If A has a debt to B and a claim against C, he can settle his debt by transferring his claim against C to the benefit of B. In this case A is the transferor (*al-muḥīl*), B the creditor (*al-muḥtāl*) who accepts the cession, C is the cessionary (*al-muḥtāl ʿalayhi*). It would however be incorrect to consider the *ḥawāla* merely from the viewpoint of a cession: it is first of all a means of payment to release the *muḥīl* from a debt, therefore, besides the task of the cession it fulfils that of the declaration and assignment as well (R. Grasshoff, *Das Wechselrecht der Araber. Eine rechtsvergleichende Studie über die Herkunft des Wechsels*, Berlin 1899, 60). It is not identical with the *suftadja* [*q.v.*]; this is on the contrary a pure transaction of issuing a bill, a special form of the *ḥawāla*, "distinguished by the fact that the *muḥtāl ʿalayhi* is absent at the conclusion of the contract between the *muḥīl* and the *muḥtāl*" (Grasshoff, *op. cit.*, 64). According to the *fiḳh* books the following prerequisites are necessary to validate a cession: the transferor and his creditor must conclude a contract, the transferred debt must be a fixed obligation and the transferor's debt must be in agreement with that of the cessionary in kind, manner and conditions of payment.

The *ḥawāla* occurs rather often in Arabic papyri, usually in the form of "written obligation" (*dhukr ḥaḳḳ*); cf. A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, i, Cairo 1934, no. 48_7 and p. 116; ii, Cairo 1936, no. 102_8 and p. 118; A. Dietrich, *Arabische Papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (=*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxii/3), Leipzig 1937, no. 4_4. The cessionary may be represented through an agent (*wakīl*), as in the Papyrus no. 13_6 (for it see p. 84) in A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Hamburg 1955.

The word *ḥawāla* entered Europe through the commerce of the Italian Levant in the form *aval* to indicate the guaranty of a draft. In modern Arabic *ḥawāla* means draft, cheque or assignment.

Bibliography: R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts sowie die Lehre vom Kauf-, Vollmachts-, Gesellschaftsvertrage*, Diss. iur. Königsberg 1895; idem, *Die suftaǵa und ḥawâla der Araber, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Wechsels*, Diss. phil. Königsberg 1899; E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre* (=*Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, xvii), Berlin 1897, 373-84; *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, revised and edited by J. Schacht (=*Lehrbücher d. Sem. f. Or. Spr. Berlin*, xxxv), Berlin and Leipzig 1935, 66 f.; Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī ʿalā matn Abī Shudjāʿ*, Cairo 1307. i 389-92.

(A. Dietrich)

ḤAWĀLA, as a financial term, assignation; in Islamic finance, an assignation on a *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] effected by order of the ruler in favour of a third party. The term is applied both to the mandate for the payment and to the sum paid. It is already established in these senses in ʿAbbāsid finance (see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 63-5). In the ʿAbbāsid empire, *ḥawāla* was widely used in both state and private finances to avoid the dangers and delays inherent in the transport of cash. The mandates were known as *suftadja* [*q.v.*] or *ṣakk* [*q.v.*]. Thus we know that the tax-collectors (*ʿummāl*) of Ahwāz, Fārs and Iṣfahān transmitted the revenue which they collected to the central government by *suftadja*. In the encashment of the *suftadja* and in all matters relating to *ḥawāla*, the primary rôle was played by the *djahbadh* [*q.v.*] (see R. Grasshoff, *Die Suftaǵa und Ḥawāla der Araber*, Göttingen 1899; W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of medieval Islam*, Royal Asiatic Soc. Monographs, vol. xxii, London 1937, 3-35).

Ḥawāla appears in wide use in Saldjūḳ finance (H.

Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Gross Selǧūqen und Ḫorazmšāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964, 74-5; O. Turan, *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk Islâm medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, 277-8). It is thought that in some circumstances it took the form of the direct collection of state revenue from the peasantry (cf. A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 73), but this is far from characteristic of *ḥawāla*. For the Ilkhānid and post-Ilkhānid period in Persia, the sources are sufficient to show in some detail the features of *ḥawāla* at this time (Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, ii, Tehrān 1338s., 1024-40, 1068-75; Abdollah ibn Mohammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī, *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, index s.v. *ḥawālat*; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī, *Dustūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, i/1, ed. A. A. ʿAlīzāde, Moscow 1964, 294-302). From the entries relating to *ḥawāla* (*ḥawālat*) in Ilkhānid financial registers, it is clear that *ḥawāla* consisted in the making of payments by order from the farm (*māl-i muḳāṭaʿa*, the *aṣl-i māl* given in the register) due from a tax-farmer (*ʿāmil*). These assignations were always recorded in the monthly and yearly accounting registers of the central *dīwān* (*daftar-i taḥwīlāt* and *daftar-i djāmiʿ al-ḥisāb*) under the two main headings of *al-muḳarrariyya* and *al-iṭlāḳiyya*. Under *al-muḳarrariyya* fell the regular (*muḳarrar*) payments made every year by order of the sovereign from the *dīwān-i aʿlā* to *ḳāḍīs*, *shaykhs*, *sayyids*, students, financial officials and *yāmdjīs* (the staff of the *manāzil*), or for public works. Under *al-iṭlāḳiyya* fell payments made to members of the court, palace servants, and the military. This fundamental distinction is doubtless related to the separation of military and civil administration in the Īlkhānid state. All these assignations on the provincial tax-farmers (*ʿummāl*) were made by *barāt*, *yāftadja* or *ḥawāla* (*Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 162-65). (Agents who came to collect money for the central treasury were known in this period as *ilči*). When the term of his contract (*ḍamān*) expired, the tax-farmer (*ʿāmil*) submitted these *barāts* and *yāftadjas* for auditing to the *ṣāḥib-dīwān*, and received a *ḥudjdjat* showing the result (*ibid.* 65).

Muḳāṭaʿa and *ḥawāla* were the basis of Īlkhānid finance. But widespread malpractice led Ghāzān Khān to attempt a number of reforms. In the reign of his predecessor Gaykhātū, the revenue accruing from the tax-farms was squandered in the provinces, and as a result assignations were not honoured there (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ii, 1083). In these circumstances the unpaid military resorted to direct exaction from the peasantry, driving them from their land and destroying sources of revenue. Ghāzān Khān first carried out a general survey to determine the sources of revenue of each locality. Then he reformed the method of collection (*ibid.*, 1031-4). Revenue was now collected directly by state officials, and the military were paid directly, and in cash, from the state treasury. Finally, the state lands were distributed to the military as *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]. The replacement of *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* by a system in which the state collected revenues and made payments directly was hard to maintain in a mediaeval state. Under the conditions of the time it was very difficult and very expensive to build up the necessary organization, and to transport, store and encash revenues collected in kind. Of Ghāzān Khān's reforms, only the allocation of state revenue as *iḳṭāʿ* to military personnel resident in the villages had any chance of success. That the reforms had no lasting effect is clear from Nakhdjawānī's complaints of fiscal malpractice with regard to *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* (*Dustūr al-kātib*, 297-8). According to Nakhdjawānī, assignations were made on the *tamghawāt* [see TAMGHĀ] in the provinces (cf. *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ii, 1048). Later Khʷādja Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn laid down the principle that these revenues should be collected by *muḥaṣṣils* [*q.v.*] of the *dīwān*, and that allowances should again be paid directly from the treasury. But these reforms also lapsed (on the later history of *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* in Īrān, see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 79).

In the Ottoman empire, as in other Islamic states, *muḳāṭaʿa* and *ḥawāla* were the basis of the financial system. The rich material preserved in the Ottoman archives makes it possible to establish the system in detail and to shed light on obscure points in its earlier history (particularly important are the *muḳāṭaʿāt defterleri* and the *māliyye aḥkām defterleri* in the Başvekâlet Arşivi Umum Müdürlüğü). The main source of revenue which was exploited by *muḳāṭaʿa* and on which assignations were made was the *khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* [see KHĀṢṢ], which came under the administration of the *defterdār*. In general payments were made at the place where the revenue was collected through assignations on the tax-farmer. The system was favoured by such factors as the difficulty of transporting cash and the slowness with which revenue accumulated from the taxation of commercial transactions, particularly in the towns. Thanks to entries made in the *muḳāṭaʿāt* registers of the central government, the *defterdār* was in a position to exercise close control over the administration of these revenues in distant provinces. Another group of revenues — including the *aʿshār*, which were payable in kind — was assigned to the military as *tīmār* [*q.v.*]. The timariot collected these revenues directly. However, as in the case of Ghāzān Khān's reforms, this system of enfeoffment must be seen as a departure from the *ḥawāla* principle. Revenues in this category were no longer the subject of *ḥawāla* transactions; in the Ottoman system they constituted an entirely distinct branch of the administration under the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*].

The *ʿāmil* (tax-farmer), who took on a *muḳāṭaʿa* for a given term (usually three years), made payments in accordance with the assignations of the central government, to those in whose favour they were drafted. The payments were always made with the cognizance of the *emīn* [*q.v.*] and *ḳāḍī*, the government's supervisory agents, and entered in their registers. The payments were always in cash. The *ḳāḍī* gave the tax-farmer a *ḥudjdjet* which stated the amount of the payment, to whom it was made, by what order, on what date, and from which *muḳāṭaʿa*. A copy was entered in the *ḳāḍī*'s register. The *ḥudjdjet* would then be submitted in the accounting which took place when each instalment of the *muḳāṭaʿa* fell due. If on the other hand the payment was not made, a *mektūb* stating the reason for this was given to the bearer of the assignation. The *ḳāḍīs*' registers are among our most valuable sources for *ḥawāla* transactions.

The mandate for the *ḥawāla* is a *ḥükm* of the sultan. It specifies how much is to be paid, to whom, and from what source. *Ḥawāla* orders are of three main types: (1) orders made out directly in favour of claimants, used for the payment of allowances (*sālyāne*, *ʿulūfa*, *mawādjib*) to the military in the provinces; (2) assignations placed at the disposal of an *emīn* to cover purchases made in connexion with provincial public works or for the palace (see R. An-

hegger and H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956, 35); (3) orders for the surrender to the sultan's emissary (*ḳul*) of sums for the state treasury (*Khizāne-i ʿĀmire*).

The various *muḳāṭaʿāt* in a region tended to be ear-marked for particular claimants, and their claims regularly met from the same source. It was for this reason that the central financial administration was organized into departments with such names as *Anadolu muḳāṭaʿasi, maʿden muḳāṭaʿasi, büyük ḳalʿa muḳāṭaʿasi.*

From the 11th/17th century onwards, we find the revenues of tax-farms being transferred to the central treasury by bill of exchange (*poliče*) through the services of *ṣarrāf*s established in the main towns. *Ḥawāla* nevertheless continued to be used. It lost its importance when tax-farming (*muḳāṭaʿa*) was abolished after the declaration of the Tanẓīmāt in 1839. The Tanẓīmāt introduced a policy of fiscal centralization. State officials appointed to the provinces with extensive powers collected revenue directly. After paying salaries and meeting other local expenses locally, the *muḥaṣṣil* sent the balance to the central treasury (see H. İnalcık, *Tanzimatın uygulanması ve sosyal tepkileri*, in *Belleten*, xxviii/112 (1964), 629).

In *fiḳh*, *ḥawāla* was the subject of a separate *kitāb*. In the *fatwā* collections of the Ottoman *muftī*s, the *kitāb al-ḥawāla* sometimes includes *fatwā*s on *ḥawāla* transactions involving the state, as well as those relating to transactions between private individuals, or between individuals and *waḳf*s (see *Fatāwā-yi Abu'l-Suʿūd*, Topkapı Sarayı MS Ahmed III 786, ff. 251-2; *Fatāwā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi*, MS Ahmed III 788, ff. 141-3).

In Ottoman Turkish, *ḥawāla* has the further sense of a tower placed at a vantage-point; *ḥawāla* towers were sometimes built for blockading purposes near castles which were likely to put up a long resistance. This method was used in the blockade of Bursa in the early 8th/14th century. Meḥemmed II contemplated using Rūmeli Ḥiṣārī as a *ḥawāla* to blockade Constantinople if resistance continued. Ottoman *ḥawāla*s have left traces in Balkan toponymy. One such *ḥawāla* is that built by Meḥemmed II near Belgrade, now known locally as Avala.

Bibliography: in the article. (H. İNALCIK)

ḤAWĀRĪ, apostle. The word is borrowed from Ethiopic, in which language *ḥawāryā* has the same meaning (see Nöldeke, *Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, 48). The suggested derivations from Arabic, attributing to it the meaning "one who wears white clothing" etc., are incorrect. Tradition delights to endow the earliest Islamic pioneers with foreign bynames which were familiar to the "people of the Book". Abū Bakr is called *al-Ṣiddīḳ*, ʿUmar *al-Fārūḳ*, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām *al-Ḥawārī*. Moreover, the collective term *al-Ḥawāriyyūn* occurs, denoting twelve persons who at the time of the "second ʿAḳaba" are said to have been named by Muḥammad (or those present) as *naḳīb*s of the inhabitants of Medina "to be the sureties for their people, just as the apostles were sureties for ʿĪsā b. Maryam, and as I myself (Muḥammad) am surety for my people". Christian influence is also found elsewhere in the account of the "second ʿAḳaba", where the total number of those present is put at 70 or 72, apparently on the analogy of the account in the Gospels of the 70 or 72 apostles (Luke, X, 1, 17). Of these 12 *Ḥawāriyyūn*, nine are said to have belonged to the Khazradj and three to the Aws. Their names were said to be: — Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, Asʿad b. Zurāra, Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ, Saʿd b. Abī Khaythama, Mundhir b. ʿAmr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr, Abu 'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, Rāfiʿ b. Mālik. According to another version, however, the *Ḥawāriyyūn* belonged exclusively to the tribe of Ḳuraysh and were: — Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ḥamza, Djaʿfar, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ, ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (cf. al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1290, 344). These accounts again make it clear to what an extent the rivalry between Anṣār [*q.v.*] and Muhādjirūn [*q.v.*] has influenced tradition.

The tradition concerning these twelve Muslim apostles has perhaps, like so many others, arisen as a deduction from a statement in the Ḳurʾān (III, 45, LXVI, 14): Jesus says "Who are my *Anṣār* for God('s cause)?" And the *Ḥawāriyyūn* answer "We are the *Anṣār* of God", etc. The parallel with Muḥammad's own position is here clear enough, and it is evident that, alongside of the Muslim Anṣār, the need was felt for Muslim *Ḥawāriyyūn*.

On the subject of the disciples of Jesus statements will be found in various Muslim writers, for the most part deriving from passages in the Gospels; see ʿĪSĀ and MĀʾIDA.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, A. J. Jeffery, *Foreign words* ..., 115-6; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, old ed., iii, 197-200, new ed., vi, 442-8. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ḤAWĀSHĪ [see ḤĀSHIYA].

HAWĀZIN, a large North Arabian tribe or group of tribes. The genealogy is given as: Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣafa b. Ḳays b. ʿAylān (see ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN, ʿADNĀN, AL-ʿARAB (Djazīrat), vi). Properly speaking Hawāzin includes the tribes of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] and Thaḳīf [*q.v.*], but the term is sometimes restricted to what is more correctly ʿUdjz Hawāzin, "the rear of Hawāzin", comprising Djusham b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr, Naṣr b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr and Saʿd b. Bakr [*q.v.*]. Among the places reckoned to belong to Hawāzin were: Amlaḥ, ʿAds al-Maṭāḥil, al-Dardā, al-Ḍabʿān, and Fayf al-Rīḥ; the wadis Awṭās, Liyya, Turaba, Zabya (so *Muʿdjam*, but variants in al-Hamdānī); the waters Dhu 'l-Ḥulayfa and Tiyān and the mount al-Muḍayyiḥ. Before Islam, Hawāzin along with B. Muḥārib worshipped the idol Djihār at ʿUkāẓ; the *sādin* came from a family of B. Naṣr of Hawāzin.

Early history. For a time Hawāzin paid tribute to Ghaṭafān (under Zuhayr b. Djadhīma of ʿAbs), but they became independent on Zuhayr's death. Hostility continued, however, and there were many battles, sometimes between most of Ghaṭafān on the one side and most of Hawāzin (often in alliance with Sulaym) on the other, sometimes between individual tribes, such as Fazāra and Djusham. Hawāzin was also bitterly hostile to Ḳuraysh, against whom it had fought the wars of the Fidjār. The underlying cause was the trade rivalry between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, since the inhabitants of the latter town, Thaḳīf, were either part of Hawāzin or in close alliance. One war began with a quarrel between an ally of Ḳuraysh (belonging to Kināna) and a man of Hawāzin. The second and more famous war of the Fidjār arose from the killing of ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl (of Kilāb of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa) by Barrāḍ b. Ḳays (client of Ḥarb b. Umayya of Ḳuraysh). Though Ḳuraysh had to retire to Mecca on several occasions, they seem to have had the best of the fighting in the end. Peace was made

with Hawāzin, but al-Ṭā'if passed into the control of the section of Thaḳīf known as the Aḥlāf, who were subordinate to Mecca.

Relations with Muḥammad. In general Muḥammad had good relations with ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. A small section of Saʿd b. Bakr (to which tribe his wet-nurse Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] had belonged) became Muslims at an early date, though others fought against him at Ḥunayn. Otherwise he had little contact with Hawāzin till after his triumphant entry into Mecca in 8/630. While still settling the affairs of Mecca, he heard that Mālik b. ʿAwf (of Naṣr) was concentrating a force of Hawāzin and Thaḳīf only a day or two's march away and was thus threatening both Mecca and the Muslims. Because of the old enmity between Ḳuraysh and Hawāzin 2000 Meccans joined Muḥammad when he marched to meet this threat. The battle took place at Ḥunayn, and, while Thaḳīf took refuge in al-Ṭā'if, Hawāzin was routed and lost all their possessions. Muḥammad treated Mālik b. ʿAwf very generously, however, restoring his wife and children, making a gift of camels, and recognizing him as chief of Hawāzin. The tribe had to make a payment of *siʿāya*, presumably for the restoration of the captured women and children. Mālik then helped Muḥammad against his former allies of Thaḳīf.

Later history. During the *Ridda*, Hawāzin are said to have suspended the payment of *ṣadaḳa* to Medina, but they did not take up arms against Abū Bakr. This was doubtless because of the consideration shown them after their defeat.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, index; al-Hamdānī, index; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, index; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, esp. i, 716.15 and ii, 302 f.; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, esp. 70-5, 95-105; indices to Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī s.vv. Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, Shaddād b. ʿĀriḍ, (Abū) Usāma b. Zuhayr, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma (the latter all of Djusham). See also art. DURAYD. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ḤAWḌ, the basin at which on the day of the resurrection Muḥammad will meet his community. This idea is not found in the Ḳur'ān, but in Tradition, which supplies a great variety of details of which the following are the more important.

Muḥammad is called the precursor (*farat*) of his community On the day of the resurrection the latter, in the first place the poor who have not known the pleasures of life, will join him near the basin. So far as one can judge, the question is one of admittance: Muḥammad pleads with Allāh for his Companions, but he is told: Thou dost not know what they have done since thy death. Some have gone back on their steps (Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, bāb 73; *Musāḳāt*, bāb 10; *Riḳāḳ*, bāb 52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 132; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 995).

The descriptions of the basin raise questions of cosmological topography. Its dimensions equal the distance between Djarbā' and Adhruḥ (variants: Ayla-Ṣanʿā'; ʿAdan-ʿUmān; al-Madīna-Ṣanʿā' etc.) and its jars are numberless as the stars. Its waters are white as milk and sweet as honey. It is filled by two spouts from Paradise, one gold, the other silver. Some traditions connect the basin with the river of Paradise, al-Kawthar [*q.v.*], but these associations are secondary, Kawthar having become the proper name of a river of Paradise only at a later date. The representation of the throne of Muḥammad as being above the basin is also part of the topography of Paradise ("a garden of Paradise"). Details taken from the Bible are fairly numerous, like the very common tradition that he who drinks of the waters of the reservoir will never thirst (cf. St. John's Gospel, iv, 14).

It is hardly possible to assign a definite place to the reservoir among the eschatological sites. According to a canonical tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ḳiyāma*, bāb 9; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 178), Muḥammad said that if he is not found near the *ṣirāṭ* he should be sought near the *mīzān* or else near the basin. In the creed known as *Fiḳh Akbar II* the basin comes immediately after the balance (art. 21).—Neither Ghazālī, in *al-Durra al-fākhira*, nor the author of the *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma* mentions the basin. In the *Iḥyā'* it comes between the intercession and the descriptions of Hell and Paradise, without there being any connexion with the one or the other. This uncertainty, which connects the basin sometimes with Paradise, sometimes with the trials at the Last Judgment, has given rise to the idea of two basins.

Bibliography: The statements in the collections of canonical tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Basin; M Fu'ād ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, *Miftāḥ kunūz al-sunna*, s.v. *al-ḥawḍ*, p. 165; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 176 ff.; the articles of the creeds in Wensick, *The Muslim Creed*, index, s.v. Basin; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1302, iv, 478. (A. J. WENSINCK)

ḤAWḌ (pl. *aḥwāḍ*, *ḥiyāḍ*) is the Arabic, and hence Persian, Turkish (mod. *havuz*) and Urdu word for cistern or artificial tank for storing water. It is used also for a drinking trough or wash-basin. In India the word has sometimes been used for any tank built or excavated by the Sultan for public utility. For our purpose here, we shall discuss only the architectural cisterns.

The history of the cistern must be as old as the real beginning of Islamic architecture, which began with the construction of the early mosques: water being needed for ablution before the performance of prayer, the cistern was from the first as necessary a feature as the other elements of the mosque. Very little information is preserved about the earliest ablution tanks. Probably they were first built in the *ṣaḥn* of the mosque, for when the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn was first opened for prayer (265/879), one of the criticisms made of it was that it lacked any place for ablution in its *ṣaḥn*, to which the builder replied that he had purposely omitted it because of the uncleanliness which it brought, but that he would have one built behind the mosque. As the people complained of the tank being outside the mosque proper, it can be presumed that this was contrary to what they had been accustomed to. In later times, examples of ablution cisterns are found most frequently in the *ṣaḥn*, but sometimes outside the mosque. This preference may also be in part due to the Turks who, under Byzantine influence, regarded the domed interior of the mosque as the sanctuary proper, while the outside court, corresponding to the Byzantine *atrium*, was not looked upon as the *ṣaḥn* had been in early Islam. The typical Turkish ablution tank is an octagonal reservoir covered by an octagonal pavilion resting on columns and arches, with wide eaves and a low dome. The present octagonal tank covered by a square pavilion in the *ṣaḥn* of the Great Mosque of Damascus shows Turkish influence. The square double-storeyed domed edifice over the octagonal tank in the *ṣaḥn* of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was, however, built before the Turkish conquest of Egypt by Sultan Lādjīn in 696/1296, and may be likened to other multi-storeyed cisterns of Alexandria. In India the mosque-tanks are usually

open, and are generally square or rectangular in plan.

Simultaneously with ablution tanks, fountain-cisterns were also developed in Islamic architecture, at first in mosques, and then also in palaces and gardens. The earliest extant example of such a cistern appears to be the one underneath the westernmost domed edifice in the *ṣaḥn* of the Great Mosque of Damascus. It was octagonal with a little parapet all round, and a jet—probably in imitation of the *phiale* which sometimes stood in the *atria* of the Byzantine churches—in the middle. The octagonal cistern in the *ṣaḥn* of the Great Mosque of Ḥarrān was, in all probability, a fountain-cistern, as was that in the *ṣaḥn*s of the Great Mosque of Sāmarrā (234-7/848-52) and of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the latter being described by Ibn Duḳmāḳ as a great basin of marble, 4 cubits in diameter, with a jet of water in the centre, over which was a gilt dome on ten marble columns, and round which were sixteen marble columns with a marble pavement. This was later rebuilt by Lādjīn. Once thus developed, the fountain-cistern is often found in mosques of later dates along with the ablution tank—generally separate, but sometimes combined in one.

This cistern was, however, particularly developed in Īrān and under its influence in India. A pool of water set in a plantation was popular not only in the pre-Islamic lay-out of gardens in Īrān, but was also a frequent motif in the ornamentation of pottery and metalwork. In the rapid expansion of the Islamic period, this theme of plants and water took an extraordinary form in architecture. In shape, Iranian tanks vary greatly. Most frequent is the rectangular tank, but square, octagonal and cross-shaped pools also are not uncommon. The beautiful tank at the shrine of Niʿmat Allāh Māhān combines the octagon and the cross, the octagon serving as fountain at the intersection of the cross, the arms of which have diagonally cut corners to parallel this octagon. More elaborate and very characteristic are the ogee pools, often polygonal. In the big tanks, the water is usually still and the cistern is by preference filled to the very brim. But running water also had its place, trickling or leaping through the channels, according to the terrain, or dropping in musical cascades, and there were numerous fountains, some five hundred, for example, in the Hazār Djarīb. In India, the design of the tanks was copied almost exactly, but more often with multiple and varied jets in the middle. The best examples of such tanks are to be noticed in the garden of the Tādj Maḥall (second quarter of the 11th/17th century) in Āgra and in the Shālīmār Bāgh (1047/1637-8) in Lahore.

There are other forms of the fountain-cistern, not in the open, but in pleasure-houses. We hear in the Thousand and One Nights of a pool in a wonderful domed building decorated with "all kinds of pictures in gold and ultramarine, and it had four doors, to which one ascended by five steps; in the midst of it was a pool, to which one descended by steps of gold, those steps being set with minerals. In the midst of the pool was a fountain of gold, with images, large and small, from the mouths of which the water issued; and when the images produced various sounds at the issuing of the water, it seemed to the hearer that he was in paradise". To this group belongs the recently discovered Saldjūḳ Ḥawḍ-khāna at Rayy—a small vaulted building with a pool inside, octagonal in plan, and sunk below the ground level.

Large cisterns, especially for drinking water, fed by the nearest *wādī* or river or by rain-water, were also built by Muslim rulers. Of these, two kinds may be distinguished; open and covered or monumental. Several of the first variety have been discovered in Tunisia. The two largest, built by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad between 246-8/860-3, are about a kilometre from the north gate of Ḳayrawān and receive the water of the *wādī* Mardj al-Līl when it is in flood. They are polygonal, one being composed of seventeen straight sides and the other of forty-eight sides, with a round buttress at each corner internally and externally, and, in addition, an intermediate buttress externally in the centre of each side. The masonry is of rubble covered with a very hard coating of cement. The larger cistern had an octagonal tower in the middle which Abū Ibrāhīm used to visit occasionally in a boat. Most of the other cisterns in Tunisia, such as ʿAyn al-Ghurāb, Fisḳiyat al Arad, Fisḳiyat Eddaliyā, Fisḳiyat al-Haguia and Ḥanshir Fortunat, are round, with buttresses placed internally and externally along the circular walls.

Open cisterns are found in India and some of them, such as the Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī and Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ in Delhi, Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī in Badāʾūn, and the great tank of Djahāngīr al-Sheikhupura near Lahore, are very famous. Most of these tanks are now ruined, and the Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ no longer contains water. They are of stone masonry (except the last, which is of brick) and are either square or rectangular in plan with stairs on all four sides, and they once contained a pavilion in the centre. The pavilion in the tank of Djahāngīr—an octagonal three-storeyed building approached by a causeway—still exists. The Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ, covering over seventy acres of land, was built by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī in 695/1295, and when fallen into decay was re-excavated and repaired by Fīrūz Shāh. The repairs were so extensive that Tīmūr ascribes the tank itself to Fīrūz Shāh.

Similar open tanks, not so much for drinking water as for ornamentation, are also found in other parts of the sub-continent. The emphasis here is less on the tank than on the central structure, which was intended as a pleasant place to sit in and while away an hour. Such are the platforms in the Anūp Talāo in Fatḥpur-Sīkrī (976-94/1568-85), the Djalamaṇdir or water-pavilion in front of the Sāt Manzil (991/1583) in Bīdjāpur and the double-storeyed building in front of the painted pavilion (probably 10th/16th century) at Kumatgī.

Of the monumental variety, we have a good example in the cistern of Ramla, built during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 172/789. It forms an irregular four-sided figure which tapers from 24 m. on the north side to about 20.50 m. on the south and consists of subterranean excavation, lined with strong retaining masonry walls and divided into six aisles by five arcades of four arches each, running from east to west and resting on cruciform piers. On the east-west arcades rest rubble tunnel-vaults, reinforced by three arcades running from north to south, which also, like the former, spring from wall-piers. A staircase runs down the north side to the bottom of the cistern, which has a well-preserved pavement. A series of holes averaging 55 cm. square pierced in the vault of each bay enabled twenty-four people at the same time to draw water by means of ropes and buckets. This suggests that the whole area above the cistern was originally levelled-up and paved. The cistern of Sīdī Bū ʿUthmān in Morocco, apparently of the 6th/12th century, and that of the fortress of Saône, in Syria, of the Crusading period, belong to this type.

Another interesting example of this group, different in plan but probably an imitation of the Syrian tradition, is to be seen in the Alcazaba of Merida in Spain. It is a T-shaped building of stone masonry and consists of three parts: an entrance passage with doors for entrance and exit (head of the T), galleries or corridors of ascent and descent with a partition wall in the middle, and the water chamber (stem of the T). All the three parts are covered by tunnel-vaults, that of the corridors sloping towards the water chamber, whose vault is divided into two lengths, the lower covering the part next to the staircase, and the higher the remainder. The chamber was evidently filled by an inlet in the lower part of the wall, but that is not visible from the surface. The exact date of the cistern is unknown, but it is supposed that it was made sometime between the 1st/7th and the 4th/10th century.

Some of the most interesting extant examples of covered cisterns in India are to be seen in the water towers in Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] (10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries). They are lofty square buildings of stone masonry, and were used both as distributing centres with pipes leading away from them, and as traps to intercept silt and prevent the pipes being choked, as well as to relieve the pressure in the pipes.

Muslim rulers were always mindful about the elaborate arrangement of water—whether in their mosques and tombs or in their palaces and cities. To them it was not only a need of life, but also a religious necessity and the most exquisite refinement of luxury—the idea of paradise—in a thirsty land.

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ḤAWḌ, usual spelling HODH (*ḥawḍ* > *ḥōḍ* = a horsetrough, made of leather mounted on a wooden frame), name of the natural depression situated in south-eastern Mauritania in the angle of the Senegal and Niger basins. It is bounded on the north by an escarpment, *Dhar Tichitt* (*ẓahr tishit*), stretching from Tichitt to Aratane and marking the limit of the Adafer plateau. In the north-east the escarpment which curves round above Oualata (Dhar Oualata = *ẓahr Walata*) and Nema, forms the boundary of the table-land of Djouf (Djawf). The western boundary of the Hodh is much less clearly marked; after a point facing towards Bassikonnou and Nara it takes in Timbedra and then turns back towards Tichitt through Aïoun el Atrous (*ʿUyūn al-ʿAtrūs*).

The Hodh thus consists of a plateau and, below the escarpment, a plain which in turn is divided into two regions, in the south a region of grazing lands and wells, Labiar (*al-Biʾār*), and in the North the Aouker which has been overrun by sand.

Its climate is midway between that of the Sahara and that of the Sahel. There are three distinct seasons: the rainy season lasts from July to September, the hot dry season from March to July, the dry cool season from October to March. The abundant rainfall gives the grazing land a savannah vegetation which attracts both caravans and herds.

History.—As a result of its situation on the edge of the desert, the Hodh has been a disputed region throughout its long history. According to certain traditions the Fulani of Macina originated there. The kingdom of Awdaghost (which included the northern Hodh) is said to have been established by the Lamtūna Berbers (5th/11th century) and afterwards conquered by the negro Soninké sovereigns of Ghāna (990), whose capital, Koumbi Saleh, is in the Hodh. The Almoravids of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar are said to have captured Awdaghost in 1054 and Ghāna in 1076.

The death of Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar (480/1087) seems to have allowed Ghāna to recover her independence, but the sovereign's authority can hardly have extended beyond the Aouker and the Bassikounou. In 1203, Soumangourou Kanté, king of the Sosso, seized Ghāna. The pagan garrison routed the Muslim Soninké at Oualata (1224). In 1240, Soundjata Keïta destroyed the city of Ghāna.

Arab invasions occurred in the Sahara towards the end of the 8th/14th century, at a time when the berberization of the population was becoming increasingly intensive. The Soninké towns of Chétou and Birou became, in Berber, *Tishit* and *Iwalaten* (Oualata). The Maʿkil Arabs, especially the Ḥassān branch, supplied the Berbers with *condottieri* who were the chief figures of the wars of that period. The Hodh is situated at the extreme limit of the range of the Arab tribes coming from the north who, after being checked by the Senegal, turned their course eastwards. It was therefore to some extent only the

fringe of the Arab invasion that penetrated to this region.

At the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the Awlād Dāwūd b. Muḥammad dominated the Hodh. At the beginning of the following century they were replaced by their kinsmen the Awlād Dāwūd b. ʿArrūḳ who, falling back on the Niger, in the middle of the 11th/17th century gave way to the Awlād Muḥammad—Awlād Mbārek, who had been compelled to move westwards under pressure from the Trārza and the Brākna. At the beginning of the 19th century the Awlād Nāṣir drove back the Awlād Mbārek to the East.

Only in about 1850 was the political supremacy of the Ḥassān Arabs replaced by that of the Mas̲h̲dūf, almost pure Berbers though Arabic-speaking, who succeeded in imposing themselves as a result of their alliance with al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar and his Toucouleurs, who captured Nioro (1850).

After 1890, French penetration made itself felt. Nioro was occupied on 1 January 1891. Two years later, Archinard conquered Macina and the Nara region. The final occupation of the Hodh was carried out by Colonel Roulet who, starting from Timbuctu, entered Oualata without firing a shot.

In the matter of the religious confraternities, the Ḳādiriyya *ṭarīḳa* was propagated in the 12th/18th century, while in the 19th century the Tid̲j̲āniyya, under the influence of al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ ʿUmar, was more influential. But what was to be of considerable importance in this region was the "differentiated Tid̲j̲ānism" introduced by a *s̲h̲arīf* of the Touat, Muḥammad wuld Aḥmad wuld ʿAbd Allāh (or al-S̲h̲arīf al-Ak̲h̲ḍar) and his successor S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Hamalla, whose father was *s̲h̲arīf* of Tichitt and whose mother was a Toucouleur, and who had brought together a powerful contingent of Moorish tribes linked for administrative purposes to the districts of Nioro, Kiffa, Timbedra, Nara and Nema. The Hamallists were the instigators of the incidents of Kaëdi (1930) and Nioro-Assaba (1940).

In 1940, almost all the tribes had been penetrated by Hamallist propaganda, which preached an actively bellicose Islam and, with its xenophobic attitude, gathered all the dissidents of eastern Mauritania and western Sudan. A numerous marabout federation, the Tenouajib, members of whom were recorded in Kayes, Yélimané, Nioro, Kiffa and Tamchakett, had shown itself hostile to this propaganda, preserving instead a strict Ḳādirī orthodoxy. On the occasion of the 1940 armistice the Hamallists thought the moment had come to suppress their Tenouajib rivals and seize their possessions. But, after their violent attempt, thirty-three of the assailants, among whom was the eldest son of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Hamallah, were condemned to death and shot in Yélimané. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Hamallah was deported, first to Algeria and later to France, where he died during the German occupation.

If Marty could regard Nioro as the Mecca of the Sudan, it is certain that the Hodh was in practice the principal starting point for Islam in the direction of the negro countries. It remains a place of importance. It was for that reason that the Governor-General of A.O.F. decided, in October 1944, to set up the district (*cercle*) of the Hodh, with ʿUyūn al-ʿAtrūs as its centre; the administration of Mauritania had proved the necessity of this step.

This fact involved modification of the frontier. For a very long time the Hodh had been divided between Mali and Mauritania. Under these agreements it became wholly Mauritanian, and has remained so with the coming of independence.

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ḤAWFĪ, type of popular poetry peculiar to Algeria. It consists of short poems of between two and eight verses which are sung by girls or young women while amusing themselves on swings or at country excursions. These songs are all anonymous and sung to the same tune, which consists of two very simple melodic phrases. The origin of the *ḥawfī* is obscure; its etymology offers no explanation. The genre is more commonly called *taḥwīf*, which means the act of singing the *ḥawfī*. The prejudice of the Arabic anthologists against popular poetry, with the exception of *zad̲j̲al*, deprives us of material for criticism in this field. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (ed. Quatremère, iii, 429) connects the *ḥawfī* with the *mawwāl* without giving any explanation; this testimony is all the more uncertain as in the Būlāḳ edition the term *ḳūmā* is substituted for that of *ḥawfī* in the passage in question; F. Rosenthal, in his translation of the *Muḳaddima* follows this reading (iii, 475, note 2).

W. Marçais (*Tlemcen*, 209) hesitates to "identify the modern *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen with the *ḥawfī* of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn". He does, however, try, but with all reserve, to find some connexion between the *ḥawfī* and the *mawwāl*. According to him the two genres have the same number of verses and use the same metre, *basīṭ*. Starting from this he thinks that he is able to trace an evolution of the *ḥawfī* which, at first obeying the rules of classical scansion, gradually detached itself from the *mawwāl*. "At a comparatively modern date, the original rules of the form being lost, the admirers of *ḥawfī* ... continued to add, though sometimes in a rather lame fashion, to the classical tune of these poems, successions of rhyming lines".

This proof is not at all convincing, especially as Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's attitude that all poetry in the vernacular is the result of the degeneration of an earlier classical genre has distorted the approach to the problem. This has necessarily made still more difficult the problems which arise as soon as the study of the evolution of poetic genres is approached.

In fact it appears in the context that Ibn K̲h̲aldūn has not tried to establish a direct link between the Andalusian or Mag̲h̲ribī and the eastern genres, but that he has merely emphasized what they have in common—namely that they are popular genres, a fact which he emphasizes again when he speaks of the Egyptian imitation of the *mawwāl* of Bag̲h̲dād.

Nor is the scansion which W. Marçais suggests for the verses of the *ḥawfī* any more plausible, for his attempt to find in them a metre of the *basīṭ* type forces him to resort to completely unjustifiable

subtleties. Syllabic scansion must be applied here, and any other method can only result in the establishment of irregular schemes.

Another hypothesis, which at first sight seems more attractive, seeks to find the origin of the *ḥawfī* in Andalusian strophic poetry. S. Bencheneb sees it as "a debased and popularized form" of this Andalusian poetry and adds that "from the point of view of metre, the *ḥawfī* represents an intermediate stage between the quantitative and the syllabic measure" (*Ch. Escarpolette*, 91).

This is in fact to re-state, from the starting point of the *muwashshaḥ*, the very same principle of evolution which we have just rejected. The rigidity and the learned diversity of the structures of Andalusian strophic poetry, its use of a quantitative metre, its themes and its vocabulary all exclude any link with the *ḥawfī*. It would be very difficult to regard it even as deriving from the *zadjal*, which also obeys very strict rules of structure. It is not clear, moreover, what this intermediate stage of the metre can be. In the *ḥawfī* the metre is syllabic, and furthermore it plays only an unimportant part. It must not be forgotten that the *ḥawfī* is exclusively sung. It is the musical stress which controls the whole poem and the very simple structural arrangement are intended only to enhance the harmonies which this stress produces.

The *ḥawfī* poems, written in dialect, consisting of a small number of verses which lend themselves to syllabic scansion and possess no notable structural characteristic, seem quite simply to derive from local popular inspiration. We must adhere to this conclusion so long as no convincing proof of their Andalusion or eastern origin is put forward.

Swing games accompanied by songs are widely found throughout the Maghrib. They are attested notably at Tangier, Rabat-Salé and at Fez. But the term *ḥawfī* is reserved for the songs sung at Tlemcen and in the Algérois (Algiers and Blida). S. Bencheneb considers that "the *ḥawfī* of Algiers, Blida or elsewhere is independent of that of Tlemcen", but there does not seem to us to be any convincing argument to prove this independence. If the two types have had a common source, Andalusian or eastern, it is hardly permissible to speak of a parallel development. But if, as is the case in the present state of our knowledge, this derivation cannot be established, then there are too many similarities between the *ḥawfī*s of the two regions to justify such a sharp differentiation. The establishment of the texts has enabled us to find very many common features in the *ḥawfī*s of Tlemcen and those of Algiers and Blida: common poems, isolated verses used by both, the same numbers of verses, the same use of rhymes and above all the use of the same melody. Certainly the *ḥawfī*s of Tlemcen are more numerous and have more varied themes, but this could arise merely from a greater popularity of the genre at Tlemcen.

In another field, that of the *buḳāla* [*q.v.*], some exchanges have taken place. S. Bencheneb has noted an interesting fact in this connexion: at Mostaganem *ḥawfī* poems of Tlemcen are sung during ceremonies at which the omens are consulted; it was only later that "in certain towns and certain milieus original poems ... replaced the *ḥawfī* poems which used to be sung by women in order to learn their fate. Thus the genre *buḳāla* must be derived from the *ḥawfī*". The establishment of the texts of the *ḥawfī* has allowed the relationship between the two genres to be seen fairly clearly. Several poems are common to both, and isolated verses, themes, images and expressions are found in both. Although the *buḳāla* is not sung, it is clear that the structure of several of its poems would permit them to be adapted to the tune of the *ḥawfī*. There should nevertheless be mentioned the greater thematic and linguistic richness of the *buḳāla*. This similarity cannot, however, lead to any serious conclusion concerning the origin of the two genres, and we can merely state again that they both belong to a popular literature which developed parallel with works in literary language throughout the whole of the Arabic-speaking area.

We have collected 83 poems, 61 of which are of Tlemcen origin. But it must be mentioned that several of these poems are sung indifferently at Tlemcen, Blida or Algiers with variants which are not always due to the use of a different dialect. These 83 poems are divided thus: (a) 12 distichs, of which 8 are from Algiers; (b) 15 tercets, of which 13 are monorhymes and 2 rhyming ABB with internal rhymes; 8 of these are from Algiers; (c) 34 quatrains of which 23 are monorhymes and 9 rhyme AABB; (d) 11 poems of 5 verses, seven of which are monorhymes, 3 rhyming AAABB and 1 AAAAB; (e) 8 poems of 6 verses which consist of: 5 poems made up of two monorhymed tercets, 1 of three distichs with different rhymes, 2 made up of one monorhymed quatrain and one distich; (f) 5 poems of 7 verses which divide variously into quatrains, tercets and distichs; (g) 1 poem of 8 verses made up of two monorhymed quatrains. We have included in this list 3 poems which are in reality variants. The study of the arrangement of the internal rhymes shows that they are much less numerous than in the *buḳāla* and are arranged in a less contrived fashion. It is rather a case of seeking for musical assonances able to sustain the melody of the *ḥawfī*.

The themes of the *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen are more varied than those of the *ḥawfī* of Algiers; whereas the latter is almost entirely devoted to love and the description of the gardens where swing games are played, the *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen has the following themes: (a) Poems devoted to Tlemcen, its surroundings or to certain of its districts. It should be noted that the *ḥawfī* of Algiers has nothing similar except for one poem devoted to Sidi Ferruch. (b) Religious themes: sometimes about the Prophet, his daughter and ʿAlī, sometimes celebrating the Tlemcen saints. In this connexion there should be mentioned a definite sympathy for the great figures of Shīʿism which is found also in several *buḳāla* poems. Here too the Algerian *ḥawfī* has no theme of similar inspiration. (c) Themes of love: these preponderate as much at Tlemcen as in the Algérois. They sing of the lover and the happiness or the torment he gives. The *ḥawfī* of Tlemcen includes in addition dialogues between lovers and love-songs put into the mouth of a young man. (d) Themes concerning different aspects of social life at Tlemcen: the life of a young woman, her relations with her mother and her mother-in-law, an account of the attributes of the members of the family, etc.

The literary quality of these poems is very uneven. Some are excellently constructed from the point of view of the sentiments expressed and in the choice of expressions and images. The use of floral themes in the description of girls is often a very happy one. Themes of grief or nostalgic sadness are particularly suitable to the melody of the *ḥawfī*. Other poems are more prosaic, but they all faithfully reflect some aspect of life at Tlemcen and, especially, of the spirit of its inhabitants. In spite of the upheavals which social life in Algeria has undergone, the *ḥawfī* is still

popular, although the young women of today take rather less interest in this genre which delighted so many of their forbears.

We have been unable to collect any information on the melody of the *ḥawfī*; we have however had it written down in musical notation. Evidence, already unreliable enough in the matter of the texts, is here completely lacking, and it is all the more regrettable since a scientific approach to the problems of popular poetry, and often of classical poetry also, is impossible without the recognition of the primary rôle which the melody plays in it; the problems of structure themselves cannot be solved without a full appreciation of it. Nor can the question of the origins be approached until an exhaustive recension has been made of Maghribī compositions in dialect.

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(J. E. Bencheikh)

ḤĀWĪ, snake-charmer or itinerant mountebank, from *ḥayya*, snake. The plural is *ḥuwā* (so Lane) or more generally *ḥāwiyyūn*. In Egypt certain members of the Gipsy tribes (see nūrī) act in this capacity. The *fellāḥīn* often have recourse to them, particularly when afflicted with various forms of skin-disease (*karfa*) or eczema (*ḳūba*). The general procedure of these quacks is to recite some rigmarole over a glass containing olive-oil and the white of an egg, and then to spit into it. The slimy mixture is thereafter applied as an ointment. Certain members of the dervish fraternities, such as the Rifāʿiyya and the Saʿdaniyya, also play their part in the folk-medicine of the Nile Valley as snake-charmers and viper-enchanters. The reason why their services are requisitioned is because of the popular belief that skin-diseases are due to the viper blowing its poison into the body, and these men claim to possess the necessary authority to counteract the poisonous infection.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ismāʿīl, *Ṭibb al-rukka*, Cairo 1310-1312, i, 80 ff., ii, 31; Eng. tr. by J. Walker, *Folk-Medicine in Modern Egypt*, London 1935; *MW*, July 1933, 289. See also ruḳya. (J. Walker)

ḤĀWĪ, "pertaining to air". Al-Khalīl said and repeated: *al-alif al-layyina, al-wāw, al-yāʾ* are *hawāʾiyya*, that is to say *fi 'l-hawāʾ*, "in the air [exhaled]" (*Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 44-5). For Sībawayhi (ii, 454, l. 21 f.), *al-alif* is *al-ḥarf al-hāwī*, to be understood, according to the *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (iii, 261, l. 14, 264, l. 4), as *dhu 'l-hawāʾ* "which has some [exhaled] air". These two expressions, *hawāʾiyya* and *hāwī*, might be thought to be synonymous, but there is a nuance.

Al-Khalīl (*ibid.*, 44, l. 17-8) expresses himself thus on the subject of the *ḥurūf* mentioned above: "they are *fi 'l-hawāʾ*, in the air [exhaled], they have therefore no region of articulation (*ḥayyiz*) to which they might be assigned, unless it is the *djawf*, the hollow of the chest". Therefore, without *makhradj*, either in the throat or mouth, these *ḥurūf* are *fi 'l-hawāʾ*: the air is so to speak *their place of existence*. Sībawayhi grants them a *makhradj* (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 19-20 or H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 44b, d, g); but he insisted on the amplitude (*ittisāʿ*) of this *makhradj* which makes them precisely *ḥurūf al-līn* [see ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ, genesis of the *ḥurūf*]. The widest is that of the *alif* and it offers its fullest width *li-hawāʾ al-ṣawt* "for the air of the *ṣawt*" (Sībawayhi, ii, 454, l. 22). He is therefore considering *the abundance of the air* passing with the *ṣawt* within the full width (*ittisāʿ*) of the *makhradj*; he attributes this name *al-hāwī* to *alif* as being the most eminent, leaving *wāw* and *yāʾ*, with less extensive *makhradj*, under their appellation *layyina*.

Bibliography: in the text; see also hamza (*hamza madjhūra*) and ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ. For a general discussion of the phonetics of Arabic see makhāridj al-ḥurūf. (H. Fleisch)

ḤAWĪZA, also known by the diminutive Ḥuwayza, town situated in the swamp country east of the Tigris between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣra. It apparently also lent its name to the surrounding area. The original town was supposedly founded by Shāpūr II, and was later rebuilt in Islamic times by one Dubays b. ʿAfīf b. al-Asadī during the reign of the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ (363/974-381/991). Thus the town is not mentioned by any of the early geographers. The population included many Nabataeans, presumably bearers of the original Aramaic culture which survives in that region until today. According to Mustawfī it was one of the most flourishing cities of Khūzistān (8th/14th century). The surrounding land was fertile, and corn, cotton, and sugar cane grew abundantly there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 678, ii, 371 ff.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 108-9 (trans.) = 110-11 (text); Le Strange, 241. (J. Lassner)

HAWKING [see bayzara].

ḤAWRA, a town in Ḥaḍramawt under the eastern wall of Wādī al-Kasr, just north of the confluence of the three valleys of ʿAmd, Dawʿan [*q.v.*], and al-ʿAyn. The town is dominated by a large castle and a watchtower on the heights above. The population, reckoned by Ingrams to number 1,500, has a strong Indonesian infusion. The leading citizens are of the family of Bā Wazīr; there are also descendants of Badr Bū Ṭuwayriḳ, the founder of Kathīrī power in Ḥaḍramawt. Ḥawra is, nevertheless, a Ḳuʿayṭī enclave in Kathīrī territory, lying south-west of Shibām, the principal Ḳuʿayṭī centre in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.

In al-Hamdānī's time (4th/10th century) Ḥawra was a large town inhabited by two branches of the tribe of Kinda. The modern tribe of Nahd north of Ḥawra claims descent from Kinda; it is probably distinct from al-Hamdānī's tribe of Banū Nahd, a division of ʿAns established in what is now southern ʿAsīr. In 1224/1809, during the second invasion of Ḥaḍramawt by the Wahhābīs of Nadjd, called *Aṣḥāb al-bushūt* ("the Men of the Cloaks") by Ibn Hāshim, Ḥawra was one of the places they pillaged.

Bibliography: H. F. v. Maltzan, *Adolph v. Wrede's Reise in Hadhramaut*, 235; Van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout*, 13; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-arabien, Mahraland und Hadramūt*, 179, 183; T. Bent and Mrs T. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 210 f.; Hamdānī; Muḥammad b. Hāshim, *Taʾrīkh al-*

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ḤAWRA [see AL-D͟HIʾĀB].

HAWRĀMĀN, AVROMAN, a mountainous region of the southern Zagros lying west of Sanandad͟j (Senna) on the western border of Īrān. It extends for approximately 50 km. south-east from a point 46° 0′ E., 35° 30′ N., to the river Sīrwān. The Hawrāmān mountain (Avroman Dagh, 2626 m.) forms a northern extension of the S͟hāhō range, from which it is separated by the Sīrwān. Parallel to both ranges, east of the river, is the Kō (or Kūh-i) Sālān (2597 m.). The chief products of the area are various orchard fruits, walnuts, gall-apples and mastic.

The population is a branch of the Gūrān [*q.v.*] and numbers perhaps 10,000 persons, still distinguished by their language and to some extent dress from the surrounding Kurds. The members of the Bagzāda family trace their descent, in the first instance, back through three centuries. Many take the title Sān, *i.e.*, Sulṭān. The principal tribal division is between the Hawrāmān-i Luhōn, south-west of the main range, and Hawrāmān-i Tak͟ht to the north and east. The latter is further divided into Tak͟ht proper of the Ḥasan-Sānī family (with S͟hār-i Hawrāmān as its chief village), Dizlī of the Bahrām-Bagī, and in the east Razāw of the Muṣṭafā-Sānī. The leading Luhōnī village is Nawsūda. Others are Pāwa, the home of a divergent dialect, lying on the western flank of mount S͟hāhō, and Had͟jīd͟j, the easternmost village of Luhōn on the Sīrwān; the inhabitants of both these are known throughout the Near East as wandering pedlars.

At the beginning of the present century all branches of the Bagzāda family extended their sway over a number of non-Hawrāmī villages (notably Biyāra and Tawēla, both in ʿIrāḳ and seats of Naḳs͟hbandī S͟hayk͟hs), bringing their total holdings to over seventy villages. Since 1350/1931 most of them have been dispossessed by the Persian authorities and exiled.

In 1915 three parchments, dating from 88 B.C., 22-1 B.C. and 53 A.D. respectively, were discovered in the area. These 'Avroman Documents', written in Greek and Parthian, relate to the ownership of local vineyards.

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ḤAWRĀN, region of southern Syria bounded to the east by the volcanic massif of the D͟jabal al-Durūz, to the north by the plateau of the Lad͟jāʾ and the Damascus plain, to the west by D͟jawlān [*q.v.*] and to the south by the Yarmūk, a region which corresponds roughly to the administrative area, or *liwāʾ*, of the same name and which extends for about 100 kilometres from north to south and 75 from east to west. The term Ḥawrān was applied formerly to the whole of the basaltic region which separates Syria from Transjordania and thus included the D͟jabal al-Durūz and the Lad͟jāʾ. The low plateau (an average of 600 metres above sea-level) which forms the "heart" of the Ḥawrān (known as Nuḳra, "hollow"), and the slopes of the mountain as well are covered with arable land produced by the decomposition of volcanic rock; water from the many springs rising on the side of the massif, together with the relatively frequent rainfall, allows the growing of cereals.

Ḥawrān has been inhabited from a very early date. Its small towns and villages are mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters and in Deuteronomy (III, 4-5), but the region at that time was generally known as Bas͟hān. Occupied by the Hebrews during the second half of the second millennium B.C., its possession was disputed by the kingdoms of Israel and Damascus; it was finally devastated and conquered by the Assyrians, who remained masters of it for a century (732-610 B.C.). During the following centuries, Achaemenid domination assured Ḥawrān a long period of peace, during which towns developed and the country became extensively Aramaized. The Hellenistic and Roman periods were less settled: at the time of the decline of the Seleucid empire a number of small autochthonous states grew up around the Ḥawrān which became the scene of their battles. It was mainly the Nabataeans, of Arab origin, who infiltrated into the Ḥawrān and settled permanently in the south, at Busrā and Ṣalk͟had, while the Idumeans were entrusted by the Romans with maintaining order in the areas of Trachonitis (Lad͟jāʾ), Auranitis (D͟jabal Ḥawrān) and Batanea (the plain of Ḥawrān). It was in 106 A.D. that the Romans annexed Ḥawrān, the southern part of which became part of the new province of Arabia, while the rest, which was first attached to the province of Syria, later also became gradually attached to Arabia.

The Roman period was characterized by the development of towns and large villages, inhabited mainly by Aramaeans and Jews, and by the increasing infiltration of Arab elements, Nabataean and Safaitic. This infiltration continued to increase during the Byzantine period, when new groups, sometimes from southern Arabia, penetrated into Ḥawrān and the neighbouring steppes, gaining control of the edges of the desert. Some took service with the Byzantines. These, the G͟hassānids, supplanted the Banū Ṣāliḥ in about the 5th century A.D. They were semi-nomads who made in Ḥawrān permanent encampments, the most famous of which was that of al-D͟jābiya [*q.v.*]. The country then became profoundly arabized, while at the same time Christianity spread.

Ḥawrān was finally conquered by the Muslims in Rad͟jab 13/September 634 after the battle of the Yarmūk which halted the Byzantine counter-offensive. Its population seems to have supported the Umayyads and, after their fall, rose under the leadership of a certain Ḥabīb b. Mūsā in a revolt which was suppressed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the uncle of the ʿAbbāsid caliph.

During the ʿAbbāsid period Ḥawrān suffered particularly from the incursions of the Carmathian bands [see ḲARMAṬĪ]. Then, in the period of the Crusades, the country was the scene of battles and many raids by the Crusaders who came periodically to pillage the area, attempting to seize its main fortresses, or crossed it on their way to attack Damascus. But Ḥawrān also suffered from the activities of Zangī [*q.v.*], when he was attempting to take Damascus. It was in 614/1217 that the Crusaders made their last appearance in Ḥawrān. Soon afterwards, in 642/1244, the north of the country was ravaged by the K͟hʷārazmians who had been sum-

moned by the Ayyūbid rulers, and then, in 658/1260, the Mongols appeared there, before their defeat by the Mamlūks at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*].

In the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, Ḥawrān was divided into the two districts of Ḥawrān proper, corresponding to the Auranitis of antiquity, and of al-Bathaniyya, corresponding to Batanaea, both of them belonging to the province of Damascus. It was then a prosperous region, with numerous villages, with a large production of cereals, and with a partly Christian population.

During the Mamlūk period the region was composed of the two *wilāyas* of Ḥawrān, with its capital at Buṣrā, and al-Bathaniyya, capital Adhriʿa, together with the *niyāba* of Ṣalkhad whose powerful fortress was commanded by an *amīr* of high rank. To it there was probably added a district corresponding to the Ladjā', with its capital at Zurʿ. At this time the country was crossed by the *barīd* [*q.v.*] route from Damascus to Ghazza, while the pilgrim caravans set off from Buṣrā. But the region was, in the 8th/14th century, troubled by the infiltration of nomad groups belonging to the Banū Rabīʿa who gradually settled there.

The Ottoman period saw the penetration of a further nomad group belonging to the Banū Rabīʿa, that of the ʿAnaza, who drove towards the west the nomads who had arrived earlier and penetrated into the settled area, spreading disorder and insecurity. The inhabitants of the villages were forced to pay a "brotherhood tax" and there arose between the rival groups, particularly at the beginning of the 19th century, battles to which the *pasha* of Damascus had to put a stop. In the 12th/18th century the pilgrim route was moved further to the west, the pilgrims no longer assembling at Buṣrā but at al-Muzayrib, where from this time an annual fair was held.

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed also the settlement in the Djabal Ḥawrān of the Druzes who had originally been dwelling in southern Lebanon. During the 18th century these mountain people drove the original inhabitants down onto the plain and their presence formed a new element of unrest. While, in about 1844, the Rwāla tribe appeared in Ḥawrān and entered into conflict with the ʿAnaza, the Druzes who had remained in Lebanon and who had been implicated in the massacres of 1860 also fled to the Djabal Ḥawrān, driving out the last remaining non-Druze inhabitants. During the final years of the 19th century, the Ottomans incorporated Ḥawrān in a larger province which, in addition to the Djabal Ḥawrān and Nuḳra, comprised, Djaydūr, Djawlān, ʿAdjlūn and the Balḳā. This new province served as a base for expeditions intended to subdue the Druzes, and it was at this time that colonies of Circassians were introduced into the country. Though unable to pacify the country entirely, the Ottomans nevertheless restored security in the plain, where the nomads ceased to demand from certain villages the payment of the brotherhood tax. The construction in 1904 of the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*] put an end to the gathering of pilgrims at al-Muzayrib and to the annual fair there. This railway played a strategic rôle in the 1914-18 war, particularly during the retreat of the Turkish army in September 1918.

Occupied by the troops of the *amīr* Fayṣal for nearly two years, Ḥawrān revolted in July 1920 when French troops entered Damascus. Another insurrection, by the Druzes in 1925, was suppressed with more difficulty. Nevertheless the Druze and Ḥawrān region experienced under the French mandate a period of relative security and prosperity during which the settled population was protected from the demands of their nomad neighbours.

In the state of Syria, Ḥawrān, restored to its usual limits, formed a *liwā'* having its capital at Adhriʿa and made up of two *ḳaḍā's*—Adhriʿa and Azraʿ. Its population in 1933 was 83,000, 77,000 of them dwelling in 110 villages, some of which, such as Adhriʿa, Nawā, Buṣrā and Azraʿ, are in fact small towns. The population is heterogeneous: together with the Druzes, living mainly on the mountain, and the Sunnī Muslim Ḥawrānī peasants, there are found Circassians, nomads in the process of becoming settled, and some Orthodox or Catholic Christians, generally grouped on the edge of the mountain.

Ḥawrān is now a busy and prosperous region. It is the "granary of Syria", it is crossed by the road and railway which link Damascus and Jordan, and it is frequented by the nomads who come there after the harvest to exchange wool and butter for the various commodities they need.

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ḤAWSHABĪ (pl. Ḥawāshib), a South Arabian tribe and sultanate. The land of the tribe, north of Aden in the western British Protectorate of South Arabia, is a rough quadrilateral with one of the shorter sides abutting on the Yaman, whence the land extends southeastwards to the Faḍlī sultanate [*q.v.*], which cuts it off from the sea. North of the Ḥawshabī sultanate are the ʿĀmirī and ʿAlawī states [*qq.v.*], while to the south lies the ʿAbdalī state [*q.v.*] of Laḥdj with its dependent Ṣubayḥī tribe [*q.v.*]. The Ḥawshabī sultanate is of strategic importance for its command of the main route from Aden to Taʿizz in the southern Yaman and its control of the upper reaches of Wādī Tuban, the principal source of water for Laḥdj. The capital, al-Musaymīr, is less than 100 km. from Aden and about 80 from Taʿizz. On the right bank of Tuban, it consists of little more than the sultan's rude stone palace and a cluster of huts. The Ḥawshabī tribe may number some 10,000 souls.

The Ḥawāshib are identified by al-Hamdānī (4th/10th century) as a branch of Ḥimyar living on Djabal Ṣabir (not far west of their present home) with the Sakāsik and the Rakb, all under a Ḥawshabī chief. The implication in *EI*[1] that the modern tribe is of "pure Ḥimyarite descent" is not, however, accurate, as among its members today a strong African strain is evident.

Although the Ḥawāshib concluded their first agreement with the British in 1255/1839, they did not sign a protectorate treaty until 1313/1895. The Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1332/1914 defined

inter alia the boundary between the Ḥaws͟habī territory and the Yaman, but the collapse of the Ottoman Empire introduced a new situation, and in recent years both the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman and the Yaman Arab Republic have claimed the Ḥaws͟habī territory as part of "occupied south Yaman". The Ḥawās͟hib have at times clashed with their stronger neighbour Laḥd͟j; at other times they have recognized the suzerainty of the ʿAbdalī ruler (see, for example, the text of the pledge of allegiance in 1312/1895 in al-ʿAbdalī, pp. 177-9, with the names of many *ʿāḳils* of the Ḥawās͟hib). In 1382/1963 the Ḥaws͟habī sultan, Fayṣal b. Surūr, joined the Federation of South Arabia.

Bibliography: Hamdānī; Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, *Fī d͟janūb al-D͟jazīra al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Faḍl al-ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-zaman fī ak͟hbār mulūk Laḥd͟j wa-ʿAdan*, Cairo 1351; H. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, London 1923 (photograph of al-Musaymir palace); C. Aitchison, ed., *A collection of treaties*[5], xi, Calcutta 1933; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; idem, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946.

(G. RENTZ)

ḤAWṬA, enclave, enclosure, is the name given in southern Arabia to a territory generally placed under the protection of a saint which thus is considered sacred. The term belongs to classical Arabic and in fact means "precaution". Nevertheless, inherent in the root *ḥ w ṭ* is the technical meaning given to this word by the Arabs in the south: it does in fact express the action of surrounding, of encircling, but also that of defending, of guarding and, by extension, of preserving; whence the substantive *ḥawṭ*: a red and black twisted cord which a woman wears round her hips to protect her from the evil eye (*LA*, s.v. *ḥ w ṭ*).

There exist many *ḥawṭa*s in southern Arabia. W. Thesiger found several while travelling from Salala to the Ḥaḍramawt across the interior. He particularly mentions one at Mug͟hs͟hin, on the edge of al-Rubʿ al-K͟hālī, to the north-east of Ẓufār (*Arabian Sands*, 97). The most important *ḥawṭa* of Arabia is probably that of ʿInāt, to the south-east of Tarīm: it contains the remains of the famous Sayyid Muḥsin b. Sālim, of the family of the *s͟hayk͟h* Abū Bakr, the greatest saint of the Ḥaḍramawt. Second in importance is the *ḥawṭa* situated in the region of the upper Wāḥidīs: here is buried another great saint, the *faḳīh* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. Lahd͟j, capital of the territory of the ʿAbādil, is also called *Ḥawṭa* because several saints are buried there.

The sacred nature of the *ḥawṭa* is attested by a certain number of tabus which protect its fauna and flora. W. Thesiger states that at Mug͟hs͟hin it is forbidden to kill the hares. Also his companions warned him of the dangers involved if one cuts the branches or the trees in a *ḥawṭa*—an act which would result in many disasters, and even in death, for its perpetrator (*op. cit.*, 97). R. B. Serjeant speaks of the respect (*iḥtirām*) due to the *ḥawṭa*, which is hailed by a cry called *taʿs͟hīra* (*Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah*, 44), known to the early Arabs. These, on arriving near to a place where they suspected there was an epidemic, placed their hands behind their ears and uttered ten loud cries in succession, hoping thus to exorcize the evil. In the case of the *ḥawṭa*, the *taʿs͟hīra* expressed the fear inspired by this holy place, which Serjeant has no hesitation in comparing with a *ḥaram*. It does indeed possess the same main privileges, notably the security assured to all its inhabitants, protected as they are by the law of God and of His representative, the patron saint of the *ḥawṭa*. It is in fact a place of refuge and sanctuary. The prohibition of all killing within the holy enclosure is a strict one and the violation of this rule is considered a very serious offence. In order to expiate this crime, the guilty tribe must execute one of its members, though not necessarily the murderer himself. The comparison with the *ḥaram* can be taken further. Like the *ḥaram*, the *ḥawṭa* is composed essentially of two concentric sections which are not equally sacred. The first of them encloses the remains of the saint who founded it and over whose tomb a cupola has been erected. All around this sacred nucleus extends a wide area whose borders, well- or ill-defined, mark the extreme limit of the *ḥawṭa*. Beyond this line the ground is no longer sacred.

In spite of these points which the *ḥaram* and the *ḥawṭa* have in common, it is difficult to consider the latter as a true sanctuary. It has in fact been created by the initiative of an individual: a man belonging to a family famed for its sanctity declares to be sacred, one might say tabu, an area of ground over which he intends to exert his jurisdiction. But his action depends for its effectiveness on the agreement of the neighbouring tribes who must first sanction this decision. Indeed it is they who will have to defend the *ḥawṭa* and ensure that it remains inviolate, so that without their agreement arrangements made unilaterally can have no effect. Serjeant cites the case of a member of the family of the Sayyids who, having had no success in his politico-religious offices, had to leave his native region and found another *ḥawṭa* elsewhere.

Thus a *ḥawṭa* may be considered as halfway between the *ḥaram*, a place where a holy power manifests itself, and the *ḥimā* [*q.v.*], a territory under the protection of a powerful overlord. The *ḥawṭa*, which contains no relic when it is created, possesses one finally when its patron dies.

Once the security of an area declared *ḥawṭa* is admitted and assured, merchants, peasants and others arrive and settle there, by agreement with the founder, who then bears the title of *munṣib*, dignitary, and who is accorded certain polito-religious privileges known as *d͟jāh*. Under his authority, the *ḥawṭa* may become a meeting place for the tribes, a market, a centre of exchange where religion and commerce often flourish side by side.

Bibliography: W. Thesiger, *Arabian Sands*, London 1959; R. B. Serjeant, *Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah, the sacred enclave in Arabia*, in *Mélanges Ṭāhā Ḥusayn*, Cairo 1962, 41-58.

(J. CHELHOD)

AL-ḤAWṬA, the name of a number of towns in Arabia, the more important of which will be cited here. Those lying in the southern part of the peninsula contain the shrines of famous saints (see the article immediately preceding). Ḥawṭat al-Ḳaṭn, under the south wall of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt some 20 km. west of S͟hibām, belongs to the Ḳuʿayṭī sultanate of al-S͟hiḥr and al-Mukallā, the paramount state of the eastern British Protectorate of South Arabia, and the palace there has served as the residence of the Ḳuʿayṭī governor of the S͟hibām province. Bent has described the structure: "Like a fairy palace of the Arabian Nights, white as a wedding cake, and with as many battlements and pinnacles, with its windows painted red . . . behind it rise the steep red rocks of the encircling mountains". Some of the inhabitants of the town are members of Yāfiʿ, the Ḳuʿayṭī sultan's tribe.

The town of al-Ḥawṭa in the upper basin of Wādī Mayfaʿa, also in the eastern Protectorate, is not far

north of ʿAzzān, the capital of the Wāḥidī sultanate of Bal-Ḥāf, within whose domains it falls. Landberg's information on this town of al-Ḥawṭa is digested in *EI*[1], ii, 295-6. In the Lower ʿAwlaḳī sultanate, a state of the western Protectorate, the village of al-Ḥawṭa lies on the coast near the mouth of Wādī Aḥwar and the inland town of Aḥwar, the capital of the sultanate. The seat of the ʿAbdalī sultan of Laḥdj [*q.v.*], the premier chief in the western Protectorate, is the large town of al-Ḥawṭa al-Djafāriyya, which takes its name from the shrine of the saint Muzāḥim Bal-Djafār, whose *ziyāra* is celebrated in the month of Radjab.

The tribe of Tamīm [*q.v.*] has been established in central Nadjd since pre-Islamic times. One of its centres is the valley called by al-Hamdānī (4th/10th century) Baṭn al-Faḳī, and now known as Wādī Sudayr, northwest of al-Riyāḍ. The valley runs down the eastern slope of Ṭuwayḳ and empties into al-ʿAtk [*q.v.*]. Among the settlements of Tamīm there al-Hamdānī lists al-Ḥāʾiṭ, which is probably identical with the modern al-Ḥawṭa (Ḥawṭat Sudayr) in the middle section of the valley, between al-Rawḍa and al-Djanūbiyya. The population of al-Ḥawṭa does not, however, hail exclusively from Tamīm, as there are elements of Banū Zayd and Banū Khālid present. Tamīm has another centre south of al-Riyāḍ in the region of ʿUlayya where Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa also runs down the eastern slope of Ṭuwayḳ. Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa is roughly parallel to Wādī Birk [see AL-AFLĀDJ], which lies just south of it. In the middle section of Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa is al-Ḥarīḳ or Ḥarīḳ Naʿām (Naʿām is the name given by al-Hamdānī to the valley). Farther down, the valley makes a sharp turn and runs northwards under the name of Wādī 'l-Sawṭ (mentioned by al-Hamdānī) to empty into Wādī 'l-Sahbāʾ [see AL-KHARDJ]. Just before the turn is al-Ḥawṭa itself, also called Ḥawṭat Banī Tamīm, a group of oases of which the main ones are al-Ḥilla and al-Ḥilwa. Other Arabs live side by side with Tamīm. Close ties link the people of Tamīm in the two Ḥawṭas.

In neither of the Ḥawṭas of Nadjd is there any indication of the existence of a shrine. The men of Tamīm in these parts are noted for their fanatical devotion to the teachings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], himself a member of this tribe, who vigorously attacked the cult of saints and popular reverence for shrines. In 1918 the late King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd told Philby: "... the folk of Hauta and Hariq are ignorant and difficult, wild and truculent; leave them to one side and come not near unto them".

Bibliography: Hamdānī; Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, *Fī djanūb al-Djazīra al-ʿArabiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Faḍl al-ʿAbdalī, *Hadiyyat al-zaman fī akhbār mulūk Laḥdj wa-ʿAdan*, Cairo 1351; Turkī b. Muḥammad Āl Māḍī, *Taʾrīkh Āl Māḍī*, Cairo 1376 (details on Tamīm and the Ḥawṭas of Nadjd); J. and M. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900; D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut*, Leiden 1932; W. H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*[a], London 1952; C. de Landberg, *Arabica*, v, Leiden 1898; idem, *Etudes*, ii/3, Leiden 1913; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; idem, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946. (G. RENTZ)

ḤAWWĀʾ (Eve), wife of Ādam [*q.v.*]. This name does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, which speaks only (VII, 18/19-22/23 and XX, 120 f.) of the "spouse" guilty jointly with her husband of the disobedience which cost them expulsion from Paradise. The only mention of this name in Arabia in pre-Islamic (?) times was in a verse of ʿAdī b. Zayd, if its authenticity is reliable. The Muslim writers after the revelation of the Ḳurʾān all give the name of Ḥawwā to the spouse of the First Man. The biblical etymology of Ḥawwā (Genesis, III, 20: "mother of all living") is cited in the name of Ibn ʿAbbās (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt* i/1, 16), and it is known also (*ibid.*) that her name in "Nabataean" was *ʾththa* (the word for "wife" in Aramaic.) The legendary details concerning the first couple [see also ĀDAM, HĀBĪL WA-ḲĀBĪL] are most often adapted from Rabbinical sources and the Syriac "Cavern of Treasures". Ḥawwā was created in Paradise from a left rib removed from her husband while deeply asleep,—a painless operation, as otherwise no man would feel affection for his wife. Adam gave her the name Ḥawwā, because she was formed from a living being. Adam issued from the dust and Ḥawwā from a bone: man with age becomes more and more handsome, and woman more and more ugly. The espousals of the first couple were celebrated with the assistance of God and the angels. According to a tradition, Adam tasted the forbidden fruit only after having been intoxicated by the wine which Ḥawwā made him drink. Ten punishments, among them menstruation, pregnancy and the sufferings of childbirth, remind the daughters of Eve of the fault of their first ancestress. They received, however, as consolation, the assurance that every pious woman, devoted to her husband, would have a place in Paradise, as compensation for the grievous suffering of parturition. If she dies in childbirth, she takes her place among the martyrs and is united with her husband in the hereafter. A legend tells also how Adam and Eve dressed themselves when they found themselves naked after their sin: in wool spun by the woman and woven by the man. Their life after the expulsion began by a long separation [see ĀDAM] but, according to a different tradition, as soon as they had left Paradise, the husband and wife made the pilgrimage to Mecca fulfilling all the ceremonies, and Ḥawwā had her first menstruation there, after which Adam stamped his foot on the ground and the well of Zamzam sprang forth, allowing his wife to proceed with her ritual purification. Ḥawwā died two years after Adam and was buried beside him.

Muslim Neoplatonism and mysticism, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī, make of Ḥawwā (as of Adam) entities of their metaphysical hierarchy (intellect-soul, form-matter); in Ismāʿīlī esoterism, Ḥawwā is a symbol of "the spiritual and mystical signification which *is* Paradise" (H. Corbin).

Bibliography: in addition to the articles mentioned above: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. S. ʿUkāsha, 15; Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, 8-10, 16; Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 108 f.; H. Schlobiess, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vi, col. 857; Nabia Abbot, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1957, 38-50; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim Ibn Malka* ..., Paris 1954, 83; H. Corbin, *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, Teheran-Paris 1961, part iii, 126 f. (J. EISENBERG-[G. VAJDA])

ḤAWWĀʾ [see ḤĀWĪ and RUḲYA].

AL-ḤAWWĀʾ [see NUDJŪM].

HAWWĀRA (also Huwwāra; now Howwāra or Hewwāra), name of a Berber people. Disregarding the legends which give them a Yemenī origin, we must remember that ancient Arabic authors do not agree about their place in the Berber family. The Muslim geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) regards them as members of the Butr branch of the Berbers, whereas most Berber and Arabic genealogists, whose

opinions are given in the *History of the Berbers* of Ibn Khaldūn (8th/14th century), regard them as a tribe forming part of the al-Barānis branch, believing them to be descended from Hawwār b. Awrīgh (Ibn ʿIdhārī: Awzīgha) b. Burnūs. It must be said, however, that according to the Berber genealogist, Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān al-Maṭmāṭī, and Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], at least a part of the tribes considered to belong to the Hawwāra, that is to say the descendents of Addās, son of Zadjdjīk, drew their origin from the Butr Berbers, thus agreeing with the opinion of al-Iṣṭakhrī. The tribes of the Hawwāra and other Berber tribes related to them were very numerous. The principal ones were: the Addāsa (Tāsā?), the Andāra, the Awtīta (Huṭīṭa), the Baṣwa, the Gharyān, the Harāgha, the Banū Īrmazyān (Marmazyān), the Ḳaldīn (Ḳaldīn), the Kamlān, the Karkūda, the Lahān or Lahāna (Luhān, Luhāna), the Maghar, the Malīla, the Maslāta (Masallāta), the Mindāsa or Mindās (Mandāsa, Mandās), the Misrāta (Miṣrāṭa), the Razīn (Rāsīn), the Saṭaṭ, the Tarhūna (Tarhuna), the Wannīfan (Wannīfa), the Warfalla (Warfal), the Wargha, the Warsaṭifa (Warsaṭīf), the Washtāta, the Yaghmorāsen (Ghomrāsen?), the Zakkāwa and the Zanzafa.

In the earliest days, say Ibn Khurradādhbih (232/846-7) and al-Masʿūdī (345/956), the Hawwāra lived in the country of Ayās (Oea), that is, Tripolitania, "a country which then belonged to the Rūm/Byzantines". They continued to live there, along with other Berber tribes, such as the Nafūsa [*q.v.*], the Zenāta [*q.v.*], the Mazāta [*q.v.*] and the Lawāta [*q.v.*], at the time of the Muslim conquest. It seems that in the later decades of the 1st/7th century, at the time of the great movements of the Berber peoples, in flight from the invaders and resettling in the west of Ifrīḳiya and in the Maghrib under the leadership of Kusayla [*q.v.*] and afterwards under that of Kāhina [*q.v.*], several Hawwārī fractions left Tripolitania, and spread throughout North Africa. Other Hawwāra followed this first wave of emigration at the time of the Khāridjī rebellion against the orthodox Arabs, a rebellion which broke out about the year 122/740 and in which practically all the Berbers took part. The Hawwāra, who had been converted to Islam at the end of the 1st/7th century or the beginning of the 2nd/8th, embraced with fervour the doctrines of the Khāridjī sect, becoming in turn Ṣufrīs [*q.v.*], Ibāḍīs (-Wahbīs) [*q.v.*] and finally Nukkārīs [*q.v.*], and took part in every revolt of this sect from the rising of the Ṣufrīs ʿUkāsha and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Huwwārī (124/742), and that of the Ibāḍī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī (140/757-8 [*q.v.*]), to the revolt of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād (331-5/943-7) and the rising of 342/953. Because of these revolts, Hawwārī fractions were obliged to make several further migrations, from east to west and *vice versa*. It is during this period too that some of the Hawwāra, who acknowledged the sovereignty of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, settled in Sicily, while others found their way into the Ahaggar. As a result of these migrations, the Hawwāra proper and other tribes regarded as Hawwārī, by infiltrating amongst the autochthonous Berbers, occupied some fairly extensive areas, where they lived as farmers in the mountainous massifs, or as nomads in flat country, obeying their own chiefs. These chiefs usually recognized the nominal supremacy of the various great Muslim dynasties of North Africa and even of Muslim Spain, while sometimes organizing themselves into little independent states. Later, the Hawwāra, weakened towards the middle of the 4th/10th century by the pressure of the Fāṭimids and, in the first part of the 7th/13th century, by that of the Ḥafṣid *amīr*, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, ceased to play any part in political affairs. The greater part of the nomadic Hawwārī tribes of Ifrīḳiya had already by the time of Ibn Khaldūn been completely assimilated by the pastoral Arabs, whose language and way of life they had adopted. They paid tribute to the latter and also to the Ḥafṣid sultans. As for the Hawwārī peoples who lived in central Maghrib, Ibn Khaldūn says that they "graze flocks of sheep, but, burdened by taxation, no longer show that pride and independence for which they were at one time noted, when their warriors were famous for their victories. Now scattered and weakened, they have fallen into degradation". Only the Hawwāra of Morocco seem to have enjoyed a more prosperous situation in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries and in the following centuries. In the first part of the 8th/14th century they even became very powerful in the Tamesna district. Many Hawwārī tribes, formerly so powerful, disappeared leaving no trace, and there are no more than a few place names to witness to the existence of these peoples who from the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries played such an important part in the history of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib.

We may now consider the Hawwārī tribes in the 3rd-10th/9th-16th centuries, that is, the period on which, thanks to the writings of Arabic historians and geographers, we have the most complete and detailed knowledge.

Barḳa and Egypt. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Hawwāra of Barḳa came to cultivate their crops on the land between Alexandria and old Cairo. Another fraction of this tribe took part in the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimid army in 358/969 and were given by the Fāṭimid caliphs a tract of land where the Hawwāra chiefs played some political rôle (see below).

Tripolitania and Fezzān. In Tripolitania, which was the ancient homeland of the Hawwārī tribes, from about the middle of the 2nd/8th century mention is made of an *arḍ Hawwāra* ("country of the Hawwāra"). According to the Arab geographers of the 3rd-6th/9th-12th centuries, the eastern boundary of this land ran through Tawargha (Tauorga) and Waddān (in the oasis of al-Djufra), even through Zāla (Zēlla), an area in ancient times belonging to the Mazāta, eastern neighbours of the Hawwāra. The western boundary first passed through the city of Tripoli (one gate of this city was called Bāb Hawwāra), and then, in the 8th/14th century, west of the oasis of Zanzūr (Zenzūr), where the Hawwārī fraction of the Banū Madjrīs lived. The southern boundary of the country occupied by the Tripolitanian Hawwāra was formed by the Fezzān. Among the Hawwāra tribes who inhabited the *arḍ Hawwāra* the Karkūda should be mentioned, whose name is apparently related to that of the ancient town of Ḳarḳūza (Gargūza), lying south-west of Zanzūr and mentioned by Tidjānī. The Misrāta, whose chief centre was the little town of Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd, occupied the most eastern part of the coastal zone of the "country of the Hawwāra". They devoted themselves, according to Ibn Khaldūn and Leo Africanus, to trade with Egypt, the Bilād al-Djarīd and the "country of the Blacks". The name of Wādī Magher (Wādī Mager, to the south-east of Zliten) doubtless has its origin in that of the tribe of the B. Maghar, which is mentioned in this part of Tripolitania in the year 681/1282. The home of the

Malīla is not known. The Ibāḍī chronicles refer to the existence of this tribe in Tripolitania in the 2nd/8th century. The Lebda region—according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam the most ancient settlement of the Hawwāra—was occupied by the tribe of the Maslāta (Massallāta), whose name survives in that of the present Djebel Msellāta. This tribe was still rich and powerful in the 10th/16th century. Earlier, towards the interior, Arabic sources note the presence of the Tarhūna, who led a nomadic life in the present homonymous district, and also that of the B. Gharyān (mentioned in the 7th/13th century). The Hawwārī tribe of the B. Washtāta, who disappeared at an early date from Tripolitania, have left their name in Uestat, a little fort to the south of Gaṣr Tarhūna. Further towards the interior, in the neighbourhood of Benī Ulīd and of Bū Ndjem, wandered the B. Warfalla (today Ōrfella). This latter tribe, with the Misrāta and the Marmazyān, formed in the 3rd/9th century the eastern branch of the Tripolitanian Hawwāra, called Lahān (al-Luhān). In 245/859 this branch was in rebellion against the Aghlabid government. We must also add that to the east of the *arḍ Huwwāra*, in the heart of the Mazāta country, lived the Hawwārī tribe of the Mindāsa.

The Tripolitanian Hawwāra, who were the chief support of the Ibāḍī *imāms*, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī and Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī (d. 155/772), remained for a long time faithful to Ibāḍī doctrines, except for a Malīla fragment, who were Sunnī, and the inhabitants of the Kirza (Ghirza) district, probably Warfalla, who were still pagan in the 5th/11th century. They became orthodox only towards the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, except, however, those living in the Gharyān district and some neighbouring areas, who were still Ibāḍīs in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries.

At Fezzān, Arabic sources mention the existence at the beginning of the 4th/10th century up to the end of the 6th/12th century, of a small Ibāḍī-Berber state, whose capital was Zawīla [*q.v.*] and which was ruled by the Hawwārī dynasty of the B. Khaṭṭāb. A Hawwāra tribe, namely the B. Ḳaldīn, lived in the Fezzān town of Tamermā in the 5th/11th century.

Tunisia. In the south-east of Tunisia, in the neighbourhood of the town of Gabès and in the south-Tunisian Djebel, lived the Hawwārī tribe of the Zanzafa, which already by the beginning of the 2nd/8th century is noted as professing Ibāḍī doctrines and obeying a Rustamid governor. Further to the north-east, round about Tozeur, the Saddāda oasis perhaps owes its name to the Saṭaṭ Hawwārīs. Between Gabès and Sfax, at al-Maḥras, in the time of Tidjānī there lived a Hawwāri fraction, who came there at a time difficult to specify, probably about the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, from Tripolitania. In the time of Leo Africanus they spoke the same Berber dialect as the inhabitants of Djerba, with whom they were in contact. Some isolated Ibāḍī Hawwāra established here in the 8th/14th century are mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn. Another Hawwāra group lived, according to Ibāḍī sources, at Bāṭin al-Mardj in the 3rd/9th century, in the northern zone of the Tunisian Sāḥil. West of this region there was, at that time, an Ibāḍī population made up of Hawwāra and Mazāta, established in the plain of Ḳayrawān, the *Faḥṣ Ḳayrawān* of the early Arabic sources. These seem to be Hawwārī groups whose ancestors came from Tripolitania, in about 141/758, with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, governor of Ifrīḳiya for the Ibāḍī *imām*, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī. Later on these Hawwāra groups were joined by the B. Kamlān, a Hawwārī tribe from the region south of Constantine, brought to the plain of Ḳayrawān in 315/927 from Hodna, near the later al-Masīla, by the Fāṭimid prince, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. They appear again in this district in the year 332/944, in revolt against the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr, in the ranks of the army of the famous Nukkārī chief Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, of whom, together with their *confrères* south of Constantine, they became the most faithful followers. Another group of the B. Kamlān, from Zāb, settled at Ḳayrawān, after the defeat of Abū Yazīd. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim established some Hawwāra also in the Djabal Zaghwān, a canton to the south of the city of Tunis. Further to the west, the whole *Haut-Tell* of Tunisia was in the Middle Ages the classical homeland of Hawwārī tribes. They appear already in 124/742 in the neighbourhood of Bādja (Béja), whither they came with the Ṣufrī chief ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Hawwārī. It is in the same region that Arabic sources mention the Hawwāra as being in revolt against the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad in 268/882. A Hawwārī tribe, the B. Sulaym, lived in the area to the north of Béja in the 8th/14th century. Two other Hawwāra fractions, namely the B. Wargha (Wergha) and the B. Washtāta (Ūshtāta), have survived to this day in the Tunisian *Haut-Tell*. In the 8th/14th century the B. Wannīfan inhabited the district between the plain of Marmādjna (Marmādjanna, now Bermajna, along the banks of the Oued Sarrath) and the neighbourhood of Tébessa. They are mentioned at this time also at Bulṭa (Bilṭa), in the province of Bādja. One fraction still survives, under the name of Ūnīfa, near Kēff. In the 5th/11th century, in the district of Sabība (Henshīr Sbība), there was, among other Hawwāra fractions, a branch of the B. Kamlān, whose territory still stretched some way to the west, in the direction of Tébessa and Djebel Awrās. The Baṣwa tribe in the 8th/14th century occupied the lands between Téboursouk and Zaghwān, while the Ḳayṣar tribe appeared from the year 624/1227 in the plain of Ebba (Ubba) as well as in the area between this place and Lorbeus.

Algeria. In Algeria in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries there were several Hawwārī tribes and fragments, distributed between two regions: to the south of Constantine and to the east of Oran. The Hawwāra are already mentioned there, at Zāb, in 124/742. It is here too that several Hawwāra groups (among others the B. Kamlān) are later (in 250/864) found in revolt against the Aghlabid government. Other Hawwārite groups came to settle in the Zāb around 342/953, after the defeat which the Fāṭimid ruler al-Muʿizz inflicted on the Ibāḍī Hawwāra of the Djebel Awrās. They were still living there in the 5th/11th century, north of the town of Tahūda, and still faithful to Ibāḍism. Al-Yaʿḳūbī also describes Hawwārī fractions (among others the Saghmār) in the western Zāb. It is probably from the Zāb that certain Hawwāra groups found their way to the Wēd Sūf and the Wēd Rīgh, where they are described by Ibāḍī sources towards the 6th/12th century. Certain Hawwārī tribes and fractions inhabited, along with other Berber peoples, the Aurès (Awrās) massif and the area to the east of this, towards the town of Tébessa. Ibāḍī Hawwāra are already found there towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, at the beginning of the reign of the Rustamid *imām*, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. A hundred years later they are again mentioned as dwelling there, by al-Yaʿḳūbī. At the time of the revolt of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād (whose mother was descended

from the Hawwāra), the B. Kamlān of the Aurès and other Hawwārī fragments who had settled in this area and been converted to Nukkārism by this chief remained to the end faithful to the doctrines which he preached. It is only in 342/953 that the B. Kamlān and the Malīla of the Aurès submitted to al-Muʿizz. Among the Hawwārī tribes of the Aurès were also the Lahān, who, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, lived at Dūfāna (today ʿAyn Dūfāna, on the road from Batna to Khenshela). Survivors of the ancient Hawwāra people still lived in the Aurès in the 8th/14th century, but dominated by the Lawāta. It seems that the northern boundary of the South Constantine territories once inhabited by the Hawwārī tribes was ʿAyn Mlīla (about 50 km to the south of the town of Constantine), whose name comes from that of the Malīla fragment. A Hawwāra population also still existed at Tifesh in the 9th/15th century. To the west of Batna, between this town and Ngaous, the name of Huwwār (Howwār), the eponym of the Hawwārī tribes, survives in that of Téniet Hoggar (Thaniyyat Hoggār, "Gorge of Hoggār"), the change from *ww* to *gg* being a normal phenomenon in Berber phonetics. To the north-west of the Aurès a fragment of the B. Kamlān is frequently mentioned by Arabic authors as inhabiting, in 315/927, the plain of Hodna, in the region of the later al-Masīla. The Hawwāra are described there again in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. Part of the mountainous chain which extends to the north of Hodna was occupied in the time of al-Bakrī by the powerful Berber tribe of the B. Yaghmorāsen, regarded as belonging to the Hawwāra, and numbering 60,000. Their chief town, Ghadīr Warrū has been identified as the present Bordj Redīr (Bordj Ghadīr), south of Tocqueville. It seems that the B. Yaghmorāsen were identical with the Hawwāra living at al-Ghadīr (= Ghadīr Warrū?), and submitting to Fāṭimid rule in about 335/946-7, according to Ibn Ḥammādo. East of Oran and on the western boundaries of the former department of Algiers, Arabic sources describe the presence of Ibāḍī Hawwāra in the neighbourhood of Tāhert [*q.v.*] around the end of the 2nd/8th century. Perhaps these were the same groups which had gone from Tripolitania to Ḳayrawān with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam and accompanied their chief in his flight to the Maghrib, establishing themselves near the capital of the Rustamid *imāms*. In the time of the *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam (168/785-5 to 208/823-4) the Hawwāra were in revolt against this chief and occupied the valley of the Mina (tributary of the Chelif), where they had organized a small state under the local dynasty of the B. Masāla. The centre of this state was situated, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, on the territory of Hillil and Relizane. In all probability the state of the B. Masāla included also the Ḳalʿat Hawwāra [*q.v.*], today Ḳalʿat B. Rāshid, lying in the mountains between Relizane and Mascara and in later centuries the headquarters of the Hawwāra of the Mina. Some other Hawwārī fractions established themselves, probably in the 2nd/8th century, on the plateau of Sersū and in the massif of Wānsherīsh (Ouarsenis). Among the Hawwāra of Oran were also a fraction of the Misrāta, whose name survives in that of the caves of Mesrāta near Ḳalʿat B. Rāshid, and a branch of the Mindās, which has given its name to the plateau on the right bank of the Mina (mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn) and to the present village of Mendez to the south-east of Relizane.

Ahaggar (Hoggar). This region owes its name to the Touareg tribe of the Ahaggar [*q.v.*], whose name preserves that of the Hawwāra (Howwār > Hoggār). A fragment of the latter "crossed the sands", says Ibn Khaldūn, and settled next to the tribe of the Lamṭa, "wearers of the veil", who lived near the town of Kawkaw (Gao) in the "country of the Blacks". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—who in 754/1353 crossed the country of this tribe (which he calls Hukkār < Hoggār) while travelling from Takaddā (in Aïr) to Tawāt (Touat)—says that its members wore veils on their faces. The history of the Ahaggar before the 8th/14th century is unknown. However, it seems that the arrival of this tribe in the territory which they now occupy must have been connected with the defeat inflicted on the Hawwāra of the Aurès by the Fāṭimid ruler al-Muʿizz in 342/953 and with the dispersal of the "assemblies" of these rebels, some of whom, Ibn Ḥammādo tells us, fled as far as the "country of the Blacks". We have mentioned above a place, west of the Aurès, called Thaniyyat Hoggār, which might be the point from which the Hawwāra of the Aurès set out for the Ahaggar in the second half of the 4th/10th century. Yāḳūt [*q.v.*], quoting the lost geographical work of al-Muhallabī (364-85/975-96), mentions an important state, with its "capital" Aksintilā, situated in the middle of Ifrīḳiya and ruled by a chief of the Hawwāra tribe. This account, in other particulars extremely far-fetched, may relate to the beginning of the Hawwārī confederation of the Kəl Ahaggar.

Morocco. Nothing is known for certain about the history of the Hawwārī tribes of Morocco, traces of which, however, are to be found in this country from the 3rd/9th century, and certain groups of which have survived in various regions of the country to this day. It seems possible that the Hawwāra came to Morocco with the Berbers of Ifrīḳiya and of the central Maghrib, who, according to the author of *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, went to Tangier with the Muslim governor of that city, the future conqueror of Spain, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād. Today a Hawwāra fraction is to be found in the plain of Tafraṭa in the east of Morocco, on the right bank of the Mulūya, and, further to the north, to the east of the lower course of this river. The name of the town of Malīla (Melilla), already attested in the 4th/10th century, derives from that of the homonymous Hawwāra people. In the 10th/16th century the B. Razīn are found in the Rif and in the 5th/11th century, between Tangier and Ceuta, a township named Huwwāra. In the interior of the Rif, east of the upper course of the Oued Ouergha (whose name derives from that of the Hawwārī Wargha) and in the neighbourhood of the powerful Dsūl tribe (Tasūl in Arabic sources) are today to be found the homes of the Hewwārat al-Ḥadjar. It was this Hawwāra fraction whose land was divided and fell to the Idrīsid prince Dāwūd (with that of Tasūl) in 213/828-9. The Hawwārī fragment of the B. Ziyād, a branch of those Hawwāra, who lived at the town of Zulūl (Zalūl), appeared in the 5th/11th century near the town of Azīla, not far from another branch of this tribe, namely the Hawwārat al-Sāḥil ("Hawwāra of the coast"). There were also Hawwāra among the Berber groups inhabiting the Fez region. We know this from al-Bakrī, who describes another Tarhūna fragment there. A place named Washtāta, mentioned by the same geographer as being near Fez, is known to be connected with the homonymous Hawwārī tribe. The province of Tāmesna, in the west of Morocco, was occupied in the 7th/13th century by the Hawwāra and the Zenāta, faithful followers of the Marīnid rulers. In the time of Leo

Africanus these peoples comprised 260,000 warriors. Another considerable branch of the Hawwāra lives to this day on each side of the lower course of the Wād Sūs. In the time of al-Idrīsī (549/1154) the people of Aghmāt, a town to the south of Marrākush, who carried on trade with the "country of the Blacks", belonged to the tribe of the Hawwāra. Finally, in the time of Leo Africanus, some Hawwāra lived also in the Sidjilmāsa district.

Spain. Some Hawwāra fragments left northern Morocco at an early date for Spain (with Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, according to Ibn Khaldūn). They established themselves there in remote areas, where they enjoyed almost complete independence with regard to the Umayyad *amīrs*. A Hawwārī family called B. Zennūn (B. Dhi 'l-Nūn) was dominant in the Shantabariyya (Santaver) district, where it is mentioned in the year 158/775 as being in revolt against the Umayyad *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. Some Hawwāra lived at Shantabariyya, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) and the B. Zennūn dynasty was still in existence in the 5th/11th century. In the immediate vicinity of Shantabariyya, east of this area, the B. Razīn, another Hawwārī fragment from the north of Morocco, settled at an early date. They occupied the plain named after them Sahlat Banī Razīn—Albarracín on modern maps. Obscure in the first centuries of the Umayyad period, this family acquired a certain importance in the second half of the 4th/10th century, and after the downfall of the Caliphate of Cordova became independent. To judge by the place-names of the region, there were also Hawwāra in the neighbourhood of Valencia, where the author of *al-Bayān al-mughrib* mentions a place named Sāḳiyat Huwwāra. The present name of this locality, Mislata, probably comes from that of the Hawwārī Maslāta tribe.

Sicily. It seems from Arabic sources and Christian documents, as well as from the evidence of place-names, that there were also Hawwārī fractions in Sicily. The Hawwāra of Ifrīḳiya took part in the Aghlabid conquest of the island in 212/827. They remained there for a long time. In 592/1196 there were still Hawwāra in Palermo. Among other Hawwārī tribes represented in mediaeval Sicily, the Misrāta, the Malīla, the Karkūda and the Andāra should be mentioned. It seems that at least a part of these immigrants remained faithful to Ibāḍism. Indeed, the 6th/12th century Ibāḍī author, al-Wisyānī speaks of Ibāḍī in Sicily, probably of Hawwāra origin, as being in touch with their co-religionists in North Africa. According to another Ibāḍī source, the *Dhikr asmā' baʿḍ shuyūkh al-wahbiyya* (6th-7th/12th/13th centuries?), Ḳaṣr Yānū (Castrogiovanni) in Sicily constituted the northern limit of the territory occupied by the Ibāḍīs.

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Egypt and the Sudan. An important historical rôle was played by Hawwāra of Egypt, a completely arabized group. Their first centre was in the Buḥayra, where they became the dominant tribe. Some Hawwāra were settled in Upper Egypt by Barḳūḳ (c. 782/1380-1), their chief, Ismāʿīl b. Māzin, being granted the *iḳṭāʿ* of Girgā [*q.v.*]. His successor, ʿUmar (d. 799/1396-7) was the eponym of Banū ʿUmar, the ruling clan for the next two centuries. Under the next chief, Muḥammad Abu'l-Sunūn, a period of agrarian prosperity began, connected with the development of sugar-planting. Meanwhile, Hawwāra were expanding in Upper Egypt, and, in 815/1412-3, they attacked and devastated Aswān, then held by Banū Kanz, an Arabo-Nubian clan. The authority of the Mamlūk sultanate was represented in the Hawwārī territory by the governor of Ḳūṣ and Akhmīm, but with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (922-3/1516-7) this appointment lapsed. The ruling chief, the *amīr* ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, was recognized as the governing authority in Upper Egypt: he is described in Ibn Iyās as "administrator of the districts of Upper Egypt" (*mutawallī djihāt al-Ṣaʿīd*), as well as "chief of the Arabs of Upper Egypt" (*shaykh ʿUrbān al-Ṣaʿīd*). The rule of Banū ʿUmar lasted for about sixty years, but ultimately became intolerable to the Ottoman administration. In 983/1576, Banū ʿUmar were formally deprived of their powers,

and a certain Sulaymān Bey (? Djānbulād) was appointed governor of Upper Egypt. In the 12th/18th century, there was a revival of Hawwārī power, associated with the tribal chief, the *amīr* Humām b. Yūsuf. He overshadowed the transient governors of Upper Egypt, who were distracted by the factional politics of the neo-Mamlūk régime. Under Humām, Upper Egypt enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity and prosperity. Djabartī depicts him as a paragon of Arab shaykhly virtues—openhanded, hospitable and loyal. A less favourable memory of the domination of Hawwāra has been transmitted by Burckhardt, who speaks of extortion practised on merchants, and the reduction of the Copts to servile status. Humām and his tribe belonged to Niṣf Ḥarām, the group associated with the neo-Mamlūk Ḳāsimiyya faction. After the collapse of the Ḳāsimī ascendancy in Cairo (1142/1730), remnants of the defeated faction took service with Humām, and were assimilated to the local people. Towards the end of his life, Humām played a critical part in Egyptian politics by the support he invariably gave to grandees who had been ousted from power in Cairo. He had particularly close relations with Ṣāliḥ Bey, the last Ḳāsimī notable, who was exiled by Bulut-ḳapan ʿAlī Bey (1178/1765). When ʿAlī himself sought asylum in Upper Egypt (1180/1767), Humām effected a reconciliation between him and Ṣāliḥ, enabling the two beys to defeat their opponents, and retake Cairo. After ʿAlī had procured the assassination of Ṣāliḥ, in 1182/1768, Humām assisted the dead grandee's followers to capture Asyūṭ, and hold it against the governor of Upper Egypt nominated by ʿAlī. The rebels and Hawwāra were ultimately defeated, and Humām fled, to die near Isnā (8 Shaʿbān 1183/7 December 1769). With his death, the political supremacy of Hawwāra came to an end, but they retained their social and economic importance until the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. After the extirpation of the Mamlūks in Upper Egypt, Ibrāhīm Pasha proceeded to confiscate the *iltizām*s and other sources of the wealth of the old régime (1813). The descendants of Humām were broken by this policy, and their tribesmen were subsequently absorbed into the masses of the peasantry.

In the Sudan two distinct groups are connected with Hawwāra of Egypt. The Hawāwīr are a nomadic tribe, having their territory in the steppe, west of the Nile. They probably represent a southerly wave of Hawwārī expansion from Egypt. The Djallāba (*i.e.*, pedlars) Hawwāra have immigrated into Kordofan and Dār Fūr within the last three centuries, admittedly as traders, as their name suggests. Their designation as Hawwāra may imply no more than an original domicile in territory dominated by this tribe.

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(P. M. Holt)

ḤAWZ, pl. *aḥwāz* (coll. *ḥwāz*): (1)—Territory, suburb, environs of a large town, in North Africa and especially in Morocco, where the word appeared at the beginning of the 10th/16th century: attested for Fās in Leo Africanus (*Description de l'Afrique*, trans. Epaulard, i, Paris 1956) and for Marrākush in manuscript documents (*Sources inédites*, 1st series, Portugal, ii, Paris 1939 [P. de Cénival] and v, Paris 1953 [R. Ricard]). It was already employed in Muslim Andalusia with the same meaning, and has given rise to the Spanish *alfoz*, district (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Glossary, Paris 1952). In Tunisia, the word was known under the Ḥafṣids, but with a fiscal sense (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947). (2)—With the article, al-Ḥawz denotes exclusively the region of Marrākush, the Haouz, a wide embanked plain drained by the *wādī* Tansift and its tributaries, and by the *wādī* Tassawt. Notwithstanding the hills of the Djabīlāt, it is a monotonous and for the most part arid country, almost entirely covered with a scrub of thorny jujube trees where grazing is possible. However, the geographical situation has endowed the plain with all the elements needed for prosperity. These were brought into service by the Almoravids, who founded Marrākush in 462/1070, provided water for their capital by excavating the *khaṭāṭir* [see ḲANĀT] and built a bridge over the *wādī* Tansift. Under the succeeding dynasty, the Almohads, Marrākush became the metropolis of the Muslim West, and the whole of south Morocco experienced great prosperity. It seems to have been towards the end of the 6th/12th century that al-Ḥawz was distinguished from al-Gharb [*q.v.*], for the division of the plains of Atlantic Morocco into two parts corresponds with the zones imposed on the nomadic Arab tribes introduced into Morocco by the Almohad sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. "To the Rīyāḥ fell the Gharb, to the Djusham the Ḥawz", (A. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā*, ii, Casablanca 1954; Fr. tr. I. Hamet, in *AM*, xxxii (1927)). It may also be concluded that it was at this period that began the erosion of the Berber Tāmasnā (a wide coastal strip that straddled the *wādī* Umm al-Rabīʿ) which today has completely disappeared. The fall of the Almohads, the transfer by the Marīnids of the capital to Fās, the continual attempts to secede did not prevent the Ḥawz from remaining one of the richest provinces in Morocco for another century. But the arrival from the South of the Arab bands of the Maʿḳil brought anarchy, a rift between the Berber mountains and the plain now held by the Arabs, and finally the general ruin of a region in which the populace, aided by their marabout saints, thought only of means to resist the political and fiscal manœuvres of the sultans, whether in the North or the South. In the western half of the Ḥawz, the Portuguese interventions were destined to provoke a sharp revival of the holy war. Under the Saʿdids and ʿAlawīs, the history of the Ḥawz becomes identical with that of Morocco. Today the region is inhabited by the great Arab tribe of the Rehamna (*Raḥāmina*) and by numerous groups brought there, from the most diverse regions, at the wish of the sultans, though still to some extent preserving their own particular characteristics. Those living along the foothills (*dīr*) of the Atlas, without forgetting Arabic, now understand Berber (L. Galand, *Un type de frontière linguistique arabe et berbère dans le Haouz de Marrakech*, in *Orbis*, iii/1, Louvain 1954). On the functions of the so-called *makhzan* tribes (ʿAbda,

Aḥmar, Raḥāmina, Manābaha, Ḥarbīl) and of the Guich of the Ḥawz, see DJAYSH; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904; Lt.-Col. Voinot, *Les tribus guich du Haouz Marrakech*, in *Bull. du cinquantenaire de la Société de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran*, 15 April 1928. A small tribe from the Ḥawz, the Awlād Abī Sibaʿ (O. Bousebaa) has won a great reputation for its thick woollen carpets (P. Ricard, *Corpus des tapis marocains du Haut Atlas et du Haouz de Marrakech*, Paris 1927).

Certain Moroccan Jews bear the name of *Ḥawzī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: G. Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, vol. ii of which (in the press) contains a full bibliography on southern Morocco. (G. DEVERDUN)

HAY'A, in the sense of "astronomy" [see ʿILM AL-HAY'A].

HAY'A (A.), synonym (see *LA*; *TA*) for 'shape' (*shakl*) and 'form' (*ṣūra*), and also for 'state' (*ḥāl*) and 'quality' (*kayfiyya*). Al-Kindī states that, according to Hippocrates, one of the meanings of the word 'nature' applies to the configuration (*hay'a*) of the human body. In the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* we find: *hay'at al-arkān*: the configuration of the elements; they use this word also to discuss the thesis of the materialists who think that the Living and All-powerful Being is a body, since he exists in a configuration that is distinguished by accidents, such as life, power, knowledge (*ʿalā hay'a makhṣūṣa bi-aʿrāḍ*; ii, 55). In this sense, *hay'a* is the geometric shape of a body insofar as it reveals a metaphysical reality, form, which fashions it from inside. The idea of *hay'a* is bound up with that of a form and that of a motion, which is itself regarded as a form: "The term 'form' is used for any configuration (*hay'a*) and for any action upon a receptive (*ḳābil*) object, whether single or compound, so that motions and accidents are forms (*ṣuwar*)" (Ibn Sīnā, *Shifā'*, ii, 282). Avicenna distinguishes motion, as defective (*nāḳiṣa*) form, from completed (*tāmma*) geometric shape, such as the square or the circle. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' have analogous ideas: there is constitutive form (*ṣūra muḳawwima*) like length, breadth, depth (for a body), and perfective form (*ṣūra mutammima*), such as shape (*shakl*): triangle, square, pentagon, circle etc., and motion (ii, 21). Here *shakl* is used to describe the result of motions that produce such and such a shape, whether in nature or in art. *Hay'a* is completed form, considered not by itself, but in relation to the motion that, in it, completes constitutive form. *Hay'a* is more alive and more dynamic; *shakl* is static. That is why the word *hay'a* is applied in particular to the bodies of animals and men, which certainly contain curves and angles, but whose configuration is more than an arrangement of geometric shapes.

From this meaning it is an easy step to that of 'predisposition', which is more frequent in the technical language of philosophy. It is found in Avicenna, and it is related to another term from the same root: *tahayyu'*: 'aptitude', often used in conjunction with *istiʿdād*. A text of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', concerning the development of the soul during gestation, is particularly clear; it speaks of "the aptitude (*tahayyu'*) and predisposition (*istiʿdād*) that are stamped (*yanṭabiʿ*) into the soul, which are first form and potentially apt to become form in actuality by acquiring the aptitude (*ʿind al-tahayyu'*) for receiving moral characteristics, moral actions, the various types of knowledge, education . ." (i, 9). We are here concerned with the configuration assumed by the soul in the interval between its reality as first form in potentiality and its completion in moral characteristics etc. This intermediate situation is well indicated in the phrase in which *tahayyu'* is framed by the two particles *li-* (for, in order to): "*al-ṣūra al-ūlā bi-'l-ḳuwwa li-taṣīra ṣūra bi-'l-fiʿl ʿind al-tahayyu' li-ḳubūl al-akhlāḳ* . . .". There is then a *hay'a* of the soul, just as there is of the body. Aptitude or predisposition is inherent in *hay'a*. In fact, the first meaning of the verb *tahayya'a* in Arabic is: 'to assume one's *hay'a*' (*akhadha lahu hay'atahu*), and it is from this meaning that it takes on that of 'to be predisposed towards'. Avicenna says that one of the causes of the excitement of desire is a discontent (*ḍadjar*) arising from one *hay'a*, and the wish to change to another *hay'a*. He speaks also of particular causes that particularly distinguish one *hay'a*, to the exclusion of another (*takhṣīṣ hay'a dūn hay'a*) and make it the object of desire (*Shifā'*, ii, 288). The dynamism that distinguishes every *hay'a* becomes consciousness and desire in the soul.

A very special use of this term, which derives from the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, should be noted. The word *hay'a* is used to express in Arabic ἕξις or *habitus* (*malaka*). At first sight, this meaning appears very far removed from the preceding ones; but it may be derived from them, and may retain some connexion with them. It would seem that we should start from the force of the Vth form *tahayya'a*: 'to qualify oneself by the particular configuration that one assumes': the *fāʿil* acts on a *munfaʿil* which reacts on it. Aristotle, in the first place, defines ἕξις: "οἷον ἐνέργειά τις τοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ ἐχομένου" (*Met.*, 1022b 4). The illustration that he draws from clothing is well represented by the Arabic Vth form: one who wears a garment (action) is clothed by that garment (reaction). *Habitus* lies between action and reaction. The definition of this *hay'a* is translated: *ka-annahā fiʿlu-mmā li-'lladhī hiya lahu wa-huwa lahā*. Ibn Rushd comments: "It is the action of an agent on an object that undergoes the action . . . Aristotle says: 'When something acts and something else undergoes its action, the fact of undergoing the action (*infiʿāl*) is between the two'; this means: . . . when one thing carries out an action and acts upon another thing which undergoes its action, the *hay'a* is the state (*ḥāla*) that occurs between them. If the *hay'a* is considered with respect to the agent, it is called action; if it is considered with respect to the patient (*munfaʿil*), it is called passivity (the fact of undergoing the action)". This commentary is not very clear, for it is based on an approximate translation. But, short of being a truism, it can have only one meaning: that the *hay'a* unites two characteristics, one active, the other passive, and as an intermediary transfers the action that is carried out to the patient, and the action that is suffered to the agent, the two actions mingling into one. It should be remembered that *hay'a* is an intermediate state, of the same type as a motion, which allows an object moving towards actuality to receive a qualification that it possessed in potentiality. We meet, once again, the lexicographical meanings of *ḥāl* and *kayfiyya*.

A second meaning of ἕξις is that of 'disposition' according to which a being is in a good or a bad condition' (διάθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς διακεῖται τὸ διακείμενον, *Met.* Δ 1022b 10). Διάθεσις is rendered *waḍʿ*. Averroes's commentary: "*Hay'a* is used of the state (*ḥāla*) that is produced as a consequence of a composition (*tarkīb*, instead of the *waḍʿ* of the translation). It is the *hay'a* by virtue of which the

composition of a thing is good or bad. For example, health ... is a *hay'a* which results from a composition, that of the organs and the humours". This *hay'a* is good or bad, either in itself, or with regard to another *hay'a*. This meaning comes close to that which we have encountered in Ibn Sīnā, concerning the disposition from which desire springs.

Finally this term enters into the nomenclature of a branch of astronomy (*ʿilm al-nudjūm*) which is called *ʿilm al-hay'a* [*q.v.*]. According to the definition of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', it is "the knowledge of the hieratic order of the spheres, the number of the heavenly bodies,, the divisions of the zodiac and its stars, their distances, sizes and motions". It is perhaps because *hay'a* is used of the organic human body, the microcosm, that the term is applied to the macrocosmic order.

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ḤAYĀT (A.), life. The Ḳur'ān mentions life in very many verses. God is Himself living (*ḥayy*), see II, 255; XL, 65, etc. Al-Ṭabarī writes, in his *Tafsīr* (ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, v, 386): "This word *ḥayy* describes Him who has perpetual (*dā'ima*) life and a permanent existence (*baḳā'*) without any initial or terminal limit, for everything that is not He, although it be living, has a life that begins at a definite point and ends at a fixed limit". On this, he says, all the commentators are agreed. They differ on other questions. For some God is Himself spoken of as living because He Himself provides for the maintenance of His creatures and allots every creature its portion. He is therefore living by virtue of His management (*tadbīr*) of the Universe, not by virtue of Life. For others He is living by virtue of Life, which is one of His attributes. Others again say that it is one of His names. Al-Zamakhsharī states that *ḥayy*, in the technical language of the theologians, describes one who has knowledge and power (*Kashshāf*, Cairo 1948, i, 291). The question of the Life of God enters into general discussions on the divine attributes. A critical account is to be found in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm (Cairo 1317, ii, 153 f.). In the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, taking up Avicenna's distinctions between necessary and possible being, shows that God is the only necessary being, but that, contrary to Ibn Sīnā's contention, the existence of the possible being does not necessarily follow from the existence of the necessary being in itself, that is to say that creatures do not necessarily proceed from God; they are created by Him, in His Wisdom and His Freedom. This is the sense that should be given to *ḥayy* (ii, 307 f.).

The Ḳur'ān also mentions life in this world (*al-ḥayāt al-dunyā*) in order to contrast it in a religious and moral sense with the after-life. Life on earth, as a creation of God and considered in itself, is full of beauties; but it is nothing in comparison with the next life (Sūra III, 185), and the error of the unbelievers is to cling exclusively to it. Whether the attractiveness (*tazyīn*) with which life on earth is invested in the eyes of the unbelievers is the effect of an illusion for which man is responsible, or the result of an action of God, is a problem that normally sets Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs, Ḳadarīs and Djabarīs at odds with one another (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, ii, 198 f.; commentary on II, 212). Life in this world, compared with life in the next, is something that is purely for use (*matāʿ*; Sūra XIII, 26; XL, 39), that is to say, according to the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, a thing of little value which is enjoyed for a certain period of time and which disappears. It is diversion and play (*lahw wa-laʿib*) beside the real life (XXIX, 64; cf. Blachère, *Le Coran*, ii, 535, note on *al-ḥayawān* as an intensive of *ḥayāt*). The True Life is the "abode of permanence" (*dār al-ḳarār*). The life of this world may seduce one (*gharra*; VI, 70, XXXI, 33, XLV, 34, etc.). A parable summarizes these ideas. It compares life in this world to the rain that fertilizes the fields; then, when man believes that he himself has the power to cultivate the fruits of the earth, God sends His *amr*, that is to say, according to the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, His judgment and His chastisement, and He mows down the crops, and it is as if they had never existed (X, 24). Consequently, life on earth and all that is connected with it is a gift of God which must be used with gratitude and piety, not for its own sake, but in order to expend it in good works and thus orientate it towards the future Life. Islam does not approve of contempt for life. Nevertheless the *dunyā* is an object of reproach, insofar as it "cuts" the path that leads to God. Nor is it merely loosely condemned, for life on earth is attended with values that remain associated with man in the next life (cf. Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 3rd part, Būlāḳ ed., 151 f.).

As for life in the biological sense of the word, it is a frequent theme in the Ḳur'ān. There is a kind of Ḳur'ānic embryology, for example XXIII, 12-4; XXXII, 7-8; LXXVII, 20. Al-Rāzī comments: "A human being is generated from a seed which is itself generated from the fourth of the excretions produced by the digestion (*min faḍl al-haḍm al-rābiʿ*, that is to say the spermatic fluid). This is generated as a consequence of the consumption of food, which is of animal or vegetable origin. The animal derives from the vegetable, and plants are generated from very pure earth and water" (iv, 188). The end of verse 14 of Sūra XXIII: "Then we developed him in a second creation", is interpreted as referring to the development of the human being after his birth, during his infancy and his youth, the creation of understanding (*fahm*) and reason (*ʿaḳl*), until his death. The text reads: *ansha'nāhu*, "We developed him", because God established the development of the spirit (*inshā' al-rūḥ*) in man. Al-Rāzī (*ibid.*) points out that this is proof of the error of al-Naẓẓām, who thinks that man is spirit and not body, and of the mistake of the *falāsifa*, who say that man is indivisible and that he is not a body. In fact, man is a compound (*murakkab*) of both attributes.

Certain Muslim philosophers may have been inspired by these verses in their representation of life as a development away from matter, proceeding by way of organic life to spiritual life. Several passages in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and in Ibn Ṭufayl also give the impression that the idea of some kind of evolution is not unknown to them. For Ibn Bādjdja (Avempace), in his *Risālat al-Ittiṣāl*, natural heat (*al-ḥarr al-gharīzī*) exists before all the other parts of the body; it is the instrument of the instruments; all the parts of the body function with reference to it; it exists in all the animals that have blood, and it is also found in the animals that have no blood; it is called the motive force (*al-ḳuwwa al-muḥarrika*) it is form (*ṣūra*), and this form is the prime mover, the natural spirit (*al-rūḥ al-gharīzī*). In the womb the embryo has organs that make it resemble a plant: this is what is created in the first place; it is nourished, and grows, like a plant. On emerging from the womb, the human being makes use of the senses and resembles an irrational animal. It moves in space and

has desires: this occurs only because of the arrival of the spiritual form (*al-ṣūra al-rūḥāniyya*) which appears in the "common sense" and the imagination. At this level of life the imaginative form (*al-ṣūra al-mutak͟hayyila*), as the imaginative force (*al-ḳuwwa al-k͟hayāliyya*), is the prime mover. Below this there is the impulsive nutritive force (*al-ḳuwwa al-g͟hād͟hiya al-nazūʿiyya*) and the sensory force for propagating the species (*al-ḳuwwa al-munmiya al-ḥissiyya*). Animality begins with sensory spiritual form, the first degree of the spiritual forms. Below this is the vegetable kingdom, and it is disputed whether plants are living creatures; this problem is made more acute by the relationship of *ḥayāt* and *ḥayawān*. The plant-man in the womb is potentially an animal, for the natural spirit that is in it is capable of receiving spiritual form. The natural spirit that is in plants is incapable of doing so. The reason for this is a difference in the mixture of the humours (*al-imtizād͟j*). Beyond the senses and the imagination comes thought (*al-ḳuwwa al-fikriyya*), when intelligibles, which are potential in the sensory, become actual.

We can recognize in this structure the broad outline that the commentaries have taken from the Ḳurʾān. But for the *falāsifa* this development is not due to a series of disconnected creative acts of God. The Aristotelian idea of potentiality introduces a dynamism into nature itself. Moreover philosophical doctrine, in the tradition of Plato and Aristotle, connects life essentially with the soul. For example, al-Kindī (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, i, 226) sees life as an accident that happens to the body, since the living being disappears when life is extinguished, while the body retains its corporeity. The natural heat or natural spirit which is in the heart of the animal is not itself life; it is merely a disposition by virtue of which the animal can receive life (*uʿiddat fīhi li-yanāla bihā 'l-ḥayāt*). Al-Kindī gives two versions of the Aristotelian definition of life: the (first) entelechy of a natural body (with organs) capable of receiving life (which has life in potentiality): (1) *tamāmiyya d͟jirm ṭabīʿī d͟hī ālāt, ḳābil li-'l-ḥayāt*; and (2) *istikmāl awwal li-d͟jism ṭabīʿī d͟hī ḥayāt bi-'l-ḳuwwa*.

Thus the conceptions of life in Islam offer us a particularly clear example of the interpenetration of Greek ideas and Ḳurʾānic images, even though the *falāsifa*, by transposing disconnected creative acts of God into terms of the continuity of natures, have altered the fundamental Islamic meaning.

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(R. Arnaldez)

ḤAYĀTĪ-ZĀDE, Ottoman family of physicians and *ʿulamāʾ*, the prominent members of which are:

(1) Muṣṭafā Feyḍī, said to have been a convert from Judaism (born Mos͟he ben Raphael Abravanel) and to have acted as interpreter during the interrogation of the 'Messiah' S͟habbĕtay Ṣebī ([*q.v.*], see also dönme), became *reʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ* [see ḥekīm-bas͟hī] in 1080/1669-70 and died in 1103/1691-2. He is the author of a '*k͟hamsa*' entitled *al-Rasāʾil al-mus͟hfiyya fi 'l-amrāḍ al-mus͟hkila*, on the nature, symptoms and treatment of various diseases, based on the Latin works of various European writers of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century (Fernelius, Fracastor, Mercado, Fonseca, etc.); the five treatises concern (1) Hypochondriac affection, (2) true hypochondria, (3) syphilis, (4) *plica polonica*, and (5) malignant fever (MSS: British Museum, Add. 5984 (see Rieu, *CTM*, 125 f.), Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı (see Karatay, nos. 1799-1801), etc.).

(2) His son, Meḥmed Emīn, also a physician, followed at the same time the *ʿilmiyye* career and was for seven months in 1746/1159 S͟hayk͟h al-Islām (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iv, 537).

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(Ed.)

HAYĀṬILA, Arabic broken plural from Hayṭal, the name given by Islamic writers to the (H)ephthalites or White Huns, the Ye-Ta of the Chinese authors, a steppe people from Mongolia who settled along the Oxus during the fourth or fifth centuries A.D. and formed one, or perhaps several, powerful kingdoms. The first Huns to appear in K͟hurāsān, some twenty-five years earlier than the arrival of Huns in Europe, were the Chionites of Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 9, 4; XVII, 5, 1; XVIII, 6, 22). Their name may consist of the Pers. *xiyōn* 'Hun' + Gk. tribal ending -ῖται; though W. B. Henning (*ZDMG*, xc (1936), 17) regarded the termination of ʾΕφθαλῖται as a Sogdian plural form. The Chionites attacked the eastern frontier of Iran *ca.* A.D. 350, but when opposed by Shapur II they came to terms, and eventually under their king Grumbates they joined his expedition against Roman Mesopotamia. At the siege of Amida (A.D. 359) the son of Grumbates was killed, and the body cremated, a striking detail which tallies with archaeological data for the European Huns (Nándor Fettich, *La trouvaille de tombe princière hunnique à Szeged-Nagyszéksós*, 105); from the Bishkent valley in Tād͟jikistān; and for Ḳaras͟hahr according to the *Chou shu*. Subsequent movements of certain 'Kidarite Huns' can be traced in Bactria and Gandhara, but the use of this designation by Priscus for the fifth century may involve an anachronism. The name, at least, derives from that of their first king, Kidara, well attested in the late fourth century by coins, and also in Chinese annals (cf. W. M. McGovern, *The early empires of Central Asia*, 408).

According to Ghirshman, the Chionites (who may indeed include the Kidarites) were identical with the (H)ephthalites; but sinologists such as McGovern and Enoki believed the latter were a fresh horde who descended on Tuk͟hāristān during the fifth century A.D. and drove the Kidarites into Gandhāra. Eastern invaders repulsed from Iran by Bahrām V in A.D. 427 may have been from either group. But it was specifically to the Hayāṭila that Fīrūz resorted for aid to gain the throne of Iran from his brother Hormizd III in A.D. 457. Later he turned against the Hayāṭila and attacked them, but was defeated and captured by their king, called Ak͟hs͟hunwār by al-Ṭabarī or K͟hus͟hnavāz by Firdawsī. He obtained his release by leaving his son Ḳubād as a hostage, but later ransoming him returned to the attack, and charged his cavalry into a hidden ditch to perish with all his men. According to Ṭabarī, i, 879, his opponent had the bodies interred in tumuli (*al-nawāwis*). The classic account of the (H)ephthalites in this context is by Procopius, *Wars*, I, 3, who claims that though Huns by name and race, they did not live as nomads,

were of fair complexion and regular features (a detail scarcely corroborated by paintings at Bāmīyān) and practised inhumation of the dead, up to twenty of his boon-companions being buried with each chief. This contrasts with the cremation found amongst the Chionites. The Sāsānian Ḳubād owed his restoration in A.D. 488 or 9 to (H)ephthalite support. In A.D. 557 Khusraw Anūshirwān allied himself with the Khan of the Turks, called Sindjibū or Σιλζίβουλος in the Arabic and Byzantine sources, to crush the (H)ephthalites. The fullest account is that of Firdawsī, who names the vanquished ruler Ghātfar. This is apparently the Κάτουλφος of Menander Protector (*FHG*, IV, 206 and 225), who is called Wazar or Waraz in Ṭabarī, i, 859. After a fierce battle the Hayāṭila were dispersed, and their lands partitioned between the Turks and the Sāsānians. To the same period belongs the enigmatic ruler *npky MLKʾ*, whose name appears thus in Pahlavi script on coins of the Kābul area, and who may also have minted at Andarāb. The extent to which the kingdom of Zābulistān [*q.v.*], south of the Hindu Kush, was distinct from that of the Hephthalites in Bactria is disputable. Even after the arrival of the Arabs in Khurāsān during 31/651, (H)ephthalite survivors from Harāt took part in resistance to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in Ḳūhistān (Ṭabarī, i, 2886), while as late as 85/704 others are mentioned with 'Tibetans' and 'Turks' during confused fighting in the rebellion of Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (Ṭabarī, ii, 1153). Yāḳūt, s.v. Bādghīs, calls this district the 'headquarters of the Hayāṭila' (*Dār mamlakat al-Hayāṭila*), a reminiscence of the tribe's participation in the wars of the local chief Ṭarkhān Nīzak against the Arab governors, in particular Ḳutayba b. Muslim. Earlier, the main centre of the Hayāṭila was probably at Ḳunduz.

Unless it survives in Khaldjī Turkish (see below), the language of the Hayāṭila is entirely unattested, like that of the European Huns. The 'Iranian' hypothesis of Ghirshman and Enoki—based on the coin legends in cursive Greek script, though these are sometimes difficult to decipher— has now been overtaken by the discovery of earlier inscriptions at Surkh Kotal which prove the language in question to have been the local Iranian dialect of Bactria. For the speech of the Hayāṭila themselves, the 'Turkish' hypothesis, supported by Minorsky's evidence, now holds the field. According to the *Chou Shu*, the Hayāṭila practised polyandry. Eastern Hun military equipment, probably Kidarite, is represented on a silver dish (O.M. Dalton, *The treasure of the Oxus*[3], 1964, 53, no. 201), and included a straight sword, possibly two-handed, and a compound bow, but no stirrups. The view that such modern tribes as the now Pashtu-speaking Ghilzai-Khaldjī of Afghanistan, or the Turkish-speaking Khaladj of Iran represent descendants of the Hayāṭila was shown by Minorsky to have the authority of al-Khuwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 119. To connect the Persian-speaking Djāghurī of Afghanistan would also be attractive, but in all cases the links are very tenuous.

Bibliography: R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948; Kazuo Enoki, *On the nationality of the Ephthalites*, in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, xviii (1959), 1-58; H. W. Bailey, *Hārahūṇa*, in *Asiatica* (Festschrift Friedrich Weller), Leipzig 1954, 12-21; V. Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, in *BSOAS*, x (1940-42), 417-37, esp. 426 ff.; Geo Widengren, *Xosrau Anōšurvān, les Hephthalites et les peuples turcs*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, i (1952), 69-94; A. Miller, *Accounts of the Western Nations in the history of the Northern Chou dynasty*, Berkeley 1959, especially 11-12; D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*, Wiesbaden 1963, 232-3. (A. D. H. Bivar)

ḤAYAWĀN "the animal kingdom", Arabic word derived from a Semitic root (cf. Hebrew חיה) implying a notion of life (*ḥayāt* [*q.v.*]). It is attested only once in the Ḳurʾān (XXIX, 64), where it means "the true life" and is used of the other world; the dictionaries state that a spring of Paradise is also called by this name, but the most usual meaning of *ḥayawān*, used as a singular or a collective, is an animal or animals in general, including man, who is more precisely called *al-ḥayawān al-nāṭiḳ*.

1. Lexicography. The fauna of the Arabian peninsula has been covered under AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT— v, and it is probable that it has scarcely changed since pre-Islamic times, except for the disappearance of the lion which occurred long ago, and the more recent disappearance of the ostrich; even in the peninsula however the ancient terminology, as found in the classical lexicographical works, has not always survived; furthermore, in the other Arabic-speaking countries, the indigenous or imported fauna, while it has common Mediterranean characteristics, does not have a nomenclature which is absolutely identical with that of ancient Arabia, for dialect terms have been formed or borrowed from local languages (see for instance V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara occidental*, Paris 1951), and furthermore the same word may be applied in different regions to different animals [see esp. FANAK]. In general, however, for the better-known animals, the terminology is very similar throughout the Arabic-speaking countries.

As regards the classical period, this vocabulary formed the subject, as early as the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, of a series of monographs dealing particularly with domestic animals (horse, camel, etc.), and the Arabic dictionaries have carefully recorded it; a lexicographical work such as the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīduh gives to animals a space proportionate to their importance in the life of the Arabs (vi, 135-viii, 186), and the richness of the Arabic vocabulary to describe certain species of animals has long been recognized. This wealth is due partly to the fact that investigators have collected terms belonging to various archaic dialects, partly to the multiplicity of metaphors used by the poets, and finally to a highly developed differentiation between the animals according to age, sex, ability to reproduce, colour of fur or plumage, formation of limbs, lips etc.; thus it is that Fr. Hommel, *Die Namen der Saügethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, records more than 120 words for the horse and more than 160 for the camel. However, the number of really specific terms varies, in accordance with various factors, from one to four:

(a) Most wild animals are indicated by one single term, if we exclude synonyms or the names of varieties which are difficult to identify (*ʿuḳāb* "eagle", fem.; *ṭāʾūs* "peacock", masc.; etc.).

(b) Two terms are used for: (1) wild animals which live in flocks: a collective noun and a noun of unity used for either sex (*naml* "ants"/*namla* "an ant"), but the noun of unity, characterized in this case by the same suffix as the feminine, tends to be felt as indicating the female (*ḥamām* "pigeons"/*ḥamāma* "a pigeon" > "a female pigeon"); (2) wild or domestic animals in which the sexes are distinguished: the masculine form is reserved for the species and for the male when the feminine form comes from the same root (*kalb* "dog"/*kalba* "bitch"); when the

opposite is the case, the word for the female, though grammatically feminine, has a masculine form and often indicates both the female and the species (*ḍabuʿ* (fem.) "hyena"/*dhikh* (masc.) "male hyena").

(c) Three terms are used for a certain number of species: a collective noun, a noun of unity used regardless of sex, and a term to indicate the male of certain animals who live in flocks (*naʿām* "ostriches"/ *naʿāma* "an ostrich" of either sex/*ẓalīm* "male ostrich"). In cases such as *ḥimār* "donkey" / *ḥimāra* and *atān* "female donkey", *ḥimāra* seems to be a secondary fem. and not a noun of unity for either sex (cf. Hebrew *ḥamōr*/*atōn*).

(d) For some domestic species which live very close to the Bedouins, four terms can be found: one for the species, one for the individual regardless of sex, one for the female and a fourth for the male (*ibil* "camels" / *baʿīr* "one animal of the herd" / *nāḳa* "female camel" / *djamal* "(male) camel"). In this category the name of the species is generally masculine in form but treated grammatically as feminine (*e.g.*, *ibil*, *ghanam*, etc.) because of the preponderance of females over males.

Examination of a certain number of names of animals shows that the name of the female is independent of that of the male and that the formation of the feminine by the addition of the suffix *-t* > *-a* is secondary; this "particularizing" suffix serves basically to form the nouns of unity used for either sex (*baghla* means a he-mule as well as a she-mule) but, the females being always more numerous than the males among the animals which live in herds, the noun of unity comes to be confused with the noun for the female (*e.g.*, *dadjādja* "one fowl of the poultry yard" > "hen"). On this question, see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, 25 May 1960.

Among the great number of names found in the lexicographical or zoological works, the existence should be noted, along with specific or metaphorical terms, of appellations formed like the *kunya* [*q.v.*] or the *maʿrifa* [see IBN] of humans: *umm ḥubayn* "chameleon", *ibn āwā* "jackal", etc.; these metonymical forms, widely used throughout the centuries especially in Arabic dialects (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.vv. *ibn*, *abū*, *umm*), have sometimes ended by supplanting the corresponding specific term, but this cannot be considered as a systematic personification of the animals in question, for a number of plants have similar names; we might rather consider them as euphemisms used with prophylactic intent or as a kind of pet-name, notably for example when such an attractive creature as the sparrow is called *Abū Muḥriz*, *Abū Muzāḥim*, *Abū Yaʿḳūb*, etc.

2. Animals among the pre-Islamic Arabs. All the same the Bedouin, like other peoples, attributed to animals the qualities and the faults of humans, as is proved by a number of proverbs which are undoubtedly pre-Islamic. These proverbs almost all appear in the form of an elative followed by the name of the animal; thus generosity is attributed to the cock (*askhā min lāfiẓa*), perfidy to the lizard (*akhdaʿ min ḍabb*), stupidity to the bustard (*aḥmaḳ min ḥubārā*), boldness to the lion (*adjraʾ min al-layth*), etc. (see the collections of proverbs, and especially the index to the proverbs in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ).

It has been noticed moreover that a certain number of tribes of ancient Arabia bear the names of animals: Asad "lion", Ḳuraysh "shark", etc. and it has been suggested that they might have a totemic significance; on this subject, W. R. Smith (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, London 1903) collected some factual details about survivals of animal cults, prohibitions of certain foods and other indications, and inferred from them the existence of a totemic system among the early Arabs; his theory has not on the whole, however, been accepted by ethnologists, and it is possible that the importance which the Bedouins of necessity attach to animals of every kind does not arise at all from totemism but is simply a form of animalism (see J. Henninger, in F. Gabrieli (ed.), *L'antica società beduina*, Rome 1959, 85-6 and references there given). It is perhaps worth recalling here that the early Arabs portrayed the souls of the departed in the form of a bird (*hāma*), usually a sort of owl, which flew for some time around the tomb and on occasion cried out for vengeance (see I. Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 3 ff., analysed by G.-H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, 1960/3, 257-60). Although the Prophet rejected this belief (*lā ʿadwᵃ wa-lā hāmatᵃ wa-lā ṣafarᵃ*), it has lived on under Islam in various forms [see ṬAYR].

The Ḳurʾān (V, 102/103, VI, 139/138 ff.) inveighs against the practices of the *djāhiliyya* which consisted of consecrating certain animals to certain gods, or of applying a taboo to certain camels, sheep and other animals among the herds. The animalism of the early period included also, as well as the *baliyya* [*q.v.*], various sacrifices, concerning which it suffices to refer to the comprehensive work of J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955; a number of them, however, have been retained in Islam [see DHABĪḤA] and Muslims today still perform sacrifices on many occasions (see, *e.g.*, A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 337-63). Animals were and still are associated with the practice of sympathetic magic such as *istimṭār* [*q.v.*]; even quite recent zoologists expatiate happily upon the method of interpreting the sight of one or another animal in a dream [see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ], also on the magic properties of the different organs, of which sorcerers make great use [see SIḤR]. Fabulous animals inhabited the deserts [see GHŪL], and it was often in animal form that the *djinns* [*q.v.*] approached humans. Animals such as camels, horses, cows, sheep, greyhounds, cats and bees possess *baraka* [*q.v.*], but dogs, cats and others also possess the evil eye (on all these questions see E. Westermarck, *Pagan survivals in Mohammedan civilization*, London 1933, *passim*).

3. The creation of animals. Apart from the proverbs mentioned above, the folklore of early Arabia, in the form in which it has reached us, contains hardly any animal stories (see below); at the most we find legends explaining the creation or the modification of certain animals. Thus the mouse (*faʾra*) was a miller's wife or a Jewess who was metamorphosed; similarly certain lizards were formerly tax-gatherers, etc. (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, 197 and references). This question of animal metamorphoses (*maskh*) retains a certain importance, even under Islam, while the Ḳurʾān, apparently, solved the problem; for it states repeatedly that animals were created by God (II, 159/164, XXXI, 9/10, XLII, 29, XLIII, 11/12, XLV, 3/4) "[starting] from a liquid" (XXIV, 44/45) and that, of every thing, God "created a pair" (LI, 49). To the word *dābba* (pl. *dawābb*), which is used here instead of *ḥayawān* and refers more especially to riding animals and domestic animals, is opposed, in the verses intended to emphasize the Divine solicitude, the term *anʿām*, the herds, of which God sent down "eight (single) pairs" (XXXIX, 8/6; see also XXV, 51/49, XXXVI,

71); camels deserve a special mention for "they were created by Him for you" (XVI, 5).

However, early beliefs concerning the temporary or permanent metamorphoses of certain humans into animals are confirmed by such verses as "Those whom Allāh has cursed, against whom He has been angry, of whom He has made monkeys and pigs" (V, 65/60) or "We have said (to those who have broken the Sabbath): "Be despicable monkeys!' " (II, 61/65; see also VII, 166). There were two problems for commentators to solve: the first was to find out to what events the verses quoted above referred, and the second to examine the fate reserved for these creatures who had been metamorphosed. It goes without saying that the replies to the first question were various; al-Kisāʾī, for example (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 274 f.), considered that the monkeys were Israelites who had undergone metamorphosis in the time of David for having caught and cooked fish on a Saturday, and that the pigs (*op. cit.*, 307) are contemporaries of Jesus who did not believe in him. The same Kisāʾī, following other authors, thinks that the animals resulting from these metamorphoses multiplied, while others on the contrary think that they died without issue, that is to say that God had created independently the species in question (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, iv, 68). The belief in creation by metamorphosis or in the modification of certain animals is still current (see, *e.g.*, H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 185 ff.). To *maskh* is closely linked the question of metempsychosis, at least for the unorthodox sects and the theologians who admit the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals [see ḤULŪL, TANĀSUKH]. We should note in passing that the Beast [see DĀBBA] is associated in Muslim eschatology with the Last Judgement and that a Ḳurʾānic verse (VI, 38): "No creature is there [crawling] on the earth, no bird flying with its wings, but they are nations like unto yourselves.... Then to their Lord they shall be mustered", permits commentators to consider that the animals too will experience the Resurrection and the Last Judgement [see ḲIYĀMA]. Furthermore, the Ḳurʾān, which mentions some dozen different species, contains five *sūra*s named after animals: the Cow (II), the Bee (XVI), the Ant (XXVIII), the Spider (XXIX), and the Elephant (CV)—the largest and the smallest creatures thus being included.

4. Animals and Muslim law. Islam concerns itself with animals in many other connexions, and there is hardly a chapter of Muslim law which does not deal with them. Domestic animals are subject to the *zakāt* [*q.v.*]; the sale of animals [see BAYʿ, TIDJĀRA] is bound by restrictions in connexion with the legality of the consumption of their flesh (*e.g.*, it is forbidden to sell pigs; however it is permitted to sell leeches, though it is forbidden to eat them); the question of their barter against other animals (see J. Schacht, *Origins*, 108) or of a contract for delivery with prepayment [see SALAM] is also debated; ritual sacrifices are the subject of precise instructions as is the killing of animals intended for eating [see DHABĪḤA]; to this chapter is connected that of hunting and game [see ṢAYD] and, secondarily, of furs [see FARW]; the prohibitions imposed on pilgrims in a state of *iḥrām* form another legal question [see ḤADJDJ and IḤRĀM], while some traditions of the Prophet lead to the posing of the question whether, outside the state of *iḥrām*, it is legal to kill certain animals and, on occasion, to eat their flesh. Thus the fundamental problem is reached, which concerns on the one hand food, and on the other the use for other purposes of one or another portion of a forbidden animal. In what follows we shall concern ourselves with the juridical status (*ḥukm*) of the various species of animals.

The Ḳurʾān enumerates on several occasions the prohibitions concerning the eating of the flesh of an animal which has not been ritually slaughtered, concerning the spilt blood, and the pig (V, 4/3; see also II, 168/173, VI, 146/145, XVI, 116/115), but in the last verse it provides for the lifting of the prohibitions in a case of absolute necessity (on the question of the pig, see KHINZĪR; for the spilt blood, we remember that the early Arabs, when they were dying of thirst in the desert, sometimes resigned themselves to slaughtering a camel and drinking its blood [*madjdūḥ*; see *Arabica*, 1955/3, 327]). Traditions of the Prophet and Islamic jurisprudence concede this *ḍarūra*, but in general they are much stricter, for they impose prohibitions upon species of which nothing is said in the Ḳurʾān, but without, it seems, restoring pre-Islamic practices (on which at present we possess only inadequate data). In fact the juridical schools have endeavoured, in a completely empirical way, to put an end to the uncertainty which existed in the early period of Islam (see I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 74) and to draw up lists of animals the consumption of which is lawful (*ḥalāl*), prohibited (*ḥarām*) or reprehensible (*makrūh*), without reaching absolute agreement (the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* of al-Damīrī, used with caution, is the most useful manual on this, for the author indicates the legal classification of each species according to the various schools).

In order to arrive at the *ḥukm*, several general criteria, Ḳurʾānic or based on tradition, have been applied by all the schools. Thus, by virtue of V, 97/96 "Permitted to you is the game of the sea and the food of it", all fish are lawful and their flesh may be eaten without ritual slaughter; however, some marine or aquatic animals are declared *ḥarām* or *makrūh*, or are still the subject of discussions, for they come within the sphere in which other criteria are applied; thus the frog, which would normally be *ḥalāl*, is regarded as *ḥarām* because the Prophet forbade the killing of it (see below). Moreover, some *fuḳahāʾ* zealots, in their meticulous search for anything impure, condemn the eating of those aquatic animals which have names resembling those of unlawful land animals ("dog of the sea", "pig of the sea", "ass of the sea"; their zeal leads them to prohibit an animal which has the same name as a forbidden animal even in a language other than Arabic, as with the ass, which in West Africa has the same name as the pig, cf. A. Gouilly, *L'Islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française*, Paris 1952, 205), or those which have the same shape (especially the eel, which is the same shape as the serpent). They go so far as to declare unlawful all marine creatures which have not got the shape of fishes (Ḥanafīs), with the explanation that the Ḳurʾānic text authorizes fishing, but not necessarily the eating of everything caught (al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, ms. Paris ar. 6763, fol. 248 v.). Special cases are the scatophagous fishes, fishes found inside the belly of another fish, and above all the *ṭāfī*, dead fish floating in the water, which is lawful only for the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs, though the Ḥanafīs permit the *ṭāfī* if it has been killed by an accident and has not died a natural death, which leads to a discussion of whether death from heat or cold is to be considered as natural (al-Marghīnānī, *op. cit.*, fol. 249 v.). The crustaceans are often

unlawful or reprehensible, as is the whole class of animals with shells.

By virtue of the verses (V, 6-7/4-5) "The good things (*ṭayyibāt*) are permitted you", we find included in the chapter of what is *ḥalāl* those animals whose flesh is esteemed for its flavour (chickens, sheep, etc.); conversely, the peacock and other animals are declared *ḥarām* because of the bad quality of their flesh. By the same token *istiḳdhār* or *istikhbāth*, *i.e.*, the habit of consuming unpleasant food, causes animals possessing it to be classed among those which are *ḥarām*: *e.g.*, scarab beetles. In this field there is a certain amount of indecision and not a little subtlety: the stork for example, which would be *ḥalāl*, is regarded as *ḥarām* because it eats snakes. Snakes themselves are *ḥalāl*, but eating them classes the stork among the carnivores. Indeed, among the Traditions of the Prophet which are also invoked, there is one (see Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 32; Zayd b. ʿAlī, *Corpus iuris*, no. 538), which was to serve also as the basis for a division into *bahāʾim* and *sibāʿ* (see below), and according to which all carnivores are forbidden whether they are mammals equipped with fangs (*dhu nāb*) or birds provided with claws (*dhū mikhlab*); but it is not universally accepted, and the Mālikīs (see al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. and tr. Bercher, [3]Algiers 1949, 299) permit the eating of the flesh of birds of prey, while the Awzāʿīs (see al-Damīrī, s.v. *al-bāzī*) consider that no bird is *ḥarām*. All the jurisconsults regard the cat, the dog, the wolf, the crocodile etc. as *ḥarām*, and travellers report with disgust any cases of eating dogs which they witness (see, *e.g.*, al-Muḳaddasī, *Description de l'Occident musulman*, Algiers 1950, 61 and n. 172); the fox is generally considered as lawful, the jackal and the wild cat are the subject of disagreement, and the hyena is lawful, except for the Mālikīs, who pronounce it *makrūh*. (The Prophet, questioned on the lawfulness of the hyena, is said to have replied: "But who eats the hyena?"; see al-Damīrī, s.v. *arnab*; Ibn Mādja, xxviii, 15; al-Tirmidhī, xxiii, 4). The classification of the elephant is disputed, for although it is a herbivore, it possesses means of defence which are termed *nāb* in Arabic.

According to another *ḥadīth* the Prophet is said to have forbidden the killing of bees (because God made a revelation to them [see NAḤL]), ants (for the same reason [see NAML]), frogs (because they were close to God when the Throne was upon the water and because their croaking is a praise to God), hoopoes (because of the part which one of them played with Solomon [see HUDHUD]), and finally the *ṣurad* (magpie) which was the first to fast; it follows that it is also forbidden to eat the flesh of these animals, although opinions do not altogether agree on this. Swallows and bats are the subjects of the same prohibition because the Prophet forbade the killing of them for similar reasons, but the jurisconsults are far from agreeing on the authenticity of the *ḥadīth*s about them. Conversely, certain animals are *ḥarām* because the Prophet ordered them to be killed for their impious conduct; these *fawāsiḳ* are the kite (*ḥidāʾa*), the black and white crow (*abḳaʿ*), the scorpion, the mouse and the *ʿaḳūr* dog; the kite and the dog are already included in another prohibition; the other varieties of crow are lawful, while the prohibition concerning the mouse extends to all rodents with the exception of the jerboa, which in any case is sometimes classed among the *ḥasharāt* or insects, which are considered as *ḥarām*, except by the Mālikīs; thus the scorpion is already forbidden under this heading, but the idea of *ḥasharāt* is rather confused, for among them is found the lizard (which is *ḥalāl*) and the hedgehog (*ḥalāl* among the Shāfiʿīs); on the other hand, locusts [see DJARĀD], which form a supplementary food for the Bedouin, are not forbidden by any school, even if found dead (this, with fish, is one of the two *maytas* which according to one *ḥadīth* are lawful). But some insist that they must have been intentionally killed and their heads cut off. (Yet against this may be cited ʿAlī, who is reputed to have said *kulhu kullahu* "eat them all", when shown a heap of locusts some of which were already dead; al-Marghīnānī, *op. cit.*, fol. 249 v.). Reptiles are in general considered unlawful or reprehensible, except among the Mālikīs who merely apply the criterion of harmfulness and authorize the eating even of poisonous snakes if the poisonous part has been cut off. The lizard (*ḍubb*), however, is often recognized as lawful, by virtue of some *ḥadīth*s which state that the Prophet abstained from them merely because of personal dislike, but some others say that this species represents a tribe of the Banū Isrāʾīl which had been metamorphosed, and this leads to their being prohibited (al-Bukhārī, lxx, 10, 28; Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 27; al-Dārimī, vii, 80; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 111 f., etc.; cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 93). Animals which are considered to have no liquid blood are in general regarded as lawful, since blood is what constitutes the impurity of animals which have not been ritually slaughtered (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 83). Many, however, are forbidden (except by the Mālikīs) because of the disgust which is felt for them and which causes them to be classed among the *khabāʾith*, "unclean foods", discouraged by the Ḳurʾān (VII, 156/157). This vicious circle, from the logical point of view, is moreover applied to other foods and allows all prohibitions to be canonized. This is particularly true for the *ḥasharāt al-arḍ*, (sometimes *khashāsh*), a term which embraces in a variable and inconsequential way the small animals which live on the ground, and are in general forbidden or reprehensible, in spite of a *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd, xxvi, 29a; cf. Damīrī, s.v.). They include scorpions, all kinds of insects, and worms. Concerning the latter there is much disagreement, for it is difficult not to eat them accidentally with other foods. Some schools make efforts to distinguish those which have been engendered by the food itself from those which have not, those which are alive or dead, those which have *rūḥ* or not (cf. discussion by al-Djazīrī, *Kitāb al-Fiḳh*, ii, 3 and n. 1).

In general birds without talons are permitted, but certain of them are the subjects of discussion, and receive different classifications according to the schools; this is the case notably with the parrot and the owl.

It goes without saying that a certain number of animals have not received any classification, because it has not occurred to anyone to eat their flesh. Similarly for very rare species the question has not been solved because it has not arisen; thus al-Damīrī mentions that nobody has been concerned with the rhinoceros, which he himself considers at first sight to be *ḥalāl*; the case of the giraffe is disputed; and finally the monkey is regarded as *ḥarām* except by the Mālikīs; here there intervenes, as in the case of the *nisnās* (see Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 105, tr. 34) the new idea of a resemblance between animals and humans, which, by a kind of natural law, prevents people eating these creatures without a formal prohibition being necessary (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *apud* al-Damīrī, s.v. *ḳird*, where is found moreover a *ḥadīth* condemning the eating of monkeys).

Among domestic animals, while the camel, the ox, the sheep etc. present no problem, the equidae give rise to disagreements; the horse is lawful for the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, while the other schools consider it *makrūh*; the domestic ass is *ḥarām*, except for the Ḥanbalīs who regard it as *makrūh*, while the wild ass is *ḥalāl* for all schools except the Ḥanafīs. The mule, arising from a crossing of two differently classified species, is prohibited, except that, at least for those who regard the horse as *ḥalāl*, the offspring of a horse and a wild she-ass is permitted.

In contrast to the other schools, the Ẓāhirīs, and particularly Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], remain faithful to their fundamentalist criterion and base themselves on Ḳurʾān, VI, 119 "... seeing that He has distinguished for you that He has forbidden you", to reject prohibitions which are not found in the Ḳurʾān.

The S̲h̲īʿīs do not differ radically from the Sunnīs; although they differ from them on points of detail, they nevertheless base their decisions on identical criteria. Thus the *ḳāḍī* al-Nuʿmān (*Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣār*, ed. Muḥ. Waḥīd Mīrzā, Damascus 1376/1957, 95-6), who sets forth the doctrine of the Ismāʿīlīs, points out that God has forbidden the eating of carrion, spilt blood and pork (Ḳurʾān, V, 4/3) and that the Prophet declared unlawful carnivores with fangs and birds with talons (see above); he adds that the hyena and the fox are forbidden, and that the eating of the lizard, the hedgehog, insects (*ḥas̲h̲arāt*), snakes and all the small reptiles or insects included under the name of *k̲h̲as̲h̲ās̲h̲* is to be discouraged; only locusts caught alive while in flight are permitted. However, the S̲h̲īʿīs include among the flesh which is forbidden or reprehensible that of several particular birds (the lark etc.) and that of two new categories: birds which hover more than they fly, and birds which lack both a gizzard and other organs (Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 232 ff.). The Ismāʿīlīs authorize the eating of horse-meat only in the case of an animal useless for any work, and they forbid absolutely the flesh of mules and domestic donkeys; also *ḥarām* are animals which habitually eat excrement (*d̲j̲allāla*), unless they have been fed a certain time on herbage. It is also *ḥarām* to consume the milk or the eggs of forbidden animals, but abstention from eating certain parts of permitted animals—the glands, the spleen, the genitals etc.—is also recommended. Among aquatic animals those which have no *ḳis̲h̲r*, *i.e.*, scales (cf. Leviticus, XI, 9, Deut. XIV, 9) are forbidden, as are those which are not alive when caught. In cases of necessity, however, all these prohibitions are waived.

These general considerations leave the way open for argument, especially in the case of animals which are difficult to classify; an example is the cat-fish (*d̲j̲irrī*; see H. Laoust, *Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 136-8). Divergences appear as well among the S̲h̲īʿī sects; thus Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 352; tr. Gibb, ii, 468) relates that for the Ḥanafī inhabitants of Sinope (Ṣanūb) the best way of assuring themselves that a traveller and his companions adhered to Sunnism was to offer them a hare, for the Rāfiḍīs do not eat the flesh of this animal (though the Ismāʿīlīs do).

To the question of the legality of killing certain animals is added the forbidding of pilgrims in the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] to shed blood, from which arises the problem of how one is to deal with vermin; the question arises also in connexion with prayer [see ṢALĀT].

At another level arises the question of the way in which animals are to be treated; for example it is permitted to kill a cock, but the Prophet forbade reviling it because it performs the religious function of awakening the Faithful at the time of prayer; the same rule applies to fleas "who awakened a prophet". In general Muslims are counselled to treat animals, and particularly their mounts, well, for they will have to give account in the next world of any cruelty which they have inflicted on them in this (on behaviour towards animals, see G.-H. Bousquet, *Des animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, ix (1958), 31-48; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, ch. xxii).

The problem presented by the use of the parts of animals regarded as *ḥarām* is a complex one which cannot be given here the full treatment which it deserves (al-Damīrī gives precise details on this topic). By way of example, among the Mālikīs (al-Ḳayrawānī, *op. cit.*, 297), the Muslim who has had of necessity to eat the flesh of an animal not ritually slaughtered may not use its skin as a prayer rug, nor may he sell it. Similarly, before the skins of wild beasts (*sibāʿ*) may be used as prayer rugs, or sold, it is necessary for them to have been ritually slaughtered. Although pigs are forbidden in the Ḳurʾān, the Mālikīs allow the use of hogs' bristles.

It is hardly possible within the limits of this article to enlarge on the subject of the lawfulness of animals, the complexity of which in Islamic law is due to what the doctors consider to be the insufficiency of the Ḳurʾānic regulations. Prohibitions concerning food being considered necessary—as is proved by the fact that later "prophets" hastened to enact more of them [see, *e.g.*, ḤĀ-MĪM]—the schools, in order to develop the system outlined in the verses at the beginning of this section, applied various criteria (on which they are not always unanimous), so that in order to present this intricate subject more completely, it would be necessary to list all the animals and to indicate for each one the *ḥukm* adopted by each of the different schools. It would also be instructive to compare these classifications with the Biblical regulations (Leviticus, XI, 1-47; Deuteronomy, XIV, 4-21; see also Isaiah, LXV, 4, LXVI, 3, 17) and with the criteria laid down: it is lawful to eat ruminant quadrupeds with cloven hoofs (this excludes the horse, the donkey, the camel, the rabbit, the hare and the pig), also aquatic animals equipped with fins and scales; birds which are held in abomination and reptiles which are lawful are listed separately. The prohibitions set forth in the Old Testament are regarded in the Ḳurʾān (IV, 158/160) as a punishment inflicted on the Jews for their iniquity and their disobedience to God, and the Holy Book of Islam had no reason to be so severe, but the scruples of the *fuḳahāʾ* led them to adopt a more rigorous position and to restrict the alleviations from which Muslims could benefit. In certain cases custom supersedes a legal ruling which is considered to be too liberal: thus, the coney (*wabr*) is in general considered lawful, in contrast to the Biblical regulation, but it is the object of prohibitions based on custom, for example among the Egyptian Bedouin (see G. W. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935, 90), or among the settled communities of Southern Arabia (see Freya Stark, *The southern gates of Arabia*, Penguin ed., London 1945, 67 f.).

5. Animals in literature. Several animal species occupy a notable place in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. To give an idea of the extent of this, in vol. i of *al-Mad̲j̲ānī 'l-ḥadīt̲h̲a* of F. al-Bustānī, Beirut 1945, which provides a representative survey of this poetry, are mentioned, under various names, about

80 animals among which camels [see IBIL], horses [see FARAS], ostriches [see NAʿĀM] and lions [see ASAD] are the most frequent (M. M. D. al-Nowaihi has studied this question in an unpublished thesis presented at London in 1942: *Animals in ancient Arabic poetry* [excluding the horse and the camel]; a thesis entitled *Le chameau dans la poésie arabe antéislamique*, by E. K. Zakharia, is in course of preparation at Paris).

In Arabic poetry in the Islamic period, animals of the desert naturally tend to occupy a less important place, even among the classical and neo-classical writers, although these continue to describe their camels and to boast of their journeys across the empty spaces; in spite of the abundance of new sources of inspiration, the "modernists" did not hesitate to display their linguistic knowledge in *ṭaradiyyāt* [*q.v.*] in which they built up artificially an extraordinarily rich vocabulary. Some of them wrote charming verses on pet animals, especially Muḥ. b. Yasīr (see Ch. Pellat, *Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Riyās̲h̲ī wa-as̲h̲ʿāruh*, in *Machriq*, 1955, 289-338) or al-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḳāsim (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 229 and index), who composed elegies on goats, cats, birds (see K. A. Fariq, *An ʿAbbāsid secretary-poet who was interested in animals*, in *IC*, xxiv (1950), 261-70). During the following centuries the crow [see G̲H̲URĀB] and the lion retain their place in literature (for they symbolize respectively the sadness of separation, and strength and boldness), while new species appear: *e.g.*, the elephant and the giraffe. Descriptions of nature induce new themes and original symbols, and the poets describe the ugliest animals as well as the pleasantest; the pigeon [see ḤAMĀM], the nightingale [see BULBUL], the peacock [see ṬĀʾŪS] are used as symbols, not only in Arabic, but also in Persian and in Turkish literature. The poets of the Muslim West concerned themselves very much with pets, ignoring the camel, which they scarcely knew (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 235-47).

In the field of prose the situation is quite different. No stories of animals are found in pre-Islamic Arabia, which in any case did not, generally speaking, possess a very highly developed folklore [see ḤIKĀYA], and the fables attributed to Luḳmān [*q.v.*] date for the most part from after the beginning of Islam. The translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] was thus something of a revelation, but it remained a masterpiece which was occasionally imitated but never surpassed. First should be mentioned the verse rendering of these fables by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*], then that by Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*] in his *Natāʾid̲j̲ al-fiṭna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*; next the imitations of Sahl b. Hārūn [*q.v.*] in his *K. T̲h̲aʿlā wa-ʿAfrā* and his *K. al-Namir wa ʾl-t̲h̲aʿlab* (a ms. of which has just been identified in Tunis; see ʿA. al-Mhīrī, in *Ḥawliyyāt al-D̲j̲āmiʿa al-Tūnusiyya*, i (1964), 19-40), of Ibn Ẓafar [*q.v.*] in his *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ*, as well as the *K. al-Ṣādiḥ wa ʾl-bāg̲h̲im* of Ibn al-Habbāriyya and the *Fākihat al-k̲h̲ulafāʾ* of Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]. None of these works appears to have gained the same success as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and it may be said that Arabic literature still awaits its La Fontaine.

We note also that a certain number of animals are introduced in the *Thousand and one nights* and that in it the theme of metamorphosis is widely used (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949, 93, 142-4, 193 and *passim*; M. I. Gerhardt, *The art of story-telling*, Leiden 1963, 305 ff.).

Apart from *d̲j̲inns* and *g̲h̲ūls* (see above) there exists also a certain number of fabulous animals, mainly birds [see ʿANḲĀʾ, RUK̲H̲K̲H̲, SĪMURG̲H̲].

In the folklore of certain regions of the Muslim world animal stories are most numerous; in North Africa, in particular, they form an important element of the native Berber literature and show numerous affinities with the corresponding western tales; here it is the jackal [see IBN ĀWĀ], half way between the wolf and the fox, which is the central figure (see H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 240 ff.). In the dialectical Arabic of North Africa, the perceptible Berber influence is added to the eastern borrowings drawn principally from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; apart from the jackal, the most usual figures are well-known animals: the donkey, the ox, the ram, the he-goat, the hen, the dog, the cat, as well as the fox, the gazelle, the hyena and the lion. Most of the manuals and collections of texts in dialect Arabic reproduce some of these stories (see Bibl. of the art. ḤIKĀYA). (CH. PELLAT)

6. Animals in art. Representations of animals occupy only a restricted place in the art of the Islamic countries, limited by the tendencies towards non-representationalism and decorative abstraction which typify this art and which, though varying considerably from one region and one period to another in their development, contribute in large measure to the originality of Muslim civilization [see FANN]. For it was primarily religious restrictions which led to the prohibition of all representations of living beings and which explain their total absence from public buildings such as mosques. Such restrictions, however, in no way prevented painted or sculptured compositions of a secular character from taking their inspiration from nature, and in particular from fauna, even when they avoided too precise a delineation of physical form, or from frequently testifying, within the bounds of Islamic culture, to the continuance or revival of very ancient traditions.

A systematic inventory of the zoomorphic figures thus used and their main types has not yet been undertaken. The diversity of the various fields in which such an inquiry would have to be conducted, from architectural ornament to illustrations of manuscripts and ranging through all the luxury articles produced by craft-work, suffices to show its importance. But the results obtained would no doubt vary greatly according to the nature and material of the objects under consideration [see ʿĀD̲J̲, BILLAWR, etc.]. It would also reveal the differences of treatment accorded to each species of animal, based on ideas derived either from literature or from daily observation as well as symbolic and magic significance [see ASAD, FĪL, etc.]. This point has been made clear in the all too rare studies of any profundity based on certain iconographic animal motifs, such as, for example, the unicorn or the ibex devouring a snake (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Studies in Muslim iconography, I, The unicorn*, Washington 1950, and *The "Snake-eating Stag" in the East*, in *Late and mediaeval studies in honour of Albert Mathias Friend Jr.*, Princeton 1955, 272-86).

Even before other investigations of this kind are undertaken, it may be stated that certain animal figures, employed as much for their ornamental qualities as for the different connotations that they might convey and often associated with the glorification of royal power, made their appearance in Islamic art as early as the Umayyad period. Certain elements of the bestiary were thus incorporated in the sculptures carved in half-relief on the façade of the

palace of Mshatta [*q.v.*], while subjects of the same order, though more familiar, were painted on the vaulting of the bath at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra [*q.v.*], and the principal mosaic of the castle of Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*] had as its theme two facing gazelles grazing and a lion attacking one of them, on each side of a majestic tree. Mention must also be made of the realistic representation of a galloping horse and wounded deer in a fresco of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], for in these experiments we can see the first illustrations of a taste which was subsequently to prove enduring in the Muslim world. For a long time, indeed, the decoration of palaces and rich mansions sought to find a place for a whole stock of more or less stereotyped animal motifs taken from the Sāsānid or Hellenistic East, and later associated with the life of luxury and pleasure lived by the new holders of sovereign power.

The same reasons explain the frequency of these motifs on articles of furniture connected with the daily routine of princely life and, whether ceramics or metal artefacts or even precious fabrics, characterized alike by the need to ensure the glory, happiness and good fortune of the patrons who had ordered them. For this reason, particular preference was shown for representations of those animals which had long been utilized as the symbols of royal power (the lion, the bird of prey, etc.), which might evoke the sovereign's pastimes (hunting scenes), or which had been endowed with some beneficent properties of talismanic and astrological origin (signs of the Zodiac). These images provided the craftsmen with the essential elements for linear decorations (painted, engraved, or worked on a flat surface) which generally combined interlaced floral and geometrical forms with bands embellished with strings of quadrupeds or birds, as well as medallions decorated with figures exactly repeated or sometimes symmetrically facing each other. They also formed the subject of the rarer sculptures in relief imitating the silhouettes of well-known animals especially for ewers and incense-burners.

Examples of this kind remain relatively rare during the earliest centuries of Islam, from which period we can cite only the bronzes influenced by Sāsānid tradition, such as the group to which belongs the so-called aiguière of Marwān II. But their number steadily increased with the development of ʿAbbāsid civilisation and its growing receptivity to foreign customs, some of which were tainted with heterodoxy. A significant proof of this is afforded by the Buwayhid articles of goldsmith's work or textiles which, with due observance of the aesthetic laws of stylization and repetition, were decorated with such animals as felines, ibexes, elephants, eagles, peacocks and even griffins (analyses of these motifs in G. Wiet, *Soieries persanes*, Cairo 1947). But we can also take as an example the ivory boxes made in Muslim Spain in the 4th/10th century [see ʿĀDJ] and Egyptian Fāṭimid sculptures in crystal, ivory or wood (see particularly G. Marçais, *Les figures d'hommes et de bêtes dans les bois sculptés d'époque fâtimite conservés au Musée arabe du Caire*, in *Mélanges Maspéro III*, 1935-40, 241-57), not forgetting the dishes and bowls of faïence with lustre decoration that were made at that time in different parts of the Muslim world.

Of these various instances in which animal decoration takes a prominent place, some employ a range of figures of "heraldic" style, to be found principally in ʿIrāḳ or Iran, and whose Sāsānid antecedents can be recognized without difficulty: simplified interpretations of these motifs appear even in the most common types of ornamented pottery (see, for examples from the 5th/11th century, sherds found at Bust and studied in J.-C. Gardin, *Lashkari-Bazar II. Les trouvailles*, 45-9 and index). Other figures reveal the appearance of touches of a delicate realism which, in their veracity of detail or sense of movement, renew the handling of classical subjects and give an authentic freedom of posture to the animals carved on Egyptian panels or painted with rapid strokes on pottery of the same origin (cf. the remarks of R. Ettinghausen, *Early realism in Islamic Art*, in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, i, Rome 1956, 250-73). But it was above all in Saldjūḳid or later art, in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries and from the time when the expansion of the new Turkish empires had opened up the way in the Near East to increased Iranian and Asiatic influences, that the effects of this realism made themselves felt most forcefully.

It was then that the most remarkable animal-shaped metalwork objects known in the Islamic countries were produced, objects which, in recent years, successive exhibitions devoted to Iranian art have made it possible to bring together and compare. At the same period, on public buildings in Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia, there appeared numerous representations of animals, carved in stone or stucco and intended primarily to serve as talismans, sometimes inspired by an astral symbolism then very widespread (motif of knotted dragons, selected signs of the Zodiac) (cf. M. van Berchem, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, 78 ff., and D. S. Rice, *Medieval Harran*, in *Anatolian Studies*, ii (1952), 65-6). With these we may compare the types of contemporary coinage, especially the Artuḳid and Dānishmendid, which provided similar motifs—in earlier periods, only a medal of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil had borne on the obverse the figure of a dromedary (cf. T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, pl. LIX d) —while a later echo is to be found in the "lions of Baybars" which were to mark, as though with a coat-of-arms, the principal constructions and foundations of this Mamlūk sultan.

In the same period too zoomorphic figures were utilized in linear ornamentation to decorate the walls of public buildings or on specimens of the minor arts (see the analyses of decorations of this type, with excellent drawings, in the studies of D. S. Rice devoted to specimens of Islamic metal-work inlaid with silver). The masterpieces which owe a large proportion of their interest to such manifestations belong as much to Iran or Saldjūḳid Anatolia as to Syria and Egypt (first under the Ayyūbids, then the Mamlūks), and not forgetting the region of Mosul (for its workshops of bronze-workers, see AL-MAWṢIL). But it must be noted that only the provinces of Khurāsān witnessed the development of those astonishing types of zoomorphic inscriptions, restricted to objects in metal, which have quite recently attracted attention and which made use of the silhouettes of animals either to delineate the actual characters, or else to "animate" them by outlining them within the interlaced foliage which formed the background (see D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1955, 21-33). No doubt this must be regarded as the most perfect example of the adaptation of fauna to the requirements of the arabesque to be found among the typical aspects of ancient art in Islam.

It was moreover in the Iranian or Indo-Iranian arts that, during the later periods, the taste for

animal motifs continued to serve as a pretext for ornamental stylizations that are full of freshness and delicacy, while in the other regions of the Muslim world they were gradually abandoned. Ṣafawid brocades and carpets thus provide, up to a recent period, an illustration of the resources of this at once graceful and conventional repertory, which research in the Mongol period had successfully revived, but which thereafter was to remain unknown to Muslim artisans working elsewhere than in Persia.

Side by side with these zoomorphic elements of Islamic decoration, we must also not overlook the representations of animals multiplied, though in quite a different spirit, by Muslim painters and miniaturists, who very frequently took their models from the animal world and succeeded in giving interpretations of markedly ornamental character, yet sometimes not devoid of exactness or even realism.

Indeed, even in an ancient period, at the time of the rise of what it has recently been suggested should be called "Arab painting" (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962), and which corresponds more precisely with a flowering that took place in post-Saldjūḳid Irako-Mesopotamian or even Syro-Egyptian culture (from the end of the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th century), the actual nature of the works illustrated, books of *adab* including collections of fables or technical treatises sometimes touching on zoology, further encouraged the very particular popularity that representations of animals then enjoyed. By way of example it will suffice to refer to the illuminated copies of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ which have survived (copies in Paris, B.N., Ar. 3465 and 3467; Munich, Staatsbibl. C. arab. 616; Cairo, Nat. Lib., Pers. lit. 61; Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Pococke 400) as well as copies of the two *K. Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* edited by Ibn Bakhtīshūʿ (in Persian; New York, Morgan Lib., M. 500; Washington, Freer Gall. No. 27-5) and by Ibn al-Durayhim al-Mawṣilī (Escorial, Ar. 898), without overlooking the *K. al-Bayṭara* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Aḥnaf (Istanbul, Topkapı Saray, Ahmet III 2115) or the *Kashf al-asrār* of Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Lala Ismail 565) and the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ (see O. Löfgren, *Ambrosian fragments of an illuminated manuscript containing the zoology of al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1946).

But in these various works, to which might be added the "genre scenes" with figures of familiar animals found occasionally in other illustrated manuscripts of the same period (see, for example, the scenes known as "the herd of camels", "the departure of the caravan", or "the discussion near a village" in a MS of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Harīrī: Paris, B.N., Ar. 5847), it is of particular interest to note a stylistic continuity which makes it permissible to speak of a style of portrayal of animals peculiar to the pictorial art thus represented. This style might essentially be defined as the "combination of shrewd perception of the animal's special qualities with a natural way of presenting them" (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, 136).

In point of fact, in the earliest known copy of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, of the beginning of the 7th/13th century (MS Paris, B.N. ar. 3465), it is easy to see what care has been taken to give life and expressiveness to animal forms, little by little escaping from the conventionalism inherent in the traditional Iranian style, which incidentally is reflected in the balance of each picture. The apogee of this tendency is ultimately found in such a typical work of the so-called Baghdād school as the MS Ḥarīrī-Schéfer previously referred to, signed by a certain al-Wāsiṭī in 634/1237. It can be seen to disappear finally with the rise of the formalism that was to characterize Mamlūk painting, while it was to be reborn in a new form in the truly Persian schools of painting which were to take shape after the rupture brought about by the Mongol conquest. These schools were indeed to preserve the feeling of the animal's movement, even when in place of the earlier attempts at realism they substituted the return to a more ornamental conception of the different subjects treated and when their masterpieces took shape under the inspiration of extremely varied aesthetic sensibilities (in addition to the classical works on the subject, see the recent work of B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961).

Thus it is possible to confer upon the Muslim miniaturists, considered as a whole, the well-deserved epithet of "master animal-painters", a title which it would seem difficult to reconcile with the regulations restricting the freedom of the creative imagination in that civilization, but which none the less justly emphasizes one of the most attractive aspects of art in Islam.

Bibliography: There is no comprehensive study devoted to this question. Various individual studies have been referred to in the text. For further study of certain of the aspects discussed above, reference should be made to K. A. C. Creswell, *A Bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam*, London 1961, to which may now be added E. J. Grube, *Three miniatures from Fusṭāṭ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in *Ars Or.*, v (1963), 89, 95, and H. Goetz, *Indo-Islamic figural sculpture*, *ibid.*, 235-41.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

7. Zoology among the Muslims. On the scientific plane, one might have thought that the works devoted to animals by Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS], the founder of rational zoology, would have allowed those Arab scholars who were willing to use the results of Greek learning to make great progress in the knowledge of the animal kingdom and to introduce zoology among the disciplines cultivated by the Muslims, on a level with, for example, scientific geography, mathematics or medicine. But, in spite of Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ's translation of Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries), zoology has never been a very popular discipline and the increasingly limited place which it occupies in the various theoretical classifications of the sciences is significant in this respect. In the classification of Aristotle it forms an integral part of "physics", linked with psychology, and it is still found with the soul (*nafs*) among the physical and natural sciences (*al-ʿilm al-ṭabīʿī*) in al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUthmān Amīn, Cairo 1949, 99 (see L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introd. à la théol. mus.*, 106); it appears as an independent science among the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (Gardet-Anawati, 109), is classed among foreign sciences in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Khwārizmī (Gardet-Anawati, 111), but is no longer found in the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī (Gardet-Anawati, 117), or in the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldūn (Gardet-Anawati, 123-4). It does not seem either to have interested al-Ḳalḳashandī, who does not cite any work of zoology proper among *Les classiques du scribe égyptien* (G. Wiet, in *St. Isl.*, xviii, 50-3).

This growing indifference to zoology shown by Arab thinkers and writers is very difficult to explain

when one considers the interest taken in animals by Muslim law, but is probably due in great part to the absence of organized research and specialist works of truly scientific character, although zoological gardens (*ḥayr al-waḥsh*) in which the rarest and fiercest species of animals had been assembled at great expense (see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 383; Eng. tr., 404-5, where also organized combats are mentioned) ought to have aroused the curiosity of scholars and encouraged them to undertake thorough studies. But zoology among the Muslims remained at the literary, or perhaps one may say the religious stage; it cannot even be called descriptive in the works of those authors who have made efforts to give some order to previously discovered facts and to produce alphabetical catalogues. The innocent cause of this deficiency is very probably al-Dj̲āḥiẓ [*q.v.*], the author of a monumental *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* in seven volumes, the confessed aim of which is not the scientific study of the animal species but the demonstration of the existence of the Creator through the observation of His creation (ii, 109 ff., iii, 209 ff.) and the glorification of the Divine Wisdom which has created nothing completely useless or harmful: dangerous or malicious animals (which it is permissible to kill, i, 307-8) are in fact a trial (*miḥna*) imposed on men by God (iii, 300). Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ is perfectly well acquainted with Aristotle and allows himself on occasion to criticize him (*e.g.*, vi, 17) and quotes from him quite extensively (see Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī, *Takh̲rīdj̲ nuṣūṣ aristaṭāliyya min Kitāb al-Ḥayawān li 'l-Dj̲āḥiẓ*, in *Madj̲allat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Alexandria 1953 ff.), but he is convinced that he has no need of recourse to Greek ideas, given that practically all that is found in the zoological works of the "philosophers" is known already to the Bedouins (iii, 268); thus, though an admirer of the *Ṣāḥib al-Manṭiḳ*, he deliberately ignores Aristotle's principles of classification, admittedly rather negative and difficult to grasp (see *Parties des animaux*, tr. J.-M. Le Blond, Paris 1945, i, 66), in order to adhere to a rudimentary empiricism.

After having stated (i, 26) that created things are divided into three categories: *muttafiḳ* (similar), *mukh̲talif* (different), *mutaḍādd* (opposite), al-Dj̲āḥiẓ, after some hesitation as to the place to give to the stars, the four elements, etc., distinguishes on the one hand inorganic (*dj̲amād* = inert) and on the other organic matter (*nāmⁱⁿ* = growing). He then divides the organic section into two "kingdoms": animal (*ḥayawān*) and vegetable (*nabāt*); the animal kingdom is in turn subdivided into four branches according to the way in which the animal moves: walking (*mā yams̲h̲ī*), flying (*mā yaṭīr*), swimming (*mā yasbaḥ*), crawling (*mā yansāḥ*); this classification, which is based simply on current observation, is the same as the Biblical division (I Kings, IV, 33: "[Solomon] spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes") and corresponds to one of the Platonic criteria of classification. Starting from these "classes", al-Dj̲āḥiẓ experiences some embarrassment, for not only does he admit that his own division is not a rational one since he is obliged to exclude the ostrich from the "class" of birds while including the bat, but he has to give up the attempt to adopt too rigid subdivisions because of inability to pass from the particular to the general in defining the fundamental attributes of the species and the genera. Finally, he mixes functional criteria and habits of life to determine the species, and though he has a vague idea of what were to be the "orders", "families" and "genera" in the modern systematic classification, he adheres in general to the species which he divided into the four categories mentioned above:

1. animals which walk: men (*nās*), the *bahā'im* (*i.e.*, non-carnivorous quadrupeds, either domestic or wild), the *sibāʿ* (fierce animals, *i.e.*, carnivores, domestic or wild), insects (*ḥas̲h̲arāt*) without wings.

2. animals which fly: of these there are only three "orders": (a) carnivorous birds (*sibāʿ*) which in turn are subdivided into "noble" (*aḥrār*, *i.e.*, large birds of prey such as the eagle, the vulture, etc.), "common" (*bug̲h̲āth*, less equipped with means of defence), and little birds which feed on insects; (b) the birds which are *bahā'im*, *i.e.*, in general the grain-eaters which protect themselves by fleeing; (c) the *hamadj̲*, winged insects.

In the course of his work he distinguishes many different species of reptiles, but he does not suggest any classification. Similarly he does not venture to classify the fish (among which he includes intentionally mammals such as the whale), and in any case he says that he has not found in early poetry enough reliable evidence, the accounts of sailors being untrustworthy (vi, 16).

The *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, which is a work of *adab* of religious character and not of natural science, is characterized by the greatest disorder. Its sources are varied, but the most important are the literary data collected by the investigators of the 2nd and 3rd/8th and 9th centuries, enriched by oral traditions, by information obtained from conversations and current observation, and also by little experiments performed by the author himself or by his Muʿtazilī friends, *e.g.*, that which concerns the effect on animals of spirituous drinks (ii, 228-9), or his researches on spontaneous generation (iii, 348), of which he is a convinced supporter (iii, 372, v, 371, etc.) against those who deny it and claim that an animal can be begotten only by an animal (v, 349). Al-Dj̲āḥiẓ takes a particular interest in hybrids and devotes to the mule [see BAG̲H̲L] a treatise which follows the *K. al-Ḥayawān*. On another plane, following the method of Aristotle, who links zoology with the study of the soul, he scatters throughout his work pertinent notes on the psychology of animals (*e.g.*, vi, 69 ff. on pride) and, considering the influence of environment to be of major importance, he sketches a doctrine of evolution which is not without interest. In all, nearly 350 animals are examined in a manner more or less profound but always unsystematic, and to find one's bearings use must be made of the excellent index to the edition of ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn; it is thus possible to gauge the zoological knowledge of the early Arabs and to gain an idea of the opinions which they held on certain animal species. Being a good Muʿtazilī, who submits everything to the criterion of reason, al-Dj̲āḥiẓ makes an effort in passing to demolish some legends (e.g. ii, 14) and mingles with the traditions which he relates thoughts of his own which, if they were not so chaotically expressed, would earn him an honourable place between Aristotle and Buffon.

While his *Bayān* has been to a certain extent systematized and presented in a more orderly form by al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*] in his *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, the *K. al-Ḥayawān* and zoology in general have hardly inspired later writers. At the time when *adab* flourished, Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] in his *ʿUyūn al-akh̲bār* (tr. L. Kopf, *The natural history*, etc., Paris and Leiden 1949) and a little later Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] in his *Imtāʿ* (tr. L. Kopf, in *Osiris*, xii (1956), 390-466) devoted some space to animals but without bothering about scientific classification. Similar

treatment is given in the popular encyclopaedias of which the *Mustaṭraf* (ch. lxii) of al-Ibs̲h̲īhī [*q.v.*] is a typical example. The Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ, on the other hand, set out clearly, at the end of the second part of their *Rasāʾil*, the hierarchy of created things which comprises, in ascending order: minerals, plants, animals, man, the heavenly bodies; in each of these categories the highest rank is close to the lowest rank of the next category; thus the palm-tree, which belongs to the highest rank among the vegetables, is very little removed from the snail (*ḥalazūn*), which possesses only the sense of touch because the Divine Wisdom does not endow an animal with organs of which it has no need. The top of the scale among animals is occupied by the monkey, who is close to the uncivilized human, placed on the lowest rung of the next subdivision. Man constitutes a separate category because he alone possesses all the privileges which are granted only separately to animals.

It was not until the 7th/13th century that al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]) made systematic use of earlier ideas and inserted a treatise on zoology in his *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*; he divides living things into three "kingdoms", places animals at the top of the scale and attaches considerable importance to their methods of defence which he uses as the criterion of classification:

1. animals which repel their enemies by their strength, such as the lion or the elephant;
2. those which protect themselves by fleeing, *e.g.*, the gazelle, the hare, birds;
3. those which are equipped with a special means of defence, like the hedgehog;
4. those which live in a protective fortress (*ḥiṣn*), *e.g.*, rats or snakes.

But he then divides animals into seven categories: (1) man; (2) *d̲j̲inns*; (3) "mounts" (*dawābb*: horse, mule, donkey); (4) domestic animals (*naʿam*); (5) wild animals; (6) birds; (7) insects, reptiles, etc. In the last three parts of his treatise, he devotes to animals notes in alphabetical order in which some general and completely non-scientific remarks are followed by the magic or medicinal properties (*k̲h̲awāṣṣ*) of the different organs of the animal. In comparison with al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, this was a distinct decline.

The same can be said, on the truly scientific plane, of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* of al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405 [*q.v.*]), who does not put forward a new classification but limits himself to reproducing (s.v. *ḥayawān*) that of al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, but brings together usefully, in alphabetically arranged notes, philological remarks, various traditions, the juridical status of the animal concerned (with the arguments of the jurists of the various schools), the proverbs to which it has given rise, the magical or medicinal properties of its different organs, and finally the interpretation of dreams in which it appears.

On occasion physicians or naturalists such as Ibn Bak̲h̲tīs̲h̲ūʿ (*K. Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, see above, § 6), Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*] or al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] took an interest also in animals, but the only branches of zoology which have really been the subject of profound and systematic studies are hippology [see FARAS], farriery [see BAYṬĀR, K̲H̲IYĀLA] and also ornithology in its application to hawking [see BAYZARA].

Outside the strictly Arabic field, so far as is known to the writer, no original work is found. A. Adnan Adıvar (*Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 15, 76, 91) mentions only one Turkish translation of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, with some additions, by a contemporary of al-Damīrī, Meḥmed b. Süleymān (MS Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Köşkü, 1664), the *Tuḥfat al-zamān wa-k̲h̲arīdat al-awān* of the Turkish encyclopaedist Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī al-Muwaḳḳit, which contains a system of zoology based on al-Damīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī, and finally a Persian translation of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* made for Selīm I by Ḥakīm S̲h̲āh Ḳazwīnī. Finally, a book of zoology, *K̲h̲awāṣṣ al-ḥayawān*, was compiled in the 12th/18th century by the Persian writer Ḥazīn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text, A. Malouf, *Arabic zool. dict.*, Cairo 1932, is a useful manual for the identification of the names of animals; glossaries for particular areas are found in A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, i, 208 ff. (the fauna of Kabylia); J. B. Panouse, *Les mammifères du Maroc*, Tangiers 1957, 191 ff.; V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara occidental*, Paris 1951. See also A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 429-31 (Eng. tr. 455-8) and *passim*; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome n.d., index, ii, 665; J. J. Rivlin, *Gesetz im Koran, Kultus und Ritus*, Jerusalem 1934; Maswani, *Islam's contribution to zoology and natural history*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 328-33; on a fragment of a hitherto unknown work on zoology, see A. J. Arberry, in *JRAS*, 1937, 481-3. On the so-called "Twelve animal" calendar, see TAʾRĪK̲H̲ and L. Bazin, *Remarques sur les noms turcs des "Douze animaux" du calendrier dans l'usage persan*, in *Mélanges H. Massé*, Tehrān 1963, 21-30.

(CH. PELLAT)

ANIMAL STORIES IN PERSIAN LITERATURE

In looking for the origin of the animal story in Persian literature, we are handicapped by the virtual absence of secular works prior to the 4th/10th century. The earliest extant literary sources in which animal stories occur (if we except the surviving fragments of Rūdakī's (d. 329/940-1) *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and *Sindbādnāma*) are Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh's translation of the former, made in 538-9/1143-5, and Ẓahīrī Samarḳandī's version of the latter, composed in 556-7/1160-1. Of these, while *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is certainly from India, the *Sindbādnāma* has been convincingly demonstrated by B. E. Perry (*The origin of the Book of Sindbad*, Berlin 1960) to be of Persian origin, though probably not earlier than the 2nd/8th century. The *Hazār afsāna*, the presumed Persian original of the *Alf layla wa-layla*, can be traced back to roughly the same period. The Pahlavi translation of the Sanskrit *Pañčatantra* can on the other hand be quite safely assigned to the 5th century A.D., and even Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's Arabic version of this is earlier than the *Sindbādnāma*. Is this, then, when and how the animal story entered into Persian literature? According to Ibn al-Nadīm, author of the *Fihrist* (c. 400/1008), "the first who made separate compilations of *k̲h̲urāfāt* and made books in which to put them and laid them up in libraries and in some gave speaking parts to beasts were the early Persians" (Maḳāla 8, Fann 1, translated by D. B. Macdonald, *The earlier history of the Arabian Nights*, in *JRAS*, 1924, 364-5). In the context, the last term refers to the first two Persian dynasties, and the passage is at any rate evidence that by the 4th/10th century the view was current that the telling of stories about animals was buried deep in Persian tradition. Theodor Benfey (*Pantschatantra*, Vol. I, p. xxi, Leipzig 1859) put forward the theory that fables in which animals play the rôle of human beings are of Indian origin, while

those in which they act as animals are "Aesopic", that is, Near Eastern.

In the classical Persian literature the animal tale is introduced primarily to illustrate moral or mystical points, notable examples being the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī (d. 525/1130), the *Tafsīr* of Abu'l-Futūḥ Rāzī (d. 538/1143), the *Asrār-nāma* and the *Ilāhī-nāma* of ʿAṭṭār (d. *ca.* 627/1229), and above all the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273-4). More directly in the tradition of the earliest animal story collections are the *Marzbān-nāma* of Warāwīnī (622/1225), the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* of Nakhshabī (730/1330), the 8th "garden" of Djāmī's *Bahāristān* (893/1487) and the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504-5). These are followed by the *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (d. 939/1532-3), the *Djāmiʿ al-tamthīl* of Muḥammad Djabalarūdī (1054/1644), and other similar collections that have no particular moral intent. Aside from all this, there still remains much fresh material to be recovered from the current oral literature.

We may tentatively classify the animal tales of Persian written and oral literature as follows:

(i) Moral tales, in which animals behave much as human beings, and serve as types.

(ii) Tales in which both animals and humans are involved, the animals often showing human characteristics such as speech.

(iii) Adventure stories and romances, in which humans play the major rôles, while animals appear in helpful or hostile capacities, usually with magic powers.

(iv) Stories involving mythical animals.

In the oral literature, as against the written, the last two categories are the more common. Examples include the Ḥātim Ṭāʾī, Rustam, Ḥusayn-i Kurd, and Shīrūya cycles.

The list of animals that figure in the tales is extensive. Many are identified with particular characteristics. The lion is the symbol of majesty, both tyrannical and beneficent; the bear is stupid, selfish and kindly, the wolf simple and kindly, the fox cunning, the jackal shrewd, the peacock and the hoopoe vainglorious, the parrot worldly-wise, the elephant clumsy and gullible. However, even unclean animals like the dog and the pig may be found playing sympathetic rôles.

Bibliography: Apart from the texts and references mentioned above, the following folk-tale collections may be consulted for examples of animal stories: Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, *Dastānhā-yi amthāl*, Iṣfahān 1945; A. Christensen, *Contes persans en langue populaire*, Copenhagen 1918; Ḥusayn Kūhī Kirmānī, *Pānzdah afsāna-i rūstāʾī*, Tehrān 1955; D. L. R. and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian tales*, London 1919; Ṣubḥī Muhtadī, *Afsānahā*, Tehrān 1945, 1946; idem, *Afsānahā-yi kuhan*, Tehrān 1949, 1954. See also H. Massé, *Les versions persanes des contes d'animaux*, in *L'âme de l'Iran*, Paris 1951, 127-49. (L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

Animals in Turkish traditions

In various Turkish languages, the Turkicized forms of the Arabic *ḥayawān* (*hayvan, ayvan, ayban*, etc.) indicate the animal species, excluding man; the Kīrghīz word *djanībar*, with the same meaning, is made up of a Persian element, *djān* (soul) and a Turkish element, *bar* (there is, has); *djanavar* (= *canavar*) in the Turkish of Turkey (from the Persian *djānwar*, "possessing a soul") has a more particular meaning: wolf, wild boar, fierce animal, wild beast, monster; the words *djanlī*, *djandīḳ*, etc. derived from the Persian *djān*, and *tirig, diri, tīnlīġ*, etc., from Turkish roots, are used to indicate all animate beings, including man.

Many Turkish tribes had animal names; others, as for example the 24 clans descended from Oghuz Kaghan, each had a bird emblem; many Turkish personal names are derived from names of animals; furthermore a large number of beliefs and practices, which are today tinged by Islamic features, are survivals of an animal cult which formed one of the important elements of the religions of the Turks before they were converted to Islam. The wolf has a specially important place in these: according to an account attested in a 7th century A. D. Chinese source, the Tou-K'iu were descended from the union of a she-wolf with a man [see ergenekon]; vestiges of an ancient wolf cult are still attested in Anatolian folklore (see Ali Rıza, *Anadolu'da Bozkurt*, in *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* (= *HBH*), i, 1930, 200 f., ii, 1930, 32 f.). The bear is also the main subject of many stories which are related today (at least in Turkey) as true adventures, but which are nevertheless the scarcely discernible remains of ancient myths (see P. N. Boratav, *Histoires d'ours en Anatolie*, in *FFC*, no. 152, Helsinki 1955). In the same category of survivals of an animal cult can be classed the stories of eponymous heroes reared by a lioness (see *Kitāb-i Dede Ḳorḳut*, ed. and tr. E. Rossi, Vatican 1952, 193; Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aybak, *Kanz al-durar*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, ms. Ahmed III 2932, vol. vii, 173 f.).

Among the accounts in oral tradition concerning animals (animal stories of the fable type and stories of marvels with animal heroes are treated separately in the article ḥikāya), a number, aetiological in type, are part of the international repertoire; among them are those which form part of the cycle of the Flood and those which are related to the Hoopoe of Solomon. The source of these must be Biblical and Ḳurʾānic traditions (commentaries and apocrypha). But a great number of aetiological legends concerning various animals are certainly either original creations of Turkish folklore or original re-castings of themes borrowed from the traditions belonging to the countries which the Turks had occupied. The horse occupies first place, through its importance in narrative literature; there are recounted legends concerning its supernatural origins: a race of horses said to be descended from a stallion which inhabited the depths of the waters, one of winged steeds, or a race of horses whose ancestor, tamed by an eponymous hero, was called the "horse of fire" (for this last race see Abū Bakr, *op. cit.*, vii, 180 f.). In the epics and other heroic tales, the horse is represented as a devoted companion of the hero; it is endowed with speech and is able to converse with its master in order to give him advice and warn him of dangers. The veneration of the horse seems to have conferred on it, in certain circumstances, an aura of saintliness. The tomb of the horse of Sultan ʿOthmān II at Üsküdar became a place of pilgrimage; it was known as At-Ewliyāsī ("Saint of the horses") and sick horses were brought to it (see *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. At Mezarı).

From a more general point of view, popular superstitions attribute to certain animals magical powers because they are considered capable of embodying evil spirits [see djinn]. The metamorphosis of men into animals and, less frequently, of animals into men, belongs, apart from the repertory of stories of the fantastic, to the field of miracles performed by saints.

Some animal species have their patron saints; these usually take the form of the animals which they protect. The superstitions, legends and practices connected with these supernatural beings can be traced for the most part to rites belonging to hunting and the beliefs attached to them. Originally the guardian spirit was identical with the animal itself; this explains the designation, among the Kirghiz for example, of the animal species by the name of the patron saint: Oysul Ata (<Uways al-Ḳaranī), patron saint of camels, also "camels", Kambar Ata, patron saint of horses and "horse", etc. In Turkey the stag is still considered sacred and the patron saint of stags (sometimes a woman) is believed to strike the hunters who pursue them (see Y. Z. Demircioğlu, *Yürükler ve köylülerde hikâyeler, masallar*, Istanbul 1934, 115 f., 120 f.). There are also legends describing saints metamorphosed into stags or riding on them (cf. the legend of Abdāl Mūsā, in S.N. Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul n.d., i, 166-9, and that of Geyikli Baba, in A. Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1961, 10-3).

The saints also possess the power of charming animals, including wild animals and fabulous beasts such as dragons. There is a wealth of legend providing edifying examples of their kind actions towards domestic and wild animals. The ox, being used for ploughing, has acquired, more particularly in the rural districts of the ʿAlawī-Bektashīs, an especial veneration; several episodes of the legendary biography of Ḥādjdjī Bektash are stories inspired by this notion (*Vilâyetnâme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektash, ed. Gölpınarlı, 53 ff., 83, tr. E. Gross, Leipzig 1927, 90, 93; *Vilâyetnâme* of Ḥādjim Sulṭān, ed. R. Tschudi and G. Jacob, Berlin 1914, 28, 32). Shepherds are considered to have certain supernatural powers, generally interpreted as proofs of sanctity; many stories of folklore stress the intimate understanding between them and their animals and a part of their magic powers was manifestly due to the animals.

Turkish art—even in the Islamic period—has been fairly rich in animal themes. In weaving, embroidery and knitting a number of stereotyped figures are stylized representations of animals. On one kind of prayer rug—the most ancient types of this ritual accessory—the only decorative element is the reproduction of animal skins: sheep, stag, goat, bear. It appears that this type represents the transitional stage between the use of an actual animal skin and that of a prayer rug with ornamental figures of a secular character (see Yusuf Durul, *Türkmen, Yürük, Afşar halı ve kilim motifleri üzerinde bir araştırma*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, ii (1957), 65-6, pl. XL and XLI).

In the imagery of popular anonymous works and in the works of known artists (of drawings, paintings and miniatures), animals are depicted as often by motifs which are stylized, often to the point of being abstract, as by a very realistic representation situated in the context of everyday life: scenes of hunting, stock-rearing, training, etc. (see S. Eyuboğlu and M. Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Sur l'Album du Conquérant*, Istanbul n.d.; Malik Aksel, *Anadolu halk resimleri*, Istanbul 1960).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see J.-P. Roux, *La faune et la flore dans les sociétés altaïques*, doctoral thesis, in the press; Ahat O. Bikkul, *Topkapı Sarayında has ahır*, in *Güzel Sanatlar*, vi (1949), 118-31; Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish arts*, Istanbul n.d.; H. Z. Koşay, *Hayvancılık*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, iii (1958), 5-59; for the legends, beliefs and practices relating to the animal world, see the series of reviews of the Turkish periodical *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* by P. N. Boratav, in *Oriens*, x (1957) onwards, and the same author's bibliographies at the end of the chapters *L'épopée et la "ḥikâye"* and *Le conte et la légende*, in *Ph.T.F.*, ii, 38-44 and 62-7.

(Pertev Naili Boratav)

ḤAYḌ, menstruation. The laws of purity concerning menstruation are less complicated and less severe in Islam than in Judaism, but much more so than in Christianity. A discharge which exceeds the legal duration fixed by the doctors of the Law for the menses is called *istiḥāḍa*; these irregular losses involve only minor impurity, *ḥadath* [*q.v.*]. Contact with a woman who is menstruating does not result in impurity (contrary to the laws of Judaism) and although the Ḳurʾān (II, 222) forbids sexual relations with her, the violation of this taboo is not penalized in this world. Menstruation being one of the circumstances which, involving a major impurity, invalidate the state of purity, a *ghusl* [*q.v.*] (complete washing of the body) with water which is legally pure is necessary to re-establish that state of purity in which the performance of the *ṣalāt* etc. is valid. To those in this state of major impurity, in addition to the consequences of *ḥadath*, the following prohibitions apply: they may not recite the Ḳurʾān (except for one or two verses only to ward off the Devil) nor remain in the mosque (or even walk through it). Furthermore the Ramaḍān fast and the *ṣalāt* performed by those menstruating are not valid, and the fast is even forbidden to them. The regulations concerning the *nifās* (lochia) are almost the same as those concerning menstruation: thus the *ghusl* of the woman who has given birth takes place when there is no more discharge, the fixed interval of forty days (*Leviticus*, *Zend-Avesta*) being unknown, at least in theory. The casuistical differences between the various schools on this subject may be omitted here.

The *ḥayḍ* plays an equally important part in family law: it determines the prescribed period of waiting (*ʿidda*) before a widow or a divorced wife may remarry. It determines also the legitimacy of certain children (the theory of the child asleep in the womb), *fiḳh* conceding that long periods of gestation may occur.

Bibliography: The collections of *ḥadīth*s (cf. Wensinck's *Handbook*) and the books of *fiḳh* all discuss the question, near the beginning (see ḤADATH).

(G. H. Bousquet)

ḤAYDAR, "lion" [see AL-ASAD]; by-name given, particularly by the Shīʿīs, to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*].

ḤAYDAR, Shaykh, the 5th Ṣafawid *shaykh* in line of descent from Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāḳ, the founder of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*. The son of Djunayd [*q.v.*] and Khadīdja Begum, the sister of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, Ḥaydar succeeded his father as head of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* at Ardabīl in 864/1460.

Ḥaydar, by his marriage to Ḥalīma Begī Āghā (or Marta; better known as ʿAlamshāh Begum), the daughter of Uzun Ḥasan and Despina Khātūn, the latter the daughter of Calo Johannes, the Emperor of Trebizond, maintained the close alliance with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu which had been formed by his father Djunayd. Ḥaydar was thus at once the nephew and the son-in-law of Uzun Ḥasan, and the brother-in-law of Yaʿḳūb, who ruled the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu empire from 883-96/1478-90.

With the overthrow of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire by Uzun Ḥasan in 872/1467, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-

Ṣafawid alliance, based as it was solely on considerations of political expediency, broke down as Ṣafawid political and military ambitions came into conflict with those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Before making a trial of strength with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, however, Ḥaydar decided to blood his forces against the "infidels" of Circassia and Dāghistān—probably the Christian Alāns (Ossetes) living north of the Darial pass (Bāb al-Lān), and the Kabard Circassians. To reach these regions, Ḥaydar, like his father in 863/1459, had to cross the territory of the Shīrwānshāh. He led three expeditions against the Čerkes: in 888/1483 (thus Hinz, based on Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*; the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi Amīnī* has 891/1486: see V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, London 1957, 69; 117 ff.); 892/1487; and 893/1488. The Shīrwānshāh Farrukhyasār seems to have allowed the first two Ṣafawid expeditions to cross his territory unopposed, but in 893/1488, when Ḥaydar turned Ṣafawid arms against Farrukhyasār himself, and sacked the town of Shamākhī, Farrukhyasār appealed for help to his son-in-law, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Yaʿḳūb. The detachment of troops sent by Yaʿḳūb, under the command of Sulaymān Bidjan-oghlu, was the decisive factor in the defeat of the Ṣafawids on 29 Radjab 893/9 July 1488 at Ṭabarsarān on the river Rūbās, south-west of Darband. Ḥaydar was killed; his body was recovered in 915/1509 by Shāh Ismaʿīl I and interred in the Ṣafawid mausoleum at Ardabīl. Ḥaydar thus died only a short distance from the place where his father Djunayd had been killed thirty years earlier, but the essential point of difference between the Ṣafawid expedition of 863/1459 and that of 893/1488 is that, whereas the former was repulsed by the unaided efforts of the troops of Sharwān (Shīrwān), in the latter case Aḳ Ḳoyunlu intervention was required. This suggests that Ṣafawid strength in 893/1488 was greater than in 863/1459, and this is borne out by subsequent events. Yaʿḳūb's action gave formal recognition to the fact that from this time on the Ṣafawids constituted the principal threat to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu empire.

Ḥaydar left three sons by ʿAlamshāh Begum: ʿAlī, who succeeded him as head of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa*; Ibrāhīm; and Ismaʿīl (later Shāh Ismaʿīl I). It was Ḥaydar who devised the distinctive Ṣafawid red headgear (*tādj*), with twelve gores or folds (*tark*) commemorating the twelve Shīʿī imāms. This earned his followers the soubriquet of *ḳizilbash* or "redheads" —a term of abuse in Ottoman mouths, but used with pride by the Ṣafawids.

Bibliography: The Persian and Turkish MSS listed in W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, and pp. 72-89 of this work; V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, London 1957, 61, 65-82, 117-9. (R. M. Savory)

ḤAYDAR b. **ʿALĪ** Ḥusaynī Rāzī, Persian historian, b. ca. 993/1585, date of death unknown; author of a large history of the world, which in the manuscripts is sometimes called "*Madjmaʿ*" and sometimes "*Zubdat al-tawārīkh*", and is generally known as "*Taʾrīkh-i Ḥaydarī*". The work is arranged according to geographical divisions in five *bābs*: 1. the Arab world; 2. Persia; 3. Central Asia and the Far East; 4. the West; 5. India, each of which is arranged chronologically. They deal with political history and frequently reach into the time of the author, so that occasionally otherwise inaccessible accounts have been preserved. (Ch. Rieu's view that the work is nowhere original is based on an error.) A second part which was to deal with philosophers, learned men and poets was apparently not written (in any event it is not known.) The work does not contain a dedication to a prince and only portions of it have been published; otherwise it has been used only in manuscript form. Its value lies particularly in the information it gives on Central Asia.

Bibliography: Storey, i/2/1, 124, 1241 (Manuscripts, partial editions); Richard Gosche, *Über die Chronik des Haidar Ben Ali* ..., (monograph with selections), in manuscript, see Rieu, *CPM*, iii, 887b. (W. Barthold-[B. Spuler])

ḤAYDAR ʿALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR rose to power in Mysore (Mahisur) during the second half of the 18th century. His family claimed descent from the Ḳuraysh and to have migrated to India from Mecca at the end of the 10th/16th century. He was born in 1721 at Dodballāpur, 27 miles north-west of Bangalore. When he was five years of age his father, Fatḥ Muḥammad, a soldier of fortune, lost his life while in the service of the Nawāb of Sira. Left an orphan, Ḥaydar was brought up by his cousin, Ḥaydar Ṣāḥib, an officer in the Mysore army.

Ḥaydar first entered the service of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, brother of Nawāb Muḥammad ʿAlī of Karnāṭaka, and then secured a small command in the Mysore army. Having distinguished himself in the siege of Devanhullī (1749), he received the title of *Khān* from Nandjarādj, the *dalawāyī* (commander-in-chief) and the most powerful man in Mysore. He then fought in the Carnatic wars, and Nandjarādj, much impressed by his abilities, made him *fawdjdār* of Dindigul (1755). In 1758 Ḥaydar was rewarded with the fort and district of Bangalore for reconciling Nandjarādj with the Rādjā and discharging the arrears of pay to the soldiery. He then received the title of *Bahādur* for repelling a Marāṭhā invasion; and when shortly after Nandjarādj retired from politics (June 1759), he took his place. But in August 1760 his *dīwān*, Khande Rāo, with the support of the Rādjā, plotted his overthrow. Ḥaydar, however, defeated Khande Rāo and put him into a cage. But he forgave the Rādjā and allowed him to continue as a figurehead on the throne.

Ḥaydar's energy and ambition, and his conquest of Sira, Bidnūr, Sundā and the Malabār (1761-6) aroused the hostility of his neighbours. Between 1764 and 1772 the Pēshwā Madhav Rāo thrice invaded Mysore and annexed some of the districts. But he died in 1772, and Ḥaydar, taking advantage of this, occupied all the Marāṭhā territory south of the Kistnā.

On 12 November 1766 the English and the Niẓām formed an alliance to overthrow Ḥaydar, and jointly invaded Mysore. But Ḥaydar managed to win over the Niẓām, and with his help carried the war into the Carnatic. Although after a year the Niẓām deserted him, he fought alone and succeeded in concluding a favourable peace (4 April 1769). But the English refusal to help him against the Marāṭhās and to enter into a fresh treaty made him hostile towards them and drew him closer to the French. The English attack on Māhe, a French possession under his protection, furnished him with a *casus belli*; and in July 1780 he invaded the Carnatic, ravaging the countryside and conducting a vigorous compaign against the English. But he died on 7 December 1782 at Narasingarāyanpeṭ, near Chittoor, leaving his eldest son, Tīpū Sulṭān, to continue the war.

Ḥaydar was tall, robust and of fair complexion.

Brave and resourceful, he never despaired in defeat. Though illiterate, he was an able ruler. He was harsh but just, ruthless to his enemies but kind to his friends. He appointed Hindūs to positions of responsibility, endowed temples and, in deference to Hindū sentiment, retained the Rād̲j̲ā on the throne of Mysore, himself remaining only as *dalawāyī* and Nawāb of Sira, a title conferred on him by Baṣālat D̲j̲ang and confirmed by the Mughal Emperor.

Bibliography: Ḥusayn ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Kirmānī, *Nis̲h̲ān-i Ḥaydarī*, Bombay 1307/1890; transl. by W. Miles in 2 vols., London 1842, 1846; J. Michaud, *Histoire des progrès et la chute de l'Empire de Mysore sous les règnes d'Hyder-Ally et Tippoo Saib*, 2 vols., Paris 1801; Wilks, *History of Mysore*, ed. M. Hammick, 2 vols., Mysore 1930; Bowring, *Ḥaidar ʿAli and Tipu Sulṭān*, Oxford 1893; N. K. Sinha, *Ḥaidar ʿAli*, Calcutta 1949; J. van Lohuizen, *The Dutch East India Company and Mysore*, The Hague 1961.

(Mohibbul Hasan)

ḤAYDAR MĪRZĀ (his real name was Muḥammad Ḥaydar; as he himself says, he was known as Mīrzā Ḥaydar; Bābur calls him Ḥaydar Mīrzā), a Persian historian, author of the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ras̲h̲īdī*, born in 905/1499-1500, died in 958/1551 (for his descent see dūg̲h̲lāt); through his mother he was a grandson of the Čag̲h̲atāy K̲h̲ān Yūnus and a cousin of Bābur. Most of our knowledge of his life is gleaned from his own work; Bābur (ed. Beveridge, p. 11) devotes a few lines to him; the Indian historians Abu 'l-Faḍl and Firis̲h̲ta give some information about his later years.

After the assassination of his father (914/1508) he had to flee from Buk̲h̲ārā via Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān to Kābul, which he reached in 915/1509. Received like a son by Bābur, he took part in the victorious campaigns against the Özbeks and in the reconquest of Buk̲h̲ārā and Samarḳand, but abandoned his benefactor in 918/1512, betook himself to Farg̲h̲āna to the Mongol prince Saʿīd K̲h̲ān, received from him the title Gurgān (son-in-law) and accompanied him against Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and Yārkand. In the Mongol empire as restored by Saʿīd K̲h̲ān he held a prominent position; by the K̲h̲ān's orders he carried out several campaigns to distant lands like Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, Kāfiristān, Ladak and Tibet. On the K̲h̲ān's death in 939/1533 and the accession of his successor ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd, who was no friend of the house of Dūg̲h̲lāt, Ḥaydar Mīrzā had to leave the country and go over to the Tīmūrids, against whom he had fought as recently as 936/1529-30 in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān. In 948/1541 he succeeded in conquering Kas̲h̲mīr and founding a practically independent kingdom for himself there, although his coins were struck first in the name of the native prince Nāzuk S̲h̲āh and later in the name of the Emperor Humāyūn; in 958/1551 he was slain during a rising of the native population.

It was while ruler of Kas̲h̲mīr that Ḥaydar composed his work, which was called after his former sovereign ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd. The second part, which describes the vicissitudes of the author's life and the events of his own time, was written as early as 948-50/1541-4, the first (history of the house of Čag̲h̲atāy from the accession of K̲h̲ān Tug̲h̲luḳ Tīmūr in 748/1347-8) not till later (951-3/1541-4). As Bābur testifies, the author had received a good literary training, and this is also apparent in his work; the book had a great success not only among Ḥaydar's compatriots (it was twice translated into Eastern Turkish) but in other countries also (India, Turkestan and Persia) and was used as an authority by all later geographers and historians who have discussed Chinese Turkestan and the events of the 10th/16th century. The historical narrative as well as the geographical sections inserted in it (descriptions of various provinces, towns, etc.) give a wonderful picture of the conditions of his time. In Russia extensive excerpts from the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ras̲h̲īdī* have been published, in particular by Velyaminov T̲s̲ernov (*Issledovanie o kasimovskikh̲ t̲s̲aryak̲h̲ i t̲s̲arevičak̲h̲*, ii, 130 f.) and C. Salemann (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, ix, 321 f.); while in Western Europe the work is known particularly through the English translation made by E. Denison Ross and edited with notes by N. Elias (*The Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ras̲h̲īdī of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dug̲h̲lāt*, London 1895; cf. the review by W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. ark̲h̲. obs̲h̲č.*, x, 215 ff.). See also Elliot, *History of India*, v, 127 ff. No complete edition of the text has yet been published. In addition to the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ras̲h̲īdī*, Ḥaydar Mīrzā has been identified as the author of a narrative poem in eastern Turkish, apparently composed during winter campaigns in Tibet and Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān in 935/1528; the concluding section, which was added later, is dated Rad̲j̲ab 939/Jan.-Feb. 1533. The work is preserved in manuscript in the Martin Hartmann collection in Berlin. The author is not named, but has been identified on internal evidence (Ahmet-Zeki Validi [Togan], *Ein türkisches Werk von Ḥaydar-Mirza Dughlat*, in *BSOS*, viii/4 (1937), 983-9).

Bibliography: in the article; see further Storey, 273-6 and 1273.

(W. Barthold*)

ḤAYDAR-OG̲H̲LU, more correctly Ḳara Ḥaydar-Og̲h̲lu, **MEḤMED**, sometimes given the title of "Beg". His father, Ḳara Ḥaydar, is mentioned in the sources simply as a brigand; according to Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iv, 472-3, and cf. Naʿīmā, iv, 240) he took to the mountains in about 1050/1640 and began to plunder caravans in the passes between Eskis̲h̲ehir and Izmir (Smyrna). During the Grand Vizierate of Ḳara Muṣṭafā (and hence before 1052/1643, when the vizier was executed), a *nefīr-i ʿāmm* against Ḳara Ḥaydar was proclaimed in Anatolia, *i.e.*, the civilian population was impressed in the hunt. He was surrounded near Uluborlu and killed.

The first mention of the son in the sources (Naʿīmā, *loc. cit.*) refers to the autumn of 1057/1647, but he was presumably active before this, engaged in brigandage in the passes between Ankara, Ṣaruk̲h̲an and Ḥamīd-eli, *i.e.*, on the main caravan routes from Persia, the Arab countries and Izmir to Bursa and Istanbul. His headquarters were at Söğüd-ḍag̲h̲ï (north of Eskis̲h̲ehir), and all the notorious bandits of the day were in his following (Ewliyā encountered them at Balïḳ-ḥiṣār near Ankara and mentions their names, ii, 418-26); the most prominent of them was Ḳatïrd̲j̲ï-og̲h̲lu [*q.v.*]. These brigands, called in the sources *es̲h̲ḳiyāʾ* and *d̲j̲elālī* [*q.v.*, in Supp.], were from time to time joined by substantial numbers (700, in 1058/1648) of the vagabond troops of Anatolia called *sekbān*, *sarud̲j̲a* (*sarïd̲j̲a*), or more generally *levend* [*qq.v.*]; when they could not find employment with a pas̲h̲a or in the service of the state, these wandering soldiers would attach themselves to a rebel leader and support themselves by brigandage (see Ç. Uluçay, *Saruhan'da eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1944; M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları, 1550-1603*, Ankara 1963; M. Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde Levendler*, Istanbul 1965). At one point Ḥaydar-og̲h̲lu, wishing to enter the service of the state with his following, asked for appointment

as a *sandjaḳ-begi*; but in spite of the substantial bribe which he sent to the Grand Vizier (Naʿīmā, iv, 249, 347), this was refused. Thereupon he attacked the great Pilgrim caravan between Akshehir and Ilghun. He was in control of all the roads, and obliged the local people, peasantry and notables, to enter his service. The vizier Ibshir Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], *beglerbegi* of Karaman, was then appointed *serʿasker* and ordered to suppress Ḥaydar-oghlu in co-operation with the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia, Ibrāhīm Pasha (by a firman dated Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1057/ December 1647, see Ç. Uluçay, *op. cit.*, doc. 120; cf. Naʿīmā, iv, 270). All the troops of all categories which were left in Anatolia (the absence of so many on the campaign in Crete had left the brigands a clear field) were put under his command. Although Ibshir Pasha hemmed in Ḥaydar-oghlu at Söğüd-daghi, he was unable to capture him (letter to Istanbul of 25 Ṣafar 1058/21 March 1648), and the brigand escaped because Ibshir Pasha received new orders to march against the rebellious *wālī* of Sivas, Varvar ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] and because of the momentous events at the capital—the deposition of Sultan Ibrāhīm. The new sultan, Meḥemmed IV, sent against Ḥaydar-oghlu the young and inexperienced new *beglerbegi* of Anatolia, Aḥmed Pasha, who was defeated near (Afyon-)Ḳaraḥiṣār (Shaʿbān 1058/ August-September 1648) and killed by Ḳatirdji-oghlu. The pasha's untrustworthy *ṣarudja* and *sekbān* troops went over to Ḥaydar-oghlu. Ḥaydar-oghlu's prestige and power now became the main preoccupation of the authorities: Ketendji ʿÖmer Pasha-zāde Meḥmed Pasha was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia and given unlimited powers (*istiḳlāl*) as commander of the operations against him; in the firman of appointment he was warned that the capture of the brigand was *aḳṣā-yi murād-i humāyūn*, and all the available troops of Anatolia and Karaman and the *sandjaḳ* of Bolu were placed at his disposal (for the firman, dated 1 Ramaḍān 1058/19 September 1648, see Uluçay, doc. 124; his letter to the *ḳāḍīs* of Ṣarukhan, doc. 123). A renewed offer by the brigand to submit if he was granted an office was again rejected, whereupon he plundered Ḳaraḥiṣār, and then marched upon Isparta. Near there he was ambushed and wounded and taken prisoner by the *mütesellim* of the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd-eli, Abaza (in Ewliyā: Ḳodja) Ḥasan Agha (Naʿīmā, iv, 374-5 and, a slightly different version, Ewliyā, ii, 474). He was brought before the Grand Vizier in Istanbul who ordered him to be hanged at Parmaḳ-ḳapi (details in Ewliyā, ii, 474-9).

Even in his lifetime Ḳara Ḥaydar-oghlu, like other brigands, was romanticized as a popular hero who had taken to the mountains to avenge his father's death. A *türkü* on him written by Kātib ʿAlī was set to music and widely sung (see Ç. Uluçay, *Üç Eşkiya türküsü*, in *TM*, xiii (1958), 87-90).

Bibliography: In the text.

(Halil İnalcik)

ḤAYDARĀBĀD (*a*) the name of a city in the Deccan (Dakhan) of India, situated 17° 22′ N., 78° 27′ E., now the capital city of the Indian state of Āndhra Pradēsh, and formerly the capital successively of the later Ḳuṭb Shāhī kings of Golkonḍā, of a Mughal *ṣūba* after Awrangzīb's conquest of the Deccan, of the Niẓām, and of the state of Ḥaydarābād after the independence of India; (*b*) the name of a former state of the Indian Union, now absorbed within the provinces of Āndhra Pradēsh, Mahārāshtra, and Mysore (Mahisur); formerly the territory of H.E.H. ('His Exalted Highness', a British title conferred in 1918) the Niẓām.

a. Ḥaydarābād City

The site of the present city was selected in 997/1589 by the fifth Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynast, Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh, on the right bank of the river Mūsī, a tributary of the Krishna, some 11 km. east of the fortress of Golkonḍā [*q.v.*], and at first given the name of Bhāgnagar after a Hindū dancing-girl named Bhāgmatī, one of the sultan's concubines. A city quickly grew up on this site, since there was no room for expansion in the overcrowded Golkonḍā where, moreover, the water-supply was inadequate. The exact date of the transfer of the seat of government from Golkonḍā to Ḥaydarābād is not known, although this seems to have taken place within a dozen years of the foundation; Ḥaydarābād was not at first fortified, Golkonḍā remaining as the citadel of the capital. At this time North India was in the hands of the Mughals, and envoys from Akbar were well received in 999/1591; the Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultan sent valuable presents to Akbar which were accepted as tribute, and his domains were left unmolested. The new city prospered, some of its finest buildings dating from this time (see below), until the intervention of the Mughal prince (later the emperor) Awrangzīb in the dispute between Mīr Djumla [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh in 1065/1655 when Ḥaydarābād was plundered before the sultan bought peace; but the peace was uneasy, and Ḥaydarābād again fell to the Mughals under Awrangzīb four years before the great siege of Golkonḍā in 1098/1687. After the conquest Ḥaydarābād became the residence of the *ṣūbadārs* of the Deccan, under the last of whom, Čin Ḳilič Khān, Niẓām al-Mulk, the governor Mubāriz Khān commenced the fortification of the city by a stone wall. After the important and decisive battle of Shakarkheldā [*q.v.*] in 1137/1724, by which the Niẓām al-Mulk crushed the plan of his deputy Mubāriz Khān to usurp power in the province, Ḥaydarābād became the capital of the now independent Deccan province under the Niẓām al-Mulk, who received the title of Āṣaf Djāh from the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh; the titles Niẓām al-Mulk and Āṣaf Djāh henceforth became hereditary in his family. The new province which Āṣaf Djāh thereby acquired—roughly co-extensive with the modern state of Ḥaydarābād before its dissolution, plus the northern province of Barār and the so-called Northern Sarkārs—is described below. The political history of the city thereafter is little different from that of the state. The city has grown continually as it became the centre of an increasingly organized state, its suburbs soon spreading on both sides of the river Mūsī far beyond the old city walls completed by the first Āṣaf Djāh. The central district of the state, called Aṭrāf-i balda, is the *ṣarf-i khāṣṣ* or 'crown' assignment around Ḥaydarābād city itself, and was constituted, with the other districts, in 1865; the municipality of Ḥaydarābād, with four divisions in the city proper and five in the suburbs (now much extended), was created in 1869; the suburbs include the important cantonment of Sikandarābād ('Secunderabad'), named after Mīr Akbar ʿAlī Khān Sikandar Djāh, the sixth Niẓām, which now has its own city corporation. Ḥaydarābād is an important communications centre (road, rail and air), with a modern hospital, important museums, one of the best equipped astronomical observatories in India, and the flourishing ʿUthmāniyya (Osmania) University (1918). With a population of well over a million, it is the sixth largest city in India. Textiles,

including fine velvets, carpets, red earthenware, glass and paper are produced by industries within the city, and excellent cigarettes are made in Ḥaydarābād from local tobacco.

Monuments. — The old city is surrounded by a bastioned wall, completed by the first Āṣaf Dj̲āh, with thirteen gates and a number of smaller posterns. The city is connected to the northern suburbs by four bridges, the oldest of which (*Purānā pul*) was built by Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh in 1001/1593. The same ruler was responsible for the buildings in the central focal point of the city, notably the Čār mīnār, Čār kamān, Čār sū kā ḥawḍ, all around a crossing of four roads leading to the four quarters of the old city; also the Dār al-s̲h̲ifāʾ, ʿĀs̲h̲ūr-k̲h̲āna, and Dj̲āmiʿ masdj̲id. The Čār mīnār, 'four minarets', is a triumphal archway, 30 m. square in plan, its ground storey consisting of four great arches of 10.8 m. span, each facing a cardinal point; above this is an arcaded triforium running round the building supported on carved corbels, with a smaller arcade and a perforated marble screen above it; at each corner stands a minaret 55.8 m. in height from the ground level, each decorated with a double arcaded balcony at the level of the triforium supported by a continuation of the corbel course; a further single arcaded balcony encircles each shaft above roof-level (this is the characteristic feature of the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī architecture); and each minaret is topped by yet another such balcony supporting a round kiosk with an ogee dome foliated at its base in the Bīdj̲āpur [*q.v.*] manner. The small rooms inside the upper storey are said to have been used for instruction by *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*; but, from the strictly ceremonial and royal nature of the use of this building under the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhīs and Āṣaf Dj̲āhīs, this story may be doubted. (See *Annual Report Arch. Dept. Hyderabad State 1917-18 AD* (*1327 F.*), Plate IIa; *ibid*, *1918-19*, 3-4 and plans on Pl. III-IV.) The Čār kamān, 'four bows', (*ARADHyd 1918-19* (*1328 F.*), 4), are four wide arches near the Čār mīnār built over the four roads leading to the four quarters of the city, near to which stands the Čār sū kā ḥawḍ, 'carfax cistern'; near this once stood Muḥammad Ḳulī's Dād maḥall, 'palace of justice', destroyed by a powder explosion in 1771 (described by the French traveller Tavernier in 1062/1652). West of this complex is the Makka masdj̲id, the principal mosque of the city, commenced by ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh, continued by his successor Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the last Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī sultan, and completed at Awrangzīb's order; the *līwān*, with two large domes, is 67.5 m. long and 54 m. deep, standing behind a vast *ṣaḥn* 108 m. square; the tombs of Niẓām ʿAlī K̲h̲ān and later Āṣaf Dj̲āhīs stand in the mosque. The old remains of a contemporary *ḥammām* stand in its courtyard. In the north of the old city is the ʿĀs̲h̲ūr-k̲h̲āna, 'room of the tenth [of Muḥarram]', still in use for the Muḥarram ceremonies, with fine Persian faience decorating its walls. The Dār al-s̲h̲ifāʾ, also built by Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh, is in the north-east quarter of the city, a large building with arcaded chambers for the care of the sick, lying all round a paved quadrangle, formerly in use also as a school for the Yūnānī system of medicine; a mosque, built at the same time, stands opposite its entrance. Many other buildings of Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī times stand in the city and suburbs, notably the Tolī masdj̲id of the time of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh (inscription in *miḥrāb* giving date of 1082/1671 by *abdj̲ad*); description in *ARADHyd. 1916-17 AD* (*1326 F.*), 3 ff., Plate IIb and c, plan on Plate IIIa; also the mosque and other buildings of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲pet suburb, see *ARADHyd. 1936-37 A.C.* (*1346 F.*), 2 ff., with an inscription of 1043/1633, cf. *EIM*, 1935-6, 21-2 and Pl. XIII. Between Ḥaydarābād and Golkoṇḍā, on the ʿUt̲h̲mān Sāgar road, surmounting two small hills, are the *bārādarī* of Tārāmatī, a Hindū concubine of Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh, and the elegant but incomplete (no minarets) mosque of 'Pēmmatī', d. 1073/1662, for which see *ARADHyd. 1924-25 AD* (*1334 F.*), 2-4 and Plates III-VI. Of the other Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī monuments the Gos̲h̲a maḥall stands north of the old city, a palace built by the last sultan with an extensive pleasure-park for the *zanāna* and an ornamental tank, now dry and used for football matches. The Dāʾira-yi Mīr Muʾmin is a burial ground east of the city consecrated by a S̲h̲īʿī saint who came to Ḥaydarābād from Karbalāʾ in the reign of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh; the cemetery, now used for Sunnīs as well as S̲h̲īʿa, contains many fine tombs and gravestones, including the fine domed tomb of the Mīr himself in Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī style (for which see GOLKOṆḌĀ *ad fin.*).

There are also in and around Ḥaydarābād many palaces and other buildings of the Āṣaf Dj̲āh dynasty, from the Purānī Ḥawelī of the first Niẓām, the Čawmaḥalla palace in the centre of the city which is the principal city residence of the Niẓāms, modelled on a royal palace in Tehrān, the palace of Sir Salar Jung now used as a museum, to the late 19th century Falaknumā palace outside the city on the south-west, with a Corinthian façade, Louis XIV reception hall, and other exotic features.

The city water supply depends on tanks, to which modern waterworks are now attached, excavated in former times. The Ḥusayn Sāgar, about 8 sq. miles (2100 hectares), lies between Ḥaydarābād and Sikandarābād, the road between the two cities running along the *band* on its east; it was originally excavated by Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh in 983/1575 as a reservoir for Golkoṇḍā and was filled by a channel cut from the Mūsī. South-west of the city is the Mīr ʿĀlam tank, built by French engineers in the Niẓām's service early in the 19th century, while the Mīr Dj̲umla tank to the south-east, now no longer used, was constructed in 1035/1625.

Of European monuments the old British Residency of 1803-8, now a women's college, and the tomb of the French soldier M. (Michel Joachim Marie) Raymond (corrupted locally to 'Mūsā Raḥīm'!), d. 25 March 1798, are worth notice.

b. Ḥaydarābād State.

When the old sultanates of the Deccan [see DAKHAN] fell one by one to the Mug̲h̲al emperors S̲h̲āh Dj̲ahān and Awrangzīb in the 11th/17th century (the Niẓām S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Aḥmadnagar, to which the former ʿImād S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Barār and the Barīd S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Bīdar had already been attached, in 1042/1633; the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Bīdj̲āpur in 1097/1686; and the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Golkoṇḍā in 1098/1687) their lands eventually became one great Mug̲h̲al province—except for those tracts which had been taken by the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*]—under a single *ṣūbadār*, uniting in this office the governorships of the former six Deccan provinces (the five sultanates mentioned above, plus K̲h̲āndēs̲h̲), with headquarters at Awrangābād. The confusion in the affairs of the Mug̲h̲al empire after the death of Awrangzīb in 1118/1707 was certainly reflected in the affairs of the Deccan *ṣūba*, until the appointment in 1132/1720 of Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn

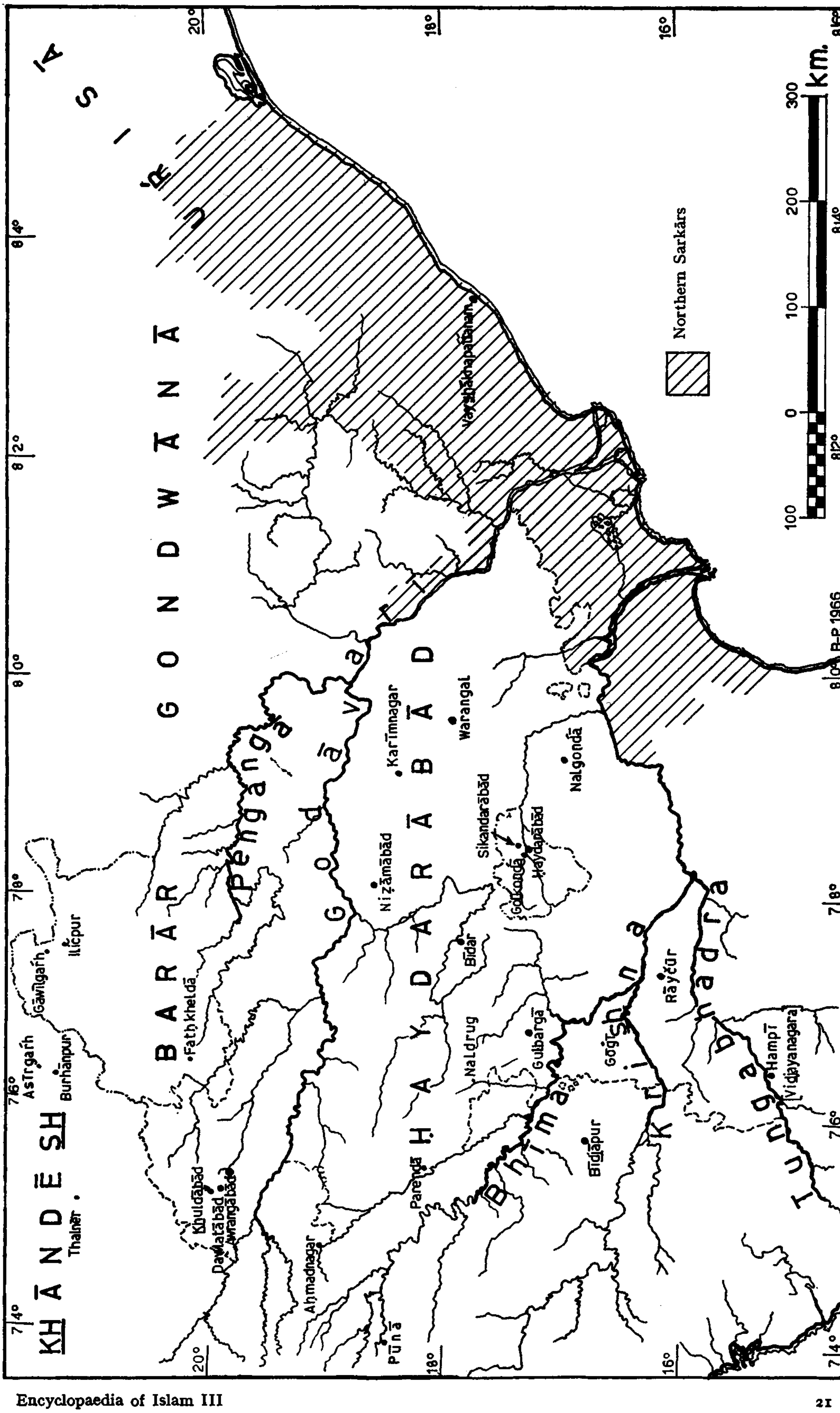
Ḳilič Khān, entitled Niẓām al-Mulk, set the internal administration in order (he had indeed been *ṣūbadār* of the Deccan some six years earlier, but had then had insufficient time at his disposal to reorganize the province). This noble, the ablest man in the Mughal empire, was after two years recalled to Dihlī to become chief minister, but retained his Deccan appointment, leaving Mubāriz Khān to govern as his agent at Ḥaydarābād. The latter, instigated by Niẓām al-Mulk's enemies, opposed him on his return to the Deccan to combat a Marāthā invasion, but was decisively defeated at the battle of Shakarkheldā [*q.v.*; later named Fatḥkheldā] on 22 Muḥarram 1137/11 October 1724, the date usually taken as the beginning of Niẓām al-Mulk's dynastic rule over the Deccan, although his independence had been virtually complete two years earlier when he led the opposition against the Mughal kingmakers, the Sayyid brothers of Bārha. After his victory he marched for Ḥaydarābād, which he made his capital; the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh, wise enough not to oppose him further, sought rather to conciliate him by the award of the further hereditary title of Āṣaf Djāh.

Āṣaf Djāh had soon to recognize the power of the Marāthās in the Deccan, to whom the Mughal emperor had in 1130/1718 granted the right to levy the cess known as *čawth*, one-fourth of the land revenue; their demands were met by Āṣaf Djāh's agreement to pay this tribute from his own treasury—thus excluding the Marāthā tax-collectors from the necessity of entering his dominions—while abolishing the unauthorized *sardeshmukhī* and *rāhdārī* extortions [for these taxes see MARĀTHĀS]. The agreement was concluded on behalf of Shāhū, the Marāthā ruler; but the Marāthā Peshwā Bādjī Rāo, now rising to a position of great power, pursued a more aggressive policy towards Āṣaf Djāh, who in 1140/late 1727 invaded Mahārāshtra against him. Bādjī Rāo's light guerilla cavalry eventually completely out-manœuvred Āṣaf Djāh, who did not receive the expected support from the Peshwā's rivals, and the campaign ended with the cession of several border forts to the Marāthās. Local conflicts, however, continued, until eventually by a secret agreement between Āṣaf Djāh and the Peshwā the Marāthās left the Deccan undisturbed except for the levy of *čawth* on condition that Ḥaydarābād remained neutral during the Marāthā invasions of the Mughal empire to the north; but at last, when the Marāthās were at the gates of Dihlī, Āṣaf Djāh went to the aid of the Mughals. In the years he was away from the Deccan (1150-3/1737-40) he gained no success in the north, and returned to find not only increased Marāthā depredation in his own dominions but a plan on behalf of his son Nāṣir Djang to usurp the Ḥaydarābād government. The rebellion was suppressed, and Āṣaf Djāh turned his attention to Arkāt («Arcot») in the Madras district (usually erroneously described by European writers as the "Carnatic"; see KARNĀTAKA), where the local Nawwāb, having failed to pay compensation to the Marāthās and tribute to Ḥaydarābād, had been supplanted by a powerful Marāthā army and his province had virtually fallen into anarchy. Āṣaf Djāh in 1156/1743 expelled the Marāthās, deposed the Nawwāb and installed his own agent as the new Nawwāb, and returned to Ḥaydarābād laden with treasure.

The first Āṣaf Djāh died in 1161/1748, having by his character, integrity and capacity made the single viable state of Ḥaydarābād out of the old disorganized medley of the Mughal Deccan provinces. His dominions had been enriched by his patronage of theologians, scholars and poets (he himself left two volumes of Persian poetry); among his buildings are the city walls of Burhānpur and Ḥaydarābād, the canal at Awrangābād, and the city of Niẓāmābād. For further details of his life, including his career before coming to the Deccan, see NIẒĀM AL-MULK.

On Āṣaf Djāh's death the succession was disputed between his second son Nāṣir Djang, and his daughter's son Muẓaffar Djang; the latter was supported by the French under Dupleix, and on Nāṣir Djang's death in 1164/1750 he obtained the throne, engaging many French mercenaries for his army. But Muẓaffar Djang was killed within two months, and the French support was transferred to Ṣalābat Djang, Āṣaf Djāh's third son. His succession was opposed by the Marāthā Peshwā Bālādjī Rāo, who supported Āṣaf Djāh's eldest son, the mild and scholarly Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, who had been his father's representative at the Mughal court—doubtless hoping thereby to be able to rule the Deccan as his deputy. Ghāzī al-Dīn marched from Dihlī with a strong Marāthā escort; but Bussy, the commander of Ṣalābat Djang's French contingent, entered into a treaty with the Peshwā by which the latter would defend the Deccan against all comers in exchange for the cession of much of Khāndēsh and other western districts. Ghāzī al-Dīn's death by poison in late 1165/1752 secured Ṣalābat Djang's succession—but to a reign in which he was a puppet in the hands of a succession of unscrupulous regents (although the best of them, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the Mughal biographies in the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, in his four years of office 1167-70/1753-7, brought financial stability out of the previous insolvency), and in which he was completely dependent for protection on his French mercenaries. Shāh Nawāz Khān was overthrown by French intrigue, and in the ensuing confusion the Marāthās again attacked the west; Niẓām ʿAlī Khān, the fourth son of Āṣaf Djāh, obtained the regency and negotiated a treaty with the Marāthās in which further western districts were ceded to them, including the fort of Naldrug [*q.v.*]. The British successes in the Seven Years' War under Clive in the "Carnatic" (*i.e.*, the Madras coast) caused the French influence in Ḥaydarābād to decline, and a promise of British support to Niẓām ʿAlī Khān caused the dismissal of most of the French troops. Ḥaydarābād's sudden military weakness caused a further full-scale Marāthā invasion, with the early loss of Aḥmadnagar and Udgir and later invasion of the central districts; in the peace treaties of 1173/1760 much of Awrangābād province, Bidjāpur district, Bīdar district, and the forts of Asīrgaṛh, Dawlatābād, Bidjāpur and Burhānpur were ceded to the Peshwā; but within a year the Marāthās had been utterly defeated at Pānīpat [*q.v.*], the Peshwā Bālādjī Rāo had died and been succeeded by a minor son, and internal dissensions had reduced the southern Marāthā power to frailty. Niẓām ʿAlī Khān had in turn invaded Mahārāshtra and regained nearly half of the previous losses; on his return he imprisoned Ṣalābat Djang and assumed the government himself at the end of 1175/July 1762, his reign of over forty years at last bringing peace and stability to the state of Ḥaydarābād.

In 1178/1765 the coastal districts north of Madrās (the "Northern Circars" [*i.e.*, *sarkārs*] of the older histories) were ceded to the British by the Mughal emperor, having been previously under French administration. Niẓām ʿAlī considered these tracts to be a portion of his dominions, and in the following


KHĀNDĒSH
BARĀR
GONDWĀNĀ
ORISSA
ḤAYDARĀBĀD
Northern Sarkārs
Thalnēr
Burhānpur
Asīrgaṛh
Gāwilgaṛh
Ilīčpur
Fatḥkhelḍā
Khuldābād
Dawlatābād
Awrangābād
Aḥmadnagar
Pūnā
Parenḍā
Naldrug
Gulbarga
Bīdar
Bīdjāpur
Gōgī
Nizāmābād
Golkonḍā
Ḥaydarābād
Sikandarābād
Karīmnagar
Warangal
Nalgonḍā
Rāyčūr
Hampī
Vidjayanagara
Vishākhāpaṭṭanam
Godāvarī
Pengangā
Bhīmā
Kṛishnā
Tungabhadrā
20°
18°
16°
74°
76°
78°
80°
82°
84°
86°
100
0
100
200
300
km.
B-P. 1966

year advanced to recapture them, but without success; the British negotiated a treaty whereby they retained the districts and undertook to maintain a body of troops for employment by Ḥaydarābād whenever required; the treaty was extended in 1768 to include the Nawwābs of Arkāt in the obligations to assist the Niẓām. In 1790, when war broke out between Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.v.*] and the British, a tripartite offensive and defensive agreement was concluded between Ḥaydarābād, the Marāthās, and the East India Company, who shared the land ceded by Tīpū when he sued for peace. In 1798 by further treaty the Company agreed to assign a subsidiary force of infantry and artillery to the Niẓām, who was to pay a subsidy of 24 lākhs of rupees for its maintenance; later a contingent of cavalry was added; but Ḥaydarābād was aided also by mercenary troops under French, American and Irish commanders, the Frenchman, Raymond, by his able suppression of an attempted revolt by the heir-apparent ʿAlī D̲j̲āh, having attained a position of some eminence; he died, however, in 1798, but the presence of so many French troops was a source of anxiety to the British, who were able to compel their surrender and their dismissal from the Niẓām's territories; their excellent equipment, together with the foundries and arsenals established in Ḥaydarābād by Raymond, fell into the Ḥaydarābād contingent's hands. This force was soon in action with the East India Company against Tīpū Sulṭān at S̲h̲rīrangapattanam ("Seringapatam") near Mysore; after the victory most of the conquered territory was divided between the Company and the Niẓām; a further treaty shortly afterwards fixed the river Tungabhadrā as the frontier between the Niẓām's and the Company's territories. In 1802 a commercial treaty provided for the admission of Ḥaydarābād produce into British territory, and *vice versa*, on payment of a 5 per cent duty.

In 1803 Niẓām ʿAlī's health was failing, and the Marāthā rād̲j̲ās Holkar and Sindhiā, dissatisfied alike with the reinstatement by the British of Bād̲j̲ī Rāo II as Pes̲h̲wā and the possible accession in Ḥaydarābād of the pro-British heir-apparent Sikandar D̲j̲āh, prepared to invade the Niẓām's dominions. The British and Ḥaydarābād campaign under Wellesley against the dissident Marāthā forces culminated in the battles of Āse ("Assaye") and Argāwn which crushed the southern Marāthā ambitions and secured the safety of the Niẓām's dominions. Sikandar D̲j̲āh duly succeeded as Niẓām in the same year; during his reign of twenty-six years the Pes̲h̲wā was overthrown (1818) and the British, who had thereby technically succeeded to the right of exacting *čawth*, released the Niẓām from the obligation to pay it. Sikandar was succeeded in 1829 by his son Nāṣir al-Dawla, who reigned for twenty-eight years with a rare spirit of religious toleration. The notable events of his reign included the suppression in 1839 of a Wahhābī [*q.v.*] conspiracy, in which the late ruler's brother Mubāriz al-Dawla was implicated; serious S̲h̲īʿī-Sunnī riots in 1847, which did not abate until the Niẓām's government made a pro-Sunnī settlement; the assignment in 1853 of the districts of Barār, ʿUt̲h̲mānābād (Naldrug) and the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* to the British who in turn agreed to maintain a British auxiliary force, not part of the Niẓām's army, of 5000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and four field batteries of artillery, and to release the Niẓām from the unlimited obligation to provide service and assistance in the event of war; and, perhaps the most significant event in the modern history of Ḥaydarābād as a state, the accession of Nawwāb Sālār D̲j̲ang [*q.v.*] as minister in 1853.

When Nāṣir al-Dawla died in May 1857 his eldest son Afḍal al-Dawla succeeded to the throne at a critical period in Indian history, for it was feared that if Ḥaydarābād joined the Sepoy Mutiny the whole of Bombay and Southern India would follow suit; but Ḥaydarābād adhered to the British cause, and in consequence of the Niẓām's services in the revolt the districts of ʿUt̲h̲mānābād and the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* were restored and the "assigned districts" of Barār became a British trust territory. Nāṣir al-Dawla died in 1869 and was succeeded by his three-year-old son Mīr Maḥbūb ʿAlī with (Sir) Sālār D̲j̲ang as regent and administrator. The latter set about constituting Ḥaydarābād as a model state with an administrative system parallel to that of the British territories in India, his immediate task being to improve the finances of the state by suppression of the extortion of the local Arabs and Rohillas, by abolishing the system of revenue-farming and establishing a new revenue survey and settlement operated by government collectors, by abolishing revenue payments in kind, and by continued efforts to restore government credit from the local money-lenders (*sāhūkārs*); corruption among government officials was ruthlessly stamped out, and four young nobles of integrity were appointed to the judicial, revenue, police and "miscellaneous" ministries under the guidance of Sālār D̲j̲ang, who at first retained direct control over the army, treasury, postal, diplomatic and other departments; later the revenue ministry took over, besides the land revenues, customs, forests, posts (including a postage stamp department from 1869), the mint (many private mints were suppressed; the *ḥālī sikka* rupee was introduced as the standard coin of the realm in 1854, its rate of exchange against the British rupee fluctuating considerably at first, but greatly stabilized with the introduction of the new *maḥbūbiyya* rupee in 1904. See further SIKKA), and the treasury. The "miscellaneous" department had care of public works, including irrigation, the coalfields, education (schools were set up in the chief village of each *taʿalluḳ*; by 1872 there were already 125 such schools outside the capital, which had a further 16 including the Church of England school (1834) and the Oriental College (= *Dār al-ʿulūm*) of 1854, which acted as a teachers' training college; higher education was provided at the Anglo-Vernacular school of 1857, renamed Hyderabad College in 1880 and affiliated to Madras University, and at the Civil Engineering College established in 1869 in connexion with the Public Works department), workshops and stores, and later also the municipalities and the medical department (many dispensaries were established throughout the state, with surgeons and dispensers at all district headquarters; almost all of these were trained at the Ḥaydarābād medical school established in 1846 under the direction of successive surgeons to the British Resident—the first, MacLean, having already trained 16 Muslims as surgeons and physicians by the time he retired in 1854); this department later took on responsibility for the State Railway opened in 1874. Sir Sālār D̲j̲ang died in 1883, leaving a sound and generally efficient administration which was modified only in detail by his successors; the experience gained under him was the basis of the official code (*ḳānūnča-i mubārak*) promulgated in 1892 for the guidance of the prime minister, reinforced the following year by the establishment of a council composed of all the ministers of the state. Mīr Maḥbūb ʿAlī K̲h̲ān attained his majority in

1884, and was succeeded by his son, the present Niẓām Mīr ʿUthmān ʿAlī Khān Bahādur Fatḥ Djang, in 1911. Under both these rulers the process of modernization of the state continued, with notable improvements in sanitation, education, communications and other public works; further departments parallel to those of British India were introduced, including a government department of publications, and the excellent department of archaeology which, besides assuming responsibility for the preservation of the archaeological monuments of the state, undertook an extensive programme of research and publication in which much attention was given to Hindū and Buddhist material (for example the caves at Adjantā, Elurā [q.v.] and Awrangābād; the corpus of Telugu inscriptions, etc.) as well as to Muslim history and monuments. Muslim learning in a wide field was represented by the Ḥaydarābād journal *Islamic Culture* (1927). The political boundaries of the state remained more or less unchanged, except that administratively the Assigned Districts of Barār were leased in perpetuity to the British government in 1902 at an annual rental of 25 lākhs of rupees; while the titular sovereignty of the Mughal emperor at Dihlī had been theoretically recognized by Ḥaydarābād until the deposition of the last emperor in 1858, and recognized by the inscriptions on coinage from the Ḥaydarābād mint, the paramountcy of the government of India was not recognized in Ḥaydarābād until it was explicitly asserted by Lord Reading in 1926. The British title of "Exalted Highness" was conferred on the Niẓām in 1918 in recognition of Ḥaydarābād's contribution to the allied war effort, and in 1936 Barār was added to his title, the heir-apparent being styled "Prince of Berar".

At the time of the partition of India into the new dominions of India and Pākistān the Niẓām's government opted for accession of the state to Pākistān; the state was, however, forcibly integrated into the Indian Union in 1948, although maps published in Pākistān continued to show Ḥaydarābād as a part of Pākistānī territory for long afterwards. The Indian States Reorganization Commission's recommendations resulted in an Act whereby from 1 November 1956 the former state of Ḥaydarābād was redistributed on a linguistic basis between Bombay [now Mahārāshtra] (Marāthī), Mysore (Kannada) and Āndhra (Telugu), Ḥaydarābād city becoming the capital of Āndhra Pradesh. The Muslim population was much depleted by emigration to Pākistān, although there has been no official discrimination against Muslims in the new predominantly Hindū state; Ḥaydarābād is still an important Islamic cultural centre, with Urdū the common language of Muslim intercourse.

Bibliography: For the early history of the first Niẓām al-Mulk see W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, ed. and continued by Jadunāth Sarkār, 2 vols. Calcutta 1921-2, and bibliography given there; short notices in Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1869, Eng. tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India . . .*, vii; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād, *Khazāna-i ʿāmira*, lith. Kānpur n.d.; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1887-95, Eng. tr. Beveridge, Bibl. Ind., 1912; borrowing from these three but adding much fresh detail, Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim [the minister Mīr ʿĀlam, writing 1802], *Ḥadīḳat al-ʿālam*, lith. Ḥaydarābād 1310; Lačhmī Nārāyan [*recte* Lakshmī Nārāyaṇ] Khattrī, *Maʾāthir-i Āṣafī*, India Office MS Ethé 468. The important Marāthī news-letters from the Peshwā's agents at the Ḥaydarābād court are contained in G. S. Sardesai (ed.), *Selections from the Peshwā Daftar*, 45 vols., Bombay 1933 ff; idem, ed., *Selections from the Poona Daftar*, Bombay 1930; references to the Persian letters and other documents in Jadunāth Sarkār, *Fall of the Mughal empire*, Calcutta 1932. References to material from English and French factory records analysed and corrected in H. H. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, London 1920. For Eyre's embassy to Āṣaf Djāh, J. T. Wheeler, *Madras in the olden time*, iii, Madras 1862; *Lettres et conventions des gouverneurs de Pondichéry avec différents princes hindous, 1666-1793*, Pondicherry 1914; for other primary sources quoted in the periodical literature see Pearson, nos. 21035-80, and *Supp.*, nos. 5426-39. See also bibliographies to NIẒĀM AL-MULK and MARĀTHĀS.

For the later history of the state, especially the reforms of Sir Sālār Djang: Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and descriptive sketch of His Highness the Nizam's dominions*, 2 vols., Bombay 1883-4; *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884; on these are based the various series (Main and Provincial) of the later editions of the *Imperial gazetteer of India*, with revised information being continually added from Census reports and the communications of local administrative officers. Of biographies by officials resident in Ḥaydarābād that of Col. Meadows Taylor, *Story of my life*, 2 vols., London 1877, is notable. See also bibliography to SĀLĀR DJANG.

Further material relevant to Ḥaydarābād will be found in the following articles: AWRANGĀBĀD, BERĀR, BĪDAR, BĪDJĀPUR, DAKHAN, DAWLATĀBĀD, ELURĀ, GOLKONDĀ, GULBARGĀ, KARNĀTAKA, ḲUṬB SHĀHĪS, MARĀTHĀS, NALDRUG, PARENDĀ, RAYČŪR, UDGIR, WARANGAL. On the coinage, land tenures, and language, see respectively SIKKA; TENURE OF LAND; URDŪ. See also the general articles on India under HIND. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤAYDARĀBĀD (Sind), a town in the former province of Sind (West Pakistan) situated between 25° 23′ N. and 68° 20′ E. and covering an area of 36 sq. miles, is the third largest city in West Pakistan after Karachi and Lahore, pop. (1961) 434,537 (of which the Muslims numbered 422,786). Built on the site of the ancient Nīrūńkoť, which fell to the arms of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim al-Thakafī at the time of the first Muslim conquest of Sind in the 2nd/8th century, the town is of comparatively recent origin, having been founded in 1182/1768 by Ghulām Shāh Kalhōŕā, the then ruler of Sind, whose capital Khudābād in the district of Dādū had been partially destroyed by floods in 1171/1757. He constructed a large brick-fort, covering 36 acres, on a ridge locally known as Gandjo Ťakar and renamed the town Ḥaydarābād (after ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, also known as Ḥaydar). Ghulām Shāh died in 1187/1773 and was buried in the Hīrābād quarter of the town near the modern Central Jail, in the complex known as the Tombs of the Mīrs. The town passed into the possession of the Tālpurs in 1198/1783, on the overthrow of the Kalhōŕā dynasty, who also made it their capital. The new ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān made many changes and rebuilt the town after his own liking. The Tālpurs continued to rule till 1259/1843 when, after the battle of Miyānī, the town passed into the possession of the British along with the entire province of Sind. For strategic, political and commercial reasons the new rulers transferred the capital to the port of Karachi, which gained in prosperity at the cost of Ḥaydarābād.

The old town, built in a haphazard way, consists of narrow lanes and bystreets lined with dingy, old-fashioned, many-storeyed houses. A peculiar feature of these houses is that they carry on their roof-tops strange-looking contraptions for catching the sea-breeze blowing from Karachi. These wind-catchers deceived Sir Charles Napier, during his victorious march on Sind, into taking them for small guns. The main street known as Shāhī Bāzār is slightly wider but is crowded at all hours of the day. The citadel built by Ghulām Shāh is now practically in ruins; it was inhabited till recently by Muslim refugees from India who have now been moved to the new colonies constructed for them. In earlier days the fort was surrounded by a ditch, now completely filled with debris, which separated it from the old town (for a full description of the town and the fort as they stood in 1836, see the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, "B" volume II, Hyderabad District, Bombay 1920, 40-4). In April 1906, an explosion in the ammunition stored in the fort destroyed many buildings and shops both within the fort and outside. Thereafter the fort was handed over to the civil authorities. In the compound of the blown-up magazine were buried many British officers who fell in the battles of Miyānī and Dubba.

Among the notable buildings in the town are the tombs of the Mīrs, the former rulers of Sind, at the northern extremity of the ridge on which the town stands. While the tombs of the Kalhōŕās are fine specimens of Sindhī architecture, those of the Tālpurs are a poor imitation of modern styles. All the tombs are richly decorated with coloured tiles set in geometric and floral patterns, but both the colours and designs are of inferior workmanship. Under the Tālpur rule, the tombs of their vanquished rivals, the Kalhōŕās, suffered greatly from neglect; indeed they still lie neglected although they are now in the midst of a very busy district and are protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. With the moving of the University of Sind to this town in 1954 and in 1962 of the Sindhī Adabī Board, established by the Government for the development of Sindhī language and literature and for the publication of works in Persian or Arabic by earlier authors of Sindhī origin, it has become a prospering centre of cultural activities. The town also houses the recently established Shāh Walī Allāh Academy, devoted to research on the philosophy of Shāh Walī Allāh [see AL-DIHLAWĪ] and his contribution to Islamic religious and theological thought.

The town has considerably expanded in recent years and two new suburban townships—Laṭīfābād and the Industrial Trading Estate—have sprung up, adding to the amenities of the town. The languages spoken are Urdu and Sindhī, and the population consists of many ethnic elements, such as Balōčis, Sayyids, Rādjpūts, pure Sindhīs of Djāṭ and Mēd origin and the Mewātīs.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, "B" volume II, *Hyderabad District*, Bombay 1920, 39-50; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii, 312-22; *District Census Report, Hyderabad*, Karachi 1961, 1-26, 1-29-32; Abdul Hamid, *Towns of Pakistan*, Karachi 1950, s.v.; Postans, *Personal Observations on Sind*, London 1843; W. F. Napier, *The conquest of Scinde*, London 1845; Richard Burton, *Sind*, London 1851; idem, *Sind revisited*, London 1877; J. Burnes, *Narrative of a visit to the court of Sind in 1828*, Edinburgh 1831; Henry Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, Bombay 1929, s.v.; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Baluchistan and Sinde*, London 1816; Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bukhara and a voyage on the Indus*, London 1834; Del Hoste, *Memoirs on Sind*, London 1832; Edward Backhouse Eastwick (An Ex-Political), *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*[2], London 1851; Annemarie Schimmel in *WI*, n.s. vi/3-4 (1961), 223-43 (the activities of the Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi).

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ḤAYDARĀN, an ancient place-name in south-east Tunisia—which may be located in the neighbourhood of Gabès on the road leading from that town to Ḳayrawān—where, on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 443/14 April 1052, the Ṣanhādja forces under the command of the Zīrid *amīr* al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs were annihilated by the Hilālī hordes, to whom the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo had handed over Ifrīḳiya as a reprisal for its recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād. There were not two battles at Ḥaydarān, taking place, at one year's interval, on the same day and in the same place, as a misinterpretation of a passage in the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī has suggested. After fondly entertaining the hope of enrolling the Banū Hilāl and minimizing the importance of an invasion whose causes are perhaps as much demographic as political, the Zīrid staked all to stop the barbarian flood. Ḥaydarān commemorates the collapse of the Zīrid power, the end of the civilization typified by Ḳayrawān and the start of a new era for the whole Maghrib, which thereafter, progressively from East to West, was to suffer from an increase in nomadism so serious that its effects are still visible today.

Bibliography: H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962.

(H. R. IDRIS)

ḤAYFĀ, modern Haifa, a port at the foot of Mount Carmel. The name does not occur in the Bible, but appears frequently in the Talmud and in later Jewish sources, and is mentioned by Eusebius as ʿΕφα. In the early Muslim centuries Haifa was overshadowed by ʿAkkā [*q.v.*], and is first described by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in 438/1046. He speaks of the palm-groves and numerous trees of this village (*dih*), and mentions the nearby sands of the kind used by Persian goldsmiths and called by them Makkī sand. He also found shipwrights who, he said, made the large, sea-going ships called Djūdī (*Safar-nāma*, ed. and Fr. trans. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, text 18, trans. 60; ed. Kaviani, Berlin 1340 s., 26; English version in *PPTS*, iv, 13).

The Crusaders on their way south at first by-passed Haifa. They soon turned their attention to this useful port, perhaps still containing a shipyard, and *ca.* Shawwāl 493/August 1100, after a siege of about a month, captured Haifa with the help of a Venetian fleet. According to Albert of Aix (vii, 22-5, *RHC.Occ.*, iii, 521 ff.) the population were Jews, who inhabited this place with a special grant from the Fāṭimid Caliph, for which they paid tribute, and who defended it in arms, with the help of Muslim troops. After the capture, the Jewish and Muslim garrison and population, apart from a few who escaped, were assembled and massacred.

Under Frankish rule Haifa acquired some importance, and was often a subject of dispute between the Frankish barons. Idrīsī, whose account belongs to this period, describes it as an excellent anchorage and as the port of Tiberias (ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), Supp.). During the wars between the Crusaders and the Muslims, the fate of Haifa, like other ports on the Palestine coast [see ARSŪF, ḲAYSARIYYA, YĀFA], was linked with that of ʿAkkā.

In 583/1187, after the fall of ʿAkkā, Haifa, with other places, was occupied by Saladin's forces (Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, ed. G. Shayyal, Cairo 1964, 79; Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*[1], ii, 88; Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevič, Moscow 1960, fol. 92 b; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. G. Shayyal, ii, Cairo 1957, 202. In view of the evidence of the Muslim sources, the statement of some Frankish sources, repeated by most modern Western historians of the Crusades, that Haifa was captured *before* the fall of ʿAkkā must be rejected (see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge 1907, 250). In 587/1191, anticipating the Frankish recovery of ʿAkkā, Saladin demolished the walls and fortifications of Haifa, before abandoning it to the Franks. Haifa now remained in Frankish hands, and was refortified by King Louis IX of France *ca.* 1250-1. In 663/1265 it was abandoned by its inhabitants before the advance of Baybars, who razed its fortifications to the ground. It was later recovered by the Franks, and was finally reconquered by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 690/1291, after the reconquest of ʿAkkā.

In the Mamlūk period Haifa was affected by the general policy of keeping the Palestine coast in a state of devastation, as a precaution against a return by the Crusaders. Ḳalḳashandī mentions it only as a ruin (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 155 = Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 124). The first Ottoman survey registers of the conquest [see DAFTAR-I KHĀḲĀNĪ] do not list Haifa among the inhabited places. At about the same time Pīrī Reʾīs, in his description of the Palestine coast, mentions only a ruined castle (U. Heyd, *A Turkish description of the coast of Palestine in the early sixteenth century*, in *IEJ*, vi/4 (1956), 206 and 210-1). By 1019/1611, however, a Turkish document speaks of Frankish merchants who "used to come" to the port (*iskele*) of Haifa. They had stopped coming because of molestation, which was therefore to cease (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 129). In this period Haifa seems to have formed part of the possessions of the Ṭarabay [*q.v.*] family. In 1032/1623 it was besieged by Fakhr al-Dīn II Maʿn [*q.v.*], who offered to raise the siege if Aḥmad Ibn Ṭarabay would undertake not to attack the Ṣafad area. The latter, however, preferred to destroy Haifa rather than risk its falling into the hands of his enemy (I. Ben-Zvi, *Ereṣ-Yisrāʾēl we-yishūvāh biyyēmē ha-shilṭōn ha-ʿOthmānī*, Jerusalem 1955, citing E. Roger, *La terre sainte*, Paris 1664, 76-7; P. Carali, *Fakhr al-Din II*, i, Rome 1936, Italian 80, Arabic 83; Aḥmad al-Khālidī, *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-amīr Fakhr al-Dīn* . . ., ed A. J. Rustum, Beirut 1936, 197-8). More frequent mention by travellers confirms the increasing use of Haifa during the 17th and 18th centuries, though the population seems to have remained very small. During the late forties or early fifties of the 18th century Haifa and its surroundings came into the possession of Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar [*q.v.*]. In Shawwāl 1174/May 1761 ʿOthmān Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, having been authorized by the Sultan to annex Haifa and its surroundings to his province, sent thirty soldiers on a French ship from Beirut to Haifa, with orders to seize the village and fortress by a sudden attack. Forewarned by his spies, Shaykh Ẓāhir was able to drive the ship away by gunfire. After this incident he destroyed the existing village and built a new one, some two kilometres to the north-east, to which he transferred the inhabitants. He called the new village *al-ʿimāra al-djadīda*, the "new construction", but it came to be known as Ḥayfā al-djadīda, new Haifa. It was defended by walls with round towers on the three land sides and by a rectangular, two-storey fortress, armed with guns, overlooking the village and the harbour. Mikhāʾīl Ṣabbāgh remarks that this fortress was built allegedly for defence against infidel (?Maltese) pirates, but actually against possible attacks from Nābulus. It was called Burdj Abū Salām or Burdj al-Salām. Some ruins remain on the hill which is still called al-Burdj. (U. Heyd [then חייט], *Dāhir al-ʿUmar* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1942, 29-30, 39-40, 94, citing Nuʿmān Ḳasaṭlī, *Mulakhkhaṣ taʾrīkh al-Zayādina*, in *Madjallat al-Djinān*, 1877, 851; ʿAbbūd al-Ṣabbāgh, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī taʾrīkh Ḍāhir*, Ms in American University Library, Beirut, fol. 9a and b; Mikhāʾīl Niḳūla al-Ṣabbāgh, *Taʾrīkh al-Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar al-Zaydānī = Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du patriarcat melkite d'Antioche*, iv, ed. P. Constantin Bacha, Ḥarīṣā n.d. [? 1927], 45-6).

The new village built by Shaykh Ẓāhir was the nucleus of modern Haifa. After his fall it was ruled by Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha, and in 1799 was captured by the French, who, however, abandoned it after their failure to take ʿAkkā. In 1837 it was captured by Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt, and in 1840, with ʿAkkā, suffered damage when the two ports were bombarded by Turkish, British, and Austrian ships.

The gradual silting up of the port of ʿAkkā had resulted in a diversion of traffic to Haifa, which began to grow in size and importance. The Jewish population was increased by newcomers from Morocco, Turkey and later from Europe. A new element was the Templars, a group of German Protestants from Württemberg who settled in Haifa in 1868. Though their purpose in coming was pious, they inaugurated the modern economic development of Haifa. They built roads, introduced four-wheeled carriages, and established regular passenger services to ʿAkkā and Nazareth. Among other activities, they built a steam-mill, planted vineyards, and introduced modern agricultural methods. Another group of religious settlers were the Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*], the followers of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] who died in exile near ʿAkkā in 1892. The tomb of his precursor the Bāb [*q.v.*] and of his son ʿAbd al-Bahāʾ, known as ʿAbbās Efendi, are in a mausoleum on the slopes of Mount Carmel; Haifa is the administrative centre of the Bahāʾī religion.

In 1886 work was begun on a government carriage road from Haifa to Tiberias and Djanīn; in 1898, on the occasion of the visit of the German Emperor and Empress, a pier was built, and a carriage road was constructed from Haifa to Jaffa. Despite these developments the population remained small. Towards the end of the 19th century Turkish estimates put it at about 6000 souls, most of them Muslim; by the outbreak of war in 1914 they had risen to between 10,000 and 12,000, of whom about half were Muslims, and the rest Catholic and Orthodox Christians, with a few hundred each of Jews and of German Templars (for a Turkish impression of the German and Jewish settlers, and their work, see Bereketzāde Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Yād-i māḍī*, Istanbul 1332/1914, 132 ff.). In late Ottoman times Haifa was the seat of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAkkā in the *wilāyet* of Bayrūt.

On 23 September 1918 Haifa was occupied by British troops and, as part of the mandated territory of Palestine, entered on a phase of intensive growth and development. A new era in the economic life of

the town had already begun with the opening, in 1905, of the Darʿa-Haifa branch of the Ḥidjāz railway [*q.v.*]. This, by linking Haifa with Damascus and Ḥawrān as well as with Arabia, had given a great impetus to its development as a port. The low freight charges, made possible by the gift capital of the Ḥidjāz railway, gave it an immediate advantage over both Jaffa and Bayrūt. In 1918 a new line linked Haifa with Southern Palestine and Egypt; the port was improved in 1921, and a major expansion completed in 1933, by which date the tonnage entering Haifa harbour had quadrupled in ten years. The completion of the oil pipeline from ʿIrāḳ in 1933 and of the refinery in 1939 also contributed greatly to the economic growth of the city. These developments helped and were helped by a considerable Arab immigration into the city, and, especially in the thirties and forties, by the immigration of large numbers of Jews, chiefly from central and eastern Europe. Censuses held under the Mandate show the following population figures: 1922: 9,377 Muslims, 8,863 Christians, 6,230 Jews, 164 others; 1931: 20,324 Muslims, 13,824 Christians, 15,923 Jews, 332 others. By the end of the Mandate, in 1948, the population of Haifa was estimated at 120,000, two-thirds of whom were Jews and the rest Arabs.

On 21 April 1948 the general commanding British troops in Haifa informed Arab and Jewish leaders that he was going to concentrate his forces in the port area and the roads leading to it, and withdraw them from the rest of the city. This announcement was followed by a swift struggle, which left the city in Jewish hands, and, after abortive negotiations for a surrender, by the departure, by sea to ʿAkkā and Lebanon or overland to Nazareth, of the greater part of the Arab population. The circumstances of this departure remain obscure and controversial (for varying accounts, see ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Nakba*, i, Beirut 1956, 206-23; R. E. Gabbay, *A political study of the Arab-Jewish conflict*, Geneva-Paris 1959, 94-5; J. and D. Kimche, *Both sides of the hill*, London 1960, 115-6, 118-24; G. Kirk, *The Middle East 1945-1950*, London 1954, 261-3; Walid Khalidi, *The fall of Haifa*, in *Middle East Forum*, December 1959, 22-32; Muḥammad Nimr al-Khaṭīb, *Min athar al-nakba*, n.p. [? Damascus] 1951; N. S. Lorch, *The edge of the sword*, London and New York 1961, 97-100; H. Sacher, *Israel, the establishment of a state*, London 1952, 241-5; R. D. Wilson, *Cordon and search*, Aldershot 1949, 167 ff. and 190).

At the present time (1965) there is an Arab population of about 10,000 in Haifa, including Muslims, Druzes, Bahāʾīs, and Christians. Most of the Muslims live in the Wādī Nisnās quarter, on the slopes of Mount Carmel. The Great, or Djarayna Mosque, damaged during the fighting in 1948, was repaired and brought into use again in June 1949. The Carmel village of Kabābīr, inhabited by Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*], is now also within the city limits of Haifa.

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(Ed.)

ḤĀYIL or **ḤĀʾIL**, chief town (pop. 20,000 in 1385/1965) of the district of Djabal Shammar in Central Arabia, former capital of the Rashīdī dynasty of Nadjd, after 1340/1921 a provincial capital of the enlarged realm of the House of Suʿūd (since 1351/1932 the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia). Djabal Shammar, bounded on the north by the basin of the Great Nafūd, forms the natural northwestern limit of Nadjd, although residents of the Ḥāʾil area sometimes refer to al-Ḳaṣīm as the northernmost district of Nadjd proper. Ḥāʾil, situated at an altitude of 979 metres near the eastern edge of the granite massif of Adjaʾ, lies at the heart of the *dīra* of Shammar [*q.v.*] (of Ṭayyiʾ of the classical historians), dominant tribe of the area. The hill of Samra, also known locally as al-Mawḳida, bounds the town on the east; the ridge Umm Arḳab forms a barrier on the north. The name Ḥāʾil was first applied to the *wādī* that runs near the edge of the settlement, itself originally known simply as al-Ḳurayya. Ḥāʾil was mentioned by the poets Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd. Sprenger identifies Ḥāʾil with the Arre Kome of Ptolemy.

The Shammarī inhabitants of Ḥāʾil submitted to Wahhābī [*q.v.*] rule in 1201/1786-7, and the early years of the 13th/19th century were marked by disputes between the Houses of Ibn ʿAlī and Ibn Rashīd for local authority. The forces of Ibrāhīm Pasha, commander of the Turco-Egyptian expeditionary force, exacted tribute from Ḥāʾil after the fall of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1233/1818. Occupation troops entered the town again in 1253/1837. In 1251/1835 the House of Rashīd became firmly established as rulers of Ḥāʾil under the suzerainty of Āl Suʿūd. Independent Djabal Shammar reached the height of its power under Muḥammad Ibn Rashīd, ruler of Ḥāʾil between 1289/1872 and 1315/1897. The town then had a population of about 20,000 in four quarters around the market square, al-Mashaba. On the northeast was Barzān fortress, the construction of which was begun by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī early in the 13th/19th century. The Lubda quarter was on the south; al-Maḳīẓa on the west; and Afnān on the northwest. Commerce was in the hands of 80 merchant families from al-Nadjaf in Iraq. At the mosque in Barzān was the religious law school of al-Marshadī, and the Lubda quarter had a similar institution. Muḥammad b. Bānī, an armourer at Ḥāʾil during this period, was famous throughout Arabia for his decorated weapons. Ḥāʾil and its environs were stricken by an epidemic *ca.* 1288/1871, when many of the townsmen died. Doughty estimated the population to be only about 3,000 at the time of his visit in 1294-1877. After the death of Muḥammad in 1315/1897, large parts of the town were destroyed during a period of dynastic disputes that weakened the House of Rashīd. The successors of Muḥammad received active assistance from the Turks against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd, who finally took Ḥāʾil on 1 Rabīʿ I 1340/2 November 1921.

The economy of Ḥāʾil is based on small-scale farming and commerce. Staples long grown in the area, such as dates and grains, have been supplemented by a wide variety of vegetables and citrus fruits. Ḥāʾil lay on the pilgrim track from Iraq, but the economic benefits of this traffic were often lost owing to the lack of public security in the district before 1340/1921. Overland pilgrim traffic was diverted, *ca.* 1383/1963, to the north through the district of

al-Djawf [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad Ibn Rashīd was known for the quality of his horses; he kept some 500 head in the Ḥāʾil area as cavalry mounts and for export. Horses were no longer raised there in significant numbers in 1385/1966.

Important quarters in the modern town, in addition to those mentioned above, are al-Djudayyida, al-Zabāra, and al-Wusayṭā. The garden suburb of al-Suwayfila is now contiguous with Ḥāʾil, and the formerly barren tract known as al-Nuḳra, between Ḥāʾil and Ḳufār, is cultivated. The Amīr of Ḥāʾil in 1385/1966 was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿad b. Djilūwī, who was installed *ca.* 1341/1923 by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd. He administers an area of some 160,000 square kilometres including the towns of Ḳibā, Taymā, and Khaybar.

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(J. Mandaville)

al-ḤAYMA, a district in the Yaman mountains southwest of Ṣanʿāʾ. The district, which is divided into al-Ḥayma al-Khāridjiyya (Outer or Western al-Ḥayma) and al-Ḥayma al-Dākhiliyya (Inner or Eastern al-Ḥayma), straddles the main route to Ṣanʿāʾ from the seaport of al-Ḥudayda. Ascending from Tihāma, one passes through the district of Ḥarāz [*q.v.*] to reach al-Ḥayma. Manākha, the capital of Ḥarāz, lies *ca.* 2300 m. above sea level. Eastwards the way drops some 800 m. into the sink or graben of Mafḥaḳ ,named after the main town of Outer al-Ḥayma. Glaser identifies Hamdānī's Dhāt Djirdān with Mafḥaḳ, where Harris speaks of "the strange fortress . . . grandly situated on a pinnacle of rock some five hundred feet above the valley". Approaching Inner al-Ḥayma, the way rises again; Sūḳ al-Khamīs (Khamīs Madhyūr) is over 2300 m. and Ḳarn al-Waʿl ("the Horn or Peak of the Mountain Goat", not "deer-antlers" or "Deer-Horn" as in *EI*[1], ii, 220, and iv, 144) to the north is over 2900 m. The main town of Inner al-Ḥayma, al-ʿUrr (pronounced al-ʿIrr), which has been identified with Hamdānī's al-Ṣayad, is not far west of Ḥaḍūr Shuʿayb [*q.v.*], the great mountain dominating the separate district of Ḥaḍūr.

In the north al-Ḥayma extends to the upper basin of Wādī Surdud, and in the south to the land of Anis and Wādī Sahām. In the east the land of Banū Maṭar lies south of the district of Ḥaḍūr. Among the northern valleys of al-Ḥayma are al-Rabūʿ, Mafḥaḳ al-Shamālī, and Ṣayʿam, all of which flow into Surdud. In the south Marḥab, which runs down from Djabal al-Manār near Sūḳ al-Khamīs, and Mafḥaḳ al-Djanūbī flow into Sahām.

Contrary to the statement in *EI*[1], ii, 220, a good deal of coffee is grown in al-Ḥayma. Harris describes one scene there: "What a wonderful valley it was, full of coffee-groves, and luxuriating in all the glories of gorgeous vegetation, amongst which banana-leaves could be plainly distinguished, waving their great green heads!" Glaser considered that the best coffee of al-Ḥayma came from the region of al-ʿUrr. Rathjens and von Wissmann mention fig trees, peaches, and large sycamores to provide shade. These two authors and Deflers give other details on the flora.

The district of al-Ḥayma is believed to be Hamdānī's land of the Akhrūdj, an offshoot of Hamdān. Today the district is regarded as a stronghold of Zaydism, even though the Ismāʿīlīs of the tribe of Yām in Nadjrān [*q.v.*] penetrated there during their advance on Ḥarāz in the 19th century. In the last years of the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of the Yaman and the first years of the Yaman Arab Republic, the People's Republic of China built a paved highway from al-Ḥudayda through al-Ḥayma to Ṣanʿāʾ.

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ḤAYR [see ḤĀʾIR].

ḤAYS [see Supplement].

ḤAYṢA BAYṢA, nickname of the Arab poet Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-Ṣayfī al-Tamīmī. He was born c. 492/1098-9 and died at Baghdād on 6 Shaʿban 574/11 January 1179. He studied *fiḳh* under al-Wazzān al-Shāfiʿī at Rayy and *ḥadīth* under Abū Ṭālib Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī and others, but turned to poetry and belles-lettres and gained fame by the elegance of his style. At Ḥilla he eulogized the Banū Mazyad. Then he went to Baghdād. In his odes he praised the caliphs, *e.g.*, al-Mustarshid, al-Muḳtafī, and al-Mustaḍīʾ, but also the Saldjūḳ sultans, *e.g.*, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and his brother Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, after whose death he was imprisoned for a while by order of al-Muḳtafī. He enjoyed the patronage of the vizier Anūshirwān b. Khālid and especially of the latter's rival ʿAlī b. Ṭarrād al-Zaynabī. He also eulogized other grandees of his time, *e.g.*, al-Djawād Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, the Atābeg Ghāzī b. Zangī, and the Begteginid ʿAlī Küčük.

As a writer Ḥayṣa Bayṣa is a representative of the florid style in vogue in Arabic poetry and ornate prose from the 5th/11th century. His *Dīwān* and his *Rasāʾil*, now lost, were studied by al-Samʿānī—probably in the thirties of the 6th/12th century—under the author's guidance. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (Būlāḳ 1282 A.H.), 251, 14 greatly admires the opening of one of Ḥayṣa Bayṣa's poems in honour of Ghāzī b. Zangī.

Ḥayṣa Bayṣa was very proud of his Arab lineage, claiming descent from Aktham b. Ṣayfī [*q.v.*]. He dressed himself like a Bedouin chief, riding on horseback through the streets of Baghdād fully armed. He also affected Bedouin speech, pronouncing the *ḳāf* like *g*; he was fond of obsolete words—he got his nickname from the expression *fī ḥayṣa bayṣa* "in straits and distress"—and addressed everyone in the classical language with all its grammatical niceties. The biographers give instances of the affected style of his private letters which made them nearly unintelligible to the addressee. These weaknesses made him an easy target for the satire of his enemies, *e.g.*, the physician Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 558/1163).

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ʿA. Dj. Āl Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961, i, 207-20 and index. A large selection from Ḥayṣa Bayṣa's poems and letters is to be found in ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī's *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, section on ʿIrāḳ, i, ed. Muḥ. Bahdjat al-Atharī, Baghdād 1355/1955, 202-366, and extracts from his *Dīwān* appear in MS 4314 of the Rampur library (= 3046 of the Institute of Arabic manuscripts).

(J. W. Fück)

HAYṬAL [see HAYĀṬILA].

AL-**HAYTHAM** B. **ʿADĪ** AL-ṬĀʾĪ, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, author of historical works (*akhbārī*) born at Kūfa ca. 120/738 in a family originally from Manbidj, died at Fam al-Ṣilḥ in 206, 207 or 209/821, 822, or 824. Of his life it is known only that he attended the ʿAbbāsid court more or less regularly from the reign of al-Manṣūr to that of al-Rashīd, that he was imprisoned by the latter after a criticism of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that his wife's family had slanderously attributed to him, and that al-Amīn freed him on his accession. It is known also that he had disputes with poets, notably Abū Nuwās, who is said to have addressed satirical verses to him in which he accused him of having forged a false genealogy for himself. On the whole, he is blamed for an improper curiosity, and students of Tradition have no confidence in him, because he is thought to have fabricated *ḥadīth*s; al-Djāḥiẓ himself, who, however, quotes him quite often in his works (see *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index), seems to consider him as proverbial for the lack of authenticity of his stories (*K. al-Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 203); but of course he numbers him amongst the Khāridjīs. Nevertheless, al-Haytham is a source for al-Yaʿḳūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Masʿūdī and other historians. The author of the *Murūdj al-dhahab* considers him well-informed on the history of the Arabs and quotes him frequently, along with Ibn al-Kalbī, Abū Mikhnaf and other authors of the 2nd/8th century, most of whose works have been lost. The *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 145-6) and Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vii, 261 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 304 ff.) credit al-Haytham with some fifty works, which can be divided into several groups but which all relate to one branch of history:

Ancient history (*K. Buyūtāt al-ʿArab*; *K. Ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm*, etc.); general and Islamic history (*al-Taʾrīkh murattab ala 'l-sinīn*; *Taʾrīkh al-Furs wa-Banī Umayya*; *K. al-Dawla*, etc.); genealogy (*Nasab Ṭayyiʾ*, etc.); biographies (*K. al-Muʿammarīn*; *K. Wulāt al-Kūfa*; *K. ʿUmmāl al-shuraṭ li-umarāʾ al-ʿIrāḳ*; *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ wa 'l-muḥaddithīn*, etc.); monographs (*Akhbār Ziyād b. Abīh*; *Akhbār al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*; *K. Khawātim al-khulafāʾ* etc.); polemic between cities (*K. Fakhr ahl al-Kūfa ʿalā ahl al-Baṣra*); *mathālib* (*K. al-Mathālib al-ṣaghīr*; *K. al-Mathālib al-kabīr*; *K. Mathālib Rabīʿa*; *Asmāʾ baghāyā Ḳuraysh fi'l djāhiliyya*, etc.). Not one of his works has survived.

Bibliography: besides the sources quoted in the article: *Aghānī*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 384 (p. 533, he deals with another Haytham); ʿAskalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vi, 209-11; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, no. 44; Brockelmann, S I, 77, 213.

(Ch. Pellat)

HAYŪLĀ, a technical term taken from the Greek ὕλη, "matter" as opposed to "form", *ṣūra* (εἶδος), or more precisely "primary matter" in the philosophical sense. The corresponding Arabic word is *mādda*; the sense that is sometimes very close to that of *ʿunṣur*, "element", should also be noted. In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the term *hayūlā* is current in translations from the Greek, and in the researches and systems that draw their inspiration from these. According to the taste of the various schools and authors, *hayūlā* is sometimes substituted for *mādda*, and sometimes distinguished from it, as "primary matter" is distinguished from "secondary matter"; frequently, however, the two terms are considered as being virtually synonymous. In its slightly differing connotations, *hayūlā* belongs to the vocabulary (1) of the Shīʿī (particularly Ismāʿīlī) thinkers, and (2) of the "Hellenistic Philosophers" (*falāsifa*). We find it again in the treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* which discuss the arguments of both of these groups.

A complete survey would be very extensive. The following constitute some points of reference:

1. In Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *al-hayūlā* is the third of the "Five Eternals (*i.e.*, Principles)", in its strict sense of "primary matter" (*Rasāʾil falsafiyya*, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1939, i, 195 ff.).—A recension and summary of al-Tāzī's arguments was made in Persian by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, and in Arabic by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The "Second Eternal", the Universal Soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya*), shook and agitated Matter in order to produce the world—without success; it needed the help of the "First Eternal", *al-Bāriʾ*, the Creator (*op. cit.*, 308). Matter is then subjected to Form.

2. Emanatist world-views, particularly in Shīʿism, take up the theme of Primary Matter, emanating or radiating from the Supreme Principle, and eternal. In Ḳarmaṭī cosmology, as well as, for example, in the *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ* of the Ismāʿīlī Abū Yaḳʿūb al-Sidjistānī (4th/10th century), *al-hayūlā* is the third emanating Principle. According to al-Sidjistānī, it is when the First Intelligence imagines its "Follower", the Universal Soul, that Matter comes into being. The last "is powerless to manifest itself by itself; it needs the help of Form, that is Nature, since Matter is by definition that which can manifest itself only with the help of something else" (text and trans. *apud* H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 62/85). We find an analogous cosmogonical process in Ibn Sīnā, but here *al-hayūlā* is replaced by the Celestial Body.

Three characteristics seem to be inherent in this Ismāʿīlī Matter: (a) it is pure virtuality vis-à-vis Form (cf. also Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, 4th/10th century); it can "manifest itself" only by means of Form; (b) it has, as it were, a positive desire for Form; (c) it nevertheless keeps its autonomous position as the third emanating Principle. Nāṣir-i Khusraw says that when all the souls of the sublunary world have found their true Homeland again, not only the Universal Soul, as Abū Bakr al-Rāzī would have it, but Matter also "will be liberated, released from its subjection to Form, just as it was in pre-eternity" (H. Corbin, introduction to the *Kitāb Djāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, Tehran-Paris 1953, 133). The "desire for Form", constitutive of Matter, therefore remains, as it were, ambivalent: it is a positive desire to be manifested in Being, but a desire that is also a subjection.

A tradition attributed to Empedocles had a great effect on the elaboration of Ismāʿīlī systems (cf. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su Escuela*, Madrid 1914, chap. V, 54 ff.). In the extracts of pseudo-Empedocles reproduced by the *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī (ed. Cairo 1320, ii, 168), the first, and thus the most noble "Thing Caused" is called *al-ʿunṣur*, "(primordial) Element", simpler than Intelligence, Soul, Nature and the Mixtures

(*murakkabāt*) that are "beneath it", but not completely simple (the Creator alone, *al-mubdiʿ*, is absolutely simple), since it is compounded of love and discord. It may, however, be called "The First Simple Intelligible", *awwal al-basīṭ al-maʿḳūl*.

This *ʿunṣur*, the First of the Five Emanations (the same theory is found in the summary of Thales given by al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, 158), seems to have done much to foster the idea of a primordial spiritual or intelligible Matter (*al-hayūlā al-rūḥāniyya*). We find the influence of this again in Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī in Iran, in Ibn ʿArabī, and in Ibn Masarra in Andalus. In this sense, too, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī calls God the *hayūlā* of the Universe.

3. The *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* give us, as it were, an abridged (and sometimes rather clumsy) version of the Ismāʿīlī views on Primordial Matter. The *risāla* on "matter, form, time and place" (ed. Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 4 ff.) reaffirms clearly that the principle of individuation (contrary to the Aristotelian tradition) comes not from matter but from form. "All bodies are of one single genus—which is of one single substance and one single matter. Their differences come from form; this is why some are purer and nobler than others" (*op. cit.*, 6). It is *ṣūra*, not *hayūlā*, that is changeable and volatile (cf. *risāla* on "Intellect and the Intelligible", iii, 230-2).

The *risāla* on "Matter and Form" (ii, 4-5) explicitly states that *hayūlā* can be understood in four ways: (a) "the Matter of art", *hayūlā al-ṣanāʿa*, every substance that serves as material for the craftsman; (b) "Physical Matter" or "the Matter of nature", *hayulā al-ṭabīʿa*, that is the "four elements" of which all sublunary bodies are composed, and to which they return when they decay; (c) "the Matter of the Whole", *hayūlā al-kull*, "the absolute (*muṭlaḳ*) body from which the Cosmos emanates"; (d) "primary Matter" (or, here, rather "primordial Matter"), *al-hayūlā al-ūlā*, defined as simple, intelligible "substance" (*djawhar*), not perceptible to the senses, and as the "form" (*ṣūra*) of all Selfhood (*huwiyya*). The term *hayūlā*, then, is used for "secondary matter" (already formed), as well as for "primary matter"—or rather the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ do not refer to this classical distinction; their idea of *hayūlā ūlā* is not that of "pure potentiality". In fact, the hierarchy of four "Matters" that they evoke causes them to say that every existing thing is, in different respects, both "form" and "matter"; each one of the four classes of *hayūlā* is "form" with respect to the class above it. "... The Absolute Body is form in Primordial Matter ... The latter is a spiritual form emanating from the Universal Soul, which is itself a spiritual form emanating from the Universal Intellect, which emanates from the Creator" (*Rasāʾil*, iii, 230). According to the Ismāʿīlī idea of "form" (see above), all form, even spiritual form, can disappear, since it is limitation. The Creator (*al-mubdiʿ*) alone remains (*op. cit.*, 231), and every existing thing returns to Him (*op. cit.*, 232).

This hierarchy of the four connotations of *hayūlā*, as synthesized by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, accords closely with the hierarchy subsequently adopted by Ibn ʿArabī. It is, in fact, probably its source, or one of its sources. In the *Futūḥāt*, a descending, no longer ascending, enumeration reproduces the essentials of this hierarchy, with one notable addition. A fifth connotation appears, mentioned first because it refers to the highest reality: *hayūlā* as intelligible matter, whether it be created or uncreated, coexistent with Being itself, and "The Reality of Realities", *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* (see analyses and ref. *apud* Asín Palacios, *op. cit.*, 112-3).

4. Although it is Emanatist, the system of the *falāsifa* does not, in its turn, follow the Ismāʿīlī cosmogonies. Primary Matter loses its position, both as Primordial Element and First Emanation (lines of thought influenced by pseudo-Empedocles), and as Third Emanation (cf. al-Sidjistānī), in favour of an idea that is properly philosophical; primary matter is a pure potentiality (*ḳuwwa*), actuated only by form.

The words *mādda* and *hayūlā* both belong to the vocabulary of *falsafa*. The expression *al-mādda al-ūlā* for "primary matter" is frequent in al-Fārābī; it is found also in Ibn Sīnā (*e.g.*, *Shifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1390/1960, 279). In his *Risāla fi 'l-ḥudūd* (*apud Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 84, French trans. A.-M. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne*, Paris 1933, 81) Ibn Sīnā gives *mādda* and *hayūlā* as exactly synonymous, while at the same time appearing to reserve for *mādda* the connotation of "secondary matter" (he does, however, use *hayūlā*, too, in this latter sense). Immediately after this he defines *ʿunṣur* (primordial element) as "the first principle of [those things which are] subjects of inhesion: that which, taken absolutely, denotes primary matter, *al-hayūlā al-ūlā*" (*op. cit.*, 84-5/82). *Al-ʿilla al-ʿunṣuriyya* in the sense of "material cause" should also be noted (*Shifāʾ*, *loc. cit.*, 278; *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1928, 211). We are a long way here from the *ʿunṣur* of pseudo-Empedocles and "spiritual matter". What is more, in the *falāsifa*, it is no longer form that is the principle of limitation, and thus of individuation, but matter as being quantified: determinate in Ibn Sīnā (*Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, Leyden 1890, 46), indeterminate in Ibn Rushd.

Thus, in contrast to Ismāʿīlī cosmogonies, we find in the *falāsifa* (in a very Platonic and Neoplatonic manner) a kind of depreciation of *hayūlā* (or *mādda*). Al-Fārābī, in his *Maḳāla fī maʿānī al-ʿaḳl*, calls primary matter (here *al-mādda al-ūlā*) "the basest of objects" (ed. Dieterici, *Philos. Abhand.*, Leyden 1890, 46). In his sketch of an ontologically ascending hierarchy (*ibid.*), he proceeds from the lowest degree, which is primary matter, to the second, which is Nature (*ṭabīʿa*). This "is corporeal form residing in primary matters"; the text has *mawādd hayūlāniyya*, thus uniting in one single expression the two roots, Arabic and Greek. The superior degrees of being rise towards separate existences (*i.e.*, separate from all matter).

Matter is the place or receptacle (*maḥall*) of form. Ibn Sīnā says: "If it is by itself a receptacle, with no composition, it is called absolute primary matter, *al-hayūlā al-muṭlaḳa*" (*Nadjāt*, 300). *Hayūlā* (or *mādda*) and its correlative/opposite *ṣūra* are the terms used to express Aristotelian Hylemorphism, or rather a Hylemorphism remodelled on Neoplatonic lines. Matter exists for form, and, in sublunary beings, form for matter (*e.g.*, al-Fārābī, *al-Madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. Dieterici, Leyden 1895, 20-1; the term used is *mādda*, but in one example, *mādda wa hayūlā*: similarly in *Maʿānī al-ʿaḳl*, 46). Ibn Sīnā, in another connexion, stresses the interaction of matter and form, giving priority to form: "It is untrue that matter (*mādda*) is in some way the cause of form. Form alone is that by means of which matter necessarily exists" (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, 85). It follows from this that "form is anterior to matter (*hayūlā*); not that it always exists potentially of itself; but (in composition) it is actuated only by means of matter (*mādda*)" (*ibid.*, 88). On the following page (89): "Form exists only in matter (*hayūlā*)". It should be

noted here that the world of "material forms" (*ṣuwar māddiyya*, a common expression) is not confined to the corporeal world. Primary matter, *hayūlā*, can receive forms other than corporeal (*Is͟hārāt*, 98). Ibn Sīnā appears here to allude to the world of Celestial Souls, showing also, perhaps, some influence of the S͟hīʿī "spiritual matter". The world of Separate Intellects, however, is usually represented as free from all matter.

In the famous *Risāla fi 'l-ʿis͟hḳ* (ed. Mehren, Leyden 1894, 5-7), it is the term *hayūlā* that denotes the first of the three simple Selfhoods that have no existence of themselves: matter, form, accident. They too are pervaded by the impulse of *ʿis͟hḳ*, of "desire"; it is with an "innate" (*g͟harīzī*) desire, we might say "an ontological desire", that matter desires form, without which it does not exist, and form desires matter, as its substratum. We find here again the positive desire for form that we have already found in Ismāʿīlī systems.

Many other references to the *falāsifa* could be given. We should note in Ibn Sīnā (an Aristotelian line of thought, influenced by Alexander of Aphrodisias?) the idea of a "material intellect", *al-ʿaḳl al-hayūlānī*, conceived of as pure potentiality vis-à-vis all knowledge, and so called because "of its resemblance to primary matter, which by itself possesses no form, while being the subject for all existing forms" (*Nad̲j̲āt*, 165). The expression is not found in al-Kindī, or in the *Maʿānī al-ʿaḳl* of al-Fārābī. We find it again in Ibn Rus͟hd.

5. To represent the idea of "matter", *ʿilm al-kalām* normally uses *mādda*. *Hayūlā*, however, occurs many times in the As͟hʿarīs and the later Māturīdīs, who summarize and refute *falsafa*. From them the term passes into the normal philosophical vocabulary. Of very many examples which could be given, here are three. Al-D̲j̲uwaynī (*Irs͟hād*, ed. and trans. Luciani, Paris 1938, 13/32) introduces *hayūlā* in connexion with the (refuted) thesis of the *mulḥida* ("heterodox"). He says that they call substances (*d̲j̲awāhir*) "*hayūlā*" or "*mādda*", and accidents "form" (*ṣūra*). The ideas in questions are represented better by the "modern" As͟hʿarīs. In his *Muḥaṣṣal* (Cairo n.d., 83), Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī gives a clear summary of the thought of Ibn Sīnā; bodies are composed of matter and form (*hayūlā* and *ṣūra*); *hayūlā* is the receptacle of form. Finally, in his *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 279), al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī defines *hayūlā* as "a Greek word" denoting "foundation" (*aṣl*) and "matter" (*mādda*). He says that the "technical sense" is "substance" (*d̲j̲awhar*) which, in a body, is in a state of receptivity to everything that happens to the body; *hayūlā* is the "receptacle of corporeal and specific forms". (The notion of *d̲j̲awhar* is itself open to discussion at this point.)

Bibliography: (apart from works cited in the article): L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallâj*, Paris 1922, 630 ff.; S. van den Bergh, *Die Epitome des Metaphysik des Averroes*, Leyden 1924, *passim*; A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, nos 736-8 and 439, 11; Abū Rīda, *Rasā'il al-Kindī*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, introduction to the *Risāla fi 'l-ʿaḳl*, especially 319-31; H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Paris 1958, 220-1; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 196, 308-10.

(L. Gardet)

ḤAYY, Arabic name for the "clan", that is to say of the primary grouping in nomadic life, excellently described by Nöldeke as one of warriors who bivouac at the same encampment and move about together. The bond between its members is regarded as a blood relationship, and entails their collective responsibility for any murder committed by a fellow-tribesman, as well as the imperative obligation to avenge bloodshed. An alliance between two clans is cemented by magico-religious rites involving the mingling of blood, and the swearing of an oath while dipping the right hand into a vessel originally filled with blood is taken from this ceremonial. These facts, brought to notice by Robertson Smith in 1885 in his famous work on kinship and marriage in ancient Arabia, still entirely retain their validity, but his interpretation of the Semitic social institutions as being totemism was challenged as early as 1886 by Nöldeke in his critical study of the work. Although this theory of totemism today appears to have lost some of its attraction, the hypothesis of a matriarchal period preceding the patriarchal one is supported by numerous arguments. The terminology for the sections of tribes includes several names of parts of the body, such as *baṭn* "stomach", *fak͟hid͟h* "thigh", etc., which are explained by Robertson Smith, not without probability, as metaphors originally signifying the uterine parent, and then, after the change to the patriarchal system, the male organs symbolized by the knees, kidneys or thighs. Comparable features will be found in Germanic and Indo-European vocabularies. Even the term which designates kinship in the clan indicates clearly enough that this must previously have been one of maternal filiation, for *raḥim* is nothing but the name of the uterus. As for the word *ḥayy*, it seems natural to include it in the same series, noting that the root *ḥyw*, clearly apparent in *ḥayawān* "animal" and in the Ḳur'ānic spelling of *ḥay[w]āt* "life", certainly attained this abstract sense only after having previously borne a concrete meaning that is revealed by the substantive *ḥayā'* "vulva", from which the secondary abstract meaning of "modesty, shame" also derives. This symbol of fecundity must have been common Semitic. However, in Hebrew the corresponding root *ḥayāh* has only the meaning "to live", but the name of Eve, the mother of the human race, Ḥawwāh, which is explained in Genesis (III, 20) by a Piel form "who gives life", could well represent the concrete starting point of the same semantic derivation.

In certain modern dialects the word *ḥayy* denotes a quarter in a town or settlement, more precisely a quarter inhabited by the same ethnic or tribal element [see MADĪNA, MAḤALLA].

Bibliography: Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885; Nöldeke, review of the preceding, in *ZDMG*, xl (1886), 176; J. Henninger, *Le problème du totémisme chez les Arabes après quatre-vingts ans de recherches*, in *Actes du VIe Congrès intern. des sc. anthr. et ethn.*, Paris 1964, ii, 401-4; idem, *La société bédouine ancienne*, in *L'Antica società beduina* (Univ. di Roma, Studi Semitici, 2), Rome 1959, 69-93; *Bible du Centenaire*, Paris (Société Biblique) 1941, i, 4, n. *f*.

(J. Lecerf)

ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN, the name of the principal character of two philosophical allegories, one by Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, and the other by Ibn Ṭufayl, *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān fī asrār al-ḥikma al-mus͟hriḳiyya* (L. Gauthier's vocalization; Hourani gives it as *mas͟hriḳiyya*). Until the end of the 19th century the *Risāla* of Ibn Ṭufayl was much better known than Ibn Sīnā's short work, the contents of which if not the title were unknown. The similarity in titles led to the belief that there was a

close kinship of thought, and at times that the one was a translation of the other. Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, i, 7-8, translates the title given in 1299/1882 to the *Risāla* published in Istanbul: "*Traité Ḥayy ben Yaqẓān sur la philosophie orientale, que l'Imam Abou Djafar ben Thofeil a tiré des ouvrages précieux du grand maître Abou Ali ben Sînâ*", the last page containing a note: Ibn Khallikān attributes this treatise to Ibn Sīnā; "perhaps he wrote it in Persian, and so we may have an Arabic translation of it, made by Ibn Thofeil". De Goeje, in Leiden, was the first to notice, on examining a manuscript, that Ibn Sīnā's work was in fact written in Arabic and that the title was all it had in common with the other. Its authenticity is now indisputable and it figures in all the bibliographies, but the text was only established and published two centuries after that of Ibn Ṭufayl.

I. — *Ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, by Ibn Sīnā, who wrote it while imprisoned in the fortress of Ferdadjān, probably in 414/1023, as it seems likely that his captivity took place between 412/1021-2 (when the Būyid prince Samāʾ al-Dawla succeeded his father Shams al-Dawla, who, at the time of his death, still had Ibn Sīnā as his doctor) and 414/1023-4 (when the town of Hamadān was captured by ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, whose minister he was). The *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is mentioned by Djuzdjānī in his bio-bibliography of Ibn Sīnā, which is repeated by all the Arabic notices. Ibn Sīnā's work inspired the poetic allegory *Ḥayy ben Meḳīṣ*, by the Spanish Hebrew author Abraham ibn ʿEzra (1092-1167).—Critical editions: 1) Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, i, 1889, the text preceded by a kind of paraphrased résumé which is not a translation, and accompanied by extracts from the commentary written in Arabic by Ibn Zayla, a disciple of Ibn Sīnā. 2) Corbin, 1952, with a translation which does not follow the Arabic text exclusively, but takes into account the Persian translation and even the Persian commentary. These accompany the text and are also printed *in extenso*; both were written at the request of prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla in the five years following Ibn Sīnā's death, by an anonymous writer who may be Djuzdjānī (Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, ii, 151). The division into paragraphs by the Persian commentator gives great clarity to a text which in itself is very difficult. The French translation does not attempt to render the text either integrally or exclusively; moreover, the copious notes which accompany it and the *Étude sur le cycle des Récits avicenniens* profess to elucidate it almost exclusively by means of Iranian and gnostic traditions, often of much later date than Ibn Sīnā. However, Suhrawardī wrote that he saw no allusions to these in the *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* and that Ibn Sīnā had no knowledge of ancient Persian sources (Corbin, *Le Récit d'initiation et l'hermétisme en Iran*, in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xvii, 124 and 135, and *Cycle des Récits avicenniens*, 48-9).

Mehren manifestly did not understand the *Account*, which he judged to be written in "an obscure and involved rhetorical style", with "a terminology so mystical" that the meaning is lost. Indeed, the paraphrase conveys almost no meaning and does not give any hint of any of the sources which reveal themselves to the attentive reader. His lack of knowledge of the doctrine expounded in Ibn Sīnā's main works was for him an insurmountable obstacle.

To the reader familiar with Ibn Sīnā, however, the *Account* brings a wealth of echoes of themes already discussed, to such a point that the French translation published by A.-M. Goichon in 1959 is illustrated with a continuous commentary drawn from these very works of philosophy and medicine, thereby following the Persian commentator's advice. Indeed, the latter concluded his work with these words: "It must be realised that a simple statement has been given here of each of the questions discussed in this epistle. A complete exposé of them can be found in the major works. The Master Avicenna has himself discussed them ..." (following Corbin's translation).

Adhering as closely as possible to the Arabic text, this new translation was checked by comparing all the ideas expressed, phrase for phrase and often word for word, with the passages in the great works that they called to mind. This method allows the meaning of the *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* to be fully appreciated, both in the general sense and in detail. It is then seen to be a poetic narrative, related in form to the celebrated *Poem of the Soul* and similarly based on a philosophic doctrine which, beneath the decorative imagery, remains very precise.

This philosophical meaning was confirmed by research into the sources. These were discovered in Aristotle, Plato, Porphyry, Galen, Ptolemy, Fārābī, in the Ḳurʾān, in popular Semitic and Iranian legends and the Arab geographers. But certain chapters are specifically Avicennist, in particular the three most beautiful ones which conclude the *Account*.

The unity of the work can then be grasped: it is that of the theory of forms taught by Ibn Sīnā. Alike given by the active Intellect which is the last of the pure Intelligences, the material forms constitute the terrestrial world, whilst on the other hand the intelligible forms permit the knowledge of the universe peculiar to the human spirit which, with their help, can pass beyond the attainments of the senses. The material forms of the astral bodies and those of the pure Intelligences are above the active Intellect and the sublunar world, but can also be known. The *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is thus found to include the Avicennist theory of knowledge even as far as its loftiest reaches, the Prime and Necessary Being.

The name given to the work is then easily explained. *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* is the proper name of the active Intellect; "Living", since Ibn Sīnā places perfection in life in intelligence and action, "son of the Wakeful One", because he emanates from the penultimate pure Intelligence which knows neither sleep nor inattention. This name is closely connected with the theory of creative emanation professed by Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. The active Intellect is also, through knowledge surpassing the perceptible world, the soul's guide towards its prime Principle, the Being that shines forth over all others.

We now give an outline of the *Account*:

The human soul, mastering its sensual faculties, comes with these, as it were while walking, to the edge of intellectual knowledge. A splendid Sage, whose beauty is unassailable by time, appears before it, and the soul desires his acquaintance. He is the first to speak (it is he who gives the intelligibles), a conversation develops; the Sage gives his name—Living, son of Wakeful. "My profession", he said, "is to travel through all the countries of the world, to be able to embrace them all in an exhaustive knowledge (it is he who possesses all the intelligibles). My face is always turned towards my Father (the Wakeful), and I have received from him the keys to all knowledge". Looking at his interlocutor, the soul

with its human nature, he tells it that its features reveal it to be the possessor of the best of the natures in the terrestrial world; but it must beware of its evil companions. These are the taste for carnal pleasures, violence and giddy imagination, that retails both true and false. It is, however, impossible to remain aloof from these on earth; it is necessary at least to compel them to obey, to preserve a balance, and not to let them take control.

With this warning, the soul reflects and is then quite ready to learn how to keep these difficult companions under restraint. It would be very happy to travel like the Sage. He replies that, in its present condition, it can only make a journey punctuated with halts. And the soul replies by questioning him about the regions that he knows and about which he has undertaken to acquire complete information.

He then sketches out for the soul a metaphysical geography of the world. One of the regions, bounded by the East and the West, is well known and a subject of study; it is there that forms are to be seen in matter, it is the world as ordinarily presented to man. The latter can only penetrate into the other two regions by means of a strength not entirely natural to him, since it must have the help of the active Intellect. Ibn Sīnā here makes use of popular geographical data about the terrible Ocean which none can cross, and describes it as the home of matter, the region in the West where the material forms come for refuge, to lose themselves, just as the sun disappears over the horizon. Symmetrically, the East is the place of origin of the light which the forms, whether material or intelligible, carry with them. A description which takes its features from the mountain of Ḳāf reveals the land of the intelligibles, reached by the human spirit after a dreadful ascent. To walk above the abyss, to climb ever higher towards more perfect forms, is possible only by means of a vigour renewed by fresh, ever-flowing water from a spring near the motionless source of the living Being. The two commentators have seen logic in this ever-moving water with which the human intelligence was to revivify itself; as for the source of the living Being, it is motionless because the intelligible form, which is in the active Intellect at the origin of the material form, is quite certainly removed from all mobility. With the help of logic, the reasoning soul can traverse the deserts and darkness of the unknown, the sea of matter, and scale the mountains of the intelligibles. After the darkness of the unknown the soul, still fortified by logic, reaches a great light. It is the light arising from the explanations given by Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān.

Under the symbolical form of a band of émigrés fighting against the inhabitants, the Sage explains to the soul the incessant changing of forms in matter. Many of the terms recur in the *Epistle on Love*, the *Poem of the Soul*, the soul which little by little becomes accustomed to being in contact with "the ruin deserted" by previous forms, which has become its body.

The forms are the light which creeps into the obscurity of matter, given, according to the latter's requirements in its dark preparation, by the luminous active Intellect. It is for this purpose that Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān must know all beings and all circumstances perfectly. But the corruptible world can only be a ruin temporarily decked out. "Every animal and every plant has come by night into this country", for every form comes invisibly. "Joy and beauty are taken from a distant place", the place whence come the forms which are the light, whether material in beings, or intelligible in the spirit.

Between this living, immaterial Orient and the world of corruptible matter is located the world of incorruptible matter, that of the astral bodies, nearer than our own to the "window of light". It is the Region of stability and peace, for there the forms are not driven away from matter. The heavens are described as spaces populated with inhabitants whose features express the physical characters of the astral bodies according to Ptolemy. The Empyrean, the ninth sphere, is described as the dwelling of the pure Intelligences. "Beyond there is no more inhabited land". The elements are outstripped, the vast earth, the mass of water, winds imprisoned, flaming fire . . .

How can these forms, which have just been shown us under their aspect of substantial forms, be possessed by intelligence as intelligible forms? They are first captured by the five senses, then handed over to the general or common sense which is as it were a guardian responsible for the five paths taken by the watchers for news. It hands over all its prizes to the memory; this places them at the disposal of the intelligence, which gives fecundity to the intelligible forms (that is to say universality), if imagination has not previously spoilt them. Like a sun, intelligence rises between the senses and the imagination, despite the satanic rule that they enact upon it, insinuating themselves through the breath into man's inmost parts. If it succeeds in holding them in a harmonious, submissive state, intelligence lives in a sense in the realm of the angels. It mounts upwards to regard the pure Intelligences themselves, the primordial creation through the medium of which being descends from the prime necessary Being, down to the very lowest creatures. The soul contemplates the Intelligences, each in its own immutable place, grouped round the supreme King like children around their father, in a region without matter.

Above all these, and above all expression, is the King, the prime and necessary Being, in an absolute unity, with none of the divisions that our language attributes to him, "all countenance through his beauty, all hand through his generosity", so dazzling that he is veiled by his own radiance. Some men, those the best, leave the baseness of this world to make their way in solitude towards him.

Here the Sage, the active Intellect, directlyi ntervenes; he reveals that to awaken a human soul to these lofty realities is his own way of serving the King, and adds: "If you wish, follow me towards Him". This invitation is the last episode in the *Account*.

The links between this work and Ibn Sīnā's other writings appear to be extraordinarily numerous, close and precise. If certain translations have failed to grasp them, it is because they have minimised or paraphrased the unexpected terms, while they are in fact the key to the passage in which they occur. On consideration, it is impossible to see a dream, a fancy or theosophy, in these pages; one can only admit that they present the philosopher's thought in a new and poetic, but faithful and coherent, form. A philosopher is not forbidden to be a poet. On several occasions Ibn Sīnā showed that he had the ability to be one, and he did not remain dryly didactic, but enriched by his own sensibility the discoveries of his intelligence. The highest knowledge open to the human soul, that of the pure Intelligence which is the King creator, is expressed with a tone of undeniably personal emotion, which is repeated

when the other works speak of knowledge through the depth of the heart, the *sirr*. This is the point that is the most profound, the closest to mysticism in the true sense, in Avicennan literature. It is to be noted that, in the *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, the poem of the intelligibles concludes before the union with God, which in fact surpasses them.

At the beginning of the minor work *Fi 'l-ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar*, Ibn Sīnā refers to a s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ who resembles Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān and who may not be far removed from being this character himself.

II. — *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān fī asrār al-ḥikma al-mus̲h̲riḳiyya*, written by the Andalusian philosopher and doctor Ibn Ṭufayl, the protector of Ibn Rus̲h̲d, very probably between 565/1169 and some years before 581/1185, the date of the author's death. The *Risāla* is his best known work and the only one to survive intact today. List of the manuscripts and editions: 1) Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl*, 43-51; 2) Gauthier, *Ḥayy ben Yaqdhân*, 2nd ed., XXII-XXXIII, completing the brief list included in the ed. of 1900. The *Risāla* was published for the first time in 1671, with a Latin translation, by Edward Pocock at Oxford (reprinted 1700), followed immediately by two English translations and one Dutch made from the Latin, and also a German one in 1726. Translations from the Arabic text: Hebrew, by an unknown author, with Hebrew commentary by Moses of Narbonne in 1349; then from the text established by Pocock: English, Ockley, London 1708 and 1731; German, Eichhorn, Berlin 1783; Castilian, Pons Boigues, Saragossa 1900 (repr. Cairo 1905). It is possible that Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the first part of which appeared is 1719, owed something to Ockley's translation of Ibn Ṭufayl. Another English translation by P. Brönnle appeared in London in 1904 (revised A. S. Fulton 1929). Three editions of the text alone in Cairo 1882, 1921; two in Constantinople, one in Beirut (1936). Critical edition of the text with French translation: Gauthier, Algiers 1900, followed by a new edition of the text, improved by the use of new manuscripts and accompanied by a new translation, Algiers 1936. Russian translation, Kuzmin, St. Petersburg 1920; Spanish, González Palencia, Madrid 1934, from the text established by Gauthier.

Without any doubt, Ibn Ṭufayl borrowed the title from Ibn Sīnā; but curiously enough, it was to introduce a philosophical thesis entirely contrary to that writer's. We have just seen that the very name of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān and his rôle were inspired by the theory of emanation, which makes the active Intellect the last of the separate Intelligences. By attributing to it the gift of the intelligibles to the human soul, Ibn Sīnā deprived the latter of its highest intellectual function, namely the abstraction of the intelligibles. Ibn Ṭufayl, says González Palencia in his introduction (22-3), teaches that one cannot apply to separate essences either our categories of thought or our ways of reasoning, and he raised the question of the unity of human intellect. In our opinion, Ibn Ṭufayl went further; for he returns to the name which denotes the active Intellect to attribute it to a man. This man, the *Philosophus autodidactus* as Pocock called him in the title of his translation, succeeds precisely in discovering, quite alone, the sciences and philosophy, and clearly by means of abstraction. That is to say, he appears as "the incarnation in man of the active Intellect", as Gauthier puts it (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 89), or better still as the personification of the specifically human active Intellect. Its true function is thus restored to man's intelligence. This is a fundamental change in the doctrine described above, presented in the form of imaginative writing. This work sums up the controversies which continued for two centuries in the West; for it implies the theory that St. Thomas Aquinas put forward nearly a hundred years later, that the perfection of human nature requires that the active intellect should not be external to man (*In Aristotelis librum de Anima commentarium*, §§ 730 and 734).

The prologue to the *Risāla* refers expressly to Ibn Sīnā in regard to the choice of this name and those of Asāl and Salamān which occur in the narrative. On some particular points it refers to his doctrine and to that of al-G̲h̲azālī, which are studied and compared with "opinions expressed in our own time", as words which have made it possible to isolate the truth (1936 ed., 6-7). Four long textual quotations from the *Is̲h̲ārāt* (ed. Forget, 202-4, French trans. 493-7) leave no doubt that Ibn Ṭufayl approved of Ibn Sīnā's exposé of the Ṣūfīs' states, their asceticism and the beginnings of ecstasy, and probably also the ending of his *Account of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* which, however, is not quoted verbatim. This harmony of views is all the more evident in that the freedom with which he handles his source is also more marked, as well as the dissatisfaction which Fārābī and the *S̲h̲ifā'* inspire in him, no less than the Andalusian scholars (trans. 10-11 f.). No kind of allusion to any esoterism in Ibn Sīnā is made.

Ibn Ṭufayl's story has often been summarized, among others by Carra de Vaux, *EI*[1], art. IBN ṬUFAIL, and more briefly by Gauthier himself (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 62-3) as follows:

"On a deserted Indian island situated on the equator, and thus under particularly favourable conditions, from amidst the ferment of the surrounding clay a child was born, with neither father nor mother. According to another version, the author tells us, he was brought to the island by a current, in a chest which the mother, a persecuted princess dwelling on a neighbouring island, had been compelled to entrust to the waves to save her child's life. This child was Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān. He was adopted by a gazelle which suckled him and acted as his mother. He grew up, observed and reflected. Possessing a superior intelligence, he was not only able to supply all his needs with ingenuity but, through a combination of observation and reasoning, he soon discovered by himself the highest physical and metaphysical realities. The philosophical system which he finally evolved, which was naturally that of the *falāsifa*, led him to try to find in mystical ecstasy the intimate union with God which constitutes at once the plenitude of knowledge and sovereign, continual, eternal felicity. Withdrawing to a cave where he succeeded in fasting for forty days on end, he trained himself to separate his intellect from the external world and from his own body by exclusive contemplation of God, to unite himself with his Lord; in this he finally succeeded. At that moment, he met Asāl, a devout man who had come from the neighbouring island to devote himself in peace to the ascetic life on this little island which he believed uninhabited. Asāl teaches language to this companion as singular as unexpected, and he is astonished to find in the philosophic system discovered by Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān a transcendent interpretation of the religion that he himself professes, as well as of all the revealed religions. He takes him to the neighbouring island which is ruled by the devout king Salamān, and commissions him to disseminate the

sublime verities that he has discovered. But the project fails. Our two philosophers finally have to recognise that pure truth does not at all suit the vulgar, enslaved by the senses; to penetrate those materialistic intelligences, to act upon those rebellious wills, it is obliged to clothe itself with the symbols that constitute the revealed religions. They therefore left these poor people for ever, recommending them faithfully to observe the religion of their fathers; and they returned to their desert island, to live the superior and truly divine life which very few are privileged to achieve" (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 62-3; another more detailed resumé, 101-13). Ḥayy, Asāl and good king Salamān represent respectively Philosophy, Theology and simple Faith (*Ibn Rochd*, 20).

The book can also be divided, under a more schematic form traced out by G. F. Hourani (*The principal subject* ..., 40), as follows: 1. The author's introduction, sources of knowledge on mystical philosophy. — 2. Unassisted, Ḥayy progresses from the most elementary knowledge to the loftiest mystical state. — 3. Harmony of Ḥayy's philosophy with the religion which Asāl claims to be revealed. — 4. Attractions of the external aspects of religion for the majority of men. — 5. The author's conclusion.

According to Gauthier, the book's essential purpose is to show "the harmony between religion, principally the Muslim religion, and the philosophy of the *falāsifa*" (*Ibn Thofaïl*, 89, repeated in *Ibn Rochd*, 20). Every reader seems to have interpreted the work in his own way. Munk: a simple treatise of natural philosophy; Pocock: the history of an autodidactic philosopher, whose life traverses the whole ascent possible for human reason; Renan: Ṣūfī mysticism (cf. *Ibn Thofaïl*, 64-6); Mehren: intuition can lead man to the same development as civilization, etc.

Gauthier's interpretation was rejected by E. García Gómez, who discovered a popular story bearing some analogies with Ibn Ṭufayl's work; he claimed to find in it a proof of a source common to both Ibn Ṭufayl and B. Garcian who, in the 17th century, wrote an allegorical novel in which Gauthier sees an imitation of Ibn Ṭufayl. The opinion expressed by García Gómez would change the whole perspective of the novel; but this hypothesis does not explain the references to the philosophers clearly indicated by Ibn Ṭufayl, still less the numerous passages inspired by their works and those of the physicians, without any indication of source but still very recognizable.

Gauthier's thesis is challenged on grounds more in keeping with the subject by G. F. Hourani, who points out (*The principal subject*, 42) that the prologue, following Ibn Sīnā, announces the description of a mystical state, which in fact is dealt with in the second part, that of Ḥayy's progress, and presented at the end of the book as the object of all his desires, since he abandons men in order to come back to it.

To the reader, it certainly seems that the book's purpose is to show the capacity of the human intelligence. It is capable not only of discovering the sciences and the existence of the soul, but also of sensing God, beyond the corruptible world, and of attaching itself uniquely to Him when He has been found. The journey made by Ḥayy is necessarily described in terms of the scientific knowledge and philosophy then understood, and at the same time an answer is given to the great preoccupation of the *falāsifa*, by confirming the harmony between philosophy and religion. It is a kind of consummation of the experience of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān, but it is very difficult to believe that the latter had been imagined in order to provide proof of it. The result however, when acquired, was to be compared by Gauthier and Hourani with the more exclusively philosophical theory of this harmony as expounded by Ibn Rushd, particularly in the *Faṣl al-Maḳāl*.

Bibliography: I. — Ibn Sīnā. Manuscripts noted particularly by Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicennienne*, 1950, no. 219, and Mahdavi, *Bibliographie d'Ibn Sina*, 1954, no. 65. — A. F. Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, fasc. I, Leiden 1889, *L'allégorie mystique Hayy ben Yaqzân*, preceded by an article with the same title in *Muséon*, 1886. — *Risālat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, 91-113 in the collection *Djamiʿ al-badāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1917, Istanbul 1937, 41-53 in that of Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān li-'bn Sīnā wa-'bn Ṭufayl wa 'l-Suhrawardī*, Cairo 1952; but the very short work published under this name and attributed to Suhrawardī is in reality the 'Story of the exile from the West', *Ḳiṣṣat al-gharība al-gharbiyya*, written to supplement what he considered to be a lacuna in the *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* of Ibn Sīnā, which makes no mention of the great Mount Sinaï in the esoteric sense. — Critical text, Persian translation, Persian commentary, French translation by H. Corbin, *Le récit de Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, vol. i of *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, Tehran 1952, followed by vol. ii, *Étude sur le cycle des récits avicenniens*, 1954. — A.-M. Goichon, *Le récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān commenté par des textes d'Avicenne*, Paris 1959, French translation, with explanatory comments taken from other works of Ibn Sīnā, and notes; eadem, *Le prétendu ésotérisme d'Avicenne dans le Récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, communication to the XXIVth Congress of Orientalists, Munich 1957, published *in extenso* in *Giornale di metafisica*, 1959, 538-46; eadem, *La théorie des formes chez Avicenne*, in *Atti del XII Congresso internazionale di filosofia*, ix, 131-8; eadem, *Le Sirr, l'intime du cœur, dans la doctrine avicennienne de la connaissance*, in *Mélanges Jan Bakoš*, Prague 1965.

II. — Ibn Ṭufayl. For editions and translations, see the text and Brockelmann, I 460, II 704, S I 831. Also the 1952 edition by Aḥmad Amīn, already referred to, and a French translation by Quatremère, in ms. at the Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Léon Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl, sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris 1909; idem, *La théorie d'Ibn Rochd (Averroes) sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, Paris 1909, particularly 168-74, analogy of thought between Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd; idem, *Ibn Rochd (Averroes)*, Paris 1948; E. García Gómez, *Un cuento arabe, fuente común de Abentofáil y de Gracián*, in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1926; George F. Hourani, *The principal subject of Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, in *JNES*, xv (1956), 40-6; idem, *Averroes on the harmony of religion and philosophy*, London 1961.

(A.-M. Goichon)

ḤAYYA (A.) "snake", generic name of the ophidians, embracing all kinds of reptiles (*mā yansāḥ*) from the most poisonous to the most harmless, the viper (*afʿā*) appearing to be the most clearly distinguished species among them. Terms such as *ḥanash*, *aym*, *thuʿbān*, *aswad*, *raḳshāʾ*, *ṣill*, etc. are given in classical Arabic to species which are not always easily identifiable from the descriptions in the early zoological works, there being a certain amount of confusion in this field; and present-day terminology is still far from being precise even in dialects and for the species which actually live in the Arabic-speaking countries (see *e.g.*, V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara*

occidental, Paris 1951, 81-8); it is desirable that some fresh researches should be made.

There are various ideas on the origin of the snake: some present it as a creature of Satan, others as the result of a metamorphosis, while others hold that it was created by God, Who, when He drove it from Paradise, made it fall at Iṣfahān or at Sid̲j̲istān (whence the great number of vipers in this region). The word *ḥayya* appears only once in the Ḳurʾān—in the description of Moses's staff being changed into a serpent (XX, 21/20).

There naturally exist in folklore monstrous or fabulous serpents, the most enormous of which is probably the *tinnīn* (see al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, s.v.); here it need be noted only that these animals have an important place in popular beliefs, for they are one of the forms in which *d̲j̲inn*s most often choose to appear.

The *ḥayya* enjoys an extraordinarily long life, never dying a natural death; twice a year, in spring and autumn, it casts its skin and gains fresh strength. When mating, snakes curl themselves one round the other; the female lays 30 eggs (the same as the number of her ribs and of the days of the month), but only a few are hatched because ants gather on the eggs and destroy most of them. The eggs are of elongated shape and of various colours. The female stays with the eggs until the young are hatched, while the male constantly crawls round about.

The tongue of the snake is so deeply split that some believe it to have two tongues. Snakes feed on birds, mice, frogs, young chickens and pigeons, eggs, meat, grass, etc., but never on dead animals, and if no food is available they can live on air. They swallow food without chewing and break down any bones in their stomachs by coiling themselves tightly round a tree. They need no drink, but once having started to drink they may absorb an excessive amount of liquid and die of it; they are particularly fond of milk.

They have eyes like nails, fixed and immobile in their heads, which grow again if torn out in the same way as their fangs, or their tails if cut off. A snake which has become blind or has come blinded from below ground regains its sight by rubbing its eyes against fennel. They are attracted by fire but flee from naked men. They possess extraordinarily strong backs and, although they have neither claws not limbs with which to cling, they are able to withstand a man's attempts to drag them from their holes unless he charms them. All snakes except the viper can swim, but they are unable to climb up walls.

The snake is friendly to the spider, the fox and some other animals, but is very hostile to man, pigs, and weasels. Cats, wolves, eagles, hedgehogs, pigs, etc. all eat snakes and sometimes die of it; in pre-Islamic times some tribes ate them, and this custom is a favourite theme of the satirical poets. In Islam it is as meritorious to kill a snake as to kill an infidel.

Snakes are widely used in medicine. Widely varying interpretations are put upon their appearance in a dream.

For protection against snakes and their poison [see SUMM], there exist various forms of incantation [see RUḲYA] used by the *rāḳī* or *raḳḳāʾ*, who may also be a snake-charmer (*ḥāwī* [*q.v.*] or *ḥawwāʾ*).

Bibliography: D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥawayān*, index; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib*, s.v.; these works contain material which might profitably be used as the basis for a monograph.

(J. RUSKA*)

ḤAYYĀN B. **K̲H̲ALAF** [see IBN ḤAYYĀN].

HAZAD̲J̲ [see ʿARŪḌ].

HAZĀRA [see Supplement, and ĪRĀN-Languages].

HAZĀRA, name of a district in West Pakistan, lying between 33° 44′ and 35° 10′ N. and 72° 33′ and 74° 6′ E. at the base of the western Himalayas with an area of 6,292 sq. miles, and a population of 1,050,374 (1961), of whom the overwhelming majority, *i.e.*, 99.98%, are Sunnī Muslims, with many accretions and deviations from othodoxy as the entire population is under the influence of the local *mullās*. In shape the district is like a long tongue, 120 miles in length, extending from the south-west to the north-west, its tip, the Kāg̲h̲ān valley, running up between Kas̲h̲mīr and the mountainous regions that drain into the Upper Indus. This Kāg̲h̲ān valley with the hamlet of Balakote was the scene of a battle in 1831 between the forces (*mud̲j̲āhidīn*) of Aḥmad Barēlwī [*q.v.*] and the Sikhs, in which the former were routed and their leader killed.

The etymology of Hazāra is obscure; it is said to be the Persian version of the Mongol *ming* and refers to the 'thousands' in which the invading Mongol armies were divided (cf. Hazārad̲j̲āt). In 802/1399 Tīmūr [*q.v.*], on his way back from his invasion of India, settled a number of Ḳārlug̲h̲ Turks in this district (cf. Abu'l Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Engl. transl. by Blochmann, Calcutta 1870, 454; *Tūzuk-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī*, Engl. transl., Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 126). However, during the Mug̲h̲al times a large part of this country was known as the Pakhlī Sarkār, whose inhabitants were mostly Turks. Their descendants, although greatly diminished in number, still exist up to this day. In pre-Muslim times the country was a stronghold of Buddhism, with the ancient city of Taxila as one of the flourishing centres. Three rocks with Asoka's famous edicts inscribed on them can still be seen one mile from Mānsehra. From the 1st/7th to the 6th/12th century this country remained under Hindu domination. Ruins of ancient villages and settlements, forts, stupas and citadels are still found scattered all over the land. In the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang it was known as Wu-lāshi, by which name it is frequently mentioned in *Rādjatranqinī*. It is inhabited by various tribes, some of them doubtless of exotic origin, like the Tarīns and Mas̲h̲wānīs. Finding their own country too small, the Afg̲h̲ān and Paṭhān tribes living beyond the Indus, especially the Swātīs, invaded and occupied the area sometime in the 11th/17th century. The Ḳārlug̲h̲ Turks were dispossessed and driven out. In this game of inter-tribal possession and dispossession, the Gūd̲j̲ars [*q.v.*], one of the ancient tribes living in the area, were great sufferers. They were dispossessed by the Pathan tribes of Tarīns and Utmānzais. There are no written records relating to this period when the law of the survival of the fittest was in full operation and a weaker tribe was harassed, attacked and consequently displaced by a stronger tribe. Unable to defend itself the weaker tribe called in its neighbours for help in return for land, consequently losing its possessions to the rescuers. Real history in this district, however, begins with the invasion of the Pand̲j̲āb by Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī in 1166/1752, when close attention was paid to a reorganization of the local administration. This was again tribal in character, the chiefs of the various tribes living in the area being made responsible for the collection of land revenue in return for allowances fixed by the Kābul government. With the enfeeblement of Durrānī rule, these chiefs became unruly and shook off Kābul suzerainty. Notable among them were Saʿādat K̲h̲ān, chief of the Swātīs, who founded Gaṛhī Saʿādat, later called Gaṛhī Ḥabībullāh, one of the scenes of battle between the *mud̲j̲āhidīn* of

Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī and the Sikhs; Dja'far Khān, chief of the Khānpur Gakkhaṙs [*q.v.*] from 1789-1801; Gulshīr Khān, head of the Tanawlīs, and Nadjīb Allāh Khān, chief of the Tarīns who held sway over a great part of the Hazāra plain up to 1799 and later his widow Bafī Bēgam till the beginning of the Sikh rule in 1818.

Taking advantage of internal dissensions, the Sikh governor of Rawalpindi, Makhkhan Singh, invaded Hazāra, occupied the country and built a fort at Sarāy Ṣāliḥ (Serai Saleh). Emboldened by the Sikh occupation of Kashmīr, Makhkhan Singh pressed the Tarīn chief, Muḥammad Khān, also for revenue. This was resented by the tribe, who attacked the Sikh force, overcame their resistance and murdered the governor. The defeated Sikhs vacated the fort of Sarāy Ṣāliḥ and retired to the stronghold of Attock built by the emperor Akbar. This reverse was followed by a number of skirmishes between the Hazāra tribes and the Sikhs, in which the Sikhs practically always lost. The repeated Sikh reverses brought prince Shēr Singh, eldest son of Randjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, to the scene: he established himself in the Harīpur plain and built a fort at Tarbela. Not satisfied with the measures taken by Shēr Singh, Randjīt Singh deputed Harī Singh Nalwa, the governor of Kashmīr, to subdue the refractory tribes. Harī Singh, known for his ferocity, fell on the tribes and cut them down mercilessly. Nalwa celebrated his victory by building a fort at Nawāṅshahr and then marched on to lower Hazāra. As a reward for his exploits Randjīt Singh conferred on him the governorship of the country. His rule, which lasted from 1822 to 1837, was marked by unprecedented barbarity and is still remembered by the residents with horror. It was during the governorship of Harī Singh, founder of the town of Harīpur which now houses the biggest telephone equipment manufacturing factory in Pakistan, that the followers of Aḥmad Barēlwī infiltrated into the district and rose against the oppressive Sikh rule, but were defeated and crushed (1828) and finally routed in 1831 at the historic battle of Balakote. That very year Harī Singh brought the semi-independent tribes of the Gakkhaṙs, and the Ḍhunḍs under his control. Gradually Harī Singh succeeded in subjugating the entire country and bringing under his sway the various tribes who had refused to recognize his authority. His rule ended with his death at the battle of Djamrūd, at the mouth of the Khaybar pass, in 1837. The Sikhs, however, continued to hold Hazāra till 1847 when it was ceded to the British by Rādja Gulāb Singh, ruler of Kashmīr, in exchange for a part of Djammū district. In May 1847 a British officer, Maj. James Abbott, was deputed to administer and organize the country. For a number of years he remained in Hazāra, occupying positions of control and responsibility. He established a fine administration ushering in an era of peace and prosperity for the country. As a tribute to his services the flourishing hill-station of Abbottābād was founded in 1853 and named after him. "Among the people of Hazāra he left a name which will not die". The country-wide military revolt of 1857 also had its repercussions in this district but the disturbance was soon brought under control. Thereafter it remained practically peaceful except for the agrarian riots of 1868 and 1888 in the Agror valley. It suffered great scarcity in the widespread famine of 1783, and again in 1877-8, 1896-7 and 1899-1900, the last two being not so severe as the previous ones. Hazāra has made considerable progress during the post-Independence period and with the construction of new roads and marked improvement in the means of communications a new era of increased prosperity has been opened for the district. With the merger of the feudal states of Phūlṙa and Amb in 1950 with the district and the establishment of the new capital of Pakistan at Islāmābād in 1959, the district is likely to develop rapidly.

Bibliography: *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, London 1908 (contains much useful information especially with regard to the activities of the *mudjāhidīn* of Aḥmad Barēlwī, although now partially outdated); *District Census Report, Hazara* (issued by the Government of Pakistan), Karachi 1961, 1-8 to 1-13; Abu'l Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, Engl. transl. by Blochmann, 504, 563; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Engl. transl. by Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 126; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii, 76-8; O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London and New York 1962, index (supplies much useful information not found elsewhere); M. A. Stein, *Ancient geography of Kashmir*, Calcutta 1899, 130; McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander*, Westminster 1896, 129; H. F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*, 's-Gravenhage 1962, 110 ff. (only for the etymology of Hazāra); Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, *Sargudhasht-i Mudjāhidīn*, Lahore 1956, 463-84; Mahtāb Singh, *Tawārīkh-i Mulk-i Hazāra*, Ethé 506: Becher, *Mutiny report* (*Hazara*), MS. in the Central Record Office, Peshawar.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

HAZĀRASP (Persian: "a thousand horses"), a town in Khwārizm, near the left bank of the Oxus [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] at the outlet of a navigable canal, a day's journey from Khīwa and 10 *farsakh* from Gurgandj (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 179 ff.). The town had wooden gates and was surrounded by a moat (Muḳaddasī, 289), which almost entirely enclosed it, so that in 616/1219 there was only one entrance. Hazārasp was a strong fortress, and at the same time an important trading centre with large bazaars, lying on the trade route from Āmul on the Oxus to Khwārizm (Yāḳūt, iv, 471 = Beirut 1957, v, 404). As a result of its military importance, Hazārasp was fought over at various times in the Middle Ages: in Muḥarram 408/June 1017, Maḥmūd of Ghazna defeated the Khwārizmians here and occupied their country; in Djumādā I-II 542/October-November 1147 the town was besieged by Sandjar in his struggle with the Khwārizm-shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] (Djuwaynī, ii, 8 f.). In 599/1203 the Khwārizm-shāh Muḥammad II defeated the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] who had advanced up to this point, and forced them to retreat (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 122; Zak. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 55). After the Mongol invasion the town declined in importance. It continued to exist, however, and today is a *ḳïshlaḳ* and the centre of the Hazārasp area in the district of Khorezm/Özbegistān, on the road from Čārdjūī to Urgenč, with a railway station; cotton is produced, and vines, melons, vegetables and silkworms are cultivated in the district.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 450-2, 472; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; *BSE*[2], xlvi (1957), 23; S. S. Balsak and others, *Die Republiken Mittelasiens*, German edition, Berlin 1944, 62 (Wirtschaftsgeographie der UdSSR, x). (B. Spuler)

HAZĀRASPIDS, one of the local dynasties characteristic of Persian mediaeval times, which after the downfall of the Saldjūḳ empire succeeded in maintaining their position in the hot, humid and mountainous regions of Iran throughout the Mongol period and to some extent into Tīmūrid times, and

which thus contributed to the preservation of a native Persian individuality even under foreign dynasties.

From their capital Īdhadj [*q.v.*], the Hazāraspids ruled over eastern and southern Luristān [*q.v.*] from about 550/1155-6 to 827/1424, though the extent of their domains varied greatly. They were descended from a Kurdish chieftain, Faḍlōē, and were known also as the "Faḍlawī dynasty" after him. The tribes grouped around this chieftain had left Syria (when?) and after wandering through Ādharbāydjān had reached the district round Ushturān-Kūh in Luristān in the early 6th/12th century. Here in about 550/1155-6 Faḍlōē's descendant in the ninth generation Abū Ṭāhir (no. 1 below) gained independence from the Salghūrids [*q.v.*] in the area round Kūh-i Sīlūya, and assumed the title "Atabeg" [*q.v.*]. His son Malik Hazārasp, however (no. 2), after whom the dynasty is named, makes his appearance in history only at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. By driving out the Shul tribe [*q.v.*] and extending his domain to just west of Iṣfahān, he became the real founder of the small principality. He was clever enough to remain neutral between the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] and the Khwārizm-Shāh Muḥammad II [*q.v.*]. In this he was helped by the not inconsiderable forces (infantry and cavalry) which he had been able to assemble round him from Iranian and Arab tribes also recently arrived in the area. On the other hand, his successor Takla (no. 5), having won many victories over the Salghūrids, finally quarrelled with the Mongols; Hülägü had him executed in Tabrīz in 655/1257. But in this case as in others the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*] left the local dynasty undisturbed. It was obliged from that time on to bow to their authority, contribute troops and from time to time render homage to successful Īlkhān rulers (such as Arghun in 1284 and Gaykhatu in 1291). In return the Hazāraspids were granted various territories, including Khūzistān. When Afrāsiyāb I (no. 8) tried to go even further and seize Iṣfahān, Hamadān and Fārs (690/1291), he finally paid for the attempt with his head in 1296. His successor (no. 9), who grew up at the Īlkhān court, adapted himself remarkably well to their wishes, paid an annual tribute of 91,000 *dīnārs* and even tried to introduce Mongol laws in his territory, without, however, falling out with the *ʿulamāʾ* and the dervishes, on whom he bestowed lavish presents. Nor did he discontinue local customs, according to the description given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 30 ff.; tr. Gibb, ii, 287 ff.) of his visit to the country.

After the disintegration of the Īlkhān empire (736/1335) Luristān was repeatedly subjected to attacks by the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*]. They made many incursions, and also interfered in disputes between individual members of the family. More dangerous were the attacks of Tīmūr, who finally in 798/1395-6 carried off Pīr Aḥmad (no. 14) and two of his brothers to Samarḳand. But it was not until about 827/1424, after renewed troubles, that his grandson Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*] b. Shāhrukh ended the Hazāraspid dynasty.

Many details in the history of the Hazāraspids are uncertain, and there are many contradictions in the accounts passed down, so that all sorts of chronological problems arise. The following list of rulers can therefore be given only with reservations:

1) Abū Ṭāhir [Ibn ʿAlī] ibn Muḥammad, 543/1148-9 to 556/1161.

2) Malik Hazārasp, son of the above; the dynasty is named after him. Mentioned from about 600/1203-4. The date of his death is given as 626/1228-9 or 650/1252-3.

3) ʿImād al-Dīn, d. 646/1248-9, son of no. 2.
4) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Kalḥa, d. 649/1251-2, brother of no. 2.
Nos. 3 and 4 only appear in Ghaffārī (cf. below), fol. 137 f.; in other sources Malik Hazārasp's reign is reported as continuing until 650 (cf. above).

5) Tikla (Takla), son of Hazārasp, mentioned from 655/1257; executed probably in 657/1259.

6) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn, brother of no. 5, 657/1259 to 673/1274-5.

7) Yūsufshāh I, son of no. 6, 673/1274-5 to about 687/1288.

8) Afrāsiyāb I, son of no. 7, about 687/1288 to 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 695/26 October 1296.

9) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, brother of no. 8, beginning of 696/end of 1296 to 730 or 733/1329-30 or 1332-3.

10) Rukn al-Dīn Yūsufshāh II, son of no. 9, 733?/1332-3? to 740/1339-40.

11) Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Aḥmad), son (or brother, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 30 f.) of no. 10, 740/1339-40 to 756/1355.

12) Nawr-i Ward, son of no. 11, ruled only briefly, 756/1355.

13) Shams al-Dīn Pashang, cousin (or nephew) of no. 12 (? presumably a descendant of Yūsufshāh II), 756/1355 to 780/1378-9.

14) } Civil war between his sons: Malik Pīr Aḥmad, 780/1378 to 811/1408-9 (with interruptions)
15) } Malik Hūshang, soon killed.

16) Abū Saʿīd, son of Pīr Aḥmad, 811/1408-9 to about 820/1417.

17) Shāh Ḥusayn, son of no. 16, about 820/1417 to 827/1424.

18) Ghiyāth al-Dīn, grandson of Hūshang, 827/1424; deposed by the Tīmūrids, who thus put an end to the dynasty.

Bibliography: Sources: Apart from the general histories of the time (Rashīd al-Dīn; Mīrkhwānd), particularly Waṣṣāf, lith. Bombay 1269/1852-3, 249-67; *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, i, 537-47, 723 ff., 745 (dependent on this is Shams [al-Dīn] Bitlisī, *Sharaf-nāma*, St. Petersburg 1860-2, i, 23-52 (trans. Charmoy, 2 vols., 1868-97); Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shabānkāraʾī (ca. 734/1342-3), *Madjmaʿ al-ansāb* (Storey, i, 84 f.), appendix; Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī (ca. 972/1564-5), *Nusakh-i djihān-ārā* (Storey, i, 116, 1240). Accounts: V. Minorsky, in *EI*[1], s.v. Lur-i Buzurg; Spuler, *Mongolen*[2], 161-3; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl (Eghbal), *Taʾrīkh-i mufaṣṣal-i Īrān*, Tehrān 1933, 442-8; older accounts: A. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*[2], Amsterdam 1852, iii-iv (Index); H. H. Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, London 1876-88, iii, 751-4. List of rulers and genealogical table in Zambaur, 234.

(B. Spuler)

HAZĀRFANN [see ḥusayn hezārfenn].

ḤĀZĪ [see kāhin].

ḤĀZIM b. Muḥammad b. (al-)Ḥasan b. Khalaf b. Ḥāzim al-Anṣārī al-Ḳarṭādjannī Abu 'l-Ḥasan, poet, grammarian and theorist of rhetoric, born in 608/1211 in Cartagena, in a family of Awsī ancestry. From his father, who was *ḳāḍī* of the town, he received an education oriented towards grammar, the Arabic language, tradition and Mālikī *fiḳh*; he continued his studies in Murcia,

and then in Seville and Granada and came under the influence of al-Shalawbīn [*q.v.*], who inspired him to study Greek philosophy through the medium of the works of the philosophers writing in Arabic, above all Ibn Sīnā. After his father's death (632/1234), he went to Marrākush where he shared in the literary activity in the entourage of the Almohad caliph al-Rashīd (630-40/1032-42); he then crossed the Maghrib to take up the position of secretary in the chancellery of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ I (625-47/1228-49). His immense learning in the fields of grammar and rhetoric, his "reasoned knowledge (*dirāya*), even more profound than his erudition (*riwāya*)" (Ibn Rushayd) won him great authority among his contemporaries and disciples, among whom were such figures as Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn Rushayd, al-Tidjānī and many others. He died in Tunis on 24 Ramaḍān 684/23 November 1285.

The work of Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī is concerned with three main fields. His poetic writings, partly preserved in manuscript (especially Escorial, 382, 454) and in contemporary or later works (see *Bibl.*) deals with the customary subjects and reveals the influence of al-Mutanabbī, so evident in Muslim Spain; in particular, it includes panegyrics of the sovereigns of Marrākush and Tunis, the longest (1006 verses) and most remarkable of which is his *urdjūza* known under the name *al-Maḳṣūra* and dedicated to the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77); "among the conventional themes, which include abandoned encampments and the descriptions of storms and camels, amid this long "pastiche", the creative flame sometimes springs up, as [E. García Gómez] notes; the eulogy of the Ḥafṣid caliph, his victories, his palaces and his armies, is too imprecise, but it has strength and grandeur; youthful regrets about Spain are felicitously combined with the lament for captive Spain and the appeal to the caliph, who alone would be able once again to wrest it from the Christians" (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 407); E. García Gómez, *Observaciones sobre la "Qaṣida Maqṣūra" de Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājanni*, in *al-Andalus*, 1933, 81-103 has drawn attention to the documentary value of this poem, which contains interesting autobiographical facts and details of a historical and geographical nature; it has been the subject of several commentaries, the only one of which to have survived being that of al-Gharnāṭī (*Rafʿ al-ḥudjub al-mastūra ʿan maḥāsin al-Maḳṣūra*, Cairo 1344/1925, 2 vols.; the text of the *Maḳṣūra* is also contained in ms. Escorial 382).

In the field of grammar, Ḥāzim is the author of an unfinished didactic poem and of an attack on the *Muḳarrib* of Ibn ʿUṣfūr [*q.v.*] entitled *Shadd al-zunnār ʿalā djaḥfalat al-ḥimār*; this work is lost.

Lastly, it is as a theorist of rhetoric that Ḥāzim is particularly deserving of interest. He is the author of a *Kitāb al-Tadjnīs* and of a treatise on prosody, which have not survived, of a *Kitāb al-Ḳawāfī* and, above all, of the *Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ wa-sirādj al-udabāʾ* (= *al-Manāhidj al-adabiyya*), only the last three parts of which survive; these have recently formed the subject, on the basis of the unique manuscript of the Zaytūna (now in the Library of the Univ. of Tunis), of a critical edition by M. H. Belkodja (Tunis 1966); the third *manhadj* had already been published by ʿA. Badawī in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, Cairo 1962, 85-146. In this work, each part is curiously divided into *maʿlam*s and *maʿraf*s themselves sub-divided into paragraphs called alternately *iḍāʾa* and *tanwīr*; the use of this elaborate terminology is an indication of Ḥāzim's inclination towards a logical and subtly graded categorization, an extended analysis with a view to the elaboration of an original theory. Compared with similar treatises of Arab rhetoric, the *Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ* is notable for the place held in it by Aristotle, whom Ḥāzim knew mainly from the chapters on the art of oratory and poetry in the *Shifāʾ* of Avicenna, and for the efforts of the author to try to apply the theory of Greek philosophy to Arabic literature; in this respect, the *Minhādj* occupies a very special place in the history of literary criticism.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ii, 633, no. 1650; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Ḳidḥ al-muʿallā*, Cairo 1959, 20-1, no. 3; ʿAbdarī, *Riḥla*, ms. Zaytūna (Tunis) 5093, 155b-157b; Ibn Rushayd, *Riḥla*, ms. Escorial 1735 etc., *passim*; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958, 184; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, i, 208; Damāminī, *al-Ḥawāshī al-hindiyya*, i, 189-90; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 214; idem, *Itḳān*, Cairo 1278, ii, 119-20; idem, *Muzhir*, i, 188-9; idem, *Iḳtirāh*, Delhi 1313, 11; Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1957-9, i, 59, 60, 311, 491, ii, 101, 408, iii, 71, 105, 288, 314, 407; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934-6, i, 137, no. 381; Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, iii, 171-82; idem, *Analectes*, index; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 323, 352-3; ʿAyyāshī, *Riḥla*, ed. Fās, ii, 254; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, Tunis 1287, 219, 303; Ibn Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, Cairo 1350, 197, no. 667; M. ʿAllām, *Abu'l-Ḥasan Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī wa-fann al-Maḳṣūra fi'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, in *Ann. Fac. Lettres ʿAyn Shams*, 1951, 1-31; M. H. Belkhodja, ed. of the *Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ*, Tunis 1966, with an introduction from which the present notice has been taken. (ED.)

ḤAZĪN, MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, known by the name Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥazīn, claimed to be a descendant of the *shaykh* Zāhid-i Gīlānī who was spiritual director to the *shaykh* Ṣafī al-Dīn, ancestor of the Ṣafawids. His father had left Gīlān to settle in Iṣfahān, where Ḥazīn was born in 1103/1692. In 1722 the Afghān invasion condemned him to a wandering existence for some years: he travelled to Mecca, went to Baghdād, and thence to Persia; but political and military events made him decide to emigrate to India (1734) where he spent the rest of his life in spite of his distaste for that country, to which he devoted only two of the 48 chapters of his *Memoirs* (*Taʾrīkh-i aḥwāl*, ed. with English tr. by F. C. Belfour, London 1830). He died in Benares in 1180/1766, esteemed alike by the Muslims, the Hindus and the British. His *Memoirs* are notable for the ease and relative simplicity of the style and contain a profusion of significant material relating to the events and leading men of that troubled period. They are markedly superior to his other works: his *Dīwān*, consisting of a variety of poems, in style lies midway between the classical style and the so-called Indian style [see SABK-I HINDĪ]; besides the *Tadhkirat al-muʿāṣirīn* (on the contemporary Persian poets), he also wrote a treatise on farriery (*Faras-nāma*) and a treatise on zoology (*Khawāṣṣ al-ḥayawān* or *Tadhkira Ṣaydiyya*).

Bibliography: *Kulliyyāt*, Lucknow 1293; Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 310; Rieu, *Catal. Persian Mss. Brit. Mus.*, 372 b; *Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, 615; *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, fols. 138-50; *Naghma ʿandalīb*, fols. 65-70; Storey, i/2, 840-9.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN-[H. MASSÉ])

HAZĪRĀN [see TAʾRĪKH].

HAZMĪRIYYŪN, Moroccan religious bro-

therhood, founded by the two brothers Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, sons of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Hazmīrī. The Hazmīra to which they belonged formed part of the confederation of the six tribes of the Dukkāla.

The first of these brothers died, at a very great age, at Fez, in 706 or 707/1306-8 and the second, at Āghmāt, in 678/1280, at the age of 60. In view of these dates, the brotherhood can have been founded at the earliest only during the second quarter of the 7th/13th century.

Ibn Ḳunfudh al-Ḳusanṭīnī (740-810/1339-1407), in his *Uns al-faḳīr*, listed the principal brotherhoods which existed in Morocco during the period in which he was conducting there his researches on the saint Abū Madyan Shuʿayb and his disciples, *i.e.*, between 759/1358 and 777/1376. He counted six main ones: the *ṭāʾifa* of Abū Shuʿayb of Azemmour, the Shuʿaybiyyūn; the Ṣanhādjiyyūn which, in the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ, situated about 12 km. south-west of Mazagan, comprised the Banū Āmghār; the Māgiriyyūn, the *ṭāʾifa* of Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, founder of the *ribāṭ* of Āsfī (Safi), who was himself one of the Banū Māgir; the Ḥudjdjādj, whose members had to have performed the Pilgrimage to the Holy Places; the Ḥāḥiyyūn, settled in the Atlas to the south of Marrākush. The last one mentioned, and the most recent, was that of Abū Zayd al-Hazmīrī. The author specifies that it was that of the Ghamātiyyūn (its centre was indeed at Āghmāt).

The first two of these brotherhoods grew out of the teaching of Abū Shuʿayb Ayyūb, who died at Azemmour in 561/1165, and his disciple Abū Yaʿzā who is said to have lived for some 130 years (438-572/1046-1176). In view of the fact that the Ḥāḥiyyūn and the Hazmīriyyūn were inspired by the teaching of Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, himself a direct disciple of Abū Madyan, and that the Ḥudjdjādj were created and organized to fulfil the precepts of the great saint of Āsfī, who considered that he must encourage his fellow Berbers to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca, it may be concluded that of the six brotherhoods listed by Ibn Ḳunfudh, four are connected with the school of Abū Madyan.

In the actual case of the Hazmīriyyūn and of the other brotherhoods linked to Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, it is clear that the main object of these corporations was to Islamize the Berbers, who were too much inclined to form their own and even local brand of Islam, and to keep them in contact with the sources of orthodox Islam. It is worthy of note that the promoters of this missionary movement represented a generation of cultured Berbers who had a sound knowledge of Arabic and who were very different from Abū Yaʿzā, for example, who was an uncouth and completely illiterate Berber. Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ had travelled in the East and spent twenty years at Alexandria. Abū Zayd and his brother Abū Muḥammad taught at Āghmāt and their *ḥalḳa* was very well attended. The famous Ibn al-Bannāʾ of Marrākush was one of the disciples of the first of these in Ṣūfī matters: mounted on his mule, he came most regularly to consult his master at Āghmāt whenever he needed explanations from him on geometry (*handasa*) or other subjects. Ibn Ḳunfudh relates that another such person who was interested in prosody (*ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*) was able, much to his surprise, to obtain the information he needed from Abū Zayd.

Abū Zayd enjoyed as great a reputation for holiness as for scholarship. We hear of his travelling to Marrākush, secured to his mount as a precaution because of his great age, surrounded by his servants and by a crowd of devotees who thronged round him, each of them trying to rub his face with a piece of his clothing. His fame must have reached the sultan, since he ventured to go to the ruler, who at this time was the Marīnid Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, in order to induce him to raise the blockade of Tlemcen. His mission having been unsuccessful, he was making a retreat in the mosque of the Ṣābirīn at Fez when news reached him of the death of the sultan and the raising of the siege. But he did not have time to return to his native Āghmāt, as he died almost immediately after this.

His tomb is at Bāb al-Futūḥ, in the central section of the burial ground which is known as *rawḍat al-anwār* because of the large number of saints buried there.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh seems to have led a more secluded life than this brother, but its piety and the harsh mortifications which he inflicted on himself earned him a reputation which survived long after his death. Ibn Ḳunfudh visited his tomb, perhaps in about 769/1367-8, when he was *ḳāḍī* in the country of the Dukkāla. "Crowds flock to it" he says "to obtain the divine blessing". These pilgrimages, it seems, continued well after the 9th/15th century. Among the important pilgrims who were faithful to the memory of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hazmīrī were the Saʿdī sultan Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (d. 1603), and the ʿAlawī sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1790).

The brotherhood of the Hazmīriyyūn probably continued to exist until the 9th/15th century, that is until the period when the teaching of al-Shādhilī, taken up by al-Djazūlī, was to grow into the Marabout movement and Sharīfism, resulting in the formation of new brotherhoods, based in various ways on Djazūlism. The earlier pre-Shādhilī brotherhoods, bereft of their missionary zeal and fearing the return of the heresies, which had in fact contributed widely to the Isalmization of the rural population, had fulfilled their rôle in history and prepared the way for the many popular religious movements which were to have a profound influence on Moroccan history during the following centuries.

Bibliography: On the biography of the two saints and their *manāḳib* there exists a manuscript work of one Ibn Tīdjlāt, of whom nothing is known apart from the fact that he was a *faḳīh* who was still living at Marrākush in 719 or 720/1320, and who may therefore have known the two men. It is entitled *Athmad al-ʿaynayn wa nuzhat al-nāẓirayn fī manāḳib al-akhawayn Abī Zayd wa Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Hazmīriyyayn*, and ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Sūda mentions that there is a copy in the library of the Fāsiyyīn (see *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1950, 209); on the documentary value of this manuscript and the bibliography of these two saints, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 223-4. In addition see ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥall Marrākush wa Āghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fez 1937, iii, 162-92; the text of Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Uns al-faḳīr wa ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, established by Muḥammad al-Fāsī and A. Faure has just been published (Rabat 1965); there are several manuscript copies of it in the Rabat Public Library and one in the Ḳarawiyyīn.

(A. FAURE)

HEADGEAR [see LIBĀS].

HEBRON [see AL-KHALĪL].

HEGIRA [see HIDJRA].

ḤEKĪM-BASHI̊, (ḤAKĪM-BASHĪ), "Chief of the Physicians", in the Ottoman Empire the title of the chief Palace physician, who was at the same

time head of the health services of the state : besides being in charge of all the Palace physicians, surgeons, oculists, pharmacists, etc., he exercised supervision over all the physicians of the Empire, Muslim or non-Muslim; it was he who appointed and dismissed all physicians, surgeons and pharmacists, who kept a check on them, who examined aspirants to these professions, and who appointed and promoted worthy candidates.

Physicians were employed in the Palace, whether permanently or temporarily, probably from the earliest times. In the reign of Meḥemmed II the skill of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad, the former physician of Abū Saʿīd the Timurid, procured his appointment as head of all the physicians of the Ottoman court, who at that time included Shukr Allāh Shirwānī, Khʷādja ʿAṭāʾ Allāh ʿAdjamī, Lārī, and others. His daily stipend was 500 *aḳčes*, which remained in later years the usual salary of the Ḥekīm-bashī; there were also the perquisites of official gifts of summer and winter garments, and personal gifts as well.

The Ḥekīm-bashī counted as one of the officers of the Khāṣṣ-oda. He resided in the Bash Lala Ḳulesi, built under Meḥemmed II [see SARĀY]; he was to some extent subordinate to the Bash Lala (Chief Preceptor of the sultan, see LALA). When the sultan fell ill, his was a most important responsibility; if his patient died, he was usually dismissed. The medicines which he prescribed were made up under his supervision by the Palace pharmacists in the pharmacy situated in the Bash Lala Ḳulesi; they were placed in vessels sealed by the Ḥekīm-bashī and the Bash Lala and administered to the royal patients as required.

From the time of Meḥemmed II onwards, such famous and skilled holders of the post as Yaʿḳūb Pasha [*q.v.*], Lārī Čelebi, Akhī Čelebi and Ghars al-Dīn-zāde were also highly favoured intimates of the Sultan. In later years, on the eve of the (solar) New Year (21 March), the Ḥekīm-bashī made a special electuary called Newrūziyye, which he presented to the Sultan and to the high officers of the Palace and of the government. One indication of the high esteem which they enjoyed is that their status and comfort were increased by the grant of *arpaliḳs* [*q.v.*] in the form of fiefs usually situated near Edirne, Tekir-daghī and Gelibolu.

From the 10th/16th century onwards, the Ḥekīm-bashī was known also as Reʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ (for his *elḳāb*, see Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*² i, 12). Archive documents of this period show that he controlled the appointments, transfers and promotions of the Chief of the Palace surgeons (Djerrāḥ-bashī) and the surgeons, physicians, herbalists (*ʿashshāb*) and compounders of beverages (*sherbetdji*), by submitting recommendations to the *Dīwān*; he also attended to the staffing of the hospitals of Bāyezīd I at Bursa and of Meḥemmed II at Istanbul, and to the appointment of physicians to such institutions as the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pasha and Ghalaṭa-sarāyī [*q.v.*], filling vacancies when necessary with *kul-oghullari* [*q.v.*] who had "practised the art of herbalism in Frengistān and the Arab lands" or "acquired the art of surgery in Frengistān". When he retired, he continued to receive his stipend.

The Ḥekīm-bashī belonged in principle to the *ʿilmiyye* career; he was sometimes promoted to the rank (*pāye*) of *defterdār* or vizier. In the 11th/17th century the post was still of importance : according to a *rūznāmče* register of 1013/1604 and the *risāle* of ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, the Ḥekīm-bashī then had under him over 20 Muslim and over 40 Jewish physicians; Ewliyā Čelebi records (i, 530) that in the middle of this century the Ḥekīm-bashī held a *mewlewiyyet* [*q.v.*] of 500 *aḳčes* and had a hundred servants.

Thereafter the post became less important; at the end of the 12th/18th century it began to be reckoned as one of those depending on the Aghas of the Dār al-Saʿādet and came completely under their influence, the holders of the post being frequently changed. From 1836 onwards appointments to the post were made from the *mülkiye* branch of the administration. The title was changed in 1844 to Ser-Ṭabīb-i Sheh-riyārī, and with the establishment of the Ministry of Medical Affairs (Ṭibbiyye) in 1850 the holder's duties were limited to those of private physician to the Palace.

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HELL [see DJAHANNAM].

HENNA [see ḤINNĀʾ].

HEPHTHALITES [see HAYĀṬILA].

HERALDRY [see HILĀL, RANK, SHIʿĀR].

HERAT [see HARĀT].

HEREKE [see ḲĀLĪ].

HERESY [see BIDʿA, GHULĀT, ILḤĀD, TAKFĪR, ZANDAḲA].

HERĪ RŪD [see HARĪ RŪD].

HERMES [see HIRMIS].

HERSEK [see BOSNA].

HERSEK-ZĀDE, AḤMED PASHA, (b. 860/1456, d. 932/1517), whose Slavonic surname was HERCEGOVIĆ, Ottoman statesman, Grand Vizier of the sultans Bāyezīd II and Selīm I, was the youngest and favourite son of the duke Stjepan Vukčić-Kosača (1405-66), a great Bosnian vojvoda and lord of south-east Bosnia; from his title "*herceg* (duke) of St. Sava" his domains were named Hercegovina and his descendants Hercegović. Aḥmed Pasha's mother was named Barbara; she was the daughter of a certain "dux de Payro" (d. 1459). Aḥmed Pasha was born in Herceg-Novi (Castel Nuovo) in early May 1456 or mid-July 1459. He spent his childhood there and was for some time at school in Dubrovnik. In Christian countries he was known as Prince Stjepan. Under that name he is found in his native country until the end of 1472. After having quarrelled with his brother the *herceg* Vlatko

because the latter had seized his share of their father's estate, he went to Istanbul, embraced Islam and received the name of Aḥmed, under which name he is mentioned for the first time in 1474. As early as 882/1477 he is mentioned in a firman of Meḥemmed II as the "servant of my kingdom Aḥmed Beg". The reason for his going to Turkey and embracing Islam is shrouded in tales and legends which have been diligently recorded by Ewliyā Čelebī (*Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 4, vi, 421, 423-4; see also J. Radonić in *Vatroslav Jagić-Festschrift*, Berlin 1918, 406-14). In the following year (883/1478) he is found in the retinue of Meḥemmed II in the Albanian campaign as the sultan's *mīr-i ʿalem*.

Before 14 December 1481 he was married to the princess Khündī Khātūn, daughter of Bāyezīd II, and became first *sandjaḳbegi* of Bursa and then *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. In this capacity he fought against Prince Djem (Djumādā I 887/July 1483) and helped his father-in-law to strengthen his position on the throne. As *beglerbegi* of Anatolia he was appointed, in the first ten days of Rabīʿ I 891/7-16 March 1486, as commander-in-chief of the expedition whose aim was to avenge the Turkish defeat in Syria (889/1484), in which the sultan's son-in-law, Ferhād Beg, had been killed, and to take from the Mamlūks of Egypt the towns of Adana and Tarsus; but he was defeated, wounded, captured (Ṣafar 891/6 February-6 March 1486) and taken to Cairo (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 891/November 1486). In Muḥarram 892/January 1487 he was released from captivity and sent back to Turkey. Already at the end of the following month he is mentioned as vizier. Before 3 Rabīʿ II 893/17 March 1488 he had become *kapudān pasha*, for on that date he led the Ottoman fleet in an operation, carried out in co-operation with the land forces, against the Mamlūk army, but his fleet was all but destroyed in a storm, and also the Ottoman land forces were defeated at Agha Čayïrï (8 Ramaḍān 893/16 August 1488). After this unfortunate expedition, Aḥmed Pasha remained on his *tīmār* at Gallipoli until the autumn of 1489, when he was again appointed *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. When the Mamlūks besieged Ḳayṣari [*q.v.*], Aḥmed Pasha, in Rabīʿ II 895/February-March 1490, was sent against them for the third time as commander-in-chief. The outcome of this campaign is not absolutely clear, but it is certain that Aḥmed Pasha was not taken prisoner by the Mamlūks either then or at any time later, but only on the one occasion in 1486, and it is to his captivity at that period that the Arabic inscription in Cairo published by Van Berchem (see *Bibl.*) relates. In the spring of 1493 and in Djumādā II 901/February 1496 Aḥmed Pasha is referred to as *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. On 4 Radjab 902/8 March 1497, or some days later, he became for the first time Grand Vizier; but in the following year (after 19 August 1498) he was dismissed and appointed *kapudān pasha* and *sandjaḳbegi* of Gallipoli. In this capacity he took part in the following year in the attack on Aynabakhtī [*q.v.*], which was taken on 19 Muḥarram 905/26 August 1499. In the spring of 1500 he became vizier and in this capacity, in the autumn of 1501, commanded the Ottoman fleet in the fighting against France and the defence of Midilli [*q.v.*]. Shortly before December 1502 he again became Grand Vizier, concluded a treaty of peace with Venice (13 Djumādā II 908/14 December 1502) and a truce with Hungary (25 Ṣafar 909/20 August 1503). He remained in office until 18 Rabīʿ II 912/7 September 1506, in a period of great difficulty and unrest, when the country was afflicted by famine and plague, and also by general insecurity on sea and land. It is probable that he was subsequently again appointed *kapudān pasha* and *sandjaḳbegi* of Gallipoli, although he is mentioned in the sources in this office only in the spring of 1509, with the title of vizier. In September 1510 he became effectively vizier and in Rabīʿ II 917/July 1511 he became for the third time Grand Vizier (upon the death of Khādim ʿAlī Pasha), but at the end of Djumādā II 917/end of September 1511 he was dismissed at the insistence of the Janissaries, who had mutinied and who regarded him as the chief obstacle to the accession to the throne of prince Selīm. Before that, they had looted his residence and he only just escaped with his life. As the new Grand Vizier, Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, was very soon executed (918/1512), Aḥmed Pasha, who was then Second Vizier, was again appointed Grand Vizier and in that capacity took part in Selīm I's victorious campaign against Persia (battle of Čaldirān [*q.v.*]). He remained in office until 9 Ramaḍān 920/28 October 1514, when he was dismissed and sent into retirement. As his successors, Dukagīn-zāde Aḥmed Pasha and Khādim Sinān Pasha, very soon incurred the displeasure of the ruthless and hot-tempered Sultan Selīm, Aḥmed Pasha became Grand Vizier for the fifth and last time on 29 Radjab 921/8 September 1515. Seeing how easily the officers of Selīm I could lose their lives, he attempted to avoid the appointment, pleading old age, illness, and exhaustion, but consented at the insistence of the sultan and the other viziers. Suffering torments from rheumatism, he rarely attended the *dīwān* but dealt with affairs in his own house. The following incident demonstrates that it was by no means easy for him to serve Selīm. At the end of April 1516 the news was received at the Porte that the Ṣafawīs were besieging Diyārbakr. On learning this, the sultan became extremely angry and vented all his wrath on his viziers. Then Aḥmed Pasha suffered one of the worst days of his life: the sultan summoned him to the *dīwān* and in anger seized him by the throat and began to strike him about the head so that all his turban became unwound. He was immediately deprived of his office and his liberty, and, together with the vizier Pīrī Pasha, escorted to Yedi Ḳule (23 Rabīʿ I 922/26 April 1516), but, on the intervention of the new Grand Vizier, Khādim Sinān Pasha, both of them were pardoned and set free on the same day. At the time of Selīm's campaign against Egypt Aḥmed Pasha was *muḥāfiẓ* of Bursa, and after the victory went to Cairo to congratulate him. On 9 Djumādā II 923/23 June 1517 he was received in a last audience by the sultan and given a reward. He died on 2 Radjab 923/21 July 1517 while returning from Egypt in the Ḳïzïl Čol mountains on the borders of Dhu 'l-Ḳadr. He was buried beside the mosque which he had built in the village of Dil, near Yalova, which is called Hersek after him. Here he built also an *ʿimāret* and an aqueduct. His mosque in the village of Dil was a masterpiece of Ottoman architecture. He built another mosque in the village of Rūs near Keshan (in the *sandjaḳ* of Gallipoli); he made over a number of villages to his *waḳf*s.

Having spent forty years in the service of three important sultans, Aḥmed Pasha played a prominent role in the Ottoman empire. Even while he was the sultan's *mīr-i ʿalem* he had so much influence with Meḥemmed II that through his invervention Gedik Aḥmed Pasha was released from prison. He enjoyed still greater prestige with his father-in-law, Bāyezīd II. He was remarkable for his wise and independent

opinions in the *dīwān*, which he bravely maintained even before Selīm I. He was a friend and protector of the republic of Dubrovnik. His foreign contemporaries also thought highly of him. The Venetian ambassador, Andrea Gritti, describes Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a as "*valentissimo di buon animo e ingenuo*". He was a courageous, but not very successful, general. He excelled as a skilled diplomat and politician.

Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a had a daughter named Humā (who died after 1551) and two sons, Alī Beg and Muṣṭafā Beg, both of them born before 1509, in which year they were circumcised. ʿAlī Beg distinguished himself as a lyric poet and wrote under the *mak̲h̲laṣ* S̲h̲irī. He is mentioned until 1545, and Muṣṭafā Beg until 1582. With him the Muslim branch of the Hercegović family died out.

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(H. Šabanović)

HEYBELI ADA [see MARMARA].

HEZĀRFENN [see ḤUSAYN HEZĀRFENN].

HEZĀRG̲H̲RAD, Ottoman name of Razgrad in north-east Bulgaria, on the Beli Lom. A prehistoric settlement, it is the site of the classical Abritus, in whose ruins a Slavo-Bulgar township grew up. No details are known of its fate during the Ottoman expansion; it was probably occupied in the course of Čandarlï ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's campaign of 790/1388. It begins to be mentioned only towards the middle of the 10th/16th century as a village, variously named Yeñid̲j̲e, Hezārg̲h̲rad-i D̲j̲edīd and Kayad̲j̲ïk, belonging to the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Černovi (Červen). The Ottoman name Hezārg̲h̲rad is a deformation of a pre-Ottoman name Hrazgrad. With three other villages it was, in the 10th/16th century, incorporated in the *waḳfs* of the Grand Vizier Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a.

In the second half of the 10th/16th century it is mentioned as a *ḳaṣaba* [*q.v.*], the administrative centre of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Nicopolis. The town and the district around contained a significant population of Turkish colonists, *yürüks* [*q.v.*] among them. In the middle years of the century there were over 400 Muslims in the town (Turks, and also many converted Bulgarians), and about 1300 Christian Bulgarians. In 1050/1640 there were in the town 800 Bulgars (and 10 Catholics, immigrants from Dubrovnik). In 1069/1659 there were no more than some 350 Bulgars, while the Muslim population had increased to 7000 (with 30 Catholics). Later there were also some Jewish and Armenian inhabitants.

Situated in a fertile district, Hezārg̲h̲rad rapidly became a vigorous commercial town, where numerous crafts flourished, one of the chief centres for the export of raw hides to Dubrovnik. There were over 300 shops in its commercial quarter. A code of regulations for its market was in existence in the 10th/16th century (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS a.f.t. 85, fol. 118 v). In the 19th century there was in the town a Government saltpetre factory.

A pleasant town, it contained several mosques, the best known being those of Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a and Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a. There were 12 *k̲h̲āns*, some *medreses*, a clock-tower, baths, fountains, and a bridge over the river. The sources mention two churches in the 11th/17th and 19th centuries. The town suffered many disasters, attacks by brigands, and massive emigration between the 16th and 19th centuries. The Bulgarian inhabitants of the town played an active part in the political and religious struggles for independence in the 19th century.

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(B. Cvetkova)

HIBA, one of many Arabic words used to express the concept of "gift", and the preferred legal term for it, see following article.

The giving of gifts, that is, the voluntary transfer of property, serves material and psychological purposes. In the pre-history of man, it probably antedates the contractual payment for goods and services. In Islam, it has retained its inherited functions as an important component of the social fabric and has exercised a considerable influence on political life. Literature (in the narrow sense of the term) tells us more about gifts than it does about commercial transactions.

A Muslim definition of "gift", attested for the 5th/11th century and reported by the Ottoman jurist Ibn Nudjaym, speaks of it as "something to which no condition is attached" (in contrast to bribes, cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organization judiciaire*, Leiden 1960, 289; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.* (below), 136, n. 8). The latent or obvious purposiveness of all gifts was, however, fully realized. In one of the many attempts made to distinguish between the different Arabic words for "gift", which were arbitrary from the etymological point of view and rarely obtained the sanction of usage, *hiba* is considered the transfer of property from a more highly placed person to one on a lower level of society (and, therefore, also as applicable to God's gifts to man); *hadiyya*, on the other hand, implies an effort on the part of a person on a lower level of society to get into the good graces of a recipient of a higher social status (and the word, therefore, is not and cannot be used in connexion with God) (Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Furūḳ al-lughawiyya*, Cairo 1353, 138, but contrast, for instance, Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo [reprint] 1964, iii, 38, who finds no inherent distinction of social levels in *hadiyya*). The purposiveness of giving is above all indicated by special linguistic usage. Thus, the Arabic vocabulary knows a meaning of the root *m.n.n* (*minna*, *mannān*) which implies an objectionable insistence by the giver upon the obligations created for the recipient as a result of gifts received. The Ḳurʾān, LXXIV, 6, using the verb *istakthara*, warns against giving (*m.n.n*) in the expectation of receiving a larger gift in return, this being the widely, if not generally, accepted interpretation of the passage (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxix, 80 f.; *Wörterbuch der klassischen arab. Sprache*, 64b). The third and tenth conjugations of *gh.z.r* are noted as special terms for the procedure, which, in the minds of some lexicographers, is a custom preferably associated with strangers, in accordance with an alleged *ḥadīth* (cf., for instance, Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1322, iii, 181; *LA*, vi, 326, and the commentators on *sūra* LXXIV, 6).

Generosity was acknowledged to be one of the primary virtues of the pre-Islamic Arabs, among whom it naturally found its principal expression in hospitality, and the generosity shown in Islam to guests remained a custom much remarked upon. The ideal of a wasteful, spendthrift generosity as exemplified by Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*] was to some degree counteracted by the Aristotelian definition of generosity (*ḥurriyya*, *sakhāʾ*) as a subdivision of moderation (*sōphrosynē*, *ʿiffa*), involving the prudent balancing of income and spending; in this sense, the giving of gifts as an expression of generosity required taking into account the appropriate size of the gift and the deserving character of the recipient (cf., for instance, Abu 'l-Ḥasan [al-ʿĀmirī], *Saʿāda*, ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8, 87 f.; Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb*, Cairo 1322, 8). However, the philosophical virtue blended well with the traditional appreciation of the liberal spender. The admiring reports in literature of anecdotes about outstanding generous men (*djawād*) and their acts of generosity (*djūd*) never ceased to interest Muslim readers. The lively discussion of the opposite vice, stinginess (*bukhl* [*q.v.*]), is merely another way of illustrating the Muslim esteem of generosity. To pre-Islamic and Classical tradition, Muslim religious tradition further added the concept of generosity shown to the needy, charity (*ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]), as a virtue of great merit.

The giving of gifts was viewed as an activity among equals and an expression of friendship. Characteristically, Ibn Ḳutayba discusses the subject of gifts within the larger context of friendship, and in the eyes of the religious authorities, the giving of gifts helps toward the establishment of better personal and communal relations. Gifts were exchanged on joyous personal occasions, such as weddings or circumcisions. Special occasions for the exchange of small gifts among relatives and friends were various holidays, among them the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*] as well as the festivals of *nawrūz* and *mihrdjān* [*qq.v.*] (Mez, *Renaissance*, 400 ff.). The latter festivals were, however, also used at times as occasions on which the people had to present major "gifts" to their ruler. Gifts on festive occasions, as well as other gifts, were often accompanied by appropriate verses deemed worthy of preservation in literature, or by messages in artistic prose.

From the personal sphere of generosity and friendship, where the motivation was primarily psychological, there was a short step to the—broadly speaking—politically motivated giving of gifts by or to persons holding positions of authority in the community. The higher a person was placed within the power structure, the more he was expected to dignify his status and secure his position by frequent manifestations of largesse. The lavish gifts of caliphs and powerful *wazīrs* are often mentioned and commented upon. They were correctly interpreted as a sign of firmly established power and political success. Obviously, such "gifts" were as a rule expected forms of remuneration. The rich rewards bestowed upon poets and artists, and the unhappy occasions on which such rewards were not forthcoming, were the result of the sponsorship of the arts felt to be part of the duties of the government. Gifts by rulers were in a way the more spectacular extension of regular government spending, and they fascinated writers and readers more than the routine character of the latter.

Gifts to persons in positions of authority were usually proffered for the purpose of engaging or rewarding their services. At times, this came to be customary procedure, and officials (occasionally even those in the highest places) depended on it for their income. It was an obvious source of moral corruption and political decay, and was, in turn, nourished by them. It is difficult for us to judge how much harm was done in Muslim history by what in one setting was but a generally accepted and approved method of doing business, and, in another, a cancer corroding the very structure of society. However, the great dangers inherent in the acceptance of gifts by officials in the course of their official duties and, in particular, by officials of the judicial administration were often noticed and complained about. The borderline between gifts that, however undesirable, were legally permissible, and forbidden bribes (*rashwa* [*q.v.*]) was hard to define in theory and even more difficult to preserve in practice. The problem was realized and constantly investigated. The solutions suggested show awareness of its urgency, but, as is only natural, they were not really effective (cf. F. Rosenthal, *Gifts and bribes*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cviii (1964), 135-44; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 136-8; Kātib Chelebi (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), *The balance of truth*, trans. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 124-7).

Finally, the exchange of gifts occupied an important role in international relations as a custom regularly observed wherever diplomatic contact took place. Gifts were exchanged between Muslim rulers

and between Muslim and non-Muslim rulers through their ambassadors or through persons who functioned, or presumed to function, as such; usually, participants in the lower ranks were not left out. The value of the gifts was determined by considerations of the status and the prestige of both giver and recipient, as well as by political expediency and the purpose to be achieved. The descriptions of diplomatic gifts often mention unusual objects and permit us to gauge the value attached to rare luxury items and other possessions. More important, they throw some light upon economic conditions and regional products in the countries of giver and recipient and upon their relative standing as to wealth and industrial development.

As in the societies preceding Islam and contemporary with it, the personal giving of gifts came under the scrutiny of the law (see below). The propriety of diplomatic gifts and of gifts to officials was occasionally questioned by jurists. Rules were proposed to govern the tender and acceptance of such gifts. Presumably, they were disregarded most of the time (cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, and, for an apparently complete copy of Taḳī 'l-Dīn al-Subkī, *Faṣl al-maḳāl fī hadāyā al-ʿummāl*, Ms. Chester Beatty 4870, fols. 1-5).

In addition to human giving, we find the concept of God as the giver of gifts, which concerned Muslim theology. All existence, including that of man himself, is a gift of God's kindness (*niʿma*), and so are all special benefits, talents, and achievements of man. Ṣūfism quite generally tends to describe every spiritual breakthrough by the mystic toward the achievement of his mystic striving as being given by God, and every material manifestation of saintliness in the form of miracles as possible only through some divine gift (*mawhiba*). While God's gifts are unselfishly given and cannot be matched or requited in any way, human beings are expected to show their gratefulness (*s̲h̲ukr* [*q.v.*]) by obeying the divine commands and doing what is right in the eyes of God; yet, their gratefulness can never exhaust the depth of their obligation to their Maker. The role of God as the unique Giver requires mention here, because it does have implications for the attitude toward human giving. It propounds an example that cannot be reached by man. He has the choice of either imitating it as the ideal of true, moral giving, or of using it in order to condone as human frailty the moral failures often accompanying human giving.

Bibliography: In the article, and in the individual sections following. See further BAK̲H̲S̲H̲ĪS̲H̲, INʿĀM, PĪS̲H̲KAS̲H̲. (F. ROSENTHAL)

i.—THE CALIPHATE

The giving of presents was a practice which permeated all levels of mediaeval Islamic society, its aim being to cement the bonds of obligation and dependence which ran through the structure of that society. At the highest level, the exchange of presents was an integral part of diplomacy. In ch. xxi of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Niẓām al-Mulk refers briefly to the diplomatic use of presents, and Fak̲h̲r-i Mudabbir Mubāraks̲h̲āh devotes a whole chapter of his treatise on war and statecraft to the despatching of ambassadors and the gifts which they should bear (*Ādāb al-mulūk*, India Office MS 647, *bāb* xii, fols. 46b-52a). Also, the general works on secretarial practice (*kitāba*) often refer to the letters which should accompany presents or which should be sent in thanks for them. Thus Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi''s *G̲h̲urar al-balāg̲h̲a* has a chapter on *hadāyā* (cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 14-15). Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī gives several examples of the correspondence involved on the occasion of gifts of robes of honour, horses, hunting falcons, game, fruits, etc. (*mukātabāt al-tahādī wa 'l-mulāṭafa*) and when seeking gifts (*istihdā'*), in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, viii, 339 ff., 351-6, ix, 100-24.

The most important non-Islamic power with which the Caliphs had to deal was, of course, Byzantium. The Emperors themselves had long appreciated the value of careful diplomacy, of impressing envoys by the splendour of their court and of using costly gifts to mollify opponents; and for the luxury textiles and mechanical contrivances which were the staple presents, the Emperors had the productions of the state workshops to call upon (cf. W. Ensslin in *Byzantium, an introduction to East Roman civilization*, ed. Baynes and Moss, Oxford 1948, 306-7). The Caliphs, for their part, exerted themselves equally to impress Christian ambassadors. The Frankish chronicler Einhard speaks of the rich gifts sent to Charlemagne by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd in the course of their celebrated diplomatic exchanges, involving the textiles and aromatics of the Islamic world and such exotica as an elephant and a water clock (*Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. and tr. L. Halphen, Paris 1923, 47). In 305/917-18 al-Muḳtadir staged an especially lavish reception in his palace for the envoys of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the course of which rich gifts were exchanged (cf. Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-d̲h̲ak̲h̲ā'ir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, 130 ff.). Many of the Bag̲h̲dād-Constantinople diplomatic exchanges revolved, as did this last mission, around the making of truces on the Anatolian frontiers and the ransoming of prisoners. Just over a century later, Constantine Monomachus in 441/1049-50 sent an embassy with presents to the Sald̲j̲ūḳ Sultan Ṭog̲h̲rïl seeking for peace and for the ransoming of the Georgian prince Liparit Orbeliani; when Ṭog̲h̲rïl, on the intercession of the Marwānid ruler Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān, released Liparit without a ransom, the Emperor sent further presents and allowed the construction of a mosque in Constantinople (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 380).

When the Caliphs and other Islamic rulers delegated their military or civil authority to subordinate rulers or governors, presents were invariably bestowed on the recipient of the office, as a material sign of the grantor's favour. In an age when dress was so decisively an indication of official or social status, and when wealth was often stored in the form of textiles, it is not surprising that richly-embroidered or bejewelled robes of honour are the most constant element in these presents [see K̲H̲ILʿA]. Such centres of manufacture as Damascus, Bag̲h̲dād, Mawṣil, Iṣfahān, Rayy, Nīs̲h̲āpūr and Marw, all produced luxury textiles for these robes, and in some cases, rulers had special workshops producing luxury goods for court consumption or for bestowal as gifts; Nars̲h̲ak̲h̲ī mentions the *bayt al-ṭirāz* at Buk̲h̲ārā, whose products were taken each year to Bag̲h̲dād in lieu of taxation (*The history of Bukhara*, tr. Frye, 19-20; see also ḤARĪR and ṬIRĀZ).

In 284/897 al-Muʿtaḍid was compelled to invest ʿAmr b. Layt̲h̲ with Transoxania in succession to the Ṭāhirids, who had exercised an overlordship in that region. He sent with the investiture diploma seven robes of honour, a crown set with sapphires and other gems, eleven horses with golden accoutrements and bejewelled caparisons, and chests of clothing and luxury articles (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. Nāẓim, 17). In 369/979 ʿAḍud al-Dawla demanded from al-

Ṭāʾiʿ that he should be crowned in Baghdād, should have further honorific titles and should be given robes of honour. The feeble Caliph had to assent to the Būyid Amīr's coronation at Baghdād, and invested him with the robes and two swords; three days later he further sent a linen tunic, a gold dish and a crystal vessel and goblet (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 98-100). In 513/1119 the supreme Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar appointed his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad ruler of ʿIrāḳ and Djibāl and, in addition to the usual robes of honour, sent a horse with luxurious equipment and an elephant with a bejewelled litter (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 170). The presents sent by the Caliph al-Mustarshid in 527/1133 to Masʿūd b. Muḥammad, when he recognized him as Sulṭān in the western Saldjūḳ lands, included seven ceremonial *durrāʿas* or tunics of various materials and colours, one being in the ʿAbbāsid colour of black, a jewelled crown, two arm bracelets (*siwār*), a gold collar, two swords and two banners (Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥusaynī, *Akhbar al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 102). Victorious military commanders were honoured in the same way when they entered the capital; on Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kātib's return from Raḳḳa and a victorious campaign against the Ḳarmaṭīs, al-Muktafī presented him and other commanders with robes of honour, a gold collar and two arm bracelets (ʿArīb, 3, under 291/904; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 131; Eng. tr., 133).

The bestowal of lesser honours, those of a social rather than a military or political nature, was likewise accompanied by presents. In 321/933 al-Ḳāhir made Ibn Muḳla a *nadīm* or boon-companion in the Caliphal entourage, and at the same time gave him robes of honour, began calling him by his *kunya* or his patronymic, and added further gifts of a silver-gilt dish of ambergris, perfumes and musk, a second dish, a crystal decanter and goblet and a silver washbowl. Five years later, the Turkish general Bečkem was honoured in similar terms when he became al-Rāḍī's *nadīm* (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, i, 258-9, 396, tr. iv, 293-4, 440).

On the other hand, the grant of honours and awards from the Caliph usually involved the recipient in much reciprocal expense. Even when the secular authority of the ʿAbbāsids was at a low ebb, such as the period of Būyid and early Saldjūḳ domination in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, their moral and spiritual influence was still very important. They alone could legitimize *de facto* power, and for the privilege of this approval, the provincial ruler who sought an investiture diploma (*ʿahd*, *manshūr*) or a grant of honorific titles (*alḳāb*) had to be prepared to pay. The sale of honours and the seeking of presents were, indeed some of the means by which the Caliphs augmented their meagre resources during these lean years. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, the requiring of presents from those who had been invested with office or who had received some honour from the Caliphate was a comparatively recent practice, dating only from the period of Caliphal penury, *i.e.*, from early Būyid times; but in his own time, presents were required not only for the Caliph but for the secretaries and the court retinue (*Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdad 1383/1964, 100).

Much protocol was involved in the exchange of presents, and a definite tariff, according to the occasion, was recognized. This tariff (*rasm*) is mentioned in the Ghaznavid historian Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, when Sultan Masʿūd discussed with his vizier Maymandī the presents which were to be sent from Ghazna to Baghdād to greet the new Caliph al-Ḳāʾim; in return, the Sultan sought confirmation of his claim to his father's conquests and diplomatic support against the Ḳarakhānids (a sidelight on the diplomatic value of presents is that Masʿūd wanted to extract from the Caliph a promise that robes of honour and presents should never be sent direct to the Ḳarakhānids but only through his own intermediacy). It was agreed that the Caliph personally should receive 20,000 *mans* of indigo and his court circle 5,000 *mans*, and personal presents were also given to the Caliphal envoys (details in Bosworth, *The imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Islamic Studies*, i/3 (1962), 65). Ṭoghrïl's acquisition of the title *Malik al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib* in 449/1058, the date of his first meeting with the Caliph in Baghdād, cost him 50,000 *dīnārs*, 50 of the finest available Turkish *ghulāms* with appropriate horses and arms, a quantity of cloth, etc.; for his marriage at Tabrīz in 454/1062 with al-Ḳāʾim's daughter, presents had to be distributed not only to the Caliph himself, but also to his chief wife, to the *walī al-ʿahd* ʿUddat al-Dīn (the later al-Muḳtadī) and to the princess's own mother (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 436-7; Bundārī, 22).

It was the custom to exchange gifts at such festivities as weddings (cf. the munificence of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl when his daughter Būrān married al-Maʾmūn at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, described in, *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, iii, 1081-5, Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. de Jong, 73-4, Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 98-101, and Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandi, *Čahār maḳāla*, Browne's revised tr., 21-2), circumcisions and the old Iranian festivals of Nawrūz and Mihrdjān, the observance of which early became general in the central and eastern parts of the Caliphate. We hear, too, of personal gifts from subjects to rulers; doubtless some private advantage was often sought. A Zoroastrian *mōbedh* presented a flask of precious ointment to al-Mutawakkil; and a landowner of the Ghazna district, one Mānk ʿAlī, had the custom of annually presenting the Ghaznavid Sultans with pickles, savouries, dried meats and fine cloth (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 229; Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 128-9).

The goods and products most frequently given as presents have emerged through the examples given above, with fine textiles, aromatics and spices, and jewels, to the fore. However, the gifts sent westwards by governors and rulers on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world usually included some of the specialities of those eastern regions and even of the Indian and Chinese worlds beyond. Very prominent were Turkish slaves from the Central Asian steppes, greatly in demand for the new professional armies of the Caliphs and provincial rulers [see GHULĀM i. The Caliphate, and ii. Persia]. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, the tribute and presents forwarded by the Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān and then by the Sāmānid Amīrs of Khurāsān and Transoxania always included large numbers of Turkish slaves. In a very detailed list in Bayhaḳī, 416-17, of the presents sent to Hārūn al-Rashīd by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān (governor of Khurāsān 180-91/796-807) are 1,000 each of Turkish male and female slaves, and other Central Asian specialities mentioned in it include hawks and falcons for hunting, Badakhshān rubies, Nīshāpūr turquoises and Ṭukhāristān horses. Particularly interesting is the inclusion of 200 pieces of Chinese porcelain (*čīnī faghfūrī*), which already at this early date were making the long and hazardous journey across Asia (on this product see P. Kahle, *Chinese porcelain in the lands of Islam*, in *Opera minora*, Leiden 1956, 326-61). Elephants sporadically appeared in

ʿIrāḳ and Persia in early ʿAbbāsid times as presents from Makrān, Sind and the eastern parts of Afghānistān; beasts captured in the Kābul region were sent by the Ṣaffārids, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna regularly sent them to the Caliph among presents from the plunder of his Indian campaigns. Finally, it may be noted that the presents which were despatched to Baghdād from the corners of the Islamic world were not all exotic and luxury articles; in 327/938 al-Rāḍī, hard pressed in his capital, was glad to receive from the Ḥamdānid ruler of Mawṣil Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan boatloads of flour, barley and livestock (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, i, 405, tr. iv, 449).

Bibliography: given in the article. Reference may also be made to the section on the giving of presents in Spuler, *Iran*, 367-9, and also to the section in Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 100-3, headed "The presents which should be offered to the Caliph when a person is invested with an office or honoured with being called by his *kunya* or with honorific titles", with examples from the Būyid period. Of outstanding interest is the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* of the Fāṭimid official Ḳāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Zubayr, ed. Muḥ. Ḥamīd Allāh, Kuwait 1959, which dates from *ca.* 463/1071. *Inter alia*, the author describes here famous offerings of gifts amongst rulers in pre-Islamic and Islamic times, with many examples from ʿAbbāsid and Fāṭimid history.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ii — Mamlūk Egypt

The presentation by Muslim rulers of costly and often exotic gifts to European heads of state, for long a common practice, accounted in large part for the mediaeval western view of Islam as a world of luxury and splendour. This view was nourished nowhere more abundantly than in Mamlūk Egypt, whose rulers staged lavish receptions for foreign envoys and outdid themselves in bestowing upon them expensive presents to be carried back home to their sovereigns (see Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, ii, 679 n. 7; and *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), esp. 202, n. 3). Despite the well-known laconism of Muslim chroniclers regarding foreign embassies to Cairo, they almost invariably mention the exchange of gifts (*hadiyya*), accompanied usually by some estimate of their value (*e.g.*, Ibn Taghrībirdī, vi, 599, vii, 6, 112-13, 215-16; idem, *Ḥawādith*, 471-3, 699; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, iii, 17, 25, 62, 145-46, 248, 292-93, iv, 55, 257, 269, 284, v, 9-11). In the archival material more detailed descriptions are to be found, either in the texts of letters or in separate lists appended to these (*e.g.*, al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, viii, 122; Alarcón y Santón—García de Linares, *Documentos*, nos. 146, 149; Capmany y de Montpalau, *Memorias*, iv, 73-5). Such descriptions appear also in the diaries and "relazioni" of European envoys, often in great detail (*e.g.*, Catellaci, in *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, Ser. 4, viii (1881), 173 ff.; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, iii, 119 (Cron. Zancaruola); Schefer, *Voyage d'Outremer*, 147-226). The importance of these gifts was such that omission of them attracted attention and appears to have been a calculated insult, as in the Mamlūk embassy to Venice in 913/1507 (*BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 516 n. 3).

Possibly the most celebrated instance of gifts from a Mamlūk sultan to a European ruler was Ḳāitbāy's dispatch in 892/1487 of an embassy to Lorenzo de' Medici, of which there are several contemporary Florentine accounts in prose and one, somewhat later, in oil by Giorgio Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence (see *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford 1965, 39-41, 43 and Frontispiece). In this case it was the bizarre collection of animals (especially a giraffe) which aroused the curiosity and aesthetic sensibilities of the Florentines.

Among the correspondence of the Mamlūk sultans with other rulers, both Muslim and Christian, one finds examples of special requests for gifts, apparently of articles obtainable only in the lands of the proposed donor; such are the letters from the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh in 833/1429 requesting copies of Ibn Ḥadjar's commentary to Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and of Maḳrīzī's *Sulūk* (*Nudjūm*, vi, 650); and from Sultan Shaʿbān to Galeazzo Visconti in 768/1366 seeking white gerfalcons (Iorga, iv, 6-11; and art. bayzara). A more unusual instance of this is the letter from James II of Aragon to the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn asking for some relics of St. Barbara reputed to have been among his treasures (Golubovich, *Biblio. Terra Sancta*, iii, 233; and cf. A. S. Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon*, 42-52).

In addition to rare animals and unusual wares from the further Orient the gifts of the Mamlūk sultans to foreign envoys and their principals included precious and elaborate stuffs of local manufacture, presented sometimes as cloth not made up, sometimes as robes of honour [see khilʿa], a practice also observed at European courts in diplomatic relations with Mamlūk Egypt (see Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 63-4; and *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 518 n. 2).

Occasionally the gifts brought to Cairo by foreign envoys played a decisive rôle in determining the amount of attention the Sultan and/or his officials might be prepared to devote to an embassy, as in 918/1512 when the Venetians, French, and Ṣafavids among others were contenders for the favours of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī (Schefer, *loc. cit.*; Sanuto, *Diarii*, xv, 193-208; Ibn Iyās, iv, 225 ff. who remarks (pp. 268-9) that at that moment there were no fewer than 14 ambassadors in Cairo!), or in 894/1489 when Florence was eclipsed in the eyes of the dragoman Taghrīberdī by Venetian wealth and prestige (cf. *Docs. Isl. Chanc.*, p. 44).

Bibliography: in the text.

(J. Wansbrough)

iii. — In the West

1. The term *hadiyya* is commonly used with the restricted meaning of "a sumptuous gift solemnly offered to a sovereign", either by another sovereign (his equal or a vassal) or by a group of some kind, or —much more rarely—by an individual of high rank.

The circumstances in which such gifts were offered or exchanged were many: embassies intended to form political, economic or matrimonial links, or sent to deliver congratulations on the occasion of an accession or a great victory. In the rare cases of presents being offered by individuals, these were important dignitaries (minister, chamberlain, etc.) wishing to retain or to regain the favour of their sovereign; this was the case notably, at the court of the Umayyads of Cordova in the 4th/10th century, with the *wazīr* Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and with the *ḥādjib* al-Muṣḥafī and al-Ḥakam II (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index s.v.). These gifts nearly always consisted of several articles and included both objects of great value and curiosities (*ṭuraf, tuḥaf, gharāʾib*) peculiar to the country of the sender.

In the former category we find gold and silver, either in ingots, as coins, or made up into vessels; pearls and precious stones; sumptuous cloths (brocades, etc.) in the piece or made up into gar-

ments; carpets, arms and armour (notably the famous shields of leather made from the skin of *lamṭ* [*q.v.*], a type of antelope peculiar to the western Sahara); harness; state tents; furs; perfumes; ambergris, musk; thoroughbred horses; falcons; slaves. More rarely there were presented copies of the Ḳur'ān, of historic value or richly bound and ornamented with precious stones. In an exceptional case we hear of the prince of Genoa sending to the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, in 691/1292, "a tree in gilded metal bearing birds which an ingenious mechanism made to sing", similar to that which had been made for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil (see Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, lith. Fās 1305, top of p. 281). Among the curiosities are found particularly African animals: elephants, giraffes, zebras, lions, civet-cats, parrots speaking various languages.

The reception of these gifts and of their bearers was an occasion of great ceremony. The exotic animals were paraded in a procession for the people to admire. When such gifts were offered by Christian rulers, the Muslim recipients chose to regard them as tribute. In fact these *hadiyya*s were considered by the European states as essentially intended to enable them to obtain favourable commercial treaties, to protect themselves against the Barbary corsairs, and to facilitate the ransom of prisoners. In addition to clocks and watches and Chinese porcelain, the Muslims particularly appreciated cannons and muskets, gunpowder, sulphur and lead, wood and rope for building and the rigging of warships, although the export of such items to the infidels had many times been prohibited by the Papacy.

The practice of sending these *hadiyya*s of tribute disappeared only during the first half of the 19th century, following the French occupation of Algiers (1830) and the defeat of the Moroccans in the wādī Īsli (1844).

2. In Morocco especially, and particularly, it appears, from the time of the beginning of the ʿAlawid dynasty, the *hadiyya* was an obligatory gift made to the sultan by his subjects; from being the spontaneous homage of gratitude and of vassal status it ended as a supplementary tax.

Particularly at the time of the two canonical feasts and of that of the *mawlid* (coll. *mūlūd*), but also on the occasion of certain festivities (a sultan's accession, his solemn entry into a town, etc.), the inhabitants of town and country had to offer to their sovereign, together with their homage and their good wishes, a *hadiyya*, the nature and the amount of which were fixed by the government.

In the towns, the costs of the *hadiyya*, in money and in kind, were divided by the governor among the quarters of the town and the guilds. The Jewish community had its own *hadiyya*, often consisting of items of gold or silver work. In the rural areas, the *ḳā'id* of each tribe was charged with the division and with the collecting of the sum imposed. To it were very often added local products: sumptuous cloths, carpets, horses, slaves, etc. The whole was taken to the town where the sultan was residing at the time by delegates (*haddāya*), escorted by their *ḳā'id*.

The presentation of the *hadiyya*s to the sultan began on the day following each of the three feasts and lasted for several days. It took place in the open and was the occasion for picturesque ceremonies, often described by European travellers.

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(G. S. COLIN)

iv. — PERSIA

The exchange of presents on the occasion of ambassadorial visits is a very ancient custom, common throughout the Orient; it survived into Islamic times in Persia and indeed is continued today, even if in a different form more adapted to modern diplomatic practice. There is now a distinction between different classes of gifts, with precisely defined terminology: presents to equals (*hadiyya*), from inferiors to superiors (*pīs͟hkas͟h*), and from superiors to inferiors (*inʿām*, usually of money) (E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1950, 73 ff.). Firdawsī appears still to use *hadiyya* indiscriminately for any kind of present (F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v. *Hadye*; the term *hiba* does not appear here). At least from the Mongol period onwards, presents from governors etc. are described as *pīs͟hkas͟h* [*q.v.*], a form of tribute. In the Ṣafawid chronicles, there are descriptions of rulers' accessions to the throne and similar ceremonies, where *pīs͟hkas͟h wa tuḥaf wa hidāyā-yi mulūk-i aṭrāf* were offered (Firdawsī knows *tuḥfa* only in the sense of "rarity, marvel"). *Bilāk* (T. *belek*, cf. Maḥmūd al-Kās͟hg͟harī, *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, i, 322; pseudo-Arabic plural *bilākāt*) is also found as a description of presents from the Tīmūrids to the Ak Koyunlu. *Hadiyya* (and also *tuḥaf*) has become the normal expression for the exchange of presents on diplomatic missions. The fact that at the Ṣafawid court these gifts were recorded by the *pīs͟hkas͟h-niwīs* (*Tad͟hkirat al-mulūk*, ed. Minorsky, *GMS*, n.s. xvi, London 1943, 156) simply indicates a broadening of this clerk's duties.

Islamic rulers practised this exchange of gifts not only on the signing of treaties and at their accession, but also on family occasions such as the circumcision of a son. Niẓām al-Mulk had an already quite Machiavellian conception of the principal purpose of diplomatic missions: it was to profess subservience to the opponent by the presentation of rich gifts, lull him into security, and reconnoitre his strength or weakness in the event of a war (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 90, tr. 133; tr. Schowingen, 198; tr. Darke, 98-9, 101).

The type of presents exchanged between Islamic rulers varied little from the early Middle Ages until modern times: jewellery, brocade and other costly stuffs, which were given to the Caliph by the famous Byzantine mission of 937 A.D., continually recur in the lists of presents given by Persian rulers too; also included were money, weapons, perfumes, saddle-horses, slaves, and many other things. The Turks quickly adopted Iranian customs: Tog͟hrïlbeg, on the occasion of one mission to the Caliph, sent 10,000 *dīnār*s, precious stones and precious cloths. A famous exchange of gifts was that between Maḥmūd of G͟hazna and Ḳadr K͟hān: Maḥmūd presented gold and silver dishes, precious stones (or pearls), "Bag͟hdād" vessels, beautiful clothing and carpets, weapons (battle-axes and Indian swords), horses with costly trappings, ten elephants, camels with luxuriously appointed litters, sandalwood and ambergris, leopard-skins, falcons and eagles, and slave girls. Ḳadr K͟hān responded with a large sum of money, horses, slave-girls, falcons and products of Turkestan (weasel, squirrel and fox pelts) and, significantly, *objets d'art* of Chinese origin (brocade, articles made

of horn, etc.). Similar presents were given by the Īl-k͟hāns to foreign rulers: money, armour, precious stones, cheetahs, silverware, musk, and garments of green and white wool. No doubt some symbolic significance attached to a throne of rattan-wood (*čūb-i k͟hayzurān*) with canopy (*sāyabān*), which an Ak Koyunlu ruler received from India. The renowned Kūh-i-Nūr diamond came briefly to the Ṣafawid Court in 1544 when Humāyūn [*q.v.*] sought refuge in Persia. Costly Frankish robes and other European products came into the possession of the Ṣafawids before 1600, principally from the Turks. Arab horses, always much coveted, were given by the Ṣafawid S͟hāh to the Ottoman mission in 968/1560-1, as well as the usual robes of honour (*k͟hilaʿ* [*q.v.*]) and gilded saddles and harness. For India, Persia was a transit country useful as a source of Arab horses; S͟hāh ʿAbbās I once sent the Emperor Akbar (as well as costly stuffs) 100 stallions and mares of Arab and Georgian stock. From the Indian court came elephants and exotic beasts (tigers, leopards, gazelles, rhinoceroses, parrots and hippopotamuses), but also (perhaps originally from Europe?) optical instruments, as well as armour set with jewels. A valuable sabre presented by Akbar must have had symbolic significance (victory over the enemies of the Ṣafawids). Even in the very lively diplomatic exchanges with European courts after 1600 A.D., the Ṣafawids confined themselves to the traditional list of presents (slaves naturally did not figure here). Anthony Sherley was commissioned by the S͟hāh to take to various European rulers presents of sabres, bows and arrows, turban silk, belts of pure linen and broad woollen belts. The Persian embassy to Louis XIV in 1715 presented 106 small pearls, 280 turquoises and two gilded boxes of mummy balm [see MŪMIYĀ].

From the Crusades onwards, Europeans were well acquainted with oriental customs and preferences, and also, through trade with the East, they were well provided with objects suitable for presents. We therefore find that in the lists of presents of European missions to the Īl-k͟hāns, apart from tents, leopards and hunting dogs, precious stones, etc., there are included silk, purple dye, velvet, canopy material, and parasols decorated with precious stones. When in the Ṣafawid period relations between Europe and Persia were renewed and intensified to a hitherto unparalleled extent, technical equipment found its way to Persia along with the presents previously customary. Moreover, gifts began to be chosen more to suit individual tastes; specialities of particular countries gained prominence; and firearms were on some occasions delivered in numbers which already approximated to a kind of 'military aid'. The embassy from Philip III of Spain in 1617 brought to S͟hāh ʿAbbās I brocade, dishes and vessels of silver-gilt, harness and armour, but also surgical instruments, locksmiths' and carpenters' tools (the S͟hāh was in some way a forerunner of the Czar Peter the Great in his interest in carpentry), as well as portraits of the Infanta of Spain and the Queen of France (European paintings also came into Persia by way of the Armenians of D͟julfa). Portraits were then very often offered by other embassies too. From France came spy-glasses, crystal chandeliers and crystal mirrors, and (the result of Far East trade) porcelain from China, veils from India, and tea; but there were also cannons of the most modern design, and carpets of silk and gold thread from the Savonnerie factory (near Paris). A coach and four, which the East India Company wished to present to the S͟hāh in 1621, was not greatly welcomed in Persia, where there were no roads; on the other hand the S͟hāh accepted with enthusiasm 1,500 arquebuses from the same mission, whereas he criticized armour as unserviceable in war. A Russian mission also had little luck later with a carriage drawn by six horses, which was brought only with the greatest difficulty from D͟julfa to Iṣfahān. More welcome were the valuable Russian sables and the barrels of vodka, which the S͟hāh greatly appreciated. An embassy from Holstein brought among other things amber caskets. The gifts offered by the Dutch ambassador in 1652 were equally conventional, if more luxurious: 2,000 ducats (only gold coins were accepted, as Tavernier states; silver coins, not to speak of forged coins, the S͟hāh rejected), scarlet cloth, a large mirror, ambergris and amber boxes, Hindustani metal bowls, Japanese lacquer wares and exotic birds. Clocks in costly cases were also favourite articles for presents. The Russian embassy of 1817 had already fallen in with the standards of the other European countries in its choice of presents. The gifts included a set of cut-glass, a set of St. Petersburg porcelain, toilet mirrors, a clock in the form of an elephant, guns, pistols and sabres from the renowned arms factory of Tula, two wall mirrors, diamonds and rings, as well as the traditional sables. The gifts of the British mission of 1812, on the other hand, seem to have been chosen more to suit the personal tastes of Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh: several coaches (kindly received but never used), a pianoforte (the Ṣafawids had once received an organ from Moscow), a large mahogany dining table and 70 mirrors. Most of these, however, were broken on the difficult journey from Būs͟hīr to Tehrān.

Christian clergy, too, who were sent as envoys of the Pope or of their Orders, did not present themselves at the Ṣafawid Court without presents, but in these cases even less costly gifts were accepted with indulgence. A Capuchin presented nautical and astronomical instruments (a compass and an astrolabe), a Dominican a clock and "*petites nippes de peu de valeur*" (as Chardin puts it). A Carmelite mission from the Pope had the extreme naïveté to present S͟hāh ʿAbbās I with a costly crucifix, at which, however, the S͟hāh took no offence. Ṣafī I received from the Vicar-Provincial of the Carmelites an edition of the Psalms in an Arabic translation, together with a few water-melons, and from the Bishop of Bag͟hdād a portrait of Urban VIII. Innocent XII sent S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in 1700 Venetian brocade, striking clocks, a few pictures, mirrors with filigree frames, a microscope and a magnifying glass, and a block-and-pulley. Organs, spectacles and lifting-gear, also intended for the S͟hāh, were left behind in Aleppo. An Archbishop, on the other hand, presented himself before Nādir S͟hāh in the traditional manner with a splendidly bridled horse as a gift.

The presentation of gifts was accompanied by a solemn ceremonial. Here it was of the utmost importance to make as great an impression as possible. Thus the presents of Philip III of Spain in 1617 were borne in by not less than 600 servants. Individual missions would arrive in the Persian capital with a baggage train including hundreds of persons. On the other hand, the relatively few presents given by ʿAbbās I to Anthony Sherley were transported on 32 camels. For the Persian embassy to Louis XIV things were simpler: the interpreter carried the presents (pearls and turquoises) in a casket which, like the ambassador's credentials, was

wrapped in gold brocade. On Persian soil the ambassadors and their often numerous retinue were entertained at the expense of the Shāh, and provided with saddle- and baggage-horses. On top of this there would be personal presents, for the ambassador himself usually a robe of honour, horses with trappings, and other gifts, and for his suite presents of more or less value according to rank. Provincial governors were also in the habit of honouring passing ambassadors with presents. Johann Cunaeus, on returning to Holland, was permitted to keep robes of honour and sabres, and one of 15 horses given to him, and for the other gifts he received compensation on account of the expenses incurred by him personally. At the beginning of the 19th century ambassadors were already receiving decorations (the Lion and Sun Order), but in addition still received the traditional robes of honour.

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v. — Ottoman Empire

The giving of presents had some curious ramifications in the Ottoman Empire. During the centuries in which their armies stood at the gates of Central Europe, the Sultan and his viziers were well aware of their power. Accordingly they could expect considerable sums of money to be spent on providing the "presents" which were offered to them by ambassadors.

The justification for expecting such presents was to be found in the case of the Turks (as with other Muslims) in their regarding foreign ambassadors as guests of the Sultan and the Government. Since they were given hospitality and entertainment, it was expected at the Ottoman Court that they would pay their respects with "guests' presents". It was also considered necessary that foreign ambassadors should receive presents. These included gifts for the ruler of the land to which the envoy was returning after the discharge of his mission (see elči and, for a general discussion of diplomatic practice, safīr). The usual presents for this purpose were fine materials and clothing, finely wrought bows, and spices. The ambassador himself almost invariably received the *khilʿa* [*q.v.*], which had the same significance as a European Order.

The presents brought by the envoys also consisted in the majority of cases of examples of their native arts and crafts, or the natural products or animals of their homeland. In the case of Western and Central Europe, typical gifts were goldsmiths' work, textiles, richly ornamented clothing, or chandeliers. Great Britain would also send mastiffs, and Poland greyhounds. The Slav countries, Poland and Russia, would often present "Nordic wares" as they were called, and as they were known to Arab geographers of the early Middle Ages: furs, especially sables, falcons and other birds, walrus tusks for making trinkets, and also medicines; but equally they included products of native industry: chandeliers, clocks, dishes and so on. The extensive collection of porcelain in the present-day Topkapı Sarayı Museum (especially celadon) originates largely from presents from China at the time of the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912).

It is a fundamental truth of human nature that these presents should be prized not only for their ideal, but also for their material value, and that the circle of those who expected such gifts should grow continually. In the course of time it embraced not only the Grand Vizier and his ministerial colleagues but many dignitaries, the Agha of the Janissaries, the Governors of particular provinces, especially those which the ambassadors had to traverse on their journeys to and from the Court, but most important of all the interpreter of the Sublime Porte [see tardjumān] and his assistants, upon whom ambassadors unversed in the language were almost entirely dependent. According to Islamic social custom, any gifts explicitly destined for ladies were unacceptable, and indeed their existence was hardly acknowledged in diplomatic life at the Ottoman Court at that time. Naturally one might indulge the hope that some present or other might come into their possession by indirect means, and arouse their interest in the donor's country.

As ambassadors came into direct contact with the leading Government officials and even the Sultan only at the presentation of their credentials, at official meetings and on taking leave, whilst at the same time they must attempt somehow to exert some influence during their sojourn of months or even years at the Sublime Porte if they were to safeguard the interests of their own countries, "presents" proved a useful means of attracting notice. They could indeed play a decisive rôle, and many a vizier

or interpreter was not above demanding presents—even with threats. These gifts naturally involved the envoy in considerable expense, and it was understandable in view of the frequent changes among the influential officials, especially in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, that many ambassadors delayed for a time before sending a present. It was always possible that a newly-appointed official might be very quickly relieved of his office, as in the case of Surnāzen Meḥmed Pasha, who was Grand Vizier for only four hours on 6 March 1656. On the other hand, such a swift reversal of fortune did not occur, as in if the case of Aḥmed Köprülü [see KÖPRÜLÜ] five years later, it could have highly unpleasant consequences for the dilatory ambassador (French in this case).

It goes without saying that under such circumstances these so-called "presents" acquired more and more the character of bribes for officials, and that the representatives of the various Powers continually tried to outdo one another in the extravagance and frequency of their gifts. Equally there can be no doubt that the interests of the Ottoman Empire were not always served by this custom (as on the Pruth in 1711; see BALTADJÎ, at end). The side-effects of present-giving, therefore, undoubtedly contributed to the ruin of the Ottoman Empire and the decline of its moral standards.

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(B. SPULER)

HIBA, gift *inter vivos*, transfers the ownership of a thing during the lifetime of the donor, and with no consideration payable by the donee. The term *ṣadaḳa* is used to designate charitable donation, which does not require offer and acceptance and which, moreover, is always irrevocable. As for the term *hadiyya*, this is preferably applied to the donation of a movable object, given as a present; according to certain Shāfiʿīs it would be valid even without acceptance on the part of the donee.

Gift is a contract. It is formed, say the scholars, by *idjāb wa-ḳabūl*, by offer and acceptance; though this mutual agreement, however indispensable (barring exceptional circumstances), does not have the same juridical value in all the schools.

(a) According to the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, mere acceptance by the donee not only does not transfer ownership as in sale, it does not even create any obligations binding on the donor. Transfer of ownership is effected only by the donee's taking possession, when this has been authorized by the donor. Until this taking of possession (*ḳabḍ*), the donee can neither compel the donor to deliver the subject of the gift, nor put himself in possession against his wishes. The death of the donor or of the donee before possession is taken terminates the agreement. It is true that the Shāfiʿīs admit subrogation of the heirs in the rights of the propositus, but since the latter had no right at all, this subrogation does not lead to a situation very different from that resulting from the Ḥanafī solution.

(b) In Mālikī law, mutual agreement or, if preferred, the acceptance of the donee added to the offer of the donor, creates a true contract which, even if it does not transfer ownership—this is acquired only by *ḳabḍ*, taking possession—does procure some very great advantages for the donee. Indeed the latter has the right to compel the donor to effect delivery of the thing given, and consequently the transfer of ownership, a right which then passes to the heirs of the donee if the latter dies before taking possession. It should be added that in Mālikī law the donee could dispose of the thing given, even before delivery, in case of the donor's decease, provided he took care to have his act officially recorded by the *ḳāḍī*.

(c) Of the four Sunnī schools it is the Ḥanbalī alone which attributes to the mutual agreement the effect of transferring ownership, at least when it is a question of gifts of things which are not measured by capacity or weight (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, v, 591). Where the latter are concerned (precious metals, foodstuffs, grain), taking possession again becomes indispensable.

Since gift is a "necessarily impoverishing" act, it can be performed only by individuals whose capacity is complete. Hence it is forbidden even to the semi-incompetent, the prodigal, the weak-minded, even if attended by his guardian (*walī*). But it is permissible for the person of full capacity to donate *inter vivos* the whole of his property, despite the fact that such an act is morally reprehensible if it is aimed at depriving prospective heirs or at favouring some over others. To this rule the jurists add three qualifications, the first two common to all schools, the third peculiar to the Mālikīs. The bankrupt (*muflis*) cannot dispose by gift of goods acquired by him before the sentence of interdiction. Gifts made by an individual at the point of death (*fī maraḍ al-mawt*) are assimilated to bequests. In other words a person suffering from a fatal disease, or one who finds himself in danger of death, although enjoying all his mental faculties, cannot give more than a maximum of one third of his property, with the further condition that the donee should not be one of the heirs. Finally, in Mālikī law the married woman, although considered fully competent as in the other schools, is not entitled without her husband's authorization to give more than one third of her possessions, the husband alone being entitled to contest the validity of a gift in excess.

Broadly speaking, everything susceptible of being sold can be donated. However, this assimilation applies fully only in Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī law. The Ḥanafīs are stricter in gift than in sale, prohibiting as a general rule the gift of undivided property (*mushāʿ*) when it is divisible by nature; this is an important reservation, for a share in property indivisible by nature (slave, animal, tiny house) can always be donated, the taking of possession, of course, being total in such cases (*Hidāya*, iii, 164). The Mālikīs, on the other hand, display a more liberal attitude towards gift than towards sale, authorizing the gift of something future, uncertain, or insufficiently defined as to kind, quality or value. In their view the exigencies of the law with respect to sale are dictated by an anxiety to avoid risk and illicit profit; they lose their *raison d'être* in the case of acts of liberality, since these call for no consideration from the side of the donee.

Revocation of gifts: this is a point where the differences between the schools seem quite arbitrary, despite the efforts of the jurists to explain these differences in the light of certain *ḥadīths* which the proponents of the two conflicting doctrines invoke, in opposite directions of course. Thus on the one hand we have the Ḥanafī doctrine, according to which the donor is normally entitled to revoke his gift (barring impediments), unless he is related to the donee within the degrees where marriage is forbidden, or is the

spouse of the donee; and on the other hand, the contrary doctrine according to which every gift is normally irrevocable unless it is made by the father (Ḥanbalī doctrine), by the father and possibly the mother (Mālikī doctrine), by any male ascendant (Shāfiʿī doctrine), in which cases it can be revoked, barring impediments.

The right to revoke, more or less liberally accorded by the various schools in terms of the quality of the donor, disappears in the presence of one of the following impediments:

(a) The death of the donor, revocation being a right attaching to the person, or the death of the donee, since the property then passes from his ownership;

(b) Alienation by the donee of the thing given, with or without consideration;

(c) Its loss or destruction, whether due to the passage of time, to accident, or to the act of the donee himself;

(d) Changes produced in the thing given also create an obstacle to revocation. It is not necessary that these changes be such as to have modified the nature of the thing, or even its physical appearance; it is enough for an animal to have grown bigger or fatter, a slave to have become more handsome, a house to have been whitewashed, etc. One would suppose that this kind of impediment would be most often invoked in order to render a gift irrevocable.

(e) In three schools, the Mālikī, Ḥanbalī and Shāfiʿī, revocation is impossible where it could harm the creditors of the donee; for the first two of these schools, everyone who became a creditor after the gift would be damaged by the revocation, since in allowing credit to the donee he took into account the totality of his assets; all this severely restricts the field where revocation applies in the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī systems. It should be remembered that *ṣadaḳa*, charitable donation, is always irrevocable, in the opinion of all jurists.

Besides gift proper (*hiba*), the essential characteristics of which have just been outlined, there are certain special forms of donation about which a few words may be said, if only to establish the degree to which they are valid.

ʿUmrā, as defined by the Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī schools, is gift with full ownership but as a life interest, the donee undertaking to restore the property on his death, at the latest. The condition is treated as void and the *ʿumrā* assimilated to an ordinary gift. But in the Mālikī school, *ʿumrā* is a gift of the usufruct and as such valid; thus it becomes very hard to distinguish from *ʿāriyya* or loan for use.

As for gift with consideration, *hiba bi-sharṭ al-ʿiwaḍ*, whereby the donee undertakes to compensate the donor, this is treated by most schools as a simple sale or barter, and consequently subject to the rules governing contracts of transfer for valuable consideration. The Ḥanafīs give it a hybrid character : an act of liberality in view of the conditions of its formation, a sale in view of its effects; the transformation coming about at the moment of taking possession; this is why gift for consideration is never revocable.

With the exception of India, Pakistan and the Muslim countries of the Arabian Peninsula, where gift is still governed by the rules of *fiḳh* without modification, most of the Muslim countries which have embarked on the process of codification have moved the whole subject into their civil codes of obligations and contracts (not including personal status). In Egypt, for instance, gift is regulated by arts. 486 to 504 of the Civil Code of 1948; in Syria by arts. 454 to 472 of the Civil Code of 1949. Although in this they have broadly followed the rules of Islamic law, the withdrawal of gift from the domain of personal status, where it was traditionally placed, has been accompanied by many changes in the rules of Ḥanafī law. Indeed it is in the countries of Ḥanafī persuasion that this phenomenon is especially apparent. For instance, nearly all these countries have purely and simply abandoned the restrictive and complicated ruling of their school relative to the gift of undivided or jointly-owned property. The Sudan gave the lead on this point with its Judicial Circular no. 13 of 1913. Likewise, there is a tendency no longer to demand taking possession as a condition of validity, provided the gift is effected by an authentic deed (Egyptian Civil Code art. 490; Syrian Civil Code art. 458). Lastly, the Mālikī principle that the donor binds himself immediately to ensure delivery of the thing given has been substituted in most places for the Ḥanafī rule under which no obligation rests on the donor before possession is taken (Egyptian Civil Code art. 493; Syrian Civil Code art. 461).

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(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

HIBAT ALLĀH B. **DJAMĪʿ** [see IBN DJAMĪʿ].

HIBAT ALLĀH B. **MALKĀ** [see ABU 'L-BARAKĀT].

HIBAT ALLĀH B. **MUḤAMMAD** B. AL-MUṬṬALIB MADJD AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ, vizier of the caliph al-Mustaẓhir. Hibat Allāh was appointed vizier in Muḥarram 501/August-September 1107, but he was dismissed in Ramaḍān under pressure from the Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malikshāh. It is true that the caliph soon restored him to office, forbidding him to employ any *dhimmī*s [*q.v.*], but in 502/1108-9 or 503/1109-10 Hibat Allāh was once again dismissed and he and his family were forced to seek the protection of the sultan.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, 305, 309, 318, 330, 335.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

ḤIBR [see KITĀBA].

ḤIBRĪ, *makhlaṣ* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan (b. Edirne 1012/1603-4, d. Serez 1087/1676), historian of Edirne. His father, 'Sal-bash' or 'Khabbāz-zāde' Ḥasan Efendi, held a series of posts in the *ʿilmiyye* career, dying in 1039/1630 as a *müderris* at the Ṣaḥn in Istanbul (ʿAṭāʾī, 733). Ḥibri, after studying at his native Edirne and at Istanbul, followed the same career: he held a series of posts as *müderris*, mostly at Edirne, but after 1070/1659 was appointed *ḳāḍī* of various places, the last being Serez, where he is buried.

His minor works are (1) a version in Turkish, entitled *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, of the "40 *Ḥadīth*s" of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ [see KĀSHIFĪ] (see Abdülkadir Karahan, *Islam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 228-30); (2) a book of *muḥāḍarāt* entitled *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-djinān*, composed in 1040/1630-1 (see F. E. Karatay,

Topkapı Sarayı .... türkçe yazmalar kataloğu, ii, Istanbul 1961, no. 2728); (3) a concise History of the Ottomans, from the beginnings to the reign of Ibrāhīm I, with lists of viziers, etc., entitled *Defter-i akhbār*; it is of some importance for the events of his own time (see *Ist. küt. tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, Istanbul 1944, no. 40); (4) and (5) short accounts of Murād IV's conquests of Baghdād and Rewān (A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler* ..., Ankara 1956, 111); (6) a *risāle* on the times of prayer, composed in 1067/1656-7; (7) a small *dīwān*.

He is remembered for his *Anīs al-musāmirīn*, completed in 1046/1636-7 (but added to in later years), a history and description of his native town. In the tradition of earlier 'histories of cities' in Arabic and Persian literature (but apparently for the first time in Ottoman literature, if a few panegyrics of Istanbul are excluded), he describes in detail the mosques and other public buildings and records the famous men of the town. It was used by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa for the relevant section of his *Djihānnümā* (tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 1-15), and was revised and considerably expanded by Bādī Aḥmed Ef. (d. 1908) as *Riyāḍ-i belde-i Edirne* (unpublished: 3 vol. autograph MS in the library of the Selimiye mosque, Edirne). The so-called *Taʾrīkh-i Djewrī Čelebi*, 2 parts, Istanbul 1291-2, appears to consist, in part at least, of extracts from the *Anīs al-musāmirīn* and the *Defter-i akhbār* (see Babinger, 214).

Bibliography: Hammer-Purgstall, x, 691-2: Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, iii, 97-8 (Bādī Aḥmed Ef. at iii, 31); Babinger, 212-4; Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne hakkında yazılmış tarihler ve Enîs-ül müsâmirîn*, in *Edirne (armağan kitabı)*, Ankara 1964, 77-117 (full biography and summary of contents of the work).

(V. L. Ménage)

ḤIDĀʾ [see ghināʾ].

ḤIDĀD [see ʿidda, libās].

HIDĀYAT, ṢĀDIḲ (b. 17 February 1903; d. 9 April 1951) was perhaps the most revolutionary of modern Persian writers. The variety of his literary output is represented by works of diverse interest, but it is essentially as a writer of fiction, especially of the short story, that he enjoys his real position. His daring experiments in technique and in thought have exercised a powerful influence on the development of modern Persian fiction.

Apart from his early education, Hidāyat does not seem to have pursued any regular course of studies. He held various minor jobs at different times including one as translator in the Faculty of Fine Arts at Tehran University. His first book, *Fawāʾid-i giyāh-khʷārī* (Benefits of vegetarianism), was published in 1928 in Berlin by the journal *Iranschähr* (Iranschähr Publications Series 2, No. 21). He visited Europe and India, and was staying in Paris when he committed suicide.

A writer of sensitive imagination, Hidāyat's personality is vividly reflected in his serious themes, which almost invariably tend towards melancholy situations and characters with clearly marked physical and psychological traits. The tone ranges from solemnity to irony and is dominated by a sense of isolation and misery often culminating in the death motif. No one who reads Hidāyat for the first time can fail to be struck by his sympathy for individual suffering, mental and physical, his interest in the irony of human contradictions, and his concern for the frustrated and deformed. His language reveals a masterly use of colloquialism with all its expressive richness. The influence of Western literature is unmistakable, and Hidāyat in his best known work, *Būf-i kūr* (The blind owl), which is a mixture of fantasy and realism, evokes a certain affinity with writers such as Franz Kafka, Edgar Allan Poe and Gérard de Nerval.

Bibliography: Works: Vincent Monteil, *Sādeq Hedāyat*, Tehran 1952; *ʿAḳāyid u afkār dar bāra-i Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat*, Tehran 1333; P. N. Khānlarī in *Nukhustīn kungra-i nawīsandagān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1325; Henry D.G. Law in *Life and Letters*, vol. 63, no. 148, December 1949; *Cassell's Encyclopaedia of Literature*, ii (under *Hidāyat, Ṣādiq*), London 1953; G. Scarcia, *Haǧi Āqā e Būf-e Kur* ..., in *AIUON*, n.s. viii (1958), 103 ff.; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 393-5; A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 866-9; *La chouette aveugle* (French translation of *Būf-i kūr* by Roger Lescot), Paris 1953; *The blind owl* (English translation by D. P. Costello), London 1957.

(Munibur Rahman)

ḤIDHĀʾ [see libās].

HIDJĀʾ, Arabic term often translated by "satire", but more precisely denoting a curse, an invective diatribe or insult in verse, an insulting poem, then an epigram, and finally a satire in prose or verse. The etymological sense of the Arabic root *h.dj.w* may perhaps be deduced from the Hebrew root הגה the basic sense of which is "to utter a sound in a low voice, to murmur" and hence "to meditate" (so too in Syriac), but also "to pronounce incantations in a low voice" (see L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Vet. Test. libros*, 1949, 224; König, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, 75; Genesius, *Lexicon*, Leipzig 1833, 266; Jastrow, i, 331). It is by a curious approximation or a premature resemblance that Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*] translated the Greek κωμῳδία by *hidjāʾ*, while he rendered τραγῳδία by *madīḥ*, in his Arabic version of the *Poetics* of Aristotle (the respective equivalents of these terms in modern Arabic are *malhāt* and *maʾsāt*; see ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭūṭālīs, Fann al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 85 and *passim*). In fact, *hidjāʾ* was the antonym of *madḥ/madīḥ* [*q.v.*] and the synonym of *dhamm*, provided that the insulting criticism was expressed in verse; in consequence, the poetic genre known as *hidjāʾ* was to stigmatize the failings that were the antithesis of the qualities glorified by *madḥ/madīḥ*. This genre has been widely cultivated by the Arabs ever since the pre-Islamic period, either in separate and generally very short pieces, or as the thematic element of a *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] of traditional structure. It appears, however, to have taken as its successive forms the *sadjʿ*, the *radjaz* and finally the *ḳaṣīda*, according to I. Goldziher, who is the first orientalist to have undertaken any serious research into the significance and social value of the pre-Islamic *hidjāʾ*; in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (i, Leiden 1896, *Ueber die Vorgeschichte der Hiǵâʾ-Poesie*, 1-105), he has formulated a theory which may be summarized as follows (i, 27): "The *hidjāʾ* is in origin an incantation, a curse ... The origins of the *hidjāʾ* are perhaps connected with the old conception according to which the utterance pronounced in solemn circumstances by those who have the mental aptitude and requisite qualities exercises an ineluctable influence upon the persons (and also things) to whom this utterance is addressed. In the primitive *hidjāʾ*, the poet thus appears with the magic force of his utterance inspired by the *djinn*"; I. Goldziher (i, 42) quotes the words which Balak caused Balaam to be ordered to pronounce (*Numbers*

XXII, 6) as the earliest instance of *hidjā'*. Following him, several orientalists have also regarded it as an incantation, a curse which the ancient Arabs hurled at the enemy (see, *e.g.*, Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1912, i, 99; I. Guidi, *L'Arabie antéislamique*, Paris 1921, 40-1; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le monde musulman jusqu'aux Croisades*, Paris 1931, 62; idem, *Ibn Qotaïba, Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Paris 1947, XVIII). After recalling in this last work that *hidjā'* "takes its origin, as Goldziher has shown, from the curse that a man, with the aid of a potent phrase, hurls against some person or tribe", Gaudefroy-Demombynes adds, however, that the poetic *hidjā'* is not entirely identical with the imprecation that Muḥammad casts, together with a handful of sand, to align the cohort of angels against the enemy; "but, by uttering insults according to the inspired rhythmic formulae of his verse, [the poet] knows that they must produce formidable results. It is not only his own anger and personal rancour that he incorporates in his verse, but also those of his tribe whose honour (*ʿirḍ*) he has in his hands; ... he knows how to hurl an insult that is at once poetic, virulent and crude and that brands an individual or group of men for ever". Although Gaudefroy-Demombynes thus attenuates Goldziher's too rigid thesis, it is because B. Farès (*L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 214-8 and *passim*) had in the meanwhile discussed the magic character attributed to *hidjā'*. Noting that the imprecations quoted by Goldziher in support of his theory are in rhyming prose (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]) and come from the mouth of the *kuhhān* [see KĀHIN], B. Farès shows that "the poet, on the battle-field, hurls no imprecations whatever", but rather invective against the adversary, and endeavours to secure his downfall by calling down on his head his "elements of dishonour", his *mathālib* [*q.v.*] and his reverses of fortune, while all the time threatening him with destruction, to which threats later critics were incidentally to give the name *tahdīd*, linking them with *fakhr* [see MUFĀKHARA]; it was because it humiliated that the *hidjā'* was regarded as an instrument of war; and thus the poet was called *midrah al-ḥarb al-ʿawān*. B. Farès adds: "it is by the very violence of the insult that the enemy is brought low and, in this combination of action and reaction, there is indeed some element of magic ... Thus, while differing in respect of character and form, the *hidjā'* and the *kāhin*'s formula for imprecation are in agreement from the functional point of view". It is indeed undeniable that, without resorting to magic to the same degree as the *sadjʿ* of the *kuhhān*, the *hidjā'* has a very pronounced impressive character and that it is readily associated with the supernatural practices and spells intended to weaken the adversary physically, if not to annihilate him. The Prophet himself was not insensitive to the attacks to which he was subjected and in which he saw evil omens; though valuing magnanimity and commending forbearance to his followers, he did not hesitate to curse some of those who had satirized him.

In any case, the *hidjā'*, taking the adversary's honour as its target, dishonoured and, what is more, humiliated him; it marked its victims for all time and, even when it was defamatory and calumnious, its effects were difficult to escape; numerous anecdotes are told regarding the lasting consequences of an original insult; how many bad reputations have been created thus, and how many nicknames, insulting but permanently adopted, have resulted from deliberate or jocular invective (see Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe*, in *JA*, 1907). The Shuʿūbīs [*q.v.*] had practically no difficulty in finding weighty arguments against the Arabs in the *mathālib* of the tribes, for the most part based on verses of *hidjā'*, and Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] is reputed to have taken infinite pains to investigate and group together in monographs all the particulars that might serve to enrich the dossier of the Arabs' adversaries.

In all the circumstances of war and peace, reactions to *hidjā'* were generally violent; when occasion offered, the victims sometimes went so far as to cut out the tongue of the slanderer and to kill him; in other cases, the insults provoked armed conflicts, but when the man slandered was not compelled by his *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] to pardon, he generally limited himself to jousting (*tahādjī*), an echo of which is provided by the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*]. In a later period, when manners had become milder, the rôle of insulter was not always without its dangers, to such an extent that some poets whose function it was hesitated to make use of it (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qotaïba, Introduction*, 57-8).

During the pre-Islamic period, whilst the poet who practised *madḥ* glorified the elements of the *ʿirḍ* of the tribe or person to whom the eulogy was addressed, the man who devoted himself to *hidjā'* did all he could to outrage the adversary's *ʿirḍ*, in a poetic form. A searching analysis would make it possible to draw a distinction between the individual *hidjā'* and the collective, *hidjā'* depending on whether it attacks the *ʿirḍ* of a group or that of an isolated individual; it is certain that originally it was collective, but the differences are made less evident by the fact that poets did not scruple to attribute to the whole tribe the culpable characteristics of a single member, in general one of its chiefs, or on the contrary to credit the latter with the faults traditionally attributed to the whole group.

Generally speaking, all the real or imaginary failings of the person under attack were stigmatized: avarice, refusal to provide hospitality for travellers, lack of intelligence, cowardice, timidity, failure to keep his word, lack of *ḥilm*, the obscurity of his forebears, mixed blood, etc. Collectively, they were charged with the smallness and weakness of the group, the mediocrity of its poets and orators, the defeats suffered, the undistinguished ancestors and the falsification of the chiefs' genealogies, the abandoned conduct of some women, various detestable habits, as when certain members of the clan were charged with having one day eaten the flesh of a dog or human flesh, etc. The grossness of the accusation was already a measure of its success, and in certain insulting formulae one could trace a recollection of unnatural practices long since vanished.

To examine the matter more closely, it seems much more difficult to compose a credible panegyric than an abusive poem, for it is not necessary to possess much critical sense to discern the extravagance of the eulogy, whereas the more excessive the attacks the more acceptable they appear, at least in the eyes of the poet's friends, and the *hidjā'* seems to some extent to be more appropriate to a milieu where hatred was deeper and more frequent than sincere and disinterested friendship. This perhaps is the explanation of the reflection of Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Shākir, 217) who directly relates the richness of the poetic output to the frequency of conflicts and maintains that, in the

pre-Islamic period, "poetry was abundant only in regard to wars between the clans ... If Ḳuraysh had little poetry, it was because they harboured no hatreds and were never at war".

It is in the struggles that took place between Muslims and polytheists that we see the important part played by *hidjāʾ*, and the verses of the Ḳurʾān (XXVI, 224-7) condemning poets, except for those who were believers, are a retaliation against the attacks to which the nascent Islam was subjected; the Prophet himself had to resign himself to using the services of several poets to combat his adversaries with the appropriate weapons to dishonour and vilify them, even going so far as to pledge his supporters the aid of Gabriel (see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 181); the most celebrated and virulent of these champions of Islam is Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*], but we should also note at least Kaʿb b. Mālik [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*], who is less mordant but perhaps more effective in the mockery with which he overwhelmed the incredulity of the Meccans. If *hidjāʾ* had not been so influential in Arabia, the Prophet, who disavowed it, would certainly not have gone so far as to incite the poets against the infidels; incidentally he said that the shafts they shot were more potent than arrows.

Under the first caliphs, *hidjāʾ* was rejected as being contrary to the teachings of the new religion, but to a certain extent it continued to be practised, feared and encouraged, for religious, political and racial reasons. It was primarily cultivated in what C. A. Nallino (*Raccolta di scritti*, vi, Rome 1948, 110 ff.; French trans., *La littérature arabe*, 170 ff.) calls the poetry of the troops (delle milizie). Feeble when the enemy was non-Arab, it reached the vivacity and verve of the ancient *hidjāʾ* as soon as the adversaries present could understand (see, *e.g.*, the accounts of the Battle of the Camel [see DJAMAL]). Perhaps of greater interest are the poems inspired by the politico-religious hatreds born or inflamed during the early days of Islam, an especially eloquent echo of which can be found in the works of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*] and in isolated poets like al-Aʿshā of the Banū Hamdān [*q.v.*] or Ibn Mufarrigh [*q.v.*].

Hidjāʾ was also practised in a quasi-official manner, in that sovereigns tended to surround themselves with poets able to defend their glory and attack their enemies; thus al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] hurls invectives at all his master's foes, while at the same time insulting his own rivals, Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ [*qq.v.*], who heaped abuse upon each other and set out to procure each other's destruction in *Naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*] which remain a characteristic example of *hidjāʾ* of the Bedouin type—but of a *hidjāʾ* henceforward deprived of its social character and reduced to a punishment in the form of an insult delivered by opinion (represented in this case by the poet) upon anyone who failed to conform with the modes of existence, outlook and behaviour inspired by the sentiment of honour.

This character is even more markedly absent from another form of *hidjāʾ*, of the most sordid sort, which came into being at the very beginning of Islam: for the poet, it consists in earning himself a reputation for foulness of speech, with the aim of extorting nothing less than blackmail from potential patrons. Thus, for al-Ḥuṭayʾa [*q.v.*], that "eroder of honours" (*miḳrāḍ al-aʿrāḍ*), invective was a means of subsistence, for the terror inspired by his reputation won him a stream of gifts. This extortionate poet had a crowd of emulators in the 2nd/8th century, and a certain rhymester reached the point of simply writing on his stick the object of his desire, so great was the dread of his comments in verse [see AL-ḤAKAM B. ʿABDAL].

In the same period, *hidjāʾ* became epigrammatic in the hands of poets of greater or lesser renown who respected nothing and took malicious pleasure in denigrating their opponents, and sometimes even their friends, by addressing crude and obscene observations to them; the *Aghānī* teems with verse of this type, the writers being Bashshār, Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Ibn Munādhir, Diʿbil [*qq.v.*] and many others; amongst which the *ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA] were never behindhand, since the epigram had become a pastime of the upper classes.

The indecent *hidjāʾ* underwent a relative eclipse in the 3rd/9th century when neo-classical poetry flourished, although Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] became a past-master of the art of abuse, and a quantity of satirical verses is to be found in Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, and then in al-Mutannabī [*q.v.*]. They are, however, in no way comparable with the writings of the 2nd/8th century, nor with the works of later poets such as Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj or Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*qq.v.*]; the propensity of these last poets for *sukhf* [*q.v.*] inspired them to write virulent, gross and obscene epigrams which they addressed to patrons whom they held to be too miserly; the principal themes were avarice, meanness of spirit, and lowly origin, but more and more insinuations crept in, not to say accusations, of homosexuality and other deviations.

The theorists had, however, endeavoured to restrict the subject-matter of *hidjāʾ* by restoring greater moderation; for them, it consisted essentially in refusing every praiseworthy quality to the person under attack and attributing to him defects of a purely moral order such as avarice, greed, lack of courage, etc. Physical defects should not be taken into consideration, nor, for some, even the smallness of the group (see al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 105); Ḳudāma [*q.v.*] and other critics stood up against the grossness of the *hidjāʾ* and recalled the remark of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*]: "the best *hidjāʾ* is that which can be recited by a girl without loss of modesty", but Ibn Rashīḳ [*q.v.*] admits that it should be adapted to the milieu for which it was intended, although he prefers the discreet and subtle allusion to over-emphatic assertion (see A. Trabulsi, *Critique poétique*, Damascus 1955, 228-30). In Muslim Spain, where the eastern tradition was faithfully followed, Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*] stated in his *Dhakhīra* (vol. iii, still unpublished) that he had not included any *hidjāʾ* in his anthology, in order not to spoil it; Ibn Bassām lived in an austere period, which explains his scruples, but his contemporary al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān [*q.v.*] and others as well did not refrain from attacking their fellows, though without exceeding the limits permitted by decency, at least as understood by Arab authors.

In regard to style, the literary form of the *hidjāʾ*, which is very supple, allows the use of generally clear and simple language; only the subtlest epigrams appear obscure on account of the allusions that they contain.

This genre being exclusively poetic in origin, one would hardly expect to find any *hidjāʾ* in prose; and yet, from the 3rd/9th century, simple prose tends to replace certain functions of poetry, and al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] does not disdain to include in his *Kitāb al-Tarbīʿ wa 'l-tadwīr* some satirical pages in the best vein, and even to create satire with a portrait of

Muḥammad b. al-Djahm al-Barmakī ([*q.v.*]; ed. T. al-Ḥādjirī, in *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī*, February 1947, 55-62) and some *rasāʾil* in which he pokes fun at his closest friends, though without malice. In the following century his emulator, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] further developed the genre with the *Mathālib al-wazīrayn* (ed. I. Kaylānī, Damascus [1961]) and, in the 5th/11th century, the Andalusī writer and poet Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] drew satirical portraits of great subtlety (see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, *passim*); here we are concerned with an intellectual and literary *hidjāʾ* which has nothing in common with the writings in verse described above. Perhaps we should also mention the *Maḳāmāt* [*q.v.*], which again contain a large proportion of true satire; it is only here that the translation of κωμῳδία by *hidjāʾ* is strictly justifiable. Satire of manners, which has scarcely been cultivated in Arabic [see AL-DJĀḤIẒ, and ḤIKĀYA] has not resulted in comedy any more than *maḳāma*, but it will be noted that comedy made its entry into the Arab theatre before the other dramatic genres [see MASRAḤ].

Hidjāʾ in verse, of more or less the classical type, has not disappeared even at the present day; leaving aside its too unfamiliar survivals in dialectal Arabic, we find in many poems invectives which would not be disowned by the ancient poets, although the subject matter has for the most part changed; now the themes are mainly colonialism, imperialism, foreign (even Arab) governments, and hostile political parties, which are the target for attacks in verse by poets, and pamphlets too are renewing the ancient tradition; the great difference lies in the fact that gross insults are mostly banished from this verse, the best examples of which recall the wittiest and subtlest writings of certain poets of the 2nd/8th century.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources given in the article: Poems of *hidjāʾ* occur throughout the *dīwāns* of the ancient poets and the great collections such as the *Bayān* of Djāḥiẓ, the *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba, the *Aghānī*, etc.; certain anthologies devote to it a chapter entitled *bāb al-hidjāʾ*, in particular the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, the *Mustaṭraf* of Ibshīhī, etc.; in the same way, the critical works generally contain a *bāb al-hidjāʾ*, particularly the *Naḳd al-shiʿr* of Ḳudāma, the *ʿUmda* of Ibn Rashīḳ, etc.—The principal works of orientalists were named at the beginning of the article; to them should be added: W. Ahlwardt, *Ueber die Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, Gotha 1856, 51-2; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1927, 122-40, 171-81; F. Gabrieli, *Estetica e poesia arabica*, in *RSO*, xii (1930), 293-300; ʿAbbās M. al-ʿAḳḳād, *Ibn al-Rūmī*, Cairo 1932, 217-43; M. Ḥusayn, *al-Hidjāʾ wa 'l- hadjdjāʾūn*, Cairo 1947; E. J. Webber, *Comedy and satire in Hispano-Arabic Spain*, in *Hispanic Review*, xxvi (1958), 1-11; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 380-2, 417-25.

(CH. PELLAT)

ii.—PERSIA

Though *hidjā* is more specifically "satire", this section of the article will contain general considerations on Persian humour.

Persian humour finds its expression in various literary genres: *hadjw* (satire), *djawāb* (parody) etc. Amongst the rhetorical figures most widely used to obtain humourous effects are *taḍmīn* or "quotation", where a poem by another author is taken as the basis and inserted in one's own poem, macaronic verses (*mulammaʿāt*, a mixed composition of Arabic, Persian and sometimes Turkish elements), etc. Humorous or jocose poetry is moreover defined by classical Persian literary critics under various headings, with reference to its contents rather than to its form. So we have *ṭayyibāt* (jocose poems), *kufriyyāt* (blasphemous or heretical poems), *khamriyyāt* (wine-poems), *hazaliyyāt* (facetious poems) etc., and in prose the *laṭāʾif* (pl. of *laṭīfa*), *i.e.*, facetiae.

It would be impossible here to make even a sketchy history of Persian humour. Almost all the poets of the classical tradition wrote at least some verses in this style, which was already present in the Arabic literature of the early ʿAbbāsid period, from which Persian took so many forms and ideas. One of the oldest Persian specialists in humorous verses was Sūzanī of Nasaf (d. 569/1173-4 or 574/1179) who founded a sort of school of this kind of poetry in Transoxiana: Abū ʿAlī Shatrandj of Samarḳand, author of the "Stork Ḳaṣīda" or *ḳaṣīda-yi laklak*, Djannatī of Nakhshab, Lāmiʿī of Bukhārā. By far the greatest of Persian parodists and satirists is however the contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, ʿUbayd-i Zākānī of Ḳazwīn (d. *ca.* 772/1371), whose masterpiece is the *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* ("Ethics of the Aristocracy"), in prose mixed with verses, composed in 740/1340; the authorship of his famous long *ḳaṣīda Mūsh u gurba* ("the Cat and the Mouse"), is now doubtful (Mīnovī). In the following century Abū Isḥāḳ or Būsḥāḳ of Shīrāz (active in the first decades of the 9th/15th century), called *Aṭ ima* (foods), specialized in writing jocose poems concerning food (*Kanz al-ishtihāʾ*, "Treasure of Appetite"; *Dīwān-i Aṭʿima*, etc.). It is significant that he, a carder of cotton, was connected with the mystical order of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh of Māhān (near Kirmān) and showed some *malāmatī* tendencies (parodies of his own master's mystical poems). A specialist in "cloths" was Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yazd (first half of 9th/15th century), author of the *Dīwān-i Albisa* ("Sartorial Poems"). For later times, we mention only Yaghmā (1782-1859), also coming from a poor family, a very popular poet of the Ḳādjār period. But, as has been said above, almost all the great classical poets (*e.g.* Saʿdī, and, later, Ḳāʾānī and others) indulged in writing *ṭayyibāt* or *hazaliyyāt*.

A special aspect of Persian humour is that represented by folk verses or folk tales, which are not generally included in the traditional histories of Persian literature. Their central character is that of the "fool of God" of the type of the Italian Bertoldo, with a different name in different places. In Iran we find Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn, Mullā Du-Piyāza, Shaykh Buhlūl, Mullā Mushfiḳī etc. He is rather a panislamic than a typically Iranian character (Sī Djuḥā in Arab countries, Nasrettin Hoca in Turkey, Bīrbal in Muslim India, Pak Pandir, Pak Kadok and others in Malaya and Indonesia etc.).

As regards classical Persian humour we must never forget that its stylistic background remains that (definable in general as decorative-symbolic) of all classical Persian literature. The abrupt insertion of ultra-realistic elements into this stylistic background produces by contrast a singular *vis comica*. One of the most comic passages of Zākānī is, for instance, a *naẓm* in Firdawsian style inserted in the chapter of the *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* devoted to chastity; in the static decorative style of the *Shāhnāma* when it describes battles and duels, accompanied by a couple of moralizing verses, Zākānī describes here, in the most direct and asymbolical way, the homosexual intercourse between two famous heroes of the

Shāhnāma, Rustam and Hūmān. The stylized majestic decorativeness of the verses of Firdawsī applied to such an incongruous object creates almost automatically a powerful *vis comica*. We should also keep in mind that the stylistic bases of our Western humour generally differ from those of the classical Persian literature; a verse of the famous *ḳaṣīda* in *-an* by Amīr Muʿizzī, where the poet in love is compared to a chicken roasting on a spit, invariably produces laughter in an unprepared Western reader, who interprets this purely static image in a dynamic way. One of the elements of classical Persian humour is however simply the exaggeration of the background style. For instance in Zākānī's works in prose mixed with verses the background style is that of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*: but the exaggeration in the use of this style is clearly visible, *e.g.* the continuous interruption of even short sentences through minute "commentaries" in verse form.

Another element often present in Persian comical works is the dynamic personification of inanimate objects which, for obvious reasons, plays only a secondary rôle in our modern Western humour. The complete lack of mythological trends in the Muslim world, the highly developed Neoplatonic static symbolism of its style may explain—by contrast—the comic force of such a stylistic device. The pots that become pregnant and give birth to infant pots in the famous *laṭīfa* of Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn, or the personified "beard" of Zākānī's *Rīshnāma* might produce only a smile in a Westerner, but in the stylistic world of classical Persian literature the abrupt appearance of a ribald old character called Rīsh al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ("Beard of the Religion", "Father of Virtues" [*maḥāsin*, also "beard" in Persian]) out of a hole in a wall is so uncommon "stylistically" that it creates laughter. And—here is another element of Persian classical humour—the *vis comica* is even augmented by the irreverent macaronic play on words implicit in the name of this character (*rīsh*, Persian for "beard" is macaronically combined with *dīn* through an Arabic *iḍāfa*). The use of courtly and religious Arabic words or elements together with the most common, and often vulgar, Persian names (*e.g.* the Arabic article *al-* in the humorous "Dictionary" by Zākānī, called *Taʿrīfāt*, one of his most remarkable productions) creates a humorous effect not easily understandable by people living in different stylistic milieus. This contrast is even emphasized when, as is often done, the satirical author applies solemn Ḳurʾānic passages, or *ḥadīth*s or classical Arabic verses, to quite common or vulgar actions, as a commentary on them. This is especially possible in such an excessively mixed language as that of classical Persian style, but it is not lacking even in folk tales of the Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn type.

The whole may give sometimes the impression of social criticism or realism, but we should always keep in mind the stylistic motives that lie at the basis of all this. Generally speaking, classical Persian humour seems to be the by-product of highly refined urban milieus that contrast with the ignorant *mullā*s on one side, but, on the other side, also with the equally ignorant peasants (so often criticized by Zākānī); we are in a palaeo-bourgeois and rather bookish world, creating a sort of "clerks' humour" equally anti-mystic and anti-popular.

This does not mean, of course, that social and sometimes even bitter social criticism is absent from Persian humour. Numerous elements of it are present, especially in Zākānī's *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* and even more in the works of recent satirists. Last but not least, Persian writers of this genre supply us with extremely important information—not yet sufficiently studied—concerning the common life of the people of their time, on food, clothes, customs, social institutions, etc., which is so difficult to obtain from other, more serious, contemporary sources.

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(A. Bausani)

iii.—Turkish Literature

The characteristic of *hidjā* (*hidjw*, mod. *hiciv*) in Turkish literature is that, with rare exception, it is blended with humour. It has been expressed both in verse and in prose and was not confined to any particular literary genres.

In Ottoman Turkish literature the earliest example of satire is the famous *Khar-nāme* (the Book of the Donkey) by the 9th/15th century poet Sheykhī [*q.v.*] of Germiyān (?-833/1430?). This is a poem of about 124 couplets (the number varies in the different manuscripts) in *mathnawī* form and in *khafīf* metre, which is included in most *dīwān*s (a good copy is in Istanbul Un. Lib., T.Y. 2408, fols. 60b-63b, which is better than that of the text in the *dīwān* published in facsimile by the Türk Dil Kurumu, Istanbul 1942, 63-70). A donkey, tired, broken down and emaciated by hard labour and ill-treatment, is one day allowed by his master to graze in the meadow. There he sees well-fed oxen enjoying life, and particularly envies their horns, which are like crowns on their heads. He goes to an old and experienced donkey and asks him the reason for this injustice. The old wise donkey explains to him that the reason why oxen are so privileged is that they work in the corn and barley fields whereas all that donkeys can do is to carry wood. Inspired by this explanation, the donkey rushes to a cornfield and begins to devour the green corn with delight. When he has eaten his fill he rolls on the ground and brays loudly. Thereupon the owner of the field appears, gives him a thorough beating and cuts off his tail and his ears.

This short poem contains in miniature all the elements of a classical *mathnawī*. The sources do not agree to whom the work was dedicated. Although some MSS mention Murād II in the introductory part, the evidence is stronger for Meḥemmed I, who was treated and cured in Ankara by Sheykhī, a physician by profession, during the sultan's Karaman campaign (818/1415). The Sultan rewarded the poet by giving him the fief of the village Ṭoḳuzlar or Ṭoḳuzlu. As Sheykhī was on his way to the village, the former

owners of the region held him up, beating him and wounding him badly, and took away everything he possessed. The *Khar-nāme* is an indirect complaint about these enemies, jealous of the imperial favours Sheykhī enjoyed. The tidy composition, the simple and straight-forward style without the usual Persian-type conceits and plays on words, the strong satire couched in subtle humour make this little poem a masterpiece almost without parallel in this genre until Ḍiyā (Ziya) Pasha's *Ẓafer-nāme* in the Tanẓīmāt period.

During the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries many *dīwān* poets wrote satirical *ḳiṭʿa*s against their rivals and enemies, but the famous name for *hidjā* in the classical period is Nefʿī [*q.v.*]. This outstanding *ḳaṣīda*-writer composed a special book of satires, *Sihām-i ḳaḍā* (Arrows of Fate), which contains violent satirical poems in the forms of *ḳaṣīda*s and *ḳiṭʿa*s against leading personalities of his time, viziers, scholars, poets, government officials and his own father. The majority of these satires contain gross invectives and obscenities and reflect the violent and arrogant temperament of the poet. Nefʿī thus takes vengeance on his victims by exposing their vices and enumerating the injustices they had made him suffer. Nefʿī was very popular at the courts of Aḥmed I and particularly of Murād IV, who enjoyed reading his vitriolic attacks on personalities also known to him. It is not surprising that this made Nefʿī many enemies. According to an anecdote reported in most contemporary sources, Murād IV, on a stormy day in 1039/1630, was reading the *Sihām-i Ḳaḍā* in the Beshiktash Palace when lightning struck nearby. Drawing an evil omen from this, the sultan tore up the book and forbade Nefʿī to write any more satires. But the poet could not resist the temptation very long. He wrote in 1044/1634 a violent *hidjwiye* against Bayram Pasha, who was then deputy Grand Vizier. According to one of the various versions of the story (reported by Shāriḥ al-manār-zāde, reproduced in Naʿīmā, iii, 235) the Sultan asked Nefʿī whether he had anything new, and the poet produced his satire. The sultan showed it to Bayram Pasha and the angry vizier obtained the poet's execution.

Nefʿī's contemporaries, mostly victims of his invectives, and many poets of the 12th/18th century, particularly Hashmet (d. 1182/1768), occasionally wrote satirical *ḳiṭʿa*s, but the next outstanding name in *hidjā* after Nefʿī is the Tanẓīmāt poet and writer Ḍiyā (Ziya) Pasha (1825-1880) whose *Ẓafer-nāme* (1868), a very subtle satire on his enemy ʿĀlī Pasha (1815-1871), the famous statesman, is a most original composition. It consists of three parts: (1) a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of the 'victorious' completion of ʿĀlī Pasha's mission in Crete (1867), supposedly written by Fāḍil Pasha, the *mutaṣarrif* of Izmit; (2) a *takhmīs* of this *ḳaṣīda* by a certain clerk Khayrī Efendi, a supporter of ʿĀlī Pasha; (3) a prose commentary on this *takhmīs* supposedly by Ḥüsnü Pasha, the head of the Police. In the whole work, written in a refined style with a careful choice of words and similes, ʿĀlī Pasha, most of his great and minor supporters, and the abuses of the time are made the subject of a very subtle irony. Although all the classical niceties of *dīwān* literature are used in this work, Ḍiyā Pasha succeeded in giving it a very personal and original touch.

Various Tanẓīmāt writers and their successors produced in poetry, plays, novels and newspaper articles many examples of social and at times political satire. Because of the strict censorship, some of this had to be published outside the country. Most of the political satire aimed at the person of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] and his autocratic rule, like Tewfīḳ Fikret's famous poems *Sis* (the Mist, 1901) describing Istanbul during this reign and *Bir laḥẓa-i teʾekhkhür* (One moment's delay, 1906) about the unsuccessful plot against the life of the Sultan, or his sarcastic poems *Doksan beshe doghru* (Towards Ninety-five, *i.e.*, A.D. 1878, when the parliamentary régime was brought to an end, 1912) and *Khʷān-i Yaghma* (The Table of loot, 1912), against the lawless rule and abuses of the Union and Progress governments, after the Constitution of 1908.

In the novel, social satire produced an interesting genre: several writers took 'the westernizing snob', the blind imitator of European manners and customs, as the central figure of their work and tried to kill by ridicule this new and, in their view dangerous, type of Turkish society. Aḥmed Midḥat's (1844-1912) *Felātūn Bey ile Rāḳim Efendi* (1875) and later *Vah* (1882) and *Ḳarnaval* (1881) began the series; they were followed by Redjāʾīzāde Ekrem's (1847-1914) *ʿAraba Sevdāsī* (1889, published 1896) and Ḥusayn Raḥmī's (1864-1944) *Shıḳ* (1897), *Shıpsevdi* (1900) and ʿÖmer Seyf al-Dīn's (1884-1920) *Efrūz Bey* (1919). At the turn of the century *hidjā* in Turkish poetry is brilliantly represented by Meḥmed Eshref (1847-1912) who, after a year's imprisonment for his political activities, went to Egypt (1903) and wrote there his famous satirical *ḳaṣīda*s and *ḳiṭʿa*s in which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, his pashas, and his régime are mercilessly attacked in a very personal style where irony and sarcasm dominate.

A number of poets developed after the revolution of 1908 a new genre of satire in the form of pastiches or *naẓīre*s, with the same metre and rhyme as well-known *ḳaṣīda*s and *ghazal*s of the great classics, particularly of Fuḍūlī, Nefʿī and Nedīm. Two names stand out: Fāḍlī Aḥmed Aykaç (born 1884), the author of the *Dīwānče-i Fāḍil* (1913), and Khalīl Nihād Boztepe (1882-1949), the author of *Sihām-i ilhām* (1923). These two poets and a few other minor writers of this school wrote humorous satire mainly of a political nature, generally aimed at the individuals playing a prominent part in Turkey during the years 1908-1923.

Between 1908 and 1920 the essayist, short-story writer and humorist Refīḳ Khālid Karay [*q.v.*] (1888-1965) produced the best specimens of political satire in prose. In many essays he attacked and ridiculed the governments of the Committee of Union and Progress, their leading personalities, and Istanbul society during the First World War and immediately after. His mastery of the language and his colourful, vivid and flowing style, always scintillating with subtle irony, remained unrivalled in modern Turkish until a new prose style was developed by the generation of young writers following the language reform movement of the 1930's. Most of his satirical essays have been collected in the following works: (1) *Saḳın aldanma inanma kanma* (1915, in Roman script 1941); (2) *Kirpi'niñ dedikleri* (1916, 1940); (3) *Agho Pasha'nıñ khāṭırātı* (1918, 1939); (4) *Istanbul'uñ ičyüzü* (1920; in Roman script as *Istanbul'un bir yüzü*, 1939); (5) *Ghughuklu sāʿat* (1922, 1940); (6) *Tanıdıḳlarım* (1922, 1941).

In contemporary Turkish literature, several writers make use of humorous satire to combat extreme traditionalism, bigotry and political intolerance. The most popular and successful writer of this school is Aziz Nesin (b. 1915), the prolific short story writer, novelist, essayist and playwright (for a list

of his main works see Behcet Necatigil, *Türk edebiyatında isimler sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1964, 157), who is essentially known as a humorist but who actually aims at killing by ridicule social and political prejudices and the shortcomings of a society in transition.

In Turkish folk-literature social and political satire is one of the principal themes, and the tales of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja and Bektashī anecdotes, folk tales, the stories told by *meddāḥ*s (public story-tellers) abound in satirical criticisms of public figures and social prejudices. Satirical interpolations in the improvised conversations on set themes in the Ortaoyunu and the Karagöz [*qq.v.*] are very frequent. These public performances have often been censored and at times temporarily suspended when the element of satire was thought to be dangerous.

In folk poetry a special satirical genre called *tashlama* has been developed. *Tashlama*s may have a great variety of subjects, but social injustices are one of their main targets (see İlhan Başgöz, *Türk halk edebiyatı antolojisi*, Istanbul 1963, 16 and 129).

In Eastern Turkish (Čaghatay) literature the great 9th/15th century poet and writer ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī is the most outstanding representative of satire. In many of the *ghazal*s and *rubāʿī*s in his four *dīwān*s there are powerful satirical passages against hypocrites and bigots. In a typical *ghazal* he addresses the *wāʿiẓ* (the preacher) in these terms: 'What lies, what ridiculous behaviour, O preacher! Are you not ashamed of the community? They asked you to moderate people's uncouthness by counsels; who told you to kick and break the pulpit?... The tears on my cheeks are because of my hidden suffering and not because of the effect of your sermon, O preacher! To drink wine at night, and by day to tell people not to drink it, these are really nice virtues, O preacher!' (*TDED*, xii (1962), 43-4). Examples of interesting social satire of minor literary value have been given by some late Eastern Turkish poets in Turkestan like Makhmūr (end of the 18th century), Muḳīmī (d. 1903) and Furḳat (d. 1909).

In Ādharbaydjānī Turkish two writers stand out in *hidjā* : Mīrzā Fetḥ ʿAlī Akhund-zāda (1812-1878), a leading modernist and the first Turkish playwright, who in his plays severely criticized, in humorous style, the feudal society of his day, superstitions, social and religious prejudices (see A. Caferoğlu, *Die aserbeidschanische Literatur*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 671-4). But the best representative of the satire proper is Mīrzā ʿAlī Ekber Ṣābir (1862-1911), who, together with some minor poets and writers of the humorous and satirical review *Molla Nasreddin* (founded in Tiflis in 1906), waged a relentless campaign against fanaticism and ignorance, and the conventional concepts of the old *dīwān* literature.

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iv. — Urdu

Early Urdū poetry cultivated by the Ṣūfī poets of Gudjarāt and the court poets of Dakkan is free from satirical elements, which begin with Djaʿfar Zattalī, a late 11th/17th century poet who makes a speciality of obscene themes and phraseology. In his Persian satires also he uses Urdū colloquial and obscene vocabulary.

With Mīrzā Rafīʿ Sawdā (1713-1780) [*q.v.*], the greatest *hadjw* (*hidjā*) writer in Urdū poetry, satire suddenly reappears and attains a developed form. Sawdā's satires are social as well as personal. His social satires such as *Ḳaṣīda-i shahr āshūb* and *Mukhammas-i shahr āshūb* are 'complaints' of the life and times at a juncture when owing to the rapid decline of Mughal power the feudal order of Dihlī's society was disintegrating; and life in the city was precarious and undignified on account of the depredations of the Marāthas and the Djāts and the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. Most illustrative of the decadence and decline of the feudal society in Dihlī are Sawdā's *Ḳaṣīda-i taḍhīk-i rūzgār*, a satire on a nobleman who had fallen on evil times, and *Mathnawī dar hadjw-i Siddī Fūlad Khān, kotwāl-i Shāhdjahānābād*, which is also full of some personal venom. Sawdā's personal satires such as those directed against a satirist of lower calibre, Mīr Ḍāhik, tend to be incisive, sardonic and vulgar. The most criticised of Sawdā's personal satires is *Ḳaṣīda dar hadjw-i shakhṣī ki mutaʿaṣṣib būd*, written from a Shīʿī polemical viewpoint against the theologian Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*].

Sawdā's great contemporary Mīr Taḳī Mīr (1722-1810) [*q.v.*] had a lyrical genius suited to the writing of *ghazal*s, but the element of social satire is also present in his 'complaints' like the *Dar hadjw-i khāna-i khud*.

Hadjw developed in the Lucknow school of poetry, but its use was limited. Here, in comparatively secure social conditions, social satire is rarely found. Instead we have personal exchanges between poets like Inshā (1756-1817) and Muṣḥafī (1164-1824). Inshā, the better satirist of the two, had a frivolous virtuosity which his more dignified contemporaty lacked.

The satirical heritage of the Lucknow school produced a striking synthesis with counter-modernism under the impact of Western ideas and institutio s in the verse of Akbar Allāhābādī (1846-1921), the pre-eminent social and political satirist of modern times.

Thematically Akbar's satire is anti-West. It aims to ridicule, in isolated verses as well as in short poems like *Dihlī Darbār*, *Barḳ-i kilīsa* and *Curzon Nāma*, the glamour of British Indian life and institutions, and beyond it the very essence of Western civilization. He often directed his satire against Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] and the modernism of the ʿAlīgarh movement. Akbar achieves his satirical effect by an intelligent cynicism, by reducing the sublime and the scientific to the ridiculous, by an amazing inventiveness in the interplay of rhymes, by coining and establishing a symbolical satirical vocabulary of his own, by an instinct for playing to the conservative gallery and by a passionate though pessimistic faith in the values of the Muslim past.

The tradition of political satire established by Akbar soon became a broad movement. The freedom movements organized by the Indian National Congress, the Khilāfat Conference and the Muslim

League produced a school of more sustained and topical satire. Its outstanding representative was Ẓafar ʿAlī Khān, a political leader of shifting loyalties and the editor of the *Zamīndār*. During and since the 1920's topical political satire became one of the regular and attractive features of Urdū journalism.

Prose satire in Urdū had its beginnings in the *dāstān* literature of the early nineteenth century, especially in the *Ṭilism-i hūshrubā*. From the prose *dāstān* the satirical elements travelled to the modern novel and are discernible in *Ibn al-Waḳt*, a novel in which Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912) seems to ridicule Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's adoption of the Western style of living. Sarshār's (1845-1903) novels have also an element of social satire. Caricature, bordering on generalized satire, forms the subject matter and details of the novels of Sayyid Sadjdjād Ḥusayn, founder and editor of the humorous journal *Awadh Panč*.

Awadh Panč, modelled on *Punch*, was published in Lucknow in 1877 and continued until 1912. It was conservative in social outlook and opposed Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's loyalism and modernism. Much of its satirical content is directed against the ʿAlīgarh movement and Western institutions. *Awadh Panč* established the tradition of prose satire in Urdū journalism, which is traceable in a number of journals that have succeeded it as well as in the columns of caustic political comment which are a permanent feature of Urdū newspapers.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

AL-**HIDJĀʾ, ḤURŪF** [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ].

ḤIDJĀB (A., from the verb *ḥadjaba* "to hide from view, conceal") is used of any veil placed in front of a person or an object in order to conceal it from view or to isolate it. In medicine, it is a membrane which separates certain parts of the organism: *al-ḥidjāb al-ḥādjiz* or *ḥidjāb al-djawf* "diaphragm", *al-ḥidjāb al-mustabṭin* "pleura" and *ḥidjāb al-bukūriyya* "hymen" (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*; *LA*; Dozy, *Suppl.*).

Scarcely anything is known of the pre-Islamic use of this word; but the Ḳurʾān, though it is found there only seven times, provides as valuable information on the basic and metaphorical meaning of the term as it does, to a certain extent, on its evolution. In general *ḥidjāb* in the Ḳurʾān means a separation: it is the veil or the curtain behind which Mary isolated herself from her family (XIX, 17); it is also the separate establishment (later the gynaeceum) which was imposed at first only on the wives of the Prophet (XXXIII, 53; cf. XXXIII, 32), apparently on the advice of ʿUmar. On the Day of Judgement, the saved will be separated from the damned by a *ḥidjāb* (VII, 46), which is glossed as wall (*sūr*) by the commentators, who deduce this interpretation from Ḳurʾān LVI, 13. "It belongs not to any mortal that God should speak to him, except by revelation, or from behind a veil" (XLII, 51), a veil apparently intended to protect the elect from the brilliance of the Divine countenance. *Ḥidjāb* is finally a sort of veil which envelops, either actually (the sun which vanishes behind the veil of the night, Ḳurʾān, XXXVIII, 32) or in a mystic sense, people and things. This last meaning is particularly worthy of note. The unbelievers say to the Prophet "our hearts are veiled ... ; and in our ears is a heaviness; and between us and thee there is a veil (XLI, 5). "We place between thee, and those who do not believe in the world to come, a curtain obstructing (*ḥidjābᵃⁿ mastūrᵃⁿ*)" (XVII, 45). The commentators do not agree on the meaning of the expression. It is considered to be either an invisible curtain sent by Allāh to conceal the Prophet from the eyes of those who sought to kill him (*Djalālayn*) or a veil which dimmed the intelligence of renegades so that they were incapable of understanding the recitation of the Ḳurʾān (al-Bayḍāwī). The latter interpretation is to be compared with Ḳurʾān, LXXXIII, 14 f., where it is stated that profits "rust" the heart so that truth cannot penetrate it.

In a *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Dharr, *ḥidjāb* is used as a synonym for the veil of death. "Allāh", the Prophet is reported to have said, "will pardon His servant so long as the veil has not fallen"—"O Messenger of God, what does the *ḥidjāb* consist of?" —"It is", he said, "when the soul dies while it is *mushrika* (one who "associates" other gods with God)".

In classical and contemporary Islam, *ḥidjāb* seems to have developed, often starting from its Ḳurʾānic bases, in four different directions.

I. The separation, which was imposed at first only on the wives of the Prophet, was later extended to all free Muslim women. The wearing of the veil marks the transition from childhood to puberty, and from spinsterhood to marriage. It is true that the material used to cover the head and face is usually referred to by the words *lithām*, *ḳināʿ*, *burḳuʿ* (Dozy, *Dict. des vêtements*); but *ḥidjāb*, while meaning also the veil itself, refers particularly to an institution.

Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry proves that the custom had already been observed before the time of Muḥammad, the veil having been the prerogative of women of a certain rank, who used for this *naṣīf*, *sitr*, *sidjf*, etc. (ʿAlī al-Hāshimī, *al-Marʾa fi 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, 79-80, 146). The verses of the Ḳurʾān in which the wives and daughters of the Prophet are commanded "to draw their veils close to them" (XXXIII, 59 — *djilbāb*, *djalābīb* —) and "to the believing women ... to cast their veils over their bosoms" (XXIV, 31) probably date from the year 5 (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 173-4). Nevertheless ʿĀʾisha is said to have worn the veil from the time of her marriage with Muḥammad (*ibid.*, viii, 59), which took place in Shawwāl in the year 1 (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 403).

It is certain that this custom was very little observed in Medina. The Ḳurʾān justifies it in fact on the ground that thus "it is likelier [the believing women] will be known and not hurt" (XXXIII, 59). But with the expansion of Islam the custom spread rapidly in Arabia and elsewhere. It was adopted by almost all the women in towns, especially those belonging to the leisured classes; but neither the Bedouins nor the peasant women nor working women adopted it completely.

The wearing of the veil, being general in the towns,

where intellectual movements developed and spread, contributed to a large extent to the keeping of Muslim women in a sort of seclusion. At the end of the 19th century, however, under the influence of the reformist ideas of the Khedive Ismāʿīl, who founded in Cairo in about 1290/1873 the first school for girls, some Egyptian women abandoned the veil. But the real champion of feminism was Ḳāsim Amīn. In his work *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, in which is apparent the influence of *Shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh's liberal interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, he denounced the keeping of women in a state of subjection, stated their right to education and stressed the evils of the veil, which he considered to be "the vilest form of servitude". Nevertheless, he did not demand that it be totally abolished, but simply proposed that it should conform only with the strict demands of religion. As a jurist, he stated that there is in fact in Islamic law no text which justifies the use of the veil in the way which was then current. This opened the battle for the emancipation of women. Ḳāsim Amīn also returned to the charge in his other work, "The new woman". These works shocked Egypt and feelings ran high on the subject. Ṭalʿat Pasha Ḥarb, who led the opposition, wrote in reply two works in which, also in the name of religion, he defended the old system of education. The women were evidently on the side of Ḳāsim Amīn. Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, better known by her pseudonym Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, edited his *Nisāʾiyyāt*, and Mayy Ziyāda wrote a series of articles on the problem which she dedicated to her colleague. In 1925 the Egyptian feminist movement was born. Its president, Madame Hudā Shaʿrāwī Pasha, formally abandoned the veil in 1926, and her gesture has been imitated increasingly by other Muslim women.

II. *Ḥidjāb* signifies also the curtain behind which caliphs and rulers concealed themselves from the sight of their household. This custom, which appears to have been unknown to the early inhabitants of the Ḥidjāz, seems to have been introduced in Islam by the Umayyads, probably under the influence of the Sāsānid civilization. The partition is also known as *sitāra* and *sitr*, but the custom is the same, and it finally developed into an institution (to be distinguished from the *ḥidjāba*, sometimes also called *ḥidjāb*, which indicates the office of chamberlain [see ḤĀDJIB]).

According to the Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, Muʿāwiya and the majority of his successors were separated from their household by a curtain (*sitāra*) so that none of the latter could see the actions of the caliph when, under the influence of drink, he was no longer in control of himself (*Le livre de la couronne*, tr. Ch. Pellat, 59). The behaviour of the ʿAbbāsid rulers was sometimes less discreet: al-Amīn in particular preferred the company of his courtiers and familiars to being isolated behind a hanging (*ḥidjāb*) (*ibid.*, 70).

Introduced into Andalusia, North Africa and Egypt, this institution grew more complicated as court life developed, particularly among the Fāṭimids, where there gradually became established an elaborate ceremonial comparable with that of Byzantium (M. Canard, *Le cérémonial fatimite*). It should be mentioned that, although it was always the same institution, with the Fāṭimids, influenced as they were by Shīʿī ideas concerning the divine nature of the Fāṭimid imām (cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 456, where he is compared to the Deity), it seems to have been prompted by other considerations and to have responded to different needs. The caliph, considered as the hypostasis of the Active Intelligence of the world, was almost the object of worship. Because of this he was expected to hide himself as far as possible from the eyes of his faithful followers, who were thus protected from the radiance of his countenance.

In Cairo, the official in charge of the curtain was called *ṣāḥib al-madjlis* (al-Ḳalḳashandī *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 485; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 386), a different office from that of *ṣāḥib al-bāb*, or master of the door, who was the same as the Great Chamberlain. He was called also *mutawallī ʾl-sitr* (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 411) and *ṣāḥib al-sitr* (M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 374; *Alf layla wa-layla*, i, 147, ed. of Imprimerie catholique, Beirut 1956). He was the Chief Eunuch and sometimes combined with the office of Master of the Curtain that of Chamberlain (M. Canard, *op. cit.*, 374 n.). During receptions it was his particular duty to inform the vizier when the caliph was installed in his place and to give the order to his two assistants to raise the curtain in front of the ruler. The latter then appeared seated on his throne and facing the gathering. At the end of the audience the curtain was lowered and he then returned to his apartments (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, iii, 499 f.). A *sitr* was also suspended in front of the door of the audience chamber when the ruler wished to ride in procession on the occasion of the New Year. The vizier and the important dignitaries waited outside, near to the sovereign's mount. At the proper moment the curtain was raised and the caliph came out, preceded by his eunuchs, and mounted his horse (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, i, 506).

The use of the *ḥidjāb* was current in Fāṭimid receptions and solemnities, and its use during Ramaḍān should be particularly mentioned. On the second, third and fourth Fridays of this month, the caliph visited the mosque. On his arrival he ascended the *minbar* and sat under the cupola (*ḳubba*). At his invitation, the vizier also ascended, approached him, publicly kissed his hands and his feet, and closed the curtains. The ruler was thus hidden as though in a litter (*hawdadj*). He then pronounced a short sermon, after which the vizier opened the curtains (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, iii, 511; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 451 ff.). On the day of *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*], after the solemn prayer, the *ḳāḍī*, from the *minbar*, named one by one the dignitaries who had been granted the honour of mounting the steps and of occupying the places on the left and the right of the sovereign. At a signal from the vizier, everyone veiled himself and then the caliph, also veiled, began to speak. At the end of the address they withdrew their veils (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, iii, 514).

At the Shīʿī ceremony of mourning for the death of Ḥusayn, the caliph, his face veiled, on a seat without a cushion, received the dignitaries, who were also veiled (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 431).

Ibn Khaldūn distinguished several sorts of *ḥidjāb* which a state adapts to its needs as it develops. The first is adopted when nomadism is abandoned and the sovereign, giving up primitive customs, separates himself from the people and allows only his intimates to cross his threshold. With the development of the state and of the complexity of its workings, a second *ḥidjāb* is instituted: this allows only those who are initiated into the customs and etiquette of the court to have any communication with the sovereign. In their turn the ruler's familiars and intimates also place a *ḥidjāb* between themselves and the people. Finally, as the state declines, the dignitaries who have placed on the throne the heirs of the reigning dynasty sometimes seek to seize for

themselves the privileges of power. The dictator then sequesters the sovereign: he isolates him from his family and from his councillors by a *ḥidjāb*, making him believe that his dignity demands that he be separated from them (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 100-3, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 111-3).

III. In the eyes of the mystics, *ḥidjāb* represents everything that veils the true end (al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 86), all that makes man insensitive to the Divine Reality. "It is a curtain interposed between the novice and his desire, between the marksman and his target" (Massignon, *Ḥallâj*, 699). It is produced by the impression, on the heart, of the images of the tangible world, which hinder the manifestation of the truth. The man who is "veiled" (*maḥdjūb*) is he whose heart is closed to the Divine light, because his awareness is dominated by sensual or mental passion. "Your veil is your infatuation", said al-Ḥallādj (Massignon, *op. cit.*, 699). In fact there are many causes of this veiling. The more man's natural tendencies are fed with food, the stronger does his lower soul become, and passion spreads impetuously through his limbs; and in each vein a different sort of veil comes into being (al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, 325). The realization of the mystical union is impeded equally by the internal feelings which are centred on the soul, the reason and the spirit. The veil of the *nafs* is the passions and the desires, that of the heart is all observation which has no foundation, and that of the reason is its dwelling on intelligible meanings (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, i, 276).

The opposite of the *ḥidjāb* which is characterized by the contraction (*ḳabḍ* [*q.v.*]) of the heart is the *kashf* (revelation), which means, by contrast, its expansion (*basṭ* [*q.v.*]), its spreading open. *Ḳabḍ* and *basṭ* are two involuntary states which no human effort can produce or destroy, for they proceed from God (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 374). However, when the lower soul is so weakened that it is incapable of overcoming obstacles, and when passion is annihilated, then all vain desires are effaced in the manifestation of the truth. The veil is rent and he who seeks God attains the fullness of his desire (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 325).

IV. Finally, *ḥidjāb* is a mystical separation, a supernatural isolation, a supra-terrestrial protection, in fact an amulet [see ṬILASM] which renders its wearer invulnerable and ensures success for his enterprises. A *shaykh* or a *faḳīr* writes cabbalistic signs and Ḳurʾānic verses on a sheet of paper which, for a small sum, he gives to petitioners. These writings are considered to be most efficacious and to have the power to attract a husband's love, to cure a sick person, to render a barren woman fertile and even to protect from bullets. They are worn round the neck and must never be taken off (Jaussen, *Moab*, 35 f. and 381; the same use of the word *ḥidjāb* is found in Syria and among the nomads of the Negev who have recently been the object of a study by J. Chelhod).

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(J. Chelhod)

ḤIDJĀBA [see ḤĀDJIB].

AL-HIDJAR (sing. *hidjra*), settlements established by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd (d. 1373/1953), then Sultan of Nadjd, to promote the sedentarization of the Bedouins of Saudi Arabia during the first quarter of this century.

During the first decade of his career, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd attempted to revive the old religious enthusiasm among the virile, but often volatile, Bedouins as a basis for the recovery and the control of his realm. After the *muṭawwiʿūn* (preachers) had spread religious enlightenment and prepared for the idea of an agricultural, settled life, the first and most successful *hidjra*, or Bedouin settlement, was established in 1330/1912 at al-Arṭāwiyya, between al-Kuwayt and Nadjd, in the *dīra* (tribal territory) of Muṭayr. This settlement was soon followed by another at al-Ghaṭghaṭ in the *dīra* of ʿUtayba. In both settlements members of various tribes constituted the fraternity of Ikhwān [*q.v.*], though the mixing of tribes was not practised in most of the colonies.

The prospect of conflict with both Āl Rashīd of Ḥāʾil and the Sharīfs of Mecca gave impetus to the process of settlement, and eventually there were about 130 such colonies in al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd. So successful was the movement in arousing the religious ardour of its members that some of the Ikhwān became more zealous than ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself and turned against him in rebellion. In the final crushing of the Ikhwān rebellion (1348/1930) some of their settlements were razed to the ground. The King then set out to create the nucleus of a modern, standing army which proved its worth in establishing peace throughout the length and breadth of his Kingdom.

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(A. H. Kamal)

AL-ḤIDJĀZ, the birthplace and still the spiritual centre of Islam, is the north-western part of the Arabian Peninsula. As the site of the Kaʿba, as the home of the Prophet Muḥammad and the scene of Allāh's revelations to him (*manzil al-waḥy*), and as the capital district of the early Islamic state, al-Ḥidjāz is for Muslims as much the Holy Land (*al-bilād al-muḳaddasa*) as Palestine is for Jews and Christians. Muslims are, in fact, even more zealous in guarding the inviolate character of their chief shrines; the areas surrounding Mecca (Makka) and Medina (al-Madīna al-Munawwara) are sacred preserves (*ḥarams*) which only Muslims are allowed to enter, and restrictions have often been placed on the penetration of non-Muslims into other parts of al-Ḥidjāz.

While agreeing in general that al-Ḥidjāz means "the barrier", the Arabic sources differ in interpreting its application. The commonest view is that the barrier is the mountain chain of al-Sarāt [*q.v.*] separating the lowland of al-Ghawr or Tihāma [*qq.v.*] along the Red Sea from the interior uplands of Nadjd [*q.v.*]. Another view holds that the barrier stands between al-Shaʾm in the north and al-Yaman in the south, and modern geological research has shown that the mountains of these two regions lie beyond the Arabian Shield [see (djazīrat) AL-ʿARAB] to which al-Sarāt belongs.

The concept of al-Ḥidjāz as an obstacle also derives from the fact that much of its area is covered by lava tracts (*ḥarras* [*q.v.*]), which make it "a black barrier" (Yāḳūt, *s.v.*). Among the best known *ḥarras* in the early Islamic period were those bearing the names of Laylā, Wāḳim, al-Nār, and Banū Sulaym. Further research needs to be done on identifying these and on determining the correct forms of the modern names. On a visit to Tabūk, for example, the author learned that the *ḥarras* to the south are called al-R.hāt (vowelling uncertain) and ʿUwayriḍ, not al-Raḥā and al-ʿUwayriḍ as often given on maps.

No substantial agreement exists on defining the geographical limits of al-Ḥidjāz. Although Tihāma is, strictly speaking, not a part of al-Ḥidjāz, it is often included in the region. Mecca in the hills has been called Tihāmiyya, and Medina half Tihāmiyya and half Ḥidjāziyya. In the east al-Ḥidjāz is sometimes carried as far as Fayd near Adjaʾ [*q.v.*] and Salmā, but this is an extreme interpretation, as is the one that extends al-Ḥidjāz northwards into Palestine. The most circumscribed version of the northern extent excludes Madyan and its hinterland Ḥismā from al-Ḥidjāz. In the south al-Ḥidjāz once marched with al-Yaman, but in recent times ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] has been interposed between the two. As treated in this article, al-Ḥidjāz corresponds in general to the Western Province of the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

For descriptive purposes al-Ḥidjāz may be divided into three sections: northern, central, and southern. The central section, by far the most important for the history of Islam, is dealt with first.

The central section may be taken as bounded in the south by the lands in the vicinity of al-Ṭāʾif, Mecca, and Djudda [*qq.v.*], and in the north by the lands in the vicinity of Medina and Yanbuʿ [*qq.v.*]. From the verge of Medina a vast *ḥarra* runs along al-Sarāt for about 300 km. almost to Mecca.

The old road from al-Ṭāʾif went north to the valley of al-Nakhla al-Yamāniyya, down which it descended towards Mecca. In this valley was Ḳarn al-Manāzil, the early *mīḳāt* [see IḤRĀM] for pilgrims from southern Nadjd and Oman; the present *mīḳāt* is a place called al-Sayl al-Kabīr in the same valley. In al-Nakhla al-Shaʾmiyya was Dhāt ʿIrḳ, the *mīḳāt* for pilgrims from northern Nadjd and Iraq coming along Darb Zubayda, the route which the consort of Hārūn al-Rashīd provided with cisterns and other amenities. Dhāt ʿIrḳ is often mentioned as the limit of al-Ḥidjāz in this direction. A paved highway now winds down the mountains from al-Ṭāʾif directly to Mecca, so that the long loop to the north is avoided. The two Nakhlas, now called simply al-Yamāniyya and al-Shāmiyya, empty into Wādī Fāṭima (classical Marr al-Ẓahrān), the fertile bed of which is crossed by the road from Mecca to Djudda.

Throughout the history of Islam travellers between Mecca and Medina have had a choice between two ways, one following the coast (al-Ṭarīḳ or al-Darb al-Sulṭānī) and the other running east of the great *ḥarra* (al-Ṭarīḳ or al-Darb al-Sharḳī), with variations in the itinerary for each way. Before the introduction of motor vehicles those choosing al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sulṭānī usually by-passed Djudda in order to save time. Three hours out of Mecca were the domed tomb and mosque of the Prophet's last wife, Maymūna [*q.v.*], in Sarif, where she was married. North of Wādī Fāṭima the road went through ʿUsfān, the scene of the Prophet's raid on the tribesmen of Liḥyān [*q.v.*]. Next the road traversed the cultivated area of Khulayṣ set back some distance from the coast. Not far beyond al-Ḳaḍīma the Red Sea would be sighted. Rābigh, though a port, had no proper harbour; ships anchored well away from the shore and transferred their cargoes to local sailing craft. As the *mīḳāt* for pilgrims coming overland from Syria, Egypt, and al-Maghrib, Rābigh succeeded the now ruined village of al-Djuḥfa, which lies in a valley reaching the sea just south of Rābigh. Pilgrims coming down the Red Sea enter into *iḥrām* as their ship passes Rābigh. North of Rābigh is the reputed burial place of the Prophet's mother, Āmina, at al-Abwāʾ [*q.v.*], now called al-Khurayba.

From Rābigh secondary routes ran northwards through the mountains to Medina, providing a more direct but more difficult approach than al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sulṭānī, which continued to hug the coast. From the port of Mastūra an alternate route known as "the detour" (al-Malaff) turned inland, but the main road did not do so until it reached Badr Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], where the Prophet humbled Ḳuraysh on the battlefield. The road from Yanbuʿ, which has taken the place of al-Djār [*q.v.*] as the principal port for Medina, joins the road from the south at Badr, whence al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sulṭānī ascends Wādī al-Ṣafrāʾ towards Medina. In this valley ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿūd of Nadjd won a signal victory over Aḥmad Ṭūsūn and his army from Egypt in 1226/1811.

Now that an asphalt highway joins Mecca and Medina via Djudda, Rābigh, and Badr, it is easier and faster not to take the short cuts through ʿUsfān and the mountain passes farther north.

The usual course for al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sharḳī runs northwards down ʿAḳīḳ Dhāt ʿIrḳ [see AL-ʿAḲĪḲ]. Sometimes it goes through the old oases of Ḥādha and Ṣufayna on the eastern edge of the *ḥarra*, and at other times it passes a little to the east of them. The oasis of al-Suwāriḳiyya (modern al-Suwayriḳiyya), also on the eastern edge of the *ḥarra*, is even farther off the road. North of the modern mine of Mahd al-

Dhahab, now abandoned, al-Ṭarīḳ al-Sharḳī proceeds for a space down another valley named al-ʿAḳīḳ south-east of Medina, which is different from the "blessed valley" of al-ʿAḳīḳ west of the city.

The main route from Medina to Nadjd forks just after the oasis of al-Ḥanākiyya, one branch continuing eastwards to al-Ḳaṣīm and the other heading northwards to Ḥāʾil. The main route east from Mecca (Darb al-Ḥidjāz) now runs from al-Sayl al-Kabīr via al-Ḳāʿiyya and al-Dawādimī to al-Riyāḍ, replacing the old pilgrim trail via al-Ḳunṣuliyya and al-Ḳuwayʿiyya.

The northern section of al-Ḥidjāz may be taken as extending to the boundary between Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which stretches from a point south of al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] over to the range of al-Ṭubayḳ. The occupation by the state of Israel of a position on the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba has made it impossible for pilgrims to follow the old overland route from Sinai via al-ʿAḳaba. Among the small ports are Haḳl and Maḳnā on the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba, and al-Muwayliḥ, Ḍabā, al-Wadjh, and Amladj (orthography uncertain) on the Red Sea. From al-Wadjh tracks cut across the mountains to meet the interior highway at or near al-ʿUlā.

During the past century the heaviest traffic in the northern section of al-Ḥidjāz has been over the routes east of al-Sarāt, first the old Syrian pilgrim road through Tabūk and al-ʿUlā [*qq.v.*] and then the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*], which in most places followed the pilgrim road closely. The railway was damaged during the First World War, and reconstruction did not begin until 1383/1964. In the meantime a paved highway was being built north from Medina to Tabūk and the Jordan boundary. The highway runs through Khaybar and Taymāʾ [*qq.v.*], both of which lie a considerable distance east of the pilgrim road and the railway.

The southern section of al-Ḥidjāz has higher mountains, more rainfall, and much more cultivation than the other two sections. A road parallels the coast from Djudda through the ports of al-Lith, al-Ḳunfudha, and Ḥaly (Ḥaly Ibn Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*], once regarded as the southern limit of al-Ḥidjāz) to al-Ḳaḥma, now reckoned as the beginning of Tihāmat ʿAsīr. The lower parts of the valleys that flow seawards furnish good areas for agriculture.

A highland road from al-Ṭāʾif leads to the oasis of al-Khurma (not Khurma, as shown on the map in *EI*², i, 708) on the far side of the range of Ḥaḍn (this range is often given as the limit of al-Ḥidjāz in these parts). Another highland road links al-Ṭāʾif with Turaba (or Taraba), also on the other side of Ḥaḍn, and a third takes a more direct course to Bisha [*q.v.*], beyond which lies Tathlīth at the southeastern end of al-Ḥidjāz. Eastward-bound travellers use tracks from the border areas to al-Riyāḍ, Wādī al-Dawāsir, and other places in Nadjd. Agriculture in the highlands is concentrated in the eastern oases and along the crest of al-Sarāt.

The map in *EI*², i, 891, shows the principal tribes in al-Ḥidjāz in the time of the Prophet, apart from Ḳuraysh of Mecca and al-Aws and al-Khazradj [*qq.v.*] of Medina. These three have long since disappeared from al-Ḥidjāz as important tribal aggregations, their members having been absorbed into the broader Islamic community. The populations of Mecca, Medina, and Djudda have become cosmopolitan; many non-Arabs are resident there, and the importance of tribal connexions is dwindling. Dispersed remnants of Ḳuraysh remain in al-Ḥidjāz, mainly as small tribes or clans claiming descent from the Prophet [see SHARĪF], some of whom have adopted the Bedouin way of life. Ḳuraysh has been the mother of sovereigns and dynasties, producing the Rāshidūn Caliphs, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids, and a number of lesser ruling houses in al-Ḥidjāz itself, foremost among them being the Hāshimids [*q.v.*] of Mecca. Other noteworthy survivors of Ḳuraysh in al-Ḥidjāz are Banū Shayba [*q.v.*], the hereditary custodians of the Kaʿba.

The map also does not show the three Jewish tribes of the Medina area, Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ, Banū Ḳurayẓa, and Banu 'l-Naḍīr [*qq.v.*], all of whom seem to have disappeared leaving no trace.

From the central section of al-Ḥidjāz the tribes of Sulaym and Hilāl [*q.v.*], a branch of Hawāzin, took part in the mass migration of Bedouins to Egypt and on to al-Maghrib in the 5th/11th century. Their place has been occupied by Ḥarb [*q.v.*] as the dominant tribe in the area between the two Holy Cities.

In the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif four ancient tribes still exist: Hudhayl [*q.v.*], from whose ranks sprang an array of poets; Thaḳīf [*q.v.*], the early masters of al-Ṭāʾif; Fahm, the tribe of the brigand bard Taʾabbaṭa Sharran [*q.v.*]; and Saʿd b. Bakr, the tribe that is reported to have introduced the young Muḥammad, the future Prophet, to Bedouin ways while he was in the care of the nurse Ḥalīma [*q.v.*] (the people of Saʿd are today all settled in villages). Among the more modern tribes are the Djaḥādila along the coast south of Djudda and ʿAdwān in the mountains south of al-Ṭāʾif, whose chief, ʿUthmān al-Muḍāʾifī, played a prominent role in the struggle involving the *sharīf* Ghālib of Mecca, the House of Suʿūd, and Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt during the early 13th/19th century.

In the northern section of al-Ḥidjāz the tribes of ʿUdhra and Djudhām [*qq.v.*] have vanished, their ranges now being occupied in a general way by al-Ḥuwayṭāt [*q.v.*] towards the coast and Banū ʿAṭiyya in the interior. Muzayna [*q.v.*], Fazāra, and Saʿd Hudhaym have dissolved, but Balī [see *EI*¹ and *EI*², s.v. AL-BALAWĪ] and Djuhayna [see *EI*², Suppl.] remain as flourishing entities based respectively on al-Wadjh and Yanbuʿ.

The tribes shown on the map for the southern section of al-Ḥidjāz have given way to the great confederations of Zahrān and Ghāmid [*qq.v.*] in the highlands and numerous other tribes in their neighbourhood and in Tihāma.

The borderlands between al-Ḥidjāz and Nadjd are occupied by elements of the modern tribes of Muṭayr, ʿUtayba, the Buḳūm, and Subayʿ [*qq.v.*], who have replaced such older tribal groups as Ghaṭafān and Hawāzin [*qq.v.*]. In the far south is the tribe which bears the hoary name of Ḳaḥṭān [*q.v.*].

As the history of al-Ḥidjāz is intimately bound up with the history of Mecca and Medina and the many other places and the various tribes referred to above, it will not be recounted here. Suffice it to say that since the beginning of time al-Ḥidjāz was the official name of an independent polity for less than ten years, under the reign of King al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī from 1334/1916 to 1343/1924. Since 1344/1925 the whole of al-Ḥidjāz has belonged to the domains of the House of Suʿūd.

Always a poor land inhabited by a people who chafed under the restraints of law and order, al-Ḥidjāz is now in many ways coming upon brighter times. The rapaciousness of the tribes, which for centuries made the overland pilgrimage a perilous undertaking, has been curbed and intertribal feuding

brought to an end. Impressive improvements in communications by land, sea, and air; closer ties with the outside world; and developments in education, public health, and other fields are bringing an easier life to many of the inhabitants. The revenue received by the Saudi Arabian government from the petroleum industry has freed al-Ḥidjāz from its former dependence on the bounty of Muslims abroad.

Bibliography: See the bibliographies for Djazīrat AL-ʿARAB, MAKKA, and AL-MADĪNA. The topography of al-Ḥidjāz is depicted with a relatively high degree of accuracy on detailed maps (1 : 500,000) published by the United States Geological Survey (1958-62). Toponyms are given in the Latin and Arabic scripts, but the standard of accuracy for these does not match that of the topography. The areas discussed in this article are covered by geographic maps I-200B, I-204B, I-205B, I-210B, I-211B, I-216B, and I-217B in the series entitled "Miscellaneous Geologic Investigations". Corresponding geologic maps are also available. The data on the 1 : 500,000 maps are summarized on a map of the Arabian Peninsula (1 : 2,000,000) issued in separate English and Arabic versions by the USGS (2nd ed., 1963).

(G. RENTZ)

ḤIDJĀZ RAILWAY, one of the two major railway projects (the other being the Baghdād Railway) of the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. Its ostensible purpose was to facilitate the *ḥadjdj* by means of a railway laid between Damascus and the Holy Cities, and its construction was used to further the Pan-Islamic policies and propaganda of the Sultan. It also served the more practical strategic and military purpose of transporting troops to the often turbulent Arabian provinces of the Empire and thus establishing effective control over them. It had been contemplated for a long time. In May 1900, the Sultan, by an Imperial *irāde*, created two Commissions, one supervisory at Istanbul under ʿIzzet Pasha, a Damascene who was a member of the palace staff, and the other executive at Damascus under the *wālī* of Syria. At the same time ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, himself donating a gift of £ T. 50,000, appealed to Muslims all over the world for subscriptions. But not all contributions were voluntary: civil and military officials of the Empire were ordered to contribute a part of their salary and a special stamp duty was levied on all classes and creeds. The balance sheet generally showed a surplus, and the scheme never suffered from lack of finance. Included in the project was a branch line from Darʿa to Haifa, for which the concession had been granted to a British firm in 1890 but which the firm had failed to complete. The few miles of line actually laid by the firm and the building material were purchased by the Ḥidjāz Commission. Two other branch lines, one from Zarḳāʾ to the phosphate mines near al-Ṣalt and another from Maʿān to ʿAḳaba (later abandoned in 1905, in consequence of the frontier dispute between Egypt and Turkey), were also planned. In 1901, the Italian engineer, La Bella, originally entrusted with the construction work, was replaced by the German engineer, Meissner, under whose direction the construction was completed, though beyond al-ʿUlā only Muslim engineers were employed. The Damascus-Medina line was surveyed by Mukhtār Bey, a Turkish engineer; it generally followed the old pilgrim and caravan road, deviating only occasionally to avoid hills and unsuitable ground. Its construction through a country mostly waterless, vividly described in T. E. Lawrence's *Seven pillars of wisdom* as an area of 'thronging suns' and 'feverish winds' where attacks of dysentery were a frequent curse, was a remarkable feat. Water supply presented the greatest difficulty and was partly overcome either by constructing wells and working them by steam-pumps or windmills or by bringing water in railway-trucks. Considerable engineering difficulties were encountered near ʿAmmān with its steep gradients (where the train while ascending to Kesir had to be taken up in two sections), and near al-ʿAḳaba al-Ḥidjāziyya, where the line reached a height of over 3,700 ft. above sea level and immediately afterwards descended through sharp curves in the wild ravine known as Baṭn al-Ghūl. Construction was made possible through the employment of military labour—three regular *Niẓām* battalions and two specially enrolled battalions raised by conscription—totalling about 5,650 men, who received a special additional allowance for their work. Military labour was confined to simple navvying and the laying of the permanent way, while the more difficult work like constructing the bridges, station buildings, culverts and tunnels was given to Italians, Greeks and Montenegrins.

The railhead reached Zarḳāʾ (203 km. from Damascus) in 1902, Ḳaṭrāna (326 km.) in 1903, Maʿān (459 km.) in 1904, Dhāt al-Ḥadjdj (610 km.) in 1906, al-ʿUlā (993 km.) in 1907, and Medina (1320 km.) in 1908. The Darʿa Haifa section (160 km.) was completed in 1905. The railway cost about £ 4,000,000, including the purchase of rolling-stock and construction of necessary buildings (Consular Reports). Between 1904 and 1917 the Darʿa-Haifa section was extended to Boṣrā, and branch lines from ʿAkkā to Balad al-Shaykh (17 km.), ʿAfūla to Ludd (100 km.), Wādī al-Sūr to al-ʿAwdjāʾ (155 km.), al-Tīn to Bayt Hanum (39 km.) were added (Foreign Office Handbook, *Syria and Palestine*, London 1920, 69). The laying of the main tract (Damascus-Medina, Darʿa-Haifa), which averaged 182 km. a year—a rate of progress not achieved even by the Anatolian Railway—was the quickest in the history of the Ottoman Railways. With the exception of a few carriages which were made at the marine arsenal, the entire material was purchased from abroad; rails and sleepers were supplied by Belgian, German and American firms and the rolling-stock by Belgian and German firms only. The length of trains was usually determined by the weight the engine could haul up the steep gradients of the ʿAmmān and Yarmūk valleys. Originally hand-brakes were used but Hardy's system of automatic brakes was gradually introduced (Consular Reports). The gauge being 1.05 m., the carrying capacity of the railway was never great, and was considerably diminished by the necessity of taking large supplies of wood (originally coal was used) and water on each train. An additional problem was that boiler tubes were often damaged by the minerals in the desert water. In consequence, in 1914, only 15 engines were reported to have been fit for service (*Admiralty Handbook, Arabia*, London 1917, ii, 37-41). Only a small percentage of pilgrims, some 16,000 a year, used the railway (the great majority being Syrians and Kurds), for the bulk of the pilgrim-traffic passed through Djudda. The journey from Damascus to Medina took about 62 hours, at an average speed of 23 km. an hour. The single fare was £ 3.10 sterling for third class passengers (Consular Reports). The main stations were Damascus, Darʿa, Haifa, Ḳaṭrāna, Maʿān, Tabūk, Ḳalʿat al-Muʿaẓẓam, Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, al-ʿUlā, Hadiyya and Medina. Generally the stations were about 20 kilometres apart and were used as 'garrison forts', for

protecting the line against the constant Bedouin attacks. During 1908, 128 attacks were reported; Bedouins cut telegraph wires, destroyed rails, damaged station buildings and robbed passengers. The railway, 'the unholy Frankish thing' as they called it, threatened their vested interests in the pilgrim traffic in which the Grand Sharif and the *wālī* of Ḥidjāz were also involved (Consular Reports). Their combined hostility, the Young Turk Revolution and the Turco-Italian war brought construction to a standstill and the original plan for railway extension to Mecca could not be carried out. The project for a line between Djudda and Mecca, for which a survey had been made in 1911, was shelved for the same reasons.

The Ḥidjāz railway 'belied the political hopes of its projectors'. Far from being the 'backbone of Ottoman territory in Arabia', it marked its uttermost eastern fringe. Expensive to build and difficult to maintain, it hardly contributed to the economic growth of the peninsula or to any appreciable increase in population along its course (Foreign Office Handbook, *Arabia*, London 1920, 26). However, it proved to be a great boon to the development of Haifa, which prior to the opening of the Darʿa-Haifa line was a small port outshone by its rival Jaffa. With the opening of the railway, Haifa developed steadily, diverting from Beirut the export of grain from the Ḥawrān and the import trade with Damascus and Arabia. In 1907, the total value of Haifa's exports was £ 270,000; in 1912 it increased to £ 340,000; in 1907 its total imports excluding railway material amounted to £ 240,000; in 1912 it grew to £ 375,100 (Admiralty Handbook, *Syria (including Palestine)*, London 1919, 304, 492). The entire railway was in operation until World War I, when Lawrence successfully damaged parts of the section between Maʿān and Medina which since then has remained out of operation. After the war, the ownership of the railway passed to the territories through which it ran, Syria owning Damascus-Darʿa, Darʿa-Samakh; Palestine owning Haifa-Samakh; Transjordan, Darʿa-Maʿān and Saudi Arabia, the Maʿān-Medina sections. (This was confirmed by the arbitral award of 18 April 1925, by the Swiss Professor M. Eugène Borel appointed by the League of Nations). Between 1923-39, Britain and France, the mandatory Powers, made efforts to restore the Maʿān-Medina section (others sections being already in operation) but failed because of Ibn Suʿūd's insistence on treating the railway as a *waḳf* and thereby demanding the proprietorship of the entire line on behalf of the Muslims. When, in January 1923, the problem was discussed at the Lausanne Conference, Britain and France, desiring to recognize the religious character of the railway, declared their readiness for the formation of a Muslim consultative body, representing the four States, to advise on the upkeep of the railway and the improvement of pilgrim conditions. On 6 August 1928, a conference was held at Haifa to tackle the problem of restoring the Maʿān-Medina section but failed because of Ibn Suʿūd's demand for the ownership of those parts of the line which were in mandated territories as a preliminary to the restoration of the railway. In November 1928, the Permanent Mandates Commission received petitions from certain Muslims of Syria and Transjordan to transfer the entire control and operation of the railway to a Muslim Commission (*League of Nations, Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the Fifteenth Session*, 189-90, 262, 279-80). This being refused, the Muslim Congress held at Jerusalem in December 1931 discussed the issue and reiterated the demand made in the earlier petitions. Meanwhile, Ibn Suʿūd had modified his former attitude and was willing to discuss the technical problems of re-opening the railway without pressing his own claim to ownership forthwith, while reserving his rights. In 1938, the British Government, desirous of winning the good-will of Ibn Suʿūd in view of the situation in Palestine, was prepared partly to finance the repairs of the section lying in his territory and proposed the holding of a conference in the following year. The outbreak of the Second World War once again shelved the issue. The section between Maʿān and Medina is being rebuilt (1966) under a contract given to British firms.

Bibliography: A detailed account of the railway is available in the Consular Reports preserved at the Public Record Office, London: F.O. 78, 195, 368, 371, 424; Auler Pasha, *Hedschasbahn*, Gotha 1906; H. Guthe, *Die Hedschasbahn von Damaskus nach Medina: ihr Bau ihre Bedeutung*, Leipzig (Eduard Gaeblers Geographisches Institut) n.d.; Muhammad Inshaullah, *The history of the Hamida Hedjaz Railway project* (in Urdu, Arabic and English), Lahore 1908; ʿOthmān Nūrī, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamid-i Thānī we dewr-i salṭanatī*, Istanbul 1327/1911, 718-23; Saʿīd Pasha, *Saʿīd Pashanīñ khāṭirātī*, Istanbul 1328/1912, ii, 376-9; *Times Index*, s.v. (Z. H. Zaidi)

AL-ḤIDJR, ancient ruin site in north-western Saudi Arabia (approx. 37° 50′ E. and 26° 45′ N.) near the small settlement of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, some 70 miles (110 km.) south-west of Taymā. It has been identified as the Ἔγρα of Strabo and the Hegra of Pliny. The name al-Ḥidjr has fallen into disuse and Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ has been substituted. As used by the Bedouins of the region, the name refers to a flat area, about 3 km. from North to South and 2 km. from East to West, its northernmost point being the land surrounding the Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ station of the Ḥidjāz railway. The plain, in which are located several Bedouin water wells, is surrounded by, and dotted with a number of sandstone cliffs and buttes. The tracks of the Ḥidjāz railway cross the plain from North to South. The quite extensive ruins of the ancient commercial town of al-Ḥidjr are approximately in the centre of the plain, where the railway tracks take a southwesterly direction. A large field of potsherds as well as remains of buildings and part of the town wall testify to the importance of al-Ḥidjr in antiquity. Much more impressive than the ruin field, however, is the large number of structures carved into the cliffs all around the plain, and in particular on the rock called Ḳaṣr al-Bint. Most of these structures are family tombs, with *loculi* generally sunk into the floor, but occasionally carved out of the sides of the main chamber. Many of the tombs have elaborately carved façades, with finely chiselled pillars, lintels and cornices, sometimes ornamented with urns or representations of birds, often topped by a double set of steps ascending from the centre, almost indistinguishable from some of the tombs found in Petra. In the complex of rocks called Djabal Ithlib, at the eastern edge of the plain, is another series of rock carvings consisting mostly of small niches with carved columns, urns, or bird figures, which probably had religious significance. At the entrance to a narrow canyon in Djabal Ithlib is also a very large hall, referred to as Dīwān or Madjlis al-Sulṭān, carved into the sandstone—about 10 metres wide, by 12 metres deep and 8 metres high —which also is considered to have been connected

with religious ceremonies. At the opposite end of the canyon, where the walls separate, there is a long channel carved in the north face of the cliff, which is believed to have been used to bring water into the site.

Vast numbers of inscriptions have been found in al-Ḥidjr: in Arabic, Aramaic, Thamudic, Nabatean, Minaean, Liḥyanite, and even in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. No archaeological excavations have as yet (1966) been conducted in Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, but from what evidence is available it is held that al-Ḥidjr was second only to Petra in importance during the Nabatean period [see NABAṬ]. The Ḳur'ān relates (VII, 71 ff.) that this region was inhabited by a godless people, the Thamūd [*q.v.*], who carved their houses out of rock. God sent the prophet Ṣāliḥ to exhort them to mend their ways, but the people of Thamūd not only persisted in their idolatry, but also slew the camel which the prophet Ṣāliḥ had miraculously conjured out of a cleft in the rock to give evidence of his divine mission. God then sent an earthquake that destroyed the town and its people. This story was the origin of the name Madā'in Ṣāliḥ (Ṣāliḥ's towns) now given to the area Geologists see no evidence of an earthquake in Madā'in Ṣāliḥ; some believe that, because the Arabic term for earthquake can also be rendered as a "calamity from God", the town and its people may have been destroyed by another sort of disaster, such as a plague. There are other references to al-Ḥidjr, or Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, in Arab legends: one mentions that this is the place where God ordered the patriarch Abraham to abandon Hagar and her son Ishmael, who are both said to be buried here. Another legend relates that when the Prophet Muḥammad was going through the area with his army, on the occasion of the raid on Tābuḳ (9/631), he would not permit his soldiers to refresh themselves at the wells, because this was an accursed spot. After having flourished during the Nabatean period, the site of al-Ḥidjr seems to have declined rapidly. In the first half of the 4th/10th century al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions it as being only a village with few inhabitants.

The first European to visit al-Ḥidjr, and to bring back a well illustrated description of its monuments, was C. M. Doughty. Al-Ḥidjr was later also visited by J. Euting, C. Huber, and (more recently) by H. St. J. B. Philby. The most complete account of the monuments of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ is that of J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, who visited the region in 1907.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, i, 898 f.; Yāḳūt, ii, 208; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, Leiden 1896, 1914; A. Grohmann, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, Arabien*, Munich 1963; C. Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie*, Paris 1891; J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909; H. St. J. B. Philby, *The land of Midian*, London 1957. (F. S. VIDAL)

HIDJRA, latinized as Hegira, the emigration of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in September 622. The first stem of the verb, *hadjara*, means "to cut someone off from friendly association" (cf Ḳur'ān IV, 34/38) or "to avoid association with" (LXXIII, 10); there is often an explicit or implicit reference to a sexual relationship, as in the first Ḳur'ānic verse. The third stem *hādjara* refers to a mutual ending of friendly relationships. Thus *hidjra* properly does not mean "flight" as it has been traditionally translated but connotes primarily the breaking of the ties of kinship or association (cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Twee populaire Dwalingen verbeterd*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn 1923, i, 297-305, esp. 305; also *LA*, vii, 110-8).

The reason for Muḥammad's leaving Mecca is the loss of support from his clan on the death of Abū Ṭālib (about 619) and his replacement as chief of the clan by Abū Lahab, who had commercial relationships with some of Muḥammad's bitterest opponents. From the fact that after his visit to al-Ṭā'if (in 619 or 620) Muḥammad had to seek the protection (*djiwār*) of the clan of Nawfal before entering Mecca, it is to be inferred that Abū Lahab had refused protection (Ṭabarī, i, 1203 from Ibn Isḥāḳ; in Ibn Hishām, 251, but only as a note by Ibn Hishām himself). After various attempts, including the visit to al-Ṭā'if, to find a suitable sphere for continuing to propagate his religion, Muḥammad negotiated successfully with representatives of all the main Arab clans of Medina, finally concluding an agreement with them at al-ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] during the pilgrimage of 622 (June-July). This agreement is known as "the pledge of war" (*bayʿat al-ḥarb*), since the men of Medina agreed to defend Muḥammad by force of arms, if necessary. Even before this agreement Muḥammad had begun to encourage his Meccan followers to go to Medina, and in all about seventy went in small parties, until of those willing to go only Abū Bakr, ʿAlī and Muḥammad with their womenfolk were left.

By this time Ḳuraysh are said to have become suspicious, and this was probably the case (though by no means all the stories which became attached to the Hidjra are to be believed). Ibn Isḥāḳ says that at a meeting of most of the clans it was agreed that chosen young men, one from each clan, should simultaneously attack Muḥammad with their swords and kill him; in this way, since so many clans were involved, Hāshim could not exact revenge but would have to be content with blood money. The young men assembled at Muḥammad's house, but he slipped away secretly, leaving ʿAlī in his bed to make them think he was still asleep. Whether this story is accepted or not, Muḥammad must have slipped out of Mecca secretly in the company of Abū Bakr, since a later passage of the Ḳur'ān reminds men of it (IX, 40): "If you do not give him support, still God already supported him when the unbelievers drove him out as the second of two; the two were in the cave, and he was saying to his companion, Do not grieve; God is with us ...". They spent three days in the cave, then accompanied by ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, a freedman of Abū Bakr, and a nomad as guide, and mounted on two camels, made their way by an unusual route to Medina. Their arrival at Ḳubā' in the south of the oasis of Medina is dated Monday 12 Rabīʿ I by Ibn Isḥāḳ, which in the accepted calendar corresponds to 24 September 622, but is a Friday. The reason for their going into hiding and avoiding the main road is presumably that when Muḥammad left Mecca he would cease to be under the protection of Nawfal, but until he reached Medina he would not come under the protection of his followers there.

In the document sometimes called the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-4) those who had thus made the *hidjra* with Muḥammad appear as the "emigrants (*muhādjirūn*) of Ḳuraysh", and have collectively a position comparable to that of one of the Arab clans of Medina. As time went on the status of *muhādjir* (fem. *muhādjira*) came to be greatly prized, perhaps sometimes placing people in a higher category in the *dīwān* or stipend-list; and the status

was granted to others than those who had actually journeyed from Mecca to Medina in 622. Members of nomadic tribes could pledge themselves to Muḥammad with the pledge of migration (*bayʿat hid̲j̲ra*) (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 66, line 3); they then settled in Medina, presumably as his clients (*mawālī*; cf. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Manāḳib*, 2), thus counting as belonging to the "clan" of *muhād̲j̲irūn*. Those who went to Abyssinia about 615 and remained there until fetched to Medina by Muḥammad in 7/628 were counted as having made a *hid̲j̲ra*, *viz*. to Abyssinia; perhaps this was part of the inducement to go to Medina. A consequence was that those who had gone to Abyssinia, returned to Mecca before 622 and then made the *hid̲j̲ra* with Muḥammad could claim two *hid̲j̲ras* (cf. Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 79 line 8; viii, 205 foot). The tribe of Muzayna was given the status of *muhād̲j̲irūn* without actually settling in Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 38, 11-4); Aslam and K̲h̲uzāʿa were in a similar position. There is also evidence of other uses of the status of *muhād̲j̲ir* (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 220; tr. Fagnan, 270).

Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ, leader of the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī sect of the Azāriḳa, held that only those who actively supported him were genuinely Muslims, and spoke of them as *muhād̲j̲irūn*, who made the *hid̲j̲ra* to his camp, which was *dār al-hid̲j̲ra* (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 86-9).

Muslim dates are normally given according to the era of the *hid̲j̲ra* (see TAʾRĪK̲H̲) which may be distinguished by the initials A.H. (= Anno Hegirae). This era does not begin on the date of Muḥammad's arrival at Medina, but on the first day of the lunar year in which that event took place, which is reckoned to coincide with 16 July 622. This result is based on the assumption that intercalary months did not occur after the Hid̲j̲ra, but this is by no means certain (see further TAʾRĪK̲H̲).

Bibliography: Ibn His̲h̲ām, 323-35; Ṭabarī, i, 1228-35; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 137 f., ix, 39, 53, 87; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 191-5; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 145-51; idem, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 242, etc.; F. Krenkow, *The topography of the Hijrah*, in *IC*, iii (1929), 357-64.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

HID̲J̲RA [see HID̲J̲AR].

ḤIFẒ [see ḲIRĀʾA and ḲURʾĀN].

ḤIKĀYA (A.), verbal noun of *ḥakā*, originally meaning "to imitate", but which, in consequence of a readily explained semantic evolution, came to acquire the meaning of "to tell, to narrate"; similarly the noun *ḥikāya*, starting from the meaning of "imitation", has come to mean more specifically "mimicry", and finally "tale, narrative, story, legend". In classical Arabic the intensive form *ḥākiya* meant a "mimic" and modern Arabic has adopted the active participle *ḥākⁱⁿ* to translate "gramophone".

The radical *ḥ.k.y./w.* is not represented in the Ḳurʾān but it is found in *ḥadīt̲h̲* with the primary meaning of "to resemble" or "to imitate" (see *LA*, s.v.), a meaning expressed and retained up to the present in the 3rd form, *ḥākā*; this is the only meaning given to it in the classical dictionaries; the *Lisān*, which makes no mention of the meaning of "to relate" for the verb and "story" for the noun, states that both the first and the third forms have a slightly pejorative shade of meaning: "to try to imitate, to ape". The problem is therefore to discover by what process *ḥakā* and *ḥikāya* have acquired the meaning which they now usually have; then we shall try to draw up a classification of stories and to establish the place occupied by those which are now called *ḥikāya* in the Arabic narrative or recreational literature.

I. — Once again al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ provides a convenient starting point. In a well-known passage of the *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn, i, 69-70), he discloses that there existed imitators (*ḥākiya*) able, he says, not only to copy the mannerisms, gestures, the voice and the habits of speech of the different ethnic groups which formed the population of the empire, and more particularly of the capital, but also to reproduce with the most exact fidelity the demeanour and bearing of various types of people, the blind for example, and finally to imitate the calls of wild and domestic animals. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ adds that these imitators created real types whom they endowed with all the characteristic traits of the groups that they were mimicking. This gift of imitation, which demands no ordinary power of observation, had long been exploited in the East by professional and amateur entertainers (see J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen in Orient*, Berlin 1905), and we find for example in the "Book of the crown" of the Ps.-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (tr. Pellat, 149), an anecdote of a courtier who managed to restore himself to favour with a Persian king by means of a stratagem based on mimicry of the cries of various animals. A. Mez (*Abulḳâsim, ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, Heidelberg 1902, xv-xvi) has already remarked that the proliferation of mimics and the development of a form of entertainment much favoured by monarchs was certainly helped by the existence of Arabic dialects very different from one another and by the more or less successful attempts made by the non-Arab populations to speak the language of the conquerors. There were often mimics among the entertainers and the jesters who were regularly or occasionally admitted into the presence of the sovereigns, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 161 ff.; cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 386-7, Eng. tr., 408) confirms this in relating the success with al-Muʿtaḍid of one Ibn al-Mag̲h̲āzilī who mimicked (*yaḥkī, yuḥākī, ḥikāya*) all kinds of people, with an accompanying patter of humorous anecdotes (*nādira*). The *ḥikāya*, in fact, could not be a silent mimicry, and the performer was obliged to compose a little recitation or think up a story to add piquancy to his imitation. Thus one must be well experienced to avoid translating *ḥikāya* in such cases by "story", although one can understand that this term, originally applied solely to the imitation, later covered the gestures and the words, and finally the words alone, especially when authors began to commit to writing the words recited by the *ḥākiyas*. This evolution, further encouraged by the carelessness of writers over the exact use of words, hides to a large extent the fact that the mimics persisted, proof of which, however, is to be found throughout the Middle Ages; A. Mez (*Renaissance*, 399; Sp. tr. 505; the English translation, p. 423, misses the point) mentions one in 415/1024 and it is worthy of note that the performance in question entailed also shadow plays (*k̲h̲ayāl*). Although the modern theatre takes its origins from abroad, its historians have not failed to find antecedents for it precisely in the *ḥikāya* and the *k̲h̲ayāl* (cf. J. Landau, *Studies in Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 1 ff.); they have also been induced to take into account the existence, in Turkey, of the *meddah* (*maddāḥ* [*q.v.*]) or *mukallit* (*muḳallid*, corresponding exactly to the *ḥākiya*) who related anecdotes while performing amusing imitations and expressive mimicries and even

dressed up in accessories symbolic of the characters that he wished to imitate. This profession seems to have declined in Turkey as in other Muslim countries, particularly in Egypt where, at the beginning of this century, a certain Aḥmad Fahīm al-Fār had formed a company which presented in Cairo plays which were very popular, thanks to his skill in imitating the cries of animals and in reproducing different scenes (see J. Landau, *op. cit.*, 3-4 and bibl. quoted). On the *məddaḥ* of North Africa see MADDĀḤ. We cannot omit to mention here that it is again a derivative from the root *ḥ.k.y./w.*, *ḥkāwāti*, which is used in the East for a teller of tales, whose mimicry is closely related to that of the early *ḥākiya*.

From the 4th/10th century onwards elements of mimicry (see J. Horovitz, *op. cit.*, 21-7) appear in the genre of the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*], which however the literary efforts of Badīʿ al-Zamān and his successors have separated from the *ḥikāya* proper. On the other hand it was at the same period or at the beginning of the 5th/11th century that there appeared a work, unique in Arabic literature, which calls to mind the *maḳāma* while differing from it quite clearly in its technique—the *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (ed. A. Mez, *Abulḳâsim*). It marks a new though brief phase in the semantic evolution of the term *ḥikāya*. In his preface the author reproduces the very passage of al-Djāḥiẓ mentioned above, and this reference justifies in his opinion the creation of a new type of work which would put on the stage a single character, typifying the mentality of the inhabitants of the capital; in his introduction Abu 'l-Muṭahhar promises also a *ḥikāya badawiyya*, a picture of Bedouin manners, which has not survived. In the text which has come down to us, the scene is Baghdād, in a bourgeois milieu. The hero, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, is a sort of vagrant who entertains this society and reels off jokes and sarcastic remarks in doubtful taste; after the evening meal the revellers sink into a drunken stupor, awaking only at the call of the muezzin; then Abu 'l-Ḳāsim harangues them and castigates their impiety, urging them to repent (cf. F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xx (1942), 33-45). The quotation from al-Djāḥiẓ enables us to see the meaning that the author wanted to give to this *Ḥikāya*, which is a realistic presentation of the manners of Baghdād, a picture borrowed from real life, and this is why A. Mez has translated the title of this play by *ein bagdâder Sittenbild*, it being quite impossible to translate *ḥikāya* by "story". In attempting to produce a "type", Abu 'l-Muṭahhar displays a certain advance on al-Djāḥiẓ, who in his studies of manners, notably in the "Misers", merely put together anecdotes without achieving a synthesis.

Nevertheless, this *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar, who does not seem to have been imitated, raises several problems; on the one hand its links with the *maḳāma* are not clear, given that the author, details of whose life are not known, certainly seems to be later than Badīʿ al-Zamān; no doubt he wished to create a distinct genre. On the other hand, D. B. Macdonald (in *EI*[1], art. ḤIKĀYA) considers that the cause of the evolution which ended in the *Ḥikāya* must be sought in the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of μίμησις in art (Poetics, i-iv); indeed Mattā b. Yūnus, in his translation of the *Poetics*, (ed. Badawī, in *Fann al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1953, 86 et passim) uses the word *ḥikāya* to translate μίμησις (where Badawī in his new translation uses the third form *muḥākāt*); it is certainly possible that the idea of literary art as an "imitation" of life might have produced the genre represented by Abu 'l-Muṭahhar, but the reference to al-Djāḥiẓ suffices to a large extent to explain this innovation which, by its scenic depicting of life, in any case marked a new stage in the development of the previous form of *ḥikāya*.

In the course of the following centuries we sometimes find the verb *ḥakā* with the meaning of "resemble", "imitate", but it is so archaic that the commentators have to explain it, particularly when it appears in the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (ed. de Sacy[2], ii, 420) who, moreover, uses it together with *ḥaddatha*, *akhbara*, *rawā*, with the meaning of "tell", "narrate", at the beginning of the *maḳāmāt*. The use of *ḥakā* with the preposition *ʿan* as a synonym for *rawā* "report something on the authority of somebody" had long been current (*e.g.*, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 57) and the *Aghānī* (viii, 162) even provides one example of its use with the meaning of "to tell"; it can be deduced from this that the semantic evolution of the verb was more rapid than that of the noun *ḥikāya*, which is found however in al-Ḥuṣrī (*Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, 4) with the meaning of "a reported anecdote" and at least once in al-Ḥarīrī (ed. de Sacy[2], i, 13) to signify the fables (*amthāl*) of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, while in the same passage the author remarks that his *maḳāmāt* are also *ḥikāyāt*, that is, a reproduction of contemporary life. Thus when *ḥikāya* later comes definitively to mean "tale, story, legend", the word forms a complete contrast with its primary meaning, since that applied exclusively to the present and could not indicate an imitation of the past; we must consequently suppose that before being used of all kinds of stories it went through a phase of meaning a story which was invented, but which was borrowed from real life, or was at least true to life; we have no proof of this, but the *Ḥikāya* of Abu 'l-Muṭahhar provides a sufficiently strong link in the chain, and we shall see that in Morocco *ḥkāya* has retained the meaning of a story which is more or less truthful so long as it is not unlikely.

It should not be forgotten that the term *ḥikāya* belongs also to the terminology of the sciences of tradition and that the expression *ḥakaytu ʿanhu 'l-ḥadītha ḥikāyatan* implies a literal quotation, a verbatim reproduction; in grammar *ḥikāya* means the use in a narrative of the verbal form which would have been used at the time when the event narrated took place; the expression *ḥikāyat ṣawt*, "onomatopoeia", preserves the primitive sense of the term; *ḥikāyat iʿrāb*, or simply *ḥikāya*, means the exact repetition of a word used by a speaker with a vowel of declension no longer appropriate to its function in the new context, *e.g.*, "*raʾaytu Zaydan*"—"*man Zaydan?*" (instead of *Zaydun*), but this *ḥikāya* is not permissible when the noun is followed by a qualifying element (see L. Machuel, *Voc. des principaux termes techniques de la grammaire arabe*, Tunis 1908, 27). The word appears again for example in the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 422, 429, 445, etc.) to indicate a textual copy as well as an account of the facts, equivalent here to *riwāya*. The same meanings are found in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwald, 17, 64, 65, 201) and in the *Aghānī* (notably i, 4), although in this last passage *ḥikāya* is used of the reproduction of words heard, without any claim to verbatim quotation. On the other hand, al-Zamakhsharī (*Asās al-balāgha*, s.v.) says that the Arabs use *ḥikāya* in the sense of "language", which they consider to be an imitation or a representation,

and this explains why in the Syrian and Lebanese dialects the verb *ḥakā* is normally used for "to speak". In Spain, Dozy (*Suppl.* s.v.) notes *ḥikāya* also in the sense of "model", but for him it is already primarily a "story".

Thus it seems that it was from the 8th/14th century onwards that *ḥikāya*, whose primary meaning is now considered archaic, acquired the general meaning of "tale, story, narrative, legend"; it is current in the *Thousand and one nights* and appears in the title of the *Kitāb al-Ḥikāyāt al-ʿadjība wa 'l-akhbār al-gharība* edited by H. Wehr, Damascus-Wiesbaden 1956, from a MS of the beginning of the 8th/14th century; in this last collection however each separate story is still called *ḥadīth*, which is one of those general terms whose technical meaning tends to obscure its other uses. Thus we have here significantly combined three words which are evidently interchangeable: *ḥikāya*, *khabar*, and also *ḥadīth*, which it might be profitable to restore to the group of words used in Arabic for "story".

The Ḳurʾān contains a certain number of narratives which are of a religious character and are to serve for the edification of the Believers; in the Holy Book "to narrate, tell" is expressed by *ḳaṣṣa*, *ḥaddatha*, and *nabbaʾa*, three terms which tend later to become specialized, forming with their derivatives and those of other roots a collection of lexicographic material which deserves examination. In fact the diversity of the words used in the first centuries of Islam would seem to indicate that tales, legends and stories of all kinds were in vogue and that they were distinguished from one another with great precision; on the other hand, each of them through the centuries has undergone an evolution distinctive enough to merit a special article, so that we need not attempt to discuss here the history of all narrative literature:

—*ḳiṣṣa* is used of every kind of story, but this word has been applied particularly, through the use of the verb *ḳaṣṣa* and the noun *ḳaṣaṣ* in the Kurʾān and of the professional *ḳuṣṣaṣ* [see ḲIṢṢA], to edifying tales and stories of the prophets. It is to be noted however that nowadays it has been adopted to mean a novel, its diminutive *uḳṣūṣa*, pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*, being in its turn used for a short story.

—[*usṭūra*] is Ḳurʾānic in the expression *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* "the fables of the Ancients" (vi, 25, viii, 31, xvi, 26/24, xxiii, 85/83, xxv, 6/5, xxvii, 70/68, xlvi, 16/17, lxxxiii, 13), which has a distinctly pejorative connotation when used by unbelievers inclined to compare the revelation with fables and old wives' tales to which no credence should be given. The difficulty which lexicographers have in finding the singular of *asāṭīr* proves that this term, probably deriving from the Greek ἱστορία or the Latin *historia*, had served to form a pejorative plural (cf. *abāṭīl*) and that the corresponding singular had been forgotten or had never existed. Nowadays the term has been reinstated in the singular form *usṭūra* with the particular meaning of legend or myth.

—*nabaʾ* has in the Ḳurʾān the meaning of "news", "announcement" which it has retained until the present day (vi, 66/67, xxvii, 22, xxxviii, 67, xlix, 6, etc.) but it is also found there with the meaning of an edifying tale, a story of a prophet (ix, 71/70, v, 30/27, vi, 34, etc.); in this sense it has been completely replaced by *ḳaṣaṣ* and *ḳiṣṣa*.

—*khabar* [*q.v.*] is also Ḳurʾānic, with a meaning similar to that of *nabaʾ*: "information, an account of someone or something". In later literature this word was to have a great vogue and to be applied to a narrative of historical or biographical character. Although a *khabar* need not necessarily be authentic in the eyes of the critics, in principle the term could not be used of a story presented as fictitious; it appears however parallel with *ḥikāyāt* in the title of the collection, edited by H. Wehr, cited above.

—*sīra* [*q.v.*] is found in the Ḳurʾān only with the meaning of "state" or "appearance", but in literature it has also that of "conduct", "way of life", "biography" (especially of the Prophet); it is the term used for the romantic biographies of famous characters of antiquity or of the Islamic era [see ʿANTAR, BAYBARS, etc.].

—*ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] as used in the Ḳurʾān can be translated by "discourse", but it means also an edifying story (*e.g.*, that of Moses, xx, 8/9, lxxix, 15); on the other hand, *aḥādīth* (plural of *uḥdūtha* rather than of *ḥadīth*) is used of legendary tales (xxiii, 46/44, xxxiv, 18) and, in a general way, of lying talk. Independently of its technical meaning in the science of Tradition, *ḥadīth* is in general use for a story, a tale, a narrative; it is found so used in the *Aghānī*, the *Fihrist*, the stories published by H. Wehr and elsewhere.

—*mathal* [*q.v.*] in the Ḳurʾān is not only an image or a likeness, but also an example (xviii, 52-54, xxv, 35/33, etc.), indeed even a parable (xii, 72, xviii, 43/45). In later usage it is a proverb as well as a story invented to illustrate a doctrine or explain a circumstance of life; it is used to describe the apologues of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and, in general, fables of animals.

Outside the Ḳurʾān we find in literature the following:

—*riwāya* [*q.v.*], oral transmission of a *ḥadīth*, a poem or a story; this term, which retained this connotation in the technical language of tradition, grammar and criticism, was sometimes synonymous with *ḥikāya* in the sense of transmission and account of facts. In modern Arabic it has been adopted to mean a story, a novel, a play or a film.

—*nādira* [*q.v.*] has been used since the early Middle Ages for a witticism, an anecdote, especially a humorous one; the genre of the *nādira* contains enough typical characteristics to justify a separate article. In the article NĀDIRA will be found the rules which narrators were supposed to follow.

—*samar*, pl. *asmār*, is primarily a conversation, an evening gossip, for it comes from a root meaning "to chat in the evening" (cf. Ḳurʾān, xxiii, 69/67), but it is one of Ibn al-Nadīm's favourite words for stories told at an evening gathering and, in general, stories, for, contrary to what Mūsā Sulaymān maintains (*al-Adab al-ḳaṣaṣī*², Beirut 1956, 16-7), stories can in principle be related only at night (see *infra*). It seems that *samar* is used mainly of tales of the supernatural, but also of reports, since Ibn al-Nadīm sometimes refers to authentic *siyar* and *asmār* (*asmār ṣaḥīḥa*, Cairo ed., 424). After *ḥikāya* came to be used in a general sense, *samar* regained its earlier meaning of conversation at an evening gathering.

—*khurāfa*, finally, is said to be the name of an ʿUdhrī who was carried off by demons and who on returning related his adventures; nobody had believed him and the expression *ḥadīth Khurāfa* "story [worthy] of Khurāfa" had acquired the meaning of "entirely fictitious talk", "humbug"; however the Prophet himself vouches for the existence of the character and the authenticity of his statements (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 301, vi, 210; al-Maydānī, s.v. *ḥadīth Khurāfa*). With the dropping of the first element of the expression, and through contamination by the root *kh.r.f.*, "to talk nonsense", *khurāfa* became a common noun applied to a fabulous

story. It is the word used by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 89 f.), in a well-known passage on the nucleus of the *Thousand and one nights*, to translate the Persian *afsāna* and indicate stories in general. The *Fihrist*, which makes great use of it, seems to contrast it with *samar*, apparently attributing to it a more fictitious character. This term has remained current until the present with the meaning of "superstition", "fairy tale", "legend". It is interesting to note that in certain Moroccan dialects *ḥkāya* denotes a story more or less truthful, but in any case probable, *khurāfa* a story of marvels and *ḳəṣṣa* a historical account (see L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, 163-4). In Tunisia (see W. Marçais, *Glossaire de Takroûna*, s.v.), we notice *khrāfä* with the meaning of "baseless talk" and *khrâyfi* "boaster, humbug", while *kharrāf* still denotes a story-teller; elsewhere (cf. G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958, s.v.), *khoṛrāfa* is a story and *ḥkāyä* a short tale or anecdote.

II. — It would perhaps be rash to claim that the early Arabs, preoccupied solely with poetry and rhetoric, paid no attention to the tales of marvels and to the legends which are the common heritage of primitive man, but the brief semantic study given above certainly does not prove that they took a great interest in them, for, in fact, only the plural *asāṭīr*, and that a probable borrowing from a foreign language, is attested in the Ḳurʾān. Further, it was by Persian legends learned at al-Ḥīra that al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith [*q.v.*] replied to the stories in the Holy Book, treating them as *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* (see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo ed. 1375/1955, i, 300), which caused him, it is said, to be alluded to personally in some verses (notably lxviii, 15). In fact, these edifying stories introduced in the Ḳurʾān would seem to show that the early Arabs were familiar with stories and legends, but it is probable that the sanctification of Ḳurʾānic statements which were held to be historical truths, particularly on things concerning the annilated peoples of ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc., resulted in a certain mistrust of narrative literature or at least of that part of it which could not immediately be Islamicized to illustrate the Ḳurʾān and edify the faithful.

It is certain that, generally speaking, where the pre-Islamic period is concerned, the sphere of the legend is not distinguished from that of history and the historians of the first centuries did not hesitate to reproduce, quite uncritically, ideas originating in folklore which entered the stream of universal history [see TAʾRĪKH]; an examination of the Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, however, reveals a dividing line between that which is to be considered in any case as authentic and contributing to the edification of the Muslims: *ḥadīth*, *ḳaṣaṣ* (or *ḳiṣṣa*), *khabar*, *nabaʾ* and *mathal*, and that which is a fictitious story, useless, even dangerous and in any case unworthy of a Believer: *asāṭīr* and its synonyms: *asmār*, *khurāfāt*, which were later to be comprehended under the name *ḥikāyāt*.

A part of the materials constituting the narrative literature seems to have been reduced to writing as early as the 1st/7th century, and the names of ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd b. Sharya [*q.v.*], Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] and of the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān* immediately spring to mind; it is interesting that these were legends of southern Arabia that could be turned to account by Islam, in the same way as the stories of a Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*]. Other secular data received an Islamic flavour through being associated with famous people who were above suspicion, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās to whom is attributed for example the legend about the *ʿanḳāʾ* [*q.v.*]. From the 2nd/8th century the situation changes in the sense that the searchers are led by their boundless zeal and curiosity to collect everything which they find, no longer distinguishing between ideas which have a religious or truly scientific value and what is merely secular literature. It seems to have been at this time that there were collected love stories, of which the *Fihrist* provides a very full list [see ʿISHḲ], tales intended to explain proverbs [see MATHAL], historical traditions [see AYYĀM AL-ʿARAB, TAʾRĪKH], stories of animals and aetiological legends [see ḤAYAWĀN], witty stories [see NĀDIRA] and probably also tales of the supernatural, since certain of these found in the later collections are of Arab origin. At the same time the centre of the Islamic world was inundated with translations from Persian which provided scholars with elements deriving from Persia and India [see especially BILAWHAR AND YŪDĀSAF], while translations from Greek also brought their share of mythological material. Thus, in the 3rd/9th century there was available to the public a very rich narrative literature which in later centuries was to be further enriched by various types of gestes which it would be an exaggeration to call epics [see ḤAMĀSA, SĪRA].

Mūsā Sulaymān, in his study of narrative literature (*al-Adab al-ḳaṣaṣī*) already cited and his anthology (*Yuḥkā ʿan al-ʿArab*², Beirut 1955-6, 2 vols.) which illustrates it, covering a wider field than that outlined above, draws up a classification which deserves mention. In his view this literature is divided into two broad categories: 1. the borrowed *ḳaṣaṣ*, represented chiefly by the *Thousand and one nights* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; 2. the genuinely Arab *ḳaṣaṣ* which can be subdivided into: historical (*akhbārī*: stories concerning musicians and singers, tales of love, traditions about *fakhr*, *hidjāʾ*, etc.); heroic (*buṭūlī*: ʿAntar, Bakr and Taghlib, al-Barrāḳ, etc.); religious (*dīnī*: *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, etc.); lexicographical (*lughawī*: the *maḳāmāt*); philosophical (*al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* of Ibn Shuhayd, the *Risālat al-Ghufrān* of al-Maʿarrī, *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* of Ibn al-Ṭufayl, *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim* of Ibn al-Habbāriyya). From this classification it appears that for one thing the author does not take account of all the relevant literature, that for another some of his interpretations are mistaken (particularly about Ibn Shuhayd), and finally that he denies that the Arabs possessed any original stories of the supernatural. It is best therefore to refer to the essential source for information on this literature in the first centuries of Islam, the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, who gives to the first *fann* of his eighth *maḳāla* the title: *akhbār al-musāmirīn wa 'l-mukharrifīn wa-asmāʾ al-kutub al-muṣannafa fi 'l-asmār wa 'l-khurāfāt* (the copyist uses at this very point the expression *ḥikāyat khaṭṭ al-muṣannif* to indicate that he is copying verbatim); he first lists there the works concerning the *asmār* and the *khurāfāt*, treating separately the translations of texts of Persian, Indian and Greek origin; he includes in this *fann* traditions about Babylon and the Arsacids, then the love tales, the stories of the supernatural in which appear djinns [*q.v.*] who have amorous dealings with humans [see also GHŪL], and finally accounts of the wonders of the sea [see ʿADJĀʾIB]. Ibn al-Nadīm states that the first to compile collections of *khurāfāt* were the Persians of the first period, *i.e.*, the Kayānids, and adds that this material went on growing until the Sāsānids;

later these tales were translated into Arabic, and Arabs added stories of their own. It is at this point that Ibn al-Nadīm speaks of the *hazār afsān* which were to form the nucleus of the *Thousand and one nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA] and of the attempt of Djahshiyārī [*q.v.*] to collect a thousand tales (*samar*)—Arabic, Persian, Greek, etc.—by calling upon story-tellers (*musāmir*) and making use of written collections, but retaining only those which seemed to him the most interesting.

M. F. Ghazi (*La littérature d'imagination en arabe du II*ᵉ*/VIII*ᵉ *au V*ᵉ*/XI*ᵉ *siècle*, in *Arabica*, iv/2 (1957), 164-78) has tried to make use of these pages of the *Fihrist*, but his work is not free from errors and the result is rather disappointing, for the titles listed by Ibn al-Nadīm are not established with certainty and are liable to give rise to erroneous interpretations. It is evident that the great majority of the collections mentioned have not survived, having either been absorbed into the *Thousand and one nights* or relapsed into oral tradition where they have become more or less part of the folklore of the various Arabic-speaking countries. Here we have something rather strange. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwald, 41-2) declared that about 70 books of entertainment were very much read in his time; some decades later, Ibn al-Nadīm gives a still longer list of them, asserting that the *asmār* and the *khurāfāt* were very popular in the ʿAbbāsid period and especially under al-Muḳtadir, which encouraged the bookseller-copyists to reproduce them and perhaps themselves to collect new tales. A. Mez (*Renaissance*, 242-3; Eng. tr. 253; Sp. tr., 311-2) attributes this infatuation for narrative literature, and for stories which a critic as experienced and informed as Ibn al-Nadīm considers feeble and lacking in vigour, to the decline of pure Arab taste and the vogue for things foreign; as this decline increased we would expect to find a continuing success for this form of narrative literature; yet, although the works of *adab* [*q.v.*] continue to include short anecdotes and although collections for entertainment are still composed in great numbers by little-known *udabāʾ* [see NĀDIRA], complete disdain is evinced for the tales of the supernatural. We know what has happened to the *Thousand and one nights*, which Arab scholars have never been able to consider worthy of the slightest esteem, seeing in it merely a trivial diversion incompatible with the tastes which a true Believer should profess. In other words this masterpiece of world literature, which was revealed to the Arabs themselves by orientalists, has remained foreign to Arab literature even though, while of foreign origin, it contains authentic ʿIrāḳī and Egyptian elements (see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949, 47 ff.). The disdain felt by the educated classes for stories amply explains why Arab folklore has developed in a completely different way from that of other parts of the world, and why the phase of its being handed on in written form, in the golden age of Arabic culture, was followed by a return to an exclusively oral tradition, even though chapbooks, hawked in the markets, continue to circulate at popular levels. It is also remarkable that myths and legends never inspired Arabic writers, while a Firdawsī, although he had no more direct access than they to the original tradition, succeeded in employing materials equally well-known to the Arabs to create so superb an epic as the *Shāhnāma*. We must on the other hand refer here to the influence exercised in the West by the so-called Arabic stories, and we shall merely recall that, in imitation of Galland, several orientalists collected in their turn stories generally drawn from literary works or from popular works which echoed them: Pétis de la Croix and his *Mille et un jours*, Paris 1830, Gaudefroy-Demombynes and *Les cent et une nuits*, Paris 1911, and above all R. Basset, the eminent folklorist who in his *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-6, has made such instructive comparisons.

III. — To be fair, it must be said that some modern Arabic authors are trying hesitantly to revive the ancient themes in order to make of them truly literary works, but it is quite certain that, on the whole, folklore hardly inspires contemporary writers, who are more interested in imitating the West, neglecting this traditional material. The choice would not in fact be an easy one, for the world of today is more attracted by the *ḥikāya* in the sense in which Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī understood it than by the myths of antiquity, and one even has the impression that the ordinary people have less and less the time to listen to the stories and tales which delighted their ancestors—at least when they did not consider it beneath their dignity to be interested in them.

The observation of present or recent conditions in North Africa and elsewhere gives us an idea of what may have occurred formerly in Arab countries, and R. Blachère (in *Semitica*, vi (1956), 83-4) has put forward the hypothesis that the Ḳurʾānic term *asāṭīr* was applied to stories which were told by men, while *khurāfāt* indicated those reserved for women. This is quite possible, but the two spheres are not everywhere so neatly distinguished as the observations of H. Basset (*Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, *passim*), which inspired R. Blachère's interesting hypothesis, would lead us to believe. Although, in general, adult men affect to disdain old wives' tales, they are often prepared to produce from the depths of their memory stories heard in their youth and ostensibly forgotten. There are some who do not refuse to yield to the insistence of the researchers and to relate, even in the day-time, fantastic or supernatural tales; thus the author has been able to collect, both in North Africa and in the Middle East, examples from friendly storytellers, whose memories, however, were sometimes at fault. But such a search does not reproduce normal conditions and it can be said that traditionally two fields are to be distinguished: the tales of the supernatural, the ancient *asmār* which correspond to the German *Hausmärchen*, are told by women, especially old women, while the heroic tales and historical legends are the province of men.

Women famous as story-tellers were booked long in advance and gathered round them each evening, after supper, in a village- or town-house, an audience consisting especially of women and children; the ceremony took place preferably in winter, but in certain hot regions gatherings of this sort were suited to the coolness of the long summer evenings. Tradition forbade story-telling during the day, perhaps because everyone had work to do, but primarily because to tell a story is an act which savours of magic; according to popular belief, any infringement of this prohibition was penalized by a supernatural punishment, the nature of which varied from place to place; in one place, the woman who told stories during the day would give birth to dwarfs or monsters, in another her offspring would be killed by wild beasts, or she would be threatened with having children with ringworm, unless by

chance one could, as was believed at Fās, count eleven beams in the ceiling. Several ways existed of escaping the punishment, but in most cases the prohibition was respected, for the story-teller felt that she was embarking on a dangerous action. It is true that every story had to begin with a sacred formula intended to create the right atmosphere and to attract the attention of the audience, but it seems that this formula was in essence propitiatory. The *kān mā kān* of the male and female story-tellers of the East is only a survival without any apparent meaning, but elsewhere we discover more explicit formulas, whether they have retained their pagan character or become islamicized; the following is one which is given by M. El-Fasi and E. Dermenghem, *Contes fasis*, 16: *kān ḥəttā kān, ḥəttā kān ḷḷāh f-kull mkān, mā ta<u>kh</u>wa mənno lā ʾarḍ wā-lā mkān, ḥəttā kān l-ḥbəḳ wə-s-sūsān f-əḥjer ən-nbi ʿalīh əṣ-ṣālvtū w-əs-sālām, ḥəttā kān* ... ('there was and there was Allāh in every place; no earth and no place is empty of Him; and there was basil and lily in the lap of the Prophet—upon him be prayer and greeting; and there was ...'). In the same way, when the story was finished, a formula at the end repelled evil influences, if need be, as in Kabylia, making them pass into the body of an animal. In general all these formulas tend to become reduced in length without in the least losing their prophylactic character; in Berber for example, the story-teller says at least "Our tale is finished, but the wheat and the barley are not finished". And even in such an abbreviated formula as this: *tūtā tūtā, <u>kh</u>əḷṣət 'l-ḥaddūtā*, "mulberry, mulberry, end of our story", heard in Syria, something of magic survives.

As for men, R. Le Tourneau (*Fès*, 555-6) has observed the story-tellers (*fdāwi*, pl. *fdāwiya* or *fdāwa*) of Fās who "intoned to the rhythm of a square tambourine the deeds of Arabs of former times; the majority of the listeners (about fifty in winter, up to two hundred in summer) knew the stories already and rebuked the narrator or prompted him if by chance his memory failed him, but they took great pleasure in hearing for the hundredth time the story of journeys, of single combats, of deeds of treachery and daring, and allowed themselves to be lulled or moved by the endless repetition of stereotyped formulas". The same writer relates that a shoemaker famed for his talent as a story-teller would take up his place on a chosen site between the *ʿaṣr* and *ma<u>gh</u>rib* prayers and "recited day after day a long story which he was able to make lively and sometimes poignant". His repertoire however consisted of only three stories: *ʿAntar*, which lasted a year, the story of the Ismāʿīlīs (*i.e.*, the Fāṭimids), which lasted six months, and the romance of Sayf <u>Dh</u>u 'l-Yasal (*sic* = Yazan), which lasted four months. At the end of the session, a member of the audience made a collection and handed it over to the story-teller.

It is not possible within the scope of this brief article to study the popular tales which are gathered together wholesale in the cycle of the *Thousand and one nights* on the one hand and the great romances of chivalry on the other, and it is desirable that those collected up to now and those still to be collected should be submitted to an investigation at least as far-reaching as that which H. Basset has devoted to the Berber field; such a study would certainly bring to light new sources and perhaps lead to a solution of the numerous problems which remain unanswered. Mention should be made of the recent work of Mia I. Gerhardt, *The art of story-telling, a literary study of the Thousand and One Nights*, Leiden 1963.

Bibliography: The main sources are given in the text; see also: Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, i, Paris 1921; V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*, iv, Liège 1892; Pearson, 23806-914, suppl., 6339-52; ʿA. ʿAbdel-Meguid, *A survey of story literature in Arabic from before Islam to the middle of the nineteenth century*, in *Isl. Quarterly*, i (1954), 104-13; idem, *A survey of the terms used in Arabic for "narrative" and "story"*, *ibid.*, 195-204.—E. Montet, *Le conte dans l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1930; R. Blachère, *Regards sur la littérature narrative en arabe au Ier siècle de l'hégire (VIIe s.J.-C.)*, in *Semitica*, iv (1956), 75-86, contains some original ideas of which use has been made in this article.—The bibliography of R. Basset, *Mille et un contes* ..., contains a long list of Arabic works which contain various stories.—For the field of Arabic dialects, see ʿARABIYYA, iii, 2-3, adding especially Artin Pasha, *Contes populaires inédits de la Vallée du Nil*, Paris 1895; E. Littmann, *Modern Arabic Tales*, i, Ar. text, Leiden 1905; S. Bencheneb, *Les contes d'Alger*, Oran 1946; Dresse Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, 1926; G. Marchand. *Contes et légendes du Maroc*, Rabat 1923; M. El-Fasi and E. Dermenghem, *Contes fasis*, Paris 1926; idem, *Nouveaux contes fasis* Paris 1928; see also H. Pérès, *L'arabe dialectical algérien et saharien, Bibliographie analytique*, Algiers 1958, index, s.v. *Contes*; the bibliography of W. Fischer, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen neuarabischen Dialekte*, The Hague 1959, is almost exhaustive and consequently contains all the stories in Arabic dialects which have been published.—For the Berber field, see BERBERS, vi.

(CH. PELLAT)

ii. — PERSIAN LITERATURE

The term *ḥikāya* is regarded here as referring in classical Persian literature to the short prose story, which cannot be said to form a true literary genre in Persian tradition, since *ḥikāyāt* are inserted in many other types of literary composition (history, mystic writings, satire, etc.) in addition to the collections of *ḥikāyāt* properly so-called. Thus the *ḥikāya* is of different types according to the various works in which it is used: hence we have the imaginary fable, the allegorical moral tale, the semi-realistic anecdote, the mystic "*fioretto*", etc., and each of these sub-groups of *ḥikāyāt* may have a different origin and history.

One type of *ḥikāya* of particular importance is the fable of Indian origin. There is no doubt at all that this is the origin of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] collection which, starting from the Arabic translation made by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 142/759) from the Pahlavi version of an Indian original, appeared in many neo-Persian translations, both in verse and in prose. Already at an early date all these translations were superseded by that of Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (538/1143-4), already in a rather flowery style, but considerably exceeded in ornamentation by the later recension by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kā<u>sh</u>ifī (d. 910/1504-5) under the title of *Anwār-i Suhaylī* (The Lights of Canopus). Yet another imitation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was the *Marzbān-nāma* of the prince Marzbān b. Rustam b. <u>Sh</u>ahriyār, originally written in the 5th/11th century in the dialect of Ṭabaristān and re-written in ornate neo-Persian in the *Marzbān-nāma* of Saʿd al-Dīn of

Varāmīn (622/1225) and in the *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳūl* of Muḥammad b. Ghāzī of Malatya (end of the 7th/13th century).

Other cycles of very popular fables also had remote Indian origins and underwent developments similar to those of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Notable among them were the *Sindbād-nāma* (Book of Sindbād, which should not be confused with Sindbād the Sailor of the Thousand and One Nights; this is the framework story of the Forty Viziers or of the Seven Viziers), the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, similar to the preceding work (Book of the Ten Viziers), the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Book of the Parrot), all of them moralizing works, whereas the *Ḳiṣaṣ-i čahār darwīsh* (Stories of the Four Dervishes) are pure fiction. All of these texts were re-written several times by various authors in prose and in verse.

The ornamental style which, in these stories, varies with the contents, becomes purely an aesthetic sport in one literary genre which might be classed as *ḥikāya*, namely the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*]; the first *maḳāmāt* in Persian, those of Ḥamīd al-Dīn (d. 559/1164), are simply translations from the Arabic of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, who was however himself of Persian birth.

The task of collecting as many *ḥikāyāt* as possible and classifying them under various different rubrics was fulfilled in the enormous collection of Muḥammad ʿAwfī [see ʿAWFĪ], *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa-lawāmiʿ al-riwāyāt*, which collects together more than 2,000 stories and anecdotes (first half of the 7th/13th century); it was inspired by such Arabic works as *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* of al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), which was re-written in Persian by ʿAwfī himself and others.

Anecdotes of the humorous type were collected also by ʿUbayd-i Zākānī (8th/14th century), whose *Risāla-yi Dilgushā* is merely a collection of *ḥikāyāt*, often obscene, in Arabic and in Persian.

The unequalled master of the *ḥikāya* is Saʿdī [*q.v.*] in his *Gulistān* (656/1258), which is basically only a collection of light moralizing *ḥikāyāt* in prose interspersed with verse, divided according to subject; it has been imitated more than once, among the best of the imitations being the *Bahāristān* of Djāmī (d. 898/1492) and the *Kitāb-i Parīshān* of Ḳāʾānī (d. 1270/1854).

This brief survey excludes the "novel", which, although it possesses some of its characteristics, cannot be classed as *ḥikāya*. The novel in its modern sense is practically non-existent in the classical literature, where its place is taken by long fabulous stories (*dāstān*) (generally not very highly thought of by the classical historians of literature), the earliest example of which is the *Samak ʿAyār* (585/1189) of Ṣadaḳa b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim Shīrāzī, full of the imaginary adventures of cavaliers who aspire to the hand of the princess, daughter of the emperor of China. This romance was followed by many others, some of them midway between learned and popular literature, which relate the extraordinary adventures of various heroes (*e.g.*, of Amīr Ḥamza [see ḤAMZA], uncle of the Prophet) and which were particularly popular in India.

It is possible to consider as collections of *ḥikāyāt* also the *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* or semi-legendary "biographies" of saints, the most famous of which, in Persia, is that of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (6th/12th century).

What all this heterogeneous material has in common is primarily a matter of style: the narrative style of the short tale, which in general appears in two main forms, the straightforward and the ornate. In the first case the narrative is advanced by extremely simple stylistic and syntactical means, with very rare use of subordinate clauses, or none at all, in a series of statements expressed in brief sentences which follow each other without any links. The attempts to make such a disjointed narrative more "complex" generally took the form of an elaboration in ornamentation. If the rhetorical ornaments are removed however, the basic style is found to be straightforward. The development is not necessarily from the plain to the ornate and the two styles may be found together in works of the same period and sometimes of the same author.

Thus, on the eve of the modern era, Persian narrative art found itself somewhat at a disadvantage when faced with the powerful influence of European novels and short stories, which in the West had a long history behind them: among the most difficult and fascinating tasks of modern Persian writers is to create a complex realism which surpasses the earlier realism attempted in the *ḥikāyāt* and a narrative style which, rejecting the use of complicated ornament, achieves a simplicity which is not merely straightforward narration; and they have sometimes produced some noteworthy results in this direction (*e.g.*, Djamālzāda, Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat, Ṣādiḳ Čūbak, etc.).

Bibliography: J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959 (which contains references to the principal editions of the texts cited and further bibliography). (A. BAUSANI)

iii. — THE NARRATIVE GENRES OF TURKISH LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE.

The word *ḥikâye*, attested also in the form *ḥikâyet* (< Ar. *ḥikāya*) in Ottoman texts, means, when it is used with the auxiliary verb *et-*, "to relate", "to narrate". It means a story, when it is accompanied by simple or compound verbs such as *de-*, *söyle-*: "to say", *naḳlet-* : "to relate". As a generic term, the word has not had, in the Turkish of Turkey, any specific sense, but has indicated each and all of the narrative genres : tale (*masal* < Ar. *mathal*), legend (*menḳabe, efsâne*), anecdote (*laṭīfe, fıḳra*), story, novel, romance. It is only in recent scientific terminology that it has acquired the value of a precise technical term to indicate three clearly defined genres: in oral tradition, a lengthy story in prose alternating with verse passages (the *ḥikâye* of the *ʿâshıḳ*, see below), or a mimed story in prose performed by professional story-tellers (the *ḥikâye* of the *meddāḥs* [*q.v.*]; in modern written literature, a novel (see below).

In the modern Turkish of Turkey, the word *efsane* (< P. *afsāna*) is used as a technical term to mean a legend; but, in the current language, past as well as present, it can have, with the words *masal* (< Ar. *mathal*) and *hurafe* (< Ar. *khurāfa*), the pejorative sense of "a completely fantastic story, fabricated or superstitious".

There should also be mentioned the uses, which nowadays have completely disappeared, of certain other terms. First the words compounded with *nâme* (Pers. *nāma*) added to the name of the hero or to the word denoting the main theme, to indicate large scale narrative works, usually in verse but sometimes also in prose : *Iskender-nâme* (the "Romance of Alexander"), *Ḥamza-nâme* (the "Geste of Ḥamza"), *Ghazawât-nâme* ("Stories of holy wars"), *Fetḥ-nâme* ("Stories of conquest"), *Wilâyet-nâme* ("Hagiography"), *Oghuz-nâme* ("Stories about the Oghuz"),

etc. This latter term has, in the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut, which, in the recension which has survived, was probably compiled in the 9th/15th century (see P.N. Boratav, *Dede Korkut hikâyelerindeki tarihî olaylar ve kitabın te'lif tarihi*, in *TM*, xiii (1958), 31-62), the meaning of "epic episode composed and declaimed in honour of the main hero of the adventures related". In the same work are found also two terms, *boy* and *soy*, used together with the verbs which are derived from them : *boy boyla-*, *soy soyla-*; the former has the meaning of "to relate, in the epic style, a story which describes the memorable deeds of a hero", the second "to declaim (or sing or chant) the verse sections of an epic narrative". The term *boy* is, in addition, used in the titles of the twelve episodes found in one of the two manuscripts (that of Dresden, which is nearest to the lost original) of the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut; it accompanies the name of the hero and means simply "episode" : *Bamsı Beyrek boyı*, "Episode of Bamsı Beyrek"; *Basat Depegözi öldürdügi boy*, "Episode [in which is related how] Basat killed Depegöz", etc. *Boy* and *soy*, synonyms, mean strictly "tribe", "clan", "family"; they were probably originally used to denote the stories and songs recounting the memorable deeds of a clan (cf. the term *toy*, "feast", "banquet", "wedding ceremonies", used also for "wedding song"; see P. N. Boratav, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikâyeciliği*, Ankara 1946, 52, 117, 120, 294-7). In the sense of "episode", the word *boy* has been replaced in the later epic narrative tradition of eastern Anatolia by the word *ḳol* ("arm", but also "branch", "detachment") ; it denotes an episode in the great narrative corpus of the adventures of the noble bandit Köroghlu : *Demirdjioghlu ḳolu*, *Ayvaz ḳolu*, etc. In the second, and more Ottomanized, manuscript (that of the Vatican) of the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut, the term *boy* is replaced in the titles by *hiḳâyet* : *Ḥikâyet-i Bamsı Baryik*, etc.; even the title of the book (*Kitâb-i Dedem Ḳorḳut* in the Dresden manuscript) is, in that of the Vatican: *Ḥikâyet-i Oghuznâme-i Kazan Beg ve ghayrih*.

The terms *ḳiṣṣa* (pl. *ḳıṣaṣ*) and *menâḳib* (sing. *menḳabe*) have been used in the same sense as the words formed with *-nâme*, but more often for prose works dealing with epico-religious themes; from the first is derived the word *ḳıṣṣakhʷân*, the equivalent of the Arabic *ḳaṣṣâṣ*, used of the teller (or "reader") of stories about the pre-Islamic prophets, the champions of Islam or the great mystic figures: *Ḳıṣaṣ-i enbiyâ*, *Menâḳib-i ghazawât-i Seyyid Baṭṭâl*, *Menâḳib-i Ḥâdji Bektash*, etc.; *siyer* (sing. *sîret*; Ar. *sîra*, pl. *siyar*) is the term reserved for stories of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad. As an example of technical terms used for specific genres of narrative literature there should also be mentioned *maḳtal* which means, in the tradition of Shīʿī circles, the account of the death of Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ.

From about the beginning of the 10th/16th century, there spread through the territories of the Ottoman empire a tradition of popular poetry, that of the *ʿâshıḳs* [*q.v.*] (literally "lovers"). These poet-singers of the same type as the troubadours of the mediaeval West were the successors of the *ozan* ("bards") of Oghuz poetic tradition. They composed and disseminated lyric poetry but they also carried on the epic tradition. They transformed the heroic epic into a new genre called *ḥikâye*. This *ḥikâye* retained certained formal and thematic elements from the ancient tradition, but it was enriched either by borrowings from foreign literatures or by original contributions from the new social conditions. This narrative tradition has survived until the present day; it is still represented by story-teller singers in the provinces of Kars, Artvin and Erzurum in eastern Turkey. The *ḥikâyes* with heroic themes such as those of the Köroghlu cycle and the *ḥikâyes* like those of Kerem, of Gharīb, etc. which tell love stories have the same formal and stylistic patterns : the narrative and the ordinary dialogues are in prose; the "pathetic" monologues and dialogues, in verse, are intercalated in the narrative, sung to the accompaniment of the *saz* (an instrument of the lute type) by the *ʿâshıḳ*-storyteller himself. A number of these stories are romanticized biographies of *ʿâshıḳs* who have really existed, but even in this case a certain measure of the supernatural and the legendary is introduced. Nevertheless, in comparison with the tales of marvels, the romances of chivalry (such as the *Geste* of Baṭṭâl) and the hagiographies, the *ḥikâye* shows a clear tendency to realism. In the biographies of the *ʿâshıḳs*, the poems inserted are from the works of the poet in question, reproduced more or less faithfully. The *ḥikâyes* which do not belong to this category of "romantic biographies" are, in both the prose and the poetry section, the works of *ʿâshıḳ*-"writers" who, starting with themes drawn from oral or written sources, and sometimes even from some event in their immediate circle, develop them according to the rules and conventions of tradition, inserting poems of their own composition at the points of the narrative which seem most suitable. The various processes and the successive phases of such a production—in part improvised while it is being recited—have been observed among *ʿâshıḳ*-"writers" (= *muṣannif*) of the present day (see P. N. Boratav, *op. cit.*, 130-86, and more particularly 158-63).

A number of *ḥikâyes* in the Anatolian repertoire are common to other Turkish-speaking peoples; to mention only a few examples : the episode of Beyrek in the Book of Dede Ḳorḳut has spread beyond the Oghuz area among the Karakalpaks, the Özbeks, the Kazakhs, and the Altais; various episodes from the Köroghlu cycle exist in Ādharbaydjānī, Türkmen, Özbek and Tobol Tatar versions (and even non-Turkish versions : Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish, Tādjik) ; the romantic biographies of the *ʿâshıḳs* such as Kerem and Gharīb are known in Ādharbaydjān and Turkmenistan, and the romance of the loves of Ṭāhir and Zühre in these two countries and in Özbekistan (see P. N. Boratav, *L'épopée et la "ḥikâye"*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 11-44).

The *ḥikâyes* vary in length. Those of Köroghlu form a vast cycle in which each episode (*ḳol*) is related independently and is in general of the same length as a full-scale *ḥikâye*. When recited by a skilled story-teller a lengthy *ḥikâye* may entertain his audience for several sessions (evenings), each lasting 3 or 4 hours. If in addition he is encouraged by an enthusiastic audience of connoisseurs, a good story-teller can always find a pretext to prolong his recital as much as he wishes, filling it out artificially with non-narrative additions: musical sections (instrumental and vocal) added at the beginning and in the middle of the story (when "pauses" are reached), anecdotes and short tales (= *ḳaravelli*) introduced at random, etc.; the sessions may also be prolonged by interventions sung by talented members of the audience. The shorter *ḥikâyes* (lasting one or two hours) are known as *serküshte* (< *sergüzesht*) or *ḳaṣîde*.

There are some written recensions of the *ḥikâyes* of the *ʿâshıḳs*. Some 19th century manuscripts exist (see P. N. Boratav, *op. cit.*, 206-10); also in the 19th

century, some lithographed editions were produced, very probably baseed on manuscripts; however, editions based on oral versions are also possible, without the intervention of copies circulating in manuscript : some quite recent editions (in Latin characters, hence printed since 1928) produced by this process are known (see P. N. Boratav, *op. cit.*, 212-3).

There should also be mentioned the classical themes such as Leylā and Medjnūn, Ferhād and Shīrīn, etc., which, without being completely assimilated to the *ḥikāyes*, particularly in their verse sections, have nevertheless become part of the repertoire of popular *ḥikāyes* which are distributed in the form of books sold in the streets by pedlars, first in lithographed then in printed form.

The classics of Arabo-Persian narrative prose such as *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Ṭūṭīnāme*, and the Thousand and One Nights have, since the beginnings of the Islamic Turkish literatures, existed in written recensions recorded in the various Turkish-speaking areas. The culmination of this literature, in the Ottoman area, at the end of the 18th century, is the famous collection *Mukhāyyelāt-ı ledünn-i ilāhī* of ʿAzīz Efendi (see A. Tietze, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 248 f.). But very few examples are known of the true popular story which has passed into a written version: there may be mentioned a *Dāstān-ı Aḥmed Ḥarāmī* (written version in verse, of the folk-tale type no. 153 in the Turkish catalogue, no. 956B of the international catalogue of Aarne-Thompson), an anonymous work, probably 8th/14th century; a short verse tale by ʿĀshıḳ Pasha (7th/13th century), which corresponds to the folk-tale type no. 1626 of the international catalogue. The collection *Billūr Köshk*, containing 13 stories drawn from oral tradition, is a fairly recent compilation, probably of the 19th century. On the other hand, the comic narrative literature, which seems to have drawn a large part of its subject matter from oral tradition, has appeared much more frequently in written versions. The collections of amusing anecdotes of Naṣr al-Dīn Khodja [*q.v.*] begin from the 10th/16th century to supplant the others because of their popularity. More recent anecdotes such as those of Bekrī Muṣṭafā or Indjili Čavush, both of them actual persons of the 11th/17th century, which at first were transmitted orally, were also to appear in modern editions in books peddled in the streets. The anecdotes concerning the adherents of heterodox sects (*e.g.*, the Takhtadjī and the Ḳızılbash), and also the "discriminatory" stories which different racial, regional or religious communities tell against one another, remained until fairly recently exclusively oral. Nevertheless there are to be found in some 11th/17th and 12th/18th century manuscripts jokes about the Rāfiḍīs which appear again later, attributed to the Bektashīs.

In Turkey, the modern novel and short story began as a kind of negation of the ancient narrative traditions, both classical and popular. It is nevertheless true that the first modern novels and stories were deeply influenced by works of these two ancient traditions. Although they succeeded in eliminating all irrational and supernatural elements, yet so far as style, forms of expressions and construction are concerned, the old narrative techniques of the storytellers of scholarly literature and of the *meddāḥ*s were to survive for a long time, right up to the period of the realist-naturalist novel of the beginning of the 20th century, for example in the works of the great novelist Ḥusayn Raḥmī [Gürpınar] [*q.v.*] (1864-1944), who here follows his master Aḥmed Midḥat (1844-1913), the father of the modern novel in Turkey. The very titles of the early novels which appeared at the same time as the first works of Aḥmed Midḥat are significant in this respect : *Müsāmeretnāme* (1872-5) by Emīn Nihād, *Siyer-i Sırvināz* (1873-4) by T. ʿAbdī. At this time works of this genre were called "*roman*", but also *ḥikāye*, as is illustrated by the title of an anonymous novel *Ḥikāye-i Ferdāne Khanım* (1872-3); thus the word *ḥikāye* acquired a new meaning and it was thereafter to be reserved for the "story" in written educated literature. The composite term *küçük hikâye* (short story) refers only to the length of the story.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türklerde khalḳ ḥikāyedjiliğine ʿāʾid baʿdī mäddeler*, in *TM*, i (1925), 1 ff.; O. Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1935; Ilhan Başgöz, *Turkish folk stories about the lives of minstrels*, in *Journal of American Folklore*, lxv (1952), 331-9; W. Eberhard, *Minstrel tales from southeastern Turkey*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1955. Bibliographies in the above works and in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965; the latter work gives, in the relevant chapters, accounts of the narrative genre in the literatures of all the Turkish-speaking countries, followed by extensive bibliographies. For Turkish tales see the catalogue by W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953. (PERTEV NAİLİ BORATAV)

iv. — URDU

Urdū prose developed much later than Urdū verse. The prose *ḥikāya* is therefore shortlived in Urdū and gave place to the Westernized forms of the novel in the later nineteenth and of the short story in the early twentieth century [see URDŪ]. Most of the *ḥikāya* literature in Urdū consists of translations from Persian; but these translations have often a literary, and certainly a historical value, which their originals lack.

The *ḥikāya* made its first appearance in the *mathnawīs* [*q.v.*] written in the courts of Bidjāpūr and Golkunda in the Dakkan, and were later rewritten in prose when it developed in the north in the early nineteenth century. The outstanding prose work of this genre written in the Dakkan is Mullā Wadjhī's *Sabras* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Awrangabad 1932). It is a prose allegory adapted from Muḥammad ibn Sībak Fattāḥī Nīshāpūrī's (d. 852/1448) *Dastūr-i ʿushshāḳ* (ed. R. S. Greenshields, Berlin 1926). Its theme is the quest of the elixir of life, and it has certain unexplained thematic similarities with the *Roman de la Rose*. The quest motif is interwoven in a pattern of allegorization of the conventions of love familiar in Islamic poetry, in the story of the love of Prince *Dil* (heart) for the Princess *Ḥusn* (beauty) with the personification as characters of all the symptoms of desire in the lover and of 'rigueur' and resistance in the beloved. The allegorical story has certain magical elements linking it with the prose *dāstān* literature rendered into Urdū in the early nineteenth century. It is written in rhyming prose, blending literary idiom with Dakkanī colloquialism.

In Islamic India the *dāstān* was a form written in prose as well as orally recited. *Dāstān*s were narrated by professional story-tellers in the houses of noblemen or in special gatherings at Delhi, Lucknow, Benares and Ḥaydarābād. The art of *dāstāngūʾī* in speech and writing survived well into the 1930's with Mīrzā Bāḳir ʿAlī.

The basic material of the *dāstān*-literature was the cycle of Amīr Ḥamza, written and recited in most Muslim countries from Turkey to Indonesia. *Dāstān* characters fell broadly into three categories: the hero, the heroine and their chivalrous friends; 'tricheurs' (*ʿayyār*) who supported them and supplied some comic relief in the narrative; and the sorcerers or magicians (*dj̲ādūgar*) who were their adversaries. The *dāstān* has a repetitive pattern of almost identical stock situations in which heroes aided by *ʿayyār*s challenge sorcerers in a magical landscape with a labyrinthine monotony which drags on to enormous lengths.

The authorship of *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza* is attributed apocryphally to Akbar's [*q.v.*] poet-laureate Fayḍī: It was rendered into Urdū from Persian by As̲h̲k under the auspices of the Fort William College in 1215/1801. The entire *dāstān* runs into seventeen volumes divided into a number of series. The first of these series is *Naws̲h̲īrwān Nāma*. The most popular series is the seven-volume *Ṭilism-i Hūs̲h̲rubā*, the first four volumes of which were translated from a Persian original by Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn Dj̲āh, and the remaining three by Aḥmad Ḥusayn Ḳamar.

An imitation of the Ḥamza cycle is the *Bustān-i k̲h̲iyāl*, a *dāstān* of 4,000 pages composed in Persian by Mīr Taḳī K̲h̲ān under the patronage of the decadent Mug̲h̲al emperor Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1131/1719-1161/1748). It was translated into Urdū by K̲h̲ʷādja Amān Dihlawī and Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAskarī among others. In stylistic quality the *Bustān-i k̲h̲iyāl* is inferior to the Ḥamza group, though both rely on linguistic cadence, rhymed sentences and ornate phraseology.

Fasāna-i ʿadj̲āʾib (1824), Mīrzā Radj̲ab ʿAlī Bēg Sarūr's (1787-1867) short volume of inter-related stories, is thematically descended from the *dāstān*s and has the same involved magical elements, but it is distinguished from them by its brevity, its occasional reflection of the actual life of the period and its primary pre-occupation with the concentrated decorativeness of style. These new characteristics, especially the last, were inherited by Pandit Ratan Nāth Sars̲h̲ār (1846-1902) in his novels, which also reflect the influence of *dāstān*s in love scenes and certain conventional situations.

Čahār darwīs̲h̲, originally a collection of inter-related stories in Persian, has wrongly been attributed to Amīr K̲h̲usraw [*q.v.*]. It was composed probably during the 11th/17th century. It has been rendered into Urdū in two literary versions of considerable importance. One of these was Muḥammad Ḥusayn ʿAṭā K̲h̲ān's *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ* compiled in 1798 in a highly Persianized style. It was rendered into simpler and idiomatic Urdū prose by Mīr Amman Dihlawī at the Fort William College in 1801, under the title *Bāg̲h̲-u bahār*. Both these works constitute landmarks in the development of Urdū prose. Another *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ* of inferior literary quality was compiled at the Fort William College by Zarrīn in 1801.

Sayf al-mulk wa Badīʿ al-dj̲amāl, a story from the *Arabian Nights*, was first rendered as a *mat̲h̲nawī* by the Dakkanī poet G̲h̲awwāṣī in 1035/1625. It was written as a prose romance by Manṣūr ʿAlī in the early nineteenth century.

Other remarkable specimens of the *ḥikāya* literature of the early nineteenth century include *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*, Walī Muḥammad b. Ḥāfiẓ Mīrān's rendering of Bāḳir Madj̲lisī's work on the stories of the prophets; S̲h̲aykh Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad ʿUt̲h̲mānī's *Sayr-i ʿIs̲h̲rat, dj̲āmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* (1825), an imitation of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*; the *Haft guls̲h̲an*, a collection of Nāṣir ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Wāsiṭī's translated from Persian into Urdū by Mīrzā Luṭf ʿAlī Wilā; Benī Narāyan's *Čar guls̲h̲an*, translated from Persian in 1811; and two collections of prose tales *Mor pank̲h̲ī* and *Ras̲h̲k-i parī* composed by Aḥmad ʿAlī about 1241/1825. As̲h̲k, the translator of *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, also wrote a prose romance, *Gulzār-i Čīn*, in 1219/1804. Ḥaydar Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ Ḥaydarī's (d. 1833) *Arāʾis̲h̲-i maḥfil* belongs, like several other tales written in the early nineteenth century, to the Ḥātim Ṭāʾī cycle. Ḥaydarī is also the author of *Laylā Madj̲nūn* and *Gulzār-i dānis̲h̲*, which is a translation of S̲h̲aykh ʿInāyat Allāh's *Bahār-i dānis̲h̲* containing stories of feminine wiles and infidelity.

Ḥaydarī's most famous work *Totā kahānī*, compiled in 1215/1801 at the Fort William College, belongs to another group in the *ḥikāya* literature, that of stories of Indian origin. Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nak̲h̲s̲h̲abī's *Ṭūṭī Nāma* (731/1330) is the Persian version of a Sanskrit collection of seventy stories, *Šuka saptati*. The central plot around which the stories are clustered evolves around a faithful parrot who keeps an unfaithful wife, whose husband is away on a distant journey, from adultery by relating to her a series of stories to keep her absorbed and out of mischief. A simpler abridged version reducing the number of stories to thirty-five was compiled in Persian in 1049/1639 by Muḥammad Ḳādirī. G̲h̲awwāṣī's Urdū *mat̲h̲nawī Ṭūṭī Nāma* (1049/1639) is based on Nak̲h̲s̲h̲abī's version, while Ḥaydarī's prose *Totā kahānī* is based on Ḳādirī's abridgement.

Other stories of Indian origin compiled at the Fort William College include *Singhāsan Battīsī* by Kāẓim ʿAlī Dj̲awān and Lallū Lāl; and *Baytāl Pačīsī* translated into Urdū by Luṭf ʿAlī Wilā with the help of Lallū Lāl. Wilā also translated a Hindi romance, *Mādho Mal*.

Ins̲h̲ā's (1756-1817) *Kahānī Rānī Kētakī awr Kanwar Udaybhān kī* (1803) is a story of Indian origin in which not a single word of Arabic or Persian origin has been used.

A famous Indian cycle is of the quest of a rare flower *Bakāwalī*, which is also the name of a woman. The story was rendered into Persian in 1124/1712 by ʿIzzat Allāh Bangālī, and from this version it was translated into Urdū by Nihāl Čand Lāhorī (eds. Calcutta 1815, 1827; Garcin de Tassy's French summary in *JA*, 1836). Earlier versions of this romance were written in Dakkanī verse in 1035/1625 and 1151/1738. The most famous Urdū version of the Bakāwalī romance is Dayā S̲h̲ankar Nasīm's *mat̲h̲nawī Gulzār-i Nasīm* composed in 1254/1838.

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(Aziz Ahmad)

v. — Malaya

Hikayat in Malay as in Arabic means 'story, tale, narrative, historical account'. It occurs in the titles of two Sumatran works of the early 9th/15th century, the history of the rulers of Pasai (*Ht. Raja Raja Pasai*) and *Ht. Iskandar Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn*, the story of Alexander the Great as a missionary of Islam derived from a Perso-Arabic source. Probably a little later and done in the Javanese quarter of 15th century Malacca are a *Ht. Pĕrang Pandawa Jaya* (or *Bharatayuddha*), a *Ht. Sang Boma* (or *Bhaumakawya*) and a number of *hikayat* based on the Javanese shadow-play cycle (ca. 750/1350) of Panji tales. To the same period belongs a *Ht. Sĕri Rama* or Malay version of the Ramayana. But the "Malay Annals" (15th-16th cent. A.D.) say that when d'Albuquerque conquered Malacca in 1511 A.D., the Malays had a *Ht. Amīr Ḥamza* and a *Ht. Hanafiah* (*Ḥanafiyya*)—both from the Persian. Another early Malay *hikayat* is a *Ht. Yūsuf.*

Tales of the Prophet, which also date from the early Indo-Persian phase of the Malays' Islamic culture, all bear the name *hikayat*, *e.g.*, the stories of the mystic light (*nūr*) of Muḥammad, of the moon splitting at his command, of his shaving and of his death.

The name is applied to versions of famous cycles of tales from Muslim sources. The Persian *Ṭūṭī-nāme* was translated under the names *Ht. Bayan Budiman* (Tale of the wise parrot) or *Ht. Khoja Maymūn* (Tale of the lucky merchant):a lady in 15th century Malacca was named Sabariah (Ṣabariyya, Patience) after one of its characters. Two versions of the History of the Seven Viziers (*Ht. Bakhtiyār*), the *Ht. Ghulām* (or *Ht. Raja Aybakh*) from the Arabic, and a complete version of the *Ht. Kalīla wa-Dimna* all date from the 11th/17th century. The most recent version of the last was translated *ca.* 1825 from the Tamil by Raffles' clerk, Munshi ʿAbd Allāh, and called *Ht. Pancha Tanderam.* The same translator termed his own autobiography the *Ht. ʿAbd Allāh.*

Down to the first half of the 19th century the Muslim Malay continued to enjoy many *hikayats* translated from Indian sources, where princes and princesses of divine origin triumph over every wile of demon, giant and man and where invulnerable heroes defeat monsters with the bow of Arjuna or the sword of Japhet and solve riddles with the help of spirits, genii, and sages both Hindu and Muslim. The advent of Islam saw the Hinduized legends of Muslim India turned into *hikayat* embellished with reminiscences from Persian tales, allusions to heroes of the *Shāhnāma* like Ḳobād, Djamshid and Bahrām, episodes from the Alexander legend, references to Baghdād, Medina, Egypt and Byzantium and (as in the *Ht. Shāh-i Mardan*) expositions of Ṣūfī mysticism. One of the last was a *Ht. Bustamman.*

Malay history began with imitations of the Javanese historico-romance and though a Malay scholar ascribes the differentiation of history from fiction to the publication by the British education department of a *Kitab Tawarikh Melayu* (2nd ed., 1921), Malay historians have often preferred to *hikayat* words like *sejarah* (annals), *salsilah* (genealogies) or names like *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Garden of Kings) or *Tuḥfat al-nafīs* (Precious gift) as titles for their works.

Catalogues list more than a hundred and fifty works in classical Malay that are termed *hikayat.*

Bibliography: R. O. Winstedt, *A history of Classical Malay literature* (*with bibliography*), in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the R.A.S.*, xxxi/3 (1958); C. Hooykaas, *Literatuur in Maleis en Indonesisch*, Groningen and Djakarta 1952 (Malay tr., *Penyedar sastera*, Kuala Lumpur 1963); A. Bausani, *Note sulla struttura della "hikayat" classica malese*, in *AIUON*, n.s. xii (1962), 163-92 (and bibl. cited there). (R. O. Winstedt)

ḤIKMA, wisdom, but also science and philosophy. The ancient usage of the word lent itself to this evolution, which was favoured by the meaning of the Greek σοφία. On the purely Arabic side al-Djurdjānī, who gives the word *ḥukm* the primary meaning of "to set the thing in its place" (*Taʿrīfāt*), seems thereby to suggest the sense of equilibrium and stability that Léon Gauthier found and that is well fitted to express the force and maturity of wisdom. The Ḳur'ān calls it *al-ḥikma al-bāligha* (LIV, 5), wisdom which has attained its maturity. It uses *ḥikma* many times in the current sense of "wisdom", a wisdom, however, which implies knowledge of high spiritual truths. "The Book and wisdom" together often constitute a single gift (II, 123/129, 231, III, 75/81, IV, 57/54, 113, XXXIII, 34). Wisdom was granted to David, to Jesus, to Muḥammad, even to Luḳmān (II, 252/251, XXXVIII, 19/20; V, 110, XLIII, 63; II, 146/151; XXXI, 11/12). It is a great asset (II, 272/269); it is linked with the idea of purity (II, 123/129). The *Taʿrīfāt* understand it not only of every word that accords with the truth, which implies knowledge, but also of science and action, of the science of the licit and the illicit, of the sciences of the religious law, and also of the secrets that elude common knowledge, that is to say the secrets of the Divine Essence. It is then *al-ḥikma al-maskūt ʿanhā*, "the science about which one remains silent".

On the Greek side, "wisdom" from the beginning extended to the sense of "science", since the seven Sages included several scholars, Thales certainly being among them. The astronomer Cleostratos was a philosopher, as was Anaximander, said to be the author of the first book about nature. The Sages were called φυσιολόγοι Science and philosophy were founded at the same time, in a study of nature which at the start made no distinction between them. It extended to things in themselves and to actions which it was desired to render perfect. A reflection of this original unity appears in Ibn Sīnā's fine definition: "Wisdom (*ḥikma*) is the passage of the soul of man to the perfection possible for him within the two bounds of science and action". It includes, on the one hand, justice and on the other the perfecting of the reasoning soul, inasmuch as it comprises the theoretical and practical intelligibles (*Burhān*, 260).

Distinctions became established in proportion as increasing knowledge called for specialization, but they were recognized as forming part of a whole. Thus the beginning of the *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn* presents *ḥikma* as the main stock from which spring directly the *uṣūl* or *al-ʿulūm al-aṣliyya*, the fundamental sciences, such as the study of the world and logic, while medicine, agriculture and the other individual sciences are derived sciences, branches, *furūʿ*. The lost work, of which the *Manṭiḳ* is a fragment, was entitled *al-Ḥikma al-mashriḳiyya*, but we do not know what sciences it covered. Djurdjānī tells us only that the *ḥukamā' ishrāḳiyyūn* were under the leadership of *Aflāṭūn* (*Taʿrīfāt*), Plato? Plotinus? Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī follows Ibn Sīnā and leaves the individual sciences, medicine, agriculture and the others, in their subordinate place.

The tradition of the inclusion of the sciences in wisdom seems indeed to have remained unbroken

from the Greeks to the Arabs. A short manual of medical ethics which forms part of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* affirms that "the physician who is at the same time a philosopher is the equal of the gods". Similarly, ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, a Persian physician of the 3rd/9th century, wrote in Arabic a compendium of medicine which is one of the oldest in that language, entitled *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, "Paradise of wisdom". Its arrangement is inspired by Oribasius and Paul of Aegina, not by al-Rāzī or Ibn Sīnā; the sources quoted are: Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle and Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], a contemporary of the author. This little book also deals with the natural sciences, and concludes with a sketch of medicine in India; it was quoted by E. G. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, Cambridge 1922, and analysed by Meyerhof. Djābir b. Ḥayyān said on the subject of the [supposed] founder of alchemy: "Know that successive philosophers have made science benefit from a long evolution and have given it an extraordinary power, thus attaining their objective" (cf. the translation of Kraus, 54-5), This alchemist was known as the Wise. Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, a Christian of Greek origin, was a physician and philosopher, and at the same time a mathematician and astronomer. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī applies the term *ḥukamāʾ* to all the celebrated men whose biographies he gives in his *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, among them Ptolemy, Hippocrates, etc.; he even describes Galen as *al-ḥakīm al-faylasūf*. For Ibn Sīnā, the opinion of the *ḥukamāʾ*, as being wise and learned, does not derive from the same origin as that of ordinary men. The former are concerned with truth and seek for it, the latter with the everyday outlook.

Ibn Sīnā's treatise on the classification of the sciences appears in the same line, *ḥikma* taking the place of the root and trunk, its ramifications covering the whole field of the sciences then explored. The work begins with a description of wisdom-science: "it is the art of observing, by means of which man acquires the realisation (actuation, *taḥṣīl*) within himself [through the knowledge] of everything that has being and of what he must necessarily practise in order to elevate and perfect himself and become an intelligible world, similar to the existing world" (104-5). *Ḥikma*, he continues, is divided into a theoretical part, seeking for certain knowledge of the beings whose existence is not dependent on man, truth thus being its objective, and a practical part, which aims at the good which can be procured by man's actions. In the first part, forming the various branches of wisdom, are found the natural sciences, mathematics and the "divine science" relating to *tawḥīd*, divine unity; in the second, ethics, domestic economy, politics, social relations in the city,—all this in the framework of Aristotle's work. Each of the fundamental sciences named is in its turn sub-divided, sometimes remaining in the Aristotelian line, from metaphysics to mineralogy, and sometimes going beyond it, particularly in the spheres of derived wisdom-science, *al-ḥikma al-farʿiyya*: here, in the ramifications of the natural sciences, are to be found medicine, astronomy, magic, the last-named having as "its aim the mingling of [incorporeal] forces with the substances of the terrestrial world", chemistry with its use of the properties of mineral substances, etc. Algebra is a science (*ʿilm*) derived from mathematics, as is hydraulics, etc. Finally, wisdom includes the nine sections of *Manṭiḳ*, that is to say the sciences of expression in speech, firstly logic, then rhetoric and poetry.

In this classification, *ḥikma* embraces that which belongs to science (*ʿilm*) following the terminology of the *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, the classification used by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, al-Fārābī, al-Khawārizmī, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn (tables and references collected by Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, 108-23). In another short work, *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, "the Sources of wisdom", Ibn Sīnā expresses himself in a manner very closely allied to that of *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm*, to such a degree that the only part published deals with purely scientific subjects under the name *al-ḥikma al-ṭabīʿiyya*, natural sciences, physics, with motion, time, the proof of the incorporeal Prime Mover, the soul, the source of voluntary motion. Ibn Sīnā uses *ḥikma* as the synonym of *ʿilm*, but seems to prefer the richer meaning of *ḥikma*. This last is not restricted to the sense of "philosophy", or even of "philosophy considered as wisdom" (in the words of Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, 18, 30). In the same perspective, medicine appears as a *ḥikma* applied to the behaviour of the human body and, through it, of the soul.

Ḥikma appears as a lofty spiritual conception of the world, penetrating all knowledge within the grasp of man, and even attaining to faith in God in revelation. It goes beyond *falsafa*, which denotes only Hellenistic philosophy; it transcends science, *ʿilm*: "Science consists in grasping those things which it appertains to human intelligence to grasp in such a manner that no error enters into it [...] and if this is done by means of certain proof and actual demonstrations, this is called *ḥikma*" (*ʿAhd*, 143). By bringing absolute rectitude, both in his search and in the application, "The truly Wise Man is he who, having formed an opinion on a question, speaks to himself as to others, which signifies that he has spoken the truth faithfully" (*Safsaṭa*, 6).

Averroes seems to take *ḥikma* rather in the limited sense of "philosophy", as against "religion" (*Faṣl al-maḳāl*); nevertheless he calls it "the supreme art", *ṣināʿat al-ṣanāʾiʿ*; *ibid*, 5, line 7).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: P. Brunet and A. Mieli, *Histoire des sciences*, i, 113-4, 117-8, 158, 223; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, 65, 72, 602; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, II, *Jābir et la science grecque* (*Mém. Inst. d'Egypte*, xlv, 54-5); ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Z. Siddiki, Berlin 1928, analysis by Meyerhof, in *Isis*, xvi (1931), 1-54; Fārābī, *Catalogo de las ciencias*, ed. and tr. A. González Palencia, Madrid ²1953; *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUthmān Amīn, Cairo 1949; Ibn Sīnā, *Shifāʾ*, Cairo, 1956 and 1958, *Manṭiḳ*, v, *Burhān*, 260, and vi, *Safsaṭa*, 6; *Mantiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 5; in the collection *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1329/1908, *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*, 104-18; *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, 2-4; *Fi 'l-ʿahd*, 143; *Mubāḥathāt*, in A. Badawi, *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 234-6; Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl al-maḳāl*, ed. and tr. Gauthier, Algiers ³1948, s.vv. "philosophie", "sagesse"; ed. G. F. H. Hourani, Leiden 1959; English transl., G. F. Hourani, *Averroes on the harmony of religion and philosophy*, GMS, N.S. xxi, London 1961; J. Stephenson, *The classification of the sciences according to Nasiruddin Ṭūsī*, in *Isis*, v (1923), 329-38; L. Gauthier, *La racine arabe ḤKM et ses dérivés*, in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 435-54; A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, no. 177.

(A. M. Goichon)

ḤĪLA [see ḤIYAL].

HILĀL, the new moon, the crescent.

i. — In Religious Law

The new moon is important in Islamic religious law because, in the Islamic lunar calendar [see ta'rīkh], it determines, among other things, the date of the pilgrimage [see ḥadjdj], and the beginning and the end of Ramaḍān [*q.v.*], the month of fasting [see ṣawm].

The Ḳur'ān refers to the new moon in *sūra* II, 189 (a verse of indeterminate date; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 181): "They ask thee about the new moons; say : 'They are fixed times (*mawāḳīt*) for the people and for the pilgrimage.' " Another relevant passage is *sūra* II, 183 f. (to be dated shortly before the Ramaḍān of the year 2; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 178): "O ye who believe, fasting is prescribed for you as it was prescribed for those before you—maybe ye will show piety—during a certain number of days (*ayyām*^an^ *ma'dūdāt*)." As the observation of the new moon even in a clear sky is subject to chance, as described, for instance, by Ibn Djubayr (162), whereas the terms *mawāḳīt* and *ma'dūdāt* in the Ḳur'ān seem to refer to an exactly determined date or period, it seemed indicated that the beginning of the month should be determined by calculation, and several systems of calculation came into being. An argument in favour of calculation (*ḥisāb*) was also drawn from *sūra* X, 5 (belonging to the third Meccan period; *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 158) which reads: "He it is who has made the sun a glow and the moon a light, and has given it determined stations (*wa-ḳaddarahū manāzil*), that ye may know the number of the years and the reckoning (*ḥisāb*) [of time]." Calculation was, however, rejected by the Sunnīs, the Ibāḍīs, the Zaydīs, and the "Twelver" Shī'īs, whereas the Ismā'īlīs adopted it, and whilst traces of it are found in the literature of the other schools, it has become a distinguishing feature of these last (and of the present-day Bohras). It is, of course, generally agreed that the actual observation of the new moon at the beginning and at the end of Ramaḍān is decisive, and the difference comes down to this, that if the new moon has not been observed on the evening of the twenty-ninth day the majority consider the thirtieth day as still belonging to the month in question, so that both Sha'bān and Ramaḍān may have thirty days, which can never happen under the rule followed by the Ismā'īlīs.

There is an arbitrary interpretation of the words *ayyām*^an^ *ma'dūdāt* as referring to a fast of three days in each month which had allegedly preceded as a religious duty the fast during Ramaḍān; the interpretation aims at eliminating the seeming implication of the words in favour of calculation; the traditions in which it is expressed (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323, ii, 76) can be dated between 'Aṭā' (d. 114 or 115/732-33) and Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148/765). The commentators Ṭabarī, Djaṣṣāṣ, Ibn al-'Arabī, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Istanbul 1307, ii, 170 ff.) reject this interpretation, and Ḳurṭubī (*al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1353/1934, ii, 256,) does not even mention it.

The opinion of the majority is expressed in a tradition from the Prophet which occurs in the six classical collections and in many other works of *ḥadīth* (for detailed references, see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. Fast(ing) and Ramaḍān; further, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, iv, nos. 6060 ff.); its main *isnād* goes through Mālik—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar, and it can therefore be dated in the first half of the second century of the *hidjra* (cf. my *Origins*, 176 ff.). A typical version of it (in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'*, *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām*) runs: "The Prophet spoke of Ramaḍān and said: 'Do not fast until you see the new moon, and do not break the fast until you see it; but when it is hidden from you [by cloud or mist], give it its full measure (*fa-ḳdurū lahū*).' " Because the expression *fa-ḳdurū lahū* could be taken to mean not only the computation of thirty days from the last new moon but also the calculation of the mansions of the moon, it was replaced in other versions by *fa-'akmilu 'l-'idda*, "complete the reckoning" (an expression taken from *sūra* II, 185), or by "count thirty".

According to another tradition, going back (through Nāfi') to Ibn 'Umar only, which occurs in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd as a corollary to his version of the tradition from the Prophet, Ibn 'Umar on the twenty-ninth of Sha'bān used to have the new moon looked for, and if it was seen that was that; if it was not seen in a clear sky, he continued to eat on the following day, and if there were clouds or dust in the sky he started fasting; but he finished his fast [at the end of Ramaḍān] together with the rest of the people and did not follow that method of counting. This reflects two early, not necessarily conflicting, attitudes, the meticulousness typical of the pious and the desire to follow the community, *i.e.*, the orders of the *imām*, and both have left other traces in traditions. It was as a counter-move against this tradition that the (later) tradition from the Prophet was provided with the *isnād* Mālik—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar. The Ḥanbalī school has essentially adopted the doctrine attributed to Ibn 'Umar, whereas the other orthodox schools of law follow the implications of the tradition from the Prophet. (That one ought to start fasting after the 29th day of Sha'bān, if the view of the new moon was obscured by clouds, is also the doctrine of the "Twelver" Shī'īs, expressed, *e.g.*, in a tradition from Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ in Ṭūsī's *Tahdhīb*.)

Questions of detail concerning the observation of the new moon began to be discussed at an early date, *e.g.*, what to do when it is seen in the forenoon or in the afternoon at the end of Ramaḍān; see Abū Yūsuf, *Āthār*, no. 819, for a normative statement of Ibrāhīm Nakha'ī (presumably authentic); *Muwaṭṭa'*, *Kitāb al-Ṣiyām*, *bāb* 1, tradition 4, for the doctrine of Mālik; *Kanz al-'ummāl*, iv, nos. 6614 ff.; Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, in *al-Mughnī wa 'l-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, iii, 6.

There were, however, in the words of Ibn al-'Arabī, "some ancient authorities" (*ba'ḍ al-mutaḳaddimīn*) of the Sunnīs who "erred by resorting to calculation, *i.e.*, determining through study of the mansions of the moon that it would be visible if the sky were clear" (*Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1331, i, 35). A detailed discussion of this opinion which, according to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, was held by members of the highest group of Tābi'īs, is found in the commentary of 'Aynī on Bukhārī, on the tradition from the Prophet mentioned before (ed. Istanbul 1308 ff., v, 182). Among the somewhat later upholders of it are mentioned Muṭarrif b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yasār (d. 220), a companion of Mālik (Ibn Sa'd, v, 325; Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, s.v.), Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276), and Ibn Suraydj (*sic*, not Ibn Shurayḥ; d. 306), a famous Shāfi'ī scholar (Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, 87-96; Ibn Hubayra, *K. al-Ifṣāḥ 'an ma'āni 'l-Ṣiḥāḥ*, Aleppo 1347/1928, 111); this last is said to have attributed a similar opinion to Shāfi'ī. But it was felt that astrologers should be given no part in determining the incidence of a religious duty, and an author as early as Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321), in his *Sharḥ Ma'āni 'l-Āthār*, where we should expect him to discuss it, does not mention this point at all.

For the final doctrines of the orthodox schools, see their authoritative handbooks and : Ibn Rushd al-Ḥafīd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Istanbul 1333, i, 196 f.; *Kitāb al-Fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Ḳism al-ʿIbādāt, 2nd ed., Cairo 1349/1931, 514 ff.; also: *Sommario del diritto malechita*, transl. I. Guidi and D. Santillana, i, Milan 1919, 207 ff.; Juynboll, *Handleiding*[4], 100 ff.; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 65 f.; idem, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de ... B. Taimiya*, Cairo 1939, 336 f.—For the Ibāḍīs: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfiyāsh, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Nil*, ii, Cairo n.d., 179 ff. — For the Zaydīs: al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Siyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr, Sharḥ Madjmūʿ al-Fiḳh al-Kabīr*, Cairo 1350, ii, 503 ff.

The "Twelver" Shīʿīs insist on the principle of observation of the new moon even more strongly, and reject calculation even more forcefully than the Sunnīs. Their main authoritative traditions, found in their four classical collections, are: "The people of the *ḳibla* are only bound by observation (*ru'ya*), the Muslims are only bound by observation" (from Djaʿfar al Ṣādiḳ), and: "When you see the new moon fast, and when you see it break the fast; it is not done by assumption and surmise (*wa-laysa bi-'l-ra'y wa-la 'l-taẓanni*)" (from Muḥammad al-Bāḳir). The same doctrine is formulated in their authoritative works of *fiḳh*, from the spurious *Fiḳh al-Riḍā* (Teheran 1274; the *imām* al-Riḍā d. 202), through the *Muḳniʿ* and the *Hidāya* of Ibn Bābūya al-Ṣadūḳ (d. 381; in *al-Djawāmiʿ al-Fiḳhiyya*, Teheran 1276), the *Muḳniʿa* of al-Mufīd (d. 413; Teheran 1274), and the *Mabsūṭ* and the *Nihāya* of Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa al-Ṭūsī (d. 459; the first Teheran 1271, the second in *al-Djawāmiʿ al-Fiḳhiyya*), to the *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām* of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 676) and later works.

At the same time, the older sources admitted various methods of calculation as alternatives if the new moon could not be observed on the evening of the 29th Shaʿbān on account of cloudiness. One method consists of counting from the day of the week on which fasting has started in the preceding year, and starting to fast on the fifth (or in a bissextile year, the sixth) day of the count; this method, which takes the length of the lunar year of 354 days into account, is said to have been checked over fifty years and found correct, but is available only to him who knows chronology and the incidence of bissextile years. Another method consists of counting 59 days from the new moon of the month of Radjab if it has been visually observed, and starting to fast on the sixtieth day. Traditions authorizing these methods by the authority of the *imām*s of the "Twelver" Shīʿīs are found in the *Kāfī* of Kulīnī (d. 328; Teheran 1315) and in the *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍurhu Faḳīh* of Ibn Bābūya (Lucknow 1307) as well as in the *Fiḳh al-Riḍā* and in Ibn Bābūya's *Muḳniʿ* and *Hidāya*. A third method consists of estimating the age of the new moon when it becomes visible for the first time, and determining the beginning of the month retrospectively; a rule concerning this is related, on the authority of *imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, in Kulīnī's *Kāfī*, the *Fiḳh al-Riḍā*, and other works. To the same context belongs the doctrine that Ramaḍān has always 30 (and Shaʿbān always 29) days; this is expressed in traditions from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ in Kulīnī and elsewhere (but not accepted by Ibn Bābūya in the *Muḳniʿ*), and it has its parallel in a Sunnī tradition from the Prophet to the effect that Ramadān and Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja are never short (*lā yanḳuṣān*; see Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Ramaḍān), which was made innocuous by interpretation.

By the middle of the 5th/11th cent., however, the doctrine of the "Twelver" Shīʿīs had become definitely hostile to all traces of the method of calculation, and Ṭūsī, the Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa (d. 459), in the *Tahdhīb* (Teheran 1307) and in the *Istibṣār* (Lucknow 1307), engages in sharp polemics against it, referring to those who use calculation (*aṣḥāb al-ʿadad* or *ʿadadiyyūn*) as deviationists (*shudhdhādh al-Muslimīn*), explaining away or rejecting outright as unreliable the traditions in its favour, and adducing counter-traditions, *e.g.*, traditions from Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and particularly from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ to the effect that Ramaḍān may have 29 days only, a tradition which makes ʿAlī reject the procedure of *ḥisāb*, and a tradition from the Prophet, transmitted by Muḥammad al-Bāḳir from ʿAlī, which expresses a doctrine identical with that common to the orthodox schools. In the *Mabsūṭ*, Ṭūsī mentions the "reports" (*riwāyāt*) concerning the methods of counting five or sixty days objectively, but adds that a person using them must formulate the intention of a voluntary fast, as if the day in question still belonged to the month of Shaʿbān; the only concession he is prepared to make is that if no new moon has been observed during the whole year, the method of counting five days may be used. Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī, too, in the *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām* (transl. A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, i, Paris 1871, 195), explicitly rejects all kinds of calculation, and the modern commentator Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Bāḳir (d. 1268/1851; *Djawāhir al-Kalām*, ii, Tabrīz 1324, 212 ff.) argues at length against it and tries to eradicate all its traces; he engages in pointed polemics against opponents in the present time (whom he does not name but who are obviously the Bohras) whose Ramaḍān is one or two days short (p. 214). Both the forceful rejection of calculation from the early sources onwards and the recrudescence of polemics against it at a later period would seem to derive from the need the "Twelver" Shīʿīs felt to differentiate themselves from the Ismāʿīlīs.

The method of calculation became a distinguishing feature of the Ismāʿīlī movement at an early date. The Zaydī *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) says of them that they start fasting and break the fast two days early, and count the month from one disappearance of one moon to the next—an erroneous rationalizing (*K. al-Radd ʿala-'l-Rawāfiḍ*, MS Berlin 4876 (Glaser 101), 105 r, quoted by W. Madelung, *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 47). Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), under the year 278, in speaking of the Ḳarmaṭians, describes the doctrine of what is obviously an heretical group of Ismāʿīlīs, and quotes a *sūra* which they recite at the opening of their ritual prayers; it contains the passage, a variation on the Ḳur'ān, *sūra*s III, 189 and X, 5: "Say: 'The new moons are fixed times for the people, their outward aspect (*ẓāhiruhā*) (serves) to make known the number of years, calculation (*ḥisāb*), months and days, and their esoteric meaning (*bāṭinuhā*) is My intimates who make known My way to My servants'" (*Annales*, iii, 2129; cf. Madelung, *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 41). The method of calculation was introduced by the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya in 331, and in Cairo, after the conquest of Egypt, in 359 (*REI*, 1935, 178, with reference to Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ;* and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*). There is no statement of principle on calculation in the *Daʿā'im al-Islām* of the Ismāʿīlī *ḳāḍī* Nuʿmān b. Muḥammad (d. 363/925), though he regards the actual observation of the new moon as decisive on the basis of traditions from ʿAlī which are common to him and

to the "Twelver" Shīʿīs; but he emphasizes the rule which alone was of practical importance to him, that if the *imām* is present or can be reached, he is the one who decides when to start and when to break the fast (ed. A. A. A. Fyzee, i, Cairo 1370/1951, 323); there may be some desire not to alienate the non-Ismāʿīlī masses here. The author of the *Madjālis al-Mustanṣiriyya* (ca. 450/1058) argues at length in favour of the principle of calculation (*madjlis* 19, 30, and 31; ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo n.d., 128 and note 64, 131, 133 f.); he says that *ruʾya* implies *ḥisāb*, just as the *ẓāhir* points to the *bāṭin*; only the *imām* combines them both, and it is a miracle that the *ḥisāb* has worked perfectly in the 150 years since the Mahdī introduced it (as the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh died in 322, this cannot be taken literally if the date 331 given for that event (see above) is correct); for the author, calculation comes down to the regular alternation of months of 30 and of 29 days, Ramaḍān having always thirty. This is also the practice of the contemporary Bohras (Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs), and it results in their celebrating the Muslim festivals one day, or sometimes two days, earlier than the others (cf. Sh. T. Lokhandwalla, in *Stud. Isl.*, iii, 1955, 132). The question does not arise for the Khodjas (Nizārian Ismāʿīlīs), whose fast is essentially different from that of the other Muslims (cf. Syed Mujtaba Ali, *The origin of the Khojāhs and their religious life today*, (thesis Bonn) Würzburg 1936, 68 f.; J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, 389 f.).

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. Schacht)

ii. — In Islamic art.

The crescent appears first as an emblem in the Islamic period in combination with a five- or six-pointed star on the obverses and reverses of Arab-Sāsānian coins, such as the anonymous coins, including one probably struck for ʿAbd al-Malik in Damascus in 75/695 (G. C. Miles, *Miḥrāb and ʿAnazah*, in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, Locust Valley 1952, 156-71, pl. 28, No. 3; Fig. 1), the more numerous ones struck for the Umayyad governors of the East, till ca. 84/698, and for the ʿAbbāsid governors in Ṭabaristān, till ca. 197/812 (J. Walker, *A catalogue of Arab-Sassanian coins*, London (British Museum) 1941, 130-60; G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic coins*, New York 1950, 1-15; idem, *The iconography of Umayyad coinage*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959), 208-10, pl. 1, nos. 1-6; idem, *Some new light on the history of Kirman in the first century of the Hijrah*, in *The world of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, London-New York 1959, 98). This usage is due to the adaptations of pre-Islamic coin types, mostly those of Khusraw II, but also of Yazdigird III and Hormuzd IV, where this marginal element had been customary. A crescent alone occurs also occasionally on the reverse of Arab-Byzantine coins (J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umaiyad coins*, London (British Museum) 1956, Nos. 78-9, 81; Miles, *Iconography of Umayyad coinage*, pl. 1, Nos. 7-9, 12-4; Fig. 2). While this was the first official use of the *hilāl*, it had no historical consequences.

Another early use of the *hilāl* is to be found in the mosaics of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem of 72/691. It occurs there as the customary finial of Sāsānian-type crowns and, more frequently, as an element suspended from Byzantine-type crowns where it is combined with a large pearl usually placed just beyond the horns (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1932, i, pls. 11, 16-8; Fig. 8). Since this building seems to have been originally a victory monument (O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959), 33-62), these crowns, as symbols of the defeated enemies of Islam, reflect a pre-Islamic usage now introduced into a Muslim context. However, the preserved crowns, which had been placed in churches as *ex-votos*, show as the main suspended element a cross (H. Schlunk, *Arte Visigodo* ..., in *Ars Hispaniae*, ii (Madrid 1947), 312-6, figs. 328-30); as this could not be represented in a Muslim shrine, it had to be exchanged for another, more innocuous motif which had also a royal association (*Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters. Ausstellung im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum*, Munich 1955, 17, No. 17, colour pl.). It is significant that the crescent has here a non-Muslim connotation.

The use of a *hilāl* as a decorative emblem on royal horses is also a continuation of a Sāsānian custom (*A survey of Persian art*, ed. A. U. Pope, London-New York 1938-39, iv, pls. 176C, 202B, 229B; F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin 1925, pl. 99). In these instances the emblem is made of valuable material or at least executed in fine workmanship. Possibly the earliest preserved example is one made of rock crystal, with the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir li-iʿzāz Dīn Allāh, 411-27/1021-36, which was later incorporated into a Gothic monstrance of about 1350, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (cf. C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, Berlin 1929, i, 213, No. 21, ii, pl. 75; Fig. 7). The usage continues into the Seldjūḳ period (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries) when bronze crescents are decorated with other designs (Fig. 10). The *hilāl* as equine decoration survived till the Ottoman period, as an example composed of two boar tusks mounted in gold was captured in the Battle of Slankamen in 1691 (E. Petrasch, *Die Türkenbeute* ... *Trophäensammlung des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 1956, pl. 15).

The emblem also had early decorative uses in a human context. Its heavy-set shape with the points nearly touching each other is to be found as gold and gilt silver jewelry (earrings or pendants), decorated with filigree and cloisonné enamel, the latter showing bird designs. This type of trinket was made in the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century, both in Egypt (where such work was found in al-Fusṭāṭ) and Spain (Marvin C. Ross, *An Egypto-Arabic cloisonné enamel*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 165-67; Mohamed Mostafa, *The Museum of Islamic Art, a short guide*, Cairo 1955, 36, 112, fig. 28; *Katalog, Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truninger, Luzern*, Kunsthaus Zürich 1964, pl. 131; Fig. 9). The same shape is to be found among the tooled decorations on Mamlūk bookbindings (8th/14th century; Fig. 6). The *hilāl* occurs also together with a seven-pointed star, as inlaid stone work, on the walls of Saint Sophia of Trebizond (Fig. 5), built by the Emperor Manuel I (1238-66). This Byzantine Church shows strong Seldjūḳ influence in its wall decorations; so far no crescents of such an elaborate nature have, however, been found on contemporary Muslim buildings or objects of Anatolia, although a crescent-shaped element occurs in the pseudo-Kūfic border of a Seldjūḳ "Konya-carpet" (Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Nos. 692/3, see Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish arts* ..., Istanbul 1961, pl. VII) and there are a few crude masons' marks of that shape on the stones of caravansarays (K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1961, i, 82, 134,

177). The occurrence in Trebizond in a near-Muslim context is significant, as it is the earliest so-far-known use of the crescent and star in what is now Turkish territory since the Islamic conquest of Asia Minor (T. T. Rice, *Decorations in the Seljukid style in the Church of Saint Sophia of Trebizond*, in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens. In Memoriam Ernst Diez*, ed. O. Aslanapa, Istanbul 1963, 112 and pl. 8; examples from Anatolia of the pre-Islamic period are given in Fevzi Kurtoğlu, *Türk bayrağı ve Ay Yıldız*, Ankara 1938, chapter III, figs 15-6, 19, 21-8). A function with a possibly royal connotation is implied by the use of a brilliant golden "moon" above a jade lion on the top of a black umbrella held over the head of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. This is reported by the mid-7th/13th century Chinese author, Chau Ju-kua, in his account of Baghdād. The translators and commentators of the text have cogently argued that this moon must have been a crescent, since a circular emblem would have been taken for a sun (*Chau Ju-kua; on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, tr. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg 1911, 135 and 137, n. 3).

Another use of the crescent started in the 6th/12th century when symbolical personifications of the planets, including that of the moon (*ḳamar*), were widely applied to metal objects. The earliest dated example so far found is on a magic mirror, dated 548/1153, in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (D. S. Rice, *A Seljuq mirror*, in *Communications ... First International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara, 1959*, Ankara 1961, 288-9, pl. 224). Here the emblem consists of a human figure seated cross-legged and holding a crescent whose two points meet before the face. Such representations of the crescent-shaped moon appear on many brass or bronze objects, where six planets are usually grouped around the central sun; they are inlaid in silver, usually placed on the bottoms of large trays, basins, on the covers of large vessels or pen-boxes and even on the back of astrolabes of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, made in Iran, the D̲j̲azīra (Mosul), Syria, and Egypt (F. Sarre-Max van Berchem, *Das Metalbecken des Atabeks Lulu von Mosul in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu München*, in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, i (1907), 22, 27, figs. 1 and 13; G. Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*, Cairo 1932, pl. XLVII; M. S. Dimand, *Unpublished metalwork of the Rasulid Sultans of Yemen*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iii (1931), fig. 2, etc.). The crescent appears also at least as early as the second half of the 6th/12th century in connexion with the pertinent figures of the Zodiac, namely, in combination with Cancer as its domicilium, or with Taurus as the exaltation of the Moon and with Scorpio as its dejection. In the case of the planets' exaltations and dejections, the dragon symbolism of D̲j̲awzahr, the pseudo-planetary node of the moon's orbit, is also introduced (Fig. 13); (W. Hartner, *The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconography*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 113-54, figs. 1, 2, 12-20; idem, *Zur astrologischen Symbolik des 'Wade Cup'*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel*, Berlin 1959, 239, figs. 4 and 14; D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1955, 17-20, figs. 14b/5, pl. VIIb). From the 7th/13th century on, illustrations of the seven planets appear in cosmographical works, such as al-Ḳazwīnī's *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-makh̲lūḳāt*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C. arab. 464, fol. 10 r., dated 678/1260 or the late 8th/14th-century "Sarre Manuscript", Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 54. 33r. (Fig. 11); F. Saxl, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellung in Orient und Occident*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 152-5, figs. 4 and 8). Here the figure appears seated, with or without a crown, with or without a long sword on its lap, but always holding up a crescent moon which frames its face. The representations here and on the metal objects are analogous to the personifications of the sun, which has a radiating hollow disc before or in place of its face. The iconography reflects the explanation in the text which compares the sun to a king and the moon to the vizier or heir apparent.

Isolated figural representations of the *hilāl* appear in various media. Possibly the earliest example is on a piece of lustre pottery of the Fāṭimid period, 11th-12th century, from Syria or Egypt, now in the Musée du Louvre; here (Fig. 12) two female busts are framed by the horns of a crescent moon (R. Koechlin-G. Migeon, *Islamische Kunstwerke*, Berlin 1928, pl. 8), representing an iconography rather like the Roman one as found for instance on the cult image of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias (*Illustrated London News*, 5 Jan. 1963, 21, fig. 5). The motif appears also on coins of Saladin (Mayyāfāriḳīn, 587/1191) and of the atabegs of Mosul, al-D̲j̲azīra, and Sind̲j̲ār, between 585 and 657/1189 and 1258 (Figs. 3, 4), where they form parallels to other astronomical coins of the period showing the figural symbols of the Sun, Mars, and Sagittarius (S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, London 1877, iii, Nos. 529-33, 567-9, 589-92, 645-51, pl. X, 568, XI, 646 and Behzad Butak, *Resimli Türk paraları*, Istanbul 1947, Nos. 75, 81, 94, and 114). A whole series of the isolated, personified *hilāl* appears also quite frequently on silver-inlaid brass and bronze vessels of the 7th/13th century, in which cases they form parallels to the sun symbol on other pieces, while an abbreviated form of the crescent moon figure presents only a crowned head within the crescent as the centre of an animated arabesque decoration (Fig. 14). Formerly it was thought that the inclusion of the full crescent moon figure on inlaid metal pieces represented a tell-tale hallmark of the famous Mosul production of inlaid metalwork, being either the coat of arms of Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ or the emblem of the city. D. S. Rice marshalled all the pertinent reasons why this cannot be so, and he also pointed to the fact that the motif is not restricted to Mosul but appears in Egypt and Syria as well (*Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Aḥmad al-D̲h̲akī al-Mawṣilī*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957), 321). The specific reason why the isolated symbol was so popular has not been established, although it seems very likely that it had an astrological or magical basis.

A crescent-shaped figure constitutes also a blazon in the Mamlūk period of the late 7th/13th and first half of the 8th/14th centuries. Although the emblem occurs fairly frequently on pottery vessels and sherds (L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, 25, pls. XI-XIIa; J. Sauvaget, *Poteries syro-mésopotamiens du XIVe siècle*, Paris 1932, pl. 31, 36, No. 121), it appears rarely in connection with specific persons. It is found as a simple charge on undated coins of al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (on top of a bird), or (alone) on those of al-As̲h̲raf Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲aʿbān II and al-Manṣūr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, or as part of a composite blazon on those of al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barḳūḳ and of al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu 'l-Saʿādāt Farad̲j̲ (P. Balog, *The coinage of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt and Syria*, New York 1964, Nos. 395, 471, 506, 507, 598, and 659). It can be specifically associated with only four persons below the rank of sultan, *i.e.*, (1) and (2) Sunḳur al-Aʿsar, and, after his death in 1309, his daughter Fāṭima (D. S. Rice, *Studies in*

Islamic metalwork, I, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1952), 564-78); (3) ʿAlī b. Hilāl al-Dawla (died 739/1338); in this case Mayer thought of the possibility of a canting coat in view of his father's name (Mayer, *Heraldry*, 25, 54, pl. XLII, 15); (4) Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAḳīl al-Shihābī (Mayer, *op. cit.*, 25, 122, pl. XLII, 3 and XLVII, 2); here Mayer considered the possibility that the emblem did not represent actually a crescent, but an oriental horseshoe, which looks like a circle enclosing a tangental oval or circular area. He refers to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ who states that the emblem of the Master of the Stable (*amīr akhūr*) is the horseshoe (ed. J. J. Reiske, iv, 380). Since a blazon corresponded to the symbol of the office a Mamlūk received when he was dubbed *amīr* and was then kept for life, and there is evidence that the crescent was given to persons who occupied an office other than that of the *amīr akhūr*, this interpretation seems unlikely. Furthermore, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ speaks of conditions under the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad b. Takash and not of those of Mamlūks, closely related as they may have been. The context of the same horseshoe-like design used by the Ottoman Turks also makes it clear that in the 10th/16th century it was understood as the crescent moon.

The *hilāl* occurs also in the coinage of the Rasūlid al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl (about 781-83/1379-81); here the sultan's name is placed on the large crescents whose circular sections between the horns are filled with a seated figure, three swords, a chalice, or a lion with a raised tail (H. Nützel, *Münzen der Rasuliden* ..., in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xviii (1892), 129-38, Nos. 35, 38, 52, 54). Balog is probably correct when he says that in this and other instances the Rasūlids imitated the Mamlūk heraldic tradition (*Coinage of the Mamlūk sultans*, 19), especially since their decorative art, too, was strongly influenced by Egypt.

The *hilāl* was also used in religious settings. W. Barthold states after N. Marr that when in the 5th/11th century the Cathedral of Ani was converted into a mosque the cross on its dome was replaced by a silver crescent, which could imply a symbolical value or at least a cultural identification for this emblem (W. Barthold, *Contribution au problème du croissant comme symbole de l'Islam*, in *Bull. de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, 1918, No. 6, 476, quoted in A. Sakisian, *Le croissant comme emblème national et religieux en Turquie*, in *Syria*, xxii (1941), 66). Later evidence of the custom is provided by the *ḥadjdj* certificate for a lady pilgrim, dated 836/1432(Fig. 15), where all domed and gabled structures in a schematic miniature showing the Kaʿba and the surrounding buildings have a *hilāl* finial (British Museum, Add. 27,566; R. Ettinghausen, *Die bildliche Darstellung der Kaʿba* ..., in *ZDMG*, xii (1934), 115, fig. 2). This usage is corroborated by a painting, apparently based on careful observation by Gentile Bellini (or a member of his school), which shows that the dome and minarets of the Mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus were decorated with *hilāl* finials (J. Sauvaget, *Une ancienne représentation de Damas au Musée du Louvre*, in *BÉt. Or.*, xi (1945-46), 5-12, pl. 1). The same conclusion can be drawn from a miniature showing the Süleymāniye Mosque in Istanbul in a manuscript dealing with the history of the reign of Süleymān, written in 987/1579 (V. Minorsky and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *A catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures. The Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1958, No. 413, pl. 12) or from a representation of the Kaʿba of 1151/1738 (*ibid.*, pp. 78-80, pl. 36). Such an architectural finial (*ʿalam*) of gilded metal with the name of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Muʾayyad Abū Naṣr Shaykh (815-24/1412-21) has been preserved in the Armour Collection of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi. Unlike these examples, which have at least a *terminus ante quem*, the large collection of such emblems on domes and minarets compiled by Riza Nour is to a large extent of doubtful value, as we do not know when most of these finials were made and applied (*L'histoire du croissant*, in *Revue de Turcologie*, i, book 3 (1933), 232-74, pls. 1-17; Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul camileri*, Ankara 1962, 13-5, figs. 13 and 18). A sacred context of the *hilāl* in Ottoman Turkey is also provided by its use on the domed cover of the reliquary containing the Cloak of the Prophet [see KHIRḲA-I SHERĪF] made by order of Murād III and now in the Treasury of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi or by the decorative rendering of a prayer in a manuscript attributed to the 10th/16th century (Minorsky and Wilkinson, *Turkish manuscripts ... Chester Beatty Library*, 52, pl. 27). On the other hand there cannot have been a strong religious association with the *hilāl* in the Muslim world, as the emblem occurs also on secular buildings, *e.g.*, in the representation of garden pavilions on a brass bowl of probable Mamlūk workmanship of the 9th/15th century (D. S. Rice, *Studies in Islamic metalwork, IV*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1953), 502-3 pl. X), and on military flags and textiles as well (see below). There are also many renditions of mosques and other buildings dating from the 10th/16th century to the 12th/18th century which lack the crescent finial, and the motif plays no rôle on prayer rugs or on tiles applied to the walls of mosques (K. Erdmann, *Kaʿba-Fliesen*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959), 192-7, where only two of eight illustrated examples show the *hilāl*: figs. 3 and 4). This indicates that in Muslim eyes, and in particular during the Ottoman period, the *hilāl* was not of great importance. It certainly does not seem to have had a major religious significance and was apparently applied mostly for decorative purposes.

The *hilāl* occurs on the flags of Selīm I (Fig. 18), of Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, the latter being later used as his tomb cover (both in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi), and on those captured during the battle of Lepanto in 979/1571 (Fig. 17). It had then no standardized form, for it appears both as a thin sickle, the ends of which are still a slight distance from each other, and as a heavy, circular form with the ends touching each other and covered with religious formulas; both shapes enclose either a star or the names of the Prophet or of the first four caliphs. It is significant that the crescent occurs on each flag several times, and even then it is only one of several motifs used, which include other celestial bodies (the sun and stars); weapons (the legendary sword of ʿAlī, the double-pointed *Dhu 'l-Faḳār* [*q.v.*], which in turn can have a crescent-and-star pommel, swords with blades showing wavy edges, daggers); and religious slogans such as the *shahāda* and *Sūra* LXI, 12 (many examples in Fevzi Kurtoğlu, *Türk bayrağı ve Ay Yıldız*, figs. 47-52, 54-5, 64-5, 69; Sakisian, in *Syria*, xxii (1941), fig. 1, flag in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice; *Du*, May 1962, flag in the Chiesa San Stefano dei Cavalieri, Pisa; Fig. 17). Such a combination of victory-proclaiming symbols, including a series of *hilāls*, occurs also on the flags captured at the siege of Vienna in 1683 (Sakisian, fig. 2, flag in St. John Lateran, Rome; Kurtoğlu, fig. 60, in the Municipal Museum, Vienna) or in the battle of Slankamen of 1691 (Fig. 19; Petrasch, *Türkenbeute*, fig. 1, a combination of *hilāl*, star, *Dhu 'l-Faḳār* and hand). The flag on a state barge in Wehbī's *Sūrnāme*, written ca. 1720-25 for Aḥmed III, shows a row of three large

suns, each separated from the other by two small crescent moons (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, MS Ahmed III 3593). Other Turkish flags, too, present the *hilāl* only occasionally in small size and places of lesser importance or no *hilāl* at all (Riza Nour, pl. XXIII, Kurtoğlu, figs. 53A-B, 56-60, 80, 88). However, a number of flags from the 10th/16th to the end of the 12th/18th centuries display three, four, or even six *hilāls* on a red or green ground, and in each case without a star or any other emblems (Riza Nour, pls. XVIII-IX, XXIV, and XXX; Kurtoğlu, figs. 71, 73-6, 78, 86-7). On the other hand a flag as late as that made in 1793 for Selīm III, in the Deniz Müzesi, shows only the imperial *tughra* and the Dhu 'l-Faḳār (Kurtoğlu, fig. 58; Sakisian, in *Syria*, xx (1941), 73).

A number of Turkish pole arms, horsetail standards (*tugh*) and ship lanterns of the 10th/16th century in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice have crescent-shaped finials, although contemporary Ottoman miniatures seem to indicate that these military and naval objects often lacked this emblem.

The earliest datable textile with a *hilāl* is a pair of silk trousers made for Sultan Süleymān (Fig. 16), a context which precludes any religious significance of the emblem at that time; here, the heavy, fully circular crescent encloses a sun (or a large star) and the whole is surrounded by other stars (Tahsin Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, Istanbul 1946-51, i, pl. XXVI). The motif continues to be used by subsequent sultans in varied forms, *e.g.* the crescent in combination with flowers; a triangular arrangement of three heavy crescents, each filled with one or two smaller identical shapes; or a sickle-shaped form covered with floral patterns enclosing several stars (Öz, i, pls. XXIX, XXX, XXXII-III; ii, pls. XLIII, L, LXV, LXXIV, LXXX, LXXXV-VI).

The *hilāl* was also occasionally used to decorate a *fermān*; for instance, one of Meḥemmed IV, which has a crescent filled with flowers on the onion-shaped top of the *tughra* (Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, T. 2242).

It has been claimed, for instance by B. V. Head, in his *Historia numorum. A manual of Greek numismatics*, Oxford 1911, 269-70, that the frequent use of the crescent and star among the Ottoman Turks was the result of Byzantine inheritance. Bronze coins of Byzantium, especially of Imperial times, are said to have applied this emblem on the reverse as a symbol of Artemis-Hekate, because this moon goddess let her light shine unusually bright during a critical siege. There the crescent and star, however, is only one of many emblems found on the coins of the city under Roman domination from the 1st century B.C. to the early 3rd century A.D. (R. Stuart Poole, *Catalogue of Greek coins. The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, etc.*, London (British Museum) 1877, 105, No. 99); it occurs also on the coins from Pontus of Mithradates II (240-190? B.C.) and Mithradates Eupator (121-63 B.C.) and on those from Carrhae (Ḥarrān), a place famous for its cult of the moon god Sīn, from Marcus Aurelius (161-180) to Gordian III and Tranquillina (240-244). In view of the enormous time gap between the early numismatic and later Ottoman examples, it seems unlikely that the pre-Islamic usage could have exerted an influence, particularly as the *hilāl* is also to be found in the Islamic world before its use by the Ottomans. Byzantine influence is more likely in the case of the *hilāl*-shaped Fāṭimid earrings, especially if the generally held assumption that the very similar Byzantine examples date from the 6th to the 10th century should prove to be correct (cf. *Early Christian and Byzantine art, an exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1947*, pl. LXII, Nos. 445, 488, LXIV, No. 488a, and *Byzantine art. Ninth exhibition of the Council of Europe, Athens, 1964*, Nos. 417-8, 420, 434, 437, 440, 442-3, with *Sammlung E. and M. Kofler-Truninger, Luzern*, Kunsthaus Zürich 1964, pl. 131).

While the *hilāl* remained one of many Turkish motifs and was till the end of the 12th/18th century never a formalized, official symbol, its rôle in the Western world was quite different. From the middle of the 15th century on, views of Oriental cities like Jerusalem, Istanbul and Algiers show the major buildings capped by a crescent (typical examples in many paintings of Carpaccio). Even more frequent was its use on Turkish flags and boats in pictures of military engagements (examples given by Sakisian, *Syria*, xxii (1941), 66-7; *Du*, May 1962). It was also given as a finial on the sceptres held by various Turkish sultans (Sakisian, fig. 5). Another use was as watermarks in European paper manufactured for the Levant in the 17th and 18th centuries, for instance, the combination of three crescents known in Venice as *trelune* (C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, Paris, ii, 314-5, Nos. 5374-5; see also W. Nikolaev, *Watermarks of the medieval Ottoman documents in Bulgarian libraries*, Sofia 1954), which has actually been found in a Maghribī Ḳur'ān discovered in Nigeria (N. Abbott, *Maghribī Koran manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries*, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, lv (1938), 62). The crescent appeared even in fireworks, as in that arranged by Louis XV in 1132/1720 for the Turkish Ambassador Yirmi Sekiz Meḥmed Efendi [*q.v.*], who to his surprise was told that since each country was symbolized by a special emblem, a crescent—in this instance placed on a fiery tripod and surmounted by a crown—represented his *pādishāh* and Turkey (*Sefāretnāme-i Fransa*, Istanbul 1283, 76; *Paris sefāretnāmesi*, Istanbul 1306, 138).

It was only in the early 19th century, when Selīm III created a military organization [see NIẒĀM-I DJEDĪD] in imitation of European troops, that an imperial flag consisting of a crescent and star on a red ground was officially adopted for the Turkish army and navy, analogous to the official flags of Europe. When this sultan was dethroned in 1807, his new army was abolished and its flag given up (but not by the navy). After the massacre of the Janissaries in 1826, the modern-type army was re-established by Maḥmūd II and in 1827 the flag instituted by Selīm III was once more given to the army (Yacoub Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*, London 1902, 158-9). An ornamental rendition of this sultan's *tughra* shows therefore a crescent and six-pointed star next to the name, but, characteristically, even here the design of a sun occurs elsewhere in the panel (Ankara, Etnoğrafya Müzesi, No. 7603; Fig. 20). The flag of the Ottoman Empire was retained when Turkey became a republic in 1923.

The next country to adopt the *hilāl* for its flag was Tunisia. Under Ḥusayn I (1824-35) a red flag was adopted, bearing in its centre on a white circle or oval a red crescent turned away from the hoist and containing a six-pointed star. From the end of the reign of Aḥmad I (1253-71/1837-55) on, a five-pointed star was substituted. Egypt used the white crescent on a red ground while the country was under Ottoman rule, but in 1923 the royal government selected a green ground and had the upright white crescent filled with three white stars between its horns. This

design, with a horizontal crescent containing the three stars in a green circular field, was also placed in the centre of the national coat of arms consisting of a displayed eagle, which was adopted when the country became a republic in 1953. The national flag with the crescent and stars was used until the founding of the United Arab Republic in 1958. Pakistan took the so-called Muslim League flag in 1947 which was formed by a white crescent on the slant, turned away from the hoist, and a white five-pointed star on a green field; to this a broad white stripe along the hoist was then added. In 1951 Libya chose the flag of Cyrenaica (used there since 1947) which consisted of a white upright crescent facing away from the hoist and a five-pointed white star on the broad central stripe of a tricolor—red, black, and green. Malaya adopted in 1950 a flag for the new federation, which displays a golden upright crescent facing away from the hoist together with a golden eleven-pointed star on the dark blue field of the canton, while the main part of the flag consists of eleven white and red horizontal stripes. Some of its constituent states, such as Selangor, Johore, Kelantan, and Trengganu also had the crescent and star in characteristic colours, compositions, shapes and positions. With the founding of Malaysia in 1963, the scheme of 1950 was enlarged to a crescent with a star of 14 points and 14 red and white bars. The next Muslim country to follow the pattern was Mauritania, which, since its independence in 1960, has used a horizontally placed golden crescent and a five-pointed star on a green ground. The latest major Muslim country to adopt the *hilāl* was Algeria, which places a red crescent on the inner green area of its flag so that only its horns project into the outer white field, which also carries a red five-pointed star. This flag was officially adopted in 1962 but had already been in use during the War of Liberation. Even this list does not exhaust the countries which have adopted the *hilāl* for their flag. For instance the national flag of the Maldive Islands carries a white crescent turned away from the staff and placed on a green rectangle which is framed by a red stripe and edged by a narrow black and white stripe along the hoist. The sultan's flag has the crescent combined with a white star. In Muslim countries (with the exception of Iran) a red *hilāl* on a white ground was also adopted for the equivalent of the Red Cross symbol, being placed near the staff and turned away from it; and there are many other major or minor Muslim organizations which also make use of the symbol, *e.g.*, the Mahdī flag of the Sudan, in which a crossed spear and *hilāl* are superimposed on three horizontal stripes of green, orange and black. All this indicates that since the beginning of the 19th century the *hilāl*, usually combined with a star, has become the Muslim emblem *par excellence*.

Owing to the new symbolical importance of the *hilāl*, the emblem was also used on postage stamps of most Muslim countries. It was first introduced in Turkey in its first stamps, issued in January 1863.

In view of the present-day identification of Islam with the *hilāl* and star, the Department of the Army of the United States Government has designated this emblem as the appropriate symbol for the top of headstones which are furnished for Muslim veterans buried in national cemeteries, analogous to the Christian Cross, the Jewish Shield of David, and the Buddhist Wheel of Righteousness. For the same reason, a white five-pointed star and crescent turned away from the hoist on a red rectangular central field, surrounded by a wide white frame, with the words "Islam, Equality, Justice, Freedom" set on a slant in the corners, has been taken by the "Black Muslims" of America as their symbol.

Outside this official context the *hilāl* continues to be used for decorative purposes in more recent times. It is occasionally found on carpets (Amos B. Thayer, *Turcoman rugs*, New York 1940, pl. 21) and in Maghribī jewelry (Paul Eudel, *Dictionnaire des bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1906, 34-5, 52, 57, 91, 141, 181, 199, and 239). Rather crude versions are also at times used as camel brands, marks of ownership, or tribal marks (*wasm*), see Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient*, 202-20, 242-4; Henry Field, *Camel brands and graffiti from Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Iran, and Arabia*, Suppl. to *JAOS*, xv (Oct.-Dec. 1952), with extensive bibliography.

Bibliography: So far there has been no general treatment of all the aspects of the subject. Publications on specific themes are given in the article.

(R. Ettinghausen)

HILĀL, eponymous ancestor of the tribe of the Banū Hilāl whom the Arab genealogists trace back to Muḍar according to the following lineage: Muḍar → ʿAylān → Ḳays → Khaṣafa → ʿIkrima → Manṣūr → Hawāzin → Bakr → Muʿāwiya → Ṣaʿṣaʿa → ʿĀmir → Hilāl. Its three main divisions were the Athbadj, the Riyāḥ and the Zughba. This tribe naturally played its part along with the other groups of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa in the pre-Islamic tribal struggles or *Ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] and in the affairs connected with the beginning of Islam such as that of Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*]. It is likely that it did not support Islam until after Muḥammad's victory over the Hawāzin at Ḥunayn (8/630), but, like the other ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, it did not participate in the *ridda*. It remained in the Nadjd, its initial habitat, longer than the other tribes of the same group who also inhabited it as their primitive domain. Although renowned for its courage, it did not win any particular fame during the conquests. During the first half of the 2nd/8th century, some of the Banū Hilāl (and Banū Sulaym) were invited to emigrate to Egypt where they soon became numerous. This exodus did not, however, diminish their turbulence, which increased considerably under the ʿAbbāsids, especially when, in the 4th/10th century, these brigands joined with the Ḳarmaṭīs to bring about a state of anarchy. After defeating and driving back the Ḳarmaṭīs (368/978), the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muʿizz, seeking no doubt to deprive his defeated enemy of their best allies, had a large number of the families of the Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym deported into Upper Egypt. Moreover this move was in accord with Egypt's rôle as a centre of attraction for the nomads of Arabia and Syria. Continuing to pillage and to fight amongst themselves, the new emigrants had to be confined to the Ṣaʿīd and forbidden to cross the Nile. But when the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs had broken with his suzerain al-Mustanṣir (439/1047) and recognized the ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Yāzūrī, the Fāṭimid minister, advised his master to take revenge on the Ṣanhādja by handing over Ifrīkiya to the horde of the Banū Hilāl, of whom, at the same time, he would rid himself. The chief organizer of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl, of which he also assumed command —and the man who reconciled the Riyāḥ and the Zughba—was probably the *amīr* Amīn al-Dawla wa-Makīnuhā Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Mulhim.

Better than the saga of the Banū Hilāl, upon which however he also draws, Ibn Khaldūn gives the fullest information on the composition and the principal leaders of the invaders. The most important



Fig. 1 (a and b). Anonymous Umayyad *dirham* in Arab-Sāsānian style with *miḥrāb* and *ʿanaza* (?) on reverse. New York, American Numismatic Society.



Fig. 2 (a and b). Anonymous Umayyad *fals* from Ḥimṣ in Arab-Byzantine style. American Numismatic Society.



Fig. 3. Copper "*dirham*" of the Zangid Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Mosul, 627/1229. American Numismatic Society.



Fig. 4. Copper "*dirham*" of the Zangid ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I. Mosul, 585/1189. American Numismatic Society.

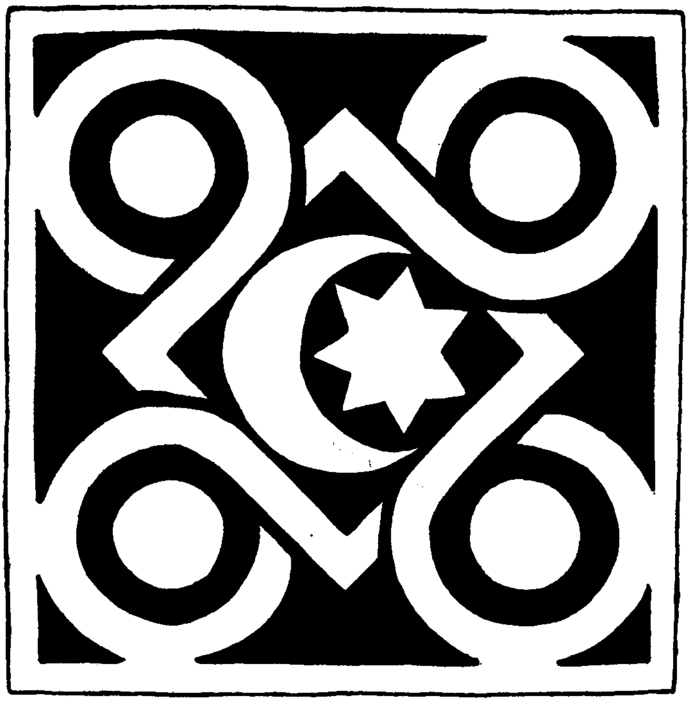


Fig. 5. Inlaid-stone composition. Trebizond, Church of Saint Sophia. Middle of 7th/13th century (After photograph of Prof. David Talbot Rice. Drawing by Frank A. Haentschke).

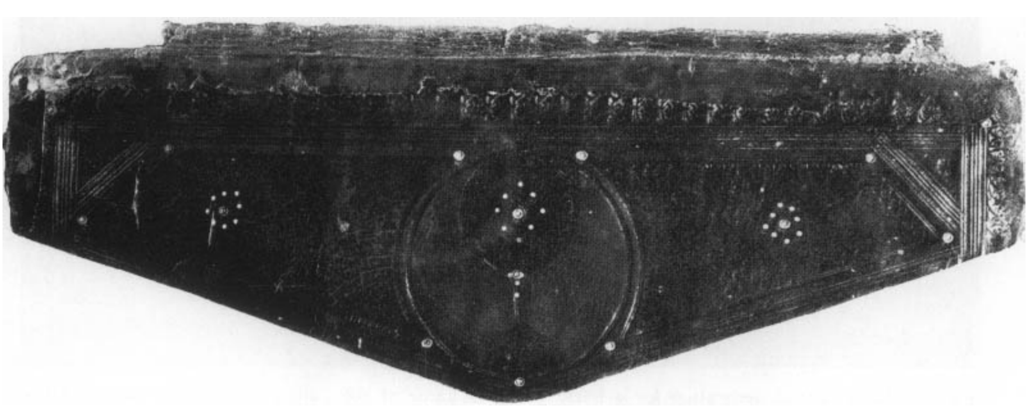


Fig. 6. Flap of Mamlūk leather binding with gold and blind tooling. New York, A. Minassian Collection.

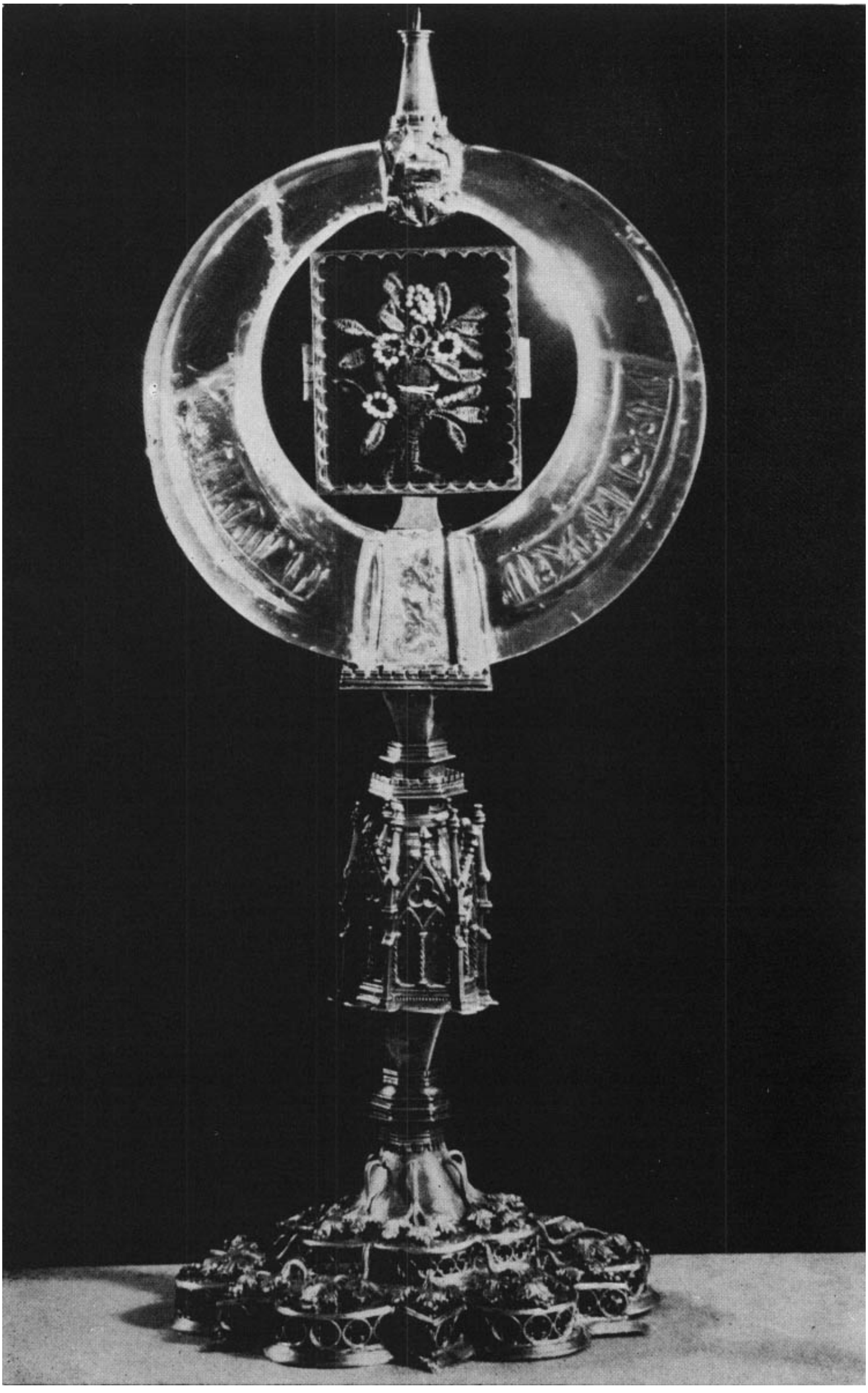


Fig. 7. Rock crystal decoration for a horse with the name of the Caliph al-Ẓāhir li-iʿzāz dīn Allāh. Egypt, Fāṭimid period, 411-23/1021-32 (now mounted in a Gothic monstrance, Venice, ca. 1350). Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, KG. 695.



Fig. 8. Mosaic with a Byzantine-type crown. Jerusalem, Ḳubbat al-Ṣa<u>kh</u>ra, 72/691.

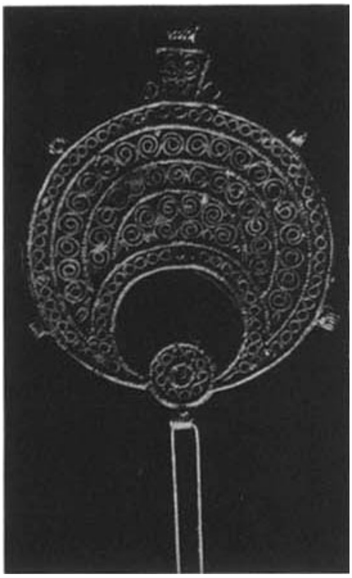


Fig. 9. Gold jewelry with filigree work. Egypt, Fāṭimid period. 5th-6th/11th-12th century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MAO 139.



Fig. 10. Bronze ornament, probably for a horse. Iran, Sel<u>dj</u>ūḳ period. 6th/12th century. Washington, Private Collection.



Fig. 11. Figure of *Ḳamar*, from an illuminated manuscript of *ʿA<u>dj</u>āʾib al-ma<u>kh</u>lūḳāt* by al-Ḳazwīnī ("Sarre Manuscript"). Probably ʿIrāḳ, <u>Dj</u>alāʾirid period. End of 8th/14th century. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, No. 54.33 recto.



Fig. 12. Pottery bowl with lustre decoration. Egypt or Syria, Fāṭimid period, 5th-6th/11th-12th century. Paris, Musée du Louvre, No. 7872.



Fig. 13. The Moon with the zodiacal figure of Cancer as its *domicilium* and two menacing double-headed animal heads as symbols of the eclipse-producing *D̲j̲awzahr* dragon. Detail from the "Vaso Vescovali". Eastern Iran, Seld̲j̲ūḳ period, about 600/1203. British Museum.



Fig. 14. Arabesque composition with the abbreviated figure of *hilāl*. Syria or Egypt, Mamlūk period. Early 8th/14th century. Modena, Museum, No. 2062

(Photograph by courtesy of the late Professor D. S. Rice).



Fig. 15. *Ḥadjdj* certificate in scroll form for the pilgrim Maymūna bint Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zardālī 836/1432. British Museum, Add. 27,566.

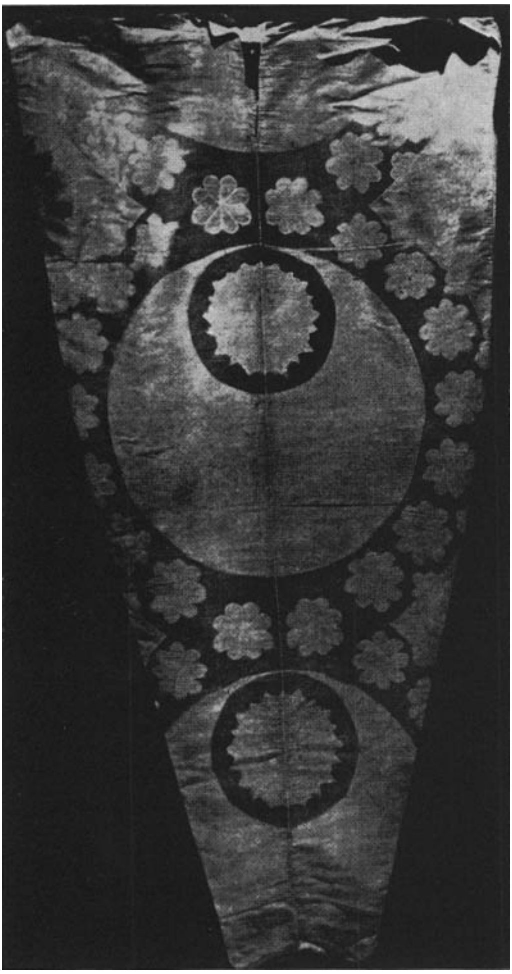


Fig. 16. Trousers (*shalvār*) of Sultan Süleymān, the Magnificent, made of light blue silk with gold and silver decorations. Topkapı Sarayı Müsezi, No. 4414 (After Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, i, pl. XXVI).

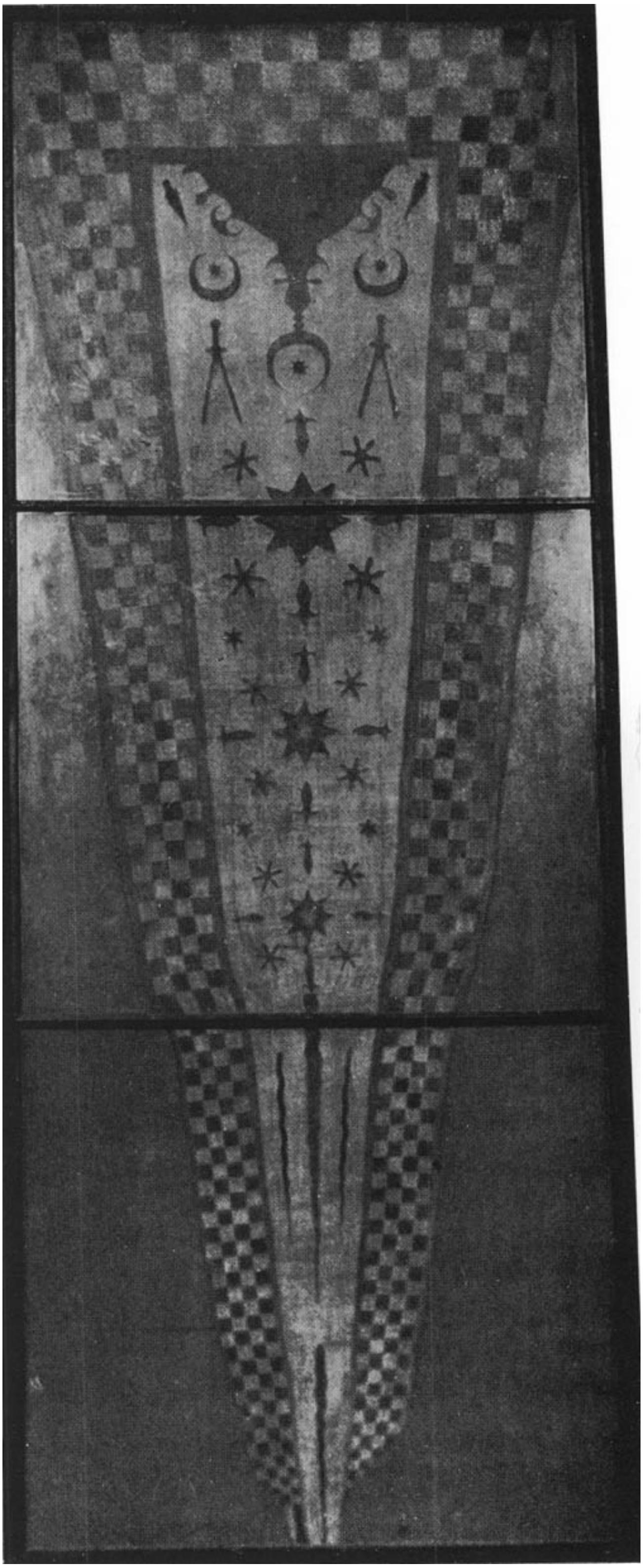


Fig. 17. Turkish flag used in the Battle of Lepanto, 1571. Pisa, Chiesa San Stefano dei Cavalieri. Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. Lilly Stunzi.

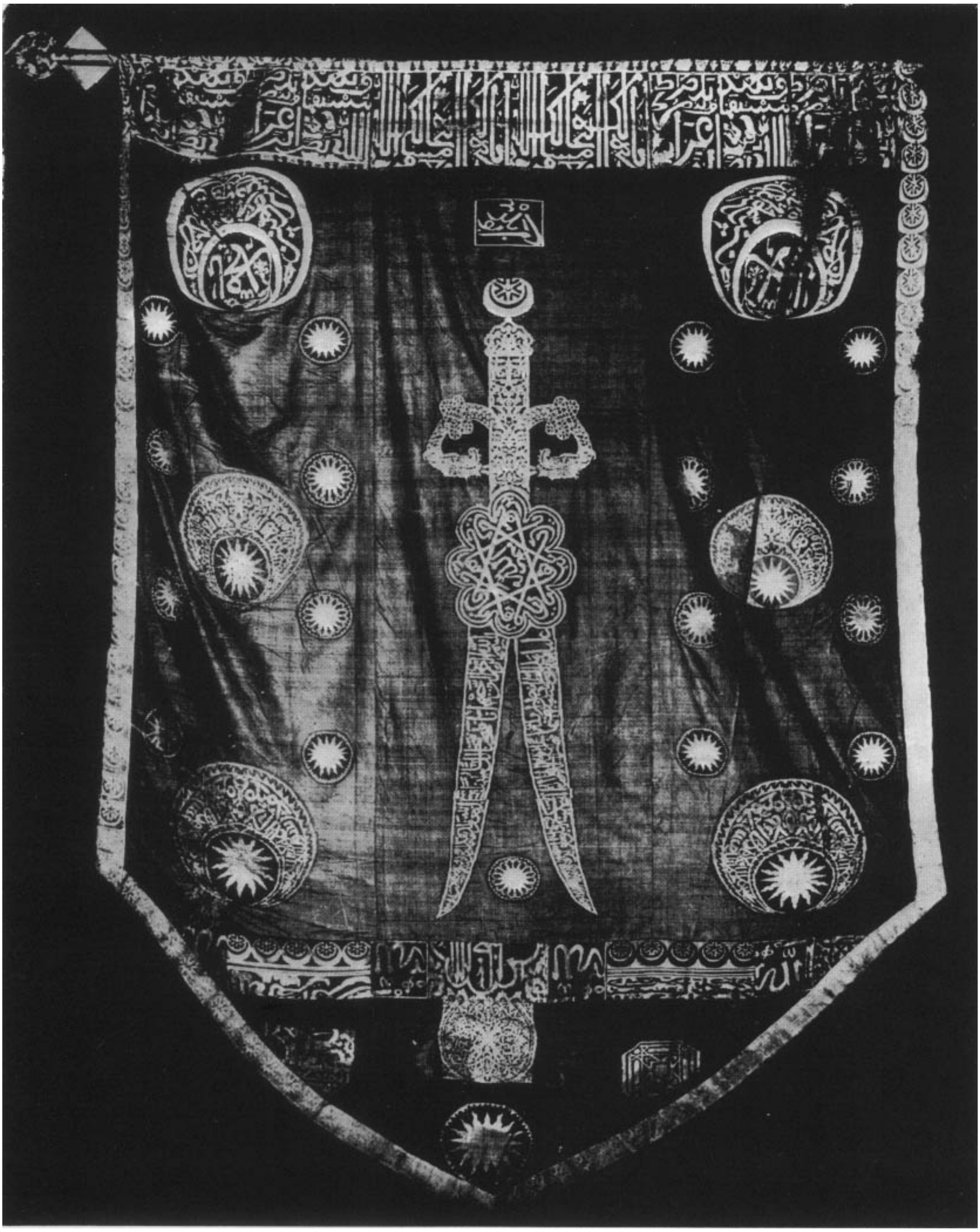


Fig. 18. Flag of Sultan Selīm I. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, No. 824.

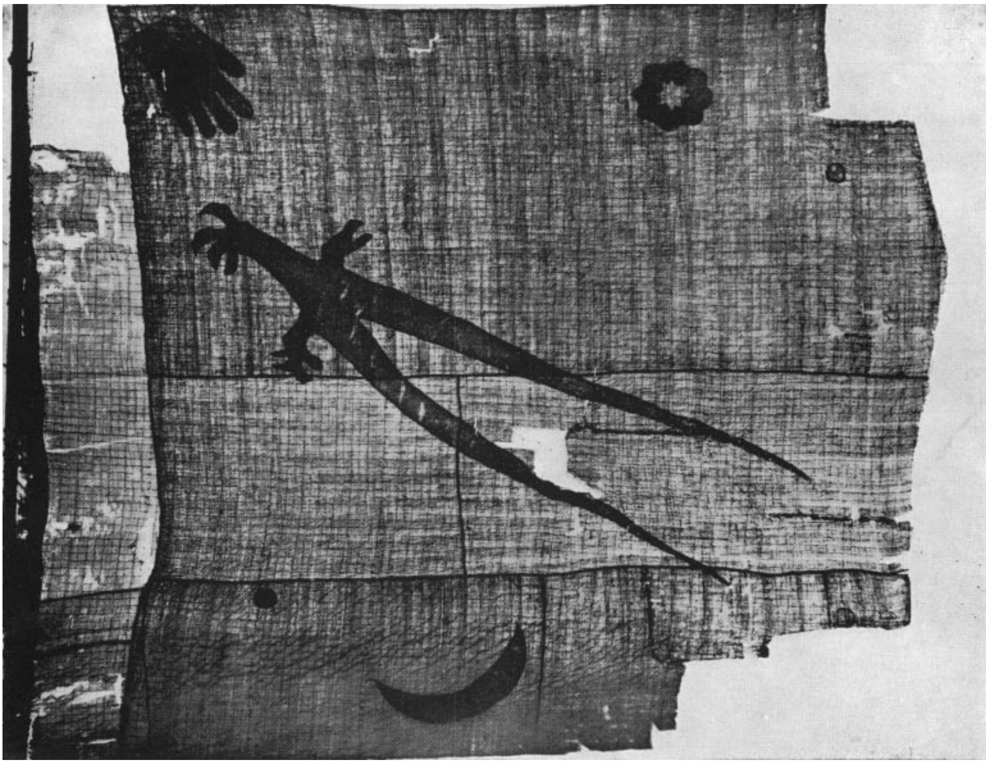


Fig. 19. Turkish flag used in the Battle of Slankamen, 1691. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, No. D. 23. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Ernst Petrasch.



Fig. 20. *Tughra* of Sultan Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39). Ankara, Etnografya Müzesi, No. 7603. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay.

tribe, that of the Athbadj, comprised the Durayd and the Karfa. The Banū Mirdās formed the main division of the Riyāḥ. To the Zughba, whose divisions are unknown, must be added the ʿAdī, also (according to Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Bassām) descendants of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Towns and provinces are said to have been allotted in advance by al-Mustanṣir to the various tribes and their leaders, but it was really only a matter of legitimizing *a posteriori* subsequent appropriations, in the form of an anticipatory grant of a domain yet to be conquered. The Banū Hilāl, setting out in 442/1050-51, at first ravaged the province of Barḳa, which they left to the Banū Sulaym who had followed them, and they did not approach Ifrīḳiya until the beginning of the 7th/13th century. Ibn Khaldūn compares the wave of half-starved nomads to a cloud of locusts. Al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs did not immediately recognize the extent of this unforeseeable scourge; lacking an effective army, he even tried to enlist the invader into his service by marrying one of his daughters to the chief of the Riyāḥ. But the ever-increasing pillaging destroyed this hope, and military action became necessary. The Zīrid army tried to stop the nomads at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*] in the region of Gabès (443/1051-52) but, in spite of its numerical superiority, it was utterly routed. The countryside, the important villages and soon the towns fell into the hands of the nomad chiefs. Anarchy and insecurity spread further and further. While the pressure of the Banū Hilāl round Ḳayrawān was increasing (446/1054-55), the capture of Béja by Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣinnabarī al-Mirdāsī consolidated the seizure of the valley of the Médjerda. Tripoli and its province had fallen to the Zughba. Al-Muʿizz married three of his daughters to Arab *amīr*s but this did nothing to check the continual devastation and was no more effective than was a return to Fāṭimid obedience in 446/1054-55. Finally, on 27 Shaʿbān 449/29 October 1057, the Zīrid took refuge at al-Mahdiyya with his son Tamīm. On 1 Ramaḍān 449/1 November 1057, Ḳayrawān was sacked by the Banū Hilāl, a disaster from which it never recovered. The presence of the Athbadj and the ʿAdī is attested shortly afterwards in the central Maghrib where, allied to the Ḥammādid, they fought against the Zanāta. Gradually the Athbadj established themselves as auxiliaries of the Ḥammādids, and the Riyāḥ, of the Zīrids. In 457/1065, the Ḥammādid al-Nāṣir, at the head of a large coalition of Berbers and Banū Hilāl (Ṣanhādja, Zanāta, Athbadj and ʿAdī) formed against the other Arab groups (Riyāḥ, Zughba and Sulaym), suffered a defeat at Sabība which was as serious for his dynasty as that of Ḥaydarān had been for the Zīrids. The consequences, however, were less abrupt and less immediate owing to the relief of the Central Maghrib, which was much less favourable for the expansion of the nomadic Banū Hilāl than the plains of Ifrīḳiya. But, by 461/1068-69, the grip of the Banū Hilāl was such that he had to abandon his capital, the Ḳalʿa, for Bougie (Bidjāya) which he had just founded. In about 466/1073-75 the Zughba, driven from Ifrīḳiya by the Riyāḥ, went to put themselves at the service of the Ḥammādids; before this they had proceeded to the "sale of Ḳayrawān", a phrase which symbolizes well the discomfiture of the Ṣanhādja. The Banū Hilāl were too closely involved in the history of the last Zīrids and Ḥammādids to be spoken of separately. In the general anarchy, certain of the chiefs of the Banū Hilāl set themselves up as independent rulers, from simple condottieri like Muḥriz b. Ziyād, who made himself a lair in the ruins of Carthage at La Malga (al-Muʿallaḳa), to dynasties such as those of the Banu 'l-Ward at Bizerta and the Banū Djāmiʿ at Gabès. After recovering the latter town in 489/1095-96, the Zīrid Tamīm was forced to yield it to the Zughba—whose expulsion had not been complete—and they later lost it to the Riyāḥ. Maggan b. Kāmil b. Djāmiʿ, *amīr* of the Munāḳasha, a division of the Dahmān who, together with the Fādigh/Fādiʿ formed the Riyāḥid tribe of the Banū ʿAlī, established himself there as master. In 491/1097-98, it was the turn of the ʿAdī to be driven from Ifrīḳiya by the Riyāḥ, apparently towards the west. The conquest of the littoral of Ifrīḳiya by the Normans (543/1148) had scarcely any influence on the position of the Banū Hilāl, whose grip on the country was on the contrary greatly strengthened until the arrival of the Almohads. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seized the Ḥammādid states without difficulty and in a single expedition (547/1152), but, before he could return to Morocco, he had to put down a serious uprising of the Arabs of the Central Maghrib who had been driven back towards the Sahara or nominally subjected. Aware of the deep-seated incompatibility between the peace imposed by the Almohads and their own mode of existence, they united en masse, determined to put all to the stake. The Arab wave (Athbadj, Riyāḥ, Zughba, ʿAdī, Ḳurra), after massing in the region of Béja, spread out in the Constantinois, but was routed on the plain of Sétif (1 Ṣafar 548/28 April 1153). Some of the conquered chiefs were taken to Marrākush and released, others were able to go there later to look for their families, who had been transported there and well treated. This behaviour was the first sign of a policy of enrolling contingents of the Banū Hilāl. The presence of Arabs, probably members of the Banū Hilāl, is attested in the army with which Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, the son of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, tried in 552/1157 to take Tunis from the Khurāsānid; he was prevented by the Riyāḥ of the lord of La Malga, Muḥriz b. Ziyād. Since the disaster of Sétif, the Arab *amīr*s had often gone to the court of the Almohad, who loaded them with gifts. According to official Almohad letters of 551/1156, it is they who requested the Caliph to nominate his eldest son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad as governor of Ifrīḳiya and heir presumptive. Before he left Ifrīḳiya, which he had just conquered in a single campaign (555/1160), ʿAbd al-Muʾmin wanted to transfer the Banū Hilāl to Spain, to wage the Holy War there. He informed the *amīr*s of the Banū Riyāḥ of his intention, demanding of them 10,000 men, and the agreement was concluded. But the Caliph had scarcely begun the return journey when the Arabs defected. The Almohad forces routed them in Rabīʿ II 555/end of April 1160, at Djabal al-Ḳarn, south of Ḳayrawān. The conquered *amīr*s were permitted to go to Morocco to recover their captured wives, who were returned to them. In eastern Barbary the Banū Hilāl always rallied round the banner of rebels against Almohad rule, such as Ḳarāḳūsh and the Banū Ghāniya and played an important and active role in Ḥafṣid history, the vicissitudes of which are too long to recount even briefly. The Marīnids also had to cross swords with the Banū Hilāl who had been settled on the Atlantic plains by the Almohads. From the 7th/13th century it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish the Hilāl from the Sulaym and other nomadic Arab tribes who followed them and pursued their work of devastation.

The invading Banū Hilāl, probably, like most Arab nomads, little concerned with religion, made less contribution to the islamization of Barbary—

in fact they themselves were rather re-converted to Islam by the strength of religious influences in the Maghrib—than they did to strengthening its Arab character. Indeed, whereas the Arabs of the conquest had been absorbed in the Berber population, especially in the towns—Islam is essentially urban—those of the 5th/11th century led, in all fields, to a promotion of nomadism which was absorbed so little that almost all the Arabic-speaking Bedouins of the present-day Maghrib are their descendants. Also, many large villages and towns have come under their influence in consequence of the necessary *modus vivendi* which was soon established between the sedentary population and the nomads. In the East as in the West, neither ethnography nor dialectology have yet made it possible to discern a type specifically belonging to the Banū Hilāl, and it is perhaps too late to do this.

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The Saga of the Banū Hilāl

The movement of the Banū Hilāl into Africa and the battles they had to fight in order to conquer the country form the historical basis for a collection of tales of heroism and love, the romance, or rather the saga, of the Banū Hilāl (*Sīrat Banī Hilāl*), which has come down to us in two versions (*al-Sīra al-Shāmiyya* and *al-Sīra al-Ḥidjāziyya*) and in three cycles.

The first cycle tells the story (more properly the *Sīra*) of the Banū Hilāl in the Bilād al-Sarw wa-ʿUbāda: Hadhbāʾ and ʿAdhbāʾ, the two wives of Hilāl's son al-Mundhir, give birth in the same night to two sons, Djābir and Djubayr. The latter goes away with his mother and later becomes sultan of the Nadjd. In the Bilād al-Sarw reign the *amīrs* Ḥāzim and Rizḳ of the line of Djābir. Rizḳ marries al-Khaḍrāʾ, the daughter of the *sharīf* of Mecca, whom he assists against the king of Rūm. He has a son by her, the swarthy Barakāt, later named Abū Zayd (Zēd). Ḥāzim's successor is his son Sirḥān (Sarḥān), who is succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who marries Kharmā, queen of the Yemen, after conquering the fire-worshippers of the land of Bardhakhā, against whom Kharmā had invoked his aid. With the aid of Abū Zayd, India is then conquered, after which Ḥasan passes with Kharmā into the Bilād al-Sarw wa-ʿUbāda.

The second cycle deals with the migration (*riḥla*) of the Banū Hilāl into the country of Nadjd; because of a famine, the Hilāl go from the Bilād al-Sarw into the Nadjd, where they are warmly welcomed by the prince Ghānim and his son Dhiʾāb (Diyāb, of the line of Djubayr) and by their tribe the Banū Zughba. The Hilāl triumph over the prince al-Haydabī, who is the foremost of the seven rulers of the Nadjd; Ḥasan, who marries al-Nāfila, the sister of Dhiʾāb, then reigns over the Nadjd with several viceroys. A struggle occurs between Dhiʾāb, who kills two of Ḥasan's brothers, and Abū Zayd; Dhiʾāb yields and peace is restored.

The subject of the third cycle is the migration of the Ḥilāl towards the West (*taghrība*) and their wars with the Zanātī ruler of Tunis; in the year 460/1068 Abū Zayd marches with his followers towards Tunis, in order to find a better place of abode than the Nadjd, where famine is widespread. Saʿdā, the daughter of the Zanātī ruler, who is particularly attracted to Mirʿī (Marʿī), one of the companions of Abū Zayd, works on their behalf. Abū Zayd then returns to the Nadjd and the Banū Hilāl start to move westwards. After several adventures (the journey through the land of the Persians with the seven sultans and their battles in this country, the capture of al-Māriya, the daughter of the *ḳāḍī* Budayr, battles with al-Ghaḍbān, king of the Kurds and the Turkomans, with al-Bardawīl b. Rāshid (i.e. Baldwin I, 1110-1118), al-Sarkasī Ibn Nāzib, al-Firmend, ruler of Egypt, al-Māḍī, king of Bilād al-Ṣaʿīd, etc.), they enter the territory of the Zanātī caliph. The latter marches against the Hilāl and kills two brothers of Dhiʾāb. After al-Zanātī has been killed with the aid of Dhiʾāb, the struggle begins for possession of the seven thrones and the fourteen strong castles of the land of the west. Ḥasan and Abū Zayd are then treacherously killed by Dhiʾāb. Their orphans try to avenge these assassinations. Under the leadership of Buraykiʿ, son of Ḥasan and nephew of Dhiʾāb, and of al-Djāziya, sister of Ḥasan, they march against Dhiʾāb and kill him, after he has stunned al-Djāziya with a kick. Buraykiʿ, who then seizes power, governs tyrannously and provokes a general uprising of the Banū Zughba, in which he is killed by Naṣr al-Dīn, a son of Dhiʾāb.

Of the two principal heroes of the legend, Abū Zayd and Dhiʾāb, the latter had an historical existence; but he played only an insignificant role, thus resembling Roland, the main hero of the poem of the Carolingian cycle.

This short résumé records only the characteristic features of this tale, which is of the highest importance for the history of language and civilization, and which contains a great number of separate narratives.

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HILĀL b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-ṢĀBIʾ, secretary and writer of the Buwayhid period, belonging to a family of Sabean scholars and secretaries which had come from its native Ḥarrān to settle in Baghdād and which included among its members the historian Thābit b. Sinān.Hilāl's grandfather, Abu Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm [see al-ṣābiʾ], was director of the Chancery at Baghdād and it was in his service that Hilāl (b. at Baghdād in 359/969) began his

career in the time of the *amīr* Ṣamṣām al-Dawla (*K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, 151). Little is known however of the details of his career, except that he became in his turn the Director of Chancery under the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk during the reign of the *amīr* Bahāʾ al-Dawla; it was at this time, in 403/1012, that he embraced Islam, being the first member of his family to do so. When his master fell into disgrace (407/1016-7) Hilāl is said to have received from him 30,000 *dīnārs* which he was allowed to keep under Muʾayyid al-Dawla, and it was on this capital that he lived until his death in 448/1056.

His administrative duties and his rank at the court of the Buwayhid *amīrs* allowed Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ to write works which, while often adhering faithfully to the genre of *adab*, constitute, because of the documents of which their author has made use and the evidence reproduced in them, valuable sources of information. Hilāl is known particularly for his *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* which he wrote in the time of the vizier Ibu Māfinā, *i.e.*, during the latter part of his life, and of which there is preserved only the beginning, which concerns the viziers of the caliph al-Muḳtadir. But the *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, published in 1964, which deals with questions of protocol at the court and in official correspondence, also provides extremely important documentation. Of his *History*, which was a continuation of that of Thābit b. Sinān and covered the period up to 447/1055, there survives only a short fragment covering the years 389-93/999-1003. Finally the *Ghurar al-balāgha* is a collection, still unpublished, of models of private and official letters and containing also some texts of brevets of appointment. There are attributed to Hilāl various works which have not survived, notably a *Kitāb Akhbār Baghdād*, cited by Yāḳūt, and a collection of anecdotes entitled *al-Amāthil wa 'l-aʿyān* which seems to have been different from the *K. al-Wuzarāʾ* though part of its content was similar.

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(D. SOURDEL)

HILĀLĪ, BADR AL-DĪN, Persian poet of the late 9th/15th—early 10th/16th centuries, of Turkish origin, born in Astarābād. While a young man he went to Herāt and enjoyed the patronage of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī. Sām Mīrzā, who gives the fullest account of Hilālī, states that although he was known as a Sunnī, he was executed as a Shīʿī heretic by ʿUbayd Allāh Khān in 936/1529-30. Apart from his *dīwān*, consisting mainly of *ghazals*, he composed three *mathnawīs*. These are, in chronological order: (a) *Shāh u Darwīsh*, the content of which Bābur criticized on moral grounds (*The Bábar-náma*, GMS, i, 181b), but which Ethé, who translated it into German verse, regarded as a mystical poem (*Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 302): (b) *Ṣifāt al-ʿāshiḳīn*, an ethical poem; (c) *Laylā u Madjnūn*, which Hilālī considered superior to his earlier *mathnawīs* and which is distinguished from the versions of his predecessors by having a happy ending. A recently published *baḥr-i ṭawīl* in Turkish (E. R. Rustamov, *Uzbekskaya poeziya v pervoy polovine XV veka*, Moscow 1963, 20 ff.) displays also Hilālī's ability in his mother tongue.

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(T. GANDJEÏ)

ḤILF, etymologically "covenant", "compact", "friendship" and, by extension, "oath", the *ḥilf* being generally confirmed by an oath (*ḳasam, yamīn*). The term is used of three different varieties of institution, all of which originate in the customs of pre-Islamic Arabia.

In a primary sense, *ḥilf* merges with the institution of *walāʾ*, which consists of the admission of an individual to a clan, by an agreement with one of the members of this clan or by collective assent. This individual, known as *mawlā*, is generally accorded the same social and juridical position, from the standpoint both of rights and of obligations, as the original members of the tribe. There is even established a right of succession between him and the member of the tribe with whom the agreement is made [see MAWLĀ].

The second type of *ḥilf* consists of the agreement between the clans within one tribe through which they settle on a common line of conduct in the general interest. Such was probably the case with the *Ḥilf al-fuḍūl* [*q.v.*].

A *ḥilf* may also be arranged between opposing clans within one group, or between different groups, for the accomplishment of a particular object such as a war or the pursuit of a *thaʾr*,—and which is dissolved when the object is accomplished. In this instance it is of an accidental and temporary nature. Hence the term *ḥilf* came to mean an alliance in the modern sense of the term. Of this type were the two *ḥilfs* arranged on the occasion of the disagreement which arose between the clans of Ḳuraysh on the subject of the allocation of the ritual offices of the Kaʿba and of the Pilgrimage: *ḥilf al muṭayyabīn* for the former, *ḥilf laʿaḳat al-dam* for the latter.

Ḥilf properly so-called however is the compact which, entered into between quite separate tribes, is, in principle, very general in scope and conduces to the amalgamation of these tribes.

It was concluded with solemn formalities, as indeed were the other types of *ḥilf*. The parties gathered around a great fire, "the fire of the *ḥilf*", where they exchanged their reciprocal undertakings, calling down anathemas on the party which broke them. Other rituals were still in use. The *Aghānī* mentions the custom by which those assembled plunged their hands into a leather bottle filled with perfumes, blood or ashes. There are mentioned other rituals, of a religious character, which took place during the conclusion of *ḥilfs* between the clans of a single tribe. The pre-Islamic sources do not appear to mention on these occasions the formal taking of an oath, but there was implicit throughout the ritual the sense of such an oath in the minds of those taking part.

In principle, the *ḥilf* did not diminish the autonomy of the tribes or the degree of equality between them; and they retained their respective dwelling places and their grazing-grounds. Its object was, as well as establishing a permanent state of peace between the tribes, also to unite them for purposes of common defence, for enterprises of *g͟hazw* [*q.v.*], for vengeance (*t͟ha*ʾ*r*), for mutual aid in the payment of settlements to third parties and for the common use of pasturage.

The agreement was sometimes accentuated by the fact that the two tribes adopted a common dwelling place or, more often, that one of the groups came and settled on the other's territory. The effects of this latter practice, reinforced by the continuation of the compact and by community of interests, usually led to the amalgamation of the groups. This was later sealed by the adoption of a common eponym, either real or invented. According to the author of the *ʿIḳd*, the Arab tribes which had not originally been made up of disparate elements united by a *ḥilf* were very rare.

The *ḥilf* in this sense was to be condemned in Islam, as a result of the pronouncement attributed to Muḥammad: "There is no *ḥilf* in Islam". It was indeed contrary to his principle, which was that all the ancient tribal distinctions should be fused into a single community and that this community must inevitably oppose all others, in order to absorb them or at least to subjugate them (the obligation of the *d̲jihād*). It is true that another saying is reported which announces the survival of the *ḥilf*, but it must refer only to the *ḥilf-walā*ʾ, which is in any case no longer permitted except between Muslims, or perhaps to the maintenance of those *ḥilf*s which had been concluded earlier.

It is not clear to what extent the new principle is adhered to in the specifically Arab milieus which continue to live according to the ancient traditions of tribal organization. There may however be mentioned the use among the Arabs of Transjordania of forms of agreement known as *ben-ʿamma*, the object of which is to establish a state of peace between tribes. One of these forms implies the recognition by the contracting parties of a common ancestral origin such as may lead, as in the ancient *ḥilf*, to their being united.

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ḤILF AL-FUḌŪL, a famous pact concluded between several Ḳuras͟hī clans a few years before the Prophet's mission, more precisely, according to certain authorities, in D̲hu 'l-Ḳaʿda on the return from the war of Fid̲jār [*q.v.*]. The traditions concerning the events which brought it about are divergent, but can be reduced to the following outline: a merchant of Zabīd (or elsewhere, or even the poet al-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaysī) sells merchandise to a leading man of the clan of the Banū Sahm who proves to be a bad payer and wants to harm the merchant. The latter climbs up the D̲jabal Abī Ḳubays and, complaining loudly of the treatment he has received, appeals to the Ḳuray̲shīs to see justice done to him. This appeal, together with the fears of extermination which they felt as a result of the supernatural punishments which had smitten the Banū Sahm, brought about the conclusion of the *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*. The circumstances of it are differently reported, but it seems likely that al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh b. D̲judʿān [*q.v.*] played the principal roles; in the latter's dwelling the representatives of the following clans are said to have gathered: Banū Hās͟him, Banu 'l-Muṭṭalib, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym al-Lāt and Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (this last clan is replaced in al-Masʿūdī by the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. Fihr), to conclude the pact; after washing the Black Stone and drinking the rinsings, the participants, standing with one hand held above the head, vowed to be all "like a single hand with the oppressed and against the oppressor", to have justice done to all victims whatever their origin and their situation and to afford mutual aid and assistance.

The name of this pact has given rise to widely differing interpretations: for some, a similar agreement had been concluded by several D̲jurhumīs [*q.v.*] of the name of al-Faḍl (or bearing names derived from this root); for others, it originates from the undertaking of the participants not to leave the outstanding debt (*faḍl*) to the recalcitrant debtor; and for others, some clans which did not participate in the pact saw in it something superfluous (*fuḍūl*); according to al-D̲jāḥiẓ, it owes its name to the outstanding virtues and advantages it presents, so that the tribes who took part in it were called al-Fuḍūl.

The multiplicity of explanations put forward proves that the reason for this name was forgotten very early, even though Islam did not repudiate the agreement. The Prophet is said moreover to have been present when it was concluded and to have said later: "I was present in the abode of ʿAbd Allāh b. D̲judʿān at such a pact that I would not wish [to exchange] for the "red cattle" (*ḥumr al-naʿam*=the best camels), and if I were invited to [agree to it], now that we are in Islam, I would accept willingly". The pact ended with the death of the last of the participants, but it was sometimes effectively recalled down to the Umayyad era and on certain occasions threats were made to bring it into operation. In the 3rd/9th century, al-D̲jāḥiẓ drew arguments from it to prove the superiority of the Hās͟himīs over the ʿAbd S͟hams (=Umayyads), who had not participated, and he considers it to be the noblest pact ever concluded by the Ḳuray̲shīs. Recently M. Hamidullah (who had at his disposal a manuscript of the *Munammaḳ* of Ibn Ḥabīb) has taken into account the tradition that there existed among the D̲jurhumīs a *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*, which lasted for several centuries and, regarding it as an "order of chivalry", has attributed its restoration to the remorse felt by al-Zubayr after the war of the Fid̲jār.

Bibliography: Ibn His͟hām, *Sīra*, ed. Saḳḳā, etc., i, 133-5; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 42; D̲jāḥiẓ, in Sandūbī, *Rasāʾil*, 71-2; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 16; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkās͟ha, 604; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j*, iv, 122-4; *Ag͟hānī*, Beirut ed., xvii, 218-22; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *S͟harḥ Nahd̲j al-balāg͟ha*, iii, 455; *LA*, s.v. *fḍl*; Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, Cairo 1332, i, 91; H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, 54 ff.; M. Hamidullah, *Le prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, i, 47-8. (Ch. Pellat)

AL-ḤILLA, a town situated on the Euphrates midway between al-Kūfa and Bag͟hdād near the ruins of ancient Bābil. Not to be confused with several like-sounding places, it is sometimes called Ḥillat Banī Mazyad or Ḥillat al-Mazyadiyya after Sayf al-Dawla, Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr b. Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad al-Asadī, who founded the town in 495/1102 (Ḳazwīnī gives the date 436/1044, but this is an error) on the west bank of Nahr Sūrā, the main

subsidiary of the Euphrates. In later times (6th/12th century) this waterway came to be known by the name of the parent stream, the former name gradually going out of use. An earlier settlement called al-Djāmiʿān existed on the intensively cultivated east bank, but the major built-up area was the new town across the river. At a spot which Yāḳūt describes as having hitherto been a gathering place for lions, Dubays settled with his troops, building magnificent dwellings and palaces. The town also contained a wide variety of markets and gave every indication of being prosperous. This prosperity continued well after the death of the founder, for after the decline of Ḳaṣr b. Hubayra, in the 6th/12th century, it became the half-way town along the pilgrim route linking al-Kūfa and Baghdād. A large bridge of boats was constructed in order to facilitate movement across the river, presumably to take the place of the great Sūrā Bridge which was located at the above-mentioned site. Ibn Djubayr describes this bridge as having been moored by iron chains tied to wooden posts on each bank of the river. He found the town to be large and prosperous, of oblong shape, and protected only by mud walls. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, writing two centuries later, was also struck by this magnificent bridge, and by the prosperity of the town in general. His contemporary Ḳazwīnī adds that the population was made up of Twelver Shīʿīs and that a religious shrine was situated there. The town continues to exist in modern times.

Bibliography: Ibn Djubayr, 214; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 322 ff.; iii, 861; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 97, tr. Gibb, ii, 324 f.; Ḳazwīnī, 138; Le Strange, 71.

(J. Lassner)

AL-ḤILLĪ, (1) Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muṭahhar, called ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī (the sage of Ḥilla) after his native city Ḥilla [*q.v.*], which was for a long time the recognized centre of the Shīʿīs when Sunnī rulers were in authority in Baghdād. He was born on 19 Ramaḍān 648/15 December 1250, eight years before the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols, and died 11 Muharram 726/18 December 1325. He came of a great family of Shīʿī theologians, which produced in a comparatively short period ten *mudjtahids*. He studied religious subjects with his father and uncle, and philosophical subjects with the great philosopher, astrologer and theologian Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*].

ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī is said to have written as many as five hundred books and treatises on every branch of Islamic learning, seventy-five of them specifically named in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* and the *Amal al-Āmil*. The modern Shīʿī writers ʿĀmilī and Agha Buzurg (see bibliography) name many private libraries in Iraq and Persia where original manuscripts are to be found. Only eight of al-Ḥillī's works are published, however, and are regarded by the Imāmī Shīʿa as the most authentic expositions of their dogma and practice. Two of them, *al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar*, together with its commentary by Miḳdād-i Fāḍil (English tr. by W. M. Miller, Oriental Tr. Fund, N.S. xxix), a recognized creed of the Ithnāʿasharīs, which has superseded every other in modern times, and *Sharḥ Tadjrīd al-iʿtiḳād*, on scholastic theology, have become classics of the Imāmī faith, and are universally taught in all the Shīʿī *madrasas* as fundamental texts.

ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī moved to Persia, in about 705/1305, and is said to have successfully conducted many debates with the leading Sunnī theologians of his time in the court of Öldjeytü [*q.v.*], the eighth Īl-Khānid ruler of Persia, who, after renouncing Christianity, became a Sunnī Muslim, but was ultimately converted by ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī into a staunch Imāmī Shīʿī. It was perhaps at his suggestion that Öldjeytü ordered the names of the Twelve Imāms and especially the formula, *ʿAlī walī Allāh*, to be engraved on the coins (see S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum*, London 1881, vi, 44 ff.); hence it may be said that through ʿAllāma-i Ḥillī's efforts Imāmī Shīʿism was for the first time declared the state religion of Persia (see H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1888, iii, 559). His services were so much appreciated by the Shīʿīs that soon after his death his grave in Mashhad became one of the centres of veneration for those who go on pilgrimage to the tomb of Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

(2) Another eminent jurist-theologian of Ḥilla, often described as Muḥaḳḳiḳ-i Ḥillī and also known as Muḥaḳḳik-i awwal, is Nadjm al-Dīn Djaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā, born 638/1240-1, died 726/1326. He distinguished himself as the author of *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, which came to be recognized as the authoritative work on Shīʿī law (Fr. tr. by A. Querry, Russian tr. by Kasembeg).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: (1) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, lith. Tehrān 1320 h., 40; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehrān (latest edition 1954), 355 ff.; Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehrān 1888, 171 ff., 235; Muḥsin al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus 1946, xxiv, 277-334; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-Shīʿa li-ʿulūm al-Islām*, Baghdād 1951, 270, 313 and 397 ff.; Agha Buzurg al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1959, xiii, 117 and 133, and other volumes, as he describes books in alphabetical order; Shaykh Yūsuf Karakūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥilla*, Nadjaf 1965, i, 87-8, ii, 32-4; Brockelmann, II, 164; Browne, iv, 406; W. M. Miller *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xiv; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 268 f. and 296.

(2) al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, 34; Khwānsārī, *op. cit.*, 145; Tunakābunī, *op. cit.*, 364 ff.; ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, xvi, no. 3059, 371-91; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *op. cit.*, 305; Agha Buzurg, *op. cit.*, xiii, 47 ff. and other volumes, *passim*; Karakūsh, *op. cit.*, ii, 20 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 406; S I, 711-2; Browne, iv, 405; Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 295 f.

(S. H. M. Jafri)

ḤILM (A.), a complex and delicate notion which includes a certain number of qualities of character or moral attitudes, ranging from serene justice and moderation to forbearance and leniency, with self-mastery and dignity of bearing standing between these extremes. The term, which is sometimes linked with *ʿilm*, more however from stylistic considerations and a taste for paronomasia than from any conceptual association, is basically contrasted with *djahl* [see djāhiliyya] and *safah* or *safāha*; a derivative from the latter root appears in the expression *saffaha 'l-aḥlām*, which can be translated "to put the most imperturbable out of countenance, to make them lose their temper". The Arabic dictionaries give only fragmentary definitions of *ḥilm*; in the *LA*, it is "levelheadedness and reason", whilst *ḥalīm* is glossed by "patient"; for the *TA*, *ḥilm* consists of controlling oneself and not allowing any violent emotion or anger to burst out; for the *Muḥīṭ*, it is "the state of the soul which preserves its calm and does not easily allow itself to be carried away by anger" (see also Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, iv, 290, 335

and *passim*). From these definitions it emerges that the lexicographers consider the basic element of *ḥilm* to be self-mastery, dignity, detachment (though without the last of these going as far as the *ataraxia* of the Greeks, as T. Izutsu suggests in *The structure of the ethical terms of the Koran*, Tokyo 1959, 26; revised version under the title: *Ethico-religious concepts in the Qur'ān*, Montreal 1966, 31, 69); but they make no reference to the pardoning of offences, whilst in the modern period (as probably for many centuries) the word *ḥilm* generally connotes the qualities associated with patience, leniency, understanding (cf. H. Wehr, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.), or even gentleness (*ibid.*; Beaussier, s.v.). In a recent work, S. H. al-Shamma (*The ethical system underlying the Qur'ān*, Tübingen 1959, 7) gives it simply the meaning of "good conduct".

The problems posed by this word are however not so simple. I. Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 319 ff.; analysis by G.-H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii/3, 246-9), in studying the concept of *d̲j̲āhiliyya*, very justly contrasts *d̲j̲ahl* with *ḥilm*, which implies "an idea of physical solidity, and then of moral integrity and solidity, of calm dispassionate reflexion and gentleness in social intercourse. The *ḥalīm* is the civilized man", as opposed to the *d̲j̲āhil*, the "barbarian". Goldziher adds that *muruwwa* [*q.v.*] allowed it to be known in what cases it was permissible however to resort to *d̲j̲ahl*, that is to say to allow oneself to be carried away by a somewhat crude spontaneity, for *ḥilm* could be a mark of weakness (cf. al-Maydānī, i, 220; *al-ḥalīm maṭiyyat al-d̲j̲ahūl*).

Now B. Farès (*L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, XXI), who had used only the second volume of *Muh. Stud.*, makes *ḥilm* one of the four elements of honour, along with generosity, intelligence and courage (*op. cit.*, 56). While noting (*ibid.*, 55) that *ḥilm* "consisted in not giving way to one's anger", this writer recognizes that it sometimes went beyond simple moderation to "become identical with forbearance; in that case, the chief willingly suffered insults and refrained from avenging them, regardless, strange as it may seem, of his own honour". For this attitude, so much at variance with the toughness of the ancient Arabs, B. Farès finds an explanation in the fact that dishonour provoked by the practice of *ḥilm* enhanced the group's prestige, while the tyranny of the chief was averted. In reality this form of *ḥilm*, the scorning of insults, cloaks a considerable moral force, since indifference can, if he possesses a certain nobility of character, administer a more profitable lesson than a physical penalty to the guilty man, but it can only be an aristocratic virtue. Tradition indeed relates numerous anecdotes in which important personages can be seen turning a blind eye to faults of greater or lesser gravity, while in similar circumstances, according to the writers, men of the common sort would be carried away and take to fighting. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (*Dīwān*, 286-7, verses 3 ff.) relates *ḥilm* to silence (*ṣamt*), "in which the *ḥalīm* finds a protection against all that might injure his honour (*ʿirḍ*)". Before Islam, therefore, *ḥilm* seems to have been compounded of a mixture of characteristics which conferred upon those who possessed them, and who were *sayyid*s, an incontestable moral authority.

With Islam, if one is to judge by the interpretations of it that have been given, *ḥilm* was to change its character entirely, at least in principle. The word itself is absent from the Ḳur'ān, and the adjective *ḥalīm*, qualifying Allāh (*passim*), Abraham (IX, 115/114, XI, 77/75), Isaac (XXXVII, 99/101) and S̲h̲uʿayb (XI, 89/87), is generally rendered by "long-suffering", "patient", "gifted with tolerance", "slow to punish"; it is also the 33rd of the *asmā' ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]. Thus the Ḳur'ān does not appear to impose the virtue of *ḥilm* on the Muslims; but in strict logic, granted that Islam is opposed to *D̲j̲āhiliyya* and that *d̲j̲ahl* is the fundamental characteristic of that period, it follows that *ḥilm* must be the essential feature of Islam. This is the reasoning that is followed by Goldziher (*op. cit.*), for whom the new religion "desired the triumph of a *ḥilm* superior to that known by Arab paganism". This original opinion has recently been revived and developed by T. Izutsu (*op. cit.*, 25), who thinks that "Muhammad's whole work on its ethical side may very well be represented as a daring attempt to fight to the last extremity with the spirit of *jāhiliyyah*, to abolish it completely, and to replace it once for all by the spirit of *ḥilm*". Indeed, the notion of *ḥilm* is simply implicit in Islamic ethics and can be deduced *a contrario* from the use of the word *d̲j̲ahl* and its derivatives in the Ḳur'ān; but it also emerges from certain verses, the most characteristic of which is certainly the following (XXV, 64/63): "The [true] servants of the Beneficent are those who walk the earth modestly and who, when addressed by the *d̲j̲āhil*, answer 'peace!' ". In fact, to eradicate the tendencies of the Arab people, it was fitting to substitute a "civilization" for the "barbarism" of the *d̲j̲āhiliyya*, to make the Arabs civilized men, capable of holding their instincts in check and of pardoning insults, in short of spreading abroad the virtue of *ḥilm* hitherto restricted to an élite; this reform of manners was to be favoured by the belief in the Last Judgement, which imposes a rule of life on earth, and in Allāh, Who combines in Himself all the elements of *ḥilm* and of responsibility for avenging men by chastising the guilty.

This analysis of Muslim ethics, suggested by Goldziher and restated more systematically by Izutsu, does not provoke any major objection, except that the Muslims do not appear to have consciously made *ḥilm* a directing principle of their conduct, even though their behaviour in fact corresponded with the definition of this multiple virtue and, in practical life, a true Muslim is necessarily *ḥalīm*.

The proof of the survival of the pre-Islamic notion of *ḥilm* without any Muslim admixture is to be found in the first place in the facts put forward to explain the origin of the saying (al-Maydānī, i, 229): *aḥlam min al-Aḥnaf*. This noble Tamīmī (d. 67/686-7 [see AL-AḤNAF]) still represents the typical pre-Islamic *sayyid*, and the *ḥilm* which has made him proverbial contains the following elements: self-mastery, leniency in respect of his enemies, repression of anger, inclination towards the serious, discretion, and hostility to denunciation. After him, the man who seems to have been regarded as most *ḥalīm* is Muʿāwiya; but, on the one hand, this caliph belonged to a dynasty which had not yet shed all its bedouin character and, on the other hand, an analysis of his *ḥilm* shows that he had made of it a political principle: he succeeded through his leniency in disarming certain of his enemies, and through his liberality in securing the submission of others, saying that war is more costly than generosity; such a *ḥilm* can in no way be regarded as a Muslim virtue (cf. H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿāwia I*). Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who of all the ancient authors took the greatest pains to analyse sentiments and traits of

character, has no difficulty (*Faḍl Hāshim ʿalā ʿAbd Shams*, in *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 104) in destroying the legend of the *ḥilm* of al-Aḥnaf and Muʿāwiya by observing that neither of them fulfilled the conditions of a true *ḥalīm*, who must in fact possess a combination of qualities which he enumerates, notably in a fine passage in the *Kitmān al-sirr* (ed. Kraus-Ḥādjirī, 40), and which incidentally have nothing specifically Muslim about them. The *adab* writers subsequently name various other great men renowned for their *ḥilm*, in particular al-Maʾmūn (see al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d., i, 262), but in general they base themselves primarily on tradition, either pre-Islamic or dating from the very first centuries of Islam (see particularly Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn, passim*; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 75). Even in al-Djāḥiẓ, in the passage just referred to, there appears a new element, but one to be expected from a Muʿtazilī: it is reason which must curb the passions. In his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* (25), Miskawayh lists *ḥilm* among other qualities and defines it (232) as "the consultation of reason" (*istishārat al-ʿaḳl*); al-Ghazālī, in his *Iḥyāʾ* (book xxv) brings together anger, hatred and jealousy, but links *ḥilm* with anger and defines it as the plenitude of reason, the mastery of self, the subjection of the passions to reason. Ibn Sīnā introduces it into the system of Greek philosophy [see FALĀSIFA, at p. 766b]. Al-Harawī (*K. al-Tadhkira al-harawiyya fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya*, ed.-tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *BÉt.Or.*, xvii (1961-2), 236, 246) regards *ḥilm baʿd al-ḳudra* as one of the qualities of the ruler. The author of a popular encyclopaedia such as al-Ibshīhī in the 36th chapter of his *Mustaṭraf* (i, 252-65) groups together pardon, *ḥilm*, good-nature and the repression of anger, and quotes a certain number of memorable sayings which all go back to the first centuries of Islam, with the conclusion that each must try to acquire these qualities and to imitate the Prophet who was the most *ḥalīm* of men.

Thus it appears that *ḥilm* is naturally regarded as a praiseworthy quality but not as a cardinal virtue in Islamic morality; in popular estimation generally restricted to self-control and the forgiving of insults, it is a quality whose effects are turned outwards; however, the thinkers and moralists tend to make it a sort of internal restraint, of mastery over the passions, thanks to the intervention of reason, which must decide the conduct to be followed in any particular circumstance.

Bibliography: in the article. Also, Ch. Pellat, *Concept of ḥilm in Islamic ethics*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Isl. St.*, nos. 6 and 7 (Aligarh 1962-3).

(CH. PELLAT)

HILMAND (HELMAND), name of a river (the Etymandrus of Arrian, the Erymanthus of Polybius, the Haētūmat of the Avesta, the Hīdhmand of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) which, with its five great tributaries (Khūd Rūd, Tirīn, Arghandāb, Tarnak, Arghasān) drains all south-west Afghānistān (see map at i, 222 above). Rising in a valley at the convergence of the Kūh-i Bābā and Sangakh ranges, the river flows in a southwesterly direction through Hazāradjāt and Dihrāwat to Khʷādja ʿAlī, where it turns westward, and finally north, to lose itself in the lakes of Sīstān. It is navigable downstream from the important crossing on the Ḳandahār-Harāt road at Girishk. The waters of the lower Hilmand have been used for irrigation since antiquity; after the Second World War an ambitious project was undertaken to use the waters of the Hilmand and its tributaries for irrigation west of Ḳandahār, but it has encountered many difficulties.

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(M. E. YAPP)

AḤMED **ḤILMĪ** EFENDI, 19th century Turkish translator. Born in Üsküdar, he was trained in the language chamber [see TERDJÜME ODASI] of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and subsequently held a number of official appointments. He is mentioned as having been Ottoman Consul in Tabriz and a member of the Embassy in Tehrān, and in 1876 was elected a deputy in the first Ottoman parliament. He died in 1878 of typhus, contracted while caring for refugees from the Russo-Turkish war, and was buried at the Karacaahmet cemetery in Üsküdar.

Aḥmed Ḥilmī played a pioneer role as a translator of books on history and economics. His major historical enterprise was a Turkish translation and adaptation of an English book (*Chambers's Historical questions with answers. Embracing ancient and modern history*, London and Edinburgh 1865). Entitled *Taʾrīkh-i ʿumūmī*, this work appeared in 2 vols. in Istanbul in 1285/1868-9; a second, expanded edition was published in 6 volumes in 1293-4/1876-7. The second edition contained more extensive treatment of Islamic history, drawn from the *Ṣaḥāʾif al-akhbār* of Müneddjimbashī [*q.v.*]. Though not the first Turkish translation of a European historical work [see TARDJAMA], the *Taʾrīkh-i ʿumūmī* was the first modern work on world history published in Turkey; its appearance, which was followed by the publication of numerous other translations and adaptations of works on European and world history, introduces a new phase in the Turks' awareness of history and their own place in it. It was published under the auspices of the official Translation Committee appointed in 1865, of which Aḥmed Ḥilmī was a member (on this committee see Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, 1308; Ş. Mardin, *The genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton 1962, 239). In addition, Aḥmed Ḥilmī is said to have published a book entitled *Taʾrīkh-i Hind*, and consisting, according to *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, of a translation of a history 'written in the ancient language of India'.

Besides history, Aḥmed Ḥilmī was also interested in economics, and in 1286/1869-70, according to *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, published *ʿIlm-i tedbīr-i therwet*, an economic treatise translated from the German.

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(B. LEWIS)

AḤMED **ḤILMĪ**, known as Shehbenderzāde, a Turkish journalist who first achieved prominence after the revolution of 1908, when he returned to

Istanbul from exile in Fezzan, and started a periodical called *Ittiḥād-i Islām*. He also contributed to *Iḳdām*, *Taṣwīr-i Efkār*, and, later, the weekly *Ḥikmet* [see DJARĪDA, iii], and wrote a considerable number of books, some of which were published. These include a history of Islam and books on the Sanūsī order and on Ibrāhīm Gülshanī [*qq.v.*]. He died in 1913.

Bibliography: Babinger, 397; *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, ii, 156-7. (ED.)

TUNALÎ ḤILMÎ, Turkish writer and politician. Born in Eskidjuma in 1863, he became involved in illegal political activities while still a medical student. After serving a brief term of imprisonment, he fled to Europe in 1895, and joined the Young Turk group in Geneva, where in 1896 he founded, with others, the Ottoman Revolutionary Party (*ʿOthmānlı Ikhtilāl Fırḳası*); he was particularly effective as a writer and propagandist with a simple and direct popular appeal. In 1900, together with ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet and Isḥāḳ Sükūti [*qq.v.*], he made his peace with the Sultan and was appointed Secretary at the Ottoman Embassy in Madrid, but later reverted to opposition. Returning to Turkey in 1908, he held various official positions and became a member of parliament. Later he joined the Kemalists and was a member of the first Grand National Assembly in Ankara. He died in 1928.

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ḤILMĪ PASHA [see ḤUSAYN ḤILMĪ PASHA; IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PASHA].

ḤIMĀ (A., literally "protected, forbidden place"), an expanse of ground, with some vegetation, access to and use of which are declared forbidden by the man or men who have arrogated possession of it to themselves. The institution, which dates back to pre-Islamic Arabia, seems to have a secular origin. To protect their flocks from the ill-effects of drought, the powerful nomadic lords used to reserve to themselves the grazing and watering rights in certain rich pasturages. The story is well-known of the famous Kulayb b. Rabīʿa who, having appropriated certain meadows, fixed as the limits of his *ḥimā* the points within earshot of his dog's bark. A strange she-camel having strayed into the middle of his herd, he shot an arrow which wounded it mortally. In reprisal, Djassās killed Kulayb. Such is said to have been the origin of the celebrated war of Basūs.

The *ḥimā* was often placed under the protection of the tribal deity. It was then assimilated with the *ḥaram* in whose privileges it participated. Its fauna and flora were protected, and it enjoyed the right of asylum. The inviolability of the *ḥimā*s of the idols Fals and Djalsad is well-known. The animals consecrated to them grazed there safely, and no-one dared to kill or steal them. The straying animal that crossed over the boundary was lost to its owner, for it then came under the god's tutelage.

The Ḳurʾān, which recognizes only the *ḥaram* (XXVIII, 57, XXIX, 67), does however make a discreet allusion to the institution of *ḥimā* when it evokes the history of the prophet Ṣāliḥ: "O my people, this is the camel of Allāh, which is for you a sign. Leave it to graze on the land of Allāh" (XI, 64, VII, 73). This apparently refers to a consecrated animal which had to live in freedom on the territory of the god. Nevertheless Islam, which turned against *wasm* and the consecration of animals to divinities (V, 103, VI, 138 f.), intended to put an end to these pagan practices. Henceforward, the sole territory to be strictly sacred was Mecca, its inviolability having been decreed by Allāh Himself (Ḳurʾān XVII, 91; al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmda*, v, 89 and 92). By extension, under the terms of a special measure made on its behalf by the Prophet, Medina enjoyed the same religious prerogatives as the Meccan *ḥaram*. But the institution of *ḥimā* was not suppressed as such: Islam simply reduced it to its secular applications. It was, accordingly, to this practice that Muḥammad and the first caliphs resorted in reserving for the mounts of the Muslim armies, both for the camels acquired by the Treasury and for the smaller herds belonging to the poorer Muslims, the use and possession of certain pasturages (in the places called Naḳīʿ, Rabadha, Sharaf).

The Muslim jurists dispute the validity of the measures taken by Muḥammad's successors for, according to a celebrated *ḥadīth*, "there is no *ḥimā* save for Allāh and His messenger".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*; Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, Būlāḳ 1284, i, 427; Yāḳūt, Beirut 1956, ii, 307, iii, 24, 330, 336, 457, iv, 282, v, 301; ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳāriʾ*, *ad locc.*; Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab fī maʿrifat ʿaḥwāl al-ʿArab*, iii, 31 ff.; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 178 ff. (ch. XVI), Cairo n.d.; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 60-70. (J. CHELHOD)

ḤIMĀR (A.), donkey (fem. *atān* and *ḥimāra*). The Arabs make a distinction between the domestic donkey (*ahlī*) and the wild donkey (*waḥshī*, *faraʾ*, *ʿayr al-ʿāna*). Domestic donkeys are used to turn mills, as beasts of burden and as mounts, but although the Prophet is said to have owned one, named Yaʿfūr, and although the animal has been esteemed by famous persons, it is not ridden by Arabs of high rank, who even employ a formula of apology (*ḥashā-kum*, *aʿazza-kum Allāh*, etc.) when they utter its name. The zoological works provide details of its characteristics: it is able to find its way even if it has travelled a road only once before; it is sharp of hearing; its braying, provoked by the sight of a demon (whereas when a cock crows it is said to have seen an angel), carries a great distance, and is so disagreeable that a dog howls with pain on hearing it; in order to prevent it braying a stone should be attached to its tail; if it sees a lion it either stops or runs towards it, and this saves it; it is not very prone to illness but is very sensitive to cold; if someone who has been stung by a scorpion sits back to front on its back the pain felt is transmitted to the donkey. The uses made of the different parts of its body are innumerable. From the juridical point of view it is not generally permitted to eat its flesh [see ḤAYAWĀN, iv] and it is forbidden in principle to mate a mare with a domestic ass [see BAGHL].

Wild asses are all so similar to one another that there is nothing to distinguish among them. The stallion is so jealous that it tears off with its teeth the testicles of young asses; for this reason the she-asses do not rejoin the herd until their young are strong enough to run away. As the herd usually does not separate, it is very easy to hunt the wild ass: the hunter hides in a ravine and kills the first one

to pass; the others, instead of turning back, stay together and are easily killed; but this detail does not correspond with the data of poetry collected by G. Jacob (*Studien in arab. Dichtern*, iii, 115). It is permitted to eat the flesh of the wild ass, except for the Ḥanafīs.

Wild asses are considered to live much longer than domestic ones (up to 200 and even 800 years!), and the breed which enjoys the greatest longevity is that known as *akhdariyya*; it owes its name to *al-Akhdar*, the stallion of Ardashīr which, having reverted to a wild state, is said to have been the founder of this breed which is considered to be the most beautiful.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Bighāl*, index; Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 376; Damīrī, s.v.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, in Leclerc. *Notices et extraits*, i, 458; Polak, *Persien*, ii, 99; Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, 73; V. Monteil, *Faune du Sahara occidental*, Paris 1951, 32; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961, 282-3, 359-6.

(J. Ruska*)

ḤIMĀYA, term used of practices and institutions of "protection" which are almost unrecognized by *fiḳh* but which were in fact important in classical Islamic society.

In one sense, where the synonym *khafāra* [*q.v.*] is usually employed, *ḥimāya* has meant, from the pre-Islamic period, the protection given, in return for financial compensation, by a nomadic tribe or group to the settled inhabitants or more particularly to travellers who are in the territory controlled by them; this *khafāra* may be conceded in a regular manner by a head of state or may be seized by the group concerned.

In a second sense, which concerns more broadly the whole social structure of the mediaeval East, *ḥimāya* is related to certain practices or institutions of Byzantium or of the late Roman Empire. There existed in the Muslim world, as in these empires, relations between patron and client; but we are not here concerned with the personal forms of this relationship (which in the early centuries of Islam were usually called the *walā'* of the *mawlā* [*qq.v.*]) but rather with certain practical forms of "protection" of the property of men whose personal status was unaffected. In this case *ḥimāya* is the aspect of protection by a superior which corresponds to the practice which from the point of view of the inferior is called *taldji'a* or *ildjā'*. *Fiḳh* recognizes *taldji'a* in a limited sense, which for it consists of "a fictitious sale resorted to by a person who wishes to protect his possessions from possible confiscation" (cf. Y. Linant de Bellefonds, in *Revue Internationale de Droit Comparé*, x (1958), 513). More generally, in the practice of the first three or four centuries of Islam, *taldji'a*, literally "putting under protection", consisted of the "commending" by an inferior (who might be either a humble person or a person of some importance) to a superior of a possession of which the former remains the legal owner but for which, by virtue of a tacit agreement, the latter is to be responsible vis-à-vis the administrative authority and more particularly the tax authorities. It is true that the inferior rewarded by a fee the service rendered by the superior, but it must be admitted that, in accordance with the conditions under which the payment of the tax was made, he might often still find this advantageous. The right to receive this fee was itself the property of the superior and a *ḥimāya* might be inherited like anything else which counted as property. It can thus be seen how in fact this could result in a sort of sharing of property between the two parties to the contract, and even, when the inferior party was a person of humble rank, in actual dispossession: the contract being merely a tacit agreement, it was impossible for the victim to prove his ownership against the assertion of a superior who appealed to the tax registers. And it can readily be understood how *ḥimāya*, in this instance imposed by force or as a way of repaying debts, was one of the methods used by those in power to build up for themselves vast domains, in which the former owners of the separate estates were now merely sharecroppers. Although from the 4th/10th century onwards there is no further mention of *taldji'a* or of *ḥimāya* in this sense, this is not because small estates were better protected, but on the contrary because on the one hand fewer of them remained and on the other the concession in new forms to the officers of the new military aristocracy of *iḳṭā'*s [*q.v.*] granting them all the administrative and fiscal rights over a district rendered useless to both sides the intermediate practice which until then had been current.

There existed at the same time as this *ḥimāya* of land another which resembled, in greater or less degree according to circumstances, both *taldji'a* and *khafāra*. Important persons received or assumed the "protection" of a territory, essentially of the crops and the roads, against bandits; for this they needed a police force, and they received a fee which was commonly called simply *ḥimāya*. In this case too they might be acting by virtue of an official concession or have arrogated to themselves a responsibility which might or might not be recognized. The members of the newly arisen military aristocracy in the 4th/10th century developed this type of *ḥimāyāt* to their own profit, though the Būyid dynasty, which grew from the military aristocracy, tried to regulate and discipline the practice. In the following century these *ḥimāyāt* also disappeared as the result of the strengthening of the great governmental *iḳṭā'*s which conferred on the military chiefs more complete powers over their territories.

The name *ḥimāya* was, however, to remain in use for several centuries longer as the designation of another, narrower, institution. Sometimes in towns undisciplined groups such as those of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] imposed on the merchants, for example, their "protection". But, in general, the term *ḥāmī*, plur. *ḥumāt*, was used for the chief of police of a quarter in a large town like Baghdād or Cairo, or of a small town; this official naturally levied for his services a *ḥimāya* tax, the legitimacy of which was contested by the early jurists (on the grounds that the ordinary taxes were intended among other things precisely to meet the expenses of ensuring public order), but which had now become a tolerated custom. In the same way little local potentates continued to "protect" bridges, passes etc.

Bibliography: Sources and studies are given in Cl. Cahen, *Notes pour l'histoire de la Himaya*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, i (1956), 257-303; see also Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Jérusalem*, i, no. 107, and the note by G. Wiet in *JESHO*, v (1962), 39.

(Cl. Cahen)

Post-Classical

i. — The Middle East

The term *ḥimāya*, as meaning "protection", has been used in various contexts. In a popular sense, in the field of power politics, France for instance considered herself the "protecting" European power

of all Catholics in the Levant, while Russia claimed a similar role over all Eastern Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Sultan [see KÜČÜK KAYNARDJA, Treaty of]. The term referred also to the status of those members of the non-Muslim communities (Christian and Jewish) in the Ottoman Empire, especially in its Levant provinces, who in the nineteenth century enjoyed the consular "protection" afforded by a number of European powers, *e.g.*, Austria, Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia [see BERĀTLÎ, IMTIYĀZĀT].

More specifically, *ḥimāya* refers to various bilateral treaty arrangements, particularly those contracted between Great Britain and the shaykhly rulers of states on the western seaboard of the Persian Gulf, from Muscat (Masḳaṭ) and Oman (ʿUmān) to Kuwayt (the so-called "Trucial" Coast), in a system built up in the course of the nineteenth century on the basis of the general Treaty of Peace of 1235/1820. In return for British protection, rulers were bound by treaty to desist from acts of piracy or of war with one another. In concluding these bilateral arrangements, which gave Great Britain some jurisdiction over defence and the conduct of the external affairs of these states and principalities, the British government was motivated by the desire to protect and secure its maritime interests in the Gulf. Only since the end of the nineteenth century did other factors play a part, such as a strategic threat from the hinterland of Arabia or from other European powers (*e.g.*, France). See the articles on the individual states: AL-BAḤRAYN, DUBAYY, AL-ḲAṬAR, KUWAYT, MASḲAṬ, SHARDJA, ʿUMĀN, etc.

Similar bilateral agreements exist between Great Britain and the rulers of states in South Arabia—what are referred to today as the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates. Here too Britain's treaty obligation is to protect the independence of the various rulers who have such a relationship with her; the rulers on their part undertake not to cede any portion of their territories to another state or power, or to enter into agreements with them without consultation with Great Britain [see ʿADAN—iii, and cross-references there].

The protection exercised by Great Britain over Egypt was based not on a bilateral agreement but on a unilateral British act following the outbreak of the First World War: the Declaration of 18 December 1914 formally terminated Ottoman suzerainty over Egypt (until then an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire, ruled by the dynasty of Muḥammad ʿAlī but recognizing the Ottoman Sultan as its suzerain) and legalized the status of the British occupation begun in 1882. The new status was subsequently recognized by article 147 of the Treaty of Versailles. The Protectorate was ended, as it had begun, by a unilateral Declaration of the British Government (22 February 1922). See MIṢR.

Bibliography: J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, a documentary record*, 2 vols., Princeton 1956; J. B. Kelly, *The legal and historical basis of the British position in the Persian Gulf*, St Antony's Papers no. 4, Middle Eastern affairs no. 1, London 1958; Sir Tom Hickinbotham, *Aden*, London 1958; Lord Lloyd, *Egypt since Cromer*, 2 vols., London 1932.

(P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

ii. — NORTH AFRICA

(I) In North Africa, in the modern period, this term has been used officially of the protection exercised by a foreign Christian power over certain individuals, then over states.

(a) In Tunisia, the principle of the protection of individuals arose from the earlier system of the Capitulations (*imtiyāzāt*) granted to various European powers throughout the Ottoman Empire.

In Morocco, so far as France was concerned, this right of protection goes back to the treaty concluded in 1767 between Louis XV and the ʿAlawid sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. The protected persons were those natives (Muslims and Jews) who were in the service of the French consuls (secretaries, interpreters, guards) and of the French merchants (brokers, rural agents). This protection conferred absolute freedom of movement, exemption from dues and taxes and a guarantee against any arbitrary action by the local authorities.

During the 19th century, several agreements of the same type were concluded with other European powers, beginning with England and Spain. In 1880, Morocco was forced to accept the Convention of Madrid which laid down definitively the conditions of the protection. This applied to diplomatic personnel and to the employees of European merchants: brokers (*simsār*) and agricultural agents (*mukhāliṭ*). One so protected was described as *ḥimāya*, whereas a Moroccan was only *raʿiyya*, "subject to the common law".

Those possessing this privileged status were able to escape from the normal taxes and from the judicial system, and were protected from arbitrary action and the extortion of money; thus they formed a sort of state within the state. For their part, the foreign powers desired only that the protection should be used to increase their political following. Thus we see the protection extended to wealthy individuals, high officials and even to ministers. In 1883, the powerful *sharīf* of Wazzān [*q.v.*], al-Ḥādjdj ʿAbd al-Salām, leader of the great religious brotherhood of the Tuhāmiyya-Ṭayyibiyya (*dār al-ḍamāna*), requested and obtained the status of French-protected persons for himself and for his family. When he introduced protection in 1767, the only aim of the great statesman, the sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, was to protect trade in his kingdom with foreign nations and thus to increase the revenue from customs. As he saw it, the benefit of protection was to be restricted to a small number of people living in the few ports which were open to trade with the Christian countries. But the gradual increase in the number of protected persons, in the country as well as in the towns, and their evasion of their responsibilities to the state, was an important factor in the decay of the Moroccan state which reached its final stage at the beginning of the 20th century. Thus the protection of individuals prepared the way for the establishment of a protectorate over the state itself.

(b) The French protectorate in Tunisia lasted from 1881 to 1956 and that in Morocco (apart from a zone conceded to Spain in the north) from 1912 to 1956. During these periods the other foreign powers gradually renounced their rights of protection over individuals.

Bibliography: Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Gharb*, in *Arch. Mar.*, xx, 201; G. Kampffmeyer, *Weitere Texte aus Fes und Tanger*, in *MSOS*, xvi (1913), ii, 70-1; Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, 178.

(II) Among the Berbers and Arabs (especially nomads) of North Africa there existed numerous forms of protection, occasional or permanent, exercised over individuals or groups, the latter more especially in the regions (*blād əs-sība*) where the government was unable to ensure security.

(a) Protection of individuals. (1) Here, as

everywhere, a guest was accorded protection for three days [see IDJĀRA]. (2) If a stranger, generally a merchant, wished to cross safely a tribe's territory, he addressed himself to a dignitary, often a descendant of the Prophet (*shrīf*) or of a saint (*mrābəṭ*), who would give him one of his servants as an escort, in return for a fee, or gave him to carry an object well known in the region as belonging to him: an iron-tipped staff, a burnous, a rosary, etc., which served as a kind of passport for the traveller. The same form of paid protection was also applied to the periodical trading caravans which plied, for example, between Tāfīlālt and Fez and Marrākush. This protection was agreed, by contract, by the whole of a tribe which supplied an armed escort.

The name of the iron-tipped staff, *məzrāg* (= classical *mizrāḳ*) was ultimately used of all forms of protection, and it was said: *X fī-məzrāg-Y*, "X is under the protection of Y". The Berbers of Morocco used in the same circumstances the word *āmūr*, "hunting spear".

If a burnous was given, the Moroccans called the protector *kāsī*, literally "one who has clothed" or *zəṭṭāṭ*; *zṭāṭa* referred both to the protection and to the fee. These last two terms derive from the Berber *āzəṭṭa/tāzəṭṭa*, "cloth".

In mediaeval Arabia there existed a similar method of protection in which the protector gave to the person protected a turban or a cap (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 354; Eng. tr. Gibb, i, 220).

In Morocco the protector was also, though less commonly, known as *rəffād*, "he who supports", or *duwwāz*, "ferry-man" (root *dj-w-z*). Another general term for protection was *ʿnāya* (= classical *ʿināya*, "care"), and it was said *X fī-ʿnāyət-Y*, "X is under the protection of Y". In all cases a protector who proved false was publicly exposed to ignominy.

(3) Another type of protection was when a person under a threat begged a dignitary to grant him shelter and assistance. One case would be that of a man who, as the result of a crime, had been forced to flee from his tribe in order to escape the vengeance of the family of his victim. He would present himself before the man whose protection he desired in the ritual attitude of the supplicant: prostrating himself on the ground, with bare feet, a knife between his teeth and his arms crossed behind his back like a bound prisoner. He was thus in a state of *zwāg* and said to the dignitary: *āna mzāwəg fīk* "I implore your help". These terms come from the Berber where the verb *zūg* has the double sense of "banish" and "implore assistance".

Another procedure was that of the *ʿār*. A person who was the victim of an arbitrary action (*maẓlūm*) requested a protector to intervene to put an end to his miserable state. During a ceremony consisting of various rites, the supplicant said: *ʿārī ʿlīk*, "let my disgrace be yours [if you do not see that I obtain justice]", or: *āna fī ʿārək*, "my disgrace is yours". This procedure of a formal summons to act, under threat of the transfer of the *ʿār*, often came to resemble a sort of blackmail in which the person entreated could not, without incurring dishonour, refuse to intervene. The same method of intimidation was also employed when begging the protection of saints.

In serious cases such as that of the defeated imploring the mercy of their conquerors, the ritual of supplication was often accompanied by the sacrifice of a valuable animal: a bull, a camel or a horse; its throat was cut (*dhbīḥa*), or it was hamstrung (*tʿargība*, from the classical form *ʿurḳūb*).

Finally, surrounding the *zāwiyas* [*q.v.*] covering the tomb of an important saint, there existed an area of sanctuary (*ḥorm*, *ḥmā*, see ḤIMĀ), where persons who were being pursued could find a sure refuge.

(b) Protection of groups. From the time of the second Arab invasion in the middle of the 5th/11th century, the group of the Maʿḳil [*q.v.*] gradually occupied the pre-Saharan zone up to the Atlantic coast. They imposed their protection on the settled Zanāta in the oases and the *ḳṣūr*, extorting a tribute (*itāwa*) known as *khafāra*, "protection due" or *ʿināya*. Until the 20th century their example was followed by powerful nomadic Berber tribes in southern Morocco: Ayt-Khabbāsh, Ayt-ʿAṭṭa. From the first quarter of the 7th/13th century, during the period of anarchy which preceded the disappearance of the Almohads, a Zanāta nomad tribe, the Banū Marīn, had overrun northern Morocco and imposed on the settled population a *khafāra* in return for ensuring their protection and the safety of the roads.

(c) There existed also institutions of mutual protection. In the majority of the regions in which the authority of a central power was not effective, the tribes were divided into two opposing groups, historically stable, known as *ṣəffs* or *ləffs*. When a tribe belonging to a specific *ləff* was attacked by a tribe of the opposing *ləff*, it automatically received help from the other tribes of its *ləff*.

There existed also pacts (*ʿahd*) of mutual protection between two groups which were usually already ethnically linked. These were solemnized by a ritual fraternization marked either by a solemn exchange of items of clothing (burnous or sandals), or by a co-lactation (usually symbolic only) making each member of one group the foster-brother of those in the other. The latter procedure was known as *ṭāḍa/ṭāṭa*, from the Berber verb *ṭṭəḍ* "to suck".

It should be noted that the majority of these forms of protection were found in early Arabia and that many of them were condemned by Islam. It would, however, be rash to conclude from this that these practices were all imported into North Africa by the Arab conquerors. Any coincidence is due to independent, but parallel, efforts made by separate peoples to impose a minimum of order and justice in anarchical societies.

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Fraenkel, *Das Schutzrecht der Araber*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke ..... gewidmet*, i, 293.

(G. S. Colin)

ḤIMṢ (Latin Emesa, French and English Homs, Turkish Humus), town in Syria (36° E. and 34° 20′ N.) 500 m above sea level on the eastern bank of the Orontes (Nahr al-ʿĀṣī), in the centre of a vast cultivated plain which is bounded in the east by the desert and in the west by volcanic mountains. Situated at the entrance to a depression between the mountains of Lebanon and the Djabal Anṣāriyya, Ḥimṣ benefits from the climatic influences of the sea which come through this opening and enjoys a less continental climate than the rest of Syria; it has an average annual temperature of 16° C. It has also the heaviest rainfall, which averages annually 600 mm, while nearby Ḥamāt [*q.v.*] has only 350 mm.

The varied soil, made up of alluvium and disintegrated basaltic coulées, favours agricultural and pastoral activity thanks to the richness of its water resources. Already in the 2nd millennium B.C. the Egyptians had dammed the Orontes and were perhaps the first to organize the irrigation system which has been perfected in the course of time. In the Middle Ages a canal led the water of Salamiyya to irrigate the cultivated land on the east of the town. A modern irrigation system was constructed in 1938 below the lake. A canal leads off from the dam and branches out into several secondary canals which permit irrigation between the Orontes and Ḥimṣ.

Ḥimṣ is on an important crossing of routes. It is situated on a shelf, the Ḥimṣ gap, which is the easiest passage from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean via Palmyra and which since remotest antiquity has been the channel for the produce of Mesopotamia and nowadays enables the pipelines from Kirkūk to run petroleum to Tripoli and Bāniyās; it is situated also midway along the route joining Aleppo and Damascus. Before the construction of the railway the journey to Damascus took five days on horseback. The single-track D.H.P. railway, built in 1902, ensures connexions with Bayrūt [*q.v.*] through Rayak. Under the Ottoman Empire this railway had a strategic rôle, as was shown before 1914 by a very important military platform at Ḥimṣ.

History

Human settlement on this site has been conditioned for five thousand years by irrigation, the origin of which goes back to the most distant times. In the 2nd millennium B.C. Ḥimṣ still had only an obscure rôle, the principal towns of the region being Kadesh, which the Hittites occupied in the time of Rameses II, and Ḳatna, the present Mishrifé. Yāḳūt says that the name of the town is attributed to an eponym: Ḥimṣ b. al-Mahr b. Hāf b. Muknīf al-ʿAmālīḳī, and that the town was founded by the ancient Greeks who planted there the Palestine olive. Ḥimṣ must be among the towns founded by Seleucus Nicator or among those to which he gave a Greek name, but up to the present it has not been identified. In 64 B.C., when Pompey made Syria a Roman province, Ḥimṣ fell within the orbit of the Empire. There is no doubt that Roman town-planning left its mark on Ḥimṣ, for one can still trace a town built on a square plan with a citadel in the south-west corner, but in the present-day network of streets the *decumanus* and the *cardo* are scarcely discernible. Well before Islam, numerous Arabs settled in the area and, from 81 B.C. until 96 A.D., a local Arab dynasty reigned at Ḥimṣ. The most illustrious of these princes was Sampsigeramus, who preferred to dwell at Rastān (Arethusa) where he controlled one of the routes over the Orontes. The pyramidal mausoleum which this prince built at Ḥimṣ in 78 A.D. was destroyed in 1911. With its temple of the Sun, worshipped in the form of a block of black basalt, Ḥimṣ rivalled Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*] in ancient times.

The crossroad of empires, Ḥimṣ emerged from obscurity when, in the time of Domitian, it received the name of Emesa. Under Antoninus Pius, in the 2nd century A.D., Ḥimṣ began to strike coins, but the town did not occupy a leading position among the towns of the Roman Orient until the young high-priest of the Sun Heliogabalus was made Emperor by his troops (217 A.D.). Ruling under the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, he had as successor another citizen of Ḥimṣ, his cousin Alexander Severus who fought the Sāsānians. In 272 Ḥimṣ saw the defeat of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, conquered by the Roman legions.

The paucity of Christian inscriptions at Ḥimṣ attests to the existence of a pagan majority, elements of which were to persist down to the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, since the beginning of the 5th century, Christianity had been firmly implanted at Emesa, which was a bishop's see in the ecclesiastical province of Lebanese Phoenicia, dependent on Damascus. Later, with the discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist near the town (452), Emesa became an ecclesiastical metropolis. Among the Arab tribes which were then settled in the area were the Banū Tanūkh.

At the time of the Arab conquest numerous semi-nomadic Arab tribes came from the south to settle in the area. Ḥimṣ then became an important Yamanī centre and was included in the area of the Banū Kalb, who were great horse-breeders. After the battle of the Yarmūk, the Emperor Heraclius abandoned Ḥimṣ. When the Muslim army, under the command of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] accompanied by Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], appeared before the walls of the town, the population asked for *amān* and agreed to pay a ransom of 71,000 *dīnār*s. The Muslims entered Ḥimṣ without bloodshed in 16/637 and turned the church of St. John, which was then one of the largest in Syria, into a mosque. It is related that almost five hundred Companions of the Prophet came to live in the newly-occupied town. Under the Caliph ʿUmar the governor was Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir. In 26/647, Muʿāwiya took Ḥimṣ and Ḳinnasrīn and included them among the provinces of Syria; then, when the latter was divided into five military districts, Ḥimṣ became the capital of one of these *djund*s [*q.v.*]. During this Muslim period, this *djund* comprised all the region north of Ḥimṣ where Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] and the *ʿAwāṣim* were situated. The *kharādj* of the *djund* brought 800,000 *dīnār*s into the Treasury. The caliph appointed as governor the *amīr* Shuraḥbīl, who proceeded to share out the houses, the Muslims occupying the districts and houses abandoned by the Christians. At the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in 37/657, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ took the side of ʿAlī and for a long time Shīʿism held a preponderant position in this area.

In 41/661, under Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], the *djund* was deprived of its northern region which went to form a new *djund* with Ḳinnasrīn, Aleppo and Manbidj as its main centres. The boundary between the two seems to have been a line passing through Bāniyās, Ṭarṭūs, Djisr al-Shughur, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Apamea, Shayzar, Ḥamāt, Rastān, Salamiyya, Ḳaryatayn and Tadmur.

On the death of Yazīd the governorship of Ḥimṣ

is said to have been conferred on al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr (d. 65/684), but many authors maintain that it went to his son K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd who had built a palace at Ḥimṣ. In 126/744, on the death of Yazīd III, Marwān II [*q.v.*] intervened in Syria with the support of the Ḳaysīs. He attacked Sulaymān b. His̲h̲ām, who was assisted by the Kalbīs. In 127/754, Sulaymān, defeated, fled to Ḥimṣ and from there to Kūfa. Ḥimṣ held out for a time against Marwān II but he finally took the town. In order to prevent the town, whose *d̲j̲und* then numbered 20,000 Yamanīs, from being used as a base of operations for the Kalbīs, he razed the walls. In 128/746 order was restored.

In 132/750 there appeared in Syria ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*], who was to overthrow the last Umayyad, Marwān II. From that date Syria fell under the control of ʿIrāḳ. In 137/754, the ʿAbbāsid caliph gave Aleppo, Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. The ʿAbbāsid period was a dark one in the history of the town; the population, mostly of Yamanī origin, rose up against the Ḳaysīs and provoked numerous punitive expeditions from the time of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd (170/786-193/809) onwards. Ḥimṣ was prosperous at that period, for its revenues, according to al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, amounted to 320,000 *dīnār*s and 1000 camel-loads of grapes. The last punitive expedition took place under al-Mustaʿīn who, in 250/864, put Aleppo, Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ under the same governor.

When the ʿAbbāsid caliphate weakened, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], the governor of Egypt, extended his authority over Syria in 264/878. The Ṭūlūnid power was to maintain itself until 282/896. In 269/883 Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn named as his representative the *amīr* Luʾluʾ who imposed the authority of the sovereign upon Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, Ḳinnasrīn and the Diyār Muḍar. The Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] appeared at this period and sowed trouble throughout the region. In 290/903 their leader Ḥusayn, known as Ṣāḥib al-S̲h̲āma, came to Ḥimṣ from Damascus. In order to avoid extortions the townspeople agreed to the reading of the *k̲h̲uṭba* in the name of the new master. The latter seized Ḥamāt, Salamiyya and Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān before reaching Aleppo, where the Ḥamdānids took up arms against him.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century Ḥimṣ sought the support of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo to avoid falling into the power of the Ik̲h̲s̲h̲īdid governors of Damascus. In 333/944 the Ḥamdānids were victorious at the battle of Rastān on the Orontes and Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*] seized Ḥimṣ, which was to remain in the hands of his dynasty until 406/1016. In 356/967, on the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Ḥimṣ had been governed for a year by Abū Firās [*q.v.*]. The illustrious poet attempted a rebellion against Saʿd al-Dawla but was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed on 2 D̲j̲umādā I 357/4 April 968.

In the following year Nicephorus Phocas occupied Ḥimṣ during his victorious campaign in Syria, transformed the great mosque into a church, had divine service celebrated there, and then set fire to it. In 362/973 Nicephorus Phocas departed and the Ḥamdānids governed the town again. In Rad̲j̲ab 364/March-April 975, the Byzantine general John Tzimisces succeeded in occupying a large part of Syria and levied tribute from Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Bayrūt and Baʿlabakk. At this time there appeared a Turkish *amīr*, Alptakīn Bakd̲j̲ur, who revolted at Ḥimṣ against the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo; having failed to receive the Byzantine reinforcements on which he was counting, he was forced to withdraw. Three years later Saʿd al-Dawla granted him Ḥimṣ as a fief. The memory of this *amīr* has been preserved by a Kūfic inscription, the sole remaining trace of a minaret which was demolished in 1912. Ḥimṣ remained one of the stakes in the Arabo-Byzantine rivalry and was set on fire by the Greeks in Rabīʿ II 373/September 983.

In 385/995 the Emperor Basil II established his authority over Aleppo, S̲h̲ayzar and Ḥimṣ. This town was taken only after a lively resistance; it was devastated and then placed under the authority of the Byzantine duke of Antioch. In 389/999, on the orders of the *basileus*, the town was burnt.

In 406/1016 Ḥamdānid power came to an end and Aleppo fell to the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*]. Ten years later Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās [*q.v.*], *amīr* of the Banū Kilāb, was in control of Ḥimṣ, then, in 420/1029, S̲h̲ibl al-Dawla Naṣr b. Mirdās governed the town.

From the middle of the 5th/11th century the Fāṭimids extended their power into Syria, and Ḥimṣ did not escape them. A pro-Fāṭimid *amīr*, K̲h̲alaf b. Mulāʿib [*q.v.*], was in command at Ḥimṣ in 475/1082 and caused much trouble by his brigandage and depredations. In 483/1090, in response to a complaint about him from the Seld̲j̲ūḳ princes and commanders in Syria, the sultan Malik S̲h̲āh wrote instructing them to attack and remove him. Ḥimṣ was taken after a siege. K̲h̲alaf was captured and sent to Iṣfahān. The town was given to Tād̲j̲ al-Dawla Tutus̲h̲. Then in 487/1094 it passed to his son Riḍwān, ruler of Aleppo. Riḍwān's *atabeg*, the *amīr* D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusayn, after quarrelling with his ward, took refuge at Ḥimṣ and made himself independent there in 490/1097. Later, when the Franks arrived, he was to join forces with Duḳāḳ against them.

After the capture of Anṭākiya (491/1098) the Crusaders made a first attack southwards; they sacked Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān but besieged Ḥimṣ in vain. The town was then under the *amīr* Ḳarad̲j̲a, a former *mamlūk* of Malik S̲h̲āh, representing D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla. Contrary to a legend accepted by d'Herbelot and later by Pococke and Le Strange, the Franks did not succeed in capturing the town, which they named "La Chamelle". They merely cut off the port of Ṭarṭūs [*q.v.*]. In the middle of 496/May 1103, D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla was assassinated by three Ismāʿīlīs inside the great mosque of Ḥimṣ. Prompt action by Duḳāḳ, the ruler of Damascus, forestalled a Frankish attempt to take advantage of the situation by attacking Ḥimṣ, and brought the city under Damascene control. Ibn al-At̲h̲īr's story, which puts the murder of D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla a year earlier than all the other sources, and thus places it at the moment when D̲j̲anāḥ al-Dawla was preparing to attack Raymond of Saint Gilles, together with his account of Raymond's immediate attack on Ḥimṣ, may be dismissed. The following year Duḳāḳ died and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tug̲h̲takīn succeeded him, leaving Ḳarad̲j̲a as governor of Ḥimṣ. From this period Ḥimṣ became a huge military camp against the Franks, an assembly-point for troops, an arsenal, a depot for heavy siege equipment and in addition it supplied large contingents for the war.

In 506/1112, K̲h̲ayrk̲h̲ān (Ḳarak̲h̲ān) succeeded his father as master of Ḥimṣ. Two years later Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Īl G̲h̲āzī appeared outside Ḥimṣ but K̲h̲ayrk̲h̲ān overcame his opponent in S̲h̲aʿbān 508/January 1115.

In 512/1118 Ẓahīr al-Dīn Tug̲h̲takīn b. Būrī [*q.v.*] took Ḥimṣ and imposed his suzerainty upon K̲h̲ayrk̲h̲ān. Five years later the *atabeg* of Damascus

attacked Ḥimṣ once again but had to retreat before Khayrkhān, who had received reinforcements.

In Rabīʿ II 520/May 1126 the Franks invaded the territory of Ḥimṣ and laid it waste, but ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Aḳ Sunḳūr came from Aleppo and relieved the town. In 524/1129, Zangī [*q.v.*] had in the ranks of his army the *amīr* Khayrkhān, but he dismissed him, made him a prisoner and laid siege to Ḥimṣ, demanding that the population should surrender the town. In order to encourage the besieged townspeople to surrender, he inflicted the most excruciating tortures on their *amīr* Khayrkhān before their eyes, but the town did not yield. A few years later, when the *amīr* Khumartash was governing Ḥimṣ in the name of the sons of Khayrkhān, Zangī came once more to besiege the town, which was one of the best fortified and had an impregnable citadel. Khumartash called in the aid of the *amīr* of Damascus Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The sons of Khayrkhān negotiated the cession of Ḥimṣ to the prince of Damascus in Rabīʿ I 530/December 1135, the latter giving the governorship of the town to the chamberlain Yūsuf b. Fīrūz.

In Ramaḍān 531/May 1137 Zangī again drew up his forces outside Ḥimṣ, where Anar offered a vigorous resistance. A few months later, during another siege which was to last three months, correspondence was exchanged between Zangī and Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd which resulted in a matrimonial alliance, the prince of Damascus marrying a daughter of Zangī, while the latter took as wife Ṣafwat al-Mulk, queen-mother of the prince, who brought him Ḥimṣ as her dowry. The governor of the town, Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar, received Bārīn, Lakma and Ḥiṣn al-Sharḳī by way of compensation. Two years later, on the death of Zangī, Anar lost no time in re-establishing his suzerainty over the governor of Ḥimṣ. Al-Raḥba, on the Euphrates, and Tadmur depended upon this place. An important point in the struggle against the Franks, a rallying-point for Muslim troops, sheltered from surprise attacks on the right bank of the Orontes, Ḥimṣ was one of the operational bases in the centre of a line running from north to south, from Aleppo through Shayzar and Ḥamāt towards Damascus, Boṣrā and Salkhad. Nūr al-Dīn installed himself there in 544/1149. At the time of the siege of Damascus by the Franks of the Second Crusade, Ḥimṣ served as a rallying-point for the troops of Nūr al-Dīn and for those of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī.

The contemporary geographer al-Idrīsī describes Ḥimṣ as a town with active markets and paved streets, notes that it possesses one of the largest great mosques in Syria and mentions particularly the numerous canals which irrigated orchards and gardens. In 548/1153 Nūr al-Dīn encamped at Ḥimṣ and prevented supplies from being taken into Damascus, hoping to bring about the surrender of that town. When, a few months later, Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in taking Damascus on 10 Ṣafar 549/25 April 1154, he gave Ḥimṣ in compensation to Mudjīr al-Dīn Abak, the defeated *amīr* who, however, was able to remain there for only a short time.

The successive earthquakes of the year 552/1157 sorely tried Ḥimṣ and the other towns of northern Syria, and, with the earth tremor of 565/1170, the already weakened defence works suffered heavy damage.

After the first expedition of Syrian troops into Egypt (559/1164), the *amīr iṣfahṣalār* Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh received Ḥimṣ as an *iḳṭāʿ* from Nūr al-Dīn, together with al-Raḥba and Tadmur. This was the origin of the Asadī dynasty of Ḥimṣ. In 564/1169 Shīrkūh died and Nūr al-Dīn reclaimed the town from his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, to award it to another *amīr*.

In the middle of 570/beginning of 1175, Saladin took Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt. Four years later, when he reorganized northern Syria, he gave back the town to his cousin Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shīrkūh. Re-installed in Ḥimṣ, the Asadī dynasty's task was to keep in check the Franks of Tripoli, who were increasing the frequency of their raids into the rich agricultural region around Ḥimṣ where they also made off with horses. Ibn Djubayr, who passed through Ḥimṣ in 580/1185, notes the good condition of the walls round the town.

In 581/1186, al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II succeeded his father at Ḥimṣ. In 602/1205 he fought the Hospitallers of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*]. In 604/1207, he had to appeal to the Ayyūbid prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī for aid. The following year al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm took command at Ḥimṣ; several times he had to push back the Provençaux of Tripoli and the Hospitallers of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and to assure a better defence he supervised the maintenance of the town walls and restored the Bāb al-Masdūd.

In 623/1226 Ḥimṣ took part in the quarrel of the Ayyūbid princes, Ibrāhīm being the ally of al-Malik al-Ashraf of Aleppo. The town was attacked by al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, prince of Damascus.

In 640/1242 Ibrāhīm with troops from Ḥimṣ overcame the Khʷārazmians who had come from the East. He died in Damascus in 644 and his remains were transferred to Ḥimṣ where his son al-Ashraf Mūsā succeeded him. In 646/1248 the Ayyūbid of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, took Ḥimṣ and temporarily interrupted the control of the Asadī dynasty over the town. In Ṣafar 658/February 1260 the town was taken by the Mongols, Mūsā recovered his possessions and fought alongside Hūlāgū's troops at ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*]. After the defeat, on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, he obtained the *amān* of Ḳuṭuz and resumed his post at Ḥimṣ. A short while afterwards a Mongol army was routed near Ḥimṣ by the prince of that town in co-operation with the prince of Ḥamāt. Baybars [*q.v.*] came to power in Cairo in 659/1261 and repaired the citadel at Ḥimṣ, supplying it with provisions so that it might resist any eventual return by the Mongols. Al-Ashraf Mūsā died in 661/1262, and with him the Asadī dynasty, which had ruled at Ḥimṣ for almost a century, was extinguished. The town lost its independence; from this time forth it was commanded by a deputy governor and was sometimes dependent on the *amīr* of Ḥamāt and sometimes on the ruler of Damascus.

In 680/1281 Ḥimṣ witnessed the victory of Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] over a coalition of Armenians and Mongols. From the reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn onwards Ḥimṣ played no further political rôle; it was governed by an *amīr* of a thousand troops and, later on, the command was given to an *amīr* of *ṭablkhāna*. None of these governors left any lasting impression on the history of the town. In the citadel, the *nāʾib* was a *mamlūk* of the Cairo sultan. At this time an official pigeon-house was installed at Ḥimṣ to ensure postal contact with Ḳarā in the south and Ḥamāt in the north. In Rabīʿ I 699/December 1299 Ghāzān crushed the Mamlūks at Ḥimṣ but did not remain in the district. According to the geographer al-Dimashḳī, Ḥimṣ was at that time the smallest governorship in Syria and comprised Shamsīn,

Shumaymis and Salamiyya; the *niyāba* of Ḥimṣ was included in that of Damascus. The anarchy prevailing in Syria in the 9th/15th century does not seem to have arrested the economic life of Ḥimṣ, if the Mamlūk decrees of 817/1414 and 844/1440 are to be believed, for these indicate the important position held by the weavers in this town where wool and especially silk had been worked for centuries, rivalling Alexandria in the quality and beauty of its products. Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*], after taking Aleppo in 803/1400, seized Ḥamāt and Ḥimṣ before occupying Damascus. During the following century no event of importance occurred at Ḥimṣ, the territory of which was exposed to the depredations of Bedouins. In 916/1510 the town was menaced by the powerful tribe of the Āl Faḍl b. Nuʿayr; it was relieved with the assistance of Sībāy, the governor of Damascus, who on this occasion seized an abundant booty consisting particularly of camels and sheep. When, in 922/1516, the Ottoman sultan Selīm had subjected Syria, Ḥimṣ became one of the five *liwās* attached to Ṭarābulus. On the death of the Sultan in 926/1520, the governor of Damascus, Djanbirdī al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], proclaimed himself independent and seized Ṭarābulus, Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt. The post of governor of Ḥimṣ was given to the *muḳaddam* Ibn al-Ḥarfūsh. We have a picture of Ḥimṣ in the 10th/16th century by Pierre Belon, who describes it as a town with good walls of hewn stone and with a citadel built, he says, by the Romans. Although the surrounding walls were almost intact, the town within the walls was quite ruined. Within the walls, says the French traveller, "there is nothing beautiful to be seen except the bazaar and the bazestan in the Turkish style". Under Süleymān I and Selīm II several surveys of lands, of the adult male population, and of the tax-returns were made for the towns and provinces of Syria (for Ḥimṣ, see B. Lewis, *The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS*, 1951, 152-3). Through the Ottoman fiscal regulations we have information on the economic activity of Ḥimṣ at this period. The yoghourt brought to the town by the Turkomans was exported as far as Damascus; the watermills for corn and sesame were numerous, and the oil-presses were very busy. Grapes remained one of the country's main resources. There were good harvests of rice which had just been added to the products of the cultivated marshland for feeding the town. The main industry was weaving. Ḥimṣ was one of the largest centres for silk, the neighbouring mulberry trees feeding the silkworms, and here were made mottled fabrics, run through with gold thread, which were exported as far as Istanbul. At Ḥimṣ, camels and cattle in transit from Damascus towards Aleppo met the flocks of sheep and goats coming down from Aleppo and Ḥamāt for Damascus.

In the course of the centuries, the Ottomans destroyed the gates in the town walls one after the other and in 1785 Volney could describe Ḥimṣ as "a town, formerly strong and well populated, now no more than a fairly large ruined village, where there are no more than 2,000 inhabitants, partly Greeks and partly Muslims. There resides an *agha* who holds on sub-lease from the pasha of Damascus all the countryside as far as Palmyra. The farming lease was given to the pasha for 400 purses or 500,000 livres, but it brings in four times as much" (cf. *Voyages*, 1823 ed., iii, 18-9). The *agha* was of a local family.

In 1246/1831 Ḥimṣ was seized by adventurers and then fell into the power of Ibrāhīm Pasha who, until 1256/1840, was to represent the authority of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Syria. At this time a particularly serious revolt flared up in the town, and the Egyptian troops had difficulty in repressing it; one of its consequences was the almost total demolition of the Citadel. After 1840 the town was again under Ottoman rule.

At the present time Ḥimṣ is an important agricultural centre and an active industrial city; the Military School is there. The chief town of a *muḥāfaẓa*, it had a population of 50,000 inhabitants in 1920 and more than 130,000 in 1962, one-fifth of whom are Christians, mostly Greek Orthodox. The plain of Ḥimṣ produces cereals, notably barley and corn, with extensive cultivated areas in the east. All around Ḥimṣ numerous ruins of *ḳanayāt* bear witness to the efforts made by man for centuries to exploit the earth; with state encouragement many new villages are being built upon the ruins of old settlements, and one of the original features of the region is peasant ownership, the cultivator being the owner of the ground he is working. Moreover, the technique of the rural economy is attaining there a very high degree of perfection. Besides barley and corn are to be found maize (declining since 1940), lentils, and cotton (encouraged since 1940), as well as sugar-beet, which has been cultivated since 1949. Trees grown include poplar, lime, cypress, and fruit trees such as the apricot, pomegranate, pear, apple and plum. The vine, grown east of Ḥimṣ beyond the marshland and in the basaltic area of Waʾar on the left bank of the Orontes, has been one of the principal resources of the country since antiquity. Its wine was praised by the poet al-Akhṭal in the days of the Umayyads. It is a most economical crop; the vines are neither treated with copper sulphate nor stummed; they are not staked up and the branches grow along the ground. The grapes are sold fresh or dry or turned into *dibs* (molasses).

Around Ḥimṣ the cultivated marshlands and the market-gardens covering nearly 1,200 hectares form the greatest patch of green in the Orontes valley. It is the most intensively cultivated part of the valley's irrigated zone. Nowadays these gardens are made up of small properties (*ṣayfiyya*) of an average area of 30 *dunums*, mostly owned by one family, and represent the fruit of man's diligent and meticulous labour over centuries. As the meeting-point for the agricultural area, Ḥimṣ is an important market. The townsmen have few relations with the western plateaux but prefer to trade with the Bedouin tribes, since no obstacle separates them from the desert. In summer the Bedouin comes up to the Orontes to buy in the markets while the townsman takes the dairy produce and entrusts to the nomad the flocks he owns. An important centre of consumption, Ḥimṣ takes the agricultural products and in return supplies the country with clothes and manufactured goods. For centuries there has been developing in the town a processing industry; corn and barley are treated for the starch necessary for finishing in the textile industry. There is a considerable manufacture of *dibs* (molasses) and at a recent date 16 presses were still in existence. In 1949 there were two factories treating sesame to make *sirādj* or *ṭaḥīna* (an emulsion of oil mixed with seed-pulp). The most important industry and trade is still weaving; since the early Middle Ages the fabrics and silks of Ḥimṣ were renowned in the markets of the world. Before 1914, 4,000 looms employed 30,000 workers; in 1933 there were more than 4,300 looms; nowadays silk and cotton goods are exported to Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. Modern factories have been built at Ḥimṣ and in the area; there are two flour-mills (1938), a distillery,

a starch-works, a glucose factory, a sugar factory (1949) and a vegetable-oil factory which treats cotton and sunflower-seed (1951). Finally, from the far distance can be seen the petroleum storage-tanks shining in the sun, while tall chimneys indicate the presence of an important oil refinery. The oil is transported by pipe-line from Kirkūk to Ṭarābulus or Bāniyās but, to meet the needs of the country, some of it is refined at Ḥimṣ.

Situated at the crossing of important routes, an agricultural and industrial centre, Ḥimṣ plays a leading rôle in the Syrian economy.

Archaeology

The rectangular enceinte of antiquity had almost entirely disappeared in 1895 when M. van Berchem passed through Ḥimṣ. Of the gates only the names remain, a few stones still indicating the position of some of them. Starting from the north-east there are around the town the following gates: Bāb Tadmur, where a ramp incorporating Hellenistic remains emerged from the town. Southwards a deep wide ditch followed the defensive wall which was reinforced by round and square towers, the remains of which can still be seen. Bāb al-Durayd survives only in the name of the district situated in the south-east corner of the town. In the south large blocks of stone indicate the site of the Bāb al-Sibāʿ; not far away was the Bāb al-Turkmān. The Bāb al-Masdūd, on the western side, restored several times during the Middle Ages, still bears the appearance of a well-maintained fortified work with the remains of the bases of columns; a square tower stood on each side of the gate. The road which leads back in a northerly direction is called S̲h̲āriʿ al-K̲h̲andaḳ, thus preserving the memory of the vanished moat. Another gate, the Bāb Hūd, opened into the wall before one arrived at the north-west corner, which was marked by three round towers that are still standing. Finally, in the north face near the great mosque there opened the Bāb al-Sūḳ which no longer exists.

The Citadel: In the south-east corner of the town, dominating the town with its silhouette, the citadel rose up on a mound 275 m in diameter. The origin of this *tell*, which seems to be artificial, is thought to be Hittite or Aramaean. Numerous travellers described it, up to the beginning of the 19th century. During the Egyptian occupation (1831-40), Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a destroyed it and left inside only the D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Sulṭān which has now disappeared. On the north front a particularly important tower, repaired in 1952, exists in part and bears two inscriptions of 594/1198 and of 599/1202 in the name of the Asadī al-Malik al-Mud̲j̲āhid S̲h̲īrkūh. There remain of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk citadel only a few stones of the glacis, a huge cistern, stretches of the walls and the half-ruined square towers overlooking the moat.

The mosques: Most of the ancient mosques in Ḥimṣ and particularly the Great Mosque and the mosques of Abū Lubāda, al-Faḍāʾil, al-ʿUmarī and al-Sirād̲j̲ share three characteristics: the minaret, the prayer-hall and the *maṣṭaba*. The minaret is square and about twenty metres high; at the base there are foundations consisting of huge stones together with re-used column bases and stones, some carrying fragments of Greek inscriptions. Higher up the basalt foundations become less massive. At the top, on each face, there opens a high double-bay surmounted by an octagonal drum, which itself bears a whitewashed cupola. The prayer-hall, roofed with a series of ribbed vaults and having within it facilities for the minor ablutions, opens through large doors into the courtyard. At the north of the courtyard a raised area, the *maṣṭaba*, partly shaded by a vine, is used for prayer in the open air.

The Great Mosque of Nūr al-Dīn is situated in the north of the town amidst the *sūḳ*s. The "continuity of site" of sanctuaries leads us to suppose that this mosque is built on the site of the Temple of the Sun and of the cathedral of St. John, the forecourt of which was once occupied, it is said, by the original mosque. The mosque is a huge rectangular edifice with the main axis running east-west. It has two entrances: the western entrance leads from the road into the courtyard; the southern entrance opens into the Bāb al-Sūḳ quarter and leads by a long vaulted corridor to the prayer-hall. This latter is 99 m long by 17 m wide and has two long bays, each covered by 13 ribbed vaults. Each of three *miḥrāb*s in the south wall is framed by two columns of white marble. The central *miḥrāb* still bears in its conch a gilded mosaic which could be earlier than the 5th/11th century. To the left of this *miḥrāb* a door opens into a square room lit by a lantern and reserved for the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya [*q.v.*]. The prayer-hall opens out into the courtyard through eleven wide doors. This oblong courtyard has a dais (*maṣṭaba*) paved with black and white marble, with a small basin for ablutions; an ogival stone sharply incurved, in which a hole has been made, serves as a *miḥrāb*; to the north, beneath a pillared portico, open seven rooms, while the western part of this *riwāḳ*, having taps, is used for ablutions.

Near the Great Mosque, in the market to the west, there was formerly a cupola surmounted by a weather-vane in the form of a copper statuette standing on a fish. This cupola was regarded as a talisman against scorpions.

There are at the present time about fifteen *ḥammām*s which are still in use, the most frequented being the Ḥammām Ṣafāʾ, the Ḥammām ʿUt̲h̲mānī, the Ḥammām al-Sirād̲j̲ and the Ḥammām Ṣag̲h̲īr. The latter, situated in the *Sūḳ* of the goldsmiths, is a *waḳf* of the Great Mosque. From its lay-out it seems to be the oldest bath in Ḥimṣ.

From the age of caravans Ḥimṣ still preserves about twenty *k̲h̲ān*s, some of which have been made into bus garages. Although the K̲h̲ān al-Sabīl, where the traveller Ibn D̲j̲ubayr stayed, seems to have disappeared, there remains a K̲h̲ān Asad Pas̲h̲a and a K̲h̲ān al-Ḥarīr, which is in fact a *ḳaysāriyya* where silk has been sold for centuries.

The *Sūḳ*s, paved in the Middle Ages, are now tiled, and not only the cloth bazaar but also those of the goldsmiths and of their neighbours the chest-makers are very busy. The *sūḳ* of the pastry shops is in the centre, while the vegetable and dairy-produce markets are on the edge of the commercial area, together with the basket-makers, the saddlers, the metal-workers and the blacksmiths.

Places of pilgrimage are numerous outside the old town (see al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 8-9); the most frequented is the D̲j̲āmiʿ K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd situated in the northern suburb. The fame of this sanctuary goes back at least to the Ayyūbid era and retained its attraction under the Mamlūks. K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd, who died at Medina, and his wife Faḍḍā are said to be buried there; Yāḳūt wonders whether this is not rather the tomb of K̲h̲ālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who built a palace nearby or even that of K̲h̲ālid b. ʿIyāḍ b. G̲h̲anm, the Ḳuravs̲h̲ī who

conquered the Djazīra [*q.v.*]. The original mausoleum was situated by the side of a mosque; it was altered by Saladin, then by sultan Baybars in 664/1265; al-Malik al-Ashraf Khālid b. Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn had works carried out there in 691/1292. In 1326/1908 it was all demolished and rebuilt in the Ottoman style on the model of the mosques of Istanbul by Nāẓim Pasha, the governor of Syria. The sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd devoted 6,000 *dīnārs* to works which were completed in 1331/1913. The prayer-hall is almost square (32 m × 30 m) covered by nine cupolas, of which the central cupola, which is 12 m in diameter, rises to 30 m and rests on four strong pillars. A public park has recently been made of the vast cemetery which surrounded the monument. Some of the burials date back to Roman times, as is testified by the sarcophagi found there.

Among the *mazārs* may be mentioned, outside the Bāb al-Durayd, the *maḳām* of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, which is a mosque on the upper floor; in the neighbouring cemetery there is a fairly large square building with a cupola: it is the Maḳām Djaʿfar; further on, amidst whitewashed basalt tombs, a sizeable arch indicates the Maḳām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

At Ḥimṣ there are also the tombs of two Ayyūbid princes, the Masdjid al-Khiḍr to the south of the town, where al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm is buried (d. 644/1246 at Damascus) and, within the walls, the *turba* of al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II, a very dilapidated cubic edifice dating from 637/1239, surmounted by an octagonal drum with a brick cupola.

The exigencies of modern town planning have led to the disappearance, in 1960, of a convent of *Mawlawiyya* derwishes, formerly situated west of the town near the present Government House and dating from 840/1437. Finally, the existence of two large ruined dwellings may be indicated: the Bayt al-Zahrāwī and the Bayt Mallāḥ, vestiges of former prosperity.

Of the ten churches at present in Ḥimṣ, none presents any great archeological interest, neither the Greek Orthodox church of Mār Elyān nor the former seat of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Umm al-Zannār, since the buildings are modern.

Outside the walls many water-mills grind grain on the Orontes; the most ancient are the Ṭāḥūn al-Sabʿa, dated by an inscription of 824/1421, the Ṭāḥūn al-Khuṣūba, dated to 975/1567 by a Turkish inscription, and the mill of al-Mīmās which lacks an inscription.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḤIMṢ (The battle of). The first great trial of strength between the Mamlūks and the Mongols took place more than twenty years after the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281. Though this battle was won by Ḳalāwūn, the real architect of the victory was undoubtedly Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*], who, in the seventeen years of his rule (658/1260-676/1277), built a war-machine which, in spite of the decline it underwent during the four years following his death, proved to be strong enough to break one of the mightiest armies which the Mongol Īlkhāns ever put into the field.

In the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt the Mamlūks were a new and unknown enemy to the Mongols, who were, therefore, taken by surprise. By the time of the battle of Ḥimṣ, however, the Mongols had become well acquainted with this army by a long series of encounters, so that they came to Ḥimṣ very well prepared. As Baybars al-Manṣūrī justly remarks, never before had the Mongols marched on Syria with such huge armies; hence the victory of Ḥimṣ was far more remarkable than the preceding ones (fol. $117a_{12-17}$).

The battle was fought out at the depression (*waṭāʾ*) of Ḥimṣ near the tomb (*mashhad*) of Khālid b. al-Walīd. The Mongol army numbered 80,000, of whom 50,000 (according to one version) or 44,000 (according to another) were Mongols. The rest were Georgians, "Rūmīs", Armenians, Franks and Muslim apostates (*murtadda*). As they advanced, the flank of their *maymana* reached as far as Ḥamāt and that of their *maysara* as far as Salamiyya. Their *ḳalb* of 44,000 soldiers was composed solely of Mongols. They intended to launch a heavy attack on the *ḳalb* of the Mamlūk army. The *maymana* of the Mongols was also extremely strong. (On the eve of the battle a Mongol deserter gave the Mamlūks valuable information about the strength of the Mongol army; earlier a Mamlūk deserter had given the Mongols similar information about the Mamlūk army). The numerical strength of the Mamlūk army is not mentioned in the sources. It was divided into *maymana, maysara, ḳalb, djanāḥān* and *djālīsh*. The *maymana* consisted of the Ayyūbid prince of Ḥamāt

Plan of Ḥimṣ

Key

Walls:

1.— Bāb Tadmur
2.—Bāb al-Durayd
3.—Bāb al-Sibāʿ
4.—Bāb al-Turkmān
5.—al-Bāb al-Masdūd
6.—Shāriʿ al-Khandaḳ
7.— al-Arbaʿīn mosque and tower

Citadel: 8.

Mosques:

9.— Great Mosque al-Nūrī
10.—al-Lubāda
11.— al-Faḍāʾil
12.—al-ʿUmarī
13.— al-Sirādj
14.—al-Ṭalāʾiʿ
15.—Khālid b. al-Walīd
16.—Bāzir Bāshī

Ḥammāms:

17.—al-Ṣaghīr
18.—al-Pāshā
19.—al-Ṣafāʾ
20.—al-Sirādj
21.—al-ʿUthmānī
22.— al-Sayatī

Khān al-Ḥarīr: 23.

al-Takkiya al-Mawlawiyya (site of): 24.

Maḳāms:

25.—Kaʿb al-Aḥbār
26.—Abu 'l-Hawl

Turba:

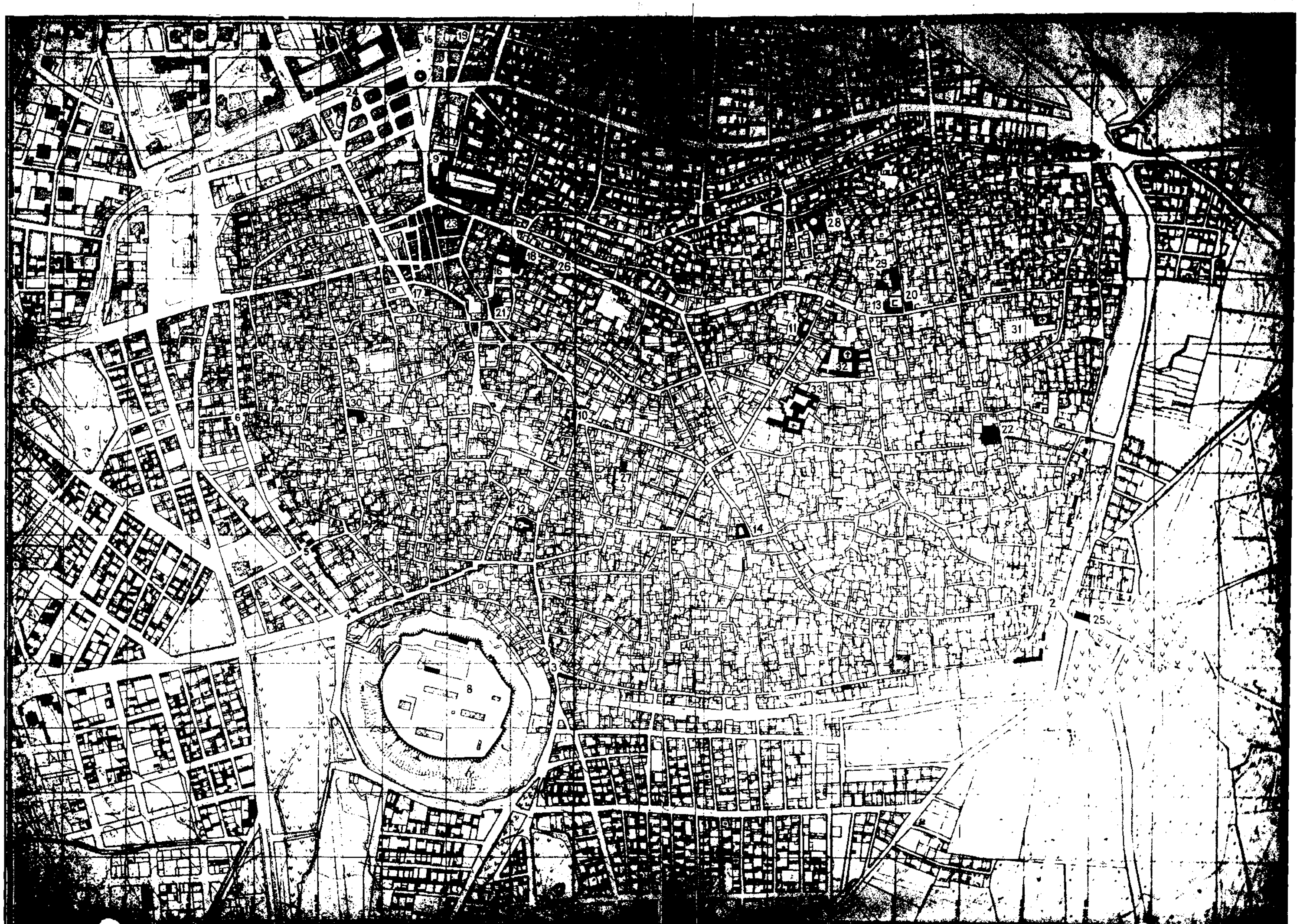
27.—al-Malik al-Mudjāhid Shīrkūh

Mansions:

28.—Bayt al-Zahrāwī
29.—Bayt Mallāḥ
30.—Bayt al-Kurdī

Churches:

31.—Mar Elyān
32.—the Forty Martyrs
33.—Jesuit Fathers



and of a number of Mamlūk *amīrs* with their private armies. At its head were placed the bedouins of Syria under the command of ʿĪsā b. Muhannā. The *maysara*, strengthened as a result of the warning of the Mongol deserter, consisted of the Ẓāhiriyya of Baybars under the command of Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, and of a number of Mamlūk *amīrs* with their private armies. At its head were placed the Turcomans and the troops of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. The *djālish*, which served as the vanguard of the *ḳalb*, consisted of the viceroy (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) and other *amīrs* with their private armies, as well as an unspecified number of Ḳalāwūn's *mamlūks*. Sultan Ḳalāwūn was in the *ḳalb*, under the Royal banners, having with him 4,000 picked soldiers of the *ḥalḳa*, 800 Royal Mamlūks and an unspecified number of his own *mamlūks*. The composition of the *djanāḥān* is not mentioned in the sources. Shortly before the battle the Sultan chose 200 of his own *mamlūks* and, leaving his banner, went with them to the top of a hill overlooking the battlefield. Any *ṭulb* [*q.v.*] which had been shaken received by his orders a reinforcement.

The *maysara* of the Tatars dealt at first a heavy blow to the Muslim *maymana*, but could not shake it. The Egyptian *maymana* counter-attacked quickly, and routed the Tatar *maysara*. On the other side of the battlefield the *maymana* of the Tatars succeeded in inflicting a heavy defeat on the Egyptian *maysara*, and with it was routed the left part of the centre (*djanāḥ al-ḳalb al-aysar*). Both the defeated Mamlūk wing and the victorious Tatar wing had no idea of what was going on at the other end of the field, and they went on with their flight and pursuit. Part of the routed Mamlūk *maysara* reached Ṣafad another part reached Damascus, and a third part arrived as far as Gaza. The pursuing Tatars halted after a while, dismounted and waited for the rest of the Mongol army to join them, but as their fellows did not appear, they decided to go back to the battlefield. (The features common to all battles between the Mamlūks and the Mongols are discussed above, s.v. ḤARB, pp. 187-8). There the Muslims went on winning, but their strength was already failing. Fortune was, however, on the side of the Muslims, for the Mongol commander, Mankutimur, wrongly concluded that the army confronting him was still very strong. In fact, however, Ḳalāwūn was left with only 300 horsemen (according to one version) or 1,000 (according to another). With this small force Ḳalāwūn attacked the Tatars and defeated them. Meanwhile the victorious *maysara* of the Tatars returned to the battlefield. In order to conceal the whereabouts of his army from the returning Tatars, Ḳalāwūn ordered his drums to be silenced and the Royal banners folded. His ruse succeeded, for the Tatars passed by him without noticing anything. As soon as they had their backs to him he attacked them from the rear, and inflicted upon them a heavy defeat. The number of the Tatars killed during their retreat far exceeded the number of those who died in the field of battle.

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(D. AYALON)

ḤIMYAR [see YAMAN].

AL-ḤIMYARĪ [see IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM; AL-SAYYID AL-ḤIMYARĪ].

HINĀ, BANŪ (HINĀWĪ), a settled tribe of inner ʿUmān, southeastern Arabia, in earlier times of considerable political and military importance and, since Shaʿbān 1373/May 1954, again prominent by one of its members, Ghālib b. ʿAlī b. Hilāl, becoming an Ibāḍī Imām of ʿUmān. Banū Hinā (mostly Ibāḍīs) were one of the two leading factions in the civil warfare of the early 12th/18th century in ʿUmān. Led by Khalaf b. Mubārak (known as al-Ḳuṣayyir, "the Short") they and their allies were opposed by a group led by the Banū Ghāfir (mostly Sunnīs). Since that time all the tribes of ʿUmān have aligned themselves with these factions as Hināwīs, usually groups of traditionally southern descent, or as Ghāfirīs, generally tribes of northern ancestry.

The chief settlements of Banū Hinā are al-Ghāfāt, residence of the shaykhly section known as Awlād Zakrī, and Balad Sayt. A section known as al-Makhārīm inhabit the Djabal al-Kawr area, while other members of the tribe share the village of Sayfan with the Banū Shukayl. The paramount *shaykh*, ʿAlī b. Zāhir b. Ghuṣn, is established at Muḍaybī, the chief village of al-Ḥubūs tribe [*q.v.*], where in 1384/1965 he was acting as *wālī* of the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. Many of the group of Banū Hinā who occupied the lower section (al-Sufāla) of Nazwa moved to al-Ghāfāt after the events of 1377/1957 (see ʿUMĀN).

Nearly all the members of the Banū Hinā make their living on small agricultural holdings in inner ʿUmān. Lucerne and wheat are the principal crops grown in addition to the date palm.

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(J. MANDAVILLE)

ḤINĀṬA (A.), embalming. The root is common to the Semitic languages and meant at first "to change colour", especially in ripening fruit (hence *ḥinṭa*, "wheat") and then the stain left by fragrant oils etc. Both senses are preserved in Arabic and Hebrew. *Ḥannāṭ* (Ar.) is explained as one who follows the trade of *ḥināṭa*; Samʿānī explains both *ḥannāṭ* and *ḥannāṭī* as corn-chandler. Aramaic alone seems to have *ḥannāṭā* meaning embalmer. *Ḥanūṭ* is perfume or scented unguent, but always in connexion with death; "when Arabs prepared to fight, they put *ḥanūṭ* on themselves and made themselves strong for death" (ʿAbīd b. al-Abras, (1913), 17). Thābit b. Ḳays, who carried the flag of the Anṣār, anointed himself, put on grave clothes, dug a hole in which he sank to his shins and fought from it till he was killed. This custom is thrown back to Thamūd; when they knew that destruction was certain, they anointed themselves and put on skins as grave clothes. The practice was not confined to fighters, for a poet says "every one alive will be anointed (for death)"; it was not entirely utilitarian, for when a man is at the point of death there should be some

perfume "to honour the angels". Martyrs, including a pilgrim killed by a fall from his camel, were not anointed. The Gospel story provides parallels, "she has anointed my body for the burial" and the spices carried to the tomb.

Ḥanūṭ was of different kinds; "the best *ḥanūṭ* is camphor" is contradicted by "camphor and *ḥanūṭ*" and "put *ḥanūṭ* on my head and beard and camphor on the places of prostration", which are the parts of the body that touch the ground during prayer, the forehead (forehead and nose), palms of the hands, knees and toes. *Ḥanūṭ* consisted of *dh̲arīra*, which is either sweet rush or some mixture, musk, *ʿanbar* (probably saffron), camphor, Indian reed and powdered sandal wood. Some insisted on dry camphor and others forbade saffron for males. As a scent with the dead, musk is more pleasant than camphor but the latter is better for drying the body, keeping it cold, hardening it and keeping away insects. Camphor should not be put in the water with which the body was washed but on the body after it had been dried. Some said that *ḥanūṭ* must be put on the body; some that it might be between the grave clothes but not on them; others allowed it on the clothes and on the bier. How was *ḥanūṭ* to be used? All the terms employed are ambiguous but there are so many that there is no doubt as to what is meant. It was put on the eyes, nose and ears, on the belly and under the chin and armpits, on the navel, between the thighs, behind the knees and on the soles of the feet.

Some would close the orifices of the body with cotton wool, some put it in the anus and one writer adds that the object is to keep out worms. A theorist forbade the extravagant use of cotton wool, for the corpse should look like one and not like a bundle. But cotton wool should not be put in the nose, throat or anus. There was a custom of putting a knife or weight on the belly lest the heart should swell or the belly burst before interment.

These practices do not amount to what is now called embalming. A man was killed in Baṣra during the revolt of the Zandj̲ in 257/871 but his body was not found till two years later; it was not changed (had not putrefied) but the skin had stuck to the bones and the belly had no slit in it. A possible explanation of the last phrase is that the Arabs were familiar with the evisceration of the dead. Some ruled that exhumation was not lawful, in the Yemen for example, but reburial was so common as to call for no remark. "His bones were dug up and reburied" is probably to be taken literally. Later *ṣabara*, from *ṣabir*, meaning aloes or some other bitter vegetable substance, was used as equivalent to *ḥanaṭa*. Aloes seems to be mentioned by Arabic writers only in the story of T̲h̲amūd; otherwise it is found only in a Syriac lexicon. Many stories presuppose embalming. In 559/1164 a man died in Mosul and the body was taken by Bag̲h̲dād, Ḥilla, Kūfa with excursions to Karbalāʾ and Nadj̲af, to Mecca and ʿArafāt, where it was treated as a pilgrim, and at last to Medina to be buried in the *ribāṭ* which the man had founded. In 615/1218 the lord of Damascus died; his death was kept secret, the body embalmed, placed in a litter with a slave to fan it, and taken to Damascus. In 665/1257 a man died in Bag̲h̲dād and his body travelled with the pilgrims, but they had to return home so the body was left with some bedouin till the following year. These examples suggest that embalming was effective and prevented decay. On the other hand Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 313; tr. Gibb, ii, 447) says that a son of Ṣārūk̲h̲ān was embalmed, put in a coffin and placed in a chapel without a roof so that the stench might escape; this was apparently in 731/1331.

When Sayf al-Dawla died (356/967) the body was washed several times with water and various essences, and anointed with myrrh and camphor; 100 *mithk̲āl* of *g̲h̲āliya* was put on the cheeks and neck, 30 *mithk̲āl* of camphor in the ears, eyes, nose and on the back of the neck. The grave clothes were worth 1000 *dīnārs*; then the body was put in a coffin and camphor strewn over it. When Ibn Killis died (380/990) the caliph gave the grave clothes, 50 pieces of *dabīḳī* linen, each weighing 30 *mithk̲āl* because of the gold thread, and *ḥanūṭ*, a box of camphor, two flasks of musk and 50 *man* of rosewater, the whole worth 10,000 *dīnārs* (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (1270), ii, 7; *ḥanūṭ* seems here to be a collective name for the perfumes).

Bodies brought to Karbalāʾ and Nadj̲af for burial may be in rough coffins or wrapped in matting, and any embalming is rudimentary for the stench is horrible. Modern dictionaries give the meaning 'embalm' but *LA* says that *aḥnaṭa'l-rimth̲* means 'turned white'. Now in Tunisia *ḥanūṭ* may be pistachio-resin, cloves and *boutons de rose*.

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(A. S. Tritton)

HINĀWĪ [see HINĀ; ʿUMĀN].

HIND, the name currently employed in Arabic for the Indian sub-continent. The current names in Persian were Hindūstān, Hindistān, "land of the Hindūs" [*q.v.*], whence Ottoman Turkish Hindistān. The present article comprises the following sections:

i. the geography of the sub-continent as described by the mediaeval Muslim geographers;
ii. the ethnography of the sub-continent at the present day;
iii. its languages;
iv. a survey of its history, with cross-references to the individual rulers, dynasties, etc., treated separately;
v. the spread of Islam, the distribution of Islamic sects, the activities of Muslim scholars;
vi. Islamic culture;
vii. Indo-Muslim architecture;
viii. music.

For Anglo-Muhammedan law, see SH̲ARĪʿA; for political parties, see ḤIZB; for the development of the apparatus of modern government, see ḤUKŪMA; for the events leading to partition and for the history of Pakistan since independence, see PĀKISTĀN.

(Ed.)

i. — The Geography of India according to the mediaeval Muslim geographers.

(a) The term "*Hind*": The Muslim geographers of the mediaeval period generally used the term "Hind" to denote regions east of the Indus. It was also applied to practically all the countries of South-East Asia, when used imprecisely in such phrases as 'the Kings of Hind', or 'the lands of Hind', which included not only India but also Indonesia, Malaya, etc. The term 'Sind' as used by them referred to Sind, Makran, Baluchistan, portions of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province. Thus no single term covered the whole of India. Only 'Hind' and 'Sind' used together denoted the whole of mediaeval India. The geographical accounts of India in Arabic and

Persian literature are therefore covered under two separate headings, namely, 'Sind' and 'Hind'.

(b) Geographical position, boundaries and area: Muslim geographers, following Claudius Ptolemy, divided the inhabited quarter of the earth (*al-rubʿ al-maskūn*) into seven climes, each running parallel to the equator from east to west, and covering the area north of the equator up to the Island of Thule as described by Ptolemy. India was usually placed between the first and the third climes. In the Iranian system of climes, which divided the 'inhabited world' into *kishwars* by drawing seven circles of equal size and placing six of these around the fourth in such a way that they touched each other, India was placed in the second *kishwar* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 181). Although the Muslim geographers were acquainted with the Greek division of the land-mass into three continents: Asia (*Āsiyā*), Europe (*Urūfa*) and Africa (*Lūbiyā*), they did not use it much. Al-Bīrūnī, however, describes India as part of "the northern continent" (meaning thereby Asia) and bordering on the 'Great Ocean' (*al-Baḥr al-Aʿẓam*, the Indian Ocean) (*A.I.* [for this abbreviation and others employed in this article, see *Bibl.*], i, 197; *Ṣifa*, 5). His image of India was of a plain surrounded on three sides (north, west and east) by lofty mountains forming a part of the long range of mountains that extended from China in the east and crossed the whole of Asia and Europe latitudinally, reaching as far as the lands of the Franks and the Galicians. India was placed to the south of this long range and the waters (rivers) of this range flowed down through the Indian plains (*A.I.*, i, 198). Al-Bīrūnī was the only Muslim geographer who conceived of India as having been a sea in the geological period and perhaps the first scientist to present this concept. He arrived at this conclusion by observing the different types of stones, round and big, near the mountains (of the north) and both above and under the surface of the earth, but becoming smaller further away and finally getting pulverized into sand near the mouths of the large rivers and near the sea. He says, "... if you consider all this, you could scarcely help thinking that India has once been a sea which by degrees has been filled up by the alluvium of the streams" (*op. cit.*, i, 198).

Again, according to the Muslim geographers and navigators India lay on the great mediaeval sea-route between the Persian Gulf and China. The Arab navigators of the early Middle Ages divided, for navigational convenience, the seas lying along this route into 'the seven seas'. These were: (1) Baḥr Fārs (the Persian Gulf); (2) Baḥr al-Lārwī (after the ancient name of Gujarat, *Lār* [*Larike* of Ptolemy], from Sanskrit *Lāṭa*, see Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, 35, note 4.3); this was the portion of the Arabian Sea stretching between Oman and the Laccadives; (3) Baḥr Harkand (Bay of Bengal, from Sanskrit *Harketiya* representing Eastern Bengal; *kand* may be due to the influence of the Iranian *kand* meaning 'town'; in M. Filliozat's view it may have some relation with the Tamil word *arikandam*, one of the nine divisions of the world as regarded by the Indians, see Sauvaget, *Akhbār*, 35, note 4.2); (4) Baḥr Kalah (the Strait of Malacca; *Salahat*, from Malay *selat*, *salat*, meaning 'strait', see *Akhbār*, 4); (5) Baḥr Kardandj (Panduranga?); (6) Baḥr Ṣanf (the Sea of Champa; the Kingdom of Champa lay between the sea and the mountain all along the eastern coast of Indo-China, see *Akhbār*, 44-5); (7) Baḥr al-Ṣīn (the Sea of China).

(c) Maps of India: Muslim geographer-cartographers like al-Khuwārizmī [*q.v.*] and al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*], who followed Ptolemy in their world cartography, committed grave mistakes in incorporating their contemporary data in the framework of maps that were conceived and drawn by Marinos and Ptolemy a thousand years earlier. Ptolemy's maps of India erred in depicting wrong courses of the rivers, *e.g.*, the Ganges flowed south instead of east and discharged itself into the Arabian Sea at the south-western coast; peninsular India was shown much smaller than its actual size, and Ceylon was highly exaggerated. These and other defects of the Ptolemaic charts were handed down to the Muslim cartographers, who did not try to improve upon them. Thus, the configuration of India is confused on the maps of al-Khuwārizmī (his sectional maps of the world have recently been reconstructed by S. Razia Jafri, of Aligarh Muslim University, on the basis of the latitudes and longitudes given by him in his work *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*) as well as on those of al-Idrīsī. The geographer-cartographers of the Balkhī School of geography, like al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal [*qq.v.*], who probably followed some ancient Iranian traditions of cartography, likewise do not show peninsular India on their world maps. Their regional maps of Sind are useful, but one does not get any idea of the shape of the country from these maps. Al-Bīrūnī's description of south India, when represented on paper, does result in the shape of a peninsula but not quite as large as it actually is. His 'map of the seas' also shows the peninsula in a limited way.

(d) Boundaries and area: For the Merchant Sulaymān, India was more extensive than China, in fact twice its size (*Akhbār*, 26; cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 14), and according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, India extended from the region of China in the east up to Daybul in Sind, and from ʿIrāḳ up to the Arabian Sea and Ḥidjāz (i, 93). Al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*] describes India as a vast country comprising land, water and mountainous regions. The limits of India, according to him, extended up to 'the kingdom of the Maharādj' (Sumatra) in one direction and adjoined Khurāsān, Sind and Tibet in the other. Sind was the borderland between 'the kingdom of Islam and Hind' (*Murūdj*, i, 162-3, 349); its boundaries are described as follows: the Ocean in the east, the Arabian Sea (in the west), Daybul (to the south) and the regions adjacent to China in the north (*Tanbīh*, 32). Al-Iṣṭakhrī gives the measurement of India's length from Makrān, across Kannawdj up to Tibet as being about four months' journey, and its width, from the Sea of Fārs across Kannawdj, as being about three months' journey (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūra*, 16). As for its boundaries, to the east lay the Sea of Fārs, to its west and south 'the Kingdom of Islām' and to its north, China. Tibet, according to this author, lay between China and India, (the land of) the Kharlukhs and the Toghuzghuzz and the Sea of Fārs. Part of it was in India and part in China (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 16, 19). Sind, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, included Makrān, Ṭūrān and al-Budha. To the whole of its east lay the Sea of Fārs and to its west Kirmān, the desert of Sidjistān and its districts. To its north lay the country of al-Hind and to its south a desert stretching between Makrān and al-Ḳufṣ, on the rear side of which lay the Sea of Fārs. The Sea of Fārs encircled these lands on the eastern side and to the south of this desert, because the sea stretched from Ṣaymūr (Chaul, in the Kolaba district of Bombay) towards the east roughly up to Tīz of Makrān; then it turned round this desert until it formed an area around Kirmān and Fārs (Jafri, 7). Exactly the same boundaries of

Sind are given by Ibn Ḥawḳal (Jafri, 11), who included in India, Sind, Ḳas͟hmīr and a portion of Tibet (*Ṣūra*, 9). Describing India's boundaries, he says that to its east lay the Sea of Fārs, to its west and south K͟hurāsān and to its north China (*Ṣūra*, 11). According to him parts of Tibet lay in India and parts in China (*Ṣūra*, 15).

An exaggerated account of India's limits and boundaries is, however, found in Marvazī who says: "Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they do down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end" (*Marvazī*, 39). The anonymous author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* gives the following boundaries of Hindustan: east of it lay the countries of China and Tibet; south of it, the Great Sea, west of it the river Mihrān (Indus); north of it, the country of S͟haknān and some parts of Tibet (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 86); and the boundaries of Sind given by him are: east of it is the river Mihrān; south of it, the Great Sea; west of it, the province of Kirmān; north of it a desert adjacent to the Marches of K͟hurāsān (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 122).

The apparent disparity between al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal on the one hand and the author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* on the other as noticed in the above accounts with regard to the boundaries of India, is not actual but due only to a difference in the way of looking at the maps used or drawn by them. Generally speaking, if the maps and the descriptions are read correctly, the Sea of Fārs or the Great Sea (Indian Ocean) lies to the south of India; China and Tibet to the north and east; Kirmān, Sid̲j̲istān, K͟hurāsān, etc. to the west; and the relative positions of Sind and Hind are correct. Again, according to the reckoning of al-Iṣṭak͟hrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, the length of India from the borders of Makrān up to Tibet would be about 3600 Arabian miles or 3840 geographical miles (counting 1 day's journey to be an average of 30 Arabian miles). Similarly, the width of India from the Indian Ocean (Sea of Fārs) across Kannawd̲j̲ would be about 2700 Arabian miles or 2880 geographical miles.

(e) Regions: The western, north-western, southern and eastern regions of India were thoroughly surveyed by the early Muslim geographers and travellers both for political and for commercial reasons. Among the early writers Ibn K͟hurradād̲h̲bih, the Merchant Sulaymān, al-Balād̲h̲urī, al-Masʿūdī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar, Ibn Rusta, Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, Ibn Ḥawkal, al-Muḳaddasī, al-K͟huwārizmī and al-Idrīsī give topographical accounts of western and southern India. Of these, those of al-Balād̲h̲urī, al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī are of special importance with regard to Sind and the Panjab. They not only furnish us with information on important cities and towns of these regions, but give distances and describe roads; their maps of these regions are of great value. The majority of the later Muslim writers seemed to have borrowed from them. The itineraries given by al-Bīrūnī cover a wider region of India and some new areas not mentioned by the Muslim writers up to his time. Al-Bīrūnī was critical of the Indian method of measuring distances; so he uses the *farsak͟h* for his measurements. The Arab geographers also used the (Arabian) mile in their topographical accounts. Al-Bīrūnī gives the distances between important towns and ports of India and gives an approximate idea of the coastal regions by naming the important ports. From his topography one can get a sufficiently clear idea of the road-systems of India of this period. His information covers practically the whole of northern and central India as well as the western and eastern regions and parts of southern India. Moreover, his account is original and covers for the first time a detailed account of Kashmir. From the accounts of the Muslim geographers some idea about the regions of the country may be formed. Roughly speaking the following regions are described by them: (1) Sind, covering the region between Daybul, al-Manṣūra and Mūltān, including the lower course of the Indus; (2) Ṭūrān (covering parts of Baluchistan); (3) Makrān (along the coast of Sind and Baluchistan; (4) al-Ḳas͟hmīr al-suflā or al-Ḳas͟hmīr al-k͟hārid̲j̲a (the Panjab and the Himachal Pradesh); (5) D̲j̲azīrat al-Mayd̲h̲ and *Kač* or *Kīs͟h* (Kachh and Kathiawar); (6) 'the land of al-D̲j̲urz or D̲j̲azarāt or Lāra-deśa' (Gujarat and parts of Rajasthan); (7) Mālwā (central India); (8) al-Kumkam (Konkan, Maharashtra); (9) Malībār or Manībār (Kerala); (10) Kanara (Kanada); (11) al-Ag͟hbāb or al-Ak͟hwār (the region facing Ceylon on the Indian coast); (12) al-Maʿbar (the Coromandal Coast, Madras); (13) Ūrīsīn or Uwarihār (Orissa); (14) Bankala (Bengal); Kāmrū or Ḳāmarūb (Kamarupa, Assam); (15) Gangāsāyara (mouth of the Ganges); (16) Assam; (17) Naypāl (Nepal); (18) 'the mountains of sulphur' or *Himāmanta* (the Himalayan ranges); (19) Ḳas͟hmīr al-dāk͟hila or al-Ḳas͟hmīr al-ʿulyā (Kashmir Valley); and (20) 'the country of Kanōd̲j̲' or 'al-Ḳinnawd̲j̲', or 'Madhyadeśa'. It was so called because it was the centre of India from the geographical point of view in that it lay halfway between the sea (Indian Ocean) and the mountains (the Himalayas), and was in the middle of the hot and the cold provinces and also between the eastern and the western frontiers of India (*A.I.*, i, 198).

(f) Ports and towns: Some of the important ports on the western coast of India with which the Arab navigators were acquainted and which are described by Arab geographers and travellers in their accounts are: Daybul (mediaeval main port of Sind, near modern Karachi), Barūd̲j̲ or Barūṣ (Broach), Sindān (Sand̲j̲ān, 50 miles north of Thana, Bombay), Sūbāra (Sopara, near Bassein, in the Thana district of Bombay), Tāna (Thana), Ṣaymūr (modern Chaul, in the Kolaba district of Bombay), Sindābūr (the Island and the bay of Goa, cf. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 363-4; but Nainar identifies it with Shadāshivagad (Nainar, 74)), Hannaur (Honavar), Mand̲j̲arōr (Mangalore), Hīlī (the name of the mediaeval kingdom, Ili or Eli, has left a trace in Mount Delly. The mediaeval port is probably now represented by the village of Nileshwar, a few miles north of the promontory, cf. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 364), Fandarayna (identified with Panderani by Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 234; with Pantalayini, Pantalayini Kollam, north of Quilandi, by Nainar, 35), Kūlam Malay (Quilon, Malabar).

The main sea-ports of the east coast of India described by the Muslim geographers are: Ballīn (probably Negapatam; it was from here that the Arab sea-route to the east bifurcated. Arab boats lay at anchor here for some months; then, those bound for China sailed straight to the Nicobar Islands, and others, going to Bengal and Assam, sailed north), Kand̲j̲a (Conjeevaram) and Samundar/Sumundar (an important mediaeval Indian port visited by the Arabs. V. Minorsky places it south of Baruva and north of Ganjam, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 241. However, the more probable identification is with the Sunur

Kāwān (Sonargaon) of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, see Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 271).

The Coromandal Coast was called *al-Maʿbar* ('the place of crossing') because it was from here that the boats of the Arabs sailed or crossed over from India to China, probably at the port of 'Ballin'.

The number of inland cities and towns described by Arab writers is too large to be mentioned here fully. We may, however, enumerate some of the more important towns: Manṣūra/Manṣūriyya (the Arab capital of Sind; ruins of the town 47 miles to the north-east of Ḥaydarābād, Sind), Nīrūn (at the site of the present Ḥaydarābād, Sind), Multān, Ḳannawdj, Nahrwāra/Anhalwāra (Patan, Gujarat), Asāwal (Āśāpalli, near Ahmedabad, Gujarat), Kanbāya (Cambay) and Mālwā (Mandu or Udjdjain); then, Tanjore, Rāmēshar (Rameshwaram), Mandarībīn (Mandūrpattan, Mandapam), Somnāt (Somnath), Dhār, Uzayn (Udjdjayn), Mēghār (Mewar), Mahūra (Mathura), Kālandjar, Kwālīr (Gwalior), Kadjūrāha (Khadjūrāho), Adjūdha (Adjudhya), Bānārasī (Varanasī), Bātlīputra (Patna), Munkērī (Monghyr), Ḳuzdār (Khozdar), Arūr (Rohri), Parāswar (Peshawar), Djēylam (Jehlum), Sālkūt (Sialkot), Radjkīrī (Radjgiri), Sunnām, Mīrat (Merut), Tānēshar (Thanesar) and Adhistān (Srinagar); then Uwarīhār (Uriyadēśa), Prayāk (Allahabad), and Vayhind (Ohind, which lay between the Indus and the Kabul river, just above their confluence, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 253-4); then, Dillī (Delhi), Dawlatābād the proposed capital of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 204), Hansī, Sūdkāwān (Satgaon), Sunurkāwān (Sonargaon), Koel (old Aligarh) and Maitra (Madura).

(g) Islands: The word *djazīra* was used by the Muslim geographers both for an 'island' and a 'peninsula'. Thus, al-Maydh (Kathiawar), Kūlam Malay (Quilon), etc. are described by some as 'islands'. Among the islands of India, the Maldives (*al-Dībadjāt*) (meaning 'the Islands' from Sanskrit *Diva* with the Perso-Arabic plural termination *-adjāt*), the Andaman and the Nicobar (*Lankabālūs*) islands are described in great detail. The Maldives were famous for boat-building activities and for the craftsmanship of their artisans. These islands were ruled by a queen who along with her husband lived on the Island called *Anb.riya* (probably Ptolemy's *Eiréné*, see al-Idrīsī, *India*, 24 and [comm.] 114).

Arab merchant boats on the way to China also called at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The inhabitants of the former are described by Sulaymān as cannibals, having curly hair, ugly faces and long legs and those of the latter as being white in colour and having scanty beards (*Akhbār*, 5, 8).

(h) Climate, Soil and Crops: On the basis of the information provided by the Muslim geographers one can form a rough idea of the climatic conditions, the soil and other topics relating to physical geography. The climate of India is generally described as hot and some geographers compare it to that of Ethiopia and describe the common features between them. Al-Bīrūnī describes the Hindu division of the year (*A.I.*, i, 357-8): the people of Kathiawar divided the year into three parts; 1. *Varshakāla*, beginning with the month of *Āshāḍha*; 2. Śitakāla (*i.e.*, the winter); and 3. *Ushnakāla* (*i.e.*, the summer). But his actual description of the climatic conditions seems to pertain mainly to northern India. He says, 'the rains are the more copious and last the longer the more northward the situation of a province of India is, and the less it is intersected by ranges of mountains". Multān had no rains but in Bhātal and Indravēdi (Antarvedi, the old name of the lower Doab, extending from about Etawah to Allahabad, *op. cit.*, annotation, 321) it rained for four months heavily and incessantly, beginning from Āshāḍha, as though buckets full of water were being poured out. Around the mountains of Kashmir up to the peak of Djūdarī it rained heavily for two and a half months, beginning with Śravaṇa; on the other side of this peak, there were no rains. Hence, Kashmir had no *varshakāla* but continuous snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle Chaitra continuous rains set in for a few days, melting the snow and cleaning the earth. This rule, he says, has an exception; however, a certain amount of extraordinary meteorological occurrance was peculiar to every province of India (*op. cit.*, i, 211-2). The rainy season was considered to be the most important season of India by almost all Muslim geographers. Sulaymān describes the rains as being very heavy (*Akhbār*, 26).

The soil of India is usually spoken of very highly by the Muslim geographers. Passages relating to cultivated lands and agriculture are also found in their writings, as are those pertaining to waste-lands, mountainous regions and deserts.

Seasonal crops are also described by Muslim geographers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, describing those of northern India, mentions the following as the grains of the *kharīf* crop: *al-kudhrū* (a kind of millet) in abundance; *al-shāmākh*, *Panicum frumentaceum*, (called to-day *sāṅwā* or *sāṅwāṅ* in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, and *sāṅwak* in its western districts and in Panjab); it was cooked with buffalo milk and formed the food of 'the good and poor people'; *al-māsh* (Indian peas); *al-mūṅdj* (moong); *lūbyā* (haricots); *al-mūt* (mooth); and barley. The grains of the *rabīʿ* crop were: wheat, chick-peas and lentils. Rice had three crops in the year and India produced a type with large grains. Sesame and sugar-cane were cultivated in the *kharīf* season. Referring to the food of the people of Nahrwāra (Patan, Gujarat) al-Idrīsī says that it consisted of rice, chick-peas, beans, haricots, lentils, Indian peas, fish and animals that died a natural death (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 60-1).

(i) Mountain ranges: Not all the Muslim geographers had an overall view of the mountain ranges of India, though many of them describe ranges that they knew either through first-hand knowledge (which was very rare) or through earlier original sources. The Himalayas, the mountains of Kashmir, the Kamarupa Mountains (*Ḳāmarūn*), the ranges of the Western Ghats, the hills of Kathiawar (Girnar Hills, *Marvazī*, 43), the mountains of Thana (*Tāna*) and a few other mountain ranges of India were known to many, but few go into the details of these ranges or describe their exact locations or directions. A very early attempt, though based on Ptolemy's account, was made by al-Khuwārizmī, who gives the geographical positions of many of the Indian ranges (see *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*). Following the same Ptolemaic system and sources, al-Idrīsī also gives the Ptolemaic names of some of the Indian mountains (*e.g.*, Ūndiran, Gr. *Ouindion* = Vindhya Mountains) and adds some additional ones known to the Arabs.

A clear picture of India's mountain ranges is, however, presented by al-Bīrūnī and by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. Al-Bīrūnī describes mainly the mountains of the north, north-west and the north-east. Describing the Himāvanta (Himalaya) he says that the mountains formed the boundaries (north, north-west and east) of India. In the middle of the snowy

Himāvanta lay Kashmir, and they were connected with the country of the Turks. "The mountain region becomes colder and colder till the end of the inhabitable world and Mount Meru" (*A.I.*, i, 258). Al-Bīrūnī conceived of the Himalayas as extending longitudinally; the rivers that arose on their northern side flowed into the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea, the Black Sea or the Baltic, whereas those that arose on the southern slopes passed through India and some flowed into 'the great ocean' (Indian Ocean), either singly or jointly (*op. cit.*, i, 258). The mountains of Kāmrū (Kamarup, Assam), according to him, stretched as far as the sea (i, 281). He also describes some Tībetan ranges, on the authority of a certain traveller. From *Bhōteshar* (*bhauṭṭa-īśvara*, lord of the *bhauṭṭas*, or Tibetans, *A.I.*, annotations, i, 318) to "the top of the highest peak is 20 *farsakh*. From the height of this mountain, India appears as a black expanse below the mist, the mountains lying below this peak like small hills, and Tibet and China appear as red. The descent towards Tibet and China is less than one *farsakh*" (*op. cit.*, i, 201-2). He describes Kashmir as being surrounded by "high and inaccessible mountains" (i, 206). Kulārdjak mountain is described as a cupola, and here the snow never melted (i, 207-8). The Djūdarī peak was situated between Dunpūr and Barshāwar (i, 211). The author of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* conceived of the Central Indian ranges as "starting from the western coast of India, stretching eastwards and then splitting into two so that its outer ramification . . . comprises the Himalaya, Karakorum, Pamir and the ranges north of the Oxus, while the inner ramification . . . comprises the part of the Himalaya immediately north of Kashmir which is then connected with the Hindu Kush &c." (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 196).

(j) Rivers: Of the rivers of India, the best known to the Muslim geographers were those of the north and north-west. References are, however, found to the rivers of the eastern and the south-eastern regions. Al-Bīrūnī conceived of the rivers of India as rising either from "the cold mountains in the north or from the eastern mountains, both of which in reality form one and the same chain, extending towards the east until they reach the great ocean, where parts of it penetrate into the sea at the place called the *Dike of Râma*" (*A.I.*, i, 258).

The Indus and its tributaries and the rivers of the Panjab are the best described, and many details pertaining to their sources and courses can be found in the works of the Muslim geographers. According to al-Bīrūnī the river Ghorvand fell into the river Sindh (Indus) near Gandhāra (Ohind); the rivers Biyatta, known as Djaylam (Jhelam), the Candarâha, the Biyâh (Beas), the Irâva, and the Shatladar (Satlej) all united below Multan at a place called Pañcanada and formed an enormous watercourse. After it passed Aror as a united stream, the Muslims called it Mihrân (Indus); see *A.I.*, i, 259-60 and cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 278, who says that it was called Mihrān after it passed (to the south) the town of Shākira. The earliest reference to the Mihrān is found in Ibn Khurradādhbih (62, 173-4) and al-Khuwārizmī (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 131) who describes 'the Lesser Mihrān' (*Mihrān al-Ṣaghīr*) and 'the Greater Mihrān' (*Mihrān al-Kabīr*), of which the former seems to stand for the Narmada and the latter for the Indus (see also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 72, 196, 198, 210, 236). The mouth of the river, according to the Muslim geographers, was divided between two points, one near Lohrânî (near Karachi) and the other in Kachh (*A.I.*, i, 260). The river has since changed its course. Again, al-Manṣūra (the Arab capital of Sind) was encircled by a branch of the Mihrān, forming an island. But this branch of the Indus no longer exists today. A branch of the Ravi, according to these writers, flowed past Multan.

The Ganges (variously described as *Djandjis*, or *Kank*) was the second best known river to these writers. It was well-known as the sacred river of the Hindus, where they practised self-immolation and other religious rites. According to al-Bīrūnī it arose in a place called Gaṅgâdvâra and flowed into the sea at a place called Gaṅgâsâyara (Gaṅga-sagar) (*A.I.*, i, 199-201). Those Arab geographers who followed the Ptolemaic description of the Ganges, like al-Khuwārizmī and al-Idrīsī, depict this river on their maps as flowing south (!) instead of following its true eastern course. Again, some Muslim geographers do not distinguish between the Yamuna and the Ganges, thus causing great confusion and misplacement of the towns along its banks. But al-Bīrūnī calls the Yamuna "Djawn" (*A.I.*, i, 261).

Besides these two main river-systems, among the other large rivers of India described by the Muslim geographers are: the Narmada, Sarsutī (*A.I.*, ii, 105); the Godavari (*Kūdāfarīd*); the lower course of the Brahmaputra; the Meghna, called "the Blue river" by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 271); a Nahr al-Ṭīb is also mentioned by some (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 111-2, tentatively identified by me with the Godavari or the Kistna). There are many other smaller rivers and rivulets described by them, the details of which it is not possible to give here.

(k) Flora: Among fruits, the citron is specially described (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 438). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sweet oranges were found in abundance in India, but the sour variety was rare. There was a third variety with a taste between sweet and sour and about the size of a citron (*al-līm*) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 128). Jack-fruit (Ar.: *al-shakī wa 'l-barkī*, Malayalam: *chakka*; Hindi: *kaṭhal*) is mentioned (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 34; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 127). Mango (Ar.: *al-ʿanbā*, Hindi: *ām*; Marathi: *amba*) and the condiments prepared from it are described in detail (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 34, 35; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 125-6; Iṣṭakhrī, 173; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; al-Muḳaddasī, 482). It is compared with peach in taste. *Mahuwā* (*Bassia latifolia* or *longifolia*) was, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 129), found in abundance in Delhi and some other parts of India. *Jāman* (Ar.: *al-yamūna*, *Eugenia jambolana*) is described by many Arab geographers (Iṣṭakhrī, 173; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; al-Muḳaddasī, 482; al-Idrīsī, *India*, 42; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 128). Figs and grapes were rare in India according to the Arab writers. Among some fruits mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 125-9) are *tēndū* (*tenda* is *Diospyros ebenum* or *glutinosa*); *kasīrā* (*kaseru* is a fibrous root eaten as a fruit, *Scirpus-kysoor*, see Fr. tr. at iii, 129). Al-Ḳalḳashandī (Spies, 49) describes several fruits: sugar-cane, bananas, date-palms, peaches, mulberries, jujube, quince, pears, apples, and green and yellow melons. Sugar-cane (*ḳaṣb al-sukkar*) is usually described by the writers on Sind and Makrān, where sugar-candy (Ar.: *al-fānīdh*, Sanskrit: *phāṇita*) was manufactured from it in abundance.

Of the plants and woods, bamboo (*al-ḳaṣb* or *khayzurān*) is described as growing in abundance in the mountains of Thana (Maharashtra), see al-Idrīsī, *India*, 62-3; the plant whose bark was used by the ancient Indians as paper is called by al-Masʿūdī *kādhī* (*Murūdj*, ii, 202), but al-Bīrūnī gives the correct spelling, *tārī* (*tāṛ*, *Borassus flabelliformis*),

A.I., i, 171. This was not the same as *bhojpattar-bark* which came from a tree said to be a kind of birch (*Betula bhojpatra*) used in making *ḥuḳḳa*-snakes (Shakespeare, s.v.).

The betel leaf (Ar.: *tanbūl*, Hindi: *pān*; leaf of *Piper bettle*) was according to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 84) very popular with the Arabs of Yemen and Ḥidjāz, and especially in Mecca. The coconut tree and the pepperplant (*al-filfil*) are described by many. *Al-baḳḳam* (Brazil-wood, *Caesalpinia sappan*) was found in abundance in south India (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 63-4). Indian cotton is described as being superior to that grown in Baghdad (al-Ḳalḳashandī, Spies, 93). Aloes-wood (*al-ʿūd*) grew in abundance in the mountains of Kamarup (Assam) (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 64) and the Indian variety is described as the best in the world. It was called *Bankālī* (of Bengal) and *Samandarūk* (of Samundar, see above), see al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifa*, 128. The banyan tree is mentioned by many writers (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 81-3).

A variety of vegetables and aromatic plants are mentioned, *e.g.*, cucumber, pumpkin, egg-plant, turnip, carrot, asparagus, ginger, onion, garlic, fennel, thyme, cardamom, tamarind (Ar.: *thamar hindī*, 'the Indian fruit', Hindi: *ʾimlī*), etc. (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, Spies, 49-50).

Of the flowers, rose, nenuphar, violet, narcissus, jasmine and the blossom of henna, etc., are mentioned (al-Ḳalḳashandī, Spies, 50).

(l) Fauna: A variety of Indian wild and domestic animals are mentioned, but the elephant occupies the most important place in the geographical accounts for its various qualities and its great size (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 67; al-Idrīsī, *India*, 36; Ibn Rusta, 134; *Marvazī*, 46-7; Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 163-5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 11-26). The Indian rhinoceros (*al-karkaddan*) is also described for its commercial value. Its horn was a very precious commodity used for making ornaments, etc. Strange stories connected with it are also mentioned (see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 67-8; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 385-7; al-Idrīsī, *India*, 30-1). Among other animals, the two-humped camel of Sind (Iṣṭakhrī, 176; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 323) and *sharava* (probably a wild boar) found in Konkan, Maharashtra (*A.I.*, i, 203) are mentioned. Among the domestic animals, water-buffaloes, cows, goats and sheep, two types of horses (the Arabian and the pack-horse), mules and donkeys are mentioned (al-Ḳalḳashandī, Spies, 47-8). Some fishes and water-animals are also mentioned, *e.g.*, *al-mīzara* (probably the eels belonging to the *moray* family of the order of Apodes, al-Idrīsī, *India*, 72, 132), crocodiles, *grahu* (an Indian alligator or a shark?) and a fish called *burlū* (al-Bīrūnī thought it was the dolphin, *A.I.*, i, 204); another dangerous water animal, *graha jalatantu* or *tanduwā*, is described by al-Bīrūnī (*A.I.*, i, 204); this may be the octopus.

Of the Indian birds, peacocks, pigeons, the domestic fowl, cranes, *bulbul* (probably the shrike, *Lanius boulboul*, see Shakespeare, *s.v.*) are mentioned.

(m) Commercial products: Of the commercial commodities of India, the Muslim geographers mention especially the cotton cloth of Bengal as early as the 3rd/9th century (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 67; *Akhbār*, 13; *Marvazī*, 48). Shoes manufactured in Cambay, Indian swords, aloes-wood from Assam, diamonds from Kashmir, gold from Kamarup (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 67; *Marvazī*, 48), pearls from Thana (Bombay) (al-Idrīsī, *India*, 55), sugar-candy from Sind, are mentioned as commercial commodities.

Bibliography: in the text, where it has been convenient to employ the following abbreviations (further to those listed at the beginning of the volume): *Akhbār* = *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind. Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851*, Ar. text with Fr. tr. and notes by J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948; al-Bīrūnī, *A.I.* = *Alberuni's India*, by E. Sachau, repr. New Delhi 1964; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifa* = *Ṣifat al-maʿmūra ʿala 'l-Bīrūnī. Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Memoirs* of the *ASI*, no. 53, New Delhi 1941; Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *ʿAdjāʾib* = *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind. Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, Ar. text ed. P. A. van der Lith with Fr. tr. by L. Marcel Devic, Leiden 1883-6; Gibb, *Ibn Battúta* = *Ibn Battúta, travels in Asia and Africa*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, London (Broadway Travellers Series) 1927 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of India was translated into German by H. von Mžik, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, Hamburg 1911); al-Idrīsī, *India* = *India and the neighbouring territories*, tr. with commentary by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden 1960; Jafri = S. Razia Jafri, *Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauḳal and al-Maḳdisī*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Islamic Studies*, v (Aligarh 1961), 1-67; al-Ḳalḳashandī, Spies = O. Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th century*, Stuttgart 1936; al-Khuwārizmī, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* = *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, iii, Leipzig 1926; al-Muḳaddasī = *K. Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden 1906 (*BGA*, iii[2]); *Marvazī* = *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, Ar. text ed. with Eng. tr. and commentary by V. Minorsky, London 1942; Nainar = S. M. H. Nainar, *Arab geographers' knowledge of southern India*, Madras 1942; Shakespeare = J. A. Shakespeare, *Dictionary of Hindustani and English, and English and Hindustani*, London 1849. (S. Maqbul Ahmad)

ii.—Ethnography

The Indian sub-continent has been divided since 1947 into the two nations of India and Pākistān, with populations of 439,234,771 and 93,720,613 respectively (all statistics refer to 1961). The 82,556,634 Muslims of Pākistān comprise 89% of the total population (97% in West Pākistān and 80% in East Pākistān), the only sizeable minority being the 4,386,623 caste Hindūs and 4,993,046 scheduled castes in the latter Province. India's population contains 46,939,357 (10.69%) Muslims. The proportion of Muslims is greatest in the areas of earliest Muslim penetration, viz., the northern States (Assam 23.29%, West Bengal 20.0%, Bihār 12.24% and Uttar Pradesh 14.63%, only the Pandjāb showing a small proportion (1.94%) owing to the emigration of Muslims at the time of Partition), and Kerala (17.91%). The remaining States have proportions of between 4% and 9%, except for Orissa's 1.23%. Djammū and Kashmir contains 2,432,067 (68.3%) Muslims.

The population of the sub-continent increased over the decade 1951-61 by 22% in India and 23% in Pākistān, that is, by an average of some 9½ million annually. Densities vary widely with ecological conditions. East Pākistān, with an average density of 922 per sq. mile, has a pattern similar to that of those valley and coastal areas of India where live the majority of Indian Muslims. West Pākistān, with an average density of only 138 per sq. mile, contains both highly populated irrigated areas (*e.g.*, Sargodha and Mardan districts) as well as the arid zones of

Balūčistān and Sind, where the density is often less than 10 per sq. mile, matched in India only in western Rādjāsthān. The net increase in population, and the consequent high densities in certain regions, pose the most severe problems of land shortage and create a need for urgent economic development.

Several physical types can be distinguished in the sub-continent. There are few Muslims amongst the Mongoloid peoples in the Himālayan region or amongst the Veddoid tribal peoples in the hills of central and eastern India; most are either of the short-statured, brachycephalic type associated with the pre-Āryan population, or of the taller, fairer and dolichocephalic Mediterranean type. These latter types are mixed in the various regions, though the former predominates in the south and the latter in the north-west, and it would be erroneous to give the terms Dravidian and Āryan to them, these being best used for the two main families of languages spoken in the sub-continent.

Muslims in each language area speak the regional tongue, but many also have a knowledge of Urdū, particularly in West Pākistān, the Gangetic plain, and those parts of India where Muslim princes ruled before 1947. Diacritical features, such as dress, headgear and type of beard may distinguish Muslims from others; so may diet, styles of poetry and music and other secular cultural traits. On the other hand, some social features are common to all inhabitants of both nations.

The overwhelming majority of the population of the sub-continent is rural (82% in India and 87% in Pākistān). Pastoralists are found in the more arid zones; estates growing rubber, tea and coffee exist in both countries and have an economic importance as gainers of foreign exchange which far outweighs the area they cover and the numbers they employ; there is some shifting cultivation and settlement amongst tribal people; but, for the most part, settlement is in villages of between 200 and 5,000 people, depending on ecological and historical factors. In Kerala, the Himālayan foothills and the Bengal delta, however, settlement is of scattered homesteads; and in those more arid areas of India and West Pākistān without canal irrigation homesteads are encountered wherever there is a well. Upon the size of the settlement depends the number of non-agricultural specialists, larger villages having a full complement of agricultural, household and religious services available, and smaller villages or isolated homesteads calling on specialists from outside.

The major food crops grown include rice, mainly in the coastal areas of south India and in Bengal and Sind, and wheat, sorghum, maize and other grains elsewhere. Each crop requires a different amount of labour, this being supplied by the farmer and his family, by labourers and, at times of peak activity, by neighbours on a co-operative basis. Women of poorer families work in the fields except where the rules of purdah prevent them. Labourers may be paid with daily wages; or they may, like the specialists, be under annual contracts and be paid in kind at each harvest. The trend in recent years has been to make payments in cash, and this is part of a move from a largely subsistence economy towards a greater dependence on cash crops such as sugar cane, jute, cotton and groundnuts. This has resulted in stronger links with urban markets and with wider price and demand fluctuations; and this, together with the increase in the demand for manufactured articles, has been a factor breaking down the social as well as the economic isolation of villages.

The structure of rural political power rests on the interconnected bases of control of land and political statuses. In many areas, land is held by individual farmers (*raʿiyyat*; see RAʿIYYA) on direct engagement with the State; in some regions, especially in former princely states and in parts of Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Pandjāb and Sind, there are large landlords (*zamīndār*, *djāgīrdār*, *taʿallukdār*) whose holdings are now diminished to varying extents under legislative restrictions in both countries; and in a few areas, notably western Pandjāb, land is held by a coparcenary lineage, with shares distributed amongst members (*paṭṭedār*). Economic power in *zamīndārī* and *paṭṭedārī* villages is focussed on the landlords, and in *raʿiyyatwārī* villages members of several families and castes may hold land, though there is usually a dominant group here too. Economically subordinate are the occupancy tenants, tenants-at-will, labourers and artisans [see TENURE OF LAND].

The system of village government is similar in most parts of the sub-continent, standardized as it has been by the Mughal and British administrations. There is a headman, responsible for the collection of land revenue and the maintenance of law and order, a village accountant responsible for the land records, and village watchmen under the headman. The headman's office may be divided between its revenue and police functions. It is usually a hereditary post, and may be divided among land holding lineages, or held by an absentee landlord's bailiff. In the tribal areas, especially among the Paṭhāns of north-west Pākistān, there has always been a large degree of autonomy, and here political control operates mainly through the balanced oppositions within the segmentary lineage systems around which the tribes are organized. Since 1947, programmes of community development and of decentralization of administration (known as Pančāyatī Rādj in India and Basic Democracies in Pākistān) have led to the emergence of locally elected committees from the village to the district level. These have taken over many of the headman's duties, especially in India, and the office of headman has correspondingly declined in importance.

Muslims participate in the above political and economic activities. In India, their importance varies partly with the statuses of the Hindū castes from which many were converted, and partly with the degree to which they have been able to maintain and wherever necessary adapt economic and political positions acquired before and during the period of British rule to conditions in independent India. In Pākistān, of course, Muslims fill virtually all economic and political rôles.

The urban population lives both in small towns which function as markets and administrative centres, and in the larger cities. Pākistān has three of these, viz., Karachi (1,916,000) [see KARĀČĪ], Lahore (1,297,477) [see LĀHAWR] and Dacca (556,712) [see ḌHĀKA]. India has 12 cities with over half a million inhabitants of which the largest are Bombay (4,152,056) and Calcutta (2,927,289). The process of industrialization has produced a growing managerial and professional middle class and a skilled labour force drawn from different strata of the rural population. This is larger in India than in Pākistān, where industrialization started to a large extent only after 1947, and it supplements the traditional urban classes of traders and entrepreneurs, among Muslims notably those of the Memon, Bohorā and Khōdja communities, whose members play an important

part in the economy of western India and Pākistān.

The most important social distinction among Muslims is between the Ashrāf, Muslims of foreign ancestry, and those descended from local converts. The division among Ashrāf between Sayyid, Shaykh, Mughal and Paṭhān is recognized throughout the sub-continent. Sayyids are those reckoning descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima; Shaykhs are said to be descended from the early Muslims of Mecca and Medina; the Mughals entered the sub-continent in the armies of the dynasty of that name; and the Paṭhāns are members of Pashtō-speaking tribes in north-west Pākistān and Afghānistān. Members of these divisions are found all over both countries. Other groups of foreign descent, such as the Sīdīs [see ḤABSHĪ], Persians and Ḥaḍramawtīs are highly localized and are negligible in numbers and influence.

The non-Ashrāf population is not usually designated by a single name, although Aṭrāf or Adjlāf and Arzal are terms sometimes used for its higher and lower strata. It consists for the most part of converts from Hinduism, and embraces people of many statuses and occupations. People belong to named populations (*ḳawm*) of traditionally landholding groups (*e.g.* Bhaṭṭī, Djandjūā), farmers (*e.g.* Arāīn), artisans (*e.g.* Tarkhān or carpenter and Pindjārā or cotton carder) and service groups (Muṣallī or sweeper). It is debatable whether these *ḳawm* should be called 'castes' or not. Here a distinction can be drawn between the nature of the *ḳawm* in India and in Pākistān. Non-Ashrāf groups in Indian villages appear to be sociologically similar to the Hindū castes which encapsulate them. They have ascribed occupations associated with status (whether they practise them or not); they are endogamous; they observe rules of restricted interdining with other Muslim and Hindū groups which they consider lower than they are; and their decisions are enforced by councils of prominent men. It is therefore possible to argue that they are strata in the caste system. The Ashrāf divisions are less clear-cut. Whilst retaining hierarchical notions, there is some inter-marriage between divisions, much of it hypergamous. Moreover, there is an upward movement from non-Ashrāf into Ashrāf groups, especially into the Shaykh division. It would thus be better to see Ashrāf divisions more as status categories than as castes.

Social distinctions in Pākistān, as well as being between Ashrāf and non-Ashrāf are also between groups of different socio-economic status, especially between landowners and artisans. The Sayyid is given the highest social status and the Muṣallī the lowest according to values attached to their occupation and descent; but there are no ritually-based restrictions on social intercourse of the kind existing in the society which surrounds Muslims in India. Hence, stratification in Pākistān is based more clearly than it is in India on statuses in which economic and political factors are dominant.

Some features of Muslim social organization cut across orthodox Islamic behaviour. An important example is the prohibition in northern India of cross- or parallel-cousin marriage amongst many non-Ashrāf groups. Consequently, kin ties are widespread and this, combined with territorial exogamy, makes for an extended kin-group of the type characteristic of north Indian Hindū organisation. In Pākistān, by contrast, the Islamic practice of both types of cousin marriage, subject to equal or hypergamous status (*kafā'a*), exists everywhere except, for the moment, amongst some refugee groups. Consequently, local lineages themselves become intra-marrying (though not formally endogamous) units, resulting in a pattern of small local kin-groups. Another variation is met with among the Māppillas [*q.v.*] of Kerala, who stem from intermarriages of Arab traders with local women as well as from conversion; for Māppillas in north Malabar are organized in matrilineally-defined groups, in which marriage is matrilocal.

Again, the pattern of inheritance has not always been fully Islamic. Instead of property being divided amongst both sons and daughters, customary procedure has normally excluded daughters in favour of male collaterals, except when the former have themselves married agnates. Pākistān law has now started to replace such customary law by Islamic personal law in this and other domestic contexts. For example, new provisions safeguarding divorce and polygamous marriages support, by a liberal interpretation of Ḳur'ānic injunctions, a general policy in favour of increased women's rights.

The vast majority of Muslims are members of the Sunnī sect, and of these some two-thirds of the Muslim population of both countries adheres to the Ḥanafī legal school, those belonging to the Shāfiʿī being found mainly among Māppillas; Sunnīs with Wahhābī tendencies exist in Uttar Pradesh, East Pākistān, and in the northwestern areas of West Pākistān. There are, in addition, smaller groups of Sunnīs, of which the most important are the Memons, to be found in the major cities on the west coast, the Mahdawīs of Gudjarāt and the Dhikrīs of Balūčistān. Lastly, mention must be made of the Aḥmadiyya sect whose two branches, the Lāhawrī and the Ḳadiyānī (the latter now settled in Rabwah, West Pākistān) are proselytizers overseas and active in the educational and social fields at home. Of the Shīʿīs, the bulk of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya division is found in Uttar Pradesh and thereabouts, with Lucknow (Lakhna'ū) as the main centre. Of the Ismāʿīlīs, Bohorās and Khōdjas (including the Agha Khānī sect) are found in most major cities, especially in western India and in West Pākistān.

At a different level from these divisions lies the network of allegiances held by a very large number of Muslims to *pīrs*. Some of these *pīrs* are members of *bā-sharʿ* Ṣūfī orders, of which the most important are the Čishtiyya, the Suhrawardiyya, the Ḳādiriyya and the Naḳshbandiyya [*qq.v.*]; others are members of *bī-sharʿ* orders [see IBĀḤATIYYA]; and yet others are not formally adherents of any order, but are simply ascetics with personal followings. The orders are centred at major shrines, such as those of Khwādja Muʿīn al-Dīn at Adjmēr and Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Shakargandj at Pāk Paṭṭan for the Čishtī order; but besides these there are many minor shrines whose guardians (sometimes the descendants of the person buried there) have taken on the duties of a *pīr*. These include the instruction and spiritual guidance of disciples (*murīd*) who may enter the order or may remain as lay disciples, and the provision of aid for secular problems such as illness and family difficulties to both disciples and other followers. The rôles of spiritual guide (*murshid*) and of general helper are combined in the *pīr*, but a person can have only one *pīr* as his *murshid*, whereas he can go to various *pīrs* for aid of some kind. As a result of this twofold rôle, *pīrs* have considerable spiritual and secular influence, particularly in West Pākistān where many

of the main shrines are situated, and where Ṣūfism first entered the sub-continent.

Distinct from these activities is the worship at the mosque. Most villages in Pākistān have a *mullā* and there are often several mosques, one of which is used for the Friday prayers. In many cases, however, the *mullā* has less influence than has the *pīr*. Formerly, there was considerable syncretism of Hinduism and Islam, particularly in the Pandjāb and its environs and among the less educated; there are references to the mixed composition of devotees at shrines and to the way in which saints were given both Hindū and Muslim aspects. Since 1947, however, this pattern has greatly diminished, though examples of it are still to be found in rural India.

Detailed ethnographies of the Muslims of the subcontinent are rare, and a great deal of research needs to be carried out before an authoritative account can be given of the social organization and culture of Muslims there and of their relations to fellow citizens of other religions.

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(A. C. MAYER)

iii. — LANGUAGES.

The presence of four great language families in the sub-continent is due to several waves of invasion by different ethnic groups in prehistoric and early historic times. The oldest such family appears to be the Muṇḍā (which, with Khasī spoken in the Assam hills and classified with the Mon-Khmer family, is sometimes regarded as "Austro-Asiatic"; but not enough is known about the affiliations of Muṇḍā for this interpretation to be acceptable to all scholars), spoken by over 6 million speakers, of whom the Santalī, with over 3 m. speakers, are the most numerous. Small though the numbers are, the Muṇḍā languages are important in Indian linguistic history, partly as providing the linguistic substratum for some languages now classified in other families, and partly as a source of borrowed words and constructions in other, more important, languages. These languages have had no connexion with Islam.

The Dravidian (Sanskrit *Drāviḍa-*) family extends mainly over southern India, and its original connexions with language families outside India have not been determined. It is generally assumed that the Dravidian speakers occupied a much more extensive area of India, including the north and north-west, before the Aryan invasions; both the presence of a pocket of Dravidian speakers, the Brāhūī, in Balōčistān, and the linguistic evidence of early Dravidian influences on Sanskrit, are consistent with this assumption. (The problem of the language of the inscriptions of the seals found in the Indus Valley civilizations of Harappā and Mohendjoḍāro is not at present soluble; internal philological evidence from the Rigveda suggests that these cities were those overrun by the early Aryans *ca.* 1500 B.C., but this neither proves nor disproves that their civilization was Dravidian.) There are now some 108 m. speakers of Dravidian languages: 30 m. Tāmil, in Madrās; 17 m. Malayālam, in Kerala; Kannaḍa (Kanarese) 17 m., in Mysore; 38 m. Telugu, in Āndhra; rather under 1 million speaking Tuḷu, and another 3 m. speaking the "tribal" Dravidian languages in north Madrās, Uṛisā, and districts of central India, of which Gondī, with 1½ m. speakers, is the most important; recent figures for Brāhūī are not available, but there are probably less than 50,000 speakers. Of these languages Tāmil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayāḷam alone have any written literature, but in these four the literature is rich and, at least in the case of Tāmil, goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. Brāhūī is the only Dravidian language to be spoken exclusively by Muslims; some others are spoken by small Muslim minorities, *e.g.*, Malayāḷam by the Māppilla [*q.v.*] community in Kerala; Tāmil by some Muslims in Madrās state and in Ceylon, having a small Islamic literature [see TĀMIL]; Kannaḍa and Telugu to a lesser extent in Mysore and in the former Hyderabad state [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD], where the preferred language of Muslims is Urdū or Dakhnī (see further below).

The Indo-Aryan languages [*q.v.*], the Indian branch of Aryan or Indo-Iranian, the most easterly representative of the Indo-European language family, were introduced into India during the Aryan conquest of the second millennium B.C. The earliest literary remains show little difference between the Indian side, as represented by the hymns of the Rigveda, and the Iranian side, as represented by the Gāthās of the Avesta. The Rigveda represents a north-west Indian linguistic development; a more central variety of the Indo-Aryan speech became elaborated and "purified" (*sam-s-kṛta*) into (classical) Sanskrit, the language of the sacred texts of Hinduism. The position of Sanskrit in India has been comparable to that of Latin in Europe: a language cultivated for religious and literary purposes, and consequently enjoying a high prestige; its artificial form has been preserved to the present day, and its influence has been considerable and constant on all the other languages of India, Dravidian as well as Indo-Aryan. Sanskrit has had a little importance for Islam in India: several rulers have patronized Sanskrit poets and Sanskrit learning; translations have been made at their orders from literary and religious works [see, for example, DĀRĀ SHUKŌH]; and a few Sanskrit inscriptions refer to the works of Muslim rulers and others. From colloquial dialects originally contemporary with Sanskrit arose the Prākṛt ("natural") speeches (including the language of the Aśokan inscriptions; Pālī, one of the sacred languages of Buddhism; Śaurasenī and Arddhamāgadhī, the languages of Jainism), which by about the end of the first millennium A.D. had become the early stages of those different modern Indo-Aryan languages which are now spoken all over north India and Pākistān.

There are some 320 million speakers of Indo-Aryan languages in India. The following figures, reduced to round millions, are based on the 1961

census returns: Marāṭhī, with Konkaṇī, 35 m.; Uṛiyā, 16 m., the three main Bihārī speeches 17 m., Assamese 7 m., Bengali 34 m.; Hindī 134 m., Urdū 23 m.; Pandjābī 11 m.; Gudjarātī 20 m., Bhīlī 2½ m., Rādjāsthānī dialects 15 m.; Pahāṛī speeches 4½ m.; Sindhī 1½ m. These figures do not, of course, include speakers of Urdū, Bengali, Pandjābī and Sindhī in Pākistān. For most of the languages the areas in which they are spoken is obvious, as since 1956 India has been organized on a system of "linguistic states": thus, Gudjarātī is the language of Gudjarāt, etc. Hindī [*q.v.*] above includes both Western Hindī and Eastern Hindī, which properly belong to different groups of the central speech; Urdū [*q.v.*] is linguistically a form of Western Hindī, separated by higher vocabulary and by script (see further below); Western Hindī, written in the form of script called Nāgarī or Devanāgarī, is now the official language of the Indian Union, and it may be suspected that the figure given above has been somewhat inflated by Indians anxious to show the national language as their mother-tongue, as the 1961 census seems to have been carried out without any discrimination on the part of the recorders. Hindī and Urdū [see also the art. HINDUSTĀNĪ] have as their homeland the western U.P. (United Provinces [scil. of Āgrā and Awadh] = Uttar Pradesh), especially the upper Ganges *dō'āb* around Mīraṭh ("Meerut"); but they, or their lowest common denominator Hindustānī, are spoken over the whole of northern and western India and western Pākistān as a *lingua franca*, and Urdū (or, in the south, its archaic sister Dakhnī) is the common language of Indian Muslims. All these Indo-Aryan languages, Urdū not excepted, are influenced to a greater or less degree by borrowings from Sanskrit. The most important of these languages, in an Islamic sense, are firstly Urdū and Bengali, national and official languages of West and East Pākistān, both with a considerable amount of Muslim literature of all genres; Sindhī is most usually written in a modified variety of the Persian script by Sindhī Hindūs as well as by the Muslims of Sind, but has little literary cultivation; Hindī, on the other hand, although thought of usually as a "Hindu" form of language, has a considerable Muslim element in its extensive literature, both mediaeval under Ṣūfī inspiration and modern under 19th and 20th century Muslim writers, and indeed some modern writers have published virtually the same works in Hindī and Urdū forms; Pandjābī is used beside Urdū as the speech of Muslims in the Pandjāb, although the bulk of Pandjābī writing is Sikh inspired and in the Gurmukhī script; Gudjarātī is the common speech of Muslims in Gudjarāt as well as an impure Urdū with many Gudjarātī loans, but except for a little religious and sectarian literature is not much cultivated by local Muslims for literary purposes; Gudjarātī is also the Indian language adopted by the Pārsī community.

The Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian is represented in Pākistān by Balōčī [see BALŪČISTĀN] with perhaps ½ m. speakers, an archaic variety of Persian; and by Pashtō [*q.v.*], with about 2 m. speakers in Pākistān and many more in Afghānistān, with a considerable literature of its own in a script modified from that of Persian, and in some use also as a *lingua franca* in the north-west; it has borrowed much from Indian sources. There are also a few minor Iranian tongues, known collectively as Ghalča, in the Pāmir region. By far the most significant of the Iranian languages in India, however, is Persian itself. Nowhere now a mother-tongue of any community in the sub-continent, it was for long the medium of communication of the Muslim élite and the major literary vehicle of Islam in India, the official language of the Mughal court as long as it lasted and of some independent states (*e.g.*, Ḥaydarābād) until the present century, and in the late 18th century even the proceedings of the English courts of the East India Company were recorded in Persian; it was a necessary subject of study for the educated Hindū as well as for the Muslim until English became the ascendant language in India, and it was probably through the Hindū scribes—mostly of the Kāyasth class—employed in the Mughal administration that large numbers of Persian words and expressions became current in north Indian languages; the Indian contribution to Persian literature is considerable [see ĪRĀN, Literature], the various histories compiled under the Muslim rulers being the prime source of Indian history for the mediaeval period. Persian is also the usual language of Muslim inscriptions in India, except for the pre-Mughal period in Bengal [see KITĀBĀT]. Besides its importance in its own right, Persian has exercised a deep influence on the vocabulary of all Indo-Aryan languages (and indeed to a lesser extent Dravidian languages also), most especially Hindī and Urdū; but whereas Hindī, especially the mixed variety which emanates from Indian official sources, draws its culture-words and expressions of modern abstract concepts from Sanskrit, Urdū continues to draw on Persian for such expressions, including a vast corpus of words borrowed or derived from Arabic. The effect of these progressive changes has been to make modern Hindī and Urdū almost mutually unintelligible, although they are essentially the same language; Hindī has probably advanced further than Urdū in the direction of unintelligibility to the uneducated peasant. Urdū, and to some extent Bengali, Pandjābī, and Gudjarātī, have also borrowed from Persian certain of its literary genres; the *ghazal*, for example, is not known in Hindī or Marāṭhī literature.

Of other Indo-Iranian languages, lying between the Iranian and the Indo-Aryan branches, are the Dardic and Kāfir languages [*q.v.*], although the former are probably to be looked at as a group of Indo-Aryan languages which, isolated from the innovations of IA in the plains, have developed on their own. They are confined to the mountainous regions in the north-west of Pākistān and Kashmir, are numerically insignificant, and have no literature, except for Kashmīrī [*q.v.*] itself, which has 2 m. speakers in India and perhaps ¾ m. more in Pākistān.

The fourth language family represented in the sub-continent is the Tibeto-Burman, introduced particularly in north-eastern India by migration rather than by invasion. It includes Tibetan itself and some closely related Himālayan languages, a group of eastern 'pronominalized' Himālayan languages with a Mundā substratum, the Boro and Nāgā groups in Assam. These are all minor tribal languages of no numerical significance and of no importance for Islam, except only for Bāltī spoken by Muslims in the north of Kashmir and written in a form of Persian script.

One language spoken in the extreme north of Pākistān has not yet been related to any other language family; this is Burushaskī [*q.v.* in Supplement].

Of the non-Indian languages spoken in the sub-continent by far the most extensive is English, which, introduced by the East India Company, quickly became the important language of commerce and later of general communication for the educated

Indian. It is still an official language of government in both Pākistān and India, is the general vehicle of higher education and hence the vehicle for the diffusion of European culture and ideas in both dominions, and is indeed the only pan-Indian language (the known English has more appeal than the unknown Hindī for the south Indian). There is extensive publication in English in both India and Pākistān, including a vigorous daily press; there are many specialist and popular Islamic publications, and probably English is of more account than are Persian and Arabic in maintaining touch with the doings of the rest of the Islamic world. In the 18th century Portuguese was an important language of trade, which lingered on in Bengal, in the face of heavy English competition, until the 1820s (T. W. Clark, *The languages of Calcutta, 1760-1840*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 453-74); it was in use also in the ports on the west coast of India, and was in official use beside Konkaṇī in Goa until the departure of the Portuguese; there is a considerable Portuguese loan-word element in most Indian languages. French was used as a language of administration in the former French possessions, but had very little effect on Indian languages beyond providing for some a window on European culture; this aspect has in fact been extended in independent India through the French cultural centre in Pondicherry.

The Arabic element has been referred to above in connexion with Persian, which is linguistically the source of most of Arabic borrowing; but Arabic is of considerable importance in its own right as the language *par excellence* of Islam. It has been studied in the *madrasa*s as the essential linguistic tool of Islamic studies since the first establishment of Islamic power in India, and has been the vehicle of much writing in India on Ḳurʾānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *taṣawwuf*, and grammar. The earliest inscriptions of the Dihlī sultanate are in Arabic, and Arabic was used in preference to Persian in the inscriptions of pre-Mug͟hal Bengal; but it never seems to have been used as the language of an élite as was Persian, and as a spoken language seldom went beyond the purpose of theological discussion. The exception was among the bands of Arab mercenaries who were maintained at some courts. Some Semitic or Hamitic language was presumably once spoken by the Ḥabs͟hī [*q.v.*] community, but no study of the modern Ḥabs͟hī communities, even at D͟jand͟jīra, has been made by a competent scholar to determine the affinities of their present language.

Indian languages are little spoken outside the subcontinent (Ceylon, of course, is taken as belonging to the Indian linguistic area; the main language is Sinhalese, an Indo-Aryan language, and the Dravidian Tāmil is spoken by Indian immigrants in the north) except by emigré communities: Gud͟jarātī and some Hindī/Urdū by Indian communities in East Africa, a dialect of Eastern Hindī by Indians in Fiji, Pand͟jābī by Sikhs in various parts of the world but especially in south-east Asia and eastern Īrān, Tāmil by some labouring communities in Malaya, while Sanskrit and Pālī are studied, if not spoken, in east and south-east Asia and the East Indies as the sacred languages of Buddhism. The only Indian language to have reached Europe is the Gipsy or Romani, with European, Armenian and Syrian branches; whether recent Indian and Pākistānī immigrants to Europe and America will retain anything of their own cultures after another two generations is doubtful.

Scripts.—The native Indian scripts are all arranged on the same principle: they are syllabaries, not alphabets, in that each unit of writing is either a vowel or a consonant (or consonant-cluster) followed by a vowel; all vowels other than *a* are expressed by signs above, below, before or after the consonant-characters; where consonant-characters are written without vowel-sign the vowel *a* is considered to be inherent in the character. There are thus three categories of symbol: vowel-character, vowel-sign, and consonant-character; there are also modifiers by which nasality as a feature of the vowel may be indicated, or which replace a nasal before a consonant of the same class, or which indicate that a consonant is to be pronounced without the inherent vowel. Since consonant-articulations may be clustered and consonant-characters cannot be written in series without implication of a separating vowel, it follows that consonantal ligatures are a feature of the writing system: thus the Sanskrit *kārtsnya-* 'totality' is written with two characters, *kā* and *rtsnya*. The Indian syllabaries have been arranged since antiquity in an order based on strict phonetic principles (see W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in ancient India*, Oxford 1953).

All these Indian alphabets are written from left to right. Two main graphic varieties of the script, Nāgarī and Śārdā, have been responsible for the main forms of the characters in the modern scripts, with much mutual influence, and regional development has altered the form of the characters, and introduced a few new principles, so that now many scripts in use for contiguous languages are mutually unintelligible. The simplest form, Nāgarī or Devanāgarī, is in use for Hindī, Marāṭhī, Nepālī and generally for Sanskrit; Gud͟jarātī is a modified cursive form of this; Bengali and Assamese differ somewhat in appearance from Nāgarī, many characters having a Śārdā origin; and Pand͟jābī in the Gurmukhī script has even more of the Śārdā element. All these have the appearance of being written below a straight line which forms the head-stroke of the characters. Other scripts, as a result of having been early written on palmyra leaves, have developed a cursive form to avoid splitting the writing material with straight lines: such are Uṛiyā and the southern scripts, all different, used for Tāmil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayālam; the Sinhalese script is a near relation of these, and the scripts in use for most south-east Asian languages (Burmese, Mon, Siamese, Cambodian, Javanese, Cham), and for Tibetan, are all Indian in origin. Specimens of most of these scripts are illustrated by Grierson, and their palaeographic relations described by Bühler (see Bibliography).

The Perso-Arabic script entered India with the conquest and has been, of course, studied by Muslims in all ages for its value in the literature of Islam; at first, however, it was used only sporadically for writing in the languages of India (*e.g.*, the Hindī poems of Amīr K͟husraw [*q.v.*]). Necessarily modified to embrace the peculiarities of the Indian consonantal system [see, for example, DĀL, D͟JĪM, HĀʾ, WĀW, YĀʾ] it later became used for some Indian languages in common use by Muslims, especially Urdū, Pand͟jābī, Kas͟hmīrī, Pas͟htō, Sindhī; a very small amount of writing in this script in Bengali is known, Bengali Muslims normally using the same script as the Bengali Hindūs; and it has hardly ever been applied to Gud͟jarātī. There are some works in Hindī in this script—their language and subject-matter having prevented them from being regarded as works of

Urdū literature. In addition to the articles on the individual languages, see further KHAṬṬ.

Bibliography: Indian languages have been widely studied in the last two centuries, and there is an enormous literature. References to the languages most germane to Islam will be found in the individual articles on these in this Encyclopaedia, especially BENGALI, GUDJARĀTĪ, HINDĪ, HINDUSTĀNĪ, KASHMĪRĪ, PASHTŌ, SINDHĪ, TĀMIL, URDŪ. For the linguistic affiliations of these see DARDIC AND KĀFIR LANGUAGES, INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES, ĪRĀN — Languages.

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iv. — HISTORY

This article aims at being no more than a guide to the numerous articles on individual topics of the Muslim history of India and Pakistan to be found elsewhere in the *Encyclopaedia*, and to relate these to a chronological framework

The pre-Muslim history of India is mostly outside the scope of this *Encyclopaedia*; aspects of the culture of this period, however, are relevant in the development of Muslim scientific knowledge and in the peculiarly Indian developments in Islam and Islamic institutions. For the scientific aspect an account of the relevant culture of pre-Muslim India will be found in DJUGHRĀFIYĀ, iii; for its religions, Hinduism and Jainism, see HINDŪ and DJAYN, and for the Indian aspects of mysticism which are relevant to Islam see TAṢAWWUF. References to the state of the land at the time of the various occasions of Islamic conquest will of course be found in the articles on the major Muslim powers and regions of India, especially DIHLĪ SULTANATE, BANGĀLA [in Supplement], GUDJARĀT, SINDH, DAKHAN.

Muslim history in the sub-continent begins with the Arab invasion and capture of Sind in 92-3/711-2, which thereby came under first the Umayyad and later the ʿAbbāsid caliphates; this period is, however, no more than a curtain-raiser, since caliphal authority was almost extinct by 257/871, although two Arab principalities in Sind endured for a little longer. For this period see SINDH; MUḤAMMAD B. ḲĀSIM; and references under AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ and UMAYYADS. For the Arab principalities see MANṢŪRA and MŪLTĀN, and also under DAYBUL.

Hindū rulers in the west and north-west of India were not slow to see the dangers to themselves in the establishment of an active Muslim state at Ghazna in the 4th/10th century; the first conflict between Hindū and Muslim powers came when a ruler of the Pandjāb invaded the territory of the Ghaznawid Sebüktigin, but the balance of power was soon reversed and Sebüktigin became the aggressor, compelling the cession of Kābul. Sebüktigin's empire was consolidated and extended by his successor Maḥmūd, who between 389/999 and 417/1027 entered India fifteen times on marauding raids, the chief towns plundered being Wahind, Mūltān, Nardīn (Tarā'ōrī), Thānesar, Baran, Mathurā, Kannawdj, Gwāliyar, Kālindjar and Sōmnāth, although permanent occupation of the captured territories never seems to have entered his mind, and in consequence Islam was not established there; except in the Pandjāb which became the Ghaznawids' frontier province and in which, in Lāhawr (Lahore), they established their capital after losing Ghazna to the Ghūrids. For the history of these years see especially the articles GHAZNAWIDS, SEBÜKTIGĪN, MAḤMŪD B. SEBÜKTIGĪN, GUDJARĀT, and PANDJĀB.

The Ghaznawids' successors, the Ghūrids, were the next pre-eminent Muslim power to harass India from the north-west, although at first the ruler of their eastern province, Shihāb al-Dīn (later Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sām, merely continued the *ghāzī* tradition of Maḥmūd of Ghazna by making rapid local incursions: thus in 571/1175-6 he supplanted the Ismāʿīlī rulers of Mūltān by an orthodox governor, and later took the fortress of Uččh [*q.v.*]; in 574/1178-9 he marched through Mūltān and Uččh to Pāṭan in Gudjarāt, where his exhausted army was defeated. Sind and Daybul were acquired the next year, and in 582/1186-7 Lāhawr was finally added to the Ghūrids' territories, this last conquest ending Ghaznawid rule in India and placing the Ghūrids in a favourable strategic position for an assault on upper India. A Ghūrid army was defeated in 587/1191 at Tarā'ōrī [*q.v.*] by a Čawhān force under Prithvīrādja, but a further Ghūrid army was successful at the same place in the following year and Hānsī and Dihlī (Delhi) [*qq.v.*] were occupied. Mīraṭh and Koyl (the modern ʿAlīgaṛh) [*qq.v.*] and the territory south-west as far as Adjmēr [*q.v.*] soon capitulated to the invaders under their local commander Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, and Muʿizz al-Dīn returned in 592/1195-6 to take Bayānā. Thereafter affairs were left in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak's hands, and he, after defeating attacks by local Hindū rulers, occupied Badā'ūn in 594/1197-8, Kannawdj the following year, Gwāliyār in 597/1200-1 and Kālindjar in 599/1202-3; he was appointed *walī ʿahd-i Hindūstān* by Muʿizz al-Dīn shortly before the latter's death in 602/1206. The political rôle of the Ghūrids in India was still limited, and Aybak was more concerned after Muʿizz al-Dīn's death with maintaining his position *vis-à-vis* Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz, the Ghūrid governor in Ghazna, than with extending, or even consolidating, the Ghūrid possessions in India; indeed, at this time certain local Hindū rulers were accepted as tributaries. But the Ghūrids nominally controlled wider possessions in India than those administered by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, for two other local governors, who like Aybak

were Turkish slaves, were established in remoter provinces: Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča in Mūltān and Sind and Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār Khaldjī in Lakhnawtī in Bengal. At Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak's death in 607/1210 he was succeeded by his son Ārām Shāh, but Aybak's son-in-law Iletmish was set up at Dihlī by a group of army officers; after he had overcome initial opposition he was able to consolidate his Indian position to the extent of severing the political connexion with Afghānistān, where the Khwārazm-Shāhs had supplanted the Ghūrids and in turn were being harassed by the Mongols under Čingiz Khān, and by securing the main strategic points of north India. Under him Islamic government received a settled form in north India, and he may be regarded as the founder of the Dihlī sultanate. For events in this period see especially GHŪRIDS, MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM; UČČH, LĀHAWR, HĀNSĪ, ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AYBAK, DIHLĪ and DIHLĪ SULTANATE. For events in Bengal see BANGĀLA [in Supplement], LAKHNAWTĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. BAKHTIYĀR, and KHALDJĪ. For events in Mūltān and Sind see SINDH. For the establishment of the Dihlī sultanate see DIHLĪ SULTANATE and ILETMISH.

For the rule of Iletmish at Dihlī see DIHLĪ SULTANATE. For his early struggles for possession see also NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ḲABĀČA and TĀDJ AL-DĪN YÎLDÎZ; by his victory over Ḳabāča, Iletmish established his authority over Sind in 623/1226; he also recovered Bengal, where the successors of Muḥammad b. Bakhtiyār had for some time enjoyed virtual independence. He was succeeded in 634/1236 by his daughter, the only female ruler in Muslim India [see RAḌIYYA], and later by his third son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] (644-64/1246-66), although in this reign *de facto* power was exercised by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban as *nā'ib*. The latter, who later succeeded as sultan, was engaged in ceaseless military activity to consolidate Dihlī as the principal power in north India against the local Hindū dynasties, especially those of Mēwāt; he suppressed an attempt at independence by the Bengal governor Tughril in *ca.* 680/1281-2; and had to maintain constant strong garrisons on his north-western frontiers, where skirmishes with the Mongols, although not a serious threat to India, were frequent. Sind, however, seems to have remained virtually independent under its local rulers, the Sūmrā dynasty, who gradually became converts to Islam. The so-called 'House of Balban' was never a real dynastic power in the Dihlī sultanate, although Balban was succeeded for a time by his grandson Muʿizz al-Dīn Kayḳubād (and theoretically by his great-grandson Kayūmarth), and his second son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Bughra Khān, followed in turn by his son Rukn al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs, assumed the title of sultan in Bengal. For this period of the history of India see DIHLĪ SULTANATE; BANGĀLA [in Supplement]; MĒWĀT. For the rise of the local Sind dynasty see SINDH and SŪMRĀS.

A coup by Khaldjī Turk officers led to the establishment of the next dynasty of the Dihlī sultanate. Djalāl al-Dīn assumed the royal title in 689/1290, succeeded after six years by his nephew ʿAlā' al-Dīn, under whom the sultanate assumed an imperial character. Attacks by the Čaghatay Mongols were repulsed; Gudjarāt was conquered in 697/1298, several victories in Rādjāsthān subdued most of that area in the early 8th/14th century, the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri was taken in 707/1307, the Kākatīya kingdom of Tilingānā was laid under tribute two years later, and even the southern Pāndya kingdom was invaded and plundered. ʿAlā' al-Dīn entered into matrimonial alliances with defeated Hindū rulers' families, and was a shrewd administrator whose principal concern in this field was the regulation of prices. The Khaldjī dynasty lasted only four years after his death; the last sultan, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, was assassinated by his favourite slave, a Hindū convert, who usurped the throne as Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw; a brother of the first sultan was, however, an ancestor of the Khaldjīs of Mālwā (see below). For the events of this period see KHALDJĪ; ʿALĀ' AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD KHALDJĪ; MALIK KĀFŪR; NĀṢIR AL-DĪN KHUSRAW; AMĪR KHUSRAW; also references under DAWLATĀBĀD, GUDJARĀT, RĀDJĀSTHĀN, TILINGĀNĀ. For Bengal, where from about 696/1297 the province had been divided into an eastern and western part with capitals at Sonārgāwn and Lakhnawtī respectively and where Dihlī had not reasserted its suzerainty, see BANGĀLA [in Supplement], LAKHNAWTĪ, SONĀRGĀWN.

With Islam threatened by the excesses of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw, a *djihād* was declared against him by Ghāzī Malik, the governor of Dīpalpur, who succeeded to the sultanate as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ in 720/1320. An account of the events leading to the Tughluḳ succession is given in GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TUGHLUḲ I; see also NĀṢIR AL-DĪN KHUSRAW. Further military activity consolidated and expanded the territory of the sultanate: the Pāndya kingdom of Madurā (Maʿbar) was annexed, Djādjnagar in Orissa (Uṛīsā) invaded, and Bengal, then suffering from civil war, partly re-annexed; for this expansion see MADURĀ, TILINGĀNĀ, UṚĪSĀ, WARANGAL. Tughluḳ's son Djawna Khān, entitled Ulugh Khān, who succeeded his father in 725/1325 as Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, was the general who brought about this consolidation; yet after his accession his oppressive rule led to many rebellions, some of which resulted in a permanent loss of hegemony: Maʿbar (735/1334-5), Gulbargā (740/1339), Warangal (746/1345-6), and Dawlatābād, which he had earlier attempted to make a second capital, in 748/1347. This last loss led to the proclamation of an independent sultanate under ʿAlā' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh in the Deccan. By the close of his reign (752/1351) Bengal was again independent [see FAKHR AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH], and the Sūmrā dynasty in Sind had been succeeded by the Sammās [*q.v.*]. For the events of these reigns see, in addition to the articles already cited, MUḤAMMAD B. TUGHLUḲ; TUGHLUḲIDS; DĀR AL-ḌARB, iii (for Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's token currency); DAWLATĀBĀD; for Madurā see also DJALĀL AL-DĪN AḤSAN SHĀH; for events in the Deccan see DAKHAN and BAHMANIDS, and references under VIDJAYANAGARA. For Kashmīr, where Islam had been introduced *ca.* 715/1315 by Shāh Mīr or Mīrzā, who later became the first Muslim ruler of the country, see KASHMĪR and SHĀH MĪRZĀ.

Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's nephew Fīrūz Shāh (usually conveniently but inaccurately differentiated as Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ) succeeded in 752/1351 to a reduced domain. He early led expeditions to restore the Dihlī hegemony over Bengal, in 754/1353-4 and 760/1359; but that province, reunited since 753/1352, retained its independence under Ilyās Shāh [*q.v.*], whose successors remained in power for another half-century. His prolonged expedition to Sind against the Sammās of Thaṭṭhā restored Dihlī's suzerainty over Sind for a short time only, although in expeditions against Kāngṛā and Iṭāwā [*qq.v.*] he was more successful. His reign was generally peaceful and prosperous—particularly in the hindsight of historians writing after the Tīmūrid invasions of the end of the 8th/14th century—and he is remembered

as an innovator in agriculture and especially irrigation, a remitter of the harsher taxes (but as an upholder of the necessity of levying *djizya* from Brāhmaṇs: see ḌARĪBA, 6 a.), and as a constant public builder; but he was mild to the extent of culpable leniency, and his delegation of authority to his subordinates eventually weakened the royal power. For his reign see FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUḲ, DIHLĪ SULTANATE, and TUGHLUḲIDS; for the events in Sind see SINDH and ṬHAṬṬHĀ; for events in Gudjarāt see GUDJARĀT (*b*); for the position in Bengal see specially ILYĀS SHĀH and SIKANDAR B. ILYĀS; for his agricultural policies and irrigation works see FILĀḤA, V; NAHR; and references under DJAMNĀ; for his buildings and other public works see DIHLĪ, DIHLĪ SULTANATE (ART), DJAWNPUR, ḤIṢĀR FĪRŪZA, SARHIND.

Some half-dozen kings of the Tughluḳ line followed Fīrūz after his death in 790/1388, none (except the last: see below) for more than a year or two. The Dihlī sultanate was in a state of political disintegration, and many provincial *muḳṭā*ʿs achieved virtual independence at this time. Even before Fīrūz's death the *muḳṭā*ʿ Malik Rādjā of Karwand near Thālnēr had been able to act independently of Dihlī after about 784/1382 [see FĀRŪḲIDS, KHĀNDESH]. The Bahmanīs of the Deccan strengthened their independence and enlarged their dominions, the second sultan, who succeeded in 759/1358, bringing in careful and extensive administrative reforms; for these see MUḤAMMAD SHĀH I BAHMANĪ. The constant skirmishing with the neighbouring Hindū kingdom of Vidjayanagara flared up in 766/1365 in the first major battle between Hindūs and Deccani Muslims; accounts vary, but it seems that the boundaries drawn between the rival powers were more in Vidjayanagara's favour and that consequently the Bahmanīs cannot have had the better of the argument. For this campaign and the conflicting evidence see VIDJAYANAGARA. Some five years later the Vidjayanagara ruler extinguished the Muslim dynasty of the small southern sultanate of Madurā [*q.v.*]. In Mālwā [*q.v.*] the governor, Dilāwar Khān, had failed to remit to Dihlī the revenue collections of the district since 795/1392, although he did not declare himself independent until 804/1401 [see DILĀWAR KHĀN]. In the eastern provinces of the sultanate, disaffected Hindūs were rejecting all obedience to Dihlī when the (Ḥabshī?) eunuch Malik Sarwar, Khʷādja Djahān, was sent there in 796/1394 to control them; having done this he occupied Djawnpur as *sulṭān al-sharḳ* and there made himself independent of Dihlī [see DJAWNPUR, SHARḲIDS; also ITĀWĀ, KOYL]. Disorder had similarly arisen in Gudjarāt, where Ẓafar Khān had been sent by Dihlī in 793/1391 to establish the Tughluḳ authority; he pacified the province, but remained there as a virtually independent ruler during the confused Tughluḳ rivalries in the north; yet he did not assume the royal prerogatives until 810/1407 (although his son Tātār Khān had had himself proclaimed king five years previously); for these events see GUDJARĀT and MUẒAFFAR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ I.

In 800/1398 Pīr Muḥammad, governor of Kābul and grandson of Tīmūr, attacked India, capturing Uččh and Mūltān [*qq.v.*]; the chiefs and nobles of Dīpālpur had also submitted to him, but later revolted and killed his governor. This seems to have been made a *casus belli* by Tīmūr in 801/1398-9: Dīpālpur and Bhaṭner, where the rebels had taken refuge, were sacked, and Tīmūr proceeded through Pānīpat to Dihlī, chastising the Djāṭs [*q.v.*] on the way: the sultan (Maḥmūd Tughluḳ) fled, Dihlī was occupied, and was given up to pillage, plunder and wholesale massacre. On his withdrawal in the spring of that year, the Dihlī sultanate was left in virtual anarchy and moral, political and financial bankruptcy, although Maḥmūd Tughluḳ had returned to his 'capital city without an empire' after the Tīmūrid armies had withdrawn; *de facto* authority seems, however, to have been exercised by Maḥmūd's minister Mallū Iḳbāl Khān [*q.v.*]. The Sayyid Khiḍr Khān held Mūltān, Lāhawr, Dīpālpur and other localities as governor owing allegiance to Tīmūr or to his son Shāh Rukh. In addition to the now fully independent Muslim states mentioned in the last paragraph, many minor Muslim governors had become more or less independent, and the local Hindū chieftains, particularly those of the Dōʾāb, had thrown off all pretence of recognizing the suzerainty of Dihlī. Maḥmūd Tughluḳ's military governor of the Dōʾāb, Dawlat Khān Lōdī—who after the death of Mallū came to occupy the same position in the state as Mallū had—gained some small success in re-asserting the authority of Dihlī over the neighbouring states; he and Khiḍr Khān were the chief contenders for power in the north, and after the death of Maḥmūd Tughluḳ in 815/1412 or 1413 (the evidence on this point is conflicting) Dawlat Khān was raised by the nobles to the Dihlī throne. In about 806/1404 Islam had suffered a setback in Bengal with the defeat of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Aʿẓam Shāh by Rādjā Gaṇesh of Dinādjpur; and this Hindū minister continued to wield power (and, according to some Muslim historians, persecuted Muslims; but their accounts are not well authenticated and may be tendentious) until his death in 818/1415. Apparently he never assumed the royal title; but a succession of minor Muslim kings were puppets in his hands. He was succeeded by his son, who had been converted to Islam as Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad. For the events of these years in north India see TĪMŪR; MAḤMŪD TUGHLUḲ; KHIḌR KHĀN; DAWLAT KHĀN LŌDĪ [in Supplement]; for encroachments by the Djawnpur sultan Ibrāhīm see IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SHARḲĪ and SHARḲIDS; for Rādjā Gaṇesh see BANGĀLA [in Supplement].

In the Bahmanī kingdom the fifth ruler, Muḥammad Shāh II [*q.v.*], a liberal and enlightened sultan, enjoyed a long reign (780-99/1378-97) undisturbed by foreign campaigns, and showed his administrative ability in his famine relief measures during 789-97/1387-95. On his death, one Tughalčin, chief of the Turkish slaves, seized power and installed a puppet ruler; but Fīrūz and Aḥmad, two grandsons of the first sultan, resenting the degradation to which the royal family was being subjected and being assured of support, rose to power; Fīrūz succeeded as the next sultan in 800/1397, his brother Aḥmad becoming Amīr al-Umarāʾ and Khān-khānān. Fīrūz reorganized the administration, in which Brāhmaṇs came to be extensively employed—probably to balance the high proportion of influential 'foreigners' (Īrānīs and ʿIrāḳīs) whom previous sultans had favoured. He was three times involved against Vidjayanagara (800/1398, 809/1407, 820-2/1418-20), possession of the Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] *dōʾāb* being the main point of contention; in 802/1399, after the foundation of the new city of Fīrūzābād on the river Bhīma, he was engaged against the Gond rādjā of Kherlā [*q.v.*], and shortly afterwards against Tilingānā. About 803/1401 he is said to have sent an embassy to Tīmūr and to have obtained from him a brevet of sovereignty over the Deccan; this is not recorded by historians of

Tīmūr's reign, but its truth seems confirmed by the actions of other southern rulers: an understanding of mutual assistance between the rulers of Gudjarāt, Mālwā, Khāndesh and Vidjayanagara against the Bahmanī kingdom, and a demand from these rulers to Fīrūz to keep the peace. Fīrūz was able to maintain excellent relations with the Hindūs of the Deccan, taking wives from several prominent Hindū houses, not excluding Vidjayanagara (being persuaded, although a Sunnī, to contract *mutʿa* alliances in this respect: Shīʿī doctrines were at this time penetrating the Deccan). Opposition to Fīrūz towards the end of his reign centred around the Čishtī saint Gīsū Darāz [*q.v.*], who favoured his brother Aḥmad; and to the latter Fīrūz assigned the throne in 825/1422. For this period in the Deccan see, in addition to the references above, BAHMANIDS, VIDJAYANAGARA, ILIČPUR.

In Dihlī the sultanate had fallen to Khiḍr Khān in 817/1414, who, however, never assumed the royal title. He and his house, the so-called Sayyid dynasty, ruled Dihlī until 855/1451; their rule was never strong, and military force was always necessary for the mere collection of the revenues; their military expeditions were undertaken in attempts to maintain the small prestige remaining to the sultanate: *e.g.* 817/1414 Katahr [*q.v.*]; 818/1415-6 Nāgawr [*q.v.*], which was being approached by Aḥmad Shāh of Gudjarāt; 821/1418 Badāʾūn; 823/1420 Mēwāt, Gwāliyar and Iṭāwā [*qq.v.*]; 826-32/1423-8 constant trouble with Bayānā; and unhappy relations with most of the neighbouring states. The sultanate was menaced by uprisings of disaffected Turkish nobles (the 'Turkbaččas'), the Khōkars of the Pandjāb, and, in the 830s/1430s in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, Mughals from Kābul; and the rulers of the new Muslim sultanates of western India and the Deccan had become strong enough to attack some of the possessions of the Dihlī sultanate, such as Gwāliyar by Hūshang of Mālwā in 826/1423, Kalpī in 834/1431 by Mālwā and Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur simultaneously. During the reign of the third Sayyid, Muḥammad Shāh (838-49/1434-45), the governor of Sirhind, Malik Bahlūl Lōdī, gradually came to control the whole of the Pandjāb; Bahlūl defended the Sayyid kingdom in 844/1440-1 against the invasion of Maḥmūd Khaldjī of Mālwā, probably to keep Dihlī secure for himself; and the last Sayyid king, ʿĀlam Shāh, who had moved his court to Badāʾūn, voluntarily resigned the throne to Bahlūl in 855/1451. For this period of the Dihlī sultanate see KHIḌR KHĀN, MUBĀRAK SHĀH, MUḤAMMAD SHĀH B. FARĪD, BAHLŪL LŌDĪ; KHŌKAR; MUGHAL; KALPĪ; and references under MĀLWĀ and SHARḲIDS.

In Mālwā, Dilāwar Khān had been succeeded by his son Hūshang Shāh [*q.v.*] in 808/1405, who was accused of parricide and attacked and carried off by Muẓaffar Shāh of Gudjarāt [see DHĀR]; he was reinstated in 811/1408, and thenceforth transferred his capital from Dhār to Māndū [*q.v.*]. He invaded Gudjarāt several times in the early part of his reign, although when in 824/1421 Hūshang in search of elephants invaded Uṛīsā his dominions were in turn invaded by Gudjarāt armies; in 831/1428 he supported the rādjā of Kherlā [*q.v.*] against the Bahmanīs but was badly beaten by a Bahmanī army; in 834/1431 he attacked Kalpī [*q.v.*] at the same time as Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur and, gaining possession of it, left a governor there, who, being at some distance from Mālwā, was soon able to assert a considerable degree of independence. On Hūshang's death in 838/1435 [?] the barbaric rule of his eldest son Muḥammad Shāh caused Maḥmūd Khān, a former general and counsellor of Hūshang and son of his minister Malik Mughīth [*q.v.*], to remove Muḥammad and, Mughīth having declined it, assume the throne as Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī in 840/1436. In spite of an attempt by Aḥmad Shāh I of Gudjarāt to secure the throne for Masʿūd, a son of Muḥammad Ghūrī, Maḥmūd consolidated his position and during his long reign (33 years) the Mālwā sultanate reached its greatest extent. He several times attacked Čitawr in Mēwār [*q.v.*], eventually compelling its ruler, Rāṇā Kumbha, to acknowledge his suzerainty (858/1454); he exacted tribute from the rulers of minor Hindū states to the north of his dominions (Bundī, Koṭā, Kumbhalgaṛh, etc.) and, while engaged in the conquest of Mandasor, 'recovered from the idolaters' the city of Adjmēr [*q.v.*] (861/1457); disputes over Kalpī led to occasional war with the sultanate of Djawnpur; he caused the *khuṭba* to be read in his name in Bayānā; several times he invaded the Deccan to attack the domains of the Bahmanī minor Niẓām Shāh, once (865/1461) being utterly defeated, but able later to despoil Barār and to defend his outpost at Kherlā [*q.v.*]; and even Dihlī, as noticed above, was not safe from his ambition (844/1440-1). But he was a good Muslim and a great builder and patron of the arts, and in his time Mālwā acquired renown as a centre of learning. For the details of his reign see, in addition to the references above, MAḤMŪD SHĀH I KHALDJĪ, MĀLWĀ, MĀNDŪ; ČANDĒRĪ; also references under GUDJARĀT.

The Gudjarāt sultanate had, at much the same time, similarly profited by a long reign. Aḥmad I had succeeded his grandfather Muẓaffar I in 813/1410 and spent much of his reign in hostilities with neighbouring Rādjpūt princes, especially Īḍar [*q.v.*], Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*] and Djūnāgaṛh [*q.v.*], and with his Muslim neighbours; his interest in Mālwā has been described above, but he was also involved against Khāndēsh and the Bahmanīs. He founded the new capital of Aḥmadābād [*q.v.*] in 813/1411, Aḥmadnagar *ca.* 830/1427, and consolidated Islam throughout Soraṭh [see DJŪNĀGAṚH; although this town itself did not become a centre of Islamic propaganda until *ca.* 874/1470 in the reign of Maḥmūd], where Islam was already well established in the coastal towns [see for example MANGRŌL]. He extended the Gudjarāt dominions southwards into the northern Konkan coast from 834/1431 by the capture of Thānā [*q.v.*] from the Bahmanīs [see also MAHĪM]. His strict but impartial justice, and through him the example of the religious teachers of Baṭwā and Sarkhedj near Aḥmadābād, did much to establish the firm rule of Islam throughout Gudjarāt in the early 9th/15th century. The policy of constant pressure on Gudjarāt's Hindū neighbours was maintained under Muḥammad I (846-55/1442-51) and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh (855-62/1451-8), the latter having once entered into a Muslim alliance with Maḥmūd of Mālwā against Čitawr. With the accession of Maḥmūd I in 862/1458 Gudjarāt entered the period of its greatest prosperity; for the attempt at usurpation by Shams Khān Nāgawrī before Maḥmūd's accession see NĀGAWR. For the general history of Gudjarāt in this period see, in addition to the references above, GUDJARĀT.

The small state of Khāndēsh, where Malik Rādjā (= Rādjā Aḥmad) had been appointed to an *iḳṭāʿ* by Fīrūz Shāh and where he had established himself sufficiently to act independently of Dihlī since *ca.* 784/1382, early sought alliance with Mālwā through a royal marriage; but on the temporary division of the state between Malik Rādjā's two sons on his

death in 801/1399 the elder brother, Naṣīr, dissatisfied with lack of support from Mālwā against Aḥmad I of Gudjarāt who had intervened on behalf of the younger brother Ḥasan, had to recognize the overlordship of Gudjarāt, 820/1417. A Khāndēsh attack on Nandurbār in 833/1429 provoked Gudjarāt reprisals, and an alliance with the Bahmanīs was sought by marriage: but when his daughter complained that her husband was neglecting her, Naṣīr Khān invaded the Bahmanīs' northern territories; however, his army was defeated and only the threatened assistance of Gudjarāt led to a Bahmanī withdrawal. ʿĀdil Khān (d. 844/1441) and Mubārak Khān (d. 861/1457) accepted Gudjarāt suzerainty, but in 904/1498 ʿĀdil Khān II failed to pay tribute and was chastised by Maḥmūd Bēgfā. After the death of ʿĀdil Khān II in 907/1501 a disputed succession caused the intervention in Khāndēsh of the stronger neighbouring powers. None of the Fārūḳī rulers was recognized as equal by the sultans of Gudjarāt, Mālwā, Aḥmadnagar or the Deccan, and were known as Khān rather than Shāh. For Khāndēsh in this period see FĀRŪḲIDS and KHĀNDESH, and references under GUDJARĀT and MĀLWĀ.

Bengal, where rival sultanates had been established in the late 7th/13th century at Lakhnawtī (capital later transferred to Pānduā) and Sonārgāwn, had been reunited about 753/1352 under Ilyās Shāh, and after Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ's vain attempts to recover the province (see above) was never again molested by Dihlī. The Ilyās Shāhī succession had degenerated into a number of puppet kings under the influence of the Hindū minister Rādjā Gaṇesh of Dinādjpur, and was terminated by the accession of Gaṇesh's son the Muslim convert Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad in 818/1415; his reign seems to have been a time of peace and prosperity for Bengal, to judge by the magnificence of the monuments and the evidence for the growth of sea-borne trade with China; and he has the rare distinction of receiving praise for his justice and equity from both Muslim and contemporary Hindū sources. There was, however, a continual threat to the western regions from the Djawnpur sultans, and the existence of coins dated Śaka 1339-40 (= 819-20/1416-18) of Danudjamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva perhaps shows the temporary rise of local Hindū chiefs to power in regions away from the capital. He was succeeded by his son Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh in 836/1432, in whose reign Bengal was invaded by Ibrāhīm Sharḳī of Djawnpur, against whom Aḥmad Shāh sought help from Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh. On his assassination a year later the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty was restored, and with the Djawnpur rulers continually engaged with the Dihlī sultans the removal of the western threat brought some peace; although Arakanese disturbances on the east led to the loss of Čāṭgām [see CHITTAGONG]. However, the sultanate was extended south to Bāgerhāṭ and westward to Bhagalpur (now in Bihār). One of the many changes in the course of the river Ganges [see GANGĀ] caused the transfer of the capital from Pānduā back to Gawṛ-Lakhnawtī. In the reign of the second sultan of the restored dynasty, Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak (864-79/1459-74), the Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] slaves are first known to have become prominent, and it was they who finally superseded the Ilyās Shāhīs in 892/1486. For this period in the history of Bengal see specially BANGĀLA (in Supplement), ILYĀS SHĀHIDS, NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD I, RUKN AL-DĪN BĀRBAK; and references under SHARḲIDS and ḤABSHĪ.

Some of the incidents between the sultanate of Djawnpur and its neighbours have been mentioned above. Its first ruler, Malik Sarwar, left at his death in 802/1399 a kingdom extending from Koyl (ʿAligaṛh) in the west to Tirhut and Bihār in the east. It early received tribute from the sultans of Bengal, for whom it obviously represented a buffer state between the Dihlī sultanate and themselves; but later, as its strength grew, it was all too often the aggressor against Bengal. The reign of Malik Sarwar's adopted son and successor, Mubārak (802-4/1399-1402), was distinguished only by the last Tughluḳ attempt to regain Djawnpur; but the long reign of Ibrāhīm (804-44/1402-40) established the Sharḳī sultanate as one of the major powers of northern India. His campaigns against his neighbours have been mentioned above; but his reign was distinguished by his patronage of art, letters, and religion, and by the great building activity in the capital. Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd (844-61/1440-57) continued the indecisive hostilities with Mālwā and unsuccessfully besieged Dihlī in an attempt, inspired by malcontents in that city, to oust Bahlūl Lōdī in 856/1452; an uneasy peace resulted, for Bahlūl saw that Djawnpur constituted a greater threat to the Dihlī sultanate than the petty campaigns in which he was involved in the Pandjāb. Maḥmūd seems to have had greater success against Čunār, south of Banāras, shortly after this, and Muslim historians credit him also with a successful incursion into Uṛīsā. In 861/1457 he died and was succeeded by Muḥammad Shāh, whose initial successes against Bahlūl were wasted by disturbances in Djawnpur provoked by his cruelties; he was killed in the following year and succeeded by his brother Ḥusayn. Ḥusayn overran Tirhut and successfully raided Uṛīsā with the not uncommon aim of capturing elephants; his army was at that time possibly the strongest in India, and he made several attempts to take Dihlī, instigated by his wife, the daughter of ʿĀlam Shāh the last Sayyid king of Dihlī. He was finally decisively defeated by Bahlūl in early 884/spring 1479, and Dihlī annexed the Djawnpur territories; Ḥusayn retired to Bihār, and in spite of fomenting dissensions between the Lōdī princes after the death of Bahlūl he never recovered his kingdom. For the history of this region see SHARḲIDS, DJAWNPUR; BIHĀR, IṬĀWĀ, KALPĪ; IBRĀHĪM SHARḲĪ, MAḤMŪD SHARḲĪ, ḤUSAYN SHARḲĪ; and references under DIHLĪ SULTANATE, MĀLWĀ and UṚĪSĀ.

Mūltān recognized the suzerainty of Dihlī until 847/1443-4; the first Sayyid king of Dihlī, Khiḍr Khān, had in fact been appointed governor of Mūltān by Tīmūr, but under the weaker later Sayyids Mūltān was left without a governor. Shaykh Yūsuf Zakariyyāʾ Ḳurayshī was elected governor, but was soon dispossessed by a Langāh chief of the district of Sibi who proclaimed himself as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Yūsuf took refuge in Dihlī and persuaded Bahlūl Lōdī to send an army to recover Mūltān, but the province remained in Langāh hands under its first two able rulers Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (d. 864/1460) and Ḥusayn (d. 908/1502); under the next ruler, Maḥmūd, the affairs of the province became troubled, rule eventually passing to Shāh Ḥusayn of the Arghūn dynasty of Sind, with Mughal support, in 932/1525. For this region see MŪLTĀN, LANGĀHS, and references under SINDH.

In Sind itself at this time the Sammā dynasty was still ruling, isolated, independent, and little troubled by or for their neighbours; Sind history for long is purely local with no great concern either for the rest of India or for Islam, and until the late 9th/15th

century few details of it are known beyond the list of its kings—and even here the chronology is uncertain. The later Sammās were, however, connected by marriage with the sultanate of Gudjarāt. Mughals of the Arghūn clan began to exert some influence in lower Sind in the last quarter of the 9th/15th century, in the long reign of Nandā, Djām Niẓām al-Dīn (*ca.* 866-914/1461-1508); and in *ca.* 876/1472, on a report that 40,000 rebels had risen against the Djām, Maḥmūd I of Gudjarāt marched against them. On a previous report of persecution of Muslims by Hindūs in Sind, Maḥmūd had intervened there, to be informed that the Sind Muslims knew little of Islam and married freely with Hindūs. In 898/1493 Shāh Beg Arghūn of Ḳandahār occupied some forts in northern Sind, and eventually, after the death of the last of the Sammā Djāms in 933/1527, the Arghūns became rulers of Sind. For details of this period see SINDH, SAMMĀS, ṮHAṮṮHĀ.

Kashmīr, like Sind, had at first little connexion with other Islamic powers in India, although the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn (755-74/1354-73?—here again the chronology is uncertain) saw the arms of Islam victorious over most of Kashmīr's immediate Hindū neighbours and the rise of Kashmīr to the status of a great power, although the rule within its borders was characterized by religious toleration. Under Sikandar (*ca.* 791-815/1389-1413), however, a fierce policy of persecution of Hindūs, banishment of Brāhmaṇs, iconoclasm, and immigration of Muslims from other regions made the country a predominantly Muslim state, earning for Sikandar the title of Butshikan ("Breaker of Idols"). That policy was strikingly reversed under the greatest of the Kashmīr sultans, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-75/1420-70), who recalled the exiled Brāhmaṇs and permitted the observance of Hindū practices by that community provided the ordinances of their sacred books were observed; he abolished the *djizya* and also illegal taxes and cesses, and was active in building public works, including bridges and canals; he was a patron of the arts, especially literature and music. Kashmīr was still little involved with other kingdoms of India, although the sultan maintained friendly relations with Indian and other rulers, Hindū and Muslim alike. After his death the power of the royal line declined and the nobles manipulated the throne with a succession of puppet kings; several tribes obtained great power at this time, one of whom, the Čakk, later usurped the throne. For the region at this time see, besides KASHMĪR, the articles SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, SIKANDAR BUTSHIKAN, ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN; also SRĪNAGAR and, for the wooden bridges of Kashmīr, references under ḲANṬARA.

To revert to Dihlī: Bahlūl Lōdī, who had peacefully acquired the Dihlī throne in 855/1451, at first gained by this more in prestige than in territory, for he was already master of the Pandjāb and Sirhind and the area of the sultanate under the Sayyids had been of little extent. On his early expedition to repossess Mūltān from the Langāhs, some of the old nobles of the last Sayyid king invited Maḥmūd of Djawnpur to attack Dihlī; the attack was repulsed on Bahlūl's prompt return, but Djawnpur remained the most powerful threat to Dihlī over the next quarter-century, with major conflicts in 856/1452, 861/1457, 878/1473-4, 881/1476, and 884/1479. On the last occasion Bahlūl's victory was decisive; he recovered all the Djawnpur territories for Dihlī, and established his son Bārbak Shāh on the Djawnpur throne. Many of Bahlūl's tribe of Afghāns came to India during his reign, and, by dividing his territories before his death among his relations and most influential nobles, he wrought the Dihlī sultanate into an Afghān confederacy. Sikandar Lōdī, who succeeded his father in 894/1489, was soon compelled to intervene in Djawnpur, where his ineffective elder brother was incapable of dealing with large-scale rebellion by the Hindū *zamīndārs* fomented by Ḥusayn Sharḳī from his exile in Bihār; Bārbak was replaced, and Sikandar forced Ḥusayn to flee to Bengal; he had brought Bihār again within the sphere of influence of Dihlī by 899/1494. After occupying Sambhal [*q.v.*] and holding court there for four years he turned his attention to the subjugation of the smaller Rādjpūt states near Dihlī, especially the territories of Gwāliyar, founding a new capital at Āgrā [*q.v.*] the better to conduct his campaigns: thus Dholpur fell in 907/1502, Mandrāyl in 910/1505, Utgīr in 911/1505, Narwar in 914/1508; Čandērī [*q.v.*] was virtually governed as a dependency of Dihlī (although nominally on behalf of the pretender to the throne of Mālwā, Ṣāḥib Khān "Muḥammad Shāh") from late 919/1513 after Sikandar's intervention in the Mālwā domestic struggles, although it later passed into Rādjpūt hands. Sikandar Lōdī, perhaps the greatest king of the dynasty although his fierce intolerance of Hindūs and destruction of their temples was hardly the way to command popular support, died in Āgrā (922/1517) and was succeeded by his eldest son Ibrāhīm; but at the suggestion of a prominent faction of the nobility the small kingdom was partitioned and Ibrāhīm's younger brother (?) Djalāl Khān was established on the revived throne of Djawnpur. The moderates, however, condemned this policy, and Djalāl Khān became the figurehead of a rebellion against Dihlī fomented by members of the Lōḥānī and Farmūlī clans in Bihār and Djawnpur. Djalāl Khān, before his surrender and death, had fled for refuge to Gwāliyar, giving Ibrāhīm the pretext for annexing it in 923/1518; but the rebellion had caused Ibrāhīm to suspect even the loyal nobles, whom he dismissed and degraded indiscriminately. Disaffection spread; and when the son of Dawlat Khān Lōdī, the powerful governor of Lāhawr, reported to his father the iniquities of Ibrāhīm's rule Dawlat Khān applied to the Mughal Bābur for help. A similar request had come from Ibrāhīm's uncle, ʿĀlam Khān Lōdī, who had hopes of gaining the Dihlī throne. It soon became plain that Bābur's intervention in Indian affairs was prompted more by his own interest than that of the Lōdīs; ʿĀlam Khān failed to take Dihlī on his own, Dawlat Khān died in flight having been dispossessed of Lāhawr by Bābur, and Bābur's army moved on through the Pandjāb to encounter and defeat the Dihlī Afghāns at the battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526. Within the next four years the whole of north India had become subject to the Mughal power. For this period see DIHLĪ SULTANATE; LŌDĪS, BAHLŪL LŌDĪ, SIKANDAR LŌDĪ, IBRĀHĪM LŌDĪ; MUGHALS; BĀBUR; LĀHAWR, PĀNĪPAT, PANDJĀB, SIRHIND.

In the Deccan the last of the Bahmanī kings had fled from Bīdar a year after the victory of the Mughals in the north, although the old Bahmanī sultanate had been partitioned nearly forty years previously. Its history from the reign of Aḥmad Shāh Walī is largely one of faction between local and foreign Muslims. Aḥmad soon (826/1423) devastated Vidjayanagara, and then annexed Warangal, whose rādjā had assisted Vidjayanagara against the Bahmanīs; but probably the threat of the proximity of Vidjayanagara to Gulbargā caused Aḥmad to move his capital to Bīdar [*q.v.*] shortly thereafter. Three

northern campaigns between 829/1426 and 831/1428 brought Māhūr [*q.v.*] under subjection and secured also Gāwilgaṛh [*q.v.*]; and the fort of Narnālā [*q.v.*] was rebuilt, thus strengthening the Bahmanīs' northern frontiers for an assault on Mālwā in pursuance of the empty claim on that kingdom and on Khāndēsh and Gudjarāt on the ground of Tīmūr's "grant" of them to Fīrūz: Mālwā had in fact provided the Bahmanīs with a *casus belli* by demanding allegiance from the rādjā of Kherlā [*q.v.*], a Bahmanī tributary. A Mālwā army was defeated in 832/1429, and an alliance with Khāndēsh was effected by a marriage between the two houses; but a rash attack on Gudjarāt the next year led to a Bahmanī defeat and the loss of Thānā [*q.v.*]. Aḥmad died in 839/1436; towards the end of his life he had shown great partiality for foreigners, especially Persians, and he seems to have accepted Shīʿī beliefs under the tutelage of Khalīl Allāh "Butshikan" [*q.v.*]. He was succeeded by his eldest son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, under whom the foreigners rose to greater power after their victory over an invasion from Khāndēsh. In 847/1443 the Vidjayanagara forces—in which large numbers of Muslim mercenaries had recently been recruited—invaded the Deccan but were eventually overcome. Three years later the foreigners were inveigled into a disastrous campaign in the Konkan and, through Dakhnī treachery at court, many of them (including 1200 *sayyids*) were butchered in the massacre of Čākan. Before the king's death in 862/1458 the Deccan had been twice more invaded by Mālwā, and an attempted rebellion in Tilingānā crushed by a recently arrived foreigner, Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*]. The next king, Humāyūn, in a reign of three and a half years, endeavoured to strike a balance between Dakhnīs and foreigners and to consolidate the kingdom; his ruthless persecution of adherents of his rebel brother earned him the title of Ẓālim, "the Tyrant", apparently unjustly. A regency followed until *ca.* 870/1466 with Maḥmūd Gāwān as *wazīr*, not without further trouble from Mālwā when the infant king's dominions were defended with the help of Maḥmūd Begṛā of Gudjarāt. Maḥmūd Gāwān was sent on an extensive campaign in the Konkaṇ coast between 874/1469 and 876/1472, where local Hindū chiefs were causing heavy loss to Muslim merchantmen and pilgrim-vessels by piracy—probably with encouragement from Vidjayanagara; the country was laid under tribute, and as a sort of bonus to the campaigns the Vidjayanagara port of Goa [see ṢINDĀBŪR] was taken by the Bahmanīs in 876/1472. Tribute was also exacted from Uṛīsā in 882/1478; a mutiny in the eastern provinces with Vidjayanagara support was quashed, and the Vidjayanagara lands were invaded, in 885-6/1480-1. A conspiracy between some Dakhnīs and Ḥabshīs led to Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder in the latter year and consequent political chaos. Muḥammad III died in 887/1482, and his successor Maḥmūd's reign of 25 years saw the gradual decline of the state. The ruler became completely subservient to Ḳāsim Barīd in the capital, and the provincial governors became increasingly autonomous: thus Malik Aḥmad Niẓām al-Mulk in his new city of Aḥmadnagar, Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk in Barār, and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān in the western province (Gulbargā and Bīdjāpur) all broke away from the Barīdī ascendancy at Bīdar in about 895/1490, still, however, acknowledging Bahmanī suzerainty; since all were succeeded in their territories by their sons they may be considered as the founders of new dynasties. Sulṭān Ḳulī Hamadānī, governor of Tilingānā, was appointed to Golkondā in 903/1498 with the title of Ḳuṭb al-Mulk; after about 924/1518 he ceased to send tribute to Bīdar and became virtually independent. When Ḳāsim Barīd died in 910/1505 he was succeeded as chief minister by his son Amīr Barīd; Bahmanī sultans occupied the throne until 934/1528, but as no more than puppets of the Barīds; and the Barīd family succeeded to the Bīdar throne when the last Bahmanī ruler fled. Perhaps the last concerted action of the Bahmanī state was the expedition in 898/1493 to punish Bahādur Gīlānī, the refractory governor of Goa who, having turned pirate, was plundering ships of the Gudjarāt fleet: it was in the interest of all the provincial governors to avoid giving Maḥmūd Begṛā of Gudjarāt an excuse for an invasion of the Deccan, and their combined force defeated the rebel. For the Deccan during this period see DAKHAN; BAHMANĪS, GULBARGĀ, BĪDAR, GĪSŪ DARĀZ, MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN, HUMĀYŪN SHĀH BAHMANĪ; references under MĀLWĀ, VIDJAYANAGARA, GUDJARĀT, FĀRŪḲĪDS, KONKAṆ, ṢINDĀBŪR; for the political factions see also ḤABSHĪ, and for Shīʿī-Sunnī tensions see SHĪʿA. For the establishment of the five successor sultanates see ʿĀDIL SHĀHĪ and BĪDJĀPUR, BARĪD SHĀHĪS, ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪS, ḲUṬB SHĀHĪS, NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS.

In Mālwā Maḥmūd Khaldjī had been succeeded in 873/1469 by his eldest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a religious, simple and peaceable man, whose reign was devoid of external incident. His eldest son Nāṣir al-Dīn succeeded to the throne on his father's abdication in 906/1500, and in his earlier years continued an old struggle with the Hindū rāṇā of Mēwāṛ. His tyranny caused his elder son to revolt in 916/1510; on his death in the following year his third son was enthroned as Maḥmūd II, the succession being disputed by the second son Ṣāḥib Khān, who was proclaimed as Muḥammad II by a rival faction. Maḥmūd eventually became established through his Hindu ministers, especially Mēdinī Rāī [*q.v.*], in spite of interventions against him by Sikandar Lōdī of Dihlī and Muẓaffar II of Gudjarāt; but Mēdinī Rāī's growing power caused Maḥmūd to flee to Gudjarāt later for protection. Muẓaffar took Māndū in 924/1518, massacred the Rādjpūt garrison, and restored Maḥmūd. Mēdinī Rāī and the Rāṇā of Mēwāṛ later invaded Mālwā, defeated the army and captured the king, who was generously restored to Māndū; but the northern part of Mālwā was annexed by Mēwāṛ. Maḥmūd offended Bahādur, the new sultan of Gudjarāt, by sheltering a rival; Bahādur captured Māndū in 937/1531, and annexed Mālwā to Gudjarāt. In 941/1535 Māndū was taken by Humāyūn in his war with Bahādur, but the following year a former officer of the Khaldjīs, Mallū Khān, assumed the royal title as Ḳādir Shāh. The latter was dispossessed by Shēr Shāh Sūr, who left Shudjāʿat Khān as governor of Mālwā in 952/1545; his son Bāyazīd, known in popular legend as Bāz Bahādur, succeeded him in 962/1555 and, refusing to acknowledge the restored Humāyūn, assumed the royal title; he surrended Mālwā in 968/1561 to an army sent by Akbar. For this period see MĀLWĀ, MĀNḌŪ, and references under GUDJARĀT, BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, MĒWĀṚ, HUMĀYŪN, SHĒR SHĀH SŪR.

In Gudjarāt the 54 years reign of Maḥmūd I, 862/1458-917/1511, brought the sultanate its greatest prosperity and extended Islam into southern Rādjpūtānā, Sōraṭh and the northern Konkaṇ: in 865/1461 he secured ʿUthmān Khān in Djālor [*q.v.*], in 871-4/1467-70 overcame Djunāgaṛh [*q.v.*], extended Islam into Sindh and Kaččh in 875/1472 and next put down piracy in Dwārkā [*q.v.*]; in 887/

1482 the campaign was opened against Pāwāgaṛh and Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*]. In 913/1508 he was allied with the Mamlūks of Egypt in a naval campaign against the Portuguese, who had arrived in the Indian Ocean in 1498. Muẓaffar II, who succeeded in 917/1511, was soon involved in a clash with Mālwā (capturing Māndū in 924/1518 from a Rādjpūt faction and restoring Maḥmūd II there) and with Rāṇā Sangrām of Čitawr in Mēwāṛ [see IDAR]; there was some diplomatic intercourse with the Portuguese, now established at Goa, who first sought permission to build a fort at Dīw (Diu) and later twice tried to take Dīw by force. Bahādur Shāh, 932-43/1526-37, attacked the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar in 935/1528 to settle a territorial dispute with Khāndēsh, conquered Mālwā in 937/1531, lost Bassein to the Portuguese in 941/1534 and the following year gave them permission to build a fort at Goa; from 941/1534 he was engaged in a long war with Humāyūn until the latter returned to face the Sūr threat. After Bahādur's murder by the Portuguese in 943/1537 the history of the sultanate is largely one of puppet monarchies and rival factions of nobles. In 944/1538 an Ottoman fleet attacked the Portuguese at Dīw, but received only lukewarm support from Gudjarāt; the Portuguese power increased, and the Muslims of Dīw and Bharoč [*q.v.*] were massacred in 953-4/1546-7. After this time the Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] community rose to some power, as did the Mīrzās [*q.v.*], who had taken control of Sūrat, Baṛodā, Bharoč and Čāmpānēr; they were defeated in Akbar's conquest of Gudjarāt in 980-1/1572-3. For this period see, in addition to the references given above, GUDJARĀT, BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, MĀLWĀ, HUMĀYŪN; for the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean see ṢINDĀBŪR, also KHĀDIM SÜLEYMĀN PASHA.

In the neighbouring state of Khāndēsh a disputed succession eventually led to ʿĀdil Khān III being installed as ruler in 914/1509 by Maḥmūd Bēgṛā, who had overcome the opposition by the Niẓām Shāhī forces supporting a rival claimant. ʿĀdil Khān married the daughter of the next Gudjarāt sultan, Muẓaffar II, and their son Muḥammad I (926-43/1520-37) co-operated in many campaigns with his uncle Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, received from him the title of Shāh, and was designated his heir-apparent; he died, however, before he could reach Gudjarāt and claim his second throne. The reign of his successor Mubārak II saw in 969/1562 a defeat of a Mughal army and in 972/1564 the compulsion to accept Mughal overlordship: chaos in Gudjarāt, the annexation of Mālwā by the Mughals, and the growing concern of Aḥmadnagar with her southern neighbours, had so altered the balance of power between the great sultanates that the position of Khāndēsh as a buffer state was no longer tenable. Khāndēsh at first connived at the Mughal manipulation of the Aḥmadnagar throne, and joined the Mughals in the siege of Aḥmadnagar in 1004/1596, but later the Mughals, having been opposed by the last Khāndēsh ruler Bahādur Shāh, besieged him in Asīrgaṛh and Khāndēsh became a Mughal province in 1009/1601. For this period see FĀRŪḲIDS, KHĀNDĒSH, BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ, ASĪR, BURHĀNPUR, THĀLNĒR, and references under AKBAR.

In Bengal a succession of Ḥabshī rulers had succeeded the Ilyās Shāhīs in 892/1486, of whom the second, Sayf al-Dīn Fīrūz (d. 895/1489), re-established order; but later Ḥabshī rule became intolerable, and a Tirmidhī *sayyid*, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥusayn, was brought to the throne in 899/1493. He disbanded the Hindū infantry, expelled the Ḥabshīs, and transferred the capital from Gawṛ to Ikdālā; he recovered the provinces lost in the six preceding reigns, and in 904/1498 was able to annex part of Assam: his army had been reinforced by the influx of the disbanded Djawnpur forces after Sikandar Lōdī had driven Ḥusayn Sharḳī from Bihār to the protection of Bengal. In the years 918-22/1512-6 there were extensive military campaigns in the Tripura and Arakan regions as well. Ḥusayn Shāh's reign saw also a great development of Bengali literature, a liberal attitude towards the Hindūs and the growth of the syncretistic Satyapīr [*q.v.*] sect. In the reign of his son and successor Nuṣrat Shāh (925-38/1519-31) many Afghāns arrived in Bengal from Dihlī after Bābur's defeat of Ibrāhīm Lōdī. After 934/1528 there were clashes with the Portuguese on their first appearance in Bengal [see CHITTAGONG]. His brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who had usurped the throne from his nephew in 939/1533, was early faced with a rebellion by a brother-in-law who leagued himself with the Afghān Shēr Khān [see SHĒR SHĀH SŪR] and defeated the governor of Monghyr (Mungēr [*q.v.*]). Shēr Khān later invaded Bengal, whose army pressed Portuguese captives into service; but on the fall of Gawṛ in 945/1538 Shēr Khān assumed the royal title in Bengal—only to lose it later that year to Humāyūn. For details of Bengal in this period see BANGĀLA (in Supplement), DIHLĪ SULTANATE, ḤABSHĪ, ḤUSAYN SHĀH, LAKHNAWTĪ, LŌDĪS, SHARḲIDS.

In north India after Pānīpat Bābur's first task was consolidation and extension of his authority, for many who had supported him as an ally against Lōdī oppression turned against him when it became obvious that he intended to remain. Thus he first occupied Dihlī and Āgrā in 932/1526, moved his forces eastwards down the Ganges to Djawnpur and, by his defeat of Rānā Sanga of Čitawr, secured his western territories against Rādjāsthān the next year; by the defeat of an eastern Afghān force in 935/1529 he extended his paramountcy up to Bengal. For the events of his reign, his character and his Indian policies, see BĀBUR. After his death in the following year he was succeeded by his son Humāyūn, whose first act on his accession was to assign Kābul, Ḳandahār and the west Pandjāb to his brother Kāmrān [*q.v.*], and to make smaller assignments to his younger brothers. A force of Afghān supporters of Maḥmūd Lōdī, brother of the last Lōdī king, which had taken Djawnpur in 937/1531, was defeated, although the ablest soldier among them, Shēr Khān the future Sūrī emperor, was enabled to continue his preparations against the Mughal power through Humāyūn's preoccupation with again securing his western front against the ambitious Kāmrān. A brother-in-law, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, gave Humāyūn further trouble in offering his services to Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, and the latter's refusal to surrender the rebel led to war between the Mughals and Gudjarāt, and to their first conquest and occupation of that province in 942/1535-6. For details see BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ; GUDJARĀT; HUMĀYŪN; MĀNḌŪ; MUGHALS. A rebellion to put a younger brother on the Mughal throne caused Humāyūn's return to the centre, whereupon Mallū Khān profited by his withdrawal to proclaim himself ruler of Mālwā as Ḳādir Shāh [see MĀLWĀ]. Humāyun continued to be troubled by rebellious or independent-minded relations after his return to the centre [for these see MĪRZĀS], and Shēr Khān was able to consolidate his position and occupy all the south of Bihār [*q.v.*]; he was soon able to besiege Gawṛ, the Bengal capital,

but by the time Humāyūn had at last made up his mind to crush Shēr Khān the latter had occupied Rōhtāsgaṙh [q.v.]. Humāyūn marched to Gawṙ and occupied a deserted city, and then found that Shēr Khān had cut his line of communication to Dihlī; on his retreat he was defeated first at Čawsā in 946/1539, later near Kannawdj the following year, and fled towards Sind since he found no welcome in his brother Kāmrān's territories. Expelled from Sind by the Arghūn ruler, Shāh Ḥusayn, he eventually arrived at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [q.v.] of Īrān for the start of his fifteen years' exile. For details of all these events see AFGHĀNISTĀN, V, 2; HUMĀYŪN; MĪRZĀS; MUGHALS; SHĒR SHĀH SŪR.

Meanwhile, Shēr Shāh had assumed sovereignty over Humāyūn's former possessions, and had regained the Pandjāb by driving Kāmrān back to Kābul, establishing a fortress at the northern Rōhtās [q.v.]. In 948-9/1542 he conquered Mālwā from Ḳādir Shāh, who fled to Gudjarāt, and in the next year laid waste Rāysen in revenge for its rādjā's massacre of Muslims at Čandērī [q.v.] and established his authority in Rādjāsthān, being killed in an explosion there at Kālindjar in 951/1545. During his periods at the capital he set about reorganizing the revenue system of the country. His reforms are described s.v. ḌARĪBA, 6 b. He was succeeded by his younger son Islām Shāh, who took stern measures to suppress the adherents of his elder brother. This revived tribal strife among the Indian Afghāns. The Niyāzī tribe, in particular, rebelled in the Pandjāb and at first allied themselves with the malcontent Gakkhaṙ [q.v.] community, but later intervened in Kashmīrī affairs and were killed by the Čakk tribe there, Islām Shāh having regained the Pandjāb. A revolt of a different kind was suppressed by the execution of one Shaykh ʿAlāʾī, a follower of the teachings of Sayyid Muḥammad of Djawnpur [see AL-DJAWNPŪRĪ], which put an end to the Mahdawī [q.v.] movement in India. On Islām Shāh's death in 961/1554 he was succeeded by an infant son who was within days murdered by his mother's brother Mubāriz Khān. The latter ascended the throne as Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh, and retained it only by the generalship of a Hindū administrator named Hēmū; two other Sūrī nobles, cousins of Shēr Shāh, contested the throne by rising in rebellion in their own provinces, and all three were calling themselves Sultan—ʿĀdil Shāh in Mālwā and the tract from Āgrā to Djawnpur, Sikandar from Dihlī to Rōhtās in the Pandjāb, and Ibrāhīm in a Pandjāb region further north still—when Humāyūn, who had regained Kābul, took advantage of the tribal squabbles among the Sūrs to reconquer his former empire. The army of Sikandar was defeated at Sirhind in 962/1555, and Humāyūn went on to reoccupy Dihlī without opposition. Within six months he had died after a fall from a height, and his elder son Akbar, then not fourteen years of age, succeeded to the Mughal throne. For details of this complicated period see DIHLĪ SULTANATE; HUMĀYŪN; ISLĀM SHĀH SŪR; SHĒR SHĀH SŪR; SIKANDAR SHĀH SŪR; SŪRS; and, for domestic affairs under the Sūrī dynasty, also DIHLĪ; NĀRNAWL; RŌHTĀS; RŌHTĀSGAṘH; SAHSARĀM.

On Akbar's accession the three Sūrī ex-monarchs were still active, although Muḥammad ʿĀdil was shortly afterwards killed in a clash with Bahādur Shāh of Bengal; Sikandar was the most dangerous, although Muḥammad ʿĀdil's old minister, Hēmū, was also campaigning against the Mughals, ostensibly on behalf of his former master but privately on his own account. Hēmū soon occupied Dihlī, but was killed in the battle between his followers and Akbar's smaller force at the familiar plain of Pānīpat in 964/1556. Sikandar Sūr resisted until mid-964/1557 before surrendering. The Mughal generals quickly recaptured Adjmēr, Gwāliyar and Djawnpur [qq.v.], the young emperor remaining under the influence of the "ḥaram party", his former nurses and foster-mother and their husbands and children, at Āgrā. Since Akbar's tutor, the general Bayram Khān [q.v.], was a Shīʿī he was unpopular at the court, and in 967/1560 Akbar, doubtless under the persuasion of the "ḥaram party", announced that he was assuming charge of the government; within two years he was able to free himself from the ḥaram influence as well. Mālwā had been occupied in 968/1561, rebelled the following year, and was finally subdued by Akbar in person in 971/1564; his generals in that year crushed an attempt at Afghān resurgence in Bihār. In the next few years Akbar had to contend with rebellions on the part of an Uzbek faction at court, and of his distant relations, princes of the house of Tīmūr, the Mīrzās [q.v.] of Katahr (later Rohilkhanḍ), who had received small assignments after the Mughal restoration; the latter invaded Mālwā and made their way to Gudjarāt, where in the local disorder they possessed themselves of much land, especially in its southern provinces. Meanwhile the Rādjpūts were defeated in Čitawr (975/1568) and, in the two following years, Ranthambor and Kālindjar. The heir, Salīm (later Djahāngīr), was born in 977/1569 at Sīkrī, where in 979/1571 Akbar founded his new capital, later known as Fatḥpur Sīkrī [q.v.]. Next Gudjarāt was conquered—one party in the civil strife had invited his assistance, and the sultanate was showing itself incapable of dealing with the Portuguese threat on its coast and its interference with the Mecca pilgrim traffic—in 980/1572-3. Good relations were established with the Portuguese to protect the pilgrim traffic; but about this time Akbar began to have his doubts about the sufficiency of Islam.

Soon after this, Dāʾūd Khān Kararānī [q.v.], who had succeeded to the Bengal throne, refused to acknowledge Akbar's supremacy, and invaded Bihār. Akbar marched against him, drove his Afghān army out of Bihār, and invaded Bengal; Dāʾūd surrendered, but later rebelled and was finally defeated and killed in 984/1576. For the affairs of Bengal and Bihār at this time see BANGĀLA (in Supplement), and references under DĀʾŪD KHĀN KARARĀNĪ. Khāndesh, the buffer state between the Mughal empire and the Deccan, was occupied in 985/1577. In 988/1580 the first Jesuit mission reached Āgrā; religious toleration was preached in the court, largely as a result of the influence of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī and his brother Fayḍī [qq.v.], but that toleration now appeared to exclude Islam. Many Muslims, believing their faith in danger, supported the idea of replacing Akbar by an orthodox sovereign; first Bihār and later Bengal, where a faction of Ḳāḳshāl Turks had become prominent, rebelled and the Ḳāḳshāls proclaimed Akbar's younger brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the ruler of Kābul, as their sovereign. The latter indeed marched on Hindustān, but was repulsed by Akbar and made his submission, and the rebels in the east were put down gradually by Akbar's generals. In 990/1582 he promulgated his syncretistic faith, the Dīn-i Ilāhī [q.v.], and two years later introduced an Ilāhī [q.v.] era. The year 994/1586 saw the annexation of Kashmīr, and a first abortive attempt on Aḥmadnagar. By 1001/1593 Sind, Uṙīsā and Kāṫhiāwāḍ had made their submission, and within

another three years Barār, the first of the Deccan provinces which were the object of Mughal ambition, had been ceded to Akbar; the fortresses of Gawilgaṙh and Narnāla followed, in 1009/1600 Aḥmadnagar was taken by storm, and the following year Asīrgaṙh [*q.v.*] fell. Akbar died in 1014/1605, his last few years having been clouded by disagreement with Salīm, the heir-apparent. For India in Akbar's time see AKBAR, MUGHALS, MUḤAMMAD ḤAKĪM, and references under the various cities and provinces mentioned above. For his revenue system see ḌARĪBA, 6 b, and ṬOḌAR MALL. For religious tolerance in his reign see DJAYN and PĀRSĪ, as well as ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿALLĀMĪ, FAYḌĪ and DĪN-I ILĀHĪ. For the art and literature fostered in his court see HIND, Architecture; HINDĪ; ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN; TAṢWĪR, India.

Salīm succeeded, as Djahāngīr, to a powerful empire, and was soon challenged by his own son, Khusraw [*q.v.*]; his rebellion was promptly put down and the rebels severely punished—including the Sikh [*q.v.*] leader Guru Ardjun Singh, whose execution provoked the constant hostility of the Sikhs to the Mughal power. In the north Shāh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] of Persia laid claim to Ḳandahār, and Djahāngīr moved to Kābul to be near the potential trouble, at the same time sending armies against the Rānā of Mēwāṙ; operations were also commenced against the Deccan from Burhānpur, but the former Ḥabshī slave Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*] developed guerilla tactics for use against the Mughals by trained bands of Marāthā soldiers, and by 1019/1610 had recovered Aḥmadnagar and expelled the imperial forces. Further attacks on the Deccan proved useless and the Mughals in fact lost more territory, which was not regained until 1030/1621 when prince Khurram, the future Shāhdjahān, who had been placed in command of the Deccan force, met with some success at last. The following year Ḳandahār fell to Shāh ʿAbbās, and Khurram, ordered to retake it, went into open rebellion against his father; he moved quickly through Central India and Uṙīsā to Bihār, and Malik ʿAnbar profited from the disorganization by taking Bīdar. Khurram's activities in the distant provinces of the empire led him at one point to join forces with Malik ʿAnbar against the imperial forces, but he was eventually reconciled to his father. Djahāngīr died in 1037/1627 and was buried in Lāhawr, which he had raised to the status of a capital city. For details of his reign see DJAHĀNGĪR, MUGHALS, and NŪR DJAHĀN, and also ĀGRĀ and LĀHAWR, and references under MALIK ʿANBAR; for his great artistic interests see HIND, Architecture; BŪSTĀN, KASHMĪR, SHRĪNAGAR; for his elaborate coinage see SIKKA, and for paintings in his reign, TAṢWĪR, also MANŌHAR, MANṢŪR.

Shāhdjahān's reign too started with a war of succession, and after that a rebellion on the part of Khān Djahān Lōdī [*q.v.*], who defected to Aḥmadnagar; this led to a renewed conflict with the Deccan kingdoms, Aḥmadnagar being invaded in 1039/1630 and finally surrendering to the Mughals with the capture of Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] three years later. The Mughals now had to take account of the Marāṙhās [*q.v.*], some of whom had now joined the Mughal forces but who were always a potential source of danger. Attempts to take Bīdjāpur were at first unsuccessful, but a peace was concluded with that kingdom, in exchange for the promise of tribute, in 1045/1636. Shortly afterwards Prince Awrangzīb was appointed viceroy of the Deccan, and Shāhdjahān returned north, where he began building his new Dihlī. In 1047/1638 Ḳandahār was ceded to the Mughals by its governor ʿAlī Mardān Khān and held for eleven years, after which it was retaken by the Persians; three attempts to recover it failed between 1059/1649 and 1063/1653. Before these an attempt to subdue Balkh had been a failure. After these northern campaigns the Mughals again directed their efforts to the conquest of the Deccan until the sickness of Shāhdjahān in 1067/1657 led his four sons to quarrel among themselves for the throne. The third son, Awrangzīb, was victorious over his brothers Dārā Shukōh, Shāh Shudjāʿ and Murād Bakhsh [*qq.v.*], and assumed the imperial title, with the regnal name of ʿĀlamgīr, placing his father in confinement in the court of Āgrā where he died in 1076/1666. For Shāhdjahān's reign see SHĀHDJAHĀN, MUGHALS, and references under MARĀṚHĀS; for events in the north see also ḲANDAHĀR; for the Deccan see DAKHAN, also BĪDJĀPUR, NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS, and references under ḤAYDARĀBĀD; for Awrangzīb's early career as governor of the Deccan see AWRANGZĪB. For Shāhdjahān's buildings see, in addition to HIND, Architecture, ĀGRĀ, DIHLĪ, LĀHAWR, TĀDJ MAḤALL.

Before Awrangzīb had assumed the throne, the western Deccan had already been troubled by Shivādjī [*q.v.*] the Marāṙhā adventurer, who had encroached more than once on the imperial dominions, and had met with success against the ʿĀdil Shāhī armies as well. He was attacked by the Mughal armies, to whom he surrendered in 1076/1666, concluding a treaty which gave him the right to collect one-fourth (*čawth*) of the revenues in Bīdjāpur; this was no doubt agreed by Awrangzīb with a view to weakening the Bīdjāpur resources, but its effects were far-reaching as the right to *čawth* was arrogated by Shivādjī's Marāṙhā followers wherever they later conquered; for details see MARĀṚHĀS, also references under ḤAYDARĀBĀD, ii. When various Afghān tribes (Yūsufzays, Afrīdīs) rebelled beyond the Indus in and after 1082/1671, Awrangzīb went to Ḥasan Abdāl [*q.v.*] for two years, which gave Shivādjī even more scope to continue his depredations in the Deccan. He assumed the insignia of royalty, and abandoning an alliance with the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, he joined forces with the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs to invade the Madrās coastal tracts (the "Carnatic" of British historians; see KARNĀṬAKA) and Mahisur ("Mysore") in 1085/1647, taking from the ʿĀdil Shāhīs a number of their southern districts. When he died, six years later, he had created a nation out of the Marāṙhās who had been the former subjects of the Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpur sultanates, and who were to be Awrangzīb's strongest and most persistent rivals for the rest of his life—indeed, of the Mughal empire as long as it lasted as a power, and of the British in India as well. Awrangzīb moved to the Deccan in 1093/1682, and remained there in constant warfare until his death 25 years later. After exacting a peace treaty with Golkonḍā he captured Bīdjāpur in 1097/1686; Golkonḍā fell next after a siege of nearly a year; and within the next few years all the former forts of the ʿĀdil Shāhī and Ḳuṭb Shāhī sultanates had been taken, and many forts recovered from the Marāṙhās, to enlarge the Mughal empire to its greatest extent. The years 1101-9/1690-8 were spent trying to wear down the fortress of Djindjī ("Gingee"), where Rādjā Rām, son and successor of Shivādjī, had set up new headquarters; years of petty sieges against minor Hindū kings followed, but the army was becoming exhausted and a retreat was at last made to Aḥmadnagar, where Awrangzīb died in 1118/1707. For his reign see AWRANGZĪB, MARĀṚHĀS, MUGHALS,

SHIVĀDJĪ; references to his bigotry under DJIZYA, iii; for the important digest of Muslim law made at his orders see AL-FATĀWĀ AL-ʿĀLAMGĪRIYYA. For his buildings see HIND, Architecture, DIHLĪ and LĀHAWR.

The Deccan sultanates, the last two of which were extinguished by Awrangzīb, grew out of the chaotic Bahmanī empire, its provincial governors having gradually asserted their autonomy since about 895/1490. Their history is a record of continuous strife among them, with occasional uneasy alliances but rarely the community of interest to combine against their common foes. The immediate successors of the Bahmanīs in Bīdar were the Barīd Shāhīs, whose domination over the later Bahmanīs has been noticed above. Their sultanate was gradually whittled away in the north and west by Bīdjāpur, against whom they were allied on several occasions with the neighbouring sultanates. The Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] *dōʾāb* was a continuous bone of contention between Bīdjāpur and Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*], and the only occasion on which the four southern sultans seem to have been united in a common cause is in 972/1564-5 when their confederacy finally crushed the power of Vidjayanagara at the battle of Tālīkoṭa [*q.v.*]. Bīdar was finally annexed by Bīdjāpur in 1028/1619. For details of this sultanate see BARĪD SHĀHĪS, also BAHMANĪS and BĪDAR.

The ʿImād Shāhī sultanate of Barār was remote enough to stand aside from part of the Deccan conflicts, although there were occasional border clashes with the Niẓām Shahīs of Aḥmadnagar. In 933/1527 Barār was invaded by the Niẓām Shāhīs and the Barīd Shāhīs; the ruler, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād Shāh, fled to Khāndēsh from where he invited the help of Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, who promptly invaded the Deccan [see BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUDJARĀTĪ]. The ruler was restored, and Barār was for some time left unmolested while the larger sultanates were quarrelling among themselves. In 969/1561-2 Daryā ʿImād Shāh, the son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, had been succeeded by his infant son Burhān, and the minister Tufāl Khān took *de facto* control over the sultanate. The latter stood aloof from the confederacy which defeated the Vidjayanagara kingdom, and plundered the Niẓām Shāhī dominions while their ruler was at Tālīkoṭa; the ʿĀdil Shāh and Niẓām Shāh sultans invaded Barār in 973/1566 to punish Tufāl, but strife between them saved the ʿImād Shāhī state from destruction at that time. Eventually the Niẓām Shāhīs, intent on strengthening their position to match that of the ʿĀdil Shāhīs who had annexed many former Vidjayanagara possessions in the south, again invaded Barār in 981-2/1574-5, capturing Tufāl Khān in Narnāla and forcing the surrender of Gawīlgaṛh; with the imprisonment of Tufāl Khan and Burhān ʿImād Shāh, the Barār sultanate was extinguished and absorbed in the Niẓām Shāhī dominions. For the detailed history of this sultanate see ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪS, GAWĪLGAṚH, ILIČPUR, NARNĀLA, as well as references under NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS.

The Niẓām Shāhīs, like the Barīd Shāhīs and ʿImād Shāhīs, were Sunnīs, although after about 944/1537 Burhān I adopted Shīʿism. The ancestral home of the Niẓām Shāhī kings was at Pathrī in Barār, the claim to which led to several Niẓām Shāhī raids on ʿImād Shāhī territory. For the most part, however, the Niẓām Shāhīs were in a constant state of dispute with their larger neighbours, the ʿĀdil Shāhīs and the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs, in turn, one sultanate always eventually being compelled to intervene in a war between any two others lest the balance of power be upset to the disadvantage of the non-belligerent party. In this strange way the rival sultanates were in fact able to keep going where the Bahmanīs had failed, and to destroy the powerful Vidjayanagara kingdom to their south. To give an account of these three sultanates *seriatim* would involve unnecessary repetition and, since the political history of each is so closely bound to that of its neighbours, would fail to show clearly the events in the Deccan in relation to a chronological framework; the purely domestic affairs of each sultanate are less relevant to the history of Islam in India, for each "produced more history than it could consume locally."

Yūsuf, the founder of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty, had been a Shīʿī and established that form of Islam in his dominions. On his death in 915/1510 his son Ismāʿīl was a minor, and a regent reintroduced the Sunnī faith; this was politically to the disadvantage of the "foreigners", who were as powerful a faction in Bīdjāpur as they had been in the Bahmanī sultanate, and were on this occasion successful in returning to power and reintroducing Shīʿism. But the state was torn by political rivalry, and was not powerful enough to prevent the Portuguese from capturing Goa [see ṢINDĀBUR] later that year. Their troubles with Vidjayanagara immediately followed when that state, in 916/1510, annexed the Rāyčūr [*q.v.*] *dōʾāb*. Four years later Bīdjāpur was strong enough to defeat Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, who had established a provincial governor at Gulbargā—now virtually part of the Bīdjāpur state—on behalf of the puppet Bahmanī king. Shortly after this the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultan, in reward for extricating a Persian ambassador from detention at Bīdar, had received recognition of his royal title from Shāh Ismāʿīl, the Ṣafawī sultan. By 927/1521 Bīdjāpur was in a position to try to recapture the Rāyčūr *dōʾāb*, although the attack failed; the Hindū king had been incited to take the *dōʾāb* by Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, against whom Bīdjāpur sought an alliance with Aḥmadnagar, marrying the sister of the Bīdjāpur king to the Niẓām Shāhī sultan. But the princess's dowry, the fort of Shōlāpur [*q.v.*], was never ceded to Aḥmadnagar, and so in 931/1525 the Niẓām Shāhīs, in alliance with Barār and Bīdar, invaded Bīdjāpur but were defeated and driven out. The invasion of Barār by Bīdar and Aḥmadnagar, which resulted in the Gudjarāt sultan Bahādur Shāh's attack on the Deccan, has already been mentioned; Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpur were on this occasion united against the invader, but even on this occasion Amīr ʿAlī Barīd had tried to interfere between them and Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh marched to Bīdar to punish him. Bīdar fell, but was restored to the Barīd Shāhīs on condition that Kalyānī and Ḳandhar [*qq.v.*] were ceded to Bīdjāpur, and that assistance should be given to recapture the *dōʾāb*. Rāyčūr and Muḍgal were regained shortly, but the Barīd Shāhīs did not in fact cede the two northern forts. In 937/1531 Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt had annexed Mālwā and Burhān Niẓām Shāh, alarmed by his growth of power, offered allegiance to him and obtained from him recognition of his royal title; Bahādur's aim was to enlist Burhān's support against the Mughals, but secretly Burhān suggested to Humāyūn an attack on Gudjarāt. Later that year Burhān's insolence to Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh, who was attempting to force the promised cession of Kalyānī and Ḳandhār, led to further Aḥmadnagar-Bīdjāpur war, in which the Niẓām Shāhīs were defeated; but next year, 938/1532, an agreement was reached between these two powers permitting Aḥmadnagar to annex Barār and Bīdjāpur to annex

Golkonḍā. The campaigns started, but were cut short by the death of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh, in 941/1534, upon which first Mallū Khān and shortly afterwards Ibrāhīm succeeded to the Bīdjāpur throne. Ibrāhīm reintroduced the Sunnī faith, dismissed the "foreigners", and introduced Kannaḍa and Marāṭhī as court languages in place of Persian—thus allowing the employment of many Hindūs in the administration. A few years afterwards Burhān Niẓām Shāh was converted to Shīʿism, and consequently relations worsened between him and Ibrāhīm; in 947/1540 Burhān marched again on the ʿĀdil Shāhī kingdom and annexed Shōlāpur, then drove Ibrāhīm out of Bīdjāpur, occupied the town, and set off in pursuit of Ibrāhīm; the latter received reinforcements and drove the invaders to Dawlatābād, where Burhān bought peace by relinquishing his claim to Shōlāpur. Smarting under his defeat he persuaded Djamshīd Ḳuṭb Shāh and the rādjā of Vidjayanagara to join a confederacy against Bīdjāpur in 950/1543. These three powers, together with ʿAlī Barīd, invaded Bīdjāpur that year and the next without success; on a third attempt ʿAlī Barīd decided to support the Sunnī Ibrāhīm rather than the Shīʿī Burhān, causing the latter to invade Bīdar and taking three strongholds on the Bīdar-Bīdjāpur border. In the consequent troubles in Bīdjāpur a disaffected minister and the king's younger brother, ʿAbd Allāh, sought the aid of the Portuguese at Goa, who were claiming the Konkan coast. A rebellion in the Konkan was crushed by Ibrāhīm. Further attacks on ʿĀdil Shāhī territory were made by Burhān, with Vidjayanagara support, in 954/1547 and 959/1552, the Rāyčūr *dōʾāb* again being annexed to Vidjayanagara on the latter occasion. In 961/1553 Burhān died and eventually his son Ḥusayn gained the Aḥmadnagar throne after a war of succession. Djamshīd Ḳuṭb Shāh had similarly been succeeded by his youngest brother Ibrāhīm. At this time the ʿĀdil Shāhīs actually turned to Vidjayanagara for assistance in 962/1555, against a rebel noble Sayf ʿAyn al-Mulk, and alone waged war against the Portuguese in the northern Konkan. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh died in 965/1558 and was succeeded by his son ʿAlī, who re-established the Shīʿī faith and readmitted the "foreigners". On ʿAlī's enlisting Vidjayanagara aid again, this time for the recovery of Shōlāpur, his kingdom was again attacked by the Niẓām Shāhī and Ḳuṭb Shāhī forces; but the Ḳuṭb Shāhī opposition was suddenly withdrawn: the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs could not risk supporting a Sunnī state against a Shīʿī one. ʿAlī's demands for the return of Shōlāpur and Kalyānī became more insistent, and in 967/1559 it was Aḥmadnagar which was invaded, by the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, Ḳuṭb Shāhīs, and a large Vidjayanagara contingent; a Barār army soon joined in, invading Aḥmadnagar from the east. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī ruler later withdrew and the ʿImād Shāhī contingent changed sides, but still Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh had to sue for peace from the Vidjayanagara commander who had now become the dominant party in the confederacy. Bīdjāpur and Vidjayanagara continued the campaigns for the next few years; but the Hindū army of Vidjayanagara offended allies and enemies alike by their excesses on their campaigns, including desecrating mosques and violating and enslaving Muslim women; their arrogant rādjā now demanded large tracts of land from both Golkonḍā and Bīdjāpur. On this the Muslim rulers sank their differences, and in 972/1564-5 marched on Vidjayanagara and defeated an enormous army at the battle of Tālikoṭa [*q.v.*]. The Vidjayanagara empire was destroyed and its lands divided among the victors. The Muslim alliance did not last long: the Niẓām Shāhīs, where Ḥusayn had been succeeded by Murtaḍā, and the ʿĀdil Shāhīs were soon at war again, although in 977/1569-70 they again united against a common enemy, the Portuguese. The ʿĀdil Shāhīs attacked Goa, the Niẓām Shāhīs Čewal ("Chaul"); but the Portuguese were so adroit at manipulating dissensions in their opponents' forces, and in playing off one enemy against the other, that both towns held fast against overwhelming odds and the attackers were forced to conclude peace treaties. ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh turned to the former Vidjayanagara territories for easier conquests, and it was this aggrandisement of the Bīdjāpur lands which caused similar ambitions on the part of Aḥmadnagar, whose ruler annexed Barār in 981-2/1574-5, as mentioned above. A general state of warfare persisted between Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpur for some years to come, not without internal troubles such as the rebellion of a Niẓām Shāhī prince in 987/1579 who fled to Akbar; later wars of succession in Aḥmadnagar between 996/1588 and 999/1591 ended in the accession of that prince as Burhān II. In Bīdjāpur the minor Ibrāhīm II had succeeded ʿAlī I, and the Ḥabshī Dilāwar Khān rose to supreme power, re-establishing the Sunnī faith (for the Ḥabshī factions in both sultanates see ḤABSHĪ); during the Bīdjāpur internal struggles, the Aḥmadnagar forces contested Naldrug [*q.v.*], a border fort between the two states. Before the accession of Burhān II in Aḥmadnagar the effective control of the state had been in the hands of one Djamāl Khān, a Mahdawī, who persecuted Sunnī and Shīʿī alike, which led to the intervention of Bīdjāpur and the defeat of Djamāl Khān a few months before the millennium. At least four contending factions in Aḥmadnagar after the death of Burhān II in 1003/1595 led the minister to appeal for help from Murād [*q.v.*], Akbar's second son, governor of Gudjarāt; Burhān II, though once in Akbar's service, had refused to swear fealty to the Mughals, and in fact the Mughal armies in Gudjarāt and Mālwā were already preparing for an attack on Aḥmadnagar when the appeal arrived. The city of Aḥmadnagar was soon under siege, and in 1004/1596 Čānd Bībī, sister of Burhān II and widowed queen of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh I, purchased its liberty by the cession of Barār. The fortresses of Gawīlgaṛh and Narnālā held out, only to fall to the Mughals two years later, and after another two years Aḥmadnagar itself was finally taken by storm. For the Mughals in the province after that date see above. Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*] held the state together for another twenty-five years, ousting the Mughals and restoring a nominal Niẓām Shāhī dynasty; but Aḥmadnagar was disintegrating under Mughal pressure, and Bīdjāpur was able to acquire more of Aḥmadnagar territory. In 1046/1636 the Mughals at last invaded Bīdjāpur and forced a peace by which Mughal suzerainty was acknowledged, and the region was comparatively peaceful for the next twenty years; Shāhdjahān objected to the succession of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh II in 1068/1656 and ordered the invasion of the kingdom, but his illness stopped operations. Bīdjāpur now faced danger from another quarter, the Marāṭhā armies who had risen under Shivādjī; and Marāṭhā depredations slowly nibbled away the kingdom on the north and west until its remains fell to Awrangzīb in 1097/1686. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī kingdom of Golkonḍā was less troubled than its neighbours after the battle of Tālikoṭa, and knew a long period of peace and prosperity under Muḥammad Ḳulī

Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh during which the city of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] was built and adorned; for six years (1101-7/1603-9) a Persian embassy from S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās resided in Ḥaydarābād. That peace was preserved under Muḥammad Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh, 1020-35/1611-26, although in 1024/1615 the Dutch established themselves at Masulipaṭam, on the Madrās coast, and the English there seven years later. The next ruler, ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh, was able to extend his dominions to the south, with the help of his minister Mīr D̲j̲umla [see MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD]; but the Mug̲h̲als were already active to the north, and in 1045/1635-6 S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān forced the payment of tribute from Golkonḍā. Mīr D̲j̲umla became increasingly powerful in the eastern provinces, and in a quarrel between himself and the king appealed for aid from prince Awrangzīb; this led to the first Mug̲h̲al siege of Golkonḍā in 1066/1656, which was bought off. In 1078/1667 the Marāṭhā S̲h̲ivād̲j̲ī exacted tribute, and was indeed provided with money and troops to recover some of the Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āhī forts which had been annexed by Bīd̲j̲āpur. The accession of the last king, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳuṭb S̲h̲āh, in 1083/1672, was followed by the rise to power of two Brāhman ministers; their position in a Muslim kingdom, the assistance given by Golkonḍā to Bīd̲j̲āpur against the Mug̲h̲als, and the fact that it was in any case a S̲h̲īʿī kingdom, were all sufficient cause for Awrangzīb to renew the attack in 1096/1685; the capital, and the kingdom, fell to the Mug̲h̲als two years later. Awrangzīb had conquered the Deccan, but destroyed the balance of power; for Bīd̲j̲āpur and Golkonḍā no longer stood between the Mug̲h̲als and the Marāṭhās, and the southern states became an easy prey for disaffected adventurers from the north. This enormously complicated phase of Indian history is partly covered by the articles ʿĀDIL S̲H̲ĀHS, BARĪD S̲H̲ĀHĪS, BĪDAR, BĪD̲J̲ĀPUR, DAKHAN, DAWLATĀBĀD, GAWĪLGAṚH, GOLKONḌĀ, ḤABS̲H̲Ī, ḤAYDARĀBĀD, ILIČPUR, ʿIMĀD S̲H̲ĀHĪS, KALYĀNĪ, ḲANDHĀR, ḲUṬB S̲H̲ĀHĪS, MARĀṬHĀS, MUḌGAL, MUG̲H̲ALS, MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD Mīr D̲j̲umla, NALDRUG, NARNĀLĀ, NIẒĀM S̲H̲ĀHĪS, RĀYČŪR, S̲H̲ŌLĀPUR, ṢINDĀBŪR, TĀLĪKOṬA, VID̲J̲AYANAGARA; some references under S̲H̲ĪʿA; and articles on the major dynasts of the five Deccan sultanates.

The Mug̲h̲al empire lasted barely five years as an empire after Awrangzīb's death. There was again a war of succession, culminating in the accession of Bahādur S̲h̲āh I, whose five years' reign was a constant struggle to retain the Mug̲h̲al authority in his dominions: Kām Bak̲h̲s̲h̲, a younger brother, usurped Ḥaydarābād; the Rād̲j̲pūts, especially in Mārwāṛ [see D̲J̲ŌD̲H̲PŪR], were in rebellion against Mug̲h̲al authority; a rebellion of Sikhs [*q.v.*] broke out in the Pand̲j̲āb; and he provoked resentment in Dihlī and Lāhawr by commanding the introduction of S̲h̲īʿī forms in worship. The emperor D̲j̲ahāndār S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] succeeded in 1124/1712, soon to be supplanted by Farruk̲h̲siyar [*q.v.*] supported by the Sayyid brothers of Bārhā [*q.v.* in Supplement], the effective kingmakers of the Mug̲h̲al empire for some years to come. Attempts to quell the rebellions of the Rād̲j̲pūts and Sikhs were partly successful; the D̲j̲āṭs [*q.v.*], near Dihlī and Āgrā, and the Marāṭhās, too strong to be attacked, received revenue concessions. Farruk̲h̲siyar attempted to remove the Sayyids, and was consequently deposed by them in 1131/1719. Neither Rafīʿ al-Darad̲j̲āt nor Rafīʿ al-Dawla retained the throne for more than a few months before the Sayyids produced Muḥammad S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*]; but there was so little faith in the monarchy, and less in the Sayyids, that provincial governors and nobles were able to assume independence of Dihlī more or less as they desired. Ḳamar al-Dīn Čīn Ḳilič K̲h̲ān, entitled Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], opposed to the Sayyids, abandoned his province of Mālwā and established himself first at Asīrgaṛh; for a time he returned to Dihlī as minister, but retired again to the Deccan ostensibly on hearing of Marāṭhā depredations there. His deputy in the Deccan had been ordered by Dihlī to oppose him; he defeated this deputy at the battle of S̲h̲akarkheldā [*q.v.*] in 1137/1724, and made himself independent in the Deccan with Ḥaydarābād as his capital. Dihlī could only conciliate him in his position of great strength with the title of Āṣaf D̲j̲āh, since then borne as a hereditary title by his descendants, the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād. The Marāṭhās—who were supported in their activities against Dihlī by the Niẓām—appeared now in Mālwā, Gud̲j̲arāt, and Bundelkhanḍ. The D̲j̲āṭs grew in power, and an imperial officer, ʿAlī Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, had become practically independent in Katahr (later Rohilkhanḍ [*q.v.*]) to the east of Dihlī. Bād̲j̲ī Rāo, the Pes̲h̲wā [*q.v*] of the new Marāṭhā empire, was recognized as governor of Mālwā in 1148/1735, and constantly demanded from the Mug̲h̲als fresh territory and tribute. Shortly after this Nādir S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*], who had become ruler of Persia, raided Afg̲h̲ānistān and occupied Kābul, and large numbers of Afg̲h̲ān refugees took refuge with the pro-Afg̲h̲ān ʿAlī Muḥammad K̲h̲ān in Rohilkhanḍ. Nādir S̲h̲āh's advance on India continued, and in 1131/1739 Dihlī was sacked by his army and a general massacre of the inhabitants began; after collecting what treasure he could—enough to keep Persia free of taxes for three years!—he restored Muḥammad S̲h̲āh to his throne and left, annexing Kābul and the trans-Indus provinces on the way. Dihlī was left stupefied and desolate.

The province of Bengal was less disturbed than the centre. Its government after the time of Awrangzīb, together with the provinces of Bihār, Uṛīsā and Allāhābād, was held first by D̲j̲aʿfar K̲h̲ān, known better as Murs̲h̲id Ḳulī K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*]; his son-in-law S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] after him had handled the province well; but the successor of S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ, Sarfarāz K̲h̲ān, a weakling, was supplanted in early 1153/1740 by ʿAlīwirdī K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], who was twice successful in repelling attempted Marāṭhā invasions of Bengal. The Marāṭhās were, however, successful in Uṛīsā, which was surrendered to them in 1164/1751. ʿAlīwirdī K̲h̲ān was succeeded in 1171/1756 by Sirād̲j̲ al-Dawla, who was defeated the following year by Clive at Plassey.

Nādir S̲h̲āh was murdered in 1160/1747, and an opportunist commander of his, Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, took over the royal possessions and the royal title as Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī [*q.v.*], and advanced with an army through the Pand̲j̲āb to Dihlī; defeated by an imperial army, the Afg̲h̲āns retreated. They returned two years later to besiege Lāhawr, and the revenue of part of the Pand̲j̲āb was ceded to them. A third invasion, in 1165/1751, brought them Multān and the remainder of the Pand̲j̲āb; in 1170/1757 a fourth invasion took Dihlī and ransacked it; two years later a Durrānī army came to expel the Marāṭhās from the Pand̲j̲āb, and by 1174/1761 the Marāṭhā power in the north was broken at the third battle of Pānipat in which the Durrānīs were joined by Mug̲h̲al, Awadh and Rohilla troops. These Rohillas, the Afg̲h̲āns of Rohilkhanḍ, had more than once risen against Dihlī and the virtually independent province of Awadh, and had been on a previous occasion subdued by Marāṭhā troops invited by Dihlī.

The Durrānīs on their numerous visits had acted as the rulers of the Mug͟hal empire; when they were absent the real power was manipulated by the governor of Awadh, Ṣafdar D̲j̲ang [*q.v.*], the nephew and successor of Saʿādat K̲h̲ān [*q,v.*], a Persian S̲h̲īʿī. The titular monarch at the time of Pānīpat was S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II, who had tried to gain control of Bihār and Bengal without success. He came under British protection from 1765 to 1771 when he was recalled to Dihlī after the Marāṭhās had again risen to power; but Awadh, under S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Dawla, the D̲j̲āṭs of Bharatpur, and the Rohilla leader Nad̲j̲īb K̲h̲ān held the balance of power, rather than any remnant of Mug͟hal authority. On an occasion when the Marāṭhās were engaged elsewhere the Rohilla G̲h̲ulām K̲h̲ān, in 1788, attacked Dihlī and seized and blinded S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II, and the Marāṭhā leader Sindhia continued his virtual domination of Dihlī. In 1803 the Marāṭhā army was thoroughly defeated by the British general Lord Lake, and under British protection S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II was restored to his barren title and hollow empire: although titular monarchs remained until the deposition of Bahādur S̲h̲āh II in 1857 after the Mutiny, the Mug͟hal empire had ceased to exist. For the period of the later Mug͟hals see MUG͟HALS, BAHĀDUR S̲H̲ĀH I, D̲J̲AHĀNDĀR S̲H̲ĀH, FARRUK̲H̲SIYAR, MUḤAMMAD S̲H̲ĀH, S̲H̲ĀH ʿĀLAM II, BAHĀDUR S̲H̲ĀH II; D̲J̲ĀṬS, MARĀṬHĀS, RĀD̲J̲PŪTS, SIKHS; NIẒĀM AL-MULK; NĀDIR S̲H̲ĀH; AḤMAD S̲H̲ĀH DURRĀNĪ; ROHILLAS; PĀNĪPAT. For Awadh see AWADH, SAʿĀDAT K̲H̲ĀN, ṢAFDAR D̲J̲ANG, LAKHNAʾŪ. For the events in the Deccan after 1137/1724 see NIẒĀM AL-MULK and ḤAYDARĀBĀD. For Bengal see BANGĀLĀ (in Supplement), MURS̲H̲ID ḲULĪ K̲H̲ĀN, ʿALĪWIRDĪ K̲H̲ĀN, SIRĀD̲J̲ AL-DAWLA, MĪR D̲J̲AʿFAR, also CALCUTTA, ḌHĀKĀ, MURS̲H̲IDĀBĀD.

To the south-west of the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād's dominions, in Mahisur ("Mysore"), a ruler who established himself about 1750 was Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who fought against the local Marāṭhās, against the Niẓām, with the Niẓām, or with the French, against the British, and carved out for himself a large kingdom. He died in 1782 and was succeeded by his son Tipū [*q.v.*], who was killed in a British attack in 1799. For this region and its events see ḤAYDAR ʿALĪ, TIPŪ SULṬĀN, MAHISUR, S̲H̲RĪRANGAPAṬṬANAM.

After 1857 there was in effect no Muslim rule in India. For the history of the Muslim community thereafter see MUSLIMS. The community was educationally backward and thus at a disadvantage in matters of government in comparison with the Hindūs. For aspects of the betterment of the community see especially AḤMAD K̲H̲ĀN, ʿALĪGARH, DEOBAND, D̲J̲AMʿIYYA, D̲J̲ĀMIʿA, TADRĪS; also D̲J̲ARĪDA, India (in Supplement). For Muslim involvement in politics see ḤIZB, India; INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS; MUSLIM LEAGUE. For events leading up to the division of what has hitherto been called India in this article into the two dominions (later republics) of India (Bhārat) and Pākistān, see PĀKISTĀN, also D̲J̲INĀḤ, MUḤAMMAD ʿALĪ; LIYĀḲAT ʿALĪ K̲H̲ĀN; MUḤAMMAD IḲBĀL; for the constitution and government of Pākistān see DUSTŪR xiv and ḤUKŪMA V.

It is perhaps not quite correct to say that there was no Muslim rule in the sub-continent before 1947, since the British government did recognize independent "Native States", some of which were under autonomous Muslim rulers, where the British retained the right to intervene if requirements of public safety demanded it and were represented by Residents officially appointed. Ḥaydarābād was the largest of the Muslim states, but there were many smaller ones. See, for example, BAHĀWALPŪR, BHOPĀL, D̲J̲UNĀGAṚH, KAS̲H̲MĪR (under a Hindū Mahārād̲j̲ā but with a predominantly Muslim population), K̲H̲AYRPŪR, RĀMPUR. See also BALŪČISTĀN.

Bibliography: A separate bibliography to cover the various aspects of the Muslim history of the sub-continent would be enormous and would duplicate the detailed bibliographies of the many entries referred to above; reference should therefore be made to the special bibliographies given under each article. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

V. — ISLAM

(a) *Growth of Muslim society*

The growth of Muslim society in India took place through four processes—conquest, conversion, colonization and migration. It is difficult to say what proselytizing agencies worked in Sind, but we are told that on the instructions of the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz an announcement was made that whoever embraced Islam in Sind would be accorded all the rights enjoyed by the Arab rulers themselves. Some tribes of Sind consequently embraced Islam, Dāhir's son, D̲j̲ay Singh, being one of them. But when the Umayyad political control weakened in Sind, they went back to their original faiths. Muḳaddasī found that the impact of Islam was confined to only a few towns. In Makrān, he writes, the people were Muslims only in name.

The rise of G̲h̲azna under Sultan Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Indian Islam, yet Maḥmūd's invasions created a gulf between Islam and Hinduism. Notwithstanding the fact that the ruler of Baran, Rai Hardat, had embraced Islam with 10,000 of his followers at the hands of Maḥmūd (ʿUtbī, 305; ʿUnṣurī, 141), the general effect of his invasions was not favourable (al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, tr. Sachau, 22).

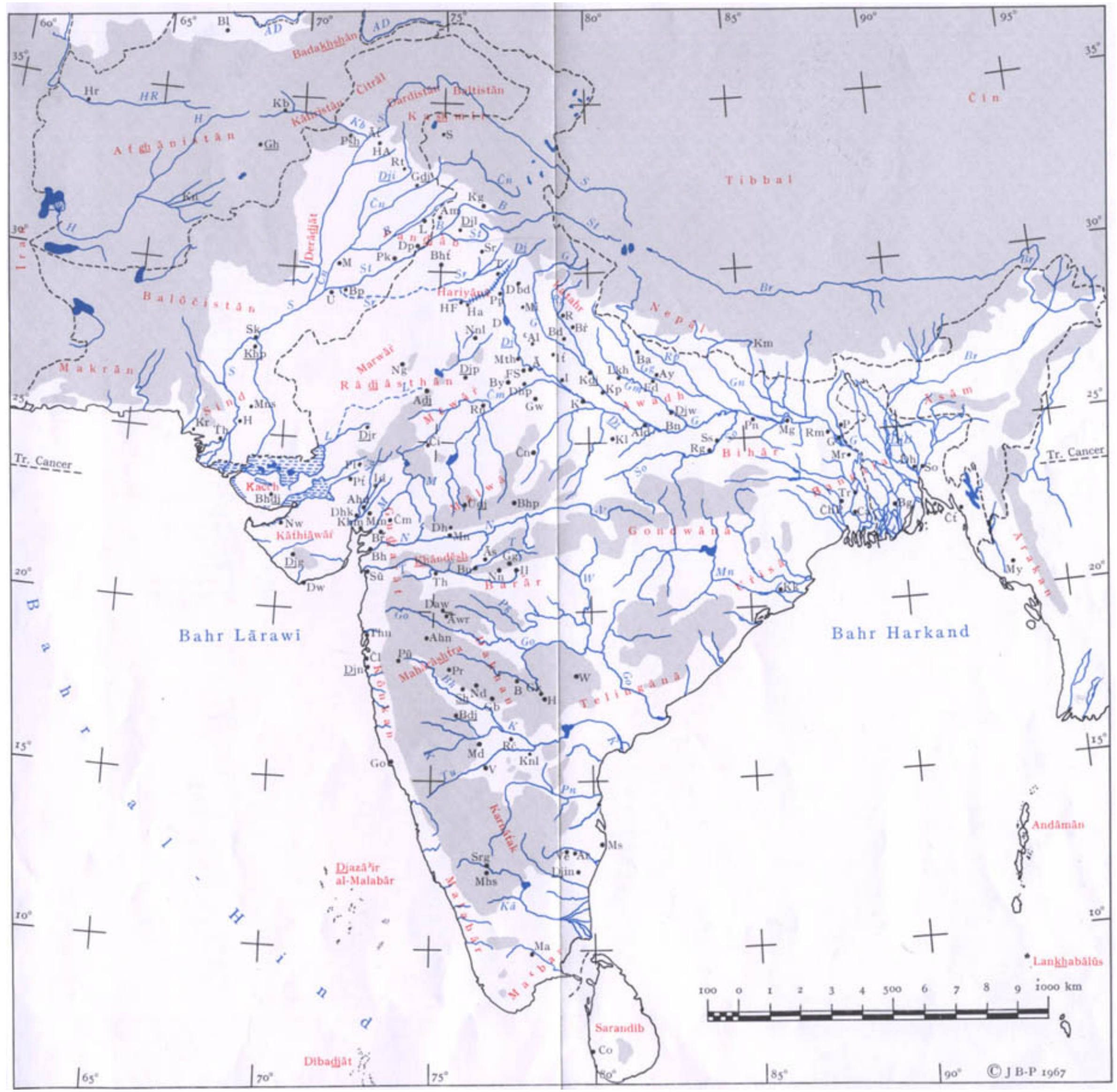
The establishment of the G̲h̲aznavid hold on the Pand̲j̲āb linked India with the cultural centres of mediaeval ʿAd̲j̲am. However, the real growth of Indo-Muslim society took place after the G̲h̲ūrid conquest of northern India. References to conversions at the hands of S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad G̲h̲ūrī (d. 602/1206) or of his slave-officers are few and far between (Minhād̲j̲, 152; Firis̲h̲ta, i, 59). The Sultans of Delhi did not devise any agency for conversion, and minor acts of royal favour, as recorded by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 179; tr. von Mžik, 82), could hardly act as incentives to change one's faith. When Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ (725-52/1325-51) embarked upon his Deccan experiment, one of his objects was to prepare the ground for the spread of Islam in that region (Niẓāmī, *Salāṭīn-i Dihlī kāy mad̲h̲habī rud̲j̲ḥānāt*, 338-45). He exhorted the saints and the *ʿulamāʾ* to go to different parts of the country to propagate Islam. But if Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ helped in the expansion of Islam in the south or in the growth of Muslim society in that region it was done indirectly. Muslim society grew in India through conversions which took place voluntarily at tribal levels, and often through the peaceful persuasion of Muslim mystics.

The social set-up of India in the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries was based on the principle of caste. According to al-Bīrūnī the caste Hindus lived within the city walls and enjoyed all the privileges of city life, the non-caste people were compelled to live outside the city walls and were denied all civic amenities, as the idea of physical pollution was one of the basic principles of the Hindu social system.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ā	Āgrā
Adj	Adjmēr
Ahd	Aḥmadābād
Ahn	Aḥmadnagar
ʿAl	ʿAlīgaṛh
Ald	Allāhābād
Am	Amritsar
Ar	Arkāt
As	Asīrgaṛh
Aṭ	Āṭak (Attock)
Aw	Awrangābād
Ay	Ayodhyā (Ajodhya)
B	Bīdar
Ba	Bahrayč
Bd	Badāʾōn
Bdj	Bidjāpur
Bg	Bāgerhāṭ
Bh	Bharōč
Bhdj	Bhūdj
Bhp	Bhōpāl
Bhṭ	Bhaṭinḍā
Bl	Balkh
Bn	Banāras
Bp	Bahāwalpur
Br	Barēlī
Bṛ	Baṛawdā (Baroda)
Bu	Burhānpur
By	Bayānā
Ca	Calcutta
ChP	Choṭā Panḍuā
Či	Čitōṛ
Čl	Čewal (Chaul)
Čm	Čāmpānēr
Čn	Čandērī
Co	Colombo
Čṭ	Čāṭgāwn (Chittagong)
D	Dihlī (Delhi)
Daw	Dawlatābād
Dbd	Deoband
Dh	Dhār
Ḍh	Ḍhākā (Dacca)
Dhk	Dhōlkā
Dhp	Dhōlpur
Djg	Djunāgaṛh
Djn	Djindjī (Gingee)
Djl	Djalandhar
Djn	Djandjīrā
Djp	Djaypur
Djr	Djālor
Djw	Djawnpur
Dp	Dīpālpur
Dw	Dīw (Diu)
FS	Fatḥpur Sīkrī
Fd	Fayḍābād
G	Gawṛ, Lakhnawtī
Gb	Gulbargā
Gdj	Gudjrāt
Gg	Gāwīlgaṛh
Gh	Ghazna
Gk	Gōlkonḍā
Go	Goa (Ṣindābūr)
Gw	Gwāliyar
Ḥ	Ḥaydarābād (Dakhan, Sind)
Ha	Hānsī
HA	Ḥasan Abdāl
HF	Ḥiṣār Fīrūza
Hr	Harāt
I	Iṭāwā
Id	Īdar
Il	Iličpur
Iṭ	Īṭā (Etah)
K	Kalpī
Kb	Kābul
Kdj	Kannawdj
Kg	Kāngṛā
Khm	Khambāyat
Khp	Khayrpur
Kk	Kaṭak (Cuttack)
Kl	Kālindjar
Km	Kāṭhmānḍū
Kn	Kandahār
Knl	Karnūl (Kandenavolu)
Kp	Kānpur
Kr	Karāčī
L	Lāhawr (Lahore)
Lkh	Lakhnaʾū (Lucknow)
M	Mūltān
Ma	Madura
Md	Mudgal
Mg	Mungēr (Monghyr)
Mh	Mahisur (Mysore)
Mī	Mīraṭh (Meerut)
Mm	Maḥmūdābād
Mn	Mānḍū
Mnṣ	Manṣūra
Mr	Murshidābād
Ms	Madrās
Mth	Mathurā (Muttra)
My	Myobaung
Nd	Naldrug
Ng	Nāgawr
Nn	Narnālā
Nnl	Narnawl
Nw	Nawānagar (Djāmnagar)
P	Panḍuā
Pk	Pākpaṭṭan
Pl	Pālanpur
Pn	Paṭnā
Pp	Pānīpat
Pr	Parendā
Psh	Parashawar (Peshawar)
Pṭ	Pāṭan (Anhilwāḍa, Nahrwālā)
Pū	Pūnā (Poona)
R	Rāmpur
Rč	Rāyčūr
Rg	Rōhtāsgaṛh
Rm	Rādjmaḥal
Rn	Ranthambōr
Rt	Rōhtās
S	Shrīnagar
Sh	Shōlāpur
Sk	Sakhar (Sukkur)
So	Sonargāwn
Sr	Sirhind
Srg	Shrīrangapaṭṭanam
Ss	Sahsarām
Sū	Sūrat
T	Tarāʾōrī
Th	Thālnēr
Ṭh	Ṭhaṭṭhā
Thn	Thāna
Tr	Tribeni
U	Učč
Udj	Udjdjayn
V	Vidjayanagara (Hampi)
Ve	Vellūr
W	Warangal
AD	*Āmū Daryā (Oxus)*
B	*Biyās (Beas)*
Bh	*Bhīmā*
Br	*Brahmaputra*
Čm	*Čambal*
Čn	*Čanāb*
Dj	*Djamnā*
DjB	*Djamnā (Bengal)*
Djh	*Djihlam (Jhelum)*
G	*Gangā (Ganges)*
Gg	*Ghāgrā (Gogra)*
Gm	*Gōmtī*
Gn	*Gandak*
Go	*Godāwarī*
H	*Hilmand*
HR	*Hari Rūd*
K	*Kistna*
Kā	*Kāverī (Cauvery)*
Kb	*Kābul*
L	*Lūnī*
M	*Māhī*
Mn	*Mahānadī*
N	*Narmadā*
Pg	*Pengangā*
Pn	*Pennēr*
R	*Rāwī*
Rg	*Rāmgangā*
Rp	*Rāptī*
S	*Sindhu (Indus)*
Sā	*Sābarmatī*
So	*Sōn*
Sr	*Sarsutī (Saraswatī), Ghaggar*
St	*Satladj*
T	*Tāptī*
Tu	*Tungabhadrā*
W	*Wayngangā*

Land over 500 m.



When the Muslims conquered these caste-cities they threw open their gates to everybody, with the result that the egalitarian principles of Islam attracted large number of non-caste Hindus and professional groups to the fold of Islam. It was this conversion of the lower caste population to Islam which swelled Muslim society in this country. The Muslim saints handled the problem of conversion with great sympathy, understanding and love. The Čis̲h̲tī saints, for instance, attracted the Hindus to the Muslim way of life, without demanding formal conversion (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 182-3, 153), taught the *d̲h̲ikr* to them without demanding initiation into the mystic fold (*Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, 74, 25), and when any Hindu desired that his conversion be not disclosed to his family or tribe, they readily agreed. This sympathetic and comprehending attitude enhanced the effect of their persuasion. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl and Dārā S̲h̲ukōh, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis̲h̲tī converted large numbers of non-Muslims to Islam (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Sir Sayyid, 207; *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, 93). Farīd al-Dīn Gand̲j̲-i S̲h̲akar converted to Islam numerous tribes living in and around Pāk-patan. Even as late as the 10th/16th century, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī saw S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Dāʾūd of Lahore converting 50 to 100 Hindus and their families to Islam every day (*Muntak̲h̲ab al-tawārīk̲h̲*, iii, 34-5). This process continued throughout the mediaeval period. Arnold (*The preaching of Islām*, 255-93) has thrown revealing light on the rôle of mystics in the expansion of Muslim society in India.

In addition to this, population pressure and disturbed conditions in Central Asia and Persia drove large numbers of Muslim families to India during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries. Later the Afg̲h̲ān rulers invited many Afg̲h̲ān families to come and settle in India. Many S̲h̲īʿa families migrated from Persia and settled in the south. The process of Muslim settlement under the Hindu *rād̲j̲ās*, which had begun with the Arabs, continued also later. There are references to the presence of Muslims at Kannawd̲j̲, Bahrāič, Badāʾūn, Benares and Ad̲j̲mīr and some other towns of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar before the establishment of Muslim political power in these areas (Niẓāmī, *Religion and politics in India during the 13th century*, 76-8). With the establishment of Turkish rule, these early Muslim settlements turned into great religious and cultural centres.

The *masd̲j̲id*, the *madrasa* and the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* sustained the community life of the Indian Muslims and contributed to its expansion. The *masd̲j̲id*s sustained the external structure of the faith; the *madrasa*s supplied the intellectual nourishment, while the *k̲h̲ānḳāh*s ensured that the fervour of spiritual life did not freeze in the day to day life of the community.

(b) *Growth of Muslim religious thought*

Muslim religious thought during the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries was exercised within the framework of classics produced outside India on the different branches of religious sciences. In *tafsīr*, the *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf* of Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī and the *Tafsīr* of Imām Nāṣirī, in *ḥadīt̲h̲* the *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-anwār*, in *fiḳh* the *Hidāya* and the manual of al-Ḳudūrī, and in *taṣawwuf*, the *Rūḥ al-arwāḥ*, the *Kīmiyā-i saʿādat* and the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* dominated the scene and the general trend—produced by the spectacle of the dissolution of the Muslim social and political structure of mediaeval ʿAd̲j̲am at the hands of the Mongols—was to preserve existing knowledge rather than to explore new avenues of thought and enquiry. A subtle conflict between the As̲h̲ʿarī and the Muʿtazilī attitudes is, however, discernible in the religious thought of the period.

With the introduction of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works (*Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*) in India during the 7th/13th century there was a stir in Muslim religious thought. Since the pantheistic ideas of the Great S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ were in consonance with the spirit of the *Upanishads*, they became identified with the movement of rapprochement between the Hindu and the Muslim religious attitudes. The rise of mystic poetry in G̲h̲azna at this time and the composition of the *mat̲h̲nawī* of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]—which was first quoted in the mystic gatherings of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāg̲h̲ (675-757/1276-1356)—further strengthened the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought. Eminent scholars, like Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 786/1384), S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Dihlawī (d. 795/1392), and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1431), wrote commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Mahāʾimī even attempted a commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa taysīr al-Mannān*) in the light of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. It became the theme of Masʿūd Bak's (d. 800/1397) poetic compositions and inspired also his prose-work, *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn*. Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas had become fairly popular in Muslim religious circles when Ibn Taymiyya's teachings reached India through one of his pupils, Imām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ardabilī (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 252; tr. von Mžik, 128), and Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ came under its influence. It found its reflection in the Tug̲h̲luḳ sultan's attitude towards different problems of religion and politics, particularly his relations with the mystics. As was inevitable, there ensued a conflict between the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī and those of Ibn Taymiyya. The orthodox section of Muslim society had so far tolerated the acceptance of pantheistic ideas by the mystics as a basis for their spiritual experience, but now that it became the basis for the organization of small social groups—as one finds in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āhī* (Aligarh ed., 8-10)—they viewed it as a serious threat to the very structure of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and its function as the regulator of the Muslim conscience. The *ʿulamāʾ* and the Tug̲h̲luḳid sultans began to combat the tendencies released by the pantheists. The production of an enormous literature on *fiḳh* during the 8th/14th century—more than in any other period of Indian history—was inspired by a desire to provide a defensive ideological apparatus against the upsurge of pantheistic ideas which seemed to weaken the external structure of faith.

While accepting *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* as the basis of all spiritual experience, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāg̲h̲ emphasized close adherence to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* and discontinued many mystic practices (*e.g.*, prostration before the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*), which did not conform to the externals of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*. He did not agree with many of the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya (*K̲h̲ayr al-mad̲j̲ālis*, intr. 29-31), but he met the challenge of the time by making a serious effort to bridge the gulf between the formalist scholars and the mystics. That a mystic of his eminence should be styled "the second Abū Ḥanīfa" shows the extent to which in his own person he had succeeded in bridging the gulf. His disciple Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz criticized the thought of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and even planned to write a book in refutation of his ideas (*Maktūbāt-i S̲h̲āh Muḥibb Allāh*, Aligarh University MS, 90).

For some time the balance seems to have been in favour of Ibn Taymiyya's school of thought, but the

views of Ibn al-ʿArabī, which provided the necessary ideological meeting-ground for Islam and Hinduism, made a deeper impact and the stream of religious thought began to flow in that direction. The 9th/15th and the 10th/16th centuries saw a mushroom growth of new sects, ideologies, philosophies and attitudes in India, most of them based on a pantheistic approach to religion. The Bhakti movement, the Shaṭṭārī order, and the Rawshaniyya sect were the expressions of the same attitude, which laid greater emphasis on the spirit than on the form of religion. Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār translated *Amrit Kund* into Persian, and thereby introduced Hindu mystical ideas and Yogic practices into the Ṣūfī discipline. Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the founder of the Rawshaniyya movement, laid greater emphasis on the interiorization of religious rites and practices than on outward conforming to the externals of religion. When Akbar appeared on the Indian scene, the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī held sway. In his eagerness to evolve a common religious outlook, Akbar made certain experiments with the ideological support of pantheistic philosophy, which hurt the religious susceptibilities of the orthodox section and produced fears that in the process of evolving an amalgam of different religions the individuality of Islam might be jeopardized. Had Akbar not intervened, Indo-Muslim religious thought would probably have proceeded on entirely different lines, but Akbar's attempt to assume the leadership of these syncretic forces provoked a severe reaction, which expressed itself on one side in the production of *ḥadīth* and juristic literature by scholars like Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith and on the other side gave birth to the powerful movement of the Naḳshbandī Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], popularly known as Mudjaddid-i Alf-i Thānī.

Under the influence of his teacher Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Muttaḳī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ had followed a very cautious and non-committal policy towards the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī (*Akhbār al-akhyār*, 263), but Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī published abroad his tirade against Ibn al-ʿArabī's pantheistic approach to religion and mysticism. He considered it an expression of an immature spiritual experience, fraught with great dangers to Muslim society and religion, as it facilitated the absorption of ideas and practices by Muslims which ran counter to the monotheistic ideals of Islam. He condemned on that account the religious experiments of Akbar. Drawing his inspiration from the Ḳurʾānic verse, "For you yours, and for me my religion" (CIX, 6), he declared against an admixture of Muslim and non-Muslim—Hindu, Buddhist, Djayn and other—ideas by Akbar. He succeeded in winning over large numbers of Mughal nobles to his side, and through them he sought to bring about a change in the atmosphere of the court. Djahāngīr had to give up Akbar's policy of meddling in religion and making religious experiments, while Shāhdjahān and Awrangzīb came definitely under the impact of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's ideas. Shāh Kalīm Allāh of Delhi (1060-1142/1650-1729) wrote to a disciple, who was trying in vain to influence the thought of Awrangzīb, that the Emperor was completely under Naḳshbandī influence and could not be converted to any other point of view. However, in the 11th/17th century two definite ideological schools—one in favour of and the other against the doctrine of pantheism—were in the field. Dārā Shukōh, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh, Sarmad, Shāh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād stood for pantheistic ideas; Awrangzīb, Khʷādja Maʿṣūm (son of Shaykh Aḥmad), and others stood for the religious and spiritual concepts adumbrated by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. The conflict assumed such proportions that even a foreign traveller, like Bernier, noticed this conflict (ed. Constable, 345-7). So much so, that when the war of succession broke out between the sons of Shāhdjahān it was not merely a conflict between the two sons of an Emperor, but a clash of ideals between the spirit of Mudjaddid's *Tawḥīd-i shuhūdī* and the spirit of Akbar's *Dīn-i ilāhī*. Dārā Shukōh had written the *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* and had translated the *Upanishads*, Awrangzīb concentrated his energies upon the compilation of *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (for the personal supervision of the work by the Emperor, see Shāh Walī Allāh, *Anfās al-ʿārifīn*, Delhi 1917, 24). Notwithstanding the great impact of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī's thought on the contemporary religious attitude, the dynamic element of Muslim religious thought in India found some of his views spiritually untenable and socially inconsistent with Indian conditions—particularly when the atmosphere created by Akbar's religious experiments no longer existed—and two eminent saints associated with his own school—Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī and Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i Djānān—took up an attitude which completely altered the Naḳshbandī position with reference to pantheism (*Fayṣala*, cited below) and Hinduism (*Kalimāt-i ṭayyibāt*, 37-40). During the 12th/18th century, Muslim scholars were concerned with effecting a compromise between the conflicting ideas and concepts of the preceding era. Shāh Walī Allāh wrote a small treatise, *Fayṣalat waḥdat al-wudjūd wa 'l-shuhūd* (Delhi 1324), and contended that there was no substantial difference between the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī: both meant really the same thing, and their difference was nothing more than that between two metaphors. He also said that it was his mission to reconcile the two concepts whose underlying reality was one and the same. Though some other followers of the Mudjaddid, like Khʷādja Mīr Nāṣir ʿAndalīb (*Nālā-i ʿAndalīb*, Bhopal 1310), Khʷādja Mīr Dard (*ʿIlm al-kitāb*, Delhi 1308), and Ghulām Yaḥyā (*Kalimāt al-Ḥaḳḳ*, MS, Aligarh), did not agree with his point of view, Shāh Walī Allāh, so far as he was concerned, closed the controversy which had been raging in Indian Muslim thought for several centuries. Shāh Walī Allāh's son Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn rebutted the arguments of Ghulām Yaḥyā in his *Damgh al-bāṭil* (MS no. 1699 Bankipore), and paved the way for the return of pantheistic ideas as the basis of spiritual experience.

Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1763) was a seminal personality in the intellectual life of the Indian Muslims. He exercised a profound influence on the religious thought of his contemporaries, and many of the religious movements of the period, though differing in their approach, drew inspiration from his outlook and insight. On one side the orthodox school of Deoband, which aimed at resuscitating the traditional and classical values of early Islam, clung to his ideology, on the other hand Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, who stood for a complete reorientation of religious thought in the light of Western rationalistic tendencies, looked to him for support and guidance.

Shāh Walī Allāh was the last great thinker of the Middle Ages who realised the need of re-interpreting Islamic thought in the light of reason and pointed out that the codification of *sharīʿa* laws should be related to the specific requirements of a particular

region and should take into consideration the social, religious and legal practices of the society concerned. This dynamic religious approach opened fresh avenues for the re-interpretation of the basic religious values. On being asked which of the four schools of Sunnī *fiḳh* he belonged to, he said: "I try my best to combine all the points of agreement in all the schools, and in matters of variance I adhere to what is proved by the genuine *ḥadīth*—which, thank God, I can do. If anybody asks me for a *fatwā*, I give it according to whatever school he wishes". This liberal method of recourse to any school of Sunnī law which suited the circumstances was of great significance to the succeeding generations. It may be pointed out that in its attempt to bring its laws into consonance with the spirit of the modern world, Egypt was guided by this very principle.

The new spirit of *idjtihād* which Shāh Walī Allah wanted to awaken could be possible only if religious thought was extricated from narrow and sectarian controversies. With this aim in view he translated the Ḳur'ān into Persian and his two illustrious sons—Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn—translated it into Urdu, so placing the main source of Muslim religion within the reach of all Indians. Besides, he and his sons popularized the study of *ḥadīth* and prepared many thought-provoking commentaries on them. He was thus responsible for the revival of religious learning in India which had an impact on the entire Muslim world.

The impact of Wahhābī ideology was felt in India in the beginning of the 19th century when Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī (1201-46/1786-1831) returned from the Ḥidjāz, influenced by the thought of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of Nadjd. He trenchantly criticized the adoption of non-Islamic ideas by the Muslims and advocated purification of Muslim religious ideas in the light of the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. The literature produced by his followers, particularly Mawlānā Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Shahīd (d. 1831), breathes the spirit of Wahhābī ideology.

The infiltration of western influences into Muslim society created a stir in the Muslim mind in the 19th century. The superiority of the West in technique, science, and industry was an established fact, but the British Government was considered to be the supplanter of the Mughal rule in India and could not, therefore, be accepted. This created a conflict in the Muslim mind which is revealed in the strange but significant position taken up by Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the eldest son of Shāh Walī Allah. On the one hand he praised English efficiency in art and industry (*Malfūẓāt*, 51) and permitted the study of the English language (*Fatāwā-i ʿAzīzī*, 195) and on the other side he issued a *fatwā* declaring all land under British occupation as *dār al-ḥarb* (*Fatāwā-i ʿAzīzī*, 17). This position was not, however, maintained by the succeeding generations. Those who studied the English language and sciences willingly accepted British rule, and those who refused to accept British rule totally refused to learn the English language and literature. As was inevitable, two diametrically opposite tendencies developed in Muslim religious and social attitudes, one represented by the ʿAlīgarh movement under Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817-98) and the other by the Deobandī school of thought under Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim (1832-1880). It is, however, significant that both Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim were pupils of Mawlānā Mamlūk al-ʿAlī (d. 1850), a pupil of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's pupil Mawlānā Rashīd al-Dīn Khān.

The Christian missionary activity which started in the wake of the establishment of British rule in India found a reaction in contemporary Muslim thought. Many eminent scholars like Mawlānā Raḥmat Allāh Kayrānawī, Mawlānā Āl-i Ḥasan, Dr. Wazīr Khān and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḳāsim turned to the production of *munāẓara* literature (religious disputations) in order to combat the Christian missionary propaganda. The atmosphere of casuistry thus created continued to absorb the attention of religious-minded Muslims, and in Amritsar a great centre of theological discussions and *munāẓara* rose up under Mawlānā Thanā' Allāh. In the second half of the 19th century theological controversies within the fold of Islam itself made their appearance. The *ahl-i ḥadīth* advocated recourse to *ḥadīth* as the chief source of guidance and discouraged adherence to juristic schools; the *ahl-i Ḳur'ān* laid greater emphasis on direct recourse to the Ḳur'ān in all matters, instead of seeking guidance from the Traditions of the Prophet or the formulations of the jurists; and the Brēlwī school, under Mawlānā Aḥmad Riḍā Khān, trenchantly criticised and condemned the Wahhābī approach towards religion.

The greatest challenge to Muslim religious thought, still in the meshes of mediaevalism, was posed by Western thought and civilization. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān was the first to react to this new situation. "Today we are, as before, in need of a modern *ʿIlm-i Kalām* (new scholasticism)", he declared in 1884, and in fact he himself laid the foundations of modern scholastic thought in Islam. He fought mediaeval obscurantism through his journal *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāḳ* and advocated a rational approach to religion. He rejected *taḳlīd*, blind adherence to religious law, and asked for a re-interpretation of the Ḳur'ān in the light of reason, to suit the new trends of the time. Furthermore, he took the first momentous step towards a comparative study of Islam and Christianity by writing a commentary on the Bible (*Tabyīn al-Kalām*, Aligarh 1862). In his *Khuṭabāt-i Aḥmadiyya* (Aligarh 1900) he rebutted the teachings propounded by the Christian missionaries. Amongst those who followed Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's example of reconstructing religious thought in Islam, the names of Mawlawī Čirāgh ʿAlī (d. 1895), author of *The proposed political, legal and social reforms*, and Sayyid Amīr ʿAlī (1849-1928), author of *The spirit of Islam*, stand out pre-eminent in the history of Muslim religious thought of the period.

Amongst those who sought a reorientation of Muslim religious thought in a way different from that of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the names of Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād (1888-1958) and Dr. Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1876-1938) are particularly noteworthy. Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād was deeply influenced by Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī (d. 1897), Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935), and he enthusiastically broadcast through his journals *al-Hilāl* and *al-Balāgh* the same spirit of religious enquiry and dynamism which Afghānī and his school of thought had tried to infuse into the Middle East. But the greatest contribution of the Mawlānā is his incomplete commentary on the *Ḳur'ān* (*Tardjumān al-Ḳur'ān*, 2 vols.), which marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Muslim exegesis. The Mawlānā discarded the apparatus of philosophic disquisition of the Muʿtazilites and the spirit of ratiocination developed by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and others of his school of thought. He commended a natural, direct and unsophisticated

approach to the study of the Ḳur'ān and declared all attempts at resolving the conflict between religion and science as irrelevant, since scientific problems, according to him, were not the domain of religion. But it was difficult for the Mawlānā to escape the spirit of the age in which he lived. His humanistic approach and theosophic attitude give an idea of the mental climate of the period.

Dr. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, who had made an intensive study of western and eastern religions and philosophies, emphasized the reconstruction of Muslim religious thought in the light of the problems posed by the modern world. He looked upon religion as a powerful factor in the evolution of a man's personality and the betterment of human society. "His Islam", writes Smith, "repudiated the conception of a fixed universe dominated by a dictator God and to be accepted by servile men. In its place he would put a view of an unfinished growing universe ever being advanced by man and by God through man". He criticized those ecstatic elements of religious thought which made man parasitical and indolent. He preached a life of self-assertion and self-realization. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation", he declared. Iḳbāl's thought had a very deep impact on the contemporary Muslim religious attitude.

Another great conflict in Indo-Muslim religious thought took place in 1938 when Mawlānā Ḥusayn Aḥmad Madanī (1879-1957), who taught *ḥadīth* at Deoband for several decades, attempted a reconciliation of religious thought with the national trends in the country and declared that religion did not constitute any basis for separate national individuality and that the Hindus and the Muslims of India were one nation. Dr. Muḥammad Iḳbāl opposed this view and the controversy (*Maʿraka-i dīn wa waṭan*, ed. ʿAbd al-Waḥīd Khān, Lucknow n.d.) continued for years and found reflexion in political life also.

(c) *Muslim religious movements*

A number of Muslim religious movements have appeared in India during the last 700 years. Abu'l-Faḍl refers to 14 mystic orders, and the author of *Dabistān al-madhāhib* to a number of religious groups, sects and movements which have flourished there. Significantly enough, most of these movements were inspired by mystic ideas and even where orthodoxy initiated them, it was often through the medium of mysticism that they reached the people. Considered as a whole and from the broad point of view of their impact on Indian life, these movements reflect four distinct attitudes and tendencies: from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century they aimed at the "expansion" of Muslim religion and society in India; during the 11th/17th century they were concerned mainly with the "reform" of Muslim religion and society; in the 12th/18th century "regeneration" was attempted, while movements that sprang up in the 19th century mainly strove for "reorientation", either in the light of classical traditions of Islam or in the light of Western thought.

Movements for Expansion: Five important mystic orders—the *Čishtiyya*, the *Suhrawardiyya*, the *Firdawsiyya*, the *Ḳādiriyya* and the *Shaṭṭāriyya* —worked during this period. Though these mystic orders differed from one another in certain points of detail—*e.g.*, their attitude towards the state, to *samāʿ* (audition parties), the relative value of the life of *sukr* (intoxication) and *ṣaḥw* (sobriety), and the degree of emphasis on the *sharīʿa* laws etc.—they all agreed that the leitmotif of the mystical spirit was to strive for the moral and spiritual uplift of man through the expansion of Islamic ideas. They tried to adjust and adapt themselves to the mental and emotional climate of the regions in which they worked and adopted many Hindu and Buddhist rites, like the practices of bowing before the *shaykh*, presenting water to visitors, circulating *zanbīl*, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle, audition parties (*samāʿ*) and the *Čilla-i-maʿkūs* (the inverted *čilla*). This identification with the surrounding conditions helped them in attracting non-Muslims to their fold. Besides, almost all the principal saints of these *silsila*s were believers in the pantheistic thought which also provided common ground for intellectual contact with the Hindus.

Movements for Reform: In the 11th/17th century the general drift and direction of the Muslim mind was towards the reform of Muslim society from within. The Naḳshbandī *silsila*, which was introduced in India by Khʷādja Bāḳī bi'llāh (971-1012/1563-1603) during the closing years of Akbar's reign, reached its high-water mark under his principal disciple, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, whose disciples, according to Djahāngīr, operated in every important town and city of India. The efforts of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī were directed towards the reform of Muslim society. He was not concerned, as were the mystics of the preceding era, to expand the faith amongst non-Muslims. He aimed at consolidating it by reforming it and removing its un-Islamic trappings. An uncompromising monotheist, he did not agree with those religious experiments of Akbar which he had made with the ideological support of the pantheistic thinkers and which had elements which ran counter to the very basis of the orthodox Islamic concept of *tawḥīd*. He condemned the prevalence of *bidʿa*s (innovations), which meant to him dissuasion from looking to the Prophet as the source of all religious guidance and inspiration. He permitted the exercise of *ḳiyās* and *idjtihād*, provided it was within the framework of the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. He condemned those *ʿulamā'* and *ṣūfī*s of his day who encouraged deviations from the *sunna* under the garb of *idjtihād*. He approached the rulers, the *ṣūfī*s and the *ʿulamā'* in order to bring about a change in their outlook on life. It was due to his efforts that Djahāngīr abandoned Akbar's policy of making religious experiments, the *ṣūfī*s came closer to the *sharīʿa* and rejected the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, and the *ʿulamā'* turned to the revival of religious learning.

Era of Regeneration: The 12th/18th century was an era of regeneration in Indian Islam. Shāh Walī Allāh (1114-76/1703-63) and Shāh Kalīm Allāh (1060-1142/1650-1729) were the two outstanding figures who attempted to revive the original teachings of Islam—one at the intellectual, and the other at the spiritual level. Shāh Walī Allāh gave a new impetus to the revival of the religious sciences. He laid the foundation of a new school of scholastic theology; bridged the gulf between the jurists and the mystics; softened the controversy between the exponents and the critics of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and awakened a new spirit of religious enquiry. He addressed all sections of Muslim society —rulers, nobles, *ʿulamā'*, mystics, soldiers, traders, etc.—and tried to infuse a new spirit of dedication in them. His seminary, Madrasa-i Raḥīmiyya, became the nucleus of a revolutionary movement for the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam and scholars flocked to it from every corner of the

country. His concentration on *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf* and his attempt to make them complementary was determined by his conviction that through a dynamic use of these two active principles both the structural and the spiritual aspects of Muslim religious life could be resuscitated and a healthy balance (*tawāzun*) between the form and the spirit—which had been shattered during the preceding years—could be maintained. His work was continued by his sons and successors. The extent to which he and his family contributed to the revival of Muslim religious sciences may be judged from the fact that the majority of Muslim institutions all over India from the 12th/18th century onwards owe their existence to their efforts. S̲h̲āh Kalīm Allāh's work was in a different direction. He revived and revitalized the Čis̲h̲tī [*q.v.*] order on the lines of the saints of its first cycle, checked the growth of esoteric tendencies, and sent his disciples near and far to propagate the Čis̲h̲tī mystic ideals. The rise of a number of Čis̲h̲tī *k̲h̲ānḳāh*s in the Pand̲j̲āb, the Deccan, the North West Frontier, and Uttar Pradesh was due to the efforts of his spiritual descendants (Niẓāmī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i mas̲h̲ā'ik̲h̲-i Čis̲h̲t*, Delhi 1953).

Era of Reorientation: The 19th century saw the reorientation of Muslim religious thought as demanded by the new problems arising out of the impact with Western thought and culture. Three different reactions to this situation are discernible in the religious movements of this period—(i) to reorientate religious thought on traditional lines, or (ii) to evolve a new *ʿIlm-i Kalām* to meet the situation and to accept whatever the West could give; or (iii) to attempt to steer a middle course. The Wahhābī and the Farā'iḍī movements were inspired by a desire to resuscitate classical Islam through the reform of Muslim society and the restoration of its political power. The movement initiated by the *ʿulamā'* of Deoband aimed at revitalizing Muslim society through the revival of religious learning, and looked with a feeling of distrust towards western thought and learning. The ʿAlīgarh movement, organized by Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, tried to meet the challenge of the time by accepting Western education and giving a new orientation to Muslim social, educational and religious ideals. There was considerable opposition to Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān and his social and educational ideals and religious views, but ultimately the movement succeeded, and it was through ʿAlīgarh that Indian Islam became acquainted with the West and its achievements in the realm of thought. The establishment of the *Nadwat al-ʿulamā'*, which stood for effecting a compromise between the excessive "this-worldliness" of ʿAlīgarh and the excessive "other-worldliness" of Deoband, was in fact an off-shoot of ʿAlīgarh, and Mawlānā S̲h̲iblī (1857-1914), who played a prominent part in its establishment, was one of those who were closely associated with the ʿAlīgarh movement. S̲h̲iblī's idea of writing a series entitled "Heroes of Islam"—which included G̲h̲azzālī, the caliph Ma'mūn and Abū Ḥanīfa, and which was responsible for reviving interest in the history of Islam—was inspired by Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, who also asked Ḥālī, another friend of his, to write a *musaddas*, in order to awaken the Indian Muslims from their stupor by presenting a vivid story of their rise and fall. The Dār al-Muṣannifīn of Aʿẓamgarh, which has published a number of outstanding religious works, is an offshoot of the *Nadwa* and is run mainly by its alumni.

The *D̲j̲amāʿat-i Islāmī*, an organization of considerable religio-political significance, established by Mawlānā Abu 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī in 1941 with a view to providing guidance to both the modernists and the classicists (Mawdūdī, *Tafhīmāt*, Lahore 1947), has checked the permeation of Communist ideas in Muslim youth, but its attitude towards the jurists and the *ṣūfī*s of Islam has been resented in Muslim religious circles.

Towards the end of the 19th century a new religious movement was initiated by Mīrzā G̲h̲ulām Aḥmad (1839-1908) from Ḳādiyān, known as the Aḥmadiyya, and it soon assumed the shape of a new sect of Islam. The Mīrzā claimed to be an *avatar* of Kris̲h̲na as well as Jesus returned to earth and the *Mahdī*; also the *burūz* (reappearance of Muḥammad). The movement has spread to various parts of the world, with a small band of converts in Britain, on the continent of Europe and in the United States.

The purely religious and spiritual movements of the Indian Muslims during this period centre round three great figures, S̲h̲āh G̲h̲ulām ʿAlī of Delhi (1156-1240/1743-1824), Mawlānā As̲h̲raf ʿAlī of Thāna Bhawan (d. 1943), and Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās of Delhi (d. 1944). The influence of S̲h̲āh G̲h̲ulām ʿAlī reached distant parts of the Muslim world (*Āt̲h̲ār al-ṣanādīd*, chapter iv, 18), through his disciples, such as S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ K̲h̲ālid al-Kurdī. Mawlānā As̲h̲raf ʿAlī has many works to his credit, big and small, dealing with various aspects of Muslim life (ʿAbd al-Bārī Nadawī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Mud̲j̲addidīn*). He also strove to popularize and strengthen the Čis̲h̲tī order. Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās set up a centre for moral and spiritual instruction at Delhi, and started a brisk religious activity. His movement (Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadawī, *Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās aur un kī dīnī daʿwat*, Lucknow 1947) has spread to different Arab countries, and his followers, who go about far and near in small groups known as *d̲j̲amāʿat*s, concern themselves only with the purification of religious life. The Mawlānā first applied his methods of religious persuasion to the Maywātīs (*Gazetteer of Ulwurr*, London 1878), an illiterate and half-converted tribe living in the eastern regions of Delhi. This is, in fact, the only significant Muslim religious movement in India at present.

(d) *The S̲h̲īʿīs: It̲h̲nā-ʿas̲h̲arīs and Ismāʿīlīs*

Long before the influence of the It̲h̲nā-ʿas̲h̲ariyya [*q.v.*] spread in India, the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] entered the country and started brisk religious propaganda. In the last quarter of the 4th/10th century, Fāṭimid political power was established in Multan, and was overthrown by Sultan Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna in 396/1006. Undeterred, the Ismāʿīlī missionaries spread out into Sind, the Pund̲j̲āb and Gud̲j̲arāt, and by their strenuous efforts retrieved much of their lost political prestige. When S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad of G̲h̲ūr appeared on the Indian scene, he found the Ismāʿīlīs quite powerful. In 571/1175 he dislodged them from Multan and many of them "went underground living in the guise of Hindus" (Ivanow, *Brief survey of the evolution of Ismailism*, 20). Embittered and annoyed, the Ismāʿīlīs entered into an alliance with the Khokars and assassinated S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn (602/1206) at Damyak on the Indus. The Sultanate of Delhi found itself committed to an anti-Ismāʿīlī policy, and when Iletmis̲h̲ secured a *mans̲h̲ūr* from the ʿAbbāsid Caliph the secret Ismāʿīlī opposition became open and aggressive. During the reign of Raḍiyya (634-7/1236-40), a Ḳarmaṭī preacher—Mawlānā Nūr Turk—gathered together his supporters from Gud̲j̲arāt, Sind and the Doab and organized a *coup d'état* to establish Ismāʿīlī power

at Delhi (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 189-90). The Sultans of Delhi adopted stern measures against all forms of Ismāʿīlism. The Ibāḥatīs (Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, ed. M. Waḥīd Mīrzā, Calcutta, 20; *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Aligarh, 7-8), whom some consider Ismāʿīlīs (M. Ḥabīb, *The Campaigns of ʿAlāuddin Khaljī*, 12; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, 282-3; I. H. Qureshi holds a different view, see art. IBĀḤATIYYA and references there given), were severely dealt with by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316) and Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88). According to ʿIṣāmī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī had punished the Bohorās also (*Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, 301). Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ refers to some extreme Shīʿī groups of Delhi as *Rawāfiḍ* and says that they reviled the first three Caliphs and Ḥaḍrat ʿĀʾisha, the wife of the Prophet, and considered the Ḳurʾān as *mulḥaḳāt-i ʿUthmānī* (*Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 7). Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, popularly known as Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 785/1384), has given an account of some Shīʿa sects in his conversations embodied in *Sirādj al-Hidāya* (MS India Office D.P. 1038). Though some Shīʿa families trace their pedigree to him, he himself, like Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz of Gulbarga (*Djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, 10, 20, etc.), seems to have been opposed to Shīʿa doctrines. The *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (MS Bankipore vii, 547) also deals with some Shīʿa sects known in India during the 8th/14th century.

In the 9th/15th century appeared the Shīʿa states of the Deccan—the ʿĀdil Shāhīs of Bīdjāpūr (895-1083/1489-1686), the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar (896-1043/1490-1633), and the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda (917-1083/1512-1687)—and their rulers propagated Shīʿa teachings and practices in the south. Muḥammad Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh was the first *marthiya-gū* (reciter of elegies) in Urdu. Shīʿa influence increased in northern India when the Ṣafawid power was established in Iran (907/1502) and particularly after the return of Humāyūn (962/1555) from that country. The emigration of Shīʿīs from Persia to India continued during the reign of Akbar and reached a significant stage when Djahāngīr came to the throne. The great Shīʿī scholar and divine Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī was flogged to death by the order of Djahāngīr for writing his *Iḥḳāḳ al-Ḥaḳḳ*. The propagation of some of the Shīʿī views created resentment in the mind of the Sunnī scholars and there appeared a large number of works—such as *Risāla Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* by Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, the *Izālat al-khafāʾ*, by Shāh Walī Allāh, the *Radd al-Shīʿa* by Mulla Muḥammad Muḥsin of Kashmīr (d. 1191/1777), the *Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* by Shāh Kalīm Allāh and *Tuḥfa Ithnā-ʿashariyya* by Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—in which some of the basic concepts of the Shīʿī were subjected to criticism.

During the 12th/18th century Shīʿa states were established at Murshidābād (in Bengal), Awadh and Rāmpūr (in Uttar Pradesh) and Khayrpur (in Sind) and these states played a very important rôle in the spread of Shīʿism in India and the popularization of its various religious practices. Separate Shīʿa congregational prayers and their distinct corporate religious life began with the efforts of Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī of Naṣīrābād (d. 1235/1819). The Shīʿas of India commemorate the martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn by exposing *taʿziyas* (miniatures of the tomb of Imām Ḥusayn), holding *madjlises* in *imāmbārās*, and reciting elegies during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram. The *imāmbārās* have a very important place in the cultural and religious life of the Indian Shīʿas. (For accounts of Shīʿas in India, see Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Muẓaffarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1352 A.H., 232-60; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953).

Of the Shīʿī religious literature produced in India, the *Iḥḳāḳ al-ḥaḳḳ wa ibṭāl al-bāṭil* and the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, and the *ʿImād al-islām* and *al-Shihāb al-thāḳib* of Sayyid Dildār ʿAlī deserve particular mention (for a comprehensive list, see ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *al-Thaḳāfa al-islāmiyya fi ʾl-Hind*, Damascus 1958, 217-22).

The Khōdjās and the Bohorās [*qq.v.*] represent the best-organized Shīʿa communities in India (see also S. C. Misra, *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, Asia Publishers, 1964). They emphasize esoteric (*bāṭinī*) discipline and believe in an hierarchical system which controls and regulates the entire life of the community. The Khōdjās, according to their own tradition, originally belonged to the Lohana caste of Hindus. A Persian Ismāʿīlī missionary, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, converted them to Ismāʿīlism. Among his successors, who organized the Ismāʿīlī communities in the Pundjāb, Sind and Kashmīr, were Seth Sham Das, Trikam and Seth Tulsi Das respectively, all bearing Hindu names and enjoying the title of *mukhī* (chief). Ṣadr al-Dīn called the Prophet of Islam the *avatar* or incarnation of Brahma, Adam the *avatar* of Shiva and ʿAlī the *avatar* of Vishnū (S. Nanjiani, *Khoja Vrttant*, Aḥmadābād 1892, 208; Bartle Frere, *The Khojas, the disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain*, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, xxxiv (London 1876), 431-4). The majority of the Khōdjās —who are Nizārī Ismāʿīlis—are followers of the Āghā Khān.

The principal source of Ismāʿīlī *fiḳh* is Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (ed. A. A. Fyzee, 2 vols., Cairo 1951-60). Contrary to the Ithnā-ʿashariyya, the Ismāʿīlī law rejects *mutʿa* marriage as invalid. On the question of bequests to heirs (A. A. A. Fyzee, in *Bombay Law Reporter, Journal*, 1929, 84; *JRAS*, 1930, 141; *The Ismaili law of wills*, London 1933 and) *mutʿa* (*Bombay Law Reporter, Journal*, 1931, 30; *JBBRAS*, 1932, 85), the Ismāʿīlī law agrees with the Ḥanafī school.

(e) *Growth of Muslim religious sciences and literature*

The Muslim religious literature produced in India does not merely furnish the indispensable background to the active religious life of Muslim India, but it also supplies the key to an assessment of the influence of Indo-Muslim religious thought on the Muslim world.

Ḳurʾānic studies, particularly *ḳirāʾāt* and *tadjwīd*, have been very popular in India even so early as the 6th/12th century, when in small places like Aror (near Multan) one could receive instruction in reciting the Ḳurʾān according to its seven recognized methods of recitation (*Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, 103). Referring to three experts in *ḳirāʾāt* during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1315) Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī says that "their equals were not to be found in Khurāsān or ʿIrāḳ". This Indian tradition of specialization in *ḳirāʾāt* continued throughout the ages. Dārā Shukōh (1024-69/1615-59) found more than five thousand *ḥāfiẓ* living in a single quarter of Lahore (*Malfūẓāt-i Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*). But *tafsīr* literature made little progress in India during the early period, as the works produced at the time catered for limited tastes; some were written for the *ʿulamāʾ*, others for the *ṣūfīs*; thus the *Tafsīr al-Raḥmān wa taysīr al-Mannān* of Shaykh ʿAlī al-Mahāʾimī was inspired by a desire to find Ḳurʾānic support for the pantheistic ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī, and the *Baḥr-i mawwādj* of Shihāb al-Dīn Dawla-

tābādī [*q.v.*] was an essay in rhetoric, beyond the comprehension of the ordinary man. A disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā, Khwādja Ḳāsim, is reported to have written the (lost) *Laṭā'if al-tafsīr* with the specific purpose of making the thought-content of the Ḳur'ān popularly intelligible (*Siyar al-awliyā'*, 207). It was Shāh Walī Allāh, through his Persian rendering of the Ḳur'ān, and his sons, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn and Shāh 'Abd al-Ḳādir, through their Urdu translations, who popularized Ḳur'ānic learning and made its thought-content available to the people. His *al-Fawz al-kabīr*, on the principles of *tafsīr*, was the first work of its nature written in India. In this he protested against subjective commentaries on the Ḳur'ān and laid down the principles which should guide one who undertakes this task. Shāh Walī Allāh having prepared their ground, many commentaries on the Ḳur'ān appeared in India during the succeeding centuries. A comparative study of his works—*Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, *al-Fawz al-kabīr* and *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*—with the literature on exegesis produced in India, and even elsewhere, during the last two centuries, would reveal the extent of Shāh Walī Allāh's influence on Muslim religious thought.

It was in the sphere of *ḥadīth* literature that Indian Islam made a remarkable contribution. According to Rashīd Riḍā, India revived and resuscitated the science of *ḥadīth* in the 10th/16th century when it was dying out in the Arab world. The earliest contribution of India to *ḥadīth* literature is the *Mashāriḳ al-anwār* of Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣāghānī; then comes the *Kanz al-'ummāl* of Shaykh 'Alī Muttaḳī (d. 975/1567) in which Suyūṭī's *Djāmi' al-Djawāmi'* has been more scientifically rearranged. According to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī: "The whole world of learning is indebted to 'Allāma Suyūṭī, but Suyūṭī himself is under obligation to Shaykh 'Alī Muttaḳī". The systematic study of *ḥadīth* literature in India was initiated by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Delhi and was developed by Shāh Walī Allāh. Shāh Walī Allāh's main emphasis was on the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik because it fitted in with his juridico-theological thought and was of great value in deciding matters relating to the *fiḳh*. Consequently he rearranged the *Muwaṭṭa'* according to the order of chapters given in the books of *fiḳh*.

Apart from *ḥadīth*, Indian Islam produced two very important works on the life of the Prophet—the *Madāridj al-nubuwwa* (Persian, 2 vols., Delhi 1269) of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith and the *Sīrat al-Nabī* (Urdu, 6 vols., A'ẓamgarh 1918-39), by Shiblī and Sulaymān Nadawī.

Besides a large number of commentaries on different classics on *fiḳh*, like the *Hidāya*, *Talwīḥ*, *Ḥusāmī*, *Manār*, etc., Indian scholars produced independent works on *fiḳh*, like *Fatāwā-i Tātār Khāniyya* (MSS, Zubayd Aḥmad 269) by Mawlānā 'Alim b. 'Alā' al-Dīn during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752-90/1351-88) and the *Fatāwā-i 'Ālamgīrī* [*q.v.*], by a board of scholars under the personal supervision of the Emperor Awrangzīb (1027-1118/1618-1707). If the *fatāwā* collections made in India throughout the centuries were properly edited and their contents analysed, the religious aspirations of the Indian Muslims throughout the ages could be more specifically studied. While the law books seem to ignore completely the specific problems of Muslims in the Indian environment, the *fatāwā* collections throw considerable light on this aspect. On *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the *Musallam al-thubūt* of Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī (d. 1119/1707) is a work of great merit.

Probably on no other aspect of Muslim religious life was more literature produced in India than on mysticism. The *malfūẓ* literature (collections of conversations of mystic teachers)—*e.g.*, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, *Khayr al-madjālis*, *Ma'ādin al-ma'ānī*, *Sirādj al-hidāya*, *Laṭā'if-i Ḳuddūsī*, *Durr al-ma'ārif*, *Anwār al-Raḥmān*—is a mine of information on the religious life and attitudes of the Muslim community as shaped in the Indian milieu. The earliest Persian work on Islamic mysticism, *Kashf al-mahdjūb* of Shaykh 'Alī Hudjwīrī, was produced in India, and the place it enjoyed in religious thought may be judged from the remark of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' that for one who had no *pīr*, the *Kashf al-mahdjūb* was sufficient guidance. The letters of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī, known as *Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī*, have a place of their own in the Muslim mystic literature of the world. The Shaykh gave a new depth and a new content to mystic terms, which he explained and elucidated in the light of his own spiritual experience. The fact that these letters were translated into Turkish and Arabic shows the reception they had in the Muslim world. On the theoretical aspects of mysticism, works like the *Ṭawāli' al-shumūs* of Ḳāḍī Ḥamīd Nāgawrī, the *Asmā' al-asrār* of Gīsū Darāz, the *Ma'rifat al-nafs* of 'Abd al-Awwal and the *'Ilm al-Kitāb* of Mīr Dard, have a value of their own.

In the sphere of scholastic theology the *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha* of Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi may be considered one of the most original contributions of Indian Islam to Muslim religious thought. Its impact may be traced in the works of Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā. In this work he made a serious attempt to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. "Perhaps the first Muslim", remarks Dr. Iḳbāl, "who felt the urge of a new spirit in him was Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi" (*Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, 97). His other work, *Izālat al-khafā'*, is another outstanding contribution to a clear understanding of the significance, historical rôle and religious meaning of the institution of *khilāfa*. He looked upon the patriarchal caliphate as normative and wanted to see its spirit working as an operative principle in the social and political life of the Muslims.

(f) *Influence of Islam on India and vice versa*

Islam made a deep impact on the religious thought and social behaviour of Indians. The development of monotheistic ideas and the consequent re-orientation of Hindū religious thought—as evinced in the Bhaktī, the Sikh and the Arya Samādj movements—was greatly inspired by Islam. It is true that monotheistic ideas were present in some Hindū scriptures also, but they were covered by a polytheistic veneer. Islam made possible the transition of Hindū thought from polytheism to monotheism. Another significant change in the religious behaviour of the Hindus brought about by contact with Islam was the belief that every individual could approach God without the help of intermediaries. The saints of the Bhaktī—Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, Čataniya, Pīpā, Sena etc.—who claimed direct contact with the Ultimate Reality received encouragement from Muslim religious thought and behaviour. The sacred book of the Sikhs, *Gurū Granth*, contains numerous references to Muslim mystics, particularly Shaykh Farīd Gandj-i Shakar, which indicates also the source for the infiltration of monotheistic ideas into the Sikh scriptures. Besides, the idea that religious knowledge

and learning should be available to all without any discrimination is the result of Islamic influence. The Hindū social system had refused to the common man any access to religious texts. Islam encouraged the universalization of religious knowledge amongst the Hindus. The emphasis on congregational prayer amongst the Muslims had its effect on the Hindus also. The Hindu temples constructed before the advent of Islam provided space for individual prostration before the deity; while the temples constructed subsequently contain more space and seem to have been influenced by the Muslim idea of congregational prayer. Hinduism, as we know from the account of al-Bīrūnī, was not a proselytizing creed. In fact, it was more inclined to excluding people than to admitting them into its religious fold. From the 8th/14th century onwards we find that Hinduism also adopted proselytizing methods.

Islam was also, in its turn, deeply influenced by Indian surroundings and Indian religious attitudes. Many of the mystic practices—meditation, concentration, control of breath, *taṣawwur-i shaykh* etc. —were borrowed from the Hindū Yogis and the Buddhists. Through his *Baḥr al-ḥayāt* and the *Djawāhir-i khamsa*, Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwāliyār popularized Yogic practices amongst the Muslim mystics. Some of these adjustments to Indian conditions were necessitated by the circumstances in which the saints had to inculcate their mystic doctrines among the masses. For instance, it is stated that Shaykh Farīd permitted some of his disciples to practice *dhikr* in the Pandjābī language (*Kashkūl-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1308, 25); Shāh Fakhr al-Dīn of Delhi (1126-99/1717-84) said that in India the *khuṭba* before the Friday congregation should be read in "Hindawī" (*Fakhr al-ṭālibīn*, Delhi 1315, 23), and Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz considered Hindī poetry emotionally more effective in his audition parties than Persian poetry (*Djawāmiʿ al-kalim*, 173). At another popular level we find excessive faith in magic, sorcery, miracles, grave-worship, and the superstitious belief that epidemics could be averted through the performance of certain practices inconsistent with Islamic teachings. Since there was always a danger of idolatrous habits entering the religious life of the Muslims, Muslim religious leaders—both the *ʿulamā᾽* and the *ṣūfīs*—frequently warned the people against adopting such practices. Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz objected to the adoption of Yogic practices and Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī directed his powerful and incisive criticism against all kinds of innovations. The fear underlying this attitude was that the idolatrous background of many Hindu institutions would affect the monotheistic character of Islam. When a Hindu wrote to Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī that *Rāmā* and *Raḥīm* were the same, he objected to it and said that *Rāmā* was a human being and could not therefore be considered identical with the Allāh of Islam. Shāh Walī Allāh and Shāh Ismāʿīl Shahīd fought against the adoption of all those Hindu practices with which idolatrous leanings and ideas were associated. An attempt at synthesis at a higher level of Hindu and Muslim religious thought was made by Dārā Shukōh. As an individual scholar of comparative religion, Dārā Shukōh occupies an unrivalled place in Indian history, but his thought did not make any great impact on the contemporary Muslim religious attitude.

It was in the sphere of social life and customs that the influence of Hinduism on the Indian Muslims was the most far-reaching. Since most of the people were converts from Hinduism, it was not possible for them to break away completely from their social background. In varying degrees and at different levels the Hindu traditions and customs were consequently continued among the Muslims. In certain rural areas, where conversion was not complete, many of the social customs, even some religious practices of Hinduism which had become a part of their social life, were accepted. In ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, mourning etc. the impact of Hindu traditions was quite remarkable. In certain Muslim families of Awadh and the Pandjāb, the Muslim law of inheritance was ignored in preference to the customary law. Though Islam had softened the caste ideas of Hindus, considerations of family and *kafā᾽a* in matrimonial matters found ready acceptance in Muslim society also. If a survey is made of the forces and factors which have brought Indian Islam closer to Hindu society, it will be found that the pantheistic thought of the Muslim mystics, which found its affinity in the religious thought of the *Upanishads*, has invariably brought Islam and Hinduism closer, while the idolatrous connotations and concepts associated with many Hindu institutions pulled them apart. This was to some extent implicit in the situation. "The *Upanishads*", writes S. Radhakrishnan, "no doubt, shattered the authority of these gods in the world of thought, but did not disturb their sway in the world of practice" (*Indian philosophy*, i, 453). Similar has been the case with reference to Hindu festivals and many of the heroes of ancient India. In the case of many of the festivals, —though based on Indian climatic changes—the Indianising process has forced their acceptance by the Muslims, but their polytheistic religious associations have made them subject to the criticism of the orthodox.

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(K. A. Nizami)

vi. — Islamic Culture.

The transplantation of Islamic culture on the Indian sub-continent began with the incorporation of Sind into the Umayyad Caliphate after 95/713, and came to be represented by such scholars of *ḥadīth* as Abū Maʿshar and Abū Turāb (c. 171/788), and by the poet Abu 'l-ʿAṭāʾ.

Sind became the main channel of Indian studies in the early ʿAbbāsid times, especially through the active interest of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. The fragmentary renderings of Hindu scientific works touched, however, merely the periphery of the external Arab equipment of learning; their influence on the Arab *lexique technique* was slight; and the movement of translations from Sanskrit, which in any case had completely ignored the total corpus of Hindū scriptural and speculative literature, came to an end as the political grip of the ʿAbbāsids over Sind loosened. The transmission of Hindū mystical ideas into Ṣūfism has been argued for and against, through the controversial Abū ʿAlī al-Sindī [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] who travelled through Sind. Not much evidence of a recognizable form of the culture of Sind under the Ismāʿīlī influence (c. 366/977) has survived.

Parallel to the conquest and occupation of Sind were the peaceful commercial and missionary activities of Arab traders on southern Indian coasts; and theories have been hazarded of the possible inspiration of the Muslim presence on the great Hindū movements led by Shankarāčārya (788-850) and Rāmānudja (d. 1137). These may be discounted in the absence of any direct evidence, and because every element of the teachings of these Hindū thinkers can be traced to purely Hindū sources.

With the occupation of the Pandjāb by the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] (c. 381-582/1001-1186) Lahore as a centre gave Muslim Indian culture the Persian contours it has largely preserved throughout the centuries, continually accepting and modifying certain additional Indian features. The pattern of Ghaznawid culture as it developed on the Ghazna-Lahore axis shows a transition from an Arabic intellectual base (al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], al-ʿUtbī [*q.v.*]) to Persian (Bayhaḳī, Gardīzī and al-Hudjwīrī) and a shift of emphasis to ṣūfistic and theological studies (Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, d. 450/1058). The Ghaznawid tradition of Persian poetry was cultivated in Lahore by Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān [*q.v.*] (437-515/1046-1121) and Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī (d. 484/1091). This period also marks the phase of incubation, if not of actual early growth, of Urdū [*q.v.*].

After the Ghūrid conquest of Lahore the cultural scene shifted to Iletmish's Dihlī and Ḳubāča's Mūltān. In these courts literary history established itself with ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] (c. 617/1220), political thought with Fakhr-i Mudabbir, and historiography with al-Djūzdjānī (c. 658/1260) and Ḥasan Niẓāmī (c. 614/1217) who, with their successors, form the chief link in Persian between the early Ghaznawid and the Il-Khānid historians. About this time two major Ṣūfī orders established themselves in India, the Suhra-

wardiyya in Mūltān and the Čis͟htiyya [*q.v.*] in Dihlī/Ad͟jmēr. A balance was maintained by Iletmis͟h between the s͟harīʿa and the *ṭarīḳa*, inaugurating a tradition of the tolerant co-existence of the two religious disciplines which Islamic culture in India subsequently tried quite successfully to preserve. Refugees fleeing before the Mongol onslaught brought to India fresh waves of Islamic traditions from Central Asia and northern Persia, emphasizing conservative trends in an atmosphere of external (Mongol) threat and internal (Hindū) challenge. The institution of the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] was introduced under the 'Slave' sultans, and works of al-G͟hazālī [*q.v.*] and al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] were translated into Persian.

The *élite* of the court, at first purely Turkish, opened its ranks under various pressures to Afg͟hān and later to indigenous converted elements. Under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K͟haldjī (695-715/1295-1315) external religious conformity was enforced on the Muslim population, whereas the writings of Amīr K͟husraw [*q.v.*] reflect the borrowings into Islamic culture from Hindū ways of living, popular vocabulary and music. Muḥammad b. Tug͟hluḳ's (725-52/1325-51) policies of re-establishing political and intellectual links with the Dār al-Islām, his patronage and employment of a foreign Muslim *élite* and his early proclivities towards rationalism and eclecticism paved the way in the growing Indo-Muslim culture for certain intellectual trends such as Ibn Taymiyya's [*q.v.*] fundamentalism imported during this period by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ardabīlī, pre-Taftāzānī rationalism, and an intellectual curiosity relating to certain elements of the Hindū complex of religions such as Djaynism and *yōga*, emphasizing in general a movement towards exoteric and political rather than esoteric and mystical Islam. Enigmatic intellectualism, imported from Central Asia by Badr Čāč, became the fashion in Persian poetry. In the reign of Fīrūz Tug͟hluḳ (752-90/1351-88) [*q.v.*] the state became a traditionalist theocracy, providing certain social welfare elements for the Muslims, and abolition of torture and cruel punishments for all elements of the population. His reign saw the establishment of the disciplines of *fiḳh* and lexicography in India, but painting and even poetry were discouraged.

The complete Persianization of the administration by Sikandar Lōdī (849-923/1488-1517) introduced the Hindū official into the intellectual sphere of Islam, and this in due course of time led to the specific cultural development of certain communities like the Kāyasthas, the Khatrīs, the Kās͟hmīrī Brāhmans and the ʿĀmils of Sind, who retained their Hindū religion but identified themselves culturally with the Muslims.

The successor states of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] mark a regionalization of Muslim culture in India. In Bengal a number of Hindū social and religious institutions were integrated into the Muslim way of life, and the Bengali language and literature show a simultaneous series of borrowings from Sanskrit and Persian sources. In the Dakhan (Deccan) a regional form of Urdū was developed into a rich literary language. The maritime states of Gud͟jarāt and the Dakhan balanced Hindū cultural borrowings with fresh re-orientations from the external Dār al-Islām.

During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries Ṣūfī proselytization achieved mass appeal, and Hindū resistance to it developed in the form of various *bhakti* movements, borrowing from Islam its emphasis on the Unity of God and its egalitarianism, but fortifying, against its spiritual, economic and social pull, a reformed and latitudinarian Hindūism among the lower castes. The *bhakti* movements in their attitudes, receptive and resistant, towards Islam ranged from the syncretism of Kabīr and Dādū Dayāl to the counter-conversionist trends of Čaytanya.

Tīmūrid cultural elements from Samarḳand and Harāt were introduced into India after Bābur's [*q.v.*] conquest (932/1526). For a short while the Turkish language assumed at court the position of literary supremacy, only to be finally displaced by Persian during the Sūrī interregnum (946-62/1539-55) and after Humāyūn's [*q.v.*] return from Persia which also marks in India the establishment of the Mug͟hal school of painting [see TAṢWĪR].

Akbar's [*q.v.*] (963-1014/1556-1605) policies of integrating the Hindūs into the political and social life of Muslim India influenced the attitude of the Muslims in the direction of eclecticism. These policies also evoked an orthodox reaction represented by theologians like ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, who re-introduced in India an emphasis on the study of *ḥadīt͟h*, and Naḳs͟hbandiyya Ṣūfīs like S͟hayk͟h Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] who brought Indian Ṣūfism very close to orthodoxy. The programme initiated by Akbar, and earlier by Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Kas͟hmīr (822-75/1420-76) of translations of Hindū religious and literary classics marked the beginning of a more liberal understanding of Hindūism. Co-existent with these internal eclectic features was the constantly flowing cultural stream from Persia and Transoxiana bringing an administrative *élite* which developed into the Īrānī and Tūrānī factions in the Mug͟hal court, rationalist trends, artists and architects, and chiefly poets. During the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries India rather than Persia was the focus of Persian poetry, and the 'Indian Style' (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) assumed its highly intellectualized and curiously stylized features in the tradition of Fig͟hānī S͟hīrāzī.

Akbar's eclectic tradition remained the cultural denominator of the reigns of his successors Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] and S͟hāhdjahān [*q.v.*] with a slight focal adjustment in favour of orthodoxy. The 11th/17th century marks the culmination of the growth of syncretic sects, some of them rooted in Hindūism but borrowing liberally from Islam such as the Kabīr Panthīs, Vayrāgīs, Lingāyats, Ḥusaynī Brāhmans, etc., others rooted in Islam with converse borrowings such as Madārīs, Pāgalnāthīs and others, others again developing into independent religions like Sikhism which has a strong anti-Muslim bias. The conflict of the eclectic and orthodox trends of Mug͟hal culture is to some extent reflected in the essentially personal trial of strength between Dārā S͟hukōh [*q.v.*] and Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] resulting in the latter's victory (1069/1695) and the establishment of a theocratic régime, discriminatory against the non-Muslim elements, and in the compilation of the encyclopaedic juridical work *Fatāwā-i ʿĀlamgīrī*.

In the political and economic anarchy that followed the rapid decline of the Mug͟hal empire in the early 12th/18th century mass syncretization followed, borrowing extensively from Hindū institutions. The leadership of the Muslim community for the first time passed on to the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially S͟hāh Walī-Allāh [see AL-DIHLAWĪ, S͟hāh Walī Allāh], his successors, and his militant followers of the early nineteenth century, the *Mud͟jāhidīn*. Parallel movements in Bengal, aimed at clearing Indian Islam from borrowed accretions, show Wahhābī influences. The Muslim *élite* of Dihlī and Lakhnaʾū

(Lucknow), decadent and economically bankrupt, developed a new creative impetus by using Urdū instead of Persian as the language of poetry. Like the Persian poetry written in India, Urdū poetry, except in *mathnawīs*, tended to ignore the Indian life and background totally in theme and image alike.

The aftermath of the Mutiny of 1857 marks the sharp turning point of Indo-Muslim culture towards modernism represented mainly by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and the ʿAlīgarh movement. Cultural trends inclined towards separatism and were dominated by a fear of cultural and possibly religious submergence of Indian Islam into the religion and culture of the Hindū majority. This fear of submergence is reflected in the Urdū-Hindī controversy (c. 1870 onwards), revivalism, pan-Islamism and finally in the movement for the achievement of a separate state, Pākistān [*q.v.*]. The official cultural orientation in Pākistān has been to play down the glories of Muslim architecture and literature in the areas outside the present frontiers of Pākistān, and to substitute instead a new concept of cultural heritage derived from regional literatures and local monuments situated within the geographical limits of Pākistān.

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vii.—ARCHITECTURE

At the time of the Muslim conquest, India was a land with a rich artistic tradition: temples and monasteries abounded, Hindū shrines of all descriptions and sizes were found by almost every hillside and spring, cities were rich and well-planned, Hindū rulers had built for themselves forts and palaces, and the remains of earlier phases of Indian civilization —such as the Hindū, Buddhist and Djayn cave-temples, and the Buddhist *stūpa*s and monasteries— were numerous. Architecture was characteristically of stone, its construction derived from timber prototypes: beams and lintels were supported on columns or brackets, and roofs tended to a stepped pyramidal shape, through having been built in diminishing horizontal courses. Domical shapes were known, often carried on octagonal bases, but were often solid and in any case had little structural affinity with the true voussoir-built dome. The northern temples usually had curvilinear towers, again often solid; these, and some of the domical forms, had a characteristic crowning feature which later became part of the Indian Islamic dome decoration, a ribbed ring known as *āmalaka* (from the fruit it resembles, the Emblic Myrobalan, *Phyllanthus emblica*) surmounted by a pot-shaped moulding, the *kalaśa* (lit. 'water-jar'); to these a base of stone foliations in the form of lotus-petals might be added. The entire ornamental feature was on occasions supported by ribs on the curvilinear towers, and it has been suggested that at least part of the origin of ribbed domes in India is to be found in this device. The arch is not known at all as a structure, and only rarely as a decorative form; but recesses used freely on both internal and external walls lead to a proliferation of vertical lines and to unnecessary horizontal plinths and mouldings. Window-openings were rare: the interior of the Hindū temple was poorly lighted, its kernel being the secret shrine of an idol god whose mysteries were known only to a few initiated priests and were not for public display. The exterior, however, was as luxuriant and prolix as the interior was esoteric and recondite, for all its surfaces were covered with a profusion of exuberant sculpture of iconographic significance, in which the human form preponderated. Free-standing statuary was also known, with the human form again dominant; but frequent also were the vehicles and attendants of the Hindū gods, especially Shiva's bull, and also the *linga*, the representation of the phallus as the generative principle of the world. The Indian painting tradition must also be mentioned as part of the artistic heritage; but there is as yet insufficient evidence for an unbroken tradition of Indian painting from the

Adjanṭā frescoes to the period of the pre-Mughal hill schools. Of the other arts, metalwork, especially cast bronze, had reached a high degree of refinement at the time of the conquest; coins were heavy and fairly crude, but certainly some of the northern coin-designs were appropriated by the early Muslim rulers [see further SIKKA]; and there were fully developed indigenous arts of music (see viii, below) and dance (implicit in much of the sculptural evidence), which do not concern us here.

There is as yet insufficient archaeological evidence of the first Islamic buildings on Indian soil which must have been produced by the conquest of Sind in the 2nd/8th century, although excavation at present being undertaken at Bhambōr and elsewhere may eventually reveal the site of Daybul [*q.v.*]; for a further account of these see SINDH, and see also MANṢŪRA. The buildings after the 6th/12th century conquest of the north, however, show the Muslims' reaction to indigenous building very plainly; for the traditions of the idol-temples, with their plethora of florid figure representation, their gloom and secrecy, and above all the nature of the worship they implied, were not only anathema to Islam but were its direct antithesis. The earliest phase of Muslim building is in Delhi [see DIHLĪ], and is here represented by the re-use of pillaged material from Hindū and Djayn temples; destruction of the religious buildings of the enemy is known, of course, in many religions other than Islam, and indeed in India there is more than one record of a Hindū king doing just this to his neighbour's lands. Reutilization of the pillaged material is a feature of the initial phase of Muslim occupation in many regions of India, for example, at Adjmēr and Djālor [*qq.v.*] in Rādjāsthān; Bharōč, Khambāyat and Pāṭan [*qq.v.*] in Gudjarāt; Djawnpur [*q.v.*]; Bīdjāpur, Dawlatābād and Warangal [*qq.v.*] in the Deccan; Lakhnawtī, Pānduā and Tribēnī [*qq.v.*] in Bengal; Dhār and Māndū [*qq.v.*] in Mālwā; and many other sites. The first example, the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī ([*q.v.*] for description and plan), is in fact built on a temple plinth, and some twenty-seven temples were pillaged to provide columns, walls, roofing materials, and paving; sculptured figures were mutilated or were so set in walls that the unworked sides of the stones were all that could be seen. This mosque was at first a plain enclosure, but in 595/1199, eight years after its foundation, a large *maḳṣūra* screen was erected between the western *liwān* and the courtyard, and the arch appears for the first time: but these arches are corbelled out, not voussoired, and it appears that the work was done by Hindū artisans working under general Muslim direction and as yet having no mastery over the alien architectonic forms; moreover, the courtyard side of the *maḳṣūra* is covered with carving, mostly typical Hindū floral motifs and ornaments, but also some bandeaux of *naskh* calligraphy, in such a way as to suggest that local workmanship was being employed. In the south-east corner of the mosque buildings the minaret known as the Ḳuṭb Mīnār presents a stylistic contrast, as its tapering fluted storeys develop the polygonal outline of the *mīnār*s at Ghazna which must be its immediate prototype, and features of typically Hindū derivation are almost entirely absent.

The extension of the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque and the first completion of the *mīnār* were carried out by Iletmish in the early 7th/13th century, and to his reign belong the Aṛhāʾī din kā djhōmpṛā mosque at Adjmēr [*q.v.*], his own tomb of *ca.* 632/1235, and his son's tomb of 629/1231, the earliest monumental tomb in India (there are earlier dated tombstones: see HĀNSĪ); also minor buildings at Dihlī and Badāʾūn ([*q.v.*]; the Djāmiʿ Masdjid has been so much repaired and rebuilt that scarcely any of Iletmish's fabric is visible), at Bayānā, and at Nāgawr [*q.v.*]. In none of these buildings is there a true arch or dome, although all the masonry has well-dressed surfaces, often elaborately carved. The tomb of Iletmish's son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, stands within an octagonal cell which seems to be the earliest use of the octagon in Muslim India; it appears next as the phase of transition in Iletmish's own square tomb, to support, presumably, a dome of which there is now no trace (and which, one must imagine, was also corbelled and not voussoired). In the latter tomb the octagon is formed by simple corbelled squinch arches across each corner. These early buildings are of so heterogeneous and, often, of so makeshift a nature that there is little of a coherent style about them. The buildings of the emperor Balban, similarly, are few and largely uninteresting, except for the significant appearance of the true voussoired arch in his tomb, now a mere unprepossessing lump of decaying masonry.

With the Khaldjī dynasty, however, a distinct if short-lived style appears, the keynote of which is provided by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's southern doorway into the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām complex and known as the ʿAlāʾī Darwāza. This, like other examples of the style, is built with specially quarried stone and not improvised from Hindū materials; its chief characteristic is the shape of the arch, which is voussoired and of the pointed horseshoe shape and, in the case of external arches, has on the intrados a fringe of conventionalized stone spear-heads. The masonry is well finished and jointed, decoration in the form of bandeaux of calligraphy and a running merlon-like ornament being now more prominent than the diaper and rosette patterns in basso-relievo with which the earlier builders were wont to cover entire walls. At the ʿAlāʾī Darwāza, but not in the other examples of Khaldjī work, the entire surfaces are so treated, and in addition show the use of white marble bandeaux of inscriptions, pilasters and architraves. Works of similar style exist at Dihlī (the so-called Djamāʿat-khāna mosque at the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ) and Bayānā, near Agra; but other buildings of the Khaldjī period are found as far afield as Djālōr [*q.v.*] in Rādjāsthān, at Bharoč, Khambāyat, Pāṭan and Siddhpur [*qq.v.*] in Gudjarāt, at Bhīlsā in Mālwā, in Dawlatābād in the northern Deccan, and elsewhere, many of these incorporating much pillaged temple material but showing also many of the characteristics mentioned above, and most significant in pointing out the expansion of this early Sultanate style.

Under the Tughluḳ dynasty the Dihlī empire was greatly extended, and with the expansion came the spread of the Dihlī style to all parts of that empire. Of the works of the first ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, there are insufficient remains to show how early the Tughluḳian traits developed: besides the ruins of his capital city, Tughluḳābād, only his own tomb. But a major work for which he was responsible before his accession to the Dihlī throne is the mausoleum of the saint Rukn-i ʿĀlam at Mūltān [*q.v.*], originally intended as his own tomb. Some features of this, especially the batter of the walls and the sloping corner turrets, are reflected in the walls of Tughluḳābād and in the strong batter of Tughluḳ's tomb; and perhaps the profile of the dome also is closer

to the pointed Mūltān model than to the shallow domes of the ʿAlāʾī Darwāza and the Djamāʿat Khāna of the preceding dynasty. The characteristic Mūltānī features of raised tile-work and wooden structural courses, described below when the Pandjāb style is considered, are however absent in the extant Dihlī examples; nor is the octagonal shape retained. Tughluḳ's son Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] shortly after his accession conceived the grandiose idea of forming a second capital at Dawlatābād [*q.v.*] and transporting there the élite population of Dihlī, and the necessary services. The old Hindū fort, the former Dewgiri, at the new capital was much extended, and it seems likely that the Khaldjī mosque there was modified at this time since its rear wall has tapering angle turrets, although its interior arrangements seem undisturbed. Muḥammad's occupation of Dawlatābād was only for about five years, after which he returned to Dihlī, where most of his building projects were carried out. His administration seems to have impoverished the royal treasury, and the fine stone-work of earlier reigns almost disappears and is replaced by cheaper material, plaster over a rubble core; but, from the sudden appearance in the 8th/14th century of buildings in the Deccan which are obviously close to the earlier Dihlī styles, it is to be supposed that many of the artisans taken to Dawlatābād drifted away from that centre and formed other allegiances: certainly the earliest Bahmanī tombs at Gulbargā (see further below) would support this view. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's royal palaces at Dihlī, the Bidjay Manḍal and the Hazār Sutūn, are now in too ruined a state to permit of certain conclusions as to architectural style; the majority of the remains of his period in Dihlī are in fact more commonplace works: the fort walls of ʿĀdilābād and Djahānpanāh, and the interesting sluice or water-regulator called Sāt pulā. The only significant innovation is to be found in the Bidjay Manḍal remains: the earliest Indian example of intersecting vaulting. Some ceramic fragments are known from the ʿĀdilābād excavations.

Under Muḥammad's nephew Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ the building art received an enthusiastic patron. Not only did he build extensively on his own account, but he arranged for the renovation or restoration of many of the monuments of his predecessors. But a strict economy had now to be practised, and plans and costings for each projected undertaking came first under the scrutiny of the *Dīwān-i wizāra*. Red sandstone and marble were no longer used, and in Dihlī the favourite materials were the local quartzite for columns, jambs, arches and reveals, with the other elements built of compact plaster, usually whitewashed, over a random rubble core. Ornament is generally reduced to a minimum, and where it exists it is more usually of moulded plaster than of carved stone. The sombre and ascetic effect of this architecture produced under conditions of financial stringency is in marked contrast to the exuberance of plastic ornament of the preceding régimes, and was certainly foreign to the instincts of the traditional Indian craftsman. But aspects of the Hindū tradition are certainly found in buildings of this phase, exemplified in the use of beam-and-bracket construction for many of the openings—a main doorway tends to show a large arched opening in which a smaller opening of lintel-and-bracket construction is recessed; but this device is met with earlier in Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ's tomb—and in the use of sloping eaves (*čhadjdjā*) supported on corbels, which now appears for the first time. An innovation which seems to be of extra-Indian provenance, however, is the machicolation which now appears in fortified works [see BURDJ, iii]. There seems also to have been some experiment in the planning of mosques: the courtyards of the Sandjar mosque at Nizamuddin and the mosque at Khiṙkī village are both partially covered. Several mosques are now built on a high plinth over a *tahkhāna* storey and are approached by flights of steps, and a frequent device is the flanking of a gateway or a *miḥrāb* buttress by a pair of tapering pillars; roofs now begin to show a multiplication of domes, and domed corner turrets appear in many works (those in Sulṭān Ghārī, the tomb of Iletmish's son, are most probably to be attributed to Fīrūz Tughluḳ's renovations). One innovation, in the mosque of Begampur, is a feature of many later styles and was probably introduced from the region of Djawnpur after Fīrūz's conquest of that region: the central bay of the façade of the western *līwān* is occupied by a tall arched pylon which completely conceals the large central dome from the courtyard. Most of the tombs of the period are of the square type, including Fīrūz's own, but of great architectural significance is that of his *wazīr* Khān-i Djahān Tilingānī, d. 770/1368-9, which is octagonal; the tomb-chamber is surrounded by a veranda with a shallow dome-like cupola and three arched openings on each of the eight sides, continuous eaves, and a single central dome crowned by the *āmalaka* motif. The tomb is surrounded with a fortified enclosure. Other buildings of Fīrūz Tughluḳ are known from Djawnpur [*q.v.*], Fatḥābād, where a pillar in the fort records Fīrūz's lineage [see KHAṬṬ, KITĀBĀT], and Ḥiṣār Fīrūza [*q.v.*]; many of these, reflecting a stage of new conquest or refoundation, are improvisations from Hindū material, but show in addition some regional trends not apparent in the buildings of the capital: thus the now destroyed Čihil Sutūn at Djawnpur ([*q.v.*] for illustration) was entirely trabeate, was roofed on its upper storey with a curvilinear ribbed pyramid, and was decorated with stone stringcourses, parapets and plinth. Two buildings of the end of the Tughluḳ period show perhaps a reaction to the Fīrūzian austerity: the tomb of Kabīr al-Dīn Awliyāʾ at Dihlī, a poor and half-scale copy of the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ, showing a revival of polychromatic work in red sandstone and white marble, and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Irič [*q.v.*], entirely arcuate with some good stonework, and exhibiting in its façade arches and squinches a recession of planes, a familiar device under succeeding dynasties.

The sack of Dihlī by Tīmūr in 801/1398-9 left the sultanate with little resources and less prestige, and for many years the building art in the region of the capital is represented almost entirely by tombs. The tombs of the so-called "Sayyid" rulers are octagonal, continuing the tradition of the Tilingānī tomb with structural improvements, especially in raising the springing of the dome by a tall drum; and the shallow domes over the octagonal arcade have been replaced by small pillared kiosks (*čhatrīs*, lit. 'umbrellas')—the beginnings of a feature which later is to characterize the architecture of many schools, including the Mughal; and the batter of the outer walls is retained. The Lodī monuments show the gradual rehabilitation of the building art, although indeed most of these also are tombs. There is a series of monumental tombs, mostly anonymous, in the plain to the south of Dihlī, all of a square type not previously known in the north, since all their upright lines are truly vertical and there is no

batter. The area of their ground-plans is less than that of the octagonal tombs, but their height is greater; and their side walls are often broken up to the eye by dividing each façade with deep string-courses with sunk blind arches above and below to give the impression of two or three storeys, although the interior is a single square cell; frequently a central bay of each side is extended upwards to enclose a main arch of nearly the whole height of the wall, the actual doorway being set in this arch with a lintel-and-bracket; and the west wall is usually closed to accommodate a *miḥrāb*. But Lōdī tombs also exist in the octagonal style, including—apart from numerous octagonal pillared pavilions—the fine tomb of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀlam, the largest of the series, at Ti̲d̲j̲ārā, and the tomb of Sikandar, *ca.* 924/1518, at the Dihlī suburb of K̲h̲ayrpur. The latter perhaps represents the link between the former habit of placing tombs in a fortified enclosure, of which the Tilingānī tomb is the last extant example, and the Mug̲h̲al practice of surrounding the mausoleum by a garden; for this tomb stands in a large walled enclosure with decorative corner turrets and an ornamental doorway. Part of the west wall is built upwards and buttressed to form an additional external *miḥrāb*, and is presumably a *ḳānātī* mosque; the feature is known in other tombs of this period. Here, as in some of the square tombs, part of the external surface is embellished with glazed tiles, mostly blues and greens; and the dome, as in the earlier tomb of S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Tād̲j̲ K̲h̲ān, *ca.* 906/1501, has an inner and outer shell. Two mosques of the period are particularly significant in the development of a style which persists until well into the Mug̲h̲al period; the mosque of Abū Amd̲j̲ad at K̲h̲ayrpur, of 899/1494, has massive tapering pillars at each rear angle, and also flanking the buttress of the *miḥrāb*, each with a band of vertical fluting alternately angled and rounded as in the lowest storey of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār, the central bay of the façade projected outwards and upwards, a succession of receding architraves and soffits in each arched opening, and incidentally the finest cut-plaster decoration in Dihlī (Goetz, *op. cit.* below, considers it second only to that of the Alhambra palace at Granada). The other mosque approaches more nearly the type of the early Mug̲h̲al and Sūrī periods; this is the Mōṭh kī masd̲j̲id of *ca.* 911/1505, where the tapering buttresses are confined to a position flanking the *miḥrāb* projection on the west wall, and the rear angles are furnished with two-storeyed open octagonal towers. The pylon-like frame of the central arch, and the recession of planes in the arch outlines, are similar to those of the K̲h̲ayrpur mosque; but as well as fine cut-plaster the decoration includes coloured tilework and the contrasting use of red sandstone and white marble. The interior is also remarkable for the stalactite pendentives which support the side domes (the main dome is carried on squinch arches). This mosque design is continued in the D̲j̲amālī mosque of 943/1536—thus in the reign of Humāyūn; but this is the date of completion—where the stonework is of very high quality; the central archway of the façade of the west *līwān* is very much taller, so that its arch reaches above the parapet level of the side aisles, and the fluted buttresses appear flanking this pylon on the courtyard side; and the intrados of that arch is decorated with the spearhead fringe. Beside the mosque is the tomb of D̲j̲amālī [*q.v.*], externally unpretentious but still containing the finest coloured decoration in the whole of Dihlī. The D̲j̲amālī mosque is the immediate model for the mosque built by S̲h̲ēr S̲h̲āh Sūrī in the citadel of his new city of Dihlī, where every feature is elaborated and refined, and polychromatic faience takes its place in the external ornament. Outside Dihlī there is a small amount of Lōdī work, much of it still inadequately studied, especially of the time of Sikandar Lōdī, who made Āgrā [*q.v.*] his capital; especially noteworthy is the large mausoleum called Čawrāsī Gumbad at Kalpī [*q.v.*]. One mausoleum at Dihlī, that of ʿĪsā K̲h̲ān Niyāzī, shows the persistence of the octagonal variety of tomb well into the Sūrī period (954/1547-8), its construction being almost identical to that of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh erected over a hundred years before; but here there are more traces of encaustic tile decoration, and a large separate mosque stands on the western wall of the outer enclosure, its central dome flanked by two *čhatrīs* over the side bays. This octagonal style goes further: in Dihlī it peters out in the tomb of Adham K̲h̲ān, but receives its supreme developments in the Sūrī monuments at Sahsārām in Bihār [see further below].

The regional styles of Indian Muslim building.

At least a dozen major regional styles may be distinguished before the expansion of the Mug̲h̲al empire brings about a certain degree of unification throughout the sub-continent; and many of these styles must be further sub-divided. A variety of factors is responsible for this diversity: for example, brickwork predominates in the Pand̲j̲āb and Bengal styles, where there is little building stone obtainable locally; in Gud̲j̲arāt, where the local stonemasons had shortly before the Muslim conquest been producing exquisitely carved temples for the D̲j̲ayns, Muslim art retains the tradition of elaborate stonework; in Bīdar and Dawlatābād the presence of foreign craftsmen has produced a few buildings in a pure Persian tradition; and so on. These new styles for the most part develop after independence from a central authority has been achieved by the regions to which they belong, although in some cases, as at Gulbargā, the Dihlī traditions have persisted for some time.

i. — The Pand̲j̲āb. — Lahore was a dependency of the G̲h̲aznawids and the G̲h̲ūrids long before the conquest of Dihlī. No monuments of this early period have survived, although some pieces of woodcarving from doorways in the city, now in the Lahore museum, retain features derived, through the G̲h̲azna tradition, from Sald̲j̲ūḳ ornament. The earliest extant monuments are in Mūltān and Uččh [*qq.v.*], a series of tombs of local saints. The earliest, that of S̲h̲āh Yūsuf Gardīzī, of 547/1152, is a solid oblong building covered with blue-and-white tiles to form a plane external surface; but the later buildings are all tall domed buildings, from the tomb of Bahāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ, d. 660/1262, a square battered base surmounted by an octagonal drum and the earliest true dome in the sub-continent, to the magnificent mausoleum of Rukn-i ʿĀlam, which Marshall (*op. cit.*, below) describes as "one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead"; this resembles the previous examples in being built of baked brick but with some structural bonding courses of wood in addition, with a lofty second storey which forms an octagonal drum, with a hemispherical dome, and with pinnacles at each external angle, but differs from them in its lowest storey which is also an octagon, with battering faces and engaged tapering buttresses terminating in pinnacles at each outer angle. The external decoration

is worked out in stringcourses of tile-faced brick and bands of raised diaper pattern, bands of calligraphy in carved brick, and the typical Mūltān tilework (known also at Uččh but nowhere else) wherein the main geometrical patterns are raised as much as 2 cm. above the tile background; this adds greatly to the richness of the tilework by adding depth and a constant effect of light and shade where the sheen of a plane surface would have become dulled by the dust which pervades Mūltān in the summer. The interior decoration includes fine wood-carving in *s̲h̲īs̲h̲am* wood, with the six-pointed star (a common G̲h̲aznawid motif, but otherwise rare in India until early Mug̲h̲al times) in the spandrels of the wooden *miḥrāb* and scrolls of arabesque ornament similar to that of the *maḳṣūra* of the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque at Dihlī.

ii. — Bengal. — Stone in the Bengal provinces is almost confined to the black basalt of the Rād̲j̲maḥall [*q.v.*] hills in the Māldā district; but the fine alluvial clay is freely available, the material for the characteristic Bengali bricks and terracottas. The earliest buildings, at Tribeni [*q.v.*] and Čhōṭā Pāndụā [see PANḌUĀ, Čhoṭa] are mostly adaptations of pillaged Hindū temple material, using pillars built of large stones without mortar, and shallow corbelled domes; the tomb of Ẓafar K̲h̲ān G̲h̲āzī, of 698/1298, shows an early use of the arch, and *miḥrāb*s in finely moulded terracotta. The greatest of the early buildings, after the independence of Bengal, is the large Ādīna mosque at Ḥaḍrat Pānḍuā [see PANḌUĀ], of 776/1375, in which again use was made of Hindū materials, although it appears that some of the stonework was original work executed by Hindū craftsmen in Muslim employment; it is enclosed by a multiple arcade which carried nearly 400 small domes, and has a large central *aywān*-like hall in the western *līwān*, with an elaborate stone *miḥrāb* and *minbar*, of which the roof has fallen; the stonework is mostly a thin ashlar veneer over a brick core. In a somewhat later phase, represented by the Ēklākhī mausoleum at Pānḍuā, the other characteristics of the Bengal style make their first appearance, notably a curve on each cornice of the square tomb-chamber which derives from a local method of constructing huts with bamboo rafters, octagonal corner buttresses, and ornament in terracotta and glazed tile; here the interior of the enormously thick chamber is an octagonal room which directly supports the single hemispherical dome. Some similar buildings were erected at Gawṛ [see LAKHNAWTĪ] after the 9th/15th century under the later Ilyās S̲h̲āhī and the Ḥusayn S̲h̲āhī rulers; the decorations became especially lavish, some domes being gilded; besides the square buildings with a curved cornice on each side appears the oblong pitched-roof building with the curved cornice on the long sides and gables at the short sides—a type later taken to northern India at the time of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān. Some buildings of the mid 9th/15th century at Bāgerhāṭ, built by one K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ahān, a renegade from the Dihlī court, show corner turrets and lintel-and-bracket doors set within pointed arches very similar to those of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲lūḳ's buildings in Dihlī of a century earlier (see above), although retaining the local curved cornice. Many of these local features persist in the Bengali architecture of the Mug̲h̲al period.

iii. — D̲j̲awnpur sultanate. — The early buildings of D̲j̲awnpur and its suburb Ẓafarābād are adaptations of the time of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh Tug̲h̲luḳ, who laid the foundations of a large mosque on the site of a temple to Aṭalā Devi. This was completed, however, under the S̲h̲arḳī kings, with four other mosques of similar style—all the other buildings of this once magnificent city were destroyed by Sikandar Lōdī. Again, Hindū remains were freely utilized in the construction; but the building is in coursed stone, with no plaster facing as in Dihlī, and there is an abundance of stone carving of high skill. The special characteristic of the D̲j̲awnpur mosques is the immense pylon which fills the central bay of the western *līwān*, completely concealing the large dome behind it (see illustration s.v. D̲J̲AWNPUR), in some cases three times as high as the other bays of the *līwān*. The trabeate construction is used freely within the prayer-halls and in the side arcades, although the *līwān* façades are arcuate, and are freely ornamented with recessed arches which are either blind or carry thick window grilles; and the intrados of the arch is usually decorated with the spearhead fringe. All these mosques are well finished externally, especially the *miḥrāb* walls, and the tapered buttress, so familiar in the Dihlī sultanate buildings, is used freely at the external angles. Similar mosque styles are to be found at Banāras, Iṭāwā, and Kannawd̲j̲ [*qq.v.*].

iv. — Gud̲j̲arāt. — The very rich stone-building tradition of the Hindū and D̲j̲ayn craftsmen was appropriated by the Gud̲j̲arāt Muslims, and made Gud̲j̲arāt at once the richest and the most distinctive of the regions in architecture. The artisans appear to have been less bound here than were their fellows in other regions to the whims of individual rulers or to rigid prescriptions by punctilious *ʿulamāʾ*, and indeed it often appears that the requirements of Islamic building rather emancipated them from the dogma of the schools of temple architecture, for of all the styles of Indian Islamic building that of Gud̲j̲arāt is the most Indian, and its purely local characteristics are obvious, even in the earliest stages where pillaged temple material was being used under the orders of governors of the Dihlī K̲h̲ald̲j̲īs. The earliest surviving Muslim building, the tomb of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Farīd at Pāṭan [*q.v.*] of *ca.* 700/1300, is merely a converted temple, and very little more organization appears in the Ādīna mosque there, of the same time, where over a thousand rich temple pillars are assembled to a mosque plan (the building has now fallen almost entirely). In Bharōč [*q.v.*] only a little later the D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id is a planned construction and not a mere improvisation, for the outer walls are obviously constructed of stone cut for the purpose; but the western *līwān* is of three bays which appear to be three temple *manḍapa*s used unaltered except for the obliteration of figure iconography in the ornament. The arch is not used, so that the *līwān* has an open pillared façade with no *maḳṣūra*-screen—a mosque-type more frequent in Gud̲j̲arāt than in other regions. The D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id at Khambāyat (Cambay), however, of 725/1325, does have an arched wall closing the *līwān*. The walls of this mosque, of alternate deep and shallow courses, are uncharacteristic of Gud̲j̲arāt and recall the K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī workmanship of Dihlī. A feature appearing here for the first time which later becomes a favourite device in Gud̲j̲arāt is a semicircular engrailed arch, of no structural significance, carried between two pillars inside the central arch of the façade; this directly copies the *toraṇa* doorways of the local Hindū and D̲j̲ayn temples. This Khambāyat mosque has an entrance porch which is almost an exact copy of that of a temple at Modhērā built three centuries before, as is that of Hilāl K̲h̲ān Ḳāḍī's mosque at Dhōlkā

(733/1333); but here there is another significant innovation: the façade is ornamented with two tall turrets flanking the central arch. These are in fact solid, but are the obvious types from which the Gudjarāt minarets are derived (isolated *mīnārs*, for example the Kutb Mīnār at Dihlī, are not unknown elsewhere in India, but the Gudjarāt mosques present their first systematic use). Other buildings of this first phase of Gudjarāt building are to be found at Mangrol [*q.v.*] and Petlad. A second phase is represented by the buildings of Aḥmad Shāh I in his new capital at Aḥmadābād, although even there the earliest buildings, Aḥmad Shāh's first mosque and the mosque of Haybat Khān, follow the pattern of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Khambāyat; but soon after them the mosque of Sayyid ʿĀlam, of 814/1412, shows several elements which are developed and perfected in the later Aḥmadābād buildings, including heavy projecting cornices, well-built and projecting bases for the minarets with internal stairs (the tops of the minarets above the parapet level of the roof have fallen), and an elevated portion of the roof forming a clerestory to admit more light to the central chamber. Aḥmad's *chef d'œuvre* is his Djāmiʿ Masdjid of ten years later. The western *līwān* has its central chamber flanked by a bay on each side raised above the level of the more distant bays of the western façade by a clerestory roof supported on an open colonnade, the central chamber itself having a second such clerestory carrying the main dome; the light thereby admitted to the central chamber has first to pass through carved stone screens, which are another typical feature of the Gudjarāt architecture. The side *riwāḳs* are all of the simple pillared construction without arches. This mosque, with Aḥmad Shāh's own tomb and a screened enclosure containing the tombs of the queens, form part of Aḥmad Shāh's careful town planning, all lying on a central royal way to his palace, on which stands a triple-arched triumphal gateway. All these buildings are in the same harmonious style, which was continued in Aḥmadābād under his immediate successors, Muḥammad and Kutb al-Dīn Aḥmad. Muḥammad's reign saw the beginning of building at Sarkhēdj [*q.v.*] with the mosque and tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Khattū, the former a vast hypostyle hall with an enormous courtyard, the latter a large square building with arches on all sides filled with stone screens, the central tomb-chamber itself being further surrounded by pierced brass screens. This Gudjarāt practice of using perforated screens round a tomb-chamber is imitated in later periods in remoter parts of India. Two buildings of Kutb al-Dīn Aḥmad's time are in sharp contrast to other local architecture, the tomb of Daryā Khān in Aḥmadābād and Alif Khān's mosque at Dhōlkā; both are in brick, with arches throughout on heavy piers, with none of the usual Gudjarāt ornament, and seem to have been built by foreign workmen. They are isolated specimens and had no influence on the local style.

A third stage in Gudjarāt architecture appears in and after the time of Maḥmūd I Begŕā [*q.v.*], from the middle of the 9th/15th century. The mausoleum of Sayyid ʿUthmān in a village across the river from Aḥmadābād shows in the tomb a greater competence in handling the dome, which is carried by pillars in the form of a dodecagon, than previous examples; and the attached mosque, which is entirely of the open-faced trabeate variety, shows minarets for the first time in this type of mosque, placed at the two ends of the prayer-hall. The arcuate mosques of this time, those of Miyān Khān Čishtī of 860/1456 and Bībī Ačut Kūkī of 876/1472, show the minarets still centrally placed, flanking the middle bay of the prayer-hall—but by now rather over-elaborate and dominating the structure. An innovation is a type of oriel window, carried on brackets and fitted with a perforated stone screen, set in the *līwān* façade. The Shāh ʿĀlam mausoleum, of 880/1475, shows an increased use of the arch in tomb-buildings, again with outer and inner perforated screens. Some five years later the tomb of Kutb al-ʿĀlam, at Baŕwā, 10 km. to the south of Aḥmadābād, is not only arcuate throughout but of two storeys; but there are irregularities in the construction, as though the builders were still experimenting with the arch as a structural device. The defects have been remedied in the tomb of Sayyid Mubārak (889/1485) at Maḥmūdābād, where perhaps an architect from outside Gudjarāt was concerned, for the parapet and the clerestory roof bear *čhatrīs* similar to those of the Lōdī buildings in Dihlī; but the Gudjarātī feature of the pierced screens round the tomb-chamber continues. *Čhatrīs* also appear over the entrance porch of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Maḥmūd's new city at Čāmpānēr [*q.v.*]. This mosque is very similar in plan to the Djāmiʿ Masdjid built at Aḥmadābād a hundred years earlier, and has a similar double clerestory; but the decoration is richer, particularly externally: the rear wall of the *līwān* shows seven *miḥrāb* buttresses of design similar to the bases of the *mīnārs*, and the four corners bear straight octagonal towers resembling small *mīnārs* without balconies; the oriel windows carried on rich corbels add to the exterior richness, as do the smaller pierced screens in every opening. Other mosques in Čāmpānēr are of similar design but smaller and with only a small central clerestory; in particular the Nagīna Masdjid, which has panels of carved tracery at the bases of the *mīnārs* in the form of intertwining plants. Other works of the time of Maḥmūd include his palaces at Sarkhedj and his own tomb there by a lake—which has, in addition to various pavilions, a set of sluices carved with the same attention to detail as the *mīnārs* of Gudjarāt mosques—and other buildings at Aḥmadābād, of which the mosque of Muḥāfiẓ Khān, *fawdjdār* of the city, is the finest; this is an example of the arcuate style of mosque with the *mīnārs* at the ends of the *līwān*. Towards the end of Maḥmūd's long reign the tomb and mosque of Rānī Sabarī shows the usual decorative, almost jewel-like, ornament and tracery to its best advantage by being built on a smaller scale than most of the buildings so far considered; but here the mosque minarets have ceased to be functional, becoming merely slim tapering pinnacles. Other outstanding works, of a different class, are two step-wells (Gudj. *vāv*), described s.v. BĀʾOLĪ.

The common Aḥmadābād mosque style, with arcuate *līwān* and central *mīnārs*, is continued by buildings towards the close of the Gudjarāt sultanate, for example Rānī Rūpāwatī's mosque of *ca.* 921/1515. One late example, from 980/1572-3, the year before Akbar's conquest of Gudjarāt, is an exquisite mosque built by Shaykh Saʿīd al-Ḥabshī [see ḤABSHĪ], the tympana of the arches on the western side filled with stone traceries of filigree-like delicacy, representing palm-trees and creepers, the finest in the Muslim world, of which perhaps the blind traceries of the Nagīna Masdjid at Čāmpānēr are the immediate ancestor.

After the Mughal conquest it would appear that many of the skilled craftsmen were taken by Akbar

to north India; certainly there are many features of Gudjarātī workmanship in Akbar's Fatḥpur Sīkrī (see below).

v. — Mālwā. — In contrast to Gudjarāt, the contiguous province of Mālwā was comparatively uninfluenced by a prior Hindū artistic tradition. There were certainly temples, for the earliest buildings, at the end of the 8th/14th and beginning of the 9th/15th centuries, are built of temple spoil. These are three mosques at Dhār [*q.v.*], all of trabeate construction; but the portico of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid shows an interesting attempt to interpose pointed arches between the columns, without any structural significance. The two earliest mosques at Māndū [*q.v.*], Dilāwar Khān's of 808/1405-6 and Malik Mughīth's of 835/1432, have similar *līwān*s, but the latter is raised on a high basement in which there is a range of arched cells; here the pillars of the *līwān* have some pointed arches interposed, as at Dhār, but also with the resulting spandrels filled in with plate tracery. The *līwān* is domed, but the phase of transition is crudely effected by lintels and their octagon bases are irregular. There are two domed turrets at the angles of the east (entrance) walls; these, and the shape of the *līwān* domes, recall those of Fīrūz Tughluḳ's time in Dihlī. This second mosque is of the time of Hūshang Shāh [*q.v.*], whose own complex of buildings dominates the centre of Māndū: the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, the *madrasa* (later nicknamed Ashrafī Maḥall), and his own tomb. The mosque is built on a tall (4.5 m.) plinth, with arched cells on either side of the entrance porch; these and a few open arches, at courtyard level, perhaps originally filled with screens, and two restrained stringcourses, are the only external decoration, except for a band of merlon-like decoration, of a type already noticed at Dihlī, above the *čhadjdjā*. The *līwān* and side aisles are built entirely of true arches on plain slender columns. The *miḥrāb* arches show the spearhead fringe, recalling the Dihlī Khaldjī style, and the *minbar* is covered by a large stone canopy of obvious Hindū temple design. Hūshang's tomb, a little earlier (the mosque was completed by Maḥmūd I in 858/1454), is a square domed structure of white marble throughout (the earliest building to be so treated) except for sparing ornament of deep blue glazed tiles, standing in a large enclosure. At each corner of the dome is an engaged domed turret, a common feature in the Māndū tombs and already present over the entrance to the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. The domes are characteristic of Mālwā—a tall cylindrical drum carries the haunch without any intervening structure or decoration, while above the haunch the dome may be developed as a hemisphere or smaller spherical section or as a shallow cone. Later buildings at the capital (described s.v. MĀNḌŪ) become elegant, and in the final stages even meretricious: palaces, pavilions, fountains and water-channels, kiosks and balconies. The open *čhatrī* appears, and some of the domes are ribbed. In one building, known now as Gadā Shāh's house, there are the remains of some wall-paintings.

A northern manifestation of the Mālwā style is found at Čanderī [*q.v.*], where the Djāmiʿ Masdjid shows the characteristic stilted domes; the convoluted brackets supporting the *čhadjdjā* are a somewhat exaggerated form of a type seen in Māndū as early as Hūshang's tomb, a form which becomes exaggerated and elaborated further in Fatḥpur Sīkrī (see below).

The general characteristics of the Mālwā style are, in addition to the stilted dome, the fine masonry of walls and doors, very restrained ornament, and the frequent use of engaged domical turrets round a central dome. The *mīnār*, so prominent in the neighbouring provinces of Gudjarāt and Khāndēsh, is not used.

vi. — Khāndēsh. — This small province had a building art with a character of its own, although the mixed origins of that art are to be found in the neighbouring provinces of Gudjarāt, Mālwā, and the Deccan. The Fārūḳī [*q.v.*] khāns ruled first from Thālnēr [*q.v.*] and later from Burhānpur [*q.v.*], and their buildings are mostly at these two places and at Asīrgaṙh and Čikaldā. The Thālnēr tombs are not dissimilar to the typical square Māndū mausolea in general plan, but the dome is usually carried on a separate octagonal drum, and over the wide *čhadjdjā* there is a high decorated parapet; the door and window openings are better spaced than in the Māndū examples, and there is more external decoration. An octagonal tomb is covered with fine basso-relievo carving in geometric patterns, and its arches bear on the intrados the spearhead fringe. All these tombs date from the first half of the 9th/15th century. Little remains of the palace at Thālnēr and the Bādshāhī Ḳilʿa at Burhānpur, and the next significant buildings are two late 10th/16th century mosques at Burhānpur. The Djāmiʿ mosque has an arcaded façade with *mīnār*s at the ends, while the Bībī kī masdjid has two heavy *mīnār*s flanking the central arch as in the Čāmpānēr mosque in Gudjarāt; the design of these *mīnār*s, however, is original: from octagonal bases they pass to a hexadecagon, above which is a circular storey with oriel windows facing each cardinal point, with a hemispherical dome forming a fourth stage; balconies on heavy brackets separate these four stages. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Asīrgaṙh, although built after the Mughal conquest, perpetuates the Gudjarātī tradition. At Čikaldā an enormous gateway (Baṙā Darwāza) has an arch of the wide Gulbargā style (see below) but is decorated with the lion-and-elephant motif of the Gond kings (cf. similar devices at Gāwilgaṙh [*q.v.*]).

vii. — The Bahmanī sultanate. — The principal phases of Bahmanī architecture are to be found at Gulbargā and Bīdar [*qq.v.*], although the kingdom was early provided with a powerful system of fortifications and many of the Bahmanī strongholds contain important buildings; for these see especially DAWLATĀBĀD, GĀWILGAṘH, ILIČPUR, MĀHŪR, MUḌGAL, NALDRUG, NARNĀLĀ, PARENDĀ, RĀYČŪR, and WARANGAL.

The Djāmiʿ Masdjid in the old citadel of Gulbargā, although of a type not reproduced later, since its *ṣaḥn* is completely roofed over, shows nevertheless some features that were to characterize Bahmanī architecture and to spread some of the styles of the successor sultanates. The arches of the outer arcade are specially noteworthy: of obtuse angle at the apex, of wide span, and springing from very low imposts. An earlier mosque in the city is a mere compilation of temple spoil, as are the two early mosques at Bīdjāpur [*q.v.*] built by the Bahmanī governors. The earliest group of tombs at Gulbargā, all of the second half of the 8th/14th century, are similar to contemporary examples at Dihlī with weak semi-circular domes and battering walls. A later group of tombs, the Haft Gunbad, shows similar sloping walls and domes, but with a refinement of decoration. The outer faces are divided into two apparent storeys with blind arches in each, these arches being of the type which comes to typify the

Bahmanī style, stilted above the haunch with straight tangential projections to the apex. Some of these tombs are double— *i.e.*, there are two tomb-chambers with continuous walls but separate domes, standing on a common plinth—and show a few features of Hindū decoration. The tomb of Gīsū Darāz [*q.v.*], built after the transfer of the court to Bīdar, is a single square building with upright sides but otherwise similar to the other Gulbargā tombs. At Bīdar the early Tug͟hluḳ influence has been added to by features of Persian inspiration: thus the early royal palace, the Tak͟ht Maḥall, while retaining the Bahmanī arch, was profusely decorated with encaustic tiles, including a tiger-and-rising-sun device. The foreign element is most pronounced in the *madrasa* of Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] of 877/1472, which has a prototype in the *madrasa* of K͟hargird in K͟hurāsān; its internal façades surrounding a central courtyard show a single arch of the height of the building on each of the three-storeyed sides, the Persian *aywān* pattern. The circular *mīnār* is also of a Persian pattern, as is a detached *mīnār* built *ca.* 840/1437 at Dawlatābād. The entire surface of the *madrasa* is covered with multicoloured tiles. The royal tombs at Bīdar, ranging over a period of some 80 years from the first example of 839/1436, show the progress of the Bahmanī style. The stilted arches are in general retained, although one tomb unusually shows arches struck from four centres rather like the Mug͟hal arch of north India or the English Tudor arch. Some of the tile-work of these tombs is superb, and includes some historically and hagiographically important inscriptions. The domes progress from a hemispherical type stilted over an octagonal drum to a type which, being greater than a hemisphere, shows a tendency towards the bulbous pattern which develops in some of the successor sultanates, and the parapets progress from a line of shield-shaped merlons to a line of stone trefoils. All these tombs have a single entrance doorway, the other sides being either solid or closed by screens, with *miḥrāb*s in the western walls; none of them has turrets or *čhatrī*s in addition to the central dome.

viii. — Barīd S͟hāhī, ʿImād S͟hāhī, Niẓām S͟hāhī. — The Niẓām S͟hāhīs [*q.v.*] of Aḥmadnagar, although independent there from the beginning of the 9th/15th century until the Mug͟hal conquest, evolved no distinctive architectural style of their own but perpetuated something like the middle Bahmanī style with decorative borrowings from Hindū art (and later from the style of Bīd͟jāpur); such of these buildings as are worthy of note are discussed s.v. NIẒĀM S͟HĀHĪS. Nor was the ʿImād S͟hāhī style of Barār significantly different from its Bahmanī parent except for the use in the mosque façades of a pylon at each end of the *līwān* bearing a square *čhatrī* with deep eaves, heavy brackets, and stone screens in each side; see further GĀWILGAṚH, also ILIČPUR, NARNĀLĀ. The buildings of the Barīd S͟hāhīs, however, the successors of the Bahmanīs in Bīdar, do show some notable independent characteristics. The typical Bahmanī stilted arch continues, but the dome becomes even more bulbous, usually three-quarters of a sphere. A frequent tomb-pattern is a square domed cell with an open arch on all four faces; thus, since there is no integral *miḥrāb*, a small mosque is built beside the tomb. The trefoil parapet is commonly used. A common feature of the decoration is a chain-and-pendant motif in plaster, but good tile-work is still a frequent ornament. The latest buildings tend to become over-ornate, and the influence of the Hindū mason becomes more apparent.

ix. — ʿĀdil S͟hāhī. — The style of the ʿĀdil S͟hāhī buildings at Bīd͟jāpur [*q.v.*] is the most developed and the most original of the Deccan sultanates. The earliest dated ʿĀdil S͟hāhī building, a mosque of 918/1512-3, already shows features which characterize this style throughout: the base of the dome surrounded by a ring of vertical foliations, so that the dome resembles a bud surrounded by petals; and a three-arched façade in which the central arch is much wider than the flanking arches. Another early mosque reveals another Bīd͟jāpur speciality in its arch spandrels, a medallion supported by a bracket-shaped device, moulded in plaster. The works executed before the death of ʿAlī I in 987/1579 are mostly in rubble covered with dense and durable plaster, and include the city walls and gates (most of these with the typical wide centre arch flanked by two narrow ones), many palaces and audience halls, and some notable mosques. One of these, in memory of the *sayyid* ʿAlī S͟hahīd Pīr, which unusually has a transverse wagon-vaulted roof, shows the (equal) façade arches surrounded by an outer band of cusping, remarkably similar to that of the recently-discovered D͟jurd͟jīr mosque in Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. This device recurs in the other buildings, for example the D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid of 985/1576, where it decorates only the central arch of seven, which also bears the medallion-and-bracket device; the great dome of this mosque is supported by an original system of vaulting by which two intersecting squares, both oblique to the square chamber underneath, form an octagon; this system is later used to great effect in the colossal mausoleum of Muḥammad ʿĀdil S͟hāh. This mosque also shows a feature made much of by later Bīd͟jāpur builders, an elegant exterior. The domes in this early phase are hemispherical; *mīnār*s are not used, although bases for them exist in the D͟jāmiʿ Masd͟jid; small ornamental pinnacles (*guldasta*), however, are freely used at angles of the parapets and over *miḥrāb* buttresses, of a type found on some of the Bahmanī tombs at Bīdar.

After 987/1579, under Ibrāhīm II and later sultans, fine sculptured stonework replaces the earlier rubble-and-plaster. The dome becomes a three-quarter sphere; the cornices and eaves are supported by intricate carved brackets, often with the added decoration of hanging stone chains and locket-like pendants (is there a connexion between these and the chain-and-pendant plaster device of the Barīd S͟hāhīs?), and the parapets become delicate lace-like borders. But many of the earlier features persist: the band of foliations at the base of the dome, the occasional cusping of a central arch, the medallion-and-bracket motif, now often carved in stone, the characteristic wide central and narrow flanking arches, and the love of vertical projections above the sky-line; but these have often become pseudo-*mīnār*s, in that they appear over solid bases and rise at the sides of mosque façades where in other styles true *mīnār*s are found, although they are slender and solid and hence can only be decorative; they frequently carry miniature domes, and fascicular clusters of minuscule minarets along their shafts, in each case with the petal-like foliation. The enormous mausoleum of Muḥammad (d. 1067/1656), known as the Gol Gunbad͟h, reverts to the hemispherical dome, and has a large staged octagonal turret of the height of the building at each corner; but the prototype of these is the small octagonal pinnacles found in the earliest buildings. In tombs of the closing years of the dynasty, there is a tendency to exaggerate an intermediate stage, a square storey between the

parapet of the tomb-chamber and the drum of the dome, so that in extreme cases the globular dome appears almost separated from the ground floor. The best of the vast number of buildings at the capital are described s.v. BIDJĀPUR; but some Bidjāpur characteristics are encountered far afield, for example in two mosques standing outside Naldrug [*q.v.*] fort, and at the great entrance arch to the *dargāh* of Gīsū Darāz at Gulbargā.

x. — Ḳuṭb Shāhī. — The style of the Ḳuṭb Shāhī buildings, first in Golkonḍā and later in the city of Ḥaydarābād [*qq.v.*], is distinctive more on account of its luxuriant ornament than any originality in structure. The principal building material is stone, usually grey granite or trapstone, but rather than being carved this is ornamented with stucco and encaustic tiles. The tombs of the dynasty at Golkonḍā, and the mosques and gateways there and at Ḥaydarābād, show the comparative fixedness of the style over a century and a half from the time of Sulṭān Ḳulī's independence in 924/1518. The tombs are almost all square in shape and constructionally resemble the Bahmanī tombs in Bīdar; the earlier ones are single-storeyed, and only once is the outer face divided into two apparent floors by an upper row of blind arches; some of the later tombs have two storeys, the lower one forming a projecting arcade around the building. The domes are all bulbous, usually a three-quarter sphere, and are foliated at their bases in a similar way to the Bidjāpur domes; but the later buildings develop this into a double or triple band of foliation. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī buildings emphasize especially the upper parts of walls between the eaves and the parapet, and the rich ornament here is sometimes projected out from the façade to form a balcony carried on brackets. The parapets are crenellated with trefoil-shaped merlons, as in the later Bahmanī and Barīd Shāhī styles, and are frequently interrupted by small *guldastas*; at the corners these may be replaced by small *mīnārs*. The Ḳuṭb Shāhī *mīnār*, whether decorative or functional, has its shaft encircled one or more times with an arcaded gallery, and bears a miniature dome with the characteristic foliations. Designs of Hindū provenance are not infrequent in the ornament, especially in the later periods; but these were accepted in the earliest period, as they occurred freely in the Kākatīya work taken over in the old Bahmanī province of Warangal—for example, in the Bālā Ḥiṣār *darwāza* at Golkonḍā.

xi. — Kashmīr. — The architecture of this region is remarkably different from that of all other countries of Islam, as it is essentially in wood: great logs of *dewdār* (*Cedrus deodara*) laid horizontally and joined by crude carpentry, and used also as piers to support any superstructure; the interstices between courses may be filled with brickwork or plaster covered with glazed tile. There is of course a constant fire risk, and many buildings have undergone repeated rebuilding, usually, however, reproducing the form of the original structure. The typical Kashmīrī Muslim building is the tomb-shrine (*ziyārat*) of a local saint: a cubical ground floor (sometimes set on a stone or brick plinth), covered by a pyramidal roof which may be in several tiers, topped by a long and slender wooden *flèche*. The same type with flanking courtyards may be used for mosque buildings, with the addition of a square open pavilion between roof and *flèche* to form a platform for the *mu'adhdhin* (the minaret is not used). Such a pattern is used in the mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Shrīnagar, a two-storeyed building on the plinth of a Hindū temple, with projecting wooden balconies and the eaves supported on a log cornice; the pyramidal tiered roof is covered with an impervious layer of birch-bark and then with turves planted liberally with irises and tulips, above which rise the *ma'dhīna* platform and the *flèche*. The Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Shrīnagar, dating from the end of the 8th/14th century, but three times rebuilt, is the most ambitious example of pre-Mughal Kashmīrī architecture: a vast square courtyard is surrounded on each side by a wide arched wing which carries a central *ziyārat*-like structure, that on the west having a tall central brick arch. Much of the lower walling is in brick, but the surrounding colonnades are composed entirely of *dewdār* trunks on stone plinths. Some fine stone tombs of the 9th/15th century exist, constructed from temple spoil, but domed and covered with glazed tiles. For these, and for later Mughal work in Kashmīr, see KASHMĪR and SHRĪNAGAR.

xii. — Sind. — The building style of Sind, while not so egregious as that of Kashmīr, stands apart from other provincial Indo-Muslim styles since it has many affinities with the building art of eastern Persia, and where Indian motifs appear they often seem to be used with neither organization nor fluency in their use. They are represented especially by the remaining tombs at Thaṭṭhā [*q.v.*], where some building stone was available, although the characteristic medium of the country was brick. The stonework of one of the earliest remaining tombs, that of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 915/1509), is in stone which seems to have been carved by Hindū workmen who were not good enough to find work in Gudjarāt; perhaps they came across the Rādjāstān desert with only the memory of the designs, or were the local employees of the Sammās, recent converts to Islam but with rather faded memories of a dilute Hinduism. The carved Arabic inscriptions are in excellent *thulth*, incongruously set next to bandeaux carved with the geese of Hindū mythology. Other stone tombs are ornamented with shallow and often curiously discontinuous geometrical carving. The brick tombs certainly show a great familiarity with the material; solid dense bricks, after all, were known in Sind at the time of the prehistoric Mohendjodāro. They are built on stone foundations, to counteract the destroying effects of the high salinity of the Thaṭṭhā soil, and their surfaces are covered with the tilework for which Sind is renowned. Common tilework patterns include dark blue rectangles outlined with white, to give the effect of an imitation mortar-joint; the tiles themselves are of hand-baked terracotta, very heavy, and the glazes are generally white, light-blue, turquoise, and dark blue, very occasionally also yellow. Generally the design is continuously worked in multicoloured tiles, but occasionally very small tiles, like tesserae, each of one colour, are built up to form a mosaic. The design of the tombs, especially their domes, and the few remaining mosques, is essentially Persian rather than Indian, although this may be due to early Mughal influence. Certainly some of the Thaṭṭhā buildings of later times revert to a trabeate style in sandstone, such as the mausoleum of ʿĪsā Djān Tarkhān the younger, d. 1054/1644, which recalls the buildings of Fatḥpur Sīkrī (see below) and also is the only building in which the intrados of the arch is embellished with a spearhead fringe.

The Mughal schools.

Shortly after Bābur's arrival in India in 932/1526 he ordered buildings to be erected; he was unimpressed with Indian edifices, and disgusted with the

lack of the formal gardens to which he was accustomed. Most of his works were, therefore, secular, consisting of terraced gardens with pavilions and summer houses, hardly anything of which has survived. Two of his mosques exist, one in Pānīpat and one in Sambhal: works large but utterly undistinguished. Little more can be said about the buildings of Humāyūn's reign (except those works of a previous period now completed, described above); but Humāyūn's importance is in the craft traditions imported with him after his exile rather than the ideas of his own.

In point of time, the Sūr sultan Shēr Shāh [*q.v.*] followed Humāyūn although his buildings are a continuation of pre-Mughal styles. There is, indeed, little characteristic architecture remaining of the first part of Humāyūn's reign from which a comparison might be made, since Shēr Shāh systematically destroyed Humāyūn's city of Dihlī called Dīnpanāh. In his tombs at Sahsarām [*q.v.*] in Bihār, Shēr Shāh perfected the octagonal pattern, and may indeed have planned these buildings in the decade before he came to power. The earliest (*ca.* 941/1535) of these, the tomb of his father Ḥasan Khān, is experimental: there is no plinth, and the drum is a bare wall without fenestration or *čhatrī*s. Unlike the Lōdī examples, the Sahsarām tombs have vertical, not battered, walls. The next tomb, that of Shēr Shāh himself, is amplified not only from this but also from the Dihlī models; it is in five stages, rising to 50 m., and set in the middle of an artificial lake connected to the shore by a causeway to which access is given by a domed guardroom; the lowest stage is a square plinth rising out of the water, the next a vast square platform with a *čhatrī* at each corner, on which stands the octagonal tomb chamber in three further stages, the two lower with *čhatrī*s at the corners. The roof is crowned with a massive lotus finial. The tomb of his successor Islām Shāh also stands within a lake, but smaller; the better preservation of its causeway shows this to have been constructed on a cantilever principle, each pier with projecting balconies and carrying a *čhatrī*. In Nārnawl Shēr Shāh built the tomb of his grandfather Ibrāhīm Khān, a square building not unlike the square Lōdī tombs, but finished in better stone and with a shallower dome.

After Shēr Shāh's accession in 947/1540 he started building at Dihlī, fortifying first the Purānā Ḳilʿa and adding an exquisite mosque, with the corner turrets already noticed in the Mōṭh kī Masdjid and the Djamālī mosque, and with a refined form of the recessed arch: a lower arch set back from a taller one. The arches are struck from four centres, and the spearhead fringe is again in evidence. The stonework is very finely jointed, enriched with fillets of white marble, with fine coloured inlay patterns of a type similar to that later found in Akbar's mosque at Fatḥpur Sīkrī. The interior decoration is similar to that of the Mōṭh kī Masdjid, but with every part refined. Other important building products of Shēr Shār were at Rōhtāsgaṛh [*q.v.*] in Bihār [*q.v.*] and his new fortress of Rōhtās [*q.v.*] in the Pandjāb, as well as many single buildings at other towns.

The first major building to be erected during Mughal rule is Humāyūn's mausoleum, not begun until 976/1568-9, and erected, not in his lifetime after the usual practice, but by his widow. The cenotaph-chamber, which stands on a vast high plinth, is essentially square in plan, with each corner of the square chamfered off and with a recessed central bay in each side. Each of these bays contains a deep arch, as high as the walls on either side of the bay, constructed as a half-dome, and smaller arches of varied height and levels fill the remaining façades of each wall. The central chamber is surmounted by a tall drum, which carries a high double dome, with a *čhatrī* of Lōdī type, open and on slender pillars, at each corner, and two smaller square *čhatrī*s over each central arch. The dome is slightly curved at its base, but its general shape echoes that of the arches below; the arches introduce a new shape to north India, as their curves are struck from four centres. The building is in red sandstone with white and grey marble inlay (sparing use of other colours as well), executed in star-shaped designs at the drum below the dome, well inlaid but not polished *in situ*: this inlay work is to be classified as *opus sectile* rather than as the finely polished marquetry-like *pietra dura* of later Mughal periods. A smaller tomb of not dissimilar design is that of Akbar's foster-father, Atga Khān, at Nizamuddin; but Humāyūn's tomb gains enormously in effect not only by the vast plinth (which contains the true tomb immediately below the cenotaph) but by the vaster garden in which it is set—a great square, subdivided into squares and squares again by paths, flower-beds, and parterres. It marks immediately the advent of a new style in India, and is of great importance as the immediate Indian prototype for other monumental mausolea. A fuller description, with plan, is given s.v. DIHLĪ. See also BŪSTĀN.

Akbar's building projects, many and varied, reflect something of the man. They start at Āgrā [*q.v.*] fort, on the trace of the previous Lōdī fort, with the gateways: a half-octagon flanking tower on each side of the four-centred arch of the gate, the towers decorated with blind arches below and open arches on the upper storey, with *čhatrī*s over towers and gateway; internally, the arch carried a spearhead fringe of a more elaborate and conventionalized form than that of previous reigns; the whole is decorated in *opus sectile*. Palaces inside the fort are in much the same style, and include projecting balconies supported on richly carved corbels, with much beam-and-bracket workmanship; some of the brackets, in sandstone, seem to have been borrowed directly from wood-building techniques. Similar buildings were commenced, in very similar styles, at Lāhawr and, on a smaller scale, at Allāhābād. The new capital, at Fatḥpur Sīkrī [*q.v.*], is a sandstone city. The palaces are for the most part built in the trabeate style, with shallow domes and heavy eaves recalling Lōdī work, occasional arches with the spearhead fringe, carved brackets resembling those of Rādjāsthān temples, and superb carving. There is some inlaid *opus sectile* work in white marble, especially on the mosque; the inside of the mosque, however, is of finely polished marble mosaic inlay, the first attempt towards the technique of *pietra dura*. Some buildings in the city, such as the Dīwān-i khāṣṣ, with an extraordinary bracketed central column supporting a platform in the middle of the single room, and the Pānč maḥall, a five-storeyed pyramidal open pavilion, are unique structures, part of Akbar's personal whimsy, with no significance in the development of the Mughal style; but one of interest and archaeological significance is the tomb of Salīm Čishtī, after 979/1571, a square chamber with an outer verandah which is screened with marble lattices on the outside: a feature characteristic not of north India at all, but familiar in the tombs of Gudjarāt (see above). The eaves are supported on convoluted brackets which have a prototype in

Čanderī [*q.v.*]. Another Gudjarāt feature, apparently, is the reservoir which lies beneath the *ṣaḥn* of the great mosque (on these features see J. Burton-Page, ***Fatehpur Sikri***, in R. E. Mortimer Wheeler (ed.), ***Splendours of the East***, London 1965, 143-53).

Of Akbar's reign in Dihlī is the last of the octagonal tombs, that of Adham Khān, of 969/1562; it is without the wide *čhadjdjā* which characterizes the earlier octagonal tombs, and, being also without *čhatrīs*, looks curiously insipid. Of about the same time is the Masdjid Khayr al-Manāzil, with a four-centred arched façade, an imposing gateway with ***opus sectile*** decoration, and corner turrets at the rear of the *līwān* similar to those on the Lōdī Moth kī Masdjid and the Sūrī mosque in the Purānā ḳilʿa. At Djawnpur [*q.v.*] is a fine bridge, with screened pavilions over each pier, across the river Gomtī, and at Gwāliyar is the tomb of Muḥammad Ghawth, which has the typical Gudjarātī screened arcades. For provincial Mughal architecture in Bengal and Gudjarāt, see MUGHALS.

Djahāngīr's interest was more in miniature painting [see TAṢWĪR] than in architecture, and there are few examples of the buildings of his reign; although it is known that he extended Akbar's buildings at Āgrā and Lāhawr forts, beginning at the latter a "picture wall" in mosaic tiles showing hunting, polo and court scenes, and completed the building of Akbar's tomb: a four-storeyed pyramidal building, over-ornamented with *čhatrīs*, with a large half-dome archway in each face, ***opus sectile*** ornament, and an open square with a cenotaph, all in marble, at the top, standing in a vast *čār-bāgh* garden. The entrance gateway is imposing, with a tall white marble *mīnār* at each corner—the first appearance of this feature in the north. The two most important buildings of Djahāngīr's reign are the tomb at Āgrā, begun 1031/1622, of his father-in-law Mirzā Ghiyāth Beg entitled Iʿtimād al-Dawla, in marble inlaid in Persian motifs (cypresses, vines, flowers, vases, wine-cups) in true *pietra dura*, with four short corner towers, and fine marble tracery screens; and the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*], similar to that of Humāyūn's tomb but without the corner chambers. The former tomb heralds the decorative techniques of the Tādj Maḥall; the latter is the immediate prototype of its design. For other buildings of Djahāngīr see PALAMAʾŪ.

Shāhdjahān's buildings show the Mughal style at its height, although the earliest, the completion by Nūrdjahān of Djahāngīr's tomb at Shāhdara, near Lāhawr, continues the ***opus sectile*** tradition; it is of only a single storey, with a lofty *mīnār* at each corner, again in an immense garden; it is more important for its decoration than for its structure, not only on the surface of the building, but in the *pietra dura* of the cenotaph, in white marble, calligraphy (the ninety-nine names of God) appearing in delicate *pietra dura* here for the first time. Shāhdjahān himself replanned the buildings at Āgrā and Lāhawr forts, replacing some of the earlier sandstone structures with marble ones; these are characterized by engrailed arches, tapering supporting columns and *pietra dura* ornament, especially on walls and at the feet of columns and their plinths; and the marble was delicately channelled and carved. There appear at Āgrā, for the first time in north India, two oblong pavilions with a Bengali-style curved cornice to the roof; and at Lāhawr fort also is a pavilion in the style of a Bengali *čawčalā* hut. These works were perhaps a preliminary essay for Shāhdjahān's own grandiose fort, the Lāl ḳilʿa (from its red sandstone enclosure walls; see BURDJ, iii) in his new city at Dihlī [*q.v.*] called Shāhdjahānābād. The palace buildings are distinguished for their symmetrical planning along an ornamental marble canal, with chutes and cascades; in structure they are similar to those at Āgrā, except that the columns tend to be thicker, and the *pietra dura* work and the marble carving are of the highest quality. Before the fort was begun, however, the construction of the mausoleum of his queen, Mumtāz-i Maḥall, had been started. This building, known to everyone by its corrupted title of Tādj Maḥall [*q.v.*], is in the village now called Tādjgandj outside Āgrā, on the opposite bank to the fort: a complex of buildings with a square mausoleum with a tall *mīnār* at each corner of its plinth, and a red sandstone mosque and an identical *djawāb*, used as a *mihmān-khāna*, flanking it on a platform at the river end of the great oblong garden; the garden divided by paths and parterres, with central crossing water-channels, and an imposing gateway. The entire mausoleum, plinth, and the four *mīnārs* are worked in white marble with *pietra dura* in semi-precious stones, and there is a tall white marble dome, surrounded by four marble *čhatrīs*; the dome is slightly bulbous. This is the perfect culmination of the tomb-type starting with Humāyūn's tomb of a century earlier, through ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān's tomb, with decoration of the type started in the tomb of Iʿtimād al-Dawla and perfected at the forts of Āgrā, Lāhawr and Shāhdjahānābād. In Dihlī the plans for the city were completed with the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, 1057-9/1648-50; the *līwān*, in red sandstone with white marbles, has a large central half-dome arch, with five smaller flanking arches on each side, all engrailed; two *mīnārs* at the courtyard ends of the *līwān*; and three bulbous marble domes. A similar mosque, much smaller, was built in Āgrā at about the same time for his daughter Djahān Ārā [*q.v.*]; here the arches revert to the plain (not engrailed) four-centred type. Another important building of Shāhdjahān's reign, of a different type, is the mosque of Wazīr Khān in Lāhawr, of about 1044/1634; here the ornament is more akin to the arts developed in Persia, consisting of true mosaic tile decoration on the external surfaces, floral, calligraphic, geometrical, especially with the cypress (*sarw*) and the plane (*činār*) (for the nature and technique of this art see KHAZAF); the internal surfaces are painted in tempera and cut-plaster [see DJIṢṢ]. Other buildings of Shāhdjahān are at Adjmēr (two marble lakeside pavilions) and Kashmīr (terraces in the Shālimār gardens, laid out by Djahāngīr).

In the reign of Awrangzīb the building art began to lose its vitality, although the Mōtī (pearl) Masdjid he added to the fort of Shāhdjahānābād, *ca.* 1070/1660, retains the delicacy of earlier craftsmanship (the too-large bulbous domes are a later addition). The effeteness is starting to be apparent in the great Bādshāhī Masdjid of *ca.* 1085/1674 added to the west of Lāhawr fort, with four tall *mīnārs* at the corners of the courtyard, four short ones at the corners of the *līwān*; the three domes are a little over-bulbous, and the *līwān* façade presents too many blank spaces. A few years later the tomb of Awrangzīb's wife, Rābiʿa Dawrānī, was built at Awrangābād; it stands in a walled garden, which is its best feature; for it is a half-scale copy of the Tādj Māḥall, with a thin engrailed central arch, bulbous dome, disproportionately heavy *mīnārs*, a cramped skyline with insufficient room for the corner *čhatrīs*, attenuated *guldastas*, which combine to give it an air

of assiduous mediocrity. Awrangzīb's mosques at Banāras and Mathurā, on the other hand, are orthodox and well-proportioned, so it must be assumed that he played no personal part in their construction. A far better tomb building is the last of the great square mausolea, the tomb of the *wazīr* Ṣafdar Djang [*q.v.*] at Dihlī (d. 1166/1753), of good proportions, even if the dome is a little too bulbous, in finely worked fawn sandstone, and in the last great *čārbāgh* garden.

The Nawwābs of Awadh, in their capital of Lucknow, became the artistic successors to the Mughals. Their earlier buildings are similar to the Awrangzībī buildings, large and impressive, but over-decorated; their later ones, produced in a sort of bastard château style under the influence of a French adventurer with magnificent vision and no taste, mix up Corinthian capitals, fluted domes, compositions of round romanesque arches, ogee arcades, and odd ideas gathered from the Mughals, Ancient Greeks, and the European "Palladian" school. The Sikh style of the Pandjāb is at least of consistent late-Mughal extraction, but tends to over-proliferate *čhatrīs* and the fluted dome, and to be too partial to the Bengali cornice. Some of the Rādjpūt palaces have preserved better elements of late Mughal style, especially at Amber and Djaypur, and have combined it with an excellent masonry technique.

In the south a strange hybrid Islamo-Vidjayanagara style was evolved at Hampī [*q.v.*], and later scions of the Vidjayanagara house, after the dissolution of their empire, remembered some elements in their palace of Čandragiri. The few buildings of the Mahisur sultanate of Ḥaydar ʿAlī and his son Tipū are less bizarre, particularly the tomb of the dynasty at Shrirangapaṭṭanam [*q.v.*]. Other local Muslim styles are more aberrant: for example, the 19th century tombs at Djūnāgaṛh, which appear to translate the fancy knobs of a Victorian bedstead into stone, not without skill.

Bibliography: There is as yet no single comprehensive work of professional standard on Islamic building in India, nor can there be until the historical development of certain aspects of structure and decoration is fully worked out. Information is still most inadequate on foundations, coursework and bonding in masonry and brickwork, and the methods of setting out; on plasterwork, incised, moulded, fresco-painted and polished; on ceramic decoration and its relation with some types of plasterwork; on fenestration; on woodwork, carved or inlaid; on decorative techniques involving polished stone: *opus sectile* and *pietra dura*; and on the development of such features as kiosks (*čhatrīs*), merlons and parapets, *zanāna*-galleries, even on major structural works such as bridges, riparian buildings such as landing-stages and *ghāṭs*, and domestic architecture. A "grammar of ornament" is also an urgent necessity. There are, it is true, many brilliant works in which most of these points are dealt with over a short period or in a limited region; but they are outnumbered by the lacunae. Of general works the most comprehensive is Percy Brown, *Indian architecture* (*Islamic period*), Bombay n.d. (1943?); good shorter accounts are H. Goetz, *Arte dell' India musulmana e correnti moderne*, in *Le civiltà dell' Oriente*, Rome 1962, iv, 780-882; Y. D. Sharma, *Islamic monuments*, in A. Ghosh (ed.), *Archaeological remains*: *monuments and museums*, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Delhi 1964, ii, 241-328; M. S. Briggs, *Muslim architecture in India*, in G. T. Garratt (ed.), *The legacy of India*, Oxford 1937, 223-55; J. H. Marshall, *The monuments of Muslim India*, in *Cambridge history of India*, Cambridge 1937, iii, 568-640; Percy Brown, *Monuments of the Mughal period*, *ibid.*, iv, 523-76; for a general account with particular reference to Pakistan: R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, London 1950, specially 61-128; idem, *Splendours of the east*, London 1965, 68-71. A tendentious account, written in support of the untenable thesis that all Indian art springs directly from Indian roots, by E. B. Havell, *Indian architecture*; *its psychology, structure and history from the first Muhammadan invasion* ..., London 1913. Older works: J. Ferguson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1876; revised ed. by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers, 2 vols., London 1910 (esp. ii, 186-335); V. A. Smith, *History of fine art in India and Ceylon* ..., Oxford 1911, 391-420. There is much material available on local aspects of Muslim building, especially in A. Cunningham, *Archaeological survey of India*, xxiii vols., Simla and Calcutta 1873-87; various authors, especially J. Burgess, in *Archaeological Survey of western India*, Old series, ii, iii, iv, 1875; vi, 1877; viii, 1879; xi 1885; xi a, 1890; *Archaeological survey of India, New Imperial series* (combining New Series of some provincial surveys, from 1876); also Progress reports of circles of the Survey, from 1890; after 1902-3 superseded by *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports*, supplemented by monographs entitled *Memoirs of the archaeological survey of India*. Detailed lists of contents of all volumes relevant to Islam in K. A. C. Creswell, *Bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam*, Cairo 1961, *passim*; individual articles after 1905 listed also in Pearson. Since Indian independence many articles in *Ancient India*, from 1946. Some articles of archaeological importance in *EIM*. Critical bibliography, before 1948 only, in *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology*, i-xv, of the Kern Institute, Leiden.

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

viii. — MUSIC

The first detailed account of secular Indian music occurs in the *Nāṭyashāstra* by Bharata, which has been dated variously from the 3rd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. Although this work is primarily devoted to drama and stagecraft, music is an important topic in it. Musical theory had, by this time, already reached a high state of development and is described in considerable detail. The melodic system is based on modes (*djāti*) which are constructed on heptatonic series of notes (*mūrččhanā*) beginning on the successive degrees of two parent scales, *Shaḍdjagrāma* and *Madhyamagrāma*. These scales were composed of 3 different sized intervals, comparable to the major wholetone, minor wholetone and semitone of "just intonation". These were expressed (approximately) in terms of their highest common factor, about a quartertone, called *shruti*. Thus the intervals are described as containing 4, 3 and 2 *shrutis* respectively. An interval of 1 *shruti* was not considered musical.

Cultural exchanges between India and the outside world included music and musical instruments before the advent of Islam. Greco-Roman influence is clearly evident in the Gandhārā sculptures and the musical instruments depicted corroborate this. Furthermore, Roman singing boys are said to have been imported into India in about the 2nd century A.D. (*Periplus of the Erithraean Sea*) and 12,000 Indian musicians are said to have been sent to Bahrām Gūr in Sāsānid Persia (Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, tr. Zotenberg, 1900, 566-7).

During the next few centuries it appears that Indian music underwent considerable change. In Mataṅga's *Bṛhaddeshī*, of about the 3rd/9th century, a new technical term, *rāg* (= Skt. *rāga*), was introduced. The essence of the concept of *rāg* was the recognition that certain combinations of notes were endowed with particular sentiments, *ras* (= Skt. *rasa*). These *rāgs*, which had crystallized from the ancient modes (*djāti*), formed a melodic basis for the composition of songs (*gītī*). Gradually, as the *rāgs* completely displaced the *djātis*, the two original parent scales lost their significance. In the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* (607/1210-645/1247) it is stated that 264 *rāgs* were currently in use. This important Sanskrit treatise, composed by Shārṅgadeva at the court of the Yādava dynasty in the Deccan before the Muslim conquest of this area, discusses *saṅgīta* in its three aspects, vocal music, instrumental music and dance. Although Shārṅgadeva attempted to follow the earlier theorists, he was obliged to admit that much of the ancient music was extinct.

Indian music was known and held in high regard in the Islamic world in the 3rd/9th century, when it was praised by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Sūdān*, ed. van Vloten, 84; ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, i, 223; cf. M. Z. Siddiqi,

Studies in Arabic and Persian medical literature, Calcutta 1959, 32), and in the 4th/10th century, al-Masʿūdī, evidently referring to the emotional impact of *rāgs*, reports that Indians "frequently hear songs and musical performances, and they have various sorts of musical instruments which produce on man all shades of impressions between laughing and crying ..." (*Murūdj*, i, 169 = tr. Pellat, § 177). Indian musical theory, too, was not entirely unknown, for the Caliphs of Baghdād are said to have ordered the translation of a number of Indian treatises, among which was one on Indian music entitled *Biyāphar* (*Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, *ca.* 595/1198) which has been interpreted as *Vidyāphala* "fruit of science", but has not yet been traced (H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous essays*, London 1873, ii, 460).

In several respects Indian music was probably similar to Persian and Arabic music, especially as all three were modal systems based on melody rather than harmony. Each of them was concerned with the cosmic implications of music as well as its power to influence the individual. In India, the modes are ascribed to specific periods of the day, and are further associated with seasons, colours and, of course, the Hindu deities. Similar associations, at first attached to the strings of the lute (al-Kindī) and later extended to include the modes, are also found in Arabic musical treatises.

Thus the conquering Muslims encountered in India a musical system which was not entirely alien, and their reaction to it appears to have been favourable. The poet Amīr Khusraw, who was expert in both Indian and Persian music at the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (695/1296-715/1316), states, without equivocation, that "Indian music, the fire that burns heart and soul, is superior to the music of any other country. Foreigners, even after a stay of 30 or 40 years in India, cannot play a single Indian tune correctly" (M. W. Mirza, *Life and works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935, 184). Amīr Khusraw is credited with the introduction into Indian music of a number of Persian and Arabic elements which include new vocal forms, as well as new *rāgs*, *tāls* (= Skt. *tāla*, time measure) and musical instruments. Of the vocal forms, two are of particular importance; *ḳawl*, which is said to be the origin of *ḳawwālī*, at present a form of religious song, and *tarāna*, a song composed of meaningless syllables, both of which are prominent today.

From this time until well into the Mughal period, foreign music, particularly from Īrān, was frequently heard in the Indian courts along with Indian music. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there were numerous attempts to introduce new elements into Indian music. Many of these were subtle rather than drastic innovations, but they nevertheless brought about modifications in the character of Indian music without actually changing its basic form.

Music flourished in Islamic India in spite of the puritan faction which believed that music was unlawful in Islam. The impetus was supplied by the rulers, some of whom were not only patrons but excellent musicians in their own right. Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (726/1325-752/1351), although a ruler of strong religious convictions, yet kept 1,200 musicians in his service and had, in addition, 1,000 slave musicians (Mahdi Hussain, *Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, Baroda 1953, 50-1). Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Kashmīr (819/1416-872/1467) encouraged literature, painting and music and ordered the writing of a treatise on music which is, unfortunately, not extant (Abdul Halim, *History of Indo-Pak music*, Dacca 1962, 79). Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī (863/1458-935/1528) [see SHARḲĪS], initially of Djawnpur, was an incomparable performer and an innovator second only to Amīr Khusraw. His most important contribution was the introduction of a new form of song, *khayāl*, which gave much greater scope for technical virtuosity than did the traditional and austere *dhrupad*. The rivalry between the advocates of these two forms of song and their respective styles of singing has continued until recent times, when the *khayāl* finally gained supremacy.

This was a period of great musical activity. Sultan Sikandar Lōdī [*q.v.*] (895/1489-923/1517) took a keen interest in music in spite of his religious orthodoxy. Under his patronage, probably the first treatise on Indian music in Persian, the *Lahdjat-i Sikandar Shāhī*, was composed. This was a traditional work based on Sanskrit treatises. In Gwalior, however, Rādjā Mān Singh Tońwar (891/1486-922/1516) was responsible for the formulation of a more progressive treatise in Hindi entitled *Mān Kawtūhal*. This work was compiled by the leading musicians of his court and incorporated many of the innovations that had been introduced into Indian music since Amīr Khusraw's time. In spite of this endeavour, traditional Indian musical theory continued to be expressed, for the most part, in Sanskrit treatises which bore less and less resemblance to court music as time went on. To some extent, the traditional Indian music has been preserved in South India, but here too the music has evolved, albeit in its own direction.

Patronage of music reached its peak under the Mughal Emperors, Akbar, Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān. The lists of the leading musicians, both Hindu and Muslim, who were attached to their courts is impressive, and included such famous musicians as Tānsen, his son Bilās Khān, and Bāz Bahādur. Bāz Bahādur was the last Muslim ruler of Mālwā, whose tragic affair with Rūpmatī, a singer and dancing girl, has become legendary. In the later part of his life, after he had lost his empire, he became one of the leading musicians in Akbar's retinue. It is interesting to note that nearly all the vocalists attached to these courts were Indian, while many of the instrumentalists were foreigners, some of whom came from Mashhad, Tabrīz and Harāt (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873, i, 611-3). In addition to this court music, large orchestras (*nawbat*), consisting of wind and percussion instruments, were maintained. These usually played at regular periods in the *naḳḳār-khāna* or *nawbat-khāna*, which were located in the gateways of palaces and shrines (*ibid.*, i, 50-1). A similar tradition, *nawba*, had been known in Arabia several centuries earlier (H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 153-4).

In the beginning of the 11th/17th century, music flourished in the Deccan under the patronage of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II, a renowned poet. The *Kitāb-i Nawras* contains a collection of his poems intended to be sung in different *rāgs*. These are, however, referred to as *maḳāms* and give an indication of the similarity between the Indian and Arabic musical systems.

Under the Emperor Awrangzīb (1068/1658-1118/1707) music suffered a temporary set-back, for, although he was fond of music and was skilled in its theory, he relinquished all pleasure and chose a life of asceticism early in his reign. The cause of Indian music was, however, revived under the later Mughals, Bahādur Shāh (1118/1707-1124/1712) and Muḥammad

Shāh (1132/1719-1161/1748). The latter was a famous singer who composed many *khayāls*, some of which can still be heard. In 1137/1724, an important Sanskrit musical text, *Saṅgīta Pāridjāta*, was translated into Persian and the manuscript bears the seal of Muḥammad Shāh's state librarian (O. C. Gangoly, *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, Bombay 1948, 63). The original work was written by Paṇḍita Ahobala in 1076/1665 and contains the first Indian attempt at measuring intervals in terms of string lengths.

With the decline of the Mughal Empire, music was maintained in the provincial courts, but not on such a lavish scale An important Hindi treatise, entitled *Saṅgīt Sār*, was compiled by the musicians of Mahārādjā Pratāp Siṃha of Djaypur at the beginning of the 19th century, while in 1813, Muḥammad Riḍā ("Rezzā"), a nobleman of Paṭnā, composed a treatise entitled *Naghmāt-i Āṣafī*, a work which is considered to be the beginning of modern musical theory in North India. Whereas in the mediaeval period many new *rāgs* had been introduced and the prevailing system of classification in terms of *rāgas* (masculine modes) and their *rāginīs* (female consorts) had been extended to include *putras* (sons) and *bhāryās* (wives of sons), a system which does not appear to have had any musical basis, in the *Naghmāt-i Āṣafī* a new system based on classification in terms of scale (*thāt*) was advocated. This basis for the classification of *rāgs* is generally accepted in the present period.

The process of integrating musical theory and musical practice still continues. At the beginning of this century great strides were made in this direction by the efforts of V. N. Bhatkhaṇḍe, who was both a musician and a Sanskrit scholar. His theories are based on songs which he collected from a number of eminent musicians, many of whom were Muslim and could trace their ancestry to the Mughal court musicians. Bhatkhaṇḍe's system can be briefly outlined as follows:

The octave is composed of twelve approximately equal semitones, but the intonation of these, with the exception of the perfect 4th and 5th of the standard tonic or drone note, *sā*, may vary from *rāg* to *rāg* and from musician to musician. More than 200 *rāgs* are extant, most of which are classified in 10 groups on the basis of scale (*thāt*). These are:

Kalyān	C	D	E	F♯	G	A	B	C
Bilāval	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
Khamādj	C	D	E	F	G	A	B♭	C
Bhayrav	C	D♭	E	F	G	A♭	B	C
Pūrvī	C	D♭	E	F♯	G	A♭	B	C
Mārvā	C	D♭	E	F♯	G	A	B	C
Kāfī	C	D	E♭	F	G	A	B♭	C
Āsāvarī	C	D	E♭	F	G	A♭	B♭	C
Bhayravī	C	D♭	E♭	F	G	A♭	B♭	C
Toṛī	C	D♭	E♭	F♯	G	A♭	B	C

A performance of classical or art music generally consists of two parts; *ālāp*, introductory improvisation establishing the melodic features of the *rāg*; and *bandish*, the composition, which in vocal music may be *khayāl*, *dhrupad*, *tarāna* or one of several more modern forms, and in instrumental music as played on the stringed instruments, *sitār* and *sarod*, is generally *gat*. This composition is set in a particular *tāl*, a cyclic time-measure punctuated by a stress pattern which is marked on a pair of drums, *ṭablā*. The composition is generally short and is used as a springboard for improvised variations dependant on the creative ability and the virtuosity of the performer. While the variations maintain the interest of the audience, a deeper emotional impact is achieved through the gradually increasing tempo and the progressive complexity of the music which finally culminates in a powerful climax.

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HIND BINT AL-KHUSS, or simply BINT AL-KHUSS, name by which is known a woman of the pre-Islamic era, whose eloquence, quickness of repartee and perspicacity became legendary. According to al-Shiblī (*Ākām al-murdjān*, Cairo 1326, 71), the word *khuss* denotes the son of a man and of a *djinniyya* (while *ʿamlūḳ* is applied to the offspring of a *djinn* and a woman), and thus we perceive the origin of the legend which arose probably from the belief of the intervention of *djinns* in the generation of human beings endowed with exceptional gifts. In spite of affirmations such as that of *LA* (s.v.) in respect of al-Khuss: "well-known member of the Iyād", the historicity of this man and his daughter is open to serious doubt; nevertheless it is significant that some authors call the daughter Hind bint al-Khuss b. Ḥābis b. Ḳurayṭ al-Iyādī (al-Iyādiyya), while they give to another woman, presented as her sister, the name of Djum(a)ʿa bint Ḥābis b. Mulayl. Furthermore, they give her also the nickname al-

Zarḳāʾ and it is possible that in the welter of legends collected in the first centuries of Islam this Hind was more or less confused with Zarḳaʾ al-Yamāma. It is thus for instance that Karam al-Bustānī, in his edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (Beirut 1953, 45), calls "Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma bint al-Khuss" the one who solved the problem posed by the poet in a poem in *-di*, where the question is raised of finding the number 66; here the commentators are divided, some according the merit of the solution to Zarḳāʾ al-Tamāma, others to Bint al-Khuss. Finally al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 312-3) and others after him mention the hesitation of Ibn al-Aʿrābī (al-Khuss, al-Khuṣṣ, al-Khusf) and the decision of Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (al-Akhass). Only the author of the *Bayān* seems to put in doubt (*Tarbīʿ wa-tadwīr*, § 63) the existence of this woman, of whom it is said that she used to go to ʿUkāẓ, serve as arbiter and give her opinion about camels, horses, marriage, men, women, and express in refined words opinions of great simplicity. Some of her answers, in rhyming prose, became proverbs, probably at an early date, because the first evidence for her name is in a verse of al-Farazdaḳ which does not seem to figure in the printed *Dīwān*; her "sayings" have been collected by philologists and cited as *shawāhid* and as examples of very trenchant statements.

Although she is said to have refused to marry, her conduct was not blameless, and it is to her that people attribute the proverb *ḳurb al-wisād wa-ṭūl al-siwād* "nearness of the pillow and length of confidences" (= opportunity makes the thief).

It is interesting to note that the legend of Bint al-Khuss, probably brought by the Banū Hilāl, remains very much alive in Algeria, where some "sayings", very similar to those found in the classic works, are attributed to her, and where she passes as the leader of a tribe or the daughter of an Arab king.

Bibliography: sayings in rhyming prose, proverbs and repartees of Bint al-Khuss are found scattered in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 214; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 199, ii, 218, 235, 256, 257, iii, 107, 119; Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Tahdhīb al-alfāẓ*, Beirut 1896, 353; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr, *Balāghat al-nisāʾ*, 58; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ii, 31; Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v.; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1320, 320; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 40 and *passim*; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn*, 222-3 (in the margin of Ṣafadī, *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿAdjam*, ii, 179-80); they are assembled in larger quantity in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 333-6 (bad translation in Perron, *Femmes arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris-Algiers 1858, 43-6).—The only study is that of R. Basset, *La légende de Bent El-Khass*, in *R Afr.*, 1905, 18-34 (with numerous references).

(CH. PELLAT)

HIND BINT ʿUTBA B. RABĪʿA, mother of Muʿāwiya; this Meccan woman, who belonged to the clan of the ʿAbd Shams (see the list of her maternal ancestors in Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 19), had married as her third husband Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, to whom she bore other children besides the future caliph. Traditions hostile to the Umayyads draw an extremely repellant portrait, apparently something of a caricature, of this short, stout woman who quite certainly had a highly passionate temperament and who on different occasions made violent utterances that have remained famous. Her hatred of Muḥammad was increased still more by the fact that Ḥamza [*q.v.*] killed her father in the battle of Badr. With other women, she accompanied the Meccans on their expedition against Medina in 3/625, and was one of the most ardent in urging on the men to the fight; when Ḥamza perished in the battle of Uḥud, she is said to have mutilated his corpse and bitten his liver. According to some authors, she was condemned to death by the Prophet at the time of the capture of Mecca (8/630; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index s.v. Fartanā), but it is more probable that she was present—however unwillingly—to see the homage paid to the victor (see *Muḥabbar*, 408). Later, she had every reason to be satisfied with events when her son became governor of Syria and, according to one account, she took part in the battle of Yarmūk with undiminished ardour, exhorting the Muslims to circumcise their uncircumcised adversaries with their swords. In the end, Abū Sufyān divorced her, for which action she is said to have avenged herself by different intrigues. Some traditions place her death in the reign of ʿUmar, others under ʿUthmān, so that she did not live to see her son's exalted destiny.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 466, 536-7, 557, 562-3, 580 ff., 815; Wellhausen, *Wāḳidī*, 102, 128, 133, 324, 334, 344, 350; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 98, viii, 4; Ṭabarī, i, 1348, 1386, 1400-1, 1415-6, 1642-3, 2766-7; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 48, 61; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Iṣāba*, iv, 820-2; Nawawī, *Biog. Dict.*, 856; M. al-Ḥafnāwī, *Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb*, Cairo 1959.

(FR. BUHL*)

MĪRZĀ **HINDĀL**, ABŪ NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD, surnamed Hindāl, the name by which he is known to history, since he was born during his father's campaign to India, the youngest surviving son of the emperor Bābur [*q.v.*], by his wife Dildār Bēgam, the mother of Gulbadan Bēgam [*q.v.*]. He was born in Kābul in 925/1519 and educated there under the care of his foster-mother Māham, the first wife of Bābur and the mother of Humāyūn [*q.v.*]. At the time of Bābur's death in 937/1530 he was in Badakhshān fighting against the Özbeks, deputizing for Humāyūn who was away in Kābul. On the accession of Humāyūn he returned to India and received Alwār [*q.v.*] in *djāgīr* as well as 2,000 rupees in cash from the family treasury.

In 940/1533, when he was only 14 years old, he was sent against Tātār Khān, a powerful noble, who had rebelled against Humāyūn and joined hands with Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt (933-944/1526-1537).

During the battle of Čawsa (Chausa) in 946/1539, in which Humāyūn suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], he, in league with Kāmrān [*q.v.*], the rebel brother of Humāyūn, played an ignoble rôle and deserted Humāyūn at a very critical juncture. Similarly during Humāyūn's campaign in Bengal (945/1538-39) he acted rather treacherously and, taking advantage of his royal brother's absence in Gawr, unfurled the banner of revolt at Āgra [*q.v.*]; he occupied the Imperial palace and, assuming kingship, began to issue firmans. Shaykh Buhlūl, the elder brother of the celebrated saint Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior, who was sent by Humāyūn to make Hindāl see reason and dissuade him from pursuing his rebellious activities, was executed by the orders of Hindāl on the charge of treason (cf. Gulbadan Bēgam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, 134-5; al-Badāʾūnī, i, 459; *Akbar-nāma*, i, 338). Humāyūn felt grieved at the Shaykh's death but did not consider it prudent to punish his rebel brother. It was in Hindāl's camp at Rōhrī, near Bhakkar [*q.v.*], that Humāyūn first saw Ḥamīda Bānū Bēgam in 948/1541 and decided to marry her.

This match was resented by Hindāl, in whose entourage Ḥamīda happened to be. On Humāyūn's refusal to give up, Hindāl felt offended and without the royal permission left for Ḳandahār which he seized from Kāmrān's men. Even this act of open revolt was condoned by Humāyūn, who allowed him to retain his newly gained possession. The territory of Badakhshān was conferred on him for gallantry during the battle of Ḳunduz in 953/1546. He was killed on 21 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 952/21 November 1551 in a surprise attack by Kāmrān's men while engaged in reconnoitring operations at night in the vicinity of Djū-yi Shāhī in eastern Afghānistān, where he was temporarily buried. His coffin was later removed to Kābul and interred near the grave of his father, the emperor Bābur. He was more faithful to Humāyūn than his other ambitious brothers, Kāmrān and ʿAskarī. He was married to Sulṭānim Bēgam, a sister of Sayyid Mahdī Khʷādja, husband of Bābur's sister, Khānzāda Bēgam. His daughter Ruḳayya Bēgam was Akbar's first wife but bore him no children. She died at the advanced age of 84 on 7 Djumādā I 1035/19 January 1626 at Āgra (cf. Gulbadan Bēgam, 274).

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HINDĪ, the national language of the Republic of India, is now generally regarded as that form of the central north Indian speech which draws its erudite vocabulary from Sanskrit and its culture from Hinduism, and for literary purposes as including not only the standard dialect (Khaṛī bolī) but also the eastern Awadhī, the central Bradj, and the bardic poetry of Rādjāsthān [see also hind, Languages]. Formerly, and as late as the 19th century, it was also used to describe the speech of north Indian Muslims, those of *Hind* as opposed to *Dakhan*, the speech of the Hindūs being distinguished as *Hindawī*. The term has now been replaced entirely in its Muslim sense by *Urdū* [*q.v.*]; in the remainder of this article the term *Hindī* is used in its Hindū sense.

The relevance of Hindī to Islam is threefold: there is a small but important corpus of Hindī works by Muslim writers; Muslim rulers and nobles have been active patrons of Hindī poetry; and there has been a considerable Muslim influence on Hindī vocabulary, with a more limited influence on grammar (including phonology, morphology and syntax) and on style.

The Muslim poets' interest in Hindī began early, long before the emergence of anything resembling Urdū as an Indian Muslim language; thus under Ghaznawid rule in Lahore in the 6th/12th century Masʿūd b. Saʿūd Salmān is credited with a Hindī *dīwān* as well as *dīwāns* in Arabic and Persian (ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 246). The first Muslim poet of Hindī whose works have come down to us is, however, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*], who wrote at the Khaldjī and Tughluḳ courts in the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries; his Hindī output is small beside his prolific Persian works: a few riddles and macaronic Hindī/Persian verses, and the short rhyming Persian-Hindī dictionary, the *Khāliḳ-bārī*, an important early vehicle for the diffusion of common Persian words in north India.

The north Indian *bhakti* movement—sometimes seen incorrectly as a Hindū reaction seeking to strengthen Hinduism against the advancing pressure of conversions to Islam; in fact its origins date from long before the conquest and its early growth was in regions of slight Muslim influence—saw little Islamic theological and philosophical influence, although the number of Arabic and Persian loanwords used in the Hindī of its exponents is noteworthy. The poet Kabīr [*q.v.*], of a Muslim weaver (*djulāhā*) family from Banāras (Benares), is unquestionably most strongly influenced by the Hindū *bhakti* tradition, even though his theology is a deistic monotheism with Vedāntic affinities; but his preaching appears to be directed as much to Muslims as to Hindūs, and his followers, the Kabīrpanthīs, have both Hindū and Muslim branches. His exact chronology is most uncertain, but he does seem to have been a contemporary of Sikandar Lōdī; Kabīr criticism is bedevilled by the fact that his followers composed verses in his name, and the true Kabīr and the pseudo-Kabīr sometimes overlap disconcertingly. Some of the authentic Kabīr poetry is collected in the *Ādi Granth*, the Sikh scriptures put together in 1012/1603, which shows clearly the formative effect of Kabīr on Nānak [*q.v.*], his younger contemporary. Nānak's writings in the *Granth* show him to have been somewhat closer to Hinduism than was Kabīr; perhaps both show, especially in their emphasis of the worship of the Name of God and in the importance they attach to the teacher, the influence of the Pandjābī Ṣūfī teachers of the previous centuries starting with Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd [*q.v.*], two of whose verses in a sort of "Pandjābized" Hindī (perhaps modernized by later redactors) occur in the *Granth*.

An important school of writing in Awadhī (Eastern Hindī) known as *prem-gāthā* (lit. 'love song'), of Ṣūfī inspiration, depends entirely on Muslim authors. The works are all narrative love stories, some of them owing much to the poetic conventions of the Sanskrit romances; but the love stories of two humans are to be taken as allegories of the soul's love for God and its ultimate union with Him. The earliest such work is the *Čandāyan* of Mawlānā Dāʾūd, of about 771/1370, on a popular romantic tale which appears to have been known as far east as Bengal (cf. Rai Krishnadas, *An illustrated Avadhi MS of Laurchanda in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras*, in *Lalit Kalā*, 1955-6, 65-71). Some of the *Čandāyan*'s successors of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries are now known only by their names, although the stories on which they are based are still current in folk-literature (cited by Djāyasī in *Padmāwat*, xxiii, stanza 17; see further Gaṇesh Prasād Dwiwedī, *Hindī mẽ prem-gāthā awr Malik Muhammad Djāyasī*, in *Nāgarī Pračāriṇī Patrikā*, xvii/1, 61 ff. (in Hindī)); but in the extant *Mṛgāwatī* of Shaykh Ḳuṭb ʿAlī of

Djawnpur, known as Ḳuṭban, the allegorical element seems slight in spite of Ḳuṭb ʿAlī's having been a *murīd* of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn of Kalpī (composed 909/1503-4). Slightly later (*ca.* 936/1530) is the *Madhu-mālatī* of Mīr Sayyid Mānḍjhan, who was later a luminary of the Sūrī courts; although incomplete, the work is one of the finest Hindī romances of pre-Mughal times, with a well-constructed allegory and a striking description of the beauties of nature. By far the most prominent writer of this school is Malik Muḥammad Djāyasī [*q.v.*], b. 900/1494, whose *Ākhirī kalām* (930/1523) is a short poem on the Day of Judgment, and whose *Akharāwat*, of about the same period, is an acrostic on the characters of the Devanāgarī script of Sanskrit and Hindī to which mystic significance is attached; his *magnum opus* is the *Padmāwat* of 947/1540, a *prem-gāthā* partially based on the siege of Čitawr in 689/1290 by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī, in which the poet sees the hero Ratansen as man's soul, the elder queen Nāgmatī as worldly care, the young queen Padmāwatī as wisdom, Čitawr as the body, the parrot who brings the message of Padmāwatī's beauty to Ratansen as the true teacher, Rāghaw Četan the Brāhmaṇ, who betrays Padmāwatī to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, as Satan, and the sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn himself as illusion, this *taʾwīl* being explicitly stated in the closing verses. The *Padmāwat* has formed a model for later Awadhī Ṣūfī poets (and, further afield, for the Bengali [*q.v.*] poet Ālāwal), the most notable of whom is Sayyid ʿUthmān of Djawnpur, a Niẓāmiyya Čishtī of a *silsila* very similar to that of Muḥyī al-Dīn, Djāyasī's teacher; his *Čitrāwalī* of *ca.* 1022/1613 shows a Nepalese prince marrying first the princess Kamalāwatī and then renouncing her to conquer princess Čitrāwalī: the allegory is the necessity for the renunciation of ignorance in order to attain true knowledge. Similar are the *Gyān-dīp* of Shaykh Nabī of *ca.* 1028/1619, the *Hans-djawāhir* of Ḳāsim Shāh of Daryābād of 1143/1731, Nūr Muḥammad's *Indrāwatī* of 1157/1744, and a *Yūsuf-Zulaykhā* by Shaykh Niṣār of Shekhūpur of 1200/1786. All these works have in common, besides the allegorical treatment of a love-story, a poetic form closely resembling the traditional *mathnawī* but couched in purely Indian metrical forms; and all, though the language is Awadhī, use the Persian script (although Devanāgarī recensions are also known).

With the coming of the Mughal courts, the Indian vernaculars flourished under royal patronage. Even Bābur is known to have composed a verse in Hindī (cf. T. Grahame Bailey, *Early Urdū conversation*, in *BSOS*, vi/1 (1930), 205-8; although Urdū *stricto sensu* had not at that time come into being), and certainly had admitted a large number of Hindī words to the Turkī of his autobiography (list in M. A. Ghani, *History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, Allahabad 1929, i, 59). His grandson Akbar, who was thoroughly Indianized, is known as the author of several Hindī couplets, in which he signs himself *Akabbar sāhi* (= Shāh), but most of all for the patronage he extended to Hindī poets, Muslim and Hindū alike. And the liberality of his age created conditions for the writing of the finest Hindī devotional poetry by Sūr Dās and Tulsī Dās, who were in no way dependent on court patronage; they were poets of Hindū *bhakti*, devotion to a personal god who for the love of his worshippers was incarnated in human form: Krishṇa in the case of Sūr and his followers, Rām in the case of Tulsī. Naturally there are no Muslim poets of this school, for the implicit theology is the antithesis of Islam; the one Muslim name among its writers, Sayyid Ibrāhīm called Ras Khān (b. 980/1573), is an apostate. The Krishṇa-cult, however, had in some writers an aspect capable of secular interpretation in the stories of the boy-god's dalliance with the cowherd girls of Brindāban, especially with the principal Rādhā; and while with devotees the Rādhā-Krishṇa stories were no more than symbolic of the longing of the human soul for union with the divine, in the hands of others they could provide a convenient peg on which to hang erotic verses. Eroticism in Indian poetry had a long and refined tradition and was closely linked with Indian theories of poetics, and it was this deliberately cultivated display of the poetic art which came into great favour at the Mughal courts as the indigenous counterpart to Persian court poetry. At Akbar's court Hindī verses were written by rādjā Ṭoḍar Mall [*q.v.*], by Bīrbal of Djaypur, to whom many witty and humorous apophthegms are ascribed (the modern *Bīrbal-nāmas* preserve perhaps the spirit but certainly not the words of the genuine Bīrbal), the brothers Abu 'l-Faḍl and Fayḍī [*qq.v.*], and above all by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān [*q.v.*], entitled Khān-i Khānān, who wrote under the *takhalluṣ* Raḥīm. His *Satsaī* is a collection of seven hundred couplets (*dohās*) on a variety of themes, each a neatly polished pen-picture, in which the essential philosophy and experience of this cultivated soldier is everywhere apparent; in his *Nayikā-bhed*, a conventional *genre* of Indian poetry which depicts the various types of heroine, he has used the *barwayya* metre which he did much to popularize; some of his *barwayyas* are written in Persian or in Persian and Hindī mixed, some verses in other metres are Sanskrit/Hindī macaronics, and a treatise on astrology is in Persianized Sanskrit; he is also remembered as the translator into Persian of Bābur's Turkī memoirs, and as the patron of the Hindī poet Gang Kavi. On Raḥīm see specially V. Vidyalankar, *ʿAbdur Raḥīm Khānkhānān and his Hindi poetry*, in *IC*, xxiv/2 (1950), 123-33.

The same traditions continued under Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān, both emperors taking an active interest in Hindī poetry, rewarding poets, and causing Hindī works to be transcribed into Persian characters; and Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad's *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, written for Awrangzīb, shows his interest in the vernacular: an introduction dealing with the Devanāgarī script and the grammar of Bradj-bhāshā is followed by chapters on prosody, rhyme, rhetoric, *ars amoris*, and music (Syed Masud Hasan Rizavi, *The Tuhfatu'l-Hind...*, in *Jhā commemoration volume*, Poona 1937, 309-14). The Mughal courts set the fashion for the provincial courts of Hindū kings, and in particular Orčhā, Djaypur, Gwāliyār, Nāgpur, Bundī and Satārā patronized Hindī poetry; in the Mughal court Awrangzīb's third son Aʿẓam Shāh is particularly known as an enthusiastic patron, and a special recension of Bihārī Lāl's *Satsaī* (composed 1073/1662, the highest point of Hindī court poetry, a natural descendant of Raḥīm's) was made in his honour. Other poets who should be mentioned here are Ghanānand, a Kāyasth, for some time an amanuensis of Muḥammad Shāh, one of the most personal and idyllic of love-poets, killed in Nādir Shāh's sack of Dihlī; and Sayyid Ghulām Nabī Bilgrāmī, known as Raslīn, who in the 1150s/1740s produced a learned work on rhetoric and a most felicitous treatment on the beauty of heroines; and the Brāhmaṇ convert ʿĀlam, in the service of prince Muʿaẓẓam (later the emperor Bahādur Shāh), who with his wife—now known by no other name than

Shaykh—jointly composed hundreds of light epicurean verses.

Prose literature in the modern Indian languages is little known before the 19th century. With the founding of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800, for the purpose of instructing the servants of the East India Company in Indian languages, an impetus was given to the development of prose, especially in Hindī and Urdū, by the commissioning of translators; although one work of Hindī prose, *Rānī Ketkī kī kahānī*, had already been completed in 1800 by Inshā' Allāh Khān [*q.v.*], who was in the service first of Shāh ʿĀlam II in Delhi and later of Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān in Lucknow and was an accomplished Urdū poet. The Hindī produced under these auspices was in fact the Khaṛī bolī dialect, that is to say virtually the same dialectal standard of the northern speech as in the case of Urdū, the literary form of which was by now well established; and herein lies the innovation of the Fort William school of Hindī writing, for previously only Awadhī and Bradj had attained literary status, although Khaṛī bolī had for centuries been the *spoken* norm in the Delhi region; and in practice this new literary language was little more than the language of Urdū-speaking Hindūs, in which words of Arabic and Persian origin had been replaced by words either Sanskrit or of Sanskrit origin. Although its chief exponent, Lallūdjī Lāl [*q.v.*], was also an Urdū writer, he went to the extreme of using Sanskrit words of learned rather than popular currency, and the new Hindī was accepted in consequence by a militant orthodox Hindū element rather than by the Hindū element as a whole. The Christian missionaries in Madras and Bengal had, in their Hindī translations of the Christian scriptures, naturally preferred to use religious terms already familiar to the Hindū mind, and thus increased the Sanskritic element. Macaulay's appointment in 1834 as President of the Committee of Public Instruction nearly visited this Hindī with its death-blow, by his insistence on the value of Western education for Indians and his vigorous but uninformed and injudicious denials that classical Indian learning had anything to offer; Persian continued as the language of the courts until 1837, when Urdū replaced it; and, when the question of the medium of instruction in the schools arose after the report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1854, the adoption of Hindī was vehemently opposed by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] on the grounds that it was a rustic tongue and the language of idolators (in this view he was supported by the French Professor Garcin de Tassy). But at this time Rādjā Shiw Prasād (not a rādjā in the traditional sense; the title of rādjā was a British conferment) became an inspector of schools in the Department of Public Instruction and produced some sixteen text-books for school use in a language not far removed from Urdū, but in Devanāgarī script, which allowed the use of Hindī in the schools' curricula; in a preface to one of these he condemns those "who always urge the exclusion of Persian words, even those which have become our household words . . . and use in their stead Sanskrit words quite out of place and fashion, or those coarse expressions which can be tolerated only among a rustic population"; and he endeavoured to bring this Hindī to a wider public through his newspaper *Banāras Akhbār*. But the form of the language he used was felt to offer too many concessions to Muslim usage, and the more militant orthodox Hindū politicians, especially Rādjā Lakshmaṇ Singh, gradually brought about the rejection of Shiw Prasād's Persianized diction in favour of a more highly Sanskritized style. Hindū-Muslim tension was thus reflected on a linguistic plane.

The subsequent growth of Hindī into a literature rather than merely a written language, first by the efforts of Bhāratendu Harishčandra and later by Mahāwīr Prasād Dwiwedī, does not concern us here, as the linguistic and stylistic differences between Hindī and Urdū became greater and Muslims found in Hindī an expression to which they could not give their allegiance. Authors who used both Hindī and Urdū as literary vehicles are very rare —Premčand [*q.v.*] is a notable exception. Community feeling and nationalism have preserved the Hindū-Muslim linguistic dichotomy in both Hindī and Urdū (in a way which has not affected Bengali), the short-lived Hindūstānī Movement [see HINDŪSTĀNĪ] having commanded little popularity; but the protagonists of the Sanskritized Hindī, which now has the blessing of the Government of India, have not had things all their own way: shortly after partition, village communities near Delhi and in the Indian Pandjāb preferred to listen to the news broadcasts of Pakistan Radio from Lahore, finding their Urdū more comprehensible than the Hindī broadcasts of the All-India Radio. Recently there have been signs of an increased acceptance of Hindī by some north Indian Muslims.

The above account has excluded Dakhnī, which will be treated under URDŪ. It must be mentioned, however, that many old Dakhnī texts are now being published in Devanāgarī transcription in India, often under the name of "Dakhnī Hindī", and it is probable that before long Dakhnī will be studied in India as part of Hindī literature (cf. Bābūrām Saksenā, *Dakkhinī Hindī*, Allāhābād 1952).

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(J. BURTON-PAGE)

SABK-I **HINDĪ** [see SABK-I HINDĪ].

HINDŪ, the name given to the largest religious community of India, conquered by the Muslims in the 6th/12th century. Early Muslim knowledge about the religious belief of India was very small: and no wonder, for Hinduism is utterly different from Islam in most of its ways. It is essentially polytheistic, has no official scripture (although many sacred books), no canon, many different schools of belief and of philosophy and yet really no orthodoxy, and above all no prophecy; it tolerates the worship of idols, which are nevertheless not a necessity; it knows no organized worship, although it has temples—but devotion in these is optional and individual; its

religion is inseparable from its concepts of society and of state; and its goal is not the release of the soul to a paradise and to a physical resurrection, but the release of the soul from a particular body for the purposes of rebirth until eventually the soul is freed from the necessity of transmigration. What, perhaps, impresses the oldest Muslim writers, the Arab geographers, most about Hinduism is its utter difference from Islam, and its social strictures and exclusiveness —the way, for example, certain people were excluded from eating with, or taking food from the hands of others. Its beliefs were not investigated for Islam before al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] compiled his *K. Ta'rīkh al-Hind* in Ghazna in the 5th/11th century; this deals, however, mostly with the beliefs of the Brāhman community, the highest grade in the Hindū social order [see BARĀHIMA], a rigid system (although divided into six more orthodox schools, and a number of less orthodox ones) communicated by oral tradition from father to son or from hereditary teacher to selected and initiated pupil, based on the Vedas (the hymns to the gods composed by the Āryan people in their migrations to India in the 2nd millennium B.C.) and their later mythological accretions and their philosophical interpretations. Al-Bīrūnī, though he mentions many popular practices, does not seem to have gone so far as collecting material on "popular" Hinduism, the beliefs of the non-Brāhman population: a plethora of superstitions, taboos, local godlings including snakes, propitiation of ancestors, magical spells, sacred objects and places, and a system of ritual exclusiveness and restrictive practices far in excess of the system of the Brāhmans. For the Brāhmans, the priests of the community, are the descendants of the upper grade in the original Āryan hierarchy who have kept their old beliefs most pure; the lower grades intermarried more freely with the Dravidian and aboriginal inhabitants of the country they conquered, and absorbed more of the indigenous beliefs. To the Muslim conquerors all these shades of Hindū belief were anathema; their practitioners were not *Ahl al-Kitāb*, and therefore in theory they could not be beneficiaries of the *dhimma* [see DHIMMĪ], and be given the choice of paying the *djizya* [*q.v.*]; the alternatives were Islam or death. This, however, is not easy for a minority to impose on a majority, and there is early evidence (from the *Čač-nāma*, a Persian work of *ca.* 613/1216 said to be a translation of an Arabic account of the conquest of Sind) of the Sindhīs being allowed the status of *dhimmī*. There are references to *djizya* early in the chronicles of the Dihlī sultanate, but these may relate to the payment of tribute by Hindū chieftains.

The rulers of India seem to have taken little interest in the belief of their subjects before the reign of Akbar. That ruler introduced many forms drawn from Hindū worship (as from that of the Djayns and Pārsīs [*qq.v.*] and from Christianity) into his personal devotions, and later into his own syncretistic faith the Dīn-i Ilāhī [*q.v.*]; how much these meant to the orthodox Muslim of the time is illustrated by Badā'ūnī's scathing comments in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*. Akbar's religious curiosity was followed by that of his great-grandson, Dārā Shukōh [*q.v.*], in whom it was perhaps more dangerous to Islam in India as he saw the mixing of the two seas (*madjma' al-baḥrāyn*; cf. Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 59-60) of Muslim and Hindū pantheistic mysticism as a scholastic counter to orthodoxy, and sought in this the common factors of Hinduism and Islam. He was correct in identifying these common factors, for the mysticism of the pantheism which developed from polytheism in the Hindū philosophers, particularly those of the Vedāntic schools, is little different theologically from the pantheistic mysticism of, say, Ibn al-'Arabī; however, the consensus of the Muslim community on Dārā's beliefs was certainly that he was guilty of heresy.

Although the apparent rapprochement of Islam to Hinduism in the writings of the Indian *ṣūfī*s suggests that Islam in India may have come under Hindū influence, this does not in fact appear to have been the case; although some trends in Hindū mysticism may have stimulated the *ṣūfī* mystics. This mysticism was in Ṣūfism long before its arrival in India, and indeed al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] is not far from the thought of the Upanishads. The real union of Islamic and Hindū notions comes rather from the Hindū side, in the syncretistic movements of north India in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries: Kabīr [*q.v.*], in spite of his name, is more in the Hindū tradition than the Muslim, and indeed his Islam appears to have been learnt at second-hand; what singles him out from other Hindū preachers is his uncompromising monotheism, expressed pantheistically, rather than the usual mediaeval Hindū monotheistic expression which is a henotheism and susceptible of compromise. The later Islamic influence in some of the syncretistic cults, such as the Prān-nāthīs, the Kabīr-panthīs, the Dādū-panthīs, and not excluding the Sikhs [*q.v.*], stems directly through Kabīr's monotheism.

Hindū influences on some of the Muslim writers of Hindī [*q.v.*] are rather literary than religious. When Indian literature began to be studied as an art-form in the Mughal courts and under Mughal patronage a whole additional repertory of image and metaphor, already couched in Hindū terms, became available to the Muslim poet; indeed, we know that much of this repertoire was already familiar to the *ṣūfī* poets of Awadhī [see MALIK MUḤAMMAD DJĀYASĪ]. But its acceptance by Muslim poets such as Raḥīm [see 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM KHĀN-I KHĀNĀN] certainly does not involve the acceptance of the theology; indeed, it does not seem to involve it on the part of many Hindū writers.

There do, however, seem to have been some Hindū influences on Muslims in social rather than in religious practices. The Hindū conception of caste (*djāt*, *djāti*), a pre-Āryan social division of society which, by being grafted on to the Āryan concept of social order (*varṇa*), has acquired Brāhmanical sanction and consequent sanctification, has certainly spread to Muslim minority communities in some of the remoter districts of India. Caste is, for example, usually endogamous, and some Muslim communities have adopted similar restrictive endogamic patterns to those of their Hindū neighbours; in some cases even community of worship has ceased to be observed, and commensality has been replaced by mutually restricted eating groups. This is particularly noticeable among recent converts from Hinduism, especially from the lower caste Hindūs or from the so-called "untouchables"; it applies also to converts to Christianity in districts where a competent ministry is only rarely available. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

HINDŪ KUSH, extensive range of mountains in northern Afghānistān, which forms the watershed between the river systems of the Amū Daryā and the Indus [*qq.v.*]. The range extends in a westerly direction from the junction of the Mustagh and

Sariḳol ranges in the region of the Pāmirs to where it is extinguished among the low hills of the Paropamisus range. The Kūh-i Bābā mountains are not so much an extension of the Hindū Kush as an overlapping range, separated from the Hindū Kush itself by the Bāmiyān valley. The origin of the name Hindū Kush is obscure. Popular etymology derives it from the Persian *kushtan*, "to kill", and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 84) it refers to the death of slaves being carried from India to Turkestan.

The range may be divided into two sections. The westerly section, to which the name Hindū Kush is locally confined, stretches from near Bāmiyān to the Khawāk pass. This part contains a large number of passes, some of which have formed the traditional routes of merchants, pilgrims and conquerors between Turkestan and India. The eastern section from the Khawāk pass to near the Kilik pass, which links Hunza with Yārkand, separates Badakhshān and Wakhān on the north from Nūristān (Kāfiristān), Hunza and Čitrāl on the south. Because of the greater difficulty of the country to the south, the passes in this area, among which are the Dora, linking Čitrāl with Badakhshān, and the Baroghil, have never been used to the same extent as those in the western section. Until the later part of the nineteenth century they were little known to Europeans, but in the course of the last quarter of that century a great deal of exploration was done on behalf of the Government of India, especially in connexion with the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1885.

Although the range presents substantial difficulties to north-south communications, they have never been found insuperable. The main routes are all open for six months of the year. Historically the most used routes between Kābul and the north were that via the Pandjshīr valley and the Khawāk pass (11,650 feet), which was used by Alexander the Great and by Tīmūr, and the route up the Bāmiyān valley over the Aḳ Ribāṭ Pass (12,500 feet), which was used by the early Buddhist pilgrims and by Čingiz Khān. The first motor road, completed in 1933 with the aid of German engineers, followed neither of these routes, however, but turned north down the Bāmiyān valley from Shikārī. Like its predecessors it involved an extensive detour. In the reign of Amān Allāh Russian engineers had suggested a more direct route across the difficult Sālang pass (11,700 feet). In 1956 this project was again taken up and by 1964 a new road had been completed involving the construction of a tunnel, one and a half miles long, beneath the Sālang Pass. This new road shortened the journey between Kābul and the north by 125 miles, a fact of great economic and political importance.

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(M. E. YAPP)

HINDŪ-SHĀHĪS, a native dynasty of northern India who were the first great opponents of Ghaznawid and Islamic expansion into the Pandjāb. Bīrūnī in his *Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind* describes them as originally Turks from Tibet who ruled in the Kābul river valley; it is possible that these "Turks" were Hinduized epigoni of the Kushans and Kidarites pushed eastwards by the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA]. During the 4th/10th century these first Hindū-Shāhīs were replaced by a Brāhmanic line. In the time of the first Ghaznawids Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd [*qq.v.*], the Hindū-Shāhīs constituted a powerful kingdom stretching from Lāmghān to Mūltān and the southern foothills of Kashmīr and based on Udabhāṇḍapur or Wayhind (modern Und near Attock).

In the course of his campaigns down the Kābul valley, Sebüktigin attacked and twice defeated the Hindū-Shāhī Rādjā Djaypāl. Maḥmūd intensified the struggle; Djaypāl was captured and sold as a slave in Khurāsān, and by 399/1008-9 his successor Ānandpāl had been driven out of Peshāwar and Wayhind. Despite the efforts of Ānandpāl's son Triločanpāl to rally the support of other threatened princes, the "Turuṣkas", as the Ghaznawids' Turks appear in Indian sources, drove him into the eastern Pandjāb. With his death in 412/1021-2, the dynasty ceased to exist as a major impediment to Ghaznawid penetration towards the Ganges-Djumna basin, although some Hindū-Shāhī princes took refuge in Kashmīr and others founded minor independent principalities in the mountains of Čitrāl and Gilgit.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

HINDŪSTĀN [see HIND].

HINDUSTĀNĪ, also HINDŪSTĀNĪ, HINDOSTĀNI, is or has been used in India, confusingly, to mean at least three different forms of language, the first two of which are common.

i.—As a synonym for Urdū [*q.v.*] as spoken in North India; *i.e.*, the Muslim speech of Hindustān as opposed to the Deccan; antonym Dakhnī.

ii.—As a name for that speech which is the common denominator of Urdū and Hindī [*q.v.*], coloured neither by recondite loanwords from Persian nor by loanwords from Sanskrit: the sort of language in which a Muslim villager might converse with a Hindū villager, and *vice versa*; in this sense, also the customary simplification of speech made by an educated Muslim or Hindū to an uneducated person of his own community. In this form common Persian loanwords are used freely by both Hindūs and Muslims. In this sense may be included also a common bazaar speech of north India which may extend west to Bombay and east to Calcutta, a sort of Hindī/Urdū without genders and *sine flexione*.

The spoken norm of the district round about Mīraṫh ('Meerut') is described by Grierson in the *Linguistic survey of India* as 'Vernacular Hindustani';

but this term is now not in use by linguists, and has never been an Indian usage.

iii.—A conscious attempt, made for political purposes, at a language acceptable to both Muslims and Hindūs in speech and in writing, especially the written language of the "Hindustānī movement" of the 1930s and early 1940s; one may see in this movement, which arose within the Indian National Congress [*q.v.*], a political attempt to placate both the Muslims within the Congress party and also the Muslim League. This was virtually Urdū, shorn perhaps of its more recondite Persian loanwords, written in the Devanāgarī script used for Hindī, indicating the Urdū letters *ḳ, kh, gh, z* (including *ḍ, dh, ẓ* and possibly *zh*) and *f* by modifications of the Devanāgarī characters *ka, kha, ga, ja,* and *pha.* By some Hindūs this form was spelt *Hindusthānī* (Sanskrit *sthāna* is cognate to Persian *-stān*). Any hopes the movement had of establishing this hybrid as a national language for India were never high, and seemed to recede completely during the 1939-45 war; afterwards there was no necessity for its resuscitation. (J. Burton-Page)

HINGLĀDJ [see las-bēla].

ḤINNĀʾ, henna (known to botanists as the *Lawsonia alba* of Lamarck, a name preferable to the *L. inarmis* of Linnaeus, which corresponds only to the young form of the plant, the adult form being *spinosa*), shrub whose leaves possess medical properties and are used as a dye. In Arabic, the word most commonly used is *ḥinnāʾ*, but in the earlier language there were used other words which, however, were applied also to other dye-producing plants: saffron (*zaʿfarān*), safflower (*ḳurṭum, ʿuṣfur*) and curcuma (*kurkum*); these are *yarannā* and *raḳūn, riḳān, irḳān*; the three last are perhaps connected with *yaraḳān* "jaundice" and with the root *ḳnʾ* which conveys the idea of "to dye dark red", but which has no corresponding noun.

The whitish flower of henna was called *fāghiya* or *faghw*. It has a sweet and strong perfume which is reminiscent of that of mignonette (in Cairo today mignonette bears the unexpected name of *tamr ḥinnā*) and it is for this perfume that henna is cultivated in the gardens of the Near East. The flower was used to make a scented oil (*duhn al-faghw*).

Henna and its uses are known from the Atlantic to the Ganges. It was not grown in Muslim Spain. In Africa it is cultivated in semi-desert regions around the Sahara: Sūs, Darʿa, Tuwāt, Bilād al-Djarīd, Ḳābis, Tripolitania, Egypt, Nubia, Nigeria. In Morocco, surprisingly, henna is grown in abundance, much further to the north, in the suburb of Azammūr [*q.v.*] at 33° 17′ N.; it was probably introduced by the Shtūka, moved there from Sūs.

In Asia, henna is cultivated throughout the Near East (that of ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*] was famous at the beginning of the Middle Ages), in Iran and in western India. It appears to be a native of the last two regions.

In medicine, the astringent properties of the leaves were used, in a decoction, for treating burns, thrush and swelling accompanied by inflammation. Applied as poultices to the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, they closed the pores and reduced perspiration. But it is as a cosmetic that henna is most generally used and has finally acquired a ritual use as a prophylactic. Its dried leaves, finely crushed or ground, then sieved, are mixed to a paste with a little water; this paste, applied as a poultice overnight, dyes a reddish orange colour of varying intensity. Old men use it to dye their beards and both sexes to dye their hair a tawny blonde. Young women use it, mixed with other ingredients (tan, indigo, etc.) to dye their hair black and to strengthen it. Women also, to make themselves attractive, decorate with henna their nails, the backs of their hands and the tops of their feet on all festive occasions. Almost everywhere throughout the Muslim world, one of the feast days preceding the consummation of a marriage is set aside for the ritual dyeing of the bride's hands and feet with henna; a parallel but simpler ceremony may take place for the bridegroom. It is also not uncommon to see a fine horse with its forelock, mane, tail or feet dyed with henna; or perhaps a fine sheep destined for sacrifice.

In all these cases the true aim of the dyeing is probably less to embellish than to protect against the evil eye: there is considerable evidence that prophylactic powers are attributed to the colour red.

So long as the henna is not applied so as to form designs similar to tattooing (parts of the skin being left undyed by masking them) Islam readily permits it and its virtues are proclaimed in many *ḥadīths*.

The Arabic name for henna has spread to most of the Muslim languages. In Persian it is pronounced *ḥinā*, without *shadda*; in Turkish it is *ḳına*. The Spanish *alheña* (with the stress on the *e*) derives from a form with a shortened final vowel: *ḥinnat* which has become general in dialectical Arabic. It should be mentioned that here and there, in North Africa, the euphemism *ḥannet əl-bḳər* "henna of the cattle" indicates a mixture of dung and chaff used as plaster for threshing-floors, walls, etc. In Hindi, henna is called *mehndī* (*meṅhdī*) from the Sanskrit *mendhika.*

The properties of the leaves and the flowers of henna were known and used by the ancient Egyptians and by the Hebrews.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des simples*, tr. Leclerc, i, 469, no. 719; Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, index, s.v. *Ḥennà*; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, index, s.v. *Ḥenna*; idem, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, index s.v. *ḥenna*; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, 399-400, ii, 959-62 (plus the many references given in these last two works); G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, iii, 50: V. Loret, *La flore pharaonique*, 2nd ed., 80. (G. S. Colin)

HINTĀTA, a famous Berber confederation in the central Moroccan High Atlas, of the stock of the sedentary Maṣmūda [*q.v.*]; according to Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, French trans. de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, ii, 281), *Intī* was the current ethnic designation of these mountain-dwellers. During the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries they played an important part in securing the success of the Almohad movement and in strengthening the Muʾminid dynasty by being the first to support the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]. Their chief Faska-u-Mzal then received the name of a Companion of the Prophet, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar [*q.v.*]. This eminent figure held a leading position in Almohad history and his grandson, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, later founded the Ḥafṣid dynasty in Tunis, in 625/1228 [for the Hintāta of Tunisia see ḥafṣids]. The Hintāta fought on every battlefield in the cause of the Almohads, and provided the dynasty with chiefs of real worth and unassailable fidelity. Those who remained in the country settled down permanently in the upper valleys of the Wādī Drāʿ. After the tragic events that marked the end of the Almohads in 667/1269, the family of the Awlād Yūnus, whose origin seems to have been connected with Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, gave their support unreser-

vedly to the Marīnids, and for a long period played an important political and fiscal part in South Morocco. It was among them that sultan Abū ʿInān found refuge and solace, in 759/1358, before his death. Their representatives acted as more or less independent viziers under the Marīnid princes who were appointed as governors of Marrākush and its neighbourhood. One of these, ʿAmīr, had a distinguished career (Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote his praises) and ruled at his pleasure over vast territories. Intoxicated by power, he married the widow of a sultan and finally led a revolt. He was besieged in his mountains, captured after a long siege, brought to Fās and flogged to death in 771/1370. In conformity with an old Berber tradition, his family did not lose its authority but continued to command the town and the tribe. Funerary inscriptions found at Marrākush, in the royal metropolis of the *Ḳaṣaba*, confirm that at the very time when the Portuguese settled at Safi, the kings of Marrākush were the actual descendants of the Hintātī *shaykhs*. From Portuguese sources we can see that, when the Marīnids finally lost their authority, the chiefs of the Hintāta received a share of the power thus vacated in South Morocco and quietly established themselves in the ruined *Ḳaṣaba*. The same sources confirm that, even at the time of their fullest power, the "kings of Marrākush" never had any great authority outside the town and its suburbs. Their relations with their mountain kinsmen were far from cordial, and they won no renown in their encounters with the Portuguese who, after the conquest of Azammūr [*q.v.*], had made Marrākush the avowed object of their ambitions. Nuno Fernandes of Ataide attacked the town on 23 April 1515, but unsuccessfully, as a result of the help brought to the town's defence by the Saʿdid *sharīf*s. Ten years later these same Saʿdids seized Marrākush for themselves by securing the assassination of the last known Hintātī *amīr*, Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir Bū-Shanṭūf. From that date, the Hintāta vanished from Moroccan history. Even their name has disappeared.

Bibliography: R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; P. de Cénival, *Les émirs des Hintata, "rois" de Marrakech*, in *Hesp.*, xxiv/4 (1937), which gives the complete historical bibliography; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca 1949-50; Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā*, new edition Casablanca 1954-6, vols. ii, iii and iv; French trans. by A. Graulle, G. S. Colin and I. Hamet, in *AM*, xxxi (1925) and xxxii (1927); G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956; idem, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959; A. Huici, *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan 1957; *Sources inédites*, 1st series, Portugal, in the index published with vol. v (R. Ricard), Paris 1955.

(G. DEVERDUN)

HIPPOCRATES [see Supplement, s.v. BUḲRĀṬ].

HIPPODROME [see MAYDĀN].

HIPPOLOGY [see BAYṬĀR, FARAS, FURŪSIYYA].

ḤIRĀʾ also written ḤARĀʾ, and without *hamza*), a mountain three Arabian miles to the north-east of Mecca, often mentioned along with another mountain opposite, Thabīr [*q.v.*]. It was near the *shiʿb* or quarter of the family of al-Akhnas, on the left of the pilgrim road to ʿIrāḳ.

Muḥammad is said to have been in the habit of spending a month each year in a cave on Ḥirāʾ engaged in *taḥannuth*, presumably some form of religious devotion, and to have been visited here by an angel (Ibn Hishām, 152; cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1147 f., 1155); this experience is sometimes identified with the beginning of revelation; and hence the present name Djabal al-Nūr, "The Mountain of Light". He is also said to have gone to Ḥirāʾ on his return from the visit to al-Ṭāʾif in about A.D. 620, and to have waited there until he was assured of protection in Mecca (Ibn Hishām, 251).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 228; F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, 426, 493; iii, 447; iv, 332; Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 65; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, 320 f.

(T. H. WEIR-[W. MONTGOMERY WATT])

AL-ḤĪRA, name of the capital of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*].

The name is comparable with Syriac *ḥirtā* "encampment", and the locality was no doubt so named from having been at first a camp settlement; several of the legends about the beginnings of Ḥīra, summarized in Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, imply that this was so. This sense of the word is not extant in classical Arabic, but is found in the Epigraphic South Arabian *ḥrt/ḥyrt* (see A. F. L. Beeston in *Le Muséon*, n.s. lxvii (1954), 311-3), while the Classical lexica record analogous senses for the verb *taḥayyara* (= *aḳāma*) and the noun *ḥayr*.

(A. F. L. BEESTON)

The facts of geography—salubrious air, a fertile neighbouring region, and proximity to the Euphrates —all adequately explain the choice of the site for the settlement, which was located to the south-east of present-day Nadjaf in ʿIrāḳ. But it was a political factor which transformed al-Ḥīra from a relatively obscure locality to the most important Arab city in the Fertile Crescent during the three centuries preceding the rise of Islam, namely, the emergence of the powerful Lakhmid dynasty, who made it their capital and advanced it to a position of dominance which became still more apparent with the decline of Hatra, Edessa, and Palmyra, in the 3rd century A.D. Al-Ḥīra became so much a Lakhmid city that it was referred to as "Ḥīra of Nuʿmān" after one of the Lakhmid kings. These adorned the city and its environs with castles and palaces, *e.g.*, al-Khawarnaḳ and al-Sadīr, while Christian princesses of the Royal Family founded some famous monasteries, *e.g.*, Dayr Hind. The city reached its heyday during the reign of the illustrious Mundhir III (A.D. 503-554) when it became the centre of political, diplomatic, and military activities in which Persia, Byzantium, and the Arabian Peninsula were involved. For the Sāsānids, however, it remained a fortress for the protection of Mesopotamia against the raids of the nomads and a caravan city of vital importance for the transit trade between Persia and the Arabian Peninsula.

Owing to its geographical location, al-Ḥīra became the confluence of three interacting cultural currents: the Persian, the indigenous pagan Arab, and the Byzantine, represented mainly by Nestorian Christianity; and herein lies its more enduring significance. It was most probably at al-Ḥīra that the Arabic script was first developed. As the seat of a Nestorian bishop, it was a centre whence Christianity was transmitted to the Arabian Peninsula. As the capital of the Lakhmids, it attracted to their royal court Arab poets from the Peninsula, *e.g.*, ʿAbīd, Ṭarafa, and al-Nābigha, and thus gave an impetus to the cultivation and perfection of the Arabic panegyric. It also produced a major pre-Islamic poet, ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], who belonged to its famous Christian community, the *ʿIbād*, and whose poetry reflects the various facets of Ḥīra's urban culture.

Although it was captured and ravaged by the

Ghassānids [*q.v.*] twice in the 6th century A.D., it was with the decline of the Lakhmids and their eventual downfall that the city started to lose its importance and prestige: after the death of Nuʿmān III in A.D. 602, it received a Persian governor; in 12/633 it capitulated to a Muslim army under Khālid and undertook to pay tribute. As the pre-Islamic world to which it belonged came to an end, the city with its Christian associations and monuments led a precarious and anachronistic existence, witness the events which affected it during the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786/809) and al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32). Al-Kūfa, the new Muslim foundation, totally eclipsed it, and finally, it vanished from the face of the earth. But for the Arab poet it remained an example of fallen greatness and *vanitas vanitatum*, even as late as the 4/10th century, when it inspired a famous ʿAbbāsid poet, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, to compose two elegies.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 821 ff., 858, 2016 ff., 2038 ff.; iii, 645-6; Index, 698; Yāḳūt, ii, 375-9; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Ḥīra*, Berlin 1899, esp. 12-40; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, American Geographical Society, New York 1927, 99-118, 283-314; D. Talbot Rice, *The Oxford excavations at Ḥīra*, in *Ars Islamica*, i/1, 51-73; Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantino-arabica*; *the Conference of Ramla, A.D. 524*, in *JNES*, xxiii/2, 115-31. (IRFAN SHAHÎD)

HIRAḲLA [see EREGLI].

ḤIRBĀʾ (A.), chameleon. Triptote with the meaning of "the head of nails joining the links of a coat of mail", this word, because of its ending, is often treated as diptote and feminine, although it is masculine and for its feminine form has *ḥirbāʾa*. However, the female chameleon is most often called *umm ḥubayn*, while the male is referred to by a number of *kunyas*, of which the most frequent in Muslim Spain, *abū barāḳish*, often leads translators into error (see E. Lévi-Provencal, *En relisant le Collier de la colombe*, in *al-Andalus*, xv/2 (1950), 353).

This reptile, which is classified with the *aḥnāsh* and is close to the *ḍabb* [*q.v.*], is well known to the Arabs, among whom it is proverbial for its "chameleonism" (*talawwun*), its ability to become invisible by turning the same colour as that of any object on which it happens to be. Its natural colour is grey when it is young, and yellow when adult, but it becomes green in sunlight. It lives by warmth, and can be seen, from morning to night, following the path of the sun (in order, it is said, to shade its body with its head); thus the poets compare it with the adherents of various religions, who turn to pray in different directions. At midday, when the ground is too hot, it climbs to the top of a tree, and is then compared to a monk in his cell; but when the sun is at its zenith, it appears to go mad because it can no longer see it. Since it is slow-moving, God has given it an eye which can move in all directions and enables it to look out for its prey without having to move. Thanks to its tongue, which is rolled up in its throat but which can stretch a cubit or three spans when it is extended, it snaps up insects coming within its reach without needing to make any other movement, so much so that it immediately resumes an immobility so complete that it seems to be part of whatever it is sitting on. However, it mostly hunts its food at night. Should a man disturb it, it swells up and appears threatening, but is in fact quite harmless. It has four paws and a hump similar to that of a camel, but the physical description of the animal is scarcely touched on in zoological works.

Besides its "chameleonism", it is proverbial also for its caution (*ḥazm*), for it will not let go of one branch until it has a firm grip of another when moving about.

It is not forbidden to eat the flesh of this animal, but it is scarcely sought after. Certain parts of its body have medicinal properties, and a chameleon seen in a dream portends various happenings.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; Damīrī, s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, s.v.; see also ABŪ ḲALAMŪN and the bibliography to the article ḌABB. (CH. PELLAT)

ḤIRFA [see ṢINF].

HIRMIS (HARMAS, HARMĪS, HIRMĪS), Hermes Trismegistus, that strange god incarnate, on the one hand the Hellenistic name of the Egyptian god Thoth, on the other hand the author of philosophical, scientific and magical works (see Pauly-Wissowa, art. Hermes Trismegistos, by W. Kroll), passed in both of his capacities into Islam. Islam, it is true, transformed the god into one of the heroes of olden times, who, according to his name Trismegistus (*al-muthallath bi 'l-ḥikma* and the like), appears divided into three individuals. The "first Hermes" is identified with Akhnūkh (Enoch) and Idrīs. He lived in Egypt before the Flood and built the Pyramids (see HARAM, their name being connected with his) and other sanctuaries (*barābī*); on their walls he wrote down the scientific achievements of the first men, in order to preserve them from destruction and loss by the Flood. The second (*al-Bābilī*) lived after the Flood in Babylonia and revived the study of the sciences, but migrated, according to one version (*Fihrist*, 352, see below), to Egypt. The third wrote after the Flood in Egypt about various sciences and crafts.

This relation originates from Abū Maʿshar's *K. al-Ulūf* (Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, Ms. Br. Mus. Or. 9033, fol. 32v: *Akhbār al-umam*) and is reproduced by Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt* (written 377/987-8), ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 5 f. (with ample annotation), Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 18 f., 38 f., Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 6 f., 346 ff., and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, 16 f. A different report is given in the *Fihrist* (238 f.) on the authority of Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht; at 351 ff. he spokes of the Babylonian Hermes only, whom he obviously confounds with the "First Hermes", cf. J. W. Fück's annotated translation, *Ambix*, iv, 1951, 89 f. The origin from ancient Babylonia of the main lines of Abū Maʿshar's report, as well as the endowment of the three Hermes with features deriving from the earliest history as related in the Bible and Apocrypha, was shown by M. Plessner, *St. Isl.*, ii (1954), 45 ff. The difficulty of admitting that the Flood had taken place in Egypt too, was evaded by al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, ed. Badawi, 7 f., where he separates the pre-flood Hermes from the Egyptian, and assumes two floods, the second of which "drowned the inhabitants of Egypt only", obviously a reminiscence of the Exodus of the Children of Israel.

A variant of Abū Maʿshar's account appears in the alchemical *K. Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar*. Hermes hid the writings on pre-flood science in a tunnel (*sardāb*) near the sea-shore, from whence they were recovered by Balīnūs [*q.v.*], to be passed on to Aristotle; he in his turn presented them to Alexander, who before his death ordered Antiochus I to conceal them in the wall of a monastery in Amorium (ʿAmmūriya [*q.v.*]), where the book was discovered after the conquest of the town by al-Muʿtaḍid. Yet another

account, which does not mention the Flood, is given in the introduction to the *K. Sirr al-khalīḳa* by Balinūs. The thaumaturgist, incited by the inscription on a statue of Hermes, digs beneath it and meets the threefold Sage in a subterranean crypt as an aged man holding an emerald tablet in his hand and having by his side the book eventually published by Balinūs; this book ends with the text on the table. Both the last-mentioned works have been analysed by J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, 1926, cf. M. Plessner, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 77-113; the story of the discovery as told in the *sirr* served as a pattern for further Hermetic writings in Arabic. A new translation of the story and the tablet text was published by F. Rosenthal, in *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, 1965, 332 ff.

Abū Maʿshar's account has survived in Latin translation in several texts (*e.g.*, J. Ruska, *AGMNT*, xi (1928), 28-37) and influenced other texts, *e.g.*, the *Summa philosophiae* by Ps.-Robert Grosseteste, ed. L. Baur, 1912, 275 ff.; cf. L. Thorndike, *History of Magic*, ii, 1923, 449, and the Breslau doctoral thesis by August Bertsch, *Studien zur Summa philosophiae des Pseudo-Robert Grosseteste*, Brunswick 1929 (typescript), 37. On the survival of the story in mediaeval Hebrew literature see M. Plessner, in *St. Isl.*, ii, 53 f.

Traces of the story of three Hermes also occur in the legendary history of ancient Egypt as reported by numerous authors on the authority of the still puzzling Ibn Waṣīf Shāh (Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 39 calls him al-Waṣīfī). G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, 1953, 19, points to that Hermes who lived under al-Būdashīr b. Ḳufṭarīm; see now the references and parallels in *Picatrix*, tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, 1962, 322 ff. The connexion with the Alexander Romance, already recognizable in the above-mentioned *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar*, is still further elaborated in other Arabic Hermetica; the ps.-Aristotelic *Sirr al-asrār* (*Secretum secretorum*) also contains the *Tabula Smaragdina*. The Hermetic book *al-Iṣṭamākhīs* (see below) appears as the *vademecum* given by Aristotle to Alexander in which some talismans to help the king on his expedition to India are enumerated; the main contents of the text have been incorporated by al-Makīn [*q.v.*] in the Alexander portion of his history, cf. also M. Plessner, in *OLZ*, 1925, 912-20.

In the stories about the Ṣābiʾans, Hermes appears partly as a god (*e.g.*, *Fihrist*, 322,24), partly as a prophet with philosophical features, cf. the analysis of the account of the *Fihrist*, 318 ff., by F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Saraḫsī*, 1943, 41 ff. (at p. 47 add D. Chwolsson, *Ueber die Ueberreste der babylon. Literatur in arab. Uebersetzungen*, 1859, 93 ff., and against it A. von Gutschmid, in *ZDMG*, xv (1860), 42 ff. [*Kleine Schriften*, ii, 1890, 694 ff.], where the influence of the account on Ibn Waḥshiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* is implicitly discussed).

The large number of extant Arabic writings bearing the name of Hermes, and the still larger number of quotations from Hermetic books not preserved induced L. Massignon to exaggerate the rôle of "Hermes" as the promotor of the Hellenistic tradition in Islam; he also claims for some books a Hermetic character which are simply Neoplatonic or gnostic (A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I, Appendice III, 384-400: *Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe*, cf. his Addenda in the second edition, 438-9). Unfortunately, his paper read to the *Eranos-Tagung* 1942 and alluded to at the beginning of the *Inventaire* has never appeared. So long as Hermes is not explicitly quoted, we have no right to style books as Hermetic simply because of their general character as described by Massignon, 388-9; it is the make-up of these books as revelations that constitutes their belonging to the Hermetica. About the list of alchemical books (p. 391) cf. now Fück, *l.c.* Here are given a few comments on Massignon's list of extant books (pp. 393 ff.).

III A 1: The books of Crates and al-Ḥabīb contain sermons from the *Turba Philosophorum*, as stated by Ruska (*T.Ph.*, 1931), but are not its sources, rather its derivates (cf. M. Plessner, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Ueberlieferung*, to appear shortly).

III B 2: The books containing philosophical and ethical sayings of Hermes are much more numerous; to the collections in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and al-Shahrastānī quoted by Massignon, add Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, part II, Ch. 13 (supplement to Loewenthal's translation in K. Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen*, 1921, 45 f.), Miskawayh, *Djāwīdān khirad*, ed. Badawi, 1952, 214-6, Ibn Durayd, *Mudjtanā*, 1342, 75, al-Mubashshir, *l.c.*, 7-26, Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, *l.c.*, fol. 32v-34v. A great many sayings are common to all or almost all these sources; every text has, however, sayings not shared by the others. A comparison, also with Greek anthologies, is badly needed. In al-Mubashshir's account Hermes shows strong monotheistic features similar to those described by al-Sarakhsī (see above), but more elaborate and more specific.

III B 4: The talismanic texts are to be supplemented by the magical stone-books [see ḤADJAR]. An example is MS Berlin, Wetzstein II 1208 (Ahlwardt 6216, cf. A. Siggel, *Katalog der arab. alch. Handschriften Deutschlands*: *Berlin*, [1949], 135 f.). For these texts and the astrological ones (III B 5) see now the introduction and indices to *Picatrix*, tr. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, 1962, and the forthcoming volume of studies on the book by the author of this article. Certain passages of the cosmology found in *al-Iṣṭamāṭīs* are quoted in al-Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, 1938, 7 f. = *Abrégé des marveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 13.

V A: The sayings of Hermes quoted by Ibn Umayl have been translated and discussed by H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis and F. Sherwood Taylor in *Ambix*, iii, 1949, 69-90.

The so-called Postumus (Festugière, 340, and addition, 436 f.) has been published by G. Levi Della Vida, *La dottrina e i Dodici Legati di Stomathalassa, uno scritto di ermetismo popolare* (*ARANL*, Memorie, VIII, iii, 8), 1951. A number of Arabic hermetical texts and accounts have appeared in English translation in vol. iv of W. Scott, *Hermetica*, 1936. According to al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. De Goeje, 31, Hermes assumed the existence of seven southern *climata* corresponding with the northern. The influence of Arabic Hermetica on Renaissance thought is in part discussed by Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic tradition*, 1964. An attempt to explain Kyot's account of Flegetanis in Wolfram's *Parzival* with the help of Arabic Hermetica in order to strengthen the hypothesis of the hermetical character of the epic has been made by H. and R. Kahane, *The Krater and the Grail*: *Hermetic sources of the Parzival*, 1965.

Bibliography: In the article and in L. Massignon's *Inventaire*; see also A. E. Affifi, *The influence of Hermetic literature in Muslim thought*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 840-55; J. Kraemer, *Das arabische Original des "Liber de pomo"*, in *Studi*

orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida, i, 484 ff.; A. Siggel, *Das Sendschreiben das Licht über das Verfahren des Hermes der Hermesse*, in *Isl.*, xxiv (1937), 287-306; F. Rosenthal, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fâtik*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), esp. p. 145; al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, index.

(M. Plessner)

ḤIRZ [see TAMĀʾIM].

ḤISĀB, "account to be rendered to God". Although the Ḳurʾān sometimes uses *ḥisāb* in the sense of computation (X, 5 and XVII 12), it is very often used by antonomasia as the "reckoning" which God will require from a man on the Day of Judgement. The expression *yawm al-ḥisāb* (XL, 27; XXXVIII, 16, 26, 53; cf. XIV, 41), "the Day of the Rendering of Accounts", is synonymous with *yawm al-dīn*, "the Day of Judgement". The eschatological *ḥisāb* is to be given to God alone (XIII, 40; XXVI, 113); He will require it from all men, but especially from the ungodly (LXXXVIII, 26; XIII, 18 and 21; XXIII, 117). And God "is prompt in demanding an account" (II, 200; III, 19 and 199, etc.). Each man will receive a "book" which is a statement of accounts, a "roll" on which his actions are inscribed. If the good deeds outnumber the bad, he will receive it "in his right hand" and the *ḥisāb* will be in his favour (Ḳurʾān, LXXXIV, 7-10; LXIX, 19-20; cf. XVII, 71); those to whom the account is unfavourable will receive it in their left hand (LXIX, 25-6), and will be punished.

These Ḳurʾānic statements may be compared with many earlier traditions, Iranian, Jewish and Christian. The rendering of accounts and the weighing of actions was known to Mazdaism (see J. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian doctrine of a future life*, New York 1929, and P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumānīk Vičār*, text and French tr., Fribourg (Switzerland) 1945, 58-9). Approximate equivalents are found in post-Biblical Judaism (*Aboth* III and IV; cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 266) and in early Christianity (analysis and references *apud* Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 1925). Later, certain Ḳurʾānic commentaries and in particular certain works of popular edification drew for this subject on Jewish or Christian accounts, *isrāʾīliyyāt* and *masīḥiyyāt*, which were clearly recognized as such. Each religious milieu, however, developed and applied to its own spirit this common basis of eschatological ideas (cf. the remarks of Tor Andrae, *op. cit.*, 255). The imagery used in their descriptions is irrelevant to our discussion of the treatment of these matters by the Muslim theological schools (*ʿilm al-kalām*).

To survey all these data would involve a comprehensive discussion of the whole problem of the "retribution for deeds", of "promise and threat" (*al-waʿd wa'l-waʿīd* [*q.v.*]) in the next world. We select for treatment here only some problems which concern the nature of the *ḥisāb* itself, or its forms, and give a brief indication of the general solution given by the different schools.

1. The "weighing" (*al-wazn*). The very term *ḥisāb* evokes the ideas of counting, measuring, evaluating. The majority of the Muʿtazilīs, and to an even greater extent the *Falāsifa*, gave it a metaphorical meaning. The "Pious Men of Old" and, with certain reservations, the Ashʿarīs, adhered to the literal meaning (see below): the just Judge will present everyone with an account of his deeds, which will be "added up" and "weighed". With the "book" (*kitāb*) containing the statement of the account, as mentioned above, there then appears the "balance" (*mīzān*), with reference to Ḳurʾān, XLII, 17; LV, 6-8; LVII, 25. The "Reckoning" of the Last Day is also "the weighing", *al-wazn* (VII, 8): good deeds will be heavy and bad deeds light (VII, 8-9).

2. The question of "merit" (*al-istiḥḳāḳ*). Every human act is repaid by God with either a reward or a punishment. For the Muʿtazilīs, a good deed thus of necessity "merits" reward and a bad deed punishment. On the day of the Reckoning, the "merits" attached to the deeds are either added or subtracted. The majority of the Muʿtazilīs and Khāridjīs believe that the evaluation is qualitative, considering that one single "great sin" (*kabīra*) may render void the "merit" earned by any earlier good deeds, and be punished with eternal fire. However the later Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra, al-Djubbāʾī and his son Abū Hāshim, believed that a quantitative evaluation is concerned, in which good and bad deeds are set against and cancel out each other. The group which prevails in number and in "weight" necessarily determines the reward, in the case of good deeds, and the punishment, in the case of bad (for summary of arguments see, *e.g.*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 173).

Ashʿarī tradition, on the other hand, holds that there is no "merit" attached to human deeds (al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, 172-3; al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 305 ff.); and that it is impossible for one set of acts to cancel the other. For, as the Ḳurʾān says (XCIX, 7-8): "Whoso has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoso has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it". The value of faith would never be compromised by sins, however grave and numerous, in view of the famous *ḥadīth*, "Those whose heart contains even one atom of faith will come out of hell" (al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 33). Furthermore, every good deed of the believer will be "multiplied" simply by the freely-given grace of God, while each of his bad deeds counts "as one only". In fact all rests in the hands of God. And it is known, thanks to the promises which He has given, that God will not condemn the believer, even if he is sinful, to eternal hell. He can either condemn him in His justice to a limited period in hell, or, in His mercy, grant him complete pardon. It is therefore not *certain* that there are, even temporarily, any sinful believers in hell.

This is a point upon which the Ḥanafīs-Māturīdīs disagree with the Ashʿarīs (cf. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-farāʾid*, Cairo n.d., 2nd ed., 38-9). For the Māturīdīs indeed, God may certainly pardon this or that sinner, but not all. "It is obligatory that some of those who have committed a great sin should be punished" by a period in hell (al-Laḳānī, *Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Luciani, Algiers 1907, verse 117). For God has attached a punishment to great sins (*kabāʾir*)—a temporary punishment if the sinner is a believer—and God's "promises" cannot be "vain".

This question of retribution for deeds, the very object of the *ḥisāb*, leads to the two related questions of repentance (*tawba* [*q.v.*]) and of the intercession of the Prophet (*shafāʿa* [*q.v.*]).

3. Method by which the Account will be rendered. As we have seen, the Ḳurʾānic verses mention, in connexion with the *ḥisāb*, the "book", a statement of his deeds, which will be given to every man on the Day of Judgement; and tradition makes the *mīzān*, the Ḳurʾānic "balance", the instrument for the "weighing" of the deeds. The Muʿtazilīs and some later Ashʿarīs interpret both in a metaphorical sense. The "book" is "the knowledge of the debit and credit" which God will make clear to every man

at the time of the resurrection, while the "weighing" of the deeds symbolizes the justice and equity of God; but God has no need of a "real" weighing to pronounce His sentence. And human actions, since they are only transitory accidents, are unable to "return again" to existence once they have been "reduced to nothing" (for a summary of this argument see *e.g.*, al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 8, and al-Djurdjānī, *op. cit.*, 321). Furthermore they cannot possess the attributes of lightness or weight which the act of weighing presupposes (al-Djurdjānī, *ibid.*). Abu 'l-Hudhayl of Baṣra and Ibn al-Muʿtamir of Baghdād state, however, that the existence of the Balance is "possible", but they make no pronouncement on its factual reality.

On the other hand, Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs-Māturīdīs, and the great majority of the Ashʿarīs, relying on the *ḥadīth*s and "the religion of the Ancients", agree in recognizing the existence of these eschatological *entia*. The Balance in particular is called "reality" (*ḥaḳḳ*) in the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, the *Fiḳh Akbar II*, and later the *Fiḳh Akbar III* (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index), as well as in the profession of faith of al-Ashʿarī (*Ibāna*, Cairo n.d., 9) and the various Ḥanbalī creeds (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 95 and note 2). The Wahhābī profession of faith adds to it "the registers of actions" (H. Laoust, *Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 621). The Ḥanbalīs state that it is a question of real things; but the Ashʿarīs and Māturīdīs qualify this by saying that we cannot know the exact conditions under which they exist. It is vain to try to discover whether "the weighing of deeds" is useful or not: God acts as He wills. And al-Ghazālī adds (*Iḳtiṣād*, 89) that it will be of use not to God but to man, who will thus understand the just Divine decision.

There are many traditional accounts which expound and elaborate this basic eschatology with a very abundant imagery. A résumé of them is found in al-Bādjūrī's popular manual of *kalām*, *Ḥāshiya . . . ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 101-6. A subsidiary part in the Reckoning is also played by "the witness of the members" (Ḳur'ān, XXIV, 24) and the test of the Bridge, the *Ṣirāṭ* (XXXVI, 66; XXXVII, 23-4).

The third form of the root *ḥsb* was to be used in Ṣūfism, in a sense which is no longer eschatological but spiritual, to indicate the account of his conscience which the devout person presents to God. Hence arose the by-name of al-Muḥāsibī given to Ḥārith b. Asad: "he who excels in the examination of his conscience".

Bibliography: in the article. To this may be added many *ḥadīth*s, devotional works or works of popular preaching, and various manuals of *ʿilm al-kalām*, in the chapters on "The Last Things" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*). (L. Gardet)

ḤISĀB, in the sense of "arithmetic", "mathematical calculation" [see ʿilm al-ḥisāb]; in the sense of "accountancy" [see muḥāsaba].

ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD (— al-ʿuḳad, — al-ʿuḳūd, — al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-yad, — al-yad), dactylonomy, digital computation, the art of expressing numbers by the position of the fingers. Some indications prove that the ancient Arabs not only at times used to show their outstretched hands, bending down one or more fingers when necessary, to indicate some small numbers (see I. Goldziher, in *Arabica*, viii/3, 272), but also had the ability to express larger numbers by holding their fingers in a given position (see G. Levi Della Vida, in *Isl.*, x (1920), 243), and it is not impossible that certain gestures used by the Prophet were described or interpreted by his contemporaries as indicating numbers according to a system already in use (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, x (1920), 154-6), particularly the position of his hand in the *tashahhud* [*q.v.*], although the traditional accounts are far from agreeing with later practice (see I. Goldziher, *op. cit.*). The practice of dactylonomy in Persia is mentioned by Plutarch (Fr. tr. Ricard, *Vies*, ii, 514, n. 25); and from the first centuries of Islam, Arab or Persian poets would for example make a subtle and veiled allusion to some person's lack of generosity by saying that his hand made 93 (the figure indicated by the closed hand, the sign of avarice), which suggests that the system of which we possess later descriptions was known at a very early stage, perhaps through the medium of the Persian scribes. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī credits Ibn Sīnā with having invented, in 420/1029, calculation by dactylonomy, and thus freed accountants from the bother of using counters; thus al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) wrote in his *Adab al-kuttāb* (Cairo 1341/1922, 239): "The scribes in the administration refrain, however, from using these [Indian] numerals because they require the use of materials [writing-tablets or paper ?] and they think that a system which calls for no materials and which a man can use without any instrument apart from one of his limbs is more appropriate in ensuring secrecy and more in keeping with their dignity; this system is computation with the joints (*ʿaḳd* or *ʿuḳad*) and tips of the fingers (*banān*), to which they restrict themselves". Nearly a century earlier this method of calculating on the fingers must have been already in use, for al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) advises schoolmasters (*K. al-Muʿallimīn*, B. M. MS, Rieu 1129, 13r.) to teach the *ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd* (*al-ʿuḳad*) instead of the *ḥisāb al-Hind*, i.e. calculation by means of the "Indian" numerals; the same author placed among the five methods of expression (*bayān*) what he called *ʿaḳd* (or *ʿuḳad*, according to the reading of G. E. von Grunebaum, who identifies it with digital computation [see bayān]), and which for him is a calculation (*ḥisāb*) needing "neither spoken word nor writing"; now, the verses of the Ḳur'ān (VI, 95, 96, X, 5, XVII, 13/12, LV, 4/5) which he quotes in support of his affirmation of the virtues of *ḥisāb* (*Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 80; see also i, 76; *Ḥayawān*, i, 33) all refer to the cycle (*ḥusbān*) of the sun and moon, to the calculation of years and to computation; thus it might perhaps refer to counting on the fingers, following a method curiously reminiscent of that expounded by the Venerable Bede in the 7th century A.D., in *De temporum ratione* (in Migne, *Patrol.*, xc, 295; text and trans. in J.-G. Lemoine, 14-7).

What makes this hypothesis quite probable is that the same English writer, in the first chapter (*De computa vel loquela digitorum*) of the work named, expounds a system of dactylonomy almost exactly identical with that contained in the very much later Muslim treatises of al-Mawṣilī, Ibn al-Maghribī, Ibn Shuʿla, Ṭaybughā, and Ibn Bundūd (see *Bibl.*), which did not seem earlier than the 8th/14th century, and also in the *Farhang-i Djahāngīrī* (between 1005 and 1017/1597-1608), which reproduces a text of ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 850/1446) in Persian, but in the Arab tradition.

Under this system, the figures are represented as follows:

1, by bending down the little finger;
2, by also bending down the third finger;
3, by adding the middle finger to them;

4, by bending down the third and middle fingers only;
5, by bending down the middle finger only;
6, by bending down the third finger only;
7, by bending the little finger very low;
8, by bending both the little and the third fingers very low;
9, by adding the middle finger to them;
10, by placing the tip of the forefinger on the middle of the thumb;
20, by extending the thumb and forefinger simultaneously;
30, by putting together the tips of the thumb and the forefinger;
40, by stretching out the thumb over the base of the forefinger;
50, by bending down the thumb at right angles;
60, by curling the forefinger round the thumb;
70, by placing the tip of the thumb on the central joint of the forefinger;
80, by placing the tip of the forefinger on the thumbnail (but there are variations);
90, by placing the tip of the forefinger on the base of the thumb;
100, by opening the hand (but there are variations);

"the gesture which, in the right hand, serves as a sign for units from 1 to 9, in the left hand indicates the same number from 1,000 to 9,000; ... and what, in the right hand, serves as a sign for tens from 10 to 90, in the left hand indicates hundreds from 100 to 900". From 10,000, the system described above differs fairly considerably from Bede's, but on the whole the two methods are practically identical; it has been possible to establish that the figure 1 is not obtained by stretching out the forefinger, as Muslim tradition would have us believe.

This system was known in the West from antiquity, but it was no longer used after the early Middle Ages; in the East, it is very probable that it was known to the scribes of whom al-Ṣūlī speaks (see above) and that it remained in use until quite recently, being practised to perform arithmetical operations (apart from division). No ancient description of the method being available, here is one still known to old men in Tunisia (communication by M. Souïssi): to multiply, e.g., 6 by 8: bend the little finger of the hand (= 6) and the first three fingers of the right hand (= 8); the total of the bent fingers (1 + 3 = 4) indicates the tens and the product of the fingers unbent (4 × 2 = 8) the units.

On the other hand, another method is also used for certain commercial transactions involving rare and very costly merchandise, especially pearls, when buyer and seller do business in the presence of witnesses and do not wish to reveal the terms of the transaction concluded. The two negotiators, sitting face to face, have their right hands hidden under a covering, and touch each other's fingers according to a precise code; although the units in the different numerical series are not distinguished, those concerned know what is meant:

1, 10, 100, 1,000 are indicated by taking hold of the forefinger (which here retains its value; see above);
2, 20, 200, 2,000: by taking the forefinger and middle finger;
3, 30, 300, 3,000: by taking the forefinger, middle and third fingers;
4, 40, 400, 4,000: by taking all four fingers;
5, 50, 500, 5,000: by taking the whole hand;
6, 60, 600, 6,000: by pressing twice on the forefinger, middle and third fingers (3 × 2);
7, 70, 700, 7,000: as for 4 and then as for 3 (4 + 3);
8, 80, 800, 8,000: by pressing twice on all four fingers (4 × 2);
9, 90, 900, 9,000: as for 5 and then as for 4 (5 + 4).

This system, recorded by Ṭāshköprüzāda, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād, i, 329-31 (reproduced by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, cf. von Hammer, *Encyclopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, 315) and by Niebuhr, (*Description de l'Arabie*, French trans., 1779, i, 145, in particular), is still practised in the island of Baḥrayn, in the Red Sea and probably elsewhere (cf. Père Anastase, in *Machriq*, 1900; H. de Monfreid, *Secrets de la mer Rouge*, Paris 1931, 100). H. Fisquet, *Histoire de l'Algérie*, Paris 1842, 171, records it for Algeria. A similar procedure, in use in Bengal, utilises the joints and not the whole finger, but it has not been recorded in the Middle Eastern countries.

The origin of the systems briefly described above is obscure; in any case, those which are, or were, in use in the Arab countries do not seem to be in any way indigenous (see I. Goldziher, *op. cit.*) or at least do not go back to Arab antiquity; on the other hand, tesserae found in Egypt indicate the numbers according to the method of bending the fingers, and it is not unreasonable to see in this the possible origin of the system described by the Arabic and Persian sources. In another connexion, the terms employed raise a difficulty, for although *ḥisāb al-yad* or *ḥ. al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-yad* are clear, this is not the case with words taken from the root *ʿḳd* which, apparently, denote the knuckles and joints, but also signify "contract". In the last analysis it is possible that an earlier method than those of which records have been preserved may have consisted of counting on the finger joints and that the terminology was later applied to other systems.

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figuren bei den Arabern, in *Islamica*, vi (1934), 48-57, as well as the art. ISHĀRA.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL, method of recording dates by chronogram. It consists of grouping together, in a word (significant and appropriate) or in a short phrase, a group of letters whose numerical equivalents, added together, provide the date of a past or future event. Such a chronogram is known as a *ramz*, and in Turkish a *taʾrīkh* [*q.v.*].

A more complex variety is called *mudhayyal*; here the principal chronogram is completed by a supplementary chronogram (*dhayl*) and it is the sum of the two which provides the date.

For the correct interpretation of these chronograms it is of course necessary to take into account the difference in numerical value which, for certain letters, exists between the *abdjad* [*q.v.*] of the East and that of the Maghrib (including Muslim Spain). It has been noticed that this involves six of the characters which, in the Cadmean order, come after the *nūn*: *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ẓāʾ* and *ghayn*. In Persian and in Turkish, the letters which are peculiar to those languages (P, Č, Ž, G) have the same numerical value as the Arabic homographs.

The *tāʾ marbūṭa* may be counted as a *hāʾ* or as a *tāʾ* according to whether it occurs in pause (*waḳf*) or in liaison (*dardj*). The doubled (*mushaddada*) letters may be counted as one or as two. Similarly, the initial and terminal *alifs* may be added in or ignored, as necessary.

These chronograms are commonly employed in inscriptions (generally in verse) commemorating a foundation. They are equally common in didactic historical summaries of the *urdjūza* genre, particularly in obituaries (*wafayāt*).

In epigraphical texts, the chronogram is sometimes painted in a colour which stands out from that of the rest of the inscription. In manuscripts it is found written in larger letters. The phrase which constitutes the chronogram is nearly always announced by the preposition *fī*, "in", or by one or other of the words *ʿāma*, or *sanata* "in the year . . ."

In Morocco it was in the 11th/17th century, during the period of the Saʿdid dynasty [*q.v.*], that particularly frequent use began to be made of chronograms, not only in inscriptions on monuments but also in obituaries.

The principal author in the latter category was the secretary and court poet, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maklātī (d. 1041/1631), the author of a *lāmiyya* which was a continuation of a similar work by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī (d. 1021/1612).

In the following century, Muḥammad al-Mudarraʿ (d. 1147/1734) composed an *urdjūza* of the same type on the notabilities of Fez. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ādarrāḳ (d. 1159/1746) was the author of another, on the saints of Meknès.

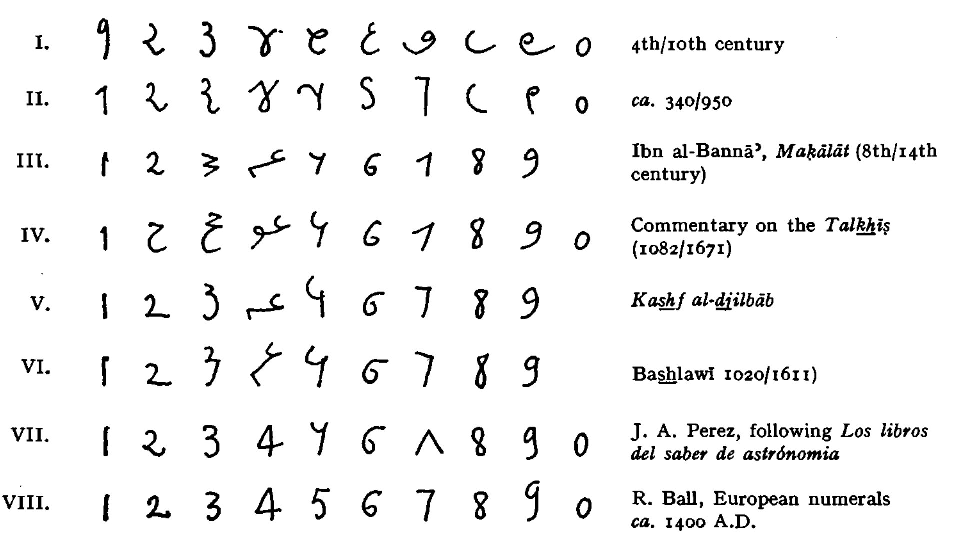
Wide use has been made of all these rhymed obituaries with chronograms by the historians and biographers of Morocco, notably Muḥammad al-Ḳādirī (d. 1187/1773) in his *Nashr al-mathānī*, and Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī (d. 1339/1920) in his *Salwat al-anfās*.

The process of adding the numerical value of all the letters forming a word (in this case a proper name) is the basis of a divinatory procedure, known as *Ḥisāb al-nīm*, by which it can be predicted which of two rulers at war will be the victor and which the vanquished. This process has been described at length by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena* (see ed. Quatremère, 210-4; Fr. tr. De Slane, i, 241-5; Eng. tr. Rosenthal, i, 234-8); see further SĪMIYĀʾ and ZĀʾIRADJA).

Bibliography: The subject has been treated very briefly by Carra de Vaux at the end of his article TAʾRĪKH in *EI*[1]; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 79-80 (see also, in the index to his work, the names of the writers mentioned above); Ufrānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥādī*, tr. Houdas, 28, 55, 66, 82, 168, 190, 191, 195, 234, 265, 341, 451; Salāwī, *al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Cairo 1312/1894, i, 179-80; iv, 281; G. S. Colin, *Une nouvelle inscription arabe de Tanger*, in *Hesp.*, iv (1924), 94.

(G. S. COLIN)

ḤISĀB AL-GHUBĀR "calculation [by means] of dust", method of calculation borrowed from Persia which owes its name to the use of a small board (*takht*) on which the calculator spread, by shaking a cloth or by another method, a fine layer of dust; he then used a small stick to draw the figures known as *ghubār* numerals and eliminated a partial



result by covering it with a little dust, which he then gathered up for use again when he had finished his operation. On the various operations thus performed, see ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB.

This procedure supplemented those already known to the Arabs: dactylonomy (*ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*]), counting by means of pebbles (*ḥaṣā*, whence *iḥṣāʾ*; cf. *calculus*), and mental calculation (*ḥisāb maftūḥ* or *hawāʾī*), etc., but little is known of its origin and in particular the question arises whether the use of dust is not the accidental result of a mistranslation of a Persian or other term, the tablet originally having been plastered with clay, a material on which figures could much more easily be engraved and erased by means of a stylus flattened at one end.

In any case this procedure was possible only from the time when figures became known. The *devanagari* figures were introduced in Baghdād in about 155/770, but it is known that although Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī (d. *ca.* 232/846) helped to spread *al-ḥisāb al-hindī*, the mathematicians, astronomers, etc. for long preferred to continue using the old system of referring to numbers by the letters of the alphabet [see ABDJAD, ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL]; on the other hand the *ghubār* figures which derive from *al-ḥisāb al-hindī* seem to have spread fairly soon to the Maghrib and to Spain, where they were adopted by the mathematicians, and the history of their development finally became blended with that of the numerals known as "Arabic", which are used in Europe. The table opposite shows the development of the *ghubār* numerals up to the point where they passed into use in the Christian West.

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ḤIṢĀR, siege. The following articles deal with siegecraft and siege warfare. On fortification see BURDJ, ḤIṢN, ḲALʿA and SŪR.

i. — GENERAL REMARKS

Siege warfare was one of the essential forms of warfare when it was a matter of conquest, and not merely of plundering raids, in countries in which, from ancient times, most of the large towns had been protected by walls and where, during the Middle Ages, the open countryside was to an ever increasing extent held by fortresses [see ḤIṢN and ḲALʿA]. Although the forces available were rarely sufficient to impose a complete investment, they blocked the normal ways of access to the stronghold under siege and thus brought about its surrender by famine or threat of famine, unless relief brought from outside or a sortie by the besieged dispersed the assailants; nevertheless, their stocks of supplies made it possible for the besieged to hold out for quite a long time, if their morale was strengthened by the hope of rescue and by devotion to their prince, and it sometimes happened that the besiegers, being ill-prepared for lengthy operations [see ḤARB] or sceptical of the advantages to be gained by others than the prince, lost heart and gave up the struggle. The nomads, who had no siege engines at their disposal and who attached little value to cultivation, sometimes secured the surrender of important towns by devastations that brought lasting ruin to the inhabitants; but the regular troops, who realized the advantage that lay in safeguarding the revenues from the land and who shared the general opinion as to the enormity of the crime of actual destruction in countries where physical conditions rendered any rapid recovery impossible, generally abstained from destroying plantations of trees and irrigation works; apart from military operations properly speaking, their chief aim was to secure some complicity inside the stronghold or, by means of a ruse, the capture of a local lord whose liberation would be made conditional upon the surrender of the stronghold.

The actual operations were carried out with the help of siege machines—apart of course from the personal weapons—which, while continuing ancient traditions, had nevertheless achieved some measure of technical progress and, during the latter half of the Middle Ages, were employed far more extensively than hitherto. At first, whenever possible, they tried to fill in part of the moat, so that it could be crossed. In the case of towns, attempts might be made, either by a surprise attack or as the result of treachery, to scale the walls with the help of ladders, when the first to enter would run to open a gate for those following, a manœuvre that had no serious chance of success except at night. More usually, when the nature of the ground allowed it, they tried to push forward to the foot of the fortifications wooden towers with several storeys—*burdj*, *dubbāba*—from the top of which the assailants could fight their opponents on the walls and ultimately leap down on them. Above all, they made efforts to breach the ramparts of towns, or to pierce openings in castle walls or make them collapse, by the use of either mines or engines. Mines (*naḳb*), in the use of which the Khurāsānīs appear to have had an enduring aptitude, were excavated from points situated outside the ramparts and if possible hidden from the sight of the defenders; supported by wooden props, they were extended forwards until they came underneath the chosen target; the wood was then set alight, as a result of which the ground subsided (if it was not solid rock), and with it the building standing above; the besieged defended themselves by digging countermines, in time to intercept the route taken by the enemy sappers. Siege engines were, roughly speaking, of two categories: some caused a certain point in the wall to be battered by direct blows, these being the battering-rams (*kabsh*, *sinnawr*) known throughout the Middle Ages; others hurled a missile, these in turn being divided into three groups, according to the method of propulsion—mangonels (*mandjanīḳ* [*q.v.*]), in which the swinging of a beam forced back by a team of men or (as in the Western "trébuchet") worked by a counterpoise, struck the missile with great force and thus propelled it against the point under bombardment, light ballistas (*ʿarrāda* [*q.v.*]), in which the same effect, with a less heavy projectile, was obtained by the twisting of a cord; and lastly, from the end of the 6th/12th century, the huge "wheel cross-bow" (*ḳaws al-ziyār*), operated like the ordinary cross-bow to shoot a powerful arrow, but requiring several men to operate it. For most of the time, these engines were built or at least assembled

almost on the spot, on account of difficulties of transportation, and wheeled forward on wagons to the exact place required; for their successful use, certain conformations of ground were obviously necessary, and these conditions were often absent from fortresses in mountainous country.

The defenders protected themselves by showering arrows on the soldiers operating the siege engines, and these then had to be protected by huge shields and palisades. When they were at the foot of the walls, they threw down stones, pitch, etc. onto them. Above all, they tried to set fire to the machines by throwing naphtha [see NAFṬ], with such success that the machines, and especially the towers which offered a large area for attack, had to be covered with hides rendered fire-proof by vinegar. For the construction or adjustment of these machines it might happen that engineers were used who (strictly speaking not being combatants) were non-Muslim, particularly in the early centuries.

Bibliography: see DJAYSH and ḤARB, in particular the work of K. Huuri and the notes by Cl. Cahen to the *Traité d'Armurerie*. All the chronicles contain descriptions of sieges, which have not been the subject of any systematic analysis; of particular interest are those referring to the wars between Saladin and the Franks and, in the following century, to the Mongol conquest and the Mamlūk counter offensive. Artillery in the age of fire-arms has been omitted from this article; for this subject, see BĀRŪD. (CL. CAHEN)

ii.—MUSLIM WEST

The methods of warfare used by besiegers and besieged were basically the same in the West as in the East; the differences were mainly those of vocabulary. For basic details see E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle*, 1932, 150; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, ii, 533; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, 87.

Among siege engines, the mangonels of the Marīnid period had become very powerful. During the famous sieges of Tlemcen for example, they were capable of bombarding the town with cannon-balls made of marble, some of which have been found there, the largest with a circumference of two metres and weighing 230 kilograms, whereas at the siege of al-Mahdiyya (601/1204) by the Almohad Sultan al-Nāṣir, the largest of the projectiles weighed only 120 pounds (*al-Ḳirṭās*, tr. Beaumier, 329). During the Marīnid period there appeared also a new engine: the *ḳaws al-ziyār*, which seems to have been a huge ballista or sling; it took eleven mules to carry it when dismantled. The small ballistas (*raʿāda*, *ʿarrāḍa*, for the classical *ʿarrāda* [*q.v.*]) became more numerous: the besiegers used them on the platforms of their approach-towers while the besieged used them for throwing fire-balls to set fire to these towers.

As regards portable arms, it is noted that, from the first half of the 5th/11th century, the besiegers were liberally armed with very deadly crossbows (*ḳisī ʿaḳḳāra*) with which they prevented the besieged from appearing at the loop-holes to shoot at the sappers. To enable him to supervise the operations, the leader of the besieging army had an observation post (*marḳaba*, *daydabān*, more rarely *s͟hirāʿ*).

Exact details of the siege operations themselves are rare. There exist interesting passages on the siege of Barbastro in 457/1065 (Ibn ʿId͟hārī, *al-Bayān al-mug͟hrib*, iii, éd. Lévi-Provençal, 227), on the siege of Saragossa in 512/1118 (*al-Ḳirṭās*, tr. Beaumier, 233, Rabat ed., ii, 88), on the two sieges of Gafsa by the Almohads (Ibn ʿId͟hārī, section on the Almohads, ed. Huici, 1963, 165-8; *Hespéris*, xxviii (1941), 45, 62), on the two sieges of Tlemcen by the Marīnids (Ibn K͟haldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, vii, 94, 221, 257, tr. de Slane, iii, 373, iv, 143, 221) and on that of Almeria in 709/1309 (*al-ʿIbar*, vii, 249, tr. iv, 204).

A most unusual procedure was employed by the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, in 540/1146, to demolish a part of the ramparts of Fez: he built a dam upstream on the river which flowed through the town, then, when enough water had accumulated, broke the dam so that the resulting torrent swept away the ramparts (Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, 164 and note 1).

Some sieges lasted for several years: the Marīnid Sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb blockaded Tlemcen for eight years and three months, and the siege ended only when the besieging ruler was assassinated, this causing his army to disintegrate. In fact the surrounding wall of a town would enclose not only buildings but also extensive open spaces which could be cultivated or serve as pasture land. There exist some details of the prices which the besieged inhabitants of Valencia (*al-Andalus*, xiii (1948) 140) and of Tlemcen (*al-ʿIbar*, vii, 96, tr. de Slane, iii, 377) had to pay for food.

The very long duration of some sieges led to the besieging army transforming its military camp (*maḥalla*) into an actual town with its own fortified walls, its Great Mosque, its baths and its markets. The best known of these were al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] (or rather al-Manṣūriyya) in front of Tlemcen, and Santa Fé, built in 1491 by the Catholic Monarchs during the siege of Granada, but many others are mentioned by the historians. (G. S. COLIN)

iii.—PERSIA

The techniques of investing fortresses and the use of siege machinery were certainly known in pre-Islamic Persia, for there were skilled engineers in the armies of the Sāsānids (cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 212-13), and it was, of course, allegedly a Persian, Salmān al-Fārisī, who showed the Muslims how to build a defensive trench (*k͟handaḳ*) on the western side of Medina against the attacking Ḳurays͟h in 5/627. Moreover, the Persians had built defensive walls against outside barbarians in several strategic zones, such as at Darband on the western shore of the Caspian and at Čālūs and Ḳazwīn against the depredations of the Daylamīs (cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 196-7, on Anūs͟hirwān's wall-building activity, and also *ibid.*, ix, 5 ff.), and this tradition was kept up in Islamic times (cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 1275, on the walls built at Tamīs͟hā in Gurgān by a local Iranian commander in 224/839).

The Arabs of the desert were almost total strangers to the use of siege techniques—within the Arabian peninsula, only al-Ṭāʾif had any defensive walls—and had the psychological dislike common to nomadic peoples of solid walls and buildings. Yet as they advanced eastwards into the Islamic world, it was necessary for them to acquire these skills, for Persia abounded in castles and fortified places, above all in such regions as Ād͟harbayd͟jān, Fārs, the Caspian region and K͟hurāsān (cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 499-502). Further east still, and not to be reached by the Arabs for some decades, were the fortified villages and estates of K͟hʷārazm, recently revealed by Soviet archaeology (see S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 73 ff.). When the Arabs attacked Ctesiphon in 16/637, the Persians

employed heavy catapults or mangonels (*madjānīḳ*, sing. *mandjanīḳ*) and lighter ones (*ʿarrādāt*) against the Arab forces, but a man named Saʿd Shīrzād built twenty *mandjanīḳ*s for the Arabs, and thirteen years later the Arabs were using mangonels at the siege of Iṣṭakhr (Ṭabarī, i, 2427; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 396; Balādhurī, 389).

During the Umayyad period, the sources frequently mention the Arabs' use of siege techniques against the city walls and strong points of the Iranian east. In 92/710, the governor of Khurāsān, Ḳutayba b. Muslim, besieged Shūmān in Khuttal, using a powerful mangonel called *al-Faḥdjā'* "the wide-legged", whose stones fell in the local ruler's palace and killed a man; and at Samarḳand two years later, Ḳutayba's Arabs destroyed the city walls with catapults (Ṭabarī, ii, 1230, 1244-5; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 437, 453). As is implied by the Sāsānids' use of catapults against the attacking Arabs at Ctesiphon, these machines—or at least the lighter and more mobile ones—could be used in normal, open fighting, as well as in sieges. Thus it is recorded that in 121/739 the Tamīmī and Azdī troops of Naṣr b. Sayyār were opposed by two *ʿarrāda*s of the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj (Ṭabarī, ii, 1692; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 178).

In the ʿAbbāsid period, techniques became more complex, and many new ways were developed in the fighting with the Byzantines on the Anatolian frontiers, where heavily-fortified strongholds abounded [see ʿAWĀṢIM]. It was probably here that the use of flaming naphtha, hurled either in pots from slings or by mechanical means into the enemy's positions, was learnt, and corps of specialist soldiers for hurling naphtha, *naffāṭūn*, are often mentioned. They were employed, for instance, by al-Muʿtaṣim's general al-Afshīn in the campaigns against the Khurramī rebel Bābak [*q.v.*] in the difficult and mountainous terrain of Ādharbaydjān, especially at the siege of Bābak's stronghold of Badhdh (Ṭabarī, iii, 1211, year 222/837); and in the next century, Caliphal troops in Fārs hurled spears to which pots of naphtha were attached (*mazārīḳ al-naft*) against the incoming Daylamīs (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, i, 282, tr. iv, 321, year 322/934). More of terror value than anything else must have been the sacks of serpents hurled by means of catapults into the enemy's camp by the Ṣaffārid Amīr Khalaf b. Aḥmad in 354/965 when he was besieged by rebels in one of the strongholds of Sīstān (ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 101).

The Ghaznavid army, as developed by the great Sultan Maḥmūd, was probably the most highly-developed fighting machine ever known in the Islamic world, and we would expect it to be suitably equipped for siege warfare. Heavy machinery was drawn along by elephants, and these beasts were themselves fitted with rams for battering down walls and buildings (for a slightly later, similar use of these beasts, see Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 360, when elephants captured from the Khʷārazmian army were used by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy to batter down the gates of Balāṣaghūn). Specialist personnel such as engineers, sappers and miners were used in the Ghaznavid army to work the catapults and to mine beneath walls. Their skills were particularly necessary during the campaigns of Maḥmūd and his son Masʿūd in Ghūr in central Afghānistān, where the local chiefs' resistance was centred on towers and strong points. These towers were bombarded with rocks, and mines were driven beneath them; Bayhaḳī says further that lassoes were thrown up to the battlements of one fortress so that the Ghaznavid troops might scale the walls (see C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 65, 68; *idem*, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 118, 121).

The Saldjūḳs, as a Turkish steppe people, had to learn the techniques of siegecraft when they entered the Islamic world, and for some time they retained a respect for solid buildings and fortifications. Bundārī, 37, mentions Alp Arslan's admiration for the walls of Āmid in Diyār Bakr, which were celebrated for their strength (cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīrsiyāḳī, Tehrān 1335/1956, 9); he touched the walls with his hands and then passed his hands over his breast in order to acquire for himself something of the walls' strength (*li 'l-tabarruk*). The Saldjūḳs overran Persia and drove the townspeople there into submission by cutting them off from their agricultural supply regions rather than by direct assault, but Ṭoghrīl in 442/1050 kept up the siege of Iṣfahān for nearly a year till the Kākūyid Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz surrendered (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 384-5). The army of the Great Saldjūḳs soon acquired a special division for siege warfare, with engineers, sappers and naphtha-throwers; as in the ʿAbbāsid period, contact with the Byzantines doubtless hastened this process. During Alp Arslan's Georgian campaign of 456/1064, the Sultan used his corps of *naffāṭūn* against the wooden barricades of Ānī, and then pushed westwards from there into Anatolia. In the course of sieges there, he constructed platforms from sacks filled with straw and earth for his archers, crossbowmen and naphtha-throwers, and he also built a wooden tower with an awning of felt soaked in vinegar to protect the attackers on the tower from having boiling liquids and fire hurled at them; from this tower, the Saldjūḳ troops battered down the walls (Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, 39-40). In the early part of Malik Shāh's reign, after the suppression of Ḳāwurd's rebellion in 465/1073, the Sultan gave special charge of the mangonels and siege machinery of the army to one of his foremost commanders, the slave eunuch ʿImād al-Dīn Sāwtigin (Bundārī, 49).

The sources are particularly full of information on siege techniques during the period of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs, Ghūrids and Mongols (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries), when the science reached the peak of its development in mediaeval Islam. It was recognized that bombarding a town with catapults not only pounded down the walls—which in the Iranian world were usually only of sun-dried brick anyway—but also had a psychological effect, making life inside the town insecure from the continual hail of missiles. It was by such a process of spreading despair and terror that the Khʷārazmians brought the Ghūrid defenders of Harāt almost to surrender in 600/1203 (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 320-1). Coming as they did from a low-lying region intersected by canals and river channels, the Khʷārazmians had an eye for the skilful utilization of rivers and waters in sieges. After the Ghūrid Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad's death in 602/1206, the Khʷārazmian army again invested Harāt. The attackers dammed up the Harī Rūd so that the city walls became surrounded by water, and carried on the onslaught from boats. When the Shāh ʿAlā' al-Dīn Muḥammad arrived in person, he ordered the dam to be broken down and the pent-up waters released; the rushing floods caused a long section of the walls to collapse, and after some fighting the city was taken by the Khʷārazmians. Shortly afterwards, the governor of Harāt, Ḥusayn Kharmīl, rebelled against the Khʷārazm-

Shāh, so this time the latter had the Harī Rūd diverted into a moat round the city, whose banks were artificially raised by tree-trunks and débris. The increased water-level soaked the foundations of the walls; then the water was let out from the moat with a rush, causing part of the walls to collapse, and the attackers were able to climb across the débris to the city gates (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 259-60; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 335). An interesting example of the Trojan horse technique occurred on the death of the Ghūrid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd in 609/1212, when rival members of the dynasty intrigued for possession of the capital Fīrūzkūh; eighty men were smuggled into the city inside treasure-chests, but the plot was betrayed and the men seized and killed (Djūzdjānī, *op. cit.*, i, 408-9).

It is well-known, both from Islamic sources and from the accounts of European travellers within the Mongol dominions, that the Mongols developed the techniques of siege warfare to a high degree. Čingiz Khan's corps of *mandjaniḳīs* or mangonel-operators, headed by the Nōyīn Ābaḳā, is said to have numbered several thousands (*ibid.*, ii, 1047), and the personnel here included many Chinese and some Europeans. Hülegü's army included Chinese *mandjanīḳīs*, naphtha-throwers and men to operate multiple-shooting bows (*čarkh-andāzān*). It was the Mongols who brought the multiple-shooting bow (*čarkh-kamān*) into the Islamic world for the first time; some of these were used by Čingiz for his attack on Nīshāpūr in 618/1221. Concerning foreign specialists in Mongol service, Marco Polo mentions a Nestorian Christian and a German artillery master employed by Ḳubilāy; and for the invasion of Khurāsān, Čingiz had a renegade Persian soldier from the district of Ustuwā in northern Khurāsān, who was in charge of the catapults and the deployment of infantry (Nasawī-Houdas, 53-4, tr. 90-1). The Mongols' siege machinery was usually transported on carts, and John of Plano Carpini says that a standard item in the Mongol soldier's equipment was ropes for dragging this machinery along, *funes ad machinas trahendas* (cf. K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki-Leipzig 1941, 123-4, 180-92).

In their siege tactics, the Mongols showed considerable resourcefulness. They usually began by herding together as cannon-fodder a group of the local population (*ḥashar*), who were then used as a protective shield behind which the Mongol soldiers could fight or as carriers of ammunition for the catapults (cf. Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 92-3, siege of Khodjand, and *ibid.*, i, 107, attack on Dabūsiyya and Samarḳand). The catapults and heavy artillery would then be brought as close to the invested walls or fortifications as possible; at Djand in 616/1219 the defensive moat had first of all to be filled in, after which the catapults, battering-rams and scaling-ladders could be used (*ibid.*, i, 89). At Multān, the Mongol general Törbei Toḳshīn apparently mounted his mangonels on rafts in the Indus river (*ibid.*, i, 142), and at Nīshāpūr, the Mongols are said to have set up 200 mangonels in a single day; they used timber felled in the nearby, well-wooded oasis of Būshtaḳān to build protective bulwarks and to construct catapults, testudines (*dabbābāt*) and battering-rams (Nasawī-Houdas, 54, tr. 91-2). Where there were no stones available as ammunition for the catapults, *e.g.*, at the siege of Gurgāndj in Khʷārazm in 617-18/1220-1, blocks of mulberry wood were soaked in water and then used; at the same time as this bombardment, the moat was filled with débris and a peasant *ḥashar* was pushed forward in a crescent formation to demolish the defensive earthworks.

The use of gunpowder and artillery in the Islamic world naturally had a profound effect on siege techniques; for a consideration of these new methods in Persia, see BĀRŪD. v.—The Ṣafawids.

Bibliography: Material has largely to be gleaned from the historical sources extending over the whole period, but there are specific sections on siege warfare in Spuler, *Iran*, 493-4, 499-502, and idem, *Mongolen*, 413-16. Quatremère's notes on the use of *naft*, on peasant *ḥashars* and on catapults and engines of war in his *Hist. des Mongoles de la Perse*, i, 132-7, 204-5, 284-92, are still valuable. Finally, Huuri's work (see above), esp. 123 ff., 180-92, should be consulted for the technical details of the various types of catapult and mechanical bow.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

iv.—THE MAMLŪK SULTANATE

The history of siege warfare in the Mamlūk Sultanate has to be dealt with against the following background.

Most of the great wars of the Sultanate were fought in the early decades of its existence. These wars were conducted mainly against the Crusaders, where siege warfare was the decisive, indeed almost the only, factor, and against the Mongols, where field battles were the decisive factor [see ḤARB], though sieges played a by no means negligible rôle. Thereafter the Mamlūks fought only minor wars; the two notable exceptions were the war against Tīmūrlang, where siege warfare had some importance, and the final war against the Ottomans, where it had none. In the minor wars sieges were very numerous, but these conflicts were too trivial to promote the development of siege methods and siege instruments.

During most of the Mamlūk period, the main machine employed for throwing heavy missiles in sieges was the *mandjanīḳ* [*q.v.*], but its heyday was in the 7th/13th century, particularly in its closing decades. With the final expulsion of the Crusaders, or shortly after that date, the great history of that machine comes to an end.

For seventy to eighty years after the end of the Crusades the heavy siege artillery of the Mamlūks consisted solely of *mandjanīḳs*. During the sixties of the 8th/14th century, however, the revolutionary weapon of gunpowder was introduced into the Mamlūk Sultanate, which was one of the first Muslim countries to employ it. The Mamlūks used artillery, up to the end of their rule, solely as a siege weapon; yet in spite of its revolutionary character, it served for a very long time only as an auxiliary to the *mandjanīḳ*. Only towards the end of Mamlūk rule did it succeed in superseding it, and even then not completely. Some time during the second half of the 9th/15th century firearms became the main siege weapon, but never reached the point, as in parts of contemporary Europe and the Ottoman Empire, of breaking the immense superiority which defence had enjoyed over attack in siege warfare in the later Middle Ages. (For additional information see D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom—a challenge to a mediaeval society*, London 1956, and art. BĀRŪD).

What is characteristic of siege warfare under the Mamlūks is that a machine hurling missiles, whether it was the *mandjanīḳ* or artillery, was in fact the only really important siege machine which they used.

Other siege instruments, like the penthouse (*dabbāba*), the moveable tower (*burdj*) and naphtha (*naft*) had their heyday in the pre-Mamlūk period. In the Mamlūk period they did not count for very much (see below). During the early decades of their rule the Mamlūks employed in their sieges very frequently, and with considerable success, the system of mining (*naḳb*) side by side with their extensive use of the *mandjanīḳ*.

Despite the lack of direct evidence, there are many indications that counterpoise *mandjanīḳ*s were extensively used by the Mamlūks (and also, though perhaps on a much smaller scale, by other Muslim and Eastern states).

One of the outstanding features of the employment of the *mandjanīḳ* in Syria and Egypt in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, particularly in the struggle against the Crusaders, is the great increase in their numbers in the sieges of the Mamlūks in comparison with the sieges of the Ayyūbids. The Ayyūbid Sultans, including Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, used a maximum of ten *mandjanīḳ*s in a single siege, and very frequently much fewer: one, two or three such engines are a common phenomenon (*al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 331; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 120, 320, 331; xii, 6, 34, 42; Abū Shāma, ii, 129, 135, 184, 192, 235; *RHC, Hist. Or.*, iv, 254; *Sulūk*, i, 84; Deschamps, *Les châteaux des Croisés*, ii, 52, 64. For a notable exception see Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 37). For additional information on the employment of *mandjanīḳ*s under the Ayyūbids see *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 154; Sibṭ, 435, 447; *Sulūk*, i, 95, 96, 97, 243). Towards the end of Ayyūbid rule a certain increase may be noticed (*Sulūk*, i, 331; *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), vi, 329). The only rulers within the boundaries of the Islamic territories who came near the Mamlūks in the extensive use of *mandjanīḳ*s were the Ilkhānid Mongols of Persia, who quite frequently used twenty to twenty-five of these engines in a single siege (Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 234, 269; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd* (in *PO*), xii, 437; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 41; *Sulūk*, i, 426, 475. See also Huuri, 191-2, where some exaggerated numbers are included, and note 4 on p. 191). The numbers of the *mandjanīḳ*s which the Mamlūks employed against the Crusader castles were similar, though in all probability some of these engines were of a more developed type than those of the Mongols (see below) (*Sulūk*, i, 565-6; Zettersteen, *Beiträge*, 16; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 313, 327; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xiv, 553; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80, 136; *Sulūk*, i, 608, 778, and note 2; Djazarī, 16; the best description of the distribution of Mamlūk *mandjanīḳ*s in a siege is that concerning Ḳalʿat al-Rūm). But all the former records were broken in al-Ashraf Khalīl's siege of Acre (690/1291). Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, who witnessed the siege of Acre, states that it was besieged by a greater number of big and small *mandjanīḳ*s than any other town ever was (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 24). According to some of the Mamlūk sources they numbered 92; according to others, 72 (al-Djazarī, Sauvaget's tr., 5; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 111, 112; *Sulūk*, i, 764; *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), viii, 5-6 (and note on p. 6); *Manhal*, iii, fol. 62 b; Ibn Iyās, i, 123). The numbers of Mamlūk *mandjanīḳ*s in that siege quoted by Barhebraeus (300) or by the anonymous writer of *Excidium Acconis* (666) (cf. Huuri, 173, note 3; see also J. Prawer, *A history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1963, ii, 529) should be regarded as a gross exaggeration, to be explained perhaps by the desire of the Christian authors to inflate the power of the besieging Muslims. In 671/1272-3 Baybars I, who expected a Frankish attack by sea, fortified the port of Alexandria with 100 *mandjanīḳ*s (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 175; *Sulūk*, i, 608). It should be noted in this connexion that the sources mention much more often the number of *mandjanīḳ*s of the besiegers than of the besieged. For numbers of *mandjanīḳ*s in sieges see also Huuri, 164-5, 172-3 (some of the numbers quoted there are certainly exaggerated). For references on the use of *mandjanīḳ*s in the Crusading period cf. *ibid.*, 156, note 1.

After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Syria and Palestine the Mamlūk sources quote only very rarely the number of the *mandjanīḳ*s taking part in sieges, although they were used frequently. There are, however, some clear indications that their numbers declined considerably (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 213, 281, 282; also *ibid.*, 203-9). Whereas our information on the number of *mandjanīḳ*s participating in a siege in the Mamlūk Sultanate is fairly rich, that on the number of cannons employed in sieges is very meagre; this is one of the greatest drawbacks in the study of the history of firearms under the Mamlūks (Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms* . . ., 30).

The characteristic feature of the sieges of the 7th/13th century is the great increase in the number of missile-throwing machines, as well as the considerable variety of their types in comparison with the past. The new type, the trebuchet, developed into several kinds of machines based on the same principle. The Muslims often hurled naphtha by means of trebuchets which seem to have been of the lighter kinds of this type of machinery.

The Mamlūk sources speak of four kinds of *mandjanīḳ*s: "Frankish" (*frandjiyya*), Maghribine or "Western" (*maghribiyya*), "black bullish" (*ḳarābughāwiyya*) and "devilish" (*shayṭāniyya*). These types are mentioned far more frequently under the Mamlūks than under the Ayyūbids, and perhaps more frequently than under any other Muslim mediaeval ruler. Before the 7th/13th century these names are hardly mentioned in the sources, and quite shortly after the end of that century they disappear completely or almost completely from them, or at least from the chronicles. This fact reflects the abrupt halt, indeed decline, in the development of the *mandjanīḳ*, when the great challenge of the Crusaders' presence in Muslim territory was removed. The sources do not explain the differences between these four types, but certain important conclusions can be drawn from the information they furnish (see further MANDJANĪḲ).

Mining (*naḳb*), a system of siege warfare which had been known for many centuries but which had been used quite rarely before the 6th/12th century, reached the peak of its success in the late 6th/12th and in the 7th/13th centuries, used particularly by the Muslims. It was carried out in the following way. An underground tunnel (*naḳb*, pl. *nuḳūb*, and much more rarely *sirb*, pl. *asrāb*, or *surūb*) would be started a certain distance from the fortification or wall, and would be dug towards it. Immediately under the fortification, it would be widened, deepened and strengthened with timber props; then it would be filled with brushwood, straw and other combustible materials, and the whole construction would be set alight. The wooden props, together with all the combustibles, would be burnt, and the undermined fortification would collapse. Mines were, of course, effective mainly against fortifications built on a more or less soft soil; they were much less effective on those which were built on rock foundations, or were surrounded by deep water (for an interesting attempt to overcome the hardness of the soil, see Abū Shāma,

RHC, Hist. Or., iv, 254-5). The great advantages of this system were that the sappers were completely safe from the missiles and naphtha of the defenders, to which the *burdj* and the *dabbāba* were so dangerously exposed, and that the besieged garrison, unaware of the operation, was frequently taken by surprise. The best defence against such attack was for the besieged to dig a counter-tunnel, and, when the enemy's line of approach was discovered, to dig into it, kill the miners or smoke them out, and to destroy their work. Mining was used in Syria during the Crusades much more frequently than in Europe and by the Muslims much more often and more systematically than by the Crusaders: Richard the Lion Heart employed, in his siege of Dārūm in 1192, highly skilled Muslim miners from Aleppo, whom he had captured in the siege of Acre (Grousset, ii, 86, and references in note 3). It is noteworthy that Saladin, in his siege of Ṣahyūn in 584/1188, had with him many Aleppine foot soldiers who were famous for their bravery (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 5-6). It may well be no accident that Saladin had in his service an élite of miners and foot soldiers, trained in siege warfare, both from the same town. The Mamlūks employed mining on a far larger scale than the Ayyūbids, and especially in their sieges of the last Crusaders' castles (*Mir'āt al-zamān*, 225, 462, 467, 474; al-Djazarī (Sauvaget's tr.), 16; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xii, 470, 490; *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 152; Ibn al-Dawādārī (ed. Roemer), ix, 131, 261; Bar Hebraeus (Budge's tr.), 492-3; al-Yūnīnī, ii, 317-8; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80, 112; *Sulūk*, i, 69, 84, 489, 491, 498, 747, 767; al-ʿAynī, *RHC, Hist. Or.*, ii/1, 242; *Nudjūm* (ed. Cairo), v, 36, 40; vii, 138; viii, 6; *ibid.* (ed. Popper), vi, 407, 462, 467; vi, 52, 370. See also Quatremère, *Mongols*, 252-5, note 81; Rey, *Études sur les monuments* ..., Paris 1871, 36, 37 and *passim*; Oman, i, 134; ii, 50-2; Grousset, ii, 550; iii, 703-4, 743, 755, 762; Deschamps, ii, 66; Fedden, 38-9; Prawer, ii, 50, 452, 456-7, 460, 488, 539, 541).

The sappers were called *naḳḳābūn* (more rarely *naḳḳāba*). The act of mining was called *naḳaba* or *naḳḳaba*. Those engaged in extracting stones from the fortifications were called *ḥadjdjārūn*. Carpenters (*nadjdjārūn*) were also employed in the mining operations. The act of setting the combustible material alight was called *ʿallaḳa* (rarely *aḥraḳa*). (In addition to the above references see also *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 166; *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 89; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80; *Sulūk*, i, 1003; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 6; *ibid.* (ed. Popper), v, 407; Quatremère, *Mongols*, 284 note 95; Anṣārī (ed. Scanlon), 92). After the Crusades the employment of *nuḳūb* declines considerably, though it by no means disappears (see the references pertaining to the post-Crusade period quoted above). Of particular interest and importance are the descriptions of the *nuḳūb* dug by the Mamlūks in their sieges of Arsūf (663/1365) (*Sulūk*, i, 528-9), and al-Marḳab (684/1285) (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 27; *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 78-9; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 17-8. See also *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vi, 40).

One of the reasons for the Mamlūks' success in their mining operations was that, in their sieges of the Crusaders' coastal fortresses, they were free to use their siege methods more thoroughly and with less restraint than under ordinary conditions, because they did not intend to keep or repair these fortresses after their capture, but to raze them to the ground.

The two main siege weapons by means of which the Mamlūks succeeded in capturing the castles of the Crusaders, and thus bringing to an end their rule in Syria and Palestine, were the *mandjanīḳ* and the *nuḳūb*.

Mamlūk siege warfare and naval power. One of the greatest weaknesses of the Mamlūks in their sieges of the Crusaders' coastal towns and fortresses was that they could never invest them completely, for the sea was always open to the besieged. In the whole Mamlūk offensive against the Crusaders there was not a single case of a simultaneous siege from land and sea, not even in the reign of Baybars I, when the Mamlūk navy was at its peak. All the Mamlūk sieges along the coastal strip were carried out almost as if a Mamlūk navy did not exist at all. Never in a Muslim offensive against the Crusaders was the weakness of the Muslim navy so apparent as in the great and final offensive.

In the siege of Acre Frankish warships, specially protected against fire, attacked the besiegers from the sea (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 25; *RHC, Hist. Or.*, i, 164); and Mamlūk warships did not hinder the Franks from bringing reinforcements, evacuating refugees from besieged or captured fortresses, or landing them in ports which were still in Crusader possession (see *e.g.*, Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 321; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xii, 539-40; Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 80, 112; *Sulūk*, i, 747, 764, 765; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 8, 11; see also Prawer, ii, 454-541, *passim*, and the evidence and instances below. For a rather isolated and feeble intervention of the Mamlūk navy see Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, 355). The Mamlūk navy would certainly have been unable to impede the landing of a Frankish expeditionary force at any point of the Syro-Palestinian coast, including the besieged fortresses, had such a force been sent. It was even less capable of doing so than in the time of Saladin, when, after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], the Muslims were within sight of a total expulsion of the Crusaders, but lost their chance because of European naval supremacy.

The capture of Crusader towers or fortresses built in the sea gave the Mamlūks particular difficulty. Such structures were in front of Sidon (the famous Château de Mer), Maraḳiyya, Lādhiḳiyya and Ayās (in the Gulf of Alexandretta); there was also the fortified island of Arwād, northwest of Tripoli.

Ayās and Arwād were left to be dealt with after the expulsion of the Crusaders. Sidon's "sea-castle" was handed over to the Muslims almost without fighting, when the capture of Acre made the position of the Crusaders hopeless (Deschamps, i, 64, 73-6; ii 17, 18, 227-30, 253-4; Grousset, iii, 762, and note 2; Prawer, ii, 498, 544). As for Maraḳiyya, the fortress or tower (*ḥiṣn, burdj*) which commanded the entrance of its port constituted its main fortification. It rose in the sea at a distance of two bowshots from the shore and was strongly fortified. Sultan Ḳalāwūn decided that "the siege of this fortress is impossible, because it is in the sea, and *because the Muslims have no ships* to cut off its provisions and to stop those who want to enter or leave it" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, Cairo 1961, 88). This statement reflects the ineffectiveness of the Mamlūk navy, not only in the case of Maraḳiyya, but also in all the other sieges of the Frankish coastal fortifications. No less revealing is an episode which occurred during the capture of Tripoli: a group of Franks took refuge on the small islet of St. Thomas situated opposite the town, "which could be reached only by ships", but "because of the eternal good fortune of the Muslims (*al-saʿāda al-azaliyya li'l-muslimīn*)" an exceptionally low ebb enabled the attackers to reach the islet on foot and horse, and round up the fugitive Franks (Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 115-21; for a

corroborative, though somewhat different version, see Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 23, and cf. Grousset, iii, 744). This reflects the chronicler's feeling that but for divine intervention the Muslims would have been incapable, even in the flush of victory, of coping with such a small defenceless target, so near the shore.

Unable to conquer the sea-fortress of Maraḳiyya by his own means, Sultan Ḳalāwūn brought pressure to bear on Bohemond of Tripoli, who forced its defenders to hand it over to the Mamlūks. It was destroyed with great difficulty by a joint effort of the Mamlūks and the Franks (683/1285) (*Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 87-90; see also *Nudjūm* (Cairo), vii, 315-7; Grousset, iii, 704). The tower (*burdj*) protecting the entrance to the port of Lādhiḳiyya could be captured only because it was damaged by an earthquake (*Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 151-2; see also Grousset, iii, 734). The island of Arwād was the only stronghold which was captured (702/1302) by a naval operation (warships from Egypt and army from Tripoli) (Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 47; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 80; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 108; *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, xx, 21; *Sulūk*, i, 923; *Nudjūm* (Cairo), viii, 154-7; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 416; *Durar*, iii, 269; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 195). The fortifications of Ayās [*q.v.*] included a fortress and three towers, the strongest of them a sea-tower one and a half bow-shots from the shore; it was captured (722/1322) only after a bridge 300 ells long was built between it and the shore (the same method was employed in the capture of the Lādhiḳiyya tower: *Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, 152; see also Deschamps, ii, 231, concerning the capture of Sidon's "sea-castle"; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 150, 194; Abu 'l Fidā', iv, 91, 115, 119; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 102; *Sulūk*, ii, 420-1, 429-30, 436; *Manhal*, ii, fol. 11b; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 430). See also BAḤRIYYA and D. Ayalon, *The Mamlūks and naval power—a phase in the struggle between Islam and Christian Europe*, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy of sciences and humanities*, i/8 (Jerusalem 1965).

The *dabbāba*, the *burdj* and the *naft*. These three siege weapons, which earlier played a very important role in the struggle between the Muslims and the Crusaders, were of small significance in the final stages of that struggle, or in the period that followed the expulsion of the Crusaders.

The *burdj* and the *dabbāba* were mainly Frankish weapons (Cahen, *Traité*, 57, note 2), which were not really adopted by the Muslims, or, at best, adopted by them on a very limited scale. Because these two machines were only little known to the Muslims when they appeared on the scene of battle, and because they caused, for a certain time, great fear and admiration, they were described in the Muslim sources in greater detail than the *mandjaniḳs*. The best descriptions of the *dabbāba* are from the siege of Alexandria by the Sicilian navy in 570/1174 and from the siege of Acre in 586/1190-1 (see, *e.g.*, Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, i, 235; ii, 162-4, 166, 180, 185; *Sulūk*, i, 56-7; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 272; xii, 33; *JA*, (1849), 225; Quatremère, *Mongols*, 284-6, note 95). The best descriptions of the *burdj* are from the siege of Acre in 586/1190-1 and the sieges of Damietta in 615/1218 and 647/1249 (see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 28, 42; Abū Shāma, i, 98; ii, 153 ff., 162; *Sulūk*, i, 103, 104, 189, 207, 339, 348 and note 6; *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 215-6; Quatremère, *Mongols*, 286, note 95; *JA*, (1849), 225; Reinaud, *Extraits*, 291; Joinville, 47, 52; see also Cahen, *Traité*, 18-9). Only on extremely rare occasions did the Muslims employ this kind of siege machine against the Crusaders either in the Ayyūbid or the Mamlūk period. Saladin used *dabbābāt* in his siege of Karak in 580/1184-5 (*RHC, Hist. Or.*, v, 254-5) and one *dabbāba* in his siege of Tyre in 583/1187, several months after the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 366; see also Deschamps, ii, 66, on the siege of Karak in 1184). In the siege and capture of Caesarea and Arsūf by Baybars I in 663/1265 *dabbābas* were employed (*Sulūk*, i, 526-7; Prawer, ii, 450, 452). In all the big sieges of the Crusader castles which followed the siege of Caesarea and which sealed the fate of the Crusaders, there is hardly any mention of either the *dabbāba* or the *burdj* amongst the siege machines of the attackers. (In Frankish sources additional instances of the use of these two weapons by the Muslims may be found, but the fact that the Muslim sources hardly mention them indicates their minor rôle. For Muslim protective measures in the siege of Acre see Prawer, ii, 542-7. On Crusader siege machines see *ibid.*, 47-50.) More than a century was to pass before the ephemeral re-appearance of this kind of siege machine took place. Tīmūrlang used a "wooden fortress" or "tower" in his siege of Damascus in 803/1400, which was burnt down by the defenders. He built another which served him no better (*Nudjūm* (ed. Popper), vi, 65; *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ*, iii, 48). Sultan Barsbāy erected a *burdj* when he laid siege to Āmid in 836/1433, but it was ineffective (*Nudjūm* (ed. Popper), vi, 705). Neither Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) nor al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) mentions the *burdj* or the *dabbāba* in their chapters on siege machines (*Taʿrīf*, 207-9; *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 136-8), though they include a number of obsolete weapons in their descriptions.

A siege machine which seems to have been similar to the *dabbāba* or the *burdj* and which was called *zaḥḥāfa*, was used by Baybars I in his siege of Caesarea [see above]. Its use by the Mamlūks is mentioned occasionally at later dates (*Sulūk*, ii, 428, 429; *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 38). This machine is thus described by Ibn Ṣaṣrā, whose chronicle covers the period 786-99/1384-97: *zaḥḥāfāt tadjrī ʿalā 'l-arḍ mithla 'l-ʿadjal wa-ʿalayhā djulūd* (*al-Durar al-muḍiyya*, ed. W. M. Brinner, text, 81, Eng. tr., 113). For a description of *ālat al-zaḥf*, which seems to have been identical with *zaḥḥāfa*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; for the mention by Abū Shāma of *abrādj al-zaḥf*, see Huuri, 158 note 1.

The rise of naphtha (*naft* [*q.v.*]) as a major weapon in siege warfare during part of the Crusading period was caused primarily by the appearance of the *burdj* and the *dabbāba* on the scene of action; it was the Muslim answer—and a most effective one—to the great menace caused by these new Frankish weapons (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Shaddād, *RHC, Hist. Or.*, iii, 221-2; *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 227; *Sulūk*, i, 57, 103-4; Sibṭ, 498; *Duwal al-Islām*, ii, 117; Joinville, 47, 52; *JA*, (1850), 219, 244; Oman, ii, 46, 48-9; also most of the references given above for the *burdj* and the *dabbāba*, many of those given below in this section and in general NAFṬ. On the different versions concerning the origin (Damascus or Baghdād) of the Muslim naphtha employed in the siege of Acre in 1189-91, see Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 29; Abū Shāma, ii, 153; Ibn Shaddād, 102).

One of the main reasons for the decline of naphtha, together with the *burdj* and the *dabbāba*, was that it was such an effective counter-measure to them; another was that since the castles of the Crusaders were built of stone, with hardly any wood in them (Smail, *Crusading warfare*, 228), the effective use of naphtha as an offensive weapon, during this period when the initiative passed definitely and finally from the Franks to the Muslims, was precluded. At

that period it is mentioned rarely (for its mention as an offensive weapon by the Mamlūks in their struggle against the Crusaders, see Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 46; viii, 80; *Sulūk*, i, 747) and (in contrast to the near past) no particular importance is attached to it. On its decline and almost complete disappearance after the Crusaders, see *Gunpower and firearms*, 12-3, and NAFṬ.

The arbalest. The heavier types of arbalest or crossbow were employed in siege warfare (both by the attackers and the defenders), in sea warfare and in naval attacks on coastal fortifications. It could hurl both non-inflammatory and inflammatory missiles (lighter types were used in field battles, particularly by the infantry). The commonest name in Arabic in the Mamlūk period for the crossbow type of weapon was *ḳaws al-ri*ḏ*jl wa'l-rikāb* (often shortened to *ḳaws al-ri*ḏ*jl*), which seems to have been given to crossbows of various sizes, including those employed in sieges. The arbalest does not seem to have been a very important weapon in Mamlūk battles either against the Crusaders or against the Mongols. For a full discussion, see ḲAWS.

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v.—OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottomans at first, in the 8th/14th century, had little of the knowledge and few of the means needed for siege warfare. Their acquisition of such towns as Bursa (1326), Nicea/Iznik (1331) and Nicomedia/Izmid (1337) was the result not of formal siege, but rather of prolonged blockade. The Ottomans sought—and with success—to cut off each of these towns from contact with the outside world. Towards the population of the adjacent lands the Ottomans adopted an attitude of *mudārā*, *i.e.*, of mildness and restraint designed to reconcile them to Muslim rule, to win, if possible, their co-operation and also to demonstrate to the beleaguered towns that submission would not mean ruin (on "*vire*", *i.e.*, the surrender of a fortress, as carried out later between the Ottomans and the Christians in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries see, *e.g.*, (i) L. Bonelli, *Il trattato Turco-Veneto del 1540* (in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, 2 vols., Palermo 1910), ii, 353 ff., also P. Wittek, *The Castle of Violets: from Greek Monemvasia to Turkish Menekṣ͟he*, in *BSOAS*, xx (1957), 604 ff. and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Venedik arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri*, in *Belgeler* (*Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*), i/2 (1964), Ankara 1965, 203 ff.—all on the surrender of Monemvasia and Napoli di Romania to the Ottomans in 1540; (ii) Bosio, iii, 618 (a brief truce during the siege of Malta in 1565); (iii) Pečewī, ii, 181 ff. (on the fall of Gran to the Imperialists in 1595); and (iv) Anticano, *Frammenti*, 173, 318 (the surrender, to the Ottomans, of Canea and Retimo during the Cretan war of 1645-69).

As the Ottoman state grew in size and resources, so its command increased over the techniques and instruments of siege-craft as elaborated and brought to high perfection during and following the time of the Crusades—, *e.g.*, mantlets, moveable towers, mangonels, ballistas, etc. (cf. in general, K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsingfors 1941; also Kananos (Bonn 1838), 460, 462, 469 on one of the earlier examples of Ottoman siege warfare, *i.e.*, the unsuccessful attempt of Murād II to take Constantinople in 1422. As late as the sieges of Candia (1667-9) and of Vienna (1683) the Ottomans would seem to have made use of the sling (Scheither, 77) and of the "pioulitza" (Cacavelas, 138, 139, 177), a device (perhaps the catapult?) for the throwing of bombs and stones).

The art of siege warfare was changing, however, even as the Ottomans acquired these older techniques. Gunpowder and cannon had begun to exert an influence more and more decisive on the conduct of sieges. None the less, the Ottomans long continued to use, side by side with newer modes of procedure, techniques derived from the practice of an earlier age (cf., *e.g.*, (i) mantlets at Otranto in 1480 (Foucard, 163), at Malta in 1565 (Cirni, 113r, 114v), at Nicosia in 1570 (Lorini, 71: "palchi di tavole, coperti con pelle di bufali a guisa di testuggine, per difendersi da' fuochi") and also at Hamadān in 1724 (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī Dynasty* . . ., Cambridge 1958, 269); (ii) wooden towers at Malta in 1565 (Bosio, iii, 673, 684: "un'altra Machina di legnami . . . in modo di Torre", furnished with a platform designed to hold five or six arquebusiers and to be raised or lowered at will); and (iii) "trabuchi" at Rhodes (Sanuto, xxxiii, 573 and xxxiv, 67) during the siege of 1522). The Ottomans also retained the old method for bringing down the walls of a fortress, *i.e.*, to dig approach trenches, to excavate the foundation of the walls, wooden beams being employed to support the stone-work, and then to set fire to the beams, so that the walls would collapse, once the timber was burnt through (cf., at Rhodes in 1522, Bosio, ii, 574 and Tercier (1759), 754; also Montecuculi, 345).

The offensive weapons prominent in earlier times—*i.e.*, the ram and the bore, the ballista, the mangonel and the trebuchet—began to decline in importance, as the gun was elaborated into an effective means of siege warfare. Guns, it would seem, came into use amongst the Ottomans in the reign of Meḥemmed I and perhaps even at an earlier date (cf. BĀRŪD, 1061). Artillerists recruited from the German and Italian lands, from Serbia and Bosnia (cf. BĀRŪD, 1062) soon made available to the Ottomans an efficient train of siege guns. Experts of European origin would indeed constitute a major and enduring element in the Ottoman technical services (cf. BĀRŪD, 1062) connected with siege warfare—the artillerists (*Ṭopd͟jular*), the transport corps (*Ṭop ʿArabad͟jilar*), the

bombardiers (*Khumbaradjilar*) and the sappers (*Laghimdjilar*).

At first the Ottomans often carried into the field not the ponderous guns indispensable for siege work, but supplies of metal for the casting of cannon, as need dictated in the course of a given campaign (cf. Barletio, ii, 306r, 307r; Promontorio-de Campis, 61, 85; da Lezze, 103; Sanuto, xxxi, 86; also BĀRŪD, 1061). Guns cast before a fortress might be broken into pieces at the termination of a siege, the metal being carried off for re-use on a future occasion (cf. N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades* ..., 4e sér., Bucarest 1915, iv, 368). These modes of procedure, in due course, fell into desuetude. A late example, however, can be seen in the Cretan War of 1645-69, when the Ottomans, transporting clay for the moulds from Kāghidkhāne to ʿInādiyye, found it more convenient to cast some at least of their cannon in the field than to bring them whole from the mainland (cf. Silihdār, i, 307, 467, 481; Rāshid, i, 198, 205-6; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 312-3). The Ottoman Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü, in the course of the siege of Candia (1667-9), ordered guns to be made, in Crete, of a calibre which would allow the *topdjular* to use the cannon-balls that the Venetians had fired from the fortress (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 310).

Ottoman siege guns, in the time of Meḥemmed II and for long thereafter, tended to be of vast weight and size (on the large cannon of Meḥemmed II cast in 868/1464 and now preserved in the Tower of London see BĀRŪD, 1061, 1065). Abundant evidence can be gathered about these guns from the sources which describe the great Ottoman sieges—, *e.g.*, of Constantinople in 857/1453 (Barbaro, 21, 27, 35, 39, 44), of Skutari (Ishkodra) in 883/1478-9 (Barletio, 310r-v, 313r, 314r-v), of Rhodes in 885/1480 (*Germanicarum rerum scriptores varii*, ed. Freher, ii, Frankfort 1602, 158, 159; C. Foucard, *Fonti di storia Napoletana nell'Archivio di Stato in Modena. Otranto nel 1480 e nel 1481*, in *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, vi/1 (Naples 1881), 135 ff.; Vertot, ii, 308, 602); of Otranto in 885/1480 (Laggetto, 23) and of Diu in 945/1538 (Ribeiro, 255 ff.). One of the large *badjalushka* guns that the Ottomans carried to Malta in 973/1565 weighed "ciento y ochenta quintales de metal, y tira una bala de un quintal de peso de hierro colado" (*Verdadera relacion*, 21r-v; Cirni, 125r; Bosio, iii, 534-5, 695). The power of a *badjalushka* was notable indeed: there is mention at the same siege of "quatro basiliscos, que el uno dellos passava veynte y un pues de terrapleno de claro en claro" (*Verdadera relacion*, 78r)—and the shot fired from them still entered to a depth of "sette palmi", even after the Christians had devised an ingenious means to make their defences less penetrable (Cirni, 98r-v; Bosio, iii, 545, 625).

The Ottomans also made use of mortars: *hawāyī* (Ibn Kemāl, facs. 50, 307, 496 = transcr. 45, 289, 448; *Fâtih ve Istanbul*, i/3-6 (1953-4), 307; Selāniki, 8; BĀRŪD, 1063) or *hawān* (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 398; Silihdār, i, 244, 443, 485 and ii, 395; Marsigli, ii, 30-1). Of these mortars there is frequent mention—, *e.g.*, at Belgrade in 860/1456 (L. Wadding, *Annales minorum* ..., Rome 1731, xii, 344); at Negroponte in 874/1470 (dalla Castellana, 435: "xxx mortali, cioè bonbarde, tanto larghe quanto lunghe ... la petra di ciascuna dugiento rotoli, che monta libre siecento, e butavano in aere, e al cascare cascavano entro la terra"); at Skutari (Ishkodra) in 883/1478-9 (Barletio, 313v, 314r: a mortar throwing shot of "mille e dugento libbre in aria"); at Rhodes in 928/1522 (de Bourbon, 13r-v: mortars hurling "pierre de marbre" and "boulletz de cuyvre ou bronze pleins d'artiffice de feu"); and at Malta in 973/1565 (Cirni, 125r and Bosio, iii, 512, 613: "due Morlacchi Petrieri, l'uno de'quali tirava la palla di due palmi di diametro, e l'altro di tre palmi").

On the rate of fire the sources offer no more than scattered and incomplete data. At Skutari (Ishkodra) in 1478-9 the Ottomans, with eleven great guns in action, fired per diem on different occasions 178, 187, 183, 168, 178, 182, 194, 131, 193 and 173 shots against the fortress (Barletio, 310r-v, 313r-v; da Lezze, 104). Twelve basilisks, at Rhodes in 1522, are said to have fired 130 times in all per diem (Fontanus, in Lonicerus, ii, 390). A large Ottoman gun, throwing shot three quintals in weight, was discharged 20 times per diem at the siege of Napoli di Romania in 1538 (Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, v, 285).

Information about the range of the Ottoman siege guns is rare. At Malta in 1565 some of the Ottoman batteries (later moved closer to the fortress walls) fired at first from a distance as great as "mil passos, y mas de Sant Ermo" (*Verdadera relacion*, 31v, 39v, 41r; cf. also Bosio, iii, 534: "in distanza di 180. canne da Architetto, secondo la nota, che ne lasciò Girolamo Casser, Ingegniere della Religione". M. Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, London 1958, ii, 228, note 3, suggests that 720 metres would be a liberal estimate for the effective range of large cannon in the 16th and the 17th centuries). Also infrequent are references to the range of the arquebus. Ulloa, describing the Djerba campaign of 1560, observes of the Ottoman "schioppettieri" that "quei loro schioppetti erano si lunghi, che tirando arrivavano a cinquecento passi" (Ulloa, 8v). Ottoman arquebusiers fighting at Malta in 1565 and using "las escopetas del largor de ix. palmos de cañon, y las q̃ menos de siete" maintained an accurate fire at a distance of "seyscientos passos" (*Verdadera relacion*, 34v, 68r; also Bosio, iii, 597, referring to "archibusoni da posta").

The gunpowder that the Ottomans used was often excellent. It gave off, at Malta in 1565, a white smoke—an effect of its fineness—clearly distinguishable from the black smoke of the Christian powder (*Verdadera relacion*, 102v; Cirni, 85r; Bosio, iii, 614). Montecucculi also praised it for an excellence which revealed itself in "le bruit, la force et la longueur des coups" (Montecuculi, 283-4). Ewliyā Čelebi describes the "*ʿothmānli bārūtlari*" as moist and inclined to befoul the touch-hole of the cannon, whereas the powder from Egypt and Baghdād was well made—indeed he compares it on a number of occasions with the gunpowder obtained from the English (Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 413; vi, 314; x, 175, 454, 727. Much powder—some of it among the best at their command—came to the Ottomans from Europe and in particular from the English and the Dutch: cf. BĀRŪD, 1063). A passage in the *Tuḥfat al-kibār* notes, however, of the gunpowder from Egypt that it was not over-clean, had no great propulsive force and did harm, moreover, to the touch-hole of the cannon (*Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 71r; also Naʿimā, iii, 52; other adverse comments of much later date, in *Peter Businello Staatsekretärs der Republik Venedig historische Nachrichten* ... *der osmanischen Monarchie*, in C. W. Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des Türkischen Reiches*, Zweyter Theil, Leipzig 1778, 131, and in Schels, 306-7).

The cannon-balls fired from the Ottoman guns might be of stone, iron, lead and even bronze (cf., at

Rhodes (1522), Sanuto, xxxiv, 64, 78; at Gran (1543), Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, v, 372; and at Malta (1565), *Verdadera relacion*, 121v). Often, where possible, the cannon-balls would be collected after firing for further use against a fortress (cf., at Malta (1565), Cirni, 104r and Bosio, iii, 636). With problems of windage in mind the Ottomans often wrapped their shot in sheepskins, thus ensuring a better effect from the explosiòn of the charge (Montecuculi, 280-1). At Malta in 1565 the Ottoman gunners, in preparing the charge for their cannon, used sacks of powder proportionate in size to the range and to the result which it was desired to achieve (cf. Bosio, iii, 614). The great size of their siege cannon and the thickness of the gun-barrels led the Ottoman *ṭopdjular* at times to fire the guns without giving them sufficient time to cool (cf. *Verdadera relacion*, 40v, 68r; and, on the cooling of guns, Ducas (Bonn 1834), 273 and Foucard, 165).

The Ottoman gunners—a large proportion of whom came from Europe—made use of their cannon in accordance with methods practised in the armies of Christendom: *e.g.*, concentrated fire from batteries directed at one particular section of a fortress wall (Anticano, 147-8: Crete, 1646; cf. also Pečewi, ii, 193—on the Christian gunners at Gran, 1595); cross-fire from various batteries of guns (Bosio, iii, 538-9: Malta, 1565); and, in addition, the use of medium cannon to cut deep into the walls of a fortress and then of the heavier guns to bring down the stone-work through the violent impact of large cannon-balls (Collado, 24v-25r; Stella, in Schwandtner, i, 610-1; also BĀRŪD, 1062. On the methods practised in Europe cf., *e.g.*, Mendoça, 51r-v and Marsigli-Veress, 29-30). Sometimes the Ottomans fired groups of guns in a regular sequence (Bosio, iii, 309: Tripoli in North Africa, 1551). A number of batteries might combine to cover the defences of a fortress with a "curtain barrage" destined to be raised at, but not before the precise moment when the Ottoman forces stormed the walls (Bosio, iii, 648: Malta, 1565). A device employed at Malta in 1565 was the placing, close to the fortress walls, of "alcune picche . . . havendo nella cima certo fuoco artificiato", the Ottoman gunners being thus enabled to maintain an accurate cannon-fire at night-time (*Verdadera relacion*, 98r; Cirni, 113r-v; Bosio, iii, 628, 676. The sources for the same siege note, too, the superb skill and precision of the Ottoman arquebusiers, even when firing in moonlight: Viperanus, 10v; Bosio, iii, 539-40, 561, 611).

Much care and effort was given to the siting of the siege guns: there are references, *e.g.*, to emplacements with "doors" opening and closing, as the cannon fired at the fortress (Barletio, 310r: Skutari in 1478-9); to "bastioni di terra, chiusi e serrati di vimine e virgulti, intorno à grossi pali contesti" (Bosio, ii, 330: Rhodes in 1480); and to "mantelletti foderati di fuori di grossi tavoloni di legno incastrati con travi, e dentro erano pieni di terra, molto ben pestata e battuta" (Bosio, ii, 553: Rhodes in 1522—cf. also Fontanus, in Lonicerus, ii, 390). Where earth was lacking (as in rock-bound Malta), "sacas de lana, gumenas viejas, tiendas viejas, y velas" might be used to build "bestiones, trincheas, y hinchir fossos" or "cueros de bueyes para reparos, y muchos de cabras . . . para hazer bestiones" or even "paglia con del lino a fare ripari da piantare l'artiglieria" (*Verdadera relacion*, 22v, 23r and Cirni, 53v: Malta in 1565). There is mention, too, of pre-fabricated materials and devices, *e.g.*, at Malta in 1565: (i) wooden frames filled with earth and employed as "cestones para las piecas" (*Verdadera relation*, 37v); (ii) "tronere di legno fatte à posta per piantare l'artiglieria, le quali fermavano con certi chiodi grossissimi" (Cirni, 46v); and (iii) "i fusi di ferro, i ceppi, le piatteforme, i gabbioni, e le troniere di legnami, tutte fatte, e pronte" (Bosio, iii, 512). At Rhodes in 1522 some of the Ottoman guns, set on "tavoloni", fired on the fortress at night, being covered over with earth and sand in the day-time, so that the Christians might not locate them (Bosio, ii, 554). Each gun emplacement was furnished, it would seem, with flags equal in number to the cannon established there (*Verdadera relacion*, 77v-78r and Cirni, 53v: Malta in 1565). The Ottomans also built defences for the protection of their arquebusiers—, *e.g.*, during the Djerba campaign of 1560, "tre bastioni in forma rotonda, à modo di torrione, di legname fortemente con travi incatenati, terrapienati di fascine, e terra" (Ulloa, 36v) and, at Szigetvár in 1566, "certi bastioni di molte sacca di lana, e bambace, dietro a' quali stando i Gianizzari, senza pericolo assaltavano le mura" (*Impresa di Zighet*, in Sansovino, 454r-v). How great was the forethought given at need to the exact location of the guns and of the arquebusiers can be inferred from the fact that Meḥemmed II—with the siege of 1480 in mind—caused drawings to be made beforehand of the fortifications at Rhodes (Bosio, ii, 315).

The Ottomans had at their command instruments of siege warfare other than guns and mortars. Amongst them was the *khumbara* (*ḳumbara*), *i.e.*, bombs and grenades of various kinds—, *e.g.*, "*khumbara ḥawānlarî*" (Siliḥdār, i, 244 and ii, 47); a large *khumbara* weighing 70 okkas (Siliḥdār, i, 595); "*ḳazān* (*ḳazghān*) *ḳumbara*" (Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 398, 414); "*sepet khumbarasî*" (Siliḥdār, ii, 395, also *Nusretnâme*, ed. İ. Parmaksizoğlu, i/1-3, Istanbul 1962-4, i, 81); "*fıçı humbarası*" (*Nusretnâme*, i, 81); "*čömlek ḳumbarasî*" (Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 191); and "*shîsheden maʿmûl khumbaralar*" (Naʿīmā, iv, 140. Cf. also on the *khumbara* BĀRŪD, 1063). As for hand grenades (*e.g.*, of glass (*sirča* (*shîshe*) *el ḳumbaralarî*) or of bronze (*tundj el khumbarasî*)—cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 119 and viii, 414, 432; Rāshid, i, 208; also Cacavelas, 138, 139 and BĀRŪD, 1063) much use was made of them, above all in 1667-9 during the siege of Candia in Crete (Rāshid, i, 208: the Ottomans manufactured per diem in the course of the siege 1000 bronze hand grenades—cf. also Siliḥdār, i, 484 and Scheither, 77. Marsigli, ii, 33 observes, however, that the Ottoman "granata da mano, pure mal fatta, è di effetto assai tenue").

The sources mention quite often other techniques and devices that the Ottomans used in their siege warfare—, *e.g.*, (i) the firing, from their cannon, of small shot, lengths of chain (Ewliyā Čelebi, x, 676; Siliḥdār, i, 337: "*ṣačma ve demir zendjîrler*" and i, 705: "*zendjîr dolu ṭoplar*") and also pieces of iron (A. N. Kurat, *Prut Seferi*, ii, Ankara 1953, 752: "*demir parčalarî*"—cf. in addition the *Lettera scritta . . . da Venetia*: "un Pezzo di Bronzo carico di Lanterne, e Balle da Moschetto". Bosio, iii, 641-2 mentions that the Ottomans, at Malta in 1565, constructed a "barile cerchiato di ferro" and furnished with an explosive charge and a fuse, the inside being full of "scaglie di ferro, di pezzi di catene, e di sassi"); (ii) the use of "*günderlü khumbara*" (explosive and combustible devices affixed to long poles or pikes: Selānikī, 40—cf. also Bosio, iii, 562) and of *khumbara* filled with iron fragments (Naʿīmā, i, 304); and (iii) the employment of "palle di fuoco" compounded of resin, pitch, sulphur, wax, oil and the like (Barletio,

313), of "boulletz de cuyvre ou bronze plains d'artiffice de feu" (de Bourbon, 13r-v) and of gunpowder in "peaux de chevre" furnished with a mêche or fuse (Marsigli, ii, 34). The Ottomans made use, moreover, of "*nafṭ, ḳaṭrān, kaynar ṣu*" and of "*kol, kireč, nafṭ ve ḳaṭrānlî pačavra ve yorg͟han parčalar*" (Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 191, 201; cf. also Naʿīmā, iv, 140: "*nafṭ ile bulas͟hmîs͟h baʿḍî kirbās parčalar*").

There is frequent reference to the Ottoman use of "sacchi di polvere" provided with a fuse and intended to be thrown at close quarters—cf., *e.g.*, *Verdadera relacion*, 252v; Cirni, 60r, 65r-v; Bosio, ii, 571 and iii, 559 ("certi sacchetti loro di fuoco artificiato, ne' quali era una pignattina di terra fragilissima piena di fuoco, la quale nel percuotere in terra, o ne' capi de' nostri rompendosi, accendeva, s'infiammava una mistura, che tenacissimamente attaccandosi, fin al ferro istesso voracemente, et efficacemente ardeva, e consumava"), 628, 643; Veress, *Campania Crestinilor*, 59; Brusoni, *Candia*, ii, 162; Dietz, 62; Marsigli, ii, 33 ff.; Röder von Diersburg, i, 207 ("dass schlimmeste aber ist Ihr verfluchtes pulver, welches sie ... in säckhen werffen": letter of Ludwig von Baden, dated 1686). Inflammable materials also served as smoke-screens covering the Ottoman forces engaged in the digging of trenches (Anticano, *Frammenti*, 83; Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 26; Ferrari, 132), as fire-balls intended to give illumination at night (de La Solaye, 77-78) and as poisonous mixtures useful in combat underground in the galleries of mines and counter-mines (Brusoni, *Candia*, ii, 157: "misture malefiche, e velenose, che col fumo, e col fetore ammazzano"). Against the artificial fire and other combustibles of the Christians oxhides, sheepskins and goatskins offered protection to the Ottoman forces in their siege operations (*Verdadera relacion*, 98r; Bosio, ii, 572; *Éphémérides Daces*, ii, 266).

Other devices and stratagems are noted in some of the sources. It was in the course of the long Hungarian war of 1593-1606 that the Ottomans came to know the "*ag͟hadj̲ ṭop*", *i.e.*, the petard (Pečewī, ii, 212-3; Naʿīmā, i, 190; Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 312-3; Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 42; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 353). Ropes and hooks served at times to pull down the defences of a fortress (Cirni, 103r, 114v; Bosio, iii, 556, 644, 679; Vivonne, 248). Bombs might be thrown with increased effect in groups, when the sun was in the eyes of the foe, and grenades could be used at long range, if cast from slings (Scheither, 75, 77). Examples are not wanting, moreover, of false attacks at night with the intention to wear down the resistance of the besieged forces (*Verdadera relacion*, 49v, 79v), of feigned sounds of marching (drums, pipes, etc.) and the astute placing of "padiglioni finti" to draw off hostile gun-fire (Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 26) and of cannon firing blank shot in order to deceive a beleaguered garrison (*Verdadera relacion*, 85v).

The Ottomans—over and above guns and ammunition—took with them perforce into the field large supplies of equipment: *e.g.*, pick-axes, shovels, crow-bars, axes, anvils, bellows, timber, ropes, nails of various kinds, cauldrons, stores of pitch, tar, linseed oil and petroleum, of iron and lead, of wool and cotton, quick-match (*fitil*), saltpetre, sacks, hides of oxen, sheep and goats—all relevant to siege warfare (cf., *e.g.*, the supplies gathered for the siege of Candia in 1667-9 (Rās͟hid, i, 204-5) and for the campaign of 1683 against Vienna (Grzegorzewski, 265 ff., nos. 2 and 30; cf. also Ch. Boethius, *Ruhmbelorbter und Triumph-leuchtender Kriegs-Helm*, Nürnberg 1686, i, 153; *Assedio di Vienna ... 1683 ... Racconto Istorico ... di L. A*[nguisciola?], Modena 1684, 77; Cacavelas, 138 ff.; and Zenarolla, 99 ff. for the spoils which fell to the Christians at Vienna in 1683 and at Alba Regalis (Stuhlweissenburg) in 1688). On the munitions that the Ottomans assigned to some of their Hungarian fortresses cf. *Magyarországi Török Kincstári Defterek* (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága. Forditottá Dr. Laszlofalvi Velics Antal), 2 Köt., Budapest 1886-90, i, 189 ff. and ii, 3 ff. (Buda, Gran, Pécs, Siklos, Szeged, etc.) and also Veress, *Gyula Város Oklevéltára*, 452 ff.

The actual investment of a fortress involved the digging of approach trenches (*sîčan yollarî*) vertical to the walls, but sinuous rather than rectilinear, in order to give protection from the fire of the besieged foe; lateral trenches (*meteris*) parallel to the walls branched off from the *sîčan yollarî*; and redoubts ("domus dame") covered with timber and earth had to be constructed on the outer rim of the fosse, over against the glacis of the fortress (de La Feuillade, 45-6, 56; de La Solaye, 325; Marsigli, ii, 138-9). At times ingenious devices seem to have been used for throwing earth excavated from the trenches forward into the fortress ditch (Bosio, iii, 614: Malta in 1565). Bridges or ramps of wooden beams plastered with wet earth as a defence against artificial fire aided the assault forces to cross the ditches and storm the walls (cf., at Rhodes in 1480, Bosio, ii, 327; and, at Malta in 1565, Cirni, 56v, 68r, also Bosio, iii, 547-8, 568, 609-10, 611).

The subterranean mines (*lag͟hîmlar*) hollowed out beneath the walls of a fortress might consist of several galleries each with its terminal chamber, often containing a large amount of gunpowder (cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, viii, 424: a mine with three galleries and three chambers; Naʿīmā, iv, 143: 150 *ḳanṭārs* of powder in a single mine; Montecuculi, 345: "des mines simples, doubles et triples l'une sur l'autre ... très profondes ... de 120 et de 150 barils de poudre et davantage". See also, however, Scheither, 72, who, in writing of the Ottoman mines at Candia in 1667-9, observes that "massen sie nicht den vierdten Theil so viel als die Unserige gesprengt so auch nur Vocaten gewesen und die meisten ohne sonderlichen Schaden abgelauffen"). Numerous data on Ottoman mines are to be found in the sources for the war in Crete (1645-69)—cf. BĀRŪD, 1063; further references in Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 135 ("*pusḳurma barutlu lag͟hîmlar*"); Rās͟hid, i, 143 ("*ḳubūrlar ve pusḳurmalar ve lag͟hîmlar*"); also Bosio, iii, 618-9; J. D. Barovius, *Commentarii de rebus Ungaricis*, in M. G. Kovachich, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum minores hactenus inediti*, Buda 1798, ii, 370; István Szamosközy, *Történeti Maradványai*, ed. Sandor Szilágyi, Masodik Kötet (1598-9), in *Magyar Történelmi Emlékek: Írók*, xxviii (Budapest 1876), 176-7; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, i, 623-4; Marsigli, ii, 37 ff.; and J. B. Schels, *Militär-Verfassung des türkischen Reiches*, in *Oestreichische militärische Zeitschrift* (Zweyte Auflage der Jahrgänge 1811 und 1812, Bd. 2, Vienna 1820), 322-3.

Ottoman siege warfare—practised with remarkable success at Constantinople (1453), at Rhodes (1522) and, although without ultimate triumph, at Malta (1565), all fortresses of vast defensive strength—reached perhaps its culmination in the siege of Candia (1667-9). The techniques exemplified in this siege warfare derived in general from the procedures and methods current in Western Europe, experts of Christian origin holding from the first a vital rôle in

the transmission, to the Ottomans, of the siege lore familiar to the armies of Christendom (cf. BĀRŪD, 1062, 1063-4)—at Candia, *e.g.*, the Dutch, the English and the French did much to bring about the final success of the Ottoman forces (I. Dujčev, *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull'Impero Turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, no. 101), Rome 1935, 159; Brusoni, *Candia*, i, 23: "numero grande d'Ingegnieri Francesi e Fiaminghi"; and N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneziani nel secolo decimosettimo, ser. 5: Turchia*, Venice 1866-71, ii, 231-2: a statement of Giovanni Morosini di Alvise, formerly bailo of Venice at Istanbul, that the bombs and grenades which the English supplied to the Ottomans and which the Dutch, in particular, taught them how to use with the best effect had contributed "sommamente alla caduta di Candia").

The success of the Ottomans at Candia and elsewhere also rested, however, on factors enabling them to excel in the practical and manual aspects of siege-craft such as the digging of trenches and emplacements or the preparation of mines—, *i.e.*, on their command over large resources of human labour (*e.g.*, *ʿazab* troops and levies amongst the local populations) and on the existence, within the empire, of skilled mining communities available for use in war (cf., in general, R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich* (Istanbuler Schriften, nos. 2, 14 and 14a), Istanbul 1943-5; also BĀRŪD, 1063). Of like importance, moreover, was their access to vast quantities of the munitions (gunpowder, metals, timber, etc.) indispensable for siege warfare on the grand scale (cf. *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen*, i, 623).

And yet these factors tended to diminish in value. The 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries saw, in Europe, a rapid development in the art of warfare. There was, through the efforts of men like Vauban, a marked advance in the science of fortification. Austria, having acquired Belgrade in 1718, fortified the town anew. Among the French officers present with the forces of the Sultan before Belgrade in 1739 the common view was that the Ottomans, with their accustomed methods of siege warfare, would not be able to capture the fortress (de Warnery, *Remarques sur le Militaire des Turcs*, Leipzig and Dresden 1770, 51-2). Even more significant was the growth, in Europe, of better techniques for the manufacture of cannon. The disasters which befell the Ottoman armies during the Hungarian war of 1683-99—at the siege of Buda in 1686 no less than on the field of battle as at Zenta in 1697—must be ascribed in no small degree to the effectiveness of the Christian field-guns (cf. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Villars*, ed. de Vogüé, i, Paris 1884, 380, where the Maréchal writes of the Austrians that "leur artillerie de campagne est très belle et très bien servie, et c'est peut-estre ce qui a le plus contribué aus aventages qu'ils ont remportés pendant cette guerre sur les Turcs"). At a later date Maurice de Saxe, bearing in mind perhaps the recent advances in fortification and also the appearance—as in the last phases of the Austrian Succession War (1740-8)—of cannon powerful enough to overcome the new defences (cf. G. von Scharnhorst, *Handbuch für Offiziere, Erster Theil: Artillerie*, Hanover 1804, i, 18), was constrained to observe of fortresses in general that "tous les anciens ne valent rien, les modernes ne valent guère mieux" (Maurice Comte de Saxe, *Mes rêveries*, ed. Pérau, Amsterdam and Leipzig 1757, ii, 11). The old tradition of siege warfare was in fact becoming obsolete. It was imperative that the Ottomans acquire the latest techniques evolved in Europe—but it was also difficult for them to abandon methods which had for long been crowned with great and undeniable success. Of their grave misfortunes in war against Austria and Russia between 1683 and 1792 it can, with justice, be said—as it was indeed said of their operations before Belgrade in 1739—that "ils ne se laissent pas gouverner des Chrétiens, et ne se fient pas assez à eux, pour suivre leurs conseils" (de Warnery, 51-2).

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vi. — INDIA

Walled towns and fortifications had existed in India long before the beginning of the Christian era; they increased in number from the 6th century A.D. onwards because of the lack of a central government, the increasing dominance of the local chieftains, and the peculiar administrative system of the Rād̲j̲pūts, which in many ways resembled the European feudal system. In the north Indian plains, where the ground was level, these fortifications were built on artificial mounds, the earth for which was obtained from the foot of the site, thus providing an enclosure of a ditch or a large pond for the protection of the fort. Thick jungles and impenetrable screens of bamboos made them inaccessible. A number of smaller forts which stood on the route of the march of the G̲h̲aznawid and G̲h̲ūrid armies were levelled to the ground by them while the strongholds of Multān, Thāneswar, Lahore, Delhi, Ḳannawd̲j̲ and Ad̲j̲mēr, which offered stubborn resistance, were blockaded, stormed and captured. In the Deccan, the forts constructed on the precipitous rocky hills or boulderstrewn hills with wide moats defending the curtain were impregnable for the siege engines and the devices of those days. Similarly numerous summits of the hill range running north-east through the south of Rād̲j̲asth̲ān and the hills of Mālwā are provided with strong fortifications, which even in their present condition are most imposing structures.

Strongholds were defended by the garrison from the thick outer walls, at places 31 to 35 feet wide (Bīd̲j̲āpur), with bastions, parapets and battlements. Gateways in some cases were defended by barbicans and loopholed crenellations and machicolations at parapet level (Golkondā). They were provided with strong guard-rooms, which existed at other strategic points. Considerable improvements were made by the Turks and the Mug̲h̲als to the existing fortifications and new ones were also added. Flame-shaped battlements were introduced by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī in the fortified town of Sīrī, lying two miles north-east of Old Delhi, which was built for checking the Mongol invasions. Sultan G̲h̲iyāth̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ made arrangements of defence from three tiers carried all round the walls and bastions in his Tug̲h̲luḳābād. The internal faces of the walls of ʿĀdilābād, built by Sultan Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ, are constructed with continuous wall arcades, which provide ample posts for guards and have the additional advantage of localizing any breach made by the besiegers. Most of the strongholds of the Deccan built under the Bahmanids or their successors were a bulwark against huge armies from the north. The defensive works of Mālwā, when occupied by the provincial dynasties, were further fortified by them and imposing citadels added.

The gateways bore the main brunt of the enemy's onslaught. The curtain walls of hill fortresses are reached by sinuous paths or through long serpentine loops, protected by a strong wall on one side and the precipitous hills on the other. The gateways of the forts on level ground, often eight in number (Fatḥpur Sīkrī), are flanked by a bastion on either side and were defended by two or more tiers of guard rooms or a strong barbican, which in some cases took the form of a large bastion. Forts built on the bank of a river were defended on one side by the river and on the other by ditches with draw-bridges at the gates. Parapets, barbicans, bastions and battlements not suited to the use of artillery were later remodelled to adjust them to artillery fire. The citadels of most of the old fortifications rebuilt by the Muslims are formidable structures with powerful double walls and strongly fortified gates.

Siegecraft offered little scope for the genius of the Turkish or the Mug̲h̲ul method of warfare, which lay more in the active work of attack. It was only as a last resort that the Turks, Mug̲h̲uls or Rād̲j̲pūts took refuge in their strongholds. Even then they did not seek to tire out the patience or the resources of the besiegers but often rushed out to give battle on a slight provocation from the assailants. Generally with no openings near the ground to be battered in, the forts had an almost endless capacity for passive resistance. Even a small garrison could hold out so long as its provisions lasted or it was not demoralized. Fak̲h̲r-i Mudabbir, the earliest Turkish authority, who wrote on warfare under Iletmis̲h̲, attached the utmost importance to the use of stratagem and treachery and to winning over the besieged by promises. S̲h̲ēr K̲h̲ān in his early career obtained possession of Rōhtās (945/1538) by treachery. Bands of soldiers were deputed by the besiegers to ravage the neighbourhood and the garrison was isolated from the outer world by cutting off supplies. Starvation was the one form of siege craft which the garrison was wholly unable to withstand. Scaling-ladders, though of little use against an efficient defence, were the most convenient of all the tools for capturing a fort. Attempts were made to fill the moat round the fort by throwing in stones, logs, sand-bags etc. Rope-ladders and nooses remained in use till the end of the

12th/18th century. Three hundred assailants scaled the ramparts of the Čampānīr fort on a moon-lit night by driving spikes into a smooth surface of the wall of the fort at a place discovered by Humāyūn himself, who had seen a party of grain dealers emerging from the thicket which surrounded the fort (943/1536). Only very active espionage or a sheer stroke of luck saved the garrison from the disastrous consequences of such surprises. Attempts were made to secure entrance by battering a way in with the help of elephants provided with a frontlet of steel, for the outer gates were generally made of very heavy timber about 6 inches thick, plated and studded with sharp iron spikes of different shapes 3 to 13 inches long, arranged in horizontal tiers and further strengthened by large battens behind.

Along with the above devices *pās͟hīb* and *gargad͟j* were constructed by the besiegers to breach the fortress with *mand͟janīḳ*s or *ʿarrāda*s, and later with mortars. The *pās͟hīb* was a raised platform constructed by filling the space between the top of the fort wall and the base of the besieger's camp below, with bags of sand or earth. *Gargad͟j*es were movable towers, such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn used in the siege of Ranthambor. They were similar to the *sarkob* or *muḳābil kob* which Rūmī K͟hān constructed on large boats on the Ganges (945/1538) for battering in the walls of Čunar, as it could not be captured from the parts lying on the land-side. These towers were very strong structures with solid beams covered by raw hides, tiles, or earth to protect them from the liquid combustibles thrown by the garrison. They could be destroyed only by hurling heavy stones or by a sortie. *Sābāṭ*, which is also mentioned by Amīr K͟husraw, "is a word", according to Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bak͟hs͟hī, "used to express two walls, the foundations of which are laid at a distance of about one musket-shot (from the fort), and under the protection of planks, which are fastened together by raw hides, and are made strong, and forming something like a lane are carried to the wall of the fort". Ten horsemen could ride abreast inside the *sābāṭ* which was carried forward from Akbar's battery for the conquest of Čitor (975/1567-8). A man mounted on an elephant and with a spear in his hand could pass inside it. *Mand͟janīḳ*s and *ʿarrāda*s were the engines which the assailants and defenders both used, before they were gradually replaced by artillery, though Akbar during the siege of Asīrgarh used *mand͟janīḳ*s too. They were of different varieties. *Mand͟janīḳ i-ʿarūs* hurled stones in all directions. The *mand͟janīḳ-i dew* (gigantic *mand͟janīḳ*), *mand͟janīḳ-i rawān* (*mand͟janīḳ* which threw missiles briskly), *ʿarrāda-i yak-rūy* (simple *ʿarrāda*), *ʿarrāda-i gardān* (rotating *ʿarrāda*), *ʿarrāda-i k͟hufta* (stationary *ʿarrāda*), *ʿarrāda-i rawān* (*ʿarrāda* throwing missiles briskly) mentioned by Fak͟hr-i Mudabbir are nowhere described and their nature can be guessed only from their names. They worked on the principles of torsion or counterpoise and consisted of two stout posts joined by a double or quadruple set of ropes, which untwisting themselves hurled the rock or ball with a high elliptic trajectory. *Mag͟hribī* was another variety of *mand͟janīḳ* or *ʿarrāda*, and was used by both the besiegers and the besieged. The *Mand͟janīḳ-i ʿarūs* which Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim used in the siege of Dēbal [see DAYBUL] in Sindh (92/711-2) is said to have required five hundred men to work it. The *k͟harak* (drill) was identical with the ram in construction. The workers drew its chain or rope back as far as they could and then released it to dash the sharp iron point against the wall. The *čark͟h*, identical with the ballista, was a magnified form of cross-bow, and was used for discharging heavy bolts and long shafts at objects out of the range of ordinary arrows and spears. The *zambūrak* and *nīm čark͟h* were varieties of the above. The *toda* (heap) ensured a more perfect use of the bows and arrows; mantelets, shields and a temporary wall of planks or earth protected the workers who were employed to work the siege-engines from the fire or stone hurled by the besiegers. *Falāk͟hans* or *gōphans* (slings) were also used for discharging stones and lighter missiles. Other implements required by the besiegers were palisades, fire-shovels, pick-axes and spades. Besides stones, boiling pitch, naphtha and darts were generally used as missiles.

The use of artillery in the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries did not greatly lighten the task of besiegers. At the siege of Čandīrī (934/1528) the stone discharge of the mortar could produce no tangible result. During the assault on Ray Sēn (950/1543) all the brass that could be procured from the bazaar and the tents of the besiegers (pots, dishes and drinking vessels) had to be used for mortars, which bombarded the fort from all directions. Though Akbar had, at the siege of Ranthambor, had *sābāṭ* prepared, fifteen culverins, each of which could discharge boulders weighing five maunds and seven maunds and *haft d͟jos͟h* (made of seven metals) balls, were carried by 500 labourers to the top of the hill and were placed opposite the fort for bombarding the citadel. The defending garrison, along with musket and cannon fire, rolled down large masses of stone from hill fortresses, which bounded along with great velocity and crushed to pieces all those on whom they fell, and the assailants were swept down.

Mining was certainly the most effective of all the devices for capturing a stronghold not situated on solid rocks or high ground. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim sought to demolish the walls of Rāwar Fort in Sindh (92/712) through mining. Amīr Masʿūd had mines sprung at five places in the walls of the fort of Hānsī before it could be stormed (428/1037). The best device which the besieged could employ against mining was to counter-mine and fill up the cavity. Ḳambar Dīwāna, who was besieged in the fort of Badāūn at the end of Humāyūn's reign (962/1555), was able to detect the mine that was being dug from outside the fort by putting his ears to the ground, exactly at the spot where the finishing touches were being given to it by the besiegers, and so thwarted their efforts. Before the invention of gun-powder the cavity was filled with straw, wood and other combustible material. When the beams which supported the cavity were burnt, the wall collapsed into the hole, and a breach was produced. Subsequently the mine was filled with gun-powder and fuses were laid. Often more than one mine was laid to ensure speedy reduction of the fort, but the process was nevertheless fraught with grave risks. At the siege of Čitor (December 1567), Akbar had two mines laid under the bastions which were close to each other. Fire was set to both simultaneously but the match of one, being shorter, exploded earlier, hurling that bastion into the air. The Mug͟huls rushed forward to force their entry through the breach. At that moment, the fire reached the other mine and the second bastion was also blown up, killing a large number of the imperial forces. The countermining done by the officers of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the ruler of Golkondā, proved highly disastrous to the Mug͟huls, who had carried three mines from the siege trenches under the bastion. The garrison quietly abstracted all the powder with the fuses from one

mine and leaving some powder in the other two, filled them with water. The explosion from the two mines caused terrible havoc to the imperial forces, while the firing of the third mine was a fiasco.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited in ḤARB; Anonymous, *Ḥukm-nāma* (Asiatic Society Bengal, Ivanow 1648); Sidney Toy, *The strongholds of India*, London 1957; J. Burton-Page, *A study of fortification in the Indian subcontinent from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century A.D.*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii/3 (1960), 508-22. (S. A. A. RIZVI)

ḤIṢĀR, in Turkish 'castle, fortress, citadel, stronghold', a common component of place-names in Turkey. The best-known are the two castles which control the narrowest point of the Bosphorus [see BOGHAZ-IČI]: on the Asiatic side Anadolu Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*], also called in earlier times Güzel Ḥiṣār ('beautiful castle'), on the European side Rumeli Ḥiṣārī [*q.v.*], also called Boghaz-Kesen ('the barrier of the Bosphorus'). The former, situated between Kandilli and Kanlıca, was built by the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I in 797/1395 in preparation for the siege of Constantinople which he was planning; the latter, situated between Bebek and Emirgân, was built by Meḥemmed II in 856/1452 at the beginning of his reign and for the same purpose, to block the passage through the Bosphorus of grain ships from the Crimea.

Ḥiṣār is further found as a component of numerous place-names in Anatolia, notably: Karacahisar, a ruined site south of Eskişehir; Afyonkarahisar ('Opium black castle'), in earlier times also Ḳara-ḥiṣār-i Ṣāḥib (so called after the Seldjūḳ vizier Fakhr al-Dīn); Şebinkarahisar ('Alum black castle') in north-east Anatolia (in the *vilâyet* of Giresun); Develikarahisar (*vil.* Kayseri); Güzelhisar Aydın (nowadays called only Aydın, chef-lieu of the *vilâyet*), the ancient Tralles; Akhisar ('White castle', *vil.* Manisa); Koçhisar ('Rams' castle', near Tuz gölü, *vil.* Ankara); Eski Hisar, a ruined castle near Gebze, which occupies the site of the ancient Lybissa; Koyulhisar on the Kelkit (*vil.* Sivas); Sivrihisar ('Pointed castle', *vil.* Eskişehir); Uchisar ('Frontier castle') and Ortahisar ('Middle castle'), places in the cave-district of Ürgüp-Göreme (*vil.* Kayseri). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions (ii, 269 = tr. Gibb, ii, 424) a Ḳulḥiṣār (*i.e.*, probably Gölḥiṣār, 'Lake castle') in the district around Egridir, but the exact location is not known; in older sources there frequently appears mention of a place Ḳaraḥiṣār-i Behrāmshāh (F. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, index), which must have been situated in the bend of the Halys (Kızıl Irmak) in central Anatolia; Yarhisar, not far from Bilecik, is mentioned in the early Ottoman chronicles.

In Rumeli was Aladja Ḥiṣār, the Ottoman name for Kruševac in Yugoslavia. Hisarcık ('Little castle') is a village near Alacam (*vil.* Samsun); Hisarlık in the *vilâyet* of Çanakkale marks the site of Troy.

(CL. HUART-[FR. TAESCHNER])

ḤIṢĀR, main town of a district in Transoxania, is situated on the Khānaka, a tributary of the Kāfirnihān, 675 metres above sea level, in a fertile but humid and unhealthy region, bounded by the Zarafshān and the Ḳîzîl Ṣu (cf. Cleinow and R. Olzscha, *Turkestan*, Heidelberg 1942, 187; illustration of the town at the beginning of the 19th century in Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg/Br. 1900, 233).

At the time of the Arab conquest of Transoxania early in the 2nd/8th century, the place was called Shūmān and constituted a small independent principality, which later came under the rule of Čaghāniyan [*q.v.*] (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 74, 185). In early Islamic times, the place was well known for its cultivation of saffron, which was widely exported (Iṣṭakhrī, 298 = Ibn Ḥawḳal, 477; Muḳaddasī, 284, 289 f.). The inhabitants were considered prosperous, but unruly and inimical to stable government; this was a matter of some seriousness, since Shūmān remained for centuries a last bulwark against the Turks of Central Asia (Yāḳūt, iii, 337 = Beirut ed. 1957, iii, 373 f., s.v. Shūmān; also, *ibid.*, iii, 88, iv, 196). At this period Ḥiṣār was smaller than Tirmidh [*q.v.*] and formed one community with Wāshgird.

It was only at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, in the time of Tīmūr [*q.v.*], that the name Shūmān was replaced by that of Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān, or simply Ḥiṣār(ak). This name has survived ever since. In the middle of the 8th/14th century Ḥiṣār had a local Beg (*amīr*), and later became one of Tīmūr's armouries (*zarrādkhāna*) ('Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Iláhdád, Calcutta 1885-88, ii, 49, 52, 450, 452, 464; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1956, ii, 14). Thereafter Ḥiṣār formed part of the territory ruled by the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], amongst whom Maḥmūd Mīrzā (873/1469-899/1494), a son of Abū Sa'īd, was particularly outstanding. His influence extended as far as the Hindū Kūsh (*Bābur-nāma*, ed. A. S. Beveridge, *GMS*, i, 26 b, 56b). During the battles which raged repeatedly back and forth between Bābur and the Shaybānids [*q.v.*], Ḥiṣār was greatly devastated in the winter of 917/1511-12; starvation drove the people to cannibalism, and only 600 inhabitants are said to have survived (*Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Denison Ross, 260-3). After the collapse of the Shaybānids Ḥiṣār fell into the hands of the Turkmen tribe of Yüz and—like four other *begliks*—was able to maintain what was to all intents and purposes an independent position in relation to the *Amīrs* of Bukhārā. The town was at this time surrounded by strong walls. Only after the Russian conquest of Bukhārā in 1868 was the town (transcribed in Russian *Gissar*) and its hinterland really subject to the *Amīrs*. Nevertheless the district continued to be an independent province, in which Özbeks, Tādjīks (on the mountain slopes) and gipsies lived (Schwarz, 47). It enclosed the southern part of the Amīrate of Bukhārā on the lower reaches of the Wakhsh and on the Kāfirnihān, and had its own governors, these being at times princes of the ruling family. The region was first opened up for scientific investigation by a Russian expedition in 1875. The last of its governors, Ibrāhīm Beg, of the Tādjīk tribe of Lakai, remained loyal to his overlord even after the overthrow of the dynasty by the Bolsheviks in 1920, and defended Ḥiṣār against them until 1923. Then in 1926 he retreated through Tādjīkistān to Afghānistān (A. Z. V. Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili*, Istanbul 1942-7, 206, 255 f., 438 f., 466 f.; B. Hayit, *Turkestan*, Darmstadt 1956, 182, 519). Since 1924 Ḥiṣār has formed part of Tādjīkistān (a Republic of the USSR from 1929). The ancient saffron industry has died out. In the 19th century corn and flax were the principal crops. In the 20th century there was a substantial production of silk and silk poplin, and of cutlery. The southern border of the *beglik* of Ḥiṣār extended to the Alai mountains; thus the southern watershed of the Zarafshān valley acquired the name of Ḥiṣār mountains (with elevations of up to 5700 m.).

Bibliography (further to works mentioned in the text): Le Strange, 440; Spuler, *Iran*, index; P.P. Ivanov, *Očerki po istorii Srednej Azii* (*XVI—sered. XIX v.*) (*Sketches of the history of Central Asia, from the 16th to the mid-19th centuries*),

Moscow 1958; W. Leimbach, *Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 40, 72 (mountains); Brockhaus-Efron, *Enciklop. Slovar*, viii A = 16, 764 f. (also mountains and exploration); *BSE*[2], xi (1952), 441 f. (contour map, with illustrations). (B. SPULER)

HİSAR, ʿABD AL-ḤAḲ(Ḳ) SHINĀSĪ (mod. Turkish Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar), 1888-1963, Turkish writer, born in Rumelihisarı, a summer village on the European shores of the Bosphorus. His family were of the upper-class Ottoman Civil Service. His father Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn was an enlightened modernist of his day having had two years' education in Paris and being the editor of various literary magazines, particularly of *Khazīne-i Ewrāḳ*, to which leading writers of the Tanẓīmāt School and their followers contributed. An ardent supporter of modernism, he named his eldest son ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Shināsī, a combination of the names of the pioneer Tanẓīmāt writers (Ibrāhīm) Shināsī and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳ Ḥāmid [*qq.v.*]. (His second son Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, 1891-1945, was the author of well-documented books on the history of the Turkish theatre and printing).

Abdülhak's mother was a descendant of Ottoman pashas. Her grand-father was the last commander of the Fortress of Belgrade. His childhood was spent in turn in their *yalı* at Rumelihisarı, or on Büyükada, the island resort of the Marmara, and on the slopes above Çamlıca, where he witnessed all the fading splendour of the Ottoman upper-classes at the turn of the century, which he was later to evoke so vividly in most of his works. In 1894 he went to Beirut to join his father, temporarily exiled there by the Sultan as Director of Education, because of his progressive ideas. Abdülhak was put in the charge of a French governess, who later accompanied the family back to Istanbul. The young Abdülhak was educated at the Imperial Lycée of Galatasaray, where most of the teaching was in French. In 1905, like many of his contemporaries, he escaped to Paris where he made friends with many of the Young Turks there and became acquainted with French poets and writers of the day, and for three years attended the courses of the École Libre des Sciences Politiques.

On the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, like most exiles, he returned to Istanbul; thereafter he devoted himself to literature, making his living as an employee in various foreign and Turkish private firms.

From the 1930's onwards he accepted various Government posts in Ankara, mainly in an advisory capacity, on foreign affairs. He retired in 1948 and settled in an apartment in Beyoğlu (his *yalı* in Rumelihisarı had been burnt down in the 1920's). He died in 1963.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar is, in many ways, a very unusual writer. Although he started his career as a poet at the end of the First World War and wrote many critical articles and essays, he was appreciated only among a limited circle. By 1920 his contemporaries had already made their names as novelists or poets. But in 1941, at the age of 53, he swept to fame overnight, upon the publication of his first novel *Fahim Bey ve biz*.

Apart from many essays, short stories and articles published in various newspapers and reviews, particularly in *Ileri*, *Dergāh*, *Yeni Mecmua*, *Akşam*, *Varlık*, *Türk Yurdu* (New Series), most of which have not yet been collected in book-form, he is the author of the following works: (1) *Fahim Bey ve biz* (1941), German tr. by Fr. von Rummel *Unser gute Fahim Bey* (Copenhagen 1954), French tr. by B. de Siyèves (Paris 1961). It won third prize for the best novel competition in 1942 (the first prize went to Halide Edib, the second to Yakub Kadri). This is a powerful character study of an Istanbul type at the turn of the century, a weak, inefficient and dreamy civil servant turned businessman, who is an utter failure in real life but who lives in an imaginary world where he realizes his dreams; (2) *Boğaziçi mehtapları* ('The moonlight on the Bosphorus' 1942), an evocative description and detailed narrative of the traditional moonlight processions of rowing-boats on the Bosphorus, originating in the 17th century, which consisted of Oriental music and serenades and which were held on three or four occasions each summer; (3) *Çamlıcadaki eniştemiz* ('Our brother-in-law at Çamlıca' 1944), a series of sketches loosely connected in the form of a novel about life on the Çamlıca hillside overlooking Istanbul and the Bosphorus, with picturesque descriptions of landscape and the character study of a strange man with Oriental tastes and habits, his superstitions and love affairs in a Tanẓīmāt villa, which comes to life with all its decor, furniture and people; (4) *Ali Nizami Beyin alafrangalığı ve şeyhliği* (1952), the story of a young westernizing snob, a bon-vivant who in the early 1900's, after spending a reckless life in the cosmopolitan society of Büyükada, ruins himself and becomes unbalanced, ending up as a Bektashi 'Baba' in a tumble-down 'convent' on Çamlıca Hill; (5) *Boğaziçi yalıları* (1954), a description of these typical summer residences on the Bosphorus and the care-free and relaxed life of the Ottoman upper-classes in them, with personal reminiscences of some of the most famous sea-side villas of the period; (6) *Aşk imiş her ne var âlemde* (1955): the title is taken from the famous couplet of Fuḍūlī: *ʿAshḳ imish her ne var ʿālemde/ʿIlm bir ḳīl u ḳāl imish andjaḳ* ('[I realized at last that] everything in the world is nothing but Love, and Learning is but gossip'), an anthology of popular quotations (single verses or couplets) mainly from *dīwān* poets on topics of love, beauty, wine, separation, etc.; (7) *Geçmiş zaman köşkleri* (1956), the description of some typical old Ottoman villas where the author had lived as a child in Büyük ada and Çamlıca and his reminiscences about the life, customs, people and setting of these villas; (8) *Geçmiş zaman fıkraları* (1958), a collection of anecdotes, mostly humorous, on the Ottoman period, covering mostly the 19th century; (9) *Istanbul ve Pierre Loti* (1958), a guide with bibliography to the well-known French Turcophile writer's works on Turkey, his life among the Turks and the memories associated with him; (10) *Yahya Kemal'e veda* ('Farewell to Yahya Kemal', 1959) and (11) *Ahmed Haşim* (1963), the author's personal reminiscences and appreciation of these two leading poets, who were his contemporaries and with whom he was closely associated.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar's complete works are now (1966) being published by the Istanbul publishers Varlık.

Bibliography: S. S. Uysal, *Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar*, Istanbul 1961; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*[3], Istanbul 1966; Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve edebiyat hatıraları*, in *Hayat*, August 1965 (valuable new data on Hisar's youth, which shed light on his later work). (FAHİR İZ)

ḤIṢĀR FĪRŪZA, (now simply known as Ḥiṣār; Anglo Indian: Hissār), a citadel town in the Indian Pandjāb, situated in 29° 10′ N. and 75° 44′ E. on the railway from Lahore to Delhi via Bhaṭṭinda

[*q.v.*]. It is the headquarters of the district, of the same name, which lies in a dry sandy plain, known from ancient times as Harīāna. It was founded by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (reigned 752/1351-790/1388) in 757/1356, after whom it takes its name, on the site of two villages known as Kadās Buzurg and Kadās Khwurd (cf. Shams Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1891, 24), close to the deserted town of Agrōha, which had been depopulated by the terrible famine of 736/1335. Frequented by merchants and travellers from ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān on their way to Delhi, it was irrigated by two canals, cut by the orders of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ from the Ghaggar, which flows past Ambāla [*q.v.*], and the Djamuna. One of these canals still exists and is known as the Western Djamuna Canal. The fortress, surrounded by a lofty wall built by Fīrūz Shāh, came to be originally known as the Ḥiṣār-i Fīrūzābād, with a large tank within the enclosure, which drained off into a moat girdling the citadel. It soon grew into a large and prosperous town with palaces, mansions and kiosks and residential blocks constructed by the various nobles and grandees of the kingdom. It took 2½ years to build, with fruit and vegetable gardens laid out all over the city. In 809/1407 it was captured by Khiḍr Khān, the Sayyid governor of Multān, who had rebelled against Maḥmūd Tughluḳ (*reg.* for the second time, 801/1399-815/1413), but was recovered in 811/1408 by the sultan in person. In 817/1414, on Khiḍr Khān's proclaiming himself king of Delhi, Dawlat Khān Lōdī (*reg.* 815/1413-817/1414), the deposed ruler, was held here as a prisoner. It remained in the possession of the Sayyid dynasty till *ca.* 840/1436, when it was seized by Buhlūl Lōdī from Muḥammad Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi (*reg.* 837/1434-847/1444). It was in this town, where his father Ḥasan Khān was stationed as a private soldier in the employ of the local *djāgīrdār*, that Farīd Khān (*scil.* Shēr Shāh Sūr) was born (cf. ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Shēr Shāhī*, Dacca 1964, 9). Early in 933/1526 it fell to Bābur's army under Humāyūn, who defeated the Lōdī *shiḳḳdār*, Ḥamīd Khān, with a great slaughter of his troops. It was later assigned by the emperor to Humāyūn for his maintenance, and he, soon after his accession to the throne, formally bestowed it on his brother Kāmrān, who had seized it (cf. *Indian Antiquary*, cliii (1941), 219-24). It was, however, resumed by Humāyūn and assigned to Shams al-Dīn Atka, the foster-father of Akbar, for the maintenance of the young prince. Under Akbar it was constituted into a separate *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī; comprising 27 *maḥalls*, it yielded an annual revenue of 52,554,905 *dāms*. A well-known centre of horse- and cattle-breeding, it supplied *ghee* (clarified butter) for the imperial kitchens. Long a place of strategic importance, it remained a mint-town where copper coins were struck during the rule of Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh and Akbar [*q.v.*]. Towards the closing years of Awrangzīb's reign Nawwāb Shāhdād Khān, a Khweshgī Paṭhān of Ḳaṣūr [*q.v.*], was the *nāẓim* of the *sarkār* of Ḥiṣār, and under his rule, from 1119/1707 to 1150/1737, peace and prosperity prevailed. It was sacked and ravaged by Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*] in 1152/1739, during his victorious march to Delhi, and on his withdrawal to Iran it became the scene of a triangular sanguinary struggle between the rising Sikh power of the Pandjāb, the local Bhaṭṭī Rādjpūts and the enfeebled Delhi empire. During this anarchical period it was held by the Nawwābs of Farrukhnagar (district Guṛgāon), who ruled as the vassals of the Mughal emperor till 1175/1761. As a result of the marauding raids of Ālā Singh Djāṭ, the founder of the former princely state of Paṭiāla, it suffered heavily and was badly sacked in 1171/1757. By 1188/1774 after many encounters with the imperial troops, it passed into the possession of the chief of Paṭiāla, Amar Singh. On his death in 1197/1781 it reverted to the Mughals, in accordance with an agreement reached between the Sikhs and the Delhi government. After the devastating famine of 1198/1783 it relapsed into anarchy and was seized in 1212/1797 by a European military adventurer, George Thomas, who held it for three years and built a fort named Georgegaṛh (corrupted by the illiterate local people into Djāhdj), for consolidating his gains. However, in 1217/1802 he had to surrender it finally to the Marāṭhas under Sindhia's French general Perron. The very next year the Marāṭhas had to vacate it in favour of the British, who took another 15 years firmly to establish their rule. During the military uprising of 1857 the district was badly disturbed; all the Europeans who could not escape were murdered and Ḥiṣār was temporarily lost to the British. After the Mutiny, peace was restored and Ḥisār was made a part of the newly-formed province of the Pandjāb. During the disturbances that occurred in the wake of Partition, the entire Muslim population of the district migrated to Pakistan. A famous centre of cattle-raising, the stud-bulls of Ḥiṣār are in great demand for breeding purposes. The only antiquity of note is the fortress built by Fīrūz Shāh, which is now in a sad state of neglect and disrepair.

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ḤISBA, non-Ḳurʾānic term which is used to mean on the one hand the duty of every Muslim to "promote good and forbid evil" and, on the other, the function of the person who is effectively entrusted in a town with the application of this rule in the supervision of moral behaviour and more particularly of the markets; this person entrusted with the *ḥisba* was called the *muḥtasib*. There seems to exist

no text which states explicitly either the reason for the choice of this term or how the meanings mentioned above have arisen from the idea of "calculation" or "sufficiency" which is expressed by the root.

i.—General: Sources, Origins, Duties.

The duality in the meaning of *ḥisba* is the reason why information on it is found in such a diversity of sources. Apart from the allusions to *muḥtasibs* which can be found in chronicles, biographical dictionaries, etc., information on one meaning of *ḥisba* is found in all that has been written on public morality and against *bidaʿ* (such as the *Madkhal* of Ibn Ḥādjdj), and in all that has been written on trade or commercial law. We shall limit ourselves here to mentioning those works of which *ḥisba*, in one or the other of its meanings, is the primary and formal subject. They can be divided broadly into two categories, which do, however, overlap to a certain extent. Some works deal in a general way with the content of the virtue of *ḥisba*, the obligations arising from it for the *muḥtasib*, and the religious and juridical aspects of his office; the others set out mainly to enlighten the *muḥtasib* on the practical and technical details of the supervision which he must exercise; and, since this supervision applied principally to the various crafts and trades, these works are practical guides to the administrative control of the professions. We shall attempt to give a detailed list of the latter works, whereas for the former a very general mention will suffice.

The works which include a general examination of the *ḥisba* are in fact very numerous, but it is remarkable that they first appear only in the 5th/11th century, *i.e.*, two centuries after the appearance of the office. The two principal works are *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* of al-Māwardī, ch. xx, chiefly juridical (which, however, refers, though sometimes to refute it, to an earlier treatise by the Shāfiʿī *muḥtasib* of Baghdād at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭakhrī), and the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī, ii, 269 f., which is chiefly moral. Among the other writers there should be mentioned the early and Spanish Ibn Ḥazm (*al-Faṣl fi 'l-milal*, iv, 171 f.); and then, later: under the Mamlūks, the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Risāla fi 'l-ḥisba*, cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur ... Ibn Taymiyya*, index), al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, vi), Ibn Djamāʿa, al-Subkī (*Muʿīd al-niʿam*), al-Ḳalḳashandī, al-Maḳrīzī, etc.; in Central Asia, the *Niṣāb fi 'l-iḥtisāb* of al-Sināmī (?), the title of which refers to the author's own position as *muḥtasib* (7th/13th century?), and which, to judge by the number of manuscripts (cf. K. ʿAwād, in *RAAD*, xvii (1942), 433 f.), must have had a considerable success in Irano-Turkish countries; and in the West, the *Muḳaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 31.

The works in the second category are of a different type. As has been said, they are not only devoted to the technical details of the supervision which must be exercised, particularly over the trades, but they are treatises intended specifically for the *muḥtasib*, and, while they are of course in agreement with the Law, are of an administrative and not a juridical character. The *Aḥkām al-Sūḳ* of the Mālikī of Ifrīḳiya, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (second half of the 3rd/9th century) is often considered as the oldest work of this type (the basic text, surviving in a later compilation, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī, in *RIEEI*, iv (1956); Spanish tr. by E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, xxii (1957); two complete direct manuscripts exist in Tunisia: Zaytūna 3137, and one in a private collection); but, apart from the fact that the word *ḥisba* is not mentioned in it, it is in fact more a chapter consisting of a collection of juridical consultations on the *sūḳ* etc. than an administrative treatise for the use of the *muḥtasib*. A little nearer to the genre with which we are concerned, and containing the word *ḥisba*, is the Zaydī manual published by R. B. Serjeant, in *RSO*, xxviii (1953) (composed *ca* 300/910); it is probably not accidental that a treatise of this sort was produced among the Zaydīs, who attached such importance to the precise interpretation of the Law, but its contents suffer from the backwardness of the economic and social situation of Ṭabaristān within the framework of which it was conceived.

There exists no real treatise of *ḥisba* in the exact meaning of the word until the end of the 5th/11th century in the West (particularly in Spain) and the end of the 6th/12th century in the East (Syria and Egypt); none has been recorded earlier than these or in any other countries. Those which are known are the following:

(A) In the West: The *K. fī ādāb al-ḥisba* of al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga (about 500/1100; ed. E. Lévi-Provençal and G. S. Colin, in *JA*, 1931) and the *Risāla fi 'l-ḳaḍā wa 'l-ḥisba* of Ibn ʿAbdūn of Seville (6th/12th century, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *JA*, 1934; reprinted in his *Trois traités hispaniques de hisba*, 1955; with Fr. tr. by E. Lévi-Provençal in *Séville Musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*, 1947; Spanish tr. in collaboration with García Gómez, *Sevilla musulmana*..., 1948; Italian tr. by F. Gabrieli, in *Rend. Lin.*, 6th series, xi, 1935). Next, in the same *Trois traités*..., come Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf and al-Djarsīfī, Fr. tr. by Rachel Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i (1960), Engl. tr. of the former by G. M. Wickens, in *IQ*, iii (1956) (but see J.D. Latham in *JSS*, v (1960), 124 f.). The following are partly in the genre of a treatise on *ḥisba* and partly in that of *nawāzil*—juridical consultations: the chapter *ḥisba* in the *Tanbīh al-ḥukkām fi 'l-aḥkām*, of Ibn al-Munāṣif (563-620/1168-1223), MS Zaytūna 1919, and the *Tuḥfa* of Muḥammad al-ʿUḳbānī of Tlemcen, Zaytūna 2978 and 6234, Algiers 1353, analysed by Muḥammad Talbī, *Quelques données sur la vie sociale en Occident au XVe siècle*, in *Arabica*, i (1954).

(B) In the East: Several eastern treatises, slightly more substantial than those of the West, have as their prototype the *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1193) (ed. with Fr. tr. under the name of Nabrawi by Bernhauer, *Les institutions de police chez les Arabes*..., in *JA*, 1860-61; good modern ed. by al-ʿArīnī, Cairo 1946); these are, first, the longer treatise of the same title by Ibn Bassām (7th/13th century, composed in Syria or Egypt), analysed by Cheikho in *al-Mashriḳ*, x (1907), and, still more detailed, the *Maʿālim al-ḳurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba* by the Egyptian Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (beginning of the 8th/14th century, ed. with abridged Engl. tr. by R. Levy, *GMS*, N.S. xii (1938)); then a series of other works, the majority of which are apparently only worked-over editions of the works just mentioned, sometimes attributed to false authors (al-Māwardī), but the manuscripts of which, being still unpublished and not studied, cannot at present be classified: see the articles by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *JA*, ccxiii (1938) and K. ʿAwād, in *RAAD*, xviii (1943) and, for the *K. al-Ḥisba* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), the note by Ḥabīb Zayyāt in *al-Khizāna al-Sharḳiyya*, ii (1937), 112. For the

Zaydīs see R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasburg 1912, 90 ff.

In addition to these treatises, there exist some diplomas of appointment of *muḥtasib*s, which have not received the attention they deserve: one, from the 4th/10th century, included in the *inshā'* collection of the *Ṣāḥib* Ibn ʿAbbād, 39, others, Irano-Turkish of the 6th/12th century, in the *Rasā'il* of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt, 80, and the *K. ʿAtabat al-kataba* (in Persian) of Muntadjab al-Dīn Badīʿ Atābek al-Djuvaynī, Tehran 1329s., 82 ff., and finally others, from Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Syria and Egypt, in the correspondence of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (see *BSOAS*, xiv/i, 38) and the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳashandī, x, 460 (by the *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil), xii, 339, and extracts *passim*; probably many others could be found.

Such are the sources on which a study of the *ḥisba* can be based. In its broad sense this is therefore the obligation incumbent in principle on every Muslim to promote good and to combat evil. He may do this in the normal course of events by information and remonstrance,more particularly by legal intervention, and, in special circumstances, in the case of absence of public authority, by constraint if he is able to do so—even, according to Ibn Ḥazm, in the case of a public authority which is not valid, by revolt against it. In reality the obligation is only theoretical, subordinate to the duty of the Muslim to do as well as possible in the situation, and he is forbidden to set himself up in place of the public authority when this exists. The idea of *ḥisba*, therefore, although it can play a certain rôle in social behaviour, has in practice only an insignificant influence and it is difficult to understand in what conditions its theory nevertheless developed.

The origin, apparently very old, of the office of *ḥisba* is no clearer. Originally neither the word *ḥisba* nor *muḥtasib* was used, but instead the term *ṣāḥib* (or *ʿāmil*) *al-sūḳ* for the latter. Thus there are two questions: that of the origin of the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* and that of his transformation into the *muḥtasib*. It is generally admitted that the former was the successor of the *agoranomos* of the Hellenistic cities: his duties were broadly similar and the Arabic expression can be seen as a translation of the Greek term. However, there exists no record of the *agoranomos* in the Greek inscriptions for three hundred years before the Arab conquest (Pauly-Wissowa; West and Johnson, *Byzantine Egypt*, 1955, index), and it is possible that both the office and the name were introduced in the Muslim period without there being any connexion: the name may have survived in popular use (as is suggested by its appearance in the Talmud), and the old towns probably retained their early institutions, whatever they may have been, but this is no reason to insist that at Baṣra, Kūfa, etc., which (like Mecca and Medina) had their *sūḳ*, a *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* could not have appeared without inspiration from outside.

However this may be, about the time of the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, the *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* was replaced by the *muḥtasib*, a name which until then had been used only of a private individual who practised the virtue of *ḥisba*. This change in nomenclature evidently took place within the framework of the Islamization of institutions carried out by the ʿAbbāsids, particularly during the period of the Muʿtazila; but it is difficult to tell to what extent there really took place a transformation in the spirit and the content of the office of *ḥisba*. The change having occurred in the East after the split in the Muslim world between East and West, the title of *ṣāḥib al-sūḳ* remained predominant in the Maghrib and in Spain, where the idea of *ḥisba* was adopted primarily by the lawyers (explicit reference to this is found in Ibn Bashkuwal, and many examples, among others, in the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī). But from the time that it is possible to describe the details of the office, there appears no great difference between the two halves of the Muslim world.

The classical *muḥtasib* then was characterized by the integration of his task as controller of the market within the wider duty, basically religious, of maintaining the seemly ordering of social life.

The division between his duties and those of the *ḳāḍī* and the chief of the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] was not strictly defined, and the difference lay, in certain matters, less in their intrinsic nature than in the method by which they were approached: the *ḳāḍī* judged matters concerning which there had been a complaint and held an inquiry to discover the truth, and the *shurṭa* intervened over offences and crimes which demanded police action; the *muḥtasib*, on the other hand, concerned himself only with obvious and incontestable facts: he did not hold an inquiry, but intervened of his own accord, without waiting for a complaint. The questions with which he had to concern himself were in general decided at a fairly early date by a usage which has scarcely varied up to the present day; none of them was purely formal but it goes without saying that, apart from the affairs of the *sūḳ*, the way in which he carried out some of his obligations depended very much on the social background and on his own personal character. Apart from the *sūḳ*, they can be divided into three groups: the *muḥtasib* had to supervise the performance of religious obligations (public attendance at the Prayer, the proper use and upkeep of the mosques), the propriety of the behaviour between the sexes in the streets (and at the baths), and finally the application of discriminatory measures against the *dhimmī*s. And cases are cited of a courageous *muḥtasib*'s even criticizing *ḳāḍī*s who had judged wrongly or denouncing doctors guilty of teaching which did not conform with the *idjmāʿ*.

As far as the public is concerned however the basic and permanent duty of the *muḥtasib* was the control of the *sūḳ*. This duty above all came to be formally defined right from the beginning in the diploma of nomination: he had to check the weights and measures which, being so complex and diverse, readily permitted fraud. More generally, he had to watch for and combat all the types of shortcomings and dishonesty which could arise both in the manufacture and in the sale of commodities (and on which there exists—apart from the consideration given to them in *fiḳh*—a whole specialist literature, the best known example of which is the *Kashf al-asrār* of al-Djawbarī, 7th/13th century). The manuals of *ḥisba* in the strict sense list then the principal trades, and for each of them provide the *muḥtasib* with the technical information which enables him to test the quality of the products and to trace malpractices or bad workmanship—all of this being most important documentation for the study of economic conditions. The *muḥtasib* might even, when there existed no special officer in charge of this, test the genuineness of coins. In addition he had to ensure that merchants and agents did not resort to dissimulation, nor use practices calculated to deceive the customer over the merchandize or the price charged for it. He also made sure, from the point of view of the law, that the merchants did not

indulge in any operation which was connected with the prohibited practice of usury (*ribā*). His competence extended even to professions which we should not nowadays normally consider as being connected with the *sūḳ*: he thus controlled apothecaries and physicians, and in the schools warned or punished any masters who were excessively severe. The *muḥtasib* did not go beyond the limits of the town however, and consequently the *tudjdjār*, or traders with other districts, did not come under his control.

There is one point concerning this economico-moral activity which should be stressed in relation to the economic traditions of Islam: the *muḥtasib* checked prices but he did not normally have power to fix them. He reprimanded and even punished the merchant whose prices were higher than the accepted rate and, particularly in periods of scarcity, he dealt severely with hoarding; but the Law considers that prices are determined by God, *i.e.* are beyond the scope of human authorities. In a period of famine, however, at the end of the Middle Ages, there was a growing tendency to official price fixing [see NARKH, TASʿĪR].

Linked with these tasks was another which has caused modern scholars to stress the view that the traditions of antiquity concerning the councillors of the town were perpetuated in the duties of the *muḥtasib*. He had to ensure that, in the building and repair of houses and in the erection of shops, nothing was done which was prejudicial to public safety or which impeded the passage of pedestrians or vehicles. He was responsible for the cleansing of the streets and, if necessary, for the repair of the city walls, for ensuring the supply and regular distribution of water, etc... All these are duties which have sometimes caused the *muḥtasib* to be considered as a (and in Islam the only) municipal official: however he was no more one than was the *ḳāḍī* by nature of his office, since he was not appointed by any urban or professional organization; yet in fact he was concerned specifically and exclusively with urban matters.

The *muḥtasib* was appointed by the State, sometimes directly, more often through the governors or the *ḳāḍīs*, to whom it delegated officially the function of *ḥisba*, not, in principle, in order that they should perform it themselves, but so that they might ensure that it was carried out. The *muḥtasib* had to be a man known for his moral integrity and for his competence in matters concerning the Law; he was therefore usually a *faḳīh*, but, although this was less often insisted upon, the experience of professional life which he had to have caused him also to be chosen when possible from among the merchants. In any case, in the division of occupations into political and religious, the *ḥisba*, like the post of *ḳāḍī*, was a *dīniyya* office. The recruitment for and the performance of this office presented difficulties concerning the sphere and the methods of action of the *muḥtasib*. In cases where he was unable personally to supervise a large area he designated for each trade an *amīn* or *ʿarīf* belonging to that profession; in addition, he had a number of subordinate officers who enabled him to be represented rapidly anywhere, to summon delinquents, etc. Nevertheless these methods were rarely adequate, and it was essential for there to be collaboration between the *muḥtasib*, the *ḳāḍī* and the *shurṭa*. For the same reason it often happened that there were joined together in the same person either the offices of *ḳāḍī* and *muḥtasib* or of *ḥisba* and *shurṭa*; in spite of the breadth of his field of action and the religious quality of his office, the *muḥtasib* was in general considered as a specialist subordinate of the *ḳāḍī*, and the recruitment of the holders of *ḥisba* was made from among persons of lesser importance, the post being less esteemed than that of *ḳāḍī* (for which it sometimes served as a preliminary step).

In the majority of Muslim states the *muḥtasib* of the capital was invested with a certain responsibility for the supervision of those of the provincial towns. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the caliph al-Nāṣir, within the framework of his general policy of a theoretical and religious unification of Islam under his own guidance, tried to establish, at least in the Near East, a general control over the *ḥisba*, which however did not really materialize (see *Oriens*, vi (1953), 21).

The penalties which the *muḥtasib* could inflict without resort to other juridical authorities were normally, after a reprimand, beating and a parade in disgrace through the streets; incorrect weights and measures and faulty products might be confiscated; in exceptional cases, repeated offenders might be forbidden to continue to exercise their profession or even be banished.

At the end of the Middle Ages, with the economic decline and the social crises then existing, the office of *muḥtasib* often declined in esteem. Under the Mamlūks, it was, like other offices, obtained by payment, the purchaser recouping himself from the merchants by means of illegal taxes. There were frequent quarrels between the candidates, an example being the well-known one between al-Maḳrīzī and al-ʿAynī; and it sometimes happened that, for mercenary reasons or out of concern for efficiency, the post was given, against all tradition, to a member of the military class.

The *muḥtasib* continued to exist throughout the greater part of the Muslim world until the reforms of the modern period; he still existed for example at the beginning of the 20th century in Morocco and at Bukhārā. From the Saldjūḳid period, in Irano-Turkish territory and occasionally elsewhere, the office was more usually called *iḥtisāb*, the name of *ḥisba* being reserved for the virtue which the holder must exhibit (see next section). The Latin East which arose from the Crusades adopted it in a limited and lay form called the "mathessep".

Bibliography: The sources and the modern works about them have been mentioned in the article. There is as yet no general and thorough study of the subject as a whole. The main work, chiefly juridical, is that of E. Tyan in the final chapter of his *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en Islam*, ii, 1943, together with the reviews of it by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Journal des Savants*, 1947, J. Sauvaget, in *JA*, ccxxxvi (1948), 309-11, and J. Schacht, in *Orientalia*, xvii (1948), 518. See also the prefaces by E. Lévi-Provençal and Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī to their editions and the recent restatement by J. Schacht in his *Introduction to Islamic Law*[2], 1966, index, and bibliography pp. 231-2. There is a useful chapter by A. Darrag in *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, 1961, 76-82. N. Ziyāda, *al-Ḥisba wa 'l-muḥtasib fi 'l-Islām*, 1963, is of value chiefly as a collection of texts. Imāmuddīn, *al-Ḥisba in Spain*, in *IC*, 1963, gives biographies of Andalusian *muḥtasibs*. See also the article *muḥtasib* in *EI*[1] (R. Levy). The works devoted to the Muslim town of course mention the *muḥtasib*; they cannot all be cited here but from our point of view there should be mentioned especially G. Marçais, *Con-*

sidérations sur la ville musulmane et le muhtasib, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vi (1954), and the excellent monograph by R. Le Tourneau on Fez. For Bukhārā, P. I. Petrov, *Bukharskiy mukhtasib*, in *Problemî Vostokovedeniya*, 1959/1, 139-42. On the Latin East, Cl. Cahen, *La féodalité et les institutions politiques de l'Orient Latin*, in *Accad. Naz. d. Lincei, XII Convegno Volta*, 1956, 22-3.

(Cl. Cahen and M. Talbi)

ii.—Ottoman Empire

The term *ḥisba* does not occur in the registers and documents of the Ottoman administration; instead, we find *iḥtisāb*, an official term used both in the capital and in the provinces, its basic meaning being the levying of dues and taxes, both on traders and artisans and also on certain imports. However, the word *iḥtisāb* finally came to denote the whole aggregate of functions that had devolved upon the *muḥtasib* or *iḥtisāb āghāsî* (more rarely *iḥtisāb emîni*); it has often be translated as "market police", which implies a restrictive meaning; in the same way, the *muḥtasib* has been regarded as an "inspector of markets", but his exact responsibility went beyond that of merely superintending and inspecting markets and members of the trade-guilds. The regulations concerning the duties of the *muḥtasib* were codified in the *iḥtisāb ḳānūnnāmeleri*, in which that official could find everything relating to this duties of supervision, inspection, punishment and, particularly in regard to the provinces, of the levying of taxes. These regulations included on the one hand a list of the prices (*narkh-i rūzī*—see narkh) which had to be observed for the sale of commodities, manufactured or other articles, the permitted profit margins, and the penalties to be exacted from delinquent traders and artisans; they also gave the total amount or the percentage of the taxes, dues, charges and other contributions collected in the name of *iḥtisāb* and levied on the members of the trade-guilds. A reminiscence of the original function of the *muḥtasib* is to be found in certain articles in these regulations, in which it is stated that he must supervise behaviour and morality in public or sacred places and the respect shown by Muslims for their religious duties. It was he also, at least in Istanbul, who superintended the division of merchandise between wholesalers, traders or artisans. In the collection of taxes the *muḥtasib* was assisted by agents called *ḳol oghlānlarî* (15 in number in Istanbul in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, the number subsequently being raised to 56) and by 16 *mulāzims* (candidates) known as *senedli* [*q.v.*], holders of an official warrant of nomination. The office of *muḥtasib* or *iḥtisāb āghāsî* was farmed out annually (*iltizām*), the holder receiving a *berāt* of nomination after approval by the *ḳāḍī* (to whom the *muḥtasib* was directly responsible), the Grand Vizier or the governor of the province, and after he had paid a certain sum called the *bedel-i muḳāṭaʿa* or cash-value of the right to farm.

The first known *iḥtisāb* regulations go back to sultan Bāyazīd II (886/1481-918/1512), at the beginning of the 10th/16th century; later, other regulations were enacted by sultans Selīm I, Süleymān I, Selīm II, Murād III, Murād IV, Meḥemmed IV, etc. . . .; for the provinces, regulations concerning *iḥtisāb* were included in the wider regulations for the administration of the provinces, the *ḳānūnāmes*, the oldest of which date from the reign of Bāyazīd II; it is not impossible that other regulations of this kind had been promulgated earlier. In certain provinces annexed to the Ottoman Empire in the 10th/16th century, the sultans, immediately after the conquest, had at first contented themselves with enforcing the earlier regulations, as for example in Damascus.

In the financial sphere, the *muḥtasib* levied those taxes that derived from *iḥtisāb* properly speaking (*iḥtisāb rüsūmu*), but also some taxes which might be described as import or entry taxes, and lastly the tax (*yewmiyye-i dekākīn*) paid by shop-keepers to provide emoluments for the *muḥtasib* and his subordinates. In Istanbul, the town was divided into 15 tax areas for this last tax. The *iḥtisāb* taxes, in Istanbul and in the principal cities of the Ottoman Empire, were as follows:—*bādj-i pāzār* [see bādj], market tax, already in existence in the time of the Saldjūḳids and Īlkhānids, but the regulations governing it seem to go back to Meḥemmed II; this tax was levied on all merchandise coming from outside and sold in a market in the town; *bitirme*, an annual tax levied on merchants in foodstuffs; *dāmgha resmi*, stamp or brand duty [see tamgha] levied on textiles and metals, whether precious or not; *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳapan* or *resm-i ḳapan* or *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳanṭār* [see ḳapan] weighing dues paid in kind on cereals and dried vegetables, and in cash on other produce; according to certain authors, these weighing dues were also known as *mīzān* (scales dues), *ewzān* (dues for weights and measures) and *ekyāl* or *keyyāliyye* (dues for measuring grain). According to the locality, other *iḥtisāb* taxes could be imposed, such as (in Istanbul) the *rüsūmāt-i iḥtisābiyye* or entry dues on merchant shipping, *ḥaḳḳ-i ḳapî* or dues levied at the Edirne Gate, and *bāyiʿiyye* or dues on sales which mainly appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries. Certain abusive taxes imposed by *muḥtasibs* were on occasion cancelled by the sultans, on the grounds that they constituted blameworthy innovations prejudicial to the population.

The system of farming out the *iḥtisāb* was abolished in Istanbul in 1242/1826 and replaced by an administration (*iḥtisāb naẓāreti*) controlled by an *iḥtisāb nāẓiri*, a government official. In 1271/1854 the office of *iḥtisāb nāẓiri* was abolished and passed into the hands of the *shehir emîni*.

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(R. Mantran)

iii.—Persia

The *muḥtasib* and his office, the *ḥisba* (or *iḥtisāb*), together with many other offices of the religious institution, continued to be found in the various empires and kingdoms formed in Persia after the break-up of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. It did not finally disappear until the 19th century. Public morals and the due performance by Muslims of their religious duties were under the general care of the *muḥtasib*. He was also charged with the oversight of what might be called public amenities. He was not to allow slaves to be ill-treated or animals over-burdened. It was also his duty to see that *d̲h̲immīs* complied with the regulations imposed upon them to distinguish them from Muslims. His main task, however, was to oversee the markets and prevent dishonest dealing by merchants and artisans and to exercise supervision over the guilds and corporations. He was empowered to inflict summary punishment on offenders (see further R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 334 ff.).

Niẓām al-Mulk states that a *muḥtasib* should be appointed in every city to oversee weights and prices, to watch over commercial transactions, to prevent the adulteration of goods and fraud, and "to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil". The sultan and his officials should support the *muḥtasib* because, if they did not, "the poor would be in trouble and the people of the bazaar would buy and sell as they liked, middle-men (*faḍla-k̲h̲ʷur*) would become dominant, corruption open, and the *s̲h̲arīʿa* without prestige" (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Persian text, 41). Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kās̲h̲ifī (d. 910/1505), who wrote under the Timurids, regards the existence of the *muḥtasib* as a guarantee that public life would be conducted in accordance with the precepts of Islam. He writes, "Every sultan who strives to put into practice the precepts of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and to execute the decrees of religion is the deputy of God and His shadow upon earth. But since the sultan, by virtue of the multiplicity of state affairs, cannot look into the details of this matter [the execution of the decrees of religion] he must appoint *muḥtasib*s in his kingdom. The *muḥtasib* must be strong in the faith and powerful in his zeal for Islam, and distinguished by virtue (*ʿiffat*), abstinence, trustworthiness, uprightness, and lack of greed. Whatever he does he should do for the strengthening of religion, and he should be free from ulterior motives, hypocrisy, self-seeking, and lust, so that what he says may impress itself upon the hearts of men" (*Ak̲h̲lāḳ-i Muḥsinī*, ed. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Tād̲j̲ir S̲h̲īrāzī, lith., Bombay 1308, 159). Muḥammad Mufīd, writing in the 11th/17th century, also emphasizes the importance of the *ḥisba* as one of the offices of religion (*D̲j̲āmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īrad̲j̲ Afs̲h̲ār, Tehrān 1340s., iii, 380-1).

The holder of the office of *muḥtasib* was normally a member of the religious classes. A number of documents for the appointment of the *muḥtasib* survive. One, issued from the *dīwān* of Sand̲j̲ar, the last of the Great Seld̲j̲ūḳs, is for the appointment of a certain Awḥad al-Dīn to the office of *muḥtasib* of Māzandarān. He is commanded to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil, to exert himself in the equalization and control of weights and measures, so that no fraud would be committed in buying and selling and that Muslims would not be cheated or suffer loss; to ensure that the requirements of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* were duly carried out in mosques and places of worship, and that the *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*s and other officials performed their duties in the proper way and at the stated times; to strive for the suppression of corrupt persons and for the prevention of notorious conduct in public by them, the open commission of vice, and dealing in intoxicating drink in the neighbourhood of mosques, burial places and tombs; to cause the *d̲h̲immī*s to wear distinguishing clothing to mark their inferiority to Muslims; and to prevent women mixing in the assemblies of the *ʿulamāʾ* (*mad̲j̲lis-i ʿilm*) or listening to homilies (Muntad̲j̲ab al-Dīn Badīʿ Atābeg al-D̲j̲uwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1950-1, 82-3; see also H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 97, 161-2; and 112-3 and 162 for documents belonging to the K̲h̲ʷārazms̲h̲āh period).

During the Īlk̲h̲ān period the *muḥtasib*, like other officials of the religious institution, either continued to exist or was re-appointed after the conversion of the Īlk̲h̲āns to Islam. When G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān decided to unify weights and measures throughout the kingdom, he ordered this to be done in every province in the presence of the *muḥtasib* (Rašīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫāns*, ed. K. Jahn, GMS, 1940, 288). In Timurid times the functions of the *muḥtasib* and the qualities required for his office were broadly the same as in Seld̲j̲ūḳ times. Three documents for the appointment of the *muḥtasib* are preserved in the *S̲h̲araf-nāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd (see H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 53-7, 150-2). One of these documents, appointing a certain ʿAbd Allāh Kirmānī *muḥtasib* of Herāt, states that he was to hold the office jointly with a certain Rukn al-Dīn ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (*ibid.*, f. 24a).

Under the early Ṣafawids there was a *muḥtasib* in most, if not all, of the large cities. He performed the traditional functions of the office, but with the difference that the orthodoxy which he now supported was S̲h̲īʿism of the It̲h̲nā-ʿas̲h̲arī rite. In a diploma for the office of *muḥtasib* of Tabrīz dated 1072/1662 the official appointed was charged with the preservation of public morality, including the prevention of drinking, gambling, and other offences against the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, the collections of *k̲h̲ums* and *zakāt* and the distribution of the proceeds of these taxes among those who were entitled to them, and the upkeep of mosques, schools, and charitable endowments; he was also enjoined to control weights and measures, to see that passage along the streets was unimpeded, and to supervise certain groups and guilds, such as the *mullās*, *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*s, and washers of the dead. The *kalāntar*s, *kadk̲h̲udā*s, *dārūg̲h̲a*s, and

officials administering customary law (*ʿummāl-i ʿurf*) were ordered to refrain from interfering in the fixing of prices and to see that the *muḥtasib* was paid the customary dues of his office (see A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, (inaugural lecture), London (S.O.A.S.), 1954).

The chief *muḥtasib* of the kingdom was known as the *muḥtasib al-mamālik*. This office under Ṭahmāsp was held by an Astarābādī, Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī, who was also the *khaṭīb* of the royal court, and later by a Ṭabāṭabāʾī *sayyid*, Mīr Djaʿfar, who was succeeded on his death in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās by Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, formerly the *kalāntar* of Tabrīz (Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, lith., Tehrān 1896-7, 111-2). According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* an undertaking from the elders of each guild concerning the prices of the goods they sold was submitted month by month to the *muḥtasib al-mamālik* for his approval. He then sent this to the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt* (the superintendent of the royal workshops) for his confirmation so that documents for the purchase of goods might be drawn up. Contravention of this price-list was visited by heavy penalties (ed. V. Minorsky, GMS, Persian text, ff. 79b-80a). Chardin, who travelled in Persia in late Ṣafawid times, states that prices were fixed in Iṣfahān every Saturday by the *muḥtasib* and that any vendor exceeding the prices fixed was liable to heavy penalties. But he also alleges that there was corruption over the settling of prices and that vendors gave the *muḥtasib* presents to induce him to fix prices at a high level (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, x, 2 ff.).

The *muḥtasib al-mamālik* appointed deputies to act on his behalf to ensure that the guilds sold their goods in each place at the prices fixed (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 80b). He was paid 50 *tūmān*s per annum and in addition levies on various provincial towns, totalling some 253 *tūmān*s 3,000 *dīnār*s, were made in his favour (*ibid.*, ff. 90a-b).

After the Ṣafawid period the office of *muḥtasib* appears to have declined and to have become increasingly secularized. Those of his functions which were concerned with the administration of *sharʿī* law were in effect removed from his competence and administered by the *marādjiʿ al-taḳlīd*. These functions included the collection of *khums* and *zakāt*, the administration of inheritances and wills, and the appointment of guardians for minors and others, matters which were known collectively as *umūr-i ḥisbī*. The *marādjiʿ* issued *idjāza*s for the supervision on their behalf of the *umūr-i ḥisbī*. The qualifications required by the recipient of such an *idjāza* were that he should be a believer (*muʾmin*), 'just' (*ʿādil*), and instructed in the decrees (*aḥkām*) of the *sharīʿa*. He was permitted to retain from the sums he collected by way of *khums* and *zakāt* enough for his subsistence; the remainder was to be handed over to the *mardjaʿ* who had issued his *idjāza* for its distribution among those who had a right to it.

So far as the *muḥtasib*'s functions in relation to the guilds in the large cities and to the cleanliness of the city were concerned, they were to some extent taken over by the *dārūgha* and the *kalāntar*. His duties were increasingly restricted to the regulation of prices and the inspection of weights and measures but in this he was subject to the orders of the *dārūgha* (cf. E. Scott Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 68-9). Tancoigne, like Chardin, alleges that the *muḥtasib* was not inaccessible to bribery and often consented to sell his protection to dealers (*A narrative of a journey into Persia*, London 1820, 239-40). During the course of the 19th century the *muḥtasib* disappeared in most cities. Binning, writing about 1857, states that the office had recently been abolished in Shīrāz (*A journal of two years travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, i, 337-8). In Iṣfahān the office had ceased to be in effective operation by 1294/1877-8 (Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Djughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. M. Sutūdeh, Tehrān 1963, 80). The traditional dues levied for the payment of the *muḥtasib* nevertheless continued to appear in the tax-rolls for many years after the office had, in effect, disappeared. By the law of 20 Ādhar 1305/1926 an item of 150 *ḳirān*s levied on the guild of butchers in Tehrān for the *muḥtasib* was abolished (*The second yearbook of the municipality of Tehrān: statistics of the city of Tehrān for the years 1925 to 1929*).

There is mention of an *iḥtisāb-āḳāsī* in Tehrān in the year 1853. His functions were *inter alia* to issue lists of prices for foodstuffs and other goods (cf. *Rūznāma-i Waḳāyiʿ-i Ittifāḳiyya*, No. 127, 29 Ramaḍān 1269/1853). The office to which he belonged was known as the *iḥtisāb* and its main duty was the cleaning of the streets. Shortly after a police administration on modern lines was set up by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1298/1880 the *iḥtisāb* was placed under its jurisdiction (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Rūznāma*, under dateline 5 Ṣafar 1299/1881, ms. in the library of the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad). In 1312/1894-5 the *iḥtisāb* department in Tehrān consisted of a director, two deputy-directors, and a number of subordinate officials, *farrāsh*es, stablemen, and water-carriers, etc. (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Taʾrīkh wa Djughrāfiyā-yi Sawādkūh*, lith., Tehrān 1311, appendix). An item in the newspaper *Tarbiyat*, No. 58, 26 Shaʿbān 1315/30 January 1898, addressed to Munaẓẓam al-Salṭana, the *wazīr-i naẓmiyya wa iḥtisābiyya*, praises him for his efforts to clean the streets, to facilitate passage through them, to modify prices, to prevent evil conduct and theft, and to prevent the ill-treatment of [pack] animals. Thus, by the end of the 19th century the *muḥtasib* as an official of the religious institution in charge of the public conscience had ceased to exist, and such of his functions as survived were taken over by the police administration.

The *umūr-i ḥisbī* continued to be administered during the 19th and early 20th centuries under the supervision of the *marādjiʿ al-taḳlīd*, but after the institution of modern courts during the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī the *umūr-i ḥisbī* were restricted to the collection of *khums* and *zakāt*; such matters as the administration of inheritances and wills, the care of minors, appointment of guardians, etc., were transferred to the courts (see the law entitled *Ḳānūn-i umūr-i ḥisbī*, dated Tīr 1319/1940).

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(A. K. S. Lambton)

iv.—The Indian subcontinent

The institution of *ḥisba* in the strict classical sense did not exist in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during the period from the 5th/11th century to the 13th/19th century. The main obstacle was the complexion of the population, the majority of whom consisted of non-Muslims. Except for Balban (664/1266-686/1287), Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (752/1351-790/1388), Sikandar Lōdī (894/1489-923/1517) and Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr [*q.v.*], and they too only in certain respects, none of the Muslim rulers of India ever attempted to enforce the *Sharīʿa* law, either for fear of disaffecting the local Hindu population or by way of political expediency, of which the many

heretical measures adopted by Akbar [*q.v.*] are a glaring example. From the very beginning of their rule in a country held mainly by conquest, the Sultans (7th/13th-10th/16th century) realized that the Muslims, situated as they were in India, could not be allowed to grow lax in religion or morals except at the expense of the solidarity, integrity, and, at times, the very existence of their newly established state. Hence, wherever a Muslim colony was established or a town garrisoned, a *muḥtasib* and a *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] were invariably appointed (cf. Minhādj-i Sirādj, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 175; al-ʿUtbī, *Taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī*, 288; *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, fol. 85a). Balban, who considered an efficient *ḥisba* department to be a primary necessity of good government, did not neglect, as his predecessors had done, even small and insignificant places. We read in the *Safar-nāma-i Ḳāḍī Taḳī Muttaḳī* (Bidjnor 1909, 2 ff.), of Iletmish (608/1211-633/1236) having appointed a *ḳāḍī* at Ambāla [*q.v.*], which was then no more than a hamlet of a few hundred houses of mixed population. During the Sultanate period the functions of the *muḥtasib* and the *ḳāḍī*, and the relations between them, were much the same as in the central lands (see above, i).At times the Sultan intervened personally to deal with customs or innovations considered heretical or un-Islamic or in matters which lay beyond the ordinary jurisdiction of the *muḥtasib*. Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ, for instance, forbade many popular practices which he regarded as irreligious (cf. *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh 1954, 6-11). However, the stronger and the more religiously-minded a Sultan was, the greater was his anxiety to promote the moral and religious welfare of his people. Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] speaks highly of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī's *ḥisba*, as being especially concerned with the flow of supplies and the control of food prices. This Sultan rigorously suppressed drinking, gambling and other social and moral vices, believing that unless public morals were tightened up the deterrent punishments meted out to various offenders against the *Sharīʿa* would be meaningless. Muḥammad Tughluḳ (725/1325-752/1351) in his own days inflicted these punishments with unwonted severity. He was so keen to enforce *iḥtisāb* that at times he personally acted as the *muḥtasib* and examined Muslims on the elementary rules of their faith. Under him, the *muḥtasib* was an officer of great dignity and, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 94; partial Eng. trans. by O. Spies, Stuttgart 1936, 72) and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, partial Eng. tr. by Sh. Abdur Rashid, Aligarh 1944, 32), enjoyed a monthly salary of 8,000 *tankas*. The Sultan paid special attention to the regular saying of prayers. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 292; tr. von Mžik, 149), a lady of the royal household found guilty of adultery was stoned to death. Similarly, drunkards received the full measure of *ḥadd* punishment in addition to three months' solitary confinment. Both Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 441) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*loc. cit.*) testify to the high level of *ḥisba* maintained by the Tughluḳ Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn (720/1320-725/1325). His son Muḥammad Tughluḳ did not brook any laxity in the observance of religious rites even at his court. Sikandar Lōdī was equally keen on enforcing *ḥisba* throughout his kingdom. He boldly did away with a popular and time-honoured custom of carrying 'lances' (*nīzas*) to the tomb of the legendary hero Ghāzī Masʿūd Sālār [*q.v.*] and revived Fīrūz Tughluḳ's ordinance prohibiting women from visiting tombs and graveyards. It must at the same time be stressed that *iḥtisāb* was enforced only in the case of Muslims, the non-Muslims being subject to their own religious or personal laws or the common law of the land.

Another important function of the *muḥtasib* was to uphold orthodoxy and to suppress heresy. Teachers and professors in religious institutions as well as popular preachers had to be very cautious in their lectures and utterances for fear of the *muḥtasib*. The Ḳarmaṭīs, who created great disturbances in Delhi during the reign of Raḍiyya (634/1236-637/1240), were successfully combated by Fīrūz, as we hear no more of their activities subsequently. We do not hear much of the *muḥtasib* during the rule of the Lōdī or the Sayyid dynasties, but that does not mean that he had by then completely ceased to exist. While Shēr Shāh Sūr (945/1538-952/1545) was largely occupied with the consolidation of his kingdom and with administrative reforms, his successor Islām Shāh (952/1545-960/1552) paid due attention to religious matters. For instance he took very strong measures against the Mahdawīs, *i.e.*, followers of Sayyid Muḥammad al-Djawnpūrī [*q.v.*], whom he regarded as a heretic, and had two of his disciples, ʿAbd Allāh Niyāzī Sirhindī and Shaykh ʿAlāʾī, severely punished—the former being almost beaten to death while the latter was put to death. (Cf. A. S. Bazmee Ansari, *Sayyid Muḥammad Jawnpūrī and his movement*, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), ii/1 (March 1964).

As against this, some modern historians are of the opinion that while theoretically speaking it is correct to say that state policy during the Sultanate period was directed towards enforcing the *ḥisba*, in practice little attention was paid to the dictates of the *Sharʿ*. For instance Baranī is quoted as saying that the punishments awarded to the Muslims went against the Ḳurʾānic laws. Similarly, the injunctions governing the use of *ḥalāl* (permissible) and *ḥarām* (prohibited) things were seldom observed. Amīr Khusraw also is reported as saying that the charging of interest was a common practice in his day, and that when a written contract between the parties existed even the *ḳāḍī* had to recognize the fact (cf. Muḥammad Habibullah, *The foundation of Muslim rule in India*², Allahabad 1961, 349). But these are solitary instances, which may be the exception rather than the rule.

During the anarchy following the death of Shēr Shāh, the institution of *ḥisba* appears to have collapsed, and the Mughals, for both personal and political reasons, did not consider it expedient to revive the institution, which consequently suffered a heavy set-back. Bābur was a great lover of wine; Humāyūn was addicted to opium; Djahāngīr too was no exception, wine being his greatest weakness. His son and successor Shāhdjahān, although of sober habits, did not have the courage either to break away completely from the traditions of his family or to enforce *ḥisba* strictly. During one of his visits to the Pandjāb, when it was brought to his notice that certain Hindus in Gudjrāt had married Muslim women, he ordered the annulment of these marriages and the restoration of the women to their families (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, ii, 57-8). It was only Awrangzīb who showed the highest respect for religion and strictly enforced *ḥisba*. He included a specific provision in his penal laws (cf. M. B. Ahmad, *The administration of justice in Mediaeval India*, Aligarh 1941, Appendix C, 6-7) for the punishment of persons found guilty of drinking or using narcotic drugs such as hemp and opium. He ordered the execution of Sarmad (d. 1070/1659),

a convert to Islam and an eclectic *ṣūfī*, on the ground that he had refused to cover his nudity—a serious offence against public morals. In fact there is little ground to differ from the statement "that the Mughal emperors (never) strictly adhered to the Islamic principles ... in the case of certain crimes their punishments were practically the same as prescribed by the Quran. In other matters they greatly departed from the Quranic laws and the reasons for this departure were that firstly, there were many cases which did not come exactly within the ambit of the Quranic law, and secondly, in many cases social and political needs and the attendant circumstances demanded a different treatment" (cf. P. Saran, *The provincial government of the Mughals*, 381-2). Moreover, there is every reason to believe that the *muḥtasib* of the Sultanate period came to be replaced by the *kōtwāl* [*q.v.*], a secular officer whose duties resembled very closely those of the *muḥtasib*, the only difference being that while the former dealt with all sorts of crimes and offences, the latter was primarily concerned with offences against Islamic law. The Mug͟hals found it administratively convenient to entrust the duties of the *muḥtasib* to the *kōtwāl*, with harmful effects first on the religious and moral welfare of the Muslims in India, then on their social and cultural life, and ultimately on their rule.

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HIS͟HĀM, tenth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, who reigned from 105 to 125/724 to 743. He was born in Damascus in 72/691, son of ʿAbd al-Malik and of ʿĀʾis͟ha bint His͟hām, of the clan of the Banū Mak͟hzūm, who named him after her father. Preceded in the order of succession by his older brothers (al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd II) and kept from the throne by the unexpected accession of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz, he was finally nominated heir in 101/720 by Yazīd, ascended the throne on the latter's death in S͟haʿbān 105/ January 724, and reigned until his death on 6 Rabīʿ II 125/6 February 743. His long reign, which equalled in length those of Muʿāwiya and of ʿAbd al-Malik, marks the final period of prosperity and splendour of the Umayyad caliphate.

On his accession, he appointed to the post of governor of ʿIrāḳ K͟hālid al-Ḳasrī, a versatile and skilful man, who lacked the fierce energy of al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j, but possessed the same devotion to the caliphs of Damascus. During the fifteen years he was in office, he devoted himself primarily to the agricultural and economic development of the country, continuing the work of providing a pure water supply which had been begun by al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j, though this did not insure him against incurring hatred and rancour, in his own province and even at the caliph's court, which finally led, in 120/738, to his dismissal. His rival and successor, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-T͟haḳafī, had to suppress in 122/740 the S͟hīʿī revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī, who was killed in arms at Kūfa after a brief affray, a small enough episode in itself, but one which was to enrich S͟hīʿī martyrology and re-kindle the propaganda of the Hās͟himī opposition. Apart from this revolt and some other small S͟hīʿī and K͟hārid͟jī acts of sedition, the internal peace of the empire under His͟hām was not seriously threatened, although the underground work of the *daʿwa* continued unabated. It was rather in the frontier regions of the empire that the most outstanding events of this caliphate took place.

To the east the Arab offensive had, under Ḳutayba b. Muslim, made its final advance. After that, it was a matter no longer of further progress but of retaining and consolidating the positions gained, and particularly of containing the pressure of the Turkish counter-offensive which was carried on with vigour at this time. The many successive governors whom His͟hām appointed to K͟hurāsān (among them As͟hras al-Sulamī, D͟junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, Asad al-Ḳasrī, brother of K͟hālid, and the courageous Naṣr b. Sayyār) all had to face the menace of the Türges͟h under the command of the intrepid leader Bog͟hā Ṭark͟hān (the "Ḳūrṣūl" of the Arabs) and of the K͟hāḳān Su-lu. After suffering many setbacks and even risking disaster (*yawm al-s͟hiʿb* in 112/730, *yawm al-at͟hḳāl* in 119/737) the Arabs finally broke the Turkish offensive at K͟harīstān, near S͟huburḳān to the west of Balk͟h (119/737) and, under Naṣr b. Sayyār, advanced in the following year as far as the Jaxartes. By a wise taxation policy, Naṣr was even able to achieve in his province a certain degree of pacification, the ephemeral nature of which however was to be revealed a few years later by the outbreak of the ʿAbbāsid revolt.

The empire experienced another grave threat during this period, from the north, with the irruption of the K͟hazar Turks in Armenia and in Ād͟harbayd͟jān (defeat of D͟jarrāḥ b. al-Ḥakam at Ardabīl in 112/730). The invaders were driven back however by the intervention of massive reinforcements led by skilled captains such as Saʿīd al-Ḥaras͟hī, and later Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Marwān b. Muḥammad. There followed a whole series of campaigns which led the Arabs beyond the Caucasus as far as the mouths of the Volga (foundation of Derbend by Maslama in 113/731), without however achieving any stable conquest to the north of the Caucasus. Further west, the hostilities with the Byzantines continued throughout His͟hām's reign, but without any large-scale operations: the great offensive of the Arabs had spent itself with the siege of Constantinople by Maslama in 98/716-7, and operations were limited to *ṣawāʾif*, in which the Muslims were not always the conquerors (defeat of Akroinos, 122/740, and death of the famous *g͟hāzī* al-Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*], destined to become later the hero of romance of this frontier-war).

Events on a large scale, however, were taking place in Africa and in Spain, undermining in these distant provinces the direct domination of the central power. The harsh régime of fiscal exploitation under the governor ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb (116-23/734-41) provoked, in 123/740-1, a great revolt of the Berbers, who inflicted a first crushing defeat on an Arab army near Tangier (the *ghazwat al-ashrāf*, so called from the great number of Arab warriors who lost their lives there). Upon the news of this disaster, the caliph Hishām himself assembled and sent from Syria a second army, under the command of Kulthūm b. ʿIyāḍ, who was hacked to death by the Berbers on the banks of the Sebū. While Kulthūm's nephew, Baldj, succeeded with the remnants of this army in reaching Ceuta and then in crossing into Spain, the whole of the Maghrib was plunged into anarchy and revolt, in which Berber ethnic loyalty was allied with Khāridjī heresy: and it was the task of a new governor sent by Hishām, the Kalbī Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], to recover in a despairing effort (battle of al-Aṣnām near Ḳayrawān, 124/742) what could still be saved of Arab hegemony and of Umayyad power in Ifrīḳiya. From this time, the direct authority of the caliphs of Damascus (and later of Baghdād) does not seem to have extended beyond the boundaries of present-day Algeria. The crisis in the Maghrib involved the new province of Spain, whose governors had up to then been answerable to the governors of Africa: whereas before 122/740 the Arabs of Spain had carried out their razzias beyond the Pyrenees (battle of Poitiers and the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiḳī, 114/732), after 122/740 they wasted their strength in internal quarrels, aggravated by the arrival of the Syrians under Baldj; these were finally ended, fifteen years later, by the foundation of the Umayyad emirate under a nephew of Hishām who had fled to the west from the ruin of the Umayyad dynasty.

It is not easy, among all the facts briefly sketched here, to distinguish the part played personally by the ruler, who was living sometimes several hundred miles away and who limited himself in general (if we follow the literal interpretation of the texts) to appointing and dismissing the governors, who are presented in the sources as the leading figures in events. It is possible however to discern several main lines which can be traced to the supreme authority of the empire and are characteristic of its policy. This policy appears as one of recovery and of conservation of the immense patrimony of the conquests, which reached its greatest extent thanks to the demographic, economic and spiritual forces of the Arab element but which, while still retaining its vitality and vigour as a coherent Muslim society, was destined to disintegrate as an Arab empire. Hishām seems to have been aware of this danger, and to have acted, together with a chosen group of capable and devoted assistants, so as to confront it and to delay it as much as possible. This seems to be proved particularly in the policy which he followed (unlike his brothers who had reigned before him) of maintaining an equilibrium between the rival tribal groups of the Muḍarīs and the Yamanīs, both of whom he skilfully used to staff the administration, in order to forward the interests of the State. Some scholars, such as H. A. R. Gibb, even go so far as to attribute to this caliph the initiative in a general reform and reorganization of the tax system in answer to the complaints of the *mawālī*, although the sources provide details only of local measures which were taken, probably with the caliph's consent, by governors in their own provinces (for example the work of Ashras al-Sulamī and of Naṣr b. Sayyār in Khurāsān and in Transoxania, and the harsh tax policy of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb in Ifrīḳiya). In fact there has survived no explicit documentation which would lead us to attribute to Hishām, as to ʿUmar II, measures which in principle applied throughout the empire; it cannot however be denied that he was aware of the problem and applied himself to its solution, particularly as the sources agree in describing him as a strict administrator, sober and frugal almost to the point of meanness, and paying great attention to the regular ordering of the revenues and the expenditure. The only ostentatious facet of his character, which he shared with the other members of his family, was his enthusiasm for building: there dates from his reign a whole series of castles, palaces and even "towns" in the Syrian desert, some of which have been known for a long time and other only recently revealed by excavation; of some of them he was actually the founder. First, the two Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr to the east and to the west of Palmyra (it has been suggested that the former, Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī—and not the Christian Sergiopolis—is the real Ruṣāfat Hishām; in the latter, Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, there has been found, among the splendid remains of its decoration, perhaps the portrait of the caliph himself); and in addition Ḳaṣr al-Milḥ, Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*], Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūbā, etc. There is hardly any Umayyad ruin discovered or excavated in Syria and Jordan in recent years which is not connected, by epigraphical evidence or by fairly probable conjecture, with Hishām's reign and with Hishām himself.

The final years of his reign were clouded by troubles concerning the succession: after trying in vain to get one of his own sons recognized as his heir (at first his elder son Muʿāwiya and, after his premature death, his younger son Maslama), he resigned himself to considering as his successor his nephew al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who had already been nominated by Yazīd II and whose character, tastes and education were the complete opposite of his own. But he wrangled with him and embittered him in every way, thus undermining the solidity of his own political and administrative achievements, which his offended successor was to lose no time in overthrowing. The accession of al-Walīd II, when Hishām died from a heart attack in his residence at Ruṣāfa after a reign of twenty years, in fact saw the beginning of the *fitna*, which was fatal for the dynasty. But the long reign of the fourth son of ʿAbd al-Malik may nevertheless be considered as a period which on the whole was glorious for the Arabs and fruitful in the development of Islamic faith and culture. In this connexion there should be mentioned the strict orthodoxy of Hishām (who was the friend of the great traditionists al-Zuhrī and Abū Zinād and the persecutor of the Ḳadarī heretics, though at the same time tolerant towards the Christians), and in addition his interest in the historical and administrative traditions of the Sāsānids, and the elaboration among his entourage (Abrash al-Kalbī and his pupil ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā) of the Arabic chancery style, which was to have such a great development during the first years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate.

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HISHĀM I, ABU 'L-WALĪD, called AL-RIḌĀ, the second Umayyad ruler of Muslim Spain, succeeded his father ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*] on 1 Djumādā I 172/October 788, or according to Ibn al-Abbār one year earlier. He was then 30 years old, having been born in Cordova in 139/757, *i.e.* after his father's arrival in al-Andalus. Though the designated heir, Hishām I was obliged to fight for his inheritance and campaigned successfully in person against his elder brother Sulaymān and another brother, ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansī, 'the Valencian', in 172 and 173/788-89 and 789-90. At the same time or later, disturbances at Saragossa on the Upper Frontier (*al-thughr al-aʿlā*) and a Berber revolt in Tākurunna (region of Ronda) were dealt with by others. So also in the campaigns against the Christians of the North, which became feasible owing to the generally peaceful internal conditions (cf. Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 68), Hishām relied on his generals, among whom Abū ʿUthmān ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUthmān and the brothers ʿAbd al-Karīm and ʿAbd al-Malik, sons of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Mughīth, are the most notable. From 175/791 the military activity of the Umayyad government was practically continuous. Every year until the end of the reign expeditions were sent out against the Christians, several times north to Alaba (Alava) and al-Ḳilāʿ (Old Castile), several times north-west to Djalīḳiya ('Galicia', *i.e.*, the Asturias) as far as Oviedo, which was sacked in 178/794, and once north-east to Gerona (Ifrandja, Djarunda) and Narbonne (Arbūna). This appears to have been the last occasion on which Narbonne was attacked by a Muslim army (177/793). The campaign is represented as a great victory: the fifth part of the captives taken, *i.e.*, their price when sold, amounted to 45,000 gold pieces. According to al-Maḳḳarī (i, 218), earth from the wall of the French city was brought to Cordova and used in the construction of a mosque. We hear of Hishām's additions to the Great Mosque at Cordova and of his repairing an ancient bridge over the Wādī al-Kabīr ([*q.v.*], Guadalquivir), which had been damaged by the current. The funds for both undertakings, says Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (43), were provided by the fifth of the spoils of Narbonne.

Hishām I, whose public and private conduct was guided by religion, has been compared to his relative ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. With his encouragement, the new Mālikī school began to make headway in al-Andalus. He died in Ṣafar 180/April 796 after a comparatively short reign of 7½ years.

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HISHĀM II, AL-MUʾAYYAD BI'LLĀH, Umayyad Caliph of Cordova, son of al-Ḥakam II [*q.v.*] and a Basque mother. He succeeded in Ṣafar 366/October 976, at the age of 10 years. The Slav officers of the palace tried to secure the election of the boy's paternal uncle al-Mughīra, with Hishām as heir-presumptive. The plan miscarried. Al-Mughīra was killed on the orders of the *ḥādjib* Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who subsequently used the authority of Hishām for his own ends and held him in tutelage which proved permanent. From 370/981 al-Manṣūr ruled openly on his own account, and it is in this period that his numerous and successful expeditions against the Christians of the north took place. In 386/996 Hishām, by then a man of thirty but principally urged on by his mother, attempted unsuccessfully to assert his authority, and had to remain dependent on al-Manṣūr till the latter's death in 392/1002. Al-Manṣūr's place as the effective ruler of al-Andalus was taken by his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], who outwardly recognized Hishām's authority, but the Caliph in fact remained a political nonentity, rarely appearing in public and occupying his leisure with the collection of relics (Ibn al-Khaṭīb). Al-Muẓaffar died in 399/1008 and was succeeded by a younger brother, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, also called Shandjūl (Sanchuelo). Forsaking the traditional policy of his family, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān associated himself closely with the Caliph, who conferred on him the honorific title al-Maʾmūn, referred to himself as his maternal uncle (their mothers were both Basques) and soon, on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's urgent requesting, proclaimed him as his heir. This act of unprecedented rashness, at a stroke transferring the Caliphate of Cordova from the Umayyad to the ʿĀmirid house, raised immediate indignation and opposition in the capital, and proved fatal not only to the ʿĀmirid hegemony but also indirectly to the Spanish Caliphate. For now began the *Fitna*, or period of troubles, which continued for more than 20 years and ended only with the deposition of the last of the Caliphs of Cordova [see HISHĀM III]. An Umayyad claimant, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, rose in Cordova, and in the absence of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on a military expedition gained control of the city. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, deserted by his men, was murdered before he could reach Cordova (399/1009). When requested, Hishām was willing to abdicate, and even sent Muḥammad clothes to wear when he was inaugurated as Caliph with the title al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. Muḥammad al-Mahdī gave out that Hishām was dead (the so-called 'first death'). Later, when threatened in Cordova by Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam and the Berbers, he produced the ex-Caliph from obscurity in a vain attempt to rally the people. Sulaymān occupied the capital in 400/1009-10, and was proclaimed Caliph as al-Mustaʿīn. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who had fled to Toledo, reappeared with Wāḍiḥ, the governor of that city, and a large army, including a large Christian contingent. Sulaymān yielded to necessity and left Cordova. When al-Mahdī was again proclaimed, Hishām is said to have been the first to take the oath. But Sulaymān returned and besieged his enemies in Cordova. It proved impossible to dislodge the Berbers, and under the stress of siege Wāḍiḥ determined to have done with al-Mahdī and restore Hishām. The ex-Caliph again received the oath of allegiance (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja

400/July 1010), and Muḥammad al-Mahdī appeared before him to answer for his conduct, before being removed for execution. Hishām then nominally ruled, with Wāḍiḥ as his *ḥādjib* and the real power. The siege dragged on, since Sulaymān would have none of Hishām as Caliph, till 403, when after the attempted flight and death of Wāḍiḥ and further unavailing resistance, Cordova surrendered on 26 Shawwāl/9 May 1013. The entry of the Berber army and the subsequent sack were the virtual end of Umayyad Cordova [see ḲURṬUBA]. Hishām did not long survive the disaster to his capital. He was killed by a son of Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 403/May 1013 (Ibn al-Khaṭīb). This was the 'second death'. (There was also a 'third death' much later, in 451/1059, when the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] ceased to make prayer for Hishām, whose existence he and his father by a convenient fiction had maintained for many years.)

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HISHĀM III, AL-MUʿTADD BI'LLĀH b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al -Raḥmān III, the last of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. Born in 364/974-75, he is said to have been the elder brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV, al-Murtaḍā [*q.v.*], whom he accompanied in the rout at Granada in which the latter was killed (408/1018). Hishām escaped to Ḳaṣr al-Bunt (Alpuente) in the province of Valencia, where he was received by the ʿĀmirid *mawlā* ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳāsim al-Fihrī. Proclaimed Caliph by the Cordovans in Rabīʿ II 418/June 1027, he remained at Ḳaṣr al-Bunt for more than 2 years, making his official entry into Cordova only in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 420/December 1029. Owing principally to his *wazīr* Ḥakam b. Saʿīd al-Ḳazzāz, a man of obscure origin, whose financial measures were supposed to favour the Berbers, the Caliphate of Hishām III soon became unacceptable to the Cordovans. The disaffection resulted in the murder of the unpopular *wazīr*, and Hishām was at the same time deposed (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 422/November 1031). But this time no new Caliph was elected. A council of notables headed by Abu 'l-Ḥazm b. Djahwar took control. The last Umayyad Caliph was allowed to retire, and ended his days at Lārida (Lerida) in Ṣafar 428/December 1036. A new era of Spanish Muslim history had begun—that of the Party Kings (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif, reyes de Taifas*). The governor of Lerida with whom the last Umayyad found refuge was Sulaymān b. Hūd [see HŪDIDS].

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii, 127, 145-52; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlam*, 153, 160-62; idem, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Escurial MS. Ar. 1673, page 381; al-Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, Cairo 1953, 26; Dozy, *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, rev. edition, Leiden 1932, ii, 338-346; E.Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, rev. edition, Paris-Leiden 1950, ii, 337-345; Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *La España musulmana*², Buenos Aires 1960, i, 395-7. (D. M. DUNLOP)

HISHĀM B. ʿAMR AL-FUWAṬĪ (or AL-FAWṬĪ), a Muʿtazilī of Baṣra, where he was the pupil of Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*]. After having probably been a wandering propagator of *Iʿtizāl* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, in *Prof. Muḥ. Shafīʿ presentation volume*, Lahore 1955, 68-9), he went to Baghdād during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and died there at a date not known exactly, but probably before 218/833.

His personal doctrine, which had a certain influence on al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], differs appreciably, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*op. cit.*), from the teachings of the other Muʿtazila, but the data given by the heresiographers are not always in agreement. Thus, according to al-Baghdādī (*Farḳ*, 150), he forbade murder of any kind, whereas according to al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, on the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 94) he allowed the assassination of opponents of *Iʿtizāl* and in that respect showed a fanaticism unusual among the Muʿtazila. Al-Shahrastānī (*op. cit.*, i, 91) emphasizes the extremism of his theory of free-will, for al-Fuwaṭī denies the intervention of God in the affairs of man, even when a verse of the Ḳurʾān states that God caused men to do such and such a deed. "Things" not being eternal, God cannot know them before having given them existence (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Ritter, 157, 488, 489; al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i, 94), for a "thing" is the realization of the essence within existence, that which has been created by God. He rejects the doctrine that God can be seen 'with the heart' (al-Ashʿarī, *op. cit.*, 157) and holds that it is not the accidents that prove that God is creator, but material things (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i, 92; al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. and trans. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, text 49, trans. 54), that is to say the substances which are realized when God gives them existence. Al-Fuwaṭī regards as infidels those who believe that heaven and hell already exist, since these are for the moment unnecessary (al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, 150; al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, 375; al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, i, 93). In politics, he tends to the Sunnī view; he holds that the *imām* ought to be elected, but he would allow this only in a time of calm and order, which al-Shahrastānī (*op. cit.*, i, 93) considers a sign of hostility towards the caliphate of ʿAlī (cf. al-Baghdādī, *op. cit.*, 150; idem, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 271; Pellat, in *St. Isl.*, xv, 39).

The basic points of the doctrine of al-Fuwaṭī are now known only from the heresiographers, but Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to him the following works: *K. al-Makhlūḳ*; *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-Aṣamm fī nafy al-ḥarakāt*; *K. Khalḳ al-Ḳurʾān*; *K. al-Tawḥīd*; *K. Djawāb ahl Khurāsān*; *Kitāb ila ahl al-Baṣra*; *K. Uṣūl al-khams* (*sic*); *K. ʿala 'l-Bakriyya*; *Kitāb ʿalā Abi 'l-Hudhayl fi 'l-naʿīm*.

Bibliography: in the article; see also A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, index and bibliography there given. (CH. PELLAT)

HISHĀM B. AL-ḤAKAM ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, the most prominent representative of Imāmī *kalām* [*q.v.*] in the time of the Imāms Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ and Mūsā al-Kāẓim. A client of the tribe of Kinda, he was born and raised in Wāsiṭ, but later lived in Kūfa among the Banū Shaybān. He is said to have been a Djahmī before his conversion to Shīʿism by the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. Other accounts, however, point to his early association with representatives of dualist religions, notably with Abū Shākir al-Dayṣānī. It is certain that after his conversion to Shīʿism he held disputations with Abū Shākir and

other dualists, and some of his conceptions of physics are evidently influenced by their doctrines. He became closely associated with Imām Dja'far and then with Mūsā al-Kāẓim, whom he, unlike many other Shī'ī leaders, recognized immediately after Dja'far's death (148/765). In Kūfa he owned a shop together with the Ibāḍī scholar 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, with whom he maintained a close partnership all his life despite their doctrinal differences. In his later life Hishām belonged to the circle of theologians who held disputations in the presence of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī and apparently presided over some of the discussions. He lived and carried on his trade in al-Karkh. He was accused by some Shī'īs of having been partly responsible for the arrest of Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd is said to have taken an interest in his views and then, finding them dangerous, reacted by ordering the arrest of the imām. Hishām was forced to go into hiding and died shortly afterwards in the year 179/795-6. Other accounts, which state that his death occurred either shortly after the downfall of the Barmakids (186/803), or in the year 199/814-5, or during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, do not appear reliable. In any case, there are no reports indicating any activity of his during the imāmate of 'Alī al-Riḍā (183-203/711-818).

The theory of the imāmate which Hishām elaborated has remained at the basis of the Imāmī doctrine. It rests on the idea of the permanent need for a divinely guided imām who could act as the authoritative teacher of mankind in all religious matters. The imām thus was the legatee (*waṣī*) of the Prophet. He was infallible (*ma'ṣūm*) in all his acts and words, but unlike the prophets did not receive divine messages (*waḥy*). In contrast to the later generally accepted Imāmī doctrine, Hishām held that the prophets, since their acts could be criticized by divine messages, did not have to be infallible, and that Muḥammad and the other prophets had, indeed, at time committed acts of disobedience. Muḥammad had installed 'Alī as his legatee and lieutenant (*khalīfa*) by explicit appointment (*naṣṣ*). The whole community with only a few exceptions, such as al-Miḳdād, Salmān, Abū Dharr and 'Ammār, had apostasized by turning away from 'Alī and accepting Abū Bakr as caliph. The imāmate was to be transmitted among the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima until the day of the resurrection. Each imām installed his successor by an explicit appointment. Whoever obeyed the imām was a true believer, whoever opposed or rejected him, an infidel (*kāfir*). To safeguard the faith and the community of believers, the imām and his followers in case of necessity were permitted or obliged to practice dissimulation (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) concerning their religious beliefs. The imām was not expected to revolt against the existing illegal government, and rebellion without his authorization was unlawful.

Hishām defined God as a finite, three-dimensional body (*djism*) and as radiant light. God had been in no place, then He produced space by His movement and came to be in a place, namely the Throne. The doctrine that God was a body was based on Hishām's general view that only bodies have existence. At the same time Hishām rejected the doctrine of other contemporary Imāmī theologians like al-Djawālīḳī and Mu'min ("Shayṭān") al-Ṭāḳ that God had a shape like that of man. He thus represented a rather anti-anthropomorphist attitude within the contemporary Imāmiyya, and only from the perspective of the Mu'tazila and the later Imāmiyya could he be accused of gross anthropomorphism (*tashbīh* [*q.v.*]). Hishām held that God did not know things or events before they came into being and argued that God's knowing them from eternity would entail their existence from eternity. The objection that this view would necessitate God's being originally ignorant and knowing only through a knowledge produced in time was met by Hishām with his general theory concerning the attributes of God. Knowledge, power, life, sight, hearing etc. were descriptive attributes (*ṣifāt*), rather than accidents (*a'rāḍ*), and could not be further described as being eternal or produced. Since these attributes could not be described as being either God, or part of Him, or other than Him, Hishām by this view also evaded the problem raised by the Mu'tazilīs concerning the multiplicity of God's accidents, which threatened the concept of His unity. By considering the Ḳur'ān as a descriptive attribute of God, he could furthermore maintain that it was neither creator, nor created, nor uncreated. This neutral position in the dispute concerning the createdness of the Ḳur'ān tallied with a statement attributed to Imām Dja'far. The reciting of the Ḳur'ān, however, according to Hishām's view was created.

In agreement with the Muslim predestinarians Hishām considered the acts of men as created by God. With the majority of contemporary Imāmīs he thus upheld the doctrine of divine determinism (*ḳadar*). On the other hand, he attempted to maintain man's responsibility by defining his acts as being in one respect his choice (*ikhtiyār*), resulting from his will, and as being in another respect compulsion, because of the need for an additional efficient cause. He also supported the distinctively Imāmī doctrines of the return (*radj'a* [*q.v.*]) of the dead before the day of the resurrection, the admissibility of a change of God's decisions (*badā'* [*q.v.*]) and of the suppression and corruption of parts of the Ḳur'ān in the official version. His views on physics, such as the rejection of atomism, the opinion that two particles may interpenetrate each other (*mudākhala*), that a particle may pass from one place to another without passing through all intervening places (*ṭafra* [*q.v.*]), and his identification of man with the spirit (*rūḥ*) to the exclusion of the body have influenced the views of the Mu'tazilī al-Naẓẓām.

After Hishām's death his doctrine was propagated and defended by his disciple Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 208/823-4), by Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Sakkāk, and later by the Nīsābūrī al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. *ca.* 260/874-5). He and his school were opposed on some points by rival Imāmī schools of *kalām* and on principle by Imāmī traditionists opposed to *kalām* in general. With the progressive adoption of Mu'tazilī theology, particularly from the 4th/10th century, Hishām's school became extinct. Although many of his opinions were highly objectionable from the point of view of later Imāmī doctrine, the Imāmī attitude toward him has generally remained favorable.

Of Hishām's many writings listed in the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm none is extant. His *K. Ikhtilāf al-nās fī 'l-imāma* was probably used by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī as the basis of his own *K. Firaḳ al-shī'a*. Hishām's discussions with other theologians and heretics are frequently quoted in both Sunnī and Shī'ī works.

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150, 153 f.; al-Nawbak͟hti, *Firaḳ al-s͟hīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, index; al-As͟hʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, index; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, v, 443 f., vii, 232-6; *Fihrist*, 175 f.; *WZKM*, iv, 226; al-Kas͟hs͟hī, *Rid͟jāl*, al-Nad͟jaf n.d., 220-38; al-Malaṭī, *al-Tanbīh wa 'l-radd*, ed. S. Dedering, Leipzig 1936, 19 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317-27, iv, 185; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam al-buldān*, i, 14; Ibn Dāʾūd al-Ḥillī, *al-Rid͟jāl*, Tehrān 1342, 367 f., 525; Nūr Allāh S͟hus͟htarī, *Mad͟jālis al-muʾminīn*, lith. Tehrān 1299, 153-9; al-Mad͟jlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehrān 1376, x, 234-9. There are only inadequate expositions of his doctrine: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 170-8; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 74-8. On the influence of dualistic systems on his doctrine and his own influence on al-Naẓẓām: O. Pretzl, *Die frühislamische Atomenlehre*, in *Isl.*, xix (1931), 119-29; idem, *Die frühislamische Attributenlehre*, Munich 1940, 16-9, 38 f., 48 f.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 4, 16-20, 101 f. On his doctrine concerning predestination: M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Islam*, London 1948, 116-8. W. Madelung, *Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 37-52. (W. MADELUNG)

HIS͟HĀM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KALBĪ [see AL-KALBĪ].

ḤIṢN (A.), "fortress", is a fairly common element in place-names, *e.g.*, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*qq.v.*], etc. This article surveys, so far as the present state of knowledge permits, the development of fortifications in certain areas of the Islamic world. Some aspects of this subject, the military architecture of the donjon and the bastion, are treated s.v. BURD͟J and others s.vv. ḲALʿA and SŪR. Offensive operations, the techniques of siege-craft, are dealt with in general s.v. ḤIṢĀR; for siege-engines employed before the invention of gunpowder, see ʿARRĀḌA, ḲAWS and MAND͟JANĪḲ; for the use in defence of "Greek fire", etc., see NAFṬ; for the use of cannon in warfare generally see especially BĀRŪD, and also ṬOPČĪ. In view of the lack of substantial general monographs for many areas, this article covers only (i) the Western territories of the Islamic world, Spain and the Mag͟hrib, (ii) Persia, (iii) Central Asia, and (iv) Indonesia and Malaysia. The Editors hope to make good the deficiencies in the Supplement, s.v. ḤIṢN. Readers will, however, find much information in the articles dealing with individual fortresses, *e.g.*, the "Crusader castles" (ḤIṢN AL-AKRĀD, MARḲAB, ṢĀFĪT͟HĀ, etc.), the citadels of major cities, Ottoman fortress-towns, etc. (ED.)

i.—MUSLIM WEST

The detailed forms, and the evolution, of military architecture in the Muslim West have been dealt with in the article BURD͟J. In this article we shall see how the Muslim West solved the major problems of fortification, and how the various types of fortified works—town enceintes, isolated castles, fortified ports or arsenals—are laid out and organized; we shall see also how it overcame the difficulties of flanking, of gates, and, from the 8th/14th century, of modifications for guns.

Town enceintes. Since the period of the Late Empire, unfortified towns had become rare in the western world. Because of unrest caused by invasions, urban centres had been fortified with ramparts, thereby in many cases reducing their original extent. However, many cities in the Berber country which were primarily agricultural markets remained unwalled. The disturbed history of the Muslim dynasties, especially in the Berber country, led to the fortification of towns or the maintenance of their walls in good repair. From the very beginning dynastic foundations always provided for a rampart. The need for a fortified wall round every town of any size led to the maintenance of the Late Empire practice, perforce universal in the early Middle Ages.

The plan of the enceinte. In Spain and Africa Muslim walls sometimes adopted the general trace of a former enceinte, making use of the bases and other parts of it, as at Karmūna and at Cáceres. The prosperity of certain state or provincial capitals often led, in the Middle Ages, to the enlargement of town walls to take in important suburbs.

On level ground, town enceintes were often modelled on the trace of a pre-existent settlement. In new foundations they are more regular in shape, with long alignments of ramparts. On uneven sites modification to suit the terrain was effected very simply: the principle was to use towers sparingly while the curtain wall ran along rocky outcrops, following them as closely as possible; salients and marked re-entrants are rare. Most enceintes are in the form of an irregular, but convex, polygon.

In many cases, however, it was necessary that the nearest points of high ground, which could have commanded the ramparts, should also be held. The town wall of Granada, in the 5th/11th century, extended as far as two small fortresses guarding the slopes and the summit of the Alhambra hill. At S͟hāṭiba (Játiva) ramparts ran up to two small fortresses on the crests of high ground dominating the town from above. It was equally important to ensure protected access to water supplies: walls terminating in a bastion ran down to the river at Badajoz (Baṭalyaws). At Seville such a terminal tower has become, as the Golden Tower, a powerful bastion.

The *ḳaṣaba*, the residence of the ruler or his government, usually occupies the higher part of the town, from which it is separated by a rampart; but if its site is distinct from that of the town settlement, then walls join the two enceintes, as at Almeria (al-Mariyya). At Malaga, where the Alcazaba was in the centre of the city, it had its own enceinte, and the town was connected by long ramparts to the outer citadel of Gibralfaro; similarly at Jaen (D͟jayyān).

When the *ḳaṣaba* achieved the dimensions of a governmental town, it would have its own separate system of fortification, whether or not in contact with the residential and commercial quarters. The Alhambra was distinctly separated from Granada, as was Fās al-D͟jadīd from Fās al-Bālī. On the other hand, the Almohad *ḳaṣaba* at Marrākus͟h, and the palaces of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl at Meknès, while partly constituting a fortified whole, are in contact with the town itself. In every case, two fortified systems are either close to each other or are juxtaposed.

Certain *ḳaṣaba*s were built to house garrisons to keep under surveillance a town where there was some apprehension of disturbances. Such was the case with the "Conventual" of Marīda, built by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. In the 10th/16th century the Saʿdids kept such a watch over Fez by the north and south *burd͟j*es.

Plans of the enceinte. — The double wall enclosing a narrow corridor is to be found at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. Long passages between high ramparts are

frequent in the palaces of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl at Meknès. The outer wall, well known in Byzantine fortification, seems not to have been employed in Muslim fortresses in the early Middle Ages. It became almost the rule in the walls of Spanish fortresses from the 5th/11th century. It existed also at al-Mahdiyya. In the Maghrib it remained rare. However, it is found at Tlemcen and Taza, and a continuous outer wall surrounded the ramparts of Fās al-Djadīd. These outer walls, of variable height, were generally furnished with towers. The ditch was common from the beginning of the 5th/11th century in Spanish Muslim fortifications. Elsewhere it remained very exceptional. These were generally dry ditches, designed to stop cavalry and to make sapping operations more difficult. In dry and often broken country the ditch could not be, as in flat and wet countries, the best of defences.

Isolated castles. — The functions of isolated castles were very variable. A certain number were frontier castles marking out the battlefronts: so in Muslim Spain, from the end of the 3rd/9th century, where the frontier long remained on the line of the Duero and was until the end of the kingdom of Granada guarded by a continuous line of fortresses on the west and north, which were subject to Castilian attacks. Under the *reyes de taifas* the rivalries among the local *amīr*s also led to the construction of lines of fortifications. In the Berber country there was hardly any definite frontier between the Muslim states; it was considered sufficient to fortify only those places possession of which was likely to be disputed; however, the ʿAbd al-Wādids did set up the Soummam line against the Ḥafṣids. These frontier castles could not, in wars in which rapid destructive and pillaging expeditions were the commonest operations, prevent completely the passage of enemy troops. But although they allowed the razzias to pass, they required, for any lasting conquest, long and costly siege operations. They were often, especially in the Granada period, built on scarped peaks; they could not block the entry routes, but they were ideal for keeping the country under surveillance and were difficult to take by storm.

In Spain, in the rich plains exposed to enemy raids, were to be found castles of refuge, usually dominating a village. The Naṣrids increased their number in the richest parts of the country, which were menaced by Castilian incursions.

On the north African coasts, in particular those of Tunisia and to a less extent the Atlantic coast, *ribāṭ*s [*q.v.*] were built, *i.e.*, fortified enclosures where pious Muslims, while leading a very strict religious life, could prepare for the holy war. The Ifrīḳiyan *ribāṭ*s are doubtless explained by Sicilian expeditions of conquest; there was then no Christian danger threatening the Tunisian coasts. On the other hand, the *ribāṭ*s of the Atlantic coast of Morocco and certain Andalusian *ribāṭ*s seem indeed to have originated from fear of Norman invasions. But it seems that there was never any warfare with an outside enemy under the walls of these *ribāṭ*s; they were not true maritime fortifications, but gathering places for soldiers of the faith, afterwards becoming rather centres of ascetic, even mystic, life. Certain Moroccan *ribāṭ*s, such as the first *ḳaṣaba* of the Ūdāya at Rabāṭ and the enceinte of Tīṭ, seem to have guarded the northern and southern limits of the heretic confederation of the Barghwāṭa.

Under the Almohads, Rabāṭ acquired the dimensions of a city through the activities of the third caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, and was the gathering place for warriors whose destination was Spain.

Sometimes castles were grouped together or formed a line to keep watch over countries where rebellion was threatening, or to block the routes of parties of open rebels. Thus, the Almoravids guarded the Rif by the stronghold of Bani Tawda and the castle of Amergo. When the Almohad revolt had reached the great mass of the Moroccan Atlas, they built castles for obstructing the enemy on the foothills or at the mouth of a mountain defile. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, faced with Berber dissensions in the Middle Atlas region and the Rif, also built lines of *ḳaṣaba*s.

This same sovereign engaged in the military occupation of his own states, and built, even in the subjugated plains, castles where his garrison troops, the *ʿabīd*, were quartered. Their main rôle was to raise taxes, both in money and in kind. The enceintes of these castles contain, besides the governor's house and a mosque, great silos.

There were numerous castles built to ensure the security of the major trade routes, to accommodate travellers at the end of a day's journey, and sometimes also to provide for the relay stages of a system of official couriers [see BARĪD], where a fortified town could not fulfil these functions. The routes leading from Cordova to the larger towns in Muslim Spain were so marked out by castles built a day's stage apart. Sometimes secondary fortresses and watchtowers guarded mountain defiles.

Naturally, bridges over large rivers were under the protection of a fortress, often an important one. Thus the Conventual of Marida guarded the Guadiana crossing as well as the town. Almost all the bridges of the Tagus were guarded by a castle or at least by a tower.

The plan of the castle. — The Roman and Byzantine tradition is often continued in the plans of these castles, and also sometimes those of the Umayyad castles of Syria, themselves strongly indebted to the *castella* of Rome and Byzantium. On flat ground the plan of the fortresses is always very regular, square or oblong, with angle bastions and intermediate flanking towers varying in number. The very geometric forms of ancient fortification were faithfully followed in Moroccan official buildings, and also in Berber architecture.

But many castles were built on hill-tops or on rocky outcrops. In such cases modification to suit the terrain was necessary. The perimeter of the castle is very variable, in size as well as shape. Sometimes above escarpments the curtain-wall needed no towers. In very mountainous country the necessity of finding firm foundations resulted in an irregular spacing of the towers. Abrupt changes of direction are frequent, the trace often appearing as a zigzag. The double enceinte scarcely appears at all except in Naṣrid fortification under Christian influence, and the outer wall remains very rare.

It is exceptional for a Muslim castle to include a reduit or a donjon. However, the *ribāṭ*s of Ifrīḳiya often have watch-towers, and the citadel of Sūsa also has one. At the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Ḥammād the great bastion of the *manār* formed a sort of reduit. In Naṣrid fortification the use of the donjon, sometimes surrounded by a reduit, was introduced in the 7th/13th century in imitation of Christian castles. But in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries the Naṣrid castles returned more and more to the classical forms of Hispano-Moorish fortification.

Fortified ports and arsenals. — These were

both known to western Islam. The port of Tandja Bāliya, to the east of Tangier, might date from the Muslim period. It included an interior dock, now filled with sand, defended by a bastioned enceinte. The entry to and exit from the port were by two large gates flanked by towers; but of this complex there are now only remains at ground level. On the other hand, the maritime arsenal of Salé, now filled in, preserves its two gates with their towers. This arsenal occupied one of the corners of the town enceinte. From the 4th/10th century a similar solution had been adopted at al-Mahdiyya. The enceinte embodied an interior port, the entrance to which was defended by two towers between which a chain could be stretched. A large arch of carved stone gave access to the port of Ḥunayn, built in the 8th/14th century; likewise at the port or arsenal of Bougie (Bidjāya) and at the arsenal of Malaga. The great arch under which shipping passed would seem to belong to the Spanish tradition.

Building material. — Ashlar often persisted in the Aghlabid fortification of Ifrīḳiya. It was often used for the entire curtain wall, and always for the more important works. The rubble walls themselves were bonded with dressed stone. The Umayyad fortifications of Spain, in its most beautiful works, used bonding of regularly alternating headers and stretchers. But in African fortification, up to the 6th/12th century, rubble was by far the most frequently used material. It was often bonded with dressed stone, and also on many occasions trimmed and bedded in regular courses, sometimes even with alternation of thick and thin beds. In Almoravid fortresses the joints which surround the large rubble stones are dotted with small black pebbles.

In Spain rubble was often used in the building of secondary fortresses, sometimes with lacing courses and snecks of brick; this last use is particularly frequent in the Toledo school. Sometimes false joints extend the angle bonding courses into the rubble facing. In the Naṣrid period imitation of Christian fortresses increased the use of rubble.

Large fortifications of brick are rare in the Muslim west. However, the ramparts of Ḳayrawān were from the beginning built of brick. Those of Baṣra [*q.v.*], in the north of Morocco, were so in part. In Spain brick was not used throughout buildings except in comparatively late Mudéjar work. But in gates of ashlar or rubble, whether combined with concrete or not, brick was generally used for certain arches and for vaults, sometimes even for façades of doorways where the basic framework was constructed entirely of concrete.

From the 4th/10th century, the building material most frequently used in Spanish fortresses was a concrete made from a clayey or pebbly soil, more or less rich in lime, tamped in shutterings about 80 cm. thick. This method came to the Maghrib in the 6th/12th century and persisted until the 20th. The use of concrete brought about a simplification of forms, and thus came the pre-eminence of the rectangular tower. Brick was associated with it for arches and their jambs, for vaults, and sometimes for the façades of doorways.

Problems of flanking. — It is very rare for the projections and re-entrants of the curtain wall to be in themselves sufficient to provide good flanking. Hence it was necessary to rely on towers and bastions flanking the enceinte wall. Bastions on enceintes on flat ground are never spaced more than 30 m. apart, in order to leave between two towers no area uncovered by missiles. But towers could be closer together than this. In Spain in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries towers of small dimensions and very close together were often used.

The circular or almost circular tower is met with only rarely: this shows Christian influence. The semicircular tower was employed in Aghlabid fortification, where it marks an eastern influence: it is found in certain Umayyad castles in Syria, and it is common in ʿAbbāsid building. Most frequently, in Spain as in north Africa, the oblong tower, of greater length than projection, is used. Towers set cantwise are rare. Bastions of irregular quadrilateral form are sometimes found at the corners of enceintes. The polygonal bastion appears in Spain in the 6th/12th century, but was little used in the Maghrib. Altogether Muslim architecture in the west shows little variety in the form of the bastions. In most of the Hispano-Moorish enceintes, series of similar towers are spaced along the line of curtain walls.

In the 7th/13th century Muslim Spain invented a new tower, the *albarrana* or exterior tower, which is detached from and in front of the curtain wall, to which it is connected by a projecting element of wall. The tower and its base are connected with the chemin-de-ronde of the rampart. In such a case the outer wall of the defences would pass round the foot of the *albarrana*. Sometimes also the *albarrana* is thrown far forward, at the end of a section of the curtain wall with a double parapet. This innovation, later adopted often in Mudéjar fortification, does not seem to have reached the Maghrib.

On the whole these towers contain only a minimum of fittings. Sometimes they have a plain base and a crenellated platform, sometimes an interior room at the level of the chemin-de-ronde and an upper platform consisting of a floor carried on joists, to which a ladder gives access. However, from the 6th/12th century, the large polygonal bastions have two or three floors of vaulted rooms and an internal staircase. These large towers are almost all *albarranas*. They contributed greatly to the defence at the more vulnerable points of the enceinte.

Gates. — Barbicans and chatelets are never found in front of the principal gateway. Until the 5th/11th century there is only, in Spain as in the Berber country, the system of gateways opening between two towers, with a vaulted corridor of varying length and pilasters supporting the entry (sometimes also the exit) arch and protecting the hinges of the leaves of the doors.

In the 6th/12th century there appears in Spain the simple bent entrance, known in Byzantine fortification; this passed into the Maghrib in the 6th/12th century together with the other forms of the Hispano-Moorish fortress, and in the 7th/13th century to Tunisia. Some of these gates have an open passage instead of a central vaulted hall. These gates open sometimes between two towers, sometimes on the flank of a massive bastion. In the 6th/12th century gateways with a double or treble bent entrance appear under the Almohad caliphs. The interior way consists of a series of vaulted halls almost always broken by an open passage. The leaves of the entry and exit doors are rebated between two pilasters which support the archways.

All these entrances with angle passages open between two towers. In the Almohad period towers and façade are constructed in stone and covered with a richly carved decoration. In the Marinid and Naṣrid entrances brick replaces stone, and the decoration of the façades is much more restrained. The thick mass of construction which forms these

doorways projects behind the inner face of the rampart; only the two towers which flank the entrance archway stand out in front of the curtain wall, not greatly larger in dimensions than the rest of the towers. The great Almohad entrances, whose value is as much decorative as functional, are among the most perfect creations of Hispano-Moorish architecture; they are probably among the most beautiful and certainly the most rich of the whole of Islam.

The doorway with a long corridor, of oriental type, is found in the 4th/10th century only at the principal entry of the Fāṭimid town of al-Mahdiyya, the Saḳīfa al-Kaḥlā'. This form does not appear to have had any imitation in the Muslim West.

The portcullis is rare in Muslim Spain, and has never been reported from the Maghrib. The simple bent entrance remained in use at all periods, from Spain to Ifrīḳiya.

Modification for cannon. — The Naṣrids did no more than furnish low platforms as cannon emplacements at the feet of certain towers and certain doorways of the Alhambra. In Morocco the Saʿdid sultans, in the 10th/16th century, made use of two systems. In the enceinte of the *ḳaṣaba* of Marrākush, which was likely to be attacked only by tribes who did not possess cannon, it was sufficient for them to enlarge the dimensions of the oblong towers flanking the curtain wall in order to house a small mortar in the defensive chamber of each. Elsewhere, at the Bastyūn of Taza and at the north and south *burdj*es of Fez, they imitated (thanks no doubt to information from renegades) European fortresses with vaulted casemates, with thick and often battered walls, sometimes even of a star-shaped plan. These imitations of European fortresses were in use in all the coastal regions of north Africa, in Morocco as well as in the two Ottoman provinces, where European reprisals were to be feared. They were intended to do no more than stand up to a bombardment from the sea and to reply to it. These works were set fairly high up; low-level fortification, in the Vauban manner, was never employed. The defences were simple enough, merely a wall and a ditch with a ramp of earth forming a counterscarp.

Beside these more or less modern fortresses, the old style of fortification of the Middle Ages, under its most simple forms, was continued throughout the Berber country.

Thus the Muslim West remained faithful to the tradition of the Later Empire and to Byzantium. The only additions to this tradition by the creation of new forms were Spanish. The *albarrana* tower, and the entrance with a series of bends and with an open passage, appeared in Muslim Spain. Influences from the Christian world were unable to stimulate Naṣrid fortification. The more or less skilful imitations of European fortifications which were erected on the Barbary coasts in the modern period did not prevent north African fortification from remaining generally archaic and sketchy.

Bibliography: There is no general work dealing with the military architecture of the Muslim West. Numerous studies, by country and by period, will be found in: H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1932; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; M. Gómez Moreno, *Arte árabe español hasta los Almohades, Arte mozárabe*, Madrid 1951 (*Ars Hispaniae*, iii); L. Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade, Arte nazarí, Arte mudéjar*, Madrid 1949 (*Ars Hispaniae*, iv); idem, *Arte hispano-musulmán hasta la caída del Califato de Córdoba*, Madrid 1957. (H. Terrasse)

ii.—Iran

Fortified sites of the mediaeval period are extremely numerous in Iran. According to the author of the *Fārsnāma* (G. Le Strange, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia*, 74) there were more than 70 notable castles in the Province of Fārs alone, of which 20 are described in the text. Yet despite this wealth of remains, the military architecture of Muslim Iran has been little studied, no doubt because the poor preservation of many of the structures makes them uninformative. Taking advantage of the mountainous terrain, many of these fortresses depended more for their protection on a strong natural position than on man-made fortifications. For example, according to Yāḳūt, iii, 490, the fortress of Ṭāḳ in Ṭabaristān, the stronghold of the Iṣfahbad Khurshīd (120/738-149/766) was surrounded by unscaleable mountains, and entered only by a long tunnel. The entrance was closed by a stone so large that 500 men were required to move it. Inside the fortress was a stream of water. Ṭāḳ was regarded as impregnable, but eventually capitulated to the Arabs on account of an outbreak of plague. Awliyā' Allāh Āmulī, *Ta'rīkh-i Rūyān*, 45, states that in later years Ṭāḳ was known as ʿĀyisha Kargīlī Diz, and that it stood to the south of Sārī, beyond the gorge of Kūlā.

For such hill-top castles a reliable water-supply was an important need. Thus a few possessed springs, or wells of water—as in the case of the Ismāʿīlī castle of Girdkūh, near Dāmghān, which assumed major importance only after the appearance of water in a previously dry well, as the result of an earthquake. However, the majority had to depend on water stored in cisterns, the remains of which are often visible at the present day. At Bahmandiz, some 50 miles south of Shāhrezā in Iṣfahān Province, the castle crowned a precipitous rocky bluff in the centre of a great plain. The only entrance was by crawling through a crevice between two rocks, and water was stored in two large cisterns outside, and below, the castle. At this site an Arabic inscription, apparently the earliest known in Iran, records the construction of the fortifications by Khāzim b. Muḥammad in 265/878-9.

In the mountains, fortifications had generally to be adapted to the lie of the ground, but those in the plains more often had a geometrical ground-plan. In the Gurgān plain a characteristic layout consists of a square perimeter with a smaller square keep in one corner (cf. E. F. Schmidt, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran*, Pl. 61, 67 and 68). To judge by the example at the site of the mediaeval town of Tammīsha at Kharābshahr in Gurgān Province, such fortifications may date from the eighth or ninth centuries A.D. Also in Gurgān Province are linear systems of fortification designed to guard against incursions from the steppe. One of these is the famous Sadd-i Iskandar ('Alexander's Barrier'), whilst a lesser wall, situated near Kharābshahr, consisted of a baked-brick curtain wall running along the crest of an earthen rampart, and strengthened by semi-circular or semi-elliptical towers. Both these lines of defence appear to have been built by the Sāsānid king Khosraw I (A.D. 531-579) before the advent of Islam.

Amongst the best-studied Islamic fortresses of Iran are the castles of the Ismāʿīlī sect in the Alburz range, for example Alamūt [*q.v.*], Lamasar and Maymūndiz to the north of Ḳazwīn; and Girdkūh, near Dāmghān. These strongholds are sited on precipi-

tous crags, and have ingenious arrangements for water-supply. At Maymūndiz, recently located near Shams Kilaya, off the Alamūt Valley, a spring was found on the summit of the castle spur, and three more on the side of the feature; whilst a stream had been diverted to bring water to the foot of the castle, details all reported by Djuwaynī (tr. J. A. Boyle, ii, 627). At Lamasar, there is a catchment area with cisterns on the summit of the rock. In addition, Willey describes a tunnel 600 yards long leading to a tower which overhangs the river Naina Rūd. From this tower water could be drawn up out of the river with buckets. Ivanow, however, gives a slightly different description of this feature.

All the major cities of Iran were in the middle ages protected by walls, few of which survive to the present day. Pope describes the walls of Yazd, still partly extant. They are of mud-brick, guarded by circular bastions, and provided with machicolations (Persian *sang-andāz*), and an entrance-tower which performs the function of a barbican. The elaborate mud-brick fortifications of the citadel also survive at Bam.

As an element in place-names Ḥiṣn is somewhat rare in Iran. The Arab geographers refer to a settlement called Ḥiṣn Mahdī on the Kārūn below Ahwāz, but the site has not been identified in modern times. Ḥiṣn al-Ṭāḳ in Afghān Sīstān (not to be confused with the previously-mentioned castle of Ṭāḳ in Ṭabaristān) was a powerful fortress situated about 22 miles south of Zarandj (modern Nād ʿAlī). Le Strange (*Eastern Caliphate*, 343) was in error in stating that this site lay north of Zarandj. It is correctly identified by G. P. Tate, *Seistan, a memoir of the history, topography, ruins and people of the country*, Calcutta 1910-12, 225, with the group of ruins known at the present day as Sar-o-tar (or Tar-o-sar), which stand on the high plain overlooking the valley of the Helmand. The site was investigated by J. Hackin in 1936, and consists of a massive mud-brick keep surrounded by two outer perimeters. A particular feature of these fortifications is the use of the bent entrance. It was at Ṭāḳ that the Ṣaffārid Khalaf b. Aḥmad (352/963-393/1002) withstood a siege by his rebellious son Ṭāhir, and subsequently prepared to receive the onslaught of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, to whom, however, he finally surrendered on terms.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

iii.—Central Asia

Light is thrown on the long development of mud-brick fortification in Central Asia by the researches of S. P. Tolstov in the territories of ancient Khʷārazm. The earliest fortified sites are the so-called 'wall-dwelling settlements' of about the 6th century B.C., in which the living-quarters are formed by a series of vaulted corridors extending along the inner face of the wall. The ground-plan of the fortifications is usually rectangular, as at the site of Kalaly-Gyr, and the walls are provided with numerous spear-shaped arrow-slits, and occasional square towers or salients for enfilade fire. The main purpose of these enclosures appears to have been for the safeguarding of flocks and herds, since the internal court-yards were not built up with houses.

Fortresses of considerably greater sophistication were, however, developed in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., when Chorasmia (Khʷārazm) came to constitute an independent state. There was some variation in the ground-plans at this period. Thus at Koi-Krylghan-Kala there was a circular perimeter with semi-circular towers, enclosing a circular keep. This whole lay-out is reminiscent of fortifications of the Parthian period in Iran, for example the cities of Dārābgird and Gūr (Fīrūzābād) in Fārs. At Djānbas Ḳalʿa the more traditional rectangular ground-plan is used, without flanking towers but once more well-provided with arrow-slits, and with specially-constructed oblique arrow-slits to protect the corners of the wall. The most remarkable feature of this site is however an outwork which screens the gate, and forms a species of bent entrance. Creswell argued from its occurrence at Djānbas Ḳalʿa that this refinement of fortification was first developed in Central Asia, reaching the Muslim and Mediterranean worlds only in the eighth century A.D.

In the second and third centuries A.D. under the local dynasty of the Afrīghids a new type of fortification became general in Khʷārazm. The main feature in this case, within one or two rectangular perimeters with rounded towers, was a massive square central keep with battered walls, standing on a solid base of mud-brick, and entered from the perimeter gate-house by a bridge at the first storey. These fortifications are interpreted by Tolstov as the residence of a local nobility, the *dehḳāns*. Similar principles of fortification persisted into the Muslim period in Central Asia. Ground-plans remained basically rectangular, but there was a tendency to adapt the lay-out to the contours of the ground. Where extensions were required, it became customary to enlarge the perimeter here or there on an *ad hoc* basis, rather than to adhere throughout to a predetermined geometrical plan. Powerful flanking towers remained an important feature of the defences, and gates were furnished with semicircular outworks having a single entrance so arranged as to oblige the attackers to present their unshielded right sides to the missiles of the defenders. It was in the 12th and 13th centuries that the art of fortification reached its fullest development with the massive structures of the Khʷārazm-shāhs.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

iv.—Indonesia and Malaysia

In the sense in which historians of Muslim architecture understand the word *ḥiṣn*, it is absent from Indonesia and Malaysia. Though these countries, and their several components, were converted to Islam at various times from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards, the habits of fortification and defence had already been formed by local requirements of site, materials and tactics rather than by conventional architectural principles.

Thus, though the Javanese, for instance, built superb and very large stone temples from as early as the 10th century, by the time Islam reached them 500-600 years later, their society was already based on maritime and coastal trade rather than war on

land. Their forts, and others in Sumatra, Malaya and Borneo, were usually sited to control river-mouths and junctions, or in defence against pirates. They were often occupied only temporarily—for a few days or weeks at a time—and usually consisted of earth or turf walls and ramparts strengthened with timber and surrounded by ditches, wooden stockades or calthrops. Sometimes stone, locally-made brick and rubble were used, but timber was the commonest material, apart from earth, as it was everywhere available in quantity, while stone was relatively rare.

These structures are called either *kota* (from Sanskrit) or *kubu* in both Indonesian and Malay. Both words mean 'fort', the former type being larger and more permanent than the latter and more likely to be made of stone.

Some forts mounted cannon from before 1500 A.D. but exchange of shot was often a ritual performance containing little rancour: real fighting was by sword, spear and *kĕris* at close quarters and in conditions where fortification was irrelevant. In these circumstances, and in terrain often thickly covered with jungle, the Middle Eastern style of military architecture deriving from long-range archery, sieges and mounted sorties was accordingly never called into existence.

The defences of royal cities were grander and more substantial, according to early travellers' accounts, and included towers and great gates but, so far as is known, there was nothing specifically Islamic about them.

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(J. C. BOTTOMS)

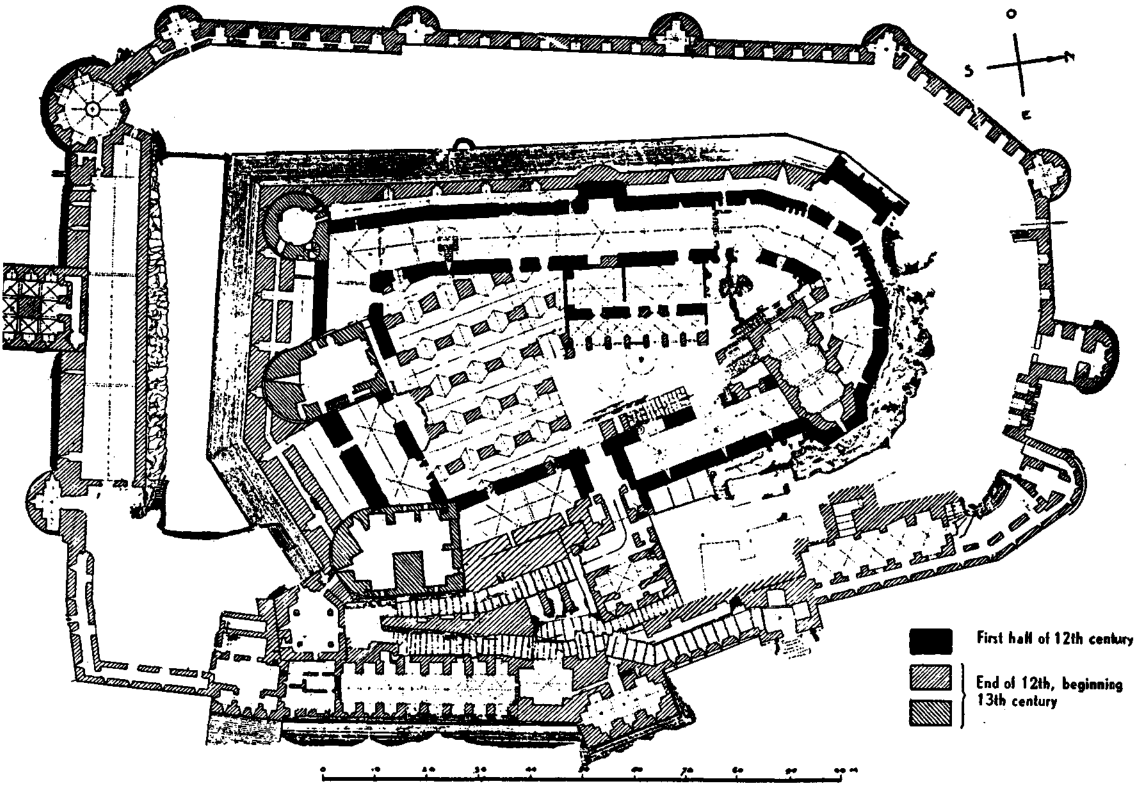
ḤIṢN AL-AKRĀD ("Fortress of the Kurds"), a castle in Syria known in Europe by the name of "Crac des Chevaliers". The castle crowns a rounded and almost isolated summit, mount Khalīl, the last southerly inclination of the Djabal Anṣāriyya, some 60 km. to the north-west of Ḥimṣ. Situated like an eagle's nest at a height of 750 m. on a spur flanked by two ravines on the north-east and north-west, it overlooks from a height of 300 m. the plain of the Buḳayʿa [*q.v.*] which extends eastward and south-eastward. In the Frankish period this very fertile cultivated region contained numerous farmsteads in its fields shaded by fig-trees and olive-trees. Ḥiṣn al-Akrād commands the ridge between the Djabal ʿAkkār and the Djabal Baḥrāʾ which allows of communication between the coastal plain to the north of Tripoli, crossed by the Nahr al-Kabīr (the Eleuthera) which flows at the foot of the castle, and the plain of Ḥimṣ, which is watered by the ʿĀṣī (Orontes). This strategic position permits the interception of any movement between Tripoli and Ḥimṣ, and also observation of the northern outlet of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*]. The castle also defended the frontier of the County of Tripoli to the north-east and constituted a forward position threatening Muslim territory. Two roads passed by here, already in use in Roman times, that from Ḥamāt to Tripoli and that from Rafaniyya to Ṭarṭūs.

Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was in communication with some of the neighbouring fortresses by visual signals or by flares. From the top of the castle the square keep of Ṣāfīthā and Ṭarṭūs [*qq.v.*] by the sea can be seen very clearly to the west; to the south-east, beyond the plain of the Buḳayʿa, the lake of Ḥimṣ and the fringe of the Palmyra desert can just be seen. Towards the south liaison was easy with the castle of Ḳulayʿa in the coastal plain of Tripoli and with the castle of ʿAkkār on the foothills of the Djabal ʿAkkār, which is snow-capped for most of the year.

Since the very earliest times the site of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād has been occupied by a fortress. According to ancient Egyptian texts, a township called Shebton or Shabtuna occupied the site at the time of the invasion of Rameses II. Its earliest mention in Arabic texts appears in the first half of the 5th/11th century, when the Mirdāsid prince of Aleppo, Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr, settled a military colony of Kurds there in 422/1031, giving them the adjacent fields in return for the protection of the roads from Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt towards Tripoli against attacks from the west. There seems to have been no more than a simple tower surrounded by a rampart: this was the "castle of the Slope", *Ḥiṣn al-Safḥ*, of which no trace remains. On the arrival of the Kurds the site came to be known as Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. The etymology of the mediaeval Frankish name "Crac de l'Ospital" is uncertain. The term *akrād* was probably the origin of the Frankish *cratum*, later *crat* and then *crac*: but this latter might also be derived from *karak*, the origin of which is the Syriac *karkā*, "fortress". The expression "Crac des Chevaliers" is modern, and in no way corresponds to the modern Arabic name *Ḳalʿat al-Ḥiṣn*, an obvious pleonasm.

First Frankish period, 503-37/1110-42. During the first Crusade, Raymond of Saint-Gilles seized the Crac in Ṣafar 492/January 1099. The capture of the castle had some repercussions, and Raymond received ambassadors from Ḥimṣ and Tripoli; but the Franks remained there for only a few days, since then the principal objective was Jerusalem. In Djumādā II 495/April 1102 Raymond attempted to recapture the place. After the capture of Tripoli (end of 502/July 1109) the Franks encountered Tughtakīn [*q.v.*], the *atabeg* of Damascus. Their negotiations resulted in the Muslims' surrendering a third of the harvests of the Buḳayʿa and the castles of Munayṭira and ʿAkkār, in return for which the Franks were no make no attempts against Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, which was compelled to pay them tribute. Shortly afterwards, at the end of 503/June 1110, Tancred of Antioch appeared and seized the castle from the Kurdish *amīr* Ḳaradja and installed a Frankish garrison. On the death of Bertrand of Saint-Gilles, in Shaʿbān 505/February 1112, Tancred took Pons, the grandson of Raymond, into his care, and granted him the Crac as an appanage. The end of 508/spring 1115 saw the first Muslim attack; the *amīr* Alp Arslan marched from Aleppo and besieged Ḥiṣn al-Akrād in vain. No other significant event occurred before 536/1142.

Second Frankish period, 537-670/1142-1271. The *atabeg* Zangī [*q.v.*] had just captured Bārīn and Rafaniyya, and the Muslim threat was now taking shape. Raymond II, son of Pons, made over the Crac to the Order of the Hospitallers, with all its surrounding territory and the nearby small forts and observation posts, and surrendered to them also fishing rights in the lake of Ḥimṣ. William of Cratum, the feudatory of the castle, was compensated, and the villagers of the neighbourhood remained under Frankish protection. In Radjab 552/August-September 1157 a violent earthquake shook the castle; the damage was quickly repaired by Raymond of Le Puy, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, who had received a handsome donation from Wladislas II,



king of Bohemia. It was the old Kurd castle, enlarged by the castellan, on which Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] set eyes in 557/1163 before being obliged to flee towards the lake of Ḥimṣ in the siesta hour. In 565/1170 the place suffered severely from a second earthquake, as a result of which important repair works were undertaken, which were sufficiently advanced in 584/1188 to resist Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. Further earthquakes in 597/1201 and 598/1202 made extensive repairs necessary, and the general appearance of the castle dates from this period. The first thirty years of the 7th/13th century were the heyday of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. In 613/1207 the Knights repulsed an attack by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr; in 624/1218, during the fifth Crusade, the army of al-Malik al-Ashraf came from Aleppo to camp beneath it. In the same year King Andrew II of Hungary made an assignment of revenue for the upkeep of the fortress where he had been a guest. Frederick II excluded the Hospitallers and the Crac from the peace treaty concluded in Rabīʿ I 626/February 1229 with the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*]; the latter tried in vain to seize the place in Djumādā II 626/May 1229.

At this time the masters of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād exacted a tribute of 4,000 *dīnārs* from the principality of Ḥamāt, 800 *dīnārs* from the canton of Abū Ḳudays, and 1,200 *dīnārs* and 100 *mudd* of wheat and barley from the Ismāʿīlī territory (*bilād al-daʿwa*). They had to forgo this income in 665/1266 after the signing of a ten years' peace treaty with Baybars [*q.v.*] (Maḳrīzī, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. Maml.*, i, 2, 32, 42).

The Crac, which in normal times had a garrison of some sixty Knights of St. John, was used as an assembly point for the expeditions which were often made against Ḥamāt. In 630/1233 more than 2000 combatants gathered at the castle: 100 Knights of Cyprus, 80 of Jerusalem, 30 of Antioch, and 100 Hospitallers, as well as 400 serjeants and 1500 infantrymen.

It was after the failure of the seventh Crusade at al-Manṣūra [*q.v.*] in 647/1249 and the departure of Saint Louis that the first difficulties began, since there were no further reinforcements coming from Europe. Moreover, the Muslims were gaining in strength; at the end of 649/beginning of 1252 a Turkoman army from Shayzar [*q.v.*] invaded the region, although its attack on Ḥiṣn al-Akrād failed.

In 658/1260, after the Muslim victory over the Mongols at ʿAyn Djalūt [*q.v.*], a new champion of Islam emerged, Baybars I [*q.v.*]. From this time onward disaster followed disaster for the Christians. In Djumādā II 668/January 1270 the sultan sent out a reconnaissance party of 40 cavalry; in Ṣafar 669/September-October 1270, learning of the death of Saint Louis and being no longer threatened from the west, he led a powerful expedition into Syria. Baybars appeared before Ḥiṣn al-Akrād; on 19 Radjab 669/3 March 1271 he occupied the forward defences and battered the outer enceinte; on the 21st, after the arrival of reinforcements from Ḥamāt, he captured the first barbican (*bāshūra*); ten days later, on 1 Shaʿbān/15 March, the second barbican, at the elbow of the access-ramp, also fell, and finally, on 15 Shaʿbān/29 March, an entry was forced into the central courtyard and the besieged defenders withdrew into the donjon. Baybars attacked with ballistas; on 25 Shaʿbān/8 April the keep surrendered, and the Knights were allowed to withdraw, under safe-conduct, to Tripoli. The spurious letter from the Grand Master of the Order calling on the Knights to surrender, a letter which was said to have been forged

by Baybars, seems to be a legend given currency by al-Nuwayrī. Baybars himself directed the repair work, and left the castle on 15 Ramaḍān/27 April having appointed Ṣārim al-Dīn Ḳaymāz as governor. In 680/1281, after the capture of Tripoli by Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, mentioned by al-ʿUmarī as still being an important fortress, lost its importance, but a garrison was kept there to guard against any attack from Europe or Cyprus on Ṭarṭūs or Tripoli.

Being remote from the major communication routes, the region was sheltered from attack, and was untouched by the invasion of Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*] in 803/1401 just as it was by the Ottoman conquest more than a century later.

In 1859, at the time of Rey's first journey, the castle was still almost intact, but van Berchem records that in 1895 it was already occupied by a village. In November 1933 Ḥiṣn al-Akrād was ceded to France by the ʿĀlawī state, the village was evacuated, and restoration work was begun in earnest. In 1947 the restored castle was returned by France to Syria. Today it is one of the wonders of mediaeval military art, and its present appearance recalls what it was like seven centuries ago.

Description. The general outline of the castle, which occupies a surface area of two and a half hectares (just over six acres), is in the shape of a trapezium of which the smaller base is to the north and the obliques on the eastern and western fronts. The outer enceinte broadens from north to south. The main entrance is on the east front in an oblong salient in the outer enceinte; this enceinte, the layout of which is dictated by the terrain, includes round or square towers at intervals according to the exigencies of defence. The east front has three oblong salients protected by brattices rebuilt by the Muslims in the 7th/13th century. The north front includes a postern and is protected by two square towers, the salient parts of which were rounded off at the time of Baybars. Five Frankish towers, dating from the end of the 6th/12th century, are connected by curtain walls which, retaining their crenellated chemin-de-ronde and their brattices, bring a fine architectural beauty to the western front. The south front, where there are no natural defences, was protected by a triangular outwork surrounded by three ditches, of which the trace remains. The powerful rampart of the Frankish period, behind which there extends a hall sixty metres in length, was reinforced in the Muslim period by a rebuilding of the great angle towers and by the construction in the middle of the wall of a huge square structure, the work of Baybars.

An arched ramp, in two sections, leads from the main entrance and is defended at its elbow as well as at its two ends; it gives access either to the entrance leading to the interior court or to the terreplein between the two enceintes. This system of a double concentric enceinte seems to have been borrowed from the Byzantine tradition. The inner enceinte corresponds to the ramparts of the original Frankish fortress which, between 1110 and 1142, had replaced the small Muslim castle of the 5th/11th century; it enclosed a small hill and was originally furnished with square towers, some of which were later rebuilt as round towers. This enceinte, which commands all the exterior defences, may be described as follows: the east front has a square tower defending the entrance and a salient which corresponds with the chevet of the chapel. This salient and the neighbouring curtains are in a rusticated bond of moderate size, which indicates the oldest parts of the construction. At the north-west corner a large square tower forms a rectangular salient, the face of which carries three machicolations on large arches. Machicolation had been known in the east since Greco-Roman times, as the brattices of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*] show, although this system of defence spread in Europe only after the end of the 6th/12th century. The small north side of the salient has a side entrance which is bent, on the classical Byzantine model, to the right, to allow better protection for defenders carrying shields. The west front has only a single tower. On the south front, which because of the nature of the terrain is the most exposed, there is an impressive group of three tall towers scarfed into the batter and joined by two curtains; this formidable redoubt was used as a donjon. The south-west tower, the hall of which was decorated with fine sculpture, is known as the "Master's Lodging". The central tower was the best defended, its wall, over 6 metres thick, being pierced by two long embrasures. Finally, to the south-east, beside the corner tower, there stands between the two enceintes a pentagonal structure, rebuilt by Baybars, which was a control-point for intercommunication between the two enceintes, and which overlooks the great moat and commands the access ramp to the interior court. The inner enceinte underwent modifications at the beginning of the 7th/13th century after the earthquakes which had shaken the fortress. A massive battered embankment was built up against the wall, which in addition to its rôle as a buttress provided resistance against further seismic shock. The round towers are set in this powerful revetment, whilst at the foot of the original enceinte, which can be recognized by the nature of its rusticated stonework, runs a narrow corridor pierced by loopholes. On the south front a great masonry reservoir (*birka*) fed by a small aqueduct and serving for men and animals, affords additional protection between the two enceintes.

All the works of the interior defences and the guard-rooms, which are equipped with latrines and drains, date from the Frankish period. They are situated in the wall, and open out onto a vast central courtyard which is reached by a ramp in the east front. The southern half of this courtyard is occupied by vaulted store-rooms, the roofs of which form a vast terrace. Opposite the entrance, to the west, there is a large council-room with an elegant portico of pointed arches which are "a gem of Rayonnant Gothic art". To the north is a Romanesque chapel, barrel-vaulted and with a semi-circular apse, dating from the end of the 6th/12th century. It was converted into a mosque by Baybars, and has three *miḥrāb*s, one of which is in the apse, and a massive stone *minbar*.

All daily necessities were available in the interior of the enceinte. Rain-water was led into cisterns through earthenware channels, and supplemented the well in the central courtyard. In the southern part of the outer enceinte large stables were built, 60 m. long by 9 m. wide, which also served to shelter cattle during sieges. The north-west tower had a windmill. Barns and storehouses for reserve rations, silos for grain, cellars for oil and wine, millstones, wine-presses, and an oven provided for the victualling of the garrison under any circumstances.

Lower down the hill a terraced village called Ḥiṣn houses a farming community which cultivates the surrounding land and depends on cereal-crops, pasture-lands, fruit-trees and vegetables. Ḥiṣn, which was enclosed by a wall with two gates in the

Middle Ages, is divided into two quarters, the Ḥārat al-Turkmān to the south, and the Ḥārat al-Sarāʾya. In the latter is the principal mosque, a former church which was adapted for Islam by Baybars. The minaret dates from the 8th/14th century, probably from the time of the governor Baktakīn (719/1319). In the cemetery there are still the tombs of two *amīrs* of Baybars killed during the assaults, and the mausoleum of one of the sultan's grooms who was killed at his side.

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ḤIṢN AL-GHURĀB, name ("Crow Castle") of a mountain bearing on its summit the ruins of an ancient castle, situated on the southern coast of Arabia in the territory of the Wāḥidī [*q.v.*] sultanate at the eastern end of the South Arabian Federation, near the small town of Bīr ʿAlī (14° N., 48° 19′ E.). The mountain, which is of volcanic origin like several small islands in its vicinity and has its name because of its conspicuous blackish brown colour, is connected with the mainland, as it was already in the 1st century A.D., by a low strip of sandy ground. In the form of a promontory it covers from the south-west a small bay, in the north-east corner of which lies the trade port Bīr ʿAlī, a walled place of modest dimensions. This bay offers the best harbour on the coast of South Arabia east of Aden. Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb stands at about 4 km. from Bīr ʿAlī; not there, but on the flat ground immediately adjacent to the mountain on its northern side are the remains of constructions in stone, identified as the ruins of *Cane Emporium* (Κανὲ ἐμπόριον) of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy, *ḲNʾ* of the South-Arabian inscriptions, the port and place of transit to overland traffic in the incense trade and the trade between Egypt and India in Ptolemaean and Roman times. Some, and recently H. von Wissmann, have suggested the possibility that this port is also meant by *Ḳanne* in Ezekiel xxvii, 23; but no remains that might bear this out have been found in recent, superficial archeological surveys.

On top of the mountain are the ruins of a castle, several cisterns, and the traces of a watch-tower and various other buildings. A zig-zag path connects the site of the ancient port with the castle, and along its upper part are the inscriptions, first discovered by Lt. Wellsted in 1834, testifying to the ancient name of mountain and castle, *ʿUrr MWYT*, and to the close connexion between this and Cane (*ḲNʾ*). It is now generally accepted that the site of Cane is at Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb, and not at Bal-Ḥāf to the west nor at Madjdaḥa, 10 km. to the east of Bīr ʿAlī.

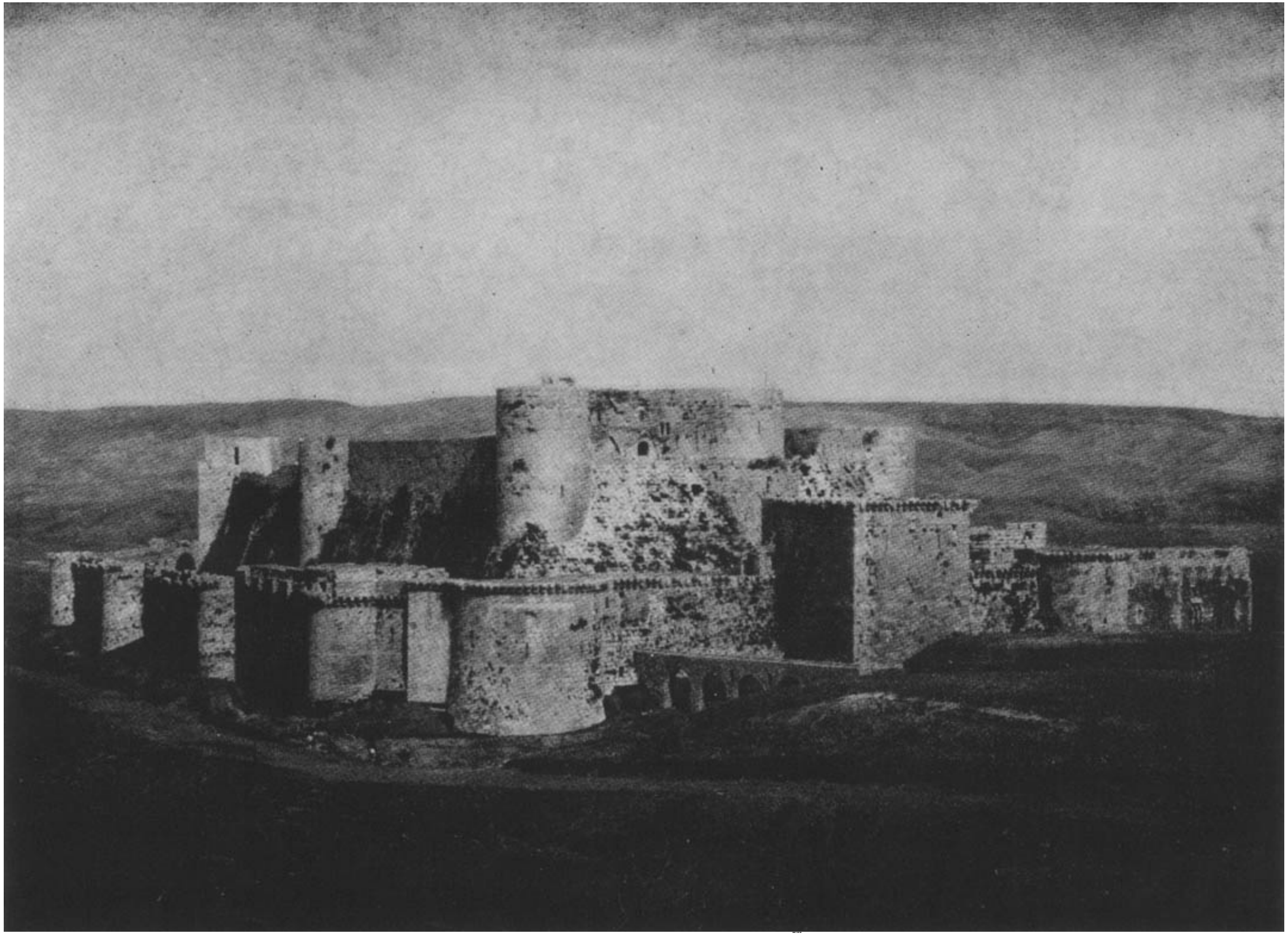
Bibliography: *Western Arabia and the Red Sea* (Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division), London 1946, 148, 222; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838; C. de Landberg, *Arabica*, iv, Leiden 1897 (incl. photographs of the mountain and the ʿUrr MWYT-ḲNʾ inscription) and *ibid.*, v, Leiden 1898; H. Ingrams, in *JRAS*, 1946; Freya Stark, in *Geographical Journal*, 1939; K. Mlaker, *Die Inschrift von Ḥuṣn al-Ġurâb*, in *WZKM*, xxxiv (1927) (text and transl. of the "larger", dated inscr.); for the date, cf. J. Ryckmans, *La persécution des chrétiens himyarites au sixième siècle*, Istanbul 1965, 8 f., and A. F. L. Beeston, *Problems of Sabaean chronology*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954); G. Lankester Harding, *Archeology in the Aden Protectorates*, London 1964 (with photographs); B. Doe, *Ḥuṣn al-Ġurâb and the site of Qanaʾ*, in *Muséon*, lxxiv (1961), 191-8 (with sketch maps); H. von Wissmann, *De Mari Erythraeo*, in *Hermann Lautensach-Festschrift = Stuttgarter Geogr. Studien*, lxix (Stuttgart 1957), 294 f.; H. von Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Abh. Akad. Wiss. u. Lit., Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl. 1952, 4, Wiesbaden 1953.—The larger and dated inscr.: *CIH*, 621; the ʿUrr MWYT-ḲNʾ inscr.: *CIH*, 728; cf. *RES*, 2633-7.
(J. SCHLEIFER-[L. O. SCHUMAN])

ḤIṢN KAYFĀ, town in Turkey (Hasankeyf in modern Turkish) situated in Djazīra (Upper Mesopotamia) on the right bank of the Tigris (37° 40′ North and 41° 30′ East) about halfway between Diyār-Bakr and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (Cizre), which in the Middle Ages was reputed to have an unhealthy climate.

The word Kayfā appears to be of Syriac origin (*Kifo* = rock), in which case the town would take its name from its castle, built on the rock which overhangs the Tigris. The historians of the Roman period refer to it under the name of Κιφας or *Cepha* and *Ciphas*. According to Taylor (see *Bibl.*), in early Arab traditions it was called *Sabʿat Aghwāl* which refers to the caves hollowed out in the seven converging ravines. Yāḳūt mentions it under the name of Ḥiṣn Kaybā, which he takes to be an Armenian word; according to Taylor, the place was known in ancient Armenian as Kentzy. The modern name, Hasankeyf, is obviously merely a deformation of the name Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The various Turkish etymologies: *Ḥasan keyfi* = Ḥasan's pleasure, *hüsnü keyf* = good humour and *ḥiṣn-i keyf* = castle where cares are forgotten, are fantasies of popular interpretation.

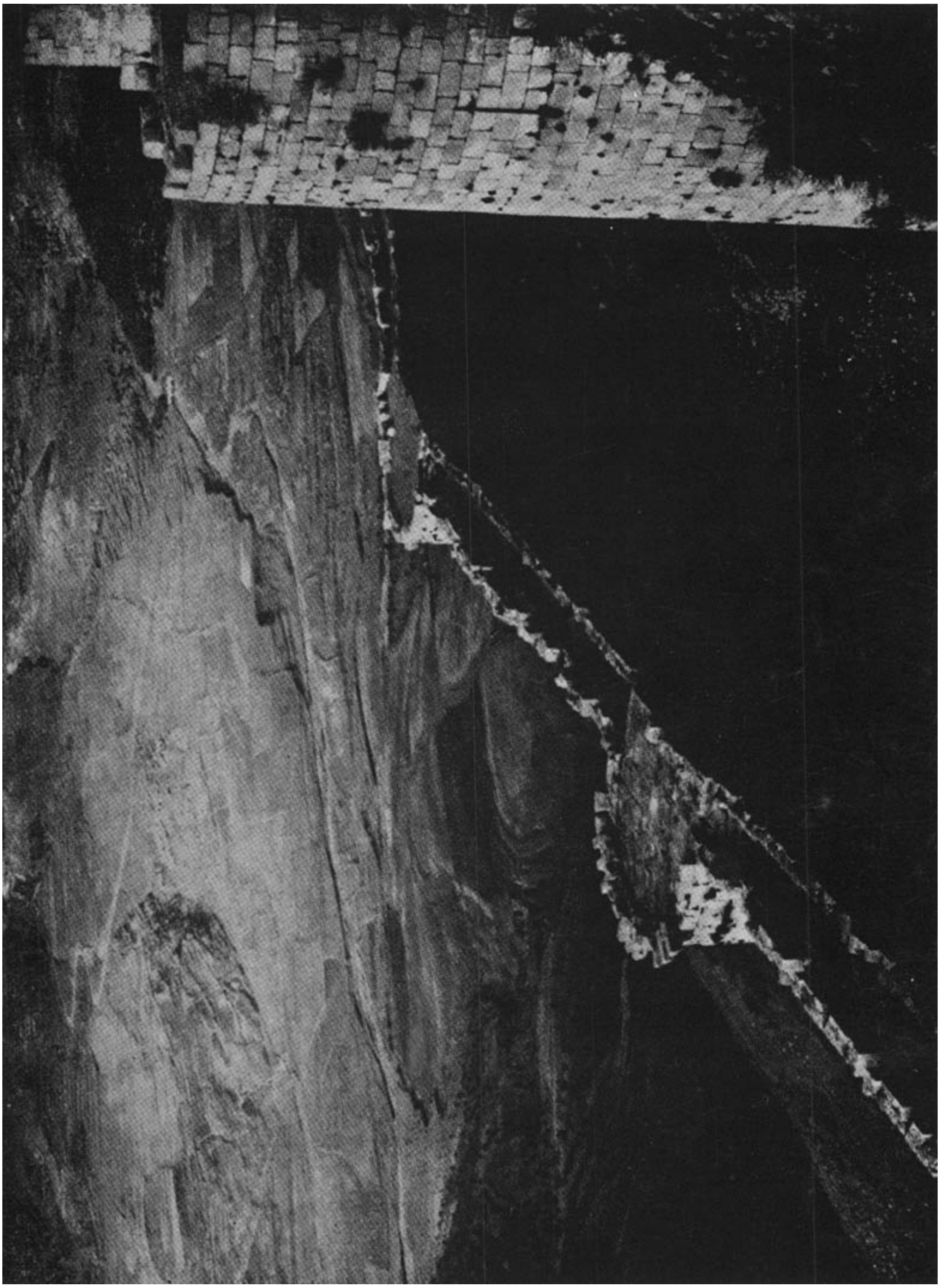
The region has been inhabited from very early times. Many grottoes and caves cut out of both banks of the river and in the neighbouring ravines date from the Chaldean period. Taylor found there many Parthian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Arab coins. But no precise information on these early settlements is available.

During the Roman period, the castle of Ḥiṣn Kayfā marked the frontier between the Roman and Persian territories. Because of its remarkable situation on the edge of the regions of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, which guards communications with the region of the Diyār Rabīʿa, and being at a point on the route between the valleys of the Batman Su and the Nahr al-Sarbaṭ, this castle was for centuries of great strategic importance.



Ḥiṣn al-Akrād — View from the south-west

(photograph by N. Elisséeff)



Ḥiṣ al-Akrād — View looking north-west (photograph by N. Elisséeff)

In the 5th century A.D. the town was the seat of a Nestorian bishopric and possessed many churches; indeed there were always many Christians there. At the beginning of the Artuḳid dynasty they possessed considerable influence, which was reinforced by the resistance of the Arabs and the Kurds to the Turcoman invasion. It was not until the 6th/12th century that the district of Diyār Bakr became involved in the movement of Muslim reaction aroused by Nūr al-Dīn. Nevertheless the Christian element did not entirely lose its importance, and in the 7th/13th century Ḥiṣn Kayfā was joined to the district of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn to form a patriarchate independent of that of Mardīn.

No details exist of the Arab conquest of the Byzantine fortress of Ḥiṣn Kayfā With the decline of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty the town came under the domination of the Ḥamdānids, as did the whole of the Diyār Bakr, in which Sayf al-Dawla was particularly interested, making long and frequent visits to Mayyāfāriḳīn. The Marwānids supplanted the Ḥamdānids and were themselves driven out by the Seldjūks; the Diyār Bakr became an integral part of the empire of Malikshāh. It was at this time that there appeared a new dynasty of Turcoman origin, that of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*] under whom Ḥiṣn Kayfā flourished. Sukmān b. Artuḳ, in the service of the Seldjūks, made his masters give him this town in 495-6/1102 and Ḥiṣn Kayfā, which thus became the seat of a princely dynasty, was for more than a century the political centre of a state which, though nominally a vassal of the Seldjūk sultanate, was in fact almost totally independent. Dāwūd b. Sukmān suceeded his father and was himself replaced on his death by his son, Ḳara Arslan, to whom is attributed the restoration, in 510/1116, of the famous bridge over the Tigris which will be mentioned later. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son and successor of Ḳara Arslan, was more or less the vassal of the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn. On his death the Artuḳid princes became increasingly the dependants of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In 629/1232 they were completely dispossessed of Ḥiṣn Kayfā by the Ayyūbids. In 658/1260, the town, captured by the Mongols, was pillaged and partly destroyed, though the branch of the Ayyūbids in Ḥiṣn Kayfā survived for more than two centuries under the Mongols and their successors; it even survived the upheaval of Timur's invasion, maintaining in the declining town a centre of Arabic culture. The Ayyūbid dynasty succumbed to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], who imposed their rule on Ḥiṣn Kayfā but rebuilt it from its ruined state, particularly under the sons of Uzun Ḥasan. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the Persians invaded the region and defeated the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ḥiṣn Kayfā then coming under the sovereignty of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl. The final capture of the region in 922/1516 by the Ottomans caused no change in the condition of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, which gradually dwindled to a small and unimportant town (pop., 1960: 1058). Today it forms part of the *vilâyet* of Mardin but is very little visited because of the poor communications.

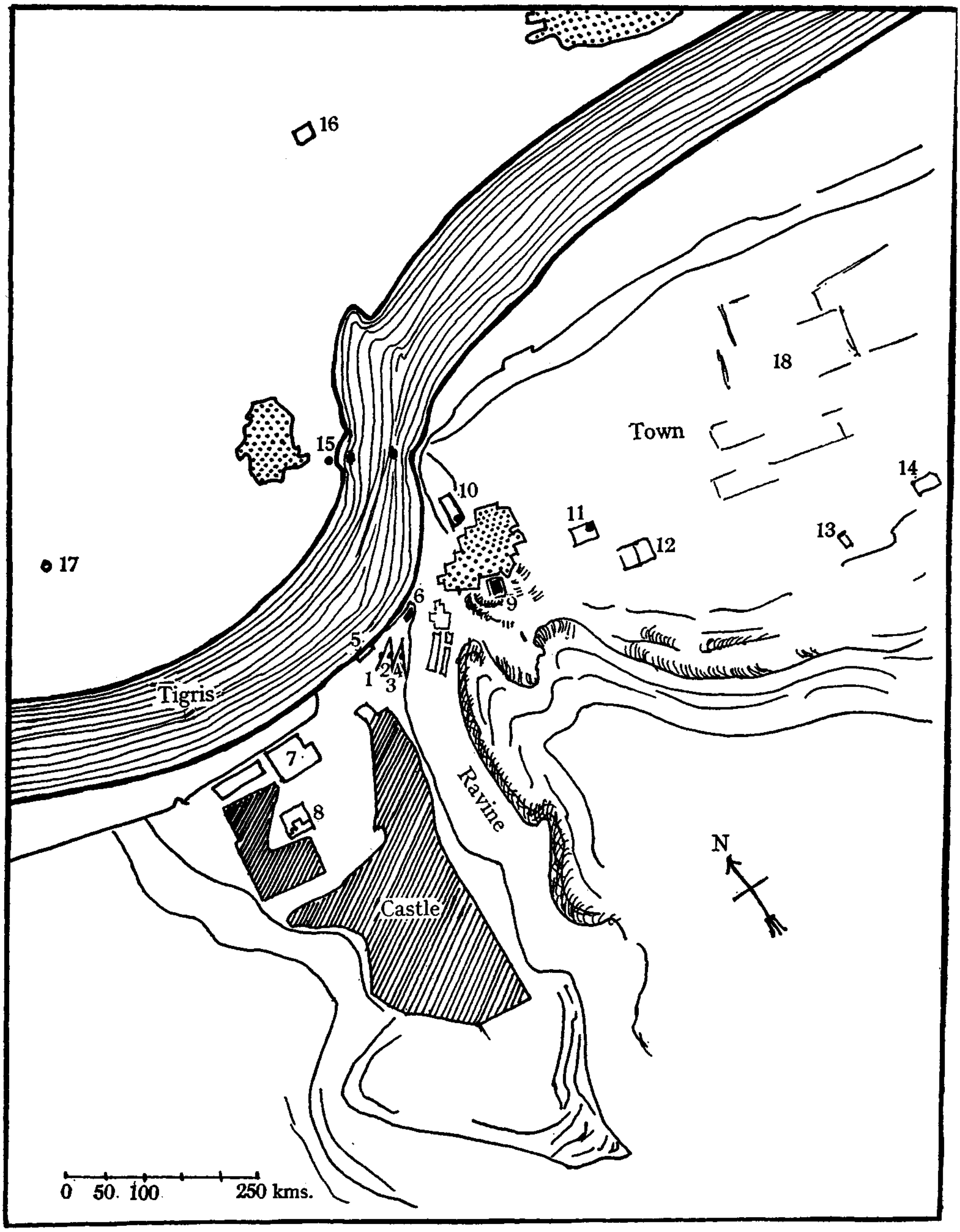
During its period of prosperity, Ḥiṣn Kayfā was a flourishing commercial centre, its situation on the Tigris making it an important entrepôt on the river route linking Diyār Bakr and Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. The town was surrounded by several suburbs with prosperous markets.

The present ruins of the town bear witness to its importance in the Middle Ages. Among the monuments still existing should be mentioned: (1) The castle built on an enormous rock overlooking the Tigris on its north side and surrounded on its three other sides by ravines. Access to it is by the north-east side of the ravine along a ramp provided with fortified gates. This castle contained, according to Ibn Shaddād, palaces (of which some remains may still be seen), a mosque (on which there survives an inscription of 796/1394), some other buildings, a hippodrome and some ground which was cultivated. To the north of the castle was a first suburb with *sūḳs*, *madrasas*, baths, cemeteries and mausoleums of the Marwānid and Artuḳid princes. The town had no walls but possessed a fortress on a rock. (2) The Djāmiʿ al-Rizḳ to the north-west of the town on the banks of the Tigris. Built in 811/1409 by the Ayyūbid Sulaymān, this mosque has an imposing minaret 30 metres high with a cylindrical shaft and square base, ornamented with a cornice of stalactites and crowned by a lantern. (3) The Djāmiʿ Sulaymān, a little further inside the town, with a varied arrangement of cupolas and a richly decorated dome. The minaret, of the same type as the preceding one, is divided into four storeys by bands of moulding. Several inscriptions are still to be read: 752/1351, 809/1407. (4) The Ḳoč Djāmiʿi, a vast ensemble dating from the end of the 8th/14th and the beginning of the 9th/15th centuries and consisting of a number of buildings grouped around a rectangular court; only the southern wing exists today. (5) A small mosque probably founded by the Ayyūbid Sulaymān b. Ghāzī. (6) A mausoleum of the 9th/15th century. (7) The convent of the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh on the summit of a mound on the left bank of the Tigris, bearing an inscription which refers to a restoration and is dated 883/1478 in the name of ʿAlī, son of Uzun Ḥasan. A porcelain plaque with the formula of benediction of the twelve *imāms* proves that it was a Shīʿī sanctuary, perhaps of the Shīʿī Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, the rivals of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, who themselves were Sunnīs. (8) The tomb of Zaynal Beg, son of Uzun Ḥasan, on the left bank of the Tigris, a mausoleum with a cylindrical exterior and octagonal interior. (9) Finally, the bridge over the Tigris, which Yāḳūt described as one of the most beautiful works he had ever seen. Its decoration, similar to that on the walls of the castle, would seem to prove its Artuḳid origin. According to the account of the traveller Barbaro, who saw it still complete in 1510 and who is the last so to describe it, this bridge had five arches. Today there remain standing only three masses of masonry: the beginning of the abutment pier with an arch and parts of the first pier, the second pier and the third pier.

There may also be mentioned the many rock dwellings, more numerous here than anywhere else in Mesopotamia.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *indices*; Ibn Hauqal, *Configuration de la terre*, tr. Kramers and Wiet, Beirut and Paris 1964, i, 218-9; *Hist. Or. des Croisades*, *indices*; Ibn Shaddād, *apud* Gabriel; Yāḳūt, ii, 277; Le Strange, 113; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, i, 333-4; I. G. Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geog. Society*, xxxv (1865), 34-6; *Travels to Tana and Persia by J. Barbaro and A. Contarini*, tr. W. Thomas and S. A. Roy, London 1873, 139-207; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 373 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, index s.v. Cefa, 246; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i, 1910, 374-80, 537; M. Streck, in *ZDMG*, lxvi, 308-10; H. Pognon, *Inscr. sémitiques de la Syrie*. . ., Paris 1907, index and specially Aramæan

Plan of Ḥiṣn Kayfā (based on the plan by A. Gabriel)



[dotted symbol] Modern buildings

1. Access ramps
2, 3, 4. Fortified gates
5. Steps down to the Tigris
6. Small palace
7. Great palace
8. Great Mosque
9. Fortress
10. Djāmiʿ al-Rizḳ
11. Djāmiʿ Sulaymān
12. Ḳoč Djāmiʿi
13. Small mosque
14. Mausoleum
15. Bridge over the Tigris
16. Imām ʿAbd Allāh
17. Tomb of Zaynal Beg
18. Traces of buildings

inscr., 113, no. 61; Nöldeke, in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxi, 384; Socin, in *ZDMG*, xxxv, 238-9; M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Paris 1910, index; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*..., Paris 1940, index; idem, *Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA*, ccxxvii (1935), 219-76, *passim*; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1961, 84; A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, Paris 1940, 55-82; *IA*, s.v. Hısn Keyfâ (by Besim Darkot).

(S. Ory)

ḤIṢN MANṢŪR [see ADIYAMAN].

ḤIṢN ZIYĀD [see KHARPŪT].

ḤISS (A.), "sense-perception", but sometimes appearing to be used with the meaning of *ḥāssa*, pl. *ḥawāss* = "(individual) sense". A distinction, not always observed, also exists between *ḥiss* and *iḥsās*, the former being a mechanical, the latter a conscious operation. This distinction is perhaps best illustrated by the definitions given by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā': "*Al-ḥiss* is the change produced in the temperament of the senses by their contact with the sensibilia; *al-iḥsās* is the consciousness of the sensory faculties of these changes in the quality of the temperaments of the senses" (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Bombay 1305, ii, 261).

The Islamic philosophers, in general, follow the Aristotelian theory of sense-perception as far as what they term the "external" (*ẓāhira*) senses are concerned. The sensibilia are apprehended by means of the change caused by them in the appropriate sense organ. This change, however, is not merely a passive one, but rather an actualization in the organ of a quality, corresponding to the quality perceived, which already exists potentially in that organ. Ibn Sīnā describes the process as an *istikmāl* = "a perfecting" (*Avicenna's De Anima*, ed. F. Rahman, London 1959, 66).

Al-Kindī, in his *Risāla fi 'l-ʿaḳl*, describes the process as follows: "The image that is in matter is that which is actually sensible ... When the soul apprehends it, it is in the soul. The soul apprehends it only because it is potentially in the soul. When the soul comes into contact with it, it is then actually in the soul; it is not present there like something in a container, or like an image in a body, for the soul is incorporeal and indivisible: it is in the soul, and the soul is one thing ... In the same way the sensory faculty is nothing other than the soul: it is not in the soul like a member in a body—it is the soul, which is that which senses ... In the soul, then, that which is sensed is that which senses (*fa-idhan al-maḥsūs fi 'l-nafs huwa 'l-ḥāss*)" (*Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950, 354-5).

No sense organ perceives by direct contact with the sensibilia, and indeed it cannot do so: it operates through an intermediary, which for most of the senses is either air or water. The Islamic philosophers, however, unlike Aristotle, make an exception of touch in this respect, regarding the flesh as the organ, rather than as the intermediary, of this sense. Even Ibn Rushd, in his *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-ḥāss wa-'l-maḥsūs li-Arisṭū*, excepts touch, and taste as a form of touch: "*wa-yakhuṣṣ ḳuwwat al-lams wa-'l-dhawḳ annahā lā taḥtādj fī fiʿlihā ilā mutawassiṭ*" (ed. Badawī, Cairo 1954, 193); "*wa-ammā ālat al-lams fa-hiya 'l-laḥm*" (*ibid.*, 194).

It is, however, in their descriptions of the operation of what they call the "internal" (*bāṭina*) senses that the Islamic philosophers really diverge from Aristotle. These are the faculties of the soul that receive the percepts of the "external" senses, more or less divorced from their material attachments, retain them, consider them, combine them, discriminate between them and recognize, from their former experience, the other attributes of their objects. The various philosophers differ somewhat in the number of faculties that they recognize, the functions that they assign to these faculties, and indeed the terms by which they refer to them; it will be sufficient to touch on a few aspects of this confusing subject here.

The Aristotelian *sensus communis* appears nominally in most of the Islamic theories (*al-ḥāssa al-mushtarika* or *al-ḥiss al-mushtarik*), but is divested of many of its Aristotelian functions, for it serves merely to coordinate the percepts of the individual "external" senses. It is true that it may be said to apprehend the "common sensibilia"—for example, it observes the motion of a body in a straight or a curved line, since it retains the various images of the body in the series of positions that make up this motion (*Al-Fārābī's philosophische Abhandlungen*, ed. F. Dieterici, Leiden 1890, 75; Ibn Sīnā, *Tisʿ rasā'il*, Cairo 1908, 64 (word for word copy of al-Fārābī); Ibn Sīnā, *Avicenna's De Anima*, 44-5)—but it does not retain these percepts for any length of time, or form judgments about them; these functions belong to *al-ḳuwwa al-muṣawwira* (or *al-khayāl*) and *al-ḳuwwa al-mufakkira* (or *al-mutakhayyila*), to which the percepts are transmitted in turn. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' list *al-ḥāssa al-mushtarika* in the index to the *Rasā'il* (i, 8), but omit it in the actual *Risāla* (ii, 258-70), where *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila* assumes its function, in addition to its own.

Al-Fārābī appears to assign a somewhat different role to this faculty: "*fi 'l-ḥadd al-mushtarik bayn al-bāṭin wa-'l-ẓāhir ḳuwwa hiya tadjmaʿ ta'diyat al-ḥawāss wa-ʿindahā bi-'l-ḥaḳīḳa al-iḥsās*" (*op. cit.*, 75), *i.e.*, that of coordinating the percepts of the senses and those of *al-wahm* = "imagination" (the "internal" faculty of animals, whereby, for example, a sheep confronted by a wolf realizes that it should run away, since the wolf is an enemy). This "true perception", however, can mean little more than that all the individual percepts are, in fact, united, for they are immediately transmitted to *al-ḳuwwa al-muṣawwira* (the "store-house" for the percepts of the senses) and *al-ḳuwwa al-ḥāfiẓa* (the "store-house" for the percepts of the imagination).

In al-Fārābī *wahm* appears to operate on a similar level to that of *ḥiss*; in Ibn Sīnā *al-ḳuwwa al-wahmiyya* (the highest faculty of judgment in animals) seems to be ranked above *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila* (corresponding to the human *ḳuwwa mufakkira* = "cogitative faculty"), and also, incidentally, to perform a function of the Aristotelian *sensus communis* that is disregarded in the other Islamic theories, that of perceiving the fact that perception is taking place. Ibn Rushd rejects as unnecessary the concept of *wahm* in animals, and maintains that *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila*, as an active faculty, is capable of performing the function assigned to *wahm* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 546-7).

The clearest and most systematic of the Islamic theories are those of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*loc. cit.*) and Ibn Sīnā (*loc. cit.*). See also MAḤSŪSĀT.

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. N. Mattock)

ḤIṢṢA, ḤIṢṢE [see TĪMĀR, WAḲF].

HISSAR [see ḤIṢĀR].

HISTORIAN, HISTORIOGRAPHY, HISTORY [see MAGHĀZĪ, RŪZNĀMEDJI, SHĀHNĀMEDJI, SĪRA, ṬABAḲĀT, TA'RĪKH, WAḲʿA-NÜVĪS].

HĪT, town in ʿIrāḳ situated in about 33° 35′ N. and 42° 48′ E. on the right bank of the Euphrates, on a hill which may be man-made. The mediaeval Arab travellers estimate the distance between Hīt and Baghdād at 33 parasangs (*ca.* 130 miles) or 5½-6 days' journey, cf. M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i, 8. Some Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal) include Hīt in the Djazīra; it was generally considered, however, to be a frontier town of ʿIrāḳ. In al-Muḳaddasī's time (4th/10th century) it was of some importance; at the beginning of the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt describes it as a small place; at the beginning of the 19th century Olivier estimated the number of its inhabitants at about 1000, Černik about 70 years later at 2000; Chesney counted 1500 houses; ʿAlī Djewād put the population at 3000. The Ottoman *Sālnāme* of 1323 lists 500 houses, about 10 shops, 1 *djāmiʿ*, 2 *masdjids*, 1 *madrasa* and 1 *khān* (243-4). The population of the *nāḥiya* in 1957 was 6,892. The situation of Hīt is picturesque; the walls and two gates have survived; otherwise there is no prominent building. Ibn Ḥawḳal (227; French trans. 222) and Yāḳūt mention the tomb of the distinguished jurist ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak who died in Hīt in 181/797; cf. also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 294, 503, and the reference in Yāḳūt, vi, 508.

Hīt is a very ancient settlement, being mentioned under the name Id as early as the beginning of the 9th century B.C. in an Assyrian inscription. Herodotus and apparently also Isidorus Characensis knew the town as Ἴς; in Zosimus it is called Σῖθα. Hīt is the Syriac form of the name, which was adopted by the Arabs; the name is apparently derived from its most characteristic product, asphalt (Assyr. *iddû*, *ittû*). Hīt was occupied by the Arabs in 16/629; it was the scene of a battle against the Carmathians in 315/927, and seems to have been absorbed by the Ḥamdānids in the mid-4th/10th century. Ottoman from the 10th/16th century, it was occupied by British troops in March 1918, and became part of the modern state of ʿIrāḳ.

Hīt is a town of some commercial, industrial, and, in earlier times, strategic importance. The fact that caravans trading between ʿIrāḳ and Syria, particularly between Baghdād and Aleppo, crossed the Euphrates here gave rise to a flourishing transit trade. Even in ancient times the district of Hīt was famous for its asphalt and naphtha [see NAFṬ]. A small river which flows into the Euphrates near Hīt carries down with its current many lumps of asphalt. Bitumen was used in different ways in Hīt: ships were caulked with it or it was burned in kilns for lime (from ancient times asphalt has been used in Babylonia as cement). There was a considerable export of bituminous products from Hīt; they were carried down the river in boats and the busy shipbuilding trade of Hīt was also directly due to the asphalt. Bitumen is still collected in Hīt and there is some boat-building, but neither activity is nowadays of great importance. South of Hīt are several quarries which were worked even in ancient times. The mediaeval Arab geographers also note the wealth of date-palms and the extensive cultivation of cereals around Hīt. It was further noted for its excellent wine; cf. the poems of Abū Nuwās (ed. Kremer, no. 12, p. 46), and the *Mā bukāʾu* of al-Aʿshā (ed. R. Geyer, in *SBAk. Wien*, cxlix/6, p. 145, l. 14). Near Hīt a ruined area, called Ulāya al-Maḳlūba (= "the transformed city"), is pointed out; there is a legend attached to it which, as Mez points out (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, xxiii, 220), strikingly recalls the Frau Hitt legend in Innsbruck.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim* (see the quotations in iv, 146); *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, index; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, index; Yāḳūt, iv, 997; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, i, 298 f., 328; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 186; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179, 299; Le Strange, 64-5; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, i, Paris-Algiers 1961, 146-7; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyeniñ taʾrīkh we-djoghrāfyā lughāti*, iii, Istanbul 1316 s., 841; *Sālnāmes* of the *wilāyet* of Baghdād; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 7, 143; xi, 749 ff.; V. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip II*, Paris 1910, 38-40 (with illustration); Černik, in *Pet. Mitt.*, Erganz.-Heft xliv (1875), 23 f.; J. Peters, *Nippur or explorations and adventures on the Euphrates*, i, New York 1897, 159-64; Gertrude Bell, *The eastern bank of the Euphrates from Tell-Ahnas to Hit*, in *Geog. Journal*, 1901; Viollet, *Descript. du Palais d'al-Moutasim* = *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript. et Belles Lettres*, xii (1909), part ii, 575 f. (and pl. iv, I); A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 352-3. (M. STRECK*)

ḤIṬṬĪN or **ḤAṬṬĪN**, in the Talmud Kefar Ḥaṭṭiye, a village to the west of and above Tiberias on a fertile plain, the southern border of which is formed by a steep limestone ridge. At both the western and eastern ends of the ridge there is a higher summit called Ḳurūn Ḥaṭṭīn. A tradition, known in the 6th/12th century, the origin of which is uncertain, places the tomb of the prophet Shuʿayb (Jethro) here; the little chapel, which has been rebuilt in modern times and is still annually visited by the Druzes, lies on an elevation in a rocky valley at the western summit. On the uneven tableland south-east of the rocky ridge was fought the battle which destroyed the power of the Crusaders, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn won a great victory over the Christians on 5 July 1187. After some of the Frankish troops, tormented by heat and thirst, had been cut down, and others put to flight, the remainder retired to the eastern summit, where many were thrown over the steep southern side. In memory of this the victor built a small chapel on the summit, called Ḳubbat al-Naṣr.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 450 f.; T. Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, 483. For the battle see (besides the general histories of the Crusades by Grousset and Runciman, and that edited by Setton (Philadelphia), etc.): Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymund III of Tripoli*, 1936, 96 f.; Jean Richard, *An account of the battle of Hattin*, in *Speculum*, xxvii (1952), 148 ff.; R. C. Smail, *Crusading warfare*, 1956, 189-97; J. Prawer, *La bataille de Hattin*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xiv (1964) (with photographs); P. Herde, *Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, lxi (1966), 1-50, one map and eight photographs. (FR. BUHL-[CL. CAHEN])

ḤIYAL, plural of *ḥīla* (A.), artifice, device, expedient, stratagem, a means of evading a thing, or of effecting an object. The word is used in several technical meanings.

1. *Ḥiyal* is a technical term for stratagems in war (synonyms are *makāʾid* and *ādāb*). The use of stratagems in war is justified by a saying attributed to the Prophet, really an old proverb, *al-ḥarb khudʿa*, "war is deceit". The term occurs in the titles of works on military art, as well as in their text. The earliest of these works known to us is the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal* of a certain al-Harthamī al-Shaʿrānī who dedicated it to the caliph al-Maʾmūn; the *Fihrist* (314, lines 23-27)

gives detailed information on its arrangement but unfortunately not on its contents. A popular work of a later period is ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Harawī's *al-Tadhkira al-Harawiyya fi 'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* (Brockelmann, S I, 879; the author died 611/1215), which was analysed by H. Ritter, together with other works on the art of war, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 144 ff. It was edited, with an important introduction and a French translation, by J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *BEO*, xvii (1962), 105-268. Popular, too, was the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal fi 'l-ḥurūb wa-fatḥ al-madāʾin wa-ḥifẓ al-durūb*, spuriously attributed to Alexander the Great but the work of a Muslim author, earlier than 622/1225; see Ritter, *loc. cit.*, 151 ff.; cat. Leiden[1], 1914 and 1915 (P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 116 f.). See also the second section of the last chapter in Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Dimashḳī (d. 814/1411), *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāḳ ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ* (Brockelmann, II, 91 f., S II, 83).

2. *Ḥiyal* denotes, secondly, mechanical artifices, automata, etc. The two most popular works on this subject are the *K. al-Ḥiyal* of the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir (2nd half of the 3rd/9th century; Brockelmann, I, 241, S I, 383, where "Isis" is to be corrected into "*Isl.*"), and the *K. fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya* of Ibn al-Razzāz al-Djazarī (wrote 602/1205; Brockelmann, I, 651, S I, 903; see *Isl.*, xi (1921), 214, n. 1, for a list of translations of sections of this work; K. Weitzmann, *The Greek sources of Islamic scientific illustrations*, in *Analecta Orientalia ... Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 244-6; R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, 1962, 93, 95 f.). We may mention, too, the treatise on geomantics called *K. al-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya*, falsely attributed to al-Fārābī (Brockelmann, I, 234, no. 6).

3. In a literary genus which merges into the preceding one, *ḥiyal* denotes the tricks of beggars, conjurers, forgers, etc. This was the subject of a few treatises by al-Djāḥiẓ (Brockelmann, S I, 244 f., nos. 55, 66; cf. *Arabica*, iii/2 (1956), nos. 95, 111, and al-Djawbarī (wrote about 622/1225; Brockelmann, I, 655, S I, 910), in his *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār* (detailed table of contents in Ahlwardt, cat. Berlin, no 5563; see also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 118 f ., no. 4657, *Isl.*, xv (1926), 227, n. 14), from which many extracts were made, wrote the main work exposing them. Tricks, and witty solutions of dfficulties of all kinds, play, of course, a prominent part in the literature of *adab*, with Abū Yūsuf as a prominent performer (*Isl.*, xv (1926), 228); this reflects the deep impact which the legal *ḥiyal* made on early Islamic society. (See also several sections of the *Kitāb al-adhkiyāʾ* of Ibn al-Djawzī, d. 597/1200).

4. The legal devices, which form an integral part of Islamic law as applied in practice, can be described as the use of legal means for extra-legal ends, ends that could not, whether they themselves were legal or illegal, be achieved directly with the means provided by the *sharīʿa*. They enabled persons who would otherwise have had no choice but to act against the provisions of the sacred Law, to arrive at the desired result while actually conforming to the letter of the law. For instance, the Ḳurʾān prohibits interest, and this religious prohibition was strong enough to make popular opinion unwilling to transgress it openly and directly, while at the same time there was an imperative demand for the giving and taking of interest in commercial life. In order to satisfy this need, and at the same time to observe the letter of the religious prohibition, a number of devices were developed. One, very popular, device consisted of a double sale (*bayʿatān fī bayʿa*), of which there are many variants. For instance, the (prospective) debtor sells to the (prospective) creditor a slave for cash, and immediately buys the slave back from him for a greater amount payable at a future date; this amounts to a loan with the slave as security, and the difference between the two prices represents the interest; the transaction is called *mukhāṭara* (from which the term *mohatra* of the medieval law merchant is derived) or, more commonly, *ʿīna*. Euphemistically, it is also called *muʿāmala*, "transaction", and the money-lender *tādjir*, "trader", because traders also acted as money-lenders. This custom prevailed in Medina as early as in the time of Mālik (d. 179/795). There were hundreds of these devices, many of them concerned with highly technical points, but all with a scrupulous regard for the letter of the law. The acknowledgement (*iḳrār* [*q.v.*]) plays a very important part in the construction of numerous *ḥiyal*, because it creates an abstract debt and is therefore particularly suitable for their purpose.

The first and simplest *ḥiyal* were presumably thought out by the interested parties who felt the need for them, the merchants in particular, but it was quite beyond them to invent and apply the more complicated ones; they had to have recourse to specialists in religious law, and these last did not hesitate to supply the need. The inventors of *ḥiyal* had to calculate the chances of legal validity to a nicety if the *ḳāḍī*, who was bound to apply the sacred law, was not to upset the real effects of the business transaction which their customers, the merchants, had in mind, effects which depended upon the validity of every single element in an often complicated series of formal transactions. The activity of the authors of *ḥiyal* who catered for the practice, is intrinsically parallel with that of the early specialists who had first elaborated the theory of Islamic law. The early specialists had warned their contemporaries against acts incompatible with the Islamic way of life; the authors of *ḥiyal* helped theirs not to conclude contracts which would be considered invalid by the fully developed system of Islamic law. The *ḥiyal* are a natural outcome of that cleavage between theory and practice which has accompanied Islamic law from its very beginnings, and one of our most important sources for the knowledge of the legal practice of the Muslims in the middle ages.

Written documents often formed an essential element of *ḥiyal*. (Cf. Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxx, 150, l. 16 ff., on Ibn Abī Laylā; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil*, iii, 155.) The more complicated *ḥiyal* normally consisted of several transactions between the parties concerned, each of which was perfectly legal in itself, and the combined effect of which produced the desired result. Each transaction was, as a matter of course, recorded and attested in a separate document. Taken in isolation, a document recording a single transaction or an acknowledgement made by one of the parties might be used by the other party to its exclusive advantage and for a purpose contrary to the aim of the whole of the agreement. In order to prevent this happening, the official documents were deposited in the hands of a trustworthy person (*thiḳa*) or intermediary, together with an unofficial covering document which set out the real relationship of the parties to each other and the real purport of their agreement. (This kind of document is technically called *muwāḍaʿa*, "understanding".) The intermediary, then, acting on the contents of the covering document, handed to each party only those papers which they were entitled to use at any given stage,

and prevented the unauthorized use of any document by producing, if necessary, the document of a compensating transaction or acknowledgement which had been prepared and attested beforehand for this very purpose.

A special branch of *ḥiyal* is concerned with the evasion of obligations undertaken under oath, to which Islamic law assimilates undertakings with a self-imposed penalty for non-fulfilment and, in general, declarations by which a unilateral disposition is made dependent on the occurrence of a certain event, such as "if I do such and such a thing, or if such and such a thing happens, my wife is repudiated, or my slave is manumitted". Islamic law has the tendency to interpret declarations restrictively in this case, to mitigate the resulting religious and legal obligation, and the *ḥiyal* take full advantage of this. The use of ambiguous terms and expressions is often suggested, and it is justified by a saying attributed to ʿUmar: *inna fī maʿāriḍ al-kalām la-mandūḥa ʿan al-kadhib*, "ambiguous expressions obviate (outright) lying" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, adab* 116). The social need for this kind of evasion appears from the fact that the poet and philologist Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) composed the *Kitāb al-Malāḥin*, a treatise on equivocal expressions, for the benefit of people who were forced to take the oath against their will. The legal attitude is expressed in the maxim, transmitted by Shaybānī—Abū Yūsuf—Abū Ḥanīfa—Ḥammād—Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, *i.e.*, with the official *isnād* of the school of Kūfa: "If a man is put to the oath whilst he is treated unjustly (*wa-hwa maẓlūm*), his oath is ruled by what he (himself) means, but if he is put to the oath whilst he (himself) is acting unjustly (*wa-hwa ẓālim*), his oath is ruled by the intention of the person who makes him take it". Abū Ḥanīfa, Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm are credited with numerous *ḥiyal* of this kind, and Ibrāhīm is reported to have recommended the use of this kind of *ḥīla* to his own visitors when he was in hiding from the government (a standing feature in the biographies of ancient authorities). Even farther goes a saying attributed to the Prophet: "Every lie is counted as a lie except in three cases: if a man lies to make peace between two men, if he lies to his wife by making her promises, and if he lies in war" (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 632, l. 5 ff.). Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), who, as an extreme partisan of the Traditionists, was strongly opposed to the *ḥiyal* developed by the systematic lawyers (see below), nevertheless vigorously defended the lawfulness of the kind of mental reservation in question, expressed in a saying of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, a famous Companion of the Prophet: "I buy (or we may translate : I sell out) part of my religion for another lest it may disappear altogether" (*Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 27, 42 ff.; transl. G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962, 25, 38 ff.). Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), too, who regarded certain *ḥiyal* in legal transactions as forbidden and invalid, approved and even recommended verbal *ḥiyal* and mental reservations in order to evade the effects of an undesirable oath (*Streitschrift*, 73-80; H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, i, 80). This attitude to declarations and engagements under oath in Islam derives directly from that of the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic Arabs (*e.g.*, Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, ed. Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 2, 5; Djarīr, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 754, 3; see also J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914, esp. 191 ff., 217 ff., 228 f.).

There are certain differences of degree in the attitudes of the several schools of Islamic religious law towards the *ḥiyal*. The Ḥanafīs are the most favourably inclined, and it was they, in fact, who produced the first special works on *ḥiyal*; these are the treatises of Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and of Shaybānī (d. 189/805); the treatise of Shaybānī has survived, and it incorporates long extracts from that of Abū Yūsuf. It was edited and commented upon several times, among others by Shams al-Aʾimma al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090) in his *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, and by several reputed Ḥanafī scholars of the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries, extracts from whose works exist in the detailed chapter of the *Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya* on *ḥiyal*, in which the legal devices from the more important works of the school are collected. (A shorter collection of this kind, though without mention of the sources, is found in the fifth *fann* of the *K. al-Ashbāh wa-ʾl-naẓāʾir* of Ibn Nudjaym, d. 970/1563). Shaybānī's treatise was more or less plagiarized by Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874), the court lawyer of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Muhtadī, who became the most reputed author on *ḥiyal* in the Ḥanafī school of law. But his reputation was based on an extensive treatise on *ḥiyal* which was presumably written in ʿIrāḳ in the 4th/10th century and attributed to Khaṣṣāf; this, too, was commented upon several times. Shāfiʿī, and the first few generations of his school after him, regarded the *ḥiyal* as forbidden or reprehensible, although the majority recognized them as legally valid. The success of the *ḥiyal* in the Ḥanafī school, however, caused several Shāfiʿī authors, from the 4th/10th century onwards, to compose books on *ḥiyal*, of which that of Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 440/1048) has been preserved, and a distinction was made between *ḥiyal* which are allowed (and which form the great majority) and those which are reprehensible or forbidden. The legal validity of all *ḥiyal* was strongly and definitely upheld by the great Shāfiʿī authority Ibn Ḥadjar (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 423-5). Mālik strongly disapproves (in effect, declares forbidden) the particular *ḥīla* of the double sale, mentioned above (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *k. al-buyūʿ, mā djāʾ fī bayʿ al-ʿurbān*), without considering the question of its validity; the Mālikī school admits some *ḥiyal* and rejects others, but generally regards them as valid.

The Traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*), in keeping with their general approach to questions of religious law, rejected *ḥiyal*, and Bukhārī (d. 256/870) devoted a whole "book" (no. 90) of his *Ṣaḥīḥ* to combating them; the commentators ʿAynī and Ḳasṭallānī point out that Bukhārī's polemics go beyond the wording of the traditions which he adduces, and corfirm that they are directed against Abū Ḥanīfa and his school. In this connexion, Bukhārī gives 14 quotations from the writings of his opponents, one at least taken either from the work of his contemporary Khaṣṣāf or from its source, the work of Shaybānī. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), another traditionist and a follower of the Shāfiʿī school, did not fail to include in his unsympathetic biographical notice on Abū Ḥanīfa alleged sayings of the Traditionist ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), who declared that the author of the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa and its users were unbelievers and apostates, etc. (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 426-8). Some Ḥanbalīs, too, are on record as opponents of *ḥiyal*. The *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) wrote a *Kitāb Ibṭāl al-ḥiyal* (H. Laoust, *Méthodologie canonique*, 170, n. 1). Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), in a special work of his (*Iḳāmat al-dalīl ʿalā ibṭāl al-taḥlīl*), attacked and declared invalid the *ḥiyal* in general and the so-called *taḥlīl* in particular; this last aims at removing the impediment to remarriage between the former hus-

band and wife after a triple repudiation by arranging for the marriage of the woman to another husband with the understanding that this marriage would be immediately dissolved after (real or pretended) consummation (see also Laoust, *Essai*, 454 f.). Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), in his *Iʿlām al-Muwaḳḳiʿīn* (iii, 103-109, 119-377), discusses the *ḥiyal* at great length with numerous references to the works concerning them; he distinguishes *ḥiyal* which are lawful, by which a lawful end is to be achieved by lawful means, from those which are forbidden and which he declares invalid; the first group comprises numerous devices in the field of commercial law. (Summary and part translation in J. P. M. Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen*, Leiden 1936, 121-7).

The Ḥanafīs, on their part, whilst they state that *ḥiyal* which cause prejudice to another are forbidden, and are loth to suggest *ḥiyal* which comprise acts that are in themselves reprehensible, let alone forbidden, are not really concerned with the moral evaluation of *ḥiyal* in detail, and they take their being legally valid for granted. According to them, many *ḥiyal* are not even reprehensible, for instance those which aim at evading the incidence of the right of pre-emption (*shufʿa*); and the device of *taḥlīl* has been widely practised, by Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, down to the present generation (cf., *e.g.*, the short story *El Mohallel*, in Yvonne Laeuffer, *Oeil pour Oeil*, Cairo 1930; B. Board, *Newsgirl in Egypt*, London 1938, 117). The legal thought of modernist Muslims is not favourable to *ḥiyal* because they are part of the traditional doctrine of *fiḳh*.

The works on *ḥiyal*, together with works on written documents and other subjects of importance for the application of Islamic law in practice, form part of a well-defined branch of the literature of the Ḥanafī school of religious law.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, 68 f.; J. Schacht, editions of Khaṣṣāf, *K. al-ḥiyal wa'l-makhāridj*, Hanover 1923; of Ḳazwīnī, *K. al-ḥiyal fi 'l-fiḳh*, Hanover 1924; and of Shaybānī, *K. al-makhāridj fi 'l-ḥiyal*, Leipzig 1930; *Die arabische ḥijal-Literatur*, in *Isl.*, xv (1926), 211-32; further in *Revue Africaine*, xcvi (1952), 322-7; *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 78-82, 83 f., 242. (J. Schacht)

ḤIZB (A., pl. *aḥzāb*) means primarily "a group, faction, a group of supporters of a man who share his ideas and are ready to defend him", and this is why the term has been adopted in modern Arabic to mean a political party (see below); it means also "part, portion" and it is from this meaning that it has come to indicate a portion of the Ḳurʾān as well as a group of liturgical formulae.

In this meaning the term is probably a borrowing from Ethiopic (see Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachw.*, 59, n. 8) for, in Arabic, the verb *ḥazaba* means "to happen (speaking of a misfortune); to be painful". In the Ḳurʾān, the expression *ḥizb Allāh*, "the party of Allāh" is used twice (V, 61/56, LVIII, 22) but in the other examples the word is used in a bad sense, in the singular (XXIII, 55/53, XXVIII, 14/15, XXX, 31/32), in the dual (XVIII, 11/12 where it has the sense of *farīḳ*) and also in the plural (XI, 20/17, XIII, 36, XIX, 38/37, XXXVIII, 10/11, 12/13, XL, 5, XLIII, 65). *Sūra* XXX, *sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, deals with the siege of Medina by the Jewish tribes allied with those of Mecca, Nadjd and Tihāma; in verse 31/30 of *Sūra* XL, the "day of the factions" alludes to the Battle of the Ditch [see AL-KHANDAḲ], while in verses 11-12/12-13 of *Sūra* XXXVIII, the *aḥzab* are the people of Noah, the ʿĀdīs, Pharaoh, the Thamūd, Lūṭ and the *aṣḥāb al-Ayka*.

From the meaning of "part, portion" there derives the technical use of the term to indicate first a definite portion of the Ḳurʾān (see *LA*, s.v.) which a believer binds himself to recite. This practice led the Muslims of certain countries (*e.g.*, in Egypt, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. XXVII; in North Africa, see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 189, n. 2), to divide the Ḳurʾān into 60 *ḥizb*s, which are thus half the length of the 30 *djuz*'s attested from a very early period (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 137); this division appears to be comparatively recent, for al-Ghazālī, in the part of his *Iḥyā*ʾ in which he deals with the recitation (*tilāwa*) of the Ḳurʾān (1st quarter, book viii, *bāb* 2), mentions the 30 *djuz*'s but refers only to the seven *aḥzāb* of the Companions. Among the Muslims of India and Pakistan the division in question is not made, and the word *ḥizb* does not appear in either the *Dict. of Islam* by Hughes or in the *Dict. of technical terms*. The division into *ḥizb*s is intended to facilitate the individual or collective recitation of the Ḳurʾān in certain circumstances, particularly during the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. In Algeria, *ḥazzāb*s, placed under the authority of a *bāsh-ḥazzāb*, were attached to certain mosques; they had to recite each day a *ḥizb* at noon and another in the afternoon, so as to achieve a complete recitation of the Ḳurʾān in one month; the pupils of the Ḳurʾān schools also came to recite what they had learned, under the supervision of the *bāsh-ḥazzāb* (see J. Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions, croyances*, ii, 145). Generally speaking, a collective recital of a *ḥizb* takes place once or several times a day after certain prayers; when the payment of the *ḥazzāb*s was not provided for by a pious foundation, this pious work was carried out by devout *ṭolba*. Some Moroccan scholars considered the recital of the *ḥizb* as a *bidʿa* (see Muḥ. b. ʿAlī Djannūn (Gennūn) on al-Rahūnī, on ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Zurḳānī, on Khalīl, Būlāḳ 1306, ii, 47).

The edition of the Ḳurʾān published in Cairo in 1342/1923 under the patronage of King Fuʾād gives in the margins the two divisions into *djuz*'s and into *ḥizb*s. This innovation was perhaps due to the influence of the Egyptian religious fraternities, with which the word *ḥizb* was closely associated.

In Egypt, in effect, each fraternity is a *ḥizb* (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. XVIII) but this term means also the "office" of each fraternity, which consists of the recital, during the Friday service (*ḥaḍra* [*q.v.*]) in the *zāwiya* or the *takiyya*, of long extracts from the Ḳurʾān and of other prayers [see DHIKR]. It is from this that there seems to spring a narrower meaning of the word, namely its application to formulae of "supererogatory liturgy" [see DUʿĀ] at a fairly late date, for this use of the word *ḥizb* is found for the first time in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1166); it is found again in Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276), al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), etc. The most famous of all these *ḥizb*s is the *Ḥizb al-baḥr* of al-Shādhilī, also called *al-Ḥizb al-ṣaghīr* to distinguish it from another, longer but less well known, by the same author; it is recited in particular by travellers who are crossing the sea, because its chief aim is to "subject" (*taskhīr*) it to them; it was composed in the very year that the author died (656/1258), and he is reported to have said that the Mongols would not have taken Baghdād if this *ḥizb* had been recited; it is poor devotionally, but the Ḳurʾānic citations and the use of the mysterious letters which appear at the beginning of certain *sūra*s confer a talismanic character upon this prayer,

which has become very popular (the most complete text is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 40-4; Engl. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, i, 25-7; cf. *ZDMG*, vii, 25). According to Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Handschriften zu Berlin*, iii, 407-14, these prayers were called *ḥizb* because "in them the invocations to God are divided into certain groups", but he does not state on what this explanation is based.

Bibliography: in the text.

(D. B. MacDonald*)

ḤIZB, 'political party'. The use of the word *ḥizb* in the sense of a political party is a recent one, dating from the beginning of the twentieth century or thereabouts, but this modern usage was in a way a natural and legitimate extension of the traditional and classical one (see preceding article). This traditional sense is the one found in the nineteenth-century dictionaries. Thus Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire* (1860) defined *ḥizb* as a 'troupe d'hommes'; Lane's *Lexicon* (1863 *et seq.*) as a 'party or company of men, assembling themselves on account of an event that has befallen them'; Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ* as a *ṭā'ifa*; Dozy's *Supplément* (1881) records an interesting variant, where it lists among the meanings of the word, 'ordre religieux'. Later dictionaries begin to record the political connotation which the word was beginning to acquire: Badger's *English-Arabic Lexicon* (1881) translates 'party' as *ḥizb* and Hava's *Arabic-English Dictionary* (1899) translates *ḥizb* as 'party of men, confederacy, division'.

The following articles deal with political parties in Muslim countries. For associations, see also anDJUMAN and DJAMʿIYYA.

i.—The Arab Lands

Literary evidence, in support of the lexicographical, does tend to show that in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, *ḥizb*, though it was not yet a fully recognized part of the political vocabulary, was coming, albeit slowly, unconsciously and hesitatingly, to have a certain political connotation. An excellent illustration of this ambiguous and fluctuating usage occurs in the minutes of Aḥmad ʿUrābī's trial at Cairo in 1882. ʿUrābī was asked how he allowed himself to be described on a document as *ra'īs al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*; he replied that it was well-known that Egypt was inhabited by different races (*adjnās*) and that every one of these races may be considered a *ḥizb*, 'and further, the natives of the country are a *ḥizb* on their own, denominated *fallāḥīn* in order to humble them (*kamā inna ahl al-bilād ḥizb ḳā'im bi-dhātihi yuṭlaḳ ʿalayhi lafẓ fallāḥīn idhlālan lahum*)'. But ʿUrābī went on to say that every people had *aḥzāb* engaged in preserving their liberty and defending their rights (Salīm Khalīl al-Naḳḳāsh, *Miṣr li'l-miṣriyyīn*, vii, Alexandria 1884, 44-5). It is clear that in this passage *ḥizb* stands in ʿUrābī's mind for two different meanings, which he cannot clearly distinguish, *viz.* the older and general one of a group, and the later and specific one of a political party. A saying attributed to ʿUrābī's contemporary Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] during his sojourn at Istanbul (1892-1897) indicates a use of the word *ḥizb* more definitely in the sense of a political party. He is reported as saying that there should be nothing to prevent the oriental from joining one party after another (*al-ḥizb baʿd al-ḥizb*) until individuals appeared in the East—as they have in the West—who would consider death for the sake of their *waṭan* a gain (Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, *Khāṭirāt Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī al-Ḥusaynī*, Beirut 1931, 86-7). Finally, an illustration drawn from the first decade of the twentieth century shows how *ḥizb* has come to be stabilized in meaning and to signify unambiguously a political party. In an article of 1906, discussing whether a nationalist party can be said to exist in Egypt, Faraḥ Anṭūn states that a *ḥizb* signifies in politics 'the organized struggle of one group against another owing to a difference of opinions and interests between the two sides (*ta'allub djamāʿa ʿalā djamāʿa ukhrā li-'khtilāf ārā' al-farīḳayn wa maṣāliḥihim*)', and he goes on to say that by *ta'allub* he means that the group would become a single, solidary entity working to attain its aim, '*idjtimāʿuhā ʿiṣba wāḥida wa taʿāḍuduhā tawaṣṣulan ilā bulūghm urādihā*' (*Ḥizb al-nāsyūnālist fī Miṣr*, in *al-Djāmiʿa*, New York, v/6 (1906), 224).

In the article just cited, Faraḥ Anṭūn came to the conclusion that, on his definition, there was no nationalist party in Egypt for the reason that the crucial element of organization was lacking. His conclusions may be considered to apply generally to the Arabic-speaking areas for the greater part of the period in which people became accustomed to think of parties as a usual political phenomenon. There is no doubt that they came so to think as a result of contact and familiarity with European politics, in which parliaments and estates, having continuously existed since mediaeval times, provided a natural context and an indispensable setting for parties and party organization. Such representative institutions were absent in the Muslim world, and it is therefore not surprising that it is only contact with Europe which made organization into parties for political action familiar and attractive. Familiar and attractive, that is, to the small minority which was open to European influences, and which was therefore critical of native and traditional institutions. Parties were therefore at first usually organized or inspired by radicals who were intent on drastic reforms, and because such parties had, in the absence of representative institutions, little scope to manoeuvre, their radicalism became intensified; this very radicalism alienated the authorities who, often trying to suppress these parties, forced them underground. In short, all these factors meant that parties in the Arabic-speaking areas were, at the outset, small groups of people, influenced by European ideas, who were or affected to be dissatisfied with existing political conditions, whose organization was loose and ephemeral, and whose action was usually clandestine.

Egypt.—One of the earliest of such groupings in Egypt—calling itself, however, not a *ḥizb* but a *djamʿiyya* [*q.v.*]—was *djamʿiyyat ittiḥād Miṣr al-fatāt*, which existed in Alexandria in 1879 at the beginning of the reign of Khedive Tawfīḳ. It would seem to have been the outcome of Afghānī's political teachings and to have been formed by his followers. A letter to Afghānī from his follower Ibrāhīm al-Laḳḳānī dated Beirut 7 Rabīʿ II 1300/15 February 1883 explains that the Young Egypt Society consisted of members of the Sursuḳ, Ḳitta, Zughayb and Mukhallaʿ families—all Syrian Christians—who had induced some Muslims to join them and published an Arabic-French newspaper preaching Afghānī's views and calling on the Khedive to institute political reforms. Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha, then Chief Minister, banned the newspaper; the Group tried to publish a second one, but the Muslim members seceded and, according to Laḳḳānī, even tried to harm the Syrian Christians, who thereupon gave up in disgust, saying that they had no personal interest in the matter—since they were all protected by European Powers—

but had merely wished to serve the Egyptians (Iraj Afshar and Asghar Mahdavi, eds., *Documents inédits concernant Seyyed Jamāl-al-Din Afghani*, Tehrān 1963, plates 106-117).

Another early grouping in Egypt was that known as *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, which also seems to have been organized in 1879 after Tawfīḳ's accession. This group was also opposed to the Khedive and his minister Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ, but seems to have had no connexion with the Young Egypt Society. Its members were ex-ministers, like Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha, who were Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ's rivals and who disliked his administrative reforms; some of them worked for the restoration of the ex-Khedive Ismāʿīl, and some to advance the claims of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Pasha, the last surviving son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, to the Khediviate which he had long desired. This group became connected with the officers who under Aḥmad ʿUrābī's leadership, and moved by military grievances, carried out a *coup d'état* against Tawfīḳ and his government on 9 September 1881. The ostensible aims of this *ḥizb* were a constitutional and parliamentary régime for Egypt and the cessation of foreign interference. These aims were taken over by ʿUrābī and his followers when, the *coup d'état* having demonstrated their power, they supplanted Sharīf Pasha and the other notables in political leadership. These officers in fact became *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, and with their defeat by the British Army in 1882 the party ceased to exist.

There is no trace of party activity in Egypt until after the accession of the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī in 1892. ʿAbbās tried in the early years of his reign to break loose from British control, and one of his methods was to inspire political agitation by young Egyptians, graduates of European universities or European-type schools in Egypt. Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid has recorded that in 1896, when he had just graduated from the Law School, ʿAbbās saw him in audience, and he was afterwards enrolled in a secret society of which the Khedive was the President and the members of which included Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Muḥammad Farīd; this group, according to Luṭfī al-Sayyid, was the nucleus of what came to be later known as *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī* (*Ḳiṣṣat ḥayātī*, Cairo 1962, 36). Of this group, the most prominent was Muṣṭafā (1874-1907). As his letters to the Khedive's Arabic Secretary (published in 1962 by M. Anīs) show, his political activities at the outset of his career were directed and financed by ʿAbbās. From a letter cited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī in his biography of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, it appears that relations between him and the Khedive remained very close until 1904. Thereafter Muṣṭafā Kāmil seems to have worked on his own, and increasingly in opposition to ʿAbbās. In 1907 he formally launched a party which was called *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, dedicated to securing the British evacuation of Egypt. At the first annual conference of the party he was elected president for life, but he died soon afterwards. His successor was Muḥammad Farīd (1868-1919), who in 1912 left Egypt to avoid imprisonment for alleged subversion against the Khedive's government. It is difficult to see that the Nationalist Party had much influence on Egyptian politics. When it was founded in 1907, the influence of Muṣṭafā Kāmil, after his parting with the Khedive, was already on the wane. The Party, after his death, had some reputation and influence based on the newspapers which Muṣṭafā Kāmil had started in the days when he had the Khedive's support, namely *al-Liwāʾ*, *The Egyptian Standard* and *L'Étendard Égyptien*; the Party also attracted many sympathizers among the intellectual and official classes: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī gives a long list of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's sympathizers and disciples (*Muṣṭafā Kāmil*, 364-8); of these the majority cannot have been actual members of the Party, while the best known of those who were, *e.g.*, Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās, Ḥāfiẓ ʿAfīfī, Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī, had, in their active political careers after the first World War, nothing at all to do with the Nationalists. It is quite symbolic of the Party's fortunes that a statue of Muṣṭafā Kāmil which it had made after his death remained shut up in a school until 1938, because no Egyptian government could be induced to offer a public site for its erection (*Muṣṭafā Kāmil*, 301-2). The Party's rôle in Egyptian parliamentary life under the Monarchy (1923-1952) was insignificant. The Party were occasionally allotted a handful of seats in the preliminary bargaining between politicians in Cairo which often determined the exact composition of Egyptian Parliaments. This handful of seats represented such influence and power as the Party still had and which it exercised in coalition with other parties against the *Wafd*. Nationalists very rarely exercised political office. Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān, the president of the Party, was a Minister in Muḥammad Maḥmūd's second ministry (30 December 1937-5 April 1940), in Ḥasan Ṣabrī's ministry (27 June 1940-14 November 1940), in Aḥmad Māhir's first and second ministries (5 October 1944-24 February 1945), and in Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuḳrāshī's first ministry (25 February 1945-26 November 1945); but in holding office in these administrations, Ḥāfiẓ Ramaḍān was acting against the wishes of his Party colleagues, and may therefore be considered more as an Independent than as a Nationalist representative. In 1946, the breach between him and his colleagues was healed, and three Nationalists accepted office in two subsequent administrations as the avowed representatives of their Party: Muḥammad Zakī ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣūfānī in Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Hādī's ministry (28 December 1948-25 July 1949), and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī together with Muḥammad Zakī ʿAlī in Ḥusayn Sirrī's third ministry (26 July 1949-3 November 1949). The Nationalist Party, in common with all other Egyptian political parties, was dissolved and its financial assets confiscated by decree of the Revolutionary Command on 18 January 1953.

Muṣṭafā Kāmil's foundation of the Nationalist Party in 1907 was followed in the same year by the foundation of other groups, calling themselves parties, which proved to be more ephemeral and to be even less organized than *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*. The first which falls to be mentioned is *ḥizb al-umma*, which was founded in September-October 1907, and which consisted of a group of notables and landowners, who promoted the publication of the newspaper *al-Djarīda*. The common denominator of the group, as ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād put it, was that they were under the Khedive's displeasure (*maghḍūb ʿalayhim*) and that they could hope therefore to curry favour with the British Residency (*Saʿd Zaghlūl*, Cairo 1936, 152-3). Whether this was so or not, the fact is that the British presence enabled them to express opposition to the Khedive's ambitions. Some of the prominent members of this Party became associated with *ḥizb al-aḥrār al-dustūriyyīn*, which was founded in 1922. The name of another party to be recorded is that of *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ ʿala 'l-mabādiʾ al-dustūriyya*, which again came to be spoken of in 1907. It is difficult to say that it was more than a label invented by the Khedive's men to counteract the effect of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's founding of the Nationalist Party; it seems,

in fact, possible to associate only one name with it, namely that of ʿAlī Yūsuf, the editor of *al-Muʾayyad,* which, after Muṣṭafā Kāmil's defection, became the Khedive's main newspaper organ. J. M. Landau records the names of four other so-called Parties, which existed after 1907 and which seem to have been, in fact, one-man affairs disappearing from the scene soon after their foundation was proclaimed; these were *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ḥurr,* founded by Muḥammad Waḥīd al-Ayyūbī, the Party of Nobles (*sic*) associated with Ḥasan Ḥilmī and Thabāt Faradj al-Djirdjāwī, the Party of Independent Egyptians (*sic*) founded by the Copt Akhnūkh Fānūs, and the Young Egypt Party (*sic*) founded by Idrīs Rāghib.

The end of the first world war inaugurated a new chapter in the history of Egyptian political parties. Widespread agitation in Egypt for some three years was finally successful in persuading the British government to abolish the Protectorate which it had assumed over Egypt in 1914. This was done by the unilateral Declaration of 28 February 1922, one of the consequences of which was the transformation of the Sultanate into a constitutional Monarchy and the setting up of a parliament composed of a house of representatives elected by indirect suffrage and a senate partly elected and partly appointed. The general scheme of the Egyptian Constitution—promulgated by a Royal Rescript in 1923—was that a cabinet drawn from the majority in Parliament would hold office so long as it retained the confidence of this majority. Such a state of affairs gave obvious scope for the creation and the functioning of parties on the European model. The first of these parties which must be considered is the *Wafd,* which has its origin in the struggle which led to the abolition of the Protectorate. In this struggle Saʿd Zaghlūl (1857-1926), who came to lead and indeed embody the *Wafd,* had taken, by the play of circumstance and his own considerable shrewdness, a leading part. The appellation *Wafd* originated in a demand which Zaghlūl, together with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī and ʿAlī Shaʿrāwī, put before the British High Commissioner on 13 November 1918, to be allowed to proceed in a delegation (Ar. *wafd*) to Great Britain to discuss Egypt's relations with the Protecting Power and her constitutional future. This demand was made with the knowledge and approval of Sultan Fuʾād and his Ministers, but the three personalities who lent their names to it came inevitably to be the focus of the political agitation which followed its rejection and the repressive action taken by the British authorities. Between 1919 and 1923 many Egyptian public men were associated with Zaghlūl in the political movement which came to be known as the *Wafd,* but Zaghlūl managed to capture the public sentiment and to be exclusively identified with the successful struggle against Great Britain. His earliest and most prominent associates broke with him and became his fierce opponents. Of the three personalities who saw the British High Commissioner in November 1918, ʿAlī Shaʿrāwī resigned formally from the *Wafd* in 1921 and played no further part in politics, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī became a Liberal Constitutionalist and later entirely forsook politics. Others, such as Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī, ʿAlī Māhir, Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿAllūba, became declared opponents of the *Wafd.* By 1923, Zaghlūl was surrounded by younger men who were little known and newcomers to Egyptian politics, necessarily very much under his domination: his nephew Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh Barakāt, Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās, who had been a magistrate in Ṭanṭā and who had been delegated by the Nationalist Party to represent them in the original *Wafd,* William Makram ʿUbayd who had been a civil servant, Muḥammad Nadjīb al-Gharāblī, Aḥmad Māhir, Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuḳrāshī, ʿAlī al-Shamsī, all of whom came to be prominent in the Wafdist movement at one time or another between 1924 and 1952. The *Wafd* as a formal body was organized in 1919 at the inception of the anti-British agitation. It took the form of a central committee composed of public men, the ostensible business of which was to direct from Cairo the collection by provincial committees of signatures to a petition praying the British authorities to allow an Egyptian delegation to proceed to London. It is not known how effective such a country-wide organization was, and there is a suspicion that the *Wafd* committees benefited, at the outset at any rate, from the support of the Sultan and his government. After 1921, the prominent members of the original *Wafd* left it and Zaghlūl became the undisputed leader of those who remained, the committee being his creature and instrument. But Zaghlūl then and later refused to be considered as the leader of a mere faction, holding that he was the sole authorized delegate of the Egyptian people, and that it was his opponents who were guilty of factionalism. A characteristic claim of his, made in a speech of 2 July 1924, was 'I am not the president of a party, but the delegate of a nation (*wakīl umma*)' (Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Djazīrī, ed., *Āthār al-zaʿīm Saʿd Zaghlūl,* i, Cairo 1927, 211). His followers indeed acclaimed him as the *zaʿīm,* the Leader (a title which devolved on his successor Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās), his house came to be called *bayt al-umma,* and his wife Ṣafiyya *umm al-miṣriyyīn.*

Zaghlūl won the elections held in December 1923 under the new Constitution, and his followers constituted the overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives. He formed a government almost half the members of which—it is interesting to note—were non-Wafdists. This is not how the constitution was supposed to work, and it is generally explained by the fact that the King's and the administration's influence had been exerted on Zaghlūl's behalf during the elections, because the King did not wish the latter's rivals, the Liberal Constitutionalists, to win, and that one of the conditions of his cooperation was the appointment of a number of his nominees to ministerial posts in Zaghlūl's cabinet. The importance of this incident is to underline what henceforth became a feature of Egyptian politics under the monarchy, namely that the decisive struggles for power occurred outside parliament, the composition and working of which merely ratified decisions reached elsewhere. This meant that Egyptian parties could not have the same character or function in the same way as those found in the normal kind of representative and constitutional régimes. The subsequent history of the *Wafd* shows this clearly. Zaghlūl's overwhelming majority did not prevent him from resigning when assassins, who were later shown to be Wafdist sympathizers, murdered Sir Lee Stack in Cairo in November 1924. The parliament elected at the beginning of the year was dissolved by royal rescript in December. New elections were held in March 1925, but, the Wafdists being in the majority in the new parliament, Aḥmad Zīwar Pasha, the Prime Minister, dissolved it. This election was perhaps the only one in the political history of Egypt under the constitutional monarchy when an election went against the wishes of the effective authority in the country. The reason is not absolutely clear, but it would seem that Aḥmad Zīwar's adminis-

tration had had little time to dismantle the network of Wafdist committees in the countryside which Zaghlūl in his year of power must have overhauled and strengthened. Zīwar dispensed with a parliament until the British High Commissioner, fearing unfettered palace rule, which Zīwar's ministry in effect signified, pressed for new elections. The palace being checkmated, the electorate ratified its defeat by electing a Wafdist parliament in May 1926. But since Zaghlūl, the leader of the *Wafd*, was not acceptable to the British authorities as Prime Minister, the normal play of party politics in a constitutional and representative régime was again frustrated, and ʿAdlī Yakan, the Liberal Constitutional leader, took office at the head of a coalition of Wafdists and Liberal Constitutionalists. The coalition subsisted until March 1928, when the Liberal Constitutionalist ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Tharwat, who succeeded ʿAdlī in April 1927, having failed to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, found his position untenable and yielded his place to Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās—on whom had fallen Zaghlūl's mantle—who formed the first wholly Wafdist administration. Al-Naḥḥās soon found himself at loggerheads with both the King and the British authorities; in June 1928 the King dismissed al-Naḥḥās, dissolved parliament, and called on Muḥammad Maḥmūd, now president of the Liberal Constitutionalist Party, to form a government. The new Prime Minister obtained from the King authority to suspend elections and parliamentary government for a period of three years. But in 1929, a new government in London having made clear that it would negotiate only with a Wafdist government (whom it regarded as the only legitimate representative of Egypt), Muḥammad Maḥmūd resigned and new elections took place; they ratified the decision of the British government and returned a Wafdist government, which took office on 1 January 1930. Negotiations between al-Naḥḥās and the British government having failed, and the King disliking a Wafdist government, he dismissed it in June of the same year, commissioned Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī to form an administration, dissolved the parliament and promulgated a new constitution and a new electoral law. Elections under the new dispensation were held on 1 June 1931, and a new parliament was returned with a satisfactory governmental majority. A complicated series of events in 1935-6 forced the King to seek an accommodation with the Wafdists. He re-established the constitution which he had abrogated in 1930. This was a victory for the Wafdists, and the elections which were held in May 1936 ratified it by returning a parliament with an overwhelming Wafdist majority. King Fuʾād died in April 1936, to be succeeded by his son Fārūḳ, who attained his majority in July 1937. A clash between him and the *Wafd* was not long in coming. In December 1937 he dismissed al-Naḥḥās and shortly afterwards dissolved the parliament. The new parliament had an insignificant Wafdist minority, thus ratifying the victory of the King. This parliament itself was also dissolved as a result of an extra-parliamentary clash of power. By the *coup d'état* of 2 February 1942, the British authorities forced a Wafdist government on the King. This government dissolved the parliament of 1938 and obtained an overwhelming majority at the subsequent elections. It ruled until October 1944, when the King found the power to dismiss it and dissolve its parliament. The ensuing elections were boycotted by the *Wafd*, and the parliament elected in January 1945 was wholly anti-Wafdist. This parliament was dissolved in November 1949, and the election of January 1950 gave an overwhelming Wafdist majority; the course of events which led to this result is still very imperfectly known, but there is reason to suppose that it was the outcome of a reconciliation between the King and the *Wafd*. The Wafdist government lasted until January 1952, when it was dismissed by the King. Its parliament, the last under the constitutional monarchy, was dissolved shortly thereafter.

The course of events here briefly set out indicates that in the Egyptian parliamentary régime, contrary to the intentions of its founders, and indeed to its normal working elsewhere, it was the government—or rather the actual effective authority in the country at any given time—which determined the character and composition of a parliament, and not the other way round. This had a fundamental bearing on the character and functions of the political parties. These could not function as coherent parliamentary and electoral organizations dedicated to the acquisition of popular support and the exercise of political power within a legislative assembly. These so-called parties could rather more intelligibly be described as either movements or factions. The *Wafd* was clearly a movement; Zaghlūl claimed to be above all parties and interests, to be the representative and the leader of the nation; he thus inaugurated a new style of politics of which appeal to the mass was the most significant characteristic. This new style, which depends on a leader with a hypnotic popular appeal who is the ultimate depositary of unfettered power, was made possible by the disintegration of traditional society, the erosion of traditional authority, the increase of literacy, the improvement in communications, and the existence of a new urban amorphous mass of recent migrants from the countryside, leading lives of material poverty and spiritual disorientation. All these created new conditions of political action, new possibilities of canalizing hitherto untapped sources of political power by organizing the passive and malleable mass into a formidable phalanx round a leader and his slogans. It is evident that the *Wafd* under Zaghlūl and al-Naḥḥās attempted this. They were only intermittently successful, and they ultimately failed. The reasons for their failure may possibly have been an imperfect grasp of the new techniques, the presence of British power and influence as a check and a disturbing factor, the existence of other, more traditional, forms of authority which still had some life in them and, of course, sheer accident. But the *Wafd* again and again tried to create various organizations for the recruitment and control of their supporters. Foremost among these, and the least known in their detailed working, are the *Wafd* committees which spread over the whole country. When the *Wafd* was either expecting or exercising power, it attempted to create specialized organizations to cater for different sections of the population, particularly students, industrial labour, etc. The example of Fascists and Nazis no doubt stimulated the creation of a Wafdist para-military group, *al-ḳimṣān al-zarḳāʾ*, which functioned in 1936-7 and which had some analogy in both name and function with Blackshirts and Brownshirts. The *Wafd* were not the only ones to experiment with these new possibilities; one writer has indeed claimed that the Nationalist Party was the first to organize Blueshirts, and that the *Wafd* filched the idea from it (Muṣṭafa al-Ḥifnāwī, *al-Sifr al-khālid*, Cairo n.d. [after 1936], 5-6). Be this as it may, the Nationalist Party never succeeded in becoming a movement, and remained what may be called a faction. One organization which from the outset attempted to be a movement was

Miṣr al-fatāt, founded by Aḥmad Ḥusayn in 1933, it is claimed at the inspiration of King Fu'ād (P. Graves, *The story of the Egyptian crisis*, in *The nineteenth century and after*, March 1938). Its slogan was *Allāh, al-waṭan, al-malik*, and it attempted to organize its adherents into Greenshirts (*al-ḳimṣān al-khaḍrā'*), which frequently clashed with the Blueshirts. Another organization which became a political movement had, at its inception, quite a different character. *Al-Ikhwān al-muslimūn* [*q.v.*], founded in 1928 by Ḥasan al-Bannā' [see AL-BANNĀ'], was at the outset dedicated to a renewal of the religious life, to the fight against laxity, scepticism and unbelief prevalent among Muslims as a consequence of European influence. Some ten years later, the Brotherhood was an extensive organization covering a large part of Egypt. Because Islam is *dīn wa-dawla*, and because the circumstances after 1940 became propitious, the Brotherhood under its *murshid* came to play an increasingly political rôle. Al-Bannā''s political transactions are still quite obscure, but the Brotherhood was a formidable weapon which he and his successor Ḥasan al-Huḍaybī could use in pursuance of their aims in the troubled years between the end of the second world war and the final dissolution of the Brotherhood by the Egyptian Revolutionary Command in January 1954. The tight organization of the Brotherhood enabled al-Bannā' and his collaborators to set on foot a secret terrorist apparatus (*al-djihāz al-sirrī*) which was used to enforce the wishes of those who controlled it until an attempt on the life of Colonel Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir in October 1954 resulted in the arrest and trial of the most prominent Brethren—al-Huḍaybī included—the execution of six of them, and presumably the final destruction of the apparatus.

In contrast to these organizations, which may be called political movements, other groupings in Egyptian politics under the constitutional monarchy may be termed factions. They consisted of people who, by virtue of their educational attainments or an inherited position, were members of the official classes and therefore had the necessary knowledge and connexions for filling political office and exercising power. Such men were loosely grouped under party labels which they acquired by accident at some point or another. They may be called factions rather than movements, because they seldom or never sought to involve the masses in politics in the manner of the *Wafd* or the Muslim Brethren, and yet were not strictly parties, since the constitutional régime in Egypt worked in such a fashion that parties could not function, let alone flourish. These groupings may not therefore all be dismissed as a mere collection of placemen eager for office and ready to do the bidding of whoever gave them office; but whatever their original aims and motives were, the situation was such that if they desired to take part in politics they had to acquiesce in measures and combinations quite remote from their proclaimed principles. A good case in point is the Nationalist Party, which started with an articulate ideology, but the activity of whose leaders under the constitutional monarchy had, as has been seen, little to do with this ideology. Another party between whose activities and principles a great gap opened was the Liberal Constitutionalist Party (*ḥizb al-aḥrār al-dustūriyyīn*). The Party was formed in October 1922 as an answer to Zaghlūl and the *Wafd* by some of the most prominent of Egyptian statesmen who earlier that year, in collaboration with Allenby and his British advisers, had induced the British government to issue the Declaration of 28 February. The President was ʿAdlī Yakan and the main leaders were ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Tharwat, Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī, Ismāʿīl Zuhdī and Muḥammad Maḥmūd. Some of them had belonged to the pre-war *Umma* Party, and some had, from the end of 1918 to the end of 1921, formed themselves into a group, *al-ḥizb al-dīmūḳrāṭī*, which included Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, Manṣūr Fahmī, Maḥmūd ʿAzmī and ʿAzīz Merhom. This small group of educated men looked forward to an Egypt where the rule of law would be supreme, and where political liberty and economic equity would be assured. Most of this group passed into the Liberal Constitutionalist Party and greatly influenced the formulation of its objectives and policies. But we find that, in fact, sheer political expediency very frequently determined the *ministrables* of the Party in taking office, and that this opportunism was on the increase as time went on. Liberal Constitutionalists took part in Zīwar's second ministry of 1925-26, but when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fahmī was dismissed as Minister of Justice following the ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ affair (see E. Kedourie, *Egypt and the Caliphate, 1915-1946*, in *JRAS*, 1963), his two Liberal Constitutionalist colleagues resigned in protest. But it was a Liberal Constitutionalist, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, who took office when King Fu'ād dismissed al-Naḥḥās in 1928 and who, regardless of his Party's principles, governed without a parliament for fifteen months. Again, it was Muḥammad Maḥmūd who took office when King Fārūḳ dismissed al-Naḥḥās in 1937 and for some eighteen months, until the King dismissed him, presided over a government which, whatever its exact label, was in fact purely one of King's men. The further history of the Liberal Constitutionalists until their extinction in 1952 is that of a faction enjoying office and power as and when they could. Five other such factions remain to be enumerated, two specifically set up as organizations providing support for governments chosen and inspired by the King, and three formed out of seceders from the *Wafd*. The first two were *ḥizb al-ittiḥād* set up in 1925 as an organization of King's men during Zīwar's administration, and *ḥizb al-shaʿb*, a similar organization created in 1931 during Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī's administration. Both parties effectively disappeared from the scene as political circumstances changed. The three organizations of seceders from the *Wafd* were *al-ḥizb al-saʿdī*, formed when Ḥāmid al-Bāsil seceded from the *Wafd* in 1930, which proved quite ephemeral; *al-hay'a al-saʿdiyya*, formed when Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuḳrāshī and Aḥmad Māhir fell out with the *Wafd* in 1937, which went on as a political grouping until 1952 and which provided three Prime Ministers and other ministers in anti-Wafdist governments; and *al-kutla al-wafdiyya al-mustaḳilla*, formed when Makram ʿUbayd was expelled from the *Wafd* in 1943, which consisted of his own personal following and provided two or three ministers in three coalition governments which succeeded the *Wafd* government of 1942-44.

The Ottoman Empire.—The earliest parties in the Arabic-speaking areas of the Ottoman Empire were in their origin and character somewhat similar to the earliest Egyptian parties. They were groups of young men touched by Western influences and discontented with what they considered to be the constricting and stagnant conditions of the Empire under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*]. In those years there was little scope for overt political action, nor were the generality of the subjects much inclined to

question the established and traditional order. Such groups were small, clandestine and ephemeral. One of the earliest of these groups was one formed by some Christian students at the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut in the early 1880s; they had fallen under the influence of a Maronite who taught French at the College and who was imbued with French libertarian and revolutionary ideas. These young men conceived the project of fomenting a movement to end Ottoman supremacy in the Lebanon. They went so far as to write and surreptitiously post up in public places placards in this sense, but as no response was forthcoming the group dissolved itself in 1882-3. Another group was the one which came into being at Damascus in the early years of the twentieth century. It was composed of young Muslims who were disciples of Shaykh Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī, who was Inspector of Education in the Damascus *wilāyet* and who lived in Damascus from 1880 to 1905. The group is known as *ḥalaḳat Dimashḳ al-saghīra*, and it included Shaykh Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Bīṭār, Shaykh Salīm al-Bukhārī. These were among the original members, who were joined by younger men including Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī, Shukrī al-ʿAsalī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shābandar, Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Fāris al-Khūrī and Salīm al-Djazāʾirī. The circle apparently discussed literary, religious, and increasingly, when the younger men joined it, political questions. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb was apparently the mainspring of this later development. Some of the younger members of the circle went to Istanbul in about 1905, and in 1906 Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb and his friend ʿĀrif al-Shihābī founded there a secret society, *djamʿiyyat al-nahḍa*, and asked two friends still in Damascus, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī and Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār, to found a branch in the city. The *djamʿiyya* consisted entirely of a small group of young educated Damascenes, and in spite of its foundation at Istanbul Damascus was its centre. After the Young Turk Revolution, the *djamʿiyya* applied for permission to function openly, and interested itself for a few years thereafter in spreading knowledge of Arab history and Arabic literature and in providing a local forum for discussing such political issues as it was safe to raise publicly. Another group, or at any rate the name of a group which existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, falls also to be recorded. It is the *Ligue de la patrie arabe*, founded by Nadjīb ʿAzūrī, a Syrian Christian who had studied in Paris and then become an official in the Jerusalem *wilāyet*; this post he left in apparently suspicious circumstances and he was condemned to death *in absentia* by an Ottoman court in 1904 for treasonable activities in Paris. Who, apart from the French retired official E. Jung (who has chronicled his activities) collaborated with him, and whether he was the agent of one or more European powers, is obscure. The programme of his *Ligue* was the creation of an Arab empire extending over Mesopotamia, Arabia and the Levant and the creation of a 'spiritual' Caliphate. But the *Ligue* seems to have been of little consequence and to have sunk into obscurity when his periodical, *L'Indépendence Arabe*, of which eighteen numbers came out in 1905-6, ceased publication.

It was only after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908 that many Arab parties were formed, and became quite active for a time. Because of the vicissitudes of the Ottoman parliamentary régime of 1908-14, these parties could not function as normal parliamentary parties, nor could they, owing to the state of society then obtaining, aspire to enlist mass support. They were small, ephemeral factions made up of members of the official classes and such others as had access to European ideas. It is commonly agreed that the first of these groupings was *djamʿiyyat al-ikhāʾ al-ʿarabī*, founded by the Damascene Shafīḳ al-Muʾayyad and other, mainly Syrian, officials and notables in Istanbul in 1908. A report in *The Arab Bulletin* (24 May 1918) records that the group came into being as a consequence of the 1908 Parliament refusing to accept Yūsuf Shitwān as member for Benghazi and Shafīḳ al-Muʾayyad as member for Damascus. The group seems to have lasted for a few months and then to have been dissolved in April 1909. In this year was founded in Istanbul *al-muntadā al-adabī*, which was ostensibly a cultural club for Arab youth in Istanbul, but many of the activities of which were political. It was shut down by the Ottoman authorities in 1915, at which time its secretary, the Syrian ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim al-Khalīl, was accused of treason and executed. Two groupings dating from this period, among Syrian and Lebanese living in Egypt, may be noticed. The first is an ephemeral group called *djamʿiyyat al-ikhāʾ al-ʿuthmānī*, which apparently lasted for only a few weeks, among the members of which were Rafīḳ al-ʿAẓm, Rashīd Riḍā, Yaʿḳūb Ṣarūf, Djurdjī Zaydān, Naʿūm Shuḳayr and Dāʾūd ʿAmmūn. The second grouping was *al-ittiḥād al-lubnānī* (*l'Alliance libanaise*) formed by Maronite notables in Cairo in November 1909. It was founded by Iskandar ʿAmmūn, Anṭūn al-Djumayyil and Dāʾūd Barakāt. Before the war, its programme consisted in demanding better commercial facilities within the Empire for Mount Lebanon, widening the suffrage for its assembly, increasing the number of its members and widening its powers, and annexing the Biḳāʿ, Tripoli and Beirut to Mount Lebanon, to form what came to be known under the French mandate as the Grand Liban. This last point came to form the main issue for which the *ittiḥād* worked after the outbreak of war, when the partition of the Ottoman Empire became a possibility. The *ittiḥād*—the president of which from 1917 was Auguste Adīb—lost its *raison d'être* with the French occupation of the Lebanon. Apart from these groups which functioned publicly, a number of secret groupings are also recorded. Towards the end of 1909, there was formed in Istanbul a secret group composed of officers and university students mainly from Syria, *al-djamʿiyya al-ḳaḥṭāniyya*. The group was dedicated to the encouragement of Arab nationalism, and among its prominent members were the two officers Amīn Luṭfī Ḥāfiẓ and Salīm al-Djazāʾirī, nephew of Shaykh Ṭāhir, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khalīl and ʿĀrif al-Shihābī, all of whom were executed for treason by the Ottomans in 1915-16. Another secret grouping was one founded by students, again mainly Syrian, in Paris in 1909. This was *djamʿiyyat al-umma al-ʿarabiyya al-fatāt*, which was founded by Aḥmad Ḳadrī, ʿAwnī ʿAbd al-Hādī and Rustum Ḥaydar. The aim of the society was Arab independence. It is of course difficult to know the extent and effectiveness of the operations of a secret society, but the members of *al-fatāt* are said to have taken the initiative in calling for an Arab Congress (which met in Paris in June, 1913), and seem to have carried on conspiratorial activities against the Ottomans in the Levant until the end of the first world war; many of them became prominent later on in Syrian, Palestinian and Iraqi politics. Another secret society was *al-ʿalam al-akhḍar*. It was founded by students in Istanbul in September 1912,

but seems to have been more ephemeral than most and there is no record of any activity for which it was responsible.

The internal and external vicissitudes to which the Ottoman Empire was subject in the years immediately preceding the first world war created fears and tensions and afforded occasions for political action and openings for political ambition, so that in 1912 and 1913 new Arab political groupings come into being. Of these new groups, the best-known was *ḥizb al-lāmarkaziyya al-idāriyya al-ʿuthmānī*, which was founded in Cairo in December 1912, and which, as its name showed, was dedicated to the achievement of administrative decentralization and provincial self-government in the Ottoman Empire. The founders were again Syrians, the most prominent among them being Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Rafīḳ al-ʿAẓm, Shiblī Shumayyil, Iskandar ʿAmmūn and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb. The programme of the Party was obviously akin to the ideas of Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn and the *Ḥürriyet we iʾtilāf firḳasi* [*q.v.*] in Istanbul, which was opposed to the Committee of Union and Progress. It may well be that the activities of *ḥizb al-lāmarkaziyya* are to be understood not so much in terms of their formal programme as of the complicated struggle of Istanbul politics, which eventually led to the complete hegemony of the Committee of Union and Progress. Again, their programme cannot explain, rather contradicts, their activities at the beginning of the 1914-18 war when they seem to have organized spying in Syria and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British authorities in Egypt (see E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, 1956, 47 and 62). The same political struggle between Iʾtilāfists and Unionists would seem to account for a similar development in Beirut, where a number of notables, both Christian and Muslim, were encouraged by Kāmil Pasha's government towards the end of 1912 to form a group, *al-djamʿiyya al-ʿumūmiyya al-iṣlāḥiyya*, to work for decentralization and provincial self-government; but when the Committee of Union and Progress took power at the beginning of 1913, it set itself to eradicate any influence its opponents might have, and the Unionist *wālī* of Beirut, who had replaced the Iʾtilāfist one, declared the Society illegal and dissolved it on 4 April 1913. Kāmil Pasha's government attempted to organize support for itself in Damascus as well, but Unionist influence was there strong enough to prevent the formation of a *djamʿiyya* like the Beirut one. The same attempt was made at Baṣra, where the Iʾtilāfist leader was Sayyid Ṭālib al-Rifāʿī al-Naḳīb. Sayyid Ṭālib had attempted, without success, to be recognized as the Unionist boss in Baṣra; he was merely returned as deputy for Baṣra in the Istanbul parliament, and there earned the gratitude of Kāmil Pasha by his attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress (*The Arab Bulletin*, no. 17). At the beginning of 1913 the same conjunction of events which led to the creation of *ḥizb al-lāmarkaziyya* and the Beirut *djamʿiyya* led also to the formation by Sayyid Ṭālib of a similar group in Baṣra, which he also called *al-djamʿiyya al-iṣlāḥiyya*, ostensibly dedicated to the same objects. He attempted to extend his activities to Baghdād and Mosul; in the former a group of his followers led by Muzāḥim Amīn al-Pačadji formed *al-nādī al-waṭanī al-ʿilmī* which, in spite of its name, was a mere adjunct of the Baṣra group; to the latter he sent his follower Sulaymān Fayḍī in an attempt to drum up support for the Iʾtilāfists. In neither city was the attempt very successful, and the Unionist government found little difficulty in snuffing it out. It was otherwise in Baṣra, where Sayyid Ṭālib's family was powerful and influential and where he himself was acquainted with local men and issues, and moreover had no hesitation in employing hired assassins to enforce his desires. But the Unionists eventually succeeded in gaining him over and at the outbreak of the first world war he and they were friends.

The period between the Italian conquest of Tripoli and the outbreak of the first world war saw also the creation of two secret Arab groups. The first of these was *djamʿiyyat al-ʿahd*, which was founded on 28 October 1913 by Binbashi ʿAzīz al-Miṣrī. Its members were army officers and included Salīm al-Djazāʾirī, Nūrī al-Saʿīd, Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, his brother Ṭāhā, Djamīl al-Madfaʿī, Taḥsīn ʿAlī, Mawlūd Mukhliṣ, Amīn Luṭfī, ʿAlī Djawdat al-Ayyūbī and ʿAbd Allāh al-Dulaymī. Its official programme was to promote autonomy for the Arabic-speaking countries of the Ottoman Empire, and to transform the Empire into a dual monarchy on the lines of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. But the fact that it was a secret society composed of army officers ready to take action in support of their political views and that many of the members deserted from the Ottoman army before and during the first world war is at least as important as the tenor of the official programme. The other secret grouping was that formed by Rashīd Riḍā under the name of *djamʿiyyat al-djāmiʿa al-ʿarabiyya*. Rashīd Riḍā has stated (*Āthār Rafīḳ al-ʿAẓm*, i, p. viii) that the group was founded following the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan wars when 'the founders decided that the strength of the Arabs lay in their peninsula, and that this strength would be useless unless the rulers of the peninsula were united in an alliance'. Rashīd Riḍā seems to have enrolled various potentates of the peninsula in this Society, but apart from a long and fearsome oath (reproduced in Amīn Saʿīd, *al-Thawra al-ʿarabiyya al-kubrā*, i, 49-50) no activity by the group is recorded.

When the Ottoman Empire entered the war in November 1914, political activity by Arab groups and parties, such as it had been in the six years from 1908, virtually came to a stop. It was only at the end of the war, in 1918, that a new grouping came into being in Cairo known as *al-ittiḥād al-sūrī*. This comprised a number of Syrians who had become opposed to Ḥusayn, Sharīf of Makka and King of the Ḥidjāz, whose ambitions in Syria they mistrusted. Their views are to be gathered from the memorial they addressed to the British government in the summer of 1918, which elicited the reply known as the Declaration to Seven Syrians (E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, 113-5). The group included Michel Luṭf Allāh as president, Rashīd Riḍā as vice-president, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shābandar and Salīm Sarkīs as joint secretaries. When eventually Sharīf Fayṣal was installed in Damascus at the head of an Arab government, the conditions in Syria became such that the grouping had no longer a *raison d'être* and, in fact, its members are later found adopting a variety of positions in Syrian politics.

The short-lived Sharīfian régime in Syria (November 1918-July 1920) was characterized by an active, not to say turbulent, political life. The *fatāt* society was reconstituted, with some of the most prominent Sharīfians, such as ʿAlī Riḍā al-Rikābī, Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, Aḥmad Ḳadrī and Nasīb al-Bakrī as leaders. But the *fatāt* never seems to have made its existence or membership public; instead a political party was organized to work in public for the aims

of the secret society: this was *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl al-ʿarabī*, the declared purpose of which was the liberation of all Arab countries from foreign domination. The pan-Arab inclinations of the leaders of the *istiḳlāl* and the *fatāt*, many of whom were then young, unknown, and with no local standing in Damascus, evoked some opposition among Damascene notables, who organized *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-sūrī*, the secretary of which was Muḥammad al-S͟harīḳī and the declared aim of which was to work for a Syria 'independent within its natural frontiers'. Another group concerned with the political future of Syria was one organized by some Syrian Christians in Cairo in 1919 to work for a United States mandate in Syria. The group was called *al-ḥizb al-sūrī al-muʿtadil*, and its members included Fāris Nimr, Saʿīd S͟huḳayr, Yaʿḳūb Ṣarrūf and Ilyās ʿĪsāwī. The group delegated two of its members, Fāris Nimr and K͟halīl K͟hayyāṭ, to put its views before Charles Crane of the King-Crane Commission which visited the Levant in the summer of 1919. When it became clear that there was no possibility of the U.S.A. accepting such a mandate, nothing more was heard of the group.

The aftermath of war saw Mesopotamia, which was under British occupation, in an unsettled condition. The tribes and cities of the Middle and Lower Euphrates, predominantly S͟hīʿī, were in effervescence, as were the Kurdish areas; Bag͟hdād was full of disgruntled ex-Ottoman officials and officers, and the S͟harīfian régime in Syria encouraged warlike activities against the British authorities. The S͟harīfian officers in Syria who had been members of the pre-war *ʿahd* sent emissaries to Bag͟hdād, and secretly constituted a group of their sympathizers under the name of *d͟jamʿiyyat al-ʿahd al-ʿirāḳī*. This was a predominantly Sunnī group. Some S͟hīʿī leaders of Bag͟hdād and Kāẓimayn formed their own secret political society to protect S͟hīʿī interests in the anti-British struggle. The society was known as *d͟jamʿiyyat ḥaras al-istiḳlāl*. Its founders included ʿAlī al-Bāzirgān, S͟hayk͟h Muḥammad Bāḳir al-S͟habībī, Hādī Zwayn, Muḥammad D͟jaʿfar Abu'l-Timman and Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ṣadr. With the installation of Fayṣal as King of Iraq in 1921, new issues and new groupings led to the disappearance of both the *ʿahd* and the *ḥaras*.

Iraq.—The Kingdom of Iraq was supposed to be a constitutional, parliamentary monarchy [see DUSTŪR]. But as in Egypt, though here the circumstances and reasons were quite different, parliament never functioned in a normal or representative fashion but was rather the instrument of whatever effective authority existed in the country at any moment. Parties therefore during the monarchical régime (1922-1958) may be described as more or less factions composed of politicians manoeuvring on the restricted and artificial political scene of the capital. The first parties to be formed under the monarchy were *ḥizb al-nahḍa al-ʿirāḳiyya* and *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī*, both founded in August 1922. They were composed of public men who were dissatisfied with the second ministry of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naḳīb and who were prepared to adopt an intransigeant stance towards the mandatory power. The leaders of the *nahḍa* group included Ḥamdī al-Pačad͟ji and Nād͟jī al-Suwaydī, whilst *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī* was, and remained until the mid-thirties, when it disappeared from view, identified with Muḥammad D͟jaʿfar Abu 'l-Timman whose following it in fact constituted. Al-Naḳīb's government also organized its supporters in a party known as *al-ḥizb al-ḥurr*, which disappeared from view when al-Naḳīb finally relinquished power in November 1922. The *nahḍa* seems to have disintegrated some time between 1924 and 1925. The next party to be recorded is *ḥizb al-taḳaddum*, formed in June 1925, which was in fact the following of ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn who formed his second administration at that time; the party disappeared when this ministry fell in November 1926. Another party, even more ephemeral, dating from this period, was *ḥizb al-s͟haʿb*, which Yāsīn al-Hās͟himī formed in November 1925 in order to muster opposition to the government. Parties are no more heard of until 1930 when an Anglo-Iraqi treaty was being negotiated, and political rivalries and passions were at a high pitch. Nūrī al-Saʿīd was Prime Minister—in his first administration—and in order to muster support for his policies formed *ḥizb al-ʿahd*—appropriating the name of the secret society of which he had been a member in Ottoman times; this party stayed in being until Nūrī al-Saʿīd relinquished power in October 1932. The chief opponent of the administration, Yāsīn al-Hās͟himī, also formed a party in 1930, which was known as *ḥizb al-ik͟hāʾ al-waṭanī*. The *ik͟hāʾ* group included Ras͟hīd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī, Ḥikmat Sulaymān, Nād͟jī al-Suwaydī, ʿAlī D͟jawdat al-Ayyūbī, Kāmil al-Čadird͟ji and ʿAbd al-Ilāh Ḥāfiẓ. The group remained in being until April 1935 when it voluntarily dissolved itself, its leader Yāsīn al-Hās͟himī having just then formed his second administration. The group played an important rôle in Iraqi politics, organizing conspiracies and fomenting tribal rebellions in the Euphrates against the governments then in power. During the brief administration of Nād͟jī S͟hawkat (November 1932-March 1933) an ephemeral parliamentary group, *al-kutla al-barlamāniyya*, was formed in order to support the government, and the group went out of existence when it fell. A similar group, similarly ephemeral, was *ḥizb al-waḥda al-waṭaniyya*, which was formed to support the first administration of ʿAlī D͟jawdat al-Ayyūbī (August 1934-February 1935). From the *coup d'état* of General Bakīr Ṣidḳī al-ʿAskarī (October 1936) until April 1946, Iraqi politicians did not seem to find it necessary or feasible to group themselves into parties, but in this period two political groups deserve mention because they embody ideological trends which were to reappear after the second world war. The first of these groups was *d͟jamʿiyyat al-iṣlāḥ al-s͟haʿbī*, formed in November 1936, the founders of which were Kāmil al-Čadird͟ji, Yūsuf Ibrāhīm, Nād͟jī al-Aṣīl, and Muḥammad D͟jaʿfar Abu 'l-Timman. The tone of the group was set not by its founders but by a younger group of members who held socialist views and who had been informally associated since 1931 round the newspaper *al-Ahālī*, and who were therefore known as *d͟jamāʿat al-Ahālī*; this younger group included Ḥusayn D͟jamīl, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ismāʿīl and his relative ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad Ḥadīd and K͟halīl Kanna, all of whom had some rôle to play in Iraqi politics after 1945 and all of whom, except for the last-named, remained faithful to the socialist ideology. This younger group in *d͟jamʿiyyat al-islāḥ al-s͟haʿbī* seem to have been in hopes that their ideas would be adopted as the official programme of the government, but the resignation of three of their founders from the Ḥikmat Sulaymān administration in June 1937, and the fall of Ḥikmat Sulaymān shortly thereafter, spelt in fact the end of the society and its activities. The other group worth mentioning in the period 1936-1946 is *nādī al-Mut͟hannā*, which existed from about 1937 to the collapse of Ras͟hīd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī's *coup d'état* in May 1941. The Club was dedicated to the spread of pan-Arabism; its

ideas were influential at the time and many of its members participated in Iraqi politics after 1945, notably in *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl.*

After the second world war, the Regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh in a speech of December 1945 gave an impulsion to the formation of political parties, and in April 1946 five parties were licensed: *ḥizb al-aḥrār, ḥizb al-istiḳlāl, al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-dīmūḳrāṭī, ḥizb al-s̲h̲aʿb* and *ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-waṭanī. Ḥizb al-aḥrār* was founded by eight men, none of whom was prominent in politics; it does not seem to have had any noticeable political activity, and it decided to 'freeze' itself in December 1948, after which date nothing more was heard of it. *Ḥizb al-istiḳlāl* was formed by a group which included Muḥammad Mahdī Kubba, K̲h̲alīl Kanna and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ẓāhir; it was pan-Arab in its views and included many of those who had followed or sympathized with Ras̲h̲īd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī's *coup d'état* of 1941. The Party remained active in opposition to successive governments until it went out of existence in September 1954, when a decree was issued at the beginning of Nūrī al-Saʿīd's twelfth administration dissolving all existing associations and clubs in Iraq. *Al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-dīmūḳrāṭī* was formed by some of the old members of *d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-iṣlāḥ al-s̲h̲aʿbī*; the founders included Kāmil al-Čadird̲j̲i, Muḥammad Ḥadīd, Ḥusayn D̲j̲amīl, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Mird̲j̲ān and Ṣādiḳ Kammūna; it declared itself dedicated to the reform of land tenure, equality, social welfare and economic planning. The Party was active in opposition to successive governments, but it decided to suspend activities between December 1948 and March 1950 when it considered that the repressive policy of the authorities allowed it no scope to function; the government dissolved it in September 1954. The founders of *ḥizb al-s̲h̲aʿb* included ʿAzīz S̲h̲arīf, Tawfīḳ Munīr and ʿAbd al-Amīr Abū Trāb; the Party was socialist and more to the left than *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-dīmūḳrāṭī*; it was banned for subversion in September 1947. The founders of *ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-waṭanī* included ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad Mahdī al-D̲j̲awāhirī; it too, was leftist in sympathies and was also banned for subversion in September 1947. It will be observed that contrary to the pattern of Iraqi political parties in the nineteen-twenties and thirties, these five parties were not combinations of politicians competing among themselves for power, but were rather—except for *ḥizb al-aḥrār*—ideological groups who remained strangers to political power, and whose weapons—mostly ineffectual—were the public speech, the newspaper article and the occasional demonstration.

But the more usual kind of Iraqi political party is also met with after 1945. Sāmī S̲h̲awkat and a few of his associates formed a party, *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ*, in November 1949; this group was not successful in attaining office and amalgamated in July 1951 with *ḥizb al-umma al is̲h̲tirākī*, which Ṣāliḥ D̲j̲ābir and his associates had formed the previous month to act as a rival grouping to Nūrī al-Saʿīd and his associates. The latter had himself formed a party in November 1949 (which he voluntarily dissolved in August 1954) and gave it the name of *ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-dustūrī*. It remains finally to notice a hybrid group of politicians and ideologists which was formed in May 1951 under the name of *al-d̲j̲abha al-s̲h̲aʿbiyya al-muttaḥida*. The founders included Ṭāhā al-Ḥās̲h̲imī, Muzāḥim al-Pačad̲j̲i, Muḥammad Riḍā al-S̲h̲abībī, Naṣrat al-Fārisī, Ṣādiḳ al-Baṣṣām, Burhān al-Dīn Bās̲h̲aʿyān, Maḥmud al-Durra, Nad̲j̲īb al-Ṣāyig̲h̲ and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲lī. The *d̲j̲abha* was dedicated to the principle of neutralism in foreign policy; it therefore opposed the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance and the governments who were in favour of upholding it. It was not a homogeneous group, being composed of politicians hoping for office and using the front as a lever for their ambitions, and of ideologists whose hopes of office were remote; rifts between members appeared, and in August 1954 the front ceased all activity.

Syria.—The early years of the French mandate in Syria show little party political activity. Syrian nationalists protested now and again at French rule in Syria, but until 1925 such protest was little organized. In May of that year, the Syrian leader ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-S̲h̲ābandar founded, together with other Syrian nationalists, including Ḥasan al-Ḥakīm, Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār and Fāris al-K̲h̲ūrī, *ḥizb al-s̲h̲aʿb*; but this Party was short-lived, since the French authorities banned it the following August on suspecting it of involvement in the Druze rebellion which had just started. In the anti-French troubles which followed, S̲h̲ābandar took a prominent part, and when the French were successful in pacifying the country, he went into exile and remained absent from Syria until 1937. The next Syrian political grouping was *al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*, formed in about 1929, which was organized formally at a meeting in Ḥimṣ in November 1932. The National Bloc was dedicated to the attainment of Syrian independence and Arab unity; it was led by Ibrāhīm Hanānū and Hās̲h̲im al-Atāsī, and among its prominent members were Saʿd Allāh al-D̲j̲ābirī, D̲j̲amīl Mardam, S̲h̲ukrī al-Ḳuwwatlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kayyālī, Luṭfī al-Ḥaffār, Edmond Rabbath, Fak̲h̲rī al-Bārūdī and Mik̲h̲āʾīl Ilyān. The Bloc was the main political grouping in Syria in the nineteen-thirties. Its leaders were influential in the country and frequently enjoyed a considerable following in their localities; the Bloc was essentially a coalition of notables united by struggle against the French, but here and there, now and again, they succeeded in mobilizing the mass and organizing it in towns like Damascus, Ḥamāt and Aleppo, but only by fits and starts. Their success in this enterprise was greater between 1936 and 1939 when they exercised power with French help and consent, dominating the legislature and dispensing administrative patronage; in this period, they organized a paramilitary youth movement, *al-s̲h̲abāb al-waṭanī*, the uniform of which was an iron-grey shirt. Along with the *kutla*, there were in the nineteen-thirties a variety of evanescent political groups which came and went depending on French encouragement, political rivalries or foreign (whether European or Iraqi) inspiration. Of the groups, the best known are *ʿuṣbat al-ʿamal al-ḳawmī, ḥizb al-waḥda al-ʿarabiyya, ḥizb al-inḳād̲h̲, al-d̲j̲abha al-waṭaniyya al-muttaḥida*, and *al-hayʾa al-s̲h̲aʿbiyya*, which constituted S̲h̲ābandar's own political following when, on his return to Damascus in 1937, he fell out with his colleagues of the Bloc. Overt political activity in Syria ceased between the outbreak of the second world war and 1943, when parliamentary elections were held, but in 1941 a small political group dedicated to the support of Ras̲h̲īd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī in Iraq was formed by two Damascus schoolteachers, Michel ʿAflaḳ and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār; the group was known as *d̲j̲amāʿat nuṣrat al-ʿIrāḳ*; it was the nucleus of what later became *ḥizb al-baʿt̲h̲ al-ʿarabī*, which in 1953 amalgamated with a group founded in the late nineteen-forties by Akram al-Ḥawrānī, *al-ḥizb al-ʿarabī al-is̲h̲tirākī*, in order to become *ḥizb al-baʿt̲h̲ al-ʿarabī al-is̲h̲tirākī*, dedicated to pan-Arabism and socialism and oper-

ating not only in Syria but also in the Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq as well, and, with the support of sympathetic army officers, actually exercising power in both Syria and Iraq. The elections of 1943 resulted in an overwhelming majority for the National Bloc, which took power and, with British support, succeeded in securing French departure from Syria. The Bloc, a coalition of politicians, suffered from fissiparous tendencies; this was the case in 1936-39, when jealousy and dissensions between different leaders and areas were already visible, and also after 1943, when the very extent of its victory aroused jealousies and cupidities. In 1947 some politicians seceded from the Bloc and formed *ḥizb al-sha*ʿ*b*. Another group of politicians, constituting the following of Khālid al-ʿAẓm, was formed in 1955 under the name of *al-kutla al-dīmūḳrāṭiyya*. But political factions such as the National Bloc, the People's Party and the Democratic Bloc, became of little importance when after 1949 army officers constantly intervened in politics. It was these officers who increasingly determined the character of political life in Syria after 1949.

The Lebanon.—Political activity in the Greater Lebanon, which the French authorities constituted in 1920, was somewhat different in character from that obtaining in the autonomous *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon. In Mount Lebanon the main political problem arose out of the rivalries and mutual fears of Druzes and Maronites; whereas in Greater Lebanon, the presence of a sizeable Muslim contingent predominantly Sunnī meant that political rivalries and combinations were more complex, but the parliamentary institutions as devised by the mandatory government (see P. Rondot, *Les institutions politiques du Liban*, Paris 1947) ensured that the political divisions between parties did not reproduce, reflect and hence exacerbate religious differences. An early political grouping which was more like a discussion group than a political party proper was *ḥizb al-taraḳḳī*, which existed for a few years after 1920. It was headed by the Marquis de Freij and included among its members Émile Edde, Bishāra al-Khūrī, Yūsuf al-Djumayyil and Michel Shīḥā. It was, however, not until the early nineteen-thirties that a stable and relatively long-lived political grouping came into being. This was *al-kutla al-dustūriyya*, which was a grouping of deputies in the Chamber elected at the beginning of 1934 headed by Bishāra al-Khūrī who, for the next decade, was to contend for office and power with his fellow Maronite Émile Edde. *Al-kutla al-dustūriyya* was so called because one of its members had asked before the elections of 1934 for the restoration of constitutional and parliamentary government. Émile Edde's supporters were grouped in *al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*, which in 1945 changed its name to *ḥizb al-sha*ʿ*b*. Other factions composed of politicians and their clients appeared after the withdrawal of French authority in 1943; they were all ephemeral, coming into being under particular circumstances and disappearing with their disappearance: thus a group calling itself *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl* came into being in 1944 to oppose Riyāḍ al-Ṣulḥ, then in office; it included ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāme, Ṣāʾib Slām, ʿAbd Allāh al-Yāfī and Henry Pharaon; in 1946 another such group, calling itself *kutlat al-iṣlāḥ*, was formed by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāme, Yūsuf Karam, Kamāl Djunblāṭ, ʿUmar Bayhum and ʿUmar al-Dāʿūḳ to oppose Sāmī al-Ṣulḥ, then in office; 1947 saw still another group, *kutlat al-taḥarrur al-waṭanī*, similar in aim and slightly different in composition. Besides these political factions, the Lebanon has seen other political groupings. In 1932, Anṭūn Saʿāda formed *al-ḥizb al-sūrī al-ḳawmī al-idjtimāʿī*; this was an ideological movement dedicated to the formation of a political entity embracing the Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, Iraq and Cyprus, this area being, according to the founder, the homeland of the Syrian nation. Anṭūn Saʿāda attempted—with some success—to create a mass movement in Syria and the Lebanon which inclined to violence and conspiracy in politics; the Party consequently had many ups and downs both in Syria and the Lebanon before and after Anṭūn Saʿāda's execution in July 1949 after his conviction before a Lebanese military court for taking part in armed rebellion. 1936-7 saw the formation of two movements with paramilitary features: *ḥizb al-nadjdjāda*, which grew out of the Muslim Boy Scout movement, and *ḥizb al-katāʾib al-lubnāniyya* (*les Phalanges libanaises*) founded by Pierre Djumayyil for the protection of Maronite interests. Finally, in 1949, Kamāl Djunblāṭ founded *al-ḥizb al-taḳaddumī al-ishtirākī*, which advertized a socialist ideology, but which remained, by and large, a group consisting of the founder's personal following.

Palestine.—Zionism was the main issue in terms of which the Arabic-speaking population of Palestine had to define its political divisions and rivalries. Leadership in the anti-Zionist struggle was disputed between two prominent families, the Ḥusaynīs and the Nashāshībīs. A member of the former family, Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, became early in the nineteen-twenties *muftī* of Jerusalem and president of *al-madjlis al-islāmī al-a*ʿ*lā*, which was set up by the Mandatory authorities to supervise and administer Muslim religious endowments and establishments in Palestine. A member of the latter family, Rāghib al-Nashāshībī became mayor of Jerusalem. These two personalities became the focus round which their respective followers were gathered, and in the nineteen-twenties Arabic-speaking Palestine was divided between two factions, the *madjlisiyyūn*, who constituted the Ḥusaynī following, and the *mu*ʿ*āriḍūn* who opposed them. In 1931, a number of politicians who believed in Pan-Arabism formed *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl*; the group included Akram Zuʿaytar, Ṣubḥī al-Khaḍrā, ʿAwnī ʿAbd al-Hādī, Muḥammad ʿIzzat Darwaza, Muʿīn al-Māḍī and ʿAdjdjādj Nuwayhiḍ; in December 1934, the Nashāshībī faction was formally constituted into a Party, *ḥizb al-difā*ʿ *al-waṭanī*, and in April of the following year the Ḥusaynī faction also constituted itself into a Party, *al-ḥizb al-*ʿ*arabī al-filasṭīnī*, the president of which was Djamāl al-Ḥusaynī. In June of the same year Dr. Ḥusayn al-Khālidī (hitherto in opposition to the *muftī*) organized his following into *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ*, and, opposing the Nashāshībī faction, captured the office of mayor of Jerusalem. In October 1935 a Nablus group formed itself into *ḥizb al-kutla al-waṭaniyya*. All these different groupings proved quite ephemeral, for in April 1936, at the beginning of the long drawn-out Palestine troubles, they agreed to form a body, *al-ladjna al-*ʿ*arabiyya al-*ʿ*ulyā*, in which they were all represented, in order to coordinate the struggle against the Mandatory Power. The subsequent events in Palestine between 1936 and 1948 allowed no further opportunity for the formation of party groups. But some of the parties formed earlier, notably *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl* and *al-ḥizb al-*ʿ*arabī*, resumed their activities between 1943 and the end of the Mandate.

The Sudan.—Political parties in the Sudan were quite late in making an appearance, and when they did, their activities were governed by their connexion with the heads of the two leading *ṭarīḳa*s, the Khāt-

miyya and the Anṣār, and the attitude they adopted toward union with or separation from Egypt. In March 1938 the formation of a group, *mu'tamar al-khirrīdjīn al-ʿāmm*, was announced, the aim of which was to promote the general welfare of the country and its graduates (by the term 'graduate' was meant someone who had finished school at the intermediate grade or above). The group wished for a greater share in government to be given to the Sudanese. A split in the ranks of the Congress led after 1942 to the formation of another group, the *ashikkā'* led by Ismāʿīl al-Azharī, which was allied with the Khātmiyya *ṭarīḳa* and dedicated to unity with Egypt. Opposing them was *ḥizb al-umma*, which called for the complete independence of the Sudan, and was backed by the Anṣār. In August 1949 another group, *al-djabha al-waṭaniyya*, was formed which aimed at Dominion status for the Sudan under the Egyptian crown. To this group Khātmiyya support was given for a time. In 1951 a group dedicated to the formation of a Sudanese republic immune from Mahdist influence was formed: it was called *al-ḥizb al-djumhūrī al-ishtirākī*; it never had much influence. In 1952 the *ashikkā'* and the *djabha* combined to form *al-ḥizb al-waṭanī al-ittiḥādī* which, led by Ismāʿīl al-Azharī, proclaimed unity with Egypt as its objective. This group came to power in January 1954 and remained in office until the *coup d'état* of 1958 put an end to party political activity. In spite of its professed aims, the Party, when in power, found that it had to acquiesce in separation from Egypt.

Tunisia.—The French Protectorate of Tunisia dating from 1881 was the framework within which organized Tunisian political activity took place. This Protectorate facilitated the settlement of Frenchmen and other Europeans in the country and slowly led to increasing French control over Tunisian administration. Such a situation led a small number of educated Tunisians to form a group in 1907 known as the *Parti Jeune Tunisien*, whose aim was to work for a constitution and a greater scope for Tunisians in public affairs. The group included ʿAlī Bāsh Ḥamba and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Thaʿālibī. At the end of the First World War, the group came to be known as the *Parti Tunisien*. It presented a memorandum to President Wilson in April 1919 and published a book in Paris in 1920, *La Tunisie Martyre*, which was written by Thaʿālibī and Aḥmad Saḳḳā and which set out Tunisian grievances. In June of the same year, the *Parti Tunisien* changed its name to *Parti Libéral Constitutionnel* (*al-ḥizb al-ḥurr al-dustūrī*), commonly known thereafter as the Destour. Towards the end of the nineteen-twenties the Party became revitalized through the efforts of a younger generation of members, including Habib Bourguiba (al-Ḥabīb Abū Ruḳayba), al-Shādhilī Khayr Allāh and Maḥmūd Māṭirī. The younger men led by Bourguiba soon clashed with their elders, and at the Party Congress of Ḳaṣr Hilāl in March 1934 Bourguiba captured the organization, which he continued henceforth to lead in spite of many challenges and vicissitudes. The Party came henceforth to be known as the neo-Destour to indicate the rejection by the new leaders of the ideas of those whom they called '*archéos*'. Under Bourguiba's leadership, the neo-Destour stood for Tunisian independence. Bourguiba also transformed the Party into a mass movement with a country-wide organization and a pyramidal chain of command with himself at the apex. The Party was composed of branches (*shuʿab*) of two kinds: territorial (*shuʿba turābiyya*) and non-territorial (*shuʿba ghayr turābiyya*), the latter being found in a large city like Tunis, and comprising members from the same home-town or locality. The Party also organized the youth in special formations, *al-shabība al-dustūriyya*, and controlled the Tunisian trade union movement, *al-ittiḥād al-ʿāmm al-tūnisī li'l-shughl*. The new technique of canalizing mass emotions for political ends is described in a remarkable passage by one of Bourguiba's prominent followers, in which he says that when Bourguiba made speeches orator and audience became as one flesh, the mass responding to the inflexions of the speaker's voice 'being moved by his emotion, angered by his anger, and reflecting if he compelled it to think' (ʿAlī al-Bahlawān, *Tūnis al-thā'ira*, Cairo 1954, 73.) After the attainment of Tunisian independence, the neo-Destour consolidated its position in the country, and is today the only political organization in Tunisia.

Algeria.—It is only after the First World War that purely Algerian organized political activity emerges. And it emerges not in Algeria itself, but among the Algerian proletariat in France. In 1926, the French Communist Party tried to organize Algerian workers into a grouping known as the *Étoile Nord-Africaine*; in 1927 this grouping came to be led by the Algerian Meṣṣālī al-Ḥādj who had served in the French army and been demobilized in France. The *Étoile* was a left-wing anti-colonial proletarian organization which operated in France, not in Algeria. It had many ups and downs, its leaders were repeatedly prosecuted and the association itself banned for alleged subversion. In 1936, Meṣṣālī al-Ḥādj, having fled to Switzerland to escape the police, met there the Amīr Shakīb Arslān and, under his influence, gave up his Communist sympathies and began to work for an Arab Islamic Algeria. In 1937 he founded the *Parti du Peuple Algérien* which recruited its members and organized them in cells in Algeria itself, and worked for Algerian independence. On the outbreak of the second world war, the authorities banned the Party and imprisoned its leader. In 1946, having been allowed to return to Algeria, he organized his followers into a new party, the *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques*, which called for a sovereign Algerian republic and for the unity of the Maghrib. The *Mouvement* was the public and legal front of the *Parti du Peuple Algérien*, which had worked underground since its banning in 1939. An even more secret grouping which was set up by Meṣṣālī al-Ḥādj and his colleagues was the paramilitary *Organisation Spéciale*, the head of which was Aḥmad bin Bella. In April 1954, he and eight of his colleagues set up in Cairo the *Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action* which organized insurrection against the French authorities in Algeria. The *Comité* launched the *Front de Libération Nationale*, to whom the French Government eventually conceded Algerian independence. The Front has become the only political movement in the Algerian Republic.

Other political groupings appeared on the Algerian scene in the nineteen-thirties and forties. In 1934, Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ bin Djilūl (Ben Djellul) organized the Muslim local representatives of the *département* of Constantine into a *Fédération des Élus musulmans du département de Constantine*. Other *fédérations* were also set up and these groups, loosely organized as they were, did attempt to adopt a common line of policy towards the authorities. What they desired was a lessening of Algerian disabilities and a greater share in government. Algerian independence was not an objective of theirs; neither was it the objective of the *Rassemblement franco-musulman algérien*, which bin Djilūl organized in 1938, or of the *Union Populaire al-*

gérienne which Farḥāt ʿAbbās set up in the same year. Neither of these groups was destined to have a long life. In March 1943 Farḥāt ʿAbbās addressed a manifesto to the Governor-General of Algeria entitled *L'Algérie devant le conflict mondial. Manifeste du peuple algérien*, asking for justice for the Algerian Muslims and Algerian autonomy. In 1944 Farḥāt ʿAbbās organized *Les Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté*, which he designed as a mass movement to take the place of the *Parti du Peuple Algérien*. Whether or not his methods in 1944-5 contributed to the rising of May 1945 in the Constantinois, the authorities did arrest him and dissolved his organization. On his release in 1946 he organized the *Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien*, forsaking mass agitation, his watchword being: 'Ni assimilation, ni nouveaux maîtres, ni séparatisme'. In April 1956, he joined the National Liberation Front.

Morocco.—Organized political party activity in Morocco dates from the nineteen-thirties. Its origin lies in the protest organized by some young Moroccans in 1930 against the Berber dahir [see ẒAHĪR] and French policy, which they took to aim at separating the Berbers from the Moroccan polity. A group of these young men produced in 1934 a *Plan de réformes marocaines*, and organized themselves into a *Comité d'action marocaine*. The group included Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzānī and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, who were the two most prominent members, ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Djalīl, Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Nāṣirī, Maḥmūd al-Yazīdī and Muḥammad Duyūrī. The *Comité* was banned in March 1937 and reconstituted the following month as the *Parti national pour la réalisation du plan de réformes*, which also was banned the following October. In April 1937 Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzāni, who had fallen out with his fellow-members of the *Comité*, organized a political group under the name of *Action nationale marocaine*, which was likewise banned in October 1937. These early political groupings were much influenced by the political ideas of Shakīb Arslān, who had visited Tetuan in 1930 and to whom Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzānī had for some time acted as secretary; they were also encouraged in their activities by the sympathy of some French socialists, notably Robert-Jean Longuet who had started the periodical *Maghreb* in Paris in 1932.

Between October 1937 and 1943 there was little political party activity in the French zone of Morocco. In the Spanish zone, the Spanish Civil War starting in 1936 had a direct and important influence on the character of political party activities. The Spanish Nationalist authorities, who speedily came to control the zone, wished to secure political support among the Moroccans and encouraged the formation in June 1936 of a party led by ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Ṭurays (Torrès) under the name of *ḥizb al-iṣlāḥ al-waṭanī*. In February 1937 Makkī al-Nāṣirī was encouraged to form a rival group, *ḥizb al-waḥda al-maghribiyya*. The two groups remained in existence until the end of the Protectorate, intermittently enjoying the favour and support of the authorities.

Towards the end of 1943, conditions inside and outside Morocco making political activity in the French zone once more possible, the *Istiḳlāl* Party was formed. It was led by the same group who had formed the *Comité d'action marocaine* and the *Parti national*; its most prominent members were Aḥmad Balāfridj, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm bū ʿAbīd, Muḥammad al-Yazīdī and ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Djalīl. But the *Istiḳlāl* Party differed from earlier groupings by the fact that it succeeded in organizing from 1945 onwards a countrywide network of cells (*djamāʿāt*, sing. *djamāʿa*) with a pyramidal chain of command; it could thus mobilize the masses in the struggle against the French Protectorate which ended successfully in 1956. The *Istiḳlāl* Party during the period 1945-1956 thus functioned as a movement. Alongside it there were a number of groupings which were more in the nature of factions: Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Wazzānī organized in 1946 the *Parti démocratique de l'indépendance* (which after independence became the *Parti démocratique constitutionnel*); the *Sharīf* Mūlāy Idris organized in 1947 the *Parti démocrate marocain des hommes libres*, and in 1948 Bashīr Zimrānī formed the *Parti du peuple marocain*. These two latter parties supported the Protectorate and in turn enjoyed official protection.

After independence the *Istiḳlāl* party emerged as the most powerful political organization in the country, but in 1959 there was a split in its ranks, and two of its leaders, Mahdī bin Barka and ʿAbd Allāh Ibrāhīm, led a new party with leftist leanings, the *Union nationale des forces populaires*, which seems to enjoy some mass support.

Communist Parties.—From the end of the first world war, small, usually clandestine, groups of communists have existed in the Arab East; their formation has sometimes been assisted or influenced by emissaries of the Third International, by communists in the Palestine Jewish settlement or by Armenian refugees with leftist sympathies. Details concerning them are found in W. Z. Laqueur, *Communism and nationalism in the Middle East*, London 1956, which, for Iraq, should be supplemented by John Batatu, *Some preliminary observations on the beginnings of communism in the Arab East*, in J. Pennar, ed., *Islam and Communism*, Munich 1960. In the Maghrib, communist parties were rather offshoots of the French Communist Party which gradually separated off from it; details of their activities may be found in the works of Le Tourneau, Rézette and Robert listed below. On communism in Arab countries, see further SHUYŪʿIYYA.

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(E. Kedourie)

ii.—Ottoman Empire and Turkey

Political parties became a regular feature of Turkish political life only after the revolution of 1908. Their precursors were coteries engaged in conspiracy within the Ottoman Empire or in agitation from exile [see djamʿiyya]. These included societies formed among non-Muslim or non-Turkish groups aiming at autonomy or independence and groups of Ottoman Muslims dedicated to a change of rulers or of the constitution—*e.g.*, the *Ethnike Hetairia* (Odessa 1814, later headed by Alexander Hypsilanti) which prepared Greek independence; the Social Democrat Hunchakian (or Hinčak) Party (Geneva 1887, the name dates from 1898) and the Dashnaktsutiun Committee (Caucasus 1890) (see L. Nalbandian, *The Armenian revolutionary movement*, Berkeley 1963); the *Fedāʾīler Djemʿiyyeti* ('Society of Zealots'), which attempted to depose ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in the Kuleli Incident of 1859; *Yeñi ʿOthmānlılar Djemʿiyyeti* ([*q.v.*] Istanbul 1865), whose members after a period in exile played prominent rôles in the constitutional revolution of 1876; and the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* ([*q.v.*] Istanbul 1889, subsequently in exile and founded anew in Salonica in 1906). This last group, known to Europeans as the Committee of Union and Progress or more loosely as the Young Turks, was responsible for the restoration of the constitution in July 1908 and the suppression of the counter-revolutionary movement in April 1909 (*Otuz-Bir Mart Waḳʿasi*).

The revolution of 1908-9 was a triumph of conspiracy and of party; yet the C.U.P. remained somewhat in the background and did not fully seize power until the *coup d'état* of January 1913. Meanwhile a large number of parties were formed inside and outside of the parliament, mainly among opponents or dissidents of the C.U.P. who objected to its intense partisanship and to its increasing Turkish nationalist bias; the most notable of these was the *Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fırḳasi* [*q.v.*] or *Entente Libérale* of 1911. Secret conspiracy also resumed, *e.g.*, among the *Khalāṣkār Ḍābiṭān* who forced the appointment of an anti-C.U.P. cabinet in 1912. After the assassination of Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha in June 1913, however, the C.U.P. government suppressed all opposition, sending the leading liberals into banishment or exile.

Intense party activity recommenced after the armistice of October 1918. In Istanbul the C.U.P., whose leaders had fled [see enwer pasha], reconstituted itself as the *Tedjeddüd Fırḳasi* or Renewal Party; others revived various anti-C.U.P. groupings, promoted separatist interest (*e.g.*, the *Kürdistān Teʾālī Djemʿiyyeti* of Seyyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir); advocated close collaboration with the British (the *Ingiliz Muḥibbler Djemʿiyyeti* of Saʿīd Molla); or invoked national self-determination for the Turks (the *Wilson Prensipleri Djemʿiyyeti* of Khālide Edīb and others). These manoeuvres, however, remained without much consequence because in Istanbul power was in the hands of the occupying forces and in Anatolia of the nationalists. Nationalist organization in the peripheral provincial towns (Edirne, Adana, Izmir, Erzurum, etc.) formed around local C.U.P. leaders and other notables; its aim was to resist encroachments by Allied authorities or non-Turkish groups. The local societies were coordinated in a series of regional congresses and in a national congress at Sivas (4-11 September 1919) under Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk], at which they merged in the *Anadolu we Rūmeli Müdāfaʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ Djemʿiyyeti*, or Society for the defence of rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. This group dominated the first Grand National Assembly at Ankara, although a more conservative faction, the so-called "Second Group", informally organized and opposed to Muṣṭafā Kemāl's personal leadership, split off in 1922 (one of its leaders was Djalāl al-Dīn ʿĀrif [*q.v.*]). In 1923, Kemāl transformed the *Müdāfāʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ* into the Republican People's Party (R.P.P., or *Djumhūriyyet Khalḳ Fırḳasi* [*q.v.*]), which dominated the Turkish political scene until 1950.

The one-party period was briefly interrupted by the appearance of two opposition parties. The first of these, the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳī-perver Djumhūriyyet Fırḳasi*) was formed late in 1924 among Kemāl's early close collaborators, including ʿAlī Fuʾād [Cebesoy], Kāẓim Karabekir, Raʾūf [Orbay], and Bekir Sāmī, rallied a total of 28 deputies, and was dissolved under the Law for the restoration of order (*Taḳrīr-i sükūn ḳānūnu*) on 3 June 1925. The other, called the Free Republican Party, was founded and dissolved at Kemāl's behest by his good friend ʿAlī Fetḥī [Okyar] (12 August-

18 December 1930). The transition to a multiparty system was announced by President Ismet Inönü in his speech of 19 May 1945, and as many as 27 parties were founded by 1950. The most prominent among these were the Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*), founded in 1946 by Celâl Bayar, Adnan Menderes, and other R.P.P. dissidents; and the Nation Party, formed in 1948 by Fevzi Çakmak [*q.v.*], Osman Bölükbaşı, and other dissidents from the D.P. The Democrats campaigned for a liberalization of the economy, for agricultural development, and a relaxation of the R.P.P.'s secularism; the Nation Party took a more intransigent tone of opposition toward the R.P.P. and later the D.P. and favoured religious conservatism.

The following table indicates the strength of the parties since 1946.

	1946(a)	1950	1954	1957	1961(b)	1965
% of eligible voters participating		89.1	88.8	77.2	81.8	71
% of votes						
Republican People's Party		40.0	35.3	40.9	36.7	53
Democratic Party		53.5	56.6	47.7		
Justice Party					34.8	29
Nation Party		3.3	4.9	7.2	14.0	8(d)
Others		3.2	3.2	4.2	14.5(c)	10
Republican People's Party	397	67	31	178	173	134
Democratic Party	59	416	504	424		
Justice Party					158	240
Nation Party		1	5	4	54	42
Others	6	3	1		65(c)	34
Total	462	487	541	610	450	450

Notes to Table: (a) No election figures available. (b) National Assembly only. (c) New Turkey Party 13.7% and 65 seats. (d) Nation Party and Republican Peasants' Nation Party.

Party organization, which between 1908 and 1945 had been limited to the cities and the educated class, since then has spread to the small towns and villages. It would appear that traditional local factions (*e.g.*, old residents versus recent migrants or clients of rival leading families) are easily absorbed into national parties. Election participation has been higher than in many Western countries, and the tendency has been toward a two-party system, both under the multiple-member plurality system that prevailed until 1960 and under the proportional system in effect since then. The suffrage, which had been limited to taxpayers under the Empire, was extended to all adult males in 1924 and females in 1934; and after 1946 the ballot became secret and direct. The elections of 1946 were held before the opposition had a chance to organize fully, and the count was not honest; those of 1954 and 1957 were marred by systematic harassment of the opposition; and in 1961 martial law prevented criticism of the governing junta. But the elections of 1950 and 1965 were free and honest, and the developments since the 1950's show that even mounting severity does not always suffice to suppress party division.

The D.P. was dissolved in 1960 and its leaders put on trial, Menderes and three others being executed. But the party revived in 1961 in the form of the Justice Party, which soon absorbed the smaller New Turkey Party. The Nation Party has changed its name and composition a number of times; in 1965 one of its offshoots was joined by Colonel Türkeş, the leader of the authoritarian dissidents of the 1960 junta. The Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) has attracted some intellectuals and trade union leaders and espoused a programme of radical or even revolutionary social and economic reform. Between 1961 and 1965 a number of coalition governments were formed, and for a time the military hierarchy continued to play an important political rôle behind the scenes; but the political contest increasingly has turned into one between the R.P.P. and the Justice Party, and in 1965 the chief issue between them was socialism versus free enterprise.

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(D. A. Rustow)

iii.—Persia

The history of the emergence of political parties in Persia does not conform to the general Western liberal concepts of a polarization of communities of interest into organizations formed to carry out political action, which then enter the political arena via a variety of already established or revolutionary routes. In the writings and speeches of the reformers and modernizers of the last quarter of the 19th century—particularly those who were active outside Persia—there is a general awareness of the desirability of concerted group organization and action in order to achieve political goals, but there is no definition or advocacy of political parties, and the term *ḥizb* retains its traditional religio-sectarian connotation. Although the communities of interest which agitated

on behalf of the Constitutional Movement and participated in it can be differentiated and identified, the nature of the preparations which they made and the associations which they formed had neither the form nor the substance of "party" activity. Both the notions and the rudimentary formations of political parties in Persia emerged after the initial phases of the constitutional régime within the parliamentary framework which the constitution had created; and only to a limited degree had they any generic relationship to the various groups existing prior to the constitutional era. But even in the early years of the constitutional régime, when proto-partisan factions were developing in the *Madjlis*, it is difficult to ascertain the beginning of the accepted political usage of the term "*ḥizb*". Not until the period of the First World War and its immediate aftermath did *ḥizb* become the exact and commonly understood term for "political party" in Persia, and the acceptance of this usage coincides with the appearance of embryonic political parties having some semblance of a public base and an organizational apparatus, as distinct from mere parliamentary factions.

The factional lines were already emerging towards the end of the first session of the *Madjlis* (1906-8); and after the military conquest of Tehrān by the Constitutionalist forces in 1909 and the inauguration of the second session in the same year, two distinct groups known as *Dimūkrāt-i ʿĀmmiyyūn* ("Popular Democrats") and *Idjtimāʿiyyūn-i Iʿtidāliyyūn* ("Social Moderates") were formed. Although in their pronouncements and in the newspapers supporting them the terms *djamʿiyyat*, *firḳa*, and occasionally *ḥizb* were used interchangeably by these groups to describe themselves, their formal parliamentary organizations went by the French term *fraction*. The Democrats saw themselves as the revolutionary group, and were, in general, composed of Western-educated bourgeois elements. Their platform included general and vague references to: (1) 'separation of religion and politics', (2) 'distribution of land among the peasantry', (3) 'preference for indirect over direct taxation', and (4) 'opposition to the *Madjlis-i Aʿyān* (House of Notables)'. Some direct and residual influence of the Caucasian Social-Revolutionaries of 1905, as well as generally recognized western ideological influences, were present in this group. Their chief spokesmen were Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳizāda and Sulaymān Mīrzā. They were the minority *fraction* in the second *Madjlis*, numbering 28. The Moderates were made up of the aristocracy and the influential *ʿulamāʾ*; they were led by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Ṭabāṭabāʾī and were supported by the Regent himself. With 36 members and 38 supporters, they were the effective majority in the second *Madjlis*. In the same period several smaller "parties"—including one with the evocative name of *Ittifāḳ wa Taraḳḳī* ("Union and Progress")—appeared on the scene but made no impact.

The Democrats were defeated in their attempt to retain the American financial adviser Morgan Shuster, and the second *Madjlis* was dissolved in 1911 as a result of Russian pressure. In the three-and-a-half-year hiatus between the second and the third *Madjlis*, the Democrats underwent a subtle transformation. Their vague social revolutionary objectives receded in the crisis of national integrity and survival. And in the absence of a parliamentary stage on which to play their liberal rôle at the capital, they became the focus of the growing nationalistic sentiment in provincial towns. Inevitably they looked to the Central Powers as the source of hope and support against Russia and Britain. The presence of a number of Democratic leaders in Berlin and Istanbul helped the spread of this sympathy. The elections for the third *Madjlis*, the outbreak of the Great War, the end of the regency of Nāṣir al-Mulk, and the early reverses of the Allies are the factors that brought the Democratic party once more to the forefront of Persian politics. The stage was now set for the most drastic and symbolically the most significant, but in reality the completely futile step taken by that party, namely the establishment in 1915 of a Committee of National Defence, first in Ḳumm, and later at Kirmānshāh. This was in fact an attempt to set up a rival government in defiance of the Allies and in close contact with the Central Powers. The Great War brought about a virtual collapse of order and authority in Persia, but this period saw also the spread and intensification of nationalism. The Democratic party stood to benefit from the rising nationalist temper, but, being split by factionalism, it dissipated its opportunity. In the fourth *Madjlis* (1919-21) it forfeited its majority and, by dividing over the ratification of the proposed Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, it paved the way to its own dissolution.

The decisive event affecting the development of political parties in Persia—immediately and in the years to follow—was the October Revolution in Russia. The first avowedly communist party, *Ḥizb-i ʿAdālat* ("Justice Party"), was formed among the Persian nationals working in the oilfields of Baku soon after the October Revolution, and was imported into Soviet-dominated Gīlān in 1920. Its first congress was held in May 1920 in Enzeli (now Pahlavi) during the Bolshevik occupation of that city. Although *ʿAdālat* remained the only official communist party of Persia and was affiliated to the Comintern, yet, except for giving some impetus to an embryonic trade union movement, it did not make a significant and genuine penetration of the Persian scene. After the suppression of the Kūčik Khān revolt in Gīlān in 1921, *ʿAdālat* went underground and its membership dwindled. In 1927 it held its second congress jointly and in secret with the Turkish communist party in Urmiya (Riḍāʾiyya). It had already virtually withdrawn from Persia by 1931, when communist parties (*aḥzāb-i ishtirākī*) were formally outlawed.

Between 1921 and 1923 there emerged a number of pro-Soviet parties with socialist programmes, having a small popular base but with some influential journalists as their leaders. Under the leadership of Sulaymān Mīrzā (the former leader of the Democratic Party) and Riḍā Rūstā (both later members of the *Tūda* Party), these groups joined in a *Djibha-yi Millī* ("National Front") and took a vigorous part in the elections for the fifth *Madjlis*. They were severely suppressed by the government and only a few *Djibha-yi Millī* deputies were elected.

With the rise to power of Riḍā Khān, there appeared a few nationalist parties of the centre and the right, such as *Īrān-i Djavān* ("Young Iran") and *Ḍidd-i Adjnabī* ("Anti-Foreign"), led by his supporters but often acting as instruments of their personal intrigues. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh, political parties were proscribed. On one occasion in the 30's, probably in emulation of the Turkish model, it was decided to create a party as an aid for étatist propaganda and control, but preparations were interrupted in mid-course and the plan was dropped. In 1937 53 men were convicted for communist conspiracy. Their leader, Dr. Taḳī Arānī, was a German-educated

professor of physics at the University of Tehrān, who died in prison. Among the group were a few veterans of the leftist parties of the early 20's, but the majority, including Arānī, were intellectuals with no political and party experience. They later played a part in the formation of the *Tūda* ("Masses") Party in 1941.

The abdication of Riḍā Shāh, caused by the entry of British and Soviet troops into Persia in September 1941, brought about a revival in political life. The first reaction in the *Madjlis* and in the press was to view the last twenty years as an unhappy interlude. Outside the *Madjlis*, however, a development of true political parties was taking place. On 20 September 1941 the *Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān* was organized, and was launched publicly on 2 February 1942. Its platforms and propaganda characterized it from the start as a "democratic bourgeois national liberationist" party; its organization was strictly on communist models, although it was not until 1959 that the *Tūda* Party, from its exile in East Germany, officially called itself the Communist Party of Persia. By August of 1944, when its first congress was held in Tehrān, it claimed to have some 30,000 members. From 1942 to 1944 a number of parties were founded by various political figures. These all had liberal nationalistic programmes, very similarly worded, but in fact they ranged over the political spectrum from the socialistic Anti-Fascist League to the pro-Nazi *Ḥizb-i Milliyyūn-i Īrān*. In between were to be found *Ḥizb-i Hamrāhān, Ḥizb-i Sosyālist, ʿAdālat, Mardān-i Kār, Millat, Millī, Mīhan-parastān, Āzādī-khwāhān, Istiḳlāl*, and *Paykār*. None of these parties had any influence on the government and its policies, and they were little more than extensions of the political ambitions and intrigues of their leaders. Late in 1943, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, the leader of the 1921 *coup d'état* which had brought Riḍā Khān to power, returned from exile and served as the focus of attempts to create an anti-*Tūda* party, which was first called *Waṭan* and was re-named *Irāda-yi Millī* in 1945. The *Tūda* was the only party to take part as an organized party in the electoral campaigns and the inauguration of the fourteenth *Madjlis* in 1944, eight of their members being elected. Shortly after the opening of the fourteenth *Madjlis*, two nationalist bourgeois parties were formed: *Ḥizb-i Īrān*, with a leftist intellectual membership, and *Ḥizb-i Mardum*, with a traditionalist leadership.

The years 1944-6 were a period of rapid growth and consolidation for the *Tūda*, owing to the growing power of the Soviet Union. By 1946 it claimed to have approximately 100,000 members. Meanwhile, more immediate Soviet support created separatist movements, which were spearheaded by *Ḥizb-i Djangal* in Gīlān, *Firḳa-yi Dimūkrāt* in Ādharbaydjān, and *Ḥizb-i Kōmala* (also called *Firḳa-yi Dimūkrāt*) in Kurdistān.

On 23 June 1946 the *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* was founded by Aḥmad Ḳawām, then Prime Minister. The apparatus of the state and bureaucratic patronage were used to foster the rapid development and organizational spread of this party. First Ḳawām co-operated with the parties of the left, to the extent of including three *Tūda* members in his cabinet, and brought about the disintegration of *Irāda-yi Millī* and other rightist splinters. The collapse of the separatist régimes in Ādharbaydjān and Kurdistān, and in general the thwarting of Soviet aims in Persia in December 1946, were crucial factors in the decline of the *Tūda*, which was seriously weakened by loss of membership and by the defection of an anti-Soviet nationalist faction led by Khalil Malikī in 1947. Ḳawām and the *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* entered the fifteenth *Madjlis* in near complete triumph. His only opposition came from Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ who, together with a few remnants of *Ḥizb-i Īrān* and *Ḥizb-i Mardum*, formed the *Djibha-yi Millī* in the fifteenth *Madjlis*. The *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* was split, and disintegrated just as rapidly as it had grown. From the end of 1947 began another period of general fragmentation and insignificance of political parties in Persia. *Tūda* efforts at regaining strength suffered another eclipse when, following an attempt on the life of the Shāh, it was formally outlawed in February 1949.

When the first disagreement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company served as the magnet of new nationalistic groupings and political activity, a new group of the extreme right, *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām* [*q.v.*], took the limelight from the left as being the most radical anti-imperialist force in Persia. This was essentially a religious secret organization led by Nawwāb-i Ṣafawī. It first appeared in 1948 and drew its support mainly from some sections of the *ʿulamāʾ* (the most prominent of whom was Kāshānī), the urban proletariat, and traditional elements in the *bāzār*. Its distinctive political feature was the employment of terrorist gangs, which were successfully used against politicians accused of pro-British ties.

On 24 October 1949, during the electoral campaign for the sixteenth *Madjlis*, the *Djibha-yi Millī*, previously formed as a parliamentary *fraction*, was re-organized as a partisan political coalition. It included the *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām*, and Muṣaddiḳ was only one of the leaders. Large numbers of their supporters, with the widespread support of nationalist bourgeois elements, were elected, and the stage was set for the virtual control of governmental policy by the *Djibha-yi Millī*. On 15 March 1951, the *Madjlis* passed the oil nationalization law; shortly afterwards a cabinet, composed mainly of *Djibha-yi Millī* members headed by Muṣaddiḳ, was formed and began efforts for the implementation of that law.

There followed another period of relatively free and vigorous political activity in Persia. A number of left-of-centre parties, the most important of which were *Nīrū-yi Siwwum* ("Third Force"—the *Tūda* dissidents led by Khalil Malikī) and *Ḥizb-i Zaḥmatkashān-i Īrān* ("The Toilers' Party of Iran") led by Dr. Baḳāʾī, appeared and joined the *Djibha-yi Millī*. A group of leftist front organizations also developed; this included the *Djamʿiyyat-i Ṭarafdārān-i Ṣulḥ* ("Partisans of Peace"), who demonstrated against the Korean war and United States advisers in Persia, and collected 50,000 signatures for the Stockholm Proclamation, and the *Djamʿiyyat-i Millī-yi Mubāriza bā Istiʿmār* ("League of Struggle with Imperialism"), which demanded the legalization of the *Tūda* Party. The *Tūda* itself made a comeback in support of nationalization policies. Although its chances of popular support were pre-empted by the *Djibha-yi Millī*, it succeeded in strengthening its secret structure and its striking ability among its civilian and military supporters. In 1953, when a number of nationalist supporters of Muṣaddiḳ moved to oppose him, the *Tūda*, though remaining ostensibly loyal, was acting to gain control of Muṣaddiḳ. Arrayed against the forces of the left, apart from the *Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām*, which split in two in 1951, were a number of ultra-nationalist and fascist-type parties, such as the Pan-Iranists and the *Sūmkā*.

The fall of Muṣaddiḳ in 1953 drove the *Djibha-yi Millī* into a circumscribed and largely futile opposition. The organization of the *Tūda* was broken and

its membership was decimated as much by suspicion of its anti-national rôle as by the vigilance of the new régime. The party was proscribed; some of its leaders were seized and others were sent into exile. Its central organization has been maintained in East Germany since the mid-50's. A number of extreme right parties: *Fidā'iyyān-i Shāh, Khalḳ, Āryā, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār*, and *23 Murdād* flourished briefly after 1953.

The development and activity of political parties in Persia has, by and large, been in recess since 1953. In 1960, attempts to create a loyal two-party system, of *Ḥizb-i Mardum* led by Asad Allāh ʿAlam and *Ḥizb-i Milliyyūn* led by Manūčihr Iḳbāl, failed. Since 1965 a *Ḥizb-i Īrān-i Nuwīn* ("Modern Iran") has been discreetly promoted more as an informal motivational framework for the members of the government than as a political party.

In general, it may be concluded that the period for the true political significance of parties in Persia has not arrived. Only the *Tūda* Party in certain stages of its history and Ḳawām's *Ḥizb-i Dimūkrāt-i Īrān* for a brief span have succeeded in creating the structure and organization of political parties of a totalitarian nature, and only the *Tūda* has had the element of ideological popular appeal. No broadly based, liberally oriented, loosely organized, viable party has developed. The ruling classes have continued to assume that the form of an institutional borrowing is conducive to the content desired. The interaction of the newly emerging phenomenon of political parties in Persia with the patterns of the exercise of power and the pull of tradition has profoundly affected the configurations and rôles of these parties. The electoral system and practices in Persia reflecting traditional patterns of power have rendered political parties largely irrelevant; while political traditions have often made the parties indistinguishable from personal schemes and functional tools of a recognizable traditional mould. As such, they have proved inadequate levers.

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iv. — RUSSIAN AZERBAIJAN

No political parties existed in Transcaucasia until the last quarter of the 19th century. Before then, opposition had taken the form of peasant uprisings or conspiracies by the nobles against Russian rule. Modern political activity began in the reign of Alexander II (1855-81) in Georgia and Armenia, as a development from the cultural revivals, with strong nationalist overtones, which had grown up there in the middle of the century.

In comparison with Georgia and Armenia, Azerbaijan was politically backward. Only in Baku, a boom town, was there political activity, conducted mostly by Russians and Armenians. Never having been a nation, Azerbaijan was at a disadvantage. Its rising middle class and the intelligentsia had to solve the problem of their national identity before they could act.

Every Russian political party was represented in Baku, but none attracted a native following. Some wealthy Azerbaijanis associated themselves with the Constitutional Democrats (*Kadets*), while simultaneously promoting Muslim organizations.

In 1904 a small group of Bolsheviks made a conscious effort to attract Muslim workers in the Baku oil industry. Though they considered it most unorthodox to form a party on ethnic-religious lines, the Bolsheviks organized one, naming it *Hemmat* ("Endeavour", = *Himmat*, Russ. *Gummet*). This was essentially a front organization. Most of its early leaders were foreign Bolsheviks such as S. Shaumian, I. Stalin, and A. Japaridze. The *Hemmat* never assumed much importance and disappeared after the Sovietization of Azerbaijan in 1920.

During the revolution of 1905 the Muslims of the Volga, Crimea, Azerbaijan, and Turkestan formed a loose political party named *Ittifāḳ-i Muslimīn* (Union of Muslims). Its chairman was an Azerbaijani, ʿAlī Mardān Bek Topčibashev, who was politically close to the Russian *Kadets*. The *Ittifāḳ-i Muslimīn* elected Topčibashev to the first Duma in 1906. In the second Duma, Azerbaijanis were represented by Muslims who were members of the Russian *Kadet* party. On the whole *Ittifāḳ-i Muslimīn* accomplished very little, though some of its members later held important positions in the government of independent Azerbaijan.

The most important Azerbaijani party was the *Musāwāt* (Equality), founded in 1911 by a group of Azerbaijani intellectuals who had been previously associated with the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The leader of the *Musāwāt* was the journalist Muḥammad Amīn Rasūlzāde, who had taken part in the Persian revolution against Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh Ḳādjār. Like many of his contemporaries, he had been exposed simultaneously to European nationalism, Russian Marxism, and the Pan-Islamism of Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī. The *Musāwāt*'s programme reflected all these irreconcilable theories: the unity of all Muslims irrespective of nationality or sect, the restoration of the independence of all Muslim peoples, aid to all Muslims, the development of Muslim economic life.

In spite of its ideological and organizational weakness, the *Musāwāt* emerged as the strongest force in Azerbaijan (but not in Baku, where the Bolsheviks and the Dashnaks predominated) after the collapse of Russian authority in 1917. It participated, though unenthusiastically, in the formation of the Transcaucasian Federation and, in spring 1918, proclaimed the independence of Azerbaijan. The *Musāwāt* was the strongest party in the government which was established in Baku in September 1918 after the Turks had occupied the city.

The rule of the *Musāwāt* was brief. The party was beset with insoluble problems. It failed to implement its promises of land reform, but did open a university in Baku. Neither the *Musāwāt* nor anyone else could defend Azerbaijan against Soviet Russia. In April 1920 the Red Army occupied Baku and the *Musāwāt* ceased to exist.

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v. — Volga region and Central Asia

Before 1905, in European Russia as in Central Asia, the formation of organized political parties was as difficult among the Muslims as among the Slav inhabitants. Nevertheless, their possession of a common language and creed (almost all the Muslims were Turks, except for a few Caucasian tribes and the Tādjiks; and, except for the Ādharbaydjānīs, almost all of the Muslim inhabitants were Sunnīs) had already in the 19th century led to the formation of a strong community feeling on a common basis, which was to prove a solid foundation within the framework of the party structure. Furthermore the number of Muslims and Turks was greatly increased through the Russian conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century; old ties were revived between those lands and the Volga region with the possibility of mutual influences. This led to a great increase in the self-assertion of the Muslims.

The political revolution of 1905 with the formation of an imperial Duma unleashed a powerful movement among the Muslims. Under the leadership of prominent citizens, among whom the Tatars very soon played a leading rôle, it was decided on 8 April 1905 to convene a "First all-Russian Muslim Congress" in Nižniy Novgorod (now Gor'kiy) for 15 August 1905; this was followed by two further congresses in 1906 and 1907. They were of great importance also for the formation of parties, since at them the representatives of all the individual peoples, and also of all political opinions, met together and discussed common action. They concerned themselves mainly with the publication of newspapers and periodicals, with the establishment of elementary and secondary schools of truly Turkish-Muslim character and free from interference from the Russian authorities, with questions of cultural autonomy, and with relations with the Russian state and people.

There emerged, however, two basic schools of thought which, although they were fundamentally in agreement over many issues, yet led to the formation of two parties: (1) progressive-minded clerics, merchants, landowners and others formed the group of the "Muslim Union" which occupied itself principally with the furthering of national and religious interests and which (since they thought that among them they would most readily find understanding of their aims) inclined towards the "Constitutional Democrats" (generally abbreviated to "*Kadets*"), a bourgeois leftist-liberal group consisting of the educated Russian middle-classes and many professors; (2) a number of younger representatives, among them teachers, lawyers and publicists, rejected co-operation with any Russian political party, since they would thus bind themselves ideologically, and advocated—at least as an objective—complete independence and socialist ideals; this policy, which they tried to carry out chiefly against the Russian government, led them into the company of the Russian social-revolutionaries. Many of their leading personalities later, especially during the emigration, became ardent nationalists. In the first Duma (10 May-22 July 1906), with a majority of "*Kadets*", the Muslims were represented by 25 members, of whom six had signed the "Viborg manifesto" of the socialists. In the second Duma (5 March-16 June 1907), there were 35 Muslim members, among them 29 members of the "Union". The remaining six constituted the "Muslim Work Group" (*Müsülmānlarnïñ khidmet ṭā'ifesi*) which, under the leadership of Ayāz Isḥāķī, represented socialist ideas, while recognizing Islam and "Turkishness" as the basis of their national life. After the sweeping limitation of the franchise the third Duma (14 November 1907-1912) included only nine Muslim members (3 from Ufa, 2 each from Kazan and the Caucasus, one each from Orenburg and the Crimea; the inhabitants of Central Asia had lost their right to vote). The fourth Duma (1912-1917) included only seven members, six of whom were members of the "Islamic group" and one Lesghian.

On the whole the Muslims very rarely got a hearing during the proceedings and furthermore met with the rejection by the Russians of their claims, especially in the third and fourth Dumas. Nevertheless there was the possibility of joint discussion, the activity of a press (though frequently suppressed by the Russian censorship) and the ventilation of topical questions of concern to Muslims. The Muslims became conscious of their numbers and their influence, and began gradually to break away from their hitherto characteristic alignment with Ottoman Turkey and to concentrate on coming to an arrangement with the Russians from whom, as the bearers of European ideas, they also learned and adopted much. Yet a part of the Muslim clergy (who opposed all Western ideas as being harmful to Islam) supported complete isolation.

In any case the Muslims in Imperial Russia gained the principle of equality of rights when the two revolutions of 1917 gave a new status to all the population. Among the Turks in the Volga region there came into prominence at the "National Congresses" of 1917 and 1918 the question of whether they should advocate merely cultural autonomy or also a territorial autonomy (within the frame of the Idel-Ural state: Idel is the Tatar name for the Volga), and also the question of relations with Communism. In addition to this there was the question of a choice between an amalgamation of Tatars, Bashkirs and possibly Čuvashes, and their separate organization. In the Crimea the "National Party" (*Millī Fïrķa*), as representatives of the Crimean Tatars, who were a minority, came to an agreement in 1917 with the Ukrainians, whose leading rôle was recognized also for the Crimea. In addition, efforts which had been made during 1918, partly in co-operation with German troops which had arrived there, to achieve a territorial secession of the Crimea broke down in November 1918, and ceased entirely, as did all other party-political activity, with the occupation of the Crimea by Bolshevik troops in November 1920.

In Central Asia, the two 1917 revolutions gave rise to various movements which were directed as much against the Russian settlers or the Russian administration as against the conservative Muslim clergy or the rule of the *amīrs* in Khīva or Bukhārā. Among the Ķazakhs, the National Council (*Alash-Orda*) strove in several congresses for a merely federal incorporation into the new Russia and turned against the Bolsheviks. But as early as 1919-20 the country was subdued by the Russians (= Bolsheviks). In Turkestan, the conservative and the progressive (*Djedīd*) circles united in discussions which went on for months on the formation of a "Decentralization Party", which rejected the Russian policy of centralization and obtained from the Bolsheviks guarantees of their religious and national freedom, of the reten-

tion of private property and of a Sharīʿa system of jurisdiction; until, in 1922, the Bolsheviks prevailed in fierce struggles against the Basmačí [q.v.] movement and had also brought under their control the two emirates, where the "Young Bukhāran" party co-operated with them.

For both the Volga region and Central Asia, the victory of Bolshevik rule within the former boundaries of Imperial Russia (which were finally fixed in 1895) meant the sole rule of the Communist Party. Within the framework of its changing policy, which during the 1920's was quite open with regard to national claims, there were repeated political struggles, which finally led the the eradication of the so-called "National Deviations" (named Sultangalievshčina after one of the prominent Tatar leaders, Sultan Galiev [q.v.]) and to the establishment of the Communist Party also in the Muslim districts in the federative states of that time. However, since national aspirations remained alive and had to be accommodated to the demands of the state party, the leadership of the Communist Party in these districts had frequently changed. The very responsible position of Second Secretary remained for the most part in the hands of a Russian or a Ukrainian, while the party leadership was usually given to a native inhabitant (for 1966, see the lists published in *Ost-Probleme*, xviii/10 (Bonn 1966), 318 f.). There cannot, however, after this be said to have been any independent party-political activity among the Muslims of the U.S.S.R.

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vi.—India and Pakistan

The word *ḥizb* in the sense of political party occurs almost exclusively in compound expressions modelled on Arabic and Persian. The opposition party would be *ḥizb-i mukhālif* or *ḥizb al-ikhtilāf*; similarly *ḥizb al-aḥrār*, *ḥizb al-ʿummāl* and *ḥizb al-mustabiddīn* would denote respectively the Liberal party, the Labour party and the Conservative party. But in the general sense of political party, the current expression is *siyāsī djamāʿat*, although we also find the term *pārti*, taken directly from English.

In India, the modern notion of a political party is relatively recent and, before the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947, two major parties represented the two political groups which led to the creation of the new India (*Bhārat*) and Pakistan: the Congress Party, with nationalist, pan-Indian tendencies, and the All-India Muslim League which favoured the re-grouping of Indian Muslims in an autonomous territory.

The All-India Muslim League was set up on 30 December 1906 at Dacca on the suggestion of the Agha Khān. At the start it constituted a cautious move in the attempt to obtain recognition by the British authorities of certain political rights for the Muslims. When the Agha Khān and Amīr ʿAlī, alarmed by the nationalistic demands of the Muslim League, withdrew from the party, a reconciliation took place between the Congress Party and the Muslim League: after 1915, the two organizations held their annual meetings simultaneously and in the same town. It was at that point that Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ tried to make himself the representative of Indian unity and to reconcile the somewhat divergent points of view of the Congress Party and the Muslim League. This tactical unity lasted throughout the whole period of effervescence caused by the abolition of the Caliphate but, from the end of 1927, the two organizations grew apart, never again to combine their efforts for Indian independence. Djināḥ therefore realized that the Muslim League must become a popular movement, and no longer remain a clique of landed proprietors and the rich if it wished to attain its avowed objectives—the defence of the Muslim element among hostile surroundings (mainly Hindu), the establishment of separate electoral colleges, and the setting up of an Islamic nation in the Indian sub-continent. The resolution adopted by the Muslim League in 1940, during the special session held at Lahore, called specifically for the partition of India on a religious basis in order to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community; and in 1942 the Muslim League could claim to be the only organized party capable of leading an effective political course of action in favour of an Islamic State still unborn. Until 1947, the three expressions Muslim League, Islam and Pakistan were to be practically synonymous for the majority of the Muslims of North India.

After the partition of India, the *Ḳāʾid-i Aʿẓam* Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ, President of the Muslim League, became the first Governor-General of Pakistan and Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān the Prime Minister. These two men made it possible for the new State, in its first months, to overcome the considerable obstacles posed by a deficient economy and a social situation rendered tragically critical by the influx of Muslim refugees. After the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Djināḥ in 1948 and that of Liyāḳat ʿAlī Khān in 1951, the Muslim League lost its dynamism and suffered severe electoral defeats, especially in East Pakistan. Until 1956, the leaders of the party did in fact hold the reins of government. Early in 1956 the new President of the Muslim League, Sardār ʿAbd al-Rabb Nishtār, followed by the other party leaders, decided that in future ministers could no longer hold office within the party and asked the deputies of the provincial Assembly of West Pakistan who were members of the Muslim League to form themselves into a parliamentary party. Despite these salutary measures, the Muslim League was unable to regain its earlier popularity. It was, however, disbanded like the other political parties when martial law was proclaimed in October 1958.

The Aḥrār Party was organized in 1930 with the aim of enabling a Muslim group to participate directly in the Civil Disobedience campaign launched by Gandhi. For several years it took a part in the struggle alongside the Congress Party, but its activities were for the most part limited to the province of the Pandjāb, where it showed itself to be fiercely anti-British and attempted to deprive the Muslim League of a section of its electoral supporters. Its success depended too greatly on the personality of its leaders, outstanding among whom was ʿAṭā' Allāh Shāh Bukhārī, a brilliant orator and consummate demagogue. From 1942, when the Muslim League had become a popular party, the influence of the Aḥrār Party declined rapidly, and many of its followers rejoined the ranks of the Muslim League. In 1947, at the time of the Partition, the Aḥrār Party disappeared almost completely. It was only in 1953, during the riots directed against the Aḥmadiyya community, that it reappeared for a time and appealed, with some success, to popular religious emotions.

Among the groups representing Islamic nationalism, the Khāksār movement had a brilliant period between 1930 and 1942. Its undisputed leader, ʿAllāma Mashriḳī, imposed an extremely rigid discipline upon it; military training and social service were the two essential characteristics of the party. The imprisonment of ʿAllāma Mashriḳī and a large number of its members almost entirely crippled the movement which, after 1945, existed only in theory.

The party of the Khudā'ī Khidmatgār (Servants of God) exerted any real influence only in the North-West Frontier Province, where it gave support to the Indian Congress Party. Its leader, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān, turned it into a religious movement that was destined to organize and discipline Pathan nationalism. Its members were familiarly known as "Red Shirts". After Partition, the movement lost much of its prestige when ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān asked his followers not to take part in the struggle for Kashmir.

The Krishak Pradjā Party (Peasant Party) was founded by Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ as early as 1927, and was always confined to the province of Bengal. In 1937, Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ became Prime Minister of a coalition government in Bengal, but as the Congress Party did not give him the overall support that he demanded, he decided to abandon his party and to join the Muslim League, which however expelled him at the end of 1941. In May 1944 his government was compelled to resign, and it was then that the Muslim League came to power in Bengal. Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ became a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1947, and then Advocate-General for East Pakistan in 1951. In September 1953 the opponents of the Muslim League formed the Krishak Srāmik Party (Labour and Peasant Party), once again headed by Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ, who demanded the provincial autonomy of Bengal within the framework of Pakistan. Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ, now over eighty, was once again appointed Prime Minister of Bengal in 1954, but the central government dismissed him shortly afterwards. Minister of the Interior in the central government in 1955, and then Governor of East Pakistan, Faḍl al-Ḥaḳḳ was once again forced to resign. The Krishak Srāmik Party, believing his personality to be indispensable, invited him to resume leadership of the party some time before the proclamation of martial law in October 1958.

The ʿAwāmmī League (People's Party) owes its existence to the repeated efforts of Ḥusayn Shahīd Suhrawardī to organize a parliamentary opposition group of the Western type. Despite the establishment of parties with almost the same title in the North-West Frontier, Pandjāb and Sind provinces, and despite the congress held in Lahore in December 1952 to set up the Djināḥ ʿAwāmmī Muslim League, it was in fact only in Bengal that the movement was able to play a very significant part. Its social aims included the abolition of the great landed estates, nationalization of the jute and tea industries, and the rapid development of education and social services. Politically, it called for the autonomy of Bengal within the framework of Pakistan, and also the recognition of Bengali as a national language. When Suhrawardī became Prime Minister of the central government in September 1956, the President of the organization, Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān Bhashānī, gave up his position as a protest against Suhrawardī's political manoeuvre whereby he went straight from the opposition to power. Mawlānā Bhashānī even formed a new party with the name National ʿAwāmmī Party, which, as a result of the banning of political parties in October 1958, had only a brief existence.

The Republican Party was set up in April 1956 by Dr Khān Ṣāḥib to take advantage of the conflicts among the various factions of the Muslim League in West Pakistan. Its programme, which throughout its two congresses held in September 1956 and September 1958 was far from precise, called for a democratic and liberal policy on the part of the government. These good intentions were belied by the actions of the Republican Party when in power. By its devious tactics, first in coalition with the Muslim League and then with the ʿAwāmmī League, it precipitated the crisis which was to lead the army to seize power in October 1958. The bloodless revolution carried through by Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān put an end to the corrupt parliamentary régime, which threatened to provoke a national catastrophe in Pakistan.

The political parties, banned in Pakistan from 1958, were able to reappear on 14 July 1962, on which date the National Assembly voted an amendment to the Constitution of 1 March 1962. This amendment stipulated that no political party should prejudice the Islamic ideology, the stability or the integrity of Pakistan, or receive any aid whatsoever from a foreign country.

The Muslim League immediately resumed its activities, but the two provincial sections of the movement disagreed over certain points: while the Western group intended to bring younger blood into its organization, thereby following the advice given by Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān, the Head of State, the Eastern group wished to adhere to the tradition of the old Muslim League. The first party congress was held in Karachi on 4 and 5 September 1962; it nominated Khalīḳ al-Zamān as chairman of the organizing committee of the League. A second congress was held in Dacca on 27 October, attended by a certain number of former "counsellors" of the party, who elected as president Khwādjā Naẓīm al-Dīn, the former Governor-General and Prime Minister.

Furthermore Suhrawardī, who had been arrested on 30 January 1962 on a charge of treason, was released from prison and, on 4 October 1962, he succeeded in forming the Democratic National Front which included among its members various former politicians of both East and West Pakistan.

Finally, Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān, Head of State of Pakistan, who since the promulgation of the Constitution of March 1962 had made clear his wish

to remain above party, decided to become a member of the rejuvenated Muslim League: he joined it on 22 May 1963.

After the Partition of 1947, the All-India Muslim League ceased to play an essential part in politics in the new India. An Indian Muslim League does however exist, which is of some slight influence in the South only, in the states of Madras and Kerala. In 1960, this Muslim League conducted a victorious electoral campaign in co-operation with the Congress Party and the Indian Socialist Party to prevent the Communists from returning to power in the state of Kerala.

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(A. Guimbretière)

vii.—Indonesia

In the years before independence, Indonesia did not succeed in developing any equivalent of the Indian National Congress. Political parties came into existence, splintered, coalesced and disappeared, in numbers and with a fertility reminiscent of the Indonesian islands themselves. The first party to achieve a mass following was *Sarekat Islam* [*q.v.*] (Islamic Union), founded, on the basis of an earlier and more limited association of Muslim merchants, in 1912. Its following grew rapidly on the tide of Muslim revival and anti-colonialism, but it was increasingly penetrated and controlled by more secular political elements, and its influence and popular backing thereafter declined. Its place was to some extent taken by the Islamic reform organization *Muhammadijah* and the Islamic traditionalist organization the *Nahdatul Ulama*. In 1920 the more radical Marxists founded the Communist Party of Indonesia (*PKI*), which, until its eclipse following an abortive coup in the years 1926 and 1927, took up the running. In 1927, leading Indonesian nationalists, including Dr. Sukarno, founded the Nationalist Party of Indonesia (*PNI*), in the hope of creating a united nationalist movement. In this they were unsuccessful, but the name and the initials survived as important political symbols, to be resurrected in the post-independence period. Under the Japanese, as under the Dutch, political movements proliferated and were characterized by impermanence, but one significant move was the welding together of *Muhammadijah* and *Nahdatul Islam* into one Muslim organization, *Masjumi*.

Independence was declared on 17 August 1945, and all significant groupings rallied to Dr. Sukarno as President of the new Republic of Indonesia. It was at first intended that there should be a single political organization, but calls soon arose for the legalization of political parties. When this was permitted, three assumed prominence. These were the *Masjumi* (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims), partly based on the earlier war-time organization; the Indonesian Nationalist Party (*PNI*), many of whose leaders had once been active in the old *PNI*; and the Socialist Party, which was soon to split into a democratic wing taking the name of the Socialist Party of Indonesia (*PSI*), and a left wing. The latter was largely absorbed in a re-formed *PKI*, but this, like its precursor, was to have a short effective life, for it was again suppressed after an unsuccessful coup (1948).

After the Dutch conceded independence, in 1949, there followed a period of experiment with constitutional democracy on the Western pattern. At first two parties—the *Masjumi* and the *PNI*—dominated the governing coalitions, and by and large the *PSI* was sympathetic to their aims, which were moderate. After 1953, however, new alignments began to emerge. The recovery of the *PKI* had become noticeable after 1952, and it tended to throw its weight behind the more radical wing of the *PNI*, thus detaching it from *Masjumi* and the *PSI*. The new coalitions, supported by the communists, included the *PNI*, the *Nahdatul Ulama* (which had broken away from the *Masjumi* in 1952; being more strongly anti-Western, it could reconcile more conservative religious attitudes domestically with more anti-imperialistic policies externally), and a number of minor nationalist and Islamic parties. After the first, and so far the last, general election in 1955, four main parties emerged—the *PNI*, *Masjumi*, *Nahdatul Ulama* and the *PKI*. An attempt was made to govern by means of coalitions embracing all the major non-communist parties, but this failed. The parties continued to show themselves incapable of constructive co-operation and, outside the *PKI*, incapable of sustaining even internal cohesion. In the years 1956 to 1958, the existing Parliamentary system was replaced by "Guided Democracy", in which real power ebbed away from the parties and lodged instead in the President and the Army. The *PKI*, however, continued to play a crucially important rôle, enabling President Sukarno to maintain his own position in relation to the armed forces.

The 1945 Constitution was re-enacted by Presidential decree in July 1959. This temporarily put an end to an ideological debate which had racked the young republic from the beginning, and had underlain many of the political divisions, namely what was to be the rôle of Islam in a predominantly Muslim country. Ninety per cent of Indonesians were said to be Muslims, but on the other hand there was a clear distinction inside this majority between the devout and the nominal. President Sukarno had consistently argued and manœuvred against making Indonesia an Islamic state, on the grounds that all opinions represented in the republic must be tolerated and embraced. The 1945 Constitution was based, largely on his insistence, not on Islam, but on his own *panča šila* ("five foundations", see dustūr, p. 663), of which the first was, not acceptance of Islam, but simply belief in one God. Parties wishing to retain a legal position under Guided Democracy had to be prepared to acknowledge and accept the *panča šila*, and this a handful of parties, including paradoxically the *PKI*, did. The *PKI*, which had earlier in its career antagonized Muslims by a dogmatically Marxist position vis-à-vis religion, was now guided by leaders who had drawn the moral of the two disasters of 1926-27 and 1948, and were con-

vinced that the only way to power was through slow and careful building up of support by legitimate means throughout the country without risking further suppression. The *Masjumi* and the *PSI* were, in contrast, banned in 1960, partly as a result of the complicity of a number of their leaders in the anti-Sukarno revolt of 1958 in Sumatra. In 1961 and 1962, a number of troublesome Islamic revolts were also crushed, including a major one; led by *Darul Islam*, a fanatically Muslim organization, which had lasted for thirteen years in West Java. A National Front was formed in August 1960, in which the surviving parties were obliged to participate, for example by helping to disseminate Sukarnoist ideas. As compared with the pre-1958 period, the parties had suffered badly by the introduction of Guided Democracy in respect of their freedom of political action and movement. The banning in 1965 of *Partai Murba*, a left-wing nationalist but anti-communist party, continued the process of political simplification and polarization.

However, Islam continued to play a vital political rôle in the opposition which its organized manifestations put up at all levels, from the village to the Governmental, and in all social organizations and strata, to the steady accretion of strength to the *PKI* and its various "front" organizations. Clashes between Muslims and communists were common, and culminated in the aftermath of the "September 30 Affair". This was an attempted pre-emptive left-wing coup in the face of threatened suppression of the *PKI* by the Army in 1965, and its failure precipitated nation-wide massacres in which untold thousands of communists and their supporters were killed. At the time of writing (March 1966), it is not yet clear what the attitudes of the new Army leaders in Indonesia will be either to Islam or to the political parties, but already the *PKI* has been banned.

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(J. A. M. CALDWELL)

ḤIZḲĪL, the biblical prophet Ezekiel. His name does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, but traditional exegesis regards him as that prophet of the people concerning whom the Ḳur'ān speaks in these words (II, 243/244): "Hast thou not regarded those who went forth from their habitations in their thousands fearful of death? God said to them "Die!", then He gave them life" (tr. A. J. Arberry). According to exegetic tradition, this took place in the time of the prophet Ḥizḳīl b. Būdhī (or Būzī, corrupted into Būrī; in the Bible בוזי Buzi—Ezekiel, I, 3); the immediate cause of this mortality was an outbreak of plague (*ṭā'ūn*); and the description given of the resurrection (a temporary one, until the predetermined term of life—*adjal* [*q.v.*]) of these people is manifestly inspired by Ezekiel, XXXVII, 1-10, amplified by rabbinical narrations (see especially Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 92b). In certain recensions the episode is dated to the intermediate period between Joshua and David; others place it in the reign of Daḥḥāk [see ZUHĀK] or even in the time of the prophet Daniel.—Ḥizḳīl (his name is also written Hizḳīl) is said to have been *ibn al-'adjūz*, a child born late in life to a mother who, at a very advanced age invoked God, begging for offspring, and whose prayer was answered (a garbled reminiscence of the birth of Samuel). A tradition of obscure origin gives the name Ḥizḳīl (or Ḥirbil) to the "believer in Pharaoh's family" left unnamed in the Ḳur'ān (XL, 28/29). This man is said to have constructed the casket in which Mūsā [*q.v.*] was entrusted to the river.

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(J. EISENBERG-[G. VAJDA])

ḤMĀD U-MŪSĀ (SĪDĪ), great saint of southern Morocco and patron saint of Sūs, was born about 864-5/1460 at Bū Merwān in the territory of the Ida u-Semlāl, at the western extremity of the Anti-Atlas. He died, after living more than a century, in 971/1563, and is buried in the region of Tazerwalt where crowds still come to venerate his tomb.

Ḥmād u-Mūsā adhered to the *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] founded in the 9th/15th century by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Djazūlī [see AL-DJAZŪLĪ]. This last had devoted himself to spreading the teaching of al-Shādhilī (7th/13th century), himself a disciple of the famous 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*], whose master was the great Andalusian *ṣūfī*, Abū Madyan [*q.v.*].

Al-Shādhilī's school recalls, in some aspects of its teaching, that of the unworldly Franciscans. It forbids monasteries and bids its members lead a wandering and contemplative life, without resorting to begging. This suited Ḥmād u-Mūsā, who enjoyed travelling. In the course of his stormy youth, he liked to wander across the country in cheerful company. Touched by divine grace, he undertook the classic journey to the East and went as far as Baghdād. On his return to Morocco, he visited Marrākush, Taroudant, and finally Bū Merwān, his native village. Then he gave up these lengthy journeys to found a *zāwiya* in the Tazerwalt region, situated at the south-west edge of the Anti-Atlas.

By a kind of transmutation well known in the Maghrib, and upon which there is no need to elaborate here, the saint became a Marabout, spiritual head of a community and father of a vigorous dynasty destined to reign in the Tazerwalt, which became a kingdom independent of the Makhzen.

In the 10th/16th century, Ḥmād u-Mūsā supported the Sa'dī Shorfa who were fighting the Portuguese; but very soon his successors cut themselves off from the central power and founded the kingdom of Tazerwalt with Iligh as its capital.

The first half of the 11th/17th century was the

apogee in the history of this kingdom. Sīdī ʿAlī, grandson of the Marabout and the foremost member of the dynasty, felt strong enough to make a bid for the S̲h̲arīfian throne against Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's successor. However, towards the end of his reign, the power of Ḥmād u-Mūsā's descendants, which extended greatly beyond the boundaries of Tazerwalt, was threatened by the progress of the ʿAlawī S̲h̲orfa of Tafilelt. The second half of this century brought the temporal power of the Marabout's descendants to an end for at least a hundred years. Indeed, the kingdom was unable to withstand the strength and energy of the ʿAlawī sultans, Mawlāy al-Ras̲h̲īd and Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Between the end of the 18th century and the end of the 19th, the Ulād Sīdī Ḥmād u-Mūsā regained their power, but the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94) took it from them again.

From then on, although the princes of Tazerwalt had lost their kingdom, yet their spiritual authority, thanks to Ḥmād u-Mūsā, still remained intact down to the beginning of the 20th century. Large crowds continue to assemble for the three annual pilgrimages (March, April and September) around the tomb of Ḥmād u-Mūsā, who has remained the patron saint of travellers and the great saint of the Sūs.

Bibliography: A few lines on him can be found scattered among a dozen or so pages (see index s.v. Ahmad Ou Mousa) in R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930. In the first place one should consult: L. Justinard, *Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIe siècle*, in *AM*, xxix (1933); Dj. Jacques-Meuniz, *Greniers-Citadelles au Maroc*, Paris 1951 (the chapter *Chronique du royaume de Tazeroualt*, 198-217, very clearly expressed, is an excellent résumé of the history of the house of Tazerwalt from the 16th to the 20th century); L. Justinard concluded his research on the kingdom of Tazerwalt by publishing his notes as a small treatise called *Un petit royaume berbère, le Tazeroualt, un saint berbère Sidi Ahmed ou Moussa*, Paris 1954; the author gives here the Arabic manuscript sources for the life and legends concerning the saint. (A. Faure)

HOCA [see K̲H̲ʷĀD̲J̲A].

HODH [see ḤAWḌ].

HODNA [see ḤUḌNA].

HOLY PLACES [see MAKKA, AL-MADĪNA, KARBALĀʾ, AL-ḲUDS, NAD̲J̲AF, etc. For the custodianship of the Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem see KANĪSAT AL-ḲIYĀMA].

HOMILETICS [see WAʿẒ].

HONOUR [see ʿIRḌ, MUFĀK̲H̲ARA].

HORDE, term originating from the Turkish *ordu*, via the Russian *ordá* and Polish *horda*, and assimilated into European languages from the 16th century onwards, is the name given to the administrative centre of great nomad empires, particularly also to the highly adorned tent of the ruler (cf. the Golden Horde); then to such nomad confederacies themselves, insofar as they formed a tenuous association linked to no particular place, substantially different in their way of life and government from the settled population, and inflicting considerable damage on this population by their marauding attacks. In the Islamic world it was mainly the Turkish and Mongol conquerors of the 7th/13th century onwards who ruled their empires from a tented encampment. The rulers of such states often remained for decades in this non-sedentary life, migrating with their court and the nucleus of their people according to the rhythm of the seasons, between northern and southern (high and low-lying) areas. Their tents, not only living quarters, but mosques and churches, as well as the harem, were transported on carts (*araba*). The wanderings of such a horde (for the Golden Horde, see BATUʾIDS) were described in detail by the Flemish traveller William of Rubruck, 1254-56, and by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*] in 1333 (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 379-87, 398-412, trans. Sir Hamilton Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962, 481-5, 490-8; condensed in Spuler, *Horde*², 264-6). When the peoples of these nomad empires gradually became sedentary, they grew accustomed to a particular place of residence and to permanent wooden or stone houses, and their rulers built themselves palaces (Sarāy, Tabrīz, Sulṭāniyya, Ḳara Ḳorum, K̲h̲ānbalik = Peking, Ḳars̲h̲i in Central Asia, etc.; see these articles). Thus the original "horde" gradually disappeared from the Islamic world from the 11th/17th century onwards; nevertheless, the raids of the Crimean Tatars in Podolia and Wolhynia (well into the 12th/18th century) and the marauding attacks of the Turkmens into northern Persia as late as the 19th century kept alive the memory of this kind of state. For a long time, too, in Islamic states, military units were quartered in tented encampments or barracks, which (like the Roman Pretorian Guard or the bodyguard of the ʿAbbāsids) were situated at some distance outside the capital and other large cities, to prevent their becoming a danger to the rulers or the population, or lending support to insurrections. Soldiers in such military encampments (to which too the name of *ordu* was given) could usually be quickly installed (cf. the Janissaries). A lingua franca often developed amongst them. In these camps in central and western Asia in the 8th/14th century, Turkish replaced Mongol as the language of the nomad invaders and of the court. A similar function was fulfilled by the military encampments of the Muslim rulers of Northern India, particularly the Great Moguls. The language which developed here, a mixture of Hindu, Persian and Arabic elements, was recognized after 1947 as the official language of Pakistan, and still bears today the name which reveals its origin, Urdu [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: For the Turkish term see Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī, *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1917, i, 112 (ed. C. Brockelmann, Budapest 1928, 128); G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongol. Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, i, 165 (no. 4) and ii, 1965, 32-9 (no. 452). On the horde. see (for the Mongol peoples) L. Krader, *Social organization of the Mongol-Turkic pastoral nomads*, The Hague 1963. (B. Spuler)

HORMUZ [see HURMUZ].

HOROLOGY [see SĀʿA].

HOROSCOPE [see ṬĀLIʿ].

HORSE [see FARAS].

HORSEMANSHIP [see FURŪSIYYA].

HOSPITAL [see BĪMĀRISTĀN].

HOSPITALITY [see DAK̲H̲ĪL, ḌAYF, D̲J̲IWĀR, ID̲J̲ĀRA].

HOSTELRY [see FUNDUḲ, K̲H̲ĀN].

HŌT [see BALŪČISTĀN].

HOTIN [see K̲H̲OTIN].

HOUSE [see DĀR].

HUBAL, an Arabian god whose worship was fostered in Mecca by the K̲h̲uzāʿī ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. Represented at first by a baetyl, like most of the Arab deities, it was later personified, with human features, by a statue made of cornelian, with the right arm truncated (cf. Judges III, 15, XX, 16) and which the

Ḳurayshīs are said to have replaced by a golden arm (al-Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1858, 74). It was from a town with thermal springs (*ḥamma*) that it was apparently brought to the Ḥidjāz. Having come there to bathe in the waters and thereby being cured of a serious illness, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, it is said, had taken back this statue with him. As to its place of origin, tradition hesitates between two towns. For al-Azraḳī (31, 58, 73), this town is Hīt in Mesopotamia, a town situated on the Euphrates, and on the edge of the desert (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 328; Yāḳūt, 997-8; cf. R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, 86, n. 2), and today still renowned for its springs of bitumen (cf. E. Dhorme, *Recueil*, Paris 1951, 749); for others (Ibn Hishām, 51; al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, iv, 46; Yāḳūt, iv, 652 ff.; al-Shahrastānī, 431), it is Maʾāb, in the district of al-Balḳāʾ, in Transjordania.

Having asked the local inhabitants what was the justification of their idols, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy is said to have received the following reply: "These are the lords (*arbāb*) whom we have chosen, having [simultaneously] the form of the celestial temples (*al-hayākil al-ʿulwiyya*) and that of human beings [cf. Iamblichus, *De Myst.*, III, 30]. We ask them for victory over our enemies and they grant it to us; we ask them for rain, in time of drought, and they give it to us" (al-Shahrastānī, *loc. cit.*).

In the Kaʿba, Hubal must have preserved this original character of a stellar deity; but his most characteristic role was that of a cleromantic divinity. Indeed, it was before the god that the sacred lots (*istiḳsām* [*q.v.*] *bi 'l-azlām*) were cast. The statue stood inside the Kaʿba, above the sacred well which was thought to have been dug by Abraham to receive the offerings brought to the sanctuary (al-Azraḳī, 31). Another somewhat surprising fact indicates a connexion with Abraham: in the mural paintings of the pre-islamic Kaʿba, Hubal, represented as an old man holding arrows, seems to have been assimilated with Abraham (al-Azraḳī, 111).

The earliest mention of the name Hubal occurs in a Nabataean inscription (*CIS*, ii, 198), in which it appears as an associate of Manawāt. According to al-Azraḳī (73), its cult was the best organized in the Kaʿba: a *ḥādjib* guarded the idol; he received the offerings and sacrifices that were brought; he shook the arrows of divination before it. When a Meccan returned from travelling, he used to go to give thanks to the god before going to his own home. In the field of popular piety at least, it eclipsed the other deities in the Meccan pantheon, to such an extent that there has been some speculation whether the unanimity regarding this cult did not help to prepare the way for Allāh (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*², Berlin 1897, 75; Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 143 ff.; an opinion disputed, though wrongly, by Lammens, *Les Chrétiens à la Mekke*, in *BIFAO*, xiv (1918), 24).

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ḤUBAYSH B. **MUBASHSHIR** [see DJAʿFAR B. MUBASHSHIR].

ḤUBB [see ʿISHḲ].

ḤUBUS [see WAḲF].

AL-**ḤUBŪS** (ḤABSĪ), a tribe, for the most part settled, of al-Sharḳiyya district in ʿUmān, south-eastern Arabia. Al-Ḥubūs belong to the Hināwī political faction (see HINĀ, BANŪ) of ʿUmān, and members of the tribe are adherents of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]. They, together with al-Ḥirth and al-Hadjariyyūn, formed the tribal block upon which the Imāmate relied in al-Sharḳīyya until the events of 1377/1957 [see ʿUMĀN].

Al-Ḥubūs are settled in a group of villages, known collectively as Balādīn al-Ḥubūs, in upper Wādī ʿAndām. Their tribal capital is Muḍaybī, which since 1377/1957 has been administered by a *wālī*, ʿAlī b. Zāhir al-Hināwī. Other important villages of Balādīn al-Ḥubūs are al-Rawḍa, Samad, al-Fatḥ, Muṭayliʿ, al-Wāfī, al-Radda, al-Shāriḳ, al-Zāhib, and al-ʿAynayn. Muḥammad b. Saʿūd b. Muḥammad of the Awlād Rushayd section, residing in al-Fatḥ, was paramount *shaykh* of al-Ḥubūs in 1384/1965. Final authority in the area, however, rested with the appointed governor. Important tribal sections of al-Ḥubūs are al-Ghanānima, al-ʿAsāsira, Awlād Ḥaban, and Āl Shabīb. Al-Djawābir and al-Shamāṭira are Bedouin sections that share the northern part of Ramlat Āl Wahība with Āl Wahība.

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HŪD, the name of the earliest of the five "Arab" prophets mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ibrāhīm, Shuʿayb and Muḥammad). In his history, which is related three times (on this repetition, see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 105) in slightly different forms (in chronological order: XXVI, 123-40, XI [*Sūra* of Hūd], 52-63/50-60, VII, 63-70/65-72, XLVI, 20/21, merely a restatement), the Ḳurʾān represents him as an ʿĀdī sent to this people [see ʿĀD] to exhort them to adore the One God; but, like Muḥammad later in Mecca, he found only incredulity and insolence among the people and his followers were few; God therefore punished the ʿĀd, destroying them with a "roaring wind" (XLI, 15/16, LIV, 19, LXIX, 6). Later tradition adds that, having suffered three years of drought, the ʿĀd sent a deputation to Mecca to pray for rain. God made three clouds appear in the sky, one white, one red and one black. One of the deputation, called Ḳayl, was given the choice of one of the three by a voice from heaven. He chose the black one, with the result that a terrible storm broke over the ʿĀd and destroyed the whole people with the exception of Hūd and his followers; they went to settle in Mecca, where the prophet stayed until his death at the age of 150 (according to another tradition, he did not make the pilgrimage to Mecca and until his death never left his people; Ibn Rusta, 26, trans. Wiet, 24).

There exist several traditions concerning the genealogy of Hūd, going back to ʿĀd b. ʿŪṣ b. Aram b. Sām b. Nūḥ; but he is sometimes assimilated with ʿĀbar (the biblical Heber, ancestor of the Hebrews) or regarded as a son of the latter. Since the word Hūd is also, in the Ḳurʾān, a collective noun denoting the Jews (II, 105/111, 129/135, 134/140) and that the root *h.w.d.* there has the meaning "to practice Judaism, to profess the religion of the Jews" (II, 59/62, IV, 48/46, etc.), the proper name certainly appears to be derived from this root, which would also confirm the identification of Hūd with the

ancestor of the Jews; thus Hirschfeld is perhaps correct when he calls Hūd an allegorical figure (*Beiträge z. Erklärung des Ḳorān*, Leipzig 1886, 17 n. 4).

The South Arabian tradition transmitted by Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] gives other details about Hūd, making him a brown-skinned merchant with handsome features and flowing hair.

The *Ḳabr Hūd*, situated at the mouth of the Barhūt [*q.v.*], in the Ḥaḍramawt, is a place of pilgrimage still frequented. R. B. Serjeant (*Hūd*, 129) verified on the spot the facts related by al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 97/220-1), who described, at the gate of the mosque, on the west side, the rock onto which Hūd climbed to make the call to prayer and mentioned, at the bottom of the ravine, the well (or rather grotto) of Balhūt.

As often happens, however, the grave of Hūd is located in several places. For example, it is said to be between the well of Zamzam and the angle of the Kaʿba (al-Harawī, 86/198) or in the south wall of the mosque at Damascus (al-Harawī, 15/38; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 205, ii, 203 [trans. H. A. R. Gibb, i, 128, ii, 386] adds that there is an inscription stating "This is the tomb of Hūd b. ʿĀbar", but he thinks it more likely that his tomb is in the Aḥḳāf [*q.v.*]); another tradition even makes the prophet the builder of the walls of the Great Mosque of Damascus (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Pèlerinages damascains*, in *B Ét. Or.*, xiv (1952-4), 75, n. 7; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 205, speaks only of the south wall); this is certainly the reflexion of a local tradition, giving proof of the interest which the Muslims attached to the prophet of the ʿĀd.

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(A. J. Wensinck-[Ch. Pellat])

HŪD, Banū [see hūdids].

HUDĀʾ [see ghināʾ].

HÜDĀʾĪ, Maḥmūd b. Faḍl Allāh b. Maḥmūd, better known under his *makhlaṣ* Hüdāʾī, born at Ḳoč̣ḥiṣār in 950/1543-4 (Hüdāʾī, *al-Tibr al-maskūk*, Istanbul, Selim Ağa, Hüdayi collection no. 250, vol. i, fol. 71v., 81v., 87r.; *op. cit.*, Bursa, Orhan, Ulu Cami collection no. 1753, fol. 258v., 290r., 404v.). Almost nothing is known of the first twenty-seven years of his life except that he was an orphan from early childhood (*op. cit.*, Selim Ağa, Hüdayi collection, no. 250, vol. i, fol. 76v., vol. ii, fol. 64v.), and that he spent a number of years at Sivriḥiṣār where he was in contact with the disciples of *shaykh* Baba Yūsuf (*op. cit.*, vol. i, 27v., vol. ii, 15v., 69v.). In 978/1570-1, he entered the service of Nāẓirzāde, in the *medrese* of Selīm II at Edirne (ʿAṭāʾī, *Dhayl al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Istanbul 1268, 760, cf. 241). He followed his master when the latter was appointed *ḳāḍī*, first at Damascus, then at Cairo and finally at Bursa (Muḥarram 981/May-June 1573). He was given the post of *ḳāḍī*'s deputy (*nāʾib*) in the tribunal of the old mosque (*Djāmiʿ-i ʿatīḳ*), and of teacher (*müderris*) at the Farhādiyya *medrese* (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 760, cf. 241). There then followed a period of misfortune which coincided with a religious crisis. He lost his position as *nāʾib*, perhaps because of an error which he made over a legal matter (Ismāʿīl Beligh, *Güldeste*, Bursa 1302, 335). When his patron was transferred to Edirne, on 4 Radjab 983/9 October 1575, he remained at Bursa and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 984/18 January 1577 he became the disciple of Shaykh Üftāde, the founder of the Djilwatiyya [*q.v.*] order. At the end of 986/1578, he also lost his post at the *medrese* and fell into poverty. His period of initiation under Üftāde lasted for three years. On Saturday, 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 987/19 December 1579, only a few months before Üftāde's death in 988/1580 (see I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Scheich Üftāde, der Begründer des Ǧelvetijje-Ordens*, Munich 1961, 131 f.), the latter sent him on a mission to Sivriḥiṣār. Other journeys followed (ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Sharḥ-i Tadjalliyāt-i Hüdāʾī*, Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, I. S. Sencer collection, i/3515, fol. 2v.). He settled finally at Istanbul, on the Asiatic side, at first in the district of Čamlîdja and later at Üsküdar. In Djumādā II 1002/February-March 1594, he was appointed preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) in the mosque of Meḥemmed II through the good offices of the *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumeli, Ṣunʿ Allāh, and received 100 *aḳče* from the foundation (Pečewī, ii, 36; ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 761). On the completion of his own mosque, in 1003/1594-5, he resigned from this post. Instead, he preached on Thursdays in the Mihrimāh mosque and, from 1020/1611-2, on the first Monday of each month in the Sultan Aḥmed mosque (ʿAṭāʾī, *op. cit.*, 761). He died in 1038/1628-9. His *türbe* is adjacent to his mosque.

Hüdāʾī enjoyed a very great prestige in his own day. His convent was a refuge for dignitaries who had fallen out of favour (Pečewī, ii, 357; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, 1280, ii, 155, 159; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, viii, 168, 233, 251, 272). Although Üftāde must be considered as the founder of the Djilwatiyya order, there is no doubt that it was due to Hüdāʾī that the order survived. Faithful to his master, Hüdāʾī gave it a firmly orthodox bias (cf. his attitude to the disciples of Badr al-Dīn: M. Sharaf al-Dīn, *Samāwna-ḳāḍîsî-oghlu shaykh Badr al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1340, 72).

There exist some poems by him of a mystic character and some short works relating to religious matters, some of which have been edited by M. Gülshen (*Külliyāt-i ḥaḍrat-i Hüdāʾī*, Istanbul 1338), some letters and a journal in Arabic which he began at the time he attached himself to Üftāde (and from which have been taken the main dates of his life). The section which runs from Muḥarram 985 to 9 Shawwāl 987/March-April 1577 to 27 November 1597, has the heading *Kalimāt..ʿan al-Tibr al-maskūk fīmā djarā bayna ḥaḍrat al-shaykh wa bayna hādha 'l-faḳīr fī athnāʾ al-sulūk* (autograph: Istanbul, Selim Ağa, Hüdayi collection no. 250, 2 vols.). The section from 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 987 to Rabīʿ I 1021/19 December 1579 to May 1612, which is very fragmentary, is found in libraries under the title of *Tadjalliyāt*. A commentary was written on one part of this section by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. On the copies and translations, see I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *op. cit.*, 2-5, 10-21.

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185-8; Z. Tezeren, *Hüdaî, hayatı ve eserleri* (thesis, Istanbul 1939-40), Istanbul, Türkiyat Enstitüsü no. 114.

(I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr)

al-ḤUDAYBIYA, or al-Ḥudaybiyya, a medium-sized village on the edge of the *ḥaram* or sacred territory of Mecca, one *marḥala* from Mecca itself. Both the village and the Mosque of the Tree (presumably on the site of the pledge described below) were unknown in the time of al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429). One authority says the name was derived from a dome-shaped or hump-like (*ḥadbāʾ*) tree, but this may be conjecture.

The village gave its name to an important Muslim expedition from Medina, led by Muḥammad, in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda of the year 6 (March 628). Muḥammad had a dream (cf. Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 27) in which he saw himself performing the rites of the lesser pilgrimage (*ʿumra*) at Mecca, and decided to make an expedition to Mecca for this ostensible reason, though in so doing he would also demonstrate to the pagans of Mecca that Islam was an Arabian religion and would not threaten the prestige of their sanctuary. Muḥammad hoped that the nomadic tribes near Medina would join him, but they saw little prospect of booty and were afraid the expedition might end in disaster. He set out with only about 1400 followers, mostly from Medina itself, and they had with them camels for the sacrifice. The Meccans, realizing that after the failure of their attempt to besiege Medina they would be considered weaklings if they let Muḥammad enter Mecca even as a pilgrim, sent out 200 cavalry to bar his way. These Muḥammad eluded by taking an unusual and very difficult route, and so reached al-Ḥudaybiya on the edge of the *ḥaram*. Here he decided to halt and negotiate.

A number of emissaries came and went between himself and the Meccans. Eventually a treaty to last ten years was agreed on, of which the following were the chief provisions: for the present, Muḥammad and his followers were to withdraw, but in the next year Mecca would be evacuated for three days to let them perform the *ʿumra*; there was to be no raiding between the two parties; Muḥammad was to send back to Mecca anyone of Ḳurays̲h̲ (presumably minor or woman) who came to him without permission of his or her protector; and others than Ḳurays̲h̲ were to be free to enter into alliance with either side. On the conclusion of the treaty Muḥammad and his followers sacrificed their animals and returned to Medina. Many were disappointed; some thought Muḥammad's policy mistaken. The expedition to K̲h̲aybar about six weeks later was in part to console them for this disappointment. A year after the original expedition Muḥammad performed the pilgrimage with a party of about 2000. The treaty continued in force for only about ten months more, because a quarrel between allies of the contracting parties led to Muḥammad's victorious entry into Mecca (Ramaḍān 8/March 630).

While the Muslims were at al-Ḥudaybiya negotiating, it came to be believed that one of their envoys, ʿUt̲h̲mān b. al-ʿAffān, had been killed. Muḥammad then called on them to take an oath to support him, known as the Pledge of Good Pleasure (*bayʿat al-riḍwān*) or the Pledge under the Tree. It is usually said to have been an oath not to flee, but it is more likely that (as stated by one authority in al-Wāḳidī) it was an oath to follow Muḥammad in whatever he decided. If the latter, the oath marked an increase in Muḥammad's constitutional powers. *Riḍwan* is used because Ḳurʾān, XLVIII, 18 says God was "well pleased (*raḍiya*) with the believers when they pledged themselves under the tree".

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(W. Montgomery Watt)

al-ḤUDAYDA, name of the principal coast-town between D̲j̲udda and Bāb al-Mandab, in Tihāmat al-Yaman (14° 48′ N., 42° 57′ E.). It is the most important strategic and commercial seaport in the Yaman, and also the capital of its province (*liwāʾ*) of the same name. It is situated on the low sandy coast 10 km. south-east of the base of the peninsula stretching northward to Raʾs al-Katīb. Perhaps this place may be identified with the *Marsā al-ḥadīt̲h̲* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, although from a notice of al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲i under the year 797/1395 it would seem that at that time the name al-Ḥudayda referred merely to this part of the coast, where not even a village was in existence. As an inhabited place it is first mentioned in the chronicles of al-Daybaʿ and Abū Mak̲h̲rama in connexion with the recognition of the first Ṭāhirid sultan in Aden (859/1454-5). It was raided by the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultan al-G̲h̲ūrī's expeditionary force in 921/January 1516, but had not yet any strategic importance then. It remained of secondary importance next to Mocha during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, when it functioned as the port through which part of the coffee produced in the region of Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*] was conveyed in coastal trade. When C. Niebuhr was there in 1763, a *dola* on behalf of the Imām resided in a small sea-side castle and took in a substantial amount of customs, but his jurisdiction was restricted to the town itself, the surroundings being under that of the *dola* in Bayt al-Faḳīh. Only in the course of the 19th century did al-Ḥudayda gain some new importance. After the Wahhābī uprising and its suppression by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, the town was on various occasions occupied by forces of Egypt, ʿAṣīr, the Imām of Ṣanʿāʾ, and then the Turks, first in 1849 and more definitely in 1872. The sultan's *wālī* over the Yaman had al-Ḥudayda for his capital, but its facilities as such and as the sea-port for Ṣanʿāʾ and the country as a whole were hardly improved. The constructions undertaken in 1902 to install a modest harbour in the place of what was only an open roadstead, were inadequate, and the efforts made in 1911-3 to build a railway linking the port with Ṣanʿāʾ were abortive; but there was a telegraph line covering this distance. Lightly bombarded by the Italian navy in 1911 and by the British in 1918, the town was given by the latter in that year to the S̲h̲arīf of ʿAṣīr, but re-occupied by the Imām in 1925, and again in 1934 after a brief occupation by Saudi Arabian forces. It has been estimated that in 1961, 70 to 80% of the Yaman's overseas trade still went through Aden. In that year a new harbour under construction by Soviet Russian engineers since 1958 was completed, although by special order of the Imām, according to El Attar, it lacked the lighting system necessary to operate it at night; this was improved under the revolutionary régime in 1962. In the meantime, Communist Chinese technicians had finished the construction of a new road connecting al-Ḥudayda with Ṣanʿāʾ

(227 km.), thus replacing the old motor track by the country's first asphalt road. Besides its harbour, comprising quays to a length of 9.5 km. and a basin in which ships 140 m. long and drawing 8 m. of water can be accommodated, the town, with an estimated number of 50,000 inhabitants in 1964, has little in the way of modern equipment. Before the arrival of Egyptian troops there was one hospital, and a landing-ground for aircraft. To the traditional textile handicrafts were added in recent years some primitive cotton manufactories, in connexion with a rapid expansion of cotton cultivation in parts of Tihāma. An attempt to establish a modern cotton mill at Bādjil failed. Projects have been made for a cement factory in that place, and also for prospective oil drilling operations.

The population in the *liwā'* of al-Ḥudayda is estimated at 660,000. In addition to the district (*ḳaḍā'*) of the capital, it comprises those of Bayt al-Faḳīh, Bādjil, al-Zaydiyya, and Luḥayya.

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(L. O. SCHUMAN)

AL-ḤUḌAYN (not al-Ḥuṣayn) B. AL-MUNDHIR B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. WAʿLA AL-RAḲĀSHĪ AL-BAKRĪ, ABŪ SĀSĀN, a notable and poet of Baṣra ranking among the leading *Tābiʿūn* (d. *ca.* 100/718-9). His family was well-known even before Islam; some at least of its members had a reputation for avarice, which al-Ḥuḍayn seems to have justified, if we may judge by the words attributed to him by al-Djāḥiẓ, which leave no doubt as to his love of riches. While still quite young, he took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and fought bravely; he carried the standard of the Rabīʿa in the army of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, but owed this honour to the rivalries between the Bakrī notables who were seeking to secure the command. Subsequently, no further mention of him occurs except as a poet—in particular he sang the praises of the chief of the Bakr of Baṣra, Mālik b. Mismaʿ—and as a transmitter of secular traditions, some of which concerned the kings of Persia; his *kunya* Abū Sāsān would indeed appear to indicate that his family had been subject to some sort of Persian influence.

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(CH. PELLAT)

HUDHAYL, a tribe of Northern Arab descent in the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. Belonging to the branch of Muḍar known as Khindif, Hudhayl was closely related to Kināna and consequently to Ḳuraysh [*qq.v.*]. Since early times Hudhayl has occupied much of the territory immediately west and east of Mecca and on up into the mountains towards al-Ṭā'if; there is no tradition of its having migrated here from elsewhere. This territory, which has been called "the heart of al-Ḥidjāz", includes the valley of Baṭn Marr or Marr al-Ẓahrān (modern Wādī Fāṭima) between Mecca and the present port of Djudda and the valley's main tributaries, Nakhla al-Sha'miyya (or al-Sha'āmiyya) and Nakhla al-Yamāniyya [see AL-ḤIDJĀZ]. The tribe had a market, Dhu 'l-Madjāz, near ʿArafa.

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the people of Hudhayl were the first among the descendants of Ismāʿīl to become idolators. At a place called Ruhāṭ they had the idol Suwāʿ. Although Ibn al-Kalbī locates Ruhāṭ in the environs of Yanbuʿ, it was more probably close to Mecca and may have been in Nakhla al-Yamāniyya (see Yāḳūt, *s.v.*, and al-Azraḳī, i, 78, n. 7; al-Sukkarī, i, 165, however, identifies Baṭn Ruhāṭ, the only Ruhāṭ mentioned by the poets of Hudhayl, as being in the land of Banū Hilāl, three nights from Mecca). The custodians of Suwāʿ were Banū Liḥyān [*q.v.*], a division of Hudhayl. Hudhayl also had ownership, or shared it with Khuzāʿa, of one of "the daughters of Allāh", Manāt [*q.v.*], a stone at Ḳudayd on the way from Mecca to Yathrib reputed to be the oldest of the Arab idols.

In the legendary accounts, Hudhayl plays a leading rôle in the visit of *tubbaʿ* Asʿad Kāmil (Abū Karib) to Mecca and in the expedition of Abraha [*q.v.*] against the town. During the pre-Islamic period Hudhayl engaged in numerous feuds with the neighbouring tribes. The famous ode of vengeance by Ta'abbaṭa Sharr^{an} [*q.v.*] of Fahm was directed against Hudhayl, who had killed his uncle. Hudhayl used to sell prisoners taken in battle as slaves in Mecca.

During the struggle between the Prophet and Ḳuraysh, most of the members of Hudhayl, with Liḥyān in the forefront, sided with their kinsmen of Mecca. The Muslim commander given a stick by the Prophet as guerdon for his victory over Hudhayl was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays (not Uwais, as in *EI*¹, ii, 329) of Banū Wabra, known as al-Djuhanī. When the men of Hudhayl captured a handful of Muslims, they sold them to Ḳuraysh. After the conquest of Mecca, the Muslims obliterated the idols of Hudhayl. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ destroyed Suwāʿ, and various persons, including ʿAlī, were credited with the destruction of Manāt. Hudhayl joined Ḳuraysh in embracing Islam.

Although most of Hudhayl were slow in coming in, one man prided himself on being among the earliest converts. This was ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD], who may have been a client of the tribe, though Ibn Ḥazm lists him as a Hudhalī by descent; he became a faithful companion and servant of the Prophet and a prolific traditionist. The historian al-Masʿūdī [*q.v.*] claimed him as an ancestor.

Hudhayl stands out among the Arab tribes for its bountiful poetry, its renown in this field being due in part to the fact that its tribal *dīwān* is the only one to have survived *in extenso*. Among the scores of poets of the stock of Hudhayl were Abū Dhu'ayb, Abū Kabīr, Abū Khirāsh, and Abū Ṣakhr [*qq.v.*]. Not many of the Hudhalī poets lived wholly in the Djāhiliyya; a number began life in that period and ended as Muslims.

Among the sparse references to Hudhayl given by al-Hamdānī in the 4th/10th century is the statement that in his time Hudhayl was driven from its accustomed range by Banū Saʿd (Saʿd b. Bakr?) with

the aid of ʿUdjdj b. Shākh (given in other sources as ʿUdjdj b. Ḥādjdj), whom al-Hamdānī calls "the Sultan of Mecca" (probably a Turkish slave of the ʿAbbāsids appointed to be governor of the Holy City).

Given the proximity of Hudhayl to Mecca, it is surprising that the chroniclers of the city provide very little information on the doings of the tribe. Hudhalīs often took part in the campaigns of the Hāshimid *sharīfs*, but in general the tribe had a bad name for harassing pilgrims. Out of fear of Hudhayl, travellers often chose the blistering road along the coast to Medina in preference to the cooler road east of the mountains of al-Sarāt.

In the 19th century J. Burckhardt gave these notes on Hudhayl: "They muster one thousand matchlocks, and are reputed the best marksmen in the whole country. They are a famous tribe, eminent for their bravery. The Wahabys killed above three hundred of their best men before the tribe would submit". The most attractive villages of Hudhayl were in the mountains west of al-Ṭāʾif, including Karā. Hudhalīs were settled in the Meccan quarter of al-Maʿābida, and the division of Liḥyān was established in Ḥaddāʾ and Baḥra, the main stations on the road from Mecca to Djudda.

Coming down the old road from al-Ṭāʾif to Djudda, Doughty met Hudhalīs: "Their skins were black and shining; and their looks (in this tropical Arabia) were not hollow, but round and teeming". Philby found members of the tribe along the same road, leading a hard life "in worsted booths ... perhaps not more than three or four feet in height, ... tending bees and sheep and doing a certain amount of cultivation on the torrent-irrigated terraces ...; they also rear camels of a diminutive and extremely hardy highland breed, of which it is said that they can climb up the steep flanks of the hills as surely as goats".

The old grouping of the tribesmen into Hudhayl al-Shaʾm and Hudhayl al-Yaman is still preserved. Perhaps the most important centre of the tribe is the oasis of al-Zayma at the point where the old road from al-Ṭāʾif leaves Wādī al-Yamāniyya (the modern name of southern Nakhla) to run southwards and then westwards to Mecca, though the oasis is likely to become a backwater now that a new and more direct paved road to Mecca is in use.

The people of Hudhayl are relatives and close friends of the Djaḥādila, whose range lies near the coast south of Djudda, with headquarters at al-Saʿdiyya. Yalamlam (now shortened to Lamlam), the *mīḳāt* for pilgrims coming overland from the south along the coast, is in the territory of the Djaḥādila.

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For the poets of Hudhayl, see the references in Brockelmann, S I, 42, the bibliographies for the articles on the poets mentioned above, and the introduction and voluminous references in al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ashʿār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo 1384/1965, 3 vols., with elaborate indices.

For the dialect of Hudhayl, see ch. 8 of C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1961, and Farrādj's ed. of al-Sukkarī. (G. Rentz)

HUDHUD, the hoopoe, belongs to the order *Scansores* and bears a remarkable tuft of feathers on its head. Only a part of what is related concerning its habits and character can be mentioned here. Its piety is particularly emphasized. In Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (ed. Schulthess, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, viii, 26, 84 f.; cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 279 f.) there is a story that the hoopoe enshrouded its dead mother and carried the body on its back and head till it found a resting-place for it; this is why its back is brown; but it is also related that the tuft of feathers was a reward for this act.—When its mate dies, the hoopoe does not look for a new wife.—When its parents grow old, it feeds them. It bears different *kunyas* in Arabic, *e.g. Abū ʿIbād, Abu 'l-Sadjdjāda*, after the numerous bows of its tuft as it walks. It makes its nest in dung so that it has an unpleasant smell. Its feathers, heart etc. are used in various ways. The Prophet is said to have forbidden it to be killed; hence, according to some, its flesh is forbidden (though other schools regard it as permissible). The hoopoe plays a prominent part in the legend of Solomon and Bilḳīs [*q.v.*], which was apparently already developed by Muḥammad's time as may be concluded from Sūra XXVII, 20 ff. In this passage we are told that Solomon assembled the birds and the hoopoe was missing. When he arrived late, he gave an account of the queen of Sabaʾ and was entrusted by Solomon with the bearing of a letter to the Sabaeans.

The later writers as a rule give the whole story as follows. The hoopoe possesses the power of seeing where water is through the earth. He was therefore used by Solomon on his pilgrimage to Mecca to find water. But on one occasion the hoopoe whom Solomon had appointed for this purpose, named Yaʿfūr, or Yaghfūr, while on the journey, took a trip to the south and reached the garden of Bilḳīs where he made the acquaintance of another hoopoe named ʿUfayr. The latter told him a great deal about the queen of Sabaʾ. In the meanwhile Solomon was looking in vain for water for his army (or according to another versions for ritual ablution). He sent the vulture (*nasr*) to assemble the birds and as the hoopoe was missing the eagle (*ʿuḳāb*) was sent to fetch him. But he was already on his way back and was brought by the eagle before Solomon, who talked to him severely but finally, after hearing his account of Bilḳīs, sent him with a letter to the Sabaeans.

Another version of the beginning of the story relates that Solomon on his pilgrimage was being carried with all his retinue on a carpet by the winds to Arabia. The birds were ordered to fly above the carpet in such a compact mass that those sitting on it should be entirely protected from the sun. But Solomon detected a little ray of light in one place; so he concluded that one bird was missing. He then held a roll-call and it was found that the hoopoe was absent; the story continues as before.

It is also related that the hoopoe once invited Solomon and his army to a feast on an island. When the guests had arrived, he threw a dead locust into the sea and said "Now eat, O thou Prophet of God! if

the meat be lacking, there is at least plenty of sauce". Solomon and his soldiers laughed for a year at this joke.

On the relationship of the Jewish hoopoe-legend to the Muslim, see M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893.

In North Africa, hoopoes are made out of silk, feathers, etc., and used for magical purposes (Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 270).

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HŪDIDS, in Arabic Banū Hūd, 'sons of Hūd', a family of Arab extraction, as rulers of Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) among the more important of the Party Kings (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif, reyes de Taifas*) in 5th/11th century Spain. Hūd [*q.v.*] was well known as the name of a prophet sent to the people of ʿĀd (Sūra VII, 63 ff., etc.); his descendants, the Banū Hūd, are mentioned in legend (*e.g.* Ibn Khaldūn, Beirut ed., iv(v), 484). The ancestry of the historical Banū Hūd is traced to an eponymous Hūd, said to have been the first of the family to enter al-Andalus. He was, according to some, a great-grandson of Sālim, the freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfa, a famous Companion of Muḥammad. But Sālim is stated to have died childless (Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, 139), and, since the *nisba* of members of the family is regularly given as Djudhāmī, it seems slightly more probable that, as others claimed, the Banū Hūd of Saragossa were descended from the celebrated Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Djudhāmī. The first Hūdid to come into prominence was:

1. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Hūd al-Djudhāmī, later styled al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh (al-Mustaʿīn I). Sulaymān is mentioned before the revolution which produced the Party Kings as a military officer on the Upper Frontier (*al-thughr al-aʿlā*). He supported the Tudjībids [*q.v.*] of Saragossa and took part in the disastrous campaign of the caliph al-Murtaḍā against Granada (408/1018). While governor of Lārida (Lerida) he entertained the unfortunate ex-caliph Hishām III al-Muʿtadd [*q.v.*] till the latter's death in 427 or 428 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 199, cf. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, 41). Shortly after the murder of the Tudjībid Mundhir II b. Yaḥyā, Sulaymān b. Hūd occupied Saragossa (Muḥarram 431/September-October 1039) and became ruler of an extensive kingdom which included most of the Ebro valley and, in addition to Saragossa itself and Lerida to the east, Huesca to the north, Tudela and Calatayud to the west, and territory to the south in the direction of Valencia. In 435/1043-44, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (quoted Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān*, iii, 219), Sulaymān was head of one of the political parties in Muslim Spain, and he blames him and Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn [see dhu 'l-nūnids] for inviting the Christians to attack Muslim territory on the Upper and Lower Frontiers, which they did in 437/1045-46. Sulaymān survived his successful *coup* for only a few years. Having divided his possessions among his five sons, he died in 438/1046 and was followed at Saragossa by:

2. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad I b. Sulaymān b. Hūd al-Muḳtadir. He set aside his brothers in turn, pursuing with the eldest, Yūsuf of Lerida, called al-Muẓaffar, an especially bitter struggle which went on till the last years of his reign. In 453/1061 al-Muḳtadir obtained control of Ṭarṭūsha (Tortosa), and in 468/1075-76 he expelled the ʿĀmirid ʿAlī b. Mudjāhid Iḳbāl al-Dawla from Dāniya (Denia) on the Mediterranean coast. Before this, his recapture of the important frontier fortress, Barbastro (which had fallen temporarily into Norman hands in 456/1064, see barbashturu), increased his reputation in the Peninsula. Though al-Muḳtadir is represented as constantly engaged in 'plying the wine-cups and plucking off the heads' (Ibn Saʿīd) he attracted to his court men of distinction, such as Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī, who wrote a reply on behalf of al-Muḳtadir to the letter of a 'monk of France' inviting him to accept Christianity [see al-bādjī], and Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], the famous poet of Silves, who took refuge at Saragossa from Ibn ʿAbbād of Seville. The Aljaferia in Saragossa, the remains of which still stand, goes back to Abū Djaʿfar al-Muḳtadir. It is remarkable that this powerful ruler was at various times tributary to or under the protection of the Christians of the North, and shortly before his death (474/1081 or 475/1082) he invited the Cid to his court. He was succeeded by his son:

3. Abū ʿĀmir Yūsuf b. Aḥmad I b. Hūd al-Muʾtaman ('Almuctamam'), who reigned till 478/1085. He was a student, author of a book or books on mathematics (Ibn Khaldūn, also al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamāʾ*, 319), which are said to have attracted the favourable attention of Maimonides and his pupil, Ibn ʿAḳnīn.

4. Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad II b. Yūsuf b. Hūd, called, like his ancestor Sulaymān, al-Mustaʿīn bi'llāh (al-Mustaʿīn II), succeeded his father, and was distinguished for his warlike conduct against the Christians of the North (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 129, *s. a.* 484). In 487/1094 the enemy advanced on Washḳa (Huesca), near which al-Mustaʿīn suffered a great defeat (at Alcoraz, November 1096). Saragossa itself was attacked by the Castilians of Alfonso VI, but by this time Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn had crossed to al-Andalus, and the arrival of an Almoravid army near Saragossa caused the Christians to withdraw. It was in this reign that the Cid, who had been in the service of al-Mustaʿīn, as previously of al-Muʾtaman, became ruler of Valencia. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, who wished to retain the kingdom of Saragossa as a buffer state between himself and the Christians, left al-Mustaʿīn in possession, while removing the other Party Kings. Al-Mustaʿīn died fighting the Christians at the battle of Valtierra, near Tudela, on 1 Radjab 503/24 January 1110. The threat from the North had indeed gradually increased during the whole period of Hūdid rule, and now matters came to a crisis under:

5. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aḥmad II b. Hūd ʿImād al-Dawla. The new Almoravid ruler, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, acting, it is said, on the advice of the *faḳīhs*, decided to take over the lands of the Upper Frontier. On 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 503/30 June 1110, the Almoravid *ḳāʾid* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj entered Saragossa, and ʿImād al-Dawla withdrew, passing now or later to the stronghold of Rūṭa (Rueda de Jalón). For nine years the Almoravids held Saragossa, first under Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj, then under Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Sahrawī, called Ibn Tīfalwīt, who ruled in princely style, and whose *wazīr*, the celebrated philosopher Ibn Bādjdja (Avempace), when on an embassy to ʿImād al-Dawla, was thrown into prison by him. The pressure from the north continued,

and on 3 Ramaḍān 512/18 December 1118 Alfonso I of Aragon, el Batallador, took Saragossa after a siege of 7 months (May-December). ʿImād al-Dawla held out in Rueda, while the Christians began to occupy the lands of the Frontier piecemeal. ʿImād al-Dawla died in Rueda in S̲h̲aʿbān 524/1130 (the date 513, frequently accepted, in the text of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn is a slip for 523, cf. Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum Loci de Abbadidis*, ii, 144, n. 11). He was succeeded by his son, the last of the line:

6. Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Aḥmad III b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hūd Sayf al-Dawla ('Zafadola') al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh. In 534/1140 or earlier he exchanged Rueda with Alfonso VII for what Ibn al-Abbār calls 'half the city of Toledo', but more probably was territory in the province of Toledo and perhaps Estremadura (Codera, Prieto y Vives). In 539/1144, when the revolt against the Almoravids was general, al-Mustanṣir b. Hūd, as representing ancient native royalty, found himself with partisans everywhere in Muslim Spain, and, taking the field, occupied successively Cordova, Jaen, Granada, Murcia and Valencia. Ultimately, in a battle with the Christians in the east of Spain near D̲j̲and̲j̲āla (Chinchilla) in S̲h̲aʿbān 540/February 1146, al-Mustanṣir was defeated and killed, and with him the dynasty came to an end. (The account of the death of al-Mustanṣir given by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn with the date in the text, A.H. 536, is not right.)

It remains only to notice Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd al-D̲j̲ud̲h̲āmī, called al-Mutawakkil, who claimed descent from al-Mustaʿīn b. Hūd. He was active and successful against the Almohads from 625/1228, and became Sultan in Granada.

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(D. M. Dunlop)

ḤUD̲J̲ARIYYA [see ḥud̲j̲ra].

ḤUD̲J̲D̲J̲A (a.), pl. ḥud̲j̲ad̲j̲, both proof and the presentation of proof. The term is Ḳurʾānic, and is applied to any argument—one that attempts to prove what is false ("worthless argument"), as well as one that attempts to prove what is true ("decisive argument"). Men should have no *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* against God (IV, 165); if they argue (*yuḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ūna*) against Him, this argument is worthless in His eyes (XLII, 16; cf. XLV, 25). It is to God that "the decisive argument" belongs (VI, 149), and it was God who gave Abraham the (decisive) argument against his people (VI, 83). In the sense of "proof", *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is very close to *dalīl* [*q.v.*]; in the sense of "argument", it is very close to *burhān* [*q.v.*]. But whereas *dalīl* is, in the first place, the "indication", the "guide" that leads to certainty, *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* suggests the conclusive argument that leaves an opponent without a reply; and whereas *burhān* is, in the first place, as it were the clear evidence of an irrefutable proof, and, consequently, the correct reasoning that leads to it, *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* retains the idea of a *contrary* argument. "Dialectical proof" would perhaps be the translation that best renders the primary meaning of *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*.

This shade of meaning, however, is often almost (but not quite) lost sight of. *Ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* also assumes a precise technical meaning in the "science of *ḥadīt̲h̲*", and moreover becomes one of the initiatory degrees of the Ismāʿīlī gnosis. When used by the *mutakallimūn* and the *falāsifa* (in treatises on logic or discussions of methodology), it remains, according to the authors' inclinations, somewhat imprecise. An exhaustive recension would be very long, but a few references may be given here.

Ibn Sīnā. In Avicenna *dalīl* may refer to any argument or demonstration; in a narrower sense it denotes the *burhān al-inna* (or *al-in*), the demonstration of existence. The meaning of *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* in Avicenna is very wide. The section of the *S̲h̲ifāʾ* that deals with logic takes it in a general sense as a process of argumentation, for it subdivides it into syllogism (*ḳiyās*), induction (*istiḳrāʾ*), analogy of like with like or parable (*tamt̲h̲īl*) and "other things". On the following page *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is defined as the point of arrival (*mawḳaʿa*) of acceptance or judgment (*taṣdīḳ*) (cf. *al-S̲h̲ifāʾ, al-Manṭiḳ, i* (*al-madk̲h̲al*), Cairo 1371/1952, 18-9). It is characteristic that the old Latin translations should here have rendered *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* by *ratio* (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, no. 120). We find the same idea, contained in the plural form *ḥud̲j̲ad̲j̲*, in the *Is̲h̲ārāt*, and the same three-fold division (ed. Forget, 64 ff.); the *Manṭiḳ al-mas̲h̲riḳiyyīn* (Cairo 1328/1910, 10) also repeats the idea of the *S̲h̲ifāʾ* (*Madk̲h̲al*, 19): *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is the point of arrival of judgment or acceptance. However, in the *Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya* (in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326/1908, 117) *ḥud̲j̲ad̲j̲* are distinguished from *burhān*, and resume the more precise meaning of "dialectical arguments" (*fi 'l-d̲j̲adal*), designed to convince an opponent. Alpago translates as *argumentatio* (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *ibid.*).

ʿIlm al-kalām. The object of the science of *kalām* being to reply to "doubters and deniers", the term *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a* is often used in it, concurrently with *dalīl*, in the presentation of arguments (e.g. al-Baḳillānī, *al-Bayān ʿan al-farḳ bayn al-muʿd̲j̲izāt wa-'l-karāmāt*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Beirut 1958, index). But it only rarely receives the force of an exclusively technical term. The "proof" of *ʿilm al-kalām* is primarily *dalīl* (pl. *adilla*), or *dilāla*, in several

Muʿtazilī texts as well as in al-As͟hʿarī (*Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 6, 12; *Istiḥsān*, *id.*, 91). In the prefaces to the *Irs͟hād* (ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 5/18-9), al-Dj̲uwaynī, after speaking of reasoning (*naẓar*), devotes a paragraph to "proofs": he uses *adilla*, and distinguishes between rational (*ʿaḳliyya*) proofs and traditional or authoritative (*samʿiyya*) proofs. Many other examples could be listed.

Al-Dj̲uwaynī (*ibid.*) and al-Bāḳillānī before him, define proof, *dalīl*, as giving knowledge of what is hidden. Now, al-Bāḳillānī states in the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 14) that this *dalīl*, which is also referred to as *dilāla*, and which is that by which something is proved (*mustadall*), is the *ḥudj̲dj̲a*. In fact, the demonstration of that which is not immediately and necessarily known, the actual definition of *dalīl*, is that which, in the context of *kalām*, can convince an opponent, and be the decisive *ḥudj̲dj̲a* against him. In speaking of "rational proofs" the *Tamhīd* sometimes uses *adilla* (13, 343), and sometimes *ḥudj̲adj̲* (102, 119). When, however, it is a matter of distinguishing clearly between rational (and "necessary") proofs and textual proofs, al-Bāḳillānī prefers to use *adilla* (*Tamhīd*, 9, 12, 14).

In the methodology of his *Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-īmān* (MS 577 of *al-Maktaba al-ʿUt̲h̲māniyya* in Aleppo, communication of S͟hayk͟h Kawt̲h̲ari and G. C. Anawati), Abū Dj̲aʿfar al-Sumnānī, a disciple of al-Bāḳillānī, faithfully following the "line of the Ancients", also uses *adilla* to denote the arguments for, and the proofs of, *kalām*. He defines "rational proof", however, as a *ḥudj̲dj̲at al-ʿuḳūl* which operates according to five processes: elimination, verification, attribution, generalization, and attribution and generalization simultaneously (cf. Anawati and Gardet, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 365-7); the last four processes are described as dependent on a *ḳiyās* in the primary sense of the word, an analogy of like with like. This, in *kalām*, is one of the clearest instances that we have of awareness of the "logic of two terms". One might say that *ḥudj̲dj̲a* was here most definitely seen as dialectical argument.

Al-G͟hazālī. The vocabulary of al-G͟hazālī is often as it were at the meeting point between those of *falsafa* and *kalām*. He readily employs *dalīl*, *adilla*, in a sense very close to that used by Ibn Sīnā. At the beginning of the *Munḳid͟h* it is specifically stated that *dalīl* (here = reasoning) presupposes recourse to first principles. However, al-G͟hazālī's personal attitude is known—he was, besides, influenced by Dj̲uwaynī—as is his mistrust of recourse exclusively to *dalīl*, thus understood: it is *takāfuʾ al-adilla*, where proofs that balance each other disappear before an interior illumination of a different order. More often still, it is true, al-G͟hazālī leaves to *dalīl* its primary meaning of a suggestive indication leading to manifest certainty. He who was to be called *ḥudj̲dj̲at al-Islām* certainly uses *dalīl* more than *ḥudj̲dj̲a* to denote rational proof.

He does, however, use *ḥudj̲dj̲a* with the common meaning of "convincing argument", which demands, or should demand, acceptance. Finally, using the term in a more technical sense, when he presents his own theses on formal logic, he repeats almost word for word the definitions and distinctions of the *Madk͟hal* of the *S͟hifāʾ*: *ḥudj̲dj̲a*, which is used to mean any argumentative process, "is of three sorts: syllogism, induction, analogy of like with like or parable (*tamt̲h̲īl*)" (*Miʿyār al-ʿilm*, Cairo 1346/1927, 86). Cf. also Farid Jabre, *La notion de certitude selon G͟hazālī*, Paris 1958, index s.vv. *dalīl* and *ḥudj̲dj̲a*.

In the methodology of *falsafa* and *kalām*, the term *ḥudj̲dj̲a* receives fairly widely differing meanings, sometimes being almost identified with *dalīl*, and sometimes being distinguished from it; sometimes suggesting any process of argumentation, the syllogism (and induction) of three terms as well as reasoning of two terms, sometimes signifying rather the dialectical argument that confounds and convinces an opponent. It is apparently in this last case that it retains its most specific meaning. *Ḥudj̲dj̲a*, as translated by H. Laoust (*La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 90, n. 2), is the *titre*, "title", that one produces against an opponent; it is the victorious proof, whether it is a matter of prophetic teaching, the merits of the Companions (*id.*, 116) or the dialectical effort of the human reson.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

In S͟hīʿī terminology

The notion that something or someone was visible "proof" of God's presence or will seems to have antecedents among monotheists before Islam. Among S͟hīʿīs, the term *ḥudj̲dj̲a*, "proof", has been used in at least three ways. It refers most generally to that person through whom the inaccessible God becomes accessible, who serves at any given time as evidence, among mankind, of His true will; thus the Prophet was *ḥudj̲dj̲a* of God. Very early, the term received a more specialized meaning: among some of the *G͟hulāt* [*q.v.*], it referred to a particular function within the process of revelation, sometimes identified with the rôle of Salmān as witness to ʿAlī's status as imām. The term was also sometimes used to refer to any figure in a religious hierarchy through whom an inaccessible higher figure became accessible to those below.

In It̲h̲nāʿas͟harī dogmatics, the first use of the term was systematized. It designates the category formed by prophets and imāms together, in that either a prophet or an imām must always be present as guide to God's will. Thus the section in Kulīnī's *al-Kāfī* dealing with prophethood and imāmate is entitled *ḥudj̲dj̲a*. The argument is that if there were no representative of God among mankind, God would remain unknowable and human beings could not serve him; and there must always be such a representative, for records of a former representative, even the Ḳurʾān itself, will give rise to disputes and uncertainty unless there is an authorized interpreter. The present *ḥudj̲dj̲a* is the hidden twelfth imām.

Among the Ismāʿīlīs, the term usually referred to a particular figure in the religious hierarchy, thought of as fulfilling a function in revelation. In Fāṭimid times, it was used for the chief *dāʿīs*, directing the ordinary *dāʿīs*. In numerological passages, the *ḥudj̲dj̲as* are twelve, presiding over twelve districts; or, occasionally, twenty-four—presumably twelve as *dāʿīs* in their districts and twelve at the court of the imām. A chief *ḥudj̲dj̲a* is mentioned, identical with the chief *dāʿī*. The Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs (Bohras) have retained Fāṭimid usage in their dogmatics, but not in their organization. Among the Nizārīs, the term had a complex development. It was probably used for Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*] as visible head of the movement when the imām was hidden. Later, when the restored imām was treated as the locus of divine self-revelation, there was one *ḥudj̲dj̲a* (identified with Salmān, the ideal believer), who alone, by divine inspiration, could fully perceive the reality of the imām. The exact rôle of this *ḥudj̲dj̲a* passed through several phases as Nizārī teaching evolved;

eventually, the *ḥudjdja* was normally the imām's heir-apparent. In the present *ḥudjdja* lists of the Nizārīs (Khodjas), each imām is assigned a *ḥudjdja* as spokesman or visible token; the *ḥudjdja* need not be a man or even a person.

Bibliography: For the Ithnāʿasharī position, see Muḥammad al-Kulīnī, *Kitāb al-ḥudjdja*, in *al-Kāfī*. For earlier Ismāʿīlī usage, there is no one chief source; but Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Rawḍat al-taslīm* or *Taṣawwurāt*, ed. W. Ivanow (in The Ismaili Society Series A, no. 4, Leiden 1950) is especially useful for the later period (the translation is not dependable). H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964, discusses all usages (see index); on the Nizārīs, he is to be supplemented by M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, which traces the variations in the concept in various historical circumstances.

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

For legal proof see BAYYINA, IḲRĀR, SHAHĀDA.

ḤUDJR B. ʿADĪ AL-KINDĪ, a Shīʿī agitator of the earliest period of Islam. The oldest authorities deny that he was a Companion of the Prophet and reject the legend that he conquered the district of Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ, in Syria. Ḥudjr threw himself heart and soul into ʿAlī's cause and fought for him at the 'battle of the Camel' [see DJAMAL] and at Ṣiffīn. We later find him in Egypt with Muḥammad, son of the Caliph Abū Bakr, who was governing this province in ʿAlī's name. After ʿAlī's son Ḥasan had given up his claim to the Caliphate, Ḥudjr became the moving spirit in all the ʿAlid intrigues in Kūfa, but the governor Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] was reluctant to resort to violence to put an end to his intrigues. Mughīra's successor Ziyād apparently succeeded in bringing him to reason, but Ḥudjr still continued his agitation, particularly by inviting al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to come to take command of his followers at Kūfa. During Ziyād's absence in Baṣra Ḥudjr attempted to stir up a revolutionary movement. Ziyād hurried back with all possible speed and endeavoured to settle the affair peacefully. But when the negotiations fell through, Ziyād had Ḥudjr arrested along with those leaders of the Shīʿa party who were most deeply compromised. The matter was taken to the courts and an indictment prepared and signed by the most prominent men in Kūfa; finally Ḥudjr was taken with his companions to Muʿāwiya in Syria. After the Caliph had arranged a new trial and asked the advice of the leading men of Syria, he sentenced Ḥudjr to death and had him executed in Mardj ʿAdhrāʾ near Damascus. His tomb there is still "indicated by a small ruined construction which the local people call Shaykh ʿUdī" (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, 27). His death opens the martyrology of the Shīʿa; hence the importance assigned, even in circles hostile to Shīʿī extremists (see, *e.g.*, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Nābita*, in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 315), to this rather everyday episode, which was really nothing more than an incident in the domestic troubles of ʿIrāḳ. Ziyād "throughout maintained a correct attitude and Muʿāwiya even inclined to the side of leniency" (Wellhausen), for he pardoned the majority of Ḥudjr's accomplices.

Bibliography: L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, Paris 1912, 569, gives the Arabic sources; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 1629; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār ṭiwāl*, 233-4; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 229, 230, 273-5; al-Kindī, *Governors of Egypt*, 25; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 151-4; Ṭabarī, i, 2462, 3151, 3155, 3174, 3337, 3371, 3447; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 264, 302, 410; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; *Aghānī*, xvi, 2-11 (Beirut ed., xvii, 78-95); Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, Cairo 1950, 89; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ii, 575-81; Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*; H. Lammens, *Ziād ibn Abīhi*, in *RSO*, iv, 70-4.

(H. LAMMENS*)

ḤUDJRA (A.), room, apartment, used (with the definite article) especially of the room of ʿĀʾisha where the Prophet and his two successors, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, were buried; it is now one of the holiest places of Islam [see AL-MADĪNA].

From the same word is also derived *Ḥudjariyya*, a term used in Egypt for the slaves who were lodged in barracks near to the royal residence. Under the Fāṭimids, these slaves were organized by al-Afḍal into a sort of military bodyguard under the command of an *amīr* who held the title of al-Muwaffaḳ. They consisted at this period of 3000 men (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 443).

(ED.)

See further KHALWA.

ḤUDJRIYYA (Ḥogariyya), name of a tribe, and of an administrative division (*ḳaḍāʾ*, district) in the Yaman, one of the four districts in the province (*liwāʾ*) of Taʿizz. It is to the east of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of al-Makhāʾ and to the south-west of Taʿizz, on the frontier of the South-Arabian Federation. The area is entirely mountainous, well-cultivated (coffee, cereals) and rich in livestock; according to Heyworth-Dunne it is famous for producing a kind of ass called *sawriḳiyya*. The number of inhabitants in this district was given by the same author in 1952 as 192,392, about one-third of the total population in the *liwāʾ* of Taʿizz. Its principal town is Turbat al-Dhubḥān, belonging traditionally to the important clan of the Shardjabīs (Shirdjāb); Von Malzan rated the number of its inhabitants at about 500, and that of the Jews among them at about one-fifth; the place has the remains of old Ḥimyar buildings. Another powerful clan is that of Ḥammād, whose town is called Dār Shawwār.

The Ḥudjriyya claim to be true descendants of ancient Ḥimyar, and are said to have at one time formed one tribe with the Ṣubayḥīs, who live to the south of their territory. Shāfiʿīs like all the other inhabitants in what is now the *liwāʾ* of Taʿizz, and having a tradition of political independence under a ruler of their own, they have become subject to the *imāms* of Ṣanʿāʾ only since the latter part of the 19th century, gradually and at first indirectly by being subjugated by the tribe Dhū Muḥammad, an offshoot of the Bākil of the country to the north of Ṣanʿāʾ, who established small garrisons in the Ḥudjriyya area. To escape this oppression, many of the Ḥudjriyya emigrated to Aden, where they earned a living as labourers.

Several features of the topography of Ḥudjriyya are mentioned by al-Hamdānī, such as the high mountain Ṣabir (Ṣabr). H. von Wissmann and Maria Höfner have established the identity of (Turbat al-) Dhubḥān with the ancient South-Arabian place Dhubḥān of Ḳashr and Shirgāb.

Bibliography: Admiralty, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Oxford 1946, 358 (giving the names of the four administrative subdivisions [*nāḥiya*] of Ḥudjriyya and their principal towns); A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, 2 vols., Vienna and Brünn, Vienna 1922-33; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Al-Yemen*, Cairo 1952; Hamdānī, 76_{26}, 77_{6}, $99_{21, 23}$, 125_{5}, $126_{9, 16}$, 189_{24}, and index s.v. Ṣabir; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xxii, 787; H. von Malzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, esp. 390-7; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de*

l'Arabie Méridionale. Daṯînah, iii, Leiden 1913, 1516 n. 3; H. von Wissmann and Maria Höfner, *Beitr. z. hist. Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Mainz 1953 (= Akad. d. Wissensch. u. Litt., Abhandl. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl., 1952 No. 4), 69, 76 and map after p. 64; A. Grohmann, *Arabien*, Munich 1963 (= *Kulturgesch. d. Alten Orients*, iii/4), 102, with footnotes giving references to the publications of the Egyptian University Scientific Expedition which visited Turba(t al-Dhubḥān); Map of *Aden Protectorate*, 1 : 253,440, Surv. Gen. of India, 1904.

(J. Schleifer-[L. O. Schuman])

HUDJWĪRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Ghaznawī al-Djullābī al-Hudjwīrī, Iranian mystic, born at Hudjwīr, a suburb of Ghazna (on the last page of the old Lahore edition of his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, he is named: Ḥaḍrat-i Dātā Gandjbakhsh ʿAlī al-Ḥudjwīrī). What is known of his life comes mainly from his own references to it in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*. On his teachers in mysticism and his numerous journeys, see the introductions to the *Kashf* by Nicholson, pp. xvii-xviii, and by Žukovskiy, 4 ff. He appears to have lived for a time in ʿIrāḳ, where he first grew rich and later fell into debt. His married life was brief and unhappy (tr. Nicholson, 364). According to the *Riyāḍ al-awliyā'*, he ended his life at Lahore; he was imprisoned, and hindered during the composition of the *Kashf* by the lack of the books which he had left at Ghazna. Nicholson dates his death between 465 and 469/1072 and 1077 (for his arguments, see introd. xviii-xix). After his death he was revered as a saint and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

Of the ten or so works which he states that he wrote (see list in Nicholson's introd., xix-xx, and Žukovskiy's introd., 10-1), there remains only the *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* (entitled *Kashf al-maḥdjūb li-arbāb al-ḳulūb*, "The unveiling of that which is hidden, for people of heart", in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 215). There is disagreement over the date of its composition (see Žukovskiy's introd., 29), but it was probably written in Lahore, and thus during the last years of Hudjwīrī's life, in reply to questions put by a certain Abū Saʿīd al-Hudjwīrī. Its aim is to present the complete system of Ṣūfism, setting out and discussing its doctrines and its practices—a method of exposition which is found even in the biographies of Ṣūfīs (tr., 70-175). Before giving his own opinion, the author usually examines the opinions of earlier writers on the subject, refuting them if necessary; these discussions of the problems of mysticism are illustrated by examples drawn from the writer's own experience. Although he was a Sunnī and a Ḥanafī, he succeeded, like many other Ṣūfīs before and after him, in reconciling his theology with an advanced mysticism, in which the theory of annihilation (*fanā'*) holds a pre-eminent place; but he rarely goes to such extremes as would provoke an accusation of pantheism; he declares to be heretical the doctrine according to which the human person became absorbed in the Divine Being; he compares *fanā'* to combustion by a fire which changes the nature of everything into its own nature, but without changing the essence of the thing burned. He frequently and persistently warns his readers that no Ṣūfī—not even one who attains the supreme degree of sanctity—is dispensed from obeying the religious law. On other points—for example ecstasy provoked by music and singing, or the use of erotic symbolism in poetry—his judgement is more or less circumspect.

The most interesting section of the *Kashf* is the 14th: "Doctrines professed by the various Ṣūfī sects": he lists twelve of them and explains the doctrine of each. One only, that of the Malāmatīs, appears to be mentioned in older works on Ṣūfism; brief references to other sects found in later works (*e.g.*, the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*) are probably borrowed from it. It is not clear whether these sects actually existed or whether they were invented by Hudjwīrī in his desire to systematize the doctrine of Ṣūfism; but there is every reason to suppose that he often mingled his own personal views with his exposition of the doctrines which he attributed to the founder of each school. It is possible that the main source of the information in the *Kashf* was oral, but Hudjwīrī does mention a treatise on Ṣūfism, the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* (in Arabic) of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 377 or 378/987-8), one of the earliest of this type (a passage from it is included in the *Kashf*, tr. 341); a comparison of the two works reveals that the plan of the *Kashf* coincides with that of the *Lumaʿ*; the *Kashf* includes references to three other mystic writers (tr. 26 and 114).

In the introduction to his translation of the *Kashf* (2nd ed., revised), Nicholson has this to say: "Though Hujwírí was neither a profound mystic nor a precise thinker, his work on the whole forms an admirable introduction to the study of Sufiism: it ... has the merit ... of bringing us into immediate touch with the author himself, his views, experiences, and adventures, while incidentally it throws light on the manners of dervishes in various parts of the Moslem world. His exposition of Sufí doctrine and practice is distinguished not only by wide learning and first-hand knowledge but also by the strongly personal character impressed on everything he writes".

In addition, Žukovskiy, in his important introduction, gives a list of the works which Hudjwīrī consulted (21-5) and a list of the Muslim writers who used the *Kashf* (36 ff.); he examines carefully the peculiarities of the author's language (40-51) and gives a judgement of the book as a whole (31 ff.).

Bibliography: *The Kashf al-maḥjúb, the oldest Persian treatise on Sufiism*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, Leiden and London 1911, ²1936, repr. 1959 (introduction used for this article); V. A. Žukovskiy, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Persian text with seven indexes (edition based on five manuscripts described in the introduction, 53 ff.), Leningrad 1926; R. A. Nicholson, *The mystics of Islam*, 1914, repr. 1963, index; idem, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921.

(Hidayet Hosain-[H. Massé])

HUDNA, abstract noun from the root *h.d.n.* with the sense of "calm", "peace". Other terms which have the same meaning are *muwādaʿa*, *muṣālaḥa*, *musālama*, and *mutāraka*, the general meaning of which in Islamic law is the abstention of the parties concerned from hostilities against each other. The process of entering into a peace agreement with the enemy is called *muhādana* or *muwādaʿa*, but the instrument of peace is *hudna* (peace agreement).

In Islamic legal theory, normal relations between the *dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*] and the *dār al-ḥarb* [*q.v.*] were not peaceful, and there existed a state of latent or open hostilities which jurists nowadays call a state of war. Short intervals of peace were, however, permitted by divine legislation (Ḳur'ān VIII, 63; IX, 1 and others) and the Muslims could establish peaceful relationships with non-Muslims, individually and collectively, if such a peace was not inconsistent with the interests of the Muslims. On

the individual level, the *ḥarbī* (person from the *dār al-ḥarb*) could enter the *dār al-Islām* unmolested, provided he obtained an *amān* ([*q.v.*] see also MUSTAʾMIN) beforehand from any believer, whether in an official or an unofficial capacity. But as a territorial group, the unbelievers could obtain such a temporary status only by an official act, either directly or indirectly granted by the *Imām*, which conferred upon the inhabitants of the territory whose ruler entered into a peace agreement with the Muslims the benefits of the *amān* obtained by a single individual. It is clear that the *muhādana* or *muwādaʿa* is, as Kāsānī observes, a form of *amān*. But the *amān* is a temporary peace given to an individual *ḥarbī*, although his country is still in a state of war with Islam, while the *muhādana* is a temporary peace extended to a certain town or a country (including its people) by an official act. *Hudna* in Islamic law is thus equivalent to "international treaty" in modern terminology. Its object is to suspend the legal effects of hostilities and to provide the prerequisite conditions of peace between Muslims and non-Muslims, without the latter's territory becoming part of the *dār al-Islām*.

The Ḳurʾān provided for the Muslims not only the possibility of entering into a peace agreement with the enemy, but also the obligation to observe the terms of the agreement to the end of its specified period (Ḳurʾan IX, 4; XVI, 93), once the agreement was accepted by the Muslims. This is the principle *pacta sunt servanda*, stressed both in divine legislation and juridical writings. Thus *hudna* in Islamic law was established by practice (*i.e.*, agreement and consent of the parties concerned) and validated by authoritative sources. The treaty-making power rested in the hands of the *Imām*, but this power might be delegated to commanders in the field who were empowered to negotiate with the enemy if the latter was willing to come to terms with Islam. However, the *Imām* reserved the right to repudiate the treaty if it proved to be inconsistent with the interests of the Muslims. The *Imām*'s approval or ratification was, therefore, necessary to make the treaty binding upon the Muslim community. Even after the treaty was ratified, the *Imām* had the power to terminate the treaty by denunciation (*nabdh*), provided a prior notice was sent to the enemy to that effect. The Ḥudaybiya treaty, concluded by the Prophet Muḥammad with the unbelievers of Mecca in 6/628, provided a precedent for subsequent treaties which the Prophet's successors made with non-Muslims. Although this treaty was violated within three years from the time it was concluded, most jurists concur that the maximum period of peace with the enemy should not exceed ten years, since it was originally agreed that the Ḥudaybiya treaty should last ten years.

The Prophet and his successors concluded treaties with the People of the Book [see AHL AL-KITĀB], but these treaties were not temporary in nature, since both the people and the territory were incorporated in the *dār al-Islām* and the *ahl al-kitāb* became subjects of the *Imām*. Since these were not required to become Muslims, they were regarded as protected members of the state and called *dhimmīs* [*q.v.*]. The treaties with *ahl al-kitāb* were, accordingly, not strictly international treaties, but covenants (*ʿahd*) or a form of constitutional charters which fall under Islamic constitutional law, not under the Islamic law of nations (for a model text of such a charter, see Shāfiʿī, *al-Umm*, iv, 118-9).

An examination of the treaties concluded by the Prophet and his successors leads us to establish certain general characteristics which may be summed up as follows: (1) the treaties were, on the whole, brief and general, and no attempt was made to supply details as to their applications; (2) the preamble consisted of the *basmala* ("in the name of Allāh"), the names of the parties and their representatives, and their titles; (3) treaties were temporary agreements, the duration of which was specified, except those with *ahl al-kitāb*, although it was understood that a treaty might be renewed; (4) the provisions were stated in written form and most jurists are agreed that the text of the treaty must be written and signed by the parties and often the names of the witnesses were added at the end of the text. The writing as well as the signing and the dating of the treaty are not, strictly speaking, legal prerequisites; but Ḥanafī jurists insisted that treaties, in order to be binding, must be written and duly signed.

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(M. KHADDURI)

ḤUḌNA, current orthography HODNA, a low-lying region in the centre of the upper plains of Algeria, at the foot of the mountains of Wennougha, Hodna and Belezma, and lying open to the south-east towards the Saharan region of Zāb (Biskra). It covers an area of 8,600 sq. km and is made up of the hills of the Djerr in the north and east, immense alluvial plains in part flooded by water from the wadis that come down from the chain of mountains, a large *sebkha* of 760 sq. kms and, in the south, a sandy region, the Rmel. The country, which is very hot in summer and very dry (annual rainfall 200 to 300 mm), is a sub-desert steppe devoid of alfa-grass. It is quite well supplied with water, thanks to a number of springs which emerge from the limestone mountains, the abundant but very irregular flooding by the wadis (Oued el-Leham, el-Ksob, Selman, Magra, Barika, Bitham), and the high water-table (partly artesian) in the sub-soil. The Hodna has thus always been a country of both agriculture and stock-breeding, inhabited alike by a sedentary population and by nomadic herdsmen. In ancient times it formed part of the Roman *limes*, and a series of towns marks the route leading to the east and north from the Sebkha, while forts guard the south. In the early Middle Ages, along with Zāb it formed a military, political and economic march for Ifrīḳiya, facing the pastoral steppes of the central Maghrib and the Sahara. Fortified agricultural centres, often marking the site of ancient cities, are scattered throughout the nomads' pasturages—Tobna (Tubunae), Ngaous (Nicivibus), Maggara (Macri); Msila was founded in the 4th/10th century close to the ruins of Zabi; in the following century it was momentarily eclipsed by Ḳalʿa, a temporary capital set up in the mountains

by the Banū Ḥammād. The invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century cut off Hodna from Ifrīḳiya but, with Zāb, it continued to be a zone of influence for the Ḥafṣid rulers of Tunis; its population was to some extent reinforced by the settling of Riyāḥ nomads, the Athbedj and the Dawāwida. Towns and cultivation disappeared, except for Msila and Ngaous. In the 10th/16th century the Turks brought Hodna into the Beylik of the East (of Constantine); it was to remain united with the province, and later with the French *département* of Constantine.—The principal tribes of Hodna are the Ouled (*awlād*) Madhi in the west and the O. Derrādj in the east; they are very heterogeneous; the O. Soltan and the O. ʿAlī from the mountains along the eastern border have remained Berber-speaking (Chaouïa). The essential feature of the economy still remains the breeding of sheep, goats and camels: summer migration to the upper plateaux of Constantine entails a semi-nomadism for most of the inhabitants. But the fields of wheat and barley covered by floodwaters from the wadis are increasing; so too are irrigated garden-orchards (of apricots, figs, olives; date-palms at Mdoukal). The collection and sale of the salt of the Djebel Metlili, in the south-east, and of the Sebkha, a little handicraft and, more particularly, temporary emigration towards the towns on the coast and in France help the people to exist. Hodna has 100,000 inhabitants, and its principal centres are Msila (8,500 inhabitants), Mdoukal (3,500) and Ngaous (2,000).

Bibliography: J. Despois, *Le Hodna*, Paris 1953. (J. Despois)

ḤUDŪD, pl. of ḤADD [*q.v.*]; see also, for frontier-zones and frontier-warfare: ʿAWĀṢIM, GHĀZĪ, THUGHŪR; and for the delimitation of frontiers: TAKHṬĪṬ AL-ḤUDŪD.

ḤUDŪTH AL-ʿĀLAM, "the beginning of the world". *Ḥudūth* is the *maṣdar* of *ḥadatha*, which signifies: (1) to appear, to arise, to have come into being recently; (2) to take place, to happen. With Muslim thinkers the term has two meanings: one denotes the existence of a thing, after its non-existence, in a temporal extension: this is *al-ḥudūth al-zamānī*, to which temporal eternity (*al-ḳidam al-zamānī*) corresponds. For the *mutakallimūn*, *ḥudūth al-ʿālam* bears only the sense of a beginning in time. They take this "beginning" of the world as their basis for proving the existence of God. Al-Ghazālī, for example, establishes his syllogism as follows: every being that has a beginning in time (*ḥādith*) necessarily has a cause that brings it into existence; now the universe is a being that begins to exist; therefore it necessarily has a cause. A detailed analysis of this proof can be found in S. L. de Beaurecueil and G. C. Anawati, *Une preuve de l'existence de Dieu chez Ghazzālī et S. Thomas*, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 207-58.

The other meaning is that of the hellenizing philosophers, in particular Avicenna: *ḥudūth* denotes contingency, that is to say, the fact of a being's existing after not having existed, but in an ontological or essential extension, which does not necessarily involve time. This is *al-ḥudūth al-dhātī*. From this point of view the *falāsifa* affirm the *ḥudūth al-ʿālam* and its eternity. For details see the article referred to above, and also: *Dustūr al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1333, ii, 5-8; Djuwaynī-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* (*al-mawḳif al-khāmis fi 'l-ilāhiyyāt, al-marṣad al-awwal*); Abu 'l-Bāḳī, *Kulliyyāt*, Būlāḳ 1281, 166.

(G. C. Anawati)

HUELVA [see WALBA].

HUESCA [see WASHḲA].

ḤUFĀSH, high mountain in South Arabia, belonging to the al-Maṣāniʿ range of the Sarāt group, on the Wādī Surdud near Ḥarāz [*q.v.*]. It is often mentioned by Hamdānī, along with the adjacent large mountain of Milḥān (called after the Ḥimyarī Milḥān b. ʿAwf b. Mālik) the real name of which was Rayshān. In Hamdānī's time the latter was said to possess no fewer than ninety-nine springs and had a large mosque (called Masdjid Shāhir) on its summit, Shāhir. It was popularly believed (also according to Hamdānī) that not far away there lay a treasure which many Arabs sought but could never reach, as a snake barred the way in the shape of a high mountain, as soon as they tried to approach it. In Niebuhr's time, Ḥufāsh formed a separate district to which Djabal Milḥān also belonged. Among places of some importance in Ḥufāsh he mentions Sefekīn, a small town surrounded by a wall, the residence of the Dawla (Dōla) and the two villages of Bayt al-Nushēli and Bayt al-Shumma.

Bibliography: Hamdānī, 68_{25-6}, 32_{9}, 79_{11-19}, 113_{2-3}, 125_{8}, $126_{1, 5, 14, 17}$, $190_{22, 23}$; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 249; *Pet. Mitt.*, xxxii (1886), Pl. 1. (J. Schleifer)

AL-**HUFŪF**, or AL-HUFHŪF according to an older form, and in English most frequently Hofuf, a town in eastern Saudi Arabia, capital of the oasis of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*]. The name derives from *haffa*, to hiss, or blow (of a wind), and was first given to a group of gardens near the old capital of al-Ḥasā. The population is estimated at about 80,000 inhabitants, some 40% of whom are Shīʿīs.

Until the 1370's/1950's, al-Hufūf was surrounded by a large wall with a number of defensive towers. Six gates gave access to the town. The wall enclosed the town's three main quarters: al-Kūt, al-Rifāʿa, and al-Naʿāthil. Al-Kūt, which contained the administrative offices, the garrison, and the homes of officers and functionaries, was itself fortified by another wall and surrounded by a moat. The gradual modernization of the town has necessitated the demolition of most of the walls, and to avoid overcrowding two extramural suburbs, al-Ṣāliḥiyya and al-Ruḳayyiḳa, have grown at the southern edges of al-Hufūf and have substantial populations.

Al-Hufūf succeeded al-Ḥasā, which itself had succeeded Hadjar, as the administrative centre of the oasis as well as of the region which since 1371/1952 has been called the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. During the Turkish occupation, 1289/1871 to 1322/1913, al-Hufūf was the residence of the Mutaṣarrif Pasha, who governed the *sandjaḳ* of al-Ḥasā (misnamed Nedjd) under the jurisdiction of Basra. After the conquest of al-Hufūf by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd in 1322/1913, the town continued to be the provincial administration centre until 1371/1952 when the capital was moved to al-Dammām [*q.v.*].

Besides its administrative functions, al-Hufūf, as the capital of Saudi Arabia's richest and largest oasis, has long been an important trade and manufacturing centre. Its production of textiles, coffee-pots, weapons, and jewellery was long well known in the Persian Gulf, and its weekly Thursday market still attracts large crowds from the entire province. Al-Hufūf is now connected by asphalted road and by railroad with both the provincial capital at al-Dammām and the national capital at al-Riyāḍ.

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Handbook, The Netherlands 1960; J. C. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908; Muḥammad Ibn Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, Cairo 1370-3; Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar nāme*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1881; F. S. Vidal, *The Oasis of al-Hasa*, New York 1955; F. Wüstenfeld, *Baḥrein und Jemama*, in *Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1874. (F. S. Vidal)

ḤUKM (A., pl. *aḥkām*), verbal noun of *ḥakama*, which originally means "to withhold, restrain, prevent", is used in a number of technical meanings in the field of religious law [see AḤKĀM], philosophy (see below, I), and grammar (see below, II). On the different meanings of the term *ḥukm*, see *Dict. of technical terms*, i, 372 ff.; L. Gauthier, *La racine arabe* حكم *et ses dérivés*, in *Homenaje a Don Fr. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 435-54.

I. *Ḥukm* means in philosophy, the judgement or act by which the mind affirms or denies one thing with regard to another, and thus unites or separates them. According to al-Djurdjānī, it is "the act of establishing a relation between one thing and another by affirmation or denial" (*Taʿrīfāt*). Ibn Rushd explains the combining of certain concepts which are *judged* in relationship to one another, which is then accomplished by the mind, as an act of the reasoning faculty, which follows, by a necessity of this faculty itself, from the comprehension of the concept. The *Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ* had already noticed this necessity: "Judgement on things is the product of the intelligence. (. . .) A man may say the opposite of what he knows, but he cannot know the opposite of what he understands (*yaʿḳilu*)". The word *ḥukm* covers both the meaning of *taṣdīḳ*, a judgement that a certain statement is true and approved, and *takdhīb*, a judgement that a certain statement is false and denied.

Arab logic studies *ḥukm* not in itself, but in relation to the proposition, *i.e.*, a statement which expresses a judgement. Ibn Sīnā describes the proposition thus: "Any statement in which a relation is established between two things in such a way that either a truthful or an untruthful judgement follows from them" (*Nadjāt*, 17). And further: "The attributive proposition is of such a kind that, by uttering it, we enunciate a judgement either affirming or denying that a certain thing either is or is not another" (*Dāneshnāme*, 53, French trans., 36-7).

A judgement is expressed only in those propositions which demand either assent or denial, those in which the utterer of the statement can be called either truthful or untruthful; but this does not include someone who asks a question, makes a plea, or expresses a wish or hope. Three sorts of propositions formulate a judgement, "because the judgments (*aḥkām*) which are connected with assent (*taṣdīḳ*) are three in number": either the judgement refers to a *mufrad*, a simple [attribution], and is of the kind which some call *ḥamlī*, attributive [judgement]; e.g. "the body is—or is not—created". Or it refers to a fact dependent on a certain condition and is known as *sharṭī*, conditional. But this can occur in two different ways. In the first case, the condition involves only one consequence, either positive or negative: the judgement is then expressed in a conjunctive conditional proposition (*muttaṣila*); e.g. "if the sun rises it is daylight". In the second case, the consequent implies an alternative of which one member necessarily excludes the other; *e.g.*, "This number is either odd or even"; the statement of such a judgement is called a "disjunctive conditional proposition" (*munfaṣila*) (*Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, 60-1, see also 62). This passage is among the few which make of the judgement the central point of explanation; it is not even mentioned in a closely related text (*Ishārāt*, 22-3; Fr. trans., 114-6). This theory of conditional judgement and those of the proposition and syllogism which arise from it, are not of Aristotelian inspiration. Together with other indications, they pose the problem of other sources, notably Stoic, of Arab philosophy.

"The definite proposition has four forms" according as "the judgement applies to all by way of affirmation", then it is "a universally affirmative statement", or "applies to all by way of negation", "a universally negative one", or "applies to some by way of affirmation" or "to some by way of negation," particular propositions either affirmative or negative. Moreover "an indefinite judgement is the same as a particular judgement". According to another series of distinctions, the judgement expressed in any proposition is either necessary, possible, or impossible, the necessary being to some degree included in the possible (*Dāneshnāme*, 35-45, trans. 36-41; *Manṭiḳ*, 63 and *Nadjāt*, 19-20). *Nadjāt*, 18, explains the subject and the predicate in connexion with their place in the judgement.

Ḥukm means also sensory intuition, where assent of the mind immediately follows perception, *e.g.* "our judgement that fire burns"; the judgement of experience which follows repeated sensory intuitions, *e.g.*, "our judgement that a blow administered with a piece of wood is painful"; the practical judgement, *e.g.*, "our judgement that the sun exists"; the judgement which follows a strong intellectual intuition (the principle of the discovery of a scientific explanation); the judgement that follows on the fundamentals of what our education has taught us without that having compelling force on our intelligence as such, *e.g.* "our judgement that it is wicked to steal the property of another". But in order to distinguish judgements relating to first principles, by an absolute necessity of the human mind, Ibn Sīnā uses *ḳaḍāʾ*, which expresses the ineluctable character of the act, *e.g.*, "our judgement that the whole is greater than the part" (*Ishārāt*, 56-9, trans. 176-80).

In the statement of the attributive proposition, and therefore in the formulation of the judgement, there is an important difference between Persian, where the grammatical copula is explicit, as in European languages, and Arabic where it can be omitted. It nevertheless exists in the mind, and the two juxtaposed terms of the bipartite statement are set forth as a judgement and a proposition only if the copulative—verb or personal pronoun—is understood by implication (*Ishārāt*, 27, trans. 126-7).

Bibliography: The references in the text refer to the following editions: Ibn Sīnā, *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1331/1913; *K. al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, ed. Forget, Leiden 1892; French trans. A.-M. Goichon, Paris 1951; *Dāneshnāme*, Tehrān 1331s./1371h., French trans. Achéna and Massé, Paris 1955; *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, Cairo 1328/1910. The logic of the proposition, in the edition of the *Shifāʾ* begun in Cairo, has still to be published. *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, ed. 1957, i, 426; Ibn Rushd, *Kitāb al-Nafs*, ed. A. F. al-Ahwānī, Cairo 1950, 68.

(A.-M. Goichon)

II. In grammar, *ḥukm* can be understood only if the term, in the world of thought of the Arab grammarians, is assigned its proper place in the whole grammatical system that they elaborated. In this system,

the Arabic language is considered as a logical and harmonious entity, subjected to the rules of wisdom, intelligence and justice. The organization of this entity has been achieved especially:

(a) by the establishment of hierarchies (see especially *K. al-Inṣāf*, 35, lines 14-6), of subordinations: the governing power of the verbs is the strongest; among the *ḥurūf*, the particles governing nouns, *ʿawāmil al-asmāʾ*, are stronger than the particles governing verbs (*op. cit.*, 233, 3), etc.; among the words, there are primary forms: a typical example is the *maṣdar*, called *maṣdar* because it is the "origin" of the other forms of the verb (see question 28 of the *K. al-Inṣāf*); we may also cite the singular considered as prior to and stronger than its corresponding internal plural or plurals. These last considerations influence the explanation of syntactical relationships.

(b) by the search for the *aṣl*, the base: the basic meaning of words, of grammatical constructions: "we [the Baṣrans] are attached to the *aṣl*, and he who is attached to the *aṣl* is exempted from establishing the proof (*al-dalīl*)" (*op. cit.*, 199, 1); pointing out this *aṣl* is as it were a conclusive argument (cf. in the *Lumaʿ al-adilla*, of the same author, 106, line 11). Examples: for *aw*, *Inṣāf*, 198, 19; for the vocative form *allāhumma*, *ibid.*, 151, 19. In the case of words, one determines its basic position, its *martaba* or *rutba*, that is to say its "rank". This rank is a consequence of the preceding factors, or may be simply an affirmation, sanctioned by the consensus (*idjmāʿ*) of the grammarians (of Baṣra), but it is a particularly important element of the system; for it is exactly at its *martaba* in which it is placed that the word exercises or has to exercise its *ḥukm*.—Besides this, there is an extensive use of *ḳiyās*.

As for *ḥukm*, it means: (i) the proper function which the word *performs* at its *martaba* in which it is placed, its activity; (ii) the proper function *to be performed* by the word at its *martaba* in which it is placed. It may be translated by "part played or to be played", but this translation gives no indication of the whole system in which *ḥukm* is involved. The distinction indicated may sometimes not be obvious in the use of *ḥukm* in the texts; there are times when it can be taken in the one sense or the other. The following examples allow this distinction to be clearly recognised:

For (i): (a) *Inṣāf*, 121, 19-24 (cf. 39, 20-1): *lawlā* (= *law* + *lā*) is compounded (*rukkibat*); the word loses the *ḥukm* (specific activity) of its components and acquires a new *ḥukm* (a new activity); therefore this is compared with the *adwiya*, remedies, which are compounded of various ingredients: their compounding annuls the *ḥukm* (efficiency) of each one in its separate state, and confers upon them a new *ḥukm* (power to act). According to the present example, it should be understood not to mean "intrinsic task in performance", but rather "faculty, power of acting in respect of some specific task", which would introduce an ontological aspect.

(b) *Inṣāf*, 178, 10-12: in an oath one can say *amu 'llāhi*. The *aṣl* is *aymunu 'llāhi*; *yāʾ sākina* has been suppressed, but, as this suppression was not necessary, its *ḥukm* (activity) remains.

(c) *Inṣāf*, 199, 11-12: to be astonished one must first know; this is why it can be said, in determining the meaning of *al-taʿadjdjub*: *mā ẓahara ḥukmuh wa-khafiya sababuh*, "its intrinsic task has not [yet] appeared and its cause is [still] hidden".

(d) *Inṣāf*, 123, 15-6: on the subject of *illā*, the particle denoting exception: *illā* cannot have the meaning of *wa-lā*, for *illā* with the meaning of "except" excludes the word following from the *ḥukm* (field of activity) of the preceding one; but *wa-* joins together; and in joining together it necessitates (*yaḳtaḍī*) the introduction of the word following into the *ḥukm* (task being performed) of the preceding one.

For (ii): (a) *Inṣāf*, 175, 12-3: in the construction *la-zaydᵘⁿ afḍalu*, the grammarians of Kūfa perceive a *lām* coming after an oath (*wa-'llāhi*) which is not expressed. The Baṣrans regard it as the *lām al-ibtidāʾ*. Their argument against the Kūfans is: if the *lām* in question were the *lām* of the oath (*djawāb al-ḳasam*), its *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled) would be to cancel the governing influence of the verb *ẓanna*, when it is introduced into the phrase; one says *ẓanantu zaydᵃⁿ ḳāʾimᵃⁿ*, and with the *lām*: *ẓanantu la-zaydᵘⁿ ḳāʾimᵘⁿ*; now the *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled) of the *lām al-ḳasam* (*lām* of the oath) *fī kull mawḍiʿ*, in any circumstances, is to exert no governing influence, either before or after it.

(b) *Inṣāf*, 173, 15: *a-'llāhi mā faʿaltu kadhā*. This form of oath can be used only with the divine name Allāh: *wa-'khtiṣāṣ hādha 'l-ism bi-hādha 'l-ḥukm ka-'khtiṣāṣ lāta bi-ḥīnⁱⁿ*, "and the particular use of this name for this *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled = vocative with the particle *a*) is the same as the particular use of *lāta* with *ḥīna*."

(c) *Inṣāf*, 184, 23 and 185, 1: one says, *marartu bi-kilā akhawayka*, and *marartu bi-himā kilayhimā*, *wa-kadhālika ḥukm iḍāfat kiltā ila 'l-muẓhar wa-'l-muḍmar*, "so this is the *ḥukm* (task to be fulfilled) of the grammatical annexion (in an *iḍāfa*) of *kil(t)ā* to a noun (*muẓhar*) and a pronoun (*muḍmar*)".

Other examples can easily be found in grammatical literature; thus: al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal*, 129, line 3, 312, foot; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*², § 517, title of § 667; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 187, line 13, 628, l. 3, 1144, ll. 20-1; Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 35, l. 2; Ibn al-Ḥādjib, in *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, i, 297, l. 4.

In determining the meaning of *ḥukm*, we have restricted ourselves to a single author, Ibn al-Anbārī, in a work of unique importance for the method of the Arab grammarians, his *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*. All the examples given refer to arguments of the Baṣrans; but at *Inṣāf*, 92, 18-21, it is the Kūfans who are speaking: "... because we say: that is permitted only because the *ḥurūf* (particles), when they are compound (*rukkibat*), have their *ḥukm* changed, after their being compounded, from what it was before they were compounded; do you not see that in the case of *hal* that which follows after it is not permitted to exercise a governing influence over what comes before it, whereas when it is compounded with *lā* and when the sense of exhortation (*maʿnā al-taḥḍīḍ*) has penetrated into it, this particular *ḥukm* is changed from what it was before the compounding; it is then permitted that what follows after it should exert a governing influence over what comes before it, and that one should say *zaydᵃⁿ hallā ḍarabta*". The first use of *ḥukm* can be compared with that of i (a). The second use of *ḥukm*, which refers to the behaviour of *hal* before the compound is formed, could have the meaning of "task being performed". But as the Kūfans do not accept the doctrine of the *martaba* or this system of Baṣra mentioned above (see G. Weil, *Einleitung*, 30-1), it is natural that they should understand *ḥukm* in a more ordinary sense, as when we translate it by "part to play".

The word in its *martaba* possesses a right, *ḥaḳḳ*, to give due weight to its *ḥukm*, according to whether it accomplishes its task partially or wholly. This is the

ḥaḳḳ al-ḥukm, as Ibn Yaʿīs͟h says (1071, l. 11), "the right of *ḥukm*". The word is thus endowed with a sort of juridical personality. A good example, the case of the *fāʿil* (*Muf.*², § 20), will help us to enter into this highly individual systematization: the *fāʿil* is that on which a verb or word comparable with a verb depends [*usnida ilayhi*] [this is its definition in grammatical logic], which is always placed before it [this is its *martaba*]: *ḍaraba zaydᵘⁿ*; *ḥaḳḳuh al-rafʿ*, "its right and its duty is to be put into the nominative"; and its *rāfiʿ*, the *ʿāmil* occasioning this use of the nominative, is that which depends on it—*al-musnad*, the verb itself. Thus we have, for the *fāʿil*: definition, *martaba*, right, *ʿāmil*. The *ḥukm* is not expressly indicated; according to the explanations of Ibn Yaʿīs͟h for this § 20 (89, lines 15-6), it is the grammatical rôle indicated above: to receive the *isnād* of the verb, in its position in the *martaba*.

The *fāʿil* must come after the verb, this is its fundamental place, its *aṣl*, its *martaba*, *liʾannahū ka'l-d̲j̲uzʾ minhu*, "because it is as it were a part of it" [this is the justification of the *martaba*]. Placed before the verb, the *fāʿil* has left its *martaba*: *zaydᵘⁿ ḍaraba*; its *ḥukm* is attained, and also the possession of its rights. The true *fāʿil* is then its representative: a pronoun, a *ḍamīr*, not expressed, but present in the verb: *fa-tanwī fī ḍaraba fāʿilᵃⁿ wa-huwa ḍamīr yard̲j̲iʿu ilā zaydⁱⁿ* (§ 21). [To understand this, it may help to compare the French turn of phrase "Zayd il a frappé"]. The *rafʿ* is no longer assured to this *fāʿil muḳaddam ʿalā fiʿlihī*, placed before its verb: it may be liable to undergo the *ʿamal*, the governing influence of a *ḥarf* assimilated to a verb, such as *inna*, which will put it in the *naṣb*: *inna zaydᵃⁿ ḍaraba* (see Ibn Yaʿīs͟h, 89, 17).

In other respects, in grammar, the *ḥukm* is an essential element in the system of the *ḳiyās*. Indeed the *ḳiyās* (see its definition in the *Lumaʿ al-adilla* of Ibn al-Anbārī, Damascus 1377/1957, 93) involves a communication of *ḥukm*, from the *aṣl* to the *farʿ*, in accordance with the recognized resemblance between the *farʿ* and the *aṣl*, by virtue of the principle (enunciated, *ibid.*, 109, lines 16-7) that the resemblance necessitates a similarity of *ḥukm*.

On this relationship between resemblance and *ḥukm*, see also the chapter of al-Suyūṭī, *al-As͟hbāh wa'l-naẓāʾir fi 'l-naḥw*², Ḥaydarābād 1359, i, 217-21. On some different behaviours of *ḥukm*, see Ibn D̲j̲innī, *K̲h̲aṣāʾiṣ*, iii, 51-6, 59-67, 157-64, and the chapter of al-Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, 221.

If such is the meaning of *ḥukm* in grammar, why then the choice of such a word for such a meaning? In fact, *ḥukm* is the infinitive of *ḥakama yaḥkumu ḥukmᵃⁿ* "to pronounce a sentence", with *bi-* "on", with *li-* "in favour of", with *ʿalā* "against". In law, *ḥukm* means "judge's decision, his judgement in a disputed question and also in a less litigious matter like the nomination of a guardian". *Ḥukm* in grammar, into which the concepts of law penetrate, must itself also imply the expression of an authoritative decision, a judgement. In the background of *ḥukm* there is indeed the idea of the divine origin of language, which is *waḥy wa-tawḳīf* "closed revelation" (see H. Fleisch, in *Oriens*, 1963) and, more particularly for the Muslim Arab grammarian, the belief in the Arabic language as the organ of expression of the divine Absolute in the Ḳurʾān, *kalām Allāh* (in this connexion, see, in *Mufassal*², § 522, Ibn Yaʿīs͟h, 1123, lines 14 ff., the audacity, *al-d̲j̲urʾa ʿala-'llāh* [*Muf.*], *al-iḳdām ʿalā kalām Allāh* [I.Y.], which was alleged against al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Yūsuf). In this *kalām Allāh*, this utterance of Allāh, the word can accomplish only the task allotted to it by the decision of the *Wāḍiʿ*, its sovereign Founder. *Ḥukm* "judgment" is to be understood in the passive sense, which the infinitive can have—judgement on the word in relation to its activity, the task it has to perform.

The plural of *ḥukm* is *aḥkām*, in the event of a plurality of *ḥukm*, *e.g.*, *Inṣāf*, 64, line 13, 76, line 4; or Ibn His͟hām al-Anṣārī, in the *S͟harḥ* of his *S͟hud̲h̲ūr al-d̲h̲ahab* (Cairo 1371/1951, 416, line 7); but this seldom occurs in the current texts. It is not rare in chapter-headings, *e.g.*, al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Nuḳaṭ* (*Biblioth. Islam.*, iii), 140, 142, 144, 146, 147; Ibn D̲j̲innī, *K̲h̲aṣāʾiṣ*, ii, Cairo 1374/1955, 108; al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, *al-D̲j̲umal*, 277, *aḥkām al-hamza fi 'l-k̲h̲aṭṭ* (cf. al-Dānī, *Muḳniʿ* (*Biblioth. Islam.*, iii), 63). The meaning can be expanded and so translated by "behaviour, situation, conditions", while in the previous example it would be "situation of the *hamza* in writing".

Bibliography: G. Weil, Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, *Die Grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer*, Leiden 1913, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-k̲h̲ilāf bayna 'l-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn wa'l-kūfiyyīn*, *Einleitung*, pp. 1-93, particularly 15; idem, *Zum Verständnis der Methode der moslemischen Grammatiker*, in *Festschrift Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 380-92; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, 1-18. In addition, the authors cited in the text. (H. Fleisch)

On the political and administrative use of *ḥukm*, see AḤKĀM, DIPLOMATIC, FARMĀN.

ḤUḲŪḲ, pl. of ḤAḲḲ [*q.v.*], legal rights or claims, and corresponding obligations, in the religious law of Islam. One distinguishes the *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*, the rights or claims of Allāh, *e.g.*, the *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] punishments, and the *ḥuḳūḳ al-ādamiyyīn*, private, and essentially civil, rights or claims. Used of things, *ḥuḳūḳ* signifies the accessories necessarily belonging to them, such as the privy and the kitchen of a house, and servitudes in general; this term is of common occurrence in the legal formularies (*s͟hurūṭ* [*q.v.*]). In contemporary terminology, *ḥuḳūḳ* means merely "law" in the modern meaning of the term, and *Kulliyyat al-Ḥuḳūḳ* is "Faculty of Law".—In the terminology of the Ṣūfīs, *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs* denotes the essential requirements for the existence of the soul, as opposed to any additional elements which are called *ḥuẓūẓ*.

Bibliography: Mīk̲h̲āʾīl ʿĪd al-Bustānī, *Mard̲j̲iʿ al-ṭullāb*, Beirut 1914, 39-41; J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, index, s.vv. *ḥaḳḳ ādamī* and *ḥaḳḳ Allāh*; Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms*, s.v. *ḥuḳūḳ al-nafs*. (Ed.)

ḤUKŪMA, in modern Arabic "government". Like many political neologisms in Islamic languages, the word seems to have been first used in its modern sense in 19th century Turkey, and to have passed from Turkish into Arabic and other languages. *Ḥukūma* comes from the Arabic root *ḥ.k.m*, with the meaning "to judge, adjudicate" (cf. the related meaning, dominant in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, of wisdom. See ḤIKMA). In classical usage the verbal noun *ḥukūma* means the act or office of adjudication, of dispensing justice, whether by a sovereign, a judge, or an arbitrator, as for example in some enumerations of the hereditary functions of Ḳurays͟h in Mecca (the Jerusalem concordance lists occurrences in *TA*, ix, 68, l. 9; *LA*, xiv, 95, l. 17, xv, 31, l. 24, 177, ll. 11 and 16, 304, l. 25; xvi, 41, l. 13; *Ag̲h̲ānī*³, xi, 63, ll. 4-5, 165, l. 7; xiii, 134, l.1; references communicated by Dr. M. J. Kister. The last example is particularly clear: *fa-ʾinnaka ḳāḍⁱⁿ bi'l-ḥukūmati ʿālim*. Other examples in Ibn Ḳutayba,

ʿUyūn al-akhbār, Cairo ed., i, 67, l. 11; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, § 20. Cf. the oft-cited dictum, attributed to the Prophet, that "an hour of justice in judgment [*not* government] is better than sixty years of worship"; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, i, Cairo 1953, 5).

In time, the root *ḥ.k.m* came to be used more and more frequently in the sense of political, as well as judicial, authority. Under the Seldjūks and after, the term *ḥukūma* (Pers. and Turkish *ḥukūmat*, *ḥukūmet*) denotes the office or function of governorship, usually provincial or local. In Ottoman times, in addition to the judicial sense, it is normally used to indicate the seizure, tenure or term of office (*müddet-i ḥukūmet*) of a governor. A special use occurs in the Kurdish lands, where we find a number of regions called *ḥukūmet* listed among the components of certain Ottoman *eyālets*. These are hereditary sanjaks, under Kurdish chiefs, with a large measure of political and financial autonomy (ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1280, 29-30; Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 245, 263-4, 277; Gibb and Bowen, i/1, 163, 203). By the end of the 12th/18th century the word seems to have acquired the more general sense of rule, the exercise of authority. Thus, in the letter of Menou to the *Dīwān* in Cairo, dated 15 Shaʿbān 1215/11 January 1801, he is described as the commander of the armies of the French republic (*dawlat djumhūr*) in the East, and the representative of its authority (*muẓāhir ḥukūmatihā*) in Egypt (Djabarti, *Muẓhir al-taḳdīs*, Cairo n.d., ii, 91). In the Turkish translation of Botta's *Storia d'Italia* (*Bonapart taʾrīkhi*, Cairo 1249/1834, repr. Istanbul 1293/1876, 4, 6, 10, 13, 16, 17, 33, etc.) *ḥukūmet* is commonly used in the senses of rule, political authority, dominion, and occasionally régime; it has the same meaning in the Arabic translation of the first part of William Robertson's *History of the reign of Charles V* (*Itḥāf al-mulūk* ..., Būlāḳ 1258/1842; cf. Shayyāl, *Taʾrīkh al-tardjama*..., Cairo 1951, 221). This usage appears to have been new in Arabic. The unpublished Arabic translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* made in 1824-5, as cited by Shayyāl (*ibid.*, 216), still uses the words *siyāda* and *amīriyya*; and even Shaykh Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī, in his translation of the French constitutional charter, still renders 'gouvernement' by *tadbīr al-mamlaka* (*Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz*, [1st ed. 1250/1834], ed. Mahdī ʿAllām *et al.*, Cairo n.d. [? 1958], 142).

In the early 19th century the word acquired a new meaning, derived from Europe—government, in the sense of the group of men exercising the authority of the state. Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat, in his political writings, still frequently uses the word *ḥukūmet* in the sense of type of government, régime. In an essay written *ca.* 1837, he goes a step further, and speaks of *düwel-i Avrupa ḥukūmetleri*—the governments of the states of Europe (*Avrupaniñ aḥwāline dāʾir risāle*, 5, in *Müntekhabāt-i āthār-i Rifʿat Pasha*, Istanbul n.d.). Thereafter both Turkish and Arabic, following European practice, maintain this distinction between the state (*devlet*, *dawla*) and the government (*ḥukūmet*, *ḥukūma*), and at the same time continue to use the word *ḥukūma* in the general, abstract sense of government, régime (see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*[2], i, Istanbul 1309, 17-20; Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, *al-Kilam al-thamān*, Cairo 1298, 30-5). Persian, however, has not adopted this distinction, and still uses *dawlat* for both the state and the government, while *ḥukūmat* has the more general sense of political authority. (B. Lewis)

Government in the Islamic states before the 19th century is examined in the articles on KHILĀFA, SULṬĀN, WAZĪR, etc. The articles that follow here are concerned with the introduction and development of the modern apparatus of government in the 19th and 20th centuries. See further DJAMʿIYYA, DJUMHŪRIYYA, DUSTŪR, ḤIZB, etc.

i.—Ottoman Empire

The introduction of the modern European type of governmental apparatus in the Ottoman Empire began in the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*], 1808-39. He came to the throne at a particularly critical period of Ottoman history, when the authority of the central government was almost non-existent. The *aʿyān* and *derebeys* [*qq.v.*] were supreme in the peripheral provinces of the Empire, while the Janissaries continued to terrorize the capital. Maḥmūd's first task, therefore, was to restore the authority of the centre, and in this he was largely successful during the first half of his reign. The Janissaries, who had become the main stumbling block to military reform—and all other reform was incidental to this, were suppressed in 1826, when they rebelled against the measure to establish a new style army. Their destruction marked the end of the purely military phase in Turkish modernization, and Maḥmūd was now able to proceed with the reform of institutions.

The Serʿasker replaced the Agha of the Janissaries [see BĀB-I SERʿASKERĪ]. He performed the functions of a commander in chief and Minister of War; by the end of the 19th century the Serʿasker was occasionally a civilian appointment (see Shaykh al-Islām Djemāl al-Dīn, *Khāṭirāt-i siyāsiyye*, Cairo 1917, 10-12). But it was only after the revolution of 1908 that the Serʿaskerate was transformed into the War Ministry. The religious institution was also bureaucratized and brought firmly under the Sultan's control. This was marked by the creation of an official office for the Shaykh al-Islām known as the *Bāb-i Mashikhat* [*q.v.*] or *Fetwākhāne*. Maḥmūd ended the financial independence of the religious institution by setting up an inspectorate of the *waḳf*s, which later became a ministry. The Shaykh al-Islām was now no more than a civil servant with advisory and consultative functions. After the introduction of the cabinet system, he became a member of the cabinet, though he enjoyed the privilege of being appointed directly by the Sultan and not by the Grand Vizier.

In 1835 Maḥmūd turned his attention to the Sublime Porte [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ], for the past two centuries the very heart of Ottoman government. The old office of the *Kāhya* first became the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*Mülkiyye*) and later the Ministry of the Interior (*Dākhiliyye Neẓāreti*), while the office of *Reʾis al-Küttāb* became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiyye Neẓāreti*). Two years later (1837) the *Defterdārlïḳ* was transformed into the Ministry of Finance. These ministers assumed many of the prerogatives traditionally belonging to the Grand Vizier, and the abolition of that title was, therefore, no more than the reflection of his declining position. On 30 March 1838 the Grand Vizier (*Ṣadr-i aʿẓam*) was given the modern title of Prime Minister (*Bashwekil*) and in the Council of Ministers he became *primus inter pares*. But the new title was dropped in the following year; despite brief reappearances in the period 1878-82, it came into permanent use only after the fall of the Empire, when at times it took the form of *Başbakan*.

Maḥmūd's reforms and innovations in government

were not intended as an exercise in western governmental practice. Their prime aim was to centralize and consolidate in the person of the Sultan the power released by the break-up of the traditional order. As the central government grew stronger and more confident it increased its area of activity. The Ministry of Public Works was set up in 1839. With the steady secularization of government following the Imperial Rescripts of 1839 and 1856 [see TANẒĪMĀT] and the promulgation of the constitution of 1876 the government extended its control over areas which had been part of the religious domain. A Ministry of Education was set up in 1857 and a Ministry of Justice in 1879. Police duties had already been taken away from the *Serʿasker* in 1845, and in 1870 the Ministry of Police was established [see ḌABṬIYYA]. The Serʿaskerate was renamed Ministry of War in 1879, but this was soon dropped in the interest of tradition and was only re-adopted by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd on 22 July 1908 as a concession to the constitutionalists. The nucleus of a European type of governmental structure was formed by the creation of these departments. There were later additions, such as the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture [see FILĀḤA, iv, 908b], the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs [see POSTA], the Ministry of Marine [see BAḤRIYYA, iii, 948b], and in 1918 the Ministry of Food.

But the introduction of ministers and ministries with European titles did not at once lead to the practice of Western government with ministerial responsibility. Just as these modern institutions had emerged as a result of growing centralization and the increased power of the Sultan, so ministerial responsibility was to be the outcome of the Sultan's declining position and the emergence of a new bureaucratic élite, itself the child of centralization and determined to have a share in the government.

Consultation (*meshweret* [see MASHWARA]) has always been regarded as a fundamental principle of Islamic government. Its rôle in the Ottoman State, however, always depended on the relative strength of the Sultan and his ministers. Thus, under Maḥmūd, the Privy Council (*Medjlis-i Khāṣṣ*) represented little more than the Sultan's will; he appointed and dismissed its ministers. But the gradual modernization of the government and the growing complexity of the administration led to the formation of specialist bodies such as the Council of Justice, the Council of Reform and the Council of Military Affairs. All this increased the importance and independence of ministers and their committees, and in time, such ministers as Fuʾād Pasha [*q.v.*] and ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v.*] were even able to challenge the authority of the Sultan.

It was the Constitution of 1876 which first gave legal recognition to a Council of Ministers presided over by the Grand Vizier and dealing with "all important matters of State, both internal and external" (article 28). Now for the first time there was a cabinet but no cabinet responsibility. The Sultan continued to appoint the Grand Vizier and the Shaykh al-Islām and to nominate the other ministers by Imperial *irāde* (article 27). All ministers were individually responsible to him (article 30). The principle of cabinet government had been firmly established; the support to make it a practical reality was still missing. Parliament was inexperienced and divided and the Sultan retained full control. He promulgated the Constitution in 1876. In 1877 he revealed his complete authority by proroguing parliament and putting the Constitution in abeyance for the next thirty years.

After the revolution of July 1908 the Imperial Charter (*Khaṭṭ-ı Hümāyūn*) of 1 August was an important landmark in the evolution of the cabinet system of Turkey. Article 10 of this Charter conceded to the Grand Vizier the right to appoint all ministers other than the Ministers of War and Marine, who, like the Grand Vizier and the Shaykh al-Islām, were to be appointed by the Sultan. The Young Turks, not satisfied with this concession, forced the Sultan to surrender his prerogatives of appointing ministers other than the Grand Vizier and the Shaykh al-Islām. The constitutional amendments of 1909 made the Grand Vizier responsible for forming the cabinet (article 27; amendments to the 1876 Constitution are given in A.S. Gözübüyük and Suna Kili, *Türk Anayasa metinleri*, Ankara 1957, 70-3; see also DUSTŪR). For the first time the principle of collective responsibility of the ministers for the overall policy of the government was stated (article 30). The Sultan became a figure-head and power passed into the hands of the ministers and parliament. Right through the decade (1908-18) the Young Turks struggled to define the legal relationship between the Cabinet, the Sultan and Parliament.

Perhaps the most important effect of the introduction of a modern governmental structure was the creation of a new civil service and the growth of a bureaucratic class. It was easy to establish a European type ministry; the real problem was manning it with officials having a modern outlook. And wherever a traditional institution was replaced by a modern one there arose the need for men with a modern education. Maḥmūd had opened the Translation Bureau (*Terdjüme Odasi* [*q.v.*]), where Turks learned the languages of Europe and replaced the traditional Greek dragomans. In the same way, trained revenue collectors had to be found to replace the old taxfarmer (*mültezim*) and provincial administrators to rule in place of the *aʿyān* and *derebeys*. A civil service school (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) was set up to provide men for the new ministries, but the problem of recruitment remained acute into the present century.

By the 1850s the civil service had become stratified. Recruitment was by patronage and apprenticeship, making the bureaucracy a closed shop. In many ways it soon became traditional in outlook, so much so that the present-day bureaucracy of Turkey seems to have inherited some of this traditionalism. But in the latter half of the 19th century, right up to the fall of the Empire, the new-style bureaucrat had replaced the soldier as the spearhead of modernization in the Ottoman Empire.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh-i Dewlet-i ʿOthmāniyye*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1309, and idem, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1340. The first is a general survey of the period, while the second work is a series of essays on personalities and events in the 19th and early 20th centuries. See also Aḥmed Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Luṭfī*, 8 vols., Istanbul 1290-1328 (not seen); Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿāt*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1294-1327; and Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavid Baysun (Ankara 1953-); idem, *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TOEM*, 78-93. The best modern historical survey for the period 1826-1907 is Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, v-viii, Ankara 1947-62; in this work both Turkish and western sources have been extensively used. The volume *Tanzimat*, consisting of a collection of essays published in 1940 to commemorate the

100th anniversary of the first reform edict, is particularly valuable; E. Engelhart, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, 2 vols., Paris 1882-4, is a fundamental work. For the constitutional developments during this period see B. Lewis, article DUSTŪR, ii (slightly revised version in *Dustur*, Leiden 1966, 6-24) which gives an excellent comprehensive bibliography. Apart from articles mentioned in the text, see also BAŞVEKIL and DAFTARDĀR; articles *Bala* and *Defterdar* in *IA*; and *Bab-i Ali*, *Başvekil* and *Defterdar* in (*Inönü*) *Türk Ansiklopedisi*; all of them give additional bibliography. For the period after the 1908 revolution see Feroz Ahmad, *The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics 1908-13* (unpublished thesis, London 1966). Finally there are studies, both general and detailed, such as B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-76*, Princeton 1963; and N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964.

(F. AHMAD)

ii.—PERSIA

The administration of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty, which came to power in 1779 and the last ruler of which was deposed in 1925, followed, until the constitutional revolution of 1905-6, the general pattern of medieval Persian administration, although certain changes, mainly of form, were introduced during the second half of the nineteenth century. The chief minister was known as the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* and in the early period held the title Iʿtimād al-Dawla (as had the chief minister in Ṣafawid times). The chief financial official was the *mustawfī al-mamālik* and the head of the chancery the *mun̲s̲h̲ī al-mamālik*. The number of ministers from the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1797-1834) tended to increase. The shah was absolute, and elevated and degraded his ministers at will. A council of state composed of ministers, leading members of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe and others was occasionally summoned to discuss matters of importance and to submit its views to the shah. Its functions were purely advisory. It did not meet regularly and its composition was of an *ad hoc* nature. It was summoned, for example, when Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1834-48) contemplated marching in person against Herāt in 1836, and advised against this (*Correspondence relating to Persia and Affghanistan*, London 1839, No. 25, Mr. Ellis to Viscount Palmerston, Tabreez, June 2, 1836). In 1859 Nāṣir al-Dīn set up a council called the *maṣlaḥat k̲h̲āna* under the chairmanship of ʿĪsā K̲h̲ān Iʿtimād al-Dawla, a leading member of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe. Its membership included ministers, *mustawfī*s, various other officials and members of the religious class. It was apparently intended that similar councils should be set up in the provinces but the project appears to have been abortive (Mustawfī, *S̲h̲arḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehrān 1945, i, 126; *Rūznāma-i waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, No. 452, 21 Rabīʿ II 1276).

The two great obstacles to reform were the fear of successive shahs lest their power be curtailed and the tendency on the part of ministers, induced by centuries of irresponsible and arbitrary government, to accept the *status quo*. The shah interfered in the smallest details of the administration. If the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* succeeded (as some of them did) in obtaining some measure of power, this, like the power of the shah, was arbitrary and despotic, and in measure as it increased aroused the suspicion of the shah and the opposition of officials and others, and tended, moreover, to become increasingly venal. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, from the first exercised great influence over his master and eventually completely dominated him. He held besides the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, the ministries of foreign affairs, finance, and the interior, command of the artillery, charge of the foundry and arsenal, and the office of *nāʾib al-tawliyya* of the shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mas̲h̲had. By the end of the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh his administration had become highly unpopular and he fell on the death of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh. Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, who succeeded Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, was young and inexperienced and Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān Amīr Niẓām, his first *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, concentrated great power in his own hands. He had seen, when Persian commissioner on the Turco-Persian frontier commission, the introduction of the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman Empire and had earlier visited Russia with the mission of K̲h̲usraw Mīrzā, which was sent to that country after the murder of the Russian envoy Griboyedov. When he became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* confusion prevailed in almost every branch of the administration and he made vigorous efforts to abolish certain abuses, notably in the financial administration. He is generally regarded in Persia as the initiator of a movement of administrative reform, but he made no pretence of setting up any consultative machinery or of government by cabinet. The relative success of his efforts gave rise to opposition and intrigue, to which the shah eventually lent his support, and he was dismissed and murdered in 1851. The efforts and energies of his successor, Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī, were also largely occupied in defeating the machinations of numerous rivals and in a contest with the shah for the sole exercise of power. In 1854 he threatened to resign because, unknown to him, the shah had entered into communication with the Russian mission on public affairs. On his urgent remonstrances the shah sent him an autograph stating that he would follow in future the policy of his minister. As time went on the administration of Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān became increasingly arbitrary and venal. He survived various intrigues to overthrow him but eventually fell in 1858.

By this time a belief, not yet clearly formulated, was beginning to spread that Persia's backwardness and weakness vis-à-vis Russia and Britain was perhaps due to her system of government. Nāṣir al-Dīn accordingly decided to abolish the post of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* and to appoint six ministers (interior, foreign affairs, war, finance, justice, and *awḳāf*) to carry on the government of the country. The announcement of this decision in the official gazette on 16 September 1858 stated that the various functions hitherto discharged by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* would be carried out by a cabinet or council of ministers, each of whom would be directly responsible to the shah. A number of other ministries, including court, education, and commerce, were subsequently added. Under the new system the ministers still had no responsibility, collective or individual. Often public business was transacted by the shah over their heads; and already in 1858 Amīn al-Dawla, the minister of the interior, felt constrained to protest to the shah on this account.

Meanwhile Mīrzā Malkam K̲h̲ān Nāẓim al-Dawla, who in 1872 became Persian minister in London and after his dismissal in 1889 published in London the Persian newspaper *Ḳānūn*, had begun to write a series of political essays in which he advocated reform.

In an essay entitled *Kitābča-i g̲h̲aybī yā daftar-i tanẓīmāt*, written between 1858 and 1860, he urged the separation of the legislative from the executive power. He pointed out that the institution of a council of ministers after the fall of Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Nūrī had, in fact, made little difference because of the failure to separate these two powers. He proposed that a council of eight ministers, presided over by the shah, should be set up. This would propose legislation to an assembly to be called the *mad̲j̲lis-i tanẓīmāt*. He also proposed that a civil service law and regulations for the organization of the various ministries should be drawn up (*Mad̲j̲mūʿa-i āt̲h̲ār-i Malkam K̲h̲ān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Tehrān 1948-9). Malkam K̲h̲ān sent this essay to Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla, who became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1871. In another essay, *Daftar-i ḳānūn*, Malkam K̲h̲ān stated that the fundamental mistake of the Persian system of government was the failure to separate the legislative power from the executive. In *Tanẓīm-i las̲h̲kar wa mad̲j̲lis-i idāra yā intiẓām-i las̲h̲kar wa mad̲j̲lis-i tanẓīmāt* he stated that the greatest achievement of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs was the establishment of different ministries, but that this was not enough: a *mad̲j̲lis-i tanẓīmāt* was also needed, and in *Nidā-yi ʿadālat* he urged the need for the collective responsibility of ministers (*ibid.*).

In 1871 a council of state (*dār al-s̲h̲awrā-yi kubrā*) composed of sixteen members was set up on the orders of Nāṣir al-Dīn to carry on the affairs of government (Mustawfī, i, 152). On 12 December 1871 Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla, who had been appointed minister of war with the title *sipahsālār-i aʿẓam* on 27 September 1871, became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, the office being filled once more after some thirteen years. He began a thorough-going reform of the administration. On 23 November 1872 an imperial decree was issued reorganizing the council of state, which was now called the *darbār-i aʿẓam* (though it subsequently reverted to its earlier title), and dividing the affairs of the kingdom into nine ministries (interior, foreign affairs, war, finance, justice, education, public works, commerce and agriculture, and court) under the presidency of the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, who was to be the leader of the government (*s̲h̲ak̲h̲ṣ-i awwal-i dawlat*) and the president of the council of state (*raʾīs-i darbār-i aʿẓam*). The appointment and dismissal of ministers was to be by the order of the shah on the recommendation of the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. There was also to be a council of ministers (*mad̲j̲lis-i wuzarā*) which the decree stated was "called a cabinet by Europeans"; it was to be presided over by the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Each minister was to be in full control (*kāmil*^{an} *musallaṭ*) over his ministry and not to interfere in the affairs of other ministries. The ministers were to meet regularly to consult on all matters of concern to the government and were to be collectively responsible for the affairs of government. They were to report to the shah through the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, who was responsible to the shah (Mustawfī, i, 163 ff.). The council of ministers was opened on 3 December 1872.

Neither the council of state nor the council of ministers had in fact much in common with the cabinet of Western European constitutions. The council of state, perhaps, most closely resembled the Imperial Council of Russia, upon which it was probably modelled. It was a purely consultative body convened sometimes to advise the shah beforehand or, more commonly, to discuss the fulfilment of his orders when already delivered. The shah continued to be the sole executive.

Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān was dismissed in 1873. His reforms proved largely abortive. In 1888-90 the council of state numbered thirty members, but in the later years of Nāṣir al-Dīn and under Muẓaffar al-Dīn (1896-1907) it seldom met. The number of ministers with and without portfolios varied. In 1900 there were ministers of foreign affairs, war, finance, the court (*darbār*), justice, commerce, education, telegraphs, posts, agriculture, crown lands, public works, *awḳāf* and pensions, publications, crown buildings, the shah's cabinet (*wazīr-i k̲h̲alwat*), mines and industry, the mint, army accounts and the arsenal, the last two being subordinate to the minister of war. The *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* held the ministries of the interior, treasury and customs. Some of the ministries existed only in name and some of the ministers were rarely consulted.

Among those who campaigned for governmental reform in the early years of the nineteenth century little attention appears to have been paid to the powers and functions of the government. At a meeting of the *and̲j̲uman-i mak̲h̲fī* on 9 March 1905 a demand for the codification of the law was formulated; and in the code envisaged the duties of ministers were to be laid down, and limits set to the powers of governors (Nāẓim al-Islām, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Bīdārī-i Īrāniān*, Tehrān n.d., 182-3). It was not until the constitution was granted by Muẓaffar al-Dīn on 30 December 1906 that a fundamental change was brought about in the position of the council of ministers, who, although not members of the National Consultative Assembly, were made responsible to it and given the right to be present at its sessions and to speak (Fundamental Laws, arts. 29, 31, 40 and 42). The Supplementary Fundamental Laws of 7 October 1907 further laid down that no one could attain to the rank of minister unless he was a Muslim by religion, a Persian by birth and a Persian subject (Art. 58), and excluded from the office of minister princes of the first degree, *i.e.*, the sons, brothers or uncles of the reigning shah (Art. 59). The ministers were made individually responsible for the affairs pertaining to their own ministry and collectively responsible for one another's actions and affairs of a more general nature to the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate (Arts. 60, 61 and 65). Article 67 laid down that if the National Consultative Assembly or the Senate by an absolute majority declared itself dissatisfied with the Cabinet or with one particular minister, the cabinet or minister should resign their or his ministerial functions, and that ministers could not divest themselves of their responsibility by pleading verbal or written orders from the shah (Art. 64). The constitution thus marked the beginning of a new period in the government of Persia in which the ministers were no longer simply the servants of the shah, but were individually and collectively responsible to an elected assembly.

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iii.—Egypt and the Fertile Crescent

In Egypt, and in the countries of the Fertile Crescent (modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq), the expansion of the administrative system, of the scope and function of government (*i.e.*, generally of the temporal power of the state), occurred under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans. In fact, long before the disintegration of the Islamic Empire and the sack of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258, the political and military fragmentation of the realm had been a reality. Thus the caliph, the *imām* of the community, had not only been shorn of all temporal power, but his spiritual authority had been greatly compromised and, in fact, curtailed. Provincial governors in Egypt and Syria, for instance, had established their own autonomous governments and often founded independent dynasties. Government in Muslim lands became a plain monarchy, in which the will of the strong ruler was supreme. Government was more often than not tyrannical and harsh. Satraps who could legitimize their power by sheer might abounded everywhere. In the Fertile Crescent, traditional sectarian, ethnic and tribal differences and conflicts came to constitute once more the real substrata of politics and government.

The rise of a modern secular government and administration in Egypt is associated with the reign of Muḥammad ʿAli [*q.v.*] "the Great" (1805-49). He founded an autonomous modern state ruled by himself and his heirs after him. In addition to creating a strong, modern army modelled on European lines, Muḥammad ʿAlī established a powerful central administration that closely supervised and controlled all the affairs of state. From Europe he borrowed and applied two major—and for Egypt, novel—notions of government: rational-secular administrative techniques, and wide governmental functions and regulatory powers. The latter extended over every aspect of public endeavour: agriculture, commerce and trade, industry, and education. Only matters of personal status were left to the jurisdiction of the *Sharʿī* law and courts. Yet even this area of life was, under Muḥammad ʿAlī's policy of centralization, subjected to closer governmental control. Thus, there was the deliberate further bureaucratization of the *ʿulamā*ʾ, the gradual administration reform of al-Azhar and its institutions, and the eventual fiscal control imposed by the government over *waḳf*s and other properties of religious institutions.

Very early in his reign, Muḥammad ʿAlī formed a governmental council, *al-Dīwān al-ʿĀlī*, to assist him in all the affairs of government and administration. The Council was headed by his deputy, the Katkhudā Bey, who had extensive powers in all governmental matters. This Council may be considered the forerunner of the modern Council of Ministers; for, until 1878, it was known as the Khedivial Diwan, or Council of Assistance (*Dīwān al-Muʿāwana*). Simultaneously, Muḥammad ʿAlī organized separate councils for each branch of government, *e.g.*, War (*Djihādiyya*), Navy (*Baḥriyya*), Commerce, Education, Public Works, and Foreign Affairs. These served as executive agencies, or departments, of the government's Council of State. The expansion of governmental functions led in 1834 to the creation of a new Higher Council of State consisting of the heads of the separate departmental councils. The ruler included in its membership *ʿulamā*ʾ leading merchants, and notables from the provinces. A Consultation Council (*Madjlis al-Mashwara*) founded earlier in 1829 had no more than advisory functions and was intended by the ruler simply to associate with his régime a wider number of local, tribal and other native leaders of the country.

Most significant for the establishment of orderly government and systematic administration in the country (in addition to the ruler's successful imposition of public order) was the Organic Law of 1837, known as *Ḳānūn al-Siyāsatnāma*. This was actually a government reorganization measure, which defined the system of government and the area of responsibility as well as the functions of each department. It reorganized the government in seven councils, *i.e.*, departments, or incipient ministries. The original Higher Council of the State (which later became the Khedivial Diwan) possessed, in addition to its responsibility for general internal policy, judicial powers in certain criminal cases involving the maintenance of public order and security in Cairo, as well as responsibility for the administration of state buildings, hospitals, *waḳfs*, and other institutions. A department of revenue supervised all revenue from the provinces in Egypt, from Crete, the Sudan and other foreign territories. It was also responsible for customs revenues and had the authority to appoint provincial and other inspectors. In addition to the War and Navy departments, the Diwan of Schools supervised and controlled the new state school system, the state printing press at Būlāḳ, and related activities. A Department for "Frankish" Affairs was an embryonic ministry of foreign relations and commerce. Finally, a Department of Factories looked after state industrial enterprises.

Along with this sweeping reorganization, Muḥammad ʿAlī formed a Special (private) Council (*Dīwān Khāṣṣ*) to deal with general matters of policy, to initiate legislation, and to issue directives to all government departments. A special council in the department of finance and revenue dealt with fiscal policy matters.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's government reorganization and reform constituted the introduction of the first modern administration in the country. All departments of government and all councils had strictly executive functions and were responsible to him. Furthermore, he reorganized the administrative division of the country into seven provinces and five governorates, for which he appointed the first provincial and district governors as public officials of the central government. He also organized a modern police force headed by a governor, or commissioner, who had under his command officers stationed in the various parts of the country.

Even the judiciary was affected by Muḥammad ʿAlī's new system. Although this branch of government continued to be largely the function and responsibility of the religious institutions, Muḥammad ʿAlī had, by the 1830s, granted judicial powers to his Council of State. In 1842, he introduced a novel institution, *al-Djamʿiyya al-Ḥaḳḳāniyya*, a precursor of an Administrative Council of State, and empowered it to try higher government officials, and to deal with administrative offences referred to it by the various departments of government. He also founded a Commercial Court (*Madjlis al-Tidjāra*) to adjudicate commercial disputes among natives and between natives and foreigners. With this, the tentacles of modern, secular governmental power began to encroach further upon an area of state authority until then reserved for the *Sharīʿa*.

Another area where traditional authority was eroded was education. State secular schools, new colleges, trade and technical schools, and educational missions to Europe produced a new group of native Egyptian administrators and technicians in the employment of the state, who were to influence further the development of secular administration and modern government in Egypt.

The second major stage in the evolution of modern government in Egypt was under the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (1863-79). During this period there was a large influx of Europeans into the country. Ismāʿīl's development programme in all fields was too ambitious and rapid for the resources of the country. This was to lead to his indebtedness to European creditors, to his eventual bankruptcy, to the imposition of European financial and political control over the Egyptian government, and ultimately to the British occupation in 1882. All these factors, however, prompted further changes in the administrative system. The most significant of these was the establishment of a Council of Supervisors (*i.e.*, ministers), *Madjlis al-Nuẓẓār*, in August 1878, responsible for the administration of the country. What this meant was that an absolute ruler like Ismāʿīl was obliged, under pressure, to introduce a modified version of the European system of cabinet government. Members of this Council, or cabinet, were responsible for the policy and administration of their respective departments. They were also given control over all public officials, or civil servants, in these departments. The Council had a president, or chief minister, who was now responsible for the selection of the other ministers.

Until that time the Special Council had assisted the ruler of Egypt with the administration of the country. Its members as well as the heads of the various government departments were employees of the ruler without any responsibility of their own. With the new Council, the *dīwān*s, or departments (*e.g.*, Interior, Justice, War, Navy, etc.), became in effect ministries, and the Council superseded the old "Special Council" as the legal body recognized as the government of Egypt.

Ismāʿīl reorganized the administrative division of Egypt into 13 provinces and 8 governorates, a division which persists almost unaltered today.

The most far-reaching changes occurred in the fields of legislation and the judiciary. While matters of personal status remained within the jurisdiction of the *Sharʿī* and ecclesiastical courts, the encroachment of man-made law in all other areas became pervasive. Commercial, civil, criminal and penal codes modelled on European ones were prepared and promulgated. By the 1880s they became the basis of a national judiciary. Under Ismāʿīl a number of magistrate's courts and courts of first instance were organized throughout the country. The work for the creation of National Courts begun under Ismāʿīl was completed under Tawfīḳ Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1883. The Mixed Tribunals to deal with litigation between nationals and foreigners were founded in 1876. The new Ministry of Justice was responsible for the new National Courts and for all other grades of the judiciary in the country.

With the institution of Dual Control over Egypt's finances in 1876, direct European influence reached the Egyptian government and administration. Budgetary control, fiscal solvency and administrative efficiency became the most important areas of governmental reform for the next thirty years, and especially during the British occupation. A system of European—later British—advisers to key ministries, directors of public utilities, works and communications, and inspectors became an essential prop of Egyptian administration, particularly under Cromer.

From independence in 1923 to the overthrow of the *ancien régime* in July 1952, the administrative machinery in Egypt was substantially that first developed by Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ismāʿīl, and reformed under British tutelage. The rapid growth of population and the rise of a small native industry, and with it a small labour force, called for the further extension of governmental functions and regulatory powers. Most significant was the formation in 1939-40 of a Ministry of Social Affairs and within it a department of the Fellāḥ. This Ministry soon came to deal with matters of labour, social security and welfare, presumably on a national scale. The general working force increased during the Second World War so that a Ministry of Labour became inevitable. The War also produced a Ministry of Supply.

Perhaps because until recently Egypt's economy remained basically agricultural, and dependent on the proper distribution and utilization of the Nile waters, one of the most crucial functions of government has been since Muḥammad ʿAlī that performed by the Ministry of Public Works and Irrigation.

The political situation after the War was such as to create a wide gulf between the ruling classes of politicians, whatever their political persuasion, and the masses. The hardships of the War and subsequent unemployment raised new problems that called for administrative action. After the War the idea quickly spread that the major function of state and government is to provide social services and welfare on a grand scale. Moreover, state and government came to be viewed by the people as agencies for change and development. Meanwhile Egyptian governments were preoccupied with domestic squabbles involving the political parties and the king, as well as with the evacuation of the British forces from the Suez Canal area. In this interlude (1946-52), the police and security forces—one of the agencies of government most effectively organized and developed over the previous fifty years with British help—sustained the administration. Harassed by opposition, sometimes violent, from such groups as the *Ikhwān al-muslimīn* [*q.v.*], governments were using their security agencies and the various departments of the police to their maximum capacity.

When the parliamentary system collapsed and the monarchy was overthrown by the "Free Officers" in July 1952 and the following months, the latter simply took over the existing government services and placed them under military supervision. After the abolition of the monarchy in June 1953, a republic was proclaimed and by 1956 a presidential form of government was established. This has been characterized ever since by a strong and highly centralized executive power. With its emphasis upon and concern with economic development, social justice, and welfare policies, the new régime made radical changes in the administration in that its functions were greatly expanded. A number of new ministries emerged, as it were automatically, from the régime's commitment to national planning of the economy, rapid industrialization, and mass political mobilization (a small Ministry of Industry had existed before 1952; a Ministry of National Guidance and Culture, for instance, was an innovation).

The extensive nationalization of economic and commercial enterprises in 1961, which inaugurated a socialist policy, further transformed the functions

of government to embrace practically every field of national and private endeavour. Pursuance of a policy of agrarian reform, land reclamation, and the redistribution of land to peasants (with the resultant organization of farmers' and consumers' cooperatives) further expanded the activities of the government in these fields.

Although the state has been committed to free and compulsory education for all Egyptians since 1950-1, governmental activity in this area has recently increased greatly, especially at the higher levels of technical and university training.

The nationalization of the press in 1960 and the take-over of publishing houses by the government has rendered such organizations and occupations too agencies of the state and its administration. The governmental, or public, corporation has also appeared in Egypt under the present régime, of which the most prominent example has been the Suez Canal Authority. The Aswan Dam project, begun in 1960, has been so colossal as to require its own special ministry.

At present (1966) the cabinet in Egypt is strictly an administrative executive. The President, together with one or more vice-presidents whom he may choose to appoint, makes national governmental policy. Under the March 1964 Provisional Constitution, the cabinet is a presidential cabinet, that is, with no strictly independent juridical status. Cabinet ministers administer the affairs of government by guiding and coordinating the work of their respective ministries and by drafting legislation for the President's consideration. But the President in consultation with his government (the vice-presidents and cabinet ministers) draws up the general policy of the State. He issues all security regulations and orders, and supervises their implementation.

Since 1962, a mass political organization has been formed by the state to encourage the participation of the people in national programmes. The Arab Socialist Union is reported in 1966 to have 6 million members. It is organized on the local, the provincial and the national levels. The President is Chairman of its Supreme Executive Committee, whose members he appoints. On the other hand, local government arrangements still follow essentially the system that has evolved from the past. Local government officers are by and large public officials subject to the Ministry of the Interior.

The organization of the judiciary still follows the old pattern of a Court of Cassation, under which function six Courts of Appeal, several Primary Courts (*i.e.*, courts of first instance), and many more summary courts. One radical change was wrought by the new régime when it abolished the S͟harʿī courts in 1955-6.

To govern Iraq had been for the Ottomans before 1914 both difficult and expensive. Even though the country was by then organized into four major administrative units, namely, the *wilāyet*s of Mosul, Bag͟hdād and Baṣra, and the *mutaṣarrifiyya* of Dayr al-Zōr, the authority and control of the various governors appointed from Istanbul were for long rather nominal. Inhabited by an ethnically and religiously fragmented society—Kurds, Turcomans, "Assyrians", S͟hīʿis, Yazīdīs, marshland and other tribesmen—Iraq was difficult to subject to a central authority or to its representatives in Bag͟hdād. The development of some communications and postal services in the 19th century might ultimately have led to its pacification and subjection to central control.

It took the British occupation forces two years (1918-20) to impose some semblance of order and security throughout the country. A civil commissioner under the British Commander-in-Chief founded the nucleus of an administration to govern Iraq by creating new and modern departments of government in Bag͟hdād. The most important were those concerned with public order and security, especially since several regions of the country were openly defiant of the authority of Bag͟hdād. Important also were those dealing with agriculture, public works and irrigation, health and sanitation, not to speak of finance. The administrative authority of the new government departments was exercised throughout the country by means of a provincial organization. This was virtually the same as the system of administrative units which had existed before the First World War, sixteen in number. Today there are fourteen such units.

When military rule ended in October 1920, an Iraq Council of State was formed as the state agency responsible for administration, but advised by British officials. This system of an Iraqi cabinet government under a measure of British tutelage in all departments continued under the monarchy from 1922 to 1932, when Iraq achieved independence and was admitted to the League of Nations. The British Mandate was then formally ended and replaced by an Anglo-Iraqi Treaty.

The formation of a relatively strong army, air force, and police force in Iraq was essential for the governing of the country. By 1936, all three executive arms of the government were greatly advanced in comparison to those in other states of the Fertile Crescent. Equally essential was the development of a good judiciary, in view of the sectarian, tribal and ethnic divisions in the country. In fact, despite the greater centralization of power in Bag͟hdād, special arbitration courts and administrative procedures for the tribes were maintained.

The development of national resources early became a government responsibility in Iraq, particularly in the fields of irrigation and agriculture. Municipalities were encouraged and financially aided to develop their localities (Municipal Law of 1929). As communications improved, direct government administration from Bag͟hdād progressed at the expense of local and other forces, especially the tribal leaders.

The system of provincial courts of first instance closely resembles that in Egypt. In Iraq, however, the Ottoman Civil Code, *Med͟jelle* [*q.v.*], remained in force until 1951-2, when it was replaced by new codes. But as in Egypt, provincial administration in Iraq is controlled by the Ministry of the Interior, in the capital, so that local initiative remains limited. This is of greater importance in Iraq, where so many groups tend to challenge the authority of the central government. Nonetheless, over the years, a body of permanent civil servants was created, which has increased in number, as in other Arab states, and particularly since the military coups beginning in July 1958 which tended to incorporate wider welfare functions into the state administration. The civil service generally continues to absorb the largest number of educated Iraqis. A law in 1957 has improved Civil Service procedures and established a Public Service Council. As in Egypt, the administration of the labour and social security services became a state responsibility in 1939-40, and was further extended in 1956. A major governmental function since 1953 has been the rational utilization of revenue from oil royalties for major development projects.

Compulsory free education has also been a state responsibility administered by the government since 1940. Yet political instability, as reflected partly in the continuous involvement of the military in politics, various tribal uprisings in the past, and the current conflict between the government and the Kurds has adversely affected the smooth operation of administrative agencies. Efficient government has also been eroded since August 1958, when the Law against Conspiracy led to purges and with it to the rise of parliamentary organizations in political parties, popular militias and other such groups.

Since the 1958 coup d'état, there has been a greater tendency for the military to control the state and the government. This has resulted in a more haphazard functioning of governmental processes. The new Constitution of May 1964 introduced greater executive power (greater than under the monarchy) in a presidential system of government. The President appoints and dismisses cabinet ministers, and governs in conjunction with a National Defence Council. As in Egypt, a single state political organization, the "Iraqi Arab Socialist Union", has been announced. Moreover, there is a pronounced state commitment to planning which guides the national economy, a wider cooperative system, and recently a series of nationalizations of enterprises.

In Syria and Lebanon, just as in Iraq and perhaps indeed to a greater extent, political, social and ethnic fragmentation has hampered government at all times. The Ottomans had attempted to maintain some form of administration there, based on a varying division of the country into provinces. Yet, until the Egyptian invasion and occupation in 1831-3, Ottoman governors were able to administer directly only Damascus and other major towns. Elsewhere, tribal chiefs and local potentates ruled undisturbed. The short-lived Egyptian domination attempted to establish a strong central government and to impose regular taxation to counter these separatist local tendencies. As part of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms, the Ottoman authorities introduced some measure of administrative reform in terms of regular payment of salaries to local officials, and extended the educational facilities. Soon afterwards European and American influence in the form of religious-educational missions entered the area. This coincided with the development of communications in the country.

Lebanon, or at least the Mountain part of it, was until the mid-19th century governed as a Principality of two powerful families. The last, that of the S̲h̲ihābīs, was destroyed in 1842, and the Ottomans divided the province into a Druze and a Maronite district, each with a governor and administrative council representing the religious communities. This amounted to the informal recognition of the sectarian basis of government and administration in Lebanon, but it also led to serious trouble in the period 1856-60, culminating in the communal massacres and the intervention of the Powers. Consequently in 1861-4 an organic statute made Lebanon an autonomous *sand̲j̲aḳ* with a non-Lebanese Christian as governor appointed by the Sultan and approved by the Powers; this governor administered the country with the aid of an elected administrative council. The latter again embodied the communal-sectarian principle of government and administration.

The French mandate in 1920 created the State of Greater Lebanon by adding the coastal areas of Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, Baalbek, Biḳāʿ and Beirut to the original *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Mount Lebanon. The first constitution in 1926 also formalized the communal-sectarian basis of government, making the Lebanese President of the republic responsible for administration to the French High Commissioner. During the period 1926-32 a native Lebanese government carried out administrative functions but under French tutelage. The French High Commissioner appointed the government personnel of the four states into which Syria was initially divided in 1920 (see below). The French authorities, however, administered such services as the Customs and the Posts and Telegraphs directly and jointly for both Lebanon and Syria.

Since 1934, the President of the Lebanon has by accepted convention been a Maronite and the Prime Minister a Sunnī Muslim. The emphasis in government has been on a powerful executive authority residing in the President and exercised through the Council of Ministers. The President and Council can initiate legislation and actually issue laws. The machinery of the central government extends to the provinces, since the Minister of the Interior supervises and controls local or provincial administration. There are five administrative provinces (Beirut, North Lebanon, Mount Lebanon, South Lebanon, and Biḳāʿ). The governmental administration is highly centralized, so that provincial governors are actually representatives of the central authority and local councils have only advisory functions. Since 1955 there has been an attempt to decentralize the administration to some extent.

Because of the peculiar sectarian basis of Lebanese politics and government, there has been a popular tendency to view cabinet ministers and heads of government departments as representatives rather of communal interests than of the specialized activities of their respective ministries. The allocation of civil service posts, as of cabinet portfolios, has for long been based on the balancing of communal interests. Under the pressure of modern nationalist notions, administrative reform was attempted in 1958-9, and a Personnel Law was passed in 1959, which also set up a Public Service Council. The purpose of this new legislation is to set up generalized, impartial standards and criteria for appointments to the public service.

In many respects, the state in Lebanon governs by adjudicating between the interests of the various religious communities rather than by administering sanctions directly for the enforcement of its effective judgements. It also administers services. There is therefore much government by the "entourage" which one finds surrounding a President, a Prime Minister or a Cabinet Minister. As the President wields considerable power, the Chamber of Deputies (in an unicameral legislature) tends to be subservient to the executive.

In the field of the administration of justice, new civil and penal codes replaced the Ottoman laws as early as 1931-2. The Minister of Justice, however, has merely an executive function. Justice is administered by a Supreme Council of Justice, which has control over judges. Courts are organized much as in Syria and Iraq; that is, there are first instance courts, appellate courts in each major provincial centre, and a Court of Cassation in the capital. There is also a State Council to dispense administrative justice. Unlike the situation in Egypt, however, *S̲h̲arʿī* and ecclesiastical courts continue to function in matters of personal status.

Whereas the political history of Syria during and

since the French Mandate has been more turbulent, the administrative machinery of government followed similar lines, although it lacked the communal or sectarian basis which was formalized and tacitly accepted in the Lebanon. After separating what is now the Republic of Syria into four states (Latakia for the ʿAlawīs, Aleppo, Damascus, and Dj̲abal Druze), the French incorporated all of these into one state in 1936. They divided the new state into nine administrative provinces, in addition to the City of Damascus, administered by appointed governors who were assisted by local councils. The 1950 Constitution provided for a Cabinet government responsible to a unicameral legislature. In 1953, under the new S̲h̲īs̲h̲aklī constitution, these were made responsible to the President, so that in Syria too the trend has been towards greater executive power. The State moreover, as in the other countries, took on greater responsibility for the organization and planning of the national economy.

During the brief union with Egypt in 1958-61, Syria was administered by a separate Regional Executive Council for the Northern Region (*i.e.*, Syria) of the United Arab Republic. Gradually an attempt was made by the central authorities in Cairo to streamline administration in both regions of the U.A.R. Efforts were made to impose greater control over the Syrian economy. After some political difficulties, Cairo virtually abolished the Regional cabinet in 1961, and Syria came to be administered by a sort of proconsul responsible to the President of the U.A.R. and/or his deputy in Syria.

The organization of the judiciary in Syria closely resembles that of Lebanon and Iraq, although in Syria there have been separate administrative courts and a Council of State. The 1950 constitution introduced a Supreme Court to test the validity of legislative acts and decrees.

Considering the frequent political upheavals in Syria, it is fair to conclude that at present (1966) the administration of the country is controlled by the military.

Jordan, as a constitutional monarchy, places the responsibility of government and administration upon a cabinet, whose members have been since 1952 (when the 1952 Constitution superseded that of 1947) responsible to the National Assembly. Further control of the Council of Ministers by the Assembly was introduced in 1955, especially as regards questions of votes of confidence in the government and its resignation in case of a dissolution of the Assembly.

Under the British Mandate (1922-46), the monarch ruled in Jordan (then the Emirate of Transjordan) with the assistance of a Legislative Council (set up in 1929 in accordance with the Organic Law of 1928) and an Executive Council. With independence in 1946, and the proclamation of a kingdom, the latter Council became the Council of Ministers.

As in Iraq, there were in Transjordan British advisers. The representatives of the British High Commissioner to Palestine resident in ʿAmmān advised the Transjordan administration on all important matters of policy. In fact, all decisions dealing with defence, finance, and external relations had to have his concurrence. The security forces and the Army in particular were, until 1956, organized and trained by British officers and financed by subsidies and loans from the British Government.

Until 1952, the monarch possessed extensive ruling powers, and governed with the help of his security forces. Until 1950, the judiciary largely retained its Ottoman stamp, using Ottoman commercial, civil, and penal codes. Since then, new codes have been promulgated and have come into use. There are now civil, religious, and special courts, in addition to a Special Council (*Dīwān K̲h̲āṣṣ*) which interprets laws.

While the new 1952 Constitution granted greater powers to the Cabinet and the Legislature, and thus curtailed those of the throne, there was, as a result of the incorporation of Central Palestine into the kingdom, a greater centralization of the administrative functions, and a rapid increase in the number of public officials. This was largely due to the large refugee population that came in with this incorporation, and all the new social and economic problems which it brought. Another consequence was that the membership of the cabinet expanded with the transformation of governmental functions. The need for social legislation and economic planning for development led to the organization of such official agencies as the Development Board, the Aqaba Port Authority, the Developmert Bank, and the Bank of Reconstruction.

The administrative division of the country now (1966) comprises eight provinces (*liwāʾ*), each administered by a governor appointed by the central government. These are in turn subdivided into districts administered by a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* or district officier, and into *nāḥiya*s of villages headed by a *mudīr*. Moreover, towns and cities usually have elected mayors and municipal councils. The districts have administrative councils.

In both Egypt and the countries of the Fertile Crescent a major feature of government has been the centralization of administration and the rapid transformation and expansion of government functions which has accompanied the greater need for public and welfare services.

Except for Lebanon, where a pluralist system permits the resolution of conflict through a compromise based on the delicate balancing of sectarian-communal interests, government in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and even Jordan, is highly centralized and ultimately dominated by the military. Whereas in Lebanon one observes a public preference for as little government as possible, this is not true of the other countries of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt. In all of these, to a greater or lesser extent, government is viewed as an agency of change and development, and one which must provide social services and economic benefits. Moreover, in Egypt, Iraq and Syria, government tends towards personal, authoritarian rule. Thus the constitutional provisions in these countries do not reflect accurately the ways of government and administration. Executive power seems to predominate over legislative assemblies wherever and whenever they exist. In the latter, there has lately developed the preference, especially in Egypt, for corporate (or occupational) representation. There is consequently no relation between the life of a cabinet or a government (especially today under presidential systems) and that of a legislature in these countries. In other words, executive power is hardly bound by the strictures of an elected legislative body so long as this power has the support of the army.

Neither in Syria nor in Iraq—and only to a slight degree in Lebanon—has government completely eroded sectarian, tribal, and parochial loyalties. With the exception perhaps of Lebanon, governments in these countries (Jordan being included for a different

reason, namely the Palestine Question) continue to depend rather on coercion than on persuasion for governmental action. The central rôle played by force in the government of these countries is perhaps reflected again in the rule of the state by the military; and failing that, in the mixture of military and civilian elements in their administrations.

Because of their social composition and ethnic and religious diversity, the principal function of government in Iraq and Jordan was, for many years, the imposition of public order and security; in other words, the major task of the central government was to ensure that its authority was widely recognized and accepted by all groups within the state. This was necessary also in order to achieve the more systematic collection of taxes, to provide the revenue essential for the development of agriculture and the execution of public works.

In Syria and Iraq especially, recent political instability, as reflected in coups, counter-coups and purges, has caused the work of their permanent administrative cadres to suffer greatly. A worse consequence has been the resultant public mistrust and suspicion of all administration, which in turn makes the work of any government more difficult.

All the countries considered here have experienced some form of British or French tutelage, which has affected their governmental structures and procedures, especially in the judiciary, in provincial administration, and in the administration of public education. Their real independence is so recent that one may assume that they are undergoing a period of transition. Yet the difference between government in these countries now and in the past is that, in addition to maintaining law and order, it has assumed new and wider functions of planning and, in certain instances, managing the national economy, as well as providing extensive social welfare to the populace.

A more recent development in some of these countries seems destined to lead to ever greater centralization of power and hence to stronger administrative regulation and control; this is the phenomenon of the single-party state political organizations such as the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt and the Iraqi Arab Socialist Union in Iraq. Thus, state control is not exercised only through the government and administration, but also through its mass political organization, which has no competitors since the latter are precluded by law from at least public existence.

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(P. J. Vatikiotis)

iv. — North Africa

The use in the Magh̲rib of the word *ḥukūma*, with the meaning of "government", seems to have occurred only at a very recent date. According to an unpublished investigation by Father Demeerseman it is not found in the works of Tunisian writers until the second half of the 19th century, and then only rarely and in the restricted sense of a dependent government or a more or less autonomous province of a large state. It is only under Western influence that the term has acquired its meaning of government in the abstract. It is therefore another example of a strictly Arabic term which has gradually absorbed a Western concept.

Before the three countries of the Magh̲rib had come under European domination, local rulers had made frequent attempts to introduce some modern methods into the administration.

To begin with, in Algeria, the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] attempted to organize a Muslim state against the French authority and especially to provide it with sufficient military strength to enable it if necessary to fight against the French troops. But circumstances obliged ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to devote his main attention to war and, from 1840, the action of Bugeaud forced him to be content with a nomad government which had of necessity to eschew all modern ideas.

In Tunisia, the first signs of modernism were due to the influence of the French who had settled in Algeria, and appeared during the reign of Aḥmad Bey (1837-55 [*q.v.*]). There also the reforms began in military matters, with the formation of an army and of a fleet which was to be based at Porto-Farina. But there very soon arose financial difficulties and Aḥmad Bey turned to financial and monetary reforms.

Aḥmad Bey's successor, Maḥammad Bey (1855-9), was forced by circumstances and by the pressure of several European consuls to introduce far more sweeping reforms. After instituting the S̲harʿī Court to deal with questions of the law of inheritance and of landed property in 1856, he solemnly promulgated on 10 September 1857, an act entitled in Arabic *ʿahd al-amān* and in French *Pacte fondamental* [see dustūr, 638b]. In the following year there was set up in Tunis a municipal government consisting of prominent citizens.

It was Maḥammad Bey's successor, his brother Muḥammad al-Ṣadūk, who promulgated on 26 April 1861, after having consulted Napoleon III at Algiers in the previous year, a series of legislative measures which might be regarded as a constitution. Its rules concerning the succession to the throne remained unchanged until 1957. A ministry was formed, responsible to the Bey; a supreme council of 60 members appointed by the Bey and the government shared the responsibility for the development of the legal system and for voting the state budget; the independence of the judiciary was proclaimed. These reforms were introduced before public opinion in Tunisia, even among the ruling classes, was prepared for them. And since, in addition, the financial situation led to taxes being raised, in 1864 a section of the population rose in revolt. After this the 1861 constitution was suspended, in fact if not in law.

The last Tunisian to introduce reforms before the establishment of the French protectorate was the general Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who held the office of minister on several occasions, and notably that of Prime Minister from 1873-77. The belief in the need for reform was a result not of circumstances but of his own conviction as is proved by his book: *Akwām al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik* (Tunis 1867). Once he was in power, he made great efforts to introduce his programme of modernization by European methods but within a completely Muslim framework. After four years the manifold intrigues which surrounded him and the inability of public opinion in Tunisia to understand his aims led him to abandon his efforts. After this, the financial collapse of the country, European intrigues, and the incompetence or the doubtful honesty of the new Tunisian rulers merely aggravated the crisis, which ended in the formation of the French protectorate.

The development in Morocco followed a similar pattern, though at a later date. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that Morocco came into closer contact with Europe, through a brief war with France (August 1844), the commercial treaty of 1856 with Great Britain and the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-60.

The sultan ruling in 1860, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1859-73), realized that henceforward the state of Morocco could not remain as it was. Already in his father's lifetime he had attempted to introduce some reforms in the Moroccan army. When he became sultan, he tried to lead the country towards a modern economy and to curb the corrupt practices of some of the officials by paying them salaries. But his task was made very difficult by European intrigues and the Moroccans' failure to understand his aims; and the agricultural crisis of 1867-9 forced him to renounce his attempts.

His son al-Ḥasan (1873-94 [*q.v.*]), also aware of the need to transform the Moroccan state, decided, on his accession, to resume his father's economic and military projects: it was he who brought to Morocco European instructors for his army. However his reforms, limited in scope, perpetually hindered by European rivalries and weakened by the financial crisis which began to be apparent in Morocco in the last quarter of the 19th century, only succeeded in irritating Moroccan public opinion, not only in the towns but even among the dissident tribes. All that remained were a few fortifications on the coast, a few batteries of field artillery and much ill-feeling.

When his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894-1908 [*q.v.*]) came to the throne, the situation was not favourable for reform: Morocco was retreating more than it was advancing. Until the death of his vizier and mentor Aḥmad b. Mūsā, the new sultan scarcely exercised any power, but once he found himself alone (May 1900), he wished to introduce reforms, partly because of the situation in Morocco but also because of his own modernist outlook. He brought a quantity of machines and equipment in Europe, intending to build a railway to Fez, but chiefly he envisaged a reform of the Moroccan finances by decreeing that all taxpayers were equally liable to pay land-tax (*tartīb*). The violent reactions of the Moroccan tribes and the exacerbated rivalry of several of the European powers plunged Morocco into such disturbances that in 1908 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was forced to abdicate without his attempts at reform having produced any result.

Before he had relinquished power, his elder brother ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (1907-12 [*q.v.*]) was proclaimed sultan at Marrākush in order to resist European encroachment, and he finally mounted the throne in 1908. But he was confronted by a financial crisis, tribes who were in an excitable state and ready to revolt, and European powers with heightened ambitions in Morocco. Like his predecessors, he acknowledged the need for the reforms which he was being urged to make by a number of Moroccans, who saw in them the only means of escaping from the hold of the European powers. One of these groups, based in Tangier and reinforced by Syrians expelled from Tunisia, went so far as to draw up a draft constitution, dated 11 October 1908 and published in a Tangier Arabic journal, *Ṣawt al-Maghrib* (French translation of it published by J. Robert, in *La monarchie marocaine*, Paris 1963, 311-23). This constitution was not adopted by the Moroccan government and the failure of various successive plans for reform led to the signing of the treaty of protectorate on 30 March 1912 at Fez by the sultan and M. Regnault, as representative of France.

Thus it can be seen that the attempts of the rulers in the 19th century to modernize the government of their respective countries were in vain because local opinion was completely unprepared for these changes, which it believed (not without some reason) to be a result of European influence, which it mistrusted, and because no ruler was strong enough over a sufficiently long period to impose a new system of government.

The European occupation of North Africa, mainly French, resulted in considerable changes in the organization of the governments there.

In Algeria, after an inevitable long period of trial and error, the government of the Republic, by the decree of 9 December 1848, divided the country into three departments under the direction, as in France, of prefects; before this the French citizens resident in Algeria had been given the right to send deputies to the National Assembly. It can be said that, as from 1848, in spite of various vicissitudes of no great importance, the administrative assimilation was recognized as an accomplished fact.

All the same, because the administration of the native population presented its own problems, a special régime was introduced in Algeria. At first there was formed at an early date a real government of Algeria, consisting of a governor-general to whom were responsible for most of the time the various public services established locally. The office of governor-general was suppressed and replaced, from 24 June 1858 to 10 December 1860, by a minister for Algeria based in Paris. Then the government of the Third Republic, while restoring the governor-general,

made the various officials serving in Algeria directly responsible to their ministry in Paris. This experiment lasted until 31 December 1896, but proved so unsuccessful that the earlier system was restored. In both cases it had been apparent that over-centralization did not produce good results and that Algeria ought to be governed from within the country, under the authority of the French government and the control of the French parliament.

In fact it had been realized from the very first years after the conquest that the French administration could not be applied without modification, since the customs, the reactions and the innermost beliefs of the Muslim population differed so greatly from those existing in France. Thus, in spite of the prefects, the laws and regulations and all the French institutions which were transplanted into Algeria, there existed always two systems of government, because the one country contained two entirely different populations without enough in common for a unification to be considered. This system began with the Arab bureaus, a military organization responsible for the administration of the Muslim populations, and ended in the statute of 20 September 1947 instituting in Algeria two electoral colleges: one for the Europeans and one for the Muslims, very unequal in number and in composition, however, since Muslim women were not given the vote until 1958.

The staff of the governor-general's office and of the administrative departments under it were usually of French nationality, and it was not until after the Second World War that Muslim Algerians began to occupy a few posts of responsibility in them. Thus the administration of Algeria during the French period was a hybrid one in which the metropolitan French and the French of Algeria played a preponderant rôle, while the Algerians themselves were reduced to a completely secondary position, in spite of their claims, and especially from 1936 onwards.

In Tunisia, the convention of Ḳaṣr Saʿid, known as that of Bardo, of 12 May 1881, established a provisional French occupation which the convention signed at La Marsa on 8 June 1883 converted into a French protectorate. The Tunisian government and its administration still continued to exist, but the French Resident-General and his staff had the authority to control them and to establish alongside them modern technical administrative departments (of finance, public works, education, public health, etc.) in order to introduce in Tunisia the reforms envisaged by the convention of La Marsa.

Thus until the conventions of 3 June 1955, which established in Tunisia a régime of internal autonomy, two administrations existed side by side: a Tunisian administration working under the authority of the Bey and directed by Tunisian ministers, who were themselves under the control of French officials, and a modern administrative system, working in theory under the Bey's authority, but in fact acting under that of the Resident-General and of the Secretary-General of the government of Tunisia, who was always a Frenchman. It was not until 3 June 1955 that the Tunisian government regained its autonomy. It must be added that the technical administrative departments were at first staffed almost entirely by Frenchmen, since at that time very few Tunisians had received a modern education, and that they showed a marked tendency to remain mainly French, to apply French norms and to recognize in fact the authority only of the Resident-General and the French government. The result was that, in spite of official statements, the protectorate quickly turned into a direct administration.

In Morocco, there were two elements at least which favoured a strict application of the formula for a protectorate: the international situation and the personality of Lyautey. France in fact had succeeded in establishing its protectorate over Morocco only by accepting serious international mortgages and by agreeing that a part of Moroccan territory should be under Spanish protection. The majority of the signatories of the Act of Algeciras (7 April 1906) were not disposed to allow the protecting power to infringe any of the rights which this international conference had recognized as theirs. It is true that the First World War caused some of them, such as Germany and Austria-Hungary, to disappear, and that the U.S.S.R. did not continue the claims of Imperial Russia in this matter. But enough fairly vigilant signatories remained to ensure that France felt herself bound to the agreement, in relation not only to them, but also to Morocco. Lyautey, for his part, had a profound belief in the formula of the protectorate, having studied it in other territories and found it more flexible than the colonial system pure and simple, and also because he had for Morocco a high esteem and respect and wished to revive the country but not destroy it.

The treaty of protectorate of 30 March 1912 therefore in principle left the governmental and administrative framework of Morocco intact, while bringing it under the control of the authorities of the protectorate. The respect which Lyautey and his staff unfailingly showed to the Sultan and his Moroccan entourage proved with what sincerity this system was applied. Nevertheless, to an even greater extent than in Tunisia, because the Moroccan ruling classes were much less prepared for modern and western ideas, the French were obliged to begin to create technical departments, of necessity staffed by Frenchmen, so that the process already observed in Tunisia was repeated exactly in Morocco, where there gradually grew up a kind of French administrative "feudal system" beside the Moroccan officials and those they governed. In their plan for reforms in 1934, the Moroccan nationalists, at this date a young movement, demanded entry to the technical administrative departments for Moroccans and a strict limitation of the number of French officials, who should abandon any idea of direct administration, their rôle being limited to the supervision of the Moroccan agents and the performance of purely technical duties. This claim was unsuccessful, and the direct administration continued to be one of the main subjects of the propaganda of the Moroccan nationalist movement. The situation remained unchanged until the Franco-Moroccan declaration signed at La Celle Saint-Cloud on 6 November 1955, which announced "negotiations destined to render Morocco an independent state united to France by the permanent links of an interdependence freely agreed to and defined". Independence was proclaimed on 2 March 1956.

The present situation (December 1966). In accordance with the constitution of 30 July 1959, the Republic of Tunisia now has a presidential government. President al-Ḥabīb Abū Ruḳayba (Bourguiba), who was elected in November 1959, was re-elected for a second term on 8 November 1964 by an almost unanimous vote. In a decree of 12 November 1964 he appointed the members of his government, who are responsible to him: thirteen secretaries of state,

three under-secretaries of state, and two directors, one of the broadcasting service, the other of the presidential cabinet. The functions and personnel of this ministry have remained unchanged, except for the death of the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs, who was immediately replaced.

In Morocco there were six successive ministerial cabinets between 4 December 1955 and the promulgation of the constitution of 7 December 1962, the last two of them presided over by the kings Muḥammad V (26 May 1960) and Ḥasan II (2 June 1961). Once the institutions provided for by the constitution were established, King Ḥasan II appointed as Prime Minister Mr. Aḥmad Baḥnīnī, who formed a cabinet composed of fourteen ministers and five under-secretaries of state. After a re-organization of ministerial posts in 20 August 1964, a new government was formed on 8 June 1965 under the presidency of the king and its composition was slightly altered on 10 July. These arrangements were made after the king had decided, on 7 June, to proclaim a state of emergency as provided for by article 35 of the constitution of 1962. The present government (December 1966) is composed of twenty ministers, three directors of the royal cabinet and two under-secretaries of state. It is responsible only to the king, parliament having been suspended for an indefinite period.

In Algeria, after the confused political crisis which followed the granting of independence, the Assembly elected on 20 September 1962 instructed Mr. Aḥmad Ben Bella to form the Algerian government and to hold the office of Head of the Algerian State until a constitution should be worked out and promulgated. This government consisted of a vice-president and seventeen ministers. After the vote on the Algerian constitution, which took place on 28 August 1963, then its approval by the referendum of 8 September, and finally the election of Mr. Aḥmad Ben Bella on 15 September as President of the Republic, a legal government was immediately formed by the President on 18 September. In addition to the President of the Republic, who assumed also the title of President of the Council, it consisted of three vice-presidents, one of whom held a ministerial portfolio, and twelve ministers. A reorganization which took place on 2 December 1964 left only two vice-presidents, one of whom held a portfolio, but increased the number of ministers from twelve to fifteen plus a secretary of state. Following the coup d'état of 19 June 1965 in which Mr. Aḥmad Ben Bella was removed from office in favour of Colonel Houari Boumedienne (Hawwārī Abū Madyan), the latter formed, on 10 July, a government with himself as president and consisting of nineteen ministers.

In the constitutional decree it was laid down that the head of the government, the President of the Council, assumed in addition the office of Minister of National Defence; that the government functioned under the authority and control of the Council of the Revolution which had carried out the coup d'état of 19 June; that this Council could effect a total or partial reorganization of a ministry "by means of an Order in Council"; that the members of the cabinet were individually responsible to the head of the government and collectively responsible to the Council of the Revolution and acted with powers delegated to them by this Council; and, finally, that all governmental measures would be promulgated in the form of an order or decree. This government has several times been partly reorganized following the resignation or the dismissal of a number of ministers.

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(R. Le Tourneau)

v. — Pakistan

Before independence, the area which is now East Pakistan formed part of the province of Bengal. This was the earliest territory in India to come under British rule, and was divided into administrative districts of enormous size: for example, the population of Mymensingh District is larger than that of Switzerland. The Collector of the district was the principal official responsible for public order and the collection of taxes. A District Judge was the head of the judiciary. Away from district headquarters, the only representatives of the government were police officers. The Governor of Bengal was assisted by a Council, from which evolved a Legislative Council, out of which Ministers were selected from 1920 onward to take charge of the departments of the provincial government.

The area which is now West Pakistan had none of the uniformity of administration described above. There were three provinces—Punjab, Sind, and the North-West Frontier Province—divided up into administrative districts, which were on a much smaller scale than in Bengal. Because these provinces were the last to be added to British India, there was a frontier character about the administration. At first, all the functions of government in the district (including the judicial) were exercised by one British officer, the Deputy Commissioner, though later separate District Judges were appointed. The Deputy Commissioner was assisted by a strong corps of officials, stationed at the lesser centres of the district. However, only about half of the area now in West Pakistan was under direct British administration. There were also a number of princely states, the largest being Bahawalpur and Kalat together with Amb, Chitral, Dir, and Swat. These were recognised as having complete internal autonomy: Kalat was subdivided into dependent chiefdoms, among which Kharan was semi-independent. In addition, a large portion of the North-West Frontier Province, and a large part of Baluchistan (in which Kalat is situated) were treated as 'unadministered territory', in which the British law did not prevail. Here the tribes followed their own custom of long standing.

At the apex of the system, in charge of the whole of British India and in tutelary role over the princes, was the Governor-General. He was assisted in the

central administration by an Executive Council. The Members of Council each had charge of one or more departments of government.

Before the period of British rule, the Muslims had predominated in the administrative system. Gradually, the British substituted English for Persian as the language of higher administration while at the lower levels Persian and Urdu were replaced by the vernacular languages, such as Bengali. Also, appointment increasingly depended upon a competition in an open examination in which Western subjects of knowledge were preferred to the classical, oriental subjects. In consequence, the traditional Muslim administrative families found themselves increasingly at a disadvantage. Their loss of administrative and judicial office was most striking in Bengal. In the old Bengal Presidency (which included Bihar and Orissa, as well as Bengal proper) the Muslims formed 31 per cent of the population, but by 1880 they held only 8.5% of the 'gazetted' (*i.e.*, executive) posts. By contrast in Punjab, where Muslims formed 51% of the population they held 39% of the posts. However, the Muslims did succeed in retaining their position in some of the provinces. In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (today called Uttar Pradesh, in the Indian Union) Muslims formed 13% of the population but held 45% of the gazetted posts. Throughout India, they retained 20% of gazetted posts: not much less than their proportion to the population of India. The heads of districts (Collectors and Deputy Commissioners) and all their superiors were drawn from the Indian Civil Service. This service was wholly British until 1853, when it was opened to competition under stringent conditions. A candidate from a reformist Hindu sect gained a place in 1864, and thereafter a small but steady stream of Hindus gained admission. The first Muslim was not appointed to the I.C.S. until 1885. By 1915, there were a total of 1,371 members of the I.C.S. Of these, 1,305 were British, 3 were Eurasian, 41 were Hindu, 6 were Parsi, 7 were Indian Christians and 9 were Muslim. However, during the last 25 years of British rule, the Muslims did succeed in securing more places in the I.C.S. At the time of independence there were about one hundred Muslim I.C.S. officers. Of these one-third belonged to Punjab, and the remainder came from areas which were to form the Indian Union. There were none belonging to East Bengal, where the standard of education was low.

In addition, Muslims had secured a fair proportion of places in other higher echelons of the public services, especially in the Audit and Accounts Service. Among members of this service, one (Chaudhri Muḥammad ʿAlī) was to become Prime Minister and another (G̲h̲ulām Muḥammad) the Governor General of Pakistan. From 1918, Indians became eligible for the officer cadre of the Indian Army, and Muslims also obtained a proportion of appointments and promotions commensurate with their total numbers, with a preponderance of officers from Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.

After independence (1947), the élite character of the higher civil service was perpetuated. The I.C.S. was replaced by the C.S.P. (Civil Service of Pakistan). Recruitment is by a modified form of competition. The top 20% of places are filled by merit on the basis of open examination; the remaining 80% are allotted in equal numbers to the two 'wings': East and West Pakistan. By 1961, the C.S.P. numbered 357 officers (including 28 still under training). This service continued to supply the great majority of district officers and senior officials in departments and ministries.

The main task in government in the new state of Pakistan was to hold together the two wings, separated by over one thousand miles of Indian territory, and to bring East and West Pakistan into a reasonable balance. The administrative variety of West Pakistan complicated the problem. Gradually, the different elements were reduced to one. The princely rulers of Bahawalpur and Kalat were deprived of their powers. In 1955, the West Pakistan Act created one unit, or one province for the West wing, with its headquarters at Lahore. The tribal areas of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier, together with the little states of Amb, Dir, Chitral and Swat were excluded from the control of West Pakistan, as was Karachi, then the capital city. These remained directly under the central government.

The way was now open to producing a constitution for Pakistan. For the first nine years, the country continued to be governed under the Government of India Act of 1935, somewhat amended. This retained a Governor-General at the apex of the system with a large reserve of power in his hands. Ostensibly, the government was in the hands of a Prime Minister and Cabinet responsible to a national legislature, but actually power was largely exercised by the Governor-General (who, from 1951, was the former senior official, G̲h̲ulām Muḥammad, followed by another senior officer, Iskandar Mīrzā). Under these men, the administrators and the police officers virtually governed Pakistan.

The 1956 Constitution introduced a number of limitations upon the head of the state, who was now designated President. But political instability continued, and in 1958 the President declared an emergency and abolished the constitution. Iskandar Mīrzā's successor, General (later Field Marshal) Ayyūb K̲h̲ān further strengthened the position of the president, and under the 1962 constitution (Article 31) 'The executive authority of the Republic is vested in the President'.

In order to safeguard the armed forces, the constitution further provides (Article 238) that the Minister of Defence must be a person who has held the rank of Lieutenant-General, or its equivalent in the navy or air force. Otherwise, the President chooses his Council of Ministers without outside restriction. Ministers may participate in the proceedings of the National Assembly, but they are answerable to the President.

Shortly after the military revolution of 1958, the capital was moved from Karachi to Rawalpindi, pending the construction of a new capital, Islāmābād, nearby. The Ministry of External Affairs remained at Karachi; all other ministries moved to Rawalpindi. There are eleven ministries: Defence; External Affairs; Finance; Commerce; Home and Kashmir Affairs; Industries and Natural Resources; Communications; Education and Information; Law and Parliamentary Affairs; Agriculture and Works; Health, Labour and Social Welfare. Important agencies directly under the President include the National Planning Commission and the Bureau of National Reconstruction. The permanent official at the head of the department is termed Secretary to Government. The senior hierarchy is composed of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries. In 1956, all 19 Secretaries belonged to the West wing, together with 38 of the 41 Joint Secretaries and 123 of the 133 Deputy Secretaries.

Resentment at alleged dominance by the West Wing causes constant agitation for wider autonomy for East Pakistan. Certain concessions have been made. The railways have been transferred from central to provincial control. The two provinces are administered by Governors, appointed by the President. The governors may be civil servants, army officers, or political leaders. Each province has a Secretariat, composed of the Departments which are under provincial control, such as education, public health, and agriculture. The provinces are divided up into major administrative areas called Divisions under Commissioners: there are four Divisions in the East and twelve in the West wing. The principal administrative area remains the district, under the Deputy Commissioner or Collector. There are 17 districts in the East and 51 districts and political agencies in the West wing.

An innovation carried out by President Ayyūb Khān is the creation of a consultative system of administration for economic, social and political development with its base among the people. Councils, known as Basic Democracies, are elected by the people at the village level and in the wards of the towns. These Union Councils send up members to sub-district councils (Thana or Taḥṣīl Councils) and these in turn contribute to District Councils. At the lower levels, the representatives of the people (the Basic Democrats) predominate, but higher up the infusing of administrators and the technical services becomes stronger. Above these come Divisional and Provincial Councils in which one-third of the members are drawn from the Basic Democrats.

A description of government in Pakistan would be incomplete without some reference to the rôle of the armed forces in government. Although the air force is modern and powerful, the main element is the army, with its armoured division and six (or more) infantry divisions. The army has many times been required to restore public order when the civil administration has lost control, while in times of public disaster (such as the cyclones which periodically devastate East Pakistan) the armed forces are the principal organizers of relief. Army officers have been called upon to administer the programme of the Basic Democracies, while the armed forces are authorized to nominate 10% of the candidates for the C.S.P., and in practice the percentage is often higher. Under these circumstances, it is important that the armed forces are, to an overwhelming degree, recruited from the West wing, mainly from Punjab and the North-West Frontier. In 1955, of the 900 army officers of the rank of Major and above, only 14 came from East Pakistan, and of the 680 air force officers, 40 came from the East.

This inbalance is unlikely to be altered for many years, and is a major cause of the movement for greater provincial autonomy which constantly agitates East Pakistan. However, it appears safe to predict that the two wings will not separate, and that Pakistan will remain a unique example of a single state and government resting upon the two sides of an interjacent state.

See further DUSTŪR-Pakistan, and PĀKISTĀN.

(H. TINKER)

vi.—INDONESIA

From its beginnings in the early 17th century, the United East India Company's authority in the Indies had been exercised by a governor general, assisted by a Council of the Indies (*Raad van Indië*), with full local legislative and executive powers, but with ultimate control being strictly exercised by the Company's governing board, the Gentlemen Seventeen (*Heren Zeventien*) in Holland. When the Crown assumed the Company's responsibilities in 1800, the governmental machinery in the Indies remained by and large unchanged, a state of affairs which, in fact, continued even when the Dutch parliament in the years after 1848 wrested control over colonial matters from the royal prerogative (in the East Indian Government Act of 1854 and the Accounting Act of 1864). Though henceforth responsibility for colonial government and the colonial budget lay with a Minister of Colonies accountable to the Second Chamber, parliamentary control proved, if anything, an even more centralizing factor on Indonesian affairs than had the King's or Company's authority in the past; in modern times, it was also rendered more effectual by improved communications between homeland and colony.

At the beginning of the 20th century, by which time Dutch control had come to extend to all parts of the archipelago, the Netherlands Indies embraced a wide variety of indigenous societies ruled under various constitutional and administrative arrangements. The colony's heartland, the densely-populated island of Java, for several centuries already under increasing Dutch control, was almost in its entirety directly administered, as were several important areas in the other islands—the Outer Territories (*Buitengewesten*)—, most notably parts of Sumatra. Elsewhere, the Dutch ruled indirectly, through existing indigenous chiefs and potentates. In part, this diversity was due to historical accident, to the exigencies of Western economic needs, but in part also to the various levels of social and political evolution of the colony's autochthonous peoples and societies. Dutch constitutional theory, moreover, to the very end adhered to the basic principle of divided authority, *i.e.*, to the principle of having natives wherever possible ruled by natives. Thus where in the greater part of the Outer Islands Dutch administrators were officially restricted to the rôle of advisers to princes and sultans tied to the Netherlands by means of contractual or treaty agreements, even in directly-ruled Java there was a double bureaucratic hierarchy, one Dutch the other Javanese. This dualism was paralleled by separate judicial codes, procedures, and courts for the different racial communities in the Indies.

But in practice the colonial realm constituted a strictly centralized and bureaucratically-dominated administrative entity closely directed from Batavia (Jakarta) in Java, seat of the colonial government. Besides the Governor General and the Council of the Indies, the colonial government consisted of several departments (their number increased with the growth of specialized services in the 20th century), whose directors were responsible to the Governor General, but who did not, together, form a 'ministerial' collegiate body parallel to that of the compact Council of the Indies. Paramount among governmental institutions was, next to the Governor General and the Council, the Department of Interior Administration (*Binnenlands Bestuur*) and also the Secretariat located at the viceroy's permanent official residence, Buitenzorg (Bogor) in West Java. In both central and territorial administration, Dutch officialdom occupied the dominant, policy-making positions, subject of course to the stringent, and in budgetary matters also detailed, supervision of the Ministry of Colonies in The Hague.

Sporadic efforts to diminish the home grip on colonial affairs, and at the same time to lessen the

virtual bureaucratic monopoly on the reins of colonial government having failed, the dichotomy between democracy at home and autocracy in the Indies continued until the turn of the 20th century. Beginning in 1903, a few cautious attempts at decentralization were made, and municipalities, in particular, henceforth came to enjoy a modicum of self-rule which, however, benefited the European settlers rather than the natives. It took almost another fifteen years for more far-reaching reforms to be introduced, commencing with the institution in Batavia of an advisory chamber, the *Volksraad* (People's Council), which opened in 1918. Shortly thereafter, and in part guided by the recommendations of a Commission appointed by the Governor General in 1918, the home government enacted more far-reaching decentralization legislation, providing an administrative and in part also political underpinning for the hastily-born central People's Council. At the same time, the new basic law for the Indies (*Indische Staatsinrichting*) of 1925 opened the way towards greater colonial autonomy vis-à-vis the metropolitan parliament, especially with regard to the budget. Decentralization within the Indies—limited to Java until the mid-1930's—attempted to free the native administrative corps, largely recruited from among the Javanese aristocracy, from the minute control of its European superiors in the *Binnenlands Bestuur*. New territorial corporate entities—Provinces and Regencies (*regentschappen*)—were called into being for purposes of administrative devolution, but also to provide lower-level conciliar bodies, the Provincial and Regency Councils; these were filled partly through appointments though to a larger extent through elections based on a rather narrow franchise. The 60-odd Regency Councils acted as electoral colleges for the island's three Provincial Councils which, in turn, served in the same capacity for the *Volksraad*.

The quasi-democratic scaffolding hastily if belatedly attached to the bureaucratic polity had barely two decades in which to be consolidated before the Japanese occupation of the Indonesian islands. Its success in that short period was uneven, greatest perhaps at the centre, where the *Volksraad* in spite of many and serious shortcomings—it was, *inter alia*, boycotted by many nationalist groups—provided some kind of schooling in modern political procedures. In the late 1920's it acquired a bare Indonesian majority and was also granted co-legislative powers, especially significant with regard to the annual budget. But the increasing radicalization of Indonesian political life, highlighted by armed revolts in 1926-7, and the subsequent strengthening of the bureaucratic apparatus, greatly reduced the usefulness of the *Volksraad*. Coming so soon after the sweeping decentralization measures had been introduced, the resurgence of bureaucratic power also considerably inhibited the proper functioning of the lower conciliar bodies. When administrative decentralization was extended to the Outer Territories in the late 1930's, it was almost wholly devoid of the political experimentation that had taken place in Java. Dutch rule thus bequeathed to Indonesia a basically centralized state structure still dominated by officialdom, and with only some incipient and frail features of democratic self-rule.

In spite of its brevity, the Japanese interregnum in Indonesia (1942-5) wrought several far-reaching changes in the Dutch system. Quite apart from the temporary dismemberment of the archipelago (the different islands were administered by separate military commands), the Japanese dismissed Dutch officials, replacing them by Japanese and Indonesians, and in the place of the Western-style, quasi-democratic deliberative bodies they provided appointive councils of extremely limited competency. It was in the field of agitational politics, however, that major changes occurred which, combined with Japanese organizational innovations, profoundly affected the population, most notably the younger generation. This rapid mobilization of Indonesian political life, sharpened by ideological cleavages and by the rise to political prominence of military and paramilitary forces, stood in marked contrast to the basically unaltered conservatism of the increasingly Indonesianized bureaucratic administrative machinery. Governmental authoritarianism, albeit in a more ruthlessly arbitrary form, was similarly unaffected by the change in colonial overlord.

Indonesian independence (proclaimed in August 1945) and the subsequent four-year struggle against Dutch military attempts at re-colonization sharply raised the politicization of Indonesian society. The first provisional constitution of the Indonesian Republic [see DUSTŪR], promulgated only three weeks after the Japanese surrender and still influenced by Japanese tutelage, provided for a presidential form of government. An elected legislative assembly was envisaged under the constitution, but owing to the revolution and continued armed conflict with the Dutch, national elections took place only in 1955. In the interim, an appointed Central Indonesian National Committee functioned as a legislature; its prestige was considerably heightened when late in 1945 cabinet responsibility was shifted to the (numerically augmented) Committee which very soon was greatly influenced by the emerging political organizations, prominent among them the Nationalist, Masjumi (Muslim), and Socialist parties.

The republican organs of government were only operational in some parts of Indonesia, most notably in Java and Sumatra. Elsewhere, the return of Dutch military forces and administrative personnel inaugurated a wide variety of semi-autonomous 'states' under the Dutch aegis, culminating in the late 1940's in sixteen distinct political entities (including the Republic). It was therefore to a federal, bicameral Republic of the United States of Indonesia that the Dutch transferred sovereignty in December 1949; but within less than a year the federal charter gave way to Indonesia's third provisional constitution (1950) which, in turn, remained in force for less than a decade. It established a unitary and parliamentary system. Cabinets were based on coalitions among the three major parties [see ḤIZB, vii] that had gained prominence (Nationalists, Masjumi, and Nahdatul Ulama [Muslim Scholars' Party]) before, but especially after, the general elections of 1955. The fourth important group, the Communist Party, remained outside the government coalitions, though wielding increasing influence at the centre and particularly among the electorate. During the initial period, the liberal-democratic system, though far from properly rooted in Indonesia's political culture, appeared to be working fairly smoothly, a beginning being made with political decentralization proper: regional and local government devolved on elective assemblies. But growing ideological polarization between Islamic and 'secular' groupings—particularly pronounced in the Constituent Assembly, likewise elected in 1955—, proliferation of parties coupled with lack of internal party discipline,

cabinet instability, continued international frustrations caused by the Netherlands' retention of West New Guinea (Irian Barat), economic deterioration coupled with regional discontent, but also increasing military interference in the political process—all these adverse factors helped to discredit constitutional government among members of the élite and wide sectors of the political public.

In the wake of widespread armed revolt and threatened secession in the outer territories, both the central military authorities and the chief executive embarked on a progressively authoritarian course. The president abrogated the deadlocked Constituent Assembly, proscribed some parties, most notably Masjumi, and from 1957 on gradually inaugurated a new political system, "Guided Democracy". The Republic's first provisional constitution of 1945, which was reinstated by presidential decree (July 1959), provided the legal basis for the new order. Parliamentary government had thus been forced to yield to a centralized system not too dissimilar, in substance, to earlier forms. The instrumentalities of Guided Democracy, created in piecemeal fashion and by no means clearly coordinated, before long overshadowed the parliament which—reflecting the steep decline of the political parties—was in fact reconstituted as a 'Mutual Aid' legislature on an appointive basis in 1960, its membership enlarged by several 'functional' groups, particularly the military. New and often unwieldy bodies with overlapping authorities and duties were rapidly added at the president's behest and choosing, including the High Advisory Council and the People's Provisional Consultative Assembly (both in fact provided for in the 1945 charter), as well as a National Planning Council, and for that matter a presidential cabinet comprising some 90 ministers. It was the Consultative Assembly (not the parliament), with a membership exceeding six hundred, that served as the nation's *de jure* supreme body, empowered to elect the chief executive who, in turn, was accountable to it.

The smooth working of Guided Democracy did not, however, overly depend on the formal structural arrangements that appeared to be lacking in cohesion. Actual political power had been drained from the ten or so political parties still permitted to exist, with the partial exception of the Communist Party whose massive organization constituted one of the real foci of political strength. It was paralleled and counterbalanced by the increasingly well-disciplined army, whose active participation in political and administrative matters had steadily grown as a result of internal disorder and foreign confrontations (with the Netherlands first, and the Federation of Malaysia thereafter). The army had also been the prime beneficiary of the nationalization of most foreign-owned enterprises, and of the dismantling of the political parties' strength in the decentralized organs of local and regional government. At the apex of Guided Democracy stood the president, its founder and ideologue *par excellence*, invested with lifelong executive powers during the Consultative Assembly's first session. By the early 1960's Indonesia had unmistakeably moved ever closer to a highly personalized if not autocratic system of government. Yet while the president's legal as well as extra-legal powers were very wide indeed, they were circumscribed less so formally than by the existence of other power factors.

A major political upheaval which started in October 1965 and whose causes and ramifications have remained partly obscured at the time of writing (mid-1966) may be expected to have profound effects on Indonesian government, even though the fragile constitutional framework of Guided Democracy has for the time being survived. One major result of these momentous events has been the decimation, if not the virtual destruction, of the Communist Party, achieved with the aid of militant Muslim groups. Another, though far less clearcut, result is a seeming diminution of the powers of the president, shorn of his lifetime incumbency by the fourth plenary session of the People's Provisional Consultative Assembly. As of the mid-1960's the army appeared to be the major beneficiary of the political restructuring, to all appearances wielding power in a barely less authoritarian and centralized manner than that of the immediately preceding system. Whether political democracy could, or would, once again be grafted upon this old-new structure and whether, if once more attempted, it would strike stronger roots than before, must remain open questions.

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ḤULĀ, "ornaments, personal jewellery" [see LIBĀS].

ḤŪLA, a town reported to be in Nadjd, Central Arabia. The description of this town published in *EI*¹, s.v., was apparently based only on a report by W. Palgrave (*Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, i, 361 and map). The name, of which there is no modern knowledge or historical record, is erroneous; Palgrave's description may actually refer to al-Ḥawṭa [*q.v.*], a town to the north of Ḥūla's reported location. (J. MANDAVILLE)

AL-**ḤŪLA**, present-day name of the lake in Israel (35° 40′ E. and 33° 10′ N.), to the south of Mount Hermon not far from the sources of the Jordan, which flow into it. This lake, triangular in shape and 5-6 km. long, issues in the river Jordan at its south-east corner. It is 80 metres above sea-level and thus 265 metres above the level of the lake of Tiberias. Its water is fresh and it is famed for its fish and its aquatic birds. The plain which surrounds it, *arḍ al-Ḥūla*, was formerly a vast swamp covered with papyrus, reeds and giant water-lilies. The marshes in this basin are now almost all drained as a result of the widening and deepening of the bed of the Jordan. Thus the region now comprises

extensive areas of cultivation. But irrigation raises the problem of the distribution of the water among the adjacent countries.

This lake has borne throughout the ages various names. The name al-Ḥūla seems to derive from the Aramaean *Oulatha*, a place mentioned by Josephus. This name was used in 23 B.C. by Caesar, when he made over to Herod the inheritance of Zenodorus, consisting of *Oulatha*, *Paneas* and the surrounding region. Josephus calls the lake *Semachonitis*, and the Talmud *Samakhi*. It is identified with the waters of Merom, where Joshua defied the army of Jabin, King of Hazor (Joshua, XI, 5-7). Arabic writers such as al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī and Abu 'l-Fidā' sometimes refer to it under the name of Lake of Bāniyās [*q.v.*], probably because of its proximity to the town of this name. They also mention it under the name of Buḥayrat Ḳadas, from the name of an ancient Hebrew town, the ruins of which are found on top of the mountain; Abū S̲h̲āma refers to the lake as al-Mallāḥa (a place to the north-west possessing a good spring), a name also used by William of Tyre. There should also be mentioned the name of Baḥr al-K̲h̲ayt, still in use by the local population today.

The names of al-Ḥūla and Buḥayrat Ḳadas have also been given to a lake situated between Ḥimṣ and Ṭarābulus, which is often confused with the Palestine lake. It is the lake at Ḥimṣ to which Abu'l-Fidā' refers when he writes that in 584/1188 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made his camp on the shores of the lake of Ḳadas; al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī confuses the two localities: he refers to the lake of Ḳadas situated between Ḥimṣ and Mount Lebanon and adds that the town of Ḳadas, which gave its name to the lake, was taken by S̲h̲uraḥbīl b. Ḥasāna, whereas it was in fact the town in Galilee which the latter conquered.

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HŪLĀGŪ (HÜLEGÜ or rather HÜLE'Ü, the intervocalic *g* being purely graphic), the Mongol conqueror and founder of the dynasty of the Īl-K̲h̲āns [*q.v.*] of Persia, born *ca.* 1217, was the grandson of Čingiz-K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] by the latter's youngest son Toluy [*q.v.*]. Sent by his brother the Great K̲h̲ān Möngke at the head of an army against the Ismāʿīlīs and the Caliph, he left Mongolia in the autumn of 1253, proceeding at a leisurely pace along a carefully prepared route, the roads having been specially cleared and levelled and bridges built across the rivers for the easier passage of his forces. In S̲h̲aʿbān 653/September-October 1255 he encamped in the meadows of Kān-i Gul near Samarḳand, where he remained till the beginning of S̲h̲awwāl/November; and it was not till 1 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 653/1 January 1256 that he finally crossed the Oxus. Here he received the homage of most of the petty rulers of Persia and the Caucasus area; in the course of the year 654/1256 the greater part of the Ismāʿīlī strongholds were taken without difficulty; on the fall of the dynasty see ALAMŪT, NIZĀRĪS. On 10 Muḥarram 656/17 January 1258 the Caliph's army was routed in a pitched battle; on 15 Muḥarram/22 January Hūlāgū in person sat down before Bag̲h̲dād, which surrended on 4 Ṣafar/10 February; for details of the execution of the Caliph and the sacking of his capital see BAG̲H̲DĀD. An attempt made in 658/1260 to conquer Syria failed. Hūlāgū succeeded in taking Aleppo, and Damascus, deserted by its defenders, surrendered without a blow; but news of the death of the Great K̲h̲ān caused him to return to Persia and the army he had left behind was destroyed by the Egyptians at ʿAyn D̲j̲ālūt [*q.v.*] in Palestine on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260. On the unsuccessful war with the Golden Horde in 660/1262 see BERKE.

The petty kingdoms in D̲j̲azīra, Kurdistān and Asia Minor as well as the Christian territories south of the Caucasus were incorporated as vassal states in the kingdom founded by Hūlāgū so that his power stretched from the Oxus almost to the Mediterranean and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean. The sovereign took the title of Īl-K̲h̲ān ("subordinate k̲h̲ān") and he and his successors down to G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*] reigned in the name of the Great K̲h̲ān in Mongolia (afterwards in China). The Christian element amongst his subjects was particularly favoured by Hūlāgū, and especially by his Christian wife Doḳūz K̲h̲ātūn, often to the detriment of the Muslims. The towns destroyed during his wars were in part rebuilt even in Hūlāgū's time; he himself in times of peace delighted to live in north-western Ād̲h̲arbayd̲j̲ān, particularly on the banks of Lake Urmiya, where many edifices, such as the famous observatory on a hill north of Marāg̲h̲a, a palace in Ala-Tag̲h̲, Buddhist temples in K̲h̲ōy, etc. were constructed. He restored a strong castle (on the earlier fortification cf. Yāḳūt, i, 513) on the mountainous island of S̲h̲āhū (now S̲h̲āhī). The remains still survive, according to the archaeologist E. F. Schmidt, "on the almost inaccessible summit of a great rock rising a thousand feet above the shore of the island." Here were kept the treasures won in battle in Persia and elsewhere, and here was the burial place both of Hūlāgū himself and of his successor Abāḳā. Hūlāgū died on 19 Rabīʿ II 663/8 February 1265. In accordance with the Mongol custom several beautiful young women were buried with him; this is the last occasion on which human victims are mentioned in connection with the funeral of a Čingizid prince.

Bibliography: D̲j̲uwaynī/Boyle, 607-640, 712-725; *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. Hammer, 51 ff. (tr. 49 ff.); Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, 5-94; J. A. Boyle, *The death of the last ʿAbbāsid Caliph*: *a contemporary Muslim account*, in *JSS*, vi/2 (1961), 145-61 (contains a translation of the appendix to the *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ahān-Gus̲h̲ā* of D̲j̲uwaynī by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī); M. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 134 ff.; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1939, 426-42; Spuler *Mongolen*², 48-67; E. F. Schmidt, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran*, Chicago 1940; O. Spies, *Ein unbenutzter Bericht über die Mongolen in Bagdad*, in *Isl.*, xl (1965), 97-112 (annotated tr. of an account of the conquest of Bag̲h̲dād from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-S̲h̲āfiʿiyya* of Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Subkī).

(W. BARTHOLD-[J. A. BOYLE])

HŪLĀGŪ, a Mongol noble of Lāhawr (Lahore), whose brief rise to power in that city in about 735/1335 was symptomatic of the general resentment felt at Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ's rule. When the sultan had left Dihlī for the south of India to put down the

rebellion of Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [*q.v.*] Hūlāgū killed Tātār Khān, governor of Lāhawr, appointed Gul Čandra (?) the Khokar his minister, and proclaimed his independence. On the news reaching Dihlī, the *wazīr* Khwādja Djahān, who had not yet followed the sultan south, marched to Lāhawr with an army and put down the rebellion; since 300 widows of the rebels were sent to imprisonment at Gwāliyār the rebellion must have been on a considerable scale. Nothing more is known of Hūlāgū; it seems that he was one of the many foreign nobles encouraged by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ to assist him to his ambition of conquering Persia and Transoxiana.

Bibliography: Almost the only account of the disorders is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 332-3, who calls the rebel H.l'djwn and his minister Ḳuldj.nd. (J. Burton-Page)

al-ḤULAL al-MAWSHIYYA, Arabic chronicle considered until recently as anonymous; according to Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit's *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya* (2 vols., Fez 1336/1917), however, it is the work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī Ibn Sammāk, a contemporary of Muḥammad V of Granada, whom he eulogizes in the introduction to his work, which was finished on 12 Rabīʿ I 783/6 June 1381. It is a curious motley patchwork in which the author, without troubling himself with the differences of style or the historical value of his sources, has juxtaposed passages taken from the best-informed and best-known authors, such as Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, Abū Yaḥyā b. al-Yasaʿ, al-Baydhaḳ, and Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, with forged official letters, testimonies invented by the author, and ridiculous legends whose origins appear to be oriental. Although its full title, *al-Ḥulal al mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-Marrākushiyya*, might lead one to think that it is concerned with the history of Marrākush, it is in fact a résumé of events under the Almoravid empire and an account of the beginnings of the Almohad movement up to and including ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. It then becomes a very brief account of the other Almohad caliphs, ending with a mere list enumerating the Marīnid sultans up to Abū Tāshfīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar in 783/1381. The first European historian to use the material in this chronicle was Conde, who used a Spanish translation of the 17th century (mentioned by R. Basset [*EI*1, s.v.] as being in the Bibl. du Gouvernement Général, Algiers) far superior to those he made himself or used in other passages of his *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*. Dozy used the *Ḥulal* as one of his sources in his *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne* and in *Loci de Abbadidis*. Amari gives a brief extract from it in the appendix to the *Bibl. arabo-sicula*. Codera referred to it for his *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almorávides*. Lévi-Provençal quotes from it in his *Documents inédits* as does Huici Miranda in his *Historia política del imperio almohade* and *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*.

Bibliography: Two editions of the Arabic text have been published up till now: the first, Tunis 1329/1910, is completely unacceptable; the second, by I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, is executed with scrupulous care following a MS provided by Lévi-Provençal and anothei belonging to Algiers University, along with the fragments edited by Dozy in *Loci de Abbadidis* and *Recherches*, but without reference to the MSS in the libraries of Paris, Lisbon, and Évora, which Huici Miranda consulted for his complete translation, published as volume i of the *Colección de crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, Tetuán 1951. (A. Huici Miranda)

ḤULM [see taʿbīr al-ruʾyā].

ḤULMĀNIYYA, followers of Abū Ḥulmān al-Fārisī a native of Persia, educated in Ḥalab and later living in Damascus where he disseminated his ideas. He is recorded as a *ṣūfī*, *e.g.*, in Sarrādj (d. 378/988), *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fi'l-taṣawwuf* (ed. Nicholson 1914), 289, where it is related that Abū Ḥulmān al-Ṣūfī once swooned on hearing the street-cry of a herbseller, the author seeing in this a testimony to the effect of *samāʿ* being dependent on the spiritual state of the hearer. But his ṣūfism is not generally acknowledged, and by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 729/1037), Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072) *et al.* he and the Ḥulmāniyya are accused of two heresies: (1) They maintain the doctrine of *ḥulūl* and *imtizādj*, and in connexion with this they believe in the transmission of spirits, *intiḳāl*. With reference to *Sūra* XV, 29 f., they believe that God is embodied in every beautiful being and they therefore make *sudjūd* before a pretty form. This point is mentioned, without names, by al-Ashʿarī (d. 327/938) in *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. Ritter, Bibl. Isl., 1929, 214), and by Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ii (composed 355/966), ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1901, 91 (text) and 81 (tr.). (2) They feel themselves, by their professed knowledge of God, relieved of all prohibitions and thus advocate licentiousness.

Hudjwīrī says that they are connected with "the Sālimī sect of anthromorphists". These formed a philosophical *madhhab* in Baṣra in the 3rd/9th century. Ibn Sālim professed God's continued creation, for instance in the voices of reciters of the Ḳurʾān, and he had the idea that God on the Day of Judgement will appear in a corporeal human shape, visible to the human eye. There may be some connexion on this point, but the pretended tendency to *ibāḥa* of the Ḥulmāniyya does not harmonize with the earnest asceticism of Ibn Sālim and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, who calls him "our *shaykh*" (*Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, ii, 172, ll. 12-35) and who writes in his spirit. Al-Makkī does not mention Abū Ḥulmān, nor does al-Ghazālī, but he concerns himself with the ideas of the Ḥulmāniyya and refutes them in some of his works. Thus, in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, iv, 218 f. (ed. Cairo 1322) he condemns people who claim to appropriate to themselves divine character and the embodiment thereof through *ḥulūl*, whereas God has reserved the perfect beauty for Himself. In *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā* (Cairo 1322, 110, 114 f.) al-Ghazālī speaks of ṣūfis who pretend to borrow (*istiʿāra*) God's names and *ṣifāt* and thus imply *ḥulūl*. And in *Mishkāt al-anwār* (Cairo 1322, 51) we find the interesting remark that the idea of God's manifestation in every kind of beauty, be it in man, animal or plant, to which the believers make *sudjūd* as to their gods, is to be found among "the farthest Turks who have no religion and no *sharīʿa*".

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Farḳ bayna 'l-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 215, 241, 245 f.; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, trans. Nicholson, London 1936, 131, 260; L. Massignon, *Al-Hallaj*, i, Paris 1922, 362; idem, *K. al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913, 171. (J. Pedersen)

ḤULŪL signifies etymologically, among other things, the act of loosing, of unfastening, of untying (a knot); of resolving a difficulty, and, with the accusative or with *bi* or *fī*, of alighting at a place. Hence its various meanings in the Muslim religious sciences and in *falsafa*.

(1) In grammar *ḥulūl* denotes the occurrence of the accident of inflexion (*iʿrāb*); (2) in law it denotes the application of a prescription; (3) in Hellenistic philosophy (*falsafa*) it denotes: (a) the inhesion of an accident in an object (*mawḍūʿ*; cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, nos. 179 and 184); (b) the substantial union of soul and body: *ḥulūl al-rūḥ fi 'l-badan* (al-Fārābī, *Ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, Cairo 1906, 80); *ḥulūl al-lāhūt fi 'l-nāsūt* [cf. AL-ḤALLĀDJ]; (4) in theology (*kalām*) and mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) *ḥulūl* expresses "infusion", the indwelling of God in a creature (see further IMĀMA, TANĀSUKH); it is often a synonym for *ittiḥād* [*q.v.*].

The upholders of atomism, together with al-Ashʿarī, admit the *ḥulūl* of soul in body because they consider the *rūḥ* (the soul) to be a rarefied body, even in the case of angels and demons; but, like the other *mutakallimūn*, they reject *ḥulūl* in meaning (4).

Muslim authors give various descriptive definitions (*rusūm*) of *ḥulūl*. For some it is the appropriation of one thing by another, or the "infusion" of one thing into another, such that when one is described the other is also described, whether this identification be a true one (*taḥkīkan*), as in the case of the water that rises in the stem of a flower, or the case of the inhesion of accidents in bodies, or metaphorical (*takdīran*), such as the "inhesion" of sciences in immaterial beings. The following definition is also found: *al-ḥulūl* is qualifying appropriation (*al-ikhtiṣāṣ al-nāʿit*), that is to say the appropriate dependence of two terms which makes one the qualifier and the other the thing qualified. The first is called *al-ḥāll*, the second *al-maḥall*. An example is the dependence of the whiteness that covers a body. Finally, *ḥulūl* has also been defined as the existence of one thing in another in a dependent fashion (*al-ḥulūl ʿalā sabīl al-tabaʿiyya*), a definition that is virtually equivalent to the preceding one.

Two kinds of *ḥulūl* are distinguished: (1) one extensive (*al-ḥulūl al-sarayānī*), when the infuser (*al-ḥāll*) spreads to all parts of the receptive object (for example, the water rising in the stem of a flower); (2) the other localized (*al-ḥulūl al-ṭarayānī* or *al-djiwārī*), when the "infuser" takes up only a part of the object, for example, the water contained in a receptacle, or the point that ends a line.

These various precise definitions have enabled Muslim theologians to refute the idea of God's *ḥulūl* in creatures: (1) such a *ḥulūl* would exclude absolute necessity in God; (2) it would involve the existence of two eternals (God and the receptive object); (3) God would become divisible through the division of the receptive object, unless the latter were reduced to an atom, which is unworthy of God.

We see in al-Djurdjānī-Taftāzānī (*Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, second *marṣad* of the *Ilāhiyyāt*, fifth *maḳṣad*) how the upholders of *ḥulūl* are classed: (1) the Christians (according to their various positions); (2) the Nuṣayrīs and the Ishrāḳiyya; (3) certain Ṣūfīs whose doctrine lies between *ittiḥād* and *ḥulūl*. Their position, says al-Taftāzānī, comes round again to that of the Christians.

Muslim authors normally call the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation *ḥulūl*, although Christian authors speak of *taʾannus*, *tadjassud*, and also of *ittiḥād*. They sometimes use the verb *ḥalla* to say that the Word "descended" into a human nature, or to speak of the descent of the Holy Spirit.

The Sunnīs and Shīʿīs condemn the following sects as *ḥulūliyya*, on the same grounds as the Christians: (a) the extreme Shīʿīs (*ghulāt*): Sabāʾiyya, Bayāniyya, Djanāḥiyya, Khaṭṭābiyya, Namīriyya (Nuṣayriyya), Muḳannaʿiyya, Rizāmiyya, Bāṭiniyya, ʿAzāḳira, Druses; (b) Sunnī Ṣūfiyya: Ḥulmāniyya, Fārisiyya [cf. AL-ḤALLĀDJ], Shabbāsiyya; (c) Monists: Ittiḥādiyya (Ibn Taymiyya refers to their *waḥdat al-wudjūd* as *ḥulūl muṭlaḳ*, cf. *tadjassud al-aʿmāl* according to al-Farghānī, *Muntaha 'l-madārik*, Cairo 1293, ii, 84-6; cf. IBN AL-ʿARABĪ].

Bibliography: Sulamī, *Ghalaṭāt al-ṣūfiyya*, MS Cairo, *Fihr.*, vii, no. 178 ff., 77-9; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, trans. Nicholson, 260-4; Ghazālī, *al-Maḳṣad al-asnā fī asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, Cairo 1324, 76; Ibn al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣira*, lith. Tehrān, 406, 419; Ibn Taymiyya, *Kawākib*, MS Damascus XXVI (extr. printed by Alūsī, *Djalāʾ*, 54-61); Haytamī, *Fatāwā ḥadīthiyya*, 238-9; Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifāʾ*, chap. IV, 3, n. 5, with the commentaries of Daladjī and Khafādjī; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. Sprenger, 349-52; Friedländer, in *JAOS*, xxviii, 34, 36, 65-72 and xxix, 13, 52, 90, 96; *Dustūr al-ʿulamāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1331, ii, 54; L. Massignon, *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1964, 39, 115, 203, 253, 256; A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur le christianisme dans le "Tamhīd" d'al-Bāqillānī*, in *Mél. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 1-11; Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, *Kulliyyāt*, Būlāḳ 1281, 161.

(L. MASSIGNON-[G. C. ANAWATI])

ḤULWĀN, in Greek χάλα, a very ancient town which was situated near the entrance to the Paytak pass through the Zagros range, on the famous Khurāsān highway. Its site has been identified with that of the present-day village of Sar-i Pul-i Dhuhāb, which is 33 km. east by south of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn [*q.v.*] (see H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohâb to Khuzistân*, in *JRGS*, London, ix (1839), 40, and the *Guide Bleu, Moyen Orient*, Paris 1956, 697). In Assyrian times the town was known as Khalmanu. In those days the town was situated on the natural frontier between Babylonia and Media (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 388). According to an Arab tradition quoted by al-Ṭabarī (see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 138), the town was founded by the Sāsānian monarch Ḳavādh I (d. 531), but it is clearly far more ancient than that. From other Muslim sources it would seem that Ḳavādh established a land survey office in Ḥulwān, and that registers were kept there until after the Muslim conquest (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 15, n. 3; cf. DAFTAR, 78a).

After the great victory of the Muslim Arabs at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] in 16/637 and the subsequent evacuation of Ctesiphon by the Sāsānian court, Yezdigird took refuge at Ḥulwān for a time, before continuing his eastward flight. Ḥulwān fell into the hands of the advancing Arabs. Ḥulwān then and for some time after was a flourishing town in a fertile district producing much fruit. The town was surrounded by a wall which had 8 gates; the principal mosque was in the centre, inside an ancient castle. The Jews had a synagogue there. Towards the end of the 4th/early 11th century, Ḥulwān was ruled by a quasi-independent dynasty which had been founded by Muḥammad ibn ʿAnnāz and it became very well known under his son Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS]. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (139) described Ḥulwān as 'a very pleasant town, traversed by a river. It produces figs which are dried and exported everywhere'.

Ḥulwān was taken by the Saldjūḳs in 437/1046, who set it on fire; its destruction was completed by an earthquake 3 years later. It was subsequently

rebuilt on a smaller scale and it is now known as Sar-i Pul-i Dhuhāb.

Bibliography: further to references in the text: *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, index; Yāḳūt, ii, 316; Le Strange, 191; B. Spuler, *Iran*, index. (L. LOCKHART)

ḤULWĀN, town situated twenty five kilometres south of Cairo, four kilometres from the right bank of the Nile and approximately 35 metres above bank level. Ḥulwān is linked by road and rail with Cairo and is a rapidly growing industrial complex, containing a large steel works and the electricity generating plant for south Cairo. At the 1960 census, its inhabitants numbered about 95,000.

Historically, Ḥulwān derives its fame from its mineral springs. It would appear that the site was settled in Pharaonic times, for during the excavations of 1946 graves and pottery dating from the First Dynasty were uncovered; remains of Roman baths were also discovered. However, it was not until the period following the Arab conquest and the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān that substantial settlement occurred upon the site. According to al-Maḳrīzī, when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān was forced to evacuate Fusṭāṭ during the disastrous flood of the year 70/690, he moved south towards what is now Ḥulwān. The position pleased him, possibly because of its proximity to Fusṭāṭ and its being above the level of the Nile flood. He set up his residence there, built palaces and mosques and planted palm gardens and vineyards. He also ordered the construction of a nilometer; this was replaced by the nilometer constructed on the island of Rawḍa in 96/715.

During the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān, Ḥulwān continued to prosper and its fame was celebrated in verse by the poet Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt. After Umayyad times, its position declined and, by the Mamlūk period, the palaces and mosques had disappeared and the source of the mineral springs had become filled with sand. During the reign of the Khedive ʿAbbās, the springs were uncovered and a centre was established at Ḥulwān for the treatment of soldiers suffering from skin diseases and rheumatism. Under Ismāʿīl and Tawfīḳ, Ḥulwān continued to grow and Ismāʿīl built there a palace for his mother (*Ḳaṣr al-Wālida*). Baths were built at the springs in 1869 and, during the construction, the remains of the Umayyad baths were discovered. The present baths were completed in 1892. On the banks of the Nile, adjacent to Ḥulwān, King Farouk (Fārūḳ) built for himself a summer residence; this was subsequently known as Rukn Ḥulwān and became a museum and public park.

Bibliography: Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Wuḍūḥ al-burhān fī faḍāʾil wa mazāyā Ḥulwān*, Cairo 1894; Fouad Farag, *Taʾrīkh al-mudun al-ḳadīma wa dalīl al-madīna al-ḥaditha*, Cairo 1943-6, 122 f.; *Ḥulwān*, Ministry of Social Affairs, Cairo 1964; Souad Maher, *al-Ḳāhira al-ḳadīma wa aḥyāʾuhā*, Cairo 1963, 117 f.; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324, i, 337 f.; W. Popper, *The Cairo nilometer*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951, i, 10; Yāḳūt, ii, 321. (J. M. B. JONES)

ḤULWĀN, "douceur", "donative" [see INʿĀM, MĀL AL-BAYʿA, PĪSHKASH].

HUMĀ (P.), the bearded vulture (*Gypaetus barbatus*), the largest of the birds of prey of the Old World, which is usually found in the regions of perpetual snow; it carries off the bones of dead animals, breaks them on rocks and eats the fragments, which led the Persian poet Saʿdī to say that the *humā* was superior to all the other birds because instead of feeding on living flesh it ate only bones (*Gulistān*, i, story 15). It was thought that anyone who intentionally killed a *humā* would die within forty days. That this bird was considered to be of good omen is illustrated by another verse of the *Gulistān* (i, story 3): "Nobody will go to seek for the shadow of the owl, even if there were no *humā* in the world"; it was believed in the ancient world that the shadow of the *humā* falling on a person's head predicted his elevation to royalty: thus this verse of the *Būstān* (ed. Furughi, 26, v. 15): "I wished that, thanks to my fortunate star, the wing of the *humā* should be spread out over my head". Hence the epithet *humāyūn* [*q.v.*] meaning "august, royal, fortunate, of good omen", and *humāy* with the same meaning, which has become a proper name: *e.g.*, Humāy, the *mobadh* of Bahrām Gūr, and Humāy, daughter of Gushtasp (Wolff, *Glossar*, s.v.), Humāy, sister of the hero Isfandiyār (*Shāhnāma*, Tehrān 1935, vi, 1613-4, v. 2071; tr. Mohl, iv, 428), Humāy (Ar. Ḥumāya), daughter and wife of Bahman (Artaxerxes) son of Isfandiyār and mother of Dārāb (Tehrān ed., vi, 1755 ff.; tr. Mohl, v, 11-36; see DĀRĀB). Humāy is the name of the prince of Zamīnkhāvar and Humāyūn that of the princess of China in the verse romance by Khwādjū Kirmānī [see KIRMĀNĪ]. The *humā* is mentioned several times in Firdawsī's *Book of kings*: the royal crown is sometimes ornamented with *humā* feathers; a steed seems like a *humā* in full flight; the wings of the *humā* cover a fortress with their shadow; a place is so terrifying that even the *humā* is afraid to fly over it (for other examples, see Wolff, s.v.); in short, the poet makes use of the *humā* to create striking images, but does not attribute to it the magical powers which he gives to the *sīmurgh* [*q.v.*]. On the statement of the *Fihrist* that the *Thousand and one nights* were written for the queen Humāy, daughter of Bahman, see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA, col. 361a.

Bibliography: *Gr.Ir.Ph.*, ii, index, s.vv. Humāy, humāyūn; ʿAṭṭār, *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, tr. Garcin de Tassy, 49; Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ, *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, Calcutta 1824, 363; A. Christensen, *Les Keyanides*, 149 (Arabic sources in notes). (CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

HUMĀM B. YŪSUF [see HAWWĀRA (Egypt and the Sudan)].

HUMĀM AL-DĪN B. ʿALĀʾ TABRĪZĪ, Persian poet of the Mongol period who was for some time vizier of Ādharbāydjān. He was held in great esteem by contemporary men of standing such as Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī, the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*. In 686/1287-8 he accompanied the latter to Rūm for the sequestration of the property of the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn—an event to which he alludes in his poems. Towards the end of his life he became the disciple of Shaykh Saʿīd Farghānī, and after performing the *ḥadjdj*, retired to the *khānḳāh* which he had founded at Tabrīz with some financial assistance from the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*. Several sources state that he died in 713/1313-4 but in the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* it is mentioned that his death took place in 714/1314-5 at the age of 116. His poems were collected on the instructions of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh and edited posthumously with a preface in which his age at the time of his death was given as 78. He was buried in his *khānḳāh* at Tabrīz.

Humām has left a *Dīwān* of 2,000 verses including some Arabic *ḳaṣīdas* in praise of Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār, the *Ḳāḍī al-Ḳuḍāt* Muḥyī al-Dīn, Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamawī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*. Some of his Persian poems are in praise of Ghāzān Khān. His *ghazals*,

though elegant enough, show no outstanding originality but imitate for the most part the style of Saʿdī. In nearly all the biographical notices of Humām, his meeting with Saʿdī is mentioned but there is no evidence for this in the works of either poet. One of his *ghazals* appears to have been plagiarized by Saʿdī and many of his poems are responses to a single *bayt* of Saʿdī.

In addition to *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*, Humām wrote a mystical *mathnawī* in the *Hazadj* metre entitled *Ṣuḥbat-nāma*. This was dedicated to Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn, the son of the *Ṣāḥib-Dīwān*.

Bibliography: Browne, iii, 152-4; Dawlatshāh, 218-9; *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī* (ed. Farrukh), 22; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān* (Tehran 1314/1935-6 edition), 396-8 (containing an extract from the *Ṣuḥbat-nāma*); Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātishkada* (ed. Nāṣirī), 145-6; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā* (Tehran 1340/1961-2 edition), iii, 1449. Selections from the *Dīwān* have been twice published: (*a*) *Muntakhabāt* (Tabrīz 1309/1931); (*b*) *Dīwān-i Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī* (ed. Muʾayyad Thābitī, Tehran 1333/1954-5).

(G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS)

HUMĀY, ḤUMĀYA [see HUMĀ].

ḤUMAYD B. ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD AL-ṬŪSĪ, ʿAbbāsid general who was chiefly responsible for the victory of al-Maʾmūn over Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; he died, poisoned, in 210/825. His generosity and his magnificence were celebrated by several poets, in particular by ʿAlī b. Djabala [see AL-ʿAKAWWAK]. His sons, themselves poets though producing little (see *Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 235), became in their turn patrons, eulogized in particular by Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, sent against Bābak [*q.v.*] and killed in 214/829, was lamented by Abū Tammām, over whose tomb his brother Abū Nahshal erected a cupola; al-Buḥturī dedicated to this Abū Nahshal fifteen poems and also wrote panegyrics on his brothers Abū Djaʿfar and Abū Muslim.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 421; idem, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; idem, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 550-2 (Cairo ed., 840-3); Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*[1], xviii, 100-14, *passim*. (ED.)

ḤUMAYD B. THAWR, AL-HILĀLĪ, Arabic poet of the 1st/7th century. Aṣmaʿī (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iv, 457) calls him a poet of (early) Islamic times, whose language is correct, but he does not consider him a classic. Marzubānī (*Muwashshaḥ*, 80), Djumaḥī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 113) and Ibn Ḳutayba (*Shiʿr*, 230) call him *islāmī*. Amongst his poems is a dirge on the murder of ʿUthmān (Ibn ʿAsākir, 458) and verses addressed to the caliph Marwān. Later authorities, however, thought that he was a companion of the Prophet and died in the reign of ʿUthmān.

His poems (*shiʿr*) were collected by al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr, al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Ṭūsī and al-Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, 158, 7; see also Ḳālī, i, 252/248 and 133); they were still in the hands of Baṭalyawsī (*Iḳtiḍāb*, 475, 1), Ibn Khayr (*Fihrista*, 397, 19) and even ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (*Khizāna*, i, 9). Of his poetry we possess only fragments, *e.g.*, his famous descriptions of the wolf (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 231; Murtaḍā, iv, 121 with Shinḳīṭī's note; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 207), of the sandgrouse (*ḳaṭā*, *Aghānī*[1], vii, 159 = *Aghānī*[3], viii, 260; ʿAynī, i, 178) and of the dove (Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wtb.*, iv, 1006 f.).

Bibliography: in the article. His *Dīwān* was published by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1951.

(J. W. FÜCK)

ḤUMAYD AL-ARḲAṬ, an Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period. Little is known of his life besides what can be gathered from his verses. His lifetime is fixed approximately by his poems in praise of al-Ḥadjdjādj; one of them (Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 649) in which he ridicules ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] must have been composed during the siege of Mecca in 72/691-2. Another poem (Ṭabarī, ii, 1137) refers to the war of al-Ḥadjdjādj against Ibn al-Ashʿath and was therefore written somewhere between 81 and 85 A.H. (cf. also *Proverbia Arabum*, ii, 326). He is also credited with a satire (*hidjāʾ*) against al-Ḥadjdjādj (Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 394) but this seems unlikely. His poems were collected by al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Sikkīt and al-Ṭūsī (*Fihrist*, 158). His *Dīwān* was still in the hands of Ibn al-Mustawfī (*Khizāna*[1], ii, 253). Ḥumayd was famous for his skill in writing *radjaz*-poetry. He is reckoned by the Muslim critics amongst the best *radjaz*-poets (Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 458, 10) and was a forerunner of al-ʿAdjdjadj and Ruʾba. His verses are not impromptus but carefully composed poems which deal with all subjects typical of Arabic poetry. He describes, *e.g.*, a horse (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 495), a hunting scene (*Ḥamāsa*, 795), a wild ass (Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Manṭiḳ*, 291), a lover's complaint (ibid. 496). There are some verses, referring to Sūra CV and the story of the Elephant, but they are also attributed to Ruʾba (no. 77 Ahlwardt). He also composed poems in other metres than *radjaz* (though some of them are also attributed to Ḥumayd b. Thawr, Lane, i, 2112). Amongst them are two (Maydānī, i, 427 and ʿAynī[1], ii, 82) in which he blames a greedy guest. This conduct which ran counter to all canons of Bedouin hospitality led to Ḥumayd's being counted as one of the world's greatest misers (*Aghānī*[3], ii, 163). Sometimes he is confused with his namesake Ḥumayd b. Thawr [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: in the article. (J. W. FÜCK)

AL-ḤUMAYDĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr Futūḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Futūḥ b. Ḥumayd b. Yāṣil, Andalusian scholar of Arab origin. His family belonged to the Yemenī tribe of Azd. His father was born in al-Ruṣāfa, a suburb of Cordova, but moved to Majorca, where this son of his was born about 420/1029. Abū ʿAbd Allāh devoted himself to the study of theology, tradition, and law with different teachers and was a follower particularly of the Ẓāhirī school under the guidance of its most eminent exponent, Ibn Ḥazm, in his retreat at Niebla. He later emigrated to the East and by the gentleness of his character, his piety, and his erudition in his professorship at Baghdād (where he died in 488/1095), succeeded in avoiding the persecution and hatred provoked by the intemperance of his master and became one of the most admired scholars of his age. His biographer al-Ḍabbī and the latter's continuator al-Dhahabī, as well as al-Maḳḳarī, praise him in the most warm terms as a jurisconsult, traditionist, historian and poet, but the only work by him which we know, the *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus wa-asmāʾ ruwāt al-ḥadīth wa-ahl al-fiḳh wa-ʾl-adab wa-dhawi ʾl-nabāha wa-ʾl-shiʿr* (ed. Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, Cairo 1953) demonstrates that he was better informed about traditionists than about historians, for he devotes a great deal of space to obscure scholars who were his colleagues but passes over in silence historians of the importance of ʿĪsā al-Rāzī and ʿArīb b. Saʿd. Given the reputation which he achieved by

his teaching, one might have expected a better book, but since he wrote it to please his admirers at Baghdād, who wished to know the state of letters in Spain, he relied solely upon his memory without having at hand reference works which might have helped him in his task. It is therefore not a matter for astonishment that the book contains many inexactitudes and is lacking in truly interesting information. In his dates he is content with approximations, which have been the cause of some confusion and even of serious errors in some cases. For the rest, as Dozy says in a severe judgement, he may be credited with a certain impartiality as an honest man; but nothing more, for his mind did not rise above the commonplace.

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, 508, no. 1114; Ḍabbī, 113, no. 257; Ibn Khallikān, i, 485; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 17; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. XV, 9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 313; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 375; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1303/1885, x, 88; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1286/1869, ii, 218; Casiri, *Bibl. ar.-hisp. escur.*, ii, 134, 146; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, 74, no. 219; Pons Boigues, 164-7, no. 126; Dozy, *al-Bayān, Introduction*, i, 67; Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, 172; Brockelmann, I, 338, S I, 578. (A. Huici Miranda)

AL-ḤUMAYMA, ruined site in Jordan, situated in 30° N. and about 35° 20′ E., some 50 km. south-east of the town of Maʿān, halfway between there and the gulf of ʿAḳaba.

This place, mentioned by the Arab geographers as belonging to the *djund* of Dimashḳ and to the region of al-Sharāt, is famous in history chiefly as having been used as a residence by the ʿAbbāsid claimants between 68/687-8 and 132/749. It was after the death of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās at Ṭā'if in 68/687-8 that his son ʿAlī, who had given his support to the Umayyad caliphate, came to live at al-Ḥumayma, where he is said to have bought the "village" and built a fortified dwelling. It was there also that in 98/716, according to a widespread tradition, the son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], as he was dying, transferred to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī his rights to the imāmate and the leadership of the secret revolutionary movement of which he was the leading spirit.

Situated on the route of the ancient road linking Aila and Petra, al-Ḥumayma was certainly built on the site of an ancient collection of dwellings, which some have identified with the town of Auara founded by the Nabataean king Obodas in 93 B.C. and listed in the Peutinger Table. There are to be seen on the site today the ruins of some walls, the remains of an aqueduct, and some fairly extensive ruins situated at the foot of an eminence called Umm al-ʿAẓam, but no building has survived.

Bibliography: F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, Paris 1938, 182; A. Musil, *The northern Heğâz*, New York 1926, 59-61 and fig. 16-7; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 35, 347; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 57; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 83, 284; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 228-9; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 347; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 338; Ṭabarī, index; *Arabskiy anonim*, ed. Gryaznevič, Moscow 1960, index. (D. Sourdel)

HUMĀYŪN, as epithet of the ruler. The word *humāyūn* is frequently used in the *Shāhnāma* with the meaning of "fortunate, glorious, royal". Its specialized use for things or ideas connected with the ruler is already seen here in the designation of the legendary imperial banner as *dirafsh-i humāyūn*. It was only slowly, however, that the word penetrated into Persian chancery style. In the *inshā'* work *ʿAtabat al-kataba* of Muntadjab al-Dīn Djuwaynī, which was compiled towards the end of the Great Seldjūk period, the idea does not yet appear. It is only in the chancery of the Khʷārazmshāhs that we find it sporadically used, as in the *Wasā'il al-rasā'il*, ascribed to the poet and epistolographer Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, in the combination *alḳāb-i humāyūn* (royal honorific titles). The historian of the Timurids, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, makes much use of the epithet in combinations such as *rāyat-i humāyūn* (royal standard), *urdū-yi humāyūn* (royal army camp) and *ḥukm-i humāyūn* (royal command). It is perhaps no coincidence that this word is found comparatively often in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, since at the same time as he was writing in Herāt, on the orders of Baysonḳur, the grandson of Timur, there was undertaken at the court of Herāt a critical examination of the received text of the *Shāhnāma*. It was not until the Ṣafavid period that the term became really widely used: *raḳam-i humāyūn* (royal cipher, also the name of a type of document), *ḥukm-i h.*, *farmān-i h.* (royal command, especially in the introductory formulas of the various types of documents), and *muhr-i humāyūn* (royal seal). In addition there continued to appear terms like *ḥukm-i djahānmuṭāʿ* (a command, which the [whole] world obeys). In the 10th/16th century the epithet was transferred also to the person of the ruler: *nawwāb-i humāyūn-i mā* (our Royal Highness). *Humāyūn* referred also simply to the state, in the designation of the administration of the state- and crown-lands as *daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn wa khāṣṣa*. In the Ḳādjār period an extension was obtained through the use of the *yā-yi mushābih*: *darbār-i humāyūnī* (the royal court), *aʿlā ḥaḍrat-i humāyūnī* (the royal majesty). In recent years the epithet has become obsolete. The Shāh is referred to now as *Shāhanshāh-i āryā-mihr*.

With the spread of Persian culture and especially Persian chancery practice, the concept already in the Seldjūk period reached Asia Minor and in the Timurid period, with the Mughal rulers, as far as India. In India the word was used to about the same extent as under the Ṣafavids. In Asia Minor, among the Seldjūks of Rūm, it seems to have remained confined to introductory or concluding formulas in documents: *tawḳīʿ-i humāyūn* (the royal seal), or *ḥukm-i yarlīgh-i humāyūn čunānast ki* (the royal command is as follows). The same use is found as early as the beginning of the 9th/15th century among the Ottomans, who in chancery practice were linked firmly to Seldjūk traditions. In formulas such as *nishān-i hümāyūn we ṭughrā-yi meymūn ḥükmi oldur ki* (867/1462, Meḥemmed II) or *nishān-i hümāyūn we mithāl-i meymūn ḥükmi oldur ki* the interchangeability of the term with the Arabic *maymūn* is clear. The term *sharīf* also is interchangeable with *hümāyūn*. From chancery practice the word became transferred to things and ideas which belonged to the Sultan. The chroniclers refer to *murād-i hümāyūn* (the royal will) or *ḥuḍūr-i hümāyūn* (the royal presence; but also *ḥaḍrat-i ʿālampanāh*). The word was used of institutions, notably the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]; the main gate (dated 883/1478) to the Topkapî Palace is called *Bāb-i Hümāyūn* [see saray]; and later, especially in post-*Tanẓīmāt* times, the word appears in the names of various offices, schools, etc., as a general equivalent of 'royal', 'imperial'.

In Transoxania also, among the khāns (later emīrs) of Bukhārā, whose administrative practice was completely modelled on the Persian, the idea is found

in the introductory formulas of documents: *ḥukm-i humāyūn shud* (besides *ḥukm-i ʿālī ṣādir shud*) and in addition in combinations such as *farāmīn-i humāyūn* in the *adhortatio* and, as among the Ḳādjārs, *farmūda-yi humāyūnī*.

Etymologically *humāyūn* is obviously connected with the Avestan *māyā* (joy, delight, happiness, blessing) and *hu-māyā* (blessed). This basic meaning has been retained also by the modern Persian *humāyūn*, as is clear from the above-mentioned interchangeability with *maymūn*. In addition, already in the Ṣafavid period the word was connected with *humā* (phoenix, royal eagle). Thus Sebastian Beck in his grammar gives the definition *humāyūnī* "Phönixgleichheit, die kaiserliche Majestät".

Bibliography: Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904; Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdôsis Šâhnâme*, 857; Muntadjab al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, *Kitāb-i ʿatabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1369 s.; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 111; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Continuation du Ẓafarnāma de Niẓāmuddīn Šāmī*, ed. F. Tauer, in *Ar. Or.*, vi (1934), 429-65, index; H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden*, Cairo 1959, *passim*; S. Beck, *Schlüssel zur neupersischen Konv.-Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1915, 375; Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selcukları hakkında resmî vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, *passim*; P. Wittek, *Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden* (III), (IV), in *WZKM*, lv (1959), 122-41, lvi (1960), 267-84, at (III), 135, 139, (IV), 271; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscripts turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, i, Paris 1960, 45, 68, 70, 101; Fr. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 1921, 44, 47; A. Mukhtarov, *Materiali po istorii Ura-Tyube, Sbornik aktov XVII-XIX vv.*, Moscow 1963 (documents of the khāns and emirs of Bukhārā).

(H. Busse)

HUMĀYŪN, Nāṣir al-Dīn Humāyūn Pādishāh, posthumously called Djannat Āshiyānī, eldest surviving son of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur Pādishāh [see bābur], and second Mughal ruler of Hindūstān and Kābul, was born at Kābul on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 913/6 March 1508.

In 923-4/1517-8 he was left in nominal charge of Kābul, and administered Badakhshān, 926-31/1520-5 and 933-5/1527-9. In Ṣafar 932/December 1525 he joined Bābur at Kābul for the invasion of India. He took part in the battle of Pānipat and himself blockaded Āgra, there receiving the great diamond afterwards presented to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. He led a force against the trans-Ganges Afghāns, returned to Āgra in Rabīʿ II 933/January 1527 and on 13 Djumādā II 933/16 March 1527 commanded the right wing at Khānwa. In April he departed for Badakhshān, where he campaigned indecisively against the Özbeks for the recovery of Samarḳand. In 935/1529 peace was made and he returned to India, falling gravely ill at Sambhal, but recovering. Possibly in spite of a plot to supplant him, the *khuṭba* was read in Humāyūn's name at Āgra three days after Bābur's death, on 9 Djumādā I 937/29 December 1530.

After his accession his half brothers had to be satisfied. Kāmrān advanced from Kābul to Lahore. Humāyūn acknowledged the Pandjāb, Ḳandahār and Kābul as Kāmrān's *djāgīr*: Hindāl received Mewāt and ʿAskarī received Sambhal. Humāyūn in 937/1531 subdued the Rādjā of Kālindjar, and conducted a campaign against the Afghāns advancing from Bihār, led by Bāyazīd and Bibban, whom he defeated at Damoh. He also besieged Shēr Khān at Čunaṙ in 938/1532. He then returned to Āgra. In Muḥarram 939/August 1533 he founded the city of Dīn Panāh at Delhi, whose fortifications were completed in Shawwāl 940/May 1534, when he returned to Āgra again. Humāyūn next confronted the northward expanding power of Sultan Bahādur Shāh of Gudjarāt. In Shaʿbān 941/February 1535 he set out from Āgra. In late March the two armies met, and Bahādur was besieged at Mandasawr. Two months later Bahādur abandoned his army and fled by Mandu (sacked by Humāyūn) and then onwards by Čampaner to Aḥmadābād and Cambay, hotly pursued by Humāyūn till he escaped by sea to Diu. Humāyūn besieged Čampaner and took it with much treasure in Ṣafar 942/August 1535. Humāyūn delayed at Čampaner till news of gathering Gudjarātī forces drew him to Aḥmadābād; at Maḥmūdābād he defeated the Gudjarātīs led by ʿImād al-Mulk. Humāyūn then departed to Mālwa, leaving Gudjarāt in charge of ʿAskarī, who abandoned it around May 1536, but was forestalled by Humāyūn in a race to capture Āgra. After one year in Āgra he set out in Ṣafar 944/July 1537 to combat the growing power of Shēr Khān Sūr in Eastern India. He took, after some months of siege, the fortress of Čunāṙ, while Shēr Khān was subduing Bengal. Humāyūn entered Bengal by Gaṙhī, while Shēr Khān escaped by Djhārkand. In Humāyūn's absence in Bengal, Hindāl assumed sovereignty in Āgra, at which Humāyūn set out from Gawṛ in Bengal. Shēr Khān blockaded Humāyūn's return at Chausa on the south bank of the Ganges. Kāmrān then advanced from Lahore and displaced Hindāl at Āgra, at which Humāyūn negotiated peace with Shēr Khān: but Shēr Khān then attacked his unprepared army, routed it and drove it into the river on 9 Ṣafar 946/26 June 1539. Humāyūn barely escaped drowning and hastened to Āgra with a few horsemen. He remained there about six months negotiating with his brothers. Kāmrān retreated to Lahore, depriving him of many men, while Shēr Shāh (Shēr Khān) advanced up the bank of the Ganges. Humāyūn advanced to Kannawdj, near which after a month's confrontation his forces were defeated and driven into the river on 10 Muḥarram 947/17 May 1540. Humāyūn once more narrowly escaped drowning and fled through Āgra to Lahore, where a council of the royal princes and Čaghatāʾī *Beg*s was held. Crossing the Rāvi at Shēr Shāh's approach, Kāmrān with ʿAskarī took the road for Kābul and Humāyūn turned towards Sind, with whose ruler, Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn, he negotiated from Bhakkar in 948. In Radjab 948 he besieged Sehvān, but was harassed by Shāh Ḥusayn, who induced Humāyūn's cousin, Yādgār Nāṣir, with many soldiers, to desert him. Humāyūn then retired by Djaysalmer to Djodhpur and then to Amarkot, the Rānā of which offered hospitality. There on 5 Radjab 949/15 October 1542 his son Akbar [*q.v.*] was born. Humāyūn then moved to Djūn, where he passed 6-9 months in desultory hostilities with the Arghūn ruler. In Rabīʿ II 950/July 1543, with camels provided by the Arghūns, Humāyūn set out for Ḳandahār, but ʿAskarī secured the town against him, and Humāyūn travelled westwards to Sīstān, narrowly escaping capture and obliged to seek the hospitality of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

The year 951/1544 was passed in Iran. He was given a princely reception at Herāt, and travelled by Mas͟hhad (visiting the Imām Riḍā's tomb), Nīs͟hāpūr and Sabzawār to Ḳazwīn, from where he joined S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp at his summer camp, in Ḏjumādā I 951/August 1544. Humāyūn gave Ṭahmāsp his great diamond and was forced to sign papers professing S͟hīʿism. He was treated with alternate hospitality and coldness and remained with the S͟hāh about 2 months. When he left, 12,000 Persian troops accompanied him to aid him. He visited Tabrīz and Ardabīl, and returned to Mas͟hhad in Ramaḍān/December. He reached Ḳandahār in Muḥarram 952/March 1545. In Ḏjumādā II/September ʿAskarī surrendered the town, which was occupied by his Persian auxiliaries, but taken from them by Humāyūn one month later. He then marched on Kābul, taken from Kāmrān without a struggle in Ramaḍān 952/November 1545. Next spring he marched on Badak͟hs͟hān, and in the autumn fell ill there, which led to a wavering of allegiance. Humāyūn then concluded peace with Sulaymān Mīrzā and marched to Kābul in midwinter. Kāmrān, who had reoccupied the town with Arg͟hūn assistance, fled in April to seek aid from the Özbeks. Humāyūn was detained by dissensions among the Mug͟hal nobles till June 1548, when he went to combat Kāmrān in Badak͟hs͟hān. On 12 Raḏjab 955/17 August 1548 Kāmrān submitted, and Humāyūn returned to Kābul in October. In spring 956/1549 Humāyūn set out against Pīr Muḥammad K͟hān, but retreated after an indecisive stand outside Balk͟h and was himself attacked by the Özbeks. He reached Kābul in Ramaḍān 956/September 1549. In Ḏjumādā II 957/June or July 1550 Humāyūn set out by G͟hūrband against the still rebellious Kāmrān, but was routed and wounded at the Ḳipčāḳ Pass. Kābul surrendered to Kāmrān; Humāyūn regrouped his forces at Andarāb, defeated Kāmrān within two months at ʿUs͟htargrām, and made his third victorious entry into Kābul. In 958/1551 Humāyūn marched out against Kāmrān, now in alliance with Afg͟hān tribes. On 21 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda/21 November, Hindāl, the most loyal of Humāyūn's brothers, was killed in a night attack. In spring 1552 Humāyūn defeated the Afg͟hān tribes, and Kāmrān fled to India. Kāmrān was handed over by Sultan Ādam Gakkar to Humāyūn and, on the insistent advice of the *Begs*, blinded, probably in Ramaḍān 960/August 1553. By this Humāyūn finally achieved ascendancy over the resources of his family.

In D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 959/November 1552 Humāyūn advanced to Bangash, and in 960/1553 beyond the Indus. He then prepared at Kābul for the invasion of Hindūstān, but was diverted to Ḳandahār by an unfounded report of Bayram Beg's disloyalty and passed the winter of 960-1/1553-4 there. In D͟hu 'l-Kaʿda 961/October 1554 he reached Kābul again, and in November set out for Hindūstān. In December he crossed the Indus and in Rabīʿ II 962/February 1555 entered Lahore. After an earlier success at Dīpālpūr, on 28 May Humāyūn's greatly outnumbered forces met the main body of Sikandar S͟hāh Sūr's army at Sarhind, and on 2 S͟haʿbān 962/22 June 1555 decisively defeated it. On 4 Ramaḍān/23 July Humāyūn entered Delhi and sat on the throne. On 7 Rabīʿ I 963/20 January 1556, Humāyūn, who had gone to the roof of his library to observe the rising of Venus, while kneeling to the evening call of prayer, fell down the staircase and died of his injuries, on 13-14 Rabīʿ I/26-7 January.

Humāyūn inherited no stable administrative system over the conquests in Hindūstān, and a family tradition of divided territorial inheritances. His 22 years of rule were a long struggle against his family, most of all Kāmrān, as well as external enemies, and in this he was often reduced to extremities. He lacked the strategic genius of his father, and in his early periods of success sometimes fell into heedless laziness and opium-eating. His career, like Bābur's, is a series of military adventures in different geographical areas, outside which he seldom succeeded in maintaining his control. After his Persian exile he showed a new resolution, and he had the courage and stamina to lead his forces to final victory and to a conquest which survived his son Akbar's minority. In his later years he was a humane monarch and was devoid of sectarian intolerance. He was a keen patron of mathematics and astronomy, wrote Persian verse, and carried books on the roughest of his travels.

Bibliography: Four contemporary productions (nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 below) shed incidental light on Humāyūn's reign, but the chronicles of it were produced a quarter of a century and more after his death, and half a century after his accession. The record of his early years of rule in India is sketchy and there are difficulties of chronology, some discussed by Hodivala and by S. Ray (see below). The most copious source and official biography is (1) the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, i, ed. M. Āḳā Aḥmad ʿAlī and M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1877: English translation by H. Beveridge, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1897. The compiler was not one of the Central Asian nobility who had accompanied Humāyūn and he occasionally misunderstands information he has gathered. Next in importance are three memoirs compiled by those in close contact with Humāyūn, when the materials for (1) were being collected, *ca.* 1587 A.D.: — (2) *Humāyūn-nāma* of Gulbadan Begam, ed. with Eng. tr. Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., London 1902; (3) *Tad͟hkira-yi Humāyūn wa-Akbar*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1941; translations by W. Erskine, British Museum MS, Add. 26,610: partial by B. P. Saxena, in *Allahabad University Studies*, iv/1 (1930), 71-148 and (1939), 1-82; (4) *Tad͟hkirat al-wāḳiʿāt* of Ḏjawhar Āftābčī, Persian text unpublished, with considerable variations in the numerous manuscripts; these have been collated and the variant readings given by S. A. A. Riḍvī in his translation into Hindi in the work noted below (no. 11); Eng. tr. by Major Charles Stewart, Oriental Translation Fund, London 1832; (5) Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, i, ed. and tr. by B. De, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, text 1913, translation 1913-27 (a succinct account of value); (6) K͟hwāndamīr, *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1940, tr. Baini Prashad, Calcutta 1940; (7) Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, text unpublished; Eng. tr., *A history of the Moguls of Central Asia*, by N. Elias and D. Ross, London 1895; (8) Sīdī ʿAlī Raʾīs, *Mirʾāt al-mamālik*, Turkish, ed. Ḏjewdet Pas͟ha, Istanbul 1895: Eng. tr. A. Vambéry, *Travels and adventures of a Turkish admiral*, London 1899; (9) Dattu Sarvāni, in *Laṭāʾif-i Ḳuddūsī*, Delhi 1890, 71-92; Eng. tr. by S. Digby, in *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, ii (1965); (10) Hādī Ḥasan, *The unique divan of Humāyūn Bādshāh*, in *IC*, xxv (1951), 212-76; (11) S. A. A. Riḍvī, *Mug͟hul Kālīn*

Bhārāt: *Humāyūn*, 2 vols, ʿAligaṛh, 1961: Hindi translation of Persian sources. In addition, other chronicles of Akbar's time, regional histories of Īrān, Sind and Gudjarāt, and collections of *inshā*ʾ shed light on aspects of Humāyūn's reign: see bibliographies in nos. (14), (15), (16) below and S. R. Sharma, *A bibliography of Mughal India*, Bombay n.d. [*ca.* 1939], 169-70. Secondary works: (12) W. Erskine, *History of India under the sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, ii, London 1854; (13) Banerji, *Humāyūn Badshah*, 2 vols, London 1939 and Lucknow 1941; (14) I. Prasad, *The life and times of Humāyūn*, Bombay 1955; (15) I. A. Khan, *Mirza Kamran*, Bombay 1964; (16) S. Ray, *Humāyūn in Persia*, Calcutta 1948; (17) K. Qanungo, *Sher Shah and his times*, Calcutta 1965. Difficulties of chronology are discussed in S. H. Hodivala's *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, 2 vols., Bombay 1939 and 1957, and by S. Ray in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, ʿAligaṛh 1960. Other articles in periodicals include S. Ray in *Proc. Indian History Congress*, 1958; S. Nuru ʾl-Hasan, *ibid.*, 1944, and in *Medieval India Quarterly*, i (1950); Iḳtidār ʿĀlam (Khān) in *Proc. 36th Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi 1964; K. A. Niẓāmi, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, i/2 (1950), 61-7. See also Pearson, p. 644; Storey, ii/3, pp. 536-40. (S. Digby)

HUMĀYŪN SHĀH BAHMANĪ, the eleventh Bahmanī dynast and the third of the line to rule from Bīdar, 862/1458 to 865/1461. He was the eldest son of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II, who designated him his heir shortly before his death, at the same time giving him shrewd if idealistic advice about the management of the kingdom (Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhshī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., Calcutta 1913, i, 421). Party faction was rife in the Deccan, and even before his accession, on rumours of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad's death in 859/1455, the king's brother-in-law Djalāl Khān had proclaimed himself king at Nālgōnḍa. On his accession as (ʿAlāʾ al-Dunya wa ʾl-Dīn) Humāyūn Shāh, he had immediately to contend with the proclamation of his younger brother Ḥasan as king and with a hired mob outside his own residence waiting to plunder it: but he shouldered his way through the crowd, marched to the palace, and unseated Ḥasan personally; he then ascended the throne himself and, in his address to the nobles (recorded at length by Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, Ḥaydarābād ed., 89), appointed Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] as his chief minister.

During his reign no foreign expeditions were undertaken; his aim appears to have been to strike a balance between the contending factions, the Dakhnīs and the 'foreigners', and to consolidate his extensive kingdom. His own kinsmen caused him as much trouble as did the rival political groups: Sikandar Khān, son of the Djalāl Khān mentioned above, soon rebelled, apparently dissatisfied with his appointment as *sipāhsalār* of Tilangānā, and Humāyūn attempted to come to peaceful terms with him; but Sikandar insolently proposed a partition of the kingdom, battle was joined and Sikandar was killed by a fall from his horse; the life of the instigator of the rebellion, Djalāl Khān, was spared. A consequence of the rebellion was a punitive campaign by the royal forces against the *rādjās* of Tilangāna who had sided with the rebels, during which Humāyūn's brother Ḥasan was released from prison by a rebellious courtier and again proclaimed himself king. On this occasion he was defeated by Humāyūn's army, fled towards Vidjayanagara, and was captured by the governor of Bīdjāpur who sent him in chains to Humāyūn. The king decided to let matters get no further out of hand, and put to death Ḥasan and all those who had supported him, as well as others who were suspected of opposition, with systematic sustained ferocity; obviously some of his opposers remained, for he was killed by a maidservant while he slept on 28 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 865/4 September 1461 —according to the account of Firishta, which is generally tendentious; this chronicler generally denigrates Humāyūn's character, and gives him the sobriquet of Ẓālim; the author of the *Burhān-i maʾāthir* is less vitriolic, but still gives some account of Humāyūn's cruelty; and the poet Nāẓirī in a venomous chronogram gives *dhawḳ-i djahān* [= 865], 'delight of the world', as the year of his death. But all these authors were 'foreigners' in the Deccan sense, sympathizers with the punished party, and modern opinion is to regard them as grossly distorting the true picture. (T. Wolseley Haig, in *Cambridge history of India*, iii, 411-2, accepts their view uncritically). The unfavourable reputation, however, had obviously been so much fostered locally that it is the common belief at Bīdar that Humāyūn's tomb there was split in two when his body was placed in it, God refusing his remains protection: in fact the tomb was struck by lightning in 1300/1882. A very different opinion of Humāyūn is, however, expressed by his own minister Maḥmūd Gāwān—not a man given to idle flattery—in his letters, who praises his uprightness and kindness (*Riyāḍ al-inshāʾ*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, letters 49 (p. 187) and 145 (p. 399); also his letter to the ruler of Gīlān, *ibid.* no. 21 (p. 102), where he attributes to Humāyūn the improved stability of Deccan politics). Certainly there is nothing in the first two years of Humāyūn's reign for which to execrate his name; and his punishment of those seeking his throne (and no doubt his life also) was not unusually cruel for his time. It has been suggested that he enjoyed poor health, which was responsible for his early (natural) death and for his occasional petulance of character.

Bibliography: in addition to the references above: H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan, the great Bahmani wazir*, Allāhābād 1941, specially 94-6; idem, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, Ḥaydarābād n.d. [1953], 228, 244, 257-75; idem, *The reign of sulṭān Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī and his character*, in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong*, iii (1939), 688-700. On the Tilangānā rebellion: N. Venkataramanayya (ed.), *Velugotivarivaṃśāvalī*, Madras 1933, introd., 41-2. On Humāyūn's tomb and its destruction, G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947, 7 ff., 132-4, Plate LXXVIII; eye-witness account of the destruction in Mawlānā Bashīr al-Dīn, *Wāḳiʿāt-i mamlakat-i Bīdjāpūr* (Urdū), Āgrā 1915, iii, 127.

(J. Burton-Page)

ḤUMS, people observing rigorous religious taboos, especially Ḳuraysh and certain neighbouring tribes. The word is the plural of *aḥmas*, "hard, strong (in fighting or in religion)", but one of the *Ḥums* is called *aḥmasī* (fem. *aḥmasiyya*). Ibn Hishām (126) thinks that *taḥammus*, the observance of the taboos in question, was an innovation of Ḳuraysh about the time of Muḥammad's birth, and some changes may have been made to emphasize the superiority of Ḳuraysh to other tribes; but the nature of the taboos makes it likely they are older. In particular the Ḥums, during the period of sanctification (*iḥrām*) for the pilgrimage, ate no cheese made from sour

milk, did not clarify butter, did not enter tents of camel-hair, did not enter or leave their houses by the doors, and did not leave the *ḥaram* of Mecca to take part in the ceremonies at ʿArafāt. The chief difference between the Ḥums and others was that the others, the Ḥilla, could not circumambulate the Kaʿba in ordinary clothes; they must either do so naked, or in clothes borrowed from the Ḥums; any ordinary clothes worn in circumambulation had to be discarded immediately afterwards, and became taboo for everyone (*laḳā*). The Ḥums connected with Mecca comprised, besides Ḳuraysh, the tribes of Kināna and Khuzāʿa, and certain small tribes connected with Ḳuraysh in the female line, notably descendants of Madjd bint Taym al-Adram. It is possible that there was some observance of *taḥammus* not connected with Mecca (cf. evidence in Wellhausen, *Reste*, 85 f.). Many South Arabian tribes belonged to the Ṭuls, a group with religious observances similar to the Ḥums in some points and to the Ḥilla in others. The Ḳurʾān forbids some of the practices mentioned: II, 189/5, not entering houses by doors; II, 199/5, not going to ʿArafāt; VII, 31/29, nudity in worship.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 126-9; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 297 f.; al-Azraḳī (ed. Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, i), 118-25, 130 f.; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918, i, 259; ii, 89, 124, 304; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Hyderabad 1942, 178-81; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 85 f., 110, 245 f.; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. Ḥums. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

HŪN [see SIKKA—India].

ḤUNAYN, (modern al-Sharāʾiʿ?), a deep and irregular valley with clusters of palm trees, situated a day's journey from Mecca on one of the roads to al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*], the scene of the famous battle, the second mentioned by name in the Ḳurʾān (IX, 25-26), fought early in Shawwāl 8/630 soon after the conquest (*fatḥ*) of Mecca. The confederate tribe of Hawāzin with its subsection of Thaḳīf began mobilizing its forces soon after the Prophet left Medina. The confederates apparently hoped to attack the Muslim force investing Mecca. As each side maintained spies in the other's camp, Muḥammad, about a fortnight after his conquest of Mecca, marched against Hawāzin with a force of twelve thousand men. The confederate commander, Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī [*q.v.*], brought Hawāzin's families and flocks along, though strong protests at their presence were made by Durayd b. al-Ṣimma al-Djushamī [*q.v.*], the venerable poet and warrior who fell in the ensuing battle.

On leaving the oasis of Ḥunayn, the road enters winding gorges, suitable for ambushes. Here Mālik b. ʿAwf awaited the Muslims, who little suspected the presence of an enemy thought to be encamped at Awṭās. Surprised by the precipitous charge of Bedouin cavalry, the Muslims retreated in disarray. From here on it is difficult to reconstruct the course of the battle for the various accounts of the Muhādjirūn, Anṣār, Hāshimids, and Shīʿīs differ. It appears that the Prophet on his grey mule was isolated for a time with few attendants and in grave danger. The Muslims, however, abandoned their unmanageable mounts, rallied, and attacked the enemy, who apparently was unable to exploit his initial success because of the congested and narrow battle-front. It is possible that Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], who commanded the Muslim cavalry, deserves the credit for turning the tide, also claimed for the Anṣārīs by the Medinese school. In any case, within a few hours the rout of the enemy was complete, as is testified by the negligible Muslim losses of some twelve killed, by the vast number of captives, including about 6,000 women and children and by the enormous booty of over 24,000 camels. The fleeing Bedouins, some of whom were pursued to Awṭās, sought refuge behind the ramparts of al-Ṭāʾif,where Muḥammad besieged them.

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(H. LAMMENS-[ABD AL-HAFEZ KAMAL])

ḤUNAYN B. ISḤĀḲ AL-ʿIBĀDĪ, the most important mediator of ancient Greek science to the Arabs. It was mainly due to his reliable and clearly written translations of Hippocrates [see BUḲRĀṬ, in Suppl.] and Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], that the Arab physicians of the Middle Ages became worthy successors of the Greek.

Life: Ḥunayn was born in 192/808 in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], where his father was a pharmacist. The *nisba* indicates that he was a descendant of the so-called *ʿibād*, *i.e.* Arab tribesmen who had once embraced Christianity and who after the rise of Islam remained faithful to the Syrian Nestorian church, refusing to adopt the new religion. Ḥunayn may be assumed to have been bilingual from his youth, for Arabic was the vernacular of his native town, and Syriac was the language of the liturgy and of higher Christian education. Later in life, when settled in Baghdād, he translated far more books into Syriac than into Arabic, in accordance with the wishes of his clients. He himself showed a certain predilection for the Syriac language at the expense of Arabic, which he blamed for its lack of an adequate nomenclature as compared with either Syriac or Greek or Persian (see a fragment of his *Kitāb al-Nuḳaṭ*, ed. L. Cheikho, in *Mashriḳ*, xx (1922), 373). But in their Arabic translations he and his school avoided mere transcriptions as far as possible, and thus helped to forge the Arabic scientific terminology. He was also at pains to acquire a sound knowledge of Arabic grammar; he is even said to have studied it at Baṣra and to have brought from there al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*. That he had the advantage of meeting the famous grammarian personally, as Ibn Djuldjul and others point out, is impossible for chronological reasons (see M. Plessner, in *RSO*, xxxi (1956), 244 f.). The Arab bibliographers unanimously attest that Ḥunayn was *faṣīḥ*.

How Ḥunayn acquired his astonishing knowledge of Greek is told by the eyewitness report of a certain Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm (see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 185 f.), which does indeed sound very trustworthy. It relates that Ḥunayn began his study of medicine at Baghdād under Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, the famous court-physician and director of the *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*]. But as Ḥunayn used to ask too many troublesome questions, he incurred the anger of his master, who eventually ordered him to leave his school. Ḥunayn then disappeared from the capital for more than two years. The narrator himself is silent upon his whereabouts, but some sources contend that he went to Alexandria, others that he was staying in *bilād al-Rūm*. When he came back, he was so thoroughly versed in the Greek language that

he could even recite from Homer. Afterwards he was reconciled with Ibn Māsawayh, who also encouraged him further to translate from the Greek (cf. *Les axiomes médicaux de Yohanna Ben Massawaïh*, ed. P. Sbath, Cairo 1934, 8, 33 f.).

Under the caliph al-Mutawakkil Ḥunayn was appointed chief physician to the court, but he had to suffer great hardships through the capricious behaviour of this Commander of the Faithful. One day he fell a victim to an intrigue of his Christian colleagues. As he was an enemy of image-worship, they induced him to spit on an icon during an audience. This provoked the indignation not only of the Nestorian *katholikos*, but also of the caliph. Ḥunayn was flogged, put in jail and deprived of his whole estate, including his library (for the historicity of this account see B. Hemmerdinger, in *Actes du XII^e Congr. Int. d'Étud. Byzant.*, ii, Belgrade 1964, 467-9, and G. Strohmaier, in *Klio*, xliii-v (1965), 525-33). After six months he was set free and reinstated in his office, which he held until his death in 260/873. He had two sons, Dāwūd and Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. Both of them became medical practitioners; the latter, following in his father's footsteps, excelled in translating from the Greek, but concentrated more on philosophical works.

Translations: Ḥunayn is credited with an immense number of translations, ranging from medicine, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics to magic and oneiromancy. His Arabic translation of the Old Testament [see TAWRĀT], made after the Septuagint, was regarded as the best among other renderings (see al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 112). So far as his versions are conserved, they can help in establishing the Greek text, for Ḥunayn had Greek manuscripts at his disposal which were several centuries older than ours. They also represent a valuable substitute for some writings that are otherwise lost.

Thanks to the important edition of Ḥunayn's *Risāla ... ilā ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā fī dhikr mā turdjima min kutub Djālīnūs bi-ʿilmih wa-baʿḍ mā lam yutardjam* by G. Bergsträsser (*Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leipzig 1925, *Abh. K. M.* xvii/2), we possess a detailed report on the various translations of Galen that were available at his time. There exists a different recension of this *Risāla*, which was found some time later (see G. Bergsträsser, *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, Leipzig 1932, *Abh.K.M.* xix/2). Ḥunayn enumerates 129 titles, of which he himself translated about 100 into Syriac or Arabic or into both. The list is not exhaustive, however, for al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] wrote a special treatise *Fi 'stidrāk mā baḳiya min kutub Djālīnūs mimmā lam yadhkurhu Ḥunayn wa-lā Djālīnūs fī Fihristih* (see *Fihrist*, i, 300, cf. P. Kraus, *Épître de Bērūnī*, Paris 1936, no. 175). One must bear in mind that Ḥunayn wrote the *Risāla* after the complete loss of his library (see above), a fact to which he repeatedly refers in it (p. 1.11 f., 3.5-10, no. 95, cf. nos. 42 and 118). In the *Risāla* as well as in another tract *Fī dhikr al-kutub allatī lam yadhkurhā Djālīnūs fī Fihrist kutubih* (ed. G. Bergsträsser, in *Neue Materialien*, 84-98) he makes some statements about the spuriousness of several writings ascribed to Galen, and it is remarkable to see how his judgement coincides with the results of modern scholarship (see M. Meyerhof, in *SBPr. Ak. W., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1928, 531-48 and F. Kudlien, in *Rheinisches Museum*, cviii (1965), 295-9). Only the question of the commentary on the Hippocratic oath remains doubtful: Ḥunayn regarded it as genuine, but we have nowadays to rely on a few Arabic fragments (collected by F. Rosenthal, in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, xxx (1956), 52-87), whereas Ḥunayn had the full text before him.

In the *Risāla* he also gives some occasional remarks on his philological methods. They are not different from ours: he used to collect as many Greek manuscripts as possible and to collate them in order to get a sound textual basis for the translation (cf. nos. 3, 20, 74, 84). In search of manuscripts he travelled to Syria, Palestine and even to Egypt (cf. no. 115). But in one respect his philological principles deviate from the modern. Like other Christian translators he felt the obligation to eliminate all traces of paganism from the works of the ancients, *e.g.*, to replace the pagan gods by the one God and His angels, etc. Usually this did not impair the scientific value of his translations, but it did some harm to the rich mythological material found in the dream-book of Artemidorus (see G. Strohmaier, in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, v, Berlin, forthcoming).

The *Risāla* also contains valuable data on the translations of Galen made by Ḥunayn's predecessors and contemporaries. He does not spare them harsh criticism, if necessary, and he often had to revise their Syriac or Arabic versions. He himself translated either into Syriac for his Christian colleagues or into Arabic for the Muslim sponsors of his work [see BANŪ MŪSĀ]. It is remarkable that there is no word about the famous *bayt al-ḥikma*; the whole activity seems to have been based on a kind of private enterprise. He engaged two members of his family, his son Isḥāḳ, his nephew Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-Aʿsam, and another pupil, ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā, who also took part in translating Galen. Since Ḥubaysh and ʿĪsā did not understand Greek well enough, they made Syriac translations after Ḥunayn's Arabic (nos. 36, 38, 119) or, much more often, Arabic translations after Ḥunayn's Syriac. This could lead to some deterioration (cf. *Galeni Compendium Timaei Platonis*, ed. P. Kraus and R. Walzer, London 1951, 22-4), if Ḥunayn or Isḥāḳ did not have the opportunity to compare these new versions with the Greek original (cf. nos. 20, 49, 69, 86, 113, 126). Usually the colophons in the manuscripts of these second-hand versions mention Ḥunayn as the only translator, a fact which is already stated in the *Fihrist* (i, 128 and 289). The reason for this is not clear. Perhaps it is due to the modesty of the pupils themselves, or else they wanted to conceal the circumstance of the double translation, as Muslim intellectuals had been well aware of its shortcomings.

Unfortunately, there exists no corresponding *risāla* for the non-Galenic writings, and it remains to be proved by an analysis of the language and by possible mistakes resulting from ambiguities of Syriac words, whether the present Arabic versions were made by Ḥunayn directly from the Greek or by someone else after his Syriac translation. Nearly all of these Syriac versions are now lost (for the possible ascription of some fragments to Ḥunayn see G. Furlani, in *ZS*, iii (1924), 28 and J. Schleifer, in *RSO*, xviii (1940), 348).

Ḥunayn's own works: Besides his translations Ḥunayn composed numerous original works, mainly on medical, but also on philosophical, geophysical, meteorological, zoological, linguistic, and religious subjects. He is even credited with a history of the world from Adam down to al-Mutawakkil. His medical treatises are mainly epitomes and rearrangements of classical material. Many of them are written in the form of questions and answers, this curious

kind of literature being very common also in the biblical exegesis of the Nestorian church at this time (cf. E. G. Clarke, *The selected questions of Ishō bar Nūn on the Pentateuch*, Leiden 1962, 10-3). His main work in this field is *al-Masāʾil fi ʾl-ṭibb* (numerous mss.), later translated into Hebrew and Latin. There also exists a so-called *Isagoge Johannitii ad parvam artem Galeni* (many Latin mss. and early printed texts). According to M. Steinschneider (*Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 710) this is another recension of the same work.—The following titles show Ḥunayn's special interest in ophthalmology: *al-ʿAs͟hr maḳālāt fi ʾl-ʿayn* (ed. M. Meyerhof, *The book of the ten treatises on the eye ascribed to Hunain ibn Is-hâq*, Cairo 1928). This work appears in two different Latin versions, as the *Liber de oculis Constantini Africani* and *Galeni de oculis liber a Demetrio translatus* (see J. Hirschberg, in *SBPr. Ak. W.*, 1903, 1080-94).—For his sons Dāwūd and Isḥāḳ he wrote *al-Masāʾil fi ʾl-ʿayn* (ed. P. Sbath and M. Meyerhof, *Le livre des questions sur l'œil de Ḥonain ibn Isḥâq*, Cairo 1938, *MIE* 36). —A little tract about the incorporeal nature of light *Fi ʾl-ḍawʾ wa-ḥaḳīḳatih* shows Aristotle as his main authority in the field of physics (ed. L. Cheikho, in *Mas͟hriḳ*, ii (1899), 1105-13 and with French translation in *Actes du XIe Congr. Int. des Orient., Paris 1897, IIIe sect.*, Paris 1899, 125-42, German translation by C. Prüfer and M. Meyerhof, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 117-28).

The often quoted *Nawādir al-falāsifa* are extant in later Arabic extracts, a mediaeval Hebrew translation of which has been edited by A. Loewenthal (*Sefer Mūsrē ha-Pīlōsōfīm*, Frankfurt a.M. 1896, German translation by the same, Berlin 1896). The Arabic text remains to be edited (see K. Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen "Kitâb âdâb al-falâsifa" von Ḥonein ibn Isḥâq in der Überarbeitung des Muḥammed ibn ʿAlî al-Anṣârî*, Leipzig 1921; M. Plessner, in *Tarbiz*, xxiv (1954-5), 60-72, VI f.; J. Kraemer, in *ZDMG*, cvi (1956), 292-302). The book is mainly a collection of stories, letters, and sayings ascribed to the ancient Greek philosophers, mingled with Ḥunayn's own reflections. It is based on similar Byzantine florilegia and contains very old material (see G. Strohmaier, in *Hermes*, xcv (1967)). Part 3 deals with the death of Alexander the Great: its connexion with the Alexander Romance remains to be investigated.—A little apologetic tract *Fī kayfiyyat idrāk ḥaḳīḳat al-diyāna* is conserved in an abridged form (ed. L Cheikho, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, i, Giessen 1906, 283-91, and P. Sbath, in *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques*, Cairo 1929, 181-5). Some points in this treatise may be understood as an intelligent and cautious polemic against Islam.—Ḥunayn's bibliographical *Risāla* to ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā has been mentioned above; there also exists a short letter to his sponsor Salmawayh b. Būnān as an introduction to the translation of Galen's *De consuetudinibus* (German translation by F. Pfaff, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum Suppl.* iii, p. XLI f.) [see AFLĀṬŪN].

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(G. STROHMAIER)

HUNGARY [see BASHDJIRT, MADJARISTĀN].

HUNS [see HAYĀṬILA].

HUNTING [see BAYZARA, FAHD, ṢAYD; for hunting-songs see ṬARDIYYA].

HUNZA and **NAGIR**, two principalities in the extreme west of the Karakoram range of mountains, lie between Gilgit in the south, Ishkomān in the west, Afghān Wākhān in the north, and Chinese Turkistān in the north and east, *i.e.*, approximately between 74° 10′ and 75° 20′ E. and 36° 10′ and 37° N. The whole area is extremely rugged and mountainous and for the most part uninhabitable. Permanent settlements exist only in the river valleys where terracing and irrigation of the mountainsides is possible, principally along the Hunza river, which traverses Hunza from north to south and west, and its left tributary the Nagir river. The Hunza river falls into the Gilgit river, a tributary of the Indus, below Gilgit town. The road beside it, skirting Mt. Rakaposhī (25,550 ft./ 7,780 m.) in the Kailās range, provides the only access to the territory which does not entail crossing passes at 15,000 ft./4,500 m. or more. Although Hunza is much the larger of the two states, their populations are approximately equal, ca. 13,500 souls each (1931 census). Of these, two-thirds are Burusho, who speak Burushaski, a language with no known affinities. The remainder are Wākhīs, in the north west of Hunza, and Shinā speakers, in the south west of Nagir. The Nagirīs are Shīʿī Muslims, but the Hunzukuts have for the last four or five generations belonged to the Ismāʿīlī, or Mawlāʾī, sect led by the Āghā Khān.

The Mīrs, or Thams, of Hunza and Nagir are drawn from two closely related families of legendary origin. Their capitals are at Bāltīt (altitude 8,000 ft./ 2,400 m.) and Nagir (7,500 ft./2,250 m.) respectively. Hunza, reputedly the more vigorous of the two states, has maintained its independence since the earliest times, though occasionally paying nominal allegiance either to the Chinese or to the rulers of Gilgit. In the first part of the 19th century the Hunzukuts were responsible for a series of raids on caravans passing between Kāshghar and Kashmīr, many captives being sold into slavery in Badakhshān. When the Sikhs occupied Gilgit they attempted without success to subdue their troublesome neighbour. Only in 1869 did the Tham of Hunza, Ghazan Khān, agree to pay tribute to the Dogra Mahārādjā of Kashmīr, though no Kashmīrī was allowed to enter the valley. In 1891 the Tham was murdered by his son Safdar ʿAlī, who recommenced raids on Gilgit and accepted Russian overtures. This led to a small Indian force being sent into the states, which were thereafter included in British India. Safdar fled to Kāshghar and his brother Muḥammad Naẓīm was proclaimed Tham in his place. He was succeeded peacefully by his son Ghazan Khān in 1938. For recent history, see KASHMĪR.

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ḤŪR (A.), pl. of *ḥawrāʾ* and its masc. *aḥwar*, adjective from the root *ḥ.w.r.*, with the general idea of 'whiteness' (the root *ḥ.y.r.*, signifying 'perplexity' or 'astonishment', which has occasionally been suggested, is to be rejected); *ḥawrāʾ* is applied more particularly to the very large eye of the gazelle or the oryx, the clear whiteness of which arises from the contrast with the blackness of the pupil and the iris; by extension, *ḥawrāʾ* signifies a woman whose big black eyes are in contrast to their 'whites' and to the whiteness of the skin. The plural *ḥūr* is a substantival adjective used in the Ḳurʾān for the virgins of Paradise promised to the Believers, the houris; the latter term has entered European languages through the Persian singular (*ḥūrī* or *ḥūrī beheshtī*) and the Turkish *ḥūri*, whereas the Arabic noun of unity, a secondary formation from *ḥūr*, is *ḥūriyya*, pl. *ḥūriyyāt*.

The houris are mentioned in various verses of the Ḳurʾān dating from the Meccan period, that is to say the period when stress is laid upon the Last Judgement and when the delights of Paradise are contrasted with the torments of hell. The Holy Book announces to the Believers first that they will have as wives houris (LII, 20; cf. XLIV, 54) like "the hidden pearl", in recompense for their actions upon earth (LVI, 22-3/23-4); they will be "spotless virgins, amorous, like of age" (LVI, 34-9/35-40; cf. LXXVIII, 33, XXXVIII, 52) and will have "swelling breasts" (LXXVIII, 33); neither man nor *djinn* will have touched them (LV, 56, 74); they will keep their eyes modestly cast down (LV, 56, XXXVII, 47/48, XXXVIII, 52); resembling "ruby and coral", they will be enclosed in pavilions (LV, 58, 72). The only detail added during the Medinan period is that they will be "purified wives" (II, 23/25, III, 13/15, LXI, 12, IV, 60/57), which means, according to the commentators, that they are free alike from bodily impurity and from defects of character.

To these rather brief statements, tradition and traditional exegesis have added details giving a more precise form to the houris and a more sensual character to the pleasures promised.

Firstly, the verse saying that neither man nor *djinn* will have touched them suggests to some commentators that there are two classes of houris, one sharing the nature of men, the other that of *djinns*. As for the substance from which they are created, some believe that they are made of saffron, others of saffron, musk, amber and camphor, and that they have four colours: white, green, yellow and red. In any case their flesh is so delicate that the texture of the muscles of their legs can be seen, even through 70 silken garments. Their physical characteristics are described in general terms: their eyebrows are a black line upon light, their forehead is a crescent moon, and their shining faces reflect the divine light. On the breast of each are inscribed two names: one being a name of Allāh and one that of her husband. They bear their husband's name in the feminine (see above, FĀṬIMA, ii, 846b. On hands and feet they wear many jewels and precious stones.

They dwell in pavilions or castles hollowed out in a single pearl and furnished with 70 sumptuous beds and 70 couches of ruby covered with 70 rugs, and are surrounded by 70,000 maids of honour, who, at their husband's arrival loosen and hold up their 70,000 tresses. Their age is equal to that of their husbands, namely 33 years (the age of Jesus); their virginity is perpetually renewed. The Elect will have the bliss of deflowering them, and their pleasure will be a

hundred times greater than on earth; some—such as Jesus—will have a hundred houris at their disposal and will be able to have connexion with each of them as many times as he has fasted days in Ramaḍān and performed good works. The houri remains enclosed in her pavilion and walks gracefully to meet her husband; she strolls sometimes with him beside the streams of Paradise and drinks with him wine which produces no intoxication. Being purified, she knows neither the menstrual discomforts of women, nor human needs, nor the pains of childbirth, for she bears no children.

To complete the picture, we must consider the lot reserved for women-believers admitted to Paradise. According to the Ḳurʾān, the Elect will meet again those who were virtuous among their ancestors, their wives and their descendants (XIII, 23; cf. XL, 8; in XXXVI, 56 and XLIII, 70 only wives are mentioned). The commentators maintain that every women who was married and virtuous by nature will meet her husband in Paradise and become again his legal wife; those who had several husbands will be able to choose the one they prefer; while polygamous husbands will be allowed to keep all their earthly wives. The women among the Believers will be 70,000 times superior to the houris, will know none of the cares of earthly life and will spend their time enjoying pleasures of every sort. The commentators remain silent on the fate of virtuous women who have remained unmarried, and give the impression that the daughters of Eve are definitely at a disadvantage in comparison with men.

The traditional exegesis, although it readily admits all the concrete amplifications, does not always accept uncritically the popular materialistic and sensual idea of the houris and of the delights of Paradise in general which has become common. Al-Bayḍāwī himself (on II, 23) considers that there is no substantial identity between the foods, the women, etc. of Paradise and their earthly equivalents. A similar interpretation, leading to the *bilā kayf*, was to be widely developed by the *falāsifa* and the Ṣūfīs, who gave an esoteric meaning to the concrete statements of the Ḳurʾān, while modernist exegesis, it being impossible to reject these statements, tends to reduce the number of houris which the Elect will enjoy, rejects many *ḥadīth*s which are in greater or less degree canonical, and tries to confer a spiritual character on the promised delights, while recognizing the difficulty of convincing those of the Faithful who adhere to literal interpretations [see DJANNA].

Among Islamologists there are many who have tried to explain the picture which the Ḳurʾān gives of houris. Carra de Vaux, in the art. DJANNA in *EI*[1], suggests that in "some Christian miniatures or mosaics representing the gardens of Paradise ... the figures of angels [may have been interpreted] as being those of young men or girls", but it is not easy to arrive at the real origin of the sensual concepts set out in the Ḳurʾān and amplified by tradition. L. Massignon (*Mystique et continence en Islam*, in *Études carmélitaines*, 1952, 95) considers that "the symbolism of the *houris* of Paradise ... alludes basically to the simple regaining, by the human species, of the first Paradise, where sexual life was well established". On the other hand, Ch. J. Ledit (*Mahomet, Israël et le Christ*, Paris 1956, 117) observes that the Ḳurʾān takes account of certain domestic difficulties of the Prophet, considers the houris, and finds in Muḥammad's meditation "the compensation for a cruel situation, the sublimation of impulses which refuse to degrade themselves in slave delights, and at the same time, the allurement of the later fulfilments of Medina—in a word, all the benefits of the classical play of psychism in the course of purification." There is indeed practically no further mention of houris during the Medinan period when, in the sphere of human affections, the Prophet found his equilibrium.

Bibliography: the Ḳurʾānic commentaries on the verses cited; the collections of Traditions (see Wensinck, *Concordances*) and especially Bukhārī, *K. badʾ al-khalḳ, bāb fī ṣifat al-djanna*; Shaʿrānī, *Mukhtaṣar Tadhkirat al-Ḳurṭubī*, Cairo 1300/1882, 112-3; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1282, iv, 464; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Hādi 'l-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afrāḥ*, Cairo n.d., *passim*; S. El Saleh, *Les délices et les tourments de l'au-delà*, Sorbonne thesis 1953 (unpublished); see also the references given in the art. DJANNA and the works of orientalists on Islam and the Ḳurʾān.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[CH. PELLAT])

ḤURAYMILĀ, a town (est. pop. 3,000 in 1965) of al-Maḥmal district in Nadjd, Central Arabia; in the early 12th/18th century residence of the reformer and founder of Wahhābism [*q.v.*], Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Ḥuraymilā is said to have been founded by Āl Mubārak of Āl Abī Rabbāʿ, a group of ʿAnaza stock who left the town of Ushayḳir in al-Washm after a dispute with Banū Tamīm. In 1045/1635-6 they settled on the site of Ḥuraymilā, where the *shaʿīb*s now known as al-Shuʿba and al-Abraḳ join Wādī Abū Ḳitāda (variant Kidāda). The name Ḥuraymilā is conventionally spelled with *alif mamdūda*, although its meaning is explained as the diminutive singular of *ḥarmal*, a noxious shrub (*Rhazya stricta* Decne.) common in the area. Ḥuraymilā and the neighbouring villages of al-Ḳarīna and Malham are sometimes referred to collectively as al-Shaʿīb, the name locally applied to Wādī Abū Ḳitāda.

Āl Mubārak were still influential in Ḥuraymilā in 1965, although they shared the town with settled sections of Subayʿ, al-Dawāsir, Banū Tamīm, Banū Hādjir, Ḳaḥṭān, and other tribes. The *amīr*, who reported directly to the Amirate of al-Riyāḍ, administered the neighbouring towns and hamlets of al-Barīna, Malham, Sadūs, Ṣalbūkh, Ghiyāna, and al-Ḳarra. The *amīr*s appointed for Ḥuraymilā have usually not been natives of the town.

The economy of Ḥuraymilā, like that of other settlements of the area, is based on agriculture. Wheat, lucerne and, more recently, fruits and garden vegetables are grown in addition to the date palm. Sheep, goats, and cattle are fed on forage crops. A relatively dense growth of *ṭalḥ* (*Acacia* sp.) is protected in a *ḥimā* (pasture and forest reserve [*q.v.*]) in the *wādī* bed immediately southwest of Ḥuraymilā.

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(J. MANDAVILLE)

ḤURḲŪṢ B. ZUHAYR AL-SAʿDĪ, Companion of the Prophet, who conquered Sūḳ al-Ahwāz, took part in the siege of "the House" and became a Khāridjī. Although there is no source which gives the date of his conversion, it can be deduced that it took place at a fairly early date from the fact that he was among the Muslims who swore obedience to the Prophet "under the tree" (6/628) at al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*]. The name of Ḥurḳūṣ is mentioned for the first time in the works of the Arab historians in 17/638: as the Persian general al-Hurmuzān [*q.v.*], the defender of al-Ahwāz, was behaving in a threaten-

ing way in spite of a pact which had been concluded with the Muslims, ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, the governor of Baṣra, warned the caliph ʿUmar about this, and the latter immediately sent troops under the command of Ḥurḳūṣ; having collected their forces, the Muslims marched against al-Hurmuzān and defeated him above the bridge of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (known more briefly as al-Ahwāz). It was Ḥurḳūṣ who took this town, imposed the *djizya* on the population of the territory, which extended as far as the outskirts of Tustar, sent to Medina the announcement of his victory and the fifth of the booty, sent Djazʾ b. Muʿāwiya in pursuit of al-Hurmuzān and, with ʿUtba b. Ghazwān, informed this general of the peace conditions which the caliph imposed on him and which he accepted. Ḥurḳūṣ had received from the caliph the title of *amīr* for the war (*ʿala 'l-ḳitāl*) and that of *amīr* (governor) of the country which he was to conquer; but when the campaign against al-Hurmuzān was resumed, he took only a secondary part in the operations, for other leaders were put in charge of the troops of Kūfa and Baṣra. He appears again in 35/655-6 at Baṣra, for when a group set out from there for Medina to protest, together with the dissidents from Egypt and Kūfa, against the policy of the caliph ʿUthmān, he was their leader (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2955; Miskawayh, i, 487). In the episodes of the siege of "the House", the murder of ʿUthmān and the election of ʿAlī, Ḥurḳūṣ did not play an important part. He appears again at Baṣra, when ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, in revolt against ʿAlī, were approaching the town. He then joined with Ḥukaym b. Djabala, the chief of police at Baṣra, and with others who had been implicated in the murder of ʿUthmān, to prevent by armed resistance the forces of the three rebels from seizing the town [see AL-DJAMAL]. When the armistice between the governor ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf and the three enemies of ʿAlī was broken and Baṣra was completely occupied by the latter, an order was issued forcing the population to arrest all those who had taken part in the siege of "the House" (*nuffār*); Ḥurḳūṣ was the only one who, by fleeing and obtaining the protection of his tribe, the Banū Saʿd, was able to escape the ensuing massacre. The sources do not mention the presence of Ḥurḳūṣ at the Battle of the Camel; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that he followed the policy of his fellow tribesmen who, belonging to the ʿUthmāniyya, the party which was loyal to the caliph ʿUthmān, had no desire to fight for ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3168). He was, on the other hand, present at Ṣiffīn in the army of the caliph; al-Dhahabī is the only writer, so far as is known, to provide this information, but it seems very probable that Ḥurḳūṣ was at the battle, for al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] (the chief of the Tamīm of Baṣra, of which the Banū Saʿd were a sub-group), after having remained neutral in the war of the Camel, had then gone over with his followers to the side of the caliph. Later, Ḥurḳūṣ adopted an entirely different attitude from that of his tribe by adhering to Khāridjism; the sources mention his presence at Ḥarūrāʾ ([*q.v.*]; Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 49), a fierce argument which he had with ʿAlī when the latter publicly announced his intention of remaining faithful to the convention of Ṣiffīn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3360 f., etc.), his participation in the secret meetings of the dissidents at Kūfa, where they decided to assemble near the al-Nahrawān canal, and his two refusals to become their leader, and finally his death among the Khāridjīs at al-Nahrawān. Al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays, on the other hand, fought with 3,000 of his followers on the side of ʿAlī in this battle (Ṣafar 38/July-August 657).

Ḥurḳūṣ has been identified with a Tamīmī called ʿAmr Dhu 'l-Khuwayṣira (or Dhu 'l-Khunayṣira) al-Tamīmī, who was guilty of having been insolent to the Prophet during a sharing out of booty (Ibn Hishām, 884; al-Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, 376 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1682; for the identification with Ḥurḳūṣ: Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 565; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.v. Ḥurḳūṣ; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, cited below). But he has even been identified with Dhu 'l-Thudayya, who had an excrescence on his shoulder resembling a small breast (*thudayya*) and who, in his turn, is sometimes identified or confused with another individual called al-Mukhdadj, i.e. the One-armed. ʿAlī had a search made among the Khāridjīs killed at al-Nahrawān for one or the other of these persons in order to verify the truth of a prophecy which he had heard. The historical sources which relate this episode give no explanations about the prophecy, but some *ḥadīths* report it in terms which connect it either explicitly or by allusion to Khāridjism; in addition the *ḥadīths* state that a mysterious person called Dhu 'l-Khuwayṣira or Dhu 'l-Thudayya or al-Mukhdadj had given Muḥammad the occasion to predict this movement, so that it was natural that ʿAlī should seek to discover the mysterious personage among the Khāridjīs of al-Nahrawān, and that he should be identified sometimes with Ḥurḳūṣ and sometimes with other warriors who were killed in the battle (citations and details in Caetani, *Annali*, 8 A.H. § 169 & n. 1, 38 A.H. §§ 107, 112 & n. 2, 115, 119, 126, 129 (p. 111), 130, (p. 114), 139, 140, 150-3, 158).

The attitude of the biographers of the Companions towards Ḥurḳūṣ is worthy of note: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr ignores him in his *Istīʿāb*; Ibn al-Athīr and al-Dhahabī have accepted his Khāridjism as a fact; Ibn Ḥadjar informs us that there were doubts about the death of such a Companion among the Khāridjīs at al-Nahrawān and, since a *ḥadīth* excluded from Paradise one of the participants in the oath "under the tree", he adds that this excluded individual had been identified with Ḥurḳūṣ, but he does not accept the responsibility of asserting this.

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(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

HURMUZ (Old Persian: Ahuramazda, "wise lord"; Pahlavi: Auharmazd; Persian: Hurmazd, Hurmuzd, Hurmuz), supreme god of the ancient Iranians, whose name was later given to the planet Jupiter and to the first day of each month of the

Zoroastrian year. In the works of Muslim writers (especially the Iranians and particularly the poets) are found allusions which display a very imprecise knowledge of Mazdaism; although there occurs the name of Zoroaster (Zardusht), one searches in vain for the name of Hurmuzd (cf. M. Moʿīn, *Mazdayasna*, parts 7 & 8 and the introd. by H. Corbin); however, according to Wolff (*Glossar*, s.v.), it is found—once—in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, who uses most often Yazdān and, less often, Īzad. On the other hand, the name Hurmuz(d) is found in the works written by the historians of religion: the *Bayān al-adyān* of Abu 'l-Maʿālī, a lucid but brief summary, in Persian, completed in about 485/1092; the *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal* of al-Shahrastānī (479-548/1086-1153); the *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm* of Shaykh Murtaḍā (7th/13th century); the *Dabistān al-madhāhib* (*ca.* 1064-7/1654-7). The author of the *Bayān* states (tr., 22) that the Persians called their supreme Divinity Hurmuzd, Īzad [Old Iranian Yazata], Yazdān [Old Iranian Yazatānām]; it was probably this text that al-Maḳdisī follows (*Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. tr. Cl. Huart, i, 56); in chapter ii (tr., 35), he gives a clear but concise account of the beliefs of the Gabr and of the dualism of Yazdān and Ahriman. Al-Shahrastānī, describing the beliefs of the Zarvanīs, explains (ed. Cureton, 183; tr. Haarbrucker, i, 277) how Ahriman and Hurmuz were born of Zarvān (cf. Christensen, *Sassanides*, 145 ff.) and by what stratagem Ahriman became the eldest and seized (though not for ever) the dominant rôle from Hurmuz; then, explaining the doctrine of Zoroaster, he mentions again the dualism of Ahriman and Yazdān (no longer Hurmuz). The *Tabṣira* (several passages of which derive from the *Bayān al-adyān*) contains (chap. ii) an account of the opinions of the Magians (*madjūs*): here Hurmuzd is referred to as Yazdān; "the world has two creators: Yazdān, and Ahriman who is Satan (*shayṭān*); it is said that when the Almighty created the world, he had a disturbing thought and exclaimed: 'Let me have no adversary to become my enemy!' and the product of this thought was the devil. It has also been said that, the Almighty being alone, he was afflicted by sadness and there occurred to him an evil suspicion, the product of which was Ahriman"; this work next gives an account of various beliefs concerning the origin and the activities of the two principles, and the creation and the age of the universe. In the *Dabistān* is found verbatim the passage quoted on the creation of Ahriman (tr., i, 356-7) whereas on other pages (269 and 338) Yazdān appears under the name of Urmuzd. It should be added that Zartusht Bahrām, author of the *Zaratusht-nāma* (a life of Zoroaster in 1580 verses, written in 677/1278), mentions only Yazdān (*e.g.*, in verse 535), Lord (*khodāvand*) of the universe (ed. Rosenberg, Tehrān 1959).

The name Hurmuz was borne by five rulers of the Sāsānid dynasty. Hurmuz I, who reigned for only a year (272-3 A.D.), had been governor of Khurāsān and distinguished himself in the war against the Romans; he gave his protection to Mani as his father Shāpūr had done. Hurmuz II (302-9) is said to have persecuted the Manicheans, according to traditions preserved in some Coptic texts (Christensen, 195, n. 7); nevertheless he left behind him the reputation of having been a gentle and just ruler; he was killed by the Arabs after having defeated them; he had two sons, Shāpūr II and a prince Hurmuz who, after being a prisoner for thirteen months, escaped and made his way to Constantinople, where he accompanied the emperor Julian in his Persian campaign. Hurmuz III, during his brief reign, was forced to fight against his youngest brother who had obtained the support of the Hephtalites [see HAYĀṬILA]; he was defeated and killed. Hurmuz IV (579-90) is represented by the Byzantine historians as a proud man of mediocre intelligence; according to al-Ṭabarī on the other hand, his justice surpassed that of his father, Khusraw Anūshirwān, he being compassionate towards the common people but severe towards the nobles, which earned him the enmity of the latter and of a section of the Zoroastrian clergy; the hostilities continued, with the Byzantines gaining the advantage; Hurmuz having dismissed his best general Vahrām Čūbīn following a defeat, the latter led a revolt which became general; as a result Hurmuz was deposed and executed; this revolt and the love story of this king and Shīrīn form part of the subject of several great Persian poems. Hurmuz V, having striven to gain power, was executed on the orders of the last of the Sāsānids (632 A.D.). The name of Hurmuz was borne by other persons who appear in the indices of al-Ṭabarī, Yāḳūt and other writers; the most important was Hurmuzān [*q.v.*].

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(CL. HUART-[H. MASSÉ])

HURMUZ (HORMUZ, ORMUS). The original town, or Old Hormuz, as it has been called to distinguish it from its island offshoot, was situated on the mainland of Persia on the east side of the entrance to the Persian Gulf, at the head of a creek which has now largely silted up; the existing town of Mināb (27°09′ N., 57°05′ E.) stands on its site. Nearchus and his fleet, when on their way from the estuary of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf, anchored at the mouth of the Anamis river (now the Mināb creek), in the district of Harmozeia (Hormuz) (see William Vincent, *The voyage of Nearchus and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, London 1809, 52, and idem, *The commerce and navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, London 1807, i, 328-30). Ptolemy mentions the town as Harmuza, but gives its position incorrectly. It is possible that it may have been identical with Ammianus Marcellinus's Hermupolis (XXIII, 6, 49). Ardashīr I, the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, has been credited with the foundation of the town, but it was probably in existence long before his time.

In the 4th/10th century, (Old) Hormuz was already the seaport for the provinces of Kirmān, Sīstān and Khurāsān (see Yāḳūt, iv, 968; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124; Le Strange, 318). Marco Polo, who visited Hormuz in 1272 and again in 1293, after expatiating on the flourishing and widespread trade of the town, stated that it was a sickly place and that the heat of the sun in summer there was tremendous

(see *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. by Sir Henry Yule and revised by Henri Cordier, London 1905, i, 107). A few years after Marco Polo's second visit, repeated raids by marauding tribes became so serious that Ḳutb al-Dīn Tahamtan the King of Hormuz, in 700/1300, abandoned the site and moved all the inhabitants and their possessions to the small island of Djarūn, 60 km to the west and 6 km south of the nearest point on the mainland. A good harbour was constructed at the sheltered northern end of the island, and before long an exceedingly flourishing town came into being. This town was called New Hormuz, but by degrees the epithet 'new' was dropped and the island and its town were thenceforward known as Hormuz. The name Djarūn was transferred to the small town and port of Surū or Shahrū on the mainland 17 km to the north-west, where goods in transit to or from Hormuz were transhipped; this name became corrupted to Gamru and was further corrupted by Europeans into Gambrun, Gombrun and Gombroon. In 720/1320 King Ḳutb al-Dīn captured the island of Ḳays, which had up till then enjoyed great commercial prosperity, and also subdued Baḥrayn. Later in the reign of Ḳutb al-Dīn the intrepid Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Hormuz, which he described as a large and fine city, with busy markets, as it was the port from which the wares from India and Sind were despatched to the ʿIrāḳs, Fārs and Khurāsān (see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 230 ff. = Eng. tr., H.A.R. Gibb, ii, 400 f.: see also the account by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's contemporary, Friar Odoric of Pordonone, in *Cathay and the way thither*, by Sir H. Yule, revised by Henri Cordier, London 1913, 112).

For the next three centuries Hormuz was extremely prosperous, despite its lack of fresh water and vegetation and the extreme heat in summer. The Russian traveller Afanasii Nikitin, who visited Hormuz in 1472, stated that it was a vast emporium where there were peoples and goods of every description from all parts of the world; however, he qualified his praise by complaining of the high duties there (*Khoženie za tri Morya*, Moscow 1958, 21). The Venetian J. Barbaro, who also visited Hormuz some years later, likewise praised it as a commercial centre (*Travels of Josafa Barbaro*, tr. William Thomas, London 1873, 79).

In 1507 a Portuguese fleet under the great Albuquerque appeared off the island. Realizing its great strategic importance owing to its situation at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, Albuquerque seized the island, but a mutiny of his men forced him to withdraw. Seven years later, however, Albuquerque returned, and this time the Portuguese occupation of the island was permanent. Occupied as he was with his great struggle with the Ottoman Turks, Shāh Ismāʿīl I could do nothing except protest at this violation of his territory. Under Portuguese rule, Hormuz continued to prosper, but the fact that the island was in foreign hands was always deeply resented by Persia. The kings of Hormuz, who had hitherto been vassals of the Persian monarch, became subordinate to Portugal. The Venetian jeweller Gasparo Balbi, who was in Hormuz in 1580, described it as: una città non molto grande, ma popolosa, posta in un' isola di trenta miglia di grandezza, ma è la piu sterile di quante mai io n'habbia viste; perciò che in esse non si trova altro che sale e le legne e le altre cose al vito necessarie vi vengono portate dalla costa di Persia, ch'è distante da questa citta da 6 miglia; evise ne conducono in tanta quantità, que la città ne resta copiosamente fornita (see Balbo's *Discrittione di Ormus*, in *Il Nuovo Ramusio iv*: *Viaggi di C. Federici e G. Balbi alle Indie Orientale*, ed. O. Pinto, Rome 1962, 118). The Englishman, Ralph Fitch, who was in Hormuz three years later, described it as 'the dryest island in the world, for there is nothing growing in it but salt' (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London 1625, Part II, 1731).

After Shāh ʿAbbās I had consolidated his power, it became obvious that to so nationalistic a monarch the continued presence of the Portuguese in Hormuz would soon precipitate a crisis. Already, by 1602, Allāhwerdi Khān, the Governor-General of Fārs, had wrested Baḥrayn from the feeble hands of the King of Hormuz, who, like his predecessors since 1514, was merely a vassal of Spain and Portugal. In 1614 the Persian forces occupied Gamru (Gombroon), the last foothold of the Portuguese on the mainland, thereby depriving the garrison and inhabitants of Hormuz of one of their sources of supply of water. Eight years later, Shāh ʿAbbās, by putting strong pressure on the English East India Company, forced it to allow a number of its ships to co-operate with the Persian land forces in an assault on Hormuz. Despite strong resistance by the Portuguese, the Persians, with the assistance of the English vessels, forced the garrison to surrender and to evacuate the island. Hormuz was soon deserted and many of its buildings were demolished in order to provide material for the erection of new buildings in Gamru, which was renamed Bandar ʿAbbās in honour of the Shāh. The part played by the English East India Company on this occasion not unnaturally aroused the anger of the Portuguese. The late Sir Arnold Wilson, in his book *The Persian Gulf* (Oxford 1928, 149), stated that it was difficult to discover what the East India Company gained from this action. It seems clear, however, that if the Portuguese had been allowed to remain in Hormuz, the East India Company would never have been able to compete with the flourishing Portuguese entrepôt at Hormuz, while its establishments on the coast and also its vessels would have been always in jeopardy from their ships based on that island.

At the present time the population of Hormuz is small and fluctuating. In the cooler months, the numbers increase when the salt and iron oxide deposits are worked, but in the summer many migrate to the mainland, especially to Minā. The only relatively stable elements of the population are the fishermen.

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See also BANDAR ʿABBĀS. (L. LOCKHART)

HURMUZ, BĀ, a South Arabian *mashāyikh*-family, to which belongs the Ḥaḍramī *ṣūfī* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar Bā Hurmuz al-Shibāmī al-Akhḍar (b. in Shibām 840/1436, d. in Haynan 914/1508). He was the spiritual father of the famous *ṣūfī* scholar and poet ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā Makhrama (d. 952/1545; see MAKHRAMA, BĀ) and is said to have made beautiful women sing and dance before him. Serjeant (*v. infra*) has seen a work by a certain "Bā Hurmuz", other names not given, entitled *al-Durra al-muḍī'a fi 'l-nisba al-Hurmuziyya*.

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(O. LÖFGREN)

AL-**HURMUZĀN** (in Persian Hörmiz(d)ān), Persian toparch and general, defender of Khūzistān from the end of 16/637, or more probably the beginning of 17/638, to 19/640 or perhaps 21/642, who was taken prisoner by the Arabs at Tustar and killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*] at Medina (end of 23/November 644); the Persian officer who fought at Dhū Ḳār and whom al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 228, calls al-Hurmuzān was really called Hāmarz [*q.v.*]. Al-Hurmuzān commanded the right wing of the Persian army at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] (Djumādā I 16/June 637) and when the tide of the battle turned against the Persians, he retreated with other generals to Bābil; after putting up a feeble resistance there, he withdrew to the Ahwāz (= Khūzistān), having some possessions at Mihridjānḳadhaḳ and in the districts of the Ahwāz. According to al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 380; cf. al-Dīnawarī, 136 f.), he also took part in the battle of Djalūlā' (probably in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 16/November-December 637), and, from Nahr Tīrā, he harassed the Muslim frontier fortresses of the Maysān and of the Dast-i Maysān. The Muslims, having obtained the help of the tribe of the Banu 'l-ʿAm (a sub-group of the Tamīm) then inflicted on him, between Nahr Tīrā and Duluth, a crushing defeat, as a result of which he withdrew to the east of the Dudjayl, crossing the river by the bridge of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (= the town of al-Ahwāz) and obtained peace by abandoning to the invaders Manādhir, Nahr Tīrā and the part of the territory of Sūḳ al-Ahwāz which they had already seized. But the peace did not last. Pressed by the king Yazdadjird, who was fleeing from Ḥulwān to Iṣfahān and thence to Iṣṭakhr, al-Hurmuzān once again took up a threatening attitude, which, it is said, forced the Muslims to resume the offensive. After one or two campaigns the course of which is not clear (the most detailed account is that of the traditionist Sayf b. ʿUmar) al-Hurmuzān entrenched himself in Tustar (Shushtar) on the upper Dudjayl. The Muslim forces subjected this town to a long (2 years or 18 months) and bitter siege. Al-Hurmuzān, after the besiegers had taken by assault the trenches defended by the troops of Fārs, Djibāl and al-Ahwāz, retreated into the town and, when this was occupied through treachery, into the fortress. Finally he surrendered to the caliph and was led to Medina with twelve other Persians by the Companion Anas b. Mālik. Al-Hurmuzān's arrival in Medina is described with a number of details which seem to bear a romantic stamp (and which have provided subjects for the novels *Harmosan* and *Hormusan* by Platen and by Schwetschke: see A. Muller, *Der Islam*, i, 244, n. 1): the Persians clad in luxurious gowns of brocade with gold belts, bracelets, etc., and al-Hurmuzān with his diadem, astonished the inhabitants of Medina; the conversation between ʿUmar and al-Hurmuzān was a dramatic one; the latter obtained *amān*, thanks to a ruse; he was stripped of his clothing and his ornaments and the Companion Surāḳa b. Mālik b. Djuʿshum, who was as thin as he was, put them on, on ʿUmar's orders. Al-Hurmuzān was invited to embrace Islam but refused, and the caliph, on ʿAlī's advice, decided to banish the whole group of prisoners to Syria (or Egypt); during the voyage they were shipwrecked and the Persians, having been saved, embraced Islam; ʿUmar then recalled the prisoners to Medina. Apart from these stories, the basic facts of which have evidently been embroidered, the sources supply other information which there seems no real reason to doubt: al-Hurmuzān became ʿUmar's adviser on Persian affairs (the pension of 2000 *dirhams*, which, according to several sources (Ibn Saʿd, al-Balādhurī, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, etc.) the caliph assigned to him as well as to other *dihḳans*, was perhaps in reward for their services); he was a person of some consequence at Medina (otherwise his murder would not have become a state matter); he embraced Islam (the sources agree on this point, even though his sincerity is sometimes held in question); often the difference is stressed between al-Hurmuzān, who had become a Muslim, and Abū Lu'lu'a (the murderer of ʿUmar) and Djufayna (also killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar), who remained Christian; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 457 f. and Yaḥyā b. Ādam assert that he pronounced the formula professing the faith of Islam when he saw that he was wounded, but it is possible that by this detail the traditionists wished to stress his firm adherence to Islam in the face of death rather than to delay his conversion to the final moments of his life. The doubt concerning his conversion rests in fact only on the phrase which ʿUthmān is said to have uttered: "they [those whom ʿUbayd Allāh had killed] were in our *dhimma*". But the facts which above all have made al-Hurmuzān famous in the annals of Islam are the following: when the Persian slave Abū Lu'lu'a stabbed the caliph ʿUmar in the mosque at Medina and was killed as he attempted to make a way for himself through the crowd, the suspicion spread that he had had accomplices. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr) remembered a few days earlier having seen Abū Lu'lu'a conferring with his compatriots al-Hurmuzān and Djufayna (the latter was a Christian from al-Ḥīra whom Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ had brought to Medina); the three men,

he said, having got up as he approached, there had fallen between them a dagger of a special type which resembled that which Abū Luʾluʾa had used to wound the caliph. ʿUmar's son, ʿUbayd Allāh, had threatened to make those guilty pay dearly if his father died from his wound. The words of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf confirmed him in the idea that the Persians who had been seen in conversation with Abū Luʾluʾa had taken part in the attempt on ʿUmar's life, and when ʿUmar finally died (26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 23/3 November 644), he not only killed Abū Luʾluʾa's wife and a young daughter who was a Muslim, but having made a pretext to call al-Hurmuzān aside, he wounded him mortally with his sword, and killed Djufayna in the same way. In his great anger he cried out that he was going to kill all the foreign slaves living in Medina (or all the Persians: al-Masʿūdī iv, 353) and also others, alluding to some *Muhādjirūn* (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 257) or to some of the *Muhādjirūn* and the *Anṣār* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2795). He was held back and threatened, but continued to shout thus. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ took his sword away from him; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who had hastened to the scene, laid hands on him, and they had to be separated. While awaiting a decision on his fate, Saʿd imprisoned ʿUbayd Allāh in his house, (or it was Ṣuhayb, the Companion who had been charged with the leading of the prayer after the attempt on ʿUmar's life, who put him in prison). As soon as he was elected caliph, ʿUthmān concerned himself with the matter and, in spite of the vigorous opposition of several *Muhādjirūn* and *Anṣār*, decided to pardon ʿUbayd Allāh and to pay blood money from his own revenue to the families of the victims. This action, for reasons which are not clear, later became a charge of indictment against ʿUthmān, and it is probably the resulting polemic concerning his intervention and his decision which gave rise to the divergent accounts of the sources on who were the persons competent to solve the question: it is related that ʿUthmān handed over the murderer to the son of al-Hurmuzān, but that the latter renounced his right to vengeance and that, because of this generous act, he was carried home in triumph (*Usd*, etc.); but it is also related (Ibn Kathīr) that al-Hurmuzān had no heirs; it is reported that he had wished to embrace Islam at the hands of al-ʿAbbās, whence the right of the Banū Hāshim to have a say in the question of the revenge (al-Ṭabarī-Zotenberg) or that he had a brother-in-law (*ṣahr*) among the Ṭālibīs (al-Iṣṭakhrī).

Al-Hurmuzān was nicknamed *ʿurfuṭ*, but the reason for this is not clear, *ʿurfuṭ* being the name of a thorny shrub which exudes an evil-smelling resin.

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(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

ḤURR (1) in the legal sense, "free" as opposed to "slave" [see ʿABD]; (2) with social and ethical extensions, "generous", "gentlemanly" [see ḤURRIYYA, i]; (3) in modern usage, used for both "free" and "independent" [see ḤURRIYYA, ii and ISTIḲLĀL].

AL-ḤURR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-THAḲAFĪ, nephew of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] and cousin of his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He was appointed governor of al-Andalus by the Arab *wālī* of Ḳayrawān, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, in 97/716. He arrived in the Peninsula accompanied by 400 noblemen of Ifrīḳiya, among whom were the first men of eminence to enter al-Andalus. One of his first measures was to transfer the capital of his government to Cordova, considering that the position of Seville was now too remote in view of the extension which the conquest of the country had acquired. Being a Ḳaysī by origin, and so an enemy of the Yemenīs, he established a form of government full of arrogance and intransigeance towards his co-religionists and of harshness towards the vanquished Hispano-Romans. Since he embarked upon a policy with regard to the latter which was so different from that followed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Nuṣayr, it would appear that it was the Ḳayrawānī *ʿulamāʾ* who had come with him who began the thankless task of redistributing the lands and property confiscated from the vanquished. It would be during his term of office, which lasted until Ramaḍān 100/March-April 719, that the Spanish Reconquista began with the proclamation of Pelayo and the episode of the siege of Covadonga, although it is still impossible, for lack of sure documentation, to fix the exact date. Al-Ḥurr was deposed by the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who appointed as his successor al-Samḥ b. Mālik and charged him personally with the task of establishing justice, governing mildly, and exacting the "Fifth" from the conquered lands.

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(A. HUICI MIRANDA)

AL-ḤURR B. **YAZĪD** B. NĀDJIYA B. KAʿNAB B. ʿATTĀB B. AL-ḤĀRITH B. ʿAMR B. HAMMĀM AL-RIYĀḤĪ, AL-YARBŪʿĪ, AL-TAMĪMĪ came at the head of a troop of 1000 horsemen from al-Ḳādisiyya as a vanguard of the forces sent by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the governor of al-ʿIrāḳ against al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. The latter was advancing at the time with a group of his kindred and followers in the direction of al-Kūfa. Al-Ḥurr was ordered to follow closely the group of al-Ḥusayn so as to bring him to ʿUbayd Allāh in al-Kūfa; he was however not told to fight. Accordingly he kept close to the camp of al-Ḥusayn and prevented him from turning back to al-Madina, but agreed that he should proceed in a direction other than al-Kūfa. The relations between al-Ḥurr and al-Ḥusayn were not at first hostile: he even prayed behind al-Ḥusayn; he denied at the same time having any knowledge of the letters sent by the people of al-Kūfa to al-Ḥusayn.

Rigidly adhering to a new order received from ʿUbayd Allāh (2 Muḥarram 61/2 October 680) he prevented al-Ḥusayn and his followers from arriving at a settled place, compelling them to pitch their camp in the barren spot of Karbalāʾ.

When ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, heading the forces dispatched by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, rejected the proposals of al-Ḥusayn and decided to fight him, al-Ḥurr decided to join al-Ḥusayn, although knowing that the latter's situation was desperate. He expressed his regret, went over with a small group of his followers to al-Ḥusayn and the latter promised him God's forgiveness. He fought bravely, killed 2 warriors of the force of ʿUmar b. Saʿd and was finally killed (10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680).

The tradition about the repentance of al-Ḥurr, his audacity in the encounter and his heroic death became a part of the story of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn.

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(M. J. KISTER)

AL-ḤURR AL-ʿĀMILĪ, *laḳab* of the *ithnāʿasharī shaykh* MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-ʿĀMILĪ AL-MASHGHARĪ (also of his brother, the historian Aḥmad who died in 1120/1708-9 and who succeeded him in Mashhad as *shaykh al-Islām*, before being invited to Iṣfahān by *shāh* Sultan Ḥusayn in 1115/1703-4). He was born on Friday 8 Radjab 1033/26 April 1624 at Mashghar in the Djabal ʿĀmil, where he completed his first studies with his father, his paternal uncle, the *shaykh* Muḥammad, his maternal grandfather, the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad, and one of his father's maternal uncles, the *shaykh* ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd; at Djabʿ, in the same Djabal, he was also the pupil of the *shaykh* Ḥusayn Ẓahīr and of Zayn al-Dīn, a great-grandson of *al-Shahīd al-thānī* [*q.v.*]. After remaining 40 years in the Djabal, during which he twice made the pilgrimage to Mecca, Muḥammad visited the shrines of Arab ʿIrāḳ, whence he journeyed to Iran to settle in Mashhad and to remain there as the *shaykh al-Islām* of the sanctuary of Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā. In the course of another *ḥadjdj*, he passed through Iṣfahān, where he was favourably received by Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī [*q.v.*]. The latter presented him to Shāh Sulaymān, who also offered him his patronage although, it appears, he showed some surprise at first at the simplicity and lack of savoir-faire of the *shaykh*. He died at Mashhad, where he had soon returned, and was buried in the sanctuary, near the *madrasa* of Mīrzā Djaʿfar.

As a pupil of Zayn al-Dīn, who himself had been the pupil of Muḥammad Amīn Astarābādī (but who was also the grandson of such a well qualified representative of the *uṣūlī* school as *shaykh* Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, the author of the *Maʿālim al-uṣūl* [see UṢŪLIYYŪN]), it is not surprising to find him among the *Akhbāriyyūn*, whose methodology he strove to justify with arguments considered "more subtle than a spider's web" (*awhan min bayt al-ʿankabūt*). His principal work is indeed a vast collection of *ḥadīth*, the *Tafṣīl wasāʾil al-Shīʿa ilā aḥkām al-sharīʿa* (even his opponents admire the breadth and erudition of this work although they criticize its faults in juridical elaboration), which makes him the second of the "three great Muḥammads of recent centuries" (the first being Muḥsin-i Fayḍ and the third Madjlisī). The great work, composed over 18 years, was lithographed at Tehrān in 1323-4 (3 vols.) and was "completed" quite recently by Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī Ṭabarsī, a very polemical disciple of the *shaykh* Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī and the master of the contemporary *ʿālim* Āḳā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, who died at Nadjaf in 1320, with his *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil wa mustanbaṭ al-masāʾil* (3 vols., lith. Tehrān 1311-1321). The second great work of the *shaykh* al-Ḥurr on *ḥadīths*, *Djawāhir al-saniyya fi 'l-aḥādīth al-ḳudsiyya*, which also was printed in Tehrān, 1302, is regarded as the first collection of *ḥadīth ḳudsī*. But the second Muḥammad shared with the third (and this separates them both from the first) that hatred for Ṣūfism which inspired his *Ithnāʿashariyya fī radd al-ṣūfiyya*. He also worked in the field of *ʿilm al-ridjāl*, composing a biographical *khātima* for his *Wasāʾil*, and especially his very well-known *Amal al-āmil fī ʿulamāʾ Djabal ʿĀmil* (lith. Tehrān 1302) on the scholars of his native land, with a section devoted to the *ruwāt*, and a continuation on the "non-ʿĀmilī" scholars from the time of *shaykh* Ṭūsī down to his own day: *Tadhkirat al-mutabaḥḥirīn fī ʿulamāʾ al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*. The *Amal al-āmil* was "completed" by the *sayyid* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī Shabbāna al-Baḥrānī (fellow pupil of the *shaykh* Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī at the school of the *shaykh* Ḥusayn al-Māḥūzī, d. 1180/1766) with a *Tatmīm Amal al-*

āmil, devoted also to the poets "from the time of al-Farazdaḳ down to our own day" and to the *ʿulamāʾ* of Baḥrayn; it has been further enriched recently by the *Takmilat Amal al-āmil* by the *sayyid* Ḥusayn Ṣadr al-Dīn. Among the numerous works of *shaykh* al-Ḥurr (who was quite prepared to collect the *ḥadīth*s of the *Ahl al-Sunna*) there is also a *dīwān* of 20,000 verses, according to his contemporary, the *sayyid* ʿAlī Khān Madanī Shīrāzī in his *Sulāfat al-ʿaṣr*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, Tehrān 1306, 544-6 (= 644-6); Mīrzā Muḥammad Tanukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehrān n.d., 289-93; Āḳā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, ii, Nadjaf 1355, n. 129 and iii, Nadjaf 1357, n. 393; idem, *Muṣaffa 'l-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-ridjāl*, Tehrān 1378, cols. 401-2; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī Khiyābānī (*Mudarris*), *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa 'l-laḳab*, i, Tehrān 1366, 315-6; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xliv, 52-64. (G. Scarcia)

ḤURRIYYA, "freedom," an abstract formation derived from *ḥurr* "free" corresponding to Hebrew *ḥōr*, Aram. *ḥēr* (*ḥerūtā*), widely used also in Muslim languages other than Arabic. Already in pre-Islamic times, "free" was known not only as a legal term denoting the opposite of "unfree, slave" (*ʿabd* [*q.v.*]) but also as an ethical term denoting those "noble" of character and behavior. The legal concept of "freedom" continued to be used as a matter of course by Muslim jurists, who were inclined to give preference to the presumption of a free status for individuals in doubtful cases [see ʿABD] but otherwise accepted the existence of slavery and the deprivation of a section of humanity of their freedom without questioning, at least openly, the moral foundations. In the ethical sense, the superiority of the *ḥurr*, showing in his gentlemanly behavior, his generosity, his readiness to suffer for a noble cause, was constantly extolled in poetry and prose. The Greco-Arabic translation literature introduced the Muslims to some sayings illustrating Greek thinking on the problem of freedom; at the same time, it helped to reinforce the equation of "free" and "noble" and added some confusion of its own through the use of *ḥurriyya* to translate *eleutheriotēs* "generosity" in the Aristotelian canon of virtues. Furthermore, the writings of philosophers such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Rushd took some limited cognizance of "freedom" as a political term. In Muslim metaphysical speculation, *ḥurriyya* came to occupy a rather significant position through Ṣūfism. It appears as one of the guideposts on the mystic path in the *Lumaʿ* of al-Sarrādj and in the *Risāla* of his successor al-Ḳushayrī. Through the *Risāla* in particular, it gained a firm place in Ṣūfī literature. For the mystic, "freedom" is basically the freedom from everything except God and the devotion to Him. It is the recognition of the essential relationship between God the master and His human slaves who are completely dependent on Him, "freedom," as Ibn ʿArabī expresses it, "being perfect slavery" (*al-Iʿlām bi-ishārāt ahl al-ilhām*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, 8). However, one also hears about the existence of men who defended the necessity of "absolute freedom" (O. Pretzl, *Die Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Ibāḥīja*, in *SBBayer. Ak.* 1933, text 27 f., trans. 51).

Ḥurriyya, although much discussed, did not achieve the status of a fundamental political concept that could have served as a rallying cry for great causes. Only this much can be stated with assurance. Beyond it, any evaluation of the situation prevailing in mediaeval Islam with regard to "freedom," in the way in which the term is generally if loosely used in the contemporary West, depends on the particular view one holds of "freedom" and the definition one chooses to give to the concept. Obviously, the actual situation varied greatly over the vast expanse of Muslim history, but some basic lines may be said to define the general picture: The individual Muslim was expected to consider subordination of his own freedom to the beliefs, morality, and customs of the group as the only proper course of behaviour. While he valued his personal freedom and was proud of it, he was not supposed to see in it a good to be defended at all costs against group demands. Politically, the individual was not expected to exercise any free choice as to how he wished to be governed. At times, he did stress his right to be considered and treated as an equal by the men in power. Under special circumstances, there was extensive community participation in the government (as, for instance, in early Islam or among certain sectarians), or, at least, a certain degree of wider distribution of the political power among the population (as, perhaps, in city states such as Seville). In general, however, governmental authority admitted of no participation of the individual as such, who therefore did not possess any real freedom vis-à-vis it. On the metaphysical level, the question of how much freedom could be vouchsafed to human beings in view of the omnipotence of God has occupied the Muslim mind from the very beginnings of Islam [see IKHTIYĀR]. Whatever concessions were made, however, were not made in the name of any kind of individual freedom, but in order to assure a better regulated society. Moreover, the widely adopted Ashʿarī solution of the free will dilemma, no less than all the others, was far too subtle for the masses to understand; at any rate it failed to impress them with the importance of the element of human freedom it contained.

Bibliography: F. Rosenthal, *The Muslim concept of freedom*, Leiden 1960. For modern Muslim works on freedom which also pay some attention to the historical background, see the bibliography to the following section.

(F. Rosenthal)

ii.—Modern Period

The Ottoman Empire and after. The first examples of the use of the word freedom in a clearly defined political sense come from late 18th century Turkey. The word used is not *ḥurriyya* but *serbestiyyet* (later also *serbestī*), pseudo-Arabic and pseudo-Persian abstracts from *serbest*, an established Ottoman term connoting the absence of limitations or restrictions (thus, *serbest tīmār* means a fief in which all the revenues go to the timariot, as against an ordinary *tīmār* in which certain revenues are reserved to the imperial exchequer [see TĪMĀR]). In its first known appearance in an official document, the word *serbestiyyet* denotes collective rather than personal freedom—*i.e.*, independence rather than liberty in the classical liberal sense. This is in the third article of the treaty of Küčük Kaynardja [*q.v.*] (1774), establishing the short-lived independence of the Crimean Tatars from both Turkey and Russia. The two states agree to recognize the Tatars as "free and entirely independent of any foreign power"; the Sultan is regarded as their religious head, "but without thereby compromising their political and civil liberty as established". The forms of words in the Italian original

of the treaty for these two phrases are "liberi, immediati, ed independenti assolutamente da qualunque straniera Potenza" and "senza pero mettere in compromesso la stabilita libertà loro politica e civile"; this is rendered in Turkish as *serbestiyyet we g͟hayr-i taʿalluḳ mustaḳill wud͟jūhla ed͟jnebī bir dewlete tābiʿ olmamak üzre* ... and *ʿaḳd olunan serbestiyyet-i dewlet we memleketlerine k͟halel getirmiyerek* (Turkish text in D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*², i, 358-9; *Med͟jmūʿa-i muʿāhedāt*, iii, 254; Italian in G. F. de Martens, *Recueil des traités* ..., iv, Göttingen 1795, 610-2).

The French Revolution gave the word *serbestiyyet* a new meaning. Moralī El-Seyyid ʿAlī Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris under the *Directoire*, uses it several times in his *sefāretnāme* to translate *liberté*, chiefly in relation to symbols and ceremonies (*e.g.*, *TOEM*, no. 23 (1329 A.H.), 1458, 1460. On the display of the 'symbols' of freedom by Frenchmen in Turkey, see D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*², vi, 182-3). The *Reʾīs al-Kuttāb* ʿĀṭif Efendi, in his memorandum of 1798 on the political situation resulting from the activities of revolutionary France, shows a clearer understanding of the new political content of the term, and of the danger that it represented to the established order, in the Ottoman Empire as elsewhere. In his introductory account of the Revolution, he tells how the revolutionaries had enticed the common people (*ʿawāmm-i nās*) to follow them with promises of equality and freedom (*müsāwāt we serbestiyyet*) as a means of obtaining complete happiness in this world. More specifically, he is alarmed by the actions of the French in the former Venetian possessions which they had acquired—the Ionian islands and four towns on the mainland. By evoking the forms of the government of the ancient Greeks and installing a form of liberty (*serbestiyyet*), the French had made clear their hostile intentions (D͟jewdet, *Taʾrīk͟h*², vi, 395, 400; cf. B. Lewis in *J. Wld.Hist.*, i (1953), 120 ff. (revised version in G. S. Métraux and F. Croizet, eds., *The new Asia*, New York-London 1965, 47 ff.), and *Slavonic Review*, xxxiv (1955), 234-5).

Before the end of the year the French had landed in Egypt, where General Bonaparte, on arrival, addressed the Egyptians on behalf of the French Republic, "founded on the basis of freedom and equality" (*ʿalā asās al-ḥurriyya wa'l-taswiya*: versions in D͟jabartī, *Muẓhir al-taḳdīs*, Cairo n.d., i, 37; Niḳūlā al-Turk, *Mud͟hakkirāt*, ed G. Wiet, Cairo 1950, 8; the text also appears in D͟jabartī, *ʿAd͟jāʾib*, iii, Cairo 1879, 4; Ḥaydar al-S͟hihābī's *Lubnān*, etc.). The word used for freedom is *ḥurriyya*, which, however, was still far from being a commonly accepted equivalent to the European term in its political sense. Ruphy's French-Arabic wordlist, printed in 1802, renders *liberté* by *ḥurriyya*, but with the restriction "opposé à l'esclavage"; in the sense of "pouvoir d'agir" he prefers *sarāḥ* (J. F. Ruphy, *Dictionnaire abrégé français-arabe*, Paris, An X [1802], 120). As late as 1841 the Phanariot Handjeri renders "liberté civile" and "liberté politique" by *ruk͟hṣat-i s͟herʿiyye* and *ruk͟hṣat-i mülkiyye* respectively (*Dictionnaire français-arabe-persan et turc*, ii, Moscow 1840-1, 397, with explanations and examples).

Early references to freedom in works of Muslim authorship are hostile, and equate it with libertinism, licentiousness, and anarchy. A significant change can, however, be seen in a passage in the chronicle of S͟hānīzāde ([*q.v.*] d. 1826) under the year 1230/1815, discussing the nature of council meetings (*keyfiyyet-i med͟jālis-i mes͟hweret*), which became frequent at this time. S͟hānīzāde is careful to base the holding of such consultations on Islamic precedent and ancient Ottoman practice, and to give warning against its misuse; at the same time he points out that such consultations are normally held, with beneficial effects, in "certain well-organized states (*düwel-i muntaẓama*)"—a striking euphemism for the states of Europe—and attributes to the members attending the councils a representative quality entirely new to Islamic political thought. The members of the councils consist of two groups, servants of the state and representatives of the subjects (*wükelā-i raʿiyyet*); they discuss and argue freely (*ber wed͟jh-i serbestiyyet*) and thus arrive at a decision (S͟hānīzāde, *Taʾrīk͟h*, iv, Istanbul 1291, 2-3; cf. B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 385-6).

In the decades that followed, the notion of political freedom became more familiar through discussions of European affairs and translations of European works (*e.g.* the Turkish version of Botta's *Storia d'Italia*, Cairo 1249/1834, repr. Istanbul 1293/1876, which abounds in references to liberal principles and institutions). It was also discussed and developed by several Muslim writers, who were influenced more especially by the rather conservative constitutionalism of the post-Napoleonic era—the idea of the *Rechtsstaat*, or state based on the rule of law, in contrast both to the unbridled absolutism of Napoleon and the licence of the Revolution. One of the most important of these was the Egyptian S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*], who lived in Paris from 1826 to 1831. His account of what he saw and learnt was first published in Būlāḳ in Arabic in 1834 and in a Turkish version in 1839; it includes a translation with commentary of the French constitution and a description of parliamentary institutions, the purpose of which is to secure government under law and the protection of the subject from tyranny. What the French call freedom (*ḥurriyya*), says S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa, is the same as what the Muslims call justice and equity (*al-ʿadl wa'l-inṣāf*)—that is, the maintenance of equality before the law, government according to law, and the abstention of the ruler from arbitrary and illegal acts against the subject (*Tak͟hlīṣ al-ibrīz fī talk͟hīṣ Bārīz*, ed. Mahdī ʿAllām, Aḥmad Badawī and Anwar Lūḳā, Cairo n.d. [1958 ?], 148). S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa's equation of *ḥurriyya* with the classical Islamic concept of justice [see ʿADL, INṢĀF and ẒULM] helped to relate the new to the old concepts, and fit his own political writings into the long line of Muslim exhortations to the sovereign to rule wisely and justly, with due respect for the law and due care for the interests and welfare of the subjects [see RAʿIYYA and SIYĀSA]. What is new and alien to traditional political ideas is the suggestion that the subject has a *right* to be treated justly, and that some apparatus should be set up to secure that right. With remarkable percipience, S͟hayk͟h Rifāʿa sees and explains the different rôles of parliament, the courts and the press in protecting the subjects from tyranny—or rather, as he points out, in enabling the subjects to protect themselves. What is far from clear is the extent to which he felt these ideas and institutions to be relevant to the needs of his own country. In his later writings there is little suggestion of any such relevance; even his commendation of the Khedive Ismāʿīl for setting up a consultative assembly in 1866 shows a traditional concern with the duties of the ruler—justice and consultation—rather than a liberal concern with the rights of the ruled. In his *al-Murs͟hid al-amīn* (Cairo 1862, 127 ff.), he defines freedom under five sub-headings, the last

two of which are civic (*madanī*) and political (*siyāsī*). Both are defined in relation to social, economic and legal rights, without any specific reference to *political* rights in the liberal sense. The first three sub-headings are natural, social (*i.e.*, freedom of 'conduct') and religious. Political freedom is the assurance of the state to the individual of the enjoyment of his property and the exercise of his 'natural' freedom (*i.e.*, the basic innate power of all living creatures to eat, drink, move etc., limited by the need to avoid injury to himself or to others) (see L. Zolondek, *Al-Ṭahṭāwī and political freedom*, in *MW*, liv (1964), 90-7.)

Shaykh Rifāʿa's Turkish contemporary Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat Pasha [*q.v.*], though vaguer in his theoretical notions of the meaning of freedom, is more specific on its immediate application at home. In an essay first drafted while he was Ottoman ambassador in Vienna in 1837—and in close touch with Metternich —he discusses the essential differences between Turkey and Europe, and those respects in which Turkey might profitably seek to imitate Europe. Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat is deeply impressed by European wealth, industry and science, in which he sees the best means of regenerating Turkey. European progress and prosperity, he explains, are the result of certain political conditions, of stability and tranquillity, which in turn depend on 'the attainment of complete security for the life, property, honour and reputation of each nation and people, that is to say, on the proper application of the necessary rights of freedom (*ḥuḳūḳ-i lāzime-i ḥürriyyet*)'. For Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat, as for Shaykh Rifāʿa, freedom is an extension of the classical Islamic idea of justice—an obligation of the ruler to act justly and in accordance with the law; but it is also one of the "*rights* of the nation" (*ḥuḳūḳ-i millet*), and the establishment of these rights in Turkey is a matter of "the most urgent necessity" (text in Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat Pasha, *Müntekhabāt-i āthār*, Istanbul, *Awrupaniñ aḥwāline dāʾir .. risāle*, 4; cf. ibid., *Idāre-i hukūmetiñ baʿḍ-ı ḳawāʿid-i esāsiyye-sini mutaḍammin .. risāle, passim*; another version in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1340, 125 f.). Similar ideas are expressed by another Turkish writer, Muṣṭafā Sāmī, a former Embassy secretary in Paris, who in an essay published in 1840 speaks with admiration of the political and religious liberties of the French. Such ideas find official expression in the first of the great reforming edicts—the ferman of the Rose-chamber (*Gülkhāne*) of 1839, which recognizes and seeks to establish the rights of the subject to security of life, honour and property, and to government under law. There are two specific references to freedom— in the clause guaranteeing that "everyone shall dispose of his property in all freedom (*serbestiyyet*)", and in the clause concerning the Councils, in which everyone present "shall express his ideas and observations freely (*serbestče*) and without hesitation." (Text in *Düstūr*, first series, i, 4-7; in modern script, in A. Şeref Gözübüyük and S. Kili, *Türk anayasa metinleri*, Ankara 1957, 3-5; English trans. in Hurewitz, i, 113-6).

These ideas of freedom are still very cautious and conservative; one would expect no other from Shaykh Rifāʿa, the loyal servant of the rulers of Egypt, or from Ṣādiḳ Rifʿat, the disciple of Metternich and coadjutor of Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*]. The subjects were to be treated justly by the government; Indeed, they had a right to be treated justly, and laws should be promulgated to secure such treatment. But there is still no idea that the subjects have any right to share in the formation or conduct of government—to political freedom, or citizenship, in the sense which underlies the development of liberal political thought in the West.

While conservative reformers talked of freedom under law, and some Muslim monarchs even experimented with councils and assemblies [see DUSTŪR, MADJLIS, MASHWARA], government was in fact becoming more and not less arbitrary and oppressive. The modernization of government and the abrogation of intermediate powers at once strengthened the autocracy of the state, and removed or weakened the traditional limitations on its functioning. More authoritarian government provoked more radical criticism; the newly created and rapidly expanding press [see DJARĪDA] provided a medium for its expression; 19th century Europe offered a wide range of inspiration and example.

The suggestion has been made that some of the Lebanese movements of the periods 1820-1 and 1840 may have been inspired or influenced by French Revolutionary ideologies of national liberation and political democracy. The documents on which these suggestions rest (Philippe and Farīd Khāzin, *Madjmūʿat al-muḥarrarāt al-siyāsiyya wa'l-mufāwaḍāt al-duwaliyya ʿan Sūriyya wa-Lubnān*, i, Djūniya 1910, 1 ff.) are few and uncertain, and may reflect the activities of French agitators more than any genuine local movement. A more definite expression of libertarian ideas occurs in an account of the revolt of the Maronites of Kisrawān in 1858-9, led by Ṭanyūs Shāhīn [*q.v.*]; he is said to have aimed at "republican government" (*ḥukūma djumhūriyya*), probably meaning some form of representative government (Anṭūn al-ʿAḳīḳī, ed. Yūsuf Ibrāhīm Yazbak, *Thawra wa-fitna fī Lubnān*, Damascus 1938, 87; English trans. M. H. Kerr, *Lebanon in the last years of feudalism . . .*, Beirut 1959, 53. See further P. K. Hitti, *The impact of the West on Syria and Lebanon in the nineteenth century*, in *J.Wld.Hist.*, ii (1955), 629-30).

The intensification of Western influence during and after the Crimean War on the one hand, and the growing internal political and economic pressures on the other, both helped to bring a revival of libertarian thought and activities in the eighteen sixties. In Turkey, Shināsī [*q.v.*] stressed the importance of freedom of expression in the introductory editorials both of *Terdjumān-i Aḥwāl* (no. 1, 1277/1860) and of *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* (no. 1, 15 June [O.S.] 1278/1862). In Syria, the Christian author Francis Fatḥ Allāh al-Marrāsh [*q.v.*] wrote an allegorical dialogue (*Ghābat al-ḥaḳḳ*, Beirut 1866, repr. Cairo 1298/1880-1), which includes a philosophic and political discussion of freedom, and of the conditions that are required to maintain it. More directly political in content was the work of a Muslim author, the famous Khayr al-Dīn Pasha [*q.v.*], one of the authors of the Tunisian constitutional enactment of 1861 (*Aḳwām al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, Tunis 1284-5/1867-8; French trans. *Réformes nécessaires aux états musulmans*, Paris 1868; Turkish version, Istanbul 1296/1879). In this rather conservative programme of reform, Khayr al-Dīn examines the sources of European wealth and power, and finds them in the political institutions of Europe, which secure justice and freedom. Identifying the two, he makes some cautious and rather obscure recommendations on how to secure them in the Islamic state without violating or departing from Islamic traditions and institutions, by reliance on 'consultation' [see MASHWARA], since the consultation of ministers,

ʿulamāʾ, and notables is the authentic Islamic equivalent of the European system of representative and constitutional government. It may be noted that neither as chief minister in Tunisia in the years 1873-7, nor as Grand Vizier in Turkey in 1878-9, did he do anything to restore the constitutions which had been suspended in both countries.

Already in 1856, in an ode addressed to Reshīd Pasha on the occasion of the Reform Edict of that year, Shināsī tells the reforming Pasha "You have made us free (*āzād*), who were slaves to oppression (*ẓulm*)" and continues: "Your law is an act of manumission (*ʿitḳnāme*) for men, your law informs the Sultan of his limits (*bildirir ḥaddini*)."

The radical implications of these words—the replacement of justice by freedom as the antithesis of tyranny, and the suggestion of a constitutional restriction of the sovereign's powers—were developed and made clear in the late sixties and seventies by the group of liberal patriots known as the Young (strictly "new") Ottomans [see YEÑI ʿOTHMĀNLİLAR]. The political ideas of the Young Ottomans, though couched in Islamic terms and related, sometimes with visible effort, to Islamic traditions, are of European origin, and express an Ottoman-Islamic adaptation of the liberal patriotism current in Europe at that time. Their ideal was the British parliament at Westminster, their ideology was drawn from the liberal teachings of the French enlightenment and revolution, their organization and tactics were modelled on the patriotic secret societies of Italy and Poland. In the political writings of the Young Ottomans the two key words are *Waṭan* [*q.v.*]—fatherland, and *Ḥürriyyet*—freedom. The latter was the name of the weekly journal which they published in exile (London, June 1868-April 1870; Geneva, April-June 1870). In this journal, and in other writings, the Young Ottoman ideologists, above all Nāmıḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], expounded their interpretation of liberty—the sovereignty of the people, to be secured by constitutional and representative government (see for example the article from *Ḥürriyyet* published by M. Colombe in French translation in *Orient*, no. 13 (1960), 123-33). For Kemāl as for earlier Muslim writers, the primary duty of the state is still to act justly—but justice means not only care for the welfare of the subject, but respect for his political rights. These rights must be safeguarded by appropriate institutions: "To keep the government within the limits of justice, there are two basic devices. The first of them is that the fundamental rules by which it operates should no longer be implicit or tacit, but should be published to the world . . . The second principle is consultation (*meshweret*), whereby the legislative power is taken away from the government" (Nāmıḳ Kemāl, *Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiyye*, in *ʿIbret*, no. 18, 1872; repr. in Ebü'l-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ, *Nümūne-i edebiyyāt-i ʿOthmāniyye*[3], Istanbul 1306, 357-8, and, in the new Turkish script, in Mustafa N. Özön, *Namık Kemal ve Ibret gazetesi*, Istanbul 1938, 96-7; English trans. in Lewis, *Emergence*, 140). Like his predecessors, Nāmıḳ Kemāl tries to present these imported ideas as natural developments from traditional Islamic notions; in this way justice grows into freedom and consultation into representation. Thus far, Nāmıḳ Kemāl and his associates had been anticipated by earlier 19th century writers, and even to some extent by rulers, who had summoned councils and issued edicts [see DUSTŪR, MADJLIS, MASHWARA]. But the Young Ottomans, both in thought and actions, went far beyond their cautious forerunners. For Nāmıḳ Kemāl, a consultative assembly, even an elected one, is not enough. The essence of the matter is that this assembly be the exclusive possessor of the legislative power, of which the government would thus be deprived. This doctrine of the separation of powers, to be expressed in and maintained by a written constitution, is supported by the even more radical idea of the sovereignty of the people, which Nāmıḳ Kemāl identifies with the classical *bayʿa* [*q.v.*]. "The sovereignty of the people (*ḥākimiyyet-i ahālī*), which means that the powers of the government derive from the people, and which in the language of the *Sharīʿa* is called *bayʿa* . . . is a right necessarily arising from the personal independence (*istiḳlāl-i dhātī*) that each individual by nature possesses." (Nāmıḳ Kemāl, *Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiyye*, loc. cit.). He was not deceived by the apparently liberal and constitutional aspects of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. The reform edict of 1839 was not, as some had claimed, a fundamental constitutional charter (*Sharṭnāme-i esāsī*), but a measure of administrative westernization. "Had the Rescript not confined the general precepts of law set forth in its preamble to personal freedom (*ḥürriyyet-i shakhṣiyye*) alone, which it interpreted as security of life, property and honour, but also proclaimed such other basic principles as freedom of thought (*ḥürriyyet-i efkār*), sovereignty of the people, and the system of government by consultation [*i.e.*, representative and responsible government], then only could it have taken the character of a fundamental charter . . ." (*ʿIbret* no. 46, 1872, cit. Ihsan Sungu, *Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 845; English trans. in Lewis, *Emergence*, 167).

In 1876, with the promulgation of the first Ottoman constitution, the liberal and parliamentary programme of the Young Ottomans seemed to be on the point of realization. Article 10 of the constitution lays down that personal freedom is inviolable, and subsequent articles deal with freedom of worship, the press, association, education, etc., as well as with freedom from arbitrary violations of the rights of the person, residence and property. In its political provisions, however, the constitution is less libertarian. It derives not from the sovereignty of the people but from the will of the sovereign, who retains important prerogatives and all residual powers; it gives only perfunctory recognition to the principle of the separation of powers. Its effective life was in any case brief. In February 1878 parliament was dissolved; it did not meet again for thirty years.

Under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd freedom was a proscribed word, and the ideals which it connoted became all the more precious. For Turkish modernists of that generation, the fountainhead was the West, which provided both material examples of the benefits of freedom, and intellectual guidance on the means of attaining it. "When you look upon this fascinating display of human progress", wrote Saʿdullāh from the Paris Exhibition of 1878, "do not forget that all these achievements are the work of freedom. It is under the protection of freedom that peoples and nations attain happiness. Without freedom, there can be no security; without security, no endeavour; without endeavour, no prosperity; without prosperity no happiness . . ." (Saʿdullāh Pasha, *1878 Paris Ekspozisyonu*, in Ebü'l-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ, *Nümūne . . .*, 288; English trans. in B. Lewis, *Middle East . . .*, 47). As an earlier generation had turned to Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu, so the new generation read the writings of Haeckel, Büchner, Le Bon (specially favoured because of his sympathy for Islam), Spencer, Mill and many others. "If there

are today", wrote Ḥüseyn Raḥmī in 1908, "men who can think, can write, and can defend freedom, they are those whose minds were enlightened by these sparks [of European culture]. In those dark and melancholy days, our friends, our guides were those intellectual treasures of the West. We learned the love for thinking, the love for freedom, from those treasures" (Preface to *Shipsevdi*, Istanbul 1912, English trans. in Niyazi Berkes, *Secularism*, 292). In more practical political terms, freedom meant constitutional and representative government—the ending of autocracy, the restoration of the constitution, and the safeguarding of the rights of the citizen by free elections and parliaments. But freedom was no longer a purely political matter. For some, the exponents of materialist and secularist ideas, it involved an intellectual liberation from what they saw as the shackles of religious obscurantism. Perhaps the first to conceive of liberation in social and economic terms was Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who sought to lead Turkey from a collectivist to an individualist social order by a policy of federalism and decentralization and by the encouragement of private enterprise. In 1902 he founded a society dedicated to the achievement of these purposes. Similar ideas inspired the Liberal Entente (*Ḥürriyyet we Iʾtilāf* [*q.v.*]), which appeared in 1911 as a rival to the Union and Progress Party [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ]. An interesting example of the use of the word in a social and individualist connotation is in Ḳāsim Amīn's [*q.v.*] famous book *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, the liberation—*i.e.*, emancipation—of woman (Cairo 1316/1898 and 1905; Turkish versions: Cairo 1326/1908, Istanbul 1329/1911, and, in Northern Turkish, Kazan 1909).

After the revolution of 1908 the establishment, for a while, of effective freedom of thought and expression initiated a period of vigorous discussion, in which the problem of freedom, with others, was examined, analysed, and discussed from many points of view; political, social, economic and religious freedom all find their exponents and defenders. But as the bonds of autocracy and censorship were wound tighter by the Young Turks, the debate dwindled into insignificance. In the new Turkey that emerged under the first and second republics, the discussion of freedom does not differ significantly from that of Europe, and need not be considered here.

Ottoman subjects from the Arab lands played a certain rôle in the libertarian movement almost from the beginning. On 24 March 1867, the Egyptian prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha [*q.v.*] published in the French newspaper *Liberté* an open letter to the Sultan, advising him to grant a constitution to the Empire (reprinted in *Orient*, no. 5 (1958), 29-38). Besides endowing them with their first manifesto, the Pasha also helped the Young Ottoman exiles financially, and was later succeeded in this by his brother the Khedive Ismāʿīl, who saw in them a useful instrument of his political purposes. In Hamidian times, one of the first libertarian journals published in exile was started by Salīm Fāris, a son of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*]. Published in London in January 1894, it was entitled *Ḥürriyyet*—a significant evocation of the earlier Young Ottoman weekly. He was later induced by agents of the Sultan to cease publication. Other exiles included the Lebanese *amīr* Amīn Arslān, who published an Arabic journal called *Kashf al-Niḳāb* in Paris in 1895, and a former Syrian deputy in the Ottoman parliament of 1876, Khalīl Ghānim [*q.v.*], who became active in Young Turk circles. The ideas and arguments of the Young Ottomans and of the Young Turks found their echoes also in Arabic publications, which at this period tend to offer a provincial adaptation of ideas circulating among the Turkish ruling groups. Thus, the much discussed appearance of the motto *Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*—"love of country is part of the faith"—on the Syrian fortnightly *Al-Djinān* in 1870 follows its regular use in the Young Ottoman weekly *Ḥürriyyet* from 1868 to 1870; the growth of federalist groups among the Ottoman Arabs must be related to the federalist movement among the Turks.

In Egypt, under Khedivial and then British rule, political thought evolved along different lines, more directly influenced by Europe, and less directly affected by events and movements in the Ottoman Empire—though even here these had their effect. Many of the leaders of thought were Arabic-speaking emigrés from the Ottoman lands; the occasional presence and activity in Egypt of such Turkish personalities as Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn and ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet [*q.v.*] cannot have passed unnoticed. Walī al-Dīn Yakan [*q.v.*], of Turkish origin and a participant in Young Turk politics, wrote extensively in Arabic on political and social problems. A work of some influence was Djewdet's Turkish translation of Vittorio Alfieri's *Della tirannide*. Entitled simply *Istibdād*, it was first printed in Geneva in 1898 and reprinted in Cairo in 1909. This translation appears to underlie the famous Arabic adaptation of Alfieri's book by the Aleppine exile in Egypt, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*], entitled *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād*, Cairo n.d. (Sylvia G. Haim, *Alfieri and al-Kawākibī*, in *OM*, xxxiv (1954), 321-34; E. Rossi, *Una traduzione turca dell'opera "Della Tirannide" di V. Alfieri*, *ibid.*, 335-7).

One of the earliest discussions of freedom—little noticed at the time—in Egypt, after Shaykh Rifāʿa (see above) is that of the Azharī Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī. In his *Risālat al-kalim al-thamān*—"Essay on eight words", published in Cairo in 1298/1881, he examines and interprets, for the benefit of "the intelligent young men of these times", eight political terms "current on the tongues of men" (p. 2). One of them is *ḥurriyya* (pp. 36-7), which the Shaykh explains in natural and social terms—the difference between men and beasts, the human habit of social specialization and association, and hence the need for social cooperation and the mutual recognition of rights. The Shaykh recognizes the necessity of freedom in this natural and social sense, but rather obscurely warns his young readers against untoward extensions of the concept into the realm of politics.

Despite such warnings, the influence of European liberal political thought continued to grow, and found frequent expression in Arabic as well as Turkish writings. The merits of freedom are variously presented and defended. For some, a vaguely understood freedom is still the secret talisman of Western prosperity and power; its adoption is therefore desirable in order to achieve the same results. For others, freedom means the overthrow of tyranny, usually identified with Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and the establishment of a constitutional régime in its place. Perhaps the last and most cogent exposition of the classical liberal position in Arabic is that of the Egyptian Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872-1963). A declared disciple of J. S. Mill and other 19th century liberals, Luṭfī al-Sayyid gives a central position to the problem of liberty in his political thought. Freedom, basically, means the rights of the individual—his inalienable natural freedom,

defined and safeguarded by civil rights, which in turn are secured by political and legal arrangements and institutions. The action and interference of the State must be kept at the minimum; the freedom of the individual and of the nation must be secured by a free press, an independent judiciary, and a constitutional régime guaranteeing the separation of powers.

Luṭfī al-Sayyid is concerned not only with the freedom of the individual, but also with that of the nation, which has corporate natural rights distinct from and additional to the aggregate of the rights of the individuals composing it. Rejecting pan-Islamism and disapproving of Arab nationalism, he sees the nation as Egypt, and argues for her liberation from both foreign rule and native authoritarianism.

The liberal interpretation of freedom continued to find exponents, particularly after the Young Turk revolution of 1908 and again after the military victory of the democracies ten years later. But in the meantime a new interpretation of freedom was gaining ground, resulting from the spread of imperialism and the rise of nationalism. In nationalist usage, freedom is a synonym for independence—the sovereignty of the nation state, untrammeled by any superior, alien authority. In the absence of any such subordination to aliens, a nation is called free, irrespective of the political, social and economic conditions prevailing within it. This interpretation of freedom had less impact among the Turks, whose independence, though threatened, was never lost, than among the Arab peoples for whom the main theme of political life was the ending of alien rule. During the period of British and French domination, individual freedom was never much of an issue. Though often limited and sometimes suspended, it was on the whole more extensive and better protected than either before or after. The imperial régimes conceded freedom but withheld independence; it was natural that the anti-imperialist struggle should concentrate on the latter and neglect the former. In the final revulsion against the West, Western democracy too was rejected as a fraud and a delusion, of no value to Muslims. The words liberty (*ḥurriyya*) and liberation (*taḥrīr*) retained their magic, but were emptied of that liberal individualist content which had first attracted Muslim attention in the 19th century. A few voices still spoke of personal, individual rights, and some writers used a word from the same root, *taḥarrur*, to denote psychological self-liberation, or emancipation (from the shackles of tradition etc.). But for most users of the word freedom was a collective, not an individual attribute; it was first interpreted politically, as independence, and then, when this by itself proved inadequate, reinterpreted in quasi-economic terms, as the absence of private or foreign exploitation.

On nationalism, see ḲAWMIYYA; on independence, ISTIḲLĀL; on socialism, ISHTIRĀKIYYA; on communism, SHUYŪʿIYYA; on autocracy, ISTIBDĀD; on tyranny ẒULM.

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(b) Arab lands: the pioneer work on modern Arab political thought is the much-used and insufficiently acknowledged anthology of Raʾīf al-Khūrī, *al-Fikr al-ʿArabī al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1943, a collection of excerpts, with an introduction, illustrating the influence on Arab thought of the French Revolution. The subject of freedom is discussed in a number of works on nationalism and related topics: H. Z. Nuseibeh, *The ideas of Arab nationalism*, Ithaca N.Y., 1956; J. M. Ahmed, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, London 1960; N. Safran, *Egypt in search of political community*, Cambridge Mass. 1961; Sylvia G. Haim, *Arab nationalism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962; Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *The Arab rediscovery of Europe*, Princeton N.J., 1963. Arab liberalism receives special attention in A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age 1798-1939*, London 1962.

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(B. LEWIS)

ḤÜRRIYET WE IʾTILĀF FIRḲASÎ ("Freedom and Accord Party"), also known as *Entente Libérale* ("Liberal Union"), Ottoman political party, formed on 21 November 1911. It succeeded a number of other liberal-conservative political parties formed after the 1908 revolution in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYETI], including the *ʿOthmānlī Aḥrār Fırḳasî* (1908), the *Muʿtedil Ḥürriyetperverān Fırḳasî* (1909), the *Ahālī Fırḳasî* (1910), and the *Ḥizb-i Djedīd* (1911). It advocated a policy of administrative decentralization, opposition to radical social reform, and a *laissez-faire* economy as opposed to state intervention. In the Chamber of Deputies the Liberal Union rallied all those who had belonged to the *Ahālī Fırḳasî* as well as dissidents from the CUP.

The party was founded during the Turco-Italian war, when Unionist prestige was low. As in the past, personalities such as Dāmād Ferīd, Kāmil Pasha and Prince Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn continued to provide leadership and inspiration. The success of Ṭāhir Khayr al-Dīn, the Liberal candidate, in the Istanbul by-election on 11 December 1911 seemed to suggest that the tide had turned in favour of the Liberals (*Yeñi Iḳdām*, 12 Dec. 1911; and the memoirs of Cavit (Djāwīd [*q.v.*]) in *Tanin*, 30 Oct. 1943). Liberal hopes were dashed in the 1912 elections, which the Unionists manipulated ruthlessly, and this led the Liberals to turn to unconstitutional means to assume power.

Thus in July 1912 the *Khalāṣkār Ḍābiṭān Grubu* (the "Group of Saviour Officers"), a military extension of the Liberal Union, intervened, brought down Saʿīd Pasha's cabinet (17 July), set up an anti-Unionist régime (21 July), and had the Chamber dissolved (5 August).

The Liberals assumed power at an unfavourable moment. Turkey was at war with Italy and on 16 October the Balkan War broke out. This war proved disastrous for Turkish arms, and as a result the government was discredited. On 23 January 1913, when Kāmil Pasha was thought to be ceding Edirne to the Bulgars, the Unionists overthrew the cabinet in the so-called "*Bāb-i ʿĀlī Waḳʿasī*" and set up a government of their own.

This marked the virtual end of the Liberal Union, though the party was never officially banned. Some of its members, however, were either bullied or bribed into leaving the country, ʿAlī Kemāl going to Vienna, Riḍā (Rıza) Nūr to Paris and Kāmil to Cairo. In May-June 1913 the Liberals attempted to restore Kāmil, and in connexion with this abortive plot Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*] was assassinated on 11 June. Hereafter the opposition was ruthlessly crushed; some were hanged, some exiled to Sinob, while others fled abroad. Colonel Ṣādīḳ went first to Cairo then to Paris, from where the Liberal organisation under Sharīf Pasha continued to plot against the CUP (see Tunaya, 285-94; and Albert Fua and Refik-Nevzad, *La trahison du gouvernement Turc*, Paris 1914).

A second *Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fırḳasi* was formed on 22 January 1919, and once again the party was the last and most comprehensive attempt at rallying anti-CUP sentiment. In the post-armistice situation, the party advocated collaboration with Britain and the other occupying powers and strenuously opposed the nationalist movement in Anatolia under Muṣṭafā Kemāl. Among the founders were ʿAlī Kemāl; ʿAbd al-Ḳādır, a Kurdish senator; Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī; Riḍā Tewfīḳ [Bölükbaşı]; and Meḥmed ʿAlī; all five of these entered the cabinet of Dāmād Ferīd in March 1919, which has appropriately been described as a "Freedom and Accord cabinet" (I. M. K. Inal, *Son sadrıazamlar*, 1940-1953, p. 2039), although Dāmād Ferīd himself did not take any office in the reconstituted party. A few former liberals such as Riḍā Nūr by 1920 were firmly aligned with the Anatolian nationalists. In May 1919, upon the Greek occupation of Izmir, Ṣabrī, Riḍā Tewfīḳ, and Meḥmed ʿAlī left the cabinet and the party, forming a dissident *Muʿtedil* ("moderate") *Ḥürriyet we Iʾtilāf Fırḳasi*. The party was reunited later under the chairmanship of Colonel Ṣādīḳ. Its influence remained limited to Istanbul, and the elections of the fall of 1919 amounted to a repudiation of its policy not only in Anatolia but also in the capital. Its last general meeting was held in May 1920.

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(F. Ahmad and D. A. Rustow)

ḤURŪF (ʿIlm al-), "the science of letters", is a branch of *djafr* [*q.v.*] which was originally concerned with onomatomancy in the strict sense; but, among some esoteric sects, it became a sort of magical practice, to such an extent that Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 137-61, Fr. tr. 188-200, Rosenthal 171-82) gave it the name of *sīmiyāʾ* (σημεῖα), which is usually reserved for white magic. It is based on the occult properties of the letters of the alphabet and of the divine and angelic names which they form. Three basic elements are involved in onomatomantic interpretation: arithmomancy or gematria (*ḥisāb al-djummal* or, according to Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 209-13, Fr. tr. 241-5, Rosenthal, 234-8, *ḥisāb al-nīm*), the knowledge of the natural properties of the letters (*ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ*), based on alchemy, and their astrological conjunctions (*ḳirānāt*). In this it is related to the talismanic art from which Ibn Khaldūn considers it derives.

The twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet are divided into four categories, each of seven letters, corresponding to the four basic elements. We give here the classification favoured in the East, with the Western variants: fire: ʾ, *h*, *ṭ*, *m*, *f*, *sh*/*s* (west) and *dh*; air: *b*, *w*, *y*, *n*, *ṣ*/*ḍ* (west), *t*, *ḍ*/*ẓ* (west); water: *dj*, *z*, *k*, *s*/*ṣ* (west), *ḳ*, *th*, and *ẓ*/*gh* (west); earth: *d*, *ḥ*, *l*, ʿ, *r*, *kh*, *gh*/*sh* (west). It can readily be seen that it is a matter of dividing the Arabic *abdjad* [*q.v.*] into seven groups of four letters as follows: *ʾbdjd*, *hwzḥ*, *ṭykl*, *mnsʿ* (west *mnṣʿ*), *fṣḳr* (west *fḍḳr*), *shtthkh* (west *stthkh*), *dhḍẓgh* (west *dhẓghsh*); the first letters of each of the seven groups are the fire letters, the second the air letters, the third the water letters and the fourth the earth letters. It is in short a kind of *taksīr*, "transposition", a procedure which performs a basic function in all forms of *djafr*. There should also be mentioned the harmonious division of the so-called "lunar" and "solar" letters.

The numerical value of the letters is established as follows: from *alif* to *ṭ*, the units (1 to 9); from *y* to *ṣ*, the tens (10 to 90); from *ḳ* to *ẓ*, the hundreds (100 to 900); and *gh* is the equivalent of 1,000. In the Maghrib, given the divergencies in the order of the letters, *s* equals 300, *ḍ* 90, *ẓ* 800, *ṣ* 60, *gh* 900 and *sh* 1,000; the four-letter group *ʾyḳsh* summarizes this system (see, for the Eastern system, *R. Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Beirut 1957, i, 51 f.; P. Kraus, *Jâbir Ibn Ḥayyân*, ii, Cairo 1942, 224; for the Western system, Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 211 ff.; Fr. tr., 242 ff.; Rosenthal, 236 ff.; cf. F. Rosenthal, 173, n. 809).

Starting from the principle of alchemy that, by analysing the letters which make up a word, it is possible to establish the qualitative and quantitative structure of the thing which it describes (cf. Kraus, *loc. cit.*), the literature of *ḥurūf* developed in two opposite directions: the first consists of combining the letters so as to obtain a whole possessing particular properties, which are supposed to lead to the required result (divination or magical effect), the second, with the same aim as the first, consists of splitting up certain names to which an esoteric character is attached, often because they are taken

from a sacred book, in this case the Ḳurʾān, in order to apply to their consonantal elements a complex treatment based on numerical, qualitative, quantitative, astrological and theurgical factors.

It is thus that between the letters and their numerical values there exists a series of relationships which reverberate from group to group. For example, the connexion between *b* (2), *k* (20) and *r* (200), which represent the different positions of the number 2, is reinforced by the groups *d* (4), *m* (40), *t* (400) and *ḥ* (8), *f* (80), *ḍ*/*ẓ* (800), which are multiples of 2; similarly with the group *dj* (3) and its multiples *h* (6) and *ṭ* (9) (on the properties of the numbers, cf. *R. Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, i, 56 ff.).

Arising from their distribution among the four elements, the "fire" letters, in divination and in magic, ward off any evils connected with cold, increasing the influence of heat wherever this is desired, whether in the physical or the astrological plane. Thus, for example, it is possible during a war to increase the influence of Mars by theurgic combination of the fire letters.

In the same way, the "water" letters are used to predict and to ward off all the ills associated with heat, such as the various kinds of fever, and to increase the influence of cold wherever this is required, on the physical or on the astrological plane. Thanks to them it is possible for example to make lunar influences prevail. And similarly for the other letters.

Apart from these conventional elements of numerical equivalents and co-ordination with the four elements, the science of letters consists only of pseudo-mystical experiments which have absolutely no logical foundation. Al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 ?), the chief authority on the matter (see especially his *K. Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*, lith. Cairo 1317), says on this subject: "It must not be imagined that the secret of letters can be discovered with the aid of logical reasoning; it can be reached only through vision and with the aid of a divine intervention" (cited *apud* Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, iii, 140; Fr. tr., 191; Eng. tr., 174). This is why certain types of exalted mystics (*ghulāt*) have sought in it "the unveiling" (*al-kashf*). This was the main reason for the great expansion of onomatomantic and arithmomantic techniques in Islam. It was thought that by experiments based on the occult properties of the *ḥurūf* the secrets of God could be penetrated and the divine realities perceived. The 99 Beautiful Names of God [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ] form the chief material for this type of speculation; the principles governing the science of *ḥurūf* are applied to them and they are used to arrive at the *kashf*. Some verses of the Ḳurʾān and some prayers (*awrād* and *aḥzāb*) have filled a similar rôle.

The science of *ḥurūf* leads to three conclusions: the first is that the perfection of the onomatomancy proceeds from the meeting of the spirits which preside over the celestial spheres and the stars; the second is that the nature of the letters and their secret properties are communicated to the names which are formed from them; the third is that, in the same way, the names reveal the occult properties of created beings, through the various phases of their existence, and can thus reveal their mysteries. Hence they endow perfect souls with the power to act on nature and to reveal its secrets, in the past, the present and the future (see Ibn Khaldūn *op. cit.*, iii, 137 f.; Fr. tr., 188 f.; Eng. tr., 171 f.).

Thus, by virtue of its object, the "noble science of *ḥurūf*" occupies a privileged place among the divinatory techniques of Islam, for it is closely connected with "spiritualia" (*al-rūḥāniyyāt*) and astrology (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 50). Its nobility arises also from its close connexion with arithmetic, which the scholars of the ancient world considered to be the main pillar of knowledge. "To understand the mystery of numbers is to penetrate that of the Divine Intelligence, to understand the mystery of *ḥurūf* is to penetrate that of the Holy Spirit", says the anonymous author of a treatise on the properties of letters (Istanbul, MS Belediye, O.52, fol. 1). According to Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1534) in his *Sharḥ al-miʾīn* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, MS Ahmet III 1609/3, fol. 46), these sciences were practised by the greatest spirits of humanity such as Hermes (= Idrīs), Plato, Pythagoras, Thales and Archimedes. There have even been attributed to Aristotle two works, one on *ḥurūf*, entitled *K. Kunūz al-mughramīn fī asrār al-ḥurūf wa-ʾstiʿmālihā fi ʾl-umūr wa ʾl-ḥādjāt* (Istanbul, MS Hacı Beşir Ağa, 659, fols. 96r-103r, *taʿlīḳ* of 1117/1705) and the other on arithmomancy, called *K. al-Ittisāʿ yuʿraf minhu ʾl-ghālib wa ʾl-maghlūb* (Istanbul, MS Reisülküttab Mustafa Ef. 1164/3, fol. 93v-96v, *naskhī* of 850/1446-7). Their origin must be sought in the 9th and 10th *maḳāla*s of the pseudo-Aristotelian work called *K. al-Siyāsa* (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, in *Fontes Graecae doctrinarum politicarum Islamicarum*, Cairo 1954, i, 65-171).

Bibliography: in addition to the authors cited above, see the bibl. of the art. DJAFR. There exists a vast literature, most of it unpublished, dealing with *djafr*, *ḥurūf*, *asmāʾ ḥusnā* and *khawāṣṣ* which cannot be listed in detail in this article. A list of the manuscripts is found in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg 1966, at the end of the chapter on divination by lots. See also I. Goldziher, *Kitâb Maʿânî al-nafs, Buch vom Wesen der Seele*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F., ix/1, Berlin 1907, 26-8. Facts and references on letters and numbers are found in studies on the talismanic art and on the "magic square"; see especially: H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischer Zauberei*, in *Studien zur Gesch. u. Kultur d. isl. Orients*, vii, Berlin 1930; W. Ahrens, *Studien über die "magischen Quadrate" der Araber*, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 186-250; idem, *Die "magischen Quadrate" al-Būnī's*, in *Isl.*, xii (1922), 157-77; see also *Isl.*, xiv (1925), 104-10; E. Wiedmann, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 94-7; G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten* (complementary to the art. by Ahrens), in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 227-35; art. WAFḲ, in *EI*[1].

(T. FAHD)

ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ, "letters of the alphabet". *Al-hidjāʾ* is defined in *LA*, xx, 228, l. 17, xv, 353b, l. 4-5, as *taḳṭīʿ al-lafẓa bi-ḥurūfihā*. This follows Ibn Sīda, who in his *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (xiii, 3 end) attributes this definition to the Ṣāḥib al-ʿAyn (al-Khalīl): "cutting up the word into its *ḥurūf*", that is, "spelling". Contemporary or recent dictionaries of the Arab world (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, *al-Bustān*, *Aḳrab al-mawārid*, *al-Mundjid*) define it more precisely as *taḳṭīʿ al-lafẓa wa-taʿdīd ḥurūfihā maʿa ḥarakātihā*: "cutting up the word and enumerating its *ḥurūf* with their *ḥarakāt*". As for the verb used to render the sense of "to spell", one can say: *hadjawtu ʾl-ḥurūf hadjw*^{an} or *hidjāʾ*^{an}, or *hadjdjaytuhā tahdjiyat*^{an} or *tahadjdjaytuhā tahadjdjiy*^{an}. Therefore, instead of the expression *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*, one may find *ḥurūf al-tahdjiya* or *ḥurūf al-tahadjdjī*, though the first is by far the most commonly used at the present day. Thus, *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* signifies the letters

of the alphabet; and "to arrange alphabetically" is normally expressed as *tartīb ʿalā ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*. The dictionaries already mentioned also record the expression *aḥruf al-mabānī* (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, radicals *h dj w*; *al-Bustān*, radicals *b n y*), *ḥurūf al-mabānī* (*Akrab al-Mawārid*, radicals *b n y*; *al-Mundjid*, radicals *b n y*); but they record *ḥarf al-mabnā* (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* and *al-Mundjid*, under *ḥarf*) in the sense of one *ḥarf*, a letter of the alphabet. See also *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i, 319, line 1.

Al-Zadjdjādjī devoted four chapters to *al-hidjāʾ* (*al-Djumal*, 269-77). Throughout he is concerned with orthography, but he begins the 2nd *bāb* (271) by distinguishing two kinds of *hidjāʾ* : one *li 'l-samʿ* "for hearing", the other *li-raʾy al-ʿayn* "for seeing with the eye". Of the first he says only : *huwa li-iḳāmat wazn al-shiʿr*, "it is to establish the metre of poetry". The *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (*loc. cit.*) says nothing of this. It is probably a question in the verse scansion (*taḳṭīʿ al-bayt*) of division between *ḥurūf mutaḥarrika* and *ḥurūf sākina* in order to identify or verify the component units (*adjzāʾ*).

Spelling presupposes recognition of the identity of the *ḥarf* and its pronunciation in accordance with the accompanying *ḥaraka*; thus *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* includes the designation of the sound of which the graphic sign is the symbol. In phonetics, Arab grammarians use *ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf*, to mean the articulations of the Arabic language, the phonemes; they recognize 29 principal articulations (*aṣl*). The *ḥurūf al hidjāʾ*, of course, offer only 28 signs, but it must be borne in mind that *alif* serves for two : the *hamza* and *alif layyina* [see HAMZA].

An expression related to *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* is *ḥurūf al-muʿdjam*. Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 38-45) discussed its meaning and grammatical construction. *Al-muʿdjam* is an infinitive, here in grammatical annexation, of the same form as the *nomen patientis* (see *Traité*, § 94 n) of a fourth-form verb *aʿdjama*, the denominative of *ʿudjma* "obscurity, lack of clarity" with a privative meaning : "to make the lack of clarity disappear". The *ḥuruf al-muʿdjam* are the *ḥurūf* which are the object of this action. One must bear in mind the earliest form of Arabic writing, without diacritical marks, and the obscurity which shrouded most of the signs. The enlightenment in question was achieved by the addition of the diacritical points which made clear the value of each *ḥarf* in a common ductus. The *ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* are thus properly those *ḥurūf* with diacritical points. In order to avoid any mistake in writing over the identification of a *ḥarf* the ancient writers follow it with a gloss : *muʿdjama* signifies the *ḥarf* with point, *muhmala* the unpointed *ḥarf*, *e.g.* *ghayn muʿdjama*, *ʿayn muhmala*. This is the invariable usage of the *Dictionary of Technical Terms* (see *Bibliography*). For further details, see Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], i, 4. In practice, the expression *ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* has become a synonym of *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ*, to designate "the letters of the alphabet", but it refers solely to writing (see M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 8).

The *ḥurūf al-hidjāʾ* include all the articulations of the Arabic alphabet; we should therefore give here a brief account of the phonetic doctrine of the Arab grammarians concerning them and of the distinctions which they draw. The grammarians simply list these distinctions consecutively; the paragraph titles below have been added to relate them to European phonetics.

I. The genesis of the *ḥurūf*. The point of departure is the *ṣawt al-ṣadr*, the resonance emitted from the chest. This *ṣawt* is an *ʿaraḍ*, "an accident", that is, something which exists in something else : the *nafas*, "the [expiratory] breath", its *markab*, "vehicle", as Rāḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī says (*Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, 259, line 7). For this combination: *ṣawt al-ṣadr* + *nafas*, the Arab grammarians, in this genesis of the *ḥurūf*, keep the simple name of *ṣawt*; with it they contrast *nafas*, the simple expiratory breath, treating them as two not only distinct but totally different realities. This contrast between *ṣawt* and *nafas* is fundamental.

The *ḥarf* is the product of a *maḳṭaʿ*, "cutting", in this *ṣawt* as it rises in the throat, then in the mouth, wherever the articulatory organs oppose this *maḳṭaʿ* to the moving *ṣawt*. What properly constitutes the *ḥarf* is its particular sound : *djars* (pl. *adjrās*), the result of the application of the articulatory organs to the place of the *maḳṭaʿ*; the *adjrās* differ according to the different *maḳāṭiʿ*; for each *maḳṭaʿ* there is a *djars*, a *ḥarf*, and one might say a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*.

The *ḥarf*, produced in this *ṣawt* as it moves, naturally makes a *madjhūra*, for the pronunciation of which the absence of *nafas* is essential. The articulation of a *mahmūsa*, on the other hand, only modifies the *nafas* at the *makhradj* of the *ḥarf*; it is produced with and in the *nafas*. The question then arises, how one passes from one to the other? The Arabs, from the definitions given by Sībawayhi in the *Kitāb* (ii, 453, l. 21-2 and 454, l. 2-3) onwards, have seen the answer in the energy of the articulation : in strong articulation (*ushbiʿa 'l-iʿtimād*), the *nafas* is stopped, held back, there is nothing but *ṣawt* for and in the *ḥarf* and the *ḥarf* is *madjhūr*; in weak articulation (*uḍʿifa 'l-iʿtimād*), the way remains clear for the *nafas*: *djarā 'l-nafas maʿahu* [*al-ḥarf*], "there is *nafas* with it", the *ḥarf* is *mahmūs*.

The consideration of the articulatory force is thus very important, indeed the central pillar of the theory, beside the fundamental contrast between *ṣawt* and *nafas*. But in constructing their system so, the Arab grammarians introduced the weakest element : since how could a difference in articulatory force cause the presence of *ṣawt* alone in the one case and of *nafas* alone in the other? We have tried elsewhere (*Examen*, 204-5) to demonstrate what phenomena could have led the first Arab theoreticians to establish such a misleading distinction. However that may be, it should be noted from what a special angle they examined articulatory force : as stopping or allowing free passage to the *nafas*. Their point of view is totally different from that of modern phonetics; we cannot therefore look to Arab theory for arguments against the modern doctrine of voiced consonants when we try to apply this to the sounds of Arabic.

In the genesis of the *ḥurūf*, we must refer to the particular case of three *ḥurūf* called *al-ḥurūf al-muʿtalla* (or *ḥurūf al-ʿilla* or *al-iʿtilāl*), the "sick"; these are *alif layyina*, *wāw ḥarf al-madd*, and *yāʾ ḥarf al-madd*. All three are *sākina* by nature. Their *makhradj* has the peculiarity of being *muttasiʿ*, "wide"; the *makhradj* has such amplitude that the *maḳṭaʿ* has no longer any means of existence; it takes on the dimensions of the *makhradj* and loses all efficacy, becoming a word without significance. The *ṣawt* flows in this *makhradj* continuously and uninterruptedly : these are the *ḥurūf al-madd* or *al-madd wa 'l-istiṭāla*; a soft flow without rough friction; these are the *ḥurūf al-līn*. These *ḥurūf al-muʿtalla* are thus the continuous or soft *ḥurūf* and their *ṣawt* designates a true vocalic element: the sound *a* for *alif layyina*, the sound *u* for *wāw sākina*, the sound *i* for *yāʾ sākina*. But what is

it that is flowing with this *ṣawt*? It is air (*hawāʾ*). They are thus *fi 'l-hawāʾ*, or *hawāʾiyya* as al-Khalīl said several times [see HĀWĪ].

Consideration of the *maḳṭaʿ* thus introduced a double division into the *ḥurūf*: between these three *ḥurūf al-muʿtalla* which lack any action of the *maḳṭaʿ* and the others, the *ḥurūf al-ṣaḥīḥa* which have a normal *maḳṭaʿ*. The first three are *sākina* by nature. What will happen if they become *mutaḥarrika*? *Alif layyina* changes its identity and becomes another *ḥarf*, the *hamza*, a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*. The other two, strengthened by the advent of the *ḥaraka*, acquire the similitude of a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ* and thereby the power to act like one. Each remains in origin *ḥarf muʿtall*; they have simply become *like* a *ḥarf ṣaḥīḥ*. The division of the *ḥurūf* is thus complete. The *ḥaraka* is not a *ḥarf* and has no place here; but its description as a "little *ḥarf*" permits its integration into the whole system of the *ḥarf*.

II. The *makhāridj* or points of articulation. There can be no question of giving here another full account of all the *makhāridj*. One is easily accessible in the *Cours* of J. Cantineau (19-20) or in H. Fleisch, *Traité* (§ 44 b-g). The following notes will suffice:

Al-Khalīl alone established terms by which to designate the *ḥurūf* according to their articulatory region. They are to be found in a text of which al-Azharī is one of the earliest known transmitters (*Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, lines 7-12).

al-ḥalḳiyya, literally "the gutturals", are for us the laryngeals. Among these al-Khalīl includes only ʿ, *ḥ*, *h*, *kh*, *gh*, while Sībawayhi includes also *hamza* and *alif*. These, with *wāw* and *yāʾ*, are described by al-Khalīl as *djūf* (pl. of *adjwaf*) "because they emerge from the *djawf*, the hollow of the chest", without any articulatory region to which they can be assigned except this *djawf*; thus he sets them on one side, apart from the *ḥurūf* with a normal *makhradj*. This affected the order of the letters which he adopted in his *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, as well as the arrangement of those lexicographical works whose authors followed the practice of al-Khalīl (see *al-Muḥkam wa 'l muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam* of Ibn Sīda, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā and Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, i, Cairo 1958/1377, Introduction, 16).

The teaching of the whole grammatical tradition is that *kh* and *gh* are among the *ḥalḳiyya*. Modern phonetics considers them as velar, or, more exactly, postvelar [see GHAYN].

al-niṭʿiyya, "prepalatals": *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, whereas Sībawayhi, followed by grammatical tradition, places the tongue "at the base of the central incisors" [see DĀL].

al-dhawlaḳiyya: *r*, *l*, *n*, and *al-asaliyya*: *z*, *s*, *ṣ*. The terms indicate articulation with the tip of the tongue but specify only the form of the tongue: flat and thinned at the tip for the first group and pointed for the second (see *Traité*, § 43d); they make no mention of the position taken up for articulation.

al-shadjriyya: *ḍ*, *sh*, *dj*; from *shadjr*, "corner of the lips", this might be understood as "lateral", which fits the ancient *ḍād* [see ḌĀD], but not *sh* or *dj*. The term remains obscure.

It is clear from the foregoing notes that differences existed on the subject of phonetics between al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi, but, curiously enough, they found no echo in the *Kitāb*. There is an obscure point here in the origins of Arab phonetics.

III. The manner of articulation. (1) *madjhūra—mahmūsa*. *madjhūra*, "striking", and *mahmūsa*, "stifled", express directly the acoustic impression as received and assessed. In reality there can be no doubt that they signify the manner of articulation acknowledged by modern phonetics as voiced and unvoiced. The theory of the genesis of the *ḥurūf* as set out above is sufficient of itself to demonstrate that the Arabs ordered them according to the correlation of their sonority. The definitions of Sībawayhi express the result of the test proposed for distinguishing a *madjhūra* from a *mahmūsa*, the former a *ḥarf* having only *ṣawt*, the latter being a *ḥarf* with *nafas*; they also express the discriminatory part played by articulatory force. These are the definitions:

"The *madjhūra* is a *ḥarf* for which the pressure [of the articulatory organs] on the place [required] is made fully and which prevents the presence of [pure] breath with it, until the pressure [applied] for it is concluded and the sound [of this *ḥarf*] is produced".

"The *mahmūs* is a *ḥarf* for which the pressure [of the articulatory organs] on the place [required for this *ḥarf*] is made weakly, so that there is [pure] breath with it."

The *ḥurūf al-madjhūra* are: *hamza*, *alif*, *ʿayn*, *gh*, *ḳ*, *dj*, *yāʾ*, *ḍād*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *ṭ*, *d*, *z*, *ẓ*, *dh*, *b*, *m*, *wāw*.

The *ḥurūf al-mahmūsa* are: *h*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *k*, *sh*, *s*, *t*, *ṣ*, *th*, *f*. The *Mufaṣṣal* brings them together in the mnemonic: *satashhathuka khaṣafah*.

All the *mahmūsa* correspond with the unvoiced consonants of modern phonetics; but the presence among the *madjhūra* of *hamza*, *ṭ* and *ḳ* is noteworthy. As regards the first of these, the difficulty has been dealt with under HAMZA. For *ṭ*, it was certainly a voiced consonant in the pronunciation described by Sībawayhi: an emphatic *dāl*; one text of his is decisive (ii, 455, l. 9), where he distinguishes between *ṭ* and *d* only by the *iṭbāḳ* "the velarization". For *ḳ*: a voiced pronunciation of *ḳāf* must have existed, at least in part of the ancient Arab world; if not, it would be difficult to explain why it should be precisely the manner in which this phoneme is pronounced which at the present time has become a distinguishing mark between nomadic dialects (voiced) and sedentary dialects (unvoiced) (see *Traité*, § 46 h). On the history of the question, see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 21-2, *Esquisse*, 187 and Fleisch, *Traité*, § 46, b-c.

(2) *muṭbaḳa—munfatiḥa*. Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr ṣināʿa*, i, 70, l. 12), taking up the main point of the explanations given by Sībawayhi (ii, 455, l. 5-7), describes *al-iṭbāḳ* as an elevation of the back of the tongue towards the upper palate, the latter acting as a *ṭabaḳ* (lid) over this part of the tongue (cf. *Dict. of Tech. Terms*, i, 323, l. 16-8). This movement, which presupposes the depression of the front part of the tongue, is in fact produced towards the soft palate or velum; *iṭbāḳ* is well translated as "velarization" and *muṭbaḳa* as "velar". *Munfatiḥa*, literally "open, disengaged", designates the *ḥurūf* without *iṭbāḳ*: it may be translated "non-velar".

The *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa* are: *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*. All the other *ḥurūf* are *munfatiḥa*, but we shall have to distinguish those among them which are *mustaʿliya* (see (3)).

The *ḥurūf al-muṭbaḳa* are often called "the emphatic consonants"; but emphasis can exist in different forms. In the type of emphatic in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia, there is no velarization, but glottalization: occlusion of the glottis and audition of a *hamza* with the articulation of the emphatic (see the details in J. Cantineau, *Consonantisme*, 291). Ph. Marçais, studying by radioscopy the *Articulation de l'emphase dans un parler maghrébin* (in *AEIO Alger*, vii (1948), 5-28), discovered another form of

emphasis : pharyngalization. But discoveries in this field may well not be completed. We therefore consider valid the type of emphatic described by the Arab grammarians (see *Traité*, § 46 i-k).

(3) *mustaʿliya—munkhafiḍa*, "raised-lowered". The *ḥurūf al-mustaʿliya* are the four *muṭbaḳa* just discussed and *ḳ*, *gh*, *kh*; the other *ḥurūf* are *munkhafiḍa*. The elevation of the back of the tongue for the *muṭbaḳa* makes these *mustaʿliya* "raised". But for *ḳ*, *gh*, *kh* the elevation of the tongue does not go so far as to make the palate a *ṭabaḳ* over the tongue, according to Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī (*Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, 262, l. 8-9). For him, it is therefore a matter of a diminished velarization or of the beginning of a velarization. The interest of these *mustaʿliya* lies in the fact that they prevent *imāla*, as Sībawayhi already observed (ii, 285, l. 20). They retain their interest for the student of modern dialects, where they are connected with questions of *tafkhīm*. See J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 23-4; *Traité*, § 48b.

IV. The degree of aperture: *shadīda—rikhwa—bayniyya*.

The *ḥurūf al-shadīda* are: *hamza*, *ḳ*, *k*, *dj*, *ṭ*, *t*, *d*, *b*.

The *ḥurūf al-rikhwa* are : *h*, *ḥ*, *gh*, *kh*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *z*, *s*, *ẓ*, *th*, *dh*, *f*.

The *ḥurūf al-bayniyya* are : *ʿayn*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *wāw*, *yāʾ*, *alif*.

The *Mufaṣṣal* gives the following mnemonics for the first class : *ʾadjadta ṭabaḳaka* or *ʾadjiduka ḳaṭabta*; and for the last : *lima yarūʿunā* or *lam yarʿawnā*.

bayniyya means "intermediary"; the term is recent but convenient; it is used by Muḥ. Makkī in his *Nihāya*, completed in 1305/1887 (quoted in M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 19). The ancient practice was to use a periphrasis, e.g. *Muf.* (§ 734) : "those which are between the *shadīda* and the *rikhwa*".

By their division into *shadīda* and *rikhwa*, the Arabs made the same point in fact as modern phonetics does by its own division into occlusive and constrictive. But the terms themselves do not express directly the physiological standpoint presupposed by the terms occlusive and constrictive, but rather greater or less firmness in articulation : *shadīda* "energetic", *rikhwa* "relaxed".

In the *bayniyya* the Arabs saw neither a normal occlusive nor a normal constrictive. There is something to be said for this view (see Cantineau, *Cours*, 22-3; *Traité*, § 47 c-d), except for *ʿayn*, where one can see nothing to set it on one side. But the peculiarities of the *bayniyya* do not justify a general third class. Of the explanations of them given by the Arabs, the clearest appear to be those given in *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (iii, 260, l. 18 f.) repeated in *Dict. of Techn. Terms* (i, 322, l. 20 f.).

Other minor divisions of the *ḥurūf* have been established by the Arabs. It is sufficient to note here : the *ḥurūf al-ḳalḳala*: *ḳ*, *dj*, *ṭ*, *d*, *b*; the *ḥurūf al-dhalāḳa*: *l*, *r*, *n*, *f*, *b*, *m* (see J. Cantineau, *Cours*, 24; *Traité*, § 48 a and c). See further the *Dict.* already quoted, under *ḥarf* (i, 320-5).

For the numerical values of the *ḥurūf* see ABDJAD; for the use of these *ḥurūf* in magic, see ḤURŪF.

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AL-ḤURŪF AL-MUḲAṬṬAʿA/ĀT [see AL-ḲURʾĀN].

ḤURŪFIYYA, unorthodox Muslim sect of gnostic-cabalistic tendencies founded by Faḍl Allāh of Astarābād in Iran at the end of the 8th/14th century.

Its founder was born at Astarābād in 740/1340, and, according to some sources, was named ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; he began his career as a Ṣūfī famed particularly for the care he took to avoid eating any unlawful food, so much so that he was known as *ḥalāl-khor*. He was a *sayyid* (descendent of ʿAlī) and the son of a chief justice (*ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*) who died while he was still an infant. From childhood he showed a great inclination to mysticism and to ascetic practices and while still young he possessed the gift of prophetic dreams and of the interpretation of dreams. At the age of 18 he performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return stayed for some time in Khwārazm. He then decided to make a second pilgrimage, but during the long journey he was persuaded by a dream to make a detour to visit the tomb of the *Imām* Riḍā at Mashhad whence he went to Mecca and then again to Khwārazm. After various dreams (in one of which there were revealed to him the names of four especially holy mystics, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Sahl Tustarī and Buhlūl), he learned in a particularly significant dream what his mission was to be: a star rose in the east and a brilliant ray from it penetrated into Faḍl Allāh's right eye until the whole star was absorbed. It was revealed to him that "this is a star which rises only every few centuries". When he awakened, Faḍl heard the birds singing and partly understood their language. He acquired his first disciples by means of his penetrating interpretations of dreams; they consisted of a baker, Sayyid Muḥammad Nānvāʾī, a certain Darwīsh ʿAlī, a Darwīsh Bāyazīd and others. Faḍl then went to Khurāsān where he found another disciple, and then to Iṣfahān where he settled in the mosque of Tūḳčī. Here there became his follower the *Ṣūfī* Muʿīn al-Dīn Shahrastānī, who brought to him other "seekers for God" such as Mawlānā Muʿīn al-Dīn, Mawlānā Muḥammad, Shaykh ʿĪsā, Mawlānā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Radjāʾī, Naṣr Allāh Nāfadjī, the author of a *Khwāb-nāma* (book of dreams), valuable for the biographical information on Faḍl Allāh which it contains, and others. The group increased in number and also many from other countries were attracted by Faḍl Allāh's gift of interpreting dreams and by the simple and upright life which he and his followers led, supporting themselves by their own work, mostly manual (Faḍl himself was a maker of hats), and refusing donations and gifts. In addition to the Ḳurʾān, Faḍl Allāh had a thorough knowledge of the Jewish and Christian sacred books (the Torah, the Psalms and the Gospels) which he quotes frequently in his *Djāwīdān-nāma*. Faḍl's "interpretations of dreams" consisted chiefly of phenomena of "thought-reading" through dreams: he often told the dreamer his thoughts even before he had related his dream. Unlike other mystics of the period, Faḍl Allāh does not seem to have made use of music and dancing. At the age of about 40, while he was at Tabrīz, he had a new experience: there was revealed to him the hidden meaning of letters and the significance of Prophecy (*nubuwwa*). After three days and nights of ecstasy, he heard voices asking: "Who is this young man? Who is this moon of the earth and the sky?" and a voice which replied: "It is the Lord of Time (*ṣāḥib al-zamān*), the Sultan of all the Prophets: others attain faith by imitation and learning, whereas he attains it by an inner and clear revelation (*kashf wa ʿiyān*)". From being a Ṣūfī, Faḍl Allāh now became the founder of a new religious movement. Returning to Iṣfahān, he lived for a time alone in a cave and, shortly afterwards, a dying dervish announced to him that, following the period of prophecy, there had now arrived the time of the revelation of the divine glory (*ẓuhūr-i kibriyāʾ*). The sources give various dates for this manifestation of the divinity in Faḍl Allāh ("Grace of God"), the most likely being 788/1386 or 789/1387. In the same year Faḍl is said to have written his main work, the *Djāwīdān-nāma-yi kabīr*. Like other "divine manifestations" before and after him, Faḍl Allāh seems to have sought to convert to his doctrine the princes and rulers of his time. According to Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (his contemporary, in *Inbāʾ al-ghumr fī abnāʾ al-ʿumr*), he invited Tīmūrlang to embrace his religion, and it is certain that he dreamed of marrying the daughter of Ṭoḳtamïsh, the *khān* of the Golden Horde. He spent the last part of his life at Shirwān (now Baku) where he had taken refuge with the prince Mīrān-shāh, son of Tīmūrlang, from Tīmūrlang's sentence against him issued at Samarḳand after a meeting with the orthodox jurisconsults of that city. Mīrān-shāh, however, instead of helping him, had him arrested. From Shirwān, where, in prison, he wrote his *Waṣiyyat-nāma* (Testament), Faḍl Allāh was taken to the fortress of Alandjaḳ near Nakhčiwān, where he was executed in 796/1394. The place of his execution (*maḳtal*) at Alandjaḳ became for some time the Mecca of his followers, and Mīrān-shāh became the Antichrist of the new religion (the Ḥurūfī texts refer to him as Mārān-shāh, "king of the serpents").

The first *khalīfa* of Faḍl Allāh was his disciple ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, author of various Ḥurūfī books, whose ambition was to win to Ḥurūfism the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu prince Ḳara Yūsuf, who had defeated Mīrān-shāh. He was executed in 822/1419 after having spread Ḥurūfī doctrine in the country of Rūm (Anatolia), where he appears as early as 802/1400, and having helped to instil Ḥurūfī ideas into the community of the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*]: he did indeed visit the *tekke* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh at Ḳïrshehir. His propaganda reached as far as Edirne, the Ottoman capital at that time, and to the territory of the Laz and to Trebizond. In 848/1444 a Ḥurūfī missionary was the guest at Edirne of the heir to the throne, Meḥemmed (the future conqueror of Constantinople), who showed an interest in his doctrines; but he was burnt alive as a heretic. In Anatolia the Ḥurūfī doctrines survived, along with others, in the strange fraternity of the Bektāshīs, and Turkish literature contains several good Ḥurūfī poets, notably Nesīmī [*q.v.*] (flayed alive at Aleppo in 807/1404).

In spite of the relatively short period during which it was an organized movement, the Ḥurūfī sect suffered from heresies and schisms, the chief of these being that of the Nuḳṭawiyya founded by an "ex-communicated" former follower of Faḍl Allāh, Maḥmūd Pasikhānī, from Gīlān.

There are three principal works by Faḍl Allāh, the *Djāwīdān-nāma*, in prose, written half in Persian and half in the Persian dialect of Astarābād (a poetic

version was produced by ʿAlī al-Aʿlā in 802/1400), the *Muḥabbat-nāma* and the *ʿArsh-nāma* (in verse); they are still only in manuscript. These works are interesting also from the point of view of dialect. There exist numerous Ḥurūfī treatises, short tracts and poems written by various followers of the founder of the sect, but of particular importance are the works of his *khalīfa* and recognized interpreter, ʿAlī al-Aʿlā, *i.e.*, the *Istiwā-nāma*, the *Maḥshar-nāma* (in prose) and the four *mathnawī* poems *Bashārat-nāma* (written in 803/1401), *Tawḥīd-nāma*, *Kursī-nāma* (written in 810/1408), and *Ḳiyāmat-nāma* (written in 814/1412).

Doctrines: Stress has been laid on the cabalistic character of Ḥurūfism, which has in fact taken its name from this feature (*ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf* = "letter"). This is certainly its most obvious characteristic but it would be wrong to consider it the central point of its doctrine. The most important problems of Ḥurūfism are its doctrines on prophecy and on man. The first arose fairly clearly in the following way: Muḥammad may truly be called the "Seal of the Prophets" because with him prophecy ends and there begins a new cycle, superior to that of prophecy, that of sainthood (*wilāya*) which in its turn, with the appearance of Faḍl Allāh, was superseded by that of the revelation (*ẓuhūr*) of the Divine in man. The world is eternal, since creation/emanation is a continual process, the divine attributes (including that of "creator") being identical with the essence of God, which in itself is inaccessible (*kanz-i makhfī*, hidden treasure). The Divine revelation moves in cycles (according to one text, each of 1360 years) and in each cycle are repeated events and persons from the preceding cycles, in a sort of "eternal return" ("the walnuts of this year are different from and yet the same as those of the harvest last year"), a completely different conception from the Indian theory of metempsychosis (to which Sunni-Islam has always been hostile [see ḤULŪL and TANĀSUKH]).

The second problem, that of the relationship between man and God, is solved not, as some would have it, in a pantheistic sense, but by an exact and continual theophany of the inaccessible divine treasure in man (and especially in the Man *par excellence*, Faḍl Allāh) on whose face is written in clear letters the actual name of God, Allāh, the nose being the *alif*, the two lobes of the nose two *lām*s, and the eyes having the form of *hāʾ*. The traditional eschatological ideas are, however, rejected by the Ḥurūfīs and the Ḳurʾānic anthropomorphism is explained in the sense that God can be represented only in Man. What other meaning could the following *ḥadīth* have: "Soon you will see your Lord as you see the moon when it is full; you will not be deprived of the sight of Him"? Man, naturally, is understood to be the particularly pure and holy man, in this case Faḍl Allāh. Nesīmī asserted that "God is none other than the son of Adam. The thirty-two letters are the words of the speech of God. Know that all the world is God himself—Adam is the soul and the sun is the face".

This leads us to Ḥurūfī cabalism. The fundamental idea is that God (as we have seen, impossible to grasp in His essence) reveals Himself in the Word (Faḍl Allāh was well acquainted with the beginning of St. John's Gospel). Now the Word is made up of sounds, and sounds are always—in Islamic tradition—identified with "letters" (*ḥurūf*). The whole total of letters (and of their numerical value according to the *abdjad*) is thus the total of all the emanating and creative possibilities of God, and is God Himself made manifest. Hence the enormous importance given to letters and to "interpretative" calculations made with them, the various methods of which are too complicated for examples to be given here: it resulted in their having their own cabalistic *tafsīr* of the Ḳurʾān; one phrase is changed into another (of the same numerical value) which indicated its "true" meaning in the same way that the elements of the world are transformed ceaselessly in the infinite cycles of its existence. Every atom moreover, said Faḍl Allāh, "is a tongue which speaks". In the same way are explained the reasons (Ḥurūfism attaches great importance to the *ʿaḳl*, "intellect") for the number of *rakʿa*s in each canonical prayer, of the number of the canonical prayers themselves, of the limbs and of the human face, etc., in a kind of grand and unitarian ontological nominalism.

As has been stated above, the Ḥurūfīs had at first an organization of their own as an autonomous religion, with their own rites and prayers, described in an important chapter of the *Istiwā-nāma* of ʿAlī al-Aʿlā. The *adhān*, for example, included formulae such as the following: *ashhadu anna lā ilāha illā F-ʾ-H* ("... that there is no God but FʾH", the cabalistic formula for Faḍl Allāh); *ashhadu anna Ādam khalīfat Allāh* ("that Adam [= Man] is the vicar of God"); *ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūl Allāh* ("that Muḥammad is the messenger of God"). The pilgrimage to the place where Faḍl Allāh was killed took place in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda (the month in which he was killed) and, according to the same *Istiwā-nāma*, "... after 28 *ṭawāf* (circumambulations) around the door of the *maḳtal*, they (= the Ḥurūfīs) name 40 Knowers of God in the East and in the West of the world, go into the bed of the river, pick up three times twenty-one pebbles, *i.e.*, 63: 21 for the Earth, 21 for Water, 21 for the Air, and throw them into the Fire, which is the origin of Satan, with their faces turned towards the fortress of the accursed and foul Mārānshāh (the king of the serpents = Mīrānshāh) which is opposite the gate of the fortress of Alandjaḳ—may it be preserved from disasters and calamities—and is called "the fortress of Sandjar"; then they take off the pilgrim's dress ...".

When it began however, it was not intended that Ḥurūfism should be merely a secret or esoteric religion but that it should become also (a premature ambition at that time) a visible religious organization, with autonomous rites; it was hoped that it would gain some rulers as its adherents. It did not succeed in this, but its doctrines penetrated into various quarters, not only into Bektāshism but also into certain aspects of Persian Ṣūfism, from some of whose doctrines (and from the ever-present undercurrent of Ismāʿīlī/gnostic beliefs) they had been in large part derived.

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(A. BAUSANI)

AL-ḤUSĀM B. ḌIRĀR, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀR, a Kalbī aristocrat of Damascus, who arrived in Spain as governor in the year 125/743 to replace the

successor of Baldj, Thaʿlaba b. Salāma al-ʿĀmilī, who had been mortally wounded at Aqua Portora. He managed to keep the unruly Syrian *djundīs* away from Cordova by giving them fiefs in the regions of Elvira-Granada, Reiyo (Archidona and Malaga), Jaen, the Algarve (south Portugal), and the district of Tudmīr (Murcia), though it appears that this conciliatory measure was taken on the advice of Ardabasto, the son of Witiza and chief of the Christian *dhimmīs*, who had been given the task of collecting the *kharādj* from them. But soon his Kalbī partisanship overcame his political prudence and he provoked an implacable war through his bias against his enemies. The opposing Ḳays faction allied themselves with the Lakhm and the Djudhām under the command of Ṣumayl who from this moment began to show a considerable activity, making himself little by little the justification of the government's policy and even, ten years later, playing an important rôle in the rise of the Hispano-Muslim emirate with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. His coalition plan having received the approval of his allies, he succeeded in gaining the adhesion of Écija and Morón, to whose Djudhāmī chief Thawāba b. Salāma he shrewdly offered the command of the coalition. The revolt broke out in Andalusia, and the rebels concentrated in the district of Sidona in Radjab 127/April 745; a little later they encountered Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, who had hastened up with his troops, on the banks of the Guadalete. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār was defeated and taken prisoner and Thawāba b. Salāma, on his triumphant arrival in Cordova, proclaimed himself governor of Spain. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār did not long remain in prison; his followers attacked by night the prison in which he was being kept and carried him off to Niebla, from where he strove to re-group his followers, but he failed to get the upper hand over the coalition which had displaced him. As for his good relations with the vanquished Christians, we know only that when Sāra, the granddaughter of Witiza, arrived in Damascus to complain to the Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik of the dispossession of which she had been victim at the hands of her uncle Ardabasto, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār was ordered to return her hereditary property.

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(A. Huici Miranda)

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN [see TIMURTASH].

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN, Abu 'l-Shawk [see ʿANNĀZIDS].

ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN ČELEBI, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Akhī Turk (d. 683/1284), favourite disciple and second *khalīfa* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], was born of a family which had come from Urmiya to settle at Konya (Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 759; tr. Huart, ii, 242). Since he became a *murīd* of Djalāl al-Dīn as a young man and knew Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī (d. 642/1244), it may be assumed that he was born in about 623/1226 (cf. *op. cit.*, ii, 738; tr. ii, 223). His father and grandfathers were prominent *akhīs* of Anatolia. Ḥusām al-Dīn lost his father at an early age, but was cared for by various notables of the day. When he reached puberty his beauty captivated all beholders (*op. cit.*, ii, 738; tr. ii, 224). At this time he went with all his servants and young companions to Djalāl al-Dīn, became his *murīd*, and released all his entourage from the duty of serving himself. He gave away all his wealth, down to his household goods, to benefit Djalāl al-Dīn and his circle. His devoted attachment and probity impressed Djalāl al-Dīn, who gave him the superintendence of the *waḳf* revenues which accrued to him and of the gifts which he received from various persons. All these sums were sent to Ḥusām al-Dīn, who would distribute them first to Djalāl al-Dīn's family and then among the members of his circle according to their degrees (*op. cit.*, ii, 777; tr. ii, 255). He quickly became prominent among the *murīds* for his piety and his devotion to Djalāl al-Dīn, whose regard for him was increased by the fact that he, unlike the others, showed great respect for Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī and then for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb (*op. cit.*, ii, 782; tr. ii, 259). It was evidently at this time or shortly afterwards that Djalāl al-Dīn made approaches to the officers of the government to procure Ḥusām al-Dīn's appointment as *shaykh* of the Khānḳāh-i Ḍiyā and the Khānḳāh-i Lālā at Konya (see *Mektubât-i Mevlânâ Celâleddin*, 128-9), approaches which were successful (cf. Aflākī, i, 558, ii, 754 f., 758; tr. ii, 73, 237 f., 241). Five years after the death of Shaykh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (657/1258), Djalāl al-Dīn appointed Ḥusām al-Dīn as *khalīfa* in his place. It was within these five years that the first volume of the *Mathnawī* was written (659/1260-1), at the prompting of Ḥusām al-Dīn who acted as amanuensis. When this first volume was finished, Ḥusām al-Dīn's wife died. This loss distressed him, so that he did not urge Djalāl al-Dīn to proceed with the *Mathnawī* (*Mathnawī*, ii, 247; Aflākī, ii, 742-4; tr. ii, 228). Two years later he married again and work on the *Mathnawī* was resumed. Until Djalāl al-Dīn's death (672/1273), he acted as his *khalīfa* and amanuensis, and after that, on Djalāl al-Dīn's nomination, was his *khalīfa* for the remaining twelve years of his life (see Sulṭān Walad, *Walad-nāma*, 122 f.; Sipahsālār, *Risāla*, 146 f.; Aflākī, ii, 746 f.; tr. ii, 231); men of all classes were attracted to him by his optimistic outlook, his generosity and his fine character. He died at Konya in 683/1284, according to Aflākī (ii, 779; tr. ii, 256) on 22 Shaʿbān/3 November but according to his tombstone (see A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 28) on 12 Shaʿbān/25 October. He is buried in the *turba* of Djalāl al-Dīn.

Ḥusām al-Dīn, who himself composed no works, owes his fame to the help he brought to the writing of the *Mathnawī*. Djalāl al-Dīn acknowledges this in various books of the *Mathnawī*, praises him under various titles and honorifics, and even calls the work *Ḥusāmī-nāma* (see *Mathnawī*, i, 3, iv, 278_{1-6}, vi, 271_{1-8}; Sipahsālār, 142 f.; Aflākī, ii, 742-3; tr. ii, 227 f.). Whenever and wherever Djalāl al-Dīn found an occasion for dictation, Ḥusām al-Dīn would take the verses down and read them back to him (Aflākī, ii, 740, 742; tr. ii, 226, 228). The work, suspended for two years after the completion of the first book, was resumed in 672/1263-4 and finished shortly before Djalāl al-Dīn's death (see A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddin*, 120 f.). The portions taken down at various times were corrected and explained as Ḥusām al-Dīn read them back (Aflākī, i, 496-7; tr. ii, 19), the copy written on the basis of these corrections and explanations later being rightly regarded as one of the most reliable texts (*loc. cit.*); some manuscripts transcribed from this copy exist in the libraries of Konya and Istanbul (see Nihâd M. Çetin, *Maṭnawī'nin Konya Kütüphanelerindeki eski yazmaları*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, iv (1961), 96-118). Ḥusām al-Dīn's second contribution to the Mawlawī way of life, later to develop into a *ṭarīḳa*, was to establish its 'rules' (*ādāb*): thus he made it

the regular practice that the *samā*ʿ [*q.v.*] took place after the Friday prayer and that the *Mathnawī* was read after the Ḳurʾān had been read (Aflākī, ii, 777; tr. ii, 255). It was during his headship of the movement also that Djalāl al-Dīn's mausoleum was built, so that it possessed a focal point and centre, what might be called a Mawlawī *ḳibla* (cf. A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, 24).

Bibliography: Sulṭān Walad, *Walad-nāma*, ed. Djalāl Humāyī, Tehrān n.d., 120-39; Farīdūn b. Aḥmad-i Sipahsālār, *Risāla*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehrān 1325 s., 141-8; Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1959-61, i, 496 f., ii, 738-83; tr. C. Huart, *Les saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, Paris 1918-22, ii, 19 ff., 223-60, and index; Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Maktūbāt*, ed. M. N. Uzluk and Ahmed Remzi, Istanbul 1937, 128 f. and index; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1289, 532-5; A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Celâleddîn*, Istanbul 1952, 113-22; idem, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 21-8.

(TAHSIN YAZICI)

SULṬĀN **ḤUSAYN** MĪRZĀ B. MANṢŪR B. BAYḲARA was born in Harāt in Muḥarram 842/June 1438. At the age of 14 he entered the service of Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur. In 858/1454, when Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur made peace with Abū Saʿīd, Ḥusayn Mīrzā entered the service of the latter, but was imprisoned by him. After his release through the intervention of his mother, he returned to Abu'l-Ḳāsim Bābur, with whom he remained till his death (861/1457). He then joined Muʿizz al-Dīn Sandjar, who held Marw, Mākhān and Djām, and married his daughter; his eldest son, Badīʿ al-Zamān, was born of this marriage. A period of struggle with Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] and his sons now began. Immediately after the death of Abū Saʿīd, Ḥusayn Mīrzā went to Harāt and ascended the throne on 10 Ramaḍān 873/25 March 1469. With one brief intermission, he remained the undisputed ruler of Khurāsān until his death (911/1506). Ḥusayn Mīrzā showed Shīʿī inclinations at the beginning of his reign, but abandoned these entirely under the influence of Nawāʾī and others. He was a brave soldier, fighting personally in many battles.

Ḥusayn Mīrzā's long reign in Khurāsān is more important from the cultural than from the political point of view. Under his rule relatively peaceful conditions were established in Khurāsān and the province enjoyed a period of prosperity. His capital of Harāt became an important cultural centre. Poets, men of letters and of learning enjoyed the patronage of both Ḥusayn Mīrzā and his close friend the Turkish poet Nawāʾī, the last great classical Persian poet Djāmī, the historian Mīrkhwānd, the miniature painter Bihzad [*qq.v.*] and the calligrapher Sulṭān ʿAlī Mashhadī being among the most famous personalities of the court. Ḥusayn Mīrzā himself composed poetry in Turkish and Persian, using the *makhlaṣ* Ḥusaynī. His Turkish *Dīwān* contains *ghazal*s composed throughout in one and the same variant of *ramal*, namely – ᴗ – – | – ᴗ – – | – ᴗ – – | – ᴗ –, the most popular metre of the period. In spite of the high praise given them by Nawāʾī, these poems are of no more than average quality (the fact that the Ṣafawid Sultan Ḥusayn ordered a translation of a selection of them into Persian (cf. British Museum, Or. 3379) is to be attributed rather to the importance of the person of the poet than to the intrinsic value of his poetry). He is also the author of a brief treatise in Turkish, a sort of *apologia pro vita sua*, which is interesting for its exposition of the ideals and conceptions of a mediaeval Muslim Turkish monarch. The *Madjālis al-ʿushshāḳ*, which is ascribed to him by Sām Mīrzā, is in fact, as Bābūr and Khwāndamīr stated, by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Gāzurgāhī.

Bibliography: Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1847, iii, 201 ff.; *The Bábar-náma*, ed. Beveridge, GMS i, Leiden 1905, 163v ff.; Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, Tashkent 1961, 208-56; idem, *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1841, 34 ff.; Dawlatshāh, *The Tadhkiratu'sh-Shuʿará*, ed. E. G. Browne, London and Leiden 1901, 521-41; Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehrān 1314s, 11-2; V. V. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, translated from the Russian by V. and T. Minorsky, iii, Leiden 1962, 1-72; *Divan-i sultan Hüseyn Mirza Baykara "Hüseynî"*, ed. I. H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1946; T. Gandjeï, *Uno scritto apologetico di Ḥusain Mīrzā, Sultano del Khorāsān*, in *AIUON*, v (1954), 157-83. See further TĪMŪRIDS.

(T. GANDJEÏ)

ḤUSAYN, who was known until his accession to the throne as Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, was the eldest son of Shāh Sulaymān, the Ṣafawid monarch who reigned 1077-1105/1666-94. Ḥusayn, who was born in 1079/1668, was by nature quiet and studious, with an inclination in his earlier years to austerity. Having been brought up in the harem, in accordance with the pernicious practice inaugurated by Shāh ʿAbbās I, Ḥusayn was completely ignorant of state affairs and, indeed, of the world in general when, at the age of 26, he succeeded his father on the latter's death. Ḥusayn soon showed himself to be of weak character, and the court eunuchs took advantage of this fact to assume control over the government of the country, but intense rivalry soon developed between them and the *mudjtahid*s and *mullā*s. Although at first violently against the drinking of alcohol, the Shāh was, by means of a subterfuge, induced to become addicted to it (see Krusinski, *The history of the revolution of Persia taken from the memoirs of Father Krusinski ...... by Father du Cerceau*, Dublin 1729, 54-6). Moreover, the Shāh by no means neglected the pleasures of the harem; thus his early tendency to austerity soon became a thing of the past.

The first few years of the reign were uneventful, but peace and calm were to prove transitory. Trouble first arose in Balūčistān, but it was soon quelled by the able and forceful Giorgi XI, the King of Kartli and *Wālī* of Georgia; he was known to the Persians as Gurgīn Khān and also as Shāh Nawāz Khān. A more serious revolt then occurred in Ḳandahār, under the leadership of the astute Ghalzay chieftain Mīr Ways [see GHALZAY]. For once taking a sensible course, the Shāh sent Gurgīn Khān with a strong force to quell the revolt. Gurgīn Khān successfully carried out his task and sent Mīr Ways under strong guard to Iṣfahān, with a warning that he was a dangerous man. Mīr Ways, who was a subtle and able man, however, ingratiated himself with the simple Shāh and intrigued with Gurgīn Khān's numerous enemies at the court, with the result that he was soon freed and allowed to return to Ḳandahār. Soon afterwards Mīr Ways, after having Gurgīn Khān murdered, defeated the Georgian garrison. Although several attempts were subsequently made to subdue Mīr Ways, they all failed and he remained virtually independent for the rest of his life. After Mīr Ways's death in 1126/1715, his brother and successor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (erroneously named ʿAbd Allāh in certain sources) attempted to make peace

with the Persian court, but he was soon assassinated by Maḥmūd, Mīr Ways's ambitious and brutal elder son.

Encouraged by the success of the Ghalzays, the Abdālī tribe, whose main centre was at Herāt, also revolted and frustrated all attempts by the Persians to subdue them. Trouble also occurred in the Persian Gulf, where the Muscat Arabs, under Sultan Ibn Sayf II, captured the islands of Baḥrayn, Ḳishm and Larak in 1717. Two years later the turbulent Lezgis of southern Dāghistān ravaged Shīrwān and parts of Georgia. When Wakhtang VI, the *Wālī* of Georgia and nephew of the late Giorgi XI (Gurgīn Khān), had gathered his forces together and was about to crush the Lezgis, he received orders from the Shāh to stay his hand. Wakhtang obeyed this order, but he was so enraged that he vowed never to take action in defence of Persia again. Late in the same year Maḥmūd of Ḳandahār, with a force of some 11,000 men, invaded Persia and captured Kirmān. He remained in occupation of the town for several months, but was then forced to withdraw to Ḳandahār to quell a revolt there (the story that Maḥmūd was forced to withdraw after being heavily defeated by Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the nephew of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī, the Shāh's *iʿtimād al-dawla*, though given in a number of sources, has no basis in fact).

In December 1720, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī's enemies at the court procured his arrest on a trumped-up charge of treason and had him disgraced and blinded; his nephew Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, the commander of the only well organized force in the country, was also disgraced and thrown into prison. It was at this juncture that a Turkish envoy named Dürrī Efendi arrived at the Persian court. Rumours of the impending disintegration of Persia had reached the Turkish Government and it had sent Dürrī Efendi to ascertain whether or not these rumours were well-founded. In his report Dürrī Efendi predicted that the Ṣafawid régime was apparently near its end, as there were no men in Persia who were capable of governing it (*Relation de Dourry Efendy*, Paris 1810, 54-5). Likewise very interested in the situation in Persia was Peter the Great of Russia. His envoy Volynsky, who had been in Persia from 1715 to 1717, had brought back disquieting reports of the situation in that country. In order to glean further and more recent information, Semeon Avramov, the Russian Consul at Rasht, went on Peter's orders to the Persian court, where he arrived just after the departure of Dürrī Efendi. At the same time Peter the Great sent Captain Baskakov secretly to Gilan to make a military report on the terrain. Avramov reported in much the same sense as Dürrī Efendi (see P. G. Butkov, *Materiali dlya Novoy Istorii Kavkaza, 1722-1803*, St. Petersburg 1869, i, 6).

The dismissal and cruel treatment of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Dāghistānī, who was a Lezgi and a Sunnī, so enraged his compatriots and co-religionists in Dāghistān that they again invaded Shīrwān, where they sacked the town of Shamākhī. Among those to suffer severe loss on this occasion were a number of Russian merchants. The rebels then appealed to the Sultan of Turkey for protection, who accepted them as his subjects. The news of this outrage at Shamākhī gave Peter the Great his excuse for invading Persia, which he did in the following year, advancing as far as Darband.

Meanwhile, Maḥmūd, having put down the revolt in Ḳandahār, had once again invaded Persia. After occupying Kirmān again, he boldly advanced on Iṣfahān. Although greatly inferior in numbers, his men overwhelmed the royal forces near the village of Gulnābād, 30 km east-north-east of Iṣfahān. Three days later, Maḥmūd resumed his advance and soon encircled the capital. With Luṭf ʿAlī Khān disgraced and in prison, the only leader capable of defeating Maḥmūd and driving him back to Ḳandahār was Wakhtang VI of Georgia; in view, however, of his vow, he refrained from action. Although Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, the heir to the throne, escaped from the doomed capital during the siege, he made no serious attempt to raise forces to relieve the city, with the result that, after many thousands of the inhabitants had died of disease and starvation, it capitulated in October 1722. Maḥmūd, having received the insignia of royalty from the unfortunate Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, entered the capital in triumph and mounted the throne.

Meanwhile, after Peter the Great had staged his invasion, Turkey also invaded the unfortunate country. War between Russia and Turkey then nearly ensued, but it was averted by the efforts of the Marquis de Bonnac, the French Ambassador to the Porte. He managed with great skill to arrange for a treaty to be signed by Turkey and Russia for the partition of much of northern and western Persia in 1724.

After his deposition, Sultan Ḥusayn was kept in confinement in Iṣfahān. In February 1725, Maḥmūd, during a fit of insanity, murdered, largely with his own hands, most of the Ṣafawid princes. He wounded the ex-Shāh himself, when he endeavoured to ward off a savage blow aimed at one of the young princes. Soon afterwards, Maḥmūd, who had become completely insane, either died a natural death or was murdered by his cousin Ashraf, the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Ashraf thereupon mounted the Persian throne.

In the following year war broke out between the Ghalzays and the Ottoman Turks. In the late autumn of 1726 Ashraf, on receipt of a rude message from Aḥmad Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, that he was going to restore Sultan Ḥusayn to the throne, sent emissaries to Iṣfahān, who put the unfortunate ex-Shāh to death.

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(L. Lockhart)

AL-ḤUSAYN b. ʿAlī, Bey of Tunis (1705-35), founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty. The son of a

Greek renegade recruited into the ranks of the *od̲j̲aḳ*, Ḥusayn was *āg̲h̲ā* of the *sipāhis* at the time of the war between Algeria and Tunisia (1704-5). Proclaimed Bey after the capture of Bey Ibrāhīm by the Algerian troops, Ḥusayn first repulsed the Algerians, then got rid of the Dey, Muḥammad K̲h̲od̲j̲a, who was supported by the army, and finally also of Bey Ibrāhīm after he had been set free. Ḥusayn was recognized by the Ottoman Sultan, who gave him the title of *Pas̲h̲a* with the rank of *Beylerbeyi*, governor of the province of Tunisia (1708); he omitted from the list of his titles *dāyī* (Dey), which from that time on was given to an official of lower rank. While recognizing Ottoman suzerainty, Ḥusayn at the same time persuaded the council of the highest military officers to grant him hereditary power, to be passed on to his descendants by the order of primogeniture in the male line (1710). Thus was founded the Ḥusaynid dynasty, which continued to reign over Tunisia until 1957.

From 1705 until 1729 Ḥusayn's reign was peaceful; his relations with the European powers were very good, and were distinguished by the conclusion of treaties with France (1710 and 1728), England (1716), Spain (1720), Austria (1725), and Holland (1728). Nevertheless the behaviour of the Tunisian privateers caused the French fleet to stage demonstrations off La Goulette in 1728 and 1731.

Internal political life was severely shaken in 1729 by the revolt of Ḥusayn's nephew, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, who, deprived of political power, raised the central tribes with the help of his son Yūnus and, when defeated, fled to Algeria. After at first being interned there, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was later on supported by the Dey of Algiers, Ibrāhīm, and they invaded Tunisia together. Beaten in turn at Smend̲j̲a (4 September 1735), Ḥusayn retreated to al-Ḳayrawān, while ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was proclaimed Bey in Tunis. Ḥusayn endeavoured to take the offensive again, but failed before Tunis and retired once again to al-Ḳayrawān, where he continued his resistance for five years. The town was finally taken by Yūnus on 16 Safar 1157/25 May 1740, and Ḥusayn was captured and executed a short time later.

During the first twenty years of his reign, Ḥusayn showed much creative activity: he restored the walls of al-Ḳayrawān and built *madrasas* at Sousse, Sfax and Gafsa. In Tunis itself he was responsible for putting the aqueducts into good repair and for planning the saddlers' quarter (*Sūḳ al-sarrād̲j̲īn*), for building the dyers' mosque (*D̲j̲āmiʿ al-d̲j̲adīd*), the *madrasas* al-Nak̲h̲la, al-Ḥusayniyya and al-D̲j̲adīda, and the mausoleum of the Dey Ḳara Muṣṭafā. In his reign, ʿAzīza ʿUt̲h̲māna, grand-daughter of the Dey ʿUt̲h̲mān and famous for her pious foundations, died. She was buried near the *Madrasa* al-S̲h̲ammāʿiyya. Furthermore, it was Ḥusayn who transferred the centre of Tunisian government to the Bardo.

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(R. Mantran)

ḤUSAYN b. ʿAlī, Amīr and "Grand S̲h̲arīf" of Mecca and the Ḥid̲j̲āz from 1326/1908 to 1335/1916, and King of the Ḥid̲j̲āz from 1335/1916 to 1343/1924, was the elder son of the second son, ʿAlī, of the first Sharifian Amīr of Mecca of the ʿAbādila family of the ʿAwn branch of the Meccan S̲h̲arīfs, the famous Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muʿīn b. ʿAwn, who died in 1275/1858. In spite of almost-successful attempts by the long-dominant Zayd branch of the S̲h̲arīfs to regain the Meccan amirate, the descendants of Muḥammad ibn ʿAwn in fact retained it until its disappearance.

Ḥusayn, born in Istanbul in 1270/1853 or 1273/1856, passed his youth partly in the Ḥid̲j̲āz and partly in Istanbul, where he was, after 1311/1893, a permanent resident and political *détenu*. Bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, an abundant and mellifluous talker and writer, combining obstinacy with ambiguity and a dominating temper with outstanding charm, he was prominent in local society and developed the qualities which he was later to demonstrate in high office. His four sons (ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh, Fayṣal and Zayd [*qq.v.*]) were all Turkish-educated, but all, by order of their authoritarian father, passed prolonged periods also in Arabia. Ḥusayn himself was appointed to the Ottoman Council of State, and moved acceptably in the highest official and Court circles.

One effect of the Turkish revolution of 1326/1908 was to displace into exile the ruling Amīr of Mecca, ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh, first cousin of Ḥusayn. The succession fell to the latter's uncle, ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a, but, already old, he sustained a fatal stroke before leaving Istanbul. After some days of eager canvassing between ʿAwn and Zayd interests, the candidate of the former, Ḥusayn, secured the backing of the (reputedly Anglophile) Grand Vizir, Kāmil Pās̲h̲ā, and was appointed by the Sultan (cf. Hilmi Kâmil Bayur, *Sadrazam Kâmil Paşa*, Ankara 1954, 287 ff.). He was received with great pomp at D̲j̲idda and at Mecca in the last days of 1326/1908.

In a situation of extreme delicacy vis-à-vis the Turkish *wālī* of the Ḥid̲j̲āz *wilāyet*, the new Amīr displayed at first every sign of loyalty to his Sultan-Caliph. He took up arms against Idrīsī rebels in ʿAṣīr, occupied Ibhā, and carried out a partial though unsuccessful invasion of Ḳaṣīm, to assert tribal rights. Nevertheless he was, during these years, simultaneously formulating certain ambitions of his own highly inconsistant with loyalty to Turkey, and was insisting on all, or more than all, the privileges of his own position. He obstructed, and in the end through tribal action prevented, the extension of the Ḥid̲j̲āz Railway southward from Madīna, successfully resisted Turkish attempts to normalise the administration of the province and to impose conscription, enhanced his personal position by daily entertainment on a lavish scale, and even, though invisibly, placed himself in touch with Arab secret societies in Syria and Egypt working for home-rule for the Arab provinces. His second son, ʿAbd Allāh, held tentative conversations with the British in Egypt.

On the outbreak of the First World War in 1333/1914, the last-mentioned contacts were resumed, and Ḥusayn's ideas for Arab, and personal, aggrandisement took shape. He temporised over the Turkish demand for the raising of Arab forces to aid his suzerain, and found himself unable to support the proclamation, in the Holy Cities, of Holy War for the Caliph. Closer contact was made with Damascus, through his son Fayṣal, and with the British in Cairo through secret messengers. The latter negotia-

tions resulted in the "McMahon Letters" exchanged with Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt: letters which seemed to express a broad Anglo-Arab agreement but later became famous and disastrous from their inconclusive ambiguities. The impulse to proclaim an Arab uprising against the Turks was increased by Turkish anti-Arab repression in Syria, and not less potently by British promises of immediate aid, in arms and money, for such a revolt. In mid-summer 1335/1916 the Arab revolt was proclaimed by Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, military operations (in desert-Arab style) began, the Turks were expelled from Mecca, and soon afterwards from Djidda, the smaller Red Sea ports, and with little delay from almost the whole of the Ḥidjāz except Madīna. In the late autumn Ḥusayn announced himself as "King of the Arab Countries" —a title unacceptable, however, to the Powers (Britain, France, Italy), who substituted that of "King of the Ḥidjāz".

When military operations moved beyond the Ḥidjāz, and particularly when British participation in officers, supplies, money and staffwork became all-important in the Arab forces, King Ḥusayn could no longer control, or even appreciate, the course of events or plans, and perforce he ceased, except by distant criticism and in some degree through influence over his active sons ʿAbd Allāh and Fayṣal, to take any part. He stayed in Mecca, locally a dominant figure, eloquent, irritable, increasingly remote from realities, and of little weight in an Arab world less interested in him than he supposed. The end of the war in 1918 found him still hoping for a united Arab kingdom under his rule; but he was soon disillusioned by the course of events in the Levant and by the Allied attitude to his wide claims, though this could not have been entirely unknown to him. The Allied military occupation of all (geographical) Syria and ʿIrāḳ and the arrangements embodied in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 precluded effective Arab rule. This agreement was published by the Bolsheviks in November 1917; at least the general terms had already been communicated to him by the Allies in May of that year (Dawn, *The Amir* ..., 131). Ḥusayn was powerless to influence these developments or even the acts of his own sons; he was still more at sea in all that was reported to him of the peace-making at Versailles, where Arab claims received little attention. King Ḥusayn was in fact unable to play any rôle in affairs outside the Ḥidjāz from 1337/1918 onwards.

In his own Kingdom, his maladministration became notorious. He failed to extend his rule over any other part of Arabia, and, angrily rejecting the Mandates applied to the northern Arab territories, declined to ratify the Peace treaty. He quarrelled with Egypt over arrangements for the Ḥadjdj ceremonial, and, still more dangerously, with the central-Arabian power of Ibn Suʿūd over tribes, oases and refugees. His assumption of the Caliphate itself, while on a visit to ʿAmmān, in 1343/1924, when that title and office was abolished by the Turks, was a crowning mistake; he was accepted as Caliph by only a small minority even of Arabs, aroused powerful opposition, and added nothing to his prestige (cf. the attack of Rashīd Riḍā, cited by E. Kedourie in *JRAS*, (1963), 215).

The end came from the Wahhābī followers of Ibn Suʿūd, whom he had needlessly offended. These, with strong iconoclastic religious emotions and many old scores to pay off, invaded the Ḥidjāz only six months after the assumption of the Caliphate. They swept to the walls of Mecca and forced the old King to abdicate in favour of his eldest son ʿAlī, and retire to Djidda, and thence by British steamer to ʿAḳaba. He took with him his whole personal fortune, amounting, according to general belief, to some millions of pounds sterling, mainly in gold coins packed in petrol tins.

After some months passed at ʿAḳaba the King was removed by British cruiser to Cyprus, where he lived quietly in a villa at Nicosia. He was accompanied by his youngest son Zayd, and visited periodically by the others. His mood was one of disillusion and bitterness, but he had pleasure in conversation and in his horses. After sustaining a stroke in 1930 he moved—or was moved—via Beirut to his son ʿAbd Allāh's court at ʿAmmān, and died there in mid-summer 1931. He was buried in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf at Jerusalem

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(S. H. LONGRIGG)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-ḤUSAYN, the last dey of Algiers, was born at Izmir and ruled from 1818 to 1830. When his predecessor ʿAlī Khodja died of the plague on 1 March 1818 Ḥusayn was occupying the high office of *khodjat al-khayl* (tribute collector). Ḥusayn was raised to the dignity of dey without having sought it, and being of a moderate disposition opened his reign by gestures of clemency. His reward was two attempts at assassination. Thereafter he remained mostly in the kasbah, which dominated the city of Algiers, surrounded by Kabyle guards.

There was unrest in Algeria: the beys of Constantine and Oran were faced with serious local rebellions which were maintained, especially in the Oran area, by religious groups. Thanks to his patience and the

activity of competent and devoted collaborators, Ḥusayn finally re-established calm in 1826 in the east, and in 1828 in the west.

Nevertheless external affairs were dominant during his reign. He had to send vessels and men to help the Ottoman government against the Greek insurgents. Previously he had been invited by the European powers, after the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, to suppress piracy and abolish slavery. As he was evasive, a Franco-British naval demonstration had taken place off Algiers in September 1819.

Later, when he was using forceful measures against Kabyle rebels, the British consul stubbornly refused to hand over to him the Kabyle servants whom he employed. The dey retorted by expelling the consul, so Great Britain sent a fleet to bombard Algiers in June 1824. The effects of these reprisals were slight.

The affair of France's debt to the Jewish merchants Bacri and Busnach and the dey himself, which had been simmering long before Ḥusayn had come to power, occupied him for the whole of his reign and caused his downfall. It was in connexion with this affair that he struck the French consul Deval with his fly-whisk on 30 April 1827 in the course of a very animated interview. As he refused to make the apologies demanded by the French government, the French fleet set up a blockade along the Algerian coast. Then there came the incident of 3 August 1829, when the Algerine coastal batteries fired upon the vessel bearing a French plenipotentiary. Ḥusayn had not given the orders for this, but refused to satisfy French demands for reparation. As a sequel the French government decided to organize an expedition to destroy the power of the deys, and on 4 July 1830 Ḥusayn was handed the capitulation proposals from the commander of the French expeditionary force. He set his seal upon them on the morning of the 5th.

He left Algiers for Italy, where he lived for several years, then retired to Alexandria, where he died in 1838.

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AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿABD ALLĀH [see IBN SĪNĀ].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD [see ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-SHĪʿĪ; IBN KHĀLAWAYH].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ [see IBN MĀKŪLĀ; AL-MAGHRIBĪ; AL-ṬUGHRĀʾĪ].

(AL-)ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, grandson of the Prophet and son of Fāṭima [*q.v.*], famous because of his revolt which ended tragically at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/October 680.

Childhood and youth. (Al-)Ḥusayn was born at Medina, according to the majority of the sources in the beginning of Shaʿbān 4/January 626. He was thus still a child when the Prophet died and could therefore have very few memories of his grandfather. A number of *ḥadīth*s mention the affectionate phrases which Muḥammad is said to have used of his grandsons, *e.g.*, "whoever loves them loves me and whoever hates them hates me" and "al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the *sayyid*s of the youth of Paradise" (this statement is very important in the eyes of the Shīʿīs, who have made of it one of the basic justifications for the right of the Prophet's descendants to the imāmate; *sayyid shabāb al-djanna* is one of the epithets which the Shīʿīs give to each of the two brothers); other traditions present Muḥammad with his grandsons on his knees, on his shoulders, or even on his back during the prayer at the moment of prostrating himself (Ibn Kathīr, viii, 205-7, has collected a fair number of these accounts, drawn mainly from the collections of Ibn Ḥanbal and of al-Tirmidhī). A number of traditionists have added to these life-like and charming little pictures some details which, to the non-Muslim, appear curious or, when they include angels, fanciful, but which do not appear so to Muslims, with their belief in the frequent visits of Djibrīl to Muḥammad; it is in other accounts, on which see below under The Legend of Ḥusayn (col. 611a), that the Shīʿī influence is apparent. During his youth, Ḥusayn lived in the shadow of his father, obeying his orders (see, *e.g.*, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 271, 279, 281 etc.) and taking part in his campaigns.

Attitude towards Muʿāwiya. Even after the death of ʿAlī, Ḥusayn still does not stand out as a personality; an example of this is seen in his relationship with Muʿāwiya: he reproached his brother Ḥasan for having renounced power, but himself submitted to the *fait accompli*, accepting an appanage of one or two million *dirhams*; he also went often to Damascus where he received further largesse. Several times, even before Ḥasan's death, the Shīʿīs suggested that he should revolt (*e.g.*, Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*]), but the reply was always the same: "so long as this man [Muʿāwiya] lives, nothing can be done ... the directive is to think continually of future revenge, but to say nothing about it" (al-Balādhurī, 634r-v, 636r, etc.). Muʿāwiya, although informed by his governor at Medina, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, of how the Shīʿīs frequented Ḥusayn, was not alarmed by it; he prudently counselled Marwān to avoid a clash with Ḥusayn and sent the latter a letter in which he mingled generous promises with the advice not to provoke him. The incident closed with a proud written reply from Ḥusayn, which seems not to have worried Muʿāwiya (Ibn Kathīr, viii, 162). There were only two occasions when Ḥusayn acted boldly: when he defended against some powerful Umayyads his right to certain possessions (*Aghānī*, xvi, 68-70) and when Muʿāwiya asked the high officials of state to recognize his son Yazīd as his successor; Ḥusayn was then among the five persons who refused to submit to this claim, which introduced a new principle in the succession to the caliphate [see WALĪ ʿAHD].

Further refusal of the *bayʿa* to Yazīd after the death of Muʿāwiya and consequences of this. Immediately after the death of Muʿāwiya (Radjab 60/March-April 680), the governor of Medina, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān, on the orders of Yazīd, invited to the palace at an unusual hour Ḥusayn and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] with the intention of obliging them to pay homage to the new caliph. Both of them realized that Muʿāwiya was dead and, having decided to stand by their refusal to make the *bayʿa*, feared for their lives. Whereas Ibn al-Zubayr fled the following night to Mecca, Ḥusayn went to the palace, but accompanied by his supporters, and, after offering his condolence, asked that the *bayʿa* should be delayed, under the pretext that, in order to be valid, it must be made in public; he succeeded in delaying it for two days and finally escaped at night with his family to Mecca, without however taking an

indirect route. Al-Walīd b. ʿUtba, although urged by Marwān to resort to violence, was unwilling to take serious measures against the grandson of the Prophet and paid for his inactivity with dismissal from his office. The situation created in Mecca by the arrival of Ibn al-Zubayr and Ḥusayn cannot have been a very easy one. The inhabitants of Mecca liked to attend on Ḥusayn, and Ibn al-Zubayr, who was already harbouring secret ambitions, was suspected of jealousy towards him (see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 276).

The sources on al-Ḥusayn's revolt and on his tragic end. Unless some of the manuscripts in the Berlin Library attributed to Abū Mikhnaf [*q.v.*] (see Ahlwardt, 9028-9, 9031-8)—which the author of this article is in the process of examining—prove to be entirely or partly authentic, the most important texts on Ḥusayn's enterprise and its tragic sequel at Karbalāʾ remain al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī. The former relates (1) a great number of traditions on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf (d. *ca.* 157/774) with *isnāds* going back to contemporary witnesses; (2) other fairly numerous traditions of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, most of them received from his master Abū Mikhnaf; (3) a small number of traditions transmitted with their *isnāds* by other traditionists, which, however, add few variants to the preceding ones and most of which are unimportant. Al-Balādhurī almost always used the same sources as al-Ṭabarī, but often made résumés of them, introducing them by *ḳālū*; and he provides some additional verses and details. Al-Dīnawarī, al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, etc. add almost nothing to our knowledge since they based almost the whole of their continuous accounts on Abū Mikhnaf. So great was the respect accorded even among the Shīʿis to the work of this sympathizer of Ḥusayn that it is chiefly from his collection of traditions that their earliest writers (*e.g.*, al-Mufīd, d. 413/1022), or those endowed with enough critical faculty to enable them to eliminate fantastic additions (*e.g.*, the modern Uways), have drawn their narrative of Ḥusayn's enterprise (their Shīʿism showing itself elsewhere). It was only much later (apparently beginning in the 7th/13th century) that the narrative of Ḥusayn's enterprise was partly modified by the introduction of romantic accounts (single combats in which the enemies of Ḥusayn were killed by the dozen, Ḥusayn defending himself like a lion and slaughtering his assailants, and other such fables). The exaggerations and the misrepresentations of the Shīʿis were severely criticized by Ibn Kathīr (viii, 201 f.).

Invitation from the Kūfans. Mission of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl to Kūfa. The news of the death of Muʿāwiya was greeted with satisfaction at Kūfa, the majority of whose inhabitants were Shīʿis. Soon there were sent out from there letters and messengers inviting Ḥusayn to make his way to this town which could no longer tolerate the Umayyad régime, which they regarded as guilty of having seized the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*], allowed the possessions of Allāh to pass into the hands of the powerful and the rich, and killed the best men (an allusion to Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī and his supporters) while allowing the worst to remain alive (see letter of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī and of other Shīʿis: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 234 f., etc.). Ḥusayn replied that he understood their hope of uniting themselves, thanks to him, in the right way and in the truth. "The Imām", he added, "must not be other than a man acting according to the Book of God, taking [his subjects' money] with honesty, judging with truth, devoting himself to the service of God." Nevertheless, before making a decision he thought it prudent to send his cousin, Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], to Kūfa to test the ground. Muslim soon gathered thousands of pledges of support and was even able to preside over an assembly from the *minbar* in the mosque (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 257 f.; al-Dīnawarī, 252). But his intrigues were reported to the caliph Yazīd who, no longer trusting the governor of the town, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, gave the control of Kūfa to the son of Ziyād, ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*], then already governor of Baṣra, with orders to go there himself immediately to quell the disturbances. Ibn Ziyād arrived at this destination in disguise and took energetic measures which terrified Ḥusayn's sympathizers. Muslim, after attempting in vain to organize an immediate revolt, fled and went into hiding; he was discovered and put to death (9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 60/11 September 680). Unfortunately for al-Ḥusayn, he had written a very optimistic letter on the success of his propaganda and, it seems, had even sent to him the thousands of pledges signed by the inhabitants of Kūfa.

Ḥusayn's departure for Kūfa. Already Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya at Medina (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 220 f.), then ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, when they met him on the road from Medina to Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 223), and others also, had warned Ḥusayn against the dangers of a revolt: Ibn ʿAbbās had reiterated his advice, and with great insistence, at Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 274 f.; al-Balādhurī, 638v-639r, etc.). Even ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had attempted to dissuade him from the enterprise, but hypocritically, since he was in fact very pleased that Ḥusayn should leave the field free for him at Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 274-6, etc.). In spite of all this advice, Ḥusayn did not abandon his project. He performed the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*] instead of the *ḥadjdj* and took advantage of the absence of the governor, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*], who was completing the rites of the Pilgrimage on the outskirts of the town, to slip away together with his own group: about fifty men—relatives and friends able to bear arms—women and children (8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 60/10 September 680, the day of the *tarwiya*). The names of the places where he stopped on the way from Mecca to Kūfa are all recorded by al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī; Wellhausen has noted them.

Informed of Ḥusayn's departure, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd sent in pursuit of him a party of men under the command of his brother Yaḥyā, but all that took place between the two groups was a clash with whips and sticks. At al-Tanʿīm, not far from Mecca, Ḥusayn met a caravan coming from the Yemen and considered that he had a right to seize its load which consisted of cloaks and plants for dyeing destined for the caliph. On the way, Ḥusayn met several people: the poet al-Farazdaḳ who, when questioned, told him frankly that the hearts of the ʿIrāḳīs were for him but that their swords were for the Umayyads (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 277 and 278, etc.), and his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar who, having obtained from the governor ʿAmr b. Saʿīd a letter granting him *amān*, had come to read it to him. But Ḥusayn's decision was unshakeable; his replies to any who attempted to deflect him from his enterprise were always more or less in the same vein: "God does as He wishes .... I leave it to Him to choose what is best .... He is not hostile to him who purposes the just cause (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) ...". Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn al-Badjalī, who was a supporter of ʿUthmān, and while journeying had avoided pitching his tents at the same place as Ḥusayn, did on one occasion have to make his camp

near to him; invited by Ḥusayn to visit him, he changed his opinion during the interview with him and from then on became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Ḥusayn.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād had stationed men on the roads leading from the Ḥidjāz to Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 285 and 288) and had given orders forbidding all persons to enter or leave the territory bounded by them. Ḥusayn learned of this order from the Bedouins, but was not alarmed by it and continued his journey. It was at al-Thaʿlabiyya that he first heard, from some travellers, the news of the execution of Muslim and of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa [*q.v.*] at Kūfa. He would then have turned back, but the sons of ʿAḳīl, determined either to avenge their brother or to meet the same fate, made him change his mind. Then, at Zubāla, he learned that his messenger (Ḳays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī or ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḳṭur, his foster brother: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 288, 293, 303), sent from al-Ḥādjiz to Kūfa to announce there his imminent arrival, had been discovered and killed. Ḥusayn then read to his supporters a proclamation in which, after informing them of the doleful news he had received and of the treachery of the inhabitants of Kūfa, he invited them to leave him. Those who had joined his group during the journey did depart, and there remained with him only those who had followed him from the Ḥidjāz.

Parties of horsemen were scouring the region. When they appeared on the horizon, Ḥusayn changed his direction towards Dhū Ḥusm (or Ḥusam) and there pitched his tents The horsemen, who were under the command of al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī al-Yarbūʿī, approached and, as the weather was hot, Ḥusayn gave orders for them to be given water. The situation at this time was still so free of tension that al-Ḥurr and his squadron took part that day in two prayers led by Ḥusayn (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 297, 298) and, later, four Shīʿīs who had come from Kūfa were able to join the insurgents in spite of al-Ḥurr's attempt to oppose this (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 302 f.). After each of the two prayers, Ḥusayn explained to his adversaries the motives which had caused him to set out: "You had no ***imām*** and I should have been an instrument of union in the hand of God ... We are more qualified to govern you than those others who claim things to which they have no right and who act unjustly ... But if you have changed your minds ... I shall go away" (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 297 f.). Al-Ḥurr knew nothing of the letters which the inhabitants of Kūfa had sent to Ḥusayn but he did not change his attitude when the latter showed him two sacks full of them; he had received the order to take the rebel, without fighting, to Ibn Ziyād and he endeavoured to persuade Ḥusayn to follow him; when Ḥusayn continued his march, he did not dare to oppose him but instead made some suggestions to him: to follow a route leading neither to Kūfa nor to Medina and to write to Yazīd or to Ibn Ziyād; at the same time, he himself would write to Ibn Ziyād in the hope that he would receive a reply which would allow him to avoid a painful ordeal. But Ḥusayn would not agree to his proposals and al-Ḥurr therefore followed him closely, uttering warnings from time to time: "I remind you of God for your own sake ... if there is a battle you will be killed ...". But Ḥusayn did not fear death. When a halt was made in the district (***nāḥiya***) of Nīnawā (forming part of the *Sawād* of Kūfa) a horseman arrived from Kūfa; without greeting Ḥusayn, he gave al-Ḥurr a letter from Ibn Ziyād ordering him not to allow the rebels to make a halt except in a desert place without fortifications or water. Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn then suggested that Ḥusayn should attack al-Ḥurr's small detachment and occupy the fortified village of al-ʿAkr, but Ḥusayn refused to open the hostilities.

On 2 Muḥarram he made his camp at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], a place belonging to the ***nāḥiya*** of Nīnawā; on the 3rd the situation worsened: there arrived from Kūfa an army of 4,000 men under the command of ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ who, appointed ***nāʾib*** by Ibn Ziyād at Rayy, was to have gone to Dastabā to put down a revolt of Daylamīs, but had been recalled by Ibn Ziyād in order to subdue Ḥusayn. He had tried in vain to escape from the hateful task, but, threatened with the loss of his post, was finally forced to obey. Having arrived at Karbalāʾ, he learned, through a messenger, that Ḥusayn now intended merely to retreat, but Ibn Ziyād, on receiving this information from him, insisted that all the rebels should render homage to Yazīd; meanwhile they were to be prevented from reaching the river. ʿUmar b. Saʿd placed ʿAmr b. al-Ḥadjdjādj al-Zubaydī with 500 horsemen on the route leading to the Euphrates, so that for three days Ḥusayn and his party suffered terribly from thirst; a daring group led by Ḥusayn's brother al-ʿAbbās made a sortie to the river, but succeeded in filling only a few water-skins. Meanwhile Ibn Saʿd was still trying to reach an agreement and was holding talks at night with Ḥusayn; although there was nobody present at these talks it was rumoured that Ḥusayn had made three proposals: that he should be permitted either to go and fight against the infidels as an ordinary soldier in a frontier region, or to rejoin Yazīd, to whom he would accord the ***bayʿa*** in person, or to return whence he had come (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 287, 314, 436; al-Balādhurī, 644r, etc.). On this occasion Ibn Ziyād was given evil advice by Shamir [*q.v.*] (usually known as Shimr by the Shīʿīs) b. Dhi 'l-Djawshan (an ex-supporter of ʿAlī who had fought with him at Ṣiffīn: al-Ṭabarī, i, 3305); the governor would otherwise have been accommodating, but he was persuaded that he ought to force Ḥusayn to submit to him, Ibn Ziyād, since he had arrived in the territory which was under his jurisdiction. Ibn Ziyād therefore gave orders to Ibn Saʿd either to attack the rebel, if the latter refused to comply with the conditions laid down, or to hand over the command of the troops to Shamir, who was the bearer of this order (al-Ṭabarī, 315 f.). He is said even to have added that, if Ḥusayn fell in the fighting, his body was to be trampled on, because the man was "a rebel, a seditious person, a brigand, an oppressor and he was to do no further harm after his death" (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 316). Ibn Saʿd cursed Shamir, accusing him of having envenomed an affair which otherwise would have ended peacefully; he was sure that Ḥusayn would not submit, for "there is a proud soul in him".

On the evening of 9 Muḥarram, Ibn Saʿd advanced with his men towards the group of insurgents. Ḥusayn was seated in front of his tent, leaning upon his sword, his head nodding drowsily; he had a vision in which the Prophet announced that he would soon be joining him. Warned by his sister Zaynab that the soldiers of Ibn Saʿd were advancing, he sent his brother al-ʿAbbās to find out the reason for their approach. While the messenger's return was awaited, warnings, reproaches and insults were hurled from both sides. When al-ʿAbbās returned, Ḥusayn, having learned Ibn Ziyād's demand, requested a respite of one night; this being granted, he delivered

to his relatives and supporters a discourse which his son ʿAlī, the only male of his family to escape from the massacre, was later to recall: "I give praise to God Who has honoured us with the Prophethood and has taught us the Ḳurʾān and the religion . . . I know of no worthier companions . . . than mine nor a more devout family than mine . . . May God reward you all. I think that tomorrow our end will come . . . I ask you all to go away. I do not hold you back. The night will cover you. Use it as a steed . . ." (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 320 f.). With a few exceptions, his supporters showed a complete devotion to his cause. Ḥusayn, after reviving and comforting his sister Zaynab, who had fainted in despair, went out to prepare the defences: the tents were brought close together, and tied to one another with ropes, wood and reeds were heaped up in a ditch ready to be set alight when necessary to prevent an attack from behind, and they passed the rest of the night in prayer (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 317-24, 326). The next day, after the *ṣubḥ*, hostilities commenced.

The battle of Karbalāʾ. Main episodes. If we accept that Ibn Saʿd tried to oblige the rebels to surrender by forcing them to suffer thirst and to capture the Ṭālibīs by surrounding them (which is what an impartial study of the traditions would seem to suggest), we may accept also that the battle of Karbalāʾ was prolonged from dawn until the afternoon in a series of single combats, of attacks and partial repulses, of periods of inaction, of skirmishes in defence of the tents, etc., and that it was not until nearly sunset that Ibn Ziyād's troops, exasperated by the rebels' resistance, and determined to put an end to it, fell upon the surviving Ṭālibīs and massacred them. In such an encounter, which began as a sort of deadly tournament with only a small number of combatants and a large number of spectators and soldiers on guard, some of the dialogues between adversaries which the sources recount could have taken place. Lammens (*Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 169) attributes great importance to a concise tradition of Abū Mikhnaf according to which the fighting lasted as long as a siesta (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 374 f., etc.) and from this he deduces that: "The tragedy of Karbalāʾ instead of lasting for weeks consisted of only one action and was over in an hour . . .". Now among the accounts given by Abū Mikhnaf there are certainly some which are invented, but taken all together they form a coherent and credible narrative; consequently to select one single tradition in so far as it differs or appears to differ from the bulk of others is a critical method of disputable value, particularly as, in the present case, the traditionist is the same and as the tradition in question may be interpreted either as the boasting of a combatant before the caliph or as the description of the last act of the tragedy.

On the morning of 10 Muḥarram, Ḥusayn drew up his supporters (32 horsemen and 40 foot-soldiers with Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn in command of the right wing and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir of the left) in front of the tents, and having entrusted the standard to his brother al-ʿAbbās, ordered them to set fire to the heaps of wood and reeds. He had had pitched for himself a tent inside which he coated himself with a depilatory paste and perfumed himself with musk diluted in a bowl. Then, on horseback and with the Ḳurʾān in front of him, he invoked God in a long and beautiful prayer (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 327) and pronounced a discourse to his enemies in which, having declared that God was his *walī*—and God protects the devout—he invited them to consider well whether it was lawful for them to kill him, reminded them of Muḥammad's statement that he and his brother were the lords of the youth of Paradise, reviewed the great merits of the family of the Prophet, once again reproached the inhabitants of Kūfa for having summoned him, and asked to be allowed to make his way to a country which would offer him safety. When it was repeated to him that first of all he must submit to his cousins, he replied that he would never humiliate himself like a slave (other, longer, versions of his discourse are given in Muḥsin al-Amīn, 255-60). He then dismounted and commanded that his horse should be hobbled, intending by this to signify that he would never flee.

If the numerous accounts of episodes of secondary importance are removed, the phases of the battle can be followed fairly clearly. After Ḥusayn's speech, it was Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn who exhorted their adversaries to follow Ḥusayn; as he received in reply only insolence and threats, he requested them not to kill him (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 331 f.). Then they began to shoot arrows and duels took place (*ibid.*, 335-7); the right wing of the government troops, led by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, attacked, but withdrew on meeting resistance, and the leader ordered his men not to engage in any more single combats (*ibid.*, 337, 342 f.); they preferred to go on shooting arrows from a distance. An assault and an encircling manoeuvre made by the left wing on the orders of Shamir led to losses, and the commander of the cavalry asked Ibn Saʿd for help from the foot-troops and archers (*ibid.*, 344); Shabath b. Ribʿī, a former supporter of ʿAlī who in this action was in command of Ibn Ziyād's foot-troops, when asked to attack, made it plain that he had no wish to do so (*ibid.*, 344 f.) and it was the cavalry on armoured horses and 500 (*sic*) archers who went into action. Ḥusayn's horsemen, having hamstrung their horses, fought on foot (*ibid.*, 345). As Ḥusayn and the Ṭālibīs could be approached only from the front, Ibn Saʿd sent some men towards the tents, from the right and from the left, to dismantle them, but the supporters of Ḥusayn, slipping in among the tents, defended them energetically. Ibn Saʿd then gave orders to burn the tents and this was done, at first to the advantage of Ḥusayn because the flames prevented the attackers from advancing on that side (*ibid.*, 346). Shamir, who had approached the tent of Ḥusayn and his wives, would have set fire to this also, but even his comrades reproached him for this and he went away ashamed (*ibid.*, 346 f.).

At noon, Ḥusayn and his followers performed the prayer of the *ẓuhr* according to the rite of the *ṣalāt al-khawf* [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, 347 f., 350). It was in the afternoon that Ḥusayn's party became narrowly encircled; his supporters fell fighting in front of him (*ibid.*, 351-4, 355 f.) and the way lay open through to the Ṭālibīs who, until this moment, had not entered the field of action, and their massacre began. The first to be killed was ʿAlī al-Akbar, the son of Ḥusayn (*ibid.*, 356 f.), then it was the turn of a son of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl (*ibid.*, 357 f.), of the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar and of ʿAḳīl, then of Ḳāsim, the son of Ḥasan, whose death is related in touching terms: he was young and beautiful; mortally wounded, he called for help to his uncle who swooped like a falcon on the assailant and struck him with his sword; but it was not Ḥusayn who killed the attacker but the horses of Ibn Ziyād's soldiers who knocked him down and trampled him with their hooves. When the dust cleared, Ḥusayn could be seen to take the corpse of his nephew in his arms, cursing

his murderers, and to carry him in front of his tent, where the bodies of ʿAlī al-Akbar and other victims were already laid (*ibid.*, 358 f.).

The details of the death of al-ʿAbbās, Ḥusayn's brother, are not given in the texts of al-Ṭabarī or of al-Balādhurī, who limit themselves to relating (the former on p. 361, the latter on fol. 657r) that Ḥusayn, overcome by thirst, made his way towards the Euphrates, but was prevented from reaching it; he then prayed to God that he who had prevented him from achieving his object should die of thirst (and of course his prayer was answered); wounded in the mouth and on the chin, he cast upwards towards heaven the blood which he had collected in his cupped hands, complaining to God of the suffering which was being inflicted on the son of the daughter of His Messenger. But there must certainly have existed also some traditions concerning al-ʿAbbās, who definitely also fell at Karbalāʾ, and al-Mufīd (240) links them with that concerning Ḥusayn; he relates that the two brothers went forward together towards the river, that al-ʿAbbās, surrounded by enemies and separated from Ḥusayn, fought courageously and was killed on the spot where later his tomb was erected (al-Mufīd, 243).

By now Ibn Ziyād's soldiers were quite close to Ḥusayn, but for some time nobody dared to raise a hand against him. Finally a Kindī, Mālik b. al-Nuṣayr, wounded him in the head, and Ḥusayn's hood was filled with blood. While he replaced it by a *ḳalansuwa*, wrapping a turban round it, Mālik seized the burnous, but it did him little good, for he was followed for the rest of his life by poverty and disgrace (*ibid.*, 359). Another pathetic episode is the death of a child whom Ḥusayn had placed on his knees (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 290 f., explains the presence of this child on Ḥusayn's lap at such an unsuitable moment by the fact that it had just been born). An arrow pierced the child's neck and Ḥusayn on this occasion also collected the blood in his cupped hands and poured it on the ground, invoking God's wrath against the evil-doers (*ibid.*, 359 f.).

The slaughter continued. Finally it was Shamir, the cursed of the Shīʿīs, who advanced with a small group of soldiers against Ḥusayn, but even he did not dare to strike him, and there merely ensued an altercation between the two of them (*ibid.*, 362 f.). At this moment Ḥusayn emerged from his inertia and prepared to fight (when considering the reason for his unwarlike attitude it should be remembered that he was nearly fifty-five years of age and that he had been ill). A boy placed himself bravely beside him, deaf to the order to return to the tent and to Zaynab's calling him back, and had his hand cut off by the stroke of a sword; Ḥusayn comforted him, assuring him that he would soon meet his ancestors in Paradise. There were not more than three or four rebels surviving, and Ḥusayn attacked the enemy. He was wearing well-made drawers of a shining material, but had rent them in advance because he feared that they would be looted from him after his death, a precaution which proved useless, for he was to be left naked on the field of battle (*ibid.*, 364, 366). Ibn Saʿd having approached, Zaynab spoke to him: "ʿUmar b. Saʿd, will Abū ʿAbd Allāh (the *kunya* of Ḥusayn) be killed while you stand and watch?". Tears flowed from the eyes of Ibn Saʿd (*ibid.*, 365). Ḥusayn fought vigorously. There are some sources (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 291, and other Shīʿī sources) which state that he killed many enemies, even dozens, but one tradition states that if his enemies had wished they could have killed him at once (*ibid.*, 365). Finally, in spite of his last threat of Divine vengeance, he was wounded in the hand and the shoulder and he fell with his face to the ground (*ibid.*, 366). It was Sinān b. Anas b. ʿAmr al-Nakhaʿī who, after striking him yet again, cut off his head, since Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, whom he had ordered to do so, was trembling too much to be capable of it. Sinān gave the head to this Khawalī, who then carried it to Ibn Ziyād.

The combat having thus ended, the soldiers turned to pillage; they seized Ḥusayn's clothing, his sword and his baggage, his dye-plants and the Yemenī cloaks, and they seized from the women their ornaments, and their cloaks (*ibid.*, 366). A sick boy was lying in one of the tents and Shamir would have killed him also, but was restrained; Ibn Saʿd came up and forbade anyone to enter this tent (*ibid.*, 367), and this boy, ʿAlī, who was to be given the name of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [*q.v.*], was the only one of Ḥusayn's sons to survive the massacre; as a sign of Divine favour, there were descended from him all the numerous line of the Ḥusaynids. The martyrs of Karbalāʾ or of al-Ṭaff—they are known also by this toponym [*q.v.*]—numbered 72, 17 of them Ṭālibīs (for a critical analysis of the other figures, see Muḥsin al-Amīn, 352); 88 soldiers of Ibn Ziyād fell on the field of battle (*ibid.*, 368 f.). The latter total is given also by Muḥsin al-Amīn, although it is difficult to reconcile this figure with the notes scattered throughout his book (138, 267, 268, 269, etc.) on the number killed by this or that combatant: 40 by al-Ḥurr, 30 by Burayr, 12 or 13 by Nāfiʿ etc., and a great number killed by Ḥusayn.

Minor episodes of the battle. The account of the battle is filled with a large number of episodes; we give here the references for those which have formed the subject of the longest narratives and which have become fairly well-known (the figures in parentheses refer to al-Ṭabarī, ii): the repentance of al-Ḥurr, his fighting beside Ḥusayn and his death (332-4, 341, 345, 349 f.); the murder of a Kalbī and his wife for Ḥusayn's cause (335, 336 f., 344, 346); death of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawza following a prayer by Ḥusayn (337 f.); Nāfiʿ wounded, taken prisoner and executed (341 f., 350 f.); brothers fighting on opposing sides (341); ʿĀbis, an old and valiant fighter, killed by stones (353 f.); a supporter who fled (354 f.); heroes who fell in duels: Muslim b. ʿAwsadja, a warrior who had taken part in expeditions against the infidels (343 f.), Burayr, the *sayyid* of the readers of the Ḳurʾān (338-40), Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir (348 f.), Zuhayr b. al-Ḳayn (349 f.), and others *passim*.

Events after the battle. Ḥusayn's body, covered with wounds (*ibid.*, 366), is said to have been trampled by the horses of ten men who volunteered to inflict this final indignity on the grandson of the Prophet. After Ibn Saʿd's departure, the headless body was buried with those of other "martyrs" by the Asadīs of the village of al-Ghādiriyya in the spot where the massacre had taken place (*ibid.*, 368) (on the sanctuary which was erected there in their honour, see KARBALĀʾ). Ḥusayn's head, with those of other Ṭālibīs, was taken first to Kūfa, then to Damascus. Ibn Ziyād and Yazīd, when it was placed in front of them, each reacted differently: the former was insulting, knocking out some teeth with his switch, while the caliph, according to most of the traditions, was respectful and appeared to regret the haste with which his governor had acted,

going so far as to curse "the son of Sumayya"; he is reported to have declared that if Ḥusayn had come to him he would have pardoned him. The Ṭālibī women and children were also taken first to Kūfa, then to Damascus, where the caliph in the end treated them kindly, although at the beginning of his interview with them he addressed them harshly, to which Zaynab and ʿAlī replied in a similar manner. The women joined Yazīd's wives in their laments for the dead; they received compensation for the property stolen from them at Karbalāʾ and a few days afterwards were sent back to Medina with a reliable escort. ʿAlī, who had run the risk of being executed because it was stated that he was already an adult, was treated by Yazīd with an almost affectionate courtesy and instructed to accompany the Ṭālibī women to Medina.

There are diverse accounts on the place where Ḥusayn's head is buried: (1) beside his father ʿAlī, *i.e.*, at al-Nadjaf; (2) outside Kūfa but not beside ʿAlī; (3) at Karbalāʾ with the rest of his body; (4) at Medina in the Bakīʿ; (5) at Damascus, but exactly where is unknown; (6) at al-Rakka; (7) in Cairo, where it was allegedly transferred by the Fāṭimids [see ʿASKALĀN], and exactly in the place where there was built the mosque which bears his name (Muḥsin al-Amīn, with many details, 390-4).

On the repentance of the inhabitants of Kūfa and their "revenge" in 64-5/683-5, see SULAYMĀN B. ṢURAD AL-KHUZĀʿĪ and TAWWĀBŪN; for the ceremonies commemorating the battle of Karbalāʾ, see MUḤARRAM; for the Persian popular dramas of which Ḥusayn is often either the protagonist or a character, see TAʿZIYA.

THE LEGEND OF ḤUSAYN

In the legend of Ḥusayn, a first distinction may be made between those beliefs in which the element of cosmogony predominates and an important part is played by "light", those which have an eschatological character and finally those (the most numerous) in which Ḥusayn remains the historical personality known to us, but endowed with a halo of marvels which elevate him above the common run of human beings. In the first group, Ḥusayn has in general a function linked with that of the other members of the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] and completely equal to that of his brother Ḥasan. For a detailed study of these beliefs, arising from the influence of metaphysical systems of a much earlier date than Islam and elaborated by the extremist Shīʿis (*ghulāt*), see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, UMM AL-KITĀB. We give here an example (Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, 59): 7,000 years before the creation of the world, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, figures (*ashbāḥ*) of light, praised and glorified the Lord before His throne. When God wished to create their forms (*ṣuwar*) He forged them like a column (*ʿamūd*) of light, then threw them into the loins of Adam and made them pass from thence into the loins and the wombs of their forbears. They are not tainted by polytheism or heterodoxy. Among the eschatological accounts is the following (which should perhaps be connected with the beliefs of the Shīʿī sect of the Mughīriyya founded by al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIdjlī, d. 119/737), (Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, 78): Ḥusayn went to the Raḍwā mountains where he will remain on a throne of light, surrounded by the Prophets, with his faithful followers behind him, until the coming of the Mahdī; then he will transfer himself to Karbalāʾ, where all the celestial and human beings will visit him. Others of these eschatological accounts belong to the cycle of those which promise to the members of the *ahl al-bayt* a privileged position in Paradise; for example (Ibn Shahrāshūb, iii, 229) Muḥammad, during his *miʿrādj* [*q.v.*], saw a castle made of white pearl and learned that it was intended for Ḥusayn; as he advanced, he saw an apple, grasped it and cut it in two; from it there emerged a young girl, with the corners of her eyes like those of eagles, also destined for Ḥusayn.

Marvels. (Sigla for the authors cited: Bal. = al-Balādhurī; Ṭ. = al-Ṭabarī, ii; IRṬ = Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī; Muf. = al-Mufīd; ISh. = Ibn Shahrāshūb, iii; IKath. = Ibn Kathīr, viii; Muḥs. A. = Muḥsin al-Amīn. Details of later stories of a fabulous nature will be found in the book by Muḥammad Mahdī al-Māzandarānī al-Ḥāʾirī which sometimes mentions as a source the *Biḥār al-anwār* of al-Madjlisī, but also some recent texts).

Marvels concerning the birth and childhood of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 71; ISh., 209, 231, 237) Ḥusayn was born three months prematurely and survived this very early birth—an extraordinary circumstance which occurred only to ʿIsā and, it is said, also to Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ. (ISh., 209, 239) Muḥammad cared for him for 40 days, putting his thumb or his tongue or his own saliva into his mouth. (IRṬ, 79; ISh., 228 f.; parallel account: IRṬ, 73; ISh., 213) The number of angels who descended from heaven to rejoice, with Muḥammad, at his birth, was about a thousand. (IRṬ, 72; ISh., 209; Muḥs.A., 163) Djibrīl brought to Muḥammad at the same time the congratulations and the condolences of God. (Muḥs. A., 163) He gave him a handful of earth from Karbalāʾ. (ISh., 229) He dandled Ḥusayn while his mother was asleep. (IRṬ, 49; ISh., 228 f., etc.) An angel benefited from Ḥusayn's birth: banished by God to an island as punishment, with his wings broken, he saw passing over him the band of angels on their way to offer their congratulations to Muḥammad; having begged them to take him with them, he mended his broken wings simply by rubbing them against the newly-born child; he was pardoned through Muḥammad's intercession and took his place again in Paradise, from then on being called the *mawlā* of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 79) It is he who takes note of the visitors to Ḥusayn's tomb at Karbalāʾ. (ISh., 234 f.) Muḥammad had on his knees his son Ibrāhīm, and Ḥusayn; having learned through Djibrīl that God would not leave both of them alive and that he could redeem the life of one of them with that of the other, he, in tears, gave up Ibrāhīm in order not to make ʿAlī and Fāṭima weep.

Marvels connected with his death: When Ḥusayn fell on the battlefield (Bal., 661r; Muf., 251; ISh., 212 f.; Muḥs.A., 302 f., 305 f.) the day became dark and the stars were visible, etc., the sky became red etc. (Bal., 660v; Muḥs.A., 303 f.) It rained blood, which left traces on the heads and the garments of people as far as Khurāsān etc. (Bal., 667v; ISh., 212, 218, 238; Muḥs.A., 304 f.) Blood appeared beneath the stones in Syria and elsewhere (similar accounts: ISh., 213, etc.). (Muḥs.A., 304) Blood exuded from the walls. (ISh., 213, 236; IKath., 200 f.; Muḥs.A., 163) On the night of Ḥusayn's death, Umm Salama [*q.v.*] or Ibn ʿAbbās saw in a dream Muḥammad with his head and his beard soiled with earth, pouring blood into a phial. (IRṬ, 73; Muf., 250 f.; ISh., 213; IKath., 199, 200 f.) The earth of Karbalāʾ which Djibrīl or another angel had given to Muḥammad and which Umm Salama had preserved, turned into blood on the night following Ḥusayn's death. Umm Salama realized that the tragedy was accomplished and cried out; she was the first to cry out at Medina

(all these accounts which show Muḥammad collecting the blood of the martyrs of Karbalāʾ or receiving a handful of the soil of Karbalāʾ etc. are presented in the form of *ḥadīth*s, with different *isnād*s and many variants, especially in the *musnad*s (canonical and non-canonical); for a collection of them arranged by subject see al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, cited in bibl.). (ISh., 219; IKath., 200, 201; Muḥs.A., 306 f.) The *djinn*s wept and recited poems; the wives of the *djinn*s uttered funeral lamentations; Umm Salama and other women heard them. The angels wept when Ḥusayn's head was taken to Damascus. (ISh., 238) Even the wild beasts and the fishes wept. (Muḥs.A., 164 f.) ʿAlī knew that his son would be killed at Karbalāʾ and, when he passed by this place, halted and wept and recalled Muḥammad's prophecy. He interpreted the name of Karbalāʾ: *karb wa-balāʾ* (affliction and trial). (IKath., 199) The martyrs of Karbalāʾ will enter Paradise without any accounting for their actions. (Ṭ., 385) An unknown person, heard by all but seen by none, recited during the night before the battle threatening verses.

Marvels of the severed head: (ISh., 217 f.) While the head was being transported, a mysterious quill wrote threatening verses on a wall. The same verses had been written in a church of the Rūm, built 300 years before Muḥammad's mission. The head emitted a perfume; and a monk, impressed by the miraculous light emanating from it, paid a sum of money to be allowed to keep it in his cell; during the night the head spoke and the next day the monk embraced Islam; the *dirhams* which he had paid changed into stones. A snake crawled into one nostril of the severed head and out of the other. (IRṬ, 77 f., etc.) The head recited verses of the Ḳurʾān. (Ṭ, 369; ISh., 217 f.) Khawalī having taken it to his house on the night of his arrival at Kūfa and having put it under an urn, a column of light descended from the sky and a white bird circled around the urn.

Punishment of those who had insulted and wounded Ḥusayn. All those who had wronged Ḥusayn were visited by some immediate or eventual misfortune: (ISh., 214-6; Muḥs.A., 348-51) there are mentioned: murder, blindness, various maladies (*e.g.*, leprosy, unquenchable thirst, hands as dry as wood in summer, damp in winter), death from burns, stings from scorpions, loss of vigour, poverty, a man driven from his house by his own wife (some of these misfortunes are related by al-Ṭabarī, *passim*). Those who stole property belonging to Ḥusayn were also punished: he who put Ḥusayn's turban on his own head was afflicted with madness; he who put on his cloak, with poverty; he who used his perfume, his dye-plants and his clothes, with leprosy or the falling out of his hair. The items stolen underwent changes which made them unusable or caused them to lose their value: (ISh., 215, 218) The meat of the camels became bitter or caught fire; the dye-plants and the perfumes changed into blood, the gold into copper or fire in the hands of the goldsmiths; the saffron caught fire. On the marvels of the tombs, see KARBALĀʾ.

Supernatural attributes of Ḥusayn which caused marvels. (ISh., 230) His forehead was so white that people could find their way to him in the dark. He was able to cure sickness: (IRṬ, 77) he caused a white mark between the eyes of a devout woman to vanish by blowing on it; (ISh., 210) he cured a sick person of his fever. He detached the hand of a man which had become fixed to a woman's arm because he had touched her during the rite of circumambulation of the Kaʿba; the *faḳīh*s had already decided to cut off the hand. Ḥusayn's extraordinary faculties also enabled him (ISh., 210 f.) to make a foster-child speak so as to reveal the name of his true father, to allow anyone who asked it of him to be present at events which had happened in the past in very distant places (ʿAlī and Muḥammad in the mosque of Ḳubā), (IRṬ, 75, 77, 78) to obtain for his son grapes and bananas out of season, to make a barren palm bear fruit, to quench the thirst of all his followers by putting his thumb into their mouths, and to feed them with celestial food on the day of the battle, (ISh., 209) to make water spring up, by shooting an arrow, near to the tent of his wives at Karbalāʾ. (IRṬ, 74 and cf. 72) He made a sign towards the sky and a band of angels came down ready to fight for him, but he chose to sacrifice himself. He was able to see into the future and to know secrets. In general it is Muḥammad who had informed those close to him or who informs Ḥusayn in a dream of the fate which awaits him (he told the Five (ISh., 240) that Ḥusayn would be unjustly killed and his brother also and that their descendents would be exempt from the rendering of accounts on the Day of the Resurrection), but it is a wild animal which reveals to Ḥusayn the feelings of the Kūfans towards him. He knew in advance that ʿUmar b. Saʿd would be in command of the enemy troops (and predicted his death (Muf., 251; ISh., 213) shortly after his own), that his own head would be taken to Ibn Ziyād and that the bearer of it would receive no reward; (see also Muf., 251) he forbade a group of his servants to leave on a certain day, and as they did not obey and were killed, he revealed to the governor the names of the murderers.

Names and by-names of Ḥusayn. (IRṬ, 73; ISh., 232) In the Tawrāh God called Ḥusayn Shubayr and in the Gospels Ṭab. Hārūn, the brother of Moses, having learnt the names which God had given to the sons of ʿAlī, gave the same names to his own sons. For a long and interesting list of the by-names of Ḥusayn, in the form of a litany, see ISh., 232. Ḥusayn and his brother are often referred to as the "Proof (*ḥudjdja* [*q.v.*]) of God" on earth (see, *e.g.*, Muf., 198).

Verses of the Ḳurʾān interpreted by the Shīʿis as referring to Ḥusayn. For a series of these verses, see ISh., 206 f., 236 f.; cf. Muf., 199. An example is verse XLVI, 14/15, which speaks of the pregnant mother bearing her child with suffering and giving birth to him with pain; it is interpreted as an allusion to Fāṭima, who, having conceived Ḥusayn, was much distressed when she heard from Muḥammad that he had received God's condolences on the fate of his future grandson. The mysterious letters K.H.Y.ʿ.Ṣ., with which *sūra* XIX begins, had been explained by God to Zakariyyāʾ as follows: K = Karbalāʾ; H = *halāk al-ʿitra*; Y = Yazīd; ʿ = *ʿaṭshuh*; Ṣ = *ṣabruhu*. This explanation is merely a detail in a rather involved narrative (ISh., 237) forming part of a group of curious comparisons between the fate of Ḥusayn and that of Yaḥyā, the son of Zakariyyāʾ (perhaps owing to the motif of the severed heads placed on a dish): Zakariyyāʾ, who had learned the names of the Five from Djibrīl, was astonished by the fact that when he uttered the name of Ḥusayn his eyes filled with tears, while when he uttered the others he felt joy. God then revealed to him the destiny of Muḥammad's grandson, and Zakariyyāʾ wept and sobbed, asking God to give him also a son who could cause him to endure a sorrow similar to that which He was to inflict on his beloved Muḥam-

mad. God granted him a son, Yaḥyā. At each stage of his journey from Mecca to Kūfa, Ḥusayn recalled Yaḥyā. According to another account (ISh., 238, cf. 234), Ḥusayn's blood will boil as that of Yaḥyā had done, and in order to quieten it God will kill 70,000 hypocrites, unbelievers and wicked believers, as he had also done for Yaḥyā.

Judgements on Ḥusayn. Throughout the Muslim world there was sympathy and a high regard for Ḥusayn. It was only the adherents of the Umayyad movement who presented him as a *bāghin baʿda inʿiḳād al-bayʿa*, that is as a rebel against the established authority, and thus condoned his murder by Yazīd, but their opinion was opposed not only by those who despised the Umayyad régime (for an echo of the protests of the latter and their denial of the validity of the *bayʿa* to Yazīd, see al-Mukram, 12-6, and Muḥsin al-Amīn, 67), but also by those Muslims who refused to recognize that the murderers had acted according to their consciences and at the same time sought pretexts to refrain from blaming either the rebel al-Ḥusayn or the Companions and the *tābiʿūn* who had remained neutral in order to avoid civil war (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Būlāḳ 1284, 177, 181, *faṣl fī wilāyat al-ʿahd*). In this almost universal exaltation of Ḥusayn due to his descent from the Prophet and to the conviction that he had sacrificed himself for an ideal, it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the opinions of the Sunnīs and those of the Shīʿis, except in the case of certain privileges and attributes which only the Shīʿis accord him. The very favourable attitude of the Sunnīs was probably strongly influenced by the pathetic accounts which Abū Mikhnaf collected, either directly or with a very short *isnād*, mainly from the Kūfans who repented of their behaviour towards the Prophet's grandson; it was these traditions, suffused with the sentiments of the Kūfans and marked by the notoriously pro-ʿAlid character of Abū Mikhnaf's collection, which formed the basis of the account of the later historians and through them spread throughout the Muslim world.

As there exists no work which can serve as a guide to the ideas of all the groups of Shīʿis concerning Ḥusayn, we limit ourselves here to the following notes: Ḥusayn in his capacity as *imām* [see IMĀMA] shares the various privileges accorded to the *imāms* (see Bausani, *La religione . . .*, 346 f.) by the Twelver Shīʿis [see ITHNĀ-ʿASHARIYYA], the Ismāʿīlīs [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA], the Zaydīs [see ZAYDIYYA], etc.; like the other *imāms*, he is a mediator with God for those who call on him; it is through his intercession (*tawassul*) that his faithful followers obtain guidance and attain salvation. As a member of the holy Five he received the same divine grace as his brother Ḥasan [see AHL AL-BAYT, AHL AL-KISĀʾ. FĀṬIMA, MUBĀHALA, etc.]. As a grandson of the Prophet he had the right to receive reverence (*ḥurma*). In addition he possessed personal qualities, above all the attribute of piety, demonstrated by his 25 pilgrimages on foot from Medina to Mecca and the 1,000 *rakʿas* which he performed each day (on this number, which is considered to be exaggerated, see Muḥsin al-Amīn, 124 f.). It was because of his lengthy devotions that he had little time to spare for his wives and consequently had few children. Other qualities which he possessed were generosity (there are several stories to illustrate this), forbearance (*ḥilm*), humility, eloquence (as a proof of this there are mentioned speeches and poems by him), and finally the qualities which may be inferred from his actions, such as his contempt for death, disdain for a life of humiliation, his pride, etc. (see, *e.g.*, Muḥsin al-Amīn, 125-39, 152, 156 f.). But the basis of the exaltation of Ḥusayn by the Shīʿis is found in the noble motives for which he sacrificed himself and of course in the moving fact of his edifying exploit. From the belief that the *imāms* know all that was, that is, and that is to come, and that their knowledge does not increase with time, it is inferred that Ḥusayn knew in advance the destiny which awaited him and his followers; he thus set off from Mecca towards Kūfa aware of his imminent sacrifice and yet without any hesitation or any effort to escape from God's will. A tradition according to which he was invited by God to choose between sacrifice and victory (helped by an angel) gives yet more value to his enterprise, since it makes of it a voluntary action, and hence of great significance. The question arises as to his aim in thus sacrificing himself. The Shīʿī texts are very clear on this point: Ḥusayn gave his person and his possessions as an offering to God to "revive the religion of his grandfather Muḥammad", "to redeem it", and "save it from the destruction into which it had been thrown by the behaviour of Yazīd"; furthermore, he wished to show that the conduct of the hypocrites was shameful and to teach the peoples the necessity of revolt against unjust and impious governments (*fāsiḳs*), in short he offered himself as an example (*uswa*) to the Muslim community (see, *e.g.*, Muḥsin al-Amīn, 136, 152 f.). The idea that his intention was to redeem men from their sins by his blood and to save them, that his action was a redemptive sacrifice for the salvation of the world, is, in these actual terms, foreign to Shīʿī beliefs; at least the writer of this article has found no trace of it in the texts consulted. It is possible that it penetrated later into the *taʿziyas* and into recent poems, since the transition from *tawassul* to this idea is an easy one and it may have been helped by the influence of Christian ideas.

Among western Islamic scholars, Wellhausen and Lammens have formed judgements on the character of Ḥusayn after careful study of the sources available to them. The former, guided by his subtle intuition of historical facts, painted a fine picture of the situation and the characters; he denies that Ḥusayn had any religious motives for his exploit, seeing it merely as the bid of an ambitious man for supreme power. The latter has no sympathy with the adversary of the chivalrous Yazīd; he regards Ḥusayn as a frivolous man (this had also been the opinion of Muʿāwiya: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 197), and completely improvident. Neither of these scholars attached any importance to the speeches and phrases which Ḥusayn is said to have uttered on various occasions, obviously considering them to be later forgeries. But although it is probable that the traditionists have re-cast or modified this material, it must nevertheless be admitted that there emerges from it as a whole and, more important, from the facts themselves, the figure of a man impelled by an ideology (the institution of a régime which would fulfil the demands of the true Islam), convinced that he was in the right, stubbornly determined to achieve his ends, as in general are all religious fanatics, and admired and encouraged by supporters who were also convinced that their cause was just. This interpretation may not be a true picture of Ḥusayn as an individual; it was nevertheless that which the following generation, for motives either of sentiment (respect, pity for his death), or of politics (the campaign against the Umayyads), gave of him, which was shared by the

later Arabic historians and which led to his exaltation and his legendary position among the Shīʿis.

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(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ, ṢĀḤIB FAKHKH, ʿAlid who led a revolt at Medina during the caliphate of al-Hādī ila 'l-ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] and was killed at Fakhkh on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169/11 June 786 (the date 170 suggested in some sources is incorrect, since al-Hādī died on 16 Rabīʿ I 170/15 September 786, and it is certain that the insurrection took place in the last months of the year). His father was the ʿAlī al-ʿĀbid (or al-Khayr or al-Agharr), famous for his piety and his noble sentiments, who wished to share the fate of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā (= ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]) and the group of his relatives when they were

imprisoned first in a *dār* at Medina (140-1/758) and then in a horrible prison at Kūfa (144/762) by the caliph al-Manṣūr, who rightly mistrusted ʿAbd Allāh's sons, Muḥammad, known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī al-ʿĀbid was an example to his companions in misfortune by his piety and his fortitude in the prison, where he died in 146/763. (The biography of this ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan "al-Muthallath" = al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, is to be found in the *Maḳātil* of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, 190-5). Al-Ḥusayn's mother, Zaynab [*q.v.*], who was also very devout, was the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā. Al-Ḥusayn thus grew up in an atmosphere of extreme piety and of secret hatred for the ʿAbbāsids. There exist many anecdotes about his love for the poor, his charity, his inability to understand the value of money and his boundless generosity (there is a collection of them in the *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, 408 f.). The revolt which he led, after having had fairly friendly relations with the caliph al-Mahdī, who gave him sums of money and, on at least one occasion, acceded to his request by freeing an ʿAlid prisoner, had for its immediate motive the insulting treatment which the deputy of the governor of Medina, a descendant of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (often called simply al-ʿUmarī), inflicted on the Ṭālibīs of that town in 169/786 (the governor, Isḥāḳ b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, had gone to Baghdād to the court of the caliph, who had just succeeded to the throne). Al-ʿUmarī, having learned that some Shīʿī pilgrims (70, it is said) had had secret meetings with al-Ḥusayn and other ʿAlids during their halt at Medina, tried to impose controls on the presence in the town of all Ṭālibīs and decreed that each of them should be vouched for by a relative. Meanwhile the situation was aggravated by the following incident: three men, among them the ʿAlid Abu 'l-Zift al-Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, were found drinking wine. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā maintain that this was a calumny spread by al-ʿUmarī to serve as a justification for his persecutions, but certain details prove that the accusation was well-founded. After having had them flogged (the ʿAlid, according to the law, received eighty strokes while the others received far fewer, which was in itself an injustice), al-ʿUmarī exposed them to public ridicule and put them in prison. He was, however, forced to set them free because not only al-Ḥusayn, who was at that time the most eminent of the ʿAlids, but also other Hāshimīs showed indignation at this insult to a member of their family. The official whose task it then was to watch the Ṭālibīs more strictly noticed that Abu 'l-Zift did not answer the daily roll-call in the mosque (he had in fact left the town three days before) and his guarantors, al-Ḥusayn and Yaḥyā, a half-brother on the father's side of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, were ordered to appear before al-ʿUmarī; the exchange of insults, threats and mockery during this stormy interview are reported in the sources. Yaḥyā as well as al-ʿUmarī uttered oaths, which presumably led to dire consequences. Al-Ḥusayn, after the interview, reproached Yaḥyā for his rashness: "this will ruin our cause" he exclaimed, and al-Ṭabarī explains these words by the fact that an agreement had been made between the ʿAlids of Medina and their foreign supporters to begin the revolt at Minā during the *ḥadjdj*. By now, however, the situation had become so tense that al-Ḥusayn decided to act immediately.

At dawn of a morning in the first half of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, probably the 13th, a group composed of 26 ʿAlids, of a certain number of their *mawālī* and of ten pilgrims took possession of the mosque and forced the muezzin to pronounce the *adhān* according to the Shīʿī usage: "*Ḥayya ʿalā khayr al-ʿamal*"; hearing this call, al-ʿUmarī guessed that a revolt had begun and, after asking for "two grains of water" (*ḥabbatay māʾ*, whence his family's surname), he fled; he hid himself so successfully that, when people sought him to tell him that Abu 'l-Zift was there, in the mosque, and that Yaḥyā had fulfilled his oath, they could not find his hiding-place. Al-Ḥusayn, after leading the prayer, made a speech and received the homage of the rebels, suggesting that they use the formula of *bayʿa* which is discussed below. Some Shīʿīs (*imāmīs*; see Muḥsin al-Amīn, xvi, 404) have attempted to prove that he had no claims to the rank of *imām* or of caliph, because he merely invited them to obey the Book of God, and the *sunna* of God's Messenger, and to please the family of the Prophet (*ʿalā 'l-kitāb, wa 'l-sunna wa 'l-riḍā min ahl al-bayt*), but their argument is not a strong one; al-Ḥusayn even assumed a by-name, al-Murtaḍā, as was the custom of the caliphs and the heirs to the caliphate (al-Ṭabarī, 554). Two ʿAlids refused to support him: one of them was Mūsā b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], the Ḥusaynid known as al-Kāẓim, who is considered by the Twelvers to be the seventh Imām; a similar case had occurred when the Hāshimīs, at a secret meeting, had decided that Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was to be the future caliph and the most eminent of the Ḥusaynids, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, had abstained. This may have been because the Ḥusaynid branch was jealous of the Ḥasanid branch; but there were Ḥusaynids among the followers of al-Ḥusayn Ṣāḥib Fakhkh. It may have been through the conviction that the exploit was destined to fail. This seems to be proved by the words by which Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ advised ʿAbd Allāh not to expose his son Muḥammad to the danger, and those addressed by Mūsā al-Kāẓim to Ḥusayn ("you will be killed").

The revolt was not a general one. It is related that some persons, having come into the mosque for the morning prayer and seen on the *minbar* al-Ḥusayn wearing a white tunic and turban, guessed what his intentions were and turned back; when the news of the event had spread, a number of the town's inhabitants closed the doors of their houses; 200 of the governor's soldiers and some volunteers who supported the ʿAbbāsids immediately attempted to re-occupy the mosque, and although at first they dispersed because their leader had been killed by Yaḥyā and Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh, they later took part in further fighting; hence the whole town did not fall into the hands of the rebels, whose situation became so precarious that, after having provided themselves with food and drink, they camped in the mosque and remained there for eleven days. Abu 'l-Faradj does not mention this active and passive resistance at Medina, nor certain actions of the occupiers of the mosque which shocked other Muslims when they learned of them (the mosque was so filthy that it had to be thoroughly washed out, curtains were cut up to make kaftans), but it is evident that these things did happen. Finally, on 24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda, al-Ḥusayn decided to extricate himself from this situation, which had reached an impasse, and, at the head of a group of 300 armed men who were joined en route by reinforcements from Mecca, he marched towards that town. Several members of the ʿAbbāsid family (notably al-ʿAbbās

b. Muḥammad, the uncle of al-Mahdī, and his son ʿUbayd Allāh, Sulaymān b. Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr and his sons Muḥammad and Mūsā, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and his brother Ismāʿīl) were that year in the district of Mecca to perform the Pilgrimage; the group of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had an escort to protect it from any attacks by Bedouin. Al-Hādī ordered them to assemble all their forces and to march against Ḥusayn, which they did after the *ʿumra* and a parade in the town, obviously intended to intimidate those who might have considered joining the rebellion. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī similarly passes over the details of this reaction by the ʿAbbāsids, and our information is found in al-Ṭabarī and other authors (*e.g.* Ibn Khaldūn).

The battle between al-Mubayyiḍa [*q.v.*] (= "those clothed in white", ʿAlids and their supporters) and al-Musawwida (= "those clothed in black", ʿAbbāsids and their supporters) took place at Fakhkh, six miles from Mecca. (A curious detail is that some ʿAbbāsid supporters made use of soot to colour their garments black). During the encounter al-Ḥusayn was offered *amān*, but he refused it proudly and fought until he was killed. More than 100 men fell at his side and for three days their corpses lay a prey to wild beasts. Abu 'l-Zift (or ʿAbd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm?) who, wounded in one eye, had accepted the *amān* offered him by his uncle Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, was nevertheless killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās at the instigation of his father and of Mūsā b. ʿĪsā; this murder led to a great quarrel between Muḥammad and the others. Two ʿAlids, one (Sulaymān) the brother and the other (al-Ḥasan) the son of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, were later executed at Mecca. Some supporters of al-Ḥusayn were led as prisoners to al-Hādī, who killed at least three of them and cast others into prison. Al-Ḥusayn's head was first taken to al-Hādī, who showed no pleasure at this, and then sent to Khurāsān to serve as a warning to the Shīʿīs of this region. Many rebels saved their lives by mingling with the pilgrims, notably two ʿAlids who were later to become famous: Idrīs b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*]. When the news of al-Ḥusayn's defeat reached Medina, al-ʿUmarī emerged from his hiding-place and, having returned to office, burned the houses of the ʿAlids and of some of the supporters of al-Ḥusayn (he even burned some palm trees) and confiscated their possessions as being war booty (*ṣawāfī*).

Thus ended the revolt which, in the number of ʿAlids killed, was surpassed only at Karbalāʾ. The sources give as its motive the events at Medina mentioned above, except for al-Yaʿḳūbī who connects it with Shīʿī unrest in Khurāsān which was caused, he says, by the harsh measures of the governor appointed by al-Hādī and fomented by the local Ṭālibīs; his information is most probably correct, since it was on reinforcements from the pilgrims going to Mecca that the organizers for the revolt were relying, and an agreement to this end had already been established; but, as there is too little time between the accession of al-Hādī (22 Muḥarram 169/4 August 785) and hence the appointment of his governor, the appeals of Shīʿī pilgrims and the beginning of the revolt at Medina, these troubles and the reaction of the central government must be traced back to the final years of the caliphate of al-Mahdī, particularly since there exists evidence of a reversal of the policy of this caliph, who at first adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Shīʿīs and later became hostile, at least to the Zaydīs; al-Hādī merely pursued this hostile policy more vigorously. The Shīʿī sources (see Muḥsin al-Amīn, xvi, 403) describe al-Ḥusayn's rebellion as "Zaydī", and rightly, in the sense that it had a social character, as did certainly that of the founder of the Zaydī movement Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], killed in 122/740 (whereas that of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother was primarily of a legitimist character). There are resemblances between the formula of the *bayʿa* proposed by this Zayd to his adherents and that which al-Ḥusayn proposed to his: in the former, Zayd promised to defend the oppressed, to give [benefices] to whoever had been excluded from them (*al-maḥrūmīn*) and—what is more striking—to share fairly the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*] (his revenues or the *fayʾ* itself?); al-Ḥusayn also promised justice and equal shares, and, although he did not specify which resources were to be distributed, it may be guessed that he too was referring to the *fayʾ*, since one of his first actions in his capacity as *imām* was to distribute the money which he found in the treasury of the town and 10,000 *dīnār*s which remained from the *ʿaṭāʾ*. In addition it is interesting to note that, in his *bayʿa*, the duty of the subjects to obey him depended on his keeping the promises which he had made and that a similar condition is found in the appeal of the founder of the Zaydī state in the Yemen, al-Hādī ilā 'l-ḥaḳḳ (Van Arendonk, 122 f.). Another fact which proves that he intended to make social concessions is that the propaganda of his adherents was addressed also to slaves; it was proclaimed at Mecca that those who joined the revolt would be granted their liberty, and there were some slaves who took advantage of this opportunity; all the same al-Ḥusayn had to return some of them to their masters who demanded them back (since the law did not permit an emancipation of this type).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 551-68; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 37, 493; Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii, 488; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 266-8; Fāsī, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii, 185, 212 f., cf. 178 f.; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1365/1946, 403, 431 f., 435-43, 447-52, 455-9, 483, 492, 527; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ms. Aya Sofya, fol. 168 v. (genealogy incorrect); Yāḳūt, iii, 854 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 60-4; *Fakhrī*, 260 f. (inexact; tr. Whitting, 187); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, x, 157-9; Ibn Khaldūn, Būlāḳ 1284, iii, 215 f.; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī. *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xvi, 402-29 (the author has used some little known Shīʿī sources and enables us easily to identify the Shīʿī personalities; on 425-29 some verses of al-Ḥusayn);

Western authors: G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim 1846-51, ii, 123-5; Van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, Fr. tr. by J. Ryckmans, *Les débuts*..., Leiden 1960, 56-9, 61, 63, 117; S. Moscati, *Le Califat d'al-Hādī*, in *Studia Or.* (Soc. Orient. Fennica), xiii/4 (1946), 9-14; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Divagazioni su due rivolte alidi*, in *A Francesco Gabrieli, Studi Orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno*..., Rome 1964, 315-6, 320-2, 335-9, 341-50. (L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

(AL-) **ḤUSAYN** B. AL-**ḌAḤḤĀK** AL-BĀHILĪ, ABŪ ʿALĪ, with the nicknames Ashḳar and, more particularly, al-Khalīʿ "the Debauched", a Baṣra poet who spent almost the whole of his life in the entourage of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and who can be regarded as the perfect type of court poet, at least at a court dominated by the taste for pleasure, indeed for debauchery. His family, which originated in Khurāsān, had for a long time been connected with the

mawālī of the Bāhila when Ḥusayn was born, probably in the 150's, since he could remember an incident that occurred in 160/775. With his childhood friend Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] he studied the "classics" in his native town, but, more important, he was present at gatherings of men of letters; he thus learnt the poet's profession, and awaited a favourable opportunity for the realization of the aspiration of all Baṣrans who, if they felt themselves to possess any talent, wished to receive the approbation of the capital. Abū Nuwās was the first to leave to try his fortune in Baghdād, and reports of his success soon spurred Ḥusayn to follow him. He seems quite rapidly to have won sufficient renown to guarantee a secure existence, though he was obliged to content himself with singing the praises of a certain number of exalted persons without ever securing admission to intimate acquaintance with al-Rashīd; however, he entered the service of a dissolute prince, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd, whose life of pleasure he shared and who thereafter, despite some passing shadows, always remained an active patron of the poet in times of difficulty. At the same time he also attached himself to another of the caliph's sons, Muḥammad, the future al-Amīn, whose constant companion he was until the end. On the latter's death (198/813), in spite of the advice of the probably more astute Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*] to moderate his grief in order to safeguard his future, he allowed it to burst forth in a series of threnodies which caused al-Maʾmūn to take umbrage; this fidelity to the dead caliph—which even included a refusal to believe in his death—and the graceless allusions which he made to the rival at the time of the conflict between the two brothers alienated al-Maʾmūn who, on his entry into Baghdād, struck Ḥusayn off the list presented to him and refused him admittance to the court. Traditions concerning the poet's fortunes during al-Maʾmūn's caliphate are not very clear, but it is certain that al-Khalīʿ returned to Baṣra, where the affluence that he owed to al-Amīn al-Makhlūʿ allowed him to wait for happier days, and he made various attempts to be reconciled with the caliph who did indeed recognize his talent; the intervention of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd and of various courtiers hardly seems to have influenced him, but it is possible that, as a result of a particularly successful panegyric, al-Maʾmūn gave orders that the regular payment of his pension should be resumed.

On his accession (218/833), al-Muʿtaṣim recalled him to court and rewarded him for his first panegyric by filling his mouth with pearls, which he then had made into a necklace so that no-one might remain unaware of the esteem in which he held the poet. He took him with him to Syria and provided a house for him at Sāmarrā. Ḥusayn was once again a privileged courtier, as is clearly shown on the accession of al-Wāthiḳ whom he saluted with a long *ḳaṣīda* without joining in the throng of poets who had come forward to proclaim their self-interested praises. He remained in al-Wāthiḳ's service throughout his caliphate, taking his turn of duty both by night and day in response to his master's whims, playing backgammon with him, accompanying him on hunting expeditions, taking part in his royal potations and writing incidental poems on varied but mostly frivolous subjects.

On the accession of al-Mutawakkil (232/847), the poet, who had now reached a very advanced age, seems to have kept aloof from the court, though still continuing to lead a dissolute life; the caliph, who also appreciated his talent, called upon him to give proof of it and was able to affirm that old age had in no way diminished the perversity of his tastes. He survived al-Mutawakkil, whose death he mourned, and himself died shortly afterwards, probably in 250/864, almost a hundred years old.

Ḥusayn al-Khalīʿ maintains with a certain simplicity that all the successive caliphs, from al-Rashīd to al-Wāthiḳ, struck at him, either through jealousy or because he had a pernicious influence on their children, and it can be understood that he should have been looked upon as a dangerous companion for the ʿAbbāsid princes, since he could not fail to encourage the strong tendency that they already possessed towards frivolity and debauchery. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, who is certainly lavish with scandalous details, reports numerous anecdotes concerning the dissolute nature of this man who spent the greater part of his time drinking with caliphs, princes or others of exalted rank, listening to singing girls and dallying with young men.

The attraction of Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk's company resided in his light-hearted and original character, and also in the facility with which he tackled the poetic forms favoured in his day. In the fraction of his work which has survived, we find first of all *ḳaṣīda*s of a "modernist" type in praise of the caliphs; written in relatively simple language, these panegyrics naturally lay stress upon the qualities, whether real or imagined, of the personages to whom they are adressed, and in them can be observed the recurrent idea that God has chosen the best of men to govern Islam. It is only in these circumstances that he mentions the name of God, and one cannot fail to be struck by his utter detachment from matters of religion while noting that, unlike Abū Nuwās and other dissolute poets, he seems to have written hardly any *zuhdiyyāt* in preparation for the after-life, although he did make the pilgrimage to Mecca. His bacchic poems are not lacking in originality, and tradition has it that Abū Nuwās was sometimes rather put out by them, but, when not shamelessly plagiarizing them, he consoled himself for their success and felicities with the thought that posterity would not fail to attribute to him, Abū Nuwās, the best of his friend's bacchic verses. His *ghazal*s are in general not obscene although he devoted them at least as much to young men as to women, and Abū Nuwās recognizes his talent in this genre. Satire hardly appears in his writings, and as a characteristic example there are only two lines to be quoted, about a female singer whose career was finally broken. On the other hand, the occasional verse and intimate court scenes reveal a sure gift for improvisation, and the descriptions of flowers herald a genre that was to flourish in the following century.

The success of Ḥusayn al-Khalīʿ as a court poet seems to have been entirely deserved, for in those genres which constituted the ornament of princely assemblies he was able to appeal to an original inspiration and to avoid the perils of routine. For proof of this there is the unusually large number of his poems which attracted the attention of singing-girls, were set to music and earned for the writer a detailed notice in the *Aghānī*. But it should be noted that the critics regarded him as a minor poet and that Ibn Ḳutayba, for example, did not consider him to be worthy of the merest mention.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 480; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 127-8; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, vi, 170-212 (Beirut ed., vii, 143-221); Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, 25, 26, 33, 114; Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, index; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 113; Ḥuṣrī,

Zahr, index; idem, *Djam*ᶜ, 171; Brockelmann, S I, 112; Pellat, *Milieu*, 163-5; Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 44-7. (CH. PELLAT)

ḤUSAYN B. ḤAMDĀN B. ḤAMDŪN B. AL-ḤĀRITH... AL-ᶜADAWĪ AL-TAGHLIBĪ, the first member of the Ḥamdānid family [see HAMDĀNIDS] to play an important part in the history of the caliphate at the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th century who, unlike his father Ḥamdān, was active not only locally in the Djazīra but also in Baghdād and in other regions of the empire of the caliphs. At first a Khāridjī, he began his career by an opportunist support of the caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid by giving up to him in 282/895 Ardumusht, whose defence his father had entrusted to him as he fled, and becoming a valued ally of the caliph. In the following year, placed by the latter at the head of a large body of troops, he was chiefly responsible for the capture of the Khāridjī Hārūn al-Shārī, which enabled him to secure the liberation of his father who had been captured, the lifting of a tribute imposed on the Taghlibīs and the command of a body of 500 Taghlibī horsemen.

He next distinguished himself in the operations against the Dulafid of the Djibāl, Bakr b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Aḥmad b. Abī Dulaf, probably in 283/896; this is alluded to in a verse of the *ḳaṣīda* which Abū Firās devoted to the glory of the Ḥamdānid family.

During the caliphate of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8), in 291/903, as lieutenant of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *ṣāḥib dīwān al-djaysh*, he gained in Syria a brilliant victory over the Ḳarmaṭī Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh (the *Ṣāḥib al-khāl*), who fled and was soon afterwards captured. With the same Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, he took part in the re-conquest of Egypt from the last Ṭūlūnid in 292/904-5, as commander of the vanguard. It was he who first made contact with the conspirators who were plotting to rid themselves of the Ṭūlūnid and who pressed him to march on Fusṭāṭ. According to one tradition, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān offered him the governorship of Egypt, but he refused, preferring to return to Baghdād, taking with him a considerable amount of booty.

In 293/905-6, he was put in command of an army sent against the Kalbīs of Syria who had revolted at the instigation of the Ḳarmaṭīs. He forced them to flee to the desert, but was unable to pursue them as they had filled in the wells, and had to return to the Euphrates at Raḥba, which allowed the Kalbīs to advance as far as the Lower Euphrates, where they defeated an army of the caliph at Ḳādisiyya and robbed the Pilgrim caravan, at the end of 906. The Kalbīs and the Ḳarmaṭīs were finally put to flight by an operation directed from Baghdād, and the remnants of their armies, attempting to return to Syria by the Ṭarīḳ al-Furāt (the Euphrates route), were annihilated by Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān (Djumādā II 294/March-April 907).

After this, Ḥusayn had to deal with some rebel Arab tribes, mainly Kalbīs, between the Euphrates and Aleppo, then, in 295/907-8, with the Tamīm who had come to pillage in Djazīra: he drove them back into Syria and defeated them near Khunāsira.

All these operations brought fame to Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, gaining him respect among the secretaries and putting him in a position to exercise political influence when, in 295/908, the question arose of the succession to al-Muktafī. He gave his support to the group which, having failed to get Ibn al-Muᶜtazz nominated, attempted to substitute him by force for the young al-Muḳtadir (son of al-Muᶜtaḍid) who had been appointed caliph. He undertook, or was instructed, to remove the vizier al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Ḥasan al-Djardjarāʾī who, unlike the secretary Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Djarrāḥ, uncle of ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā, had approved al-Muḳtadir's accession. With two other conspirators he attacked and killed al-ᶜAbbās on 20 Rabīᶜ I 296/17 December 908 and tried to assassinate the young caliph, but unsuccessfully, for the latter had already left the hippodrome where Ḥusayn was intending to take him by surprise and had shut himself in the palace. After the conspirators had proclaimed Ibn al-Muᶜtazz caliph, Ḥusayn went to the Ḥasanī Palace to force al-Muḳtadir to leave it, it being assumed that he would readily accept his dethronement. But Ḥusayn encountered the resistance prepared by the chamberlain Sawsan and the two Muʾnis (al-Khādim and al-Khāzin). Although he set fire to the gates of the palace, he was unable to force a way in. Al-Muḳtadir's party triumphed and Ḥusayn fled to Mosul, then to Balad and spent some time wandering with his adherents in the Djazīra. His brother ᶜAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ was sent in pursuit, but it was Ḥusayn who surprised and defeated his pursuers. Encouraged by this success, Ḥusayn, through his brother Ibrāhīm, asked the vizier Ibn al-Furāt for *amān* and although, with Muḥammad b. Dāwūd and the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Muthannā, he had been one of the main conspirators, he was restored to favour; but, to remove him from the capital, he was appointed governor of the districts of Ḳumm and Kāshān in the Djibāl. As governor of this region, he gave support to the caliph's troops under Muʾnis al-Khādim against the Ṣaffārid al-Layth b. ᶜAlī who had made himself master of Sidjistān and of Fārs, then against the latter's general, Subkarā, who, after abandoning al-Layth's party and joining Muʾnis against him, had risen in rebellion at the instigation of his lieutenant al-Ḳattāl. In 298/910-11 the two rebels were defeated and, while Subkarā took refuge with the Sāmānid, al-Ḳattāl was taken prisoner, by Ḥusayn himself according to the *ḳaṣīda* of Abū Firās.

This same *ḳaṣīda* states that Ḥusayn was offered the governorship of Fārs, which he refused. In any case he returned to Baghdād. The vizier Ibn al-Furāt, who seems to have mistrusted him, sent him away again, to be governor of the Diyār Rabīᶜa. In this capacity, he waged a campaign against the Byzantines in 301/913-4. For reasons which are not clear, perhaps because the vizier had deprived him of the financial administration of the province, perhaps because Ḥusayn did not fulfil scrupulously his financial obligations, or perhaps because he aspired to independence, a conflict arose between him and the vizier ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā and he came out in open rebellion, probably in 302/914-5. A first army sent against him met with defeat, and it was Muʾnis, recalled from Egypt, who took him prisoner while he was attempting to reach Armenia, in Shaᶜbān 303/February 916. He was taken to Baghdād and exhibited dressed in a cap of shame (*burnus*) and a long brocade tunic, made to ride on a camel all the way from Bāb al-Shammāsiyya to the Palace, and then imprisoned under the guard of Zaydān, the intendant of the Palace. He remained in prison for over two years and was executed in Djumādā I 306/October-November 918, on the orders of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, for reasons which are not clear.

Very probably his execution was connected with the revolt of the governor of Ādharbaydjān and Armenia, Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj; it also coincided strangely with the dismissal of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt.

It appears that at one point either Muʾnis or the vizier Ibn al-Furāt may have suggested that Ḥusayn be released in order to put him in charge of the war against Yūsuf, which he refused. It may be that the caliph suspected an alliance between Yūsuf and Ḥusayn against him and gave the order for Ḥusayn's execution. Or Ibn al-Furāt may have been involved in a conspiracy designed to further the Shīʿī cause to which both he and Ḥusayn were devoted. Ideas on this matter can only be hypothetical. In any case the caliph must have feared that if Ḥusayn were released he would once again start a revolt, either through a desire for independence or as a Shīʿī. In order to avoid attempts by those (probably numerous) who desired his release to secure it by force, the caliph preferred to take a measure which put a stop to all intrigue.

Among the generals of the caliph of this period, Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān stands out more clearly than the supreme commander Muʾnis or any other military leaders. But his valour and the service he gave by his action in many battles are not enough to cancel the memory of the spirit of rebellion which too frequently possessed him, and his pride and ambition. It appears nevertheless that even in his acts of revolt his motives were disinterested and honourable. He seems to have thought that it was necessary to support Ibn al-Muʿtazz in order to bring about a beneficial change in the system of administration and a reform in the government. Like many who had Shīʿī sympathies at this time, his ambition was to see prevail an ideal Muslim government which for many people the ʿAbbāsids no longer represented and which it was possible to imagine realized only by the imminent or future accession to power of a family glorified by the sacrifice of so many martyrs and endowed with real or imaginary qualities which contrasted with the "vices" of the ʿAbbāsids.

Certain characteristics of Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān show him to have been an unusual man. In addition to the prestige of his Arab birth, which distinguished him among the *mawālī* of all races, and to the native qualities of his Taghlibī family, he seems to have had an open-mindedness not possessed by the other military leaders, and an understanding of the great ferment of ideas which was disturbing the Muslim world at this time. It was certainly not an accident that he was in communication with the famous mystic al-Ḥallādj and that the latter dedicated a political work to him.

The founder of the Ḥamdānid dynasty was not Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān but his brother, ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ, but he was the first member of the family who really brought glory to it, inculcating in it the realization of its valour and strength and developing in it the ambition for glory and power. All this is attested in the verses of Abū Firās.

Bibliography: A biography of Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān is found in Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 291-2. See also the historians Ṭabarī, ʿArīb, Miskawayh, Kamāl al-Dīn, Ibn al-Athīr, index. See also Ibn al-Dawādārī, 80, 81. For further details on his historical rôle, see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides* i, 307-40 and the sources mentioned in the notes. The great *ḳaṣīda* of Abū Firās to the glory of the Ḥamdānid family (ed. S. Dahan, ii, 103 ff., 154 ff.) with the commentary by Ibn Khālawayh on the verses relating to Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān (*ibid.*, 126-30, 150, 165-7) provides details which are sometimes lacking in the historians. On his political rôle at Baghdād, see also D. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbâside*, 370-1, 373, 389, 403-13.

(M. Canard)

AL-ḤUSAYN B. MANṢŪR [see AL-ḤALLĀDJ].

AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD [see AL-RĀGHIB AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ].

AL-ḤUṢAYN B. NUMAYR, of the Kindī tribe of the Sakūn, a general of the Sufyānids. At Ṣiffīn, he fought in the Umayyad ranks. On the accession of Yazīd I, he was governor of the important district of Ḥimṣ. He then had to intervene with Yazīd for Ibn Mufarrigh [*q.v.*], who had been imprisoned by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. When the expedition against the holy cities of the Ḥidjāz was planned, Ḥuṣayn was appointed lieutenant of the commander-in-chief Muslim b. ʿUḳba al-Murrī [*q.v.*] and, in this capacity, distinguished himself at the battle of the Ḥarra [*q.v.*]. During the march on Mecca, the dying Muslim, in order to carry out the orders of Yazīd, but unwillingly, entrusted to him the command of the expedition. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, he massacred some days later all the inhabitants of al-Mushallal (the place were Muslim had died), who were guilty of having dug up the body of the commander-in-chief and stoned it. He laid siege to Mecca for two months, bombarding it with stones and with pieces of rock; it was during this time that the burning of the Kaʿba took place. Ḥuṣayn was about to take Mecca when operations were suspended by Yazīd's death. After attempting in vain to persuade Ibn al-Zubayr to accompany him to Syria in order to have himself proclaimed caliph there, Ḥuṣayn returned there with his army. There he played an important part in the accession to the throne of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, since he persuaded his fellow tribesmen to recognize Marwān instead of the young Khālid b. Muʿāwiya.

Sent to Mesopotamia on the orders of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, he defeated at ʿAyn al-Warda the Shīʿīs, who, repenting of their behaviour towards Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, had revolted under the leadership of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad (24 Djumādā I 65/6 January 685). Two years later, he fell at the hands of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar [*q.v.*] at the battle of Khāzir (9 or 10 Muḥarram 67/5 or 6 August 686).

A Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī as having pacified the Ḥadramawt during the *ridda*. H. Lammens (*Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, 259 n. 3) refuses to accept this as the same person.

According to al-Dīnawarī and Ibn al-Athīr, a Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Tamīmī, whom Müller confused with the Sakūnī, captured, when he was ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād's chief of police, Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], the emissary of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] at Kūfa, intercepted a letter sent by Ḥusayn from Baṭn al-Rumma to the ʿIrāḳīs, and, during the battle of Karbalāʾ, shot Ḥusayn in the mouth as he was drinking.

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Das arabische Reich, Engl. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 150, 157-8, 165-7, 174, 176, 185-6; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, 259-60, 266, 269. (H. LAMMENS-[V. CREMONESI])

ḤUSAYN B. AL-ṢIDDĪḲ AL-AHDAL [see AL-AHDAL].

ḤUSAYN ʿAWNĪ PASHA, Ottoman general and Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was born at Gelendost, a village of the *sandjaḳ* of Isparta (*wilāyet* of Konya) in 1236/1820-1; his father was a poor peasant named Aḥmed Agha. He came to Istanbul at the age of sixteen and entered the *Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye* (Military Academy), from where he was promoted to staff captain in 1264/1848. After a few years of teaching at the same institution, on the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853) he joined the army with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He distinguished himself on the Balkan front, especially at the battle of Četate and participated later in the Mingrelian campaign as chief of general staff of the *serdār-i ekrem* ʿÖmer Pasha. On the conclusion of the war (1856), he was appointed director of the *Mekteb-i Ḥarbiye*; during the war with Montenegro (1862) he commanded a division. Back in Istanbul he was nominated, early in 1863, to the presidency of *Dār-i Shūrā-yi ʿAskerī* (High Military Council) and promoted to *müshīr* (general commander) in Ṣafar 1280/July-August 1863; during the second grand vizierate of Fuʾād Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed *serʿasker ḳāʾim-maḳāmī* (interim War Minister), a position he kept until his dismissal on 5 Shaʿbān 1282/24 December 1865. He was sent to Rumelia in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1283/April 1867 as commander of Yanya and Yeñi-shehr, but he left for Crete when, on 16 Djumādā II 1284/15 October 1867, he was entrusted with suppression of the Cretan revolt. His success in crushing the revolt resulted in his nomination, on 29 Shawwāl 1285/12 February 1869, to the office of *serʿasker* in ʿĀlī Pasha [*q.v*]'s last cabinet. The military reforms he accomplished on the Prussian model, during his first period of office in the War Ministry which lasted two and a half years, rightly established his reputation as the re-organizer of the army. But the death of ʿĀlī Pasha on 20 Djumādā II 1288/6 September 1871 and the appointment of his enemy Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha [*q.v.*] to the grand vizierate, brought about his dismissal and banishment to Isparta. Recalled from exile in Djumādā I 1289/July 1872, he was sent to Izmir in Ramaḍān/November of the same year as *wālī* of the province of Aydin. Shortly after that, on 26 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1289/25 January 1873, he was appointed Minister of the Navy in the cabinet of Müterdjim Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha and transferred, on 17 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja/15 February, for a second time to the office of *serʿasker* when Esʿad Pasha became Grand Vizier. A year later, on 27 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1290/15 February 1874, he replaced Shirwānīzāde Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha in the grand vizierate, while continuing to hold the portfolio of War Minister. His period of office was marked by an economic crisis due to bad harvests coupled with financial troubles which were to lead the Ottoman Treasury to bancruptcy in October 1875. He lost both offices on 19 Rabīʿ I 1292/25 April 1875 probably at the instigation of Khedive Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*] and was nominated again to the governorship of Aydin. Appointed *serʿasker* for the third time, on 19 Radjab/21 August, he was dismissed by Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha when the latter returned to the grand vizierate (25 August). The following year, he was recalled from Bursa, where he had been sent as *wālī*, and was nominated on 17 Rabīʿ II 1293/12 May 1876 to the office of *serʿasker* for the fourth time. He played the principal part in the deposition of Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which took place on 7 Djumādā I/30 May as a result of his collaboration with the Grand Vizier Müterdjim Meḥmed Rüshdī Pasha, the Shaykh al-Islām Ḥasan Khayr Allāh Efendi and Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was shot dead by a young officer called Čerkes Ḥasan, seemingly for a personal grievance, on the night of 15-16 June 1876, at a ministerial council held in Midḥat Pasha's *konak* in the Bāyezīd quarter and was buried in the courtyard of the Süleymāniyye Mosque.

An intelligent and authoritarian soldier, he favoured absolutism; his collaboration with the constitutionalist Midḥat Pasha was due to his personal hatred for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fostered since his exile in 1871, probably mixed with a sincere desire to save the Empire from misgovernment.

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(E. KURAN)

ḤUSAYN BAYḲARA [see ḤUSAYN].

ḤUSAYN DJAHĀNSŪZ [see DJAHĀN-SŪZ].

ḤUSAYN DJĀHID (mod. Turkish HÜSEYİN CAHİT YALÇIN, 1874-1957), Turkish writer, journalist and politician. His parents were from Istanbul. He was born at Balıkesir while his father ʿAlī Riḍā was serving as government accountant in the province. He attended the primary school at Serres in Macedonia and the lycée at Istanbul. On completing his studies at the School of Political Science (*Mülkiye*) in 1896 he became a civil servant in the Ministry of Education. In the meantime he had taught himself French. He taught Turkish and French in various schools and became the headmaster of the *iʿdādī* school of Merdjān, one of the leading lycées of the time.

Upon the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, which put an end to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's despotic rule, he entered political life, joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and founded the newspaper *Ṭanīn*, which he made the organ of the Committee. He was elected a member and later president of the Parliament. During the Mutiny of 31 March/13 April 1909, a counter-revolution by the reactionary elements, his printing-house was raided and destroyed by the rebels and another deputy, mistaken for him, was killed. He later served as creditors' delegate to the Administration of Ottoman Public Debts. Soon after the armistice of 1918 he

was exiled to Malta by the British, together with a number of leading Turkish intellectuals and politicians; there he learned English and Italian, and on Gökalp's advice translated historical works (see below). On being released from Malta he resumed the publication of *Ṭanīn* (1922) and began to criticize violently the new Ankara régime of Mustafa Kemal.

During the first years of the Republic his unsympathetic attitude towards the authoritarian administration of the government, which was carrying out a series of radical reforms, was considered defeatist and he was twice tried by the Tribunal of Independence. His indignation as an 'advocate of freedom and democracy' protesting against the 'arbitrary rule' of the Nationalist government were found 'grotesque' as coming from a man who for years had defended and excused the many abuses and crimes of the Unionist régime of the pre-1918 period. He was first aquitted but in the second trial he was sentenced to banishment to Čorum in Central Anatolia; on being set free in 1926, he retired from politics.

In 1930, during the First Turkish Language Congress which had been proposed by Mustafa Kemal himself in order to initiate the government-sponsored language reform, he was the only prominent writer publicly (and in Atatürk's presence) to oppose the project, maintaining that it would do more harm than good and that the language should be left to its own course of natural development.

Until 1938 Ḥusayn Djāhid's publications were confined to non-political matters. After Atatürk's death he re-entered political life, was a deputy (1939-50) and resumed the publication of his newspaper *Tanin*. Later he was made the editor of *Ulus*, the organ of the Republican People's Party. His violent criticisms of the Democrat Party government caused his arrest and imprisonment for a few months (1954), but he was set free because of his advanced age. He died in 1957 in Istanbul.

Ḥusayn Djāhid's career may be divided into two distinct periods, before and after 1908. Before the Second Constitution he was a prominent member of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary movement and was known as a novelist, short-story writer and particularly as a critic. After 1908 he gave up literature and became active as an ambitious politician and a combative journalist, with more tranquil intervals as a prolific translator and author of didactic magazine articles.

As a child Ḥusayn Djāhid was particularly impressed by the novels of Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. At the age of fourteen he wrote his first novel *Nādīde*, which was a successful imitiation of the 'Master's' genre, with sickly sentimentalism, endless moral exhortations and philosophic remarks. By spending all his savings he was able to publish this enormous volume.

Under the influence of French authors, whom he constantly read and translated, and of his writer friends of the *Therwet-i Fünūn*, he soon got over this early enthusiasm and became a staunch defender of the modernist movement of the *Edebiyyāt-i Djedīde* (New Literature). His only other novel *Khayāl ičinde* (In a Dream, 1901) and his short stories (collected in three volumes: *Ḥayāt-i mukhayyel* (A Dreamed Life, 1899), *Ḥayāt-i ḥaḳiḳiyye ṣaḥneleri* (Scenes of Real Life, 1910), and *Ničin aldatïrlarmïsh?* (Why do they Deceive?, 1924), where realism is mixed with sentimentalism and sympathy for the poor and the weak, cannot be reckoned among the best productions of the school; but they impress by their unadorned, natural language and style, as compared with the very involved, *recherché* language of the leading members of the movement such as Tewfīḳ Fikret, Djenāb Shehābeddīn and Khālid Ḍiyā. But this characteristic of Ḥusayn Djāhid, shared by his novelist friend, Meḥmed Ra'ūf (and later by Khālide Edīb of the following generation), was not a matter of policy but was due simply to the fact that these writers, having an insufficient background of Arabic and Persian, were incapable of handling the involved Ottoman Turkish. Ḥusayn Djāhid himself confessed that the 'naturalism' of his style, admired by later critics, was due simply to his 'ignorance' (see *Edebî hatıralar*, 133).

Ḥusayn Djāhid's real contribution to the movement was his articles on criticism, which defined the aims of the *Edebiyyāt-i Djedīde* writers, and his defence of them against the ceaseless attacks of various hostile groups which accused them of destroying the old *dīwān* tradition in literature, of being blind imitators of French writers, of ignoring the splendours of the old Arab-Muslim culture, or of being too exclusive, even 'decadent'. Most of Ḥusayn Djāhid's articles on literary criticism, which are of documentary importance for the literary history of the period, have not been published in book form and are scattered in many reviews and newspapers (particularly *Mekteb*, *Ṭarīḳ*, *Ṣabāḥ*, *Therwet-i Fünūn* and *Ṭanīn*). Some of his polemics have been collected in the volume *Ḳavghalarïm* (My Polemics, 1910).

After 1908, Ḥusayn Djāhid gave up his literary interests and became an uncompromising 'Unionist', which he remained all his life, devoting most of his time and energy to defending the principles and actions of the Comittee. Hence his hostile attitude towards the early Republican régime, which liquidated the last vestiges of the Union and Progess Committee.

Ḥusayn Djāhid's contribution to Turkish culture as a translator is remarkable. Apart from hundreds of articles on literary criticism and social and political problems, mostly published in reviews and newspapers, particularly in his weekly *Fikir Hareketleri* (1933-40, 364 numbers), which he filled single-handed, he translated from French, English and Italian a great number of important works on history, sociology, political science and literature.

Ḥusayn Djāhid is also the author of the first Turkish grammer which is not based on the method of the Arab grammarians (*Türkče ṣarf ve naḥw*, 1911), an adaptation of the French grammar to Turkish. His biography of the Unionist leader Ṭalʿat Pasha (*Talat Paşa*) is not unbiased. From the 1930s onwards, apart from his valuable literary memoirs (*Edebî hatıralar*, Istanbul 1935), Ḥusayn Djāhid serialized his memoirs in various papers and reviews, which have not yet been published in book form: *Malta adasında: esaret hatıraları*, in *Yedigün*, nos. 87-121, 1934; *On yılın hikâyesi: 1908-1918*, in *Yedigün*, nos. 120-250, 1935-37; *Meşrutiyet hatıraları: 1908-1918*, in *Fikir hareketleri*, nos. 71-224, 1935-38; *Meşrutiyet devri ve sonrası*, in the daily *Halkçı*, nos. 170-375, 13 June-31 December 1954; *Mercan'dan Babıâliy'ye*, in *Yedigün*, nos. 267-81, 1938. These memoirs, although somewhat tendentious because of his 'Unionist' approach to most events and problems, are of great documentary value, as he had first-hand knowledge of Turkish literary and political history during his lifetime.

Bibliography: The best source for Ḥusayn Djāhid's life and works is his memoirs listed in the

article; Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb, *Türk tedjeddüd edebiyyātī taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1340, 536-40; Mustafa Nihat, *Metinlerle muasır Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1934, 359-67 and 608-12; Kerim Sadi, *Edebiyat-ı Cedide'nin kahramanları ve Hüseyin Cahit'e cevap*, Istanbul 1935; Suat Hizarcı, *Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın*, in the *Varlık* series, Istanbul 1957; Hilmi Yücebaş, *Büyük mücahit Hüseyin Cahit*, Istanbul 1960; Kenan Akyüz, in *Ph. T. F.*, ii, 536-9 and 541-3; Nevin Ogan, *Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın'ın roman ve hikâyeleri*, 1953, unpublished thesis, Istanbul University Library no. 2328.

(Fahir İz)

ḤUSAYN DJAJADININGRAT, see Supplement.

ḤUSAYN Efendi, known as **DJINDJI KHODJA**, preceptor and favourite of the Ottoman Sultan Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], was born at Zaʿfarānborlīsī (Safranbolu, now a *kaza* of the *vilâyet* of Zonguldak), the son of a certain Sheykh Meḥmed, son of Sheykh Ibrāhīm; he claimed to be descended from Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳonewī [*q.v.*]. He came to Istanbul and entered one of the *medreses* of the Süleymāniyye, supporting himself by practising sorcery, which he had learned from his father at Safranbolu; this gained him the nickname Djindji ("sorcerer"). He was not an able student, but he more than compensated for this failure by the political influence and the material wealth which his skill at sorcery obtained for him (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 273-4). His mother's claim that he would be able to cure Ibrāhīm's insanity won him the protection of the Sultan's mother, the powerful and unscrupulous Kösem [*q.v.*], and the confidence of the Sultan himself. He was granted the rank of *müderris-i Ṣaḥn*, for which he had neither the capacity nor the education, and soon afterwards was appointed *khodja* to the Sultan. In spite of the opposition of the Shaykh al-Islām Yaḥyā Efendi, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Ghalaṭa with the rank (*pāye*) of Istanbul, a post for which he was completely unfitted, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1054/19 January 1645 (Istanbul, Müftülük arşivi, Galata sicilleri, No. lxii, p. 68; Shaykhī, *Waḳāyiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 81, pp. 191, 214). In alliance with Sulṭānzāde Meḥmed Pasha (later Grand Vizier, 1053/1644-1055/1645) and the *rikābdār* Yūsuf Agha (later, as second vizier, commander in Crete, exec. 1055/1646) —"ein mächtiges Triumvirat" (Hammer-Purgstall, v, 323)—he procured the fall of Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (1053/1644). With the approval of the Sultan he married the daughter of Ḳara-Čelebizāde Maḥmūd Efendi (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 341; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-āthār*, ii, 123). On 12 Rabīʿ I 1054/19 May 1644, he was appointed Ḳāḍī-ʿasker of Anadolu, and proceeded to use this post to amass wealth for himself by the selling of offices. He was removed from the post several times, but for short periods only; on 1 Radjab 1057/2 August 1647, he was dismissed for the fourth time, and exiled briefly to Gelibolu. Upon the accession of Meḥemmed IV in Radjab 1058/August 1648, he was one of the persons whose wealth was marked for confiscation in order to meet the expenses of the accession donatives. After a month's imprisonment in the palace of the Grand Vizier, all his wealth and property were expropriated. He was again sent into exile, to Mikhalič, where he was executed in Shawwāl 1058/September 1648. A few days before his execution, his famous palace in Üsküdar (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 323, 472) had been given to a princess married to Faḍlī Pasha.

Bibliography: Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 291, 328, 340-1; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 273-5, 323, 472; Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Dhayl-i Rawḍat al-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 3272, fols. 27a, 28b; ʿAbdī Pasha, *Waḳāyiʿnāme*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, MS Koğuşlar 915, fol. 3a; Naʿīmā, iv, 33-4, 64, 71, 174, 331-9; Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*, Hamidiye Library, MS 917, fol. 31a; Sheykhī, *Waḳāyiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 81, 191, 213-4; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 191; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-āthār fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, ii, 122-3; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, Istanbul 1314, 19; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1957, 217, 230; Hammer-Purgstall, v, 323-6, 336, 338 f., 385-7, 405, 446, 458-61; H. J. Kissling (ed.), *ʿUšāqīzāde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter . . .*, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 89. For a popular account of the period, see Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Samūr dewri*, Istanbul 1927 and idem, *Ḳadinlar salṭanatī*, Istanbul 1332.

(Cengiz Orhonlu)

ḤUSAYN (Ḥuseyn) Efendi, known as **HEZĀRFENN** ("[man of] a thousand skills", *i.e.*, "polymath"), Ottoman man of letters of the 11th/17th century, was the son of a certain Djaʿfer, a native of Cos (Turkish: Istanköy). After completing his education in Istanbul he was for a time in government service as a Treasury official, and then devoted himself to writing and teaching. The generally accepted date for his death, 1103/1691-2, appears to rest solely on a deduction of G. Flügel (*Handschriften . . . Wien*, ii, 104); since he was already about 70 years old in 1671 (Babinger, 228, n. 2), the date given by Meḥmed Ṭāhir, 1089/1678-9, is more likely.

His works are intrinsically of secondary importance, but Hezārfenn himself is of some interest in that for his History (no. 1 below) he used Greek and Latin sources (as had Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*] some years earlier): he had no knowledge of the languages, but persuaded two dragomans of the Porte to translate for him (see *TM*, x, 368, n. 14). Furthermore he was known to various European diplomatists and orientalists resident in Istanbul: the French ambassador de Nointel and Antoine Galland (1646-1715), the translator of the "Arabian Nights" (*Journal d'Antoine Galland*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, ii, 150-1 and (?) 58); and Count Marsigli (1658-1730), who used his *Talkhīṣ al-bayān* (no. 2 below) when compiling the *Stato militare del impero ottomano* (Amsterdam 1732), spoke of him as "persona che passava per il più letterato di Costantinopoli" (Babinger, 228, n. 2, and E. Rossi, in *OM*, xi (1931), 416, and cf. 420).

His principal works are: (1) *Tanḳīḥ tawārīkh al-mulūk*, a fairly short universal history, composed between 1081/1670 and 1083/1673; mainly abridged from the works of Djenābī [*q.v.* in Supp.], Mīrkhwānd, ʿĀlī, and Kātib Čelebi [*qq.v.*], it is in nine sections (contents listed in Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 184 f.); the part of section four dealing with the Dānishmandids is translated by A. D. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, xxx (1876), 468-71; section five, on the Ottomans, reaches to 1083/1672; section six, on Ancient Rome, contains a chapter on the 'sayings' of the philosophers (see H. F. v. Diez, in *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, i, 71 ff.); section seven deals with the history of the Byzantine Empire, section eight with China, the East Indies and Ceylon, and section nine (very short) with the discovery of America. MSS are numerous: Babinger, 229-30; *Ist. Küt. TCYK*, i/1,

no. 11; Karatay, nos. 827-33; see also B. Lewis, in *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 186 f.). The work was used by Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723) for his *History of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire* (Eng. tr. from Latin, London 1734) (see F. Babinger, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, p. 56, n. 27).

(2) *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ḳawānīn Āl ʿUthmān*, a memorandum in 13 chapters, composed in 1080/1669-70, on 'good government', partly based on the treatises on the same subject by Luṭfī Pasha [*q.v.*] and ʿAyn-i ʿAlī and on the *Dustūr al-ʿamal* of Kātib Čelebi; selections ed. R. Anhegger, in *TM*, x (1951-3), 365-93; for the MSS, summary of contents, and refs. to Fr. and It. translations, see Babinger, 230 f., and Anhegger, 368 f.; for its place in this genre of writing, see B. Lewis, *Ottoman observers of Ottoman decline*, in *IS*, i/1 (1962), 71-87, esp. 81 f.

(3) *Anīs al-ʿārifīn wa-murshid al-sālikīn*, composed in 1090/1679, is a collection of moral and political precepts illustrated by anecdotes; the unique (?) MS, in the Vatican, is described in E. Rossi (*Elenco* ..., 76-7). (4) *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, a collection of 38 tales (Karatay, no. 2773), may be identical with (3). In the field of medicine he wrote (5) *Tuḥfat al-adīb al-nāfiʿa* (MS: Nuruosmaniye 3466) and (6) *Lisān al-atibbāʾ fī lughat al-adwiya*, an Arabic-Turkish dictionary of medical terms (see Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 137 f.). Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir mentions also *Fihris al-arwām* (a medical dictionary, similar to (6)), a *Terdjüme-i lughāt-i Hindī*, and two treatises on mystical subjects, Hezārfenn being an adherent of the Naḳshbandī order.

Bibliography: further to references in the text: Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, iii, 243-5; Babinger, 228-31 (with further references); Bombaci, *StLT*, 401 f. (V. L. Ménage)

ḤUSAYN ḤILMĪ PASHA (Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa), twice Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, was born in Mitylene (Midilli) in 1855. He came from a modest background, being the son of Kütahyalīzāde Muṣṭafā Efendi, an ordinary merchant. After receiving a traditional education—first in a *medrese*, then in a *rüshdiye* (secondary school), and learning *fiḳh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and French from private tutors—Ḥilmī entered the local bureaucracy in 1874.

He remained in Mitylene for a further nine years and then saw service in Aydīn (1883), Syria (1885) and Baghdād (1892); he became governor (*wālī*) of the Yemen in 1898. In 1903 he was appointed Inspector-General of Macedonia, as one of the officials implementing the scheme to reform that province. In this post Ḥilmī won a reputation for honesty, efficiency, independence and liberal ideas, both among Europeans and among the Young Turks.

After the constitutional revolution of 1908 Ḥilmī became Minister of the Interior in Kāmil Pasha's cabinet. But as a protest against the latter's action in dismissing and appointing two ministers without consultation with his colleagues in the cabinet, Ḥilmī resigned on 30 January (O.S.)/12 February (N.S.) 1909. However, Kāmil himself was ousted from power and two days later Ḥilmī became Grand Vizier.

Ḥilmī's first term in office lasted only one month and 27 days. He resigned when an insurrection, engineered by the Liberal Union (*Aḥrār Fīrḳasī*) and reactionary elements against the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyeti* [*q.v.*]), broke out on 31 March (O.S.)/13 April (N.S.) 1909. He was offered, but refused, a post in the new cabinet (Danişmend, *31 Mart vak'ası*, 30-31). This insurrection was crushed by an army from Macedonia [see ḤAREKET ORDUSU] and Ḥilmī was restored to office on 22 April (O.S.)/5 May (N.S.) 1909. His second term as Grand Vizier was as inauspicious as the first. This time the Committee and the army obstructed his government, and he therefore resigned on 15/28 December 1909, after making a vain attempt to establish his independence from the Committee (Uşaklıgıl, ii, 29-30).

Ḥilmī Pasha spent the next two and a half years in the political wilderness. He made a brief return as Minister of Justice in Ghāzī Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha's cabinet in July 1912, but resigned because he considered its anti-Unionist policy to be inexpedient while the Empire was at war with Italy and faced the threat of war with the Balkan states. He was then appointed ambassador to Vienna. It seems that the Sultan wanted to recall Ḥilmī Pasha to the Grand Vizierate after the assassination of Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha [*q.v.*] on 29 May/11 June 1913, but the CUP objected and their will prevailed (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, 406). Ḥilmī remained in Vienna throughout the war and died there on 21 March/3 April 1922.

It has been said that Ḥilmī Pasha's career suffered because of his modest background and education (Inal, 1965). Yet the evidence hardly bears this out; he rose to high position under both the Palace and the constitutional régimes. His career was, however, handicapped by his non-partisan and independent political attitude. As Inspector-General he antagonized the Palace and the conservatives; under the new régime his political aloofness lost him the support of all groups. Ḥilmī Pasha's detachment would have been a great asset in less turbulent times, but in the chaos which followed the re-establishment of the constitution, his many talents were destined to be wasted and go unrecognized.

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ḤUSAYN KĀMIL (1853-1917), Sultan of Egypt under the British Protectorate from December 1914 to October 1917. A son of Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], he was born in Cairo. When he was eight years old, he entered the school at the Manyal Palace specially opened by his father for his sons and the sons of notables. In 1867, he accompanied his father to Istanbul on a visit to the Ottoman Sultan. Soon afterwards he visited Paris, and stayed at the court of Napoleon III. He returned briefly to Egypt for

the official opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, after which he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, in Florence. In 1870, he returned to Egypt for good and was given a succession of posts in the administration. As Inspector of the Delta, he lived for a while in Ṭanṭa and supervised the improvement of irrigation canals in that area. He also served at various times in the ministries of Education, Waqfs, Public Works, Interior and Finance.

In 1879, upon the deposition of his father, Ḥusayn Kāmil went with him into exile to Naples, where he stayed for three years. He returned to Egypt after the revolt of ʿUrābī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] in 1882.

During the reigns of Khedive Tawfīḳ (1882-92) and of his nephew Khedive ʿAbbās II (1892-1914) he devoted most of his time to his private business and agricultural interests. He served on the boards of many foreign companies such as the Delta Railways. His greatest contribution, however, was to the improvement of Egyptian agriculture. He founded the Khedivial Agricultural Society, which played an important rôle in the organization of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1913. Earlier, he had organized agricultural exhibitions in Alexandria (1896) and Cairo (1898), as well as a joint industrial-agricultural exhibition in 1900. With the help of privately subscribed funds, he opened an industrial trade school in Damanhūr. He was also active in the organization of agricultural syndicates. He served briefly as President of the Consultative Legislative Council and the General Assembly, but resigned from both in 1909 over the crisis regarding the extension of the Suez Concession. Until his appointment as Sultan of Egypt in December 1914, Ḥusayn Kāmil was occupied primarily in the management of his extensive agricultural holdings and his work for several charitable organizations such as *al-D̲j̲amʿiyya al-K̲h̲ayriyya al-Islāmiyya* and *D̲j̲amʿiyyat al-Isʿāf*.

Turkey, the suzerain power over Egypt, declared war on Great Britain in November 1914. Suspicious of the young Khedive ʿAbbās II's sympathies with Turkey and familiar with his past activities in support of anti-British nationalists in Egypt, the British authorities proceeded on 18 December 1914 to declare a Protectorate over Egypt [see ḤIMĀYA]. With this declaration, Turkish sovereignty over Egypt was for all practical purposes terminated. At the same time, Britain deposed ʿAbbās, then in Turkey, from the Khedivial throne of Egypt, and appointed Prince Ḥusayn Kāmil, the oldest male member of the family of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Sultan of Egypt.

The acceptance of the sultanate by Ḥusayn Kāmil in these conditions was, from his point of view, a dangerous political step. It met with the opposition of the nationalist elements in the country who considered Ḥusayn's acceptance of the sultanate under the conditions of a British occupation, military government, and protectorate as constituting a national humiliation. Many among them viewed his acceptance as an act of treason against the Muslim Ottoman Empire at war with infidel Britain. However, Ḥusayn's refusing the post could have endangered the survival of the ruling house in Egypt.

This situation, together with the difficulties of wartime conditions, led to a deterioration of public security in the country. A series of terrorist political acts aimed against members of the Egyptian government and the Sultan himself were committed in 1915. Both the Sultan and the wartime Egyptian government of Ḥusayn Rus̲h̲dī Pas̲h̲a were considered by the extreme nationalists as mere tools in the hands of the British occupation authorities to be used for the prosecution of the War. They were viewed, moreover, by these nationalists as having left the pale of the Islamic community and its consensus (*k̲h̲arad̲j̲ū min al-id̲j̲māʿ*). As greater hardships and privations caused by the necessities of war affected greater numbers of Egyptians, especially in 1916-7, so the public became increasingly alienated from this government and from the Sultan.

Soon after his assumption of the duties of Sultan, Ḥusayn Kāmil proceeded to remove the remaining vestiges and institutional manifestations of Turkish sovereignty in Egypt. Thus, when he was presiding over a meeting of the Egyptian Council of Ministers on 21 December 1914, the decision was taken to abolish the office of Ḳāḍī of Egypt (the Ḳāḍī had always been appointed by the Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul).

Yet Ḥusayn Kāmil's relations with the British authorities in Egypt were not always amicable or close. The British in Egypt looked askance at the Sultan's frequent visits to schools and institutions of higher learning, and at his tours of the provinces, suspecting that he sought to strengthen his links with a nationalist movement. The Sultan on his part felt that the material and human demands of the British military authorities and the burdens which they placed upon the country were too great and that they caused undue hardship to a poor people. Another cause of this deterioration in the relations between Ḥusayn Kāmil and the British authorities in Egypt was the frustration the Sultan experienced under the strong hand of a wartime British government, that was prompted in its policy perhaps solely by the needs of the Great War. Thus while the British disapproved of the Sultan's attempts to project the image of a popular leader, the Egyptian public disapproved of him as a tool of the British.

Ḥusayn Kāmil's health began to deteriorate in 1916; he was ill for most of 1917, and died on 9 October 1917. Earlier his son, Prince Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, had publicly renounced his right to succeed to the Egyptian throne. Thus Prince Aḥmad Fuʾād succeeded Ḥusayn Kāmil, later to become King of Egypt (1922-36) [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL].

Bibliography: P. G. Elgood, *The transit of Egypt*, London 1928; Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Kaylānī, *al-Sulṭān Ḥusayn Kāmil*, Cairo 1963; Farad̲j̲ Sulaymān Fuʾād, *al-Kanz al-t̲h̲amīn li ʿuẓamāʾ al-Miṣriyyīn*, Cairo 1917, vol. i; Lord Lloyd, *Egypt since Cromer*, London 1932, i, 183-261.

(P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

ḤUSAYN AL-K̲H̲ALĪʿ [see (AL-)ḤUSAYN B. AL-ḌAḤḤĀK].

ḤUSAYN NIẒĀM S̲H̲ĀH, the third ruler of the Niẓām S̲h̲āhī sultanate of Aḥmadnagar, *reg.* 961-72/1554-65. He was the eldest son of Burhān I Niẓām S̲h̲āh, whose example he followed in adopting the S̲h̲īʿa forms of worship (for the political implications of this in the Deccan see NIẒĀM S̲H̲ĀHĪS); he succeeded him as al-Muʾayyad min ʿind Allāh Ḥusayn S̲h̲āh (regnal title from *Burhān-i maʾāt̲h̲ir*; no coins of this reign are known) without difficulty, having been able to remove other possible claimants from Aḥmadnagar city during his father's lifetine, but was soon faced with further claims on the succession from other sons of Burhān S̲h̲āh, especially ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who had refused to accept S̲h̲īʿism and was supported by the Dakhnī faction at court. Mīrān S̲h̲āh Ḥaydar, a younger half-brother, also made an attempt to seize the throne, supported by

his father-in-law Khwādja Djahān of Parendā; defeated by Ḥusayn, both eventually took refuge with the ʿĀdil Shāhī sultan in Bīdjāpur, whom they induced to attack Aḥmadnagar repeatedly. Eventually the candidature of a fourth prince for the Aḥmadnagar throne, Mīrān Shāh ʿAlī, was espoused by Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, who also coveted the fortresses of Kaliyānī and Shōlāpur [*qq.v.*]. Thus began an almost constant warfare between the ʿĀdil Shāhī and the Niẓām Shāhī sultanates; the other sultanates, Barār, Golkonḍā and Bīdar, were drawn into the conflicts by one side or the other—alliances were flexible—, but more significant was the participation of the ruler of Vidjayanagara, Rām Rāy, brought in by the Bīdjāpur ruler to strengthen his hand against Aḥmadnagar. The excesses of this Hindū ruler and his troops against Islam, and his demands from his allies after each campaign, caused Muslim rivalries to be set aside, and Ḥusayn entered into an offensive alliance with the other Muslim rulers of the Deccan whereby Rām Rāy was beaten, and the Vidjayanagara empire broken up, at the battle of Tālīkōṭa [*q.v.*] in 972/1565; here the centre was commanded by Ḥusayn, whose courage won the day against enormous odds. Half a year later Ḥusayn died in his capital.

His whole reign was spent in almost continual warfare, mostly with Bīdjāpur, and little could be done to stabilize the internal affairs of the kingdom; he was undoubtedly a courageous and intelligent soldier, and he left behind him a reputation also for piety and justice. There is little evidence of cultural progress in Aḥmadnagar during his reign, although it is known that after the defeat of Vidjayanagara the Aḥmadnagar court was enriched by the migration of poets and painters from Hampī, encouraged no doubt by Ḥusayn's brilliant daughter Čānd Bībī.

ḤUSAYN NIẒĀM SHAH II, the fifth sultan of the dynasty, succeeded his insane father Murtaḍā I in 996/1588, after having brought about his death by confining him in an overheated bathroom. He was a drunkard, debauched and bloodthirsty, and effective power was in the hands of Mīrzā Khān the *wakīl*. The following year Ḥusayn was deposed in favour of his cousin Ismāʿīl.

ḤUSAYN NIẒĀM SHĀH III, the last sultan, was raised to the throne in 1041/1632 as a boy of ten by the Ḥabshī Fatḥ Khān. He was captured by the Mughals in the fall of Aḥmadnagar and imprisoned in Gwāliyar.

Bibliography: See bibliography to NIẒĀM SHĀHĪS. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

DELI **ḤUSAYN PASHA** (d. 1069/1659), Ottoman general, was probably born at Yeñishehir (near Bursa). While serving in the Palace as a *balṭadjī* [*q.v.*], he attracted the attention of Murād IV by a display of physical strength (Naʿīmā, vi, 399 f.); he became an intimate (*muḳarreb*) of the Sultan and rose to be first Küčük and then Büyük Mīr-akhōr (Grand Master of the Horse, see MĪR-AKHŌR). On 4 Muḥarram 1044/30 June 1634 he was appointed Grand Admiral (Ḳapudān Pasha [*q.v.*]), with the rank of vizier, and as such was present on the Erivan (Rewān [*q.v.*]) campaign of 1045/1635. On the way back, at Diyārbekr, he was appointed governor of Egypt (Djumādā 1045/October 1635, see Ṣolaḳzāde, 763). He was recalled in Rabīʿ I 1047/July-August 1637, charged with maladministration, and his property was confiscated (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 179); but he soon recovered his old influence over the Sultan, who, on the march to Baghdād (1048/1638), appointed him *beglerbegi* of Anadolu. He distinguished himself during the siege, and after the army's return to Istanbul Murād IV made him a "vizier of the dome" (*ḳubbe wezīri* [*q.v.*]) in order that he might continue to enjoy his company. Engaging in the intrigues at the capital he helped to procure the fall of (Ṭabanī-yaṣṣī) Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded as *ḳāʾimmaḳām* ([*q.v.*], deputy of the Grand Vizier) on 20 Shaʿbān 1049/16 December 1639 (Naʿīmā, iii, 421 ff.). He prudently avoided any action which might arouse the hostility of the Grand Vizier, Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, and upon the accession of Sultan Ibrāhīm was again appointed Ḳapudān Pasha, in Shawwāl 1049/February 1640 (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, 221), and seven months later military governor of Oczakow (Özi [*q.v.*]). In 1051/1641 he was in command at the unsuccessful siege of Azov (Azaḳ [*q.v.*]), then held by the Cossacks. He was thereafter appointed in succession *wālī* of Bosnia (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1051/February 1642), Baghdād (in 1054/1644), and Budin (from Shaʿbān 1054/October 1644).

After the outbreak of the war with Venice he was sent to Crete as *muḥāfiẓ* of the fortress of Canea (Khānya), where he landed on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1055/2 January 1645. On the death of the Ottoman commander-in-chief in Djumādā II 1056/August 1646, Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed to succeed him. Before the year was out he captured the important town of Rhethymnos/Resmo, and next spring (Rabīʿ I 1057/April 1647) he embarked on the investment of Candia [see ḲANDIYA], which was to last 22 years. During his thirteen years in Crete he distinguished himself by his personal courage and prudently sought to win over the Greek population of the island. On 2 Djumādā I 1066/28 February 1656 Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier and the seal of office was despatched to him, but the appointment was cancelled as a result of the Janissary mutiny a week later (the so-called Čınar Waḳʿası, see MEḤEMMED IV), and in late 1068/middle of 1658 Ḥusayn Pasha was recalled from the command in Crete. The Grand Vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, hoping to rid himself of a popular rival, alleged that he had misappropriated military funds and shown lack of energy in the siege of Ḳāndiya, but Ḥusayn Pasha's own supporters procured his appointment, for the third time, as Ḳapudān Pasha (14 Shawwāl 1068/15 July 1658). On 7 Rabīʿ I 1069/3 December 1658 he was made *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, but within weeks, as a result of the intrigues of his enemies, was recalled to Istanbul to face a charge of extortion; he was imprisoned in Yedi-ḳule and executed.

Bibliography: the Ottoman chronicles: Naʿīmā, iii-vi, *passim*; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, ii, and *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, *passim*; Pečewī, ii, 438, 440, 447; Hammer-Purgstall, v and vi; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, v and vi; *IA*, s.v. Hüseyin Paşa, pp. 650-4 (of which the above is an abridgement), with further references. (ISMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU)

ʿAMŪDJA-ZĀDE **ḤUSAYN PASHA** (d. 1114/1702), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was a nephew of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [see KÖPRÜLÜ], his nickname ʿAmūdja-zāde, T. ʿAmdja-zāde "uncle's son", being given to him by his cousin Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha. He was present on the campaign against Vienna in 1094/1683 (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 67), but after the defeat and execution of the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha he, with other officials, was sent under guard to the Porte (*op. cit.*, ii, 123); he was appointed governor of Shehr-i Zūr (*op. cit.*, ii, 125), but very soon afterwards was transferred as military governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Čardaḳ, opposite Gallipoli. In

Shaʿbān 1100/May 1689 he was appointed *muḥāfiẓ*, with the rank of vizier, of Sedd al-Baḥr at the entrance to the Dardanelles (*op. cit.*, ii, 433). In Shaʿbān 1102/May 1691 he was summoned to Istanbul to act as *ḳāʾimmaḳām* ([*q.v.*], deputy for the Grand Vizier) (*op. cit.*, ii, 570); in Djumādā I 1103/January-February 1692 he was dismissed and sent back to his Dardanelles post, but was recalled to serve as *ḳāʾimmaḳām* again from Djumādā I-Shawwāl 1105/January-June 1694 (*op. cit.*, ii, 738).

In Djumādā I 1106/December 1694 he was appointed Ḳapudān Pasha (Grand Admiral) and ordered to proceed immediately to recover Chios (T. Saḳïz [*q.v.*]), recently occupied by the Venetians (Ṣafwet, *Ḳapudān Mazamorṭa Ḥusayn Pasha*, Istanbul 1327, 87 f., 93 ff.; Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu, i/1, Istanbul 1962, 10). In two engagements fought off the Ḳoyun Adaları (Spalmadori Islands) in the Bay of Chios in Djumādā II-Radjab 1106/February 1695 he defeated the Venetians, who immediately abandoned the island (M. Galibert, *Histoire de Venise*, Paris 1847, 431 f.; *Nusretnâme*, i/1, 11-18). At the end of Ramaḍān 1106/May 1695, Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed *muḥāfiẓ* of Chios, but a few months later (in Rabīʿ I 1107/November 1695) was sent as governor to Adana and after one year (in Rabīʿ I 1108/September-October 1696) he appears as *muḥāfiẓ* of Belgrade. The advice which he gave in the council of war held there in Muḥarram 1109/August 1697 was overridden; but after the disastrous battle of Zenta [*q.v.*] and the death of the Grand Vizier (Elmās) Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], Muṣṭafā II summoned him to the Ottoman camp to succeed him.

Next year, while the peace negotiations were proceeding at Carlowicz [see KARLOFČA], Ḥusayn Pasha remained with the army at Belgrade, prepared for action in case of a breakdown in the discussions. After the conclusion of peace (Radjab 1110/January 1699), Ḥusayn Pasha remained in office for less than three years: the growing influence over the Sultan of Fayḍ Allāh Efendi [see MUṢṬAFĀ II] and his own poor health led him to resign office on 11 Rabīʿ II 1114/4 September 1702. He retired to his estate at Silivri, where he died very shortly afterwards (29 Rabīʿ II/22 September).

The sources agree that Ḥusayn Pasha was an honest and efficient statesman (P. Lucas, *Voyage au Levant*, The Hague 1709, ii, 154; Marquis de Bonnac, *Mém. hist. sur l'ambassade de France à Constantinople*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1894, 114, 116) and a patron of learning (to whom Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] dedicated his History). His summer residence (*yalï*) at Anadolu Ḥiṣār (see H. Saladin and R. Mesguich, *Le yali des Keupruli à Anatoli-Hissar*, Paris 1915), the oldest surviving wooden residence of Istanbul, forms one of the sights of the Bosphorus. He built a mosque and a *medrese* at Sarādjkhāne in Istanbul (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 91 f.), beside which he is buried; the library of this foundation (456 MSS) is now kept at the Süleymaniye.

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(ORHAN F. KÖPRÜLÜ)

ḤUSAYN PASHA (KÜČÜK ḤÜSEYIN PASHA) (1758-1803), Ottoman *Ḳapudān Pasha* of Circassian origin. Since he was 46 years old at his death in 1803, he must have been born in 1758. He was presented to Sultan Muṣṭafā III by the *Silāḥdār* Ibrāhīm Pasha, in 1181/1767-8. Although it has been asserted that he was the foster-brother of Selīm III (*Kharīṭa-i Ḳapudānān-i deryā*, 105), it seems more likely that his first duty in the palace was in the service of Prince Meḥmed (b. 1767), the brother of Selīm III (Wāṣif, *Taʾrīkh*, MS Ali Emiri (Millet Kütüp.) 609, fol. 197a; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vii, 266).

Küčük Ḥüseyin was for a long period one of the servants of the sultan's Privy Chamber and was then transferred to the treasury department. On the day of Selīm III's accession (7 April 1789), he was transferred to the Privy Chamber as chamberlain (*mābeyndji*) and six months later became Head Valet (*Bash čoḳadār*). Attracting the attention of Selīm III during the course of the discussions with the French Ambassador, Sébastiani, and Isḥāḳ Pasha about the establishment of the "New Order" (*Niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*]) Ḥüseyin Agha was appointed Lord High Admiral with the rank of vizier in place of Giridli Ḥüseyin Pasha on 10 March 1792. On 29 May 1792 he married Esmā Sulṭān, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I.

During the twelve years in which Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha held the office of *Ḳapudān Pasha*, he strove to reform the Ottoman navy. He brought about a classification of the flagships, an increase in captains' salaries, an ordering of the hierarchy of ranks, a system for the education of non-commissioned officers, who remained on the ships in the winter season, the creation of a body of skilled workmen and the training of captains in navigation and naval science. With the help of English and French engineers and technicians he endeavoured to make the Ottoman navy and dockyards comparable to those in Europe. For all this he has been accounted the founder of the new Ottoman fleet.

Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha is remembered also for the struggle which he waged against the Mediterranean pirates, who molested Turkish merchantmen and from time to time attacked the western Anatolian coasts. He set out with the fleet in spring 1792 to the Aegean for the purpose of bringing to account Lambro Canziani (Katsoni), a Knight of St. George, who was operating in the Mediterranean with 15 ships. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha intended to catch him at Lagia (Porte-Kale). His first encounter on this expedition was with one of the pirates, Kara-Katzanis (Ḳaraḳačan), in the neighbourhood of the islands of Milos (Değirmenlik) and Hydra (Čamlïdja) (Nejat Göyünč, *Kapdan-i derya Kücük Hüseyin Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4 (1952), 35-50). Having taken prisoner Kara-Katzanis and 23 of the pirates with him, he then blockaded Lambro on the coast of Maina in the Morea, but was unable to take the pirate chieftain, who escaped to the island of Cerigo (Čuha). Finally, at the end of September 1792, he returned to Istanbul with some pirate ships, equipment and prisoners. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha pursued these activities in the Mediterranean until the autumn of 1797. During the course of the battles with the corsairs of Malta in the neighbourhood of Crete, he attacked many of the small islands as well.

Although Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha was much in favour with the sultan and the people, his harsh, rough temperament annoyed the Grand Vizier ʿIzzet Meḥmed Pasha and certain other leading men, who procured that he was sent away from Istanbul, as commander of the forces at Vidin against the rebel

Pāzvandoghlu ʿOthmān [*q.v.*] (10 April 1798). Under his command on this expedition were some of the leading men of Anatolia, such as Ḳara ʿOthmānoghlu and Djabbār-zāde, as well as the *wālīs* of Rumelia and Anatolia, and Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha first captured the places in the vicinity of Vidin which had fallen into the hands of Pāzvandoghlu and finally besieged Vidin itself, both by land and, with a small fleet, from the Danube. He met with unexpected resistance, however, and through lack of men and supplies and inability to receive money in time, he failed to bring the siege to a successful conclusion. Finally, when Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha was himself wounded and no longer able to prosecute the siege of Vidin because of the French landing in Egypt, Pāzvandoghlu ʿOthmān offered his submission to the Ottoman government. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha then returned to Istanbul. He sailed to Alexandria, with the fleet which he had prepared, in the summer of 1799. Although not showing much activity at first, he joined with the British fleet in the next year in transferring troops to Egypt; and following the signing of the agreement of 20 June 1801, whereby the French were to evacuate Egypt, he entered Cairo on 10 July 1801. He caused the *khuṭba* to be read in the name of Selīm III and was active in the punishment of some Mamlūk *beys*. Although this latter activity lead to coolness in his relations with some of the British admirals, the affair was closed by his return to Istanbul.

Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha went out on Mediterranean campaigns in 1802 and 1803, but in November of the latter year illness forced him to return to Istanbul. He died on 7 December 1803, in the residence of Esmā Sulṭān at Ḳuručeshme on the Bosphorus, and was buried by the tomb of Mihrishāh Wālide Sulṭān in Eyyūb. His epitaph was written by the chronicler Wāṣif Efendi. Küčük Ḥüseyin Pasha built a fountain (*česhme*) in Ḳāsimpasha in 1797.

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AGHA **ḤUSAYN PASHA**, Ottoman vizier noted for his leadership in the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826, was born at Edirne in 1190/1776-7. His father, Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā, believed to be from Rusčuk [*q.v.*], moved to Bender [*q.v.*], where Ḥusayn enlisted in the 9th Janissary *bölük* [*q.v.*] and reached Istanbul in 1203/1788-9. He had begun his career as a porter, then took part in the campaign against Russia in 1807-12. Ḥusayn became an *usta* (sergeant) and associated with (Silāḥdār) ʿAlī Pasha, who recommended Ḥusayn to Maḥmūd II between 1811 and 1817 when ʿAlī was the sultan's swordbearer (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, xii, 72; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 561-2). Thanks to ʿAlī Pasha's influence and despite the enmity of Ḥālet Efendi [*q.v.*], Ḥusayn became *zaghardji bashi* [*q.v.*] and colonel of the 64th regiment, *i.e.*, the third most senior of the Janissaries, on 23 Ṣafar 1238/10 November 1822, three days before Ḥālet Efendi's dismissal. Benefiting from Maḥmūd II's promotion of trustworthy officers, he rose to be *ḳul ketkhudāsi* on 10 Rabīʿ II 1238/25 December 1822 and *Agha* (commander) of the Janissaries on 14 Djumādā II 1238/26 February 1823. Ḥusayn had great influence as *Agha* during the Grand Vizierate of his patron Silāḥdār ʿAlī Pasha (from 10 March-13 December 1823). He soon banished, retired or executed many subversive Janissaries, and won others to his cause. Made a Vizier for these services in the autumn of 1823, he became known as Agha Pasha. To shield him from reprisals by the Janissaries, Maḥmūd II replaced him as *Agha* on 20 Ṣafar 1239/26 October 1823, and appointed him governor of Bursa and Kodjaeli and commander of the European Bosphorus forts, so that he was available nearby in case of need.

Ḥusayn strongly supported reform, including Maḥmūd II's abortive *Eshkindji* [*q.v.*] reorganization of the Janissaries in May-June 1826. He led the loyal artillerymen and infantry who quickly shattered the resistance of the Janissaries along Dīwān Yolu and at their barracks in Et Meydānī, and finally put an end to their uprising on Thursday 15 June 1826.

Ḥusayn, retaining his positions, also became *serʿasker* [*q.v.*] of the new army (*ʿasākir-i manṣūre-i muḥammadiyye*) whose formation was decreed simultaneously with the Janissaries' abolition on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1241/17 June 1826. Replaced as *serʿasker* by Khusrew Pasha [*q.v.*] on 9 May 1827, Ḥusayn regained command on 20 May 1828 and set out with the new army for the Russian front four days later. He defended his headquarters at Shumla, but was unable to prevent the loss of the forts of the lower Danube to Russia. Reshid Meḥmed Pasha took command in the spring of 1829, when Ḥusayn became *muḥāfiẓ* (fortress commander) of Rusčuk, then governor of Edirne. He was again *serʿasker* (with the style of "governor of Egypt, Abyssinia and Crete") from 12 April to 31 August 1832, but was dismissed after his forces were defeated by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] of Egypt at Ḥimṣ on 8-9 July and at the Baylān [*q.v.*] pass on 29 July 1832. As he was friendly with Milosh of Serbia, he served twice as *muḥāfiẓ* of Vidin, from 4 August 1833 to early February 1844, and from October 1846 until his death on 25 April 1849. In October 1839 Ḥusayn sought his guest H. von Moltke's advice on new fortifications there. After 1878, his son ʿAlī Shewket Pasha had his remains removed from the fortress of Vidin and reburied in the Topkapu cemetery in Istanbul.

Ḥusayn was powerfully built, fearless and intelligent, and, despite his illiteracy, favoured reform. Among the buildings he commissioned are the Serʿaskerate fire tower (now in the grounds of

Istanbul University), military hospitals in Edirne and Vidin, a fountain in Khāṣṣköy, a stone clock tower at Mirgūn, the water system and a stone bridge at Shumla, and a mosque and school in Silistre.

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(H. A. REED)

ḤĀDJDJĪ ḤUSAYN PASHA, known as **MEZZOMORTO**, Algerian corsair and Ottoman admiral (d. 1113/1701); he owes his Italian nickname "half-dead" (in Turkish 'mezemorṭa') to the fact that as a young man he had been wounded, apparently fatally, in a sea-fight with the Spaniards.

Nothing certain is known about his origin: according to A. de La Motraye (*Voyages*, La Haye 1727, i, 206) he was born in Majorca. He first appears, as a well-known corsair, in 1674 (Grammont, *Relations entre la France et la Régence d'Alger au XVII*e *siècle*, Algiers 1955, 52), and gradually made himself one of the most prominent figures of Algiers. When the French fleet under Duquesne bombarded Algiers in the summer of 1683, Ḥusayn, with other corsair captains, was handed over as a hostage by the Dey (*dayî*) Baba Ḥasan, but he persuaded the French admiral to send him back on shore. He led an insurrection against Baba Ḥasan, killed him, and had himself elected Dey. Opening fire on the French fleet, he obliged Duquesne to raise the blockade; in 1684 he made peace with Louis XIV (Grammont, 83; E. Plantet, *Correspondance des Deys d'Alger avec la cour de France, 1579-1833*, Paris 1889, 84; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, v, 51 f.).

In 1686 the Ottoman government summoned him, as *beglerbegi* of Algiers, to send ships for the campaign in the Morea. The peace with France was soon broken, and when the French fleet bombarded Algiers again in 1688, Ḥusayn retaliated by attacking the French coasts and shipping. In 1689, the Porte had decided to appoint Ḥusayn Pasha Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (*Ḳapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]); but before the summons reached Algiers, Ḥusayn Pasha's power there had been seriously shaken by internal dissensions; he was obliged to flee to Tunis, and thence to Istanbul (and the post of *Ḳapudan Pasha* was given to Mîṣîrlîzāde Ibrāhīm Pasha).

In 1101/1690 Ḥusayn Pasha was appointed to command the Danube fleet, with orders to support the operations for the recovery of Vidin [*q.v.*]; he later commanded in the Black Sea; and in 1104/1691, a time when anxiety was growing over the threat of Venetian action in the Aegean, was made *sandjaḳ-begi* of Rhodes, with command of the Imperial galleons (*ḳalyūn*). When in 1106/1694 the Venetians occupied Chios (Turkish: Saḳîz [*q.v.*]), Ḥusayn Pasha played a prominent part in the two engagements (Radjab 1106/February 1695) which led to the recovery of the island (Ṣafwet, *Ḳoyun Adalarî öñündeki deñiz ḥarbi ve Saḳîzîñ ḳurtarîlîshî*, in *TOEM*, i/3 (1326), 150-77).

In Ramaḍān 1106/May 1695 Ḥusayn Pasha was rewarded with the post of Ḳapudan Pasha, in succession to (ʿAmūdjazāde) Ḥusayn Pasha [*q.v.*] (Silâhdar Fındıklılı Mehmet Ağa, *Nusretnâme*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu, i/1, Istanbul 1962, 28-9), and turned all his efforts to the expulsion of the Venetians from the Aegean: in Ṣafar 1107/September 1695 he defeated, off Lesbos (Midilli), a Venetian fleet bound for Chios and Cos; in the course of operations in the Morea in 1696 he brought the Venetian fleet to battle between Andros and Euboea; on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1108/5 July 1697 he defeated a Venetian fleet under Alessandro Molino off Tenedos and again, on 14 Ṣafar 1109/3 September 1697, off Andros. On 15 Rabīʿ I 1110/21 September 1698 he brought the Venetian fleet under Giacomo Cornaro to battle off Lesbos: Western sources (Zinkeisen, *GOR*, v, 183) depict the engagement as a Venetian, Turkish sources (Silāḥdār; Rāshid, ii, 440) as an Ottoman victory.

Ḥusayn Pasha did not live long after the conclusion of the peace of Carlowitz: in 1113/1701 (the exact date is uncertain; his successor as Ḳapudan Pasha, ʿAbd al-Fettāḥ Pasha, was appointed in Rabīʿ I 1113/August 1701) he died on the island of Paros and was buried on Chios (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Mühimme defteri no. 111, p. 644; A. de La Motraye, i, 210).

Ḥusayn Pasha's services to the Ottoman Empire were not confined to the winning of battles; he also played an important part in the reform and strengthening of the Ottoman fleet and in the regularizing of the naval service by a code of regulations (*ḳānūn-nāme*) which he drew up (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1948, 498-9, 523, etc.).

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ḤUSAYN RAḤMĪ, in modern Turkish Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpinar (1864-1944), Turkish novelist and short story writer, who although outside all the literary currents and movements of his time, remained the most popular writer from the 1890's until the late 1920's.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī was born in the Ayaspaşa quarter of Istanbul on 17 August 1864, the son of Meḥmed Saʿīd Pasha, an aide to Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The family came originally from Aydîn. He lost his mother at the age of three, when his father was serving in Crete. He attended primary and secondary schools in Istanbul and later the *Makhredj-i aḳlām*, where government clerks were trained. At the same time he was taught French by a private tutor. In 1878 he entered the School for Political Science (Mülkiye), but left after two years because of ill-health. He became a government official and served in the Ministries of Justice and Public Works until 1908, when he resigned to devote all his time to literature. In 1912 he moved to Heybeliada, where later he built a villa from the income of his novels (an unprecedented event in the Turkish world of letters); there he lived a secluded life until his death in 1944, interrupted only by a trip to Egypt in 1933 and by occasional periods in Ankara, where he was a deputy between 1936-43.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī began his first experiments as a writer at the age of twelve and saw his first writing in print at the age of twenty (*Bir genč ḳîzîñ āvāze-i shikāyeti*, in *Djerīde-i Ḥawādith*, of 24 November 1884). He published his first short story, *Istanbulda bir Frenk* in the same paper, on 29 November 1889.

He wrote his first novel *Shîḳ* in 1886 and sent the first part to Aḥmed Midḥat, the leading popular novelist, publicist and journalist of the time, who immediately recognized his talent and invited him, by a flattering open letter published in his newspaper *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, to come and see him in his office. He urged him to complete the novel, which was serialized in the newspaper in 1887 and then published in book form in 1889. Aḥmed Midḥat took him onto the staff of his newspaper and the young writer began to fill the columns of the paper with a flood of articles (mainly didactic), short stories and novels, mostly translated from the French (Paul Bourget, Emile Gaboriau, Paul de Kock, etc.). In 1894 Ḥusayn Raḥmī left the *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat* and joined the staff of the *Iḳdām*, where several of his novels were to be serialized.

After the publication of his novel *Mürebbiye* in 1897 in *Iḳdām* his distinct literary personality was recognized by the critics and his popularity was secured. This occurred, strangely enough, just at the time when the exclusive and fashionable *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] literary movement with its slogan 'art for art's sake' was at its zenith.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī is the author of some 40 novels, several volumes of short stories, a few minor plays and a number of translations. Most of his articles, polemics, criticisms and a few short stories and novels published in various newspapers have not yet appeared in book form. His major novels, typical of his genre are: (1) *Shîḳ* (The Snob, 1888), his first novel, a sketch on the type of some of his later novels (nos. 4, 6, 8) where the 'Westernizing snob', the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed; (2) *ʿIffet* (1897), the story of a well educated young girl who, falling into great poverty, struggles to save her honour in the face of most difficult circumstances; (3) *Muṭallaḳa* (The Divorcee, 1898, German translation *Die Geschiedene* by Imhoff Pascha, 1907), describes the tragic consequences of chronic quarrels between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law; (4) *Mürebbiye* (The Governess, 1898): Dehrī Efendi, a retired civil servant and a blind admirer of 'Western ways of life' hires a Frenchwoman to 'educate' his two sons and his grandson. She settles in his sea-side villa and soon dominates and disrupts the whole household by seducing all the male members of the family, ending up with Dehrī Efendi himself; (5) *Bir Muʿādele-i Sewdā* (A Love Equation, 1899) is a strong social criticism directed against the traditional custom of parents choosing their future sons- and daughters-in-law without regard for their children's wishes; (6) *Metres* (The Mistress, 1900), another satire against 'Westernizing snobs' of the turn of the century with the unusual inclusion of a woman snob; (7) *Teṣādüf* (Chance Meeting, 1900) exposes with satirical humour all the tricks of the traditional fortune-teller who used to pester the lower and lower-middle class families of Istanbul; (8) *Shîpsevdi* (Always in Love, serialised partly in *Iḳdām* in 1901, suspended by the censor, published in full in *Ṣabāḥ* in 1908, first published in book form 1912, German translation *Der Liebeskranke Bey* by Muhsiné, 1916) usually considered his masterpiece, is a further development of the theme already treated in his earlier novels. This is a powerful character study of a snob. Meftūn Bey is a flippant young man. On his father's death, his rich uncle sends him to Paris, where he learns only to live the life of Parisian idlers. When his uncle dies, he has to rush to Istanbul, to be the head of a crowded *konak* in the country. He immediately begins to reorganize the house *alla franca* ('*Alafranga*' was the original title of the novel when it was first partly serialized in *Iḳdām* in 1901) and to re-educate the whole houshold, imposing on them European dress, food, manners, etc.; (9) *Ghūl Yabānī* (The Ogre, 1912) and (10) *Djadî* (The Witch, 1912), both satirizing the superstitious beliefs and naive credulity of some people of the period; (11) *Tebessüm-i Elem* (A Sad Smile, serialization in *Iḳdām* suspended in 1914, published in book form 1923), an interesting analysis of awkward relations between men and women of the period; (12) *Son Ārzū* (The Last Wish, 1918), the unhappy life of a young girl forced to marry a man she does not love; (13) *Djehennemlik* (The Damned, 1919), against the marrying of young girls to elderly men; (14) *Ḥaḳḳa Sîghîndîk* (God Preserve Us!, 1919), the sufferings of the lower and lower-middle classes during the years of the 1914-18 War in Istanbul; (15) *Tutushmush Gönüller* (Hearts Aflame, 1922) and (16) *Billūr Ḳalb* (A Heart of Crystal, 1924), both on the problem of the emancipation of women in post-war Istanbul; (17) *Meykhānede Ḥanîmlar* (Ladies in a Tavern, 1924), a warning against the 'excesses and misunderstanding' of the emancipation of women; (18) *Ben Deli Miyim?* (Am I Mad?, 1925) where most of the controversial philosophical topics of the post-war period are discussed; (19) *Utanmaz Adam* (The Shameless Man, 1930), a social satire in the form of a character study of a man who succeeds in life by completely ignoring all rules of the moral code.

Ḥusayn Rahmī's short stories (about 70) have been collected in eight volumes.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī occupies a unique place in the history of pre-Republican Turkish literature. Unlike most of his contemporaries he did not follow any earlier Turkish or French model; but assimilating very soon various influences he developed a powerful independent literary personality. As an admirer of the prolific popular writer Aḥmed Midḥat (1844-1912) he owes a great deal in his narrative technique, conversation, imitation of the minorities, handling of certain episodes, even for the preference of certain topics, to the traditions of the Turkish popular arts and literature (*i.e. karagöz, meddāḥ, ṭulūʿāt* technique in *ortaoyunu* and folk tales of various kinds). Whereas in Aḥmed Midḥat these elements are used freely and loosely with a mixture of such French influences as Alexandre Dumas père, Ḥusayn Raḥmī polishes them and assimilates them for his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly Maupassant and Zola. This combination of the cólourful Turkish popular tradition of story telling, the careful study of the naturalist technique, an accurate observation of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families, a penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time, an acute sense of humour and satire, made Ḥusayn Raḥmī the most original of all Turkish novelists until the 1930's.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī's novels and short stories are almost of documentary value. The everyday life of families and individuals and their development witnin the disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of western ideas and customs are meticulously studied, with the addition of humorous, satirical and grotesque elements. The tendency to imitate blindly everything Western, the inferiority complex vis-à-vis Europe, the demoralizing influence of Levantine Beyoğlu (Pera), and social problems of every type are all treated many times in his works.

Ḥusayn Raḥmī's technique is unequal. Most of his novels consist of a series of powerful sketches loosely connected by (mostly irrelevant) passages of philosophical or didactic remarks and observations which rather spoil the unity of the narrative. This is the only important weakness in the manner of Aḥmed Midḥat which he has not been able to cast out. His style, too, although much more polished than that of Aḥmed Midḥat, suffers from the same defect: when he reproduces direct speech he is masterly. He uses the most natural, fluent spoken Turkish, but when he begins to argue or elaborates some social or philosophical theory he falls back to the type of flowery style which he himself condemned in his various writings. However, he noticed this shortcoming in the 1920's, after the triumph of the 'New Language' movement and, like most of his contemporaries, began to simplify the style of his novels and short stories in their later editions. His complete works are being edited with some alterations in the language, in the light of recent changes, and there are signs that a revival of Ḥusayn Raḥmī's popularity is possible in spite of the radical change in theme and scope in the Turkish novel since the 1930's.

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ḤUSAYN SHĀH (1), Sayyid al-Sādāt ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Shāh Ḥusayn Sulṭān (to quote his full titles) B. AL-SAYYID ASHRAF AL-ḤUSAYNĪ AL-MAKKĪ, the founder of the Ḥusayn-Shāhī dynasty of Bengal, claimed descent from the Sharīfs of Mecca. His father migrated from Tirmidh [*q.v.*] and settled in Rāḍh, a small village in the district of Čāndpūr, where he received his education from the local *ḳāḍī*, whose daughter he later married. After completing his education he entered the service of the Ḥabshī Sultan Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh (*reg.* 897/1491-899/1493) and by dint of his ability and personal character rose to the rank of minister. Leading a revolt against his tyrannical master, he succeeded in defeating and killing him after a four-month siege of the fortress of Gaur (cf. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., iii, 270; Firishta's statement (Lucknow ed., ii, 585) that Muẓaffar Shāh perished in a sortie from the citadel is not supported by other authorities). On Muẓaffar's death in 899/1493 he succeeded to the throne of Bengal. For reasons of state he transferred his capital from Gaur to Ikdālā, and commenced his reign by ruthlessly punishing refractory soldiers, 12,000 of whom were said to have been put to the sword (cf. *Riyāḍ al-salāṭīn*, 132). Next he disbanded and dispersed the *payks*, *i.e.*, the Hindu palace-guards, who had grown insolent and unreliable and were suspected of having secret loyalties to the fallen royal family whom they had long served. He then turned to the next possible danger to the throne, the *ḥabshīs*, who had grown unruly and powerful during the previous régime, and banished them from his kingdom. In 900/1495 Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī [*q.v.*] of Djawnpūr, on his final defeat by Sikandar Lōdī (*reg.* 894-923/1517), fled from his retreat in Bihār and sought refuge in Bengal, whose ruler was his kinsman. The Sharḳī Sultan was hospitably received by Ḥusayn Shāh and lived at Kahlgāōṅ (Colgong) in retirement till his death in 905/1500. Ḥusayn Shāh shrewdly forestalled a possible invasion of Bengal by Sikandar Lōdī by entering into a non-aggression pact with the invader. The work of internal consolidation over, he embarked on a campaign of conquest in 904/1498 against the neighbouring kingdoms of Kāmrūp and Assam, which were both soon overwhelmed. He then extended his dominions as far as Orissa (the exact

date of its conquest is yet to be established). An enlightened and liberal ruler, he treated his Hindu subjects with generosity and appointed many of them to high offices. He built mosques, alms-houses, *madrasas* and other buildings of public utility, for whose maintenance he created endowments. He "was unquestionably the best, if not the greatest of the medieval rulers of Bengal ... and had almost become a national institution...". He died in 926/1519 and was succeeded by his son Nuṣrat Shāh.

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ḤUSAYN SHĀH (2), b. Maḥmūd Shāh Sharḳī (*reg.* 840/1436-862/1458) was the last of the line of the Sharḳī Sultans of the independent kingdom of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], who ascended the throne in 863/1458 after the death, in an armed conflict, of his elder brother Muḥammad Shāh, at that time engaged in hostilities against Buhlōl Lōdī [*q.v.*], the king of Delhi. Ḥusayn, immediately on his accession, concluded a four-year truce with Buhlōl. He utilized the respite by leading a powerful army into Tirhut and Orissa, both of which he reduced, compelling the Hindu ruler of Orissa to pay a huge ransom. In 871/1466 he laid siege to the fortress of Gwāliyar [*q.v.*] held by the Rādjpūt prince Mān Singh, who also purchased peace by paying an indemnity. Urged by his favourite queen Bībī Khʷunza (not Djalīla, as given by the *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, iii, 231, 255, which is a misreading for *ḥalīla*, cf. Firishta, Lucknow ed., ii, 602), entitled Malika-i Djahān, a daughter of the fugitive Sayyid king of Delhi, 'Alā' al-Dīn, to regain her father's lost possessions, he marched against Delhi in 878/1473, taking advantage of Buhlōl's absence in the Pandjāb. Buhlōl, his army vastly outnumbered, sued for peace, but this offer was contemptuously rejected by Ḥusayn. In the ensuing conflict the scales turned against him and he had to flee for his life, the ladies of his *ḥarīm*, including the queen, falling into the hands of the victor. In order to avenge his defeat he attacked Eṭāwah, held by Ḳuṭb Khān Lōdī, in 879/1474. He again suffered defeat; a third attempt met with the same fate. In 883/1479 Ḥusayn by his skilful military tactics succeeded in defeating the Lōdīs. But while the victorious army was retreating, Buhlōl fell upon it from behind and compelled Ḥusayn to cede Kāṅplī, Paṭiālī and certain other towns in the Doāb. Smarting under the blow Ḥusayn soon after engaged Buhlōl at Sunhar (dist. Eṭāwa) in 892/1486 but suffered a crushing defeat. Djawnpūr was captured and entrusted first to Mubārak Khān and later to Buhlōl's son Bārbak Shāh. In utter despair Ḥusayn had to flee into Bihar, closely pursued by Buhlōl, who chased him as far as Haldī on the Ganges. From his retreat in Bihar he continued to indulge in intrigues trying to sow discord between Bārbak Shāh, who held Djawnpūr, and his brother Sikandar Lōdī [*q.v.*], who now occupied the throne of Delhi. Sikandar, however, outmanoeuvred and overcame Bārbak, who was taken captive, and absorbed his principality into the Lōdī kingdom of Delhi. Ḥusayn, losing all hope of recovering his lost possessions, repaired to Kahlgāōṅ (Colgong) in Bengal where he continued to enjoy the protection and hospitality of his relative the Pūrbī Sultan, 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh [*q.v.*], as Firishta calls him, till his death in 905/1500. With him the Sharḳī line of kings of the independent kingdom of Djawnpūr came to a close. In accordance with his will, his coffin was transferred to Djawnpūr and interred in the family grave-yard, within the *khānḳāh* of Shaykh 'Īsā Tādj b. Aḥmad 'Īsā, close to the Great Mosque of Djawnpūr "al-Djāmi' al-Sharḳ". This mosque, completed during Ḥusayn Shāh's reign in 852/1448, is the best specimen of Sharḳī architecture.

A liberal patron of the fine arts, Ḥusayn Shāh was himself a great musician. He is credited with having invented the melody known in Indian musical terminology as the *Khayāl*, in addition to many other compositions, *e.g.*, Djawnpūrī Tōḍī, Djawnpūrī Basant, Djawnpūrī Asāwrī, Ḥusaynī Kānhṛa. His skill and proficiency in music, both instrumental and vocal, earned him the title of Nā'ik, *i.e.*, a master musician (cf. *Ta'rīkh Shīrāz-i Hind Djawnpūr*, 548-55).

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ḤUSAYN SHĀH ARGHŪN (also known as Mīrza Shāh Ḥasan) b. Shāh Bēg Arghūn, the founder of the Arghūn dynasty of Sind, was born in 896/1490 most probably at Ḳandahār which was then held by his father. On Bābur's occupation of Ḳandahār in 913/1507 Shāh Bēg came to Sind and occupied the adjoining territories of Shāl and Sīwī (modern Sibī). In 921/1515 Ḥusayn Shāh fell out with his father and joined the service of Bābur, with whom he remained for two years. The domestic quarrel having been patched up he returned to his father. In 926-27/1519-20 he was deputed by Shāh Bēg to help Djām Fīrūz, the ruler of Ṭhaṭṭa, whose territory had been invaded by his rival Djām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, whom he defeated and killed in battle. On the death of his father in 928/1521 Ḥusayn Shāh was proclaimed the ruler of upper Sind at Naṣrpūr where he was then

camping. Soon afterwards he marched against Ṭhaṭṭa, as Djām Fīrūz had refused to recognize his suzerainty, defeated him in a closely contested battle and occupied the town. The Djām fled to Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] where he died in exile.

In 931/1524 Ḥusayn Shāh marched against Multān [*q.v.*], capturing and destroying the forts of Siwrāʾī, Maʾū and Uččh [*q.v.*] on the way. The latter place was given to plunder and the timber and débris of the fort carried to Bhakkar [*q.v.*]. Hearing of the invasion Maḥmūd Khān Langāh, the ruler of Multān, marched out to meet the enemy with an army 80,000 strong but at the very first stage of the expedition fell ill and died. His successor Sultan Ḥusayn Langāh II [*q.v.*] considered it prudent to make peace with the invader. Frustrated and baulked of his booty Ḥusayn Shāh marched against the desert fort of Ḍērāwar (in the former Bahāwalpūr state) which was said to contain a huge hidden treasure. After a stiff resistance the fort surrendered and the treasure was secured. Burning with ambition and anxious to extend his rule Ḥusayn Shāh again thought of conquering Multān. Towards the end of 932/1526 he set out on his campaign and laid siege to the town which dragged on for a year. Unable to stand the terrible famine during which even dogs and cats were used as human food, the garrison ultimately surrendered. The city was ruthlessly devastated; all the inhabitants between the ages of seven and seventy were either made prisoners or put to the sword and a very large booty fell into the hands of the invader. According to Firishta (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, ii, 321), Ḥusayn Langāh was also taken prisoner and the government of Multān entrusted to Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn Māhūnī (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, 160).

After his victorious return to Bhakkar, Ḥusayn Shāh learnt that Rāy Khaṅgār of Kutch (Kačhčh) was preparing to attack Ṭhaṭṭa. Ḥusayn Shāh immediately left for that town, engaged the enemy in battle and completely routed him. Humāyūn [*q.v.*] on his arrival in Sind in 947/1540, after his defeat at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr [*q.v.*], sought the help of Ḥusayn Shāh in the hope that as a former servant of his father he would not hesitate to come to his help. Ḥusayn Shah, however, doubting Humāyūn's intentions and sincerity, procrastinated. Enraged at his cold behaviour Humāyūn occupied the fort of Bhakkar [*q.v.*] and appointed his uncle Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, as its commandant. On a rapprochement being effected Ḥusayn Shah agreed to render some help to Humāyūn but as soon as the latter left Sind, he promptly drove Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā out of Bhakkar and reoccupied the fort.

In 962/1554 the Arghūns and Tarkhāns of Ṭhaṭṭa conspired and rose in revolt against Ḥusayn Shāh, who had been ailing for long and was unable to discharge the functions of state. A compromise was, however, effected and the revolt consequently fizzled out. Enfeebled and paralysed Ḥusayn Shāh did not live long and died at the village of ʿAlīpōtō on 12 Rabīʿ I 962/4 February 1555 after a rule of 34 years, aged 66.

He was first buried under a dome in the Maklī necropolis, near Ṭhaṭṭa, but after a lapse of two years the coffin was transferred to Mecca where it was interred near the grave of his father. A grand building was erected over his grave which is no more in existence.

A brave and cultured ruler, Ḥusayn Shāh was well-versed in the traditional sciences and held the *mashāʾikh*, *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars, on many of whom he had settled stipends, in great esteem. A poet in Persian, he used to compose verses occasionally under the *nom de plume* of Sipāhī. He had two wives, one of whom was his cousin Māh Bēgam, a daughter of his uncle Muḥammad Muḳīm Mīrzā b. Shāh Bēg. Her daughter Čūčak Bēgam was married to prince Kāmrān, who had been blinded by Humāyūn, and in spite of her father's entreaties, remained firm in her resolve to accompany her ill-starred husband to Mecca, where he had been exiled.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

Nāṣir al-Dīn **ḤUSAYN SHĀH ČAKK** [see kashmīr].

ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH I, son of Rāy Sahrā entitled Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, the founder of the Langāh dynasty of Multān, who had usurped the throne by treacherously ousting his son-in-law, Shaykh Yūsuf Ḳurayshī, succeeded to the rule on the death of his father in 874/1469. Adventurous by nature, he began his reign by launching a succession of campaigns against the neighbouring forts of Shōr (modern Shorkōṭ), Činiōṭ [*q.v.*] and Kahrōṛ (modern Kahrōṛ Pucca), which he easily reduced. At this time Shaykh Yūsuf Ḳurayshī, who had taken refuge with Buhlōl Lōdī, the king of Delhi, persuaded his protector to march against Ḥusayn Langāh and assist him in recovering his lost kingdom. Buhlōl set out twice from Delhi with the intention of conquering Multān, but had to abandon the attempt owing to the threatened invasion of his capital on both the occasions by the Sharḳī sulṭāns, Maḥmūd and Ḥusayn Shāh [*q.v.*]. It is difficult to fix the exact dates of these two abortive attempts as the authorities widely differ. The third time, when Ḥusayn Langāh was occupied with quelling the rebellion of his brother, who had assumed the title of Shihāb al-Dīn and proclaimed himself king at Kahrōṛ, which had been assigned to him, Buhlōl deputed his son Bārbak Shāh to reduce Multān. He was joined *en route* by the forces of Tātār Khān Lōdī, the governor of the Pandjāb. Ḥusayn Langāh, hearing of the invasion and having completely crushed the revolt of Shihāb al-Dīn, reached Multān by forced marches and gave battle to the invaders, who suffered a crushing defeat and fled to Delhi. It was during his reign that Ismāʿīl Khān and Fatḥ Khān, the two Balūč brothers and founders respectively of Ḍēra Ismāʿīl Khān and Ḍēra Fatḥ Khān [see ḍēradjāt] came from Mukrān [*q.v.*] and joined his service. This event marks the settlement of the Balučs in large numbers in the neighbourhood of Multān. In his old age Ḥusayn

Langāh abdicated in favour of his son Fīrūz, a dissolute and worthless youth, who was poisoned by the prime minister ʿImād al-Mulk to avenge the death of his son Bilāl whom Fīrūz had executed. Ḥusayn resumed the reins of power and in his turn avenged the death of his son by executing ʿImād al-Mulk. On the death of Buhlōl Lōdī in 895/1489 he sent his condolences to his son and successor Sikandar Lōdī and concluded a treaty of peace with him, thus putting an end to the designs of Shaykh Yūsuf, the pretender to the throne of Multān.

A cultured and accomplished man, Ḥusayn Langāh promoted education and learning by erecting colleges staffed by such eminent scholars as the brothers ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAzīz Allāh of Ṭulanba, a small village near Multān. A contemporary of Djām Niẓām al-Dīn *alias* Ninda, the ruler of Thaṭṭa, he was on very good terms with him and both the rulers often exchanged gifts and presents. He died in 908/1502 after a rule of 36 years.

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ḤUSAYN SHĀH LANGĀH II, son of Maḥmūd Langāh (*reg.* 904/1498-9—931/1524-5), the ruler of Multān, was still a minor when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father in 931/1524-25. Taking advantage of the ruler's minority and prompted by Bābur [*q.v.*], Ḥusayn Shāh Arghūn [*q.v.*], the ruler of Sind, set out against Multān. Maḥmūd Langāh marched out to defend his kingdom, but while he was only one or two stages away from his capital he suddenly died, poisoned, it was believed, by Langaŕ Khān Langāh, the commander of his army, who later deserted to Ḥusayn Shāh Arghūn. Ḥusayn Langāh, a boy of only three who had been proclaimed king, was protected by the regent and prime minister, Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Bukhārī, a son-in-law of Maḥmūd Langāh, who decided to resist Ḥusayn Shāh Arghūn, and against the advice of his commanders, decided to stand a siege which dragged on for more than a year. The city, after suffering a terrible famine and untold misery, vividly described by both Niẓām al-Dīn and Firishta, fell to the invader in 932/1526. The young ruler was taken prisoner, his uncle Shudjāʿ al-Mulk Bukhārī was insulted and tortured to death, the famished inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred and those who escaped the sword were indiscriminately taken prisoner. These included the well-known scholar of the day Shaykh Saʿd Allāh Lāhorī and his aged father, both eyewitnesses of the great siege. Multān was annexed to Sind and one Khʷādja Shams al-Dīn Māhūnī was appointed governor, who was shortly afterwards removed by the traitor Langaŕ Khān, who in his turn was replaced by Mirzā Kāmrān, the second son of Bābur. The independence of Multān was lost for ever and it became, shortly afterwards, a dependency of the Mughal empire.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ḤUSAYN WĀʿIẒ KĀSHIFĪ [see kāshifī].

ḤUSAYNĀBĀD, called Ḥusaynābād the Great (*buzurg*), is to be distinguished from two other Ḥusaynābāds, one of which existed in the modern Murshidabad district and the other in the 24 Parganas. Ḥusaynābād the Great was a town, now in the Malda district of West Bengal, which flourished during the times of the Bengal sultans Ḥusayn Shāh, Naṣrat Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh III. The name appears on the coins and inscriptions of Ḥusayn Shāh, but only on the coins of the other three sultans. It is not certain if it was identical with Gaur, in which case it was named after Ḥusayn Shāh, or if it was a suburb of the city actually built by the Sultan himself. The latter opinion, however, appears to be more probable. According to Ghulām Ḥusayn Salīm, Ḥusayn Shāh transferred his seat of government to Ekdālā adjoining the city of Gaur. This Ekdālā was situated near the village of Ramkeli on the western outskirt of the city. It is possible that this Ekdālā was later re-named by Ḥusayn Shāh as Ḥusaynābād the Great. Besides being the metropolis during Ḥusayn Shāh's reign, Ḥusaynābād the Great also appears to have been the capital of the western region (*iḳlīm*) of the kingdom. The capital of the eastern region was probably Muʿaẓẓamābād (near Mymensingh).

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(A. B. M. Husain)

ḤUSAYNĪ DĀLĀN, a Shīʿī shrine in the old city of Dacca, seems to have been originally built in 1052/1642 by one Sayyid Murād during Prince Shudjāʿ's governorship of Bengal. Prince Shudjāʿ, although himself a Sunnī, was eager to preserve and patronize Shīʿa institutions. The tradition is that Sayyid Murād, having seen al-Ḥusayn in a vision erecting a *taʿziya-khāna* (house of mourning), was inspired to raise the building, which he named

Ḥusaynī Dālān. The original building may have been a small structure, expanded to its present form in later times. It was repaired in 1807 and in 1810 by the East India Company, and a portion of the building was reconstructed after the earthquake of 1897.

The building stands on a high platform ascended by a flight of steps on the east side, and consists of two main halls placed back to back. The *shirnī* hall, facing south, is coloured black to indicate sorrow and mourning for the death of al-Ḥusayn, and the *khuṭba* hall, facing north, has a *minbar* with seven wooden steps. In the latter hall are hung several religious symbols. To these two halls have been added subsidiary halls in two storeys on the right and left, probably meant for women. The southern façade of the building is flanked by two three-storey polygonal hollow towers, crowned by domes. The parapet of the building consists of coloured merlons, and over its four corners are four kiosks. The building, as a whole, gives a modern appearance with remnants of older architecture here and there.

From the first to the tenth day of Muḥarram, the Ḥusaynī Dālān becomes the chief attraction of the city. Mourners, including Sunnī Muslims, assemble there, listen to sermons and join in passion plays [see TAʿZIYA]. On the ʿĀshūrāʾ [*q.v.*], a great procession parades through the main streets of the city to a place in the western part of the city called Karbalāʾ.

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(A. B. M. HUSAIN)

ḤUSAYNĪ SĀDĀT AMĪR, popular name of ḤUSAYN B. ʿĀLIM B. ABI 'L-ḤASAN AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, an eminent mystic writer and a distinguished disciple of Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ of Multān [*q.v.*]. Born at Guziv, a village in Ghur, he subsequently migrated to Harāt. He came to Multān with his father and joined the Suhrawardī order. According to a tradition quoted in *Laṭāʾif-i Ashrafī*, Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn married one of his daughters to him. Djamālī says that he visited Delhi with his spiritual master during the reign of Iletmish (606-633/1210-35). Owing to disturbed conditions in his homeland, he seems to have spent a considerable time in Multān during the reigns of Balban (664-86/1266-87) and Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh Khaldjī (689-95/1290-96) (some of his verses in praise of the latter are given in *Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*, see *Bibl.*). He died in Harāt after 729/1328 (the date given by Djāmī, 16 Shawwāl 718/November 1318, is obviously wrong, as he completed his work *Zād al-musāfirīn* in 729/1328) and was buried near the tomb of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar Ṭayyār.

Ḥusaynī was a notable mystic thinker; he, ʿIrāḳī and Awḥadī form that famous Suhrawardī trio which played a very prominent part in popularizing mystic ideas through their works—*Lamaʿāt*, *Tardjīʿ* and *Zād al-musāfirīn*. Dawlat Shāh calls him a second Djunayd in scholarship and eminence; a modern literary critic places him next to Saʿdī and Rūmī in the history of Persian literature (*Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*). He possessed a unique gift of communicating mystic ideas through the medium of stories and fables. His works embody mystic reactions to the social and moral anarchy that came in the wake of the Mongol invasions. Of his works, the *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* (Mudjtabāʾī Press, Delhi; commentaries by ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Ibrāhīm Bilgrāmī, MS Bodleian 1257; and by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Buddh, MS personal collection), the *Ṭarab al-madjālis* (MS I. O. Ethé no. 1829), the *Zād al-musāfirīn* (Newal Kishore 1884, where the name of the author is wrongly given as Mullā Ḥusayn Wāʿiz al-Kāshifī), and the *Kanz al-rumūz* (MSS Brit. Museum, Rieu, *CPM*, ii, 845 b; I.O. nos. 1830-31) are well known. A poetical collection *Haft gandj* has recently come to light (*Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*). Copies of other works, like the *dīwān*, *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm*, *ʿAnḳāʾ mughrib*, *Rūḥ al-arwāḥ* and *Sirrnāma*, probably perished as the result of the Mongol cataclysm. For some stray prose and versified compositions reference may be made to *Ashʿār-i mutafarriḳa*, MSS I.O. Ethé no. 1747, fol. 68 a; Bodleian 1212, fol. 107a; *Ḳalandar nāma*, MS Brit. Museum Add. 7611, fol. 549b; Brit. Museum, Rieu, ii, 834a; *Madjmaʿ al-inshāʾ*, ed. Muḥ. Amīn-i Banī Isrāʾīl, MS I.O. Ethé no. 2122.

Bibliography: Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Newal Kishore 1915, 545; Djamālī, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Delhi 1311, 110-1; Gharīb Yemenī, *Laṭāʾif-i ashrafī*, Delhi 1298, 366-7; Sulṭān Ḥusayn, *Madjālis al-ʿushshāḳ*, Newal Kishore 1897, 126-8; Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Kitāb Khāna-i Khayyām, 1333, iii, 379; Amīn Rāḍī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ed. Djawād Fāḍil, ii, 124-7; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā*, ed. E. G. Browne, 222-5; Dārā Shukōh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Newal Kishore 1900, 115-16; Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Djung, *Khulāṣat al-kalām*, MS Bodleian 390, fols. 201b-207a; Abū Ṭālib, *Khulāṣat al-afkār*, MS Bodleian 391, fol. 68b; *Miḥakk al-sulūk wa miṣḳalat al-nufūs*, MS India Office, Ethe no. 129, fol. 649a; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1873, ii, 43-4; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Ṣubḥ gulshan*, Shāhdjahanī Press, 1295, 138; *Maʿārif*, Aʿẓamgarh, December 1946, 456-62; *Rāhnumā-ye Kitāb*, Tehrān, vii, no. I, Autumn 1964, 25-35.

(K. A. NIZAMI)

ḤUSAYNIDS, a dynasty which reigned in Tunisia from 1705 until 25 July 1957, when the Tunisian republic was proclaimed. The founder of the dynasty was al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] who came to power in 1705, after the defeat and capture by the Algerians of the Bey Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf. Proclaimed Bey and later recognized as *Beylerbeyi* (governor) of the province of Tunisia by the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III, Ḥusayn persuaded his Council of military leaders to adopt a system of hereditary succession within his family by primogeniture on the male side. The greater part of his reign passed without problems, but the end was troubled by the successful revolt of his nephew, ʿAlī, who, with the help of the Algerians, dethroned him and was created Bey in his place (1735-56).

For nearly twenty years, ʿAlī Pasha ruled without incident but in 1752 he was faced with the revolt of his son Yūnus, and, more serious, in 1756 with that of his cousin Muḥammad, son of Ḥusayn, who conquered Tunis with the help of Algerian troops. These sacked the town which was poorly defended by native soldiers whom ʿAlī Pasha had recruited in the place of the Turkish Janissaries.

Muḥammad (1756-9) was succeeded by his brother, ʿAlī Bey (1759-82), who returned to the earlier policy of recruiting his forces in the Levant. While recognized by the Ottoman Sultan only as Governor of the province of Tunisia, the Bey, in fact, enjoyed an autonomy close to complete independence; for the Turkish government did not interfere at all in Tunisian internal affairs, at any rate until 1835, and the Bey was able himself to sign treaties with European powers. Differences of opinion between Tunisia and France first arose under ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in 1741-2 concerning the Africa Company and, much more seriously, in 1769-70, under ʿAlī Bey, in connexion with the annexation of Corsica by France and the monopoly of coral-fishing. Thanks to the intervention of the Bey's son-in-law and Chief Minister, Muṣṭafā K̲h̲od̲j̲a, the dispute was settled, and from that time on a French Consul-General was established in Tunis.

The next Bey, Ḥamūda Pas̲h̲a (1783-1814), found himself in violent conflict with the Venetians (1784-92), who bombarded Sousse and Goletta, and with the Algerians, who twice, in 1807 and 1813, invaded Tunisian territory. In Tunis itself, Ḥamūda Pas̲h̲a had to deal with a revolt of the Janissaries. With the help of Yūsuf, *ṣāḥib al-ṭābaʿ* (guardian of the state seals) and in effect Chief Minister, he was able to put down the rising and finally dissolved the Corps of Janissaries (1811). Ḥamūda Pas̲h̲a was responsible for the construction of the Dār al-Bey near the *ḳaṣba*, as well as of the palace of Mannūba.

After the brief reign of ʿUt̲h̲mān Bey (September-November 1814), his brother Maḥmūd (November 1814-March 1824) returned to the practice of recruiting Janissaries in the Orient in order to repel the Algerian attacks; finally, however, he made peace with the *od̲j̲āḳ* of Algiers in 1821. Most important of all, he had to suppress the privateer raids upon the demands of the European powers after the Congresses of Vienna and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1819); this meant an important loss to the Tunisian economy. Ḥusayn Bey (1824-35) supported the Ottoman Empire in the various phases of the "Eastern Question", the result of which was the destruction of the Tunisian fleet at Navarino [*q.v.*]. He thought also of intervening in Tripolitania following the incidents which occurred there between 1832 and 1835, but when the Turkish government once again made Tripolitania a province directly administered by Ottoman officials, he gave up these pretensions. Under Muṣṭafā Bey (1835-37) and Aḥmad Bey (1837-55), tension grew between Tunis and Istanbul. The Sultan, supported by Great Britain, tried to bring Tunisia back to more strict obedience, while Aḥmad Bey, upheld by France, endeavoured to protect its autonomy. Finally, the Bey succeeded in his refusal to pay the tribute claimed by the Porte, received the titles of *wālī* and *mus̲h̲īr*, but was obliged to continue the practice of receiving firmans of appointment to office and confirmation in it. Furthermore, Aḥmad Bey showed his allegiance to the Sultan by sending a Tunisian expeditionary force to Turkey during the Crimean War. He was also the first to introduce certain reforms into Tunisia and to launch great public works. All this involved enormous expense, and caused the Bey to contract debts, which mainly profited European businessmen and the Minister of Finance, Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār, and involved levying new taxes. In addition, Aḥmad Bey abolished slavery and did away with the statute which had kept Tunisian Jews in an inferior position.

Muḥammad Bey (1855-59) and his brother Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-82) were determined reformers, but often badly advised. The first instituted the *mad̲j̲bā*, a poll tax, and issued the "Pacte Fondamental" (Fundamental Law) on 10 September 1857, on the model of the Ottoman *K̲h̲aṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of February 1856 [see TANẒĪMĀT]. This pact gave all Tunisians equality, liberty of conscience, and freedom in commercial matters. It also allowed foreigners to acquire property in Tunisia and to take part in every kind of economic activity. The administration was re-organized on the European model and in 1861, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ promulgated a constitution [see DUSTŪR, i] which made the country a hereditary monarchy ruled by the Bey with the assistance of a Legislative Council of sixty; in addition, regular law-courts were established. The disastrous state of the country's finances, combined with the malpractices of Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār, led the Bey in 1863 to seek a loan from the banker Erlanger, at an excessive rate of interest. Lacking the means of repaying this, Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ decided to double the *mad̲j̲bā*; this action provoked in 1864 a revolt of the central tribes and then of the cities of the Sahel under the leadership of ʿAlī b. G̲h̲adāham. The rebellion was suppressed, but Tunisia was ruined. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ contracted a new loan in 1865 on terms as heavy as the first. Near to bankruptcy, he was obliged in 1869 to consent to the creation of an international financial commission (Tunisia, France, England and Italy) which brought to light at last the nefarious behaviour of Muṣṭafā K̲h̲aznadār.

The attempts of the new Chief Minister, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, to strengthen again the ties between Tunisia and the Ottoman Empire were cancelled out by the opposition of France and Italy. French pressure grew stronger and stronger and after the Treaty of Berlin (1878) the intervention of France became inevitable, despite some tardy efforts on the part of Italy. Using as their pretext the incursions of the K̲h̲roumir tribes into Algeria, the French government on 4 April 1881 decided to send a punitive expedition into Tunisia, despite Turkish protests and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ's attempts at conciliation. On 12 May 1881, French troops arrived at the Bardo and Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ was obliged to sign the treaty of Ḳaṣr-Saʿīd, by which he gave up his external sovereignty to France and was forced to accept the presence of a resident French minister. Two years later, the Convention of La Marsa (8 June 1883), imposed on ʿAlī Bey (1882-1902), established the Protectorate in full. Following successive encroachments on the part of the French administration, the Beys Muḥammad al-Hādī (1902-6), Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (Naceur Bey, 1906-22) and Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (1922-9) were reduced to more or less honorary positions, although Muḥammad al-Nāṣir had supported the activity of the Destour party in order to give Tunisians a greater part in the political life of the country. After 1934, it was the Néo-Destour party under Ḥabīb Bourguiba (Abū Ruḳayba) which gave new strength to the strong political feelings of the country, while Aḥmad Bey (1919-42) followed the directives of the Residents-General.

However, during the Second World War, Munṣif (Moncef) Bey (19 June 1942-13 May 1943) retrieved some of the prestige of the Beys' throne by putting himself at the head of the nationalist movement, at that time deprived of its other leaders. During his short reign, he showed himself an energetic sovereign, who rallied the bulk of the population around him and caused his dynasty to be regarded as a kind of guarantee and repository of national sovereignty.

Munṣif Bey was forced to abdicate shortly after the reconquest of Tunis by the allied armies and was replaced by his cousin, al-Amīn (Lamine) Bey (13 May 1943-25 July 1957). He did not possess his cousin's strength and energy of character, and after the war political initiative returned to Ḥabīb Bourguiba and the other leaders of the Néo-Destour. From 1952 to 1954, Lamine Bey tried rather timidly to resist French demands, and his passive resistance, combined with the militant behaviour of the Néo-Destour, brought the French government to agree first to internal autonomy (3 June 1955) and then to full independence (20 March 1956).

A short time after this, the family of the Beys ceased to enjoy any special privileges and, by a decree of 3 August 1956, the exercise of power was taken away from the Bey and given to the First Minister. On 25 July 1957, the Constituent Assembly proclaimed the fall of the Ḥusaynid dynasty and the establishment of a republican régime. For a short time placed under house arrest near Tunis, Lamine Bey was later given complete freedom. He died in 1964.

The Ḥusaynid dynasty, although of foreign origin, was able at times to give—though never to a very marked degree—the impression of being the national dynasty of Tunisia. Turkish in origin, it preserved the traditions of the Ḥanafī school of law, marriage to Ottoman princesses, and recognition (until 1881) of the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan.

Bibliography: Works cited in the art. AL-ḤUSAYN (pp. 605-6) and those mentioned by R. Brunschvig in art. TUNISIA, in *EI*[1], part 3, Turkish period, and part 4, French Protectorate (bibliography very complete up to 1931), further: Farrugia de Candia, *Monnaies husséinites*, in *RT*, nos. 11-12 (1932), 379-98; nos. 13-14 (1933), 215-30; no. 17 (1934), 73-92; no. 21 (1935), 15-36; Grandchamp, *Les différends de 1832-33 entre la Régence de Tunis et les royaumes de Sardaigne et des Deux-Siciles*, in *RT*, N.S., no. 5 (1931), 1-91; idem, *Le différend tuniso-sarde de 1843-44*, in *RT*, nos. 13-14 (1933), 127-215; idem, *Documents relatifs à la révolution de 1864 en Tunisie*, 2 vols., Tunis 1935; P. Marty, *Historique de la mission militaire française en Tunisie (1827-1882)*, in *RT*, N.S., no. 22 (1935), 171-208; nos. 23-24 (1935), 309-46; Aziz Samih Ilter, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1936-7; M. S. Mzali and J. Pignon, *Documents sur Khéreddine*, in *RT*, N.S., nos. 18, 19-20, 21, 22, 23-4, 26, 30, 31-2, 23-4, 41-2, 43-4 (1934-40); L. Berchet, *En marge du Pacte Fondamental*, in *RT*, no. 37 (1939), 67-86; P. Grandchamp, *Arbre généalogique de la famille hassinite (1705-1941)*, in *RT*, nos. 45-7 (1941), 233; J. Ganiage, *La crise des finances tunisiennes et l'ascension des Juifs de Tunis*, in *RA*, 1955, 153-73; A. Raymond, *Les libéraux anglais et la question tunisienne*, in *CT*, no. 11 (1955), 422-65; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, ii, Paris 1956; A. Martel, *L'armée d'Ahmed Bey d'après un instructeur français*, in *CT*, no. 15 (1956), 373-407; R. Mantran, *La titulature des beys de Tunis au XIX[e] siècle d'après les documents d'archives turcs du Dar-el-Bey*, in *CT*, nos. 19-20 (1957), 341-8; idem, *L'évolution des relations entre la Tunisie et l'Empire ottoman du XVI[e] au XIX[e] siècle*, in *CT*, nos. 26-7 (1959), 319-33; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du Protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959 (important bibliography); Bice Slama, *L'insurrection de 1280/1864 dans le Sahel*, in *CT*, no. 31 (1960), 109-36; A. Raymond, *La Tunisie*, Paris 1961; idem, *Salisbury and the Tunisian question 1878-1880*, in *St. Antony's Papers*, no. 11, *Middle Eastern Affairs*, ii, London 1961, 101-38; R. Mantran, *Inventaire des documents d'archives turcs du Dar-el-Bey*, Tunis-Paris 1962; R. Le Tourneau, *Évolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962; A. Raymond, *La France, la Grande-Bretagne et le problème de la réforme à Tunis (1855-1857)*, in *Etudes maghrébines: Mélanges Charles-André Julien*, Paris 1964, 137-64.

(R. MANTRAN)

ḤŪSH, country of the *djinn*s, beyond the sands of Yabrīn, into which no human ventures, and also a fabulous kind of camels, which are the issue of a cross between ordinary camels and *djinn* stallions or descended from the camels of the Wabār [*q.v.*], whose country they alone occupy. At times the males leave these desert wastes to attack herds and mate with female domestic camels; it is thus, it is thought, that famous species such as the *mahriyya* [see IBIL] or the *ʿasdjadiyya* are born.

Ḥūsh appears to be a doublet of *waḥsh* [*q.v.*] "wild", and *ḥūshī/waḥshī* is a technical term in rhetoric [see MAʿĀNĪ WA-BAYĀN].

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, s.v.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 291; Damīrī, s.v.; Maydānī, i, 365; *LA*, s.v.; Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 169; *WRKM*, vii, 239. (ED.)

HŪSHANG, mythical king of Iran who appears in several of the *Yasht* of the Avesta; the first lawful king and the protégé of the gods, he reigned over the seven climes of the world, over the demons and the sorcerers; according to these texts, he resided in the countries situated to the south of the Caspian Sea. His place in the series of the mythical kings (Pīshdādiyān) is vague: sometimes he is the contemporary of Ṭahmūrath [*q.v.*], sometimes his successor; sometimes Gayumard comes before both of them. The Pahlavi texts add little to the Avestan texts. The Arabic texts, which supply much detail, also disagree over the place of Hūshang in the series of the Pīshdādiyān, but recognize him as the first civilizer: al-Ṭabarī-Balʿami, then al-Thaʿālibi, attribute to him the initiative in the building of houses, the working of mines and the use of iron, in the foundation of Babylon, Susa and Rayy, and in the organization of agriculture. According to an anecdote related by al-Bīrūnī (and, later, by Firdawsī), he was the inventor of fire. These various aspects of his activity, mentioned also by the later Arab writers, probably have for their source the *Khʷatāy-nāmak*, as re-cast by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, whereas Firdawsī bases himself on the early Iranian edition of this work [see FIRDAWSĪ, col. 918b]. Thus the recension followed by the Arabic authors attributes to him a reign of forty years, whereas Firdawsī has only thirty. Firdawsī makes him the grandson of Gayumard (the first man) and the avenger of his own father Siyāmak; to the enterprises of Hūshang mentioned above, he adds the creation of canals to water the land; he is the only one to relate the details and circumstances of the discovery of fire, as a result of the clash of two stones, one of which was thrown by Hūshang at a dragon "and he gave orders that prayers should be said facing a fire, saying: It is the spark given by God (Īzad); worship it if you are wise"; completely contrary to this account, Abu 'l-Maʿālī, the author of a *Bayān al-adyān* in Persian (485/1092), declares (perhaps under the influence of Islam) that Hūshang was a promoter of idolatry, because he went into a

state of contemplation before a statue of his deceased daughter. Al-Ṭabarī and other early writers in Arabic wished to introduce Gayumard and Hūs͟hang into the genealogy of the personages of Biblical antiquity, the former being Adam and the latter Mahalaleel (Genesis, v, 12-7) or his son, or else Heber the descendant of Noah. Some writers stressed the proofs of wisdom given by Hūs͟hang, to whom they attributed a collection of moral sayings (*D̲j̲āvidān k̲h̲irad*, "The eternal wisdom").

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, 1st part, in *Archives d'études orientales Lundell*, Stockholm 1917, has made a detailed study of Hūs͟hang with citations of Avestan, Pahlavi, Arabic and Persian texts; Abu 'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān* (ed. Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, i, 146; ed. Abbas Eghbal, Tehrān 1312/1934, 19; tr. H. Massé, in *RHR*, 1926, 38); on the *D̲j̲āvidān k̲h̲irad*, see MISKAWAYH, and H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, 246. (H. MASSÉ)

HŪS͟HANG S͟HĀH G͟HŪRĪ, ruler of Mālwā [*q.v.*] from 808/1405 to 835/1432. He is first mentioned as Alp K͟hān, the eldest son of Dilāwar K͟hān [*q.v.*], by Firis͟hta, who represents him as ambitious for Mālwā's independence from Dihlī and resentful of his father's homage to Maḥmūd K͟haldjī of Dihlī when the latter was a fugitive in Dhār from the Tīmūrid invasion in 801/1398; indeed, during Maḥmūd's presence at Dhār he withdrew from the court to Māndū [*q.v.*] where he put in order the fortifications of the old Paramāra stronghold, and after Maḥmūd's return to Dihlī in 804/1401 he encouraged his father to assert his independence. When Dilāwar K͟hān died suddenly in 808/1405 Alp K͟hān succeeded to the throne as (al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam) Ḥusām al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Mud̲j̲āhid Hūs͟hang S͟hāh (cf. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford 1907, ii, 246-7); suspecting that Dilāwar K͟hān's sudden death was the result of poison administered by orders of his son, Muẓaffar I of Gud̲j̲arāt marched on Mālwā the following year to avenge his death, captured Hūs͟hang, and took him off prisoner to Gud̲j̲arāt. Hūs͟hang was later restored to his kingdom, but found a cousin, Mūsā K͟hān, had usurped his power in Māndū; but he regained that stronghold by collecting the revenues of the kingdom before Mūsā had the chance to do so, and thus deprived Mūsā of the means of paying an army.

After his restoration (at the hands of Aḥmad K͟hān, the grandson of Muẓaffar I of Gud̲j̲arāt; later Aḥmad S͟hāh I) he was soon engaged in repeated hostilities with Gud̲j̲arāt from 813/1410 to 819/1416. In 820/1417 Hūs͟hang supported Naṣīr K͟hān of K͟hāndēs͟h [*q.v.*] against his younger brother Ḥasan in that divided kingdom (he had previously married their sister); Ḥasan was championed by Aḥmad I of Gud̲j̲arāt, whose dominions were invaded by Naṣīr at Hūs͟hang's instigation. Hūs͟hang gave Naṣīr only lukewarm support, and the latter was obliged to swear fealty to Aḥmad; on discovering Hūs͟hang's complicity Aḥmad retaliated by invading Mālwā in 822/1419 and 823/1420, effecting little but the plunder of some outlying districts, but at the same time convincing Hūs͟hang of Gud̲j̲arāt's superiority in arms.

It was thus most probably to reinforce the strength of the army that Hūs͟hang set out on his most adventurous expedition, in 824/1421, against the *rād̲j̲ā* of D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar in Uṛīsā [*q.v.*] in order to obtain elephants. The story of Hūs͟hang's strategy, in the disguise of a horse-coper, is told in full by Firis͟hta (Eng. tr. Briggs, iv, 178-9). During Hūs͟hang's absence Aḥmad S͟hāh again invaded Mālwā, but on this occasion the superiority was with the Mālwā army, and Mālwā thereafter experienced no trouble from Gud̲j̲arāt. (A Hindū source, the *Śivavilāsam* of Kommana, claims a victory over the 'sultan of Dhārā' by the Reḍḍi general Allāḍa, an ally of the *rād̲j̲ā* of Uṛisā; this probably refers to the skirmish in which Hūs͟hang relieved the *rād̲j̲ā* of his elephants. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The Gajapati Bhānudeva IV*, in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, xiii (1950), 161).

It seems to have been on his return from Uṛisā that Hūs͟hang overcame the Gōnd *rād̲j̲ā* of Khērlā [*q.v.*], a small principality to the north of Barār, and exacted tribute; this seems to have been Hūs͟hang's first serious attempt to extend his possessions. In 825/1422 he turned his attention to the north, capturing first Gāgrawn (24° 38′ N., 76° 12′ E., in south-east Rād̲j̲āsthān) and then besieging Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] until it was relieved by Mubārak S͟hāh the Sayyid king of Dihlī. In 831/1428 Hūs͟hang's new tributary the *rād̲j̲ā* of Khērlā was attacked by Aḥmad S͟hāh Bahmanī; Hūs͟hang marched to his relief, and pursued the retreating Bahmanī army for three days until the latter turned to give battle. Hūs͟hang at first succeeded, but an ambush put the Mālwā army to flight.

In 834/1431 Hūs͟hang attacked the town of Kalpī [*q.v.*] on the river D̲j̲amnā, a nominal possession of the Sayyid kings of Dihlī, simultaneously with Ibrāhīm S͟harḳī of D̲j̲awnpur who later withdrew. Hūs͟hang accepted the surrender of Kalpī from Ḳādir K͟hān, the governor, whom he appointed as his own governor. The details of his career after this are not clear, but it is known that he spent some time superintending the destruction of the Bhōd̲j̲asāgara dam at Bhōd̲j̲pur near Bhōpāl (the lake is said to have taken three years to empty, and its waters added an enormous area of fertile land to Mālwā), and it is assumed that at about this time he founded the city of Hōs͟hangābād in Barār. He died on 9 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 835/7 August 1432, and was first entombed in Hōs͟hangābād (note by Briggs to his translation of Firis͟hta, iv, 190).

Hūs͟hang's reputation rests on the military achievements of his twenty-seven years' reign, which saw the Mālwā territories extended northwards to Kalpī and southwards to Khērlā, involving conflict with Dihlī, D̲j̲awnpur and the Bahmanī kingdom as well as the old rival Gud̲j̲arāt. He had a fine taste for architecture, which made Māndū a magnificent city (for his works there, especially the D̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id, the Dihlī darwāza, and his own tomb, see MĀNḌŪ) as well as an impregnable stronghold. He was well served by his ministers (especially his cousin Malik Mug͟hīt͟h and Mug͟hīt͟h's son Maḥmūd K͟hān, the later Maḥmūd I K͟haldjī [*qq.v.*]), seems to have been an impartial ruler (for the dedication of D̲j̲ayn images in his reign see Campbell, *op. cit.* below, 163), and was popular with his subjects, his tomb acquiring sanctity after his death with a yearly *ʿurs* in his honour, still held in 1844 when the 'Bombay subaltern' was writing.

He was succeeded by his eldest son G͟haznī K͟hān as Muḥammad S͟hāh, who exterminated his collaterals and alienated his nobles and was promptly poisoned; for a few days his son Masʿūd K͟hān was raised to the throne, but Maḥmūd K͟hān, having first offered the crown to his father Malik Mug͟hīt͟h, ascended the throne himself, and the G͟hūrī line came to an end

(for the *nisba* Ghūrī, see under DILĀWAR KHĀN).

Bibliography: in addition to the references above: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, *passim*; Eng. tr. J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahommedan power* ..., London 1829; Niẓām al-Dīn Bakhshī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ed. and trans. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1913-41; J. M. Campbell, *Mândû*, in *JBBRAS*, xix (1896), 154-201; E. Barnes, *Dhar and Mandu*, in *JBBRAS*, xxi (1904), 339-91; *A description of the ruined city of Mandu ... by a Bombay Subaltern*, Bombay 1854; G. Yazdani, *Mandū*: *the city of joy*, Oxford 1929, 8-13. See also bibliographies to MĀLWĀ and MĀNḌŪ.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḤUSN AL-KHĀTIMA [see INTIHĀʾ].

ḤUSN AL-MAḲṬAʿ [see INTIHĀʾ].

ḤUSN AL-MAṬLAʿ [see IBTIDĀʾ].

HÜSNÜMANSUR [see ADIYAMAN].

HUSREV [see KHUSREV].

AL-ḤUṢRĪ, the name of two men of letters of the same family, who take their *nisba* from al-Ḥuṣr, a village near Ḳayrawān: I.—ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. TAMĪM AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, died near Ḳayrawān at al-Manṣūriyya in 413/1022. Little is known of his life, which appears to have been passed peacefully at Ḳayrawān, then a flourishing centre of Arabic culture. A famous poet and man of letters, he became a central figure for the young people of Ḳayrawān—especially Ibn Rashīḳ and Ibn Sharaf [*qq.v.*]—who profited from his vast erudition in matters of literary tradition and from his ideas concerning the concept of *adab*. Although we possess a number of his verses which, incidentally, mainly reveal his technique but which are not without a fine sensibility, his fame rests chiefly on his prose works, entitled *Zahr al-ādāb*, *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, *Nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-ẓarf*, and *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā al-maknūn*.

1. *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb* was printed first on the margin of the *ʿIḳd* and then edited by Zakī Mubārak; ʿAlī Muḥ. al Badjāwī finally published a more complete and reliable edition in Cairo in 1372/1953. This work is an anthology, in which al-Ḥuṣrī, faithful to the fundamental principle of *adab*, which involves instructing but never boring the reader, used only varied and relatively short texts, so that they could be better learned and used as models. The book passes from serious to pleasant matters, and from poetry to prose, although prose forms the main subject-matter. The author strives, however, to achieve a certain homogeneity, especially in his constant endeavour to draw almost exclusively on representative extracts of the rich and "flowery" style in the works of the "moderns". The book was put together in 405/1014-5 at the request of a secretary to the Chancellery, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Sulaymān, to whom also the two following works seem to have been dedicated, and who had brought back from the East a vast collection of contemporary literary data. The author recognized that his function was limited to making a choice from this, but this nevertheless indicates the qualities of the man who made it and reveals a -Ḥuṣrī's individual conception of the literary form, *adab*, and his own didactic methods. He ignores everything that is too well-known and, like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, confines himself to eastern material, which he wanted first to reveal and then to make familiar to his young disciples. This too-much neglected work was known in Spain and formed part of the curriculum of literary studies (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, i, 380; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28 and index; Ibn Barrī, among others, made an abridged version of it).

2. *Djamʿ al-djawāhir fi 'l-mulaḥ wa 'l-nawādir*, first published in Cairo under the title *Dhayl Zahr al-ādāb*, then in 1372/1953 by ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Badjāwī under its real name, is comparable to the *Zahr al-ādāb* in the method followed, but differs from it by the choice of material, which is more limited and homogeneous, although it comes from the same collection brought from the east by al-Ḥuṣrī's patron. It is, in fact, essentially a collection of anecdotes, of "bons mots", jokes and tales about fools, from which, however, anything indecent is omitted, the author's aim being to teach the art of conversation which is amusing and refreshing, without ever causing offence or becoming boring.

3. *Nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-ẓarf* (Escurial², 392, Gotha 2129; *Kitāb al-Nawrayn* according to Yāḳūt), is conceived in the same spirit and drawn from the same sources as *Zahr al-ādāb*, which it could replace for a reader with too little time or knowledge to use it. Far from merely repeating themselves, these works form a real trilogy which shows admirably al-Ḥuṣrī's conception of the literary form *adab*. Although this is on the whole identical with that of traditional *adab*, for him it is more strictly defined in its characteristics, and above all in its practical and didactic aim. *Djamʿ al-djawāhir*, in fact, fills a lacuna in *Zahr al-ādāb*, in which the pleasant, light, indeed sometimes licentious side of this literary form was thought to be incompatible with the seriousness of the "great" work (*al-kitāb al-kabīr*). Furthermore, the student, the apprentice *adīb*, the future writer, needs to be prepared gradually for a fruitful use of this perfect work; *Nūr al-ṭarf*, written like *Djamʿ al-djawāhir* after *Zahr al-ādāb*, answers mainly practical and didactic needs.

4. *Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā al-maknūn* (Leiden Or. 2593/463), which might, to a certain extent, be linked with *adab* because of the literary detail in which it abounds, reveals an aspect of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī's literary activities hitherto unknown. The work deals with the sentiment of love in general and principally with its manifestations in a thousand different aspects in spite of a desire, conscious or not, to conceal it. It is a monograph of encyclopaedic character, which endeavours to be "technical" or even scientific on matters concerning love. In contrast to al-Ḥuṣrī's other works, where information and subject-matter are for the greater part second-hand, the development of the theme here, apart from quotations in prose and verse, is the author's own work. The authorities cited are not all Arabs—names of Greek thinkers, scholars and philosophers recur frequently—and the whole conception of the work in dialogue form suggests Hellenistic inspiration. Al-Ḥuṣrī also contemplated a work on the "classes" of poets, probably of Ḳayrawān, but he seems to have abandoned the project after the virulent protests of Ibn Rashīḳ, who, as the youngest, did not want to be "classed" last.

By his direct teaching, by the didactic aspects of his work, the originality of his concept and his method in dealing with *adab*, above all by his vast knowledge, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī while still young—he was to die in the prime of life—asserted himself as a master whose influence transcended the limits of Ifrīḳiya and, in a short time, had a profound effect on the astonishing progress in the art of letters in the Muslim West in the 5th/11th century. His example as a writer and his anthologies, which are not unlike those of al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*], contributed to the

spread of a taste for a compressed and artistic prose style. He introduced into Ifrīḳiya the literary form of the *maḳāma*, which was soon to be developed so successfully by at least one of his pupils, Ibn Sharaf. His project, too quickly abandoned through a weakness of character manifested in other ways, of a work on the "classes" of poets, probably inspired the *Unmūdhadj* of another of his pupils, Ibn Rashīḳ. Finally, it seems very likely that the *Kitāb al-Maṣūn* had a direct influence, whether profound or not, on the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova. But traditional *adab*, based on respect for its ancient Arabian core, was to triumph in that same 5th/11th century and al-Ḥuṣrī little by little fell into obscurity, the victim of his own revolutionary impulsiveness (cf. al-ʿUmarī who quotes Ibn Bassām. See *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 94-7, 169; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, i, 37-8 (where the passage saying that al-Ḥuṣrī was dead in 453 is certainly an interpolation; cf. ed. de Slane, Paris-London 1848, i, 35 n. 4); Tudjībī, *al-Mukhtār min shiʿr Bashshār*, Cairo (?) 1934, 89, 129, 147, 157, 179; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, xvii, ms. Paris 2327, fols. 87-8; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, v, ms. Tunis (Zaytūna) 4844, 68-9; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 374; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 209; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-Sundusiyya*, Tunis 1287, i, 98-9; Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in the review *al-Badr*, Tunis 1340, ii, 310-6; idem, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*², Cairo 1944, 60-2; Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351, i, 43-4; Brockelmann, I, 267 (where no. 5 and probably also no. 4 are by ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī and not by Ibrāhīm), S I, 472 (where no. 6 concerns ʿAlī and not Ibrāhīm); H. R. Idris, *Zirides*, Paris 1959, ii, 780-1 and index; ʿAbd al-Rahmān Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān wa-mawḳif Ibn Rashīḳ minhā*, Beirut 1962, 151-3; Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī and Djīlānī b. Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī*, Tunis 1963, 21-2; Ch. Bouyahia, in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, i (1964), 9-18.

II.—Abu l'-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Fihrī, celebrated blind "reader" and poet, born at Ḳayrawān about 420/1029. Probably the nephew, rather than the cousin of al-Ḥuṣrī, he left his native city in 449/1057-8, at the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl and, after a stay in Ceuta, went to Spain about 462/1069-70 in response to a long-standing invitation from al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād, ruler of Seville, and lived there until approximately 468/1075-6. Courted by the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, who outbid one another in generosity towards him, and fleeing the envy and numerous enemies aroused by the favour of princes towards him, his poetic talent, the extent of his knowledge, his arrogance, his little-disguised contempt for Spain and some of its petty kings, its people and its scholars, not to mention aggressive and bitter satires, he moved from one place to another in the peninsula. He stayed mainly in Malaga, Dénia, Valencia, Alméria and Murcia, before finally settling in 483/1090-1 in Tangiers, where he died in 488/1095.

He was well-versed in the Ḳuʾrānic sciences, which he taught all his life and in which he acquired the reputation of a great master (*al-ustādh al-aʿlā* according to Ibn Diḥya in particular). He was a letter-writer, a talented poet of astonishing virtuosity, combining all this with a vast knowledge of Arabic and complete mastery of versification. ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī is thus considered one of the greatest representatives of the startling literary progress which took place under the Zīrids, whose brilliance he, along with other Ifrīḳiyan exiles, helped to spread into Spain, where he was regarded as a literary leader (*zaʿīm djamāʿa*, according to Ibn Bassām).

His works, apart from his epistles (most of which have been lost), consist of the following:

1. A didactic poem of more than 200 lines on the Ḳurʾān "readings" of Nāfiʿ (in ms. at Tunis, according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī, 67, n. 4. See *Bibl.*).

2. *al-Mustaḥsan min al-ashʿār*, a collection of his panegyrics of al-Muʿtamid, which he offered in a supreme and touching homage to his former patron when this deposed king passed through Tangiers in 484/1091-2 on his way to exile. (This might perhaps be the *Kitāb al-Ḳaṣāʾid* which Ibn Ḳunfudh attributes to him).

3. *al-Muʿashsharāt* (this is No. 5 in Brockelmann attributed wrongly, as is also No. 4, to Ibrāhīm; published in *Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī*, 212-40); it consists of "ten line stanzas" in which each letter of the alphabet is used for the rhyme and for the beginning of the ten lines which make up each of these 29 short poems, *lām-alif* counting as one of the letters. ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī is said to have invented this form. The poet here laments an unhappy love in the pure tradition of the perfect *udhrī* lover; a great sense of desolation emanates from these poems, caused by the infidelity of a beautiful woman. The unity of tone and subject-matter and the evident sincerity of the sentiments, seem to point to the abandonment of the ageing poet by his young and beautiful wife, whom he loved passionately. If this is so, because of their personal lyricism and despite the dazzling technical virtuosity of their art, these "ten-line stanzas" form one of the most beautiful love-poems in all Arab poetry.

4. *Iḳtirāḥ al-ḳarīḥ wa-'djtirāḥ al-djarīḥ* (published in *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī*, 256-490) was written upon the death of his favourite son, which probably occurred in 475/1082-3 after a grave illness, and the flight of his mother, the unfaithful wife. It was put together five years later. This work includes, apart from three introductions: (a) one part in ornate prose (confused by the authors of *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī* with the third introduction): there is a homily, sermon and expression of hope in God after his heavy trials; (b) another part in verse comprising poems ingeniously arranged by the rhyme according to the letters of the alphabet; there are about 2,600 lines and they are the only ones of his enormous production which al-Ḥuṣrī decided to collect for preservation. These poems are a most valuable documentary source for the biography of the author. By their extent, their moving expression of the father's profound sorrow, these poems, where the poetic skill of al-Ḥuṣrī, without stifling his sensibility, reaches its highest point, are likewise the most successful examples of the poetic form of threnody and, together with *al-Muʿashsharāt*, assure ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī's place as one of the greatest of Arabic elegiac poets.

5. Among the fragments and poems preserved in books of *adab* (collected partly in *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī*) appears the most famous of all, *Yā layl al-ṣabb*, which has continued to inspire imitators up to the present day. Finally, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (*Dār al-ṭirāz*, 39) includes him as one of the writers of *muwashshaḥāt*; but these, like the greater part of his satires and panegyrics, have not come down to us.

The extraordinary virtuosity ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī showed in the construction of his poems, the structure of his lines, his use of the inexhaustible resources of the Arabic language in ornate style and complicated rhymes, have caused him to be compared with al-Maʿarrī. Like him, al-Maʿarrī was a blind poet

whose *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* he imitated extensively in matters of rhyme and in his defiant attacks, in the form of charades in verse, on the scholars of his time.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 192-216; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, Cairo 1949, 144-6; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiv, 39; Ibn Khallikān Cairo 1948, iii, 19-21; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 13, 20, 74, 79, 81, 84, 94; Ibn Saʿīd, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, ed. and trans. Mahdad, Algiers 1949, 5; Ibn Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, i, 550-1; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 385-6; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, 296; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, xii, MS. Paris 3331, fols. 16b-17b; ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, xvii, MS. Paris 2327, fol. 129b-130a, 180; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 73, 213; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, s.v.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 562-3, ii, 642; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, iii, 250; Ibn Ḳunfudh, 39; Nayfar, *ʿUnwān*, 55-6; Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in the review *al-Badr*, Tunis 1340, ii, 166-75; idem, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*, 84-6; H. Pérès, *Poésie Andalouse*, index; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 797; M. al-Marzūḳī and Dj. b. Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḳayrawānī*, Tunis 1963 (a biographical study followed by the known works of ʿAlī al-Ḥuṣrī); Ch. Bouyahia, in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, 1964/1, 125-41. (CH. BOUYAHIA)

AL-ḤŪT [see NUDJŪM; YŪNUS; ZĪDJ].

AL-ḤUṬAYʾA, nickname of the Arab poet DJARWAL B. AWS, who traced back his genealogy sometimes to the ʿAbs, sometimes to the Dhuhl, but who, in reality, was probably the natural son of a woman named al-Ḍarrāʾ; his nickname probably derives from his ugliness and appears to signify "deformed". He belonged to the *mukhaḍramūn* [*q.v.*], and Ibn Sallām places him in the second class of the poets of the *djāhiliyya*; since he is regarded as the *rāwī* of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*], he must have been born about forty years before the *hidjra*, and his earliest poetic activities probably date from a time well before Islam, but the major part of his surviving work belongs to the Islamic period. His conversion to Islam appears to have been merely superficial, since he apostasized at the time of the *ridda* [*q.v.*] which took place during Abū Bakr's caliphate; his reconversion scarcely seems to have been sincere, if we are to place any credence in traditions regarding his "testament", which depict him as refusing to follow the Islamic rules in respect of the apportionment of inheritance between boys and girls.

The character of al-Ḥuṭayʾa is presented in a very unfavourable light; his avidity (see Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 50), avarice (he ranks as one of the four Arab misers [see BUKHL]) and venality constitute the principal elements motivating his literary career; his malice was so dreaded that men gave him gifts to safeguard themselves from it. Passing from tribe to tribe, and changing his genealogy according to whether he was satisfied or displeased with the treatment accorded him, he appears as an itinerant mendicant poet, lavishing dithyrambic poems on any liberal patron but threatening the less generous with his vituperation.

During the *ridda* he violently attacked Abū Bakr, and later, under the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he poured invective upon the governor of Medina, al-Zibriḳān b. Badr, though not without also attacking the caliph, who threw him into prison and released him only on the intervention of Ḳuraysh notables; at the same time he heaped panegyrics upon an eminent member of the Banū Anf al-Nāḳa, Baghīḍ b. ʿĀmir. It is not known with certainty in what year he died, but his connexion with Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, governor of Medina after 41/661, confirms the tradition that he survived into the reign of Muʿāwiya.

Arab critics place great emphasis upon the talent of al-Ḥuṭayʾa and his skill in the successful handling of invective, panegyric, personal glorification and *nasīb*; the author of the *Aghānī* held him in high esteem, Ibn Sharaf regarded him as an immortal poet, and later poets looked on him as a distinguished precursor (see *ZDMG*, xlvi, 41; al-Kumayt, ed. Horovitz, no. 4, v. 11; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr, ed. Palmer, 217) and he has been held up as a model for imitation in modern times, since critics recognize that his poetry, which he wrote with great ease, is flawless.

Ḥammād, the grandson of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, wrote his biography under the title *Akhbār al-Ḥuṭayʾa*, but this work is lost, while the works of philologists of the 2nd and 3rd/8th-9th centuries who set out to collect his *Dīwān* have survived in part. The recension of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī and Ibn al-Aʿrābī, which dealt very leniently with the apocryphal parts of the *Dīwān* which had suffered from interpolations at an early date, notably by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya, has survived in its entirety, while the recension of Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, who took a stricter attitude towards suspect passages, has survived only in fragments.

The *Dīwān* of al-Ḥuṭayʾa was published in Istanbul in 1890, and subsequently by I. Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, xlvi-xlvii and reprint, Leipzig 1893) with an introduction and explanatory notes; Aḥmad al-Shinḳīṭī produced a new edition in Cairo in 1905 with al-Sukkarī's commentary and glosses; the edition of ʿĪsā Sābā, Beirut 1951, although providing notes, is rather more commercial, while that of N. A. Ṭāhā, published in Cairo in 1958, with the commentaries of Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Sukkarī and al-Sidjistānī and notes partly based on the apparatus criticus of Goldziher, is of an informed scientific character.

There were at least two persons in the 6th/12th century who bore the name al-Ḥuṭayʾa (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iv, 234, 279).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *Bayān* and *Bukhalāʾ*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 93 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, ii, 41-59, xvi, 38-40 (Beirut ed., ii, 130-69, xvii, 154-8); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 408-12 (Cairo ed., ii, 355); Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr* and *Djamʿ*, index; Ibn Sharaf, *Masāʾil al-intiḳād*, 21; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 706; Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, 153; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 338; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 1991; Ibn Shadjarī, *Mukhtārāt*, Cairo 1306, 109-56; Abkāryūs, 84-92; Brockelmann, S I, 71; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Fi 'l-adab al-djāhilī*, 325-31; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 47 (French trans., 75-6); Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 119-26; A. Trabulsi, *Critique poétique*, index; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 327-9, and bibl. cited there. (I. GOLDZIHER-[CH. PELLAT])

HUTAYM is properly the name of a pariah tribe with its main centre in northwestern Arabia, but Hutaym is also used imprecisely at times as a designation for any of the pariah tribes in the eastern Arab lands. The definite article prefixed to the name Hutaym in some Arabic and Western sources is incorrect; the initial radical is *h*, not *ḥ* as in *EI*[1], iv, 512; the usual pronunciation in Arabia is *ihtēm*; and the plural is Hitmān rather than the forms given in *EI*[1], ii, 348.

None of the many versions explaining the origin and lineage of Hutaym seems particularly plausible. About the only statement that can be made with

certainty is that the noble Arab tribes unanimously hold that members of Hutaym are not *aṣīl*, *i.e.*, they are outside the accepted Arab system of pure descent from Ḳaḥṭān or ʿAdnān [see *EI*², i, 544-6]. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that Hutaym may have originally been of Arab stock, as is suggested by the story that their lowly status goes back to a crime of incest committed by their ancestor Hutaym, presumably an Arab, with his mother [see *EI*¹, iv, 512 for a similar story on the origin of the pariah tribe of Ṣulayb].

Members of Hutaym acknowledge close kinship with the pariah tribe of the Sharārāt [*q.v.*]. These two tribes are generally considered to occupy a somewhat higher position in Arabian society than Ṣulayb [*q.v.*]. This distinction may derive from the fact that Hutaym and the Sharārāt raise excellent breeds of camels, whereas Ṣulayb with rare exceptions are primarily ass nomads. There is a tradition that Hutaym and the Sharārāt are descended from Banū Hilāl [see HILĀL].

The main body of the tribe of Hutaym proper lives in the vicinity of Khaybar north of Medina. The eastern part of the large lava field stretching from Khaybar towards Ḥāʾil is called Ḥarrat Hutaym (wrongly given by Doughty and *EI*¹, ii, 348 as Ḥarrat al-Ethnān). Doughty, who travelled with *rafīḳ*s of Hutaym through this area in 1877-8, provides our most intimate account of the tribe. Beyond this centre elements of Hutaym spread southwards into Tihāma in the region of Mecca and Djudda, while others are found as far north as the sandy desert of the Great Nafūd. Some are settled in oases such as al-Mustadjidda south of Ḥāʾil.

Further research is needed to determine the exact relationship of two pariah tribes in eastern Arabia, the ʿAwāzim [*q.v.*] and the Rashāyida, to the main body of Hutaym. In the time of Doughty there were ʿAwāzim in the west, "an old Heteym kindred", but they were nearly extinct (*Ar. Des.*, ii, 194-5). He was told of members of Banū Rashīd of Hutaym established near Kuwait (*ibid.*, ii, 305).

Further research is also needed to fix the identity of people called Hutaym outside Arabia. In Sinai the Djibāliyya, retainers of the monastery of St Catherine, are reckoned among their number; some of these retainers are said to be of Bosnian or Wallachian extraction. The name Hutaym occurs along the shores and on the islands of the Red Sea, in Lower and Upper Egypt, and in the eastern Sudan, where Hutaymīs have been engaged in the camel trade between Kasala and Egypt and Hutaymīs are reported to be intermingled with the Bedja [*q.v.*].

Doughty found Hutaym in their homeland "commonly more robust than the hunger-bitten Beduw, and their women are often beautiful" (*Ar. Des.*, ii, 241). On the other hand, "They are not of so cheerful a temper, and they lack the frank alacrity of mind and the magnanimous dignity of Beduins" (*Ar. Des.*, ii, 86). Although a British source states that the men of Hutaym "are reputed to be timid and of no value as fighters", this source appears to contradict itself by telling of the "open resistance" of Hutaym to Ibn Rashīd with raids up to the gates of Ḥāʾil (Admiralty, *Handbook*, i, 91 & 379). In hunting, Hutaym and the Sharārāt are regarded as more skilled than the Bedouins of noble descent but not quite up to the mark of Ṣulayb.

Members of Hutaym raise large flocks of sheep and goats as well as camels, and those near the Red Sea are expert fishermen. They sell livestock, cheese, butter, milk, honey, and fish in the towns of al-Ḥidjāz. Arabs of noble race, such as the neighbouring folk of ʿAnaza, Ḥarb, and Shammar, do not intermarry with Hutaym. Although Hutaym in turn are not supposed to intermarry with negroes, Doughty found violations of this rule in certain villages of Nadjd.

The head of the section of Āl Barrāk, who in 1963 was Nāhī Ibn Barrāk, is the paramount chief of the tribe. Among the other sections are Āl Ḳalādān, Āl Shumaylān, the Maẓābira, the Nawāmisa, and the Fuhayḳāt.

Bibliography: ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAshāʾir al-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdad 1937-56; Naʿʿūm Shuḳayr, *Taʾrīkh Sīnā*, Cairo 1916; Sulaymān al-Dakhīl, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, 1911; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; M. v. Oppenheim, E. Bräunlich, and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-52; A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928; A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909-22; H. Philby, *The land of Midian*, London 1957; G. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935.

(G. RENTZ)

HUWA HUWA, literally "he is he", or "it is it", means:

A. in logic: what is represented as entirely identical, *e.g.*, "Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh" and "the Prophet". (Peano and the modern logicians express this equation by the sign $\equiv$);

B. in mysticism: the state of the saint whose perfect personal unity testifies to divine unity in the world.

Bibliography: Ghazālī, *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa*, Cairo, 116; Ḥallādj, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, 129, 175, 189; Ibn Rushd, *Mā baʿd al-Ṭabīʿa*, Cairo, 12.

See also HUWIYYA. (L. MASSIGNON)

AL-ḤUWAYDIRA [see AL-ḤĀDIRA].

AL-ḤUWAYṬĀT, tribe with its main centre in northwestern Saudi Arabia and southern Jordan. The tribal range extends from the vicinity of al-Karak in the north to the vicinity of Taymāʾ [*q.v.*] in the south, and from the Red Sea in the west to Wādī al-Sirḥān and al-Djawf [*qq.v.*] in the east. The eastern part of this range is properly the homeland of Banū ʿAṭiyya, with whom the Ḥuwayṭāt as good allies share watering and grazing rights. This whole area corresponds in a general way to that occupied by the tribes of ʿUdhra and Djudhām [*qq.v.*] in the late Djāhiliyya and the early days of Islam [see the map in *EI*², i, 891].

According to a story current in the tribe, mankind originally consisted of three professions: tentmakers, farmers, and raiders, with the raiders being the Ḥuwayṭāt. The suggestion that the Ḥuwayṭāt are descendants of the Nabataeans [*q.v.*] seems to stem largely from the fact that the tribal range is roughly identical with ancient Nabataea. Equally improbable is the suggestion that the Ḥuwayṭāt are *sharīf*s of the lineage of the Prophet. The genealogical table given by Oppenheim for the tribe shows the eponymous ancestor as Ḥuwayṭ b. Barakāt, Barakāt [*q.v.*] being a name common among the *sharīf*s of al-Ḥidjāz. More weight may be given to the tradition that Ḥuwayṭ was an Egyptian who came to al-ʿAḳaba as a pilgrim and became associated with Banū ʿAṭiyya. Some members of the Ḥuwayṭāt name Ḥām rather than Barakāt as the father of their ancestor. It is not, however, likely that an Egyptian strain is dominant in the Ḥuwayṭāt of Arabia and Jordan. Despite the various suggestions of a non-Arab origin, the Ḥuwayṭāt are not classified as pariahs

like the Sharārāt [*q.v.*], some of whom roam in their range, or Hutaym [*q.v.*] in the area southeast of Banū ʿAṭiyya.

Since the 12th/18th century the Ḥuwayṭāt have been split up into several branches, which at times have come into conflict with each other. In the late Ottoman period the branch known as Ḥuwayṭāt Ibn Djāzī camped along the Syrian pilgrim route in the region of Maʿān in summer and farther east, in the region of Djabal al-Ṭubayḳ and Wādī al-Sirḥān, in winter. The Ottoman authorities paid these Bedouins to maintain security along their stretch of the pilgrim route, and the inhabitants of Kāf in Wādī al-Sirḥān, of al-Djawf, and of Taymāʾ paid them *khāwa* [*q.v.*] to refrain from raiding their oases.

The ʿAlāwīn, semi-nomads north and east of al-ʿAḳaba, used to protect Egyptian pilgrim caravans part of the way when they came overland. This branch of the tribe is also known as Ḥuwayṭāt Ibn Nidjād (wrongly given by Shuḳayr, Jaussen, Musil, etc. as Ibn Djād) after the name of its paramount chief. South and east of al-ʿAḳaba is the branch of Āl ʿImrān, along the coast where the port of Ḥaḳl lies. Its chief, Ibn Maḳbūl, owns palms in al-ʿAḳaba, as does Ibn Nidjād.

The southernmost branch is Ḥuwayṭāt al-Tahama (not al-Tihāma as in *EI*[1], ii, 349). Its members hold the coast of northern Madyan and the highlands of Ḥismā facing the sea; its *shaykh*, Abū Ṭuḳayḳa, has his headquarters in the Red Sea port of Ḍabā. In this area the Ḥuwayṭāt have almost entirely supplanted Banū ʿUḳba, descendants of Djudhām. Bordering the area to the south is the range of the tribe of Balī, traditional enemies of the Ḥuwayṭāt, but even here the aggressive Ḥuwayṭāt are sending immigrants in. Other old foes are Shammar to the east and Banū Ṣakhr to the north [*qq.v.*].

The Saʿīdiyyūn of the depression of al-ʿAraba south of the Dead Sea, now a virtually independent tribe, reveal their origin in their war-cry: *Ṣubyān al-Ḥuwayṭāṭ* (see Oppenheim, ii, 299 for the connection with the line of Ḥuwayṭ).

Even though the Ḥuwayṭāt may think of themselves as the world's first raiders, there are indications that the conversion of the bulk of the tribe to nomadism took place fairly recently. Doughty found some of the tribesmen subsisting as nomad herders, but others as "husbandmen of palms and sowers of grain". In his eyes the Ḥuwayṭāt resembled Syrian villagers much more than "the lithe-limbed and subtle-brained and supple-tongued Arabians of land-inward Nejd". After feasting with Ibn Nidjād and his men, Doughty thought that he "had not ever seen such a strange thick-faced cob-nosed cobblers' brotherhood" (*Ar. Des.*, i, 275, 276, 85).

When the Ḥuwayṭāt adopted nomadic ways, they did so with a vengeance. Two decades before the outbreak of the First World War, the chieftainship of Ibn Djāzī was challenged by the clan of the Tawāyiha. ʿAwda b. Ḥarb Abū Tāyih, who became head of the clan in 1325/1907, won fame as the most formidable Bedouin raider of modern times. T. E. Lawrence described him in 1917 as "tall and straight, loosely built, spare and powerful ... His lined and haggard face is pure Bedouin: broad low forehead, high sharp hooked nose ... The Howeitat pride themselves on being altogether Bedu, and Auda is the essence of the Abu Tayi. His hospitality is sweeping ..., his generosity has reduced him to poverty, and devoured the profits of a hundred successful raids. He has married twenty-eight times, has been wounded thirteen times, and in his battles has seen all his tribesmen hurt, and most of his relations killed. He has only reported his 'kill' since 1900, and they now stand at seventy-five Arabs; Turks are not counted by Auda when they are dead. Under his handling the Toweihah have become the finest fighting force in Western Arabia. He raids as often as he can each year ... and has seen Aleppo, Basra, Taif, Wejh, and Wadi Dawasir in his armed expeditions" (*Secret dispatches*, 112-3; cf. *Seven pillars*, 222-3).

Among the Ḥuwayṭāt, all the sections siding with one another in battle form an *ʿilm*, at the head of which is an *ʿalīm*. ʿAwda was the *ʿalīm* of one *ʿilm*, and Ibn Djāzī the *ʿalīm* of another.

In 1335/1917, before the capture of al-ʿAḳaba, ʿAwda joined the *sharīf* Fayṣal of Mecca in the Arab Revolt against the Turks and distinguished himself as a dashing commander in the field from then until the fall of Damascus in 1337/1918.

ʿAwda died in 1342/1924, not long after he had shown a leaning towards the cause of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd of Nadjd. When the Ikhwān of Nadjd thrust close to ʿAmmān less than a month after ʿAwda's death, Ḥuwayṭāt of Jordan joined in opposing them, and a nephew of ʿAwda's fell in the fight. The Jordanian Ḥuwaytāt continued to be embroiled with the forces of Āl Suʿūd for some years thereafter. In 1351/1932 Abū Ṭuḳayḳa of the southern Ḥuwayṭāt joined Ibn Rifāda of Balī in an unsuccessful rebellion against King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

In Sinai the range of the Ḥuwayṭāt is a wedge of inland territory southeast of Suez in the vicinity of Djabal al-Rāḥa. Of all the Arabs in these parts, the Ḥuwayṭāt are regarded as the most recent immigrants and they are said to be swarthier than the rest, perhaps because of a negro admixture (Murray, 243). The Ḥuwayṭāt of Sinai have especially close ties with the Ṭuḳayḳāt of Ḥuwayṭāt al-Tahama. In the dichotomy of Sinai tribes (Saʿd and Ḥarām) the Ḥuwayṭāt belong to the faction of Ḥarām, in which they are allies of the Ṭuwara, the Uḥaywāt, and the Tarābīn. The Tayāhā and others belong to the faction of Saʿd.

Elements of the Ḥuwayṭāt are scattered about in different places in Egypt. Some are nomads in the rugged country south of the road from Cairo to al-Ismāʿīliyya, while others have become fellahs near Ṭanṭā. The Ḥuwayṭāt of al-Ḳalyūbiyya were formerly suppliers of camels to the Egyptian pilgrim caravans, and the guides for these caravans hailed from this group. In Upper Egypt there are Ḥuwayṭāt in al-Fayyūm. If members of the tribe have penetrated into the Sudan, they would appear to have lost their identity there.

The Ḥuwayṭāt are not among the great camel-raising tribes, but in the past they have been active as camel merchants. One of their busy routes crossed the mouth of the Gulf of al-ʿAḳaba from the port of al-Shaykh Ḥumayd on the Arabian side to al-Nabak on the Sinai side, whence the journey to Suez took ten days or so.

Bibliography: Munīb al-Māḍī and Sulaymān Mūsā, *Taʾrīkh al-Urdunn fi 'l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, n. pl. 1959; F. Peake, *Taʾrīkh Sharḳī al-Urdunn wa-ḳabāʾilihā*, tr. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ṭūḳān, Jerusalem 1934; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *ʿĀmān fī ʿAmmān*, Cairo 1925; Naʿʿūm Shuḳayr, *Taʾrīkh Sīnā*, Cairo 1916; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8; A. Musil, *The Northern Ḥeǧâz*, New York 1926; T. Lawrence, *Secret*

dispatches from Arabia, n.d.; T. Lawrence, *Seven pillars of wisdom*, New York 1935; J. Glubb, *The story of the Arab Legion*, London 1948; H. Philby, *The Land of Midian*, London 1957; Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; M. v. Oppenheim, E. Bräunlich, and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-52; G. Murray, *Sons of Ishmael*, London 1935.

(G. Rentz)

ḤUWAYZA [see ḤAWĪZA].

HUWIYYA is one of the abstract words that were coined in order to express in Arabic the nuances of Greek philosophy. It has been translated in a number of ways, in mediaeval Latin as well as in modern European languages. "Ipseity" would seem to be the term with which it most precisely corresponds. In modern Arabic it is retained with the meaning "identity".

Huwiyya is formed from the pronoun *huwa* and the normal abstract termination *-iyya*, according to the explanation given by Ibn Rus͟hd. He attributes this formation to a desire to avoid the ambiguity of the word *mawd͟jūd*, translating τὸ ὄν, as the Arabic participle has the original meaning of "found" (cf. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, 242, note 2, referring to *Abrégé de Métaphysique*, beginning). The term was established early by the translators, for it already occurs frequently in the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and is found also in the so-called *Theology* attributed to the same author. One, at least, of the translations of the *Metaphysics* was made by Usṭāt͟h for al-Kindī (Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 187). A curious passage in a *Risāla* of al-Kindī (ed. Abū Rīda, i, 161-2) exhibits the word assimilated into the language in the form of a triliteral root *H W Y*, which possesses a fifth form verb, with a *maṣdar*, sometimes given a plural, and a passive. The discussion concerns the One; among sensible things, a being is both one and many. "... If there were no unity there would be no multiplicity. Thus every multiple (being) is made what it is (or: is made itself) by unity: *tahawwī kull kat͟hīr huwa bi-'l-waḥda*. If there were no unity the multiple would have no *huwiyya* (ipseity)". "The flux of unity that comes from the first and true One is the *tahawwī* of every sensible being", its establishment as an individual being, as it were. It is thus the One that is "the creator of all the *mutahawwiyāt* (all the beings that are constituted as individual beings, that are characterized). There is thus no *huwiyya* (ipseity), except because of the unity that is in it". Cf. also p. 123, line 5, and the explanation given at 129, note 4: "... a *huwiyya*, that is to say a thing subsisting by itself", and so a substance (referring to *huwa huwa*).

In the *Liber de Causis*, ed. Bardenhewer, 89, *huwiyya* is used in the singular and the plural with the meaning of "being", *ens* and *entia* (reference given by S. Afnan, *Philosophical terminology in Arabic and Persian*, Leiden 1964, 123, but four out of seven of the references indicated in notes are incorrect). The word is applied to "the first *huwiyya*, which established the things that have no limit", then to the intellectual and the sensible *huwiyyāt*; in other terms, to the first Being, to the beings that are pure intelligences and finally to the beings that possess sensibility.

The so-called *Theology* of Aristotle, the texts of which are now identified with long fragments of the *Enneads* (cf. *Plotini opera*, ii, ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, *Plotiniana arabica*, with English translation by G. Lewis, Paris-Brussels 1959), also uses *huwiyya*, generally translated by "identity", and more rarely by "own self" (383) and "being" (393). "Identity" translates ταυτότης, *huwiyya*, which is opposed to *g͟hayriyya*, "otherness", ἑτερότης (Lewis, 271, rendering *Theology*, ed. Dieterici, 109, lines 7-8, ed. Badawi, 112, line 11). At the beginning of chapter X of the *Theology*, however, the account of the first *huwiyya*, the *huwiyya* of intelligence, is not suited to the translation of αὐτός by "identity" (Lewis, 291, Dieterici, 136, Badawi, 134), for the accent is on the action produced by a substance. This is more precisely stated subsequently (Lewis, 293, Dieterici, 137, lines 13-16, Badawi, 135, lines 13-15), and it is difficult to allow the transposition: "The true One originates the *identity* of the mind because of the intensity of its repose. When that *identity* looks at the true One ...", etc. The discussion obviously concerns a substantial form, which is engendered by the true One and contemplates it. "Ipseity" therefore seems preferable.

In the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* which accompanies the Commentary of Ibn Rus͟hd, *huwiyya* is commonly used to render τὸ εἶναι and τὸ ὄν, "being"; in the plural, "beings" (cf. ed. Bouyges, *Index C a, principaux sujets traités*, pp. (38) and (97-8), and *Index D a, termes de sciences philosophiques*, p. (270), with references to the text and the commentary). These usages totally disregard the idea of identity, being concerned either with being, the supreme abstraction: *al-huwiyya wa 'l-wāḥid*, being and the one, translating τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ ἕν (1001 a 4), or with beings, τὰ ὄντα, *al-huwiyyāt*, engendered from the elements (1001 a 16). In *Metaphysics* 1017 a 22, εἶναι, *huwiyyāt* is said to assume as many meanings as Aristotle has Categories (ed. Bouyges, 555, 2). The translator thus adopts it in order to render all the meanings of the word "being", whether applied to substance or to accidents. "Ipseity indicates what a thing and its truth are, *al-huwiyya tadull ʿalā inniyyat al-s͟hayʾ wa-ḥaḳīḳatihā*" (1017 a 31, where the much-discussed term *anniyya* or *inniyya* is used to translate τὸ ἔστιν)

Ibn Rus͟hd states that the word is applied to the Categories like the word *mawd͟jūd* (559, 15). It is, then, not an *ism mus͟htarak*, an *aequivocum* noun, giving several meanings according to what is generally understood by it, but a kind of *is͟htirāk al-ism*, indicating here a relationship founded on reality, since the categories exist only through substance (805, 5-11; Ibn Rus͟hd's expressions are very close to those of *Metaphysics* Γ 2, 1003 a 33-5). He points out another analogous use: "The noun *huwiyya* that denotes the essence of a thing is something different from the noun *huwiyya* that denotes what is true (actual, existing). It is the same with the word "being", *mawd͟jūd*" (561, 5). In other words the word has a conceptual, logical meaning, and an actual meaning, as explained by the commentator (739 d and 740 g) on *Metaphysics* 1027 b 18, trans. 736, 12, where he demonstrates the difference between the *huwiyyatayni*.

Ibn Rus͟hd later uses *huwiyya* in an abstract meaning, different from that given by the translator. *Lafẓat al-huwiyya* denotes the use of the pronoun *huwa* as a copula. This is in connexion with *huwa* in the phrase "Socrates is not-white" (1017 a 34), translated as: ... *laysa huwa abyaḍ*. Ibn Rus͟hd here distinguishes between *lafẓat al-huwiyya* indicating "the copula that is in the spirit, and (the word) indicating the essence that is external to the spirit", and so actual (561, last line—562, line 1). But contrary to the interpretation of S. Afnan (*op. cit.*,

122), the word *huwiyya* is not used as a copula, this role being reserved for the pronouns *huwa*, *hiya*, etc. Study of the passages indicated in Bouyges's Index is fundamental for determining the meaning of the word.

The terms that express identity are translated in the *Metaphysics* by *huwa huwa* or even *al-huwa huwa*, but not *huwiyya*. Sometimes the word is omitted: thus ταυτότης (995 b 21) does not appear, and only ἐναντιότης is rendered by *al-mutaḍādda*, contrariety (172, 14); the commentary does not rectify this omission, but later (178, 5-6) writes *al-huwa huwa wa-'l-ghayr*, "the same and (the) other". The fragment corresponding with another use of the same word (1018 a 7) is missing in the translation. The expressions ὁ αὐτός and τὸ αὐτό are always translated by *huwa huwa* or *hiya hiya*, for example in chapter I 3 (1054 a and b; trans. 1286-92), and the commentary follows this. *Shay' wāḥid*, the same thing (346, 2-3), is also found, but never *huwiyya*.

The Arabic-speaking philosophers thus found this word already well established. They used it without explaining it as Ibn Rushd was to do subsequently. Al-Fārābī begins his *Fuṣūṣ* with a distinction between conceptual essence and essence actualized in an existing individual: "We have accepted that every existing thing has a quiddity (essence) and an ipseity, *māhiyya wa-huwiyya*, but its quiddity is not its ipseity or even an integral part of it. If man's quiddity were his ipseity, the concept of man's quiddity would be the concept of his ipseity, and by conceiving what man is, *mā 'l-insān*, you would conceive: *huwa 'l-insān*, he is the man (in the sense of: there is a man), and you would recognize his existence". For al-Fārābī, then, *huwiyya* expresses man as nature actualized and existing. A. Nader gives "ipseity" as the translation of *huwiyya*, p. 158 of the glossary accompanying his edition of the *Kitāb arā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, another work of al-Fārābī (Beirut 1959). The same translation is given by Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne* (Paris 1951, 167). But, quoting the *Liber de Causis* where the word is applied to the first Cause, he writes "l'Existant pur", "the pure Existing Being" (*ibid.*, 63-4).

From the examination of a certain number of uses of *huwiyya* in the texts of Ibn Sīnā, of which eleven are noted in A.-M. Goichon's *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, no. 735, the most precise equivalent of the term would seem to be "subject-substance, first substance, as opposed to *māhiyya*, quiddity, which denotes second substance, predicative substance. Its abstract form expresses 'being a first substance'". Again, *huwiyya* denotes "a concrete being considered universally" (introduction to the French translation of the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā, 48; cf. also 305 and 307, n.). The meaning "ipseity" is confirmed by al-Ghazālī in a line of argument designed to prove that the soul subsists by itself (*Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Index C no. 826, and p. 321, 5).

he glossary accompanying the critical edition of the *Metaphysics* of the *Shifā'* (Cairo 1960, 477) gives three renderings of the word according to the mediaeval translation: *Id quod est, essentia, identitas*. This last seems somewhat ill-chosen in the following chapter heading: "Consequences of unity consonant with *huwiyya* (*identitas*) and its divisions . . ." (303). In the extant fragment of the Latin translation of the *Logic* it is also translated as *identitas* (Index ed. Cairo 1952, p. 157, on *Madkhal*, 13, 5 and 7). However, *al-huwiyya* is here joined with *al-waḥda*, and is thus connected with the usages considered above, where being and the one are inseparable; *identitas*, then, is unjustified. *Huwiyya* does not appear in the indices to the other volumes. According to that of the *Sophistics* (*Shifā'*, *Manṭiḳ*, vii, 132), the idea of identity is rendered by *huwa huwa*, with or without the article.

The ancient meaning of *huwiyya* refers to the peculiar characteristics of that being which is *huwa*, exclusively itself, rather than to a recognition, a comparison or an identification of such a being. The modern meaning does not involve an incorrect usage. *Huwiyya* is habitually used to translate into Arabic the expressions "identity card", *biṭāḳat al-huwiyya*, and "identity papers", *awrāḳ al-huwiyya* [see TADHKIRA]. *'Urifa huwiyyatuhu*, "to be identified", is also used. The modern meaning correctly refers to the idea of subject-substance, in order to denote precisely the person who exists specified by the card.

Bibliography: apart from the references in the text: Djuzdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*; this definition was cited verbatim by Dozy, ii, 767, who however was unable to identify it and refers only to the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*. (A. M. Goichon)

HUWWĀRA [see HAWWĀRA].

ḤUWWĀRĪN or Ḥawwārīn, place in Syria between Damascus and Palmyra, half way between Ṣadad and al-Ḳaryatayn. On the site of an antique town, Ḥuwwārīn is known mainly for the fact that the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I had his residence, died and was buried there, as is attested by the poets of the period. A building still existing there, and still known today as Ḳaṣr Yazīd, may be considered as the partial remains of the residence of the caliph, who is known to have planned to irrigate the fertile area round Ḥuwwārīn by means of a canal which was never completed. Some vestiges of this canal, which according to the sources was intended to permit the development of the high plain of Saḥṣaḥān, have been identified within the boundaries of the region of Ḥims.

Bibliography: R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 280; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 456; Yāḳūt, ii, 355; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne de Mo'āwiya Ier*, Beirut 1908, 381-2, 400, 408, 417, 420; idem, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, Beirut 1921, 471-2; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, i, in *JA*, 1939, 54-9; idem, *Notes de topographie omeyyade*, in *Syria*, xxiv (1946), 105-10; Ṭabarī, ii, 203, 427, 488; Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṣalḥānī, 232-7; *Aghānī*, xvi, 88. (D. Sourdel)

HYDERABAD [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD].

HYDRAULICS [see MĀ'].

HYMN [see ILĀHĪ].

HYPERBOLE [see MUBĀLAGHA].

HYPOCRISY, HYPOCRITES [see MUNĀFIḲ, RIYĀ'].

HYPOSTASIS [see IMĀMA, TANĀSUKH].

I

ʿIBĀD [see NAṢĀRĀ].

IBADAN, town in the Western Region of Nigeria, originated during the 1820's on the site of an Egba village as a war encampment set up by groups of wandering Yoruba soldiers from the old Oyo Empire, Ile Ife and Ijebu. Those were times of great upheavals in Yorubaland. The Oyo Empire had been rapidly disintegrating as a result of serious internal cleavages and mounting external pressure. The Fulani had been pushing southward, using Ilorin as a base, and eventually in 1837 they forced the evacuation of old Oyo, whose inhabitants fled southward. Some of the refugees built up the new city of Oyo, about 100 miles to the south, while others settled in Ibadan. In southern Yorubaland a fierce strife went on among the Yoruba states over the capture of slaves and the control of trade routes to the coast.

Ibadan grew rapidly, as more and more refugees from both the north and the south of Yorubaland sought the protection of its hills and the military might of its soldiers. By the middle of the 19th century its population was estimated at between 60,000 and 100,000. In the 1911 census the population reached 175,000 and in that of 1952 459,196. To-day Ibadan is the largest city in tropical Africa. Except for a relatively small number of migrants from other ethnic groups (only about 5% in 1952) all of its population are Yoruba [*q.v.*], hailing from different sections of Yorubaland. Ibadan has often been described as a "city-village" because a large proportion of its population live from farming in the surrounding countryside.

In the course of the 19th century Ibadan developed an elaborate political constitution which was geared to war and defence and which differed markedly from that of the typical traditional Yoruba kingdom. By its military prowess and strong defences Ibadan succeeded in halting the Fulani onslaught and in repulsing all pressure on it from the southern Yoruba states and eventually became a great power in its own right with many vassal states around it.

That period of continual warfare came to an end when the British extended their control northwards from the coast and finally, in 1893, imposed a treaty, on Ibadan. Peace and British power undermined the authority of the city's chiefs. But with the development of Indirect Rule, the British placed Ibadan under the legal and spiritual authority of the Alafin of Oyo who, in collaboration with the British Resident, controlled the appointment of the chiefs. However, this subservience of Ibadan to a small and weak Oyo could not last for long, and in 1936 Ibadan became finally independent of Oyo and the Bale assumed the new title of 'Olubadan'. In 1952 Ibadan became the capital of the Western Region of the Federation of Nigeria.

Islam penetrated into Ibadan from the north early in its history through the activities of Muslim traders and itinerant *malams*. During the 19th century its military chiefs appointed Muslim *imāms* so that these would use their magic, prayers, charms, and blessing to secure victory in war. But the massive conversion to Islam in the city began only when the British came; it has since been progressing rapidly and peacefully, often at the expense of better organized and more adequately financed Christian churches and missions.

Apart from a relatively small number of people who are affiliated to the Aḥmadiyya sect, all the Muslims of the city are Sunnīs who follow the Mālikī school. Some of these Muslims have adopted the Ḳādiriyya order but many more have joined the Tidjāniyya order [*qq.v.*]. There are in the city several formally organized Islamic associations, most of which are mainly concerned with the development of Islamic schools and the establishment and maintenance of mosques. There are also some Islamic missionary organizations. A council of *ʿulamāʾ* supervises and administers the affairs of the city's Central Mosque and selects the Chief Imām and his two assistants, though the formal appointment of the Chief Imām is officially made by the Olubadan in a special ceremony.

The Friday mid-day prayer at the Central Mosque is regularly attended by many thousands of men. Between 1942 and 1952 a series of bitter disputes arose between the city's Imāmate and the migrant Hausa community, when the latter decided to secede from the predominantly Yoruba Central Mosque and to hold the Friday prayer in a special mosque within their Quarter, which is locally known as 'Sabo'. Despite sustained opposition by the Olubadan and by the British officials, the Hausa have continued to hold a separate Friday prayer. A few other Muslim groupings have since done the same. To-day the only occasion on which all the Muslims of the city gather together is the massive, colourful, but brief ceremony held in the open just outside the city on the morning of the first day of each of the two Muslim feasts. This division of the Friday ritual congregagion, which is unknown in the Islamic cities of northern Nigeria, is symbolic of the fact that Islam in Ibadan is not formally associated with political authority.

Bibliography: Most of the publications which deal with the history of the Yoruba contain sections on the history of Ibadan. See S. Johnson, *The history of the Yorubas*, London 1921. A small book by the present Olubadan, I. B. Akinyele, *The outlines of Ibadan history*, Lagos 1946, is useful. *Ibadan*, edited by S. O. Biobaku, I.O. Dina and P. C. Lloyd, Ibadan 1949, contains some informative papers that were delivered at the Third International West African Conference (Ibadan). G. Parrinder, *Religion in an African city*, Oxford 1953, discusses various aspects of religion in Ibadan and gives some detailed information on the development and organization of Islam in the city. Akin Mabogunje, *The growth of residential districts in Ibadan*, in *The Geographical Review*, lii/1 (1962), 56-77, provides very useful information about the morphology of the city. Two Ph.D. theses deal directly and systematically with the history of Ibadan: B. Awe, *The rise of Ibadan as a Yoruba power in the nineteenth century*, Oxford University 1964; and G. Jenkins, *Politics in Ibadan*, Northwestern University 1964, the latter

beginning where the former leaves off. Both are now being prepared for publication. A collection of scholarly papers by a number of specialists dealing with many fields of life in the city, including one dealing specifically with Islam, is now published: P. C. Lloyd, A. Mabogunje, and B. Awe (eds.), *The city of Ibadan*, Cambridge 1967.

(A. Cohen)

ʿIBĀDĀT (pl. of *ʿibāda*), submissive obedience to a master, and therefore religious practice, corresponds, together with its synonym *ṭāʿa*, in the works of *fiḳh*, approximately to the ritual of Muslim law (we do not say "cult", see below), as opposed to the *muʿāmalāt* which include more or less all the rest (but which, in the strict sense, correspond to synallagmatic contracts only). The distinctions are elusive, as so often in these matters. *Ṣalāt* is quite certainly an *ʿibāda*, but some affirm that marriage is also one (which is the more remarkable in that the Muslim marriage does not imply any religious ceremony), and here it must be understood that it is a matter of a "pious practice". Moreover, distinctions between the different sections of *muʿāmalāt* are also discussed by the authors (see W. Heffening, *Zum Aufbau des islamischen Rechtes*, in *Festschrift P. Kahle*, Leiden 1935). In treatises of *fiḳh*, subjects are not set out in any uniform order, except that the *ʿibādāt* always appear at the beginning, while in treatises of *ʿamal* (judicial practice) this subject is obviously absent.

If we translate *ʿibādāt* as "cult" we are committing something of a theoretical error (Tor Andrae), for it has quite correctly been said that, strictly speaking, Islam knows no more of a cult, properly speaking, than (Snouck Hurgronje) it does of law; nor, we should add, of ethics. *Fiḳh* is, in fact, a deontology (the statement of the whole corpus of duties, of acts whether obligatory, forbidden or recommended, etc.) which is imposed upon man. Therefore, what we call "cult" is a part of the duties prescribed by Allāh and formulated in minute detail by learned writers in the works of *fiḳh*, whereas in other religions the object of the cult there is to bring the believer closer to the divine and into contact with it; it is not concerned solely, or even principally, with carrying out the divine will. This is purely theoretical; speaking sociologically and from the psychological point of view, the matter appears to be far less clear-cut: from both these points of view Islam is certainly familiar with a cult or forms of worship: to be convinced of this one need only interrogate, for example, the pilgrims who have performed the *ṣalāt* around the Kaʿba, an observance which, incidentally, in that place, is curiously enough not an obligation of the *ḥadjdj* (this demonstrates once again the difference between theory and reality; here, on two grounds).

In the books of *fiḳh*, the *ʿibādāt* precede the *muʿāmalāt*; questions of ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), a necessary condition for the valid performance of prayer, appear at the beginning. The remainder almost always come afterwards in the following order: prayer, *zakāt*, fasting, pilgrimage. The first "pillar" of Islam, the *shahāda*, which has to be pronounced at the time of prayer, is so simple a matter that the books of *fiḳh* make no mention of it.

In connexion with the *ʿibādāt* other subjects are dealt with, about which we must say a few words. Circumcision is, in theory, no more than recommended, although the sociological reality is quite different, and the scholars barely refer to it when considering the *ʿibādāt*. Here too may be mentioned the proper way of fulfilling natural needs, the veiling of nudity, and the attentions that have to be given to dress and body for the Friday prayer, etc. Everything relating to funerals is examined in relation to prayer (since prayer for the dead is considered in a special section). The spiritual retreat, or *iʿtikāf*, is studied in connexion with fasting. It is also possible to link with *ʿibādāt*, as scarcely belonging to the *muʿāmalāt*: the provisions relating to food and drink, whether licit or illicit, those dealing with hunting and ritual slaughter, vows and oaths (together with methods of expiation in the case of perjury). To give only one example, in the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī (Shāfiʿī), oaths in general are studied in connexion with repudiation (on account of such matters as *liʿān*, etc., which are linked with it). The holy war is not a *farḍ ʿayn* (it is an obligation which falls only on the community in general, provided that there are enough volunteers), nor is it one of the five fundamental obligations of Islam, but it has an obvious religious character. In the above-named work it occurs at the end (after criminal law); in the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khalīl (Mālikī), on the other hand, it occurs among the *ʿibādāt*.

In their general outline, the provisions relating to *ʿibādāt* are the same, not only in the four Sunnī schools but also in the Shīʿī and Ibāḍī schools. There is thus no necessity to discuss them further in this general article on *ʿibādāt*. So much for the theory.

In regard to actual social practice, one of the most urgent and interesting present-day tasks that is still to be undertaken in this field, and indispensable for religious sociology in general, consists of studying the extent (which is extremely variable) to which the practices of a religion, in this case Islam, do in fact correspond to the requirements laid down by theory, in this case by *fiḳh* on the subject of *ʿibādāt*; this is to be done, particularly, according to the methods first demonstrated, for Catholicism, by Le Bras. In this field, from the start, facts of a qualitative kind will be discovered, and they will show us what the religious life there really is. Some of these studies, even the early ones, still retain their value—Lane, *Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, for example, and Snouck-Hurgronje's *Mekka*, which are admirable. For Indonesia, one may consult G.-H. Bousquet, *L'Islam indonésien*, in *REI*, 1939. But, for future work, this stage ought to be regarded as superseded, as indeed it is. It is the quantitative, statistical stage that must now be reached. In this respect, Muslim sociology is very backward (some indications in this direction, though cautious and inadequate, can be found in G.-H. Bousquet, concerning religious practice in North Africa, especially Morocco, in *Études d'orientalisme . . . Lévi-Provençal*, ii, 1962, 495-502). As a very rough approximation, it can be suggested here that (1) ritual practice, considered as a whole, varies less from one country to another than does the practice of these duties envisaged singly; (2) in fact, in certain regions a fundamental obligation may be very much neglected, while in other parts it is scrupulously observed (for example, fasting in Java and North Africa respectively); (3) in backward regions, in the process of Islamization, practice comes to conform more closely with the standards of the Law; (4) on the other hand, it is relaxed in those countries where European civilization is developing (for example, increasing disregard of fasting in North Africa). Of course, external piety is only an indication, and often an insufficiently accurate one, of internal piety. However, religious sociology in general is not yet in a position, in this last instance, to be of assistance to Islamic studies.

Bibliography: The regulation of *ʿibādāt* has its somewhat restricted basis in the Ḳurʾān. It is developed very fully in the *Sunna* (cf. Wensinck's *Handbook* for the various terms used above). The same is true of the books of *fiḳh* of the various schools and in works of *ikhtilāf*. A more detailed bilbiography can be found by consulting such articles as ṢAWM, ḤADJDJ, etc. A general, clear, but necessarily brief survey is given in G.-H. Bousquet, *Les grandes pratiques rituelles de l'Islam*, Paris 1949.

(G.-H. BOUSQUET)

AL-**IBĀḌIYYA**, one of the main branches of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*], representatives of which are today found in ʿUmān, East Africa, Tripolitania (Djabal Nafūsa and Zuagha) and southern Algeria (Wargla and Mzab). The sect takes it name from that of one of those said to have founded it, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ al-Murrī al-Tamīmī. The form usually employed is Abāḍiyya; this is true not only of North Africa (*e.g.*, in the Djabal Natūsa, cf. A. de C. Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefousa*, Paris 1898-9, 41 and *passim*), where it is attested in the 9th/15th century by the Ibāḍī writer al-Barrādī (*Kitāb Djawāhir al-muntaḳāt*, Cairo 1302, 155), but also of ʿUmān (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1780, ii, 198); nevertheless, the contemporary Ibāḍī writers often use the first form as being more correct (cf., *e.g.*, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfiyyash al-Mīzābī, *Risāla shāfiya fī baʿḍ al-tawārikh*, Algiers, n.d., 49). Yet another form of the name is known: Ibāḍa (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91, i, 88). According to Neibuhr (*op. cit.*, ii, 198, 200, 201), the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān had also the name of Béiasi, Beïasi or Béiadi (cf. also Badger, *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of Omân by Salîl-ibn-Razîk*, London 1871, 387). It appears that the last name (for Bayāḍī) is connected with *Mubayyiḍa*, a name given to the Khāridjīs in general (see Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884, 30, n.). The Ibāḍīs also give themselves the name of Shurāt [*q.v.*], which in fact refers to the first Khāridjīs or al-Muḥakkima (al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 175; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, Algiers 1905, 81; cf. also al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 352).

According to the tradition recorded towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century by Abū Mikhnaf, this sect appeared in 65/684-5, when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ broke away from the Khāridjī extremists over the attitude to be adopted towards the other *ahl al-tawḥīd* (Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 60-1; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 28-9), but in fact the origins of the Ibāḍiyya seem to be much older than modern scholars have thought. The present author's view is that the pre-history of this sect, together with that of another moderate Khāridjī sect, the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], should be connected with that group of the *ḳaʿada* (quietist, see Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 29; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 29) Khāridjīs which grew up towards the middle of the 1st/7th century at Baṣra around one of the men most venerated by the Khawāridj, Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī. Ibāḍī tradition mentions Abū Bilāl among the precursors of the Ibāḍiyya, or even among the first *imām*s of the sect (al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 66 ff; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 167 ff.; al-Sālimī, *Kitāb al-Lumʿa al-murḍiya*, 1326, 187; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, University of Lwow, MS no. 1082, ii, 135, 664-5; it should be mentioned that the other writers have considered Abū Bilāl to be the *imām* of the Ṣufriyya, see, *e.g.*, al-Isfarāʾinī in Haarbrücker, *asch-Schahrastâni's Religionpartheien und Philosophenschulen*, Halle 1850, ii, 406). This tradition seems very probable, particularly if it is remembered that among Abū Bilāl's intimate friends there were several who were to become outstanding scholars of the Ibāḍiyya, as, for example, the real organizer of the sect, Djābir b. Zayd (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79) and al-Walīd al-ʿAbdī, one of the leaders of the moderate Khāridjīs who broke away from the extremist Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79). Furthermore, the doctrines preached by Abū Bilāl, such as, for example, the defence of *istiʿrāḍ* (Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 25-6), are in large measure identical with Ibāḍī theories.

After the death of Abū Bilāl, who led a revolt in 61 and was killed in a battle one year later, it was probably ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ who became the leader of the moderate party (he is mentioned among the chief Khāridjī personalities in 64; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 27), making a complete break with the Azraḳīs in 65. The extremists pronounced a *khurūdj* against the Zubayrids and left Baṣra, while Ibn Ibāḍ, after some hesitation, remained there with his supporters (al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 155-6). Thus began the first period in the history of the Ibāḍiyya, which can be called the period of the *kitmān* (= secret, on this term see below and al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 156). Very little is known of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ. According to the Ibāḍī writings, he was the first scholar of the sect (*Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 74, 108). He is often called in Ibāḍī sources *imām ahl al-taḥḳīḳ*, *imām al-muslimīn* or *imām al-ḳawm* (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 108, 111; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*; P. K. Hitti, *al-Baghdādī's Characteristics of Muslim Sects*, Cairo 1924, 87). It seems that this title belongs only to the period in which Ibn Ibāḍ took part in the defence of Medina (64/683-4); the state of *kitmān* in which the Ibāḍīs lived after 65 seems to exclude the possibility of the existence of an imāmate in the political sense of the word. Perhaps also there should be seen in this title an allusion to his rôle as president in a sort of secret theocratic Ibāḍī government known as *djamāʿat al-Muslimīn*, which is mentioned by historians of the sect. This was a council composed of a number of the most important *shaykh*s (among them al-Walīd al-ʿAbdī) which may be compared to the council of the *ʿazzāba* of the North African Ibāḍīs after the collapse of the imāmate of the Banū Rustam. The *ḳuʿūd* (quietism) of Ibn Ibāḍ was probably prompted by the hope of reaching an understanding with the new Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705). In fact, be succeeded in entering into correspondence with this ruler, and there are preserved in the Ibāḍī chronicles two *naṣāʾiḥ* (letters of good advice) from Ibn Ibāḍ which bear witness to their friendly relations; one of these letters is a reply from the Ibāḍī leader to a communication which had been sent to him by ʿAbd al-Malik through the intermediary of a certain Sinān b. ʿĀṣim (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 156-67; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 445-55; Sachau, *Religiöse Anschauungen der Ibaditischen Muhammedaner*, in *MSOS As.*, ii, 52-9). The first of these letters must have been written after 67/686-7, since it mentions the defeat of al-Mukhtār by Muṣʿab, the brother of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, which took place in that year (al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 163; cf. Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 86-90). The letters of Ibn Ibāḍ contain a brief account of Ibāḍī principles, which is the first of this type (see also on Ibn Ibāḍ's relations with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, R. Rubinacci, *Il califfo ʿAbd al-*

Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāḍiti, in *AIUON*, n.s. v (1954), 99-121). According to al-Shammākhī (*op. cit.*, 77), Ibn Ibāḍ was also the author of *munāẓarāt* (polemical writings) against the extremist Khāridjis. The date of his death is not known; the Ibāḍī biographies reveal only that he belonged to the second *ṭabaḳa* of scholars. The opinion of al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, ed. Cureton, 100) and of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 37) that Ibn Ibāḍ was still alive as a very old man under Marwān b. Muḥammad (127-34/745-52) does not seem very convincing.

Ibn Ibāḍ's policy at Baṣra towards the Umayyad caliphs was continued by his successor Abu 'l-Shaʿthāʾ Djābir b. Zayd al-Azdī, the chief scholar of the Ibāḍī sect and an eminent traditionist. This scholar, who came from ʿUmān, from near the town of Nazwā (see *Siyār al-ʿUmāniyya*, 675; Yāḳūt, ii, 243-4), is considered by the Arab authors to be one of the chief Khāridjis of the early period (al-Shahrastānī, *op. cit.*, 102). His probable date of birth was 18/639, and the date of this death is given as 93, 96 or 103 (see al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 155; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 77; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 172; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 686). He was thus the contemporary of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ. Djābir b. Zayd was one of the best friends and disciples of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], from whom he received a number of traditions (Yāḳūt, ii, 156-7, 243-4; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 70, 96; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 151). It was probably owing to this fact as well as to his profound scholarship that Djābir was held in great esteem by all the Muslims of his time; al-Shammākhī (*op. cit.*, 70) mentions in this connexion the opinion of Mālik b. Anas. He was probably the author of the earliest collection of traditions. His work, called *Dīwān* and consisting of five parts, is now lost; the only copy of it was found in about the 3rd/9th century in the libraries of the ʿAbbāsids at Baghdād (al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 184; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers-Paris 1878, 181-5).

Among the pupils of Djābir there were several Sunnī traditionists, and Yāḳūt (*loc. cit.*) even calls him *aḥad aʾimmat al-sunna*. On the other hand, Djābir carried on a controversy with the Khāridjī extremists and he gave its definitive form to Ibāḍī doctrine (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 76). It is because of this that the Ibāḍī sources refer to him as *ʿumdat al-Ibāḍiyya* or *aṣl al-madhhab* (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 70; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa, passim*). He is also referred to as *imām al-Muslimīn* (*Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 111). It was probably he and not Ibn Ibāḍ who was really responsible for the organization of the sect. It can thus be seen that this eminent Ibāḍī scholar and traditionist, who was revered by all Muslims, was, so to speak, predestined to accomplish the task begun by his predecessor, that is to win over the caliphs to the Ibāḍī doctrine.

Indeed, the first years of Djābir's presidency were very favourable for the Ibāḍiyya. Djābir succeeded in forming friendly relations with the powerful governor of ʿIrāḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj (76-95/695-714) [*q.v.*], through the good offices of the latter's secretary, the Khāridjī Yazīd b. Abī Muslim (al-Shammākhī *op. cit.*, 71, 74; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 56). He even received from him a salary. This was just at the time when al-Ḥadjdjādj was fighting against the Khāridjī extremists. For a long time relations between Djābir and al-Ḥadjdjādj were excellent. Even at a period after the foundation of the town of Wāsiṭ (83-6/702-5), the attitude of the governor of ʿIrāḳ towards Djābir was still very friendly (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 74).

But towards the end of the 1st/7th century relations between them deteriorated. It appears that one of the causes of this change was the death of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (86/705), who was, as mentioned above, fairly well disposed towards the Ibāḍis. Another was that the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra entered into dealings with the family of the Muhallabids, which the powerful governor of ʿIrāḳ detested. In fact among the most fervent Ibāḍis of Baṣra was ʿĀtika, the sister of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the former governor of Khurāsān, who had been deposed through al-Ḥadjdjādj's efforts and imprisoned by him in 86/705; among the Muhallabids converted to Ibāḍism there was another woman, Halbiyya, who lived at Mecca in about the first half of the 2nd/8th century (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 88, 117; J. Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yousof*. Paris 1904, 221, 232). In addition to these two facts, a third should be mentioned: the increasing radicalism of the Ibāḍis of Baṣra, among whom the revolutionary elements gained control, that is the supporters of the *khurūdj* who wished to change their position as *ḳaʿada* for that of *shurāt*. From the writings of the sect we know the name of one of the leaders of the revolutionary party: Bisṭām b. ʿUmar b. al-Musīb al-Ḍabbī, known also as Maṣḳala, a former Ṣufrī and supporter of Shabīb [*q.v.*], who, after Shabīb's defeat in 77/696, embraced Ibāḍism and settland at Baṣra. He was not only a famous warrior but also a *mutakallim* (theologian). It appears that the Ibāḍī zealots of Baṣra took part in the revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in 81-2/701-2; in fact we find in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's army a detachment composed of men from Kūfa and Baṣra and under the command of one Bisṭām b. Maṣḳala (probably identical with our Maṣḳala) who died in a battle with all his men (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 111; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 46-7; Périer, *op. cit.*, 173, 176, 184, 191-3). The activity of these Ibāḍī zealots led to the withdrawal of al-Ḥadjdjādj's support. The immediate cause of his definite break with Djābir was probably the murder, at Djābir's instigation, of one of al-Ḥadjdjādj's spies (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 75). He began a cruel persecution of the Ibāḍis. The majority of the Ibāḍī leaders and notables were either exiled to ʿUmān (Djābir himself, for example, and another important Ibāḍī *shaykh*, Hubayra; cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 76, 81) or imprisoned (on this see also *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 250). Among the Ibāḍī leaders imprisoned was the most scholarly of Djābir's pupils and his future successor as president of the Ibāḍī *djamāʿa* at Baṣra, Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 87), who was probably the greatest, both as scholar and as statesman, of all the Khāridjī leaders known to us and who played an important political rôle under the last Umayyads.

Abū ʿUbayda was probably of Iranian origin (according to *Aghānī*, xx, 97, his personal name was Kūdīn; and according to al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, i, 133 and ii, 126, it was Karzīn or Kūrīn) and *mawlā* of the Arab tribe of the Banū Tamīm (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83). He studied with Djābir and also with other famous Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of the second *ṭabaḳa*, such as Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk al-ʿAbdī and Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79, 81). After the death of al-Ḥadjdjādj (95/714), who was succeeded by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Abū ʿUbayda was released from prison with the other Ibāḍis and appointed leader of the Ibāḍī community in Baṣra (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 87). The Ibāḍī writers refer to him as *imām al-Muslimīn* (*Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 111), but he seems in reality to have been, as was his predecessor

Djābir, only the president of the *djamāʿat al-Muslimīn* of Baṣra and the *muḳaddam* (leader) over the other members of this council such as Ḍummān b. al-Sāʾib, Abū Nūḥ and even over his former teacher, Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk (see *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 672). Abū ʿUbayda was an eminent scholar and the author of a collection of the *ḥadīth*s transmitted by Djābir b. Zayd, Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk and Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī (Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *RÉI*, 1934, 72; see also al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185). The Ibāḍiyya from all parts of the Muslim world came to study with him (see ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Bārūnī, *Risālat sullam al-ʿāmma wa 'l-mubtadiʾīn ilā maʿrifat aʾimmat al-dīn*, Cairo 1324, 6-8). Abū ʿUbayd's policy at first conformed completely with Ibn Ibāḍ's tendency to come to an understanding with the Umayyads. This was facilitated by the benevolent attitude of the new governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yazīd b. Muhallab, who was closely linked with the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra through his sister ʿĀtika, a fervent Ibāḍī as mentioned above. The hopes of the Ibāḍī *shaykh*s of winning the Umayyads to their cause increased with the accession to the throne of the devout caliph ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20). Abū ʿUbayda sent to this ruler an embassy, among whose members were Sālim al-Hilālī and the scholar *shaykh* Djaʿfar b. al-Sammāk who, because of his great learning, is referred to in the Ibāḍī sources as *imām al-Muslimīn*. This mission was still at the court of ʿUmar II at the time of the death of his son, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 79-80; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 111, 665, 666). It should be added that the Ibāḍīs were not the only ones wishing to reach an agreement with ʿUmar II. It is known that another Khāridjī group, whose leader was Shawdhab (on him see Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 48) and which lived in the district of Rabīʿa in Mesopotamia, sent a mission to this ruler (see Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 434-5). The results of this Ibāḍī mission are not known; it may have been due to it that the Ibāḍī Iyās b. Muʿāwiya was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 81). But this favourable state of affairs for the Ibāḍiyya did not last long. ʿUmar II died in 101/720, and his successor Yazīd II was unfavourably disposed towards the Muhallabids, the patrons of the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra. Details of the fortunes of the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra during the first two decades of the 2nd/8th century are not known; there certainly took place at this period a complete change in their attitudes and there even appeared some revolutionary tendencies. Leaders of the revolutionary party which favoured direct action were Abū Nūḥ, the supporter of a definitive rupture with the caliphate, and a famous *khaṭīb*, Abū Muḥammad al-Nahdī, who, in his sermons delivered in the mosques of Baṣra, overtly incited the crowd to revolt against the governor of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh (105-20/723-38) (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 88, 97; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185). The activities of the zealots of Baṣra were facilitated by the attitude of indifference of the governor of this town, Bilāl b. Abī Burda al-Ashʿarī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 97). Abū ʿUbayda was at first opposed to direct action since he still hoped to win the caliphs to Ibāḍism. He also saw that the chances of an Ibāḍī *khurūdj* similar to the revolts of the Azraḳī extremists were very slender; but in the end, after consulting the important members of the sect, he was obliged to change his attitude through fear of a *khilāf* (schism) among the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra, the majority of whom wished to move from the position of *ḳuʿūd* to that of *ẓuhūr* (see below; cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83-8). Yet he adopted a line of action completely different from that of the other Khāridjī leaders. He did not wish the Ibāḍīs of Baṣra to leave the town in order to found an imāmate somewhere outside the capital, following the example of Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ; on the contrary, he planned to make use of the rich and numerous Ibāḍī community of Baṣra only as a base for Ibāḍī propaganda, which should embrace the whole of the Muslim world. He decided to provoke Ibāḍī insurrections in the various provinces and to create a universal Ibāḍī imāmate on the ruins of the Umayyad caliphate. In order to achieve this, Abū ʿUbayda formed a kind of revolutionary government in which he himself was in charge of everything concerning religious action and missions, and another eminent Ibāḍī *shaykh* of Baṣra, Ḥādjib al-Ṭāʾī, dealt with matters of war and of finance (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 92, 114; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 665). A *bayt al-māl* was formed; its assets must have been considerable since it is stated, for example, that a single rich Ibāḍī merchant, Abū Ṭāhir, paid a net sum of 10,000 *dirhams* (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 114-5). There was created at Baṣra a centre of learning where Abū ʿUbayda secretly trained for the task of being missionaries students who came to him from all the Muslim provinces. These missionaries were then sent out in teams (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*, "bearers of learning", or *naḳalat al-ʿilm*). At the head of such a team Abū ʿUbayda placed the candidate for the dignity of *imām* and the future *ḳāḍī*. These *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* were to spread propaganda in the various provinces of the caliphate and, after gaining a certain number of adherents, to pronounce the state of *ẓuhūr* (see Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 19, 20, 21; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 124; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 676; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185). According to the Ibāḍī historians, Abū ʿUbayda sent such teams to the Maghrib, the Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, ʿUmān and Khurāsān (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 114; al-Sālimī, *loc. cit.*). The operation had a tremendous success; in the midst of the general disorder which preceded the fall of the Umayyads, the influence of the Ibāḍī agitators spread widely. After only a few years, there broke out in various Muslim countries, the Maghrib, the Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān, several Ibāḍī revolts which constituted a greater threat to the caliphate than did the Azraḳī movements (see below).

During this period of Ibāḍī expansion, the Ibāḍiyya of Baṣra continued to live in a state of *kitmān*, keeping their beliefs secret. The advent of the ʿAbbāsids did nothing to change this situation except that the Ibāḍiyya succeeded in gaining the protection of some influential members of the family of the new caliphs. Among these should be mentioned especially the aunt of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-86) and her husband ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿ, whose son even became an Ibāḍī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 107-8) It appears also that the caliph Abū Djaʿfar (136-58/753-75) was for a time fairly well disposed towards the Ibāḍīs; it is known, for example, that he was much in sympathy with Ḥādjib al-Ṭāʾī (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 91). Abū ʿUbayda and Ḥādjib both died during Abū Djaʿfar's reign (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 83, 91). The statement of the 5th/11th century Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjlānī that Abū ʿUbayda died during the reign of the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (168-208/785-823; cf. Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 51) should in our view be rejected.

After the death of Abū ʿUbayda there began the decline of the Ibāḍī community of Baṣra, as, if

we may believe the sectarian sources, had already been observed by the caliph Abū Dja'far (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 91). Nevertheless, under the presidency of al-Rabī' b. Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī, who had succeeded Abū 'Ubayda as the spiritual leader of the Ibāḍiyya, the grand council of the sect still remained in Baṣra and there were even sent out from there new *ḥamalat al-'ilm* to 'Umān (*Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 667; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 186). The *mashāyikh* of Baṣra were arbitrators in the affair of the schism of al-Nukkār (see below) towards the end of the 2nd/8th century. This town remained a centre of Ibāḍī culture during the reign of the imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who bought books there for the sum of 1,000 *dīnār*s (al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 195). But soon after the affair of al-Nukkār, al-Rabī' and the other Ibāḍī *shaykh*s of Baṣra emigrated to 'Umān, where already al-Rabī''s successor, Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, was resident (on al-Rabī' and Abū Sufyān see *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 667; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 185, 186; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 74, n. 2, 136-7; Lewicki, *Une chronique*, 70-2; idem, *Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'ad-Darǧīnī*, in *RO*, xi, 159-60).

THE IBĀḌĪ GROUPS OUTSIDE BAṢRA

(a) At Kūfa. In spite of the opinion of Wellhausen that the Khāridjīs of Kūfa disappeared completely after the massacre of 59/679, the available sources enable us to establish that the Ibāḍiyya remained in this town during at least the whole of the 2nd/8th century. In fact it was from Kūfa that there came the founder of the Ibāḍī sect of al-Ḥārithiyya (see below), which existed in the first half of the 2nd century. Among the Ibāḍī-Wahbī *faḳīh*s of Kūfa may be mentioned Abu 'l-Muhādjir al-Kūfī, one of the doctors of the second half of the 2nd/8th century (see Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 139 n.; al-Shammākhī *op. cit.*, 121; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 24).

(b) In the rest of 'Irāḳ, Ibāḍiyya, belonging to various groups of this sect, probably lived in villages on the road from Baṣra to al-Mawṣil (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 120-1).

(c) At al-Mawṣil Ibāḍīs were to be found. Among the Ibāḍī doctors of this town there should be mentioned, on the evidence of the Ibāḍī sources, one Abū Bakr al-Mawṣilī. It seems very probable that there were also some Ibāḍiyya among the Khawāridj mentioned by the authors of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries in the province of al-Djazīra, to the west of al-Mawṣil (al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 180; *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 667; al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, v, 230-1; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 140).

(d) Ḥidjāz. It appears that the Ibāḍīs were fairly numerous at Medina and Mecca and that even in the 2nd/8th century there were Ibāḍī *djamā'as* in these towns. Mecca was probably in the 2nd century one of the centres of very vigorous Ibāḍī propaganda. Remnants of the Ibāḍiyya still existed in Mecca in the 6th/12th century. Among the Ibāḍī doctors of Ḥidjāz in the 2nd and 3rd centuries were: Abu 'l-Ḥurr 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Anbarī, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Muḥammad b. Salma and Ibn 'Abbād al-Madanī (see Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 64, 121-3, 147; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 97-9; al-Sālimī, *Lum'a*, 183; *Siyar al-'Umāniyya*, 679).

(e) Central Arabia. Abū 'Ubayda seems to have sent *ḥamalat al-'ilm* towards the centre of the Arabian peninsula, perhaps to the Yamāma where there had existed shortly before a Khāridjī imāmate of the al-Nadjdiyya sect, linked to the doctrines of Ibn Ibāḍ (see al-Bārūnī, *Sullam*, 7; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 29-32; Brünnow, *op. cit.*, 61).

(f) Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen. The origins of Ibāḍism in the Ḥaḍramawt and the Yemen are rather obscure. They should perhaps be connected with activity by the first leader of the Ibāḍī sect, 'Abd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, who died, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (i, 37), in the canton of al-Mudhaykhira in the south-west of the Yemen. Ibn Ibāḍ's arrival in the Yemen was probably connected with the conquest of southern Arabia by the Khāridjīs, which took place between the years 65 and 73/685-92. The Khawāridj's control of this country did not last long and ended in 73. It appears, however, that Khāridjī tendencies persisted in southern Arabia, culminating, at the time of the decline of the Umayyad caliphate, in an Ibāḍī revolt. This revolt had been prepared by Ibāḍī agitators from Baṣra who excited the anti-Umayyad feeling which prevailed in southern Arabia under the régime of al-Ḳāsim b. 'Umar (Ḳuwaysim in the Ibāḍī chronicles), who had been installed as governor of Ṣan'ā' by the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, and that of Ibrāhīm b. Djabala b. Makhrama al-Kindī, the Umayyad governor of the Ḥaḍramawt and the subordinate of al-Ḳāsim b. 'Umar. The leader of the dissidents was 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, known as Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, *ḳāḍī* to the governor of the Ḥaḍramawt and a devout and energetic man. He made an agreement with Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, who encouraged him to revolt against the Umayyad government. This appears to have taken place towards the end of 127 or the beginning of 128. At the same time, Abū 'Ubayda Muslim sent to 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā a group of prominent Ibāḍīs from Baṣra who were to help him to organize an imāmate in the Ḥaḍramawt; at their head were Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf al-Azdī and Baldj b. 'Uḳba al-Uzdī. Having arrived in the Ḥaḍramawt, the Ibāḍī emissaries recognized 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā as imām, thus establishing the first Ibāḍī imāmate. The rebels occupied the capital of the Ḥaḍramawt and later, in 129/746-7, the town of Ṣan'ā', the capital of the whole of southern Arabia. Then 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā decided to occupy the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina. The Ibāḍī army, only 900 or 1,000 strong, and under the command of Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār, took Mecca with ease, and then Medina. The Arab chronicles have preserved the text of two *khuṭba*s which Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār pronounced in these two towns. After occupying the Ḥidjāz, the Ibāḍīs became an immediate threat to Umayyad rule in Syria, the centre of the caliphate, so that Marwān b. Muḥammad was forced to act with all speed against this aggression. He sent against the Ibāḍīs a strong army composed of 4,000 Syrian soldiers under the command of 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Aṭiyya al-Sa'dī, who re-conquered Medina and then Mecca. Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār was killed. On receiving news of this, 'Abd Allāh b. Yaḥyā came from Ṣan'ā' at the head of the Ibāḍīs to prevent the Syrian army from penetrating into the Yemen. Not far from Djurash there took place an encounter between the two armies which ended in total defeat of the Ibāḍīs and the death of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ. The rest of the Ibāḍīs took shelter in the fortified town of Shibām. Some time afterwards 'Abd al-Mālik b. 'Aṭiyya received from Marwān b. Muḥammad an order to return to Mecca. He was thus forced to conclude a peace with the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍramawt (he even agreed to recognize their independence). After the death of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, it was 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Ḥaḍramī who was considered as the successor of this imām by the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍra-

mawt and by the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of Baṣra. The Ibāḍī imāmate still existed in the 5th/11th century. According to al-Hamdānī, it was the town of Dawʿan (Dōʿan) which was the capital of this state in the 4th century. The last mention of the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍramawt belongs to the second half of the 5th century.

Of the history of the Ibāḍīs of the Yemen after the defeat of the imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā almost nothing is known. Crushed in 130/748 by the army of ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAṭiyya, they then became subjects of the ʿAbbāsid state. Several Ibāḍī groups still existed in the Yemen at least until the middle of the 6th/12th century, according to the geographer al-Idrīsī. It seems that in the Middle Ages the population of Mahra, on the coast between the Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān, also professed the Ibāḍī doctrine. The population of this country paid tithes to the imām of ʿUmān at about the beginning of the 3rd century. There were also Ibāḍīs outside the former imāmate of Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, on the island of Socotra, whose inhabitants were related to those of Mahra. According to al-Hamdānī, there was on this island a group of al-Shurāt (which is what this writer calls the Ibāḍīs) who were hostile to the Sunnīs of Socotra (on the history of the Ibāḍiyya of southern Arabia, see T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au moyen âge*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i (1959), 3-18).

(g) ʿUmān. Another region in which the Ibāḍīs were active in Arabia was ʿUmān. Not much is known of the origins of the Ibāḍiyya in this country. The prehistory of Ibāḍism there appears to be closely linked with the activity of the pre-Ibāḍī Khāridjī group of Abū Bilāl. It is known in fact that, towards the second half of the 1st/7th century, the inhabitants of ʿUmān were fervent admirers of this Khāridjī hero. Moreover, for some time until the year 73, ʿUmān belonged to an imāmate formed in Arabia by the Khāridjī sect of the Nadjadāt. From the end of the 1st/7th century, the Khāridjism of the inhabitants of ʿUmān took on a purely Ibāḍī character, perhaps owing to the activity of Djābir b. Zayd, as well as to the influences of other Ibāḍī doctors of Baṣra who had been exiled there by al-Ḥadjdjādj. The modern Ibāḍī scholar Aṭfiyyash is thus right in stating that the history of the Ibāḍiyya in ʿUmān begins with the period of the Tābiʿūn; but it is only in the first half of the 2nd/8th century that the more serious preaching of Ibāḍī doctrines begins, probably owing to the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* who were sent there at this time by Abū ʿUbayda. These missionaries were helped by a famous *faḳīh* of ʿUmān, one Khiyār b. Sālim al-Ṭāʾī, and another doctor of the country, Mūsā b. Abī Djābir al-Azkānī. As a result of this preaching, an Ibāḍī revolt broke out in ʿUmān in 132/750. At the head of the rebels was the descendent of the former princes of the country, al-Djulandā b. Masʿūd (referred to by al-Barrādī as al-Kuland b. al-Djuland), who was elected imām. This Ibāḍī imāmate, which extended also to the Ḥaḍramawt and the Yemen, lasted only a short time and collapsed in 134/752 as the result of an ʿAbbāsid expedition led by the general Khāzim b. Khuzayma; the imām was killed in a battle. The Ibāḍiyya of ʿUmān seem to have been considerably weakened by this defeat, although the ʿAbbāsid governor placed in the country by al-Saffāḥ appears to have been tolerant towards the sect's doctrine. But already towards the second half of the 2nd/8th century, as a result of new *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* (in particular the famous al-Bashīr b. al-Mundhir) sent to this province by Abū ʿUbayda's successor, al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, and of the activities of Mūsā b. Abī Djābir, the Ibāḍīs rose up again and recommenced their activities in ʿUmān. The centre of this new movement was the town of Nazwā and it was there that, in 177/793, in a council held under the presidency of Mūsā b. Abī Djābir al-Azkānī, there was proclaimed imām of ʿUmān Muḥammad b. ʿAffān (known also as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī ʿAffān or Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān), a member of the Azdī tribe of Banū Yaḥmad. It seems that under the reign of his successor, al-Wārith b. Kaʿb al-Kharūṣī (179-92/795-808), the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra transferred themselves to ʿUmān, which thus became the spiritual centre of the Ibāḍiyya. On the considerable rôle of ʿUmān in the history of the Ibāḍiyya this Ibāḍī saying is significant: *bāḍa 'l-ʿilmu bi-'l-Madīna wa-farrakha bi-'l-Baṣra wa-ṭāra ilā ʿUmān*, "Knowledge was laid in Medina, hatched in Baṣra and flew to ʿUmān" (see al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 183). It should be added that the identification of al-Wārith b. Kaʿb al-Kharūṣī with al-Wārith b. Kaʿb al-Ḥaḍramī, the Ibāḍī imām of the Ḥaḍramawt who lived in the second half of the 2nd/8th century, is very possible. Among the other Ibāḍī imāms of ʿUmān should be mentioned Ghassān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yaḥmadī al-Azdī (died 207/822-3), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥāmid (who reigned for 18 years), and al-Muhannaʾ b. Djaʿfar (226-37/841-52). During the latter's reign, the Ḥaḍramawt formed part of the kingdom of ʿUmān. His successor, al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, reigned until 273/887. One other Ibāḍī imām of ʿUmān of this period is known: Rashīd b. al-Naḍr, who reigned immediately after al-Ṣalt b. Mālik. There had now already begun the period of discord and internecine strife (the war between the Nizārī and the Hināwī tribes). During the 3rd/9th century, certain Ibāḍī chiefs of ʿUmān bore the title of *wālī* (governor) or of *mutaḳaddim* (chief), since during this period it was the Rustamids who were recognized as universal imāms of the Ibāḍiyya. Nevertheless, these Ibāḍī rulers of ʿUmān were elected by the inhabitants of the country and not appointed by the imāms of the Maghrib. ʿUmān was divided into several districts with governors in charge of them. The imāms or the *mutaḳaddim*s lived at Nazwā. In 280/893 ʿUmān was reconquered by the ʿAbbāsids following a victory won by the ʿAbbāsid general, Muḥammad b. Nūr, who was killed. ʿUmān's dependence on the ʿAbbāsid caliphate was only superficial; in actual fact the Ibāḍī imāmate continued to exist there without interruption. The Ibāḍī sources mention the names of several imāms who reigned in the 4th/10th century. During the first part of this century the Imāms of ʿUmān continued to exercise their authority over the country of Mahra. For the later history of the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān reference may be made to the plentiful literature on this subject which is cited at the end of this section. It should be mentioned that the chronology of the facts mentioned above is not always certain and there will be found some discrepancies between facts given here and those in earlier works by this author.

Little is known on the precise distribution of the Ibāḍīs in ʿUmān during the Middle Ages. From the chronicles of the country, such as *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, *Kashf al-ghumma*, etc., it can be established that the most important Ibāḍī groups in ʿUmān were found to the south of an imaginary line drawn between the towns of Ṣuḥār and Tawwām (now al-Tawwām or al-Bereyma). The Ibāḍiyya occupied particularly the district of al-Bāṭina and the surroundings of Rustāḳ, where are situated the majority

of the Ibāḍī cantons and districts mentioned in the sources. Among these places were: the former Ibāḍī capital of ʿUmān, Nazwā, with its suburbs ʿAḳr Nazwā and Samad Nazwā, then Azkā, Bahlā, Farḳ (the native town of Djābir b. Zayd), Manḥ, Faldj, Nakhl, Samāʾil, al-Ḥadjar and, on the coast opposite to Nakhl, the town of Wadām. There was also a fairly dense Ibāḍī population on the south-east coast of ʿUmān at Masḳaṭ, Ḳaryāt, Ṭaywa, Ḳalhat and in the southern cantons, Kharūṣ and Riyām. Almost nothing is known of the extreme south of ʿUmān; it seems that the main mass of the Ibāḍiyya did not extend much to the south of the borders of the districts of Kharūṣ and Riyām. In northern ʿUmān it is chiefly the canton of al-Sirr and the town of Djulfār (Djullafār) which are mentioned in the sources as having an Ibāḍī population. It will thus be seen that the limits of the area occupied by the Ibāḍīs were much narrower than those of ʿUmān itself, especially during its greatest period in the 3rd/9th century. Today Ibāḍism is the religion of the main fractions of the ʿUmān tribes of Ghāfirī and Hinā (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 78, 93 and *passim*; al-Dardjīnī, *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, MS no. 275 of the Cracow collection, f. 14v-15r; al-Barrāḍī, *op. cit.*, 170; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 174, 219, 277, 667, 676, 677 and *passim*; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 136-43; al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, i-ii, Cairo 1347, *passim*; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 78, 81, 484, 501; Salîl b. Razîk, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman ...*, tr. G. P. Badger, London 1871, *passim*; E. Sachau, *Über eine arabische Chronik aus Zanzibar*, in *MSOS*, i, 1-19; C. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, ii, Paris 1913, 257-82; L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*[2], 58-60; H. Klein, *Kapitel XXXIII der anonymen arabischen Chronik Kašf al-Ġumma al-Ǧāmiʿ li-aḫbār al-umma betitelt Aḫbār ahl-ʿOmān min auwal islāmihim ilā 'ḫtilāf kalimatihim ...* (thesis), Hamburg 1938; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *L'Imāmato ibāḍita dell' ʿOmān*, in *AIUON*, n.s. iii (1949), 245-82; T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud*, *passim*; several references to the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān are found also in the works of many Sunnī Arab geographers and historians).

(h) East Africa. The origins of the Ibāḍiyya on the east coast of Africa (the Bilād al-Zandj of the mediaeval Arabic authors) are unknown; the first to preach Ibāḍism there were probably merchants from ʿUmān, beginning apparently in the 3rd/9th century. Among the Ibāḍī *shaykhs* of the 6th/12th century is found an East African doctor, al-Walīd b. Bārik al-Kilwī al-Ibāḍī, from the town of Kilwa. The Ibāḍī element in the Bilād al-Zandj appears to have grown in the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries when the major part of the east coast of Africa was linked with ʿUmān. Today, the majority of the Ibāḍīs of East Africa live in Zanzibar (Salîl b. Razîk, *op. cit.*, 92, 205; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 671).

(i) Kishm. The inhabitants of this island, which was referred to by the mediaeval Arabic authors as Djazīrat Ibn Kāwān and is situated near to the coast of Kirmān opposite Ras Masandam, were still Ibāḍīs in the 6th/12th century (al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 158).

(j) Persia. From the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, there existed an Ibāḍī group of considerable size in Khurāsān as a result of the activity of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* sent there by Abū ʿUbayda, and particularly of Hilāl b. ʿAṭiyya al-Khurāsānī, the first Ibāḍī missionary of this country. Among the other Ibāḍī doctors and scholars who were natives of Khurāsān should be mentioned in particular Abū Ghānim Bishr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī (3rd/9th century), the author of the famous work known under the title of *al-Mudawwana*. Ibāḍīs are also found at about the beginning of the 2nd/8th century in Fārs. It is not known whether the Ḥamziyya, whose existence in Persia is mentioned by al-Masʿūdī, were followers of the Ibāḍī sectarian Ḥamza al-Kūfī (see below) or were a sub-branch of the ʿAdjārida (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 87, 88, 113, 116, 118, 119; *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*, 667; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 185, 186; al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, v, 230-1; al-Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 144-5; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le nom berbère de Dieu chez les Abadhites*, in *RAfr.*, (1905), 146).

(k) India and China. The Ibāḍī chronicles of ʿUmān mention contingents of Indian (Hind) soldiers in the army of the imāms of this country from an early period. It was probably through these Indians as well as through merchants from ʿUmān, Persia and the Djazīrat Ibn Kāwān, that Ibāḍism penetrated into Sind. Remnants of the Ibāḍiyya still existed at al-Manṣūra, the capital of this province, in 445/1053, during the reign of Rāshid b. Saʿīd, the imām of ʿUmān, who sent them a *sīra* (letter); it is not known whether they were able to obtain political independence. The Khāridjīs whose existence in the coastal region between Kirmān and Sind in the 4th/10th century is attested by al-Masʿūdī may have been identical with these Ibāḍīs. It is also quite probable that there were Ibāḍīs among the Muslim colonists settled in China, a large number of whom came from the countries where Ibāḍism was a dominant belief, for example ʿUmān, the Ḥaḍramawt, etc. The books of the Ibāḍī sect mention two persons from ʿUmān and Baṣra who were at the same time merchants and Ibāḍī scholars, Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ṣaghīr and al-Naẓar b. Maymūn, who went to China in the 2nd/8th century (al-Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, v, 231; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 183; Salîl Ibn Razîk, *op. cit.*, 35; Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO*, xi, 173-86).

(l) Egypt. At a comparatively recent period, the Ibāḍī doctrine was spread also in Egypt, which soon became one of the main centres of Ibāḍī learning together with Baṣra and Medina. The Ibāḍī sources mention several scholars who were natives of Egypt, as for example, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 122; al-Sālimī, *Lumʿa*, 186).

(m) Ifriḳiya and the Maghrib. The Ibāḍī groups of North Africa played for a certain period a predominant rôle in the history of this sect. The first to preach the Ibāḍī doctrines there was Salāma b. Saʿīd (Salma b. Saʿd), a *shaykh* of Baṣra who appeared towards the beginning of the 2nd/8th century at Ḳayrawān accompanied by the Ṣufrī missionary ʿIkrima, a *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 107/725-6; cf. Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 3-4; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 98; al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 4v.). Salāma's activity appears to have been fairly successful, since we find in Tripolitania, about twenty years later, a fairly large Ibāḍī group under the leadership of a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd al-Tudjībī. This leader drew his support at first from the Berber tribe of the Hawwāra [*q.v.*], which in the Middle Ages occupied Tripoli and the region to the east of it as far as the *sebkha* of Tāūrgha. The authority passed next to two Ibāḍī chiefs, ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Ḳays al-Murādī and al-Ḥārith b. Talid al-Ḥaḍramī. Under these two leaders, who also depended on the Hawwāra, the remainder of what is now Tripolitania

came under the control of the Ibāḍiyya. Among the Berber tribes converted to Ibāḍism at this period were the Zanāta of western Tripolitania and the Nafūsa who were settled on that part of the Tripolitanian Djebel which today still bears their name. Al-Ḥārith is said to have been proclaimed *imām al-aḥkām*, but it is more likely that al-Ḥārith and ʿAbd al-Djabbār reigned together (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 244; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 170; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 175, 597; T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen-âge*, in *RO*, xxi (1957), 308; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 219). After the deaths of al-Ḥārith and of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who killed each other in 131/748-9 (or in 132/749-50), it was Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī (also known as Abu 'l-Zādjir Ismāʿīl) who was elected leader by the Ibāḍī Berber tribes of Tripolitania with the title of *imām al-difāʿ* (imām of defence). He captured the town of Ḳābis (Gabès) in 132 at the time of the accession of the ʿAbbāsids to the caliphate, but he was killed near this town in an encounter with the troops of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, the Arab governor of Ḳayrawān. His death took place soon after his election (T. Lewicki, *Études Ibāḍites nord-africaines*, part I, Warsaw 1957, 23, lines 1-2 and 127-8). It was probably at this time that there appeared the Ibāḍī (of Berber origin) ʿUmar b. Īmkaten. According to the early Ibāḍī chronicles he was the first to teach the Ḳur'ān in the Djabal Nafūsa, having learned it himself on the great coastal road which linked the Maghrib to the East, in the region of Maghmadās (the Macomades Syrtis of antiquity and the present day Marsa Zaʿafrān; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 142; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, 55). After the death of Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī, the Ibāḍī state of Tripolitania collapsed, but the population remained Ibāḍī. It was from Tripolitania or from the neighbouring districts of southern Tunisia that, in the years after 140/760, several Berbers came to Baṣra to study under the president of the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* there, Abū ʿUbayda al-Tamīmī. Among these persons, who later returned to preach the Ibāḍī faith in Tripolitania, were a certain Ibn Maghṭīr (Ibn Mughṭīr), a Nafūsī who was still alive in about 196 (Strothman, *Berber und Ibāḍiten*, in *Isl.*, xvii, 266; Lewicki, *Études berbères-nord-africaines*, 93, 95), ʿĀṣim al-Sadrātī, later mentioned among the Ibāḍī generals of the Maghrib (d. 155-772; Lewicki, *op. cit.*, 77), Abū Dāwūd al-Ḳibillī of Nafzāwa in southern Tunisia and Ismāʿīl b. Darrār al-Ghadāmisī. The last three, with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, a Persian who had originally settled at Ḳayrawān, and with an Arab from the South, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī al-Ḥimyarī (who was a *mawlā* of the tribe of al-Maʿāfira, cf. *Bayān*, i, 317), formed a team of missionaries (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*) similar to those sent by Abū ʿUbayd to ʿUmān and Khurāsān. They received from Abū ʿUbayda orders to form the Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania into an imāmate, and with his usual prescience he nominated Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as the future imām. The activities of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm* met with great success. In 140, the Ibāḍī dignitaries of Tripolitania, assembled in a secret council held at Ṣayyād, near Tripoli, raised Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb to the office of imām. The Ibāḍī Berber tribes of Hawwāra and Nafūsa and others, led by the new imām, conquered the whole of Tripolitania, together with the town of Tripoli, which became the residence of the imām, then, in Ṣafar 141/June-July 758, captured the town of al-Ḳayrawān, the Arab capital of Ifrīḳiya which was then in the possession of the Ṣufrīs of the Berber tribe of Warfadjdjūma. As a result of these successes of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb there arose a fairly important Ibāḍī state, which included the whole of Tripolitania from the western frontier of Barḳa, Tunisia and the whole of the east of present-day Algeria, including the country of the Ketāma in the north of the department of Constantine. It even seems that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb also exercised a certain influence over the Ṣufrīs of Sidjilmāsa (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 34; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 130 and *passim*; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, 149, tr. 285-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 375; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 357; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites-nord-africaines*, 112-4).

The imāmate of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb did not last long. It was destroyed in 144/761 by the ʿAbbāsid army under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, the governor of Egypt, following a battle at Tāwarghā (Tāūrgha) to the east of Tripoli. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and several thousand of his supporters fell, and Ibn al-Ashʿath re-took al-Ḳayrawān (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 37-8; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 132; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, text 7, tr. 22; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 220, 374-5; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 358-60; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites-nord-africaines*, 113-4).

The remnants of the Ibāḍiyya either withdrew into the interior of Tripolitania or crossed into the central Maghrib. Gradually there arose new centres of resistance against the ʿAbbāsids. Thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the former Ibāḍī governor of Ḳayrawān and one of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm*, fleeing from the Arab army which had re-taken Ifrīḳiya, went (by way of Sūf Adjdjādj to the west of the Bilād al-Djarīd, where there had collected several Ibāḍī scholars from Tripolitania) towards the west of the present-day Algeria, where he founded (or rather rebuilt) the town of Tāhert. Soon several Berber Ibāḍī fractions (most of them probably emigrés from Ifrīḳiya), such as the Lamāya, the Lawāta and the Nafzāwa, rallied to this leader. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam seems to have been fairly powerful, since the leader of the Ibāḍiyya of Tripolitania after the death of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the Hawwārī Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī, for a time sent him the *zakāt*, thus acknowledging his supremacy. In addition to these two leaders, there were others in North Africa at this time, as for example ʿĀṣim al-Sadrātī, who is even referred to as imām by the Ibāḍī writers, and al-Miswar al-Zanātī (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 40-2; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 133, 135, 138, 141; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, text 68, tr. 140; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 220, 221, 375, 380; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 371).

As a result of the activity of these various leaders, there broke out in North Africa, in 151/768, an Ibāḍī revolt which the Ṣufrīs also joined. At the head of the rebels was Abū Ḥātim, who took the title of *imām al-difāʿ*. The Arabic sources provide details of this revolt, the most famous episodes of which were the capture of al-Ḳayrawān by Abū Ḥātim, who took it from the Arabs, and the siege of Ṭubna in the Zāb. After some years of fighting, Abū Ḥātim yielded to the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Yazīd b. Ḥātim, which had attacked him in the east of Tripolitania, and he died in 155 (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 41-9; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 135-8; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 221-3, 379-85; al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 173; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 364-80).

After the defeat of Abū Ḥātim and the collapse of the Ibāḍī imāmate of Tripolitania, there took place a migration towards the west of the Berber Ibāḍī fractions of Tripolitania and Tunisia. It was probably

as part of this migration that some Khāridjī fractions from Ifrīḳiya crossed into the country of the Ketāma in 156, as mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn. These emigrants probably joined ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, and the headquarters of the North African Ibāḍiyya became the town of Tāhert. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam was elected imām in 160 or 162 (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 49 ff.; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 138 ff.; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, 63-4). With this there began the consolidation of all the Ibāḍī groups of North Africa around the imāms of Tāhert. It was under the two successors of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, namely ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (168-208/784-823) and al-Allaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (208-58 ?/823-72 ?), that the Ibāḍism of the Maghrib reached its peak. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb succeeded, after long campaigns, in reuniting under his rule, towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, all the Berber Ibāḍī tribes of North Africa. It even appears that he almost conquered Ifrīḳiya proper. In fact it seems that the uprising of Nuṣayr b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ibāḍī, from the tribe of the Nafzāwa, which took place in Ifrīḳiya in 171-787-8 and in which 10,000 Ibāḍīs lost their lives (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 82; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 224; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 384), had as its aim the annexing of this country to the kingdom of Tāhert. It was perhaps the failure of this revolt which led the imām of Tāhert to conclude a peace with Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, the Arab governor of al-Ḳayrawān on behalf of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Indeed, the negotiations between Tāhert and al-Ḳayrawān began immediately after the disaster to the Ibāḍīs of Ifrīḳiya in the same year, 171 (Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 387). As a result of these negotiations, peace was restored in North Africa. The governors of al-Ḳayrawān and the Aghlabid *amīrs* took care not to disturb the Berber Ibāḍī tribes, who had been ruled by the Rustamids for about half a century. At this period, the boundaries of the imāmate of Tāhert included, according to Ibn al-Ṣaghīr (17, tr. p. 73), all the country between Tlemcen and Tripoli. To the west, the Rustamid state included the district around Tāhert, as well as the territory of Sersū inhabited by the Ibāḍī fractions of the Berber tribes of Lamāya, Sadrāta, Mazāta, Lawāta, Hawwāra, Nafūsa, Zawagha, Matmāta, Miknāsa, Azdādja and Ghumāra; the majority of these tribes abandoned Ibāḍism towards the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th century. To the north-west, the frontier of the state of Tāhert reached the Mediterranean near to Marsā Farrūkh and Marsa 'l-Kharaz (between Arzew and Mostaganem, now La Calle) or near to Marsa 'l-Dadjādj (between Algiers and Bougie). To the south, the Rustamid imāmate included the oases of Wādī Rīgh and Wargla. A strip formed by a part of the Hodna and of the Zāb and the Djabal Awrās, and inhabited by Ibāḍīs, linked the western sections of the imāmate of Tāhert with the Ibāḍī districts of the present-day Tunisia and Tripolitania. These eastern domains of the Ibāḍī state included, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the whole of southern Tunisia, that is Ḳafṣa (Gafsa), the district of al-Sāḥil (present-day Sahel), the Bilād al-Djarīd (referred to by the mediaeval Ibāḍī writers as al-Ḳuṣūr) with its cantons: Ḳaṣṭīliya (Tozeur), Ḳanṭrāra, Nafzāwa and Ḥarth-Nafātha, the mountains of south-eastern Tunisia and the whole of Tripolitania, except for the town of Tripoli itself. It can thus be seen that the possessions of the Rustamid imāmate encircled the Aghlabid state on all sides. Aghlabid power was limited, still in the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century, to northern Tunisia and north-eastern Algeria.

It was not until 224/839 that the Aghlabids succeeded in breaking the Rustamid blockade and in partially occupying the Ibāḍī strip linking Tāhert with Tripolitania, that is the districts of Ḳafṣa, al-Sāḥil and Bilād al-Djarīd, by means of an expedition led by the Aghlabī general ʿĪsā b. Rayʿān al-Azdī. Ibn ʿIdhārī, who provides this information, says nothing on the doctrines professed by the Berbers of southern Tunisia, but merely states that they belonged to the tribes of Lawāta, Zawāgha and Miknāsa. In a battle which took place between Ḳafṣa and Ḳasṭīliya, these tribes were massacred, and this put an end to the Rustamid domination in southern Tunisia and caused the Ibāḍī territory of the Maghrib to be divided into two separate parts (A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, tr. 74, 78, 102, 122; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, text, 55, 70, 72-3, 81-2, tr., 117, 144, 148, 164, 166; al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 102v; al-Wisyānī, *Taʾlīf*, MS 277 of the collection of Cracow, 33-4, 58, 140; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 346, 352, 353, 355, 356; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 154, 159, 161-5, 181, 194, 196, 203, 214, 275, 590, 596, 597; Ibn Khurradādhbih, text, 88-9, tr. 63; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, 79; M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale*, Paris 1927, *passim*; T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen-âge*, in *RO*, xxi (1957), 301-43; idem, *Les Ibāḍites en Tunisie au moyen-âge*, Rome 1959; idem, *Un document ibāḍite inédit sur l'émigration des Nafūsa du Ǧabal*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1960) 175-91, ii (1950), 214-6).

Outside North Africa, the Ibāḍī groups of Baṣra and throughout the East also recognized the supremacy of Ibn Rustam and of his successors and "dated with his name their books and their testaments" (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 53; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, tr. 65-71). This was probably the reason why the Ibāḍī rulers of ʿUmān sometimes, in the 3rd/9th century, bore the title of *wālī* (governor) or of *muṭaḳaddim* (leader) together with that of imām (see above).

Towards the second half of the 3rd century, the imāmate of Tāhert, split by the political schisms of al-Nukkār, of the Khalafiyya, of Ibn Maṣṣāla (who created an independent Ibāḍī state bear Tāhert) and others (see below), and cut into two separate parts because of the success of the Aghlabids in conquering the whole of southern Tunisia, was approaching ruin. Rustamid influence in Tripolitania was completely destroyed in 283/896, when the Aghlabid army defeated in the famous battle of Mānū (between Tripoli and Ḳābis) the powerful Ibāḍī Berber tribe of the Nafūsa, which had been the main support of the Rustamid state in Ifrīkiya (cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 267-9; al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 31v; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 194-202; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *op. cit.*, i, 129; Fournel, *op. cit.*, i, 575; Vonderheyden, *op. cit.*, 44-5). The remains of the state of Tāhert continued to exist until 296/909, when it finally fell before the armies of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, who founded on the ruins of the Aghlabid, Rustamid and Midrārid states of Sidjilmāsa the new and powerful Fāṭimid kingdom. After Tāhert had been taken by the Fāṭimid army, the last Rustamid imām, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, fled, with his family and with the most important scholars and men of influence from Tāhert, to Sadrāta (in the oasis of Wargla) on the southern borders of the state of Tāhert, where for a time they dreamed of re-establishing the Ibāḍī imāmate in this locality (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 365;

Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 251-8; Fournel, *op. cit.*, ii, 52-95). This idea was abandoned, perhaps as the result of a Fāṭimid expedition in the direction of the oasis of Wargla (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 220-3). Moreover, a new Ibāḍī imāmate was already being formed in the Djabal Nafūsa, where the Fāṭimid army did not penetrate until very much later.

There should be mentioned here the activities of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' al-Irdjānī. This leader, who is given in the Ibāḍī sources the title of *ḥākim* or of *imām mudāfiʿ*, and who lived in the Djabal Nafūsa, ruled for about fifteen years. This is the only example known of a North African Ibāḍī-Wahbī chief taking the title of imām after the fall of the imāmate of the Banū Rustam. His power did not extend beyond the limits of the Djabal Nafūsa, but he nevertheless succeeded in preserving the independence of this territory from the Fāṭimids. He died in 311/923-4. His successors, who bore the title of *ḥākim*, were also in fact independent of the Fāṭimid state. Later, one of the *ḥākims* of the Djabal Nafūsa was forced, in about 430-50, to recognize the supremacy of the Zīrids. The semi-independent Ibāḍī *ḥākims* (and later *shaykhs*) of the Djabal Nafūsa still existed in the 8th/14th century (T. Lewicki, *Ibāḍitica, 2: Les Ḥākims du Ǧabal Nafūsa*, in *RO*, xxvi (1962), 97-123).

In the first half of the 4th/10th century, there took place a further unsuccessful attempt to re-establish the Ibāḍī state in North Africa. This time it was a member of the Nukkārī sect, Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydad (d. 335/946-7), who rallied round him the Ibāḍī tribes of Tripolitania, the Zāb and the other districts of the Maghrib (see *EI*[1], suppl., AL-NUKKĀR). Twenty years later, the Ibāḍiyya of the Maghrib made a further attempt, and declared in 358 a *khurūdj* against the Fāṭimids. This revolt, which broke out in the Bilād al-Djarīd, was led by two Ibāḍī-Wahbī *shaykhs* of the tribe of the Banū Wisyān: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim and, after his death, Abū Khazar (according to Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 542: Abū Djaʿfar al-Zanātī); it achieved for the Ibāḍīs temporary domination of Tripolitania, of southern Tunisia, of the island of Djarba, of the Zāb and of the oases of the Rīgh and of Wārdjlān (Wargla). The *wilāyat al-difāʿ* was proclaimed, governors were appointed for all the provinces and it was even contemplated that they might enter into relations with the Umayyads of Spain. Abū Khazar assembled an enormous army, the tribe of the Mazāta alone providing him with 12,000 horsemen. But this insurrection also failed, and, after the rout of the rebels at Bāghāy, the Ibāḍiyya of North Africa had to submit to the Fāṭimids (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 288-310; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 346-62; Fournel, *op. cit.*, ii, 349).

After this revolt, the Ibāḍīs of North Africa made no further attempts to restore an imāmate and they returned to the state of *kitmān*. Nevertheless, in the various parts of the Maghrib and Ifrīḳiya there were formed small Ibāḍī-Wahbī political organizations, independent or semi-independent of the Fāṭimids and of the Sunnī North African dynasties. There have been mentioned above the Ibāḍī *ḥākims* of the Djabal Nafūsa and the author has dealt in a special study (T. Lewicki, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites*) with the Ibāḍī groups of Tripolitania and of the Fezzān which survived from the Rustamid rule (which however in the majority of these provinces came to an end towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century). The history of the Ibāḍī groups in Tunisia at this time has been dealt with in T. Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites en Tunisie au moyen-âge*. The oasis of Wargla was governed, towards the 4th/10th century, by a council of notables (*wudjūh, aʿyān, akābir*; cf. al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 38v; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 365). Later, in the 5th/11th century, there appeared among the Ibāḍiyya of North Africa (alongside the *ḥākim*, the *muḳaddam* and the *ra'īs*) a new form of government: a theocratic government formed by councils of recluses (*al-ʿazzāba*) presided over by a *shaykh* who exercised authority over the entire life of the Ibāḍī groups [see ḤALḲA].

As a result of civil wars and of the defeat of the rebels by the Fāṭimids, followed by the repression of these rebels by the Fāṭimids and other Sunnī rulers of North Africa, there began a decline of North African Ibāḍism which seems to have been accelerated after the migration of the Banū Hilāl. The North African Ibāḍīs withdrew, from the 6th/12th century onwards, into a few barely accessible regions where they have continued to exist until the present day. Thus the Ibāḍīs escaping from the central Maghrib at first joined the Ibāḍī groups in the oasis of Wargla and the Rīgh and thereafter even founded new colonies in the Mzab, to which there came later the remnants of the Ibāḍiyya of Wargla and of the Rīgh. The Ibāḍīs of Tripolitania were concentrated towards the end of the Middle Ages in the Djabal Nafūsa. Today Ibāḍism is practised in North Africa only in Mzab, in two-thirds of the island of Djerba, at Zuara on the coast of western Tripolitania and in half of the Djabal Nafūsa. They are still divided there into two main sects: the Wahbīs and the Nukkārīs, the last remnants of a once-powerful population which formerly played a very considerable rôle in the history of North Africa.

The Ibāḍī imāms and doctors of North Africa maintained fairly active relations with the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra and Mecca and with the scholars of ʿUmān. There are preserved in the Ibāḍī chronicles of the Maghrib several fragments of the letters exchanged by the North African Ibāḍiyya and their co-religionists in the East (cf., *e.g.*, Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 65-6). Also the Eastern Ibāḍīs often travelled or sent embassies to the Maghrib, especially during the rule of the Banū Rustam, *e.g.*, the journey made to the Maghrib by the Khurāsānī doctor Abū Ghānim (A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghir*, tr. 65-71; Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 51-3, 63-7, 74-5, 136-41). Conversely, scholars from the Maghrib often travelled to the East (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 180-5; A. de C. Motylinski, *op. cit.*, tr. 112). After the fall of the Rustamid imāmate, relations between the Ibāḍīs of North Africa and those of the East became less close. Nevertheless, as late as the 7th/13th century, the *mashāyikh* of ʿUmān sent to the Maghrib several Ibāḍī works written in the East, and one of the most important North African Ibāḍī writers, al-Dardjīnī, was commissioned to write a history of the North African Ibāḍiyya for the use of those of ʿUmān (T. Lewicki, *Notice sur la chronique ibāḍite d'al-Darǧīnī*, in *RO*, xi (1936), 156). Still later, towards the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Ibāḍī biographer of the Maghrib, al-Shammākhī, was in contact with a scholar of ʿUmān, a certain al-Samā'ilī (T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI* (1934), 66).

(n) Western and central Sudan. In his important article *Sur la diffusion des formes d'architecture religieuse musulmane à travers le Sahara*, in *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, xi (1954), 11-27, J. Schacht has demonstrated that it was the Ibāḍīs of southern Tunisia, of Wargla and of the Mzab who brought the characteristic features

of Muslim religious architecture across the Sahara to the Hausa, the Kanuris and the Fulbe (Peuls). Thus the "staircase minaret" reached the Sudan from southern Tunisia via Wargla, the rectangular *miḥrāb* came from the Mzab, and the absence of a *minbār* among the Fulbe is due to the influence of the Ibāḍis. According to J. Schacht, it was the Ibāḍis also who introduced Islam itself into part of "Black Africa". The mediaeval Arabic sources, and especially the North African Ibāḍī sources, provide in fact many interesting and credible proofs of the activity of merchants, and probably also of Ibāḍī missionaries, in western and central Sudan, from the 2nd/8th to the 8th/14th century. The town of Tāhert, the capital of the Rustamid state, had become in the second half of the 2nd/8th century, soon after its foundation, the centre of intensive trade with the Sudan (probably with the towns of Awdaghust and Ghāna) and, during the reign of the Rustamid imām Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (208-58), there was even an Ibāḍī ambassador at the court of the king of Ghāna or of Gao. According to a passage in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Wisyānī (MS no. 277 of the Cracow collection, 59), Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb even wished, during the lifetime of his father (hence before 208/823), to make a journey to the district of Djawdjaw (Gogo, Gao) in the Sudan, but the journey did not take place, as it was forbidden by the imām, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Following the direction of the trade route which passed mainly through the town of Sidjilmāsa and across the western Sahara, Ibāḍism first took root in Awdaghust (now Tagdaoust, in the south east of the present-day Mauritania), where there were found, towards the 4th-5th/10th-11th century, fractions of the Berber tribes of Nafūsa, Lawāta, Nafzāwa and Zanāta; it is known that these were Ibāḍī tribes. The mediaeval Ibāḍī sources mention several Ibāḍī merchants, most of them from the Bilād al-Djarīd, who went to Ghāna during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. One of these merchants, the scholar Abū Mūsā al-Wisyānī, arrived, by way of the oasis of Wargla, at the town of Ghayāra (Ghayaro, Goundiourou, near to the present-day Kayés on the Senegal), where he died among "idolatrous people", as is stressed in the Ibāḍī chronicles. It is not impossible that the Muslim missionary who converted to Islam the pagan king of Mallel (Mālī) before 400 was an Ibāḍī. There may perhaps also be some truth in the anecdote related by al-Dardjīnī (7th/13th century) and al-Shammākhī (10th/16th century) on the activity of the Ibāḍī missionary, ʿAlī b. Yakhlaf al-Nafūsī, a native of the Bilād al-Djarīd, who converted to Ibāḍism the pagan king of Mālī "in the heart of Ghāna" in 575/1179-80. One effect of these contacts was the existence, as late as 753/1352, of an Ibāḍī group among the "whites", that is the Berber inhabitants, of the locality of Zaghārī (between Walāta and the Niger, the present-day Dioura or Ture-ssangha, south-south-east of Bacikounou).

It appears that there were also in the 3rd/9th century commercial relations between the Djabal Nafūsa and Takrūr, a negro kingdom situated in what is now Senegal (al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 273).

A whole series of data on the commerce between the North African Ibāḍīs and the Sudan in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries concerns the trade expeditions directed towards Tādemekket (Tādmekka), an important centre of trade in the southern Sahara, situated in the Adrar of the Ifoghas, to the north-east of the bend of the Niger. The ruins of this town still exist, and are known as al-Sūḳ, "the market". It was there that there was born, in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, the future leader of the revolt of the Ibāḍī sect of the Nukkārīs against the Fāṭimids. According to al-Bakrī, the route from Tādmekka to al-Ḳayrawān, which was very important for Saharan trade, went through the (Ibāḍī) oasis of Wargla and through southern Tunisia, which also had a very numerous Ibāḍī population, as is known from other sources. There was also a caravan route which linked Tādmekka to the town of Tripoli and which passed through Ghadāmes, a town which still had an Ibāḍī population in the 8th/14th century. The North African Ibāḍī chronicles provide various details particularly on the commercial relations between the oasis of Wargla, the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Djabal Nafūsa on the one side and Tādmekka on the other.

As for commercial relations between Ibāḍīs and the central Sudan (the environs of Lake Chad) those mainly interested were the merchants of Tripolitania and the Fezzān, particularly those of the Djabal Nafūsa and of the little Fezzān state of Zawīla (present-day Zouila), which had an Ibāḍī population as early as 145/762 and which was still Ibāḍī in the time of al-Yaʿḳūbī, the second half of the 3rd/9th century. Zawīla was considered as the gateway to the central Sudan, and it held a near monopoly of the slave trade in this country. Relations between the Ibāḍīs of the Djabal Nafūsa and the negro populations of the basin of Lake Chad were very close. The governor of the Djabal Nafūsa on behalf of the Rustamid imāms, Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Djanāwunī (first half of the 3rd/9th century), spoke, in addition to Berber and Arabic, the Kanemi language, probably Kanouri. These commercial relations were in operation along a very ancient route which led across the Fezzān and the Kawār. According to modern Ibāḍī writers (al-Barūnī, *Risāla al-ʿāmma wa 'l-mubtadiʾīn*, Cairo 1324, 23-4), there were still supporters of Ibāḍism in the Sudan towards the end of the 19th century (J. Schacht, *op. cit.*, *passim*; T. Lewicki, *Quelques extraits inédits relatifs aux voyages des commerçants et des missionaires ibāḍites nord-africains au pays du Soudan occidental au moyen-âge*, in *Folia Orientalia*, ii (1960-61), 1-27; idem, *L'État nord-africain de Tāhert et ses relations avec le Soudan occidental à la fin du VIII^e et au IX^e siècle*, in *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, ii/4 (1962), 513-35; idem, *Traits d'histoire du commerce transsaharien. Marchands et missionaires ibāḍites en Soudan occidental et central au cours des VIII^e-XII^e siècles*, in *Etnografia Polska*, viii (1964), 291-311).

(o) Spain and Sicily. From the Maghrib, Ibāḍism penetrated at a comparatively late date into Spain. Among the six members of the *shūrā* of Tāhert who had to choose the imām in 168/784-5, after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, there were two of Spanish origin: Masʿūd al-Andalusī and ʿUthmān b. Marwān al-Andalusī (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 54-9; al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 145). Remnants of the Ibāḍiyya still existed in Spain in the 5th/11th century (Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 179, 191). Similarly, there was an Ibāḍī-Wahbī colony in Sicily in the 4th and 5th centuries (al-Wisyānī, *op. cit.*, 159-60).

DOCTRINE

The Ibāḍiyya, together with another Khāridjī sect, the Ṣufriyya, form the moderate branch of the Khawāridj. They differ from the Khāridjī extremists, represented by the Azraḳīs [see AZĀRIḲA], on several

points, the most important of which is the belief that non-Khāridjī Muslims are regarded as *kuffār* (infidels) and not *mushrikūn* (polytheists), as is believed by the Azāriḳa. The consequence of this belief is the rejection of the *isti'rāḍ* ([*q.v.*] assassination for religious reasons) widely used by the Khāridjī extremists, who considered it lawful to kill the wives and children of the heterodox. Similarly, it is not permitted to seize their goods, except for their arms. Marriage with non-Ibāḍīs is also permitted; it is known in fact that, for example, the daughter of the Ibāḍī imām ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was married to the Ṣufrī prince of Sidjilmāsa (see Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 262). As for the political theories of the Ibāḍiyya, it should be stressed that, in conformance with the theories of the *Muḥakkima* (the first Khāridjīs), they considered that the existence of an imāmate was not indispensable. The condition in which they were to do without one, because of unfavourable circumstances, was called by the Ibāḍī authors *al-kitmān* (the "secret"; cf. al-Dardjīnī, *op. cit.*, fol. 3r.). To this condition, Ibāḍī doctrine opposes *al-ẓuhūr* ("manifestation"), that is the proclamation of the imāmate (al-Dardjīnī, *loc. cit.*). The transition from the state of *kitmān* to that of *ẓuhūr* depends on the decision of the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of the country (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 144, n.). An imām elected in the normal way was known as *imām al-bayʿa* (there exists one reference to *imām ẓuhūr*; see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 138), while an imām invested by the *ahl al-kitmān* (the people living in a state of secrecy) to defend them in misfortune was known as *imām al-difāʿ* (Imām of defence), and his reign was called *wilāyat al-difāʿ* (cf. al-Dardjīnī, *loc. cit.*; al-Bārūnī, *Risālat sullam ahl al-ʿāmma*, 10, n. 2). In addition to these titles there are found also the definitions *imām al-aḥkām* and *imām ahl al-taḥḳīḳ*. The Ibāḍī imāms were also often called *amīr*, *amīr al-muʾminīn*, *amīr al-muslimīn* (cf. Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 43, 53; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghīr*, tr. 131; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 14; cf., however, al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 100) or even *khalīfa* (cf. al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 262; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, Ar. text, 87; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, 79). The Berber Ibāḍīs of North Africa even gave their imāms the title *malik* ("king"; cf., *e.g.*, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, *Kitāb al-Sīra*, MS of the Cracow collection, fol. 12v.; cf. al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 170 on the question of *mulk* among the Ibāḍiyya); it must be stressed that this latter title is completely contrary to Khāridjī dogmas, according to which the idea of *mulk* (royalty) is impious. The imām was elected by a council of important lay persons or of *shaykhs*, held in camera, and was thereafter proclaimed before the people; the first imāms were usually nominated by the *mashāyikh* of Baṣra, the spiritual leaders of the sect, as for example Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf al-Azdī al-Sulamī, the emissary of Abū ʿUbayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma of Baṣra, nominated the imām Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 21-3, 51; A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣaghīr*, tr. 63-4; Badger, *op. cit.*, 30-1; Lewicki, *Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au moyen-âge*, 7). Often the election was limited to one tribe or to one family (cf., *e.g.*, the Banū Rustam of Tāhert). The imām had to rule according to the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna of the Prophet and the example of the first imāms. An *imām al-bayʿa* was at the same time leader in war, judge and theologian. He reigned as an absolute ruler, applying the dogmas without changing them at all. Anyone trying to limit his power by *sharṭs* (conditions) was considered a heretic; this was how the affair of the schism of al-Nukkār came about. The imām could be deposed if he did not observe the dogmas; the judges who had to decide whether he was conforming with the doctrine were probably the *mashāyikh*, especially those of Baṣra (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 144-5, n.). It seems that custom allowed several Ibāḍī imāms to exist simultaneously in the different countries of the Muslim world; indeed, there were at the same time Ibāḍī imāms at Tāhert, in ʿUmān, the Ḥaḍramawt, etc. This principle was clearly expressed in the doctrine of the Ḥamziyya, a branch of the Khāridjī sect of the ʿAdjārida, according to which the simultaneous existence of several imāms was permitted until the whole world has been finally converted (see al-Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 145). Nevertheless, there had been a tendency for the Ibāḍī world to form itself into a universal imāmate, which did in fact succeed towards the end of the 2nd/8th century, though only for a rather short period. We are referring here to the Rustamid imāms, who were recognized for a certain period by all the Ibāḍī groups of the west and the east, although of course, because of their distance from one another, these groups could neither unite nor achieve uniformity (Masqueray, *op. cit.*, 51, 74-5). From the historical accounts, although they are rather uneven, it can be concluded that in addition to the imāmate there was also practised in certain cases another form of government—a sort of condominium, as in the case of al-Ḥārith and of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who were, according to the expression of al-Barrādī (*op. cit.*, 170) *mushtarikān fi'l-mulk*. It is true that this fact, which was a denial of the cardinal principles of Khāridjism, was an embarrassment to the doctors of the sect (see al-Barrādī, *op. cit.*, 170-2).

In general, the dogma and the politico-religious theories of the Ibāḍiyya resemble on certain main points those of the Sunnīs. The Ibāḍiyya differ from the Mālikīs on only a few points, among which their theory on the creation of the Ḳurʾān in the time of the Prophet must be considered as the most important (see Z. Smogorzewski, *Un poème abāḍite sur certains divergences entre les Mālikites et les Abāḍites*, in *RO*, ii, 260-8). There has also been pointed out the very close affinity between Ibāḍī dogma and that of the Muʿtazila (Goldziher, *Dogme*, 163, 281; C. Nallino, in *RSO*, vii, 455-60). Unfortunately the existing sources do not provide a clear outline of the historical process by which the Muʿtazilī elements mingled with the Ibāḍiyya. It must, however, be mentioned that this Muʿtazilī influence on Ibāḍī doctrine was so considerable that the Arab geographer al-Bakrī refers to the Ibāḍī sect as al-Wāṣiliyya-Ibāḍiyya (*op. cit.*, Ar. text, 72). The relations between these two sects even led to the foundation of a number of mixed sects.

It should be added that the Ibāḍīs were also eminent theologians. The earliest *mutakallim* known was an Ibāḍī of Baṣra, Bisṭām b. ʿUmar b. al-Musīb al-Ḍabbī (see above), who worked there between 77 and 81 (see al-Shammākhī, *op. cit.*, 111; on the Ibāḍī *mutakallims* of the early period, cf. also *ibid.*, 83); the Muʿtazilī *mutakallims* considered by the Islamic scholars as the earliest do not appear until the 2nd/8th century (see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 80). On Ibāḍī doctrine, see, in addition to the works mentioned in this section: al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*, 1309, i-iv; al-Djayṭālī, *Ḳanāṭir al-khayrāt*, 1307, 1-iii; al-Sadrātī, *Kitāb al-Dalīl wa-'l-burhān*, 1306; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (of the Beni Isguène), *Kitāb al-Nīl*, 1305, i-ii; Aṭfiyyash, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Nīl*; Zeys, *Législation*

mozabite, Algiers 1886; E. Sachau, *Muhammadanisches Erbrecht nach der Lehre der ibaditischen Araber von Zanzibar und Ostafrika*, in *SB Pr. Ak. W.*, 1894; idem, *Über die religiosen Anschaungen d. ibaditischen Muhammedaner in Oman und Ostafrika*, in *MSOS As.*, ii (1899), 47-82; A. de C. Motylinski, *L'Aqida des Abadhites*, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'Honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes*; A. Imbert, *Le droit ibadhite chez les musulmans de Zanzibar*, Algiers 1903; M. Mercier, *Étude sur le waqf abadhite*, Algiers 1927 and review by Z. Smogorzewski in *RO*, v, 243-58; M. M. Moreno, *Note di teologia ibāḍita*, in *AIUON*, n.s. ii (1949), 299-313; C. A. Nallino, *Rapporti fra la dogmatica muʿtazilita e quella degli Ibāḍiti dell' Africa Settentrionale*, in *RSO*, vii (1916-18), 455-60; R. Rubinacci, *La purità rituale secondo gli Ibāḍiti*, in *AIUON*, n.s. vi (1957), 1-41; E. Zeys, *Droit mozabite*, Algiers 1891.

IBĀḌĪ SECTS

The religious and political unity of the Ibāḍī sect was broken at a fairly early date by a number of schisms (*iftirāḳ*) and heresies (*khilāf, mukhālafa*), which resulted in the formation of numerous semi-political, semi-theological subdivisions (*firḳa*). These schisms were at first, during the period of *kitmān*, of a purely dogmatic nature. Later, from the first half of the 2nd/8th century, there arose other sects which were the result of political crises, which, in a theological system like that of the Ibāḍiyya, always appear as schisms. Among the political causes of the Ibāḍī schisms, two appear to have been of especial importance: the question of the condominium exercised by al-Ḥārith and ʿAbd al-Djabbār and, later, the affair of the *sharṭ*s (conditions imposed on the imām), which was the cause of the schism of the Nukkār, one of the main subdivisions.

The most important secondary branch of the Ibāḍiyya appears to be the sub-sect called al-Ibāḍiyya al-Wahbiyya. The Wahbī Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib call themselves *ahl al-madhhab*, "people of the vocation". Al-Ibāḍiyya al-Wahbiyya was the most numerous and the most important of all the Ibāḍī subdivisions, and it is this sect which has been almost the only one of all the Khāridjī branches to continue to exist until the present day. It forms the moderate branch of the Khawāridj.

Another Ibāḍī subdivision was the sub-sect of al-Ḥārithiyya. The founder of this sect must be considered to be a certain Ḥamza al-Kūfī, who lived towards the first half of the 2nd/8th century. He broke away from Abū ʿUbayda, the president of the Ibāḍī *mashāyikh* of Baṣra, by accepting Muʿtazilī opinions on the question of *ḳadar*. Among other Ibāḍī doctors who shared Ḥamza's opinions should be mentioned a certain al-Ḥārith b. Mazyad al-Ibāḍī, to whom the Ḥārithiyya owes its name.

Besides al-Ḥārithiyya, yet another Ibāḍī sect provides evidence of the influence of Muʿtazilī doctrine on the Ibāḍīs. This is the sect of "those who accept an obedience which is not directed towards Allāh", founded at a period after the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

In the period of Abū ʿUbayda there arose yet another difference of opinions among the Ibāḍīs: the heresy of an Ibāḍī *mutakallim* named Ṣāliḥ b. Kuthayr.

Nothing definite is known about the doctrines preached by a certain Sufyān, who revolted against the Ibāḍī doctrine of Abū ʿUbayda, but later repented.

Another sub-sect, the Ṭarīfiyya, was founded in southern Arabia by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭarīf, one of the companions of the imām Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ, *ca.* 129/747. Its adherents were found mainly in the East, where it was, in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, one of the three main branches of the Ibāḍiyya in this region, the others being the Wahbī Ibāḍīs and the Shaʿbiyya (Nukkāris).

The Nukkāris [see AL-NUKKĀR] were one of the main branches of the Ibāḍiyya, who played an important rôle in the Middle Ages. They organized in North Africa, towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, an imāmate which was separate from that of Tāhert. There is even known the name of a Nukkārī imām who lived at this time: Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Aʿmā, the master of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād. Later Abū ʿAmmār was succeeded by Abū Yazīd, who was elected by the Nukkārīs "*shaykh* of the true believers", and who ruled the Nukkārī imāmate with a council of twelve *ʿazzāba*. Abū Yazīd departed from Ibāḍī doctrine by authorizing *istiʿrāḍ*, or assassination for religious reasons, following the example of the Azraḳīs and the Maghribī Ṣufrīs. In the Arabic sources the Nukkārīs have also other names: Shaʿbiyya, Yazīdiyya or Mistāwa. The adherents of this sect called themselves al-Maḥbūbiyyūn. They were numerous in the Maghrib but were found also in ʿUmān and in southern Arabia. Among their most outstanding doctors was a certain Hārūn b. al-Yamanī, referred to by Ibāḍī authors as Hārūn al-Mukhālif; a polemical writing by him against the Wahbiyya is preserved in the Ibāḍī collection from ʿUmān known as the *Siyar al-ʿUmāniyya*.

The Ibāḍī sub-sect of al-Nafāthiyya (or al-Naffāthiyya) originated at Ḳanṭrāra in the Bilād al-Djarīd, probably towards the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. Its founder, Nafāth (or Naffāth), accused the Rustamid imām Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb of neglecting the war against the Musawwida, that is the Aghlabids, and of leading a life of luxury. According to Nafāth, the *khuṭba* was an innovation and ought to be rejected. Nafāth's doctrines were set out in a work which was later refuted by Mahdī al-Nafūsī, an important Wahbī-Ibāḍī doctor of Ifriḳiya. Unfortunately neither of these works has survived. Adherents of Nafāth existed in the Djabal Nafūsa in the 5th/11th century and in the extreme south of Tunisia in the 8th/14th century. Remnants of this sect are found today in the Gharyān and in the Djabal Nafūsa under the name of Naffātī.

The Ibāḍī subdivision of al-Khalafiyya, which was purely political in origin, was founded in Tripolitania towards the end of the 2nd/8th century by Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, a descendant of the imām Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī al-Ḥimyarī; it was not until later that it assumed the character of a schism over dogma. This branch had many adherents, especially in north-western Tripolitania.

In the 3rd/9th century there took place another political schism among the Ibāḍīs of the Maghrib. This was concerned with the usurper Ibn Maṣṣāla al-Ibāḍī, of the tribe of the Hawwāra, who founded an independent Ibāḍī state in the neighbourhood of Tāhert.

The Ibāḍī sect known as al-ʿUmariyya was founded probably in the first half of the 2nd/8th century by ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar (or ʿUmayr). The ʿUmariyya differed considerably from the Wahbī Ibāḍīs and, according to Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī, the doctrines of these two sub-sects differed completely. In matters concerning the Ḳurʾān, the ʿUmarīs

followed the text of ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd. Their adherents were found only in North Africa.

Some of the doctrines of al-ʿUmariyya were similar to those of the Ibāḍī branch of al-Ḥasaniyya (or al-Ḥusayniyya). The name of this sub-sect, which was widespread only in North Africa, derives from its founder, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥasan) al-Aṭrābulusī al-Ibāḍī, who appears to have lived in the first part of the 3rd/9th century. His *dīwān* was known at Wargla towards the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Adherents of this branch still existed in the 6th/12th century in some districts to the east of the Dj̲abal Nafūsa.

In the first half of the 4th/10th century, there was formed the Ibāḍī branch of the Fart̲h̲iyya. Its founder, Sulaymān b. Yaʿḳūb b. Aflaḥ, a descendent of the Rustamid imāms who lived in the oasis of Wargla, forbade the eating of the large intestines of sheep (*fart̲h̲*), hence the name of the sect. It may be that Sulaymān's opinions were also influenced by the *dīwān* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṭrābulusī.

Nothing is known of the period when Sakkāk, the founder of another Ibāḍī sect, the Sakkākiyya, was teaching. This doctor considered that the communal prayer and the call to prayer were innovations; he also rejected the Sunna. The Wahbī Ibāḍīs described the Sakkākīs as *mus̲h̲rikūn*. The adherents of this sect, which disappeared entirely towards the end of the 5th/11th century, were never very numerous; they seem to have been limited to the district of Ḳanṭrāra in the Bilād al-Dj̲arīd.

The adherents of the Ibāḍī subdivision of the Ḥafṣiyya, founded at an unknown period by Ḥafṣ b. Abī 'l-Miḳdām, maintained that between *īmān* "belief" and *s̲h̲irk* "polytheism" there exists *maʿrifat Allāh* "knowledge of God".

The sub-sect of the Yazīdiyya, adherents of Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (or Yazīd b. Unays), and to be distinguished from another Ibāḍī subdivision of the same name which is identical with the Nukkārīs, held as one of their principal beliefs that God will reveal a new Ḳurʾān to a Persian prophet. It can thus be seen that Yazīd carried to great lengths the theory of the *faḍāʾil*, "eminent qualities", of the Persians and the Berbers in comparison with the Arabs, the seeds of which are found also among the Wahbī Ibāḍīs.

Relations between these various Ibāḍī subdivisions were in the main hostile. The Ibāḍī historians often mention wars waged by the different branches, particularly the Nukkārīs, the Banū Maṣṣāla and the K̲h̲alafīs, against the Rustamids. Nevertheless, there can be noticed from time to time, after the collapse of the imāmate of Tāhert, attempts at a reconciliation between several Ibāḍī branches. Thus, for example, the population of the district of Zīzū on the western coast of Tripolitania, composed of the adherents of the Ibāḍī subdivisions of the Wahbiyya, the Nukkār, the K̲h̲alafiyya and the Naffāt̲h̲iyya, lived peacefully together under the direction of a common council, at the head of which in the first half of the 4th/10th century, was a Wahbī who had entrusted juridical decisions to a Nukkarī, the Ramaḍān prayers to a K̲h̲alafī and the call to prayers to a Naffāt̲h̲ī (T. Lewicki, *Les subdivisions de l'Ibāḍiyya*, in *Stud. Isl.*, ix (1958), 71-82).

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(T. Lewicki)

IBĀḤA (I) (A.), a verbal noun meaning originally "making a thing apparent or manifest", with the implication that the beholder may take it or leave it, and then "making a thing allowable or free to him who desires it"; it has become a technical term with several connected meanings in the religious law of Islam; *istibāḥa*, taking a thing as allowed, free, or lawful; *mubāḥ* (the contrary of *maḥẓūr*), "indifferent", *i.e.*, neither obligatory or recommended, nor forbidden or reprehensible; it is to be distinguished from its near synonym *djāʾiz*, "unobjectionable, valid, permitted"; the concept *ḥalāl*, *i.e.*, everything that is not forbidden, is wider.

The root does not occur in the Ḳurʾān. The earliest use of the word as a technical term, from S̲h̲āfiʿī onwards, seems to have been with regard to those things which every one is permitted to use or appropriate; this meaning of *ibāḥa* is expressed, though still without using the term, in a tradition from the Prophet according to which "the Muslims have equal

rights to three things, water and fodder and fire" (Ibn Mādja and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; an earlier variant, in Abū Dāwūd, can be dated in the generation of Aʿmash, d. 147 or 148/764-5). This has become a general rule of Islamic law, and also an article in the *Madjalla* [*q.v.*]. In a narrower sense, the term may denote the authorization, given by the owner, to consume (part of) the produce of his property; this excludes appropriation and disposal in favour of a third person by the beneficiary; this rule, too, appears in the *Madjalla*.

Ibāḥa with regard to acts is defined as "permission to carry out an act as the agent wishes" (Djurdjānī) or "a ruling which is not a request but gives the choice of acting or not" (Tahānawī); the performance of these acts is not meritorious, nor is their omission reprehensible. The details have been the subject of several controversies which in the works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* are often discussed in the sections devoted to the interpretation of the Ḳurʾān (an arrangement already apparent in the *Kitāb Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* of Khuwārizmī, 2nd half of the 4th/10th cent.). The earliest of these controversies centred round the question whether the consumption of foodstuffs which had not been explicitly forbidden in the revelation was to be considered lawful or not. A tradition in Abū Dāwūd (*Aṭʿima*, 30) makes the Prophet say: "The pagans used to eat certain things and to abstain from certain things because they considered them unclean; now Allāh has sent His Prophet, has revealed His book, and has declared lawful and unlawful what is to be lawful and unlawful; therefore what He has declared lawful is lawful and what He has declared unlawful is unlawful, and what He has said nothing about is a lawful concession;" then he recited: "Say: I do not find in what has been revealed to me anything forbidden", etc. (Ḳurʾān, VI, 145). Also Ḳurʾān VII, 31 is taken to imply that all food and drink which has not been explicitly forbidden is lawful. Bukhārī, in the heading of a chapter (*Iʿtiṣām*, 27), without directly contesting the principle, makes the point that prohibitions enunciated by the Prophet must be taken to be declarations of unlawfulness unless it can be shown that the act in question is *mubāḥ*.

A similar stage of doctrine is represented by the doctrines of the Khāridjis, and in particular the followers of Nadjda among them (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, i, 90, 10-15, 127, 4-6); they were of the opinion that for religious duties to be incumbent, they must have been proclaimed by a Prophet, and that the individual could regard as lawful everything the prohibition of which had not been proved to him, so that he was excused if he was ignorant of the prohibition; the group of the Bayhasiyya went so far as to say that wine was originally permitted and there was nothing (in the Ḳurʾān) to forbid drinking it, even to the point of drunkenness (*ibid.*, 117, 6f.).

In the controversies raised by the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*], this became a general discussion of the abstract quality of human acts, *i.e.*, whether human acts, before revelation (or in the interval between two revelations), were to be regarded, in principle, as allowed or forbidden. The Muʿtazila, starting from their premise that reason decided whether acts were good (useful) or bad (harmful), were divided on the question of how to consider acts in which the qualifications of good and bad were evenly balanced, so as not even to lead to a preference for performing or avoiding them; the majority, it seems, regarded them as indifferent (*mubāḥ*), others as forbidden (*maḥẓūr*), and others as left in abeyance (*mawḳūf*) until their qualification was settled by revelation; nevertheless, these acts, not being positively bad, might be regarded as belonging to the category of good (in a wider meaning of the term). Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], too, together with "all Ẓāhirīs and groups among the followers of *ḳiyās*", concluded on the basis of Ḳurʾān X, 59 and XVI, 116 that the qualification must be left in abeyance. The opinions within the orthodox schools of law and theology, which in any case hold that the religious and legal qualities of goodness and badness are known not by reason but only by revelation, and thereby deny the very basis of the reasoning of the Muʿtazila, are divided; sūra V, 1 and 4 are adduced in favour of the opinion that the acts in question are, in principle, forbidden, and sūras II, 29 and XX, 50 in favour of the opposite opinion; the majority of the Ḥanafīs hold that they are allowed; the prevailing opinion among the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs is that it is meaningless to apply those categories before revelation; the Ḥanbalīs are divided.

All are agreed, however, that in the actual law of Islam, generally speaking, everything which is not positively forbidden (or reprehensible) and does not, on the face of it, involve causing damage, is *mubāḥ*. This general rule has often found expression, from an early period onwards, in sayings of the most highly esteemed authorities, although it does not play a significant part in the doctrine of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. But al-Djāḥiẓ uses the principle that "everything that is not forbidden in the Ḳurʾān or in the *sunna* of the Prophet is lawful and unrestricted" (*mubāḥ muṭlaḳ*) in an amusing way in order to show as legitimate the entertainment of male companies by singing slave-girls (*Risālat al-Ḳiyān*, ed. Finkel, Cairo 1926, 56; transl. Pellat, in *Arabica*, x (1963), 125).

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madhhab al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Cairo n.d., 64 f. (*al-ʿIḳd al-khāmis*); the works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* in general; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on Ḳurʾān VII, 31, XL, 17; Comte L. Ostrorog, *Droit public musulman*, i, Paris 1901, 64-6 (reprint, *El-Mawerdi. Le Droit du califat*, Paris 1925, 56-8); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 59-63; K. Faruki, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), v (1966), 76 ff.

(J. Schacht)

IBĀḤA (II) "permission", a term commonly applied to antinomian teachings (or actions), especially as asserted among certain Shīʿī and Ṣūfī groups. Antinomian trends were strong among the more radical Shīʿī circles from an early date. "Allowing the forbidden", *ibāḥat* (or *taḥlīl*) *al-maḥārim*, is a constantly recurring accusation against certain groups on the fringe of the Shīʿa; it served, among other criteria, to class them among the *Ghulāt* [*q.v.*]. The heresiographers mention many such groups as belonging to, or splitting off from the movements tracing the imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya or through Muḥammad al-Bāḳir.

Among these groups, knowledge of the imām, usually understood as gnosis of his true nature, was the most essential religious obligation, and so important as to reduce all other obligations to insignificance. The Ḳurʾānic legal injunctions were then often interpreted (*taʾwīl*) as signifying some act of loyalty to the *imām* or to the community of true believers, while the prohibitions referred to religious enemies. Or the legal prescriptions might be considered as "chains and burdens", as a punishment for those who refused to acknowledge the true imām. The charges of libertinism which were invariably levelled against such groups by the upholders of the *sharīʿa* have to be viewed with reserve.

Early Ismāʿīlism varied this pattern by holding that the era of Muḥammad and the validity of his law had come to an end with the appearance of the Ḳāʾim, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the master of the seventh era. The Ḳurʾān and its law were interpreted according to their inner meaning (*bāṭin*), which, in contrast to their exterior, literal meaning (*ẓāhir*), was of eternal validity. But this early antinomianism was strongly opposed by the official Fāṭimid *daʿwa*, which consistently maintained that both *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, *sharīʿa* and *taʾwīl*, works and knowledge, were obligatory. It reappeared in movements which split off later from the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*, notably the Druze and the Nizārīs. (W. Madelung)

Among Ṣūfīs, antinomianism seems to have been later in developing; early Ṣūfīs were commonly rigorists in the cult and tutiorists in points of conscience. But when Islamic spiritual life began to flow largely through Ṣūfī channels, antinomian thinking appeared there too. Sometimes Ṣūfīs probably fell heir to the experience and even the language of earlier Shīʿī traditions.

For Ṣūfīs, as for Shīʿīs, the texts of Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth concealed a *bāṭin*, a secret spiritual meaning; and some Ṣūfīs felt that following the *bāṭin* dispensed one from the literal prescription. But whereas Shīʿī antinomianism reflected the historical role of the imām and the élite community of his adherents, Ṣūfī mysticism, like any mysticism, suggested a more personal rejection of literally formulated prescriptions. The *bāṭin* was not an arbitrarily allegorical meaning of the letter, but rather an inner spirit to which the letter was an approximation, symbolization, or even exemplification, adapted to less spiritual minds. Accordingly, it could be expected that once this inner spirit was entered into, the actual letter was superfluous—the spirit would of itself call forth whatever act was needed.

This point of view took several forms. If God enlightened consciences directly, the scholastic interpretation of rules by *sharʿī* scholars was artificial in comparison; hence, even those Ṣūfīs who upheld the norms worked out by the *ʿulamāʾ* tended to argue on the basis of loyalty and exemplary zeal rather than claim that the *sharʿī ʿulamāʾ* really understood God's will better. Then Ṣūfīs believed that the advanced mystical devotee was the friend of God; and just as some Shīʿīs felt that whoever was devoted to the imām, even though not actually dispensed from *sharʿī* rules, would be forgiven his transgressions, so some Ṣūfīs believed that the friend of God was free—that even if he still ought to perform God's commands, he did them out of uncoerced love; and if he slipped, he would be forgiven. Some held that the perfected Ṣūfī saint could by his nature do no sin: whatever action he seemed to do must be understood otherwise.

Ṣūfī discipline itself made for tension with the *sharīʿa*. The devotee who had reached high spiritual states might be so wholly in God's hands that he was not responsible for his own actions: if he did perform the ritual worship, it might be unawares—God took care of his enraptured worshipper. Especially illegal utterances (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) were held blameless under these circumstances. In any case, the novice must agree to obey his *pīr* implicitly; many would add, even in seeming contravention of the *sharīʿa*. Moreover, Ṣūfī ways of worship often seemed opposed to the *sharīʿa*—music and dance; even, eventually, taking drugs, or gazing at beautiful figures. Ṣūfī apologists claimed that what was for a devotional purpose was exempted from the rules. Some of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*], who made a point of concealing their virtues and not their vices, seem to have adopted vices on purpose to display them.

In all these cases, it was ordinary Ṣūfī teaching which, however cautiously couched, at the least gave to a Ṣūfī's obedience to *sharʿī* rules a distinctive flavour. But all Ṣūfīsm was esoteric: only the initiate could know the real truth behind what was taught. Hence radicals readily concluded that the *sharīʿa* rules did not really apply to initiates at all. (Moreover, as Ṣūfīs came to see all religions as equally legitimate—if not equally perfect—ways of approaching God, the rules of any one religion could seem little more than transient expedients.) Such radicals ranged from those who asserted antinomianism only as an esoteric principle, not to be actually practised, to those who, alleging some religious pretext, ignored social standards of all sorts. Normally, *ibāḥa* meant not unethical interpersonal behaviour, but the rejection of *sharʿī* norms for ceremonial acts and personal regimen (eating, sex, etc.). The upholders of the *sharīʿa* among the Ṣūfīs attacked all who accepted any sort of *ibāḥa* (sometimes under the name "*ibāḥiyya*").

Some *ṭarīḳa*s were noted for insisting on the *sharīʿa*—for instance, the Naḳshbandiyya and the Ḳādiriyya [*qq.v.*]; others, such as the Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*], notoriously flouted conventional standards. Such *ṭarīḳa*s were called, in Persian, *bī-sharʿ*. For some centuries, certain extreme antinomian dervishes were referred to as *Ḳalandar*s [*q.v.*]. But even within *sharīʿa*-observant *ṭarīḳa*s, individual *shaykh*s might take a *bī-sharʿ* position.

Shīʿī antinomianism sprang from chiliastic hopes: the hypocritically unjust world was to be transformed

and filled with justice by God's agent; what mattered was to dissociate oneself from the world and its ways and to stand ready to support the new order. Ṣūfī antinomianism sprang rather from a mystical experience and vision, in which an inner ethical responsiveness made all external rules seem trivial or arbitrary. But the two sorts of vision, chiliastic and mystical, were often combined, especially in the later medieval period, when a S̲h̲īʿī sect like the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs took on the aspect of a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*, while more than one Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* was adopting a S̲h̲īʿī and more or less chiliastic outlook.

Bibliography: Most Ṣūfī writings, while upholding the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, have displayed one or more of the tendencies toward *ibāḥa* cited; D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mat̲h̲nawī* exemplifies most of them. G̲h̲azālī's polemic against the *Ahl al-ibāḥa* is edited and translated, with a useful introduction, "Der Antinomismus der islamischen Mystik", by Otto Pretzl, *Die Streitschrift des Ġazâlī gegen die Ibâḥîja*, Munich 1933 (SB Bayer. Ak., Phil.-hist. Abt., Jahrgang 1933, Heft 7).

(M. G. S. HODGSON)

IBĀḤATIYA, Hindu sect. The Ibāḥatiya were, by some writers on Indo-Muslim history, confused with the *Ibāḥiyya* or *Aṣḥāb al-Ibāḥa*. As the Ismāʿīlīs are included among the latter, these writers have thought that the term *Ibāḥatiya* applies to them. A closer examination of the evidence, however, leads to the conclusion that the references are to a Hindu Tāntric sect, which was also known as *Vāma-mārgī* or *Vāma-čārī* ("followers of the left hand path") and formed a sub-section of the S̲h̲āktas. The Tāntras form the scriptures of the *Vāma-mārgī*s. The essential requisites of Tāntric worship are the five *mākara*s, wine, flesh, fish, mystical gesticulations and sexual intercourse. They worship the female principle. The form of this worship is promiscuous intercourse in the form of communal orgies. The women place their *čolī*s (bodices) in a jar. The male worshippers pick out a *čolī* at random and have intercourse with its owner (H. H. Wilson, *Religious sects of the Hindus*, 245-63). The ceremony is called *Bhairavī-čakra* (S. H. Hoḍīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, 342). The followers of this sect were specially strong in Orissa during the period of Muslim rule.

The *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī* mentions that the *Ibāḥatiya* made an image and worshipped it. This was probably a symbolic representation of the female sexual organ. The *Sīrat-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī* (p. 146) says that the *Ibāḥatiya* "have an appointed day when they gather at a place fixed for the purpose. They plaster the ground with cowdung and, in accordance with the custom of the idolaters, scatter rice and flour on it. They then ask the person whom they want to turn into a follower to prostate himself on the ground, and teach him formulas of infidelity to repudiate Islam and to say that he has become their follower. That night they collect their daughters, wives, mothers and sisters and give them pork to eat and wine to drink. Then the lamp is put out and they take off the garments of the women. Every one then pulls out a garment and cohabits with the woman to whom the garment belongs, even though she may be his own mother, sister or daughter". This is precisely what the *Vāma-mārgī*s did. The text clearly says later (p. 59) that the inhabitants of D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar (Orissa) "all are Ibāḥatīs, worship images and have temples in every town, their main place of worship being the temple of D̲j̲agannāth". In those days *Vāma-mārgī* Tāntrism seems to have been very strong in Orissa.

Bibliography: Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, British Museum, MS Or. 2039; *Sīrat-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, MS Bankipore Public Library (page-references in the text are to a copy in Lytton Library, Muslim University, Aligarh); H. H. Wilson, *The religious sects of the Hindus*, Madras 1904; S. H. Hoḍīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Bombay 1934; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, Karachi 1958.

(I. H. QURESHI)

IBĀḤIYYA [see IBĀḤA (II)].

IBB, formerly the capital of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the same name in the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Taʿizz in the Yemen; now, since 1946, a separate *liwā*ʾ, comprising the *ḳaḍā*ʾs Ibb, ʿUdeyn, D̲h̲ī Sufāl, Ḳuʿtaba and Yerīm. Besides the pronunciation with *i* peculiar to the Yemen, we find also Abb (in Niebuhr: Aebb). At an earlier period the walled town, with a population estimated at 4,000, belonged to the territory of D̲h̲ū D̲j̲ibla. It is situated on the 'upper road' leading from ʿAdan to Ṣanʿāʾ. According to the proposals of the A. Beneyton mission of 1911 for the construction of a railway from al-Ḥudayda to Taʿizz, it was to form a station on this line, as it is now an important station on the motor-road from Taʿizz to Ṣanʿāʾ. But this project was never carried out, and the later development of motor-traffic made it superfluous. It lies, 2050 m. above sea level, in a fertile region where cereals and fruit are grown, and also coffee, *ḳāt*, indigo and *wars*. There are about 60 mosques within the town; the water-supply is provided by an aqueduct bringing water down from the mountains, which are about 3200 m. high. In the vicinity there was at one time a silver mine (photographs in the Islām-Stichting in Leiden).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 78; al-Hamdānī, 189; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 239; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (= *Abh. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, iii/3, Leipzig 1864), 154; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *ZG Erdk. Berl.*, 1902, 605; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i, Vienna 1922, 165, 206, 213, 216, 223, 225, 230, 251 f.; ii, Brünn 1933, 129 f., 138, 141-3, 149; H. Scott, *In the High Yemen*, London 1942, Fig. 47-54; *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Naval Intelligence Division 1946, 360, 574 f.

(A. GROHMANN)

IBDĀʿ, absolute creation, primordial innovation. — The term itself is not Ḳurʾānic, but the Ḳurʾān calls God *Badīʿ*, Absolute Creator, Innovator. The two verses II, 117 and VI, 101 assert that God is "Creator (*Badīʿ*) of the heavens and the earth": we should obviously understand by this, of everything. The commentators emphasize that God is called *Badīʿ* by virtue of His (absolute) creation of the heavens and the earth, and *K̲h̲āliḳ* by virtue of His creation (*k̲h̲alḳ*) of man ("made of clay", LV, 14).

There is another distinction founded on the Ḳurʾān: the text frequently contrasts "the first creation" with "the second", that of the resurrection of the body. In this case it is never the verb *badaʿ* or its fourth form *abdaʿ* that is used, but the expression *badaʾ al-k̲h̲alḳ*, "He began to create" (*e.g.*, X, 4, 34; XXVII, 64, etc.; very frequent). Thus, while the root *bdʾ* suggests the idea of a "beginning" which involves a continuation, the root *bdʿ* implies, strictly, not a "first time", but a radical innovation, an absolute bringing into existence.

Taking its meaning from the divine name *Badīʿ*, the *maṣdar* of the fourth form comes to express, in the elaboration of Muslim thought, the actual act of God. *Ibdāʿ* belongs above all to the vocabularies of S̲h̲īʿism

(particularly Ismāʿīlism) and *falsafa*: its meanings here depend on the respective world-views. *ʿIlm al-kalām* gives it a further technical meaning consonant with the Sunnī idea of "creation".

References to Shīʿī thought. — *Ibdāʿ* is thought of in connexion with the divine *kun*, the "Be!" of the Word that brings into existence. "The Creator (*Badīʿ*) of the heavens and the earth, when He decrees a thing, He says to it only "Be!", and it is" (Ḳurʾān, II, 117). But "the heavens and the earth" of the verse are subject to interpretation. By His *ibdāʿ*, by His "primordial establishing", as H. Corbin translates it, God brings into existence the higher world of the *mubdaʿāt*, that is to say Intelligences capable of hearing the divine call, and of answering it (cf. in the 4th/10th century, Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ*, § 40, *ap.* H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Teheran-Paris 1961). Such is the "world of the *ibdāʿ*", to be distinguished from the lower "world of the *khalḳ*". More precisely still, the divine *ibdāʿ* is addressed to the First Hypostasis, *al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*, in which the intelligible pleroma is contained. One might even say that, for al-Sidjistānī, the formulated and active (or *mubdiʿ*) *ibdāʿ is* the First Hypostasis. The same line of thought is found in Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

We later find the Imāmī Mullā Sadra Shīrāzī (10th-11th/16th-17th century) protesting against those who identify the radical Will (*mashīʾa*) with the divine Essence, and make the *ibdāʿ* into the First Emanation. For him, referring to the 8th Imām, ʿAlī Riḍā, no distinction exists between radical Will, act of Will (*irāda*) and *ibdāʿ*: they are three names for divine Activity. Now, divine Activity is God, but as manifested in the First Cause, Essence being God unmanifested. From the First Cause emanates the "Muḥammadan Reality", "the mass of primordial Light ... from which come the fourteen higher archangelical Lights" (cf. H. Corbin, introduction and notes to *Kitāb al-mashāʿir*, "Book of metaphysical Penetrations", Teheran-Paris 1964, 83, 121, 168, and *passim*). These various nuances of Shīʿī interpretation appear to represent various attempts to discern the absolute immediacy of the *ibdāʿ*, the creative Word *kun*, in an emanatist cosmogony where "nothing can come from the One but the one".

Falsafa. — Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī, closer in this to the Muʿtazilīs than to other "philosophers", takes *ibdāʿ* in the sense of temporal creation *ex nihilo* (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, i, Cairo 1369/1950, 207, 270; cf. R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 188-9). For later *falāsifa*, Ibn Rushd as well as Ibn Sīnā or al-Fārābī, *ibdāʿ* denotes the absoluteness of the creative (emanative) act in the production of beings that have no reason for existing in their own essence. Here too we find an emanatism of a neoplatonic kind, and the idea that "nothing can come from the One but the one"; the First Intelligence is the first of the *mubdaʿāt* (cf. al-Fārābī, *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, apud *Alfārābī's Phil. Abhand.*, ed. Dieterici, Leiden 1890, 58). But while Shīʿī thought as such puts the accent on the divine imperative *kun* and its immediacy, *falsafa*, whatever Shīʿī influences it may have undergone, emphasizes above all in the idea of *ibdāʿ* an absolute production of being. Here, as an example, is a brief analysis of Avicenna's vocabulary.

Two questions are found in Ibn Sīnā: (1) production of being; (2) the method of this production.

(1) — Production of being. In his explanatory and didactic works, Ibn Sīnā certainly uses *khalḳ*: "*Khalḳ* signifies first of all to make to receive being, whatever it is" (*tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 101). But in the texts that serve as a prelude to his *Ḥikma mashriḳiyya*, in which he expresses a more personal thought, *ibdāʿ* seems to him best to denote the absolute innovation, considered non-temporally, of a being not necessary in itself, which is really preceded by nothing, not even not-being, and which takes all that it is from the First; thus *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 153. The First created thing, *al-mubdaʿ al-awwal* (*ibid.*, 431), is the first Hypostasis or the Intellect of the All. More clearly still, the "Commentary" (*sharḥ*) on the pseudo-"Theology of Aristotle" (ed. A. Badawī, Cairo 1947, 60) takes *ibdāʿ* as the correlative of *inbidjās*, the two terms together denoting creative emanation: "This process is called 'gushing out' (*inbidjās*) when the procession of beings from the first Being is considered, and 'creation' (*ibdāʿ*) when the relationship of the first Being to the other beings is considered". The accent is still laid on radical coming into existence brought about by *ibdāʿ* (*ibid.*, 64).

(2) — The method of production (cf. *Ishārāt*, *loc. cit.*; *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, 101-2, etc.). In a more limited sense *ibdāʿ* denotes the production, without any kind of intermediate pre-existence, of *incurruptible and eternal* beings, whether above all incorporeal, or corporeal (the celestial spheres): here again we find the "world of the *ibdāʿ*" (*dār al-ibdāʿ*) of Shīʿī thought. *Khalḳ* denotes rather the production, with or without an intermediary, of *corporeal* beings, whether incorruptible or corruptible; *takwīn* denotes the production, *with an intermediary*, of corruptible beings (in a sense that is quite close to that of *ṣunʿ*, another of Avicenna's words). Finally, *iḥdāth* should be noted; this term emphasizes the non-necessity of the final product; it could thus be applied to any being that is not necessary of itself, although it preferably implies a temporal beginning (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937, 241-59). Thus, then, in Avicenna's texts, *ibdāʿ*, *khalḳ* and *iḥdāth* suggest above all, but in differing degrees, creative emanation proceeding from the first Being; *takwīn* and *ṣunʿ* are reserved for the production ("manufacture") of compound beings from pre-existing elements.

To conclude this brief (and fragmentary) lexicographical study: in Shīʿism as in *falsafa*, *ibdāʿ* puts the accent on the absolute power of the creative act (or gushing out). The way in which this term is applied to the beings thus produced, the *mubdaʿāt*, depends on the particular cosmology or world-view.

ʿIlm al-kalām. — It was apparently after the conflicts with *falsafa* (*e.g.*, al-Shahrastānī, etc.) that *ibdāʿ* was fully accepted into the vocabulary of the *mutakallimūn*. It bears the same fundamental meaning, but its connotations are certainly closer to those it has in al-Kindī than to those it has in Avicenna or the Shīʿīs. For the sake of brevity, we shall confine ourselves to referring to the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 5-6), which summarize with precision the usage of the school in this matter.

Ibdāʿ, then, denotes the bringing into existence (or the location in being, *īdjād*) of a thing, "without anteriority of matter or of time": such are the (separate) Intellects, the *ʿuḳūl*, al-Djurdjānī says, adopting the restricted meaning of Avicenna's *ibdāʿ*. *Ibdāʿ* is thus placed in correlative opposition to *takwīn*, defined as the production of being with anteriority of matter and time. The distinction between *ibdāʿ* and *khalḳ* is as follows: the former denotes bringing into existence with nothing preceding; the second, bringing into existence from an existing

thing. *Khalḳ* and *takwīn* are distinguished from one another, in that *khalḳ* emphasizes the idea of creating, whereas *takwīn* emphasizes that of forming or fashioning. Al-Djurdjānī does not mention here the general meaning of *khalḳ* proposed by Ibn Sīnā (and by the most widely used Arabic dictionary). He states in fact that *ibdāʿ* is "more general" than *khalḳ*. He cites, in this sense, the verses of the Ḳurʾān (cf. *supra*) where the divine Name *Badīʿ* is used for the creation "of the heavens and the earth", and the verb *khalaḳa* for the creation of man.

Bibliography: in the article.

(L. GARDET)

IBDĀL (A.), "replacement", "mutation", technical term in Arabic grammar indicating on the one hand morphological features involving a mutation of a phonetic character, the grammatical (*naḥwī*) *ibdāl* as in *ittaṣala* <**iwtaṣala* [see HAMZA, NAḤW, TAṢRĪF, etc.] and, on the other hand, in its lexicographical sense, the doublets (*badal*, *muḍāraʿa*, *muʿāḳaba*, *naẓīr*, etc.) which are very common in Arabic and which differ from each other only by a single consonant: *madaḥa*/*madaha* "to praise", *ḳaṭaʿa*/*ḳaṭama* "to cut", etc.

This lexicographical (*lughawī*) *ibdāl* has intrigued the philologists, who from an early period have studied the phenomenon and especially have drawn up lists of examples, though generally neglecting to indicate their provenance. Two main problems presented themselves: first was the question whether doublets of this type existed in the same dialect with an identical meaning, and the second, whether the quality of the consonants in question played any part in their formation. Not all linguists have seen these problems very clearly and many have limited themselves to listing the examples which may be classed under the same rubric according to the "permutation" in question (*t*/*l*, *t*/*f*, etc.). A scholar such as Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) has no hesitation in stating that the Arabs have a habit (*min sunan*) of replacing one phoneme (*ḥarf*) with another (*Ṣāḥibī*, ed. Chouémi, Beirut 1383/1964, 203-4), and Ibn Sīduh (d. 458/1066) admits the existence of *muḍāraʿa* in the speech of one single tribe (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiv, 19). On the other hand, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (d. 351/962) certainly seems to consider that these doublets are not found within one single dialect (*K. al-Ibdāl*, ed. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1379/1960, i, 261) and he is even more categorical in his introduction, a passage from which has fortunately been preserved by Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*, i, 273; 2nd ed., i, 460): he does not see the phenomenon of *ibdāl* as intentional, but as consisting of the appearance of variants (*lughāt*), of paronyms used in different tribes. He does not, however, consider that this paronymy necessarily implies that the phonemes in question have adjacent points of articulation, for he cites cases of *ibdāl* which are very far from complying with this condition: *dj*/*ḥ*, *dj*/*ṣ*, *dj*/*d*, etc. Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), however, had already considered it essential that they should be adjacent (*Kāmil*, Cairo 1308, ii, 97); Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) in his *Sirr al-ṣināʿa* (i, 197) and Ibn Sīduh (*Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xiii, 274) followed him on this point.

The examination of doublets was also to lead to the formation of a more general theory on the origin of language; Ibn Djinnī (*Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 46) had already not ruled out the fact that onomatopœic words formed a large part of the vocabulary, but it was Fāris al-Shidyāḳ [*q.v.*] in particular who developed this theory in his *Sirr al-layāl fi 'l-ḳalb wa 'l-ibdāl* (Istanbul 1248); he points out that the verbs which imply, for example, an idea of rupture, breaking, etc. offer many examples of doublets, and considers that the onomatopœic biliteral form with a long second radical (verbs known as "deaf") is the earliest (*e.g.*, *ḳaṭṭa* "to cut") and that the Arabs consciously replaced the second element of the doubled consonant in order to express a different shade of meaning (hence *ḳaṭaʿa*, *ḳaṭama*, etc.); obviously one is led to ask whether a biliteral has become a triliteral, and thus the whole question of biliterality is raised.

We cannot investigate in detail here the rules which the philologists have attempted to isolate. For example, al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) had stated that before *kh*, *gh*, *ḳ* or *ṭ*, the sibilant *s* changed to the emphatic *ṣ*; al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 520/1126) adds to this *ʿayn*; and al-Ḥarīrī, in the *maḳāma ḥalābiyya*, delights in collecting doublets in *s* and *ṣ*. In addition, the grammarians enumerate very carefully all the phonemes which permute in the type of *ibdāl* known as *naḥwī*, but they do not agree as to their number.

From another point of view, it is perhaps not without interest to mention the idea of the editor of the *K. al-Ibdāl* of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, who suggests (Introduction, 41-2) the use of doublets to enrich modern terminology and proposes, for example, *taʾrīth* "demarcation" and *taʾrīf* "land survey", or *mirḍakha* "walnut-cracker" and *mirḍaḥa* "hazelnut-cracker" (which would probably lead to a certain amount of confusion).

After allowances have been made for artifice and error (in particular (*taṣḥīf*, misreadings which have led to a fair number of *badals*), it would be useful to collect the examples cited in the monographs, to compare them with the roots of the other Semitic languages and submit them to detailed analysis. This would permit, to the extent that they can be localized, the production of maps showing the linguistic geography of ancient Arabia (cf. C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951).

Bibliography: grammatical works generally contain a paragraph on *ibdāl*, but the most complete synthesis is that of Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*, i, 272-82; 2nd edition, i, 458 ff.) and the most profound study is that of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, in his Introduction to *K. al-Ibdāl* of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, 5-42; see also B. Bustānī, in F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 84-90, and the bibliography cited there. Besides the *K. al-Ibdāl* already mentioned, the other ancient monographs which have been preserved are those of Ibn al-Sikkīt, *al-Ḳalb wa 'l-muʿāḳaba wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, ed. Tanūkhī (in the press).

(ED.)

IBIL (A.), collective noun indicating the two main species of the *camelidae*, the *camelus dromedarius*, or dromedary, with a single hump, and the *camelus bactrianus*, or camel proper, with two humps. The latter species, common in Central Asia, in western China and in northern Persia, was known to the Arabs under the name of *fālidj* (pl. *fawālidj*); the crossing of two-humped stallions with Arab female camels (*ʿirāb*) produced the species called *bukht* (sing. *bukhtī*, pl. *bakhātī*) which did not breed and which was used mainly as a beast of burden (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 4-5; al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 110; al-Damīrī, s.v.; *LA*, s.v.; Leo Africanus, tr. Épaulard, ii, 556). As the history of the camel-owning tribes in Arabia and in North Africa has been covered at length in the art. BADW (to the bibl. of which should now be added: F. Gabrieli (ed.), *L'Antica società beduina*, Rome 1959; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique* . . ., 287 ff. and bibl. there given), we confine ourselves here to

the *camelus dromedarius*, which lives in the area from the Indus valley to the Sahara and the Congo, and for convenience we shall call it "camel".

Early poetry and works of lexicography bear witness to the extraordinarily rich vocabulary which Arabic possesses to describe this animal, which provided the Bedouin with a large part of his food, his clothing and his shelter, and served as a mount and a means of transport (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, vii, 1-174; F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, Leipzig 1879, notes more than 160 words); there are terms for the camel at different stages of growth (for the modern period, see, *e.g.*, Jaussen, *Moab*, 270), many descriptions based on physical characteristics, and equally numerous metaphors, but only four terms are really specific: *ibil* (fem.) indicates the species and the group, *baʿīr*, the individual, regardless of sex, *nāḳa* the female and *djamal* the male (sometimes used equally with *ibil* for the species; see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux domestiques en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii (25 May 1960), 95-9). There four terms are found in the Ḳurʾān, where *nāḳa* in particular appears in the edifying stories of Ṣāliḥ, the Thamūd, etc. (see VII, 71, 75, XI, 67, XVII, 61, XXVI, 155, LIV, 27, XCI, 13). *Djamal* seems to come from Hebrew גמל (*gimel* being a reminiscence of the form of its neck) and to be itself the origin of Greek κάμηλος and Latin *camelus*.

The Ḳurʾān certainly says (LXXVIII, 17): "What, do they not consider how the camel (*ibil*) was created?" but some interpret this verse as an allusion to the clouds. The popular belief that this animal is descended from demons (*shayāṭīn*) survived into Islam (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 297, 343; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 163); moreover, it can happen that *djinns* take the form of a camel (E. Westermarck, *Pagan survivals*, London 1933, 6); according to a current legend, the camel urinates backwards because it was "modified" in order not to soil Abraham (see especially H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 187). The early Arabs believed that the descendants of the herds which had belonged to the annihilated peoples of ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc. had taken refuge in the country of Wabār [*q.v.*], where they lived in a wild state (*ḥūsh*); the males then bred with "Arab" female camels and produced the "méhara" (*mahriyya*), a species famed for its speed and the slimness of its limbs and body, as well as other less well-known species; this belief is perhaps a survival from the period when the camel lived wild in Arabia. It is worth noting also that the giraffe is considered either as belonging to the *camelidae* or as being the result of a cross between a camel and a panther or other animals (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index, s.v. *zarāfa*).

The camel, unlike the horse, played an important rôle in sacrifices; before Islam, camels were ritually slaughtered at the time of the pilgrimage to Mecca (see J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, index s.v. *hady*). The enucleation of one eye was performed on a stallion as a rule when the herd numbered a thousand, and the second eye suffered the same fate when this number was exceeded (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 17); this practice, intended to ward off the evil eye, to avoid distemper, and to shield the herds from the attacks of hostile tribes, may be compared with the *ʿatīra* [*q.v.*]; ignipuncture was practiced on a healthy animal to cure animals afflicted with mange (*ʿurr*). The reception of guests by a generous host was always marked by the slaughter of a camel, and the unfortunate beast was also the victim in the game of *maysir* [*q.v.*]. Closely associated with its Bedouin owner during his lifetime, his camel often followed him in death [see BALIYYA] to serve him as a mount on the Day of Resurrection. Even recently a camel-owning tribe would make the animals take part in mourning by inducing the female camels and their young to emit cries resembling lamentations (see A. Dhina, *Nomadisme*, 427-8). The camel is one of the animals endued with *baraka* [*q.v.*], and to eat its flesh amounted to an act of faith (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 115, n. 2); in Morocco, the Prophet is made to say: "He who does not eat of my camels does not belong to my people" (Westermarck, *Survivals*, 105-6). Its flesh is indeed perfectly licit, whilst it is abominated by the Jews because its hoof is not cloven (Lev., XI, 4; Deut., XIV, 7). A camel seen in a dream is usually a good omen, but in Persia, if it falls asleep at the door of a house, the owner will die (H. Massé, *Croyances*, i, 193).

Pre-Islamic poetry gives pride of place to the she-camel, the Bedouins' favourite mount, and the *raḥīl* of *ḳaṣīdas* is the occasion for detailed descriptions accompanied by extremely eulogistic epithets; that of Ṭarafa, in his *muʿallaḳa*, is justly famous (Fr. tr. by Caussin de Perceval, *apud* L. Machuel, *Auteurs arabes*, Paris 1924, 45-7; Eng. tr. A. J. Arberry, *The seven odes*, London and New York 1957, 83-5), but many other poems contain lyrical passages on the camel, which seems to be so intimately linked with the very structure of the *ḳaṣīda* that some modern poets, who have rarely if ever seen riding-camels, feel that they too must conform artificially with the tradition. What the poets most esteem is the smooth gait, the speed, the sobriety and the endurance of the "ship of the desert" (*safīnat al-barr*; see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xliv (1890), 165 ff., analysed by G. H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii/3 (1960), 255-6). During their long journeys across the desert, the Bedouins loaded their water-supplies on camels specially kept for this purpose (*rāwiya*), but they sometimes had to tie up the mouths of some of their animals in order to prevent them from ruminating, and thus be able to find in their stomach, in case of need, water which was still drinkable (*faẓẓ*; see *LA*, s.v.); at other times they cut the throat of a sacrificed animal to collect and drink its blood (*madjdūḥ*) (see *Arabica*, ii/3 (1955), 327). It was also said that camels prevented blood from being spilt, for they were used to pay blood-money (*diya* [*q.v.*]), and it was in camels also that a bride's dowry was paid; thus the *ḥadīth* (?): "Do not speak ill of camels for in them is found a means of avoiding bloodshed (*raḳūʾ al-dam*) and of paying the dowry of a woman of noble birth"; according to another *ḥadīth*: "Camels are a source of power for their owner, sheep a blessing, and good is attached to the forelock of horses until the Resurrection".

The character of the camel, its spiteful disposition (cf. H. Massé, *op. cit.*, 187), and its stubbornness have often been stressed; the rutting stallion (cf. Leo Africanus, ii, 557) has an extraordinary strength and will let no-one approach the herd of which he is the head; he makes the soft palate (*shiḳshiḳa*) project from his mouth, belling violently. Of the males, only those selected when young for breeding are kept uncastrated; this avoids fights to the death between stallions. Animals destined as mounts and those to be used as beasts of burden are also selected at an early age. Each tribe branded its herds with a red-hot iron, which gave occasion for ceremonies

whose significance has somewhat changed in the course of time [see MAWSIM].

The strength of the camel is admired, also the ease with which (thanks to its long neck, which serves as a balance) it can get up from the ground when laden with heavy burdens; in Islamic literary sources it is compared with the elephant, and it is in a sense the symbol of the Arabs just as the elephant is of the Indians.

For transport, the early Arabs used a rudimentary pack-saddle (*ikāf*) or a *ḳatad* of the size of the hump, which they placed on cushions (*ḥils*). The question of the riding-camel and of the position of the rider in relation to the hump has been studied by W. Dostal (in *L'antica società beduina,* 15 ff.); according to this writer, the practice of sitting behind the hump is earlier than that of placing the saddle directly on the hump, which dates from the beginning of the Christian era; Leo Africanus (i, 35) mentions the use of a saddle between the hump and the neck, corresponding to the *raḥla* of the present-day "méharistes" (troops mounted on fast camels)—a light saddle placed on the withers of the animal. The early Arabs must sometimes have ridden bareback, but generally they used a saddle (*raḥl*), which was called *riḥāla* when it was adorned with skins; this saddle was made of wooden bows (*ḳatad*) joined together with leather thongs; it was separated from the hump by cushions and was held in place by girths passing under the breast (*ghurḍa*), the belly (*ḥaḳab*) and the loins (*rabaḍ*) of the animal. A rope threaded through a nose-ring (*khizāma*) made control of the animal easier than when the simple halter (*rasan*) was used, and a curved stick (*miḥdjan*) was used to guide it. Women of a certain rank rode in a palanquin (*hawdadj*) made of hoops arranged to form a dome and draped with hangings to screen the travellers from prying glances; one of these palanquins has remained famous in the history of Islam—that in which ʿĀʾisha sat during the Battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL]. Palanquins of this type are still in use nowadays, particularly during marriage ceremonies, and are called *ʿaṭṭūsh*, *bāṣūr*, etc.; moreover modern descriptions of the harnessing of camels correspond very closely with what we know of those used in earlier times, and the terminology itself has scarcely changed (see, *e.g.*, Jaussen, *Moab*, 272-3). Among the Touareg (Ṭawāriḳ [*q.v.*]) of the Sahara, apart from the *raḥla* of the "méharistes" four kinds of saddle are in use: *tarik*, with a pommel in the form of a cross; *tamzak*, of the same shape but more luxurious; *tahyast*, simpler, with a pommel in the form of a rectangular batten; and *akhawi*, a woman's saddle, wider and heavier and provided with semi-circular hoops attached to the side (see Ch. de Foucauld, *Dict. touareg-français*, Paris 1951, ii, 547, 723, iii, 1273, iv, 1623).

Among tribes which are at least partly settled, the camel is still used for agricultural work—ploughing, threshing, etc. (see G. Boris, *Documents*, *passim*, with illustrations and vocabulary), and Leo Africanus (ii, 40) already mentions the custom throughout Numidia of ploughing with a team consisting of a horse and a camel. Nowadays the peasants of Cape Bon (Tunisia) often harness a camel to a two-wheeled cart, and in the streets of Karachi (Pakistan) tall camels may be seen drawing four-wheeled wagons.

Yet such work does not make the best use of the camel's attributes, which are perfectly adapted to the conditions of life in hot deserts and which are preeminently suitable for journeys across long stretches of desert and for forays [see GHAZW] in regions where the climate and the vegetation are unsuitable for the rearing of horses in great numbers. In the early period of Islam, the camel was used as a mount and as a beast of burden for long or short expeditions; during the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, the Persian commander himself was mounted on a dromedary, but it was on horseback that the warriors were accustomed to face their enemies in single combat; and it was also on horses, which until then had been led, that the mounted fighters formed themselves into line of battle to commence the attack (cf. the verb *tanāzala:* to dismount from a camel and mount a horse in order to fight). The historians relate that the rebels who went to meet ʿAlī at Baṣra had a certain number of camels [see AL-DJAMAL], but later, as the theatres of operations became more distant, the camel no longer appears except in the baggage-trains, and it is worthy of note that in the characteristic texts assembled by G. Wiet (*Grandeur de l'Islam*, Paris 1961) the camel is not mentioned after the battle of that name. Even when ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] set off on the conquest of Fazzān [*q.v.*], he assembled a light force of 400 horsemen accompanied by 400 camels carrying 800 skins of water (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*[2], ed. and tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1947, 61). Historians and geographers give very large numbers when they speak of the herds of camels of the North African steppes (see R. Mauny, *op. cit.*, 289-91), and Ibn Khaldūn, for example (*Berbères*, ii, 70), tells how the Almoravids made off with 50,000 animals belonging to the government of Sidjilmāsa; such figures do not seem exaggerated when it is recalled that at the beginning of the 20th century there were 180,000 head of camels in the province of Oran alone. The Andalusians alone among the Arabic-speaking peoples were deprived of the familiar sight of riding- and pack-camels (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index). At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus devoted a substantial chapter to the camel (*Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 555-8). He rightly remarks that "all the Arabs who own camels are lords who live in freedom, for with these animals they can remain in the deserts". Some of his statements may be exaggerated, as for example when he says that "the camels of Africa can carry their burdens for forty or fifty days without its being necessary to feed them in the evening; they are unloaded and allowed to graze in the surrounding country on a little grass, thorns and a few branches", or when he gives distances which are patently excessive; he mentions moreover that the camel, after journeying five days without eating, loses the fat of its hump, fat of which the early Arabs were especially fond. He states that the camel drivers urge on the exhausted beasts by singing to them rhythmic chants (*ḥidāʾ*; see GHINĀʾ), and relates that in Cairo he saw a camel dance to the sound of a drum. Leo Africanus specifies that an animal in bad physical condition sold for a few *dīnār*s, and adds that 1000 ducats represented the value of 100 camels; a more precise figure cannot be expected, for the prices varied according to the condition of the animal, the district, and its suitability as a mount. He gives also some information on caravans [see ḲĀFILA].

The brief notes of Leo Africanus are still relevant today. Nowadays work-camels and pack-camels are still to be seen even in large cities, and these not necessarily on the edge of the steppe; they belong to camel-owning tribes whose stock consists of slow and sturdy transport-camels, while the riding-camel, the "méhari" (*mahrī*), is confined to the desert where, after a fairly simple training, it is used for swift

journeys. The gestation period of the *mahriyya* is twelve months, and when she has given birth her baby camel is lovingly cared for; for several days a wide belt is put round it to support its intestines and hold in its belly, and it is kept in the tent to accustom it to human company. In spring its hair is cut; only at the end of a year is one of its nostrils pierced—this is later threaded with an iron ring. At the same time a piece of pointed wood is inserted into it so that when it tries to suck, it pricks its mother, is kicked and abandons the udder for fresh grass. At the age of two years its training begins; it is first taught to stand motionless, not moving from one spot, then it is introduced to the saddle and the nose-ring, through which a guiding-rope is passed; it is taught to run as fast as possible by light whipping, and to kneel at the voice of its master. The conditioning of its reflex actions is made very easy by the sensitivity of its skin to the slightest blow. Its life-span is about 25 years. Its speed varies from 5-12 miles an hour, and it can cover 90 miles in 15 or 20 hours, but thereafter it must rest. The pack-camel walks at $2^1/_2$ or 3 miles an hour and covers distances of 15 or 20 miles at a stretch with an average load of 3 cwts. The sobriety and endurance of the "ship of the desert" are legendary; in its five "water buckets", it stores a considerable amount of water, and thanks to the fluctuations of its body-temperature, which ranges from 34° C. to 40.7° C., its perspiration is very slight; thus it can go without drinking for several days, and can suffice with eating only a little poor scrub; but, when it has spent a week without drinking, it has lost more than 200 pounds and it needs about 25 gallons of water, abundant food and a long rest in order to recover. Thus, though the Bedouin do not look after their camels as assiduously as they do their horses, from antiquity they have been constantly preoccupied by the search for pastures and water-places for their camels, and this has not infrequently led to clashes among them.

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IBLĪS, proper name of the devil, probably a contraction of διάβολος. A different etymology has been suggested by D. Künstlinger, in *RO*, vi, 76 ff.; the Arab philologists consider that *Iblīs* derives from the root *bls*, "because Iblīs has nothing to expect (*ublisa*) from the mercy of God". He is also known as ʿAduww Allāh (the enemy of God) and al-ʿAduww (the Enemy). Finally he is given the common name of *al-s̲h̲ayṭān* [*q.v.*].

In the Ḳurʾān he appears at two points in the story of the beginning of the world. (1) When God had created Adam [*q.v.*] from clay and had breathed into him the spirit of life, He ordered the angels to bow down before the first man, but Iblīs refused to bow down before this mortal "created from malleable clay" (XV, 30-3; XVII, 61; cf. VII, 11 and XXXVIII, 73-4); and God cried: "Then go thou forth hence; thou art accursed (*rad̲j̲īm*)! Upon thee shall rest the curse, till the Day of Doom" (XV, 33-4). At his own request, the punishment promised to Iblīs is then deferred until the Day of Judgement, and he is given power to lead astray all those who are not faithful servants of God. (2) The first of his misdeeds was to tempt Adam and Eve in the Garden, to incite them to disobey God (II, 34-6), and to eat the fruit of the "Tree of immortality" (XX, 116-21). In these two accounts of the sin of Adam and Eve, Iblīs retains his proper name when it is a question of his refusal to bow down before Adam (II, 34; XX, 116); but when he is the tempter, he becomes *al-s̲h̲ayṭān*, "the demon".

The revolt of Iblīs and the scene in the Garden as described in the Ḳurʾān may be compared with Christian traditions. In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, § 15 (Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*), it is stated that the Archangel Michael had invited the angels to worship Adam. The devil objected that Adam was less than they were, and younger; he and his host refused to worship and were exiled to this Earth. According to the *Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 15-6 of the Syro-Arabic text), God gave Adam power over all creatures. All the angels therefore bowed before him, with the exception of the devil, who, overcome by jealousy, exclaimed: "It is he who should adore me, who am light and air, whereas he is only earth." He was then driven out from heaven together with his host, and was, from that moment, named Satan, Demon, etc.

Thus until the Day of Judgement God will allow Iblīs to tempt men, but not the true believers, the servants of God (Ḳurʾān, XV, 39-42; cf. XXXIV, 20-1). He is the "sly tempter" who whispers (*yuwaswisu*) evil thoughts into men's hearts (*ibid.*, CXIV, 4-6). The *hātif* [*q.v.*], so well known in Arabic literature, who is heard but never seen, has on several occasions been a manifestation of Iblīs. It was in this form that Iblīs is said to have warned ʿAlī not to wash the body of Muḥammad; but after this another *hātif* recalled the Prophet's son-in-law to the correct course (al-T̲h̲aʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 44). This produces the problem of the "distinction of the spirits" on which many Ṣūfīs meditated.

At the end of time Iblīs is to be thrown into the fire of hell, with his host and with the damned: "then they (the false gods) shall be pitched into it, they and the perverse and the hosts of Iblīs, altogether" (Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 94-5; cf., XV, 43). This verse is reminiscent of Matthew, XXV, 41: "Then shall He say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." It is only a few Ṣūfīs of extreme tendencies who envisage a "pardon of Iblīs".

There are two questions which are the subjects of thought or meditation among Muslims.

1. The nature of Iblīs. Is he an angel or a *d̲j̲inn* [*q.v.*]? We have seen that there are many

Ḳur'ānic texts which seem to count him among the angels: "All the angels bowed together, except Iblīs ...". But an angel is created "obedient" to God, he is endowed by nature with sinlessness (*ʿiṣma*) according to the most commonly followed tradition. How then can an angel disobey God and be cursed by Him? It is fairly frequently suggested that this is because Iblīs is a *d̲j̲inn*, *d̲j̲inn*s not being incapable of sin, but some being good and others evil. Thus al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī (*Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, on Ḳur'ān, XX, 116) teaches that Iblīs is merely *d̲j̲innī* and that the term "angel" refers at the same time to "angel" and *d̲j̲inn*. In fact, verse XVIII, 50, gives this variant: "And when We said to the angels, 'Bow yourselves to Adam', so they bowed themselves, save Iblīs; he was one of the jinns, and committed ungodliness against his Lord's command". Iblīs was thus a *d̲j̲inn* who happened to be there inappropriately among the angels. According to some commentators, the divine order: "bow down before Adam" was certainly not a "testing of the angels", but it was intended to produce the confusion and damnation of the arrogant *d̲j̲inn* who had slipped in among them. Furthermore, in another verse (VII, 12), Iblīs, presenting his defence, retorts to God: "I am better than he; Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay". It is taught in *ḥadīt̲h̲* that the angels are created from light (*nūr*), while the Ḳur'ān states: "He created man of a clay like the potter's, He created the jinn of a smokeless fire (*mārid̲j̲ min nār*)" (LV, 14-5); or "of fire flaming" (XV, 27). Realizing that he was created from fire, Iblīs, for that very reason, declares himself to be a *d̲j̲inn*.

This interpretation, however, is far from being generally admitted. Al-Bayḍāwī for example suggests that Iblīs could belong to the angels so far as his hopes were concerned, but that his actions place him among the *d̲j̲inn*s. Others suggest a class of angels capable of sin, and able to propagate their species, as do men and *d̲j̲inn*s. And when Iblīs, in the Ḳur'ānic text, declares himself to be "created from fire" (*nār*) and not from light (*nūr*), this is because God intended that, by a *lapsus linguae*, he should in a sense utter his own condemnation.

Al-Ṭabarī, in his *Annales*, repeats many, and sometimes diverse, traditions. The *d̲j̲inn*s are a category of angels charged with the supervision of Paradise (*al-d̲j̲anna*), hence their name (*Annales*, i, 80). They were made of fire, not light (*ibid.*, 81). In the beginning, they inhabited the earth, but discord broke out among them and led to bloodshed. God then sent Iblīs—who at this time was still called ʿAzāzīl or al-Ḥārit̲h̲—with a legion of angels against the fomenters of trouble, who were thrown back into the mountains. Other traditions present Iblīs as one of the terrestrial *d̲j̲inn*s who was led captive to heaven by the avenging angels, he being still young at this time (*ibid.*, 84). The name of al-Ḥakam is also given to Iblīs before his fall, because God had appointed him judge over the *d̲j̲inn*s. He held this office for a thousand years. Then he became inflated with pride because of this name, and provoked among the *d̲j̲inn*s disturbances which in their turn lasted for one thousand years. God then sent a fire which destroyed them, but Iblīs took refuge in heaven, where he remained a faithful servant of God until the creation of Adam (*ibid.*, 85; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 50 ff.).

We shall not enumerate all the "accounts" concerning Iblīs, either in the pre-eternity before the creation of man or when he played his part in the Garden of Eden. It can in any case be said that Muslim thought remains undecided as to whether he was an angel or a *d̲j̲inn*, and does not pronounce an opinion on the possibility of his being a "fallen angel".

2. The sin of Iblīs. On the other hand, tradition has no hesitation concerning the character of Iblīs, his disobedience, the divine curse upon him, and the character of "enemy of God and of mankind", of perpetual tempter, which will be his until the day of the Last Judgement.

The two sins which are constantly attributed to Iblīs are pride and disobedience. The origin of his revolt seems to have been pride: we have seen that he not only declared himself to be superior to Adam and refused to bow down before him, but, according to al-Ṭabarī (i, 83), he considered himself superior to the other angels. It is also said (*ibid.*, 79) that he was an angel and as such reigned over the *d̲j̲inn*s, on earth and in the lower heavens. It was after he had rebelled that he was called by God *al-s̲h̲ayṭān al-rad̲j̲īm*.

But the question then arises as to how he can have been so blinded by power as to have been confirmed in a perpetual state of disobedience and how he could justify to himself his attitude.

Some *mutakallimūn* and many Ṣūfīs meditated on the "disobedience of Iblīs": the reason why he disobeyed God and was thus placed among the unfaithful was that he did not submit to the unconditional Will of God, preferring the general Law which had been given ("to worship God alone") to the short-term Commandment "(bow down before Adam"). Al-Ḥallād̲j̲ makes him say: "No, I shall worship only Thee". Some suggest that he believed God was setting a trap for him and that his duty was to evade it by an affirmation of uncompromising monotheism. Even more: he preferred to risk incurring God's curse and to be in hell, and to be, even against God so to speak, the mysterious witness of the absolute Divine Unity. By the expedient of such analyses, Iblīs is accorded a certain grandeur, and there can sometimes be recognized in some of the Ṣūfīs a kind of secret sympathy for the one who was "forced to be disobedient", a victim of the incomprehensible and inscrutable Commandment of God.

But al-Ḥallād̲j̲ nevertheless firmly maintains that this disobedience certainly arose from pride. He devoted to the drama of Iblīs the very beautiful text of the *Ṭā sīn al-azal* (Arabic text ed. L. Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris 1913; Fr. tr. *apud* L. Massignon, *Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 864-77). Al-Ḥallād̲j̲ composed this text during his imprisonment in Bag̲h̲dād, in response, it seems, to the extremist S̲h̲īʿī al-S̲h̲almag̲h̲ānī. He used it as an occasion to denounce not only the limits but also the unwarrantedness of the proclamation of the Divine Unity (*tawḥīd*) flourished by Iblīs against God's Commandment; cf. in particular the dialogue between Moses, descending from the mountain where he received the Law, and Iblīs, the objector with a face blackened by God's curse.

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(A. J. Wensinck-[L. Gardet])

IBN (A.), son. The Arab grammarians and lexicographers, who tend to trace all words to three root elements, generally attribute *ibn* to a root **b.n.w.*

and consider that it derives from a hypothetical **banaw^{un}* by loss of the 3rd sonant radical. Others state that the root is *b.n.y.* and that the word *ibn* comes from the verb *banā/yabnī ʿalā* "set up [a tent] on", and, by extension, "marry". In reality, we have an ancient semitic biliteral, which is nevertheless triliteralized in the relative adjective *banawī* and in the abstract noun *bunuwwa*. The fem. *bint*, formed with the fem. indicator *-t*, has a rival in a secondary form *ibnat^{un}*. In the pl., *banūn^{a}* and *abnāʾ* (the latter, however, being specialized [*q.v.*]) correspond to *ibn*, *banāt^{un}* to *bint*.

The word *ibn* is constantly employed in genealogical series, and then offers some grammatical peculiarities. On the one hand, the prosthetic *alif* disappears when it is preceded by the name (*ism*) of the person and followed by the appellative of his father (except at the beginning of a line), while it is maintained after a *kunya* or a *laḳab* and before an appellative referring to the mother or an ancestor of the person quoted immediately before, that is to say when *ibn* has become the first element of a true patronymic name (see below). On the other hand, the presence of the word *ibn* exerts a regressive effect on the preceding name; the *tanwīn*, where there is one normally, disappears (*e.g.*, *Muḥammad^{u} bn^{u} Aḥmad^{a}* instead of *Muḥammad^{un}*), as if *ibn* "defined" this name, while in fact it is in apposition; in the vocative, an analogous regressive effect is optional, in the sense that the first name may be put into the accusative case like *ibn* itself or remain in the nominative, while a progressive effect is exercised obligatorily on the epithetic adjective, so that the latter need not be in the same case as the noun to which it refers (*yā Muḥammad^{a}* [or *Muḥammad^{u}*] *bn^{a} Aḥmad^{a} ʾl-ḥakīm^{a}* [never *ḥakīm^{u}*]).

Ibn enters into the composition of a certain number of names of animals or plants: *ibn ʿirs*, "weasel", *ibn awbar*, "sand truffle", etc., the pl. then being *banāt* (though *banū* is sometimes found). Equally, it is used in a sense similar to *dhū* or to *ṣāḥib*: *ibn ʿishrīn sana*, "20 years old", *ibn sabīl*, "traveller", etc. In these two uses it appears strongly expressive.

It occurs that certain persons are known by an appellative composed of *Ibn* and a woman's name; one might see a vestige of matriarchal society in this, but in the Islamic period these designations have a pejorative character and are designed either to humiliate the person so named or to emphasize that his father is unknown (Ibn al-Marāgha for Djarīr [*q.v.*], Ibn Sumayya for Ziyād [*q.v.*], etc.). The same principle of "*pater incertus, mater certa*" requires the use of the mother's, not the father's, name in magical invocations (cf. S. Reich, *Quatre coupes magiques*, in *BEO*, vii-viii, 165-6). In contrast, in the name of Ibn ʿĀʾisha for example, the reference is to ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*] and is in no sense pejorative. But if the name is not to be pejorative, it is generally a man's name which appears after Ibn. In fact, a large number of personages who have played a part in the political, literary, or other history of the Arabs are known (*maʿrūf bi-*) or indeed famous (*mashhūr bi-*) under an appellative formed of Ibn followed by the *ism*, *laḳab*, or *nisba* of their father (Ibn ʿAbbās = ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās) or of an ancestor, sometimes celebrated, as in the case of Ibn ʿĀʾisha, but more often obscure, though a descendant has become famous: Ibn Rushd = Muḥammad b. Rushd, then his son Aḥmad, his grandson Muḥammad, etc. This is called *maʿrifa* or *shuhra* and it is in this manner that patronymic names have been constructed. One finds, particularly in Spain but also in the rest of the Muslim world, families known comprehensively under the name of Banū Fulān (*e.g.*, Banū Shuhayd), but of which each member is provided with a patronymic beginning with Ibn (Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, Ibn Maslama, etc.), with a *kunya* and with an *ism* (Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm; in this case it is preferable to write Ibn with a capital letter). It is after all only necessary to glance through the pages following this article or vols. ii-iv of the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* of F. al-Bustānī to see that a large number of historical personages may be designated by their *maʿrifa* or *shuhra*, although the choice of this appellative may provoke confusion. The authors of biographical collections generally indicate the *maʿrifa*, where it exists, of the persons forming the subject of the biographies, and take care to refer the reader in an index to the *ism* under which the biographies in question are placed. In this respect vol. vi of the *Lisān al-Mīzān* of al-ʿAsḳalānī, for example, is instructive, since it demonstrates the relatively small proportion of customary *maʿrifa*s compared with the *nisba*s and *kunya*s. Although the use of the *maʿrifa* is ancient, it does not seem to go back to the pre-Islamic period; in fact the clan was then known under the name of Banū Fulān, but each member, instead of calling himself Ibn Fulān, was called Akhū Banī Fulān or by a *nisba*.

On the juridical status of a son, see WALAD. On the structure of Muslim names, see ISM. (ED.)

IBN ʿABBĀD, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM AL-NAFZĪ AL-ḤIMYARĪ AL-RUNDĪ, the most important mystic writer of the 8th/14th century in the dominions of the Marīnids. Born in 733/1333 at Ronda, where his father was preacher in the mosque, he emigrated while still young to Morocco, whose famous *madrasa*s attracted many students. He studied first at Tlemcen with the famous al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī, who played a great part in the restoration of the Mālikī *madhhab* in the Maghrib; then he went to Fez, where al-Ābilī, al-Maḳḳarī, al-ʿImrānī, al-Fishtālī and others less famous were teaching. The basic works which he studied were the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, the *Tahdhīb* of al-Barādhiʿī, and the two *Mukhtaṣar*s of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. In Ṣūfism, which at that time was held in high regard in the religious circles of Fez, he began with the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of al-Makkī. Inclined to solitude and meditation, Ibn ʿAbbād soon abandoned legal sciences to devote himself to asceticism and mysticism. In about 760/1359 he reached Salé where, according to al-Ḥaḍramī (*Salsal*), Ṣūfī life flourished round Ibn ʿĀshir, an extraordinary personality whose influence extended throughout Morocco. It was through him that Ibn ʿAbbād's spiritual development was completed. When his master died, Ibn ʿAbbād paid a rapid visit to Tangier where he enjoyed *fatḥ* with Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik, then returned to Fez where, at the request of his friends Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj and Sulaymān al-Anfāsī, he wrote a commentary on the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh of Alexandria, which was a great success. The works of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ had just reached Morocco, and with them the Shādhilī *ṭariḳa*, whose spread in the Maghrib owed much to Ibn ʿAbbād. He returned once more to Salé, where he wrote almost all of the Letters which were collected and published by Yaḥyā al-Sarrādj. From then he was a Ṣūfī *shaykh*. In 777/1375, the sultan appointed him *imām* and preacher at the Ḳarawiyyīn, an office which he occupied until his death, in 792/1390. He was buried at Bāb al-Futūḥ where the place of his burial is still known although the tomb is no longer identifiable.

In addition to the commentary on the *Ḥikam*, Ibn ʿAbbād left some letters containing spiritual directions and collected in *Rasāʾil kubrā*, lith. Fez 1320, 262 pp.) and *Rasāʾil ṣughrā* (ed. P. Nwyia, 1957, 138 pp.) and some unpublished works: *Fatḥ al-tuḥfa* (a collection of *ḥadīths* in the form of an manual of devotion); *Duʿā bi 'l-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*; a collection of Friday sermons; a versification of the *Ḥikam*. Ibn ʿAbbād's work marks a return to primitive Ṣūfism (Muḥāsibī), for he did not like Ibn Sabʿīn and only rarely cites Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Bibliography: P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1961, 1-41, provides a complete list of the sources and studies, among which there should be specially mentioned M. Asín Palacios, *Un precursor hispano-musulman de San Juan de la Cruz*, in *al-Andalus*, i (1933), 7-79.

(P. Nwyia)

IBN ʿABBĀD, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbbād b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, vizier and man of letters of the Būyid period, known as Kāfī 'l-kufāt or more frequently al-Ṣāḥib, an honorific title which he may have owed to his relations with Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd [see ibn al-ʿamīd, i], but more probably to his loyalty to the *amīr* Muʾayyid al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Born probably at Iṣṭakhr on 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 326/14 September 938 (but the sources disagree on his date and place of birth), of a family of high officials (his father at least, known as al-Shaykh al-amīn, had been a *kātib* and then become vizier to Rukn al-Dawla; see Abū Ḥayyān, *Mathālib*, index; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 170-2), he spent his childhood at Ṭālaḳān (near Ḳazwīn), and then settled at Iṣfahān. After the death of his father (334 or 335/946 or 947), he attached himself to Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd, first as his devoted disciple and later as his secretary. In 347/958 he was chosen to accompany the *amīr* Abū Manṣūr (Muʾayyid al-Dawla) to Baghdād as a clerk, and it was at this period that his friendly relations with the Būyid prince began. He may even have been at about this time the tutor of another son of Rukn al-Dawla. On the latter's death (366/976), the governorship of Iṣfahān and its dependencies fell to Muʾayyid al-Dawla who confirmed the *kātib* Ibn ʿAbbād and the vizier Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd, the son of al-Ṣāḥib's master [see ibn al-ʿamīd, ii], in their offices. Abu 'l-Fatḥ then began to engage in intrigues and to incite against the vizier the army of Rayy, with the result that Muʾayyid al-Dawla, with the help of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], succeeded in getting rid of his vizier and replacing him by Ibn ʿAbbād.

It is not easy to study in detail the vizierate of Ibn ʿAbbād, whose political activity is confused by the chroniclers with that of his masters [see būyids, ʿaḍud al-dawla, fakhr al-dawla, muʾayyid al-dawla]. There does, however, exist a notable account, though unfortunately limited to the reign of Muʾayyid al-Dawla, in the sole surviving volume of the *Rasāʾil*, which consists exclusively of diplomas of appointment and official letters or of correspondence with the author's eminent personal friends. The matters with which they deal naturally extend beyond a single vizierate and thus cannot be listed here. But it is interesting to note the way in which precision is combined with style in the administrative communications written by Ibn ʿAbbād. The letters of course concern general politics, and also the policy of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the ruling head of the Būyid family, in his struggles against his cousin ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, and against Fakhr al-Dawla, the Sāmānids, the Kurds, etc.; the letters also cover the matter of the Daylamī vassals of the dynasty and of its changeable relations with its Ādharbaydjānī vassals. Above all, the correspondence demonstrates a constant and efficient preoccupation with exactitude in the management of the finances and the maintenance of public order; on the second of these points the vizier appears to have been hostile to the urban *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]; on the first he pays attention to the efficient collection of taxes, but also to the orderliness of their administration and, when circumstances allowed, he was not unwilling to have taxes reduced. In the name of his master he appointed governors, *ḳāḍīs*, etc., setting out to them their duties; the comparison of the *Rasāʾil* on this point with, in particular, those of his contemporary, the caliph's secretary Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ, shows that there was an accepted basic form to which each of them could add only modifications of detail. The volume of the *Rasāʾil* examined scarcely mentions Ibn ʿAbbād's literary connexions or activities, which nevertheless also formed part of his "policy".

Al-Ṣāḥib's activity as vizier can be divided naturally into two sections, by the reigns of the two sovereigns under whom he served. Under Muʾayyid al-Dawla, he was the vizier of a vassal of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and took care to make sure of his position by rendering homage also direct to the ruler: it is strange that ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who for himself had always refused to have only one vizier with full powers, should yet have encouraged his brother to grant his favour only to this all-powerful minister, in whom he had absolute confidence. After the death of ʿAḍud, soon followed by that of Muʾayyid, Ibn ʿAbbād acquired more completely autonomous power, his prince, Fakhr al-Dawla, being now the eldest of the family and no longer owing allegiance to anyone; but this prince continued to have full confidence in the vizier, who, after having fought against him while his brothers were alive had, against all expectation, summoned him to succeed the second of them. Ibn ʿAbbād had attempted to make him play the dominant rôle in the dynasty by his interventions first in support of Shams al-Dawla against Bahāʾ al-Dawla, then of the second against the first: this apparent volte-face is explained by the fact that the struggle between the two young princes had resulted in their territorial possessions changing hands and that in al-Ṣāḥib's view Fakhr al-Dawla should support the master of ʿIrāḳ against the master of Fārs, who might covet Iṣfahān. Naturally Fakhr al-Dawla, true to tradition, laid hands on the rich heritage of his minister, who had expected this, and no further member of his family is found among the high officials of the dynasty. But Ibn ʿAbbād himself is remembered as one of the great viziers of Muslim history, even by those who were his adversaries in doctrine (see, *e.g.*, Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, xl, 33 and xli, 21-6). Like the latter, he belongs to the category of ministers who, in the service of princes who were either not suited to or were indifferent to the tasks of administration, were able to acquire an almost autonomous personal power and to become temporarily the true masters of the State.

Ibn ʿAbbād would not, however, have gained such wide fame if he had not also occupied a foremost place in the history of Arab literature, as much through his own works as through his patronage of scholars and poets. In addition to being apprenticed in his youth to the profession of *kātib*, to which he appeared to be destined by his birth, he had the good fortune to have as his mentor Ibn al-ʿAmīd, who

possessed a strong traditional cultural background and no slight knowledge of theology and philosophy. During his stay in Baghdād he was able to frequent the literary circles there and to collect many traditions of which he was later able to make use. Finally, in addition to many chance teachers, he was in contact, at al-Rayy, with the grammarian Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], modestly calling himself his pupil. These favourable circumstances allowed him to acquire an extensive knowledge in all the fields of Arabic culture, from exegesis and *ḥadīth* to history, and including grammar, literary criticism and dogmatic theology; like all *kātib*s worthy of the name he was a poet, and he handled prose with a skill which earned him lasting fame.

His very varied works may be classified under the following headings: (I) Dogmatic theology: *al-Ibāna ʿan madhhab ahl al-ʿadl bi-ḥudjadj al-Ḳurʾān wa'l-ʿaḳl*, a statement of some points of Muʿtazilī doctrine in contrast with other sects and schools (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, in *Nafāʾis al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, Nadjaf 1372, 20 pp.); *al-Tadhkira fi 'l-uṣūl al-khamsa*, a statement of the five Muʿtazilī principles (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, *ibid.*, ii, Nadjaf 1373, 9 pp.); *Risāla fi 'l-hidāya wa 'l-ḍalāla*, on predestination (ed. Ḥ. ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ, Tehrān 1374/1955). Among works which are not known to have survived, the following would come into this category: *K. Mukhtaṣar asmāʾ Allāh wa-ṣifātih*; *al-Imāma*, in which he proclaimed the superiority of ʿAlī while accepting the imāmate of his predecessors; *al-Zaydiyya*; *al-Ḳaḍāʾ wa 'l-ḳadar*; *Nahdj al-sabīl fi 'l-uṣūl*. (II) History: *Risāla fī aḥwāl ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Ḥasanī*, on an important descendant of ʿAlī (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, in *Nafāʾis al-makhṭūṭāt*, iv, Nadjaf 1374, 4 pp.); *ʿUnwān al-maʿārif wa-dhikr al-khalāʾif*, a short history of the life of the Prophet and of those who were proclaimed caliph, up to al-Muṭīʿ (ed. M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, *ibid.*, i, Nadjaf 1372, 29 pp.). Among the works which are lost, the following may belong to this category: *al-Anwār*; *al-Wuzarāʾ*; *Taʾrīkh al-mulk wa-'khtilāf al-duwal*. (III) Grammar, lexicography, etc.: *al-Iḳnāʿ fi 'l-ʿarūḍ wa-takhrīdj al-ḳawāfī*, a study of Arabic prosody, of the different metres and an explanation of the technical terms (manuscripts of this exist in Cairo, Paris, etc.); *al-Farḳ bayn al-ḍād wa'l-ẓāʾ*, a study of terms in which there is sometimes confusion between *ḍād* and *ẓāʾ* (MS Fatih); *al-Muḥīṭ bi 'l-lugha*, an Arabic dictionary in ten volumes arranged according to the point of articulation of the consonants (in the following order: ʿ, *ḥ*, *h*, *kh*, *gh*; *ḳ*, *k*; *dj*, *sh*, *ḍ*; *ṣ*, *s*; *z*; *ṭ*, *d*, *t*; *ẓ*, *dh*, *th*; *r*, *l*, *n*; *f*, *b*, *m*; *w*, ʾ, *y*; some incomplete manuscripts of this exist: Ahmed III, Baghdad Museum, Dār al-kutub; see J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*², Leiden 1965, index); *al-Amthāl al-sāʾira min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, proverbs collected from the work of the great poet (the text was published at Beirut in 1950, and it is found also in Ibn Maʿṣūm al-Madanī, *K. Anwār al-rabīʿ fi anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, in *Muḳtaṭaf*, xxviii/10-11 and in *Thaḳāfat al-Hind*, v/1); the *K. al-Waḳf wa 'l-ibtidāʾ* appears to be lost. (IV) Literary criticism: *al-Kashf ʿan masāwī shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, a criticism of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī (the text, forming part of the *Yatīma* of al-Thaʿālibī, i, 123-45, was printed separately in Cairo in 1349). (V) Poetry: *Dīwān* (an incomplete manuscript discovered by M. Ḥ. Yāsīn, was published by him, Baghdād 1965; the Aya Sofya MS attributed to Ibn ʿAbbād is in fact not by him); *al-Manẓūma al-farīda*, a poem taken from the *Dīwān*; *al-Safīna* was a poetic anthology. (VI) Belles-lettres: *al-Rūznāmadja* a collection of literary anecdotes made at Baghdād in 347/958-9 (a manuscript discovered by M. Ḥ. Yāsīn is to be published by him); *Akhbār Abi 'l-ʿAynāʾ*, a lost work which confirms the importance of Abu 'l-ʿAynā [*q.v.*]; *Rasāʾil*, especially the administrative correspondence (see above) (ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953); *al-Aʿyād wa-faḍāʾil al-nawrūz* (lost). Finally there are a few works which it is impossible to classify precisely; *al-Taʿlīl*; *Djawharat al-djamhara*; *al-Ḥadjar* (?); *al-Shawāhid*.

The existence of works of a Muʿtazilī character raises the question which religious school Ibn ʿAbbād adhered to. There is no doubt that he was a good Muslim and an Arabophile, in spite of his non-Arab origin, but his biographers, his friends and his enemies disagree completely when it comes to specifying to which school he belonged. Some Shīʿīs like Ibn Bābūya (*ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 3) and others unhesitatingly claim him as one of them, and the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār even accuses him of being a Rāfiḍī; others attach him to the Zaydīs, to the Ḥanafīs, to the Shāfiʿīs, or to the Ḥashwiyya, but in fact he considered himself to be a pupil of the Muʿtazilīs—thus following the example of his father, who had written a *K. Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*—and he admitted that he made propaganda for this school (*Rasāʾil*, 73); his *Ibāna* and his *Tadhkira* provide clear evidence of his opinions. However, like many of the members of the Muʿtazilī school at Baghdād (see Ch. Pellat, in *St. Isl.*, xv, 33) on the question of the imāmate he came down in favour of ʿAlī; furthermore, after having rejected the *naṣṣ* [*q.v.*] in the *Ibāna*, an early work, he came to consider that the caliphate was conferred by virtue of a *naṣṣ*, and thus allied himself with the Shīʿīs.

Such a contradiction is typical of the character of Ibn ʿAbbād, whose personality is presented by different authors under very different colours; thus Abū Ḥayyān paints a very severe portrait of him, but it is known that he is prejudiced. There is no doubt that he himself, being accustomed to receive praise, had a high opinion of his own worth and that his vanity was agreeably flattered by the "five hundred poets among the employees of the *dīwān*s" who sang his praises; it is even said that 100,000 couplets (some go so far as to say 100,000 poems) were devoted to his praise, but this eulogy was not enough for him, since he also wrote a panegyric on himself and ordered a poet to recite it in his presence. He did, however, possess a fair amount of *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] and knew how to behave humbly with those whom he regarded as his masters, and, although accused of avarice, he could on occasion show generosity, at least when he considered it opportune to do so.

As a writer, Ibn ʿAbbād shows a marked taste for rhymed prose, the long sentences in which the figures of *badīʿ* abound and which are thus very close to poetry, but his prose remains readable and, to a certain extent, light; it is in any case less precious than his poems, in which he makes use of all the ornaments and artificial characteristics of the poetry of the period. With Ibn al-ʿAmīd, al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], and al-Khuwārizmī [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAbbād is one of the main representatives of the school of literature which introduced rhymed prose first into the official correspondence and then into all types of writing; a *kātib* and poet from Spain, Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*], however, omits Ibn ʿAbbād and considers only al-Hamadhānī and Ḳābūs [*q.v.*] as really representing the new tendency (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 202).

Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād died at Rayy on 24 Ṣafar 385/30 March 995.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, the contemporary of al-Ṣāḥib, devotes to him only a brief mention (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 194), but Thaʿālibī gives a good deal more (*Yatīma*, iii) and Yāḳūt provides a considerable amount of information (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 168-313; xiv, 206-10; xv, 113-5) partly taken, it is true, from the works of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, whose *Mathālib al-wazīrayn* is now published (ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1961; ed. Ibn Tāwīt, Cairo 1965); see also, by the same author, *al-Imtāʿ wa ʾl-muʾānasa*, i, 55; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 397-401; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 113-5; Ibn Khallikān, i, 206-10; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 196-7; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, i; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 364; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 413-6; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, i, 202; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, 109; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; A. Amīn, *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, i, *passim*; Sarton, i, 689; Brockelman, S I, 198; *Thaḳāfat al-Hind*, iv/4-v/1; Zuruklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 106; Mu'id Khan, in *IC*, xvii (1943), 176-205; M. Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, *al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād ḥayātuh wa-adabuh*, Baghdad 1376/1957 (very thorough study of the life and particularly of the works of Ibn ʿAbbād). On his activity as vizier, see especially: Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, vi; Abū Shudjāʿ, *Dhayl Tadjārib al-umam*, 163-70 and *passim*; Ibn al-Athīr, vii; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (unpublished); Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ṭabaristān*, index; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, index; see also the *Bibl.* of the article BŪYIDS. (CL. CAHEN and CH. PELLAT)

IBN ʿABBĀD [see ʿABBĀDIDS; AL-MUʿTAMID].

IBN AL-ABBĀR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-ḲUḌĀʿĪ, historian, traditionist, littérateur, and poet, belonged to a family which had its origin in Onda, the patrimony of the Ḳuḍāʿīs of Spain; he was born in Rabīʿ II 595/February 1199 at Valencia, where he passed his youth studying under the direction of several teachers whom he quotes in his *Muʿdjam*. For more than twenty years he was the disciple of the most learned traditionist in Spain, Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ b. Sālim, who persuaded him to complete the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl. He made several journeys in the Peninsula *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* and acted as secretary to the Muʾminid governors of Valencia. This town, after being taken by Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], was besieged in Ramaḍān 635/April-May 1238 by James I of Aragon; thereupon Ibn al-Abbār was sent with a deputation to ask for the assistance of the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis, Abū Zakariyyāʾ [see ḤAFṢIDS]; on 4 Muḥarram 635/17 August 1238, he recited a poem rhyming in *sīn* (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 651; idem, *Azhār*, iii, 307) in which he painted a moving picture of his besieged native city. He returned to Valencia, but left it a few days after it was captured by James I on 17 Ṣafar 636/28 September 1238 (Dozy, *Notices*, 190). Al-Ghubrīnī (*ʿUnwān*, 183) states that he stopped at Bougie before going to Tunis, where, received favourably by Abū Zakariyyāʾ, he was appointed chief of his chancellery, but was ordered to leave a blank in official documents in the place of the authentication for the *ṣāḥib al-ʿalāma* to fill in; Ibn al-Abbār did not carry out this instruction and was soon dismissed and put under arrest in his own house. However, he was pardoned and re-instated in his office.

When Abū Zakariyyāʾ died, his successor, al-Mustanṣir, kept Ibn al-Abbār close to him, but his attitude so much irritated the sovereign and his courtiers that he was ordered to be tortured. His writings were confiscated and a satire against the *amīr* was discovered among them. The reading of this piece enraged the *amīr* even more and he ordered Ibn al-Abbār to be killed by lance-thrusts. Ibn al-Abbār died on the morning of 20 Muḥarram 658/6 January 1260. On the following day his corpse, his books, his poetry, and his diplomas were burnt together on the same pyre.

We possess a certain number of official letters (Maḳḳarī, *Azhār*, iii, 211 ff.) and poems (idem, *Analectes*, i, 658, 868, ii, 762; idem, *Azhār*, ii, 223 ff.) of Ibn al-Abbār, who is the author of fifteen or so works (forming about 45 volumes) among which the following have been preserved:

(1) *K. al-Takmila li-K. al-Ṣila* (Continuation of the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*]), ed. Codera, 2 vols., Madrid 1888-9 (*BAH*, v, vi); a supplement, with variants and indices, was published by Alarcón and González Palencia in *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid 1915, 147-690; the beginning of the work (letters *alif-djīm*) was ed. by Bel and Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920. Biographical dictionary finished at Tunis. (2) *al-Muʿdjam fī aṣḥāb al-ḳāḍī al-imām Abī ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī*, ed. Codera, Madrid 1886 (*BAH*, iv). (3) *K. al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, partial ed. by R. Dozy in *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leiden 1847-51 (see also idem, *Recherches*[3] and *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis*) and Müller, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, Munich 1866-78; ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, 2 vols.; critical analysis and study on Ibn al-Abbār, by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭabbāʿ, *K. al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, Beirut 1962. Biographies of poets. (4) *Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, concerning the poets of Spain, was abridged by Balfīḳī, *al-Muḳtaḍab min K. Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, ed. A. Bustānī in *Machriq*, July-Sept. 1947, and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1957. (5) *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb* (The secretaries' contentment), ed. Ṣāliḥ al-Ashtar, Damascus 1961. (6) *Durar al-simṭ fī khabar al-Sibṭ* (on the family of the Prophet and the ʿAlids), edition prepared by A. Ghedira, who has analysed and studied the text in *al-And.*, xxii/1 (1957) 31-54. In it the author shows himself to be violently hostile to the Umayyads and gives signs of Shīʿī tendencies.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited: Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya fī man ʿurifa min al-ʿulamāʾ fi ʾl-miʾa ʾl-sābiʿa bi-Bidjāya*, Algiers 1328/1910, 183; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Būlāḳ 1299/1881-2, ii, 226; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ fī akhbār ʿIyāḍ*, Cairo 1939, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 307, 347-50; Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-dawlatayn*, tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, 36, 38, 48; Pons Boigues, 409; Gayangos, *Hist. of the Moh. dynasties in Spain*, ii, 528 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 294; Brockelmann, I, 340-1, S, I, 580-1.

(M. BEN CHENEB-[CH. PELLAT])

IBN AL-ABBĀR, ABŪ DJAʿFAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-KHAWLĀNĪ, an Andalusian poet who lived among the entourage of the early ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] of Seville and died in 433/1041-2. Of his *Dīwān* only a few poems survive, in particular a panegyric of Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbbād, some occasional verse and some descriptions; floral poems seem to have occupied a leading part in his work, which drew its inspiration from the life of the Andalusian aristocracy of the time: wine, pleasures, country-walks, women—these for the most part are his favourite subjects, and an element of sensuality is visible in his poems. His

technique is excellent, metaphors and similes abound, and the *badīʿ* is applied with assurance and felicity.

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, nos. 934, 2165, 2646 and 5159, appears to confuse this Ibn Abbār with the historian who is the subject of the preceding article.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ii; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 352; Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, *Badīʿ*, index; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 44; Makkarī, *Analectes*, index; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 409; S. Khalis, *La vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*, thesis Sorbonne 1953 (unpublished); H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 186; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 295. (M. Ben Cheneb*)

IBN ʿABBĀS [see ʿabd allāh b. (al-)ʿabbās].

IBN ʿABD ALLĀH, as patronymic of converts [see ism].

IBN ʿABD AL-BARR al-Namarī (al-Numayrī), appellative of a family of Cordovan scholars, the principal representative of which is Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh, born in 368/978. He studied in his native city under masters of repute, engaged in correspondence with scholars of the East and travelled all over Spain "in search of knowledge", but never went to the East. Considered the best traditionist of his time, he was equally distinguished in *fikh* and in the science of genealogy. After displaying Ẓāhirī tendencies at first, in which he resembled his friend Ibn Ḥazm, he later followed the Mālikī doctrine, not without some inclination towards Shāfiʿī teaching. He held the position of *kādī* at Lisbon and Santarem under al-Muẓaffar b. al-Afṭas, and died at Játiva in 463/1070.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr is the author of a considerable number of works of all kinds, of which there have been preserved especially:—*K. al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-Aṣḥāb*, biographies of the Companions of the Prophet, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, then on the margin of the *Iṣāba* of al-ʿAskalānī, Cairo 1323-5, and finally ed. ʿAlī Muḥ. al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1957-60, 4 vols. (for the abridgements of this work, see Brockelmann).—*Djāmiʿ bayān al ʿilm wa-faḍli-hi wā mā yanbaghī fī riwāyati-hi wa-ḥamli-hi*, Cairo 1346.—*al-Kāfī fi 'l-fikh*, a manual of Mālikī law (see Brockelmann, S I, 297, foot).—*al-Tamhīd li-mā fi 'l-Muwaṭṭaʾ min ai-maʿānī wa 'l-asānīd*, on the methodology of *ḥadīth* (see Brockelmann, S I, 298, top, 629).—*Kitāb al-istidhkār fī sharḥ madhāhib ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, a summary of the preceding (see Brockelman S I, 297, foot).—*al Istidrāk li-madhāhib al-aʿṣār fī-mā taḍammana-hu 'l-Muwaṭṭaʾ min maʿāni 'l-raʾy wa 'l-āthār*, commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*.—*Kitāb al-Intikāʾ fī faḍāʾil al-thalāthat al-aʾimma al-fukahāʾ*, on Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī, Cairo 1350.—*al-Inṣāf fī-mā bayn al-ʿulamāʾ min al-ikhtilāf*, ed. Cairo, in *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil al-munīriyya*.—*al Kaṣd wa 'l-amam fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-uṣūl al-ʿArab wa 'l-ʿAdjam wa man awwal man takallama bi 'l-ʿarabiyya min al-umam*, on genealogies, Cairo 1350; French trans. A. Mahdjoub, in *RAfr.*, xcix (1955-7).—*al-Inbāh ʿalā kabāʾil al-ruwāh*, on the genealogies of transmitters, printed with *al-Kaṣd*.—*Bahdjat al-madjālis wa-uns al-mudjālis*, a book of *adab* composed in verse for al-Muẓaffar and abridged by Ibn Luyūn (see Brockelmann, S I, 629, with other titles).

Bibliography: Ibn Khayr, *Fihrasa*, index; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ii, 640; Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla* (see Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), 7-9); A. González Palencia, *Literatura*, index; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 333-4; Brockelmann, S I, 297, 628-9 (with further bibliography). (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ʿABD AL-HĀDĪ [see yūsuf b. ʿabd al-hādī].

IBN ʿABD AL-ḤAKAM refers to the son and the four grandsons of ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (said to have died in 171/787-88), a wealthy and influential family of legal scholars and historians in 3rd/9th century Egypt. The Banū ʿAbd al-Ḥakam were among those who introduced Mālikism into Egypt. They were also intimately connected with al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*], providing the initial financing of his stay in Egypt. Al-Shāfiʿī is said to have died in their house (Ibn Farḥūn, 134), and he was buried in their family plot. Later, they dissociated themselves from his teaching. Their prominent position brought them the usual share of tribulations. Thus, they suffered persecution during the Muʿtazilī *miḥna* in 227/842, and in 237/851 they were among those accused of having misappropriated the confiscated property of a former high official that the central government claimed for itself. They were assessed the exorbitant sum of 1,404,000 *dīnārs*. Although they were speedily exonerated, they seem to have lost their former prominence and influence as a result of this affair.

1. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who was born in 155/772 and died on 21 Ramaḍān 214/22 November 829, is said to have had direct contact with Mālik. He wrote a number of textbooks on Mālikī legal teaching. Of his writings, only the biography (*sīra* or *faḍāʾil*) of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is preserved (ed. A. ʿUbayd, Cairo 1346/1927). The work depicts ʿUmar as the ideal Muslim ruler by means of bringing together numerous edifying anecdotes, stories of his dealings with his contemporaries, his sermons, his prayers, and his official correspondence, including a fiscal rescript clarifying his financial policies (H. A. R. Gibb, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 1-16). It exemplifies the deep influence of religio-legal thought upon Muslim historiography, and it is particularly valuable as the oldest preserved representative (apart from the *Sīra* of the Prophet) of Muslim biographical writing on the large scale in monograph form.

2. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, the eldest of ʿAbd Allāh's sons, died under torture during the misappropriation trial in November 851. Like Saʿd, who appears to have been the youngest of the four brothers, he did not leave much of a permanent mark.

3. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh was esteemed by his contemporaries as the outstanding member of the family. Born on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 182/27 January 799, he studied with al-Shāfiʿī but later wrote a "Refutation of al-Shāfiʿi where he was in contradiction to the Kurʾān and the *sunna*." It was he who was summoned to Baghdād to subscribe to the dogma of the createdness of the Kurʾān, but he refused to do so and was sent back to Egypt. His works, none of them preserved, included polemical treatises directed against the ʿIrākīs and against Bishr al-Marīsī, as well as studies of special legal questions. In the manuscripts of his father's biography of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he is stated to be its transmitter (an addition in his name appears on pp. 121 f. of the edition). The date of his death is variously given as Wednesday, 4 or 15 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 268/26 May (Thursday) or 6 June (Wednesday) 882, or 269/882-83.

4. Abu 'l-Kāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh (born *ca.* 182/798-99, died 257/871) is famous for his work on "The Conquest of Egypt and the West" (*Futūḥ Miṣr*), the oldest preserved work on the subject (ed. C. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922; another old manuscript in Manisa, General Library 281, 2,

cf. A. Ateş, in *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, iv (1958), 20 f.). Two long appendixes deal with the chief judges of Egypt down to the year 246/860 and with the companions of the Prophet who came to Egypt, and the *ḥadīth*s transmitted there on their authority. The main body of the work consists of a history of Egypt that starts out with the legendary early beginnings and ends with the death of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, following throughout the chronological sequence of events. It then continues with the recital of the subsequent conquests of Northwest Africa and Spain. The author includes important information on such matters as the historical topography (*khiṭaṭ*) of Fusṭāṭ and the problems of financial administration. His point of view (like that of his sources) is that of the legal scholar rather than the historian. Characteristically, he begins with the admonition to respect the original Coptic inhabitants of the country. The section on the Western conquests has been translated into French by A. Gateau (Algiers 1942, 2nd ed. 1947 [1948]); for an analysis of this section as a historical source, cf. R. Brunschvig, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-47), 108-55.

Bibliography: Al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden-London 1912, 199 f., 455, 464 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Djarḥ*, ii/1, 92 (Saʿd), ii/2, 105 f. (ʿAbd Allāh), 257 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), iii/1, 36 (ʿAbd al-Ḥakam), iii/2, 300 f. (Muḥammad) (uninformative, brief evaluations of the standing of these men as transmitters); *Fihrist*, 211 (ʿAbd Allāh); Abū ʿĀsim al-ʿAbbādī, *Ṭab. al-fuḳahāʾ*, ed. G. Vitestam, Leiden 1964, 20 f. (Muḥammad); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, nos. 322, 582 (= Cairo 1948, ii, 239 f. [ʿAbd Allāh], iii, 333 f. [Muḥammad]); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. S. Dedering, iii, 338 f. (Muḥammad); al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 223-5 (Muḥammad); Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351, 134 (ʿAbd Allāh), 166 (ʿAbd al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd Allāh), 231 f. (Muḥammad) [the most detailed information]; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, v, 289 f. (ʿAbd Allāh), vi, 208 (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), ix, 260-62 (Muḥammad). Cf. also Brockelmann, I, 154, S I, 227 f.; the introductions to the editions of al-Kindī, 22-4, of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* (cf. also Torrey, in *EI*[1] s.v.), of A. Gateau's trans.; Ibrāhīm A. al-ʿAdawī, *Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, rāʾid al-muʾarrikhīn al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1963.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ʿABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, his full name being ABŪ ʿABD ʿALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿĪD AL-AWSĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, chief *ḳāḍī* in Marrākush under the Marīnids, and author of a biographical dictionary indispensable for a knowledge of the illustrious men of the Muslim West. He was born, probably in Marrākush, on 14 Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 634/9 July 1237 and died in Tlemcen in 703/1303-4. His work, still in manuscript, comprises several volumes and bears the title *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila li-kitābayni 'l-Mawṣūl wa 'l-Ṣila*, that is to say Sequel and Complement to the *Kitāb al-Mawṣūl fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Faraḍī [*q.v.*], who died in 403/1012-3, and to the *Kitāb al-Ṣila fī akhbār aʾimmat al-Andalus* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], who died in 578/1182-3. It is one of the sources habitually used by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.v.*], Leo Africanus [*q.v.*], etc. In the article devoted to him by ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm (see *Bibl.*) will be found a long list of his teachers and pupils and of his other writings, with numerous references, and even the names of some thirty personages who are of importance for the history of Marrākush and whose biographies are provided by Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.

An edition of the *Dhayl* is in preparation in Rabat (Morocco).

Bibliography: F. Pons Boignes, *Ensayo*, 444; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush* . . ., iii, Fās 1937, 240-3; Brockelmann, I, 581; ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1950, no. 846; I. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits de Rabat*, ii, Rabat 1958, nos. 2214-6. (G. DEVERDUN)

IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM AL-ḤIMYARĪ (or rather *al-shaykh al-faḳīh al-ʿadl* ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH IBN ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM B. ʿABD AL-NŪR AL-ḤIMYARĪ, author of the important Arabic geographical dictionary entitled *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aḳṭār*. Nothing is known of this writer apart from the facts that he came from the Maghrib and that he was a jurisconsult (*faḳīh*) and a *ḳāḍī*'s assessor or notary (*ʿadl*). E. Lévi-Provençal was responsible for the discovery and the publication of a large part of his work (*La péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age, d'après le Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī*, Leiden 1938). In this edition, Lévi-Provençal used several manuscripts (of Meknès, Fez, Salé and Timbuktu) dating from the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. To these manuscripts there should be added two others found after 1938: one copy, preserved in the Nuruosmaniye library in Istanbul, written before the year 1045/1635-6, and another, made in 971/1563-4, and in the library of the *Shaykh al-Islām* at Medina. The Timbuktu manuscript gives the place and exact date of the compilation of the *Rawḍ*, *i.e.*, Djudda, 866/1461. The full introduction to Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī's geographical dictionary reveals that the author used as his main sources three important Arabic geographical works of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries: the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of al-Bakrī (ca. 460/1067-8), the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ* of al-Idrīsī (548/1154) and the geographical treatise entitled *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī ʿadjāʾib al-amṣār* (ca. 587/1154), which is in fact only a rewriting of al-Bakrī's work with the addition of some personal observations by the author. It would seem that the *Rawḍ* might be important for any future edition of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, since the extracts from the latter work which are dispersed in the dictionary of al-Ḥimyarī would, if put in order, give a fuller and at the same time a somewhat different version from that known from the editions of de Slane, Kunik-Rosen and Kowalski. Thus the description of the town of Brāgha (Prague), taken by al-Bakrī from the account of Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb al-Ṭurṭūshī (ca. 355/965-6), is completely different in the extract given by al-Ḥimyarī from the version published by Kowalski. The extracts from the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, which are very numerous especially in the parts of al-Ḥimyarī's dictionary which deal with the Iberian peninsula, could also be used for a complete edition of al-Idrīsī.

The *Rawḍ* was not entirely unknown before its discovery by E. Lévi-Provençal. In fact it is mentioned, before 1067/1657, in the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ed. Flügel, iii, 490, no. 6597), under the title *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī akhbār al-aḳṭār*, as the work of one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, who died in 900/1494. E. Lévi-Provençal had already suggested that this

was the same work as that which he had discovered. This supposition seems to be entirely justified by the fact that the brief description of it given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa corresponds exactly to *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* written in 866/1461 and known thanks to the six manuscripts mentioned above.

The work of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī nevertheless presents a problem not easily solved. In fact, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa lists (iii, 491), immediately after *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, as no. 6598, a second work of the same title as that of no. 6597. The name of the writer of this second work—a writer of whom Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa tells us nothing—is almost the same: *al-shaykh al-ʿumda* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī. In his attempt to clarify matters, Lévi-Provençal comes to the conclusion that there must have been two redactions of the *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* written at different times by two members of the Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī family. A first redaction, which has now disappeared, dates from the end of the 7th/13th century. This hypothesis is supported by two facts: (1) that among the written sources used by al-Ḥimyarī, the great treatises of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are lacking; (2) that the majority of the historical events mentioned in this dictionary do not go beyond the end of the 7th/13th century. The second redaction (of 866/1461) is represented by the numerous manuscripts mentioned above. It certainly seems to be the first, hypothetical, redaction to which the citations in al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) refer. It should, however, be stressed that the problem of the writing and of the author of the *Kitāb al-Rawḍ* still remains open and that it is not likely to be resolved before the publication of a complete critical edition of the work.

It should be mentioned that since 1938, in spite of the continual interest in it since Lévi-Provençal published the passages from it concerning the Iberian Peninsula and southern France (having published also, in 1935, the description of the Pharos of Alexandria), only very brief extracts from al-Ḥimyarī's dictionary have been published. Thus Ch. Pellat published in 1954 a description of Baṣra and in 1956 there appeared that of Crete, published by Lévi-Provençal, and that of the Italian islands and towns, by U. Rizzitano. T. Lewicki published, in 1959-60, the description of Prague (Brāgha) and of the Polish state of Mieszko I (Mishka) and in 1962-3 A. Małecka published that of certain places and coastal regions of East Africa. There should also be added the brief survey given by T. Lewicki in 1960 of all the information on Eastern, Central and Southern Europe scattered throughout the dictionary.

The work acquired a great popularity, albeit almost entirely within the Maghrib. Apart from al-Ḳalḳashandī, who reproduces passages from the earlier redaction, extracts from it are found in al-Maḳḳarī (11th/17th century), in Maḳdīsh (12th/18th century) and in al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī (13th/19th century). The *Djanī al-azhār min al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* of al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442), however, considered by some to be a rewritten version of al-Ḥimyarī's work, seems, as a result of more recent research, to be rather a résumé of the *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* of al-Idrīsī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, art. AL-MAḲRĪZĪ, in *EI*[1]; W. Kubiak, *Some West- and Middle-European geographical names according to the abridgement of Idrīsī's Nuzhat al-muštāḳ known as Maḳrīzī's Ǧany al-azhār min ar-rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959-60), 198-208; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Ar-Rauḍ al-miʿṭār*, in *Actes du XVIII*e *Congrès des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1932; idem, *La péninsule Ibérique* ..., ...; idem, *Une description inédite du Phare d'Alexandrie*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii, 161-71, Cairo 1935; idem, *Une héroine de la résistance musulmane en Sicile au début du XIII*e *siècle*, in *OM*, xxxiv (1954), 283-8; idem, *Une description arabe inédite de la Crète*, in *Studi ... G. Levi Della Vida*, ii, Rome 1956, 49-57 T. Lewicki, *Brāġa et Miška d'après une source arabe inédite*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959-60), 322-6; idem, *Kitāb ar-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, as a source of information on Eastern, Central and Southern Europe* (in Russian), in *Problemï Vostokovedeniya*, iii (Moscow 1960), 129-36; A. Małecka, *La côte orientale de l'Afrique au Moyen Age d'après le Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār de al-Ḥimyarī (XV*e *s.)*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1962-3), 331-43; Ch. Pellat, *Extraits d'une notice inédite sur Baṣra*, in *Arabica*, i/2 (1954), 213-5; U. Rizzitano, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār li-'bn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī. Khāṣṣa bi 'l-djuzur wa 'l-biḳāʿ al-Iṭāliyya*, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-ādāb*, xviii (May 1956), 129 ff.; G. Wiet, *Un résumé d'Idrīsī*, in *Bull. Soc. Royale de Géogr. d'Egypte*, xx (1939). (T. LEWICKI)

IBN ʿABD RABBIH, ABŪ ʿUMAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Andalusian writer and poet, born at Cordova on 10 Ramaḍān 246/29 November 860, died in the same city on 18 Djumādā I 328/3 March 940. A *mawlā* of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he was one of the official panegyrists of the Marwānid dynasty from the reign of Muḥammad I (d. 273/886) to the middle of that of al-Nāṣir (300/912-350/961). He was mediocre in his laudatory poetry, but showed more originality in the erotic verses which he wrote in his youth and to which in his old age he added ascetic poems in the same rhyme and metre called *mumaḥḥiṣāt* ("which efface sins"). His very abundant poetic production had been collected for al-Nāṣir, and al-Ḥumaydī (*apud* Yāḳūt, iv, 215) had seen more than 20 *djuz*'s of it; they included *muwashshaḥāt* [*q.v.*] and also a didactic *urdjūza* on the history of Islam, which is of little value and hardly tells anything new, even on Spain. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih placed this poem at the end of the 15th book of his principal work, in which he scattered a good number of his own productions, *al-ʿIḳd* "The Necklace", which copyists have entitled *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* "The Unique Necklace". To justify his title he divided the work into 25 books (*kitāb*), of which each is divided into two *djuz*'s, and gave to each *kitāb* the name of a precious stone: (1) *al luʾluʾa*; (2) *al-farīda*; (3) *al zabardjada*; etc.; the 13th book is called *al-wāsiṭa* "the central (jewel)" and the last 12 books bear in inverse order the same names as the first twelve, but followed by *al-thāniya*; thus the 23rd is called *al-zabardjada al-thāniya*.

Fundamentally the *ʿIḳd* is a book of *adab*, for which the materials are drawn from the works of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, and other authors who had assembled the elements of Arab culture: it may thus be considered as a sort of encyclopaedia of the knowledge which is useful to a well-informed man and as a more or less successful attempt at orderly classification of the notions which constitute general culture: Book I: Government; II: War; III: Generous Men; IV: Delegations; V: How kings should be addressed; VI: Religious Knowledge and the Principles of Good Conduct (*adab*); VII: Proverbs; VIII: Homilies and Asceticism; IX: Condolences and Funeral Orations; X: Genealogies and Virtues of the Ancient Arabs;

XI: The Speech of the Bedouin; XII: Replies; XIII: Oratory; XIV: the Epistolary Art; XV: History of the Caliphs; XVI: Ziyād, al-Ḥadjdjādj, the Ṭālibīs, and the Barmecides; XVII: *Ayyām al-ʿArab*; XVIII: Virtues of Poetry; XIX: Metrics; XX: Music and Song; XXI: Women; XXII: Anecdotes; XXIII: Nature of Man and the Animals; XXIV: Food and Drink; XXV: Diverse Anecdotes.

A basic characteristic of this encyclopaedia is that, apart from a portion of the above-mentioned *urdjūza*, it contains absolutely no tradition of Andalusian origin and aims simply at acclimatizing in Spain some purely oriental data; the response of the Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] is well known: after reading the *ʿIḳd*, which had been praised to him, he exclaimed in disappointment: "This is our merchandise which is given back to us!" And it is remarkable that Ibn Ḥazm, in his apologia for Muslim Spain, is completely silent about Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih; though it is true that his compatriot al-Shaḳundī, in his *Risāla*, makes him a "master of the *adab* genre" (tr. Luya, in *Hespéris*, xxii/2 (1936), 149).

There have been several editions of the *ʿIḳd*: Būlāḳ 1293/1876, Cairo 1303/1885-6, 1305, 1317, 1321, 1346/1927; Muḥammad Shafīʿ prepared indexes and concordances, Calcutta 1935-1937, which have been rendered less useful by the latest edition, of 1940-53, the first to be provided with an index. A certain number of passages relating to the ancient Arabs were translated by Fournel, *Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1836-8. The section on music was translated into English by H. G. Farmer, *Music: the priceless jewel*, Collection of oriental writers on music, ed. H. G. Farmer, v, Bearsden Scotland 1942.

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 300-4, 412-36; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Istanbul 1302/1884-5, 51-3; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 137-40; Ibn al-Faraḍī, i, 37; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, iv, 211-24 (=*Irshād*, ii, 67-72); Ibn Khallikān, i, 32-3; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 161; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 51-7; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 127-9; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, index, iii, 492-3; Brockelmann, I, 154, S I, 250-1; Dj. Djabbūr, *Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih wa-ʿIḳduh*, Beirut 1933; idem, in F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 336-40. (C. Brockelmann*)

IBN ʿABD AL-ṢAMAD, Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad, Abū Baḥr (sometimes called Abū Bakr, though certainly in error), Andalusian poet of the 5th/11th century, panegyrist of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], king of Seville. We have little information on his life, and the dates both of his birth and of his death are unknown. He belonged to a distinguished family, devoted to literature, which originated in the *kūra* of Jaen and was descended from al-Samḥ b. Mālik b. Khawlān, one of the first Arab governors (*wālī*) of al-Andalus. Various members of the family, which was very numerous, occupied important administrative posts in the time of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* according to Ibn Bassām, who quotes in this connexion some satirical verses by an anonymous poet, also preserved by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 359). Of his output in poetry and prose, which was very copious (*ka'smi-hi*, *i.e.*, *ka 'l-baḥr*, according to Ibn Bassām), only a small portion has survived. When al-Muʿtamid, who had most generously favoured Ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, was deposed and thrown into exile, there began "an eclipse of poetry in Seville" (see E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, x (1945), 284-343); to this period must belong several verses in which he bemoans the avarice of the new masters—the Almoravids, for whom he was now writing panegyrics—and his wanderings, in which he encountered no friends (*Analectes*, *loc. cit.*). The memory of the fallen al-Muʿtamid's generosity was to stay with him all his life and faithful, like Ibn al-Labbāna [*q.v.*], to the poet-king, he went shortly after the latter's death (488/1095) to Aghmāt, where he was so daring as to kiss his tomb and to recite, on a feast day, before a large crowd which was moved at the sound of his poetry, a long impassioned elegy in which he called him "King of Kings". This anecdote, of which we possess two similar versions (Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Būlāḳ 1283, 30-1; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, Beirut 1956, 165-7, who has preserved more than a hundred lines) has been used by R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, iii, 175, and by E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 403-4.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, iii (ms.); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 203-4 (in which the editor points out some manuscript sources not used in the preparation of this article); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 497; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (F. de la Granja)

IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Ḥanbalī theologian, founder of Wahhābism, was born in 1115/1703, in the centre of the Nadjd at al-ʿUyayna, an oasis which at that time was enjoying some prosperity. There had already been several representatives of Ḥanbalism in the Nadjd, and the young Muḥammad belonged to a family which had produced several doctors of the school. His grandfather, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, had been *muftī* of the Nadjd. His father ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was *ḳāḍī* at ʿUyayna during the emirate of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muʿammar; he taught *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* in the mosques of the town and left several works of Ḥanbalī inspiration, which in part survive.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's education was begun under his father's guidance. He learned the Ḳurʾān by heart and first studied Ḥanbalī doctrine in the works of *shaykh* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) and in particular in the *ʿUmda*, which, according to *shaykh* Ibn Bishr, was regarded in the Nadjd at that period as having great authority (on this author and on the *ʿUmda* see H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, in the series *PIFD*, Beirut 1950).

The young theologian soon left ʿUyayna, in what circumstances it is not clear. It may be that he had already begun his teaching against the cult of saints and the paganism which was rife among the Bedouin, and that the *amīr* showed little inclination to follow him in this matter. It is also likely that, as the oasis of ʿUyayna offered relatively few intellectual resources, the young *shaykh* felt the need to go and complete his education in other centres.

Little is known of the chronology of his journeys "in search of learning". He performed the Pilgrimage, thus going first to Mecca, where he found the teaching disappointing. The stay which he made after this at Medina was decisive in shaping the later direction of his thought. At Medina, he met especially a Ḥanbalī theologian who was to have a decisive influence on him: *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Nadjdī, who had become a supporter of the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya and who had himself been the pupil of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1071/1661); ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, a native of Baʿlabakk, had himself studied under al-Bahūtī [*q.v.*] and al-

Marʿī; he taught for a long period at Medina and then returned to Damascus, where he continued his teaching at the Umayyad mosque.

At Medina, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb met also, among other *ʿulamāʾ*, Muḥammad b. Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1165/1751), a Ḥanafī, who does not seem to have had a great influence on him, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī (d. 1194/1780).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb went next (it is not known exactly at what date) to Baṣra, which was still an active centre of Islamic culture, and where he seems to have stayed for a fairly long time. The names are known of several of the teachers whom he met at that period, in particular that of Muḥammad al-Madjmūʿī, under whom he studied philology and the *sīra*. Probably also, in a town with such a mixed population as Baṣra, he had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of a wider circle of spiritual groups than that in which he had been educated, in particular the mystic fraternities and the Shīʿī sects. The spectacle of popular idolatry such as the cult of saints, with all its attendant practices which were not easily reconcilable with a strict interpretation of tradition, seems to have led the young *shaykh* to embark at this period on his campaign of reform. His departure from Baṣra, which seems to have occurred in 1152/1739, marks in any case the end of the period of his education and the beginning of his religious and political apostolate.

According to the anonymous author of the *Lamʿ al-shihāb fī taʾrīkh M. b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb* (ed. Aḥmad A. Abū Ḥākima, Beirut 1967), the legendary character of which seems evident on many counts, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, after spending four years at Baṣra, went to Baghdād, where he made a wealthy marriage and remained for five years. He next appeared in Kurdistān, at Hamadān and at Iṣfahān, where he arrived about 1148/1736 at the beginning of the reign of Nādir Shāh and studied philosophy and Ṣūfism. He next went to Damascus and to Cairo. Similar journeys had already been attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

On leaving Baṣra, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb went to Huraymila, where his father (d. 1153/1740) had just settled. It was here that Muḥammad composed his first work on the unity of God (*tawḥīd*) and really began his apostolate, gathering round him his first disciples and thus encountering opposition from the ruling families of the oasis. Some traditions even state that he was disowned by his brother Sulaymān and by his father; these accounts should not, however, be accepted without some reservation, particularly since there exists a dissertation by his father against the cult of saints (*MRMN*, i, 523-5).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb left Huraymila in about 1153/1740 for ʿUyayna, where he spent four years. The oasis was at this time governed by another member of the Muʿammar, ʿUthman b. Bishr, who, like Ibn Suʿūd after him, tried to base his own power on the teachings of the *shaykh*. Muḥammad dreamt of the establishment of a theocratic state in which he would be the juridical adviser. He converted ʿUthmān b. Muʿammar to his ideas, urging him to cut down a number of sacred trees and to destroy some sacred tombs in the surrounding district. At the same time he extended his preaching to the oases of Darʿiyya, of Riyāḍ and of Manfūḥa. He even seems at this period to have gained a following in Darʿiyya, whose *amīr* was then Muḥammad b. Suʿūd; two brothers of the *amīr*, Mashārī and Thunayān, even became supporters of the reformer and took part in the destruction of tombs in the region of ʿUyayna. The Nadjd was at this time in close relationship with the inhabitants of al-Aḥsāʾ, among whom were many Shīʿīs, who tended to be alarmed by the *shaykh*'s preaching.

Because of their intervention (and also that of the Banū Khālid), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb left ʿUyayna. He went to Darʿiyya (near Riyāḍ, the present capital of Saudi Arabia), where he had acquired powerful protectors in some members of the family of the *amīr*, Muḥammad b. Suʿūd. After winning to his cause the *amīr*'s two brothers and his son, the future king ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1215/1801), he finally gained the support of the *amīr* himself, though not without some difficulties, since the hostility of the Banū Khālid was still to be feared. In 1157/1744, the *amīr* and the theologian swore an oath of mutual loyalty (*bayʿa*)) to strive, by force if necessary, to make the kingdom of God's word prevail. This pact, which was always faithfully adhered to, marked the true beginning of the Wahhābī state, which transformed a small Bedouin principality into a legally instituted theocracy. Henceforward it was impossible to separate the destiny of the *shaykh* from that of the Suʿūdī dynasty.

Until his death in 1206/1792, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb continued his activities in the religious as well as the political field. He taught at the mosque in Darʿiyya, wrote theological works and sent out numerous letters to win to his cause new supporters in the Nadjd and the neighbouring regions. He also remained the political counsellor of Muḥammad b. Suʿūd (d. 1178/1765) and, to a lesser degree it seems, of his successor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1765-1801).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's literary and doctrinal works, which have appeared in many editions for the use of Wahhābī missionary activity, are important. Most of his writings are fairly short, full of quotations from the Ḳurʾān and *hadīth*s; the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, his main work, often reprinted and the subject of many commentaries, sets out his teaching in the line of the strictest Ḥanbalī doctrine.

His *Kitāb al-Uṣūl al-thalātha*, written at the request of the ruler ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, is a type of official catechism, which is still esteemed. His *Kitāb Kashf al-shubuhāt*, more polemical in presentation, condemns Muslims who do not practise the true *tawḥīd*.

The *Madjmūʿat al-ḥadīth al-nadjdiyya* (Cairo 1346) mentions several other short treatises by the *shaykh* defining his conception of faith (*īmān*) and of Islam (*Uṣūl al-īmān*; *Faḍl al-Islām*; *al-Kabāʾir*; *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*).

Several of the sons or the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb carried on his work. His son ʿAbd Allāh, who accompanied Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1803-14) on his conquest of the Ḥidjāz in 1805-6 and supported his action in ʿIrāḳ, wrote an important refutation of the doctrines of the Twelvers and of the Zaydiyya, published in the *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa'l-masāʾil al-nadjdiyya* (iv, 47-222; the greater part of volume i of this collection consists of his writings). ʿAbd al-Wahhāb often mentions in his works non-Ḥanbalī Sunnī sources (among them Ibn Ḥazm).

Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the grandson of *shaykh* Muḥammad and also greatly devoted to the principle of reform, was *ḳāḍī* of Darʿiyya; he was violently hostile to the Ottomans and forbade all relations with them. He was sentenced to death by Ibrāhīm Pasha after the capture of Darʿiyya in 1233/1818, while his brother ʿAlī was pursued by the Egyptians and killed at Khardj. Sulaymān wrote a work which is interesting for the study of the relations

of Wahhābism with ʿIrāḳ, the *K. al-Tawḍīḥ ʿan tawḥīd al-Khallāḳ fī djawāb ahl al-ʿIrāḳ* (Cairo 1319).

The doctrine of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was very strongly influenced by that of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and, to a lesser degree, by that of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350), but, beyond these two writers, it is still more closely linked to the formulation of Ḥanbalism as found in the works of earlier writers, such as the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903) or Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/924). Very hostile to the sects which had always been denounced by the Ḥanbalīs as incompatible with Sunnism (Shīʿa, Muʿtazila, Khawāridj, etc.), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb criticized, even within Sunnism, all the forms of *kalām* or of Ṣūfism which tended to introduce into the dogma or the law of Islam innovations (*bidʿa*) considered to be heretical or schismatic. He denounced no less violently the survival, particularly among the Bedouin, of practices going back even to the period of the Djāhiliyya. Although Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's doctrine was condemned or rejected by an important section of Muslim opinion, it was nevertheless to make a powerful contribution not only to a more profound Islamization of Arabia, but also to a general renewal of the Islam conscience immediately before the modern period of intrusion from the West.

Bibliography: Information on the life of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb is to be found in: Maḥmūd Shukrī Alūsī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd al-ḥanbalī*, Mecca 1349, 6-89; Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, *Āthār al-daʿwa al-wahhābiyya*, Cairo 1354; H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, 8-26; idem, *Saʾudi Arabia*, London 1955; see also Margoliouth, in *EI*[1], art. *Wahhābiyya*); H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo (IFAO) 1939, 506-40, and, for the author's place in the general history of Islam, *Les schismes dans l'Islām*, Paris 1965, 321-32; Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London 1966, 196-201. (H. LAOUST)

IBN ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR, MUḤYI 'L-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL ʿABD ALLĀH B. RASHĪD AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR B. NASHWĀN B. ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR B. NADJDA AL-SAʿDĪ AL-RAWḤĪ, born in Cairo 620/1223, died there 692/1292 (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 366). He lived in Cairo under the Mamlūk sultans Baybars, Ḳalāwūn and Khalīl, most of the time as private secretary, *Kātib al-Sirr* or *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* [see INSHĀʾ]. Maḳrīzī describes the rôle he played when Aḥmad al-Ḥākim bi-amri 'llāh was installed as ʿAbbāsid caliph in Egypt in order to legitimize al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars as sultan (661/1262). He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim, which was confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*, and read it in the assembly of dignitaries; he had also composed the *ʿahd* of Baybars which the caliph thereafter read (*Sulūk*, i, 477; for the *ʿahd* see Ḳastallānī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 116 f.). In his office he had to read all incoming letters and to compose all important letters and documents. Thus he wrote an answer to the Abyssinian king who had asked the sultan to instruct the Coptic patriarch to choose him a worthy archbishop (*Sulūk*, i, 616, note); and when the Mongol chief Baraka sent an envoy to propose an alliance with Baybars, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir drew up the letter which confirmed the pact, and read it to the sultan and the *amīrs* (*Sulūk*, i, 497). He drew up the *taḳlīd* by which Baybars installed his son al-Malik al-Saʿīd as heir-apparent, *walī-ʿahd* (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 162, 17 ff.) and the marriage document, *khuṭbat ṣadāḳ*, for this son and the daughter of Ḳalāwūn in 674/1275-6 (*op. cit.*, xiv, 300 ff.). Under Ḳalāwūn he drew up a document nominating as heir-apparent his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in 679/1280 (*op. cit.*, x, 173 ff.; cf. *Tashrīf*, 200 ff.) and then his son al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl (*op. cit.*, x, 166 ff., *Tashrīf*, 246-51). ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn died before his father in 687/1288, and some people said that his brother Khalīl had poisoned him (*Sulūk*, i, 744; *Tashrīf*, 288). There may be a connexion between this suspicion and the report that Ḳalāwūn had refused to put his name to the *taḳlīd* which Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir had prepared for Khalīl, and that he even declined again when it was submitted to him by the son and successor of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Sulūk*, i, 756 f.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, viii, 3 f.). Indeed the name of Ḳalāwūn does not appear in the text. On the other hand Ḳalāwūn had earlier shown acknowledgement of Khalīl, as Khalīl at the truce in Armenia (in 684) swore the oath together with his brother and father (*Tashrīf*, 94), and after Ḳalāwūn's death (689) the army "renewed the oath of fealty" to him (*Sulūk*, i, 756). The author of the *Tashrīf* emphasizes the good relations between the two brothers, which appeared especially when ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn arranged the marriage of Khalīl. To Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was a model, and he wrote a book about him. He himself became an authority, and many of his formulations were used by his followers. He also wrote poems in honour of his sovereigns and on the occasion of important happenings (see *Tashrīf*). Besides official documents he composed books, which were of use to later authors. *Kitāb al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya al-Ẓāhira fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizziyya al-Ḳāhira* was much used by Maḳrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*, chiefly for the time of the Fāṭimids (cf. Becker, *Beiträge*, 23, 30; Guest in *JRAS*, 1902, 120, 125), also by Ibn Taghribirdī (*Nudjūm*, iv, 24, 41, 102, etc.). He compiled biographies of the three Sultans of his time. His *Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars* (parts survive in MS in the British Museum, Paris and Istanbul) was used by Maḳrīzī, Nuwayrī and Shāfiʿ al-ʿAsḳalānī, who made an excerpt, *Ḥusn al-manāḳib* (see Moberg, p. xvii). Ḳalāwūn is treated in the *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa 'l-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961, cited above. The work is anonymous, and although no conclusive proof is adduced it seems probable that it is rightly attributed to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir by the editor (and Casanova), who supplied the edition with his biography and some of his documents. As for al-Ashraf Khalīl, the extant part of his biography is edited by Moberg (see below). He also wrote *Tamāʾim al-ḥamāʾim* about carrier-pigeons (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 231). According to *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 104, there were under Baybars three *kuttāb* in the *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*, and of these Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir was the chief, named *Kātib al-Sirr* or *Ṣāḥib al-Inshāʾ*, and he continued in that position until Ḳalāwūn appointed his son Fatḥ al-Dīn to the office. On this matter there is some obscurity. Maḳrīzī relates (*Sulūk*, i, 682; *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 324) that in 679/1280, just after Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir had composed the *taḳlīd* in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, it happened that Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Luḳmān was dismissed as *wazīr* and returned to the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* as its *ṣāḥib*. Ibn Taghribirdī says (*Nudjūm*, vii, 338) that Fakhr al-Dīn was *Kātib al-inshāʾ* under the last Ayyūbids and the first Turks until Ḳalāwūn made him *wazīr*, and on his recommendation Fatḥ al-Dīn, son of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, became his successor in the *dīwān* and continued in that post. Thus he ignores Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, and even states that Fatḥ al-Dīn was the first

kātib al-sirr (293, 333); so too does al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321/1903, ii, 147, both of them referring to al-Ṣafadī (similarly too, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 382 and Ibn Iyās, i, 101). The reality in this seems to be that this office had earlier been subordinated to the *wazīr* or the *dawādār*, and Ḳalāwūn attached it (following a hint of Baybars) directly to the Sultan. That earlier rulers also had secret secretaries is confirmed for al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 528 f.) and appears too from Ibn Taghrībirdī's relation of earlier usage (*Nudjūm*, vii, 335-43).

It cannot be doubted that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir engaged in much official activity as secret secretary, and it is difficult to identify the rôle of Fakhr al-Dīn in his history. An interesting document is quoted by Ibn al-Furāt, a *taḳlīd* drawn up by the *ṣāḥib al-inshāʾ* Fatḥ al-Dīn in Rabīʿ I 679/July 1280 for Fakhr al-Dīn as commander of Syria (*Tashrīf*, 190 ff.). Fatḥ al-Dīn's activity in this post also is attested by a similar *taḳlīd* for another *amīr* in 678 (*op. cit.*, 26; cf. for 679 also 193, 198), and in other documents in the following years, among them a letter of *amān* to merchants of Sind, Hind, China and ʿIrāḳ in 687 (*op. cit.*, 236). Nevertheless, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir continued his activity during these years. In Djumādā II 679/October 1280 he drew up a *tafwīḍ al-salṭana* for al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ from Ḳalāwūn (*op. cit.*, 200 f.; *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 173 f.); in Rabīʿ II 684/June 1285 he produced a decree about the leadership of the Jews (*Tashrīf*, 218; *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xi, 386 f.); in Rabīʿ I 691/March 1292 he wrote a decree for the initiation of the Kurd al-Hakkārī as a member of the *futuwwa* (text *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xii, 274 f., with German tr. Moberg, 70 ff.; Arabic, 64 f.; German tr. F. Taeschner, in F. Taeschner and G. Jäschke, *Aus der Gesch. d. islam. Orients*, Tübingen 1949). In the same year he wrote a *waḳf* document for al-Khalīl establishing legacies for the support of his *turba* and *madrasa* and for his father Ḳalāwūn's *ḳubba* (Moberg in *Le Monde Oriental*, xii, 1918). For the decree on the Jews the Sultan required and received three drafts, from the two Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhirs, and from a third *kātib*. It appears from all this that father and son were working together for a time in the *dīwān*.

Fatḥ al-Dīn, born in Cairo in 638/1240, served for a short time under Ḳalāwūn and then under al-Ashraf Khalīl, but died in 691/1292. He respected his father highly and built a mosque in his honour, the Djāmiʿ Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, in which the *khuṭba* was first pronounced in 683/1284. It was situated on *al-ḳarāfa al-ṣughrā*, and near it Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir was buried after his death in 692/1293. Also a road was named after him, the Darb Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, in the neighbourhood of his home. He was, as *Kātib al-Sirr*, "the last to stand out among his contemporaries and surpassed his colleagues" (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, xiii, 334).

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i-ii, Cairo 1270/1853, and *Sulūk*, i, Cairo 1934-6; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i-xii, Cairo 1348/1929-1375/1956; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks par Makrizi*, Paris 1840-5; Casanova, *L'Historien Ibn ʿAbd Adh-Dhāhir* (Mem. publ. par les membres de la mission archéologique au Caire, tome vi, 493-505); A. Moberg, *Ur ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd eẓ-Ẓâhir's Biografi över Sultanen el-Melik el-Aśraf Ḥalīl* (Arabic and Swedish), dissertation, Lund 1902; E. Strauss in *WZKM*, xlv (1938), 191-202; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, i, Strasburg 1902; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928; J. Sauvaget, *Historiens Arabes* (Initiation à l'Islam), Paris 1946; Brockelmann, I, 318 f., S I, 551. A partial edition and translation of the life of Baybars is given in Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca 1956 (cf. reviews by Cl. Cahen in *Arabica*, v (1958), 211-2 and by P. M. Holt in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 143-5); a fuller text, preserved in MS Fatih 4367, was edited by Dr A. A. Khowaiter (London Ph.D. thesis 1960), and is to be published.

(J. Pedersen)

IBN ʿABDAL [see al-ḤAKAM b. ʿABDAL].

IBN ʿABDŪN, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Fihrī, was an Andalusian *kātib* and poet born in Evora. Early in life his talents attracted the attention of the governor of this city, ʿUmar Ibn al-Afṭas, and he became his secretary when the latter became ruler of Badajoz [see baṭalyaws] assuming the *laḳab* al-Mutawakkil, in 471/1078 [see afṭasids]. After the fall of the dynasty and the capture of Badajoz in 487/1095 by the Almoravid general Sīr b. Abī Bakr, Ibn ʿAbdūn entered the service of the Almoravids and became *kātib* to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn and to his son ʿAlī. He died in Evora in 529/1134.

ʿIbn Abdūn had a high literary culture (he is said to have known the *Aghānī* by heart), and was much sought after on account of his learning (the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] and Ibn Zarḳūn are said to have been among his pupils). He is esteemed as a prose-writer and a talented poet, but there have survived only a few specimens of his official and private prose writings and of his verse, except for a well-known *ḳaṣīda* which made him famous. It is a *rāʾiyya* known by the name of *al-Bassāma*, composed after the fall of the Afṭasids. After general observations on the vicissitudes of Fate (lines 1-8) and the enumeration of some great characters and races of antiquity who had a tragic destiny (ll. 9-21) the poet recalls the Muslim sovereigns who perished by a violent death (ll.22-44); he then embarks upon the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* (ll. 45-47) and devotes the last lines to the Afṭasids (ll. 48-75). This *ḳaṣīda*, which sets out to call to mind all the kings killed since the beginning of mankind and is an elegy on the end of the Afṭasids, possesses a certain literary merit, yet real lyrical inspiration is missing and it is weighed down by the accumulation of proper names. Nevertheless, it is much admired by Arab critics, who consider it a veritable masterpiece.

In order to be intelligible, the poem needs precise explanations, as was realised by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, better known by his *maʿrifa* Ibn Badrūn, who wrote a historical commentary on it. All we know of this Ibn Badrūn is that he came originally from Silves and was a contemporary of Ibn ʿAbdūn. His work, however, which draws largely on Oriental sources, particularly the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī, has survived and been published, together with the text of the poem and abundant notes, by R. Dozy, as *Commentaire historique sur le poème d'Ibn Abdoun par Ibn Badroun*, Leiden 1846. Hoogvliet had previously published in Leiden, in 1839, the *Prolegomena ad editionem celebratissimi Aben Abduni poematis in luctuosum Aphtasidarum interitum*.

Bibliography: The text of Ibn ʿAbdūn's poem is to be found also in the *Muʿdjib* of Marrākushī (ed. Dozy, 53-60; Cairo edition 1368/1949, 76-87; French translation, E. Fagnan, *Histoire des Almohades*, 65-74; Spanish translation, Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 190-8); reproduced in F. Bus-

tānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 351-2; less complete text in Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 37-40; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 216-8, ²Beirut 1956, 186-9. On ʿIbn Abdūn: Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 831; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 1567; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1937, 42; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v.; Marrākushī, *op. cit.*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Brockelmann, I, 271, S I, 480; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, index; Dj. al-Rikābī, *Fi 'l-adab al-andalusī*, Damascus 1957, index.—On Ibn Badrūn, Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 260 ff. (Ed.)

IBN ʿABDŪN, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, Spanish author of a treatise of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] dealing with Seville. All that is known of him is drawn from his work itself, the two known manuscripts of which give the author's name in two slightly different forms (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nakhaʿī ʿAbdūn, and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn al-Tudjībī). He was either a *faḳīh* or a *ḳāḍī* or a *muḥtasib*, who was perhaps born, and certainly spent a large part of his life, in Seville, in the second half of the 5th/11th and the first half of the 6th/12th centuries, since on the one hand he refers as a direct witness to the early years of the reign of al-Muʿtamid, and on the other speaks of the Almoravids as being already masters of the town. His short treatise, together with the similar work devoted to Malaga by his contemporary al-Saḳaṭī, is a most valuable source on urban, economic and social life in Muslim Spain at this period. The text edited by E. Lévi-Provençal (*JA*, ccxxiv (1934), 177-299; 2nd ed. in *Doc. arabes inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en Occ. mus. au moyen âge*, Cairo 1955, 3-65) has been translated into Italian by F. Gabrieli (*Il trattato censorio di Ibn ʿAbdūn sul buon governo di Siviglia*, in *Rend. Lin.*, 6th series, xi (1935), 878-935), into French by Lévi-Provençal himself (*Séville musulmane au début du XII siècle: le traité d'Ibn ʿAbdūn*, Paris 1947), and into Spanish by E. Lévi-Provençal-E. García Gómez (*Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII*, Madrid 1948). (F. Gabrieli)

IBN ʿABDŪS [see al-Djahshiyārī].

IBN ʿABDŪS, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (202-60/817-73), *faḳīh* of Ifrīḳiya (Tunis). His life, study and thought can be considered typical for those of the generation that followed Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd (160-240/776-854) and tried to follow his example. This Ibn ʿAbdūs was the contemporary and sometimes the rival of Saḥnūn's son Muḥammad; as a learned man (*ʿālim*) he may be considered his superior. Between the two raged a controversy concerning *al-īmān* (the faith) which did much harm to Ibn ʿAbdūs: Ibn ʿAbdūs and his followers (*al-ʿAbdūsiyya*) said that man can be sure of his faith only for the past and present, but not for the future: if he were asked if he were *muʾmin* he should say "*muʾmin in shāʾa 'llāh*". Ibn Saḥnūn and his followers (*al-Muḥammadiyya*) held that this implied doubt and called the theory of Ibn ʿAbdūs *al-Shukūkiyya*. The majority sided with Ibn Saḥnūn, and Ibn ʿAbdūs was obliged to rectify his point of view and even deny that he ever held it. He was deeply pious and well versed in *fiḳh*. He was well-to-do and could dedicate his time to worship and study.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1914, 132-3; French trans. by Ben Cheneb, *Classes des savants de Ifriqiya*, Algiers 1920, index; ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, i, fol. 150; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1350, ii, 90 ff.; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* (ed. H. Monés), Cairo 1951, i, 360-3. (Hussain Monés)

IBN ʿABDŪS, Abū ʿAmir Aḥmad, notable and *wazīr* in Cordova during the regency of the Banū Djahwar (422-62/1030-70). Little is known about his life: he owes his fame to the part he took in the affairs of Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī [*q.v.*]. Jealous of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAbdūs sent her a woman go-between and he seems to have received encouragement. Ibn Zaydūn, enraged, wrote a long letter of insult known as "*al-risāla al-hazliyya*" (the satirical letter), using the signature of Wallāda, and sent it to Ibn ʿAbdūs by the same go-between. The *risāla* became immediately famous because it was an attack on one of the chiefs of the town. Ibn ʿAbdūs avoided any open contact with Wallāda, whose attitude to Ibn Zaydūn had been cooled by the poet's audacity; but after the latter left Cordova for Badajóz and then Seville, Ibn ʿAbdūs took over Wallāda completely, and she remained his mistress until her death. He died in 472/1079-80, at the age of 80.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 289 ff.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, extracts published by A. Bel and M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, no. 2440; Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt* (ed. García Gómez), Madrid 1942, no. LVI; idem, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, Cairo, 61; A. Cour, *Un poète arabe d'Andalousie, Ibn Zaidoun*, Constantine 1920, 31-50; Ibn Zaydūn, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1957, 582, 634, 791; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn fī sharḥ risālat ibn Zaydūn*, Būlāḳ 1279, 6 ff. (Hussain Monés)

IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR [see al-Manṣūr].

IBN ABĪ ʿAṢRŪN, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Saʿd ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Muṭahhar al-Tamīmī al-Mawṣilī, later al-Ḥalabī and finally al-Dimashḳī, was the most important Shāfiʿī scholar of his time. He was born in Rabīʿ I 492 or 493/February 1099 or 1100 at Ḥaditha, studied at Mawṣil and then at Wāsiṭ, with Abū ʿAlī al-Fāriḳī, and at Baghdād, particularly with Asʿad al-Mayhanī and Ibn Burhān (see the list of his teachers in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, 400). From 523/1129, he taught at Mawṣil, then went to settle in the region of Sindjār and was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Sindjār, Niṣībīn and Ḥarrān. In 545/1150-1, Nūr al-Dīn invited him to come to Aleppo. After 549/1154, he accompanied the Zangid prince to Damascus where he taught in the Ghazāliyya *madrasa*, the lectures of which were given in the north-west section of the Great Mosque. He was also appointed administrator (*nāẓir*) of the *waḳf*s. He then returned to Aleppo, where he had had a *madrasa* built, and became again *ḳāḍī* of Sindjār, Ḥarrān and Diyār Bakr. Leaving his son Nadjm al-Dīn to succeed him at Aleppo, he returned to Damascus in 570/1174 to teach at the Ghazāliyya *madrasa* and also in his own *madrasa*. In 573/1183, in the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he was appointed, after the death of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī, to succeed him as the chief Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, the most important juridical office in Syria. In 575/1179-80 he became blind and had to retire. He died at the age of over 93 in Ramaḍān 585/October-November 1189 and was buried in the *madrasa* he had built opposite his house in Damascus, to the west of Bāb al-Barīd.

Nūr al-Dīn had had built for him six *madrasas*: at Aleppo, Baʿlabakk, Damascus, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ and Manbidj. Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn wrote a number of works, which have been lost, but the titles of seven of them are mentioned by Ibn Kathīr, among them *Ṣafwat*

al-madhhab fī nihāyat al-maṭlab in seven volumes, *K. al-Intiṣāf*, and *Fawāʾid al-madhhab*.

His sons Nadjm al-Dīn and Muḥyī al-Dīn taught in the *madrasas* which he had founded at Aleppo and Damascus, followed by his grandsons and great-grandsons.

Bibliography: Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 233; Ibn al-Shiḥna (tr. J. Sauvaget), *Perles*, 110-1; Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAdjamī (tr. J. Sauvaget), *Trésors*, 64-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 283; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iv, 237-9; Ibn Khallikān, *Dict.*, ii, 32-6; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i (Damascus, *MMIA*, 1948), no. 68, 398-406; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid (Damascus, *MMIA*, 1956), no. 83, 49-51; R. Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām*, iv, 279; N. Elisséeff, *Les monuments de Nūr al-Dīn*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 11, 17, 28, 31, 32, 33; D. Sourdel, *Les professeurs de madrasa à Alep aux XII-XIIIe siècles d'après Ibn Shaddād*, in *BEO*, xiii, 86, 100, 108.

(N. Elisséeff)

IBN ABĪ ʿATĪḲ is the usual appellative of the great-grandson of the Caliph Abū Bakr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (= Abū ʿAtīk) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. All that is known of him is that, after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, he married, among others, Umm Isḥāḳ, the daughter of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh. He led an idle existence in Medina, dividing his time between meetings with poets such as ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] or Kuthayyir ʿAzza [*q.v.*] and seeking the company of wits such as Ashʿab [*q.v.*] or musicians and singers like Ibn ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*]. Being a member of the Ḳurayshī aristocracy, he was able in some measure to serve as a link between the rather stern members of the Prophet's family—he often appears with his great-aunt ʿĀʾisha—and milieus where more worldly pleasures were sought after. Authors who speak of him are careful to stress his virtue and irreproachable conduct, in order not to sully the reputation of Abū Bakr's descendants, but they do not hesitate to quote several amusing anecdotes of which he is the hero. It seems that he had little talent for poetry, but that he could appreciate it and on occasions criticise it, and so had no qualms over bursting into song when the circumstances called for it. He would also, it seems, give full rein to his taste for pleasantry. Indeed, his fame rests mainly on his subtle humour, his *ẓarf* and his ready wit. Thus, for example, when the governor of Medina had forbidden singing and revelry, he succeeded in making him alter his decision by cunningly causing the intervention of a woman singer Sallāma al-Zarḳāʾ and adding a few humorous sallies of his own, which made the stern official laugh. Similarly, he used artful means to reconcile ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and al-Thurayyā. We may take it that his fame was well established, since two works at least were devoted to him, bearing the title *Kitāb Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ*. It is difficult to judge the character of the first, by al-Madāʾinī (see *Fihrist*, Cairo edition, 1348, 148), for it forms part of a series of monographs on the Ḳurayshīs. There is, however, no doubt about the second, by Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī, which is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (212) among other writings by the same author on the women singers and *ẓurafāʾ* of Medina. Thus Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ, who is considered the really outstanding *ẓarīf* of the Prophet's city, is cited to authenticate a number of amusing anecdotes which must have been collected in Abū Ayyūb's book and fragments of which are to be found in works of *adab*, but their authenticity is very much to be doubted. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-Bighāl*, 23-5), whilst giving a lesson in criticism over an anecdote in which ʿĀʾisha appears, does not hesitate to accuse the Rāfiḍīs [*q.v.*], in their hostility to the Prophet's widow, of having invented it. Without going that far, we may legitimately suppose that the name of Ibn Abī ʿAtīḳ could well have served to justify the development of the genre of jokes that flourished so much in the early days of Islam [see al-djidd wa ʾl-hazl, nādira].

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 66, 442; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 84; Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Le Livre de la couronne*, transl. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1954, 151-2; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 233; idem, *ʿUyūn*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 285; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 148, 212; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940-53, ii, 291, vi, 207-8, vii, 22 ff.; *Aghānī*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, i, 238, 247, 248; idem, *Djaʿm*, 4, 31, 52 ff., 177-8; Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 278; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 149; F. Rosenthal, *Humour*, 12, n. 1; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 317.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ABI ʾL-ʿAWDJĀʾ, ʿAbd al-Karīm, a notorious crypto-Manichean (*zindīḳ* [*q.v.*]), belonging to a great family (he was the maternal uncle of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*]). According to the most reliable information, he lived first at Baṣra, where (although even this is doubtful) he is supposed to have been a disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], from whom he parted on account of the latter's doctrinal inconsistency regarding the problem of freewill and determinism. What is more certain is that he frequented a very mixed milieu, rubbing shoulders with Muʿtazilīs such as ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ [*qq.v.*], with poets disapproved of by orthodox Muslims, such as Bashshār b. Burd and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs [*qq.v.*] and with other suspect persons. Expelled from Baṣra, he went to live at Kūfa, where he was put to death by the governor Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, in 155/772 or perhaps two years earlier; it is difficult to accept the date 167/783-4 accepted by L. Massignon; it is also doubtful whether one should accept as entirely historical the Shīʿī accounts speaking of discussions carried on over a long period at Mecca between Ibn Abi ʾl-ʿAwdjā and Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*]; the arguments which, according to L. Massignon, would make him the compiler of the *riwāyāt* of the *imām* Djaʿfar are also far from convincing.

This much, however, is clear: the information on this personage supplied by Muslim historians and theologians of diverse tendencies depicts him as a man of dangerous heterodoxy, who, on his own admission, invented numerous traditions, falsified the calendar and spread Manichaean propaganda by means of insidious questions relating to the problem of suffering and of divine justice, and who was a believer in the eternity of the world and in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*).

Bibliography: The sources have been gathered together and discussed in G. Vajda's study, *Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbasside*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937-8), 193 (21)-196 (24), 223 (51)-225 (53); in addition al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, i, Tehran 1375/1955, 74 ff.; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 1953, 219; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², 1954, 182, 201, 205-6 (index to be corrected). H. Taḳīzāda and A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *Mānī ve dīn-i ū*, Tehran 1355 s./1956, index s.v. Ibn Abi ʾl-ʿAwdjaʾ (p. 540).

(G. Vajda)

IBN ABĪ ʿAWN, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD ABĪ ʿAWN B. HILĀL ABI 'L-NADJM, man of letters who flourished in the 3rd/9th century. His *kunya* is variously reported as Abū Isḥāḳ, Abū ʿImrān (Baghdādī, *Farḳ*), Abū ʿAmr (colophon of the Medina MS of his *K. al-Tashbīhāt*, no. 4 below). The above genealogy, given by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*) is confirmed by Baghdādī and by an entry in the Berlin MS of his *Lubb al-ādāb* (no. 6 below). His great-grandfather Hilāl was a well-known poet and secretary; his grandfather Aḥmad was a scholar and poet, whose verses are quoted in the *K. al-Tashbīhāt* (*al-ʿUmda*, i, 205) and the *K. al-Mikhlāt* (184). His father Muḥammad served Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir as chamberlain and was appointed governor of Wāsiṭ in 255/866, during the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz; he too was a poet, and verses of his addressed to Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] are quoted in *al-Muwashshah*, 349.

Ibn Abī ʿAwn, a client of the Banū Sulaym, was a native of al-Anbār, on the Nahr ʿĪsā; he followed the family profession of secretary, whence his designation as *al-Kātib al-Baghdādī*, and was for a time chief of the *shurṭa*. He was the friend of al-Muḳtadir's viziers Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] and Muḥassin b. al-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT]. He was an adherent of al-Shalmaghānī [*q.v.*], and is said to have been hanged for heresy in 322/933 (so *Fihrist*; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*; etc.). In view of the fact that his surviving works contain no sign of heretical beliefs, his execution may have been provoked by political intrigue.

Works: (1) *K. al-Dawāwīn*; (2) *K. al-Rasāʾil*; (3) *K. Bayt māl al-surūr*; these have not survived. (4) *K. al-Tashbīhāt*, a dictionary of similes, ed. M. ʿAbdul Muʿīd Khān, GMS n.s. xvii, 1950. (5) *Lubb al-ādāb fī radd djawāb dhawi 'l-albāb* and (6) *K. al-Djawābāt al-muskita*, listed as separate works by the bibliographers, are probably alternative titles of a single work; extract from (6) publ. in *IC*, xvi (1942), 202-12. (7) *K. Nawāḥi 'l-buldān* (and variant titles), perhaps confused with the famous *K. al-Buldān* of Yaʿḳūbī (*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 147 (Cairo ed., 211); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 296; Ibn Khallikān, no. 186; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, i, 22, 123; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 274; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, index; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v, 62; Brockelmann, I, 154, S I, 188 f.; F. Bustānī, *DM*, i, 365; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, ii, 175; *K. al-Tashbīhāt*, ed. M. Muʿīd Khān, GMS n.s. xvii, 1950, introduction; M. A. M. Khan, *Ibn Abī ʿAwn, a litterateur of the third century*, in *IC*, xvi (1942), 202-12.

(M. A. MUʿĪD KHAN)

IBN ABI 'L-ʿAZĀḲIR [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ].

IBN ABI 'L-BAGHL [see MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ].

IBN ABI 'L-BAYĀN, Karaite Jewish physician of Egypt, whose full name was ABU 'L-FAḌL DĀWŪD B. SULAYMĀN B. ABI 'L-BAYĀN AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ. Born in the middle of the 6th/12th century, he studied with his co-religionists Ibn al-Nāḳid the oculist and Ibn Djāmiʿ, later the physician of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and became the private physician of the Ayyūbid al-ʿĀdil (589/1193-658/1218) and professor at the Nāṣirī hospital. One of his disciples was Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*]. He died in 634/1236.

He left the following works: (1) *al-Dustūr al-bīmāristānī fi 'l-adwiya 'l-murakkaba*, ed. P. Sbath, in *BIE*, xv (1932-3), 13-80. It deals with various drugs, following Galen. Chapter 11, devoted to prescriptions for treating the teeth, has been analysed by M. Levey (in *Janus*, xlix (1961), 101-3) and O. Spies (in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xlvi (1962), 168-70); (2) *R. al-Mudjarrabāt* (MS. in the Bodleian).

Bibliography: G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 665-7; Brockelmann, I, 491, S I, 896; Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 218-9; Steinschneider, *Die arab. Lit. der Juden*, Frankfurt 1902, 195-6; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, ii, 118-25.

(J. VERNET)

IBN ABI 'L-DAM, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤAMAWĪ, historian and Shāfiʿī jurist. Born in Ḥamāt on 21 Djumādā I 583/29 July 1187, he studied in Baghdād, taught in Ḥamāt, Aleppo, and Cairo, and finally was appointed judge in his native city. He went to Baghdād in 641 on an embassy for the ruler of Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, and, in the following year, when he was again on his way to Baghdād to announce there the death of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, he was stricken with dysentery in al-Maʿarra and returned to Ḥamāt, where he died upon arrival on 15 Djumādā II 642/18 November 1244. He wrote two histories, one a brief annalistic work starting with the life of the Prophet and continued to the year 628, dedicated to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, and the other a large biographical work in six volumes, entitled *al-Taʾrīkh al-Muẓaffarī*. Only the former is preserved in manuscript (Ms. 1292b of the Municipal Library in Alexandria being another copy of it). He also wrote an often cited work on Muslim Sects (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 51), as well as legal works on *Adab al-ḳaḍāʾ* (*-ḳāḍī, -ḳuḍāt*), on (it seems) the transmission of traditions *Tadḳīḳ al-ʿināya fī taḥḳīḳ al-riwāya*, and commentaries on al-Ghazālī's *Wasīṭ* (*Sharḥ mushkil al-Wasīṭ*, obviously identical with the *Īḍāḥ al-aghālīṭ*, mentioned by Brockelmann, S I, 753, no. 49 f) and on the *Tanbīh* (of Abū Isḥāk al-Shīrāzī, quoted by Damīrī, under *zarāfa*). A legal opinion from these works was still debated by the Subkīs.

Bibliography: Zaki 'l-Dīn al-Mundhirī, *Takmila* (quoted by Muṣṭafā Djawād in his edition of Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila*, Baghdād 1377/1957, 295 f.); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, ed. Reiske, iv, 480; Taḳī 'l-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwī*, Cairo 1355-56, ii, 474 f., quoted by Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 47; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (quoted by Muṣṭafā Djawād, *loc. cit.*, and Bankipore Catalogue, xv, 8); al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 232 f., 414, 436; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 213; articles in al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* (not available). Cf. also Brockelmann, I, 423 f. (the works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries referred to there do not go back to Ibn Abi 'l-Dam, but to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī), S I 588; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 57.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ABĪ DĀʾŪD [see AL-SIDJISTĀNĪ].

IBN ABĪ DĪNĀR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-RUʿAYNĪ AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, historian of Ḳayrawān. In 1092/1681 or in 1110/1698 he wrote a history of Tunisia entitled *Kitāb al-Muʾnis fī akhbār Ifrīḳiya wa-Tūnis*, printed Tunis 1286/1861-2; tr. Pellissier and Remusat, Paris 1845. It is a mediocre work. Though of interest for the period close to the date when it was written, it is hardly so for any others.

Bibliography: A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghānya*, Paris 1903, Introduction; Roy, *Extrait du catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Grande*

Mosquée de Tunis, Tunis 1900, no. 4960, 50; Brockelmann, II, 457, S II, 682; F. Bustānī, *DM*, ii, 305. (H. R. IDRIS)

IBN ABI 'L-ḌIYĀF, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD, Tunisian chronicler born at Tunis in 1217/1802-3, died in the same town on 17 Shaʿbān 1291/29 September 1874. As secretary and counsellor to the beys, he was entrusted with the delicate missions to Istanbul in 1246/1830 and 1258/1842, and accompanied Aḥmad Bey to Paris in 1262/1846. He played an active part in the drawing up of the *Pacte Fondamental* and of the Constitution of 1861 [see DUSTŪR]. After this date he seems to have fallen into partial disgrace, from which he was rescued only for a short time by Khayr al-Dīn, who was chief minister from 1873.

The work of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf consists essentially of a history of Tunisia from the Arab conquest up to 1289/1872, the *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*. Up to the period of the Ḥusaynids, this chronicle is a summary devoid of originality, but it increases in extent and in interest as it approaches the events which were contemporary with the author.

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IBN ABĪ DUʾĀD [see AḤMAD B. ABĪ DUʾĀD].

IBN ABI 'L-DUNYĀ, ABŪ BAKR ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUBAYD B. SUFYĀN AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Arabic writer, born in 208/823 in Baghdād and died there in 281/894. Although he was a freedman of the Umayyads, he became the tutor of several ʿAbbāsid princes and in particular of those who were later to become caliphs as al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī. Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā was a learned teacher, highly respected for his exemplary way of life; he is counted as a "weak" traditionist only by the Shīʿis (Māmaḳānī, *Tanḳīḥ al-maḳāl*, 7028). He led a pious and ascetic life (*zuhd*), combined with an extensive teaching activity. His writings belong for the most part to the field of edifying literature: he preached patience, humility, penitence, trust in God, hospitality, vigils, silence, frugality, etc., and condemned envy, anger, drunkenness, the use of musical instruments, and "the World" (*al-dunyā*) in general; he treated also single themes such as the merits of Ramaḍān and of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja (*yawm al-aḍḥā*), or general themes such as the moral characteristics which a man should seek to attain (*makārim al-akhlāḳ*), or Joy after Sorrow (*al-faradj baʿd al-shidda*); the titles of a few historical works are also recorded. Altogether Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā is said to have written over 100 works, some 20 of which have survived. Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī even speaks of more than 130 which were known to him. Indeed more than 100 titles can be traced, partly from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, partly from "reading lists" (*fahāris al-shuyūkh*), in which later scholars, recording the works which they have studied, have mentioned also some by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 185; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 494 f.; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 89-91; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-8, vi, 12 f.; idem, *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb*, Cairo 1380, i, 447; Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Damascus 1350, 139; al-Ishbīlī, *Fihrist*, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera (*Bibl. Arabico-Hispana*, ix/1), 268; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 324; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, ii, Ḥaydarābād 1956, 677-9; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, ii/2, Ḥaydarābād 1372, 163; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* (Paris ed.), viii, 209 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, Cairo 1932, 86; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 71; Sakhāwī *Iʿlān*, see F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 327 f., 335, 354, 358, 426, 432; A. Wiener, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 279-91, 413-20 (catalogue of the works of Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, not quite complete); Brockelmann, I[2], 160, S I, 247 f.; Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 349-58; F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 35-42; Yūsuf al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya, al-taʾrīkh wa-mulḥaḳātuh*, Damascus 1947, 82 f., 94 f., 219 f.; L. Nemoy, *Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, New Haven 1956, no. 1434, 1617, 1628; Luṭfī ʿAbd al-Badīʿ, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, ii (*al-taʾrīkh*), Cairo n.d. [1957], 19, 209. (A. DIETRICH)

IBN ABI 'L-ḤADĪD, scholar of wide learning in the fields of Arabic language, poetry and *adab*, rhetoric, *kalām* [*q.v.*] and of the early history of Islam; in addition he was an *uṣūlī* jurist [see UṢŪL] and an eminent writer of prose and poetry. Born at al-Madāʾin on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 586/30 December 1190, he died at Baghdād in 655/1257 or 656/1258, *i.e.*, either immediately before or immediately after the capture of the city by the Mongols (20 Muḥarram 656/28 January 1258); since Ibn al-Fuwaṭī states that he was able to escape the massacre by the invaders by taking refuge in the house of the *wazīr* Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī, and was even appointed *kātib* of the *salla* (the archives of the *dīwān al-zimām*), the second date is the more probable. His full name was ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abi 'l-Ḥadīd al-Madāʾinī; there exists nevertheless a variant for his father's name which, according to the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, was not Hibat Allāh, but Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ḥimāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (on the final page of vol. iv of the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* published in Cairo in 1329, his genealogy is given as follows: b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Ḥadīd). His father was a *ḳāḍī*; of his two brothers mentioned in the sources, one, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Aḥmad (or al-Ḳāsim), less gifted than ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (according to Ibn Kathīr), enjoyed a certain fame as a jurist, a man of letters and a poet; the other, Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad, *kātib* of the *waḳf*s of the Niẓāmiyya and also a poet, died at the age of thirty-four in 598/1201 (Ibn al-Sāʿī, 88).

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd spent his youth in his native town, studied there the doctrines of *kalām* and showed a leaning towards Muʿtazilism; it was at al-Madāʾin, where Shīʿism was predominant, that he composed the seven *ḳaṣīda*s known as *al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, which are strongly Shīʿī in tone

He then went to Baghdād, where he mixed with scholars and moderated his opinions. He there enjoyed the patronage of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, from whom he received gifts, and occupied official positions: *kātib* in the *dār al-tashrīfāt* (office of protocol), then in the *Dīwān al-Khilāfa*, then *nāẓir* in the *bīmāristān* (hospital), and finally director of the libraries of Baghdād (according to Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl, in the introduction to his ed. of the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*). Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd himself relates (Cairo ed. 1329, iv, 41) an episode which throws some light on his work as a civil servant, which did not, however, prevent his devoting himself enthusiastically to learning and to poetry. It was the last minister of the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn al-Alḳamī [*q.v.*], who showed him the greatest favour, there being political affinities (*tashayyuʿ*) and literary connexions between them.

Brockelmann gives information on only five of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd's scientific works, whose titles are given here with some additional information: (1) a criticism of *al-Mathal al-sāʾir fī ādāb al-kātib wa 'l-shāʿir* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (Brockelmann, I, 297, S I, 521), produced on the orders of the caliph al-Mustanṣir and having the title *al-Falak al-dāʾir ʿala 'l-Mathal al-sāʾir*, which immediately gave rise to refutations (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, v, 373); begun on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 633/6 August 1236, this work was completed in fifteen days. (2) A commentary on the theological work *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt* (Brockelmann, I, 507, S I, 923) by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. (3) A commentary on *al-Manẓūma fi 'l-ṭibb* by Ibn Sīnā (Brockelmann, S I, 823). (4) A versification of the *Kitāb al-Faṣīḥ* of Thaʿlab (Brockelmann, I, 118, S I, 181); from the fact that Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd completed this work in twenty-four hours it may be deduced that he composed verses with great facility. (5) The commentary on the *Nahdj al-balāgha*, the famous collection made by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [*q.v.*] (and not his brother, al-Murtaḍā) of fragments of speeches, letters, homilies and maxims etc., traditionally attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Brockelmann, I, 405, S I, 705). This *Sharḥ* in 20 *djuzʾ*, which may be justly described as monumental (four large quarto volumes in the Cairo 1329 ed.), is a mine of information of every sort, each fragment having been used by the author as a peg for explanations and digressions on lexicographical, philological, historical, theological, literary, biographical and other matters (attention should be drawn to the historical excursus, because the author has inserted in his commentary long passages from monographs either earlier than al-Ṭabarī or not used by him); because of its value this work deserves first of all a detailed and precise summary, then thorough studies of all the different subjects (its use will be made much easier by the new edition by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 20 volumes of which have appeared in Cairo); the author spent more than five years on this work (from 1 Radjab 644/1246 to the end of Ṣafar 649/1251; see Catalogue of the Khedivial Library of Cairo, iv (1307), 288); it was presented by his brother al-Muwaffaḳ to the minister Ibn al-ʿAlḳamī and earned him a rich reward (100 *dīnār*s, a robe of honour and a horse). The Zaydī Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Hādī b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (Brockelmann, S II, 242) made an abridged version of it under the title *al-ʿIḳd al-nadīd al-mustakhradj min Sharḥ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd*, which was translated into Persian (Brockelmann, S I, 705). To Brockelmann's list there should be added: (6) *al-Iʿtibār ʿalā Kitāb al-Dharīʿa fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa* in 3 vols.; the author of this *Dharīʿa* is said to be al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, thus probably al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (this work is not mentioned by Brockelmann). (7) *Intiḳād al-Mustaṣfā* (*i.e.*, al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*; see Brockelmann, I, 424, S I, 754). (8) *al-Ḥawāshī ʿalā Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fi 'l-naḥw* (by al-Zamakhsharī; see Brockelmann, I, 291, S I, 509). (9) Some very critical glosses (*taʿlīḳa*) on *al-Maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, I, 506, S I, 921). (10) A commentary (*sharḥ*) on the work *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, a philosophical text by the same Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Brockelmann, I, 507, S I, 923). (11) A commentary on the *Mushkilāt al-ghurar* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (or Abu 'l-Ḥusayn) al-Baṣrī on the *uṣūl al-kalām* (neither the work nor the author is mentioned by Brockelmann). (12) A theological, historical and literary miscellany under the title *al-ʿAbḳarī al-ḥassān*, in which the author has introduced also some pieces of his own prose and poetry. (13) A commentary on *al-Yāḳūt* by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht (Brockelmann, S I, 320). (14) *al-Wishāḥ al-dhahabī fi 'l-ʿilm al-abī*, on which no further details are known.

Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd was also highly thought of as a poet and sometimes described by antonomasia as *al-shāʿir al-ʿirāḳī*; commentaries on his poetry were written by a number of scholars. There are mentioned the following poems by him: (1) the *Dīwān* containing poetry of all types from panegyric to the *ghazal*, but with a predominance of Ṣūfī *munādjāt* and *mukhāṭaba* (several examples are included in the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāghā*, iv, 29-30). (2) The *ḳaṣīda*s known under the name of *al-Ḳaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt* or *Sabʿ al-ʿalawiyyāt*, on which there exist at least four commentaries (Brockelmann, I, 249 f., S I, 497) and the subjects of which are: (a) the capture of Khaybar; (b) the conquest of Mecca; (c) and (d) praises of the Prophet; (e) and (f) the murder of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; (g) praises of the Prophet. (3) The *Mustanṣiriyyāt* composed on the orders of the caliph al-Mustanṣir. Verses by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd are quoted by al-Ṣafadī and by Ibn Shākir in their biographical notices.

All the above information produces an image of a scholar of wide and complex intellectual interests, but not different from many other Muslim scholars. It is the details given by the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt* and confirmed by the *Rayḥānat al-adab* which show Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd to be a more interesting personality. These two sources show how difficult it was to class this author in one or other of the great religious and political movements of Islam; various judgements have been formed on him and, as his position was not clear, writers have resorted to making distinctions: Muʿtazilī for the *uṣūl*, but Shāfiʿī for the *furūʿ* (thus decidedly Sunnī in this field), but objective in his attitude to the *ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*] and explicit in his affirmation of the rights of ʿAlī (therefore Shīʿī); or else it has been suggested that, at first a Muʿtazilī, he later became a Shīʿī; it has also been said that he was between the Shīʿī and the Sunnī parties (*bayn al-farīḳayn*), since he was inspired by a sense of equity (*inṣāf*); his position in relation to the Sunnīs has even been compared with that of ʿUmar b. al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] in relation to the other Umayyad caliphs. Concerning his Muʿtazilism, he has been described as "*Muʿtazilī Djāḥiẓī*", *i.e.*, "following the ideas of al-Djāḥiẓ" [*q.v.*]; and indeed, in the discussion on dogma which he sets out in his *Sharḥ Nahdj al-*

balāgha, he often states that he is in agreement with al-Djāḥiẓ. A thorough and impartial examination of the many polemical passages in his *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* will be necessary before his thought can be better understood and a sounder assessment made of him; it may, however, now be taken as certain that he was not an Imāmī.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ 1299, ii, 209, Cairo 1310, ii, 158 (in the biography of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr), tr. de Slane, iii, 547; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, ix, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1353/1934, 88 and notes on pages 11 of the introd., 77, 229, 262 of the text; *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 456; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Bodl., xvi, 58v.-60r. (s.v. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Būlāḳ 1283, i, 317-9, Cairo 1299, i, 248-50; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1348-66, xiii, 199 f.; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 422-5; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 294, 577, iv, 445, 464, v, 373, 422, 424, vi, 407; *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa 'l-laḳab*, v, Tehrān 1373, 216-8; G. C. Anawati, *Textes arabes édités en Égypte au cours des années 1959 et 1960*, in *MIDEO*, vi (1959-61), 232-5; biography written by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm for his edition of the *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, Cairo 1378/1958, 13-9, with bibl.; see also Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*², iv, 60; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, v, 106. (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

IBN ABĪ ḤADJALA, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Shihāb al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, a poet and prose writer. He was born at Tilimsān in 725/1325 in the *zāwiya* of his grandfather, who is said to have been given the nickname Abū Ḥadjala (lit. 'partridge's father') because a partridge laid an egg on his sleeve. Ibn Abī Ḥadjala left Tilimsān for Cairo, then performed the Pilgrimage, after which he went to Damascus where he studied *adab*, in which he became proficient. He wrote a number of *maḳāmas* and many works in poetry and prose, a number of which are extant (see Brockelmann). He became head of a Ṣūfī monastery outside Cairo, but seems to have been more occupied with general literature than with mystical writing. He wrote *ḳaṣīdas* in honour of the Prophet imitating the style of the *ḳaṣīdas* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, to whose views he was opposed. He belonged to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, but was inclined to the beliefs of the Ḥanbalī. Ibn Ḥadjar says he used to tell the Shāfiʿīs that he was a Shāfiʿī, the Ḥanafīs that he was a Ḥanafī, and the traditionists that he was a traditionist. He died during a plague at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 776/May 1375.

Of his published works, the most important is his *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, for which he used the material on "loves" and "lovers" of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as the *Dīwān al-ʿāshiḳīn* of Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. al-Aʿrābī [*q.v.*], the *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd [*q.v.*], the *Tuḥfat al-ẓirāf* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nawḳāṭī, the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm, etc.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, i, 329-31 (No. 826); *Orientalia*, ii, 440; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, No. 437; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 776 A.H.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, No. 335; J. Robson, *A chess maqāma in the John Rylands Library*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxvi (1953), 111-27. The other writings of Ibn Abī Ḥadjala which have survived are listed in Brockelmann, II, 14 (where no. 8, *al-Ṭibb al-masnūn fī dafʿ al-ṭāʿūn* is treated as a separate work, whereas it is in fact a summary of the *Dafʿ al-niḳma fi 'l-ṣalāt ʿalā Nabī al-raḥma*, of S II, 6, no. 10) and S II, 5-6 (where the title of no. 11, *Durar al-zamān*, etc., should be corrected to *Dawr al-zamān*; the same mistake occurs in the Cairo catalogue, ²ivb, 48). On the sources of the *Dīwān al-ṣabāba* (several of which have been edited and summarized), the themes of the 31 chapters, and the response given by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*] to the compilation (which was to provide him with the occasion for writing his *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf*), see U. Rizzitano, *Il dīwān aṣ-ṣabābah dello scrittore magrebino Ibn Abī Ḥağalah*, in *RSO*, xxviii (1953), 35-70.

(J. Robson and U. Rizzitano)

IBN ABĪ ḤAṢĪNA, Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. al-Ḥaṣīna al-Sulamī, poet and prince belonging to the great Arab tribe of the Banū Sulaym, which traces its descent from ʿAdnān. He was born at Maʿarra (Syria) in 388/998 and received his early education in his native town (which was at this time an important cultural centre), drawing on the same resources as al-Maʿarrī, then completed his education at Aleppo, frequenting the literary circles there.

At the age of barely twenty he met Thimāl b. Mirdās at Raḥba and dedicated to him a poem which demonstrated his poetic gifts. When the Mirdāsids became governors of Aleppo (from 414 to 478/1023-85) he enjoyed their special favour and continued throughout his life to celebrate their virtues and their exploits. Sent by Thimāl b. Mirdās on a mission to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, he visited Egypt in 437/1045 and dedicated to this caliph a first panegyric, then a second one in 450/1058. Al-Mustanṣir granted him a princely title, which permitted him to lead at Aleppo the life of an *amīr*. Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīna also visited Damascus, where he met its scholars, wrote of the beauties of its situation and composed a fine elegy on the occasion of the death of the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn. Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīna, always loyal to the Mirdāsids, died at Sarūdj on 15 Shaʿbān 457/22 July 1065. Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Zubda*, ii, 73) attributes to him a poem written in honour of Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh after the taking of Aleppo in 473/1080, but the author of this must be another man of the same name—or perhaps there is confusion with Ibn Ḥayyūs [*q.v.*].

He wrote panegyrics, love poetry, descriptive and elegiac poetry, but his main work was in the field of panegyric. He was distinguished by the quality of his language, his themes remaining the traditional ones.

Ibn Ḥaṣīna's *dīwān* was published in two volumes at Damascus in 1956 by Muḥammad Asʿad Ṭalas. The first volume contains the poems, the second a commentary on them by Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī, from which it may be deduced that he sent his poems to Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī for him to comment on them.

This edition is based on a manuscript in Baghdād (Iraqi Museum no. 1261) and on another in the Escurial, no. 275. It is evident that this edition does not contain the whole of the poet's work, since the commentary by Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī contains some first lines (*maṭlaʿ*) of poems which are not found in the published collection.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 239; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, x, 90-118; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, v, MSS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya Library, nos. 3369 and 3370; Ibn al-Wardī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 365; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus

1951-4, i, 266, 271-2, ii, 73; Baghdādī (Ismāʿīl Pasha), *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul 1945, i, 484; ʿĀmilī (Muḥsin al-Amīn), *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Damascus 1948, xxvi, 273-84; Zuruklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 212; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iii, 237; Ḥ. Djāsir, in *MMIA*, xxiv, 526-36; M. Djawād, in *MMIA*, xxxii, 533-9, 681-4; ʿA. Maymanī, in *MMIA*, xxxii, 697; see also *EI*[1], s.v. *Mirdāsids*.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN ABĪ ḤUDHAYFA [see MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ ḤUDHAYFA].

IBN ABĪ KHAYTHAMA, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Zuhayr (= Abū Khaythama) b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Nasāʾī al-Baghdādī, traditionist, genealogist, historian and poet, born at Nasāʾ in 185/801, died at Baghdād in 279/892 (the dates 205/820 and 299/911-2 are probably too late). The son of Abū Khaythama (d. 243/857), who was the author of a *K. al-Musnad* and a *K. al-ʿIlm* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 321), he was the pupil of Ibn Ḥanbal in *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī in genealogy, of al-Madāʾinī in history and of Muḥammad b. Sallām in literature. The *Fihrist* mentions among his works *K. al-Muntamin* (?), *K. al-Aʿrāb*, *K. Akhbār al-shuʿarāʾ* and *K. al-Taʾrīkh*; the last, used by al-Masʿūdī, much admired by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and well-known in Spain, —see especially IBN ḤUBAYSH—has survived (for the manuscripts see Brockelmann; the edition planned in Ḥaydarābād does not seem to have been published). Nothing is known of Ibn Abī Khaythama's life except that he was accused of *ḳadar* and that he was in contact with ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*].

His son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (who died perhaps in 299/911-2) is the author of a *K. al-Zakāt* and of an unfinished *K. al-Taʾrīkh*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 321; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 174; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iv, 162-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 35-7; Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, 22; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 156; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 208, 376 (= ed. Pellat, §§ 1971, 2129); Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, 43-4; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 302; Brockelmann, S I, 272; (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ABĪ KHĀZIM [see BISHR B. ABĪ KHĀZIM].

IBN ABĪ LAYLĀ, appellation of two persons who figure in the early history of Islam.

I.—Abū ʿĪsā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (= Yasār or Dāwūd) b. Bilāl b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ al-Anṣārī, *tābiʿī* of Kūfa, who was born in 17/638. He collected traditions which he heard from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and other Companions, was present, on ʿAlī's side, in the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL], and took part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. There are varying accounts of how he lost his life. In *isnād*s, where he figures as one of the first links after the Companions, he is often quoted under the name Ibn Abī Laylā al-Akbar.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 389-90; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 5192; Tirmidhī, ii, 189, 257; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 144. (Ch. Pellat)

II.—His son, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā, born in 74/693 (Ibn Khallikān), or rather in 76, because he was 72 years old (Ibn Saʿd) when he died in 148/765. He remembered little of his father. Shaʿbī and ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ [*qq.v.*] are named as his teachers (Bukhārī); later biographers give extended lists of his authorities and his disciples in traditions. But Ibn Abī Laylā took no part in circulating "legal" traditions; the few traditions in the *isnād* of which he appears, are "historical" or edifying in character (Wakīʿ, Ṭabarī). From an early period onwards, it was not his truthfulness but his memory and reliability as a transmitter of traditions that was impugned; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal preferred his *fiḳh* to his *ḥadīth*, and this judgment has remained typical. The descent of Ibn Abī Laylā from his ancestor Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ was questioned, apparently without reason, by Ibn Shubruma, his rival and predecessor as *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa, and by others, and satirical verses by Ibn Shubruma against him are quoted. Professional jealousy seems to have been at the root of this, and also of some hostility between Ibn Abī Laylā and Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*]. But the main anecdote explaining the origin of this hostility (in Wakīʿ and in Ibn Khallikān) is not historical because Ibn Abī Laylā refers in it to Abū Ḥanīfa, who was his contemporary, as a "youngster" (*shābb*). Other items in the biography of Ibn Abī Laylā in Wakīʿ are anecdotal, too, but it is presumably authentic that Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*] considered him and Ibn Shubruma to be the two great specialists in Islamic religious law in Kūfa.

Ibn Abī Laylā was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa by the recently appointed governor ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in 123/741, and he held this office under the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids, except for an interval, at his own request, under the Khāridjī usurper al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays, until his death. He based his judgments, as was customary in his time, on his own considered opinion (*raʾy*). A work on the law of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*) went under his name (*Fihrist*). He was succeeded as *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa by his nephew, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā, who, however, died soon afterwards. His distinctive doctrine in Kūfa still had followers in the time of Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820).

A treatise of Shāfiʿī (*Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 87 ff., surprisingly called *Kitāb al-Asmāʾ wa 'l-ḳabāʾil* in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 42, No. 9838) is concerned with the differences between Ibn Abī Laylā and Abū Ḥanīfa concerning technical details of legal doctrine. Ibn Abī Laylā represents, generally speaking, an older stage of doctrine than his contemporary Abū Ḥanīfa, that is to say, he is more conservative; he also pays more regard to judicial practice. Ibn Abī Laylā's doctrine, taken as a whole, shows a considerable amount of technical legal thought, but it is generally of a primitive kind, somewhat clumsy and untrained, and therefore shortsighted and often unfortunate in its results. The striving for systematic consistency, the action of general trends and principles pervade his whole doctrine. A rigid formalism is perhaps the most persistent and typical feature of his legal thought. Ibn Abī Laylā's practical, commonsense reasoning often takes material, and particularly Islamic ethical, considerations, into account. There are numerous traces of his activity as a *ḳāḍī* in his doctrine, last but not least his conservatism.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 249; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, i, Ankara 1963, §§ 828 and 833; al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, i, No. 180; Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-Shīʿa*, 7; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, iii, 129-49, and index, esp. 95 f., 107, 108; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 248; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, index; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Djarḥ wa'l-taʿdīl*, iii, No. 1739; *Fihrist*, 202 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *s.v.*; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1333, i, 162 (Ṭabaḳa v, No. 12); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb*, ix, No. 501; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iv, 396 (end of No.

8967), v, 42 (No. 9838); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, i, 224; J. Schacht, *Origins*, index; idem, *Introduction*, 44. (J. Schacht)

IBN ABĪ MUSLIM [see YAZĪD B. DĪNĀR].

IBN ABĪ RABĪʿA [see ʿUMAR B. ABĪ RABĪʿA].

IBN ABĪ RANDAḲA [see AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ].

IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Shaybānī al-Kātib al-Maghribī al-Ḳayrawānī, was the tutor and astrologer of the Zīrid prince, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-54/1016-62), who held his court at Ḳayrawān till 449/1057, and a leading official of his administration (H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, *passim*); he was also the patron of the most distinguished poet at al-Muʿizz's court, Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064), who dedicated to him his *ʿUmda fī maḥāsin*. It is unlikely that he is identical with the Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maghribī whom al-Ḳifṭī (*Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 351-3) lists among the witnesses to observations of the summer solstice and the autumn equinox in Baghdād in 378/988; and, though his tombstone is said to be dated 426/1034-5 (Idris, 810, n. 197), he must in fact have lived several years longer, as he mentions the death (in 1037) of the Kalbī *amīr* of Sicily, Aḥmad b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn (*Kitāb al-Bāriʿ*, iii, 22). In the same passage he refers to a Ḥabūs b. Ḥumayd, who may be identical with the governor of Nefta (Idris, 197) who was disgraced in 439/1047-8; and to an ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad of al-Manṣūriyya, who may be the son of the *ḳāḍī* (Idris, 560) who fled to Egypt in or shortly after 440/1049.

The *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ fī aḥkām al-nudjūm* which contains these references is Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's most important scientific work. It is a vast compendium in eight books on four types of astrology: interrogations (1-3), nativities (4-6), catarchic astrology (7), and general (including political and historical) astrology (8). Besides some two dozen manuscripts of the Arabic text there exists an Old Castilian translation (only the first five books survive) made by Yehudā ben Moshē for Alfonso the Wise in 1254. This Old Castilian version was twice translated into Latin (which in turn was three times turned into Hebrew), and once into Old Portuguese; probably from the Latin are also derived the French and English versions. This prodigious quantity of material in European languages accounts for most of what interest has been shown in Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl in modern times; in fact, however, the *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* is largely copied (often inaccurately) from astrological compilations of the 3rd/9th century which still survive in Arabic.

Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's other astrological works include an *Urdjūza fi 'l-aḥkām* (the *Urdjūza fī dalīl al-raʿd* may be a part of this), which was commented on by Kamāl al-Tūrakānī in 755/1354 and by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. al-Ḳunfūdh al-Ḳusṭanṭīnī in 774/1372. His *Kitāb fi 'l-rumūz* and his *zīdj* entitled *Ḥall al-ʿaḳd wa-bayān al-raṣd* are lost.

Bibliography: The best (and virtually only) work referring to Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's career in and influence on the court of al-Muʿizz is that by Idris cited in the text. His scientific career is even less studied. Some bibliographical and biographical material will be found in Suter, 100; Sarton, i, 715-6; and Brockelmann, I, 256 and S I, 401, which can be supplemented from the articles of Nykl and Hilty mentioned below. The only studies of Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl's use of sources are both by V. Stegemann: *Der griechische Astrologe Dorotheos von Sidon und der arabische Astrologe Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAli ibn abi 'r-Riğāl, genannt Albohazen*, Heidelberg 1935, and *Astrologische Zarathustra-Fragmente bei dem arabischen Astrologen Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī i. abī 'r-Riğāl (11. Jhdt.)*, in *Orientalia*, NS vi (1937), 317-36 (a substantial part of this latter article is reprinted in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, Paris 1938, ii, 233-40). For the various translations of the *Kitāb al-Bāriʿ* consult the following: Old Castilian—A. R. Nykl, *Libro Conplido en los Juizios de las Estrellas*, in *Speculum*, xxix (1954), 85-99; and G. Hilty, *El Libro Conplido en los Iudizios de las Estrellas*, Madrid 1954 (edition of the text), and an article of the same title in *al-Andalus*, xx (1955), 1-74 (*contra* Nykl); Latin—the several Latin translations (along with the French and English versions), their many manuscripts, and their numerous editions are listed by F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956, 150-4; Hebrew—M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, Berlin 1893, 578-80; and Old Portuguese—I. González Llubera, *Two old Portuguese astrological texts in Hebrew characters*, in *Romance Philology*, vi (1952-3), 267-72.

(D. Pingree)

IBN ABI 'L-RIDJĀL, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, historian, theologian, jurisconsult and poet, of the Zaydī sect of the Yemen. He was born in Shaʿbān 1029/July 1620 at al-Shabaṭ, in the region of al-Ahnūm, to the west of Ṣanʿā', and spent all his life in the Yemen; he died on the night of Tuesday 5 or Wednesday 6 Rabīʿ I 1092/24-5 or 25-6 March 1618 at the age of 62 years 7 months, and was buried at al-Rawḍa. The biography composed by his brother Muḥammad (MS Ambrosiana nuovo fondo 256, fols. 2-11) contains a wealth of minute details on the curriculum of his studies and provides evidence of the exceptional learning which he acquired, having as his teacher the most learned Zaydīs of his day (among them the *imām* al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim and the *shaykh*s Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyadī, ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Durayb, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Ḳāsim, Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Miswarī, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Suḥūlī), as well as many doctors of various schools. His fame earned him the friendship of the *imām* al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḳāsim (d. 1087/1677), who employed him as secretary and court orator (*khaṭīb Ṣanʿā'*).

The work on which is rightly based his claim to fame is an alphabetically arranged collection of about 1300 biographies of famous Zaydīs, of military as well as literary importance, of ʿIrāḳ and the Yemen: (1) the *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr wa-madjmaʿ al-buḥūr*. This monument of doctrine, which until the beginning of this century was thought to be lost, is an almost unique source of information, and all the more valuable because the Zaydīs took especial care to remain silent on everything which concerned themselves; in addition, it contains a number of facts, drawn from sources which now exist only in part, which concern not only the history, but also the geography and the archaeology of the Yemen.

With a few exceptions, of the remainder of his works only the titles remain. They consist of: (a) biographical and genealogical works, such as (2) *Taysīr al-iʿlām bi-tarādjim tarādjimat al-tafsīr al-aʿlām* (biographies of Ḳur'ān commentators); (3) *Inbā' al-abnā' bi-ṭarīḳat salafihim al-ḥusnā djāmiʿ li-nasab Āl Abi 'l-Ridjāl* (the genealogy

of his own family); (4) *Taʿlīḳ* (gloss) on *al-Mushadjdjar* (genealogy of the Zaydī imāms) of Ibn al-Djalāl (MS Ambrosiana 68/1); (b) theological and juridical works: (5) *Iʿlām al-muwālī bi-kalām sādātihi al-aʿlām al-mawālī* (MS Br. Mus. Suppl. 217/2); (6) *Taysīr* (*Tafsīr*) *al-Sharīʿa* (MS Br. Mus. Suppl. 217/1); (7) *al-Riyāḍ al-nadiyya fī anna 'l-firḳa al-nādji'a hum al-Zaydiyya*; (8) *al-Mawāzīn al-radjīḥa li 'l-barāhīn al-ṣaḥīḥa*, commentary on *al-ʿAḳīda al-ṣaḥīḥa* by the *imām* al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl; (9) *Madjālis al-tafhīm*; (10) *al-Wadjh al-awdjah fī ḥukm al-zawdj allādhī ḍayyaʿ al-zawdja*; (11) *Madjāz man arād al-ḥaḳīḳa min murād al-ḥaḳīḳa*; (12) *al-Hadiyya ilā man yuḥibb wa 'l-hidāya ilā man yuḥabb*; (13) *al-Djawāb al-shāfī li 'l-ṣadā ilā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḍamadī*; (14) *Tadhkirat al-ḳulūb allatī fi 'l-ṣudūr fī ḥayāt al-adjsām allatī fi 'l-ḳubūr*; (15) *Rasā'il* on various subjects; (c) works of Ḳur'ānic exegesis, such as (16) *Bughyat al-ṭālib wa-sūluh fī sabab "innamā Waliyyukum Allāh wa-Rasūluh"* (Ḳur'ān, V, 60); (d) philological works, such as (17) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā lafẓ al-azhār*; (e) poetry: (18) *Dīwān*, consisting of poems of a mainly religious character, some fragments of which are contained in his biography, while several others are cited in the *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, i, 220; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 59-61, n. 36; E. Griffini, *Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano*, in *RSO*, iv, 1046-8. (R. Traini)

IBN ABI 'L-SĀDJ [see MUḤAMMAD B. ABI 'L-SĀDJ].

IBN ABI 'L-ṢAḲR [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUMAR].

IBN ABI 'L-ṢALT [see UMAYYA B. ABI 'L-ṢALT].

IBN ABI 'L-SAMḤ [see MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-SAMḤ].

IBN ABĪ SARḤ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD].

IBN ABĪ SHANAB (in Algerian dialect BEN-SHNEB and officially in French BEN CHENEB) MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿARABĪ, Algerian teacher and Arabist, born at Taḳbu, near Médéa (Algeria) on 10 Radjab 1286/26 October 1869 and died at Algiers on 27 Shaʿbān 1347/5 February 1929.

Some of his ancestors, who were natives of Bursa, were officers in the Turkish army stationed in Egypt, and at least one of them settled in Algeria. His grandfather, retired from the Turkish army, died at Médéa during the siege of this town (May-June 1840) by the *amīr* Abdelkader (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazā'irī [*q.v.*]). His father was a small farmer on the outskirts of Médéa and his mother, a Bāshtarzī, was also of Turkish descent.

He was educated for a short time at the Ḳur'ānic school, then at the École Française, next at the Collège de Médéa (now the Lycée Ben Cheneb) and finally, for a year, at the teacher's training college at Bouzaréa near Algiers; in 1888, at the age of 19, he became a teacher at Tāmdjāret, in the *douar* of Wāmrī, in the mixed commune of Djendel, 30 kilometres from Médéa. Four years later he was transferred to the Fātaḥ school at Algiers; there he remained for six years, which were to be decisive in his development and his career. While teaching French to the Muslim children of the casba, he was himself attending lectures in the lycée, in the mosques and in the École des Lettres, as well as receiving private lessons. His teachers were the *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm b. Smāya, a rabbi of Algiers, Ben Sedira, Cat, Fagnan, and René Basset. He studied also on the one hand Arabic rhetoric, formal logic, theology, *ḥadīth*, genealogy and Hebrew, and on the other, a little Latin, Spanish, German, Persian and Turkish. He passed successfully the first part of the *baccalauréat* and the *brevet* and the diploma in Arabic of the École des Lettres of Algiers. Having caught smallpox, he was prevented from taking the second part of the *baccalauréat*. With these qualifications, however, he was appointed as a replacement for a year for his master Ben Sedira at the École des Lettres.

On 22 May 1898, at the age of 29, he was appointed a teacher at the *madrasa* at Constantine and taught, for the first time, in Arabic *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *adab*, *fiḳh*, to students little younger than himself. He remained at Constantine for less than three years, and his memories of it were not happy.

On 20 April 1901 he was transferred to the *madrasa* at Algiers, where he remained until 1926. In 1903, he was appointed to run simultaneously at the École des Lettres a course on Arabic prosody, and courses in the translation of legal documents and in colloquial Arabic. In 1904, he agreed to give in addition a course in *ḥadīth*, based on the collection of al-Bukhārī, at Djāmiʿ Safīr in the Casba of Algiers.

When in 1908 the University of Algiers was created, Ibn Abī Shanab was appointed to lecture in the Faculté des Lettres, while retaining his chair at the *madrasa*. It was at this time that he showed his abilities both as a teacher and in research. His excellent teaching gained him the attention and the veneration of an audience which increased daily. He published books and articles in increasing numbers. He travelled occasionally, notably to Oran and Constantine and to Tunisia and Morocco, presiding over boards of examiners, taking part in scientific congresses and discussions. He was in touch with many orientalists outside Algeria and corresponded with Codera and Miguel Asín Palacios in Spain, with E. Griffini in Italy, with Krachkovsky in Russia, with Aḥmad Taymūr in Egypt, with Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Tunisia, with the members of the Arab Academy at Damascus, and with many *ʿulamā'* in Morocco and elsewhere.

His scholarship was recognized in 1920 by his election as a member of the Arab Academy at Damascus and, in 1922, the award of the degree of Docteur ès lettres d'État by the University of Algiers. In 1924, he was appointed professor in the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Algiers, succeeding to the chair of Arabic language and literature left vacant by René Basset. In July 1928 he represented Algiers University at the 17th International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford.

Such a career, rare even in France and elsewhere, was without precedent in Algeria, and even until the present there has been none to equal it. The man who achieved it was exceptional, endowed with a robust constitution and an inflexible will, which made him a tireless worker and a patient, stubborn and methodical scholar. His association with scholars like Fagnan and Basset had made him quick to seize the positive side of modern methods of work, based on scientific discipline, without leading him to underestimate the fundamental values of his background, to which he remained faithfully attached, refusing to change his style of dress or his personal beliefs and adhering scrupulously to his code of behaviour as a strict but enlightened Muslim.

His scholarly works are spread over about thirty years. They were prolific between 1906 and 1913, ceased for a period during the First World War, and were resumed between 1918 and 1928. They cover a very wide field, in many disciplines: pedagogy,

education, Muslim law, *ḥadīth*, popular poetry, proverbs, lexicography, grammar, poetry, metrics, sociology, and history. They show traces of the pedagogical training which he received at the École Normale and reflect the various subjects which he had to teach in the *madrasas*, in the mosque and in the Faculté des Lettres. They consist, in chronological order, of the following:

(1) Fr. tr. of al-Fāsī (Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir), *al-Taysīr wa 'l-tashīl fī dhikr mā aghfalahu 'l-shaykh Khalīl min aḥkām al-mughārasa*, under the title: *La plantation à frais communs en droit malékite*, in *Rev. algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de droit et de législation*, Algiers 1895, 13 pages; (2) edition and Fr. tr. of an anonymous treatise entitled *Khātima fī riyāḍat al-ṣibyān wa-taʾdībihim wa-taʿlīmihim wa-mā yalīḳ bi-dhālika*, under the title *Notions de pédagogie musulmane*, in *RAfr.*, 1897, 267-85; (3) *Itinéraire de Tlemcen à la Mekke par Ben Msāyeb, poète populaire tlemcénien du XVIIIe s.*, text and Fr. tr. in *RAfr.*, xliv (1900), 261-82; (4) Fr. tr. of a "Treatise on the education of children" by al-Ghazālī (publ. Tunis 1314/1898), in *R.Afr.*, 1901, 101-10; (5) *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb*, 3 vols., Paris 1904; (6) *De la transmission du recueil de traditions de Bokhary aux habitants d'Alger*, in *Rec. de mém. et de textes publiés par les professeurs de l'École des Lettres et des Médersas d'Algérie*, Algiers 1905, 99-116; (7) *Revue des ouvrages arabes édités ou publiés par les Musulmans en 1322 et 1323 (1904-1905)*, in *RAfr.*, 1906, 261-96; (8) *Notice sur un manuscrit du Ve s. de l'hégire intitulé "Kitāb Ṭabaqāt ʿUlamā Ifrīqiya"*, in *JA*, 1906, 343-60; (9) *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjāza du cheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī*, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, Paris 1907, iv, 168-560 (360 scholars); (10) *La guerre de Crimée et les Algériens, poème populaire de Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (poète algérois, 1820-1870)*, in *RAfr.*, 1907, 162-222; (11) *De l'origine du mot chéchia*, in *RAfr.*, 1907, 55-6; (12) edition of Ḳuṭrub, *Muthallathat ʿallāmat al-anām, ḳāmūs al-balāgha wa-nibrās al-afhām*, Algiers 1907 (cf. 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liyya fi 'l-lugha al-sāmiyya, in *Ifrīḳiya*, 1928, and in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djilālī, *op. cit.*, 45-50; (57) posthumous revised and corrected edition of M. Beaussier's *Dictionnaire*, Algiers 1931, Paris 1958.

In addition to these works: (a) 63 articles in *EI*¹: 10 in vol. i, 42 in vol. ii, 11 in vol. iii and one in vol. iv; 49 of these are biographies of writers, the majority of them Maghribī, 13 are short notes on Arabic prosody, and one is a summary of the history of ʿAshīr; (b) three brief notes published in the *RAAD*, 1927, 224 (*Ghazzālī aw Ghazālī*); 1928, 690 (*Īḍāḥ wa-'stīḍāḥ*); 1929 (*al-Djazā'ir*); (c) various works in verse and in rhymed prose for Arab readers and reproduced from drafts by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djilālī, *op. cit.*, 35 ff. It seems that Ibn Abī Shanab's poetry was written when he was between 30 and 40. His longest poem consists of 58 verses and its aim is to encourage the Algerians to educate themselves; another, of 21 verses, is in honour of René Basset. And finally it was in his private letters, addressed to educated Arab correspondents, that Ibn Abī Shanab felt himself obliged to conform to the old, but still admired, custom of writing in *sadjʿ* (rhymed prose).

His work thus consisted on the one hand of the editing of Arabic texts, often with a French translation and notes, and on the other of original studies in French in the style of the Arabists of the time but relatively brief, works in Arabic being the exception. He was clearly inspired in his preferences and guided in his choice of subject by the wish to make known, or to save from oblivion, the cultural heritage first of Algeria and then of the Muslim West.

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(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ABI 'L-SHAWĀRIB, name of the members of a family, the Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib, which played an important rôle during the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries and provided the Muslim empire, which was at that time in a state of political disintegration but relatively stable doctrinally, with a succession of traditionists, jurists and *ḳāḍīs*. The family was of authentically noble Ḳurashī descent, descended from ʿAttāb b. Asīd [*q.v.*]. It was of Umayyad origin and ʿUthmānī inclination (on ʿUthmānism in the 3rd/9th century, see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 188; see also *Arabica*, iii/3 (1956), 312). The family could enter upon the political scene only when the caliphate, with al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), renounced its Muʿtazilī and even pro-Shīʿī period and renewed its link with the Arab and Muslim past in its Sunnī form. The social rise of the Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib seems to have been one of the minor episodes which mark the reconciliation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate with Sunnism, a reconciliation which was itself the prelude to the establishment of an equilibrium, achieved with difficulty, between the civil and religious powers and the formation of an official creed. In the history of this evolution there appear several persons named Ibn Abi 'l-Shawārib, at first traditionists and, increasingly, jurists and *ḳāḍīs*. They are:

(1) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 244/858). (2) His son, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, *ḳāḍī* from 250 to 261/864-74. (3) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who succeeded his brother Ḥasan on 1 Shawwāl 261/9 July 875; according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1908, this was also the year of his death, but Ibn al-Athīr (vii, 334), followed by Massignon, makes him die in 283. Both al-Ṭabarī and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī report that he remained in office for only six months. (4) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, *ḳāḍī* from 296 to 310/908-13. According to Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntaẓam*, i, 97, followed by Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 401), he was replaced in 298 by his son Muḥammad, who is, however, not mentioned by the other historians (cf. ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, 39). (5) Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, appointed *ḳāḍī* in 317/923 (ʿArīb, 13); the date at which he ceased to hold office is uncertain, as is the date of his death. ʿArīb, 120, seems to imply that he was still *ḳāḍī* in 320/932, but there is some doubt about this.

The first of these, Muḥammad, was mainly a traditionist, who, well versed in both Ḳur'ānic exegesis (he was the transmitter of Yazīd b. Zurayʿ) and in mystic *ḥadīth*, continued Abū ʿĀṣim al-ʿAbbādānī (*apud* al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, ch. Riḍā). He preserved the same strict principles adhered to by the "people of the Sunna" at the time when the latter were no longer in power: he advised his children to hold themselves aloof from public affairs. On the other hand his activities, devoted almost entirely to *ḥadīth*, brought him into contact with men like al-Baghawī, al-Bāghandī, Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*], al-Ṭabarī, *i.e.*, the most eminent transmitters of the second half of the 3rd/9th century. Having contented himself with being an esteemed traditionist, he ended his days in his native town of Baṣra.

Very different was the career of his son Ḥasan, who, with his father, was the most distinguished member of the Banu 'l-Shawārib. At first, being the loyal servant of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, he was sent by this ruler on a mission to the Byzantine frontier. After the assassination of this caliph, he was out of favour under al-Mustaʿīn (248-51/862-6), who deprived him of his office as official counsellor in 250. With the accession of al-Muʿtazz, in 251/866, Ḥasan's fortunes were restored; it was now the turn of the Zaydīs, Djahmīs or Rāfiḍīs to be excluded from the judiciary. The subsequent rulers, al-Muhradī and al-Muʿtamid, retained their confidence in Ḥasan. On his death, his office was entrusted to his brother ʿAlī who, according to the most reliable source, held office for no longer than six months.

From then on the family no longer has a place among the traditionists, but so far as its political fortunes were concerned this was merely a temporary eclipse. Soon, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī was able to play a political rôle. He refused, on the death of al-Muktafī, to let himself be persuaded by the supporters of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who had perhaps thought of him because of the loyalty which his uncle Ḥasan had shown to al-Muʿtazz. This prudence was soon rewarded by al-Muḳtadir, who entrusted him with the judgeship of West Baghdād, a sort of perquisite which reverted at intervals to the family of the Banū Abi 'l-Shawārib.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī (unless it was his son Muḥammad —see above) seems to have performed his office in a way which was very profitable to his own interests. Under al-Muḳtadir, a heavy tax was imposed on him by the vizier Ibn Th̲awāba. He seems on this occasion to have had connexions with the al-Mad̲h̲arāʾī family of financiers in Egypt.

His son Ḥusayn, the last of the Banū Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib to play a part in history, took up again the traditional office of his family at the end of the reign of al-Muḳtadir. Observing the prudence and impartiality traditional in his family, he witnessed important events in public life, for which when necessary he was competent to draw up documents. He directed the funeral of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, who was killed in battle. It is not certain whether he was *ḳāḍī* after 317. He may have held office at the same time as the famous Mālikī *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAmar (H. Bowen, *ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá, the good vizier*, 119), whose jurisdiction is said to have been limited to the western bank of the Tigris. This may have been the revenge of Abū ʿUmar, who had been in disgrace for precisely the period that ʿAbd Allāh was in office, from 296-300 (*Muntaẓam*, vi, 247), and who had been able to recover his post, in 301, only thanks to the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā.

The rivalries between families of semi-hereditary *ḳāḍīs* (Ibn Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib, 4 and 5, against Abū ʿUmar and his son ʿUmar; see *Mantaẓam*, vi, 305) were probably reinforced by doctrinal disagreements and by struggles between clans within the palace of the caliph. It seems that the Banū Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib became Ḥanafīs in ʿIrāḳ in spite of their Meccan origins (their ancestor was to be referred to, rather disparagingly, as *mad̲h̲hab ahl al-ʿIrāḳ*). The vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, as a S̲h̲āfiʿī, may have preferred to have a Mālikī at the head of the judiciary, and there may have been a similar reason, in about 317/929, for the dismissal of Ḥusayn, at the time when, as a result of an unsuccessful *coup d'état* by al-Ḳāhir, al-Muḳtadir's policy was taking a different direction. The arrival of the Būyids did nothing to harm the fortunes, now in their second century, of this family, which the people of Bag̲h̲dād attributed, according to al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī (v, 47) to the virtues and disinterestedness of the ancestor of the dynasty, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik. An Ibn Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib (al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *ibid.*) was still chief *ḳāḍī* of Bag̲h̲dād during the reign of D̲j̲alāl al-Dawla (416-35/1025-44). He was preceded in this post by two earlier members of the family, who are not mentioned in *Ṭabaḳāt* works. The Banū Abi 'l-S̲h̲awārib provided (according to the same source) the Islamic judicial system with 24 *ḳāḍīs* of varying importance. On the whole, therefore, the biographies of the Banū Abi l'-S̲h̲awārib are to be seen against the still rather confused background of the doctrinal history of Bag̲h̲dād.

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IBN ABĪ S̲H̲AYBA, ABŪ BAKR ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM (= Abū S̲h̲ayba) B. ʿUTH̲MĀN AL-ʿABSĪ AL-KŪFĪ, ʿIrāḳī traditionist and historian (159-235/775-849) who came of a family of religious scholars; his grandfather Abū S̲h̲ayba was already *ḳāḍī* of Wāsiṭ, but he is described as *ḍaʿīf* (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 395). Abū Bakr studied at al-Ruṣāfa, travelled "in search of learning" and died at Kūfa after having resided at Bag̲h̲dād. He had many pupils, among them Ibn Mād̲j̲a [*q.v.*], and wrote several works, which are listed in the *Fihrist*: *K. al-Taʾrīk̲h̲*, *K. al-Fitan*, *K. Ṣiffīn*, *K. al-D̲j̲amal*, *K. al-Futūḥ* in the field of history; *K. al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh*, *K. al-Tafsīr*, *K. al-Musnad*; the last, curiously known also as *K. al-Muṣannaf*, exists in many manuscripts (see Brockelmann, S I, 215; in S I, 260 there is mentioned a *Radd ʿalā Abī Ḥanīfa*, printed at Delhi in 1333 with a translation in Urdu), and parts of its five volumes have been printed in Multān. This work had a particular success in the Mag̲h̲rib and in Muslim Spain, where Baḳī b. Mak̲h̲lad [*q.v.*] himself gave an exposition of it on his return from the east, to the great anger of the *muftī* of Cordova Aṣbag̲h̲ b. K̲h̲alīl (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 477-8) and where it remained in use as a textbook for the *ʿulamāʾ* (see Ibn K̲h̲ayr al-Is̲h̲bīlī, *Fahrasa*, 131-3; al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmad̲j̲*, 44). In the Mag̲h̲rib the number of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth̲s* had been increased from six to ten: al-Buk̲h̲ārī, Muslim, Mālik, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasāʾī, al-Bazzār, al-Dāraḳuṭnī, al-Bayhaḳī, Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, probably by the early Almohads, and in any case before 621/1225, the date at which al-Marrākus̲h̲ī (*al-Muʿd̲j̲ib*, Cairo 1949, 279) relates that Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb gave orders that there should be extracted from *al-Muṣannafāt al-ʿas̲h̲ara* the *ḥadīth̲s* on prayer and everything connected with it, in order to put an end to the supremacy of the Mālikī *mad̲h̲hab* (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 265).

Abū Bakr's brother, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUth̲mān, was also a traditionist; he compiled a *K. al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh*, a *K. al-Tafsīr*, a *K. al-ʿAyn* and a *K. al-Musnad*. He was born in 156/773 and died in 237 or 239/851 or 853.

ʿUth̲mān's son, Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad, died at Bag̲h̲dād in 297/909, after also compiling a *K. al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* and a History of traditionists.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned: Ibn Saʿd, vi, 288; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, vii, 211; *Fihrist*, 229 (Cairo ed., 320); Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 183, 185; K̲h̲aṭīb Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, x, 66-71; D̲h̲ahabī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 19; idem, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ii, 71; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *D̲j̲amʿ*, i, 259; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, ii, 85; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, vi, 2; *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), § 17; Brockelmann, S I, 215, 260; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 314.
(CH. PELLAT)

IBN ABĪ ṬĀHIR ṬAYFŪR, ABU 'L-FAḌL AḤMAD, Bag̲h̲dādī littérateur and historian. Born in 204/819-20 into a family of Persian origin, he started out as a teacher and eventually took up residence in the bookmen's bazaar in the Eastern quarter of Bag̲h̲dād, embarking upon a literary career which brought him into contact with many of the outstanding littérateurs and high government officials of his time and resulted in the composition of about fifty works. He was also a poet whose verses provoked criticism—deserved or undeserved— in some quarters. Among other things, he wrote works in the *fürstenspiegel* tradition as well as on horsemanship and hunting, but above all, he wrote works of literary criticism, anecdotes, and other literary, mainly poetical subjects, including a series of anthologies of the work of individual poets. He is particularly famous for his History of Bag̲h̲dād which he continued down to the reign of al-Muhtadī. Only the section dealing with the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn

is preserved and was edited, together with a German translation, by H. Keller (Leipzig 1908; ed. ʿIzzat al-ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo 1368/1949). As far as we can judge, the work is a pioneering and highly successful effort in the field of political local historiography, leaning heavily toward literary and cultural matters. Its importance as a source is assured by its early date, its use of documents and sources now lost, and its author's sense for the interesting detail. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's treatment agrees widely with that of the later Ṭabarī. Numerous quotations in his name in the *Aghānī* show much agreement with the material found in the surviving section of the History of Baghdād, though they may also be related to the monographs he wrote on various poets (cf. also, for instance, *Aghānī*³, iii, 201, as possibly to be connected with his *Akhbār al-mutaẓarrifāt*). Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's only other surviving work is the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth parts of his large literary anthology, *Kitāb al-Manthūr wa-'l-manẓūm*; the section dealing with clever remarks of women was published by A. al-Alfī in Cairo, 1326/1908, and some excerpts were also published by M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, Cairo 1331/1913, 115 ff. The work was among the sources used by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī in his *Baṣā'ir* (Cairo 1373/1953, 6). His wide circle of acquaintances helped Ibn Abī Ṭāhir to obtain much of the information that went into his books, but in the highly competitive literary life of Baghdād he did not fail also to make prominent enemies, such as the poet al-Buḥturī (cf., for instance, al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ashtar, Damascus 1378/1958, 78, 112, 131 f.). Ibn Abī Ṭāhir died in the night Tuesday-Wednesday, 27-8 Djumādā I 280/14-15 March 893.

His son, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿUbayd Allāh, followed in his footsteps and became a highly respected but much less productive man of letters. He continued his father's History of Baghdād, adding the history of the reigns of the caliphs from al-Muʿtamid to al-Muḳtadir. He died during al-Muḳtadir's caliphate, in 313/925-26.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'*, Cairo 1375/1956, 416 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 209; *Fihrist*, 146 f. (cf. also 125, 308); al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343, 351; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 211 f., x, 348; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 152-57; Keller's introduction to his edition of the History of Baghdād; I. Kračkovskiy, *Izbr. Sočineniya*, vi, 333-36; Brockelmann, I, 144, S I, 210, 236; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 386, 424; J. Lassner, in *JAOS*, lxxxiii (1963), 460 f. For further specimens of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's poetry, cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 333 f.; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1382, 110; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 174, 177, iii, 144, 292 (the last passage dealing with gifts, possibly to be connected with his book on the subject; however, stories on gifts are indicated expressly as being derived from the History of Baghdād and from the life of al-Muktafī in ʿUbayd Allāh's continuation in al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *al-Dhakhā'ir wa-'l-tuḥaf*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Kuwait 1959, 31 f., 51 f.); al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, ed. R. Sellheim, Wiesbaden 1964 (*Bibl. Isl.* 23a), 126, 323, 339; al-Ḥātimī, *al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa*, ed. M. Y. Nadjm, Beirut 1385/1965, 132, 161. He is cited in many contemporary and 4th/10th-century works in the fields of philology and literature, such as Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*; al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* (where ʿUbayd Allāh is also quoted); al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda*, ch. 13 end (quoting his *Faḍā'il al-ward ʿala 'l-nardjis*); Abū Ahmad al-ʿAskarī, *Maṣūn*, etc. (For a ms. of the eleventh to thirteenth parts of the *Manthūr wa-'l-manẓūm*, cf. K. ʿAwwād, *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt* [of the Ḥikma University in Baghdād], Baghdād 1385/1966, 40 f.). (F. Rosenthal)

IBN ABĪ ṬAYYIʾ, Yaḥyā b. Ḥamīd al-Nadjdjār al-Ḥalabī (575/1180- *ca.* 625-30/1228-33), an important Shīʿī historian of Aleppo, and in particular the author of a universal History, *Maʿādin al-dhahab fi ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa 'l-khulafā' wa dhawi 'l-ratab*, which even the Sunnī writers, whether or not they acknowledge the fact, were unable to refrain from utilizing. Important extracts from it are to be found preserved in the History of Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] and the *Rawḍatayn* of Abū Shāma [*q.v.*], dealing with the first three-quarters of the 6th/12th century; it was known also to ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād [*q.v.*], among others, but with less certainty to the other great Aleppo historian, the Sunnī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm [*q.v.*]. Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ continued his History with monographs on the reigns of Saladin and his son al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo, with whom he seems to have lived on friendly terms. It is more difficult to specify the titles and contents of his other works, several of which are perhaps merely adaptations of works by earlier writers. In any case, none of them attained the importance of the *Maʿādin*, which is of particular value as a history of northern Syria in the time of the Crusades, in view of the loss of the sources used (though they had also been drawn upon, but differently, by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm) and of the Shīʿī point of view of their general content; the *Maʿādin* also contains useful accounts on the subject of Egypt and, occasionally, even the Maghrib; for ʿIrāḳ and Persia, Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ was, broadly speaking, content to borrow from ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī.

Bibliography: The only surviving bio-bibliography of Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ is that of Yāḳūt, his contemporary, quoted by Ṣafadī (MS. Süleymaniye 842, fol. 30 v.), but omitted in our version of the *Irshād*. Modern studies: Cl. Cahen, *Une chronique chiʿite au temps des Croisades*, in *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1935; H. A. R. Gibb, *The sources for the history of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950); these two articles may be corrected and completed by Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades*, Paris 1940, 55-7. (Cl. Cahen)

IBN ABĪ ʿUMĀRA [see ḥafṣids].

IBN ABĪ UṢAYBIʿA, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Khalīfa b. Yūnus al-Khazradjī, physician and bibliographer whose patronymic probably derives from the fact that one of his ancestors had a deformed hand. He belonged to a family of physicians and was born in Damascus, after 590/1194. He studied under the principal teachers of his time, notably Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], who taught him botany; with his father (d. 649/1251) and al-Raḥbī (d. 631/1233) he studied medicine, which he practised in the Nūrī hospital in Damascus and the Nāṣirī hospital in Cairo, and then (634/1236) entered the service of the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿaẓẓamī at Sarkhad, where he died in 668/1270.

He wrote various works on medicine which are now lost, but which are mentioned incidentally in his *ʿUyūn* or by his biographers; among them are: *Iṣābat al-munadjdjimīn*, *al-Tadjārib wa 'l-fawā'id*, *Ḥikāyāt al-aṭibbā' fī ʿilādjāt al-adwā'* and *Maʿālim al-umam*. He is also the author of numerous poems;

but he owes his fame to his *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, a collection of 380 biographies which are of inestimable value for the history of Arabic science, in spite of a number of confusions, some long series of verses which have nothing to do with the main theme, and the one-sidedness of the choice of subjects: he provides no mention of persons such as Ibn Nafīs, who, like him, was a pupil of Ibn al-Da<u>kh</u>wār (d. circa 628/1230), but whom he disliked. He based his work on the bibliographical productions of his predecessors (Ibn Djuldjul for example), and a comparison between their texts and that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa shows how he either copies them, very often literally, or summarizes them, and how this mass of raw material was amplified by successive additions; the biographies are arranged by country and by generation (*ṭabaḳāt*). The work appeared in two redactions: a major and a minor. The latter was completed in 640/1242 and, with the addition of new material drawn in part from the *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, it produced the major recension (667/1268). From the two redactions a not very careful copyist produced a re-written version after the author's death. The literary style of the *ʿUyūn*, which contains some features of a popular style, has been studied by A. Müller, who also prepared an edition of the text based on the two original redactions; but this work was so badly printed in Cairo (1299/1882) that he had to include a long list of corrections and to repeat the indices in a third volume which mainly contains the variants (*Ibn abi Useibia herausgegeben von August Müller*, Königsberg 1884). The *ʿUyūn* was later published in several commercial editions and was reprinted in Beirut (Dār al-Fikr, 1955-6) without any significant changes.

The importance of this text has been recognized by orientalists since the middle of the 19th century (Wüstenfeld, Leclerc): a French translation of part of it was published by Sanguinetti (in *JA*, 1854-6) and a German translation by Hamed Waly; recently (Algiers 1958), H. Jahier and Abdelkader Noureddine have edited, translated and annotated the chapter on the physicians of the Muslim West.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 229. The other Arabic sources have been listed by Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 188-9; Nallino, *ʿIlm al-falak*, 64 ff. (= *Scritti*, v, 137-44); Brockelmann, I, 326, S I, 560; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 685; Wüstenfeld, *Arab. Aerzte*, 132; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. arabe*, ii, 187; A. Müller, *Über Ibn abi Oçeibia und seine Geschichte der Aerzte*, in *Actes du VI^e Congrès int. des Orient.*, ii, 259-80; idem, *Über Texte und Sprachgebrauch von Ibn abī Uṣeibiʿa Geschichte der Aerzte*, in *SBBayer. Ak. Phil.Kl.*, 1884, 853-78

(J. Vernet)

IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA, name of two poets of Baṣra of the 2nd/8th century. (I) Ibn Abī ʿUyayna the Younger or Abu 'l-Minhāl Abū ʿUyayna b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyayna is the better known. He was a great-grandson of al-Muhallab and the son of a governor of al-Rayy under al-Manṣūr. Towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century he became known in Baṣra through his love poems addressed to Dunyā, the pseudonym of a distant cousin, Fāṭima, the daughter of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (d. 153/770), who in spite of promises was refused to him and married to an ʿAbbāsid prince, ʿĪsā b. Sulaymān. He was living at Kūfa in 159/775-6, then went to Djurdjān, serving under his cousin Khālid b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, with whom he very soon quarrelled. He was not released until the accession of al-Hādī in 169/785. He returned to Baṣra and assuaged his unhappy love and his hatred for Khālid by writing of his native town. He is mentioned under al-Rashīd. According to one tradition he was received by al-Maʾmūn, according to another, al-Maʾmūn banished him for his anti-Muḍarī opinions and he did not return to ʿIrāḳ until after this caliph's death.

From an output estimated to consist of 4,000 verses there have been collected up to now only 41 fragments totalling 325 verses, forming three groups: *ghazal* of Fāṭima, *hidjāʾ* of Khālid and descriptive poems about Baṣra. His themes are love, liberty and nature. He is considered as one of the four born poets among the *muwallads*.

(II) Ibn Abī ʿUyayna the Elder or Abū Djaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyayna, brother of the above, is heard of shortly before the fall of the Barmakids (187/803) and particularly during the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. He played an important part in rallying Baṣra to the support of al-Maʾmūn in 196/812. In the same year, after the battle of al-Ahwāz, he came in contact with the general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. For some time he was governor of Baḥrayn and of the Yamāma, then returned to Baṣra, where he took part in minor political intrigues. Later, falling out of favour with the general Ṭāhir, he remained faithful to the ʿAbbāsids and hostile to the ʿAlids. He is mentioned again in 204/819. He survived his brother and probably also al-Maʾmūn.

From a production as large as that of his brother, 26 fragments have been collected, totalling 206 verses. They consist mainly of *madḥ*, of *ʿitāb* and of *fakhr*. He was more learned but perhaps also less gifted than his brother.

A third brother, Dāwūd, a very minor poet, died young before 169/785.

Bibliography: A. Ghédira, *Deux poètes contemporains de Baššar, les frères Ibn Abī ʿUyayna*, in *Arabica*, x, 154-87; idem, *Les diwans des frères Ibn Abī ʿUyayna*, in *B.Ét.Or.*, xix (1966) and bibl. there given.

(A. Ghédira)

IBN ABĪ ʿUYAYNA [see muḥ. b. abī ʿuyayna].

IBN ABĪ ZAMANAYN, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Murrī, Andalusian poet and particularly jurist, born at Elvira in 324/936, died in the same town in 399/1009. The few verses of his which we have are of a somewhat religious nature and show a rather pessimistic attitude and a leaning to asceticism which is expressed in his *Ḥayāt al-ḳulūb*. However, he is principally known as an independent Mālikī jurist and author of several works, in particular a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, a summary of Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*, a *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-sunna* and a formulary which has been used with others by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳaysī (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 242 n.). None of his works seems to have survived.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 160; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 49; Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1666; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*[2], 52; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 374; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 98-9; González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 61 and index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 311; Brockelmann, I, 191; S II, 335.

(Ed.)

IBN ABĪ ZARʿ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Fāsī, d. between 710 and 720/1310-20 at Fez, where he was *imām*, composed a history of Morocco entitled *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-ḳirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-taʾrīkh madīnat Fās*, a title often abbreviated to *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, or *Ḳirṭās*. The

text of this important work, several times printed and translated, has not yet been the object of a critical edition.

Texts of the *Ḳirṭās*: Tornberg, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, Upsala 1843-6 (with Latin tr.); Fez, lithographed several times, *e.g.*, 1303/1885; ed. (badly) Muḥammad al-Hās̲h̲imī al-Filālī, 2 vols., Rabat 1355/1936.

Translations: Dombay, *Geschichte der mauritanischen Könige*, Agram 1794-7 (German); Moura, *Historia dos soberanos mahometanos*, Lisbon 1824 (Portuguese); Tornberg (Latin; see above); Beaumier, *Histoire des souverains du Magreb et Annales de la ville de Fès*, Paris 1860 (French); Huici, Valencia 1948 (Spanish).

Bibliography: A. Bel, *Les Benou Ghânya*, Paris 1903, introduction; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident*, Paris 1948, 33-4; E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Les siècles obscurs*[2], Paris 1942, 65-79; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat al-Anfâs*, Algiers 1905, 12-3; Brockelmann, II, 240-1, S II, 339; ʿAbd Allāh Kannūn (Guennoun), *Ibn Abī Zarʿ*, in *Mas̲h̲āhīr rid̲j̲āl al-Mag̲h̲rib*, no. 29, Beirut 1961. (H. R. Idris)

IBN ABI 'L-ZAWĀʾID [see sulaymān b. yaḥyā].

IBN ABĪ ZAYD AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (310-86/922-96), head of the Mālikī school of Ḳayrawān. He came of a family from Nafzawa and studied at Ḳayrawān, his birthplace, where his knowledge, his literary gifts, his piety and his wealth very soon earned him considerable prestige throughout the Muslim world. He came under the influence of As̲h̲ʿarism, which had a large following in Ḳayrawān at that time, and also that of mysticism, against whose excesses, and especially that of miracle-working, he fought. By teaching, delivering innumerable *fatwā*s and editing numerous works, he set in order, systematized and above all spread Mālikism among the people, and the triumph of Mālikism, made final by the rupture between the Zīrids and the Fāṭimids under al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, is due primarily to his activities and to those of his emulators and disciples, the most prominent of whom in continuing his work was al-Ḳābisī. Ibn Abī Zayd's many and varied works include numerous epistles. Among the works which have been preserved are a summary of Islamic dogma and liturgy, *al-ʿAḳīda aw d̲j̲umla muk̲h̲taṣara min wād̲j̲ib umūr al-diyāna*, a *ḳaṣīda* on the resurrection (MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. no. 5675), a poem in honour of the Prophet (MS Brit. Mus. no. 1617), a collection of traditions (MS Brit. Mus. ii, 888); his famous *Risāla*, which he composed at the request of the pious al-Sabāʾī (d. 356/966) in 327/938, before the revolt of Abū Yazīd, when he was 17 years of age, is, in its present form, dedicated to his cousin Muḥriz b. K̲h̲alaf (d. 413/1022), who at that time was a schoolmaster and who later became, under the name of Sīdī Maḥrez, the patron saint of Tunis. This synopsis of Mālikism, a work of propaganda, the counterpart of the *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* of the famous Ismāʿīlī *ḳāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, has from that time been the subject of continual study and commentary. It was published several times in Cairo, notably in 1323; text and partial English translation by A. D. Russell and Abdullah al-Mamun Suhrawardy, *First steps in Muslim jurisprudence*, London 1906; Fr. tr. by E. Fagnan, Paris 1914; Arabic text and Fr. tr. by L. Bercher, Algiers 1945, 1948, 1949. His main work, the summation of his knowledge, was the *Kitāb al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt ʿala 'l-Mudawwana*: the publication and study of what remains of this epitome of Mālikī *fiḳh* would be of great interest. His *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of the *Mudawwana*, which was at first highly esteemed, was, however, soon eclipsed by that of al-Barād̲h̲iʿī. Ibn Abī Zayd, who has been called "Mālik the Younger", ranks with al-Abharī among the chief exponents of Mālikism. He was buried in his own house and his mausoleum, which very soon became a place of pilgrimage, still exists. His son, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zayd, was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Ḳayrawān in 435/1043 by al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, who, as the result of an intrigue, had to revoke this appointment soon afterwards.

Bibliography: Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1320, iii, 135-52; H. R. Idris, *Deux juristes kairouanais de l'époque zīrīde: Ibn Abī Zayd et al-Qābisī*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1954, 121-98; idem, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962; Brockelmann, S I, 301-2. (H. R. Idris)

IBN ʿĀBIDĪN, patronymic which usually refers to two Ḥanafī jurisconsults who lived in Syria towards the end of the period of Ottoman rule. The first, Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿĀbidīn, born in 1198/1784 at Damascus, studied first S̲h̲āfiʿī law and later Ḥanafī law, of which he became one of the most distinguished scholars of his time; he died at Damascus in 1258/1842. His best known work is a commentary on the *Radd al-Muḥtār* of al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 1088/1677, published in Cairo in 1299 and in Istanbul in 1307). The second, his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. ʿĀbidīn, went in 1285/1868 to Istanbul where he took part, under the direction of Aḥmad D̲j̲ewdet Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], in the compilation of the *Mad̲j̲alla* [*q.v.*]. He returned three years later to Damascus, where he died in 1306/1888.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 196, 310 and S II, 773-4; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iii, 380-6. (Ed.)

IBN ʿAD̲H̲ĀRĪ [see ibn ʿid̲h̲ārī].

IBN AL-ʿADĪM, Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh, historian of Aleppo, born there in 588/1192, died in Cairo in 660/1262. A wealthy and prominent family of ʿIrāḳī Arab origin, the Banu 'l-ʿAdīm acquired property in and around Aleppo, and a number of them rose to eminence or office under the successive dynasties that ruled in that city. For five generations they held the office of *ḳāḍī*; the historian's father was a chief *ḳāḍī* under Zangid and then Ayyūbid rule. He himself, after studies in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Bag̲h̲dād and the Ḥid̲j̲āz, served in Aleppo as a secretary, as a *ḳāḍī* and later as *wazīr* to the Ayyūbid rulers al-Malik al-ʿAzīz and al-Malik al-Nāṣir. As an official he was again able to travel extensively. In 658/1260, when the Mongols sacked Aleppo, he fled to Palestine, and thence to Egypt. Hülekü invited him to return to Syria as chief *ḳāḍī*, and the Mongol withdrawal enabled him to revisit Aleppo, but, finding it in ruins, he returned to Egypt where he died.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm is credited with a number of writings, some of them extant, of which the most important are his two historical works on Aleppo. The earlier and more extensive is the *Bug̲h̲yat al-ṭalab fī taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, a biographical dictionary in alphabetical order of men connected with Aleppo. Ten volumes survive in manuscript in Istanbul, additional manuscripts in Paris and Mosul. In these biographies Ibn al-ʿAdīm uses oral information, documents, and a great number of manuscript sources which are meticulously cited and for the most part lost. The

work is thus a major source of historiographical as well as historical information. Some extracts were published and translated by Barbier de Meynard in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades* (*RHC. Or.*, iii (1884), 695-732); the Istanbul manuscripts have been described, used, excerpted and summarized by Sauvaget, Cahen, Dahan, Lewis and Sevim, but the work as a whole still awaits an editor.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm's second historical book is the *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, a much briefer work giving the history of the city in chronological sequence, without much citation of sources, from early times to 641/1243. The Paris manuscript has for long been known to Western scholars, especially to historians of the Crusades, and was frequently cited or excerpted. Some passages were published and translated by Barbier de Meynard in *RHC. Or.*, iii (1884), 578-690, and others translated—not very well—by E. Blochet in *ROL*, iii-vi (1895-98). A critical edition was finally undertaken by Sāmī Dahān (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, i (1-457/622-1064), Damascus 1951; ii (457-569/1064-1173), Damascus 1954; third and last volume in preparation in 1968).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I 332; S I 568-9; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 18-46 (including excerpts from his history of his own family); Sami Dahan, apud B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 111-3 and index; idem, introduction (in Arabic) to vol. i of his edition of the *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, Damascus 1951; idem, *Bughyat al-ṭalab li'bni 'l-ʿAdīm*, in *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, i/2 (1951), 207-25; J. Sauvaget, *Extraits du "Buġyat aṭ-Ṭalab"* ..., in *RÉI*, vii (1933), 393-409; Cl. Cahen, *Les chroniques arabes* ..., in *RÉI*, x (1936) 359; M. Canard, *Quelques observations sur l'introduction géographique de la Bughyat at'-t'alab de Kamâl ad-dîn ibn al-ʿAdîm d'Alep*, in *AIEO*, xv (1957), 41-53; Ali Sevim, *Bugyetü't-taleb fî târîh-i Haleb'e göre Sultan Alp Arslan*, in *Belleten*, xxx/118 (1966), 205-42; B. Lewis, *Three biographies from Kamāl ad-Dīn*, in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 325-44; idem, *Kamāl al-Dīn's biography of Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān*, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 225-67; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 135 f., 147 f., and index; I. Kratchkovsky, *Avec les manuscrits arabes*, trans. M. Canard, Algiers 1954, 7-9. (B. LEWIS)

IBN ʿADJARRAD [see ʿADJĀRIDA].

IBN AL-ADJDĀBĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭarābulusī, philologist, native of Adjdābiya (between Barḳa and Tripoli), who lived in the 6th/12th century and died in about 650/1251. He is the author of a number of works, of which reference is made particularly to his *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ* (ed. Damascus 1964, by ʿIzzat Ḥasan, as *al-Azmina wa'l-anwāʾ*) and to a short treatise on lexicography entitled *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffiẓ wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffiẓ*, printed in Egypt in 1285/1868 and in Beirut in 1305/1887.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 130; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 178; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 54; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 328. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ʿADJĪBA, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MAHDĪ IBN ʿADJĪBA AL-ḤASANĪ, Moroccan *Ṣūfī* of Sharīfian origin, was one of the most distinguished representatives of the mystical order of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*]. He was born in 1160 or 1161/1746-7 at al-Khamīs, an important village of the Andjra tribe (Mediterranean coastal region of Morocco, between Tangier and Tetuan). Having been attracted from his childhood to devotional observance and religious learning, he studied assiduously the 'reading' of the Ḳurʾān, theology, holy law and philology, first with local *fuḳahāʾ*, then in Tetuan, where his tutors were ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ḳurrīsh, Muḥammad Djanwī and Muḥammad Warzīzī, and finally in Fez, where he gained licenses to teach (*idjāza*) from Tawdī Ibn Sūda and Muḥammad Bannīs. When about thirty years old, he returned to Tetuan and there taught *sharīʿa* and wrote works of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, and his first commentaries on mystical works. Greatly impressed by reading the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] of Alexandria, he decided to devote himself to the way of mysticism and, in 1208/1794, became a disciple of *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Būzīdī (d. 1814), a direct pupil of Mawlāy Darḳāwī. He now made a dramatic break with his past life, renounced his office and his possessions, donned the patched garment (*muraḳḳaʿa*), became a beggar and a water-carrier, and was even thrown into prison for several days in Tetuan with other *fuḳarāʾ* charged with reprehensible innovations (*bidʿa*). After this time of trial, of which he has left a very vivid account in his autobiography (*Fahrasa*), he achieved enlightenment and the rôle of spiritual guide (*shaykh ṭarīḳa*). He set out then to preach the "return to God" and the Ṣūfī path in the northern villages of the Djbāla, where he founded numerous *zāwiyas*. His literary output during these years was most prolific and it reveals a great pedagogic ability, in which the teaching of the *faḳīh* is harmoniously integrated in an original mystical experience, and in which exoteric knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-ẓāhir*) provides the basis for achieving esoteric knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-bāṭin*). It was Ibn ʿAdjība's mastery in treating allusions of a spiritual kind (*ʿilm al-ishāra*) which was to earn him his enduring fame. Struck down by plague, he died in his master's house, in Ghmāra, on 7 Shawwāl 1224/15 November 1809. His tomb, which dominates the hamlet of Zammīdj (20 kilometres south-east of Tangiers), is the focal point every year of a *mawsim* (14 September) celebrated by the Darḳāwa-ʿAdjībiyya.

Works: In his *Fahrasa*, Ibn ʿAdjība drew up a list of his works, which appears to follow approximately the chronological order of their composition. It is as follows, with the addition of a few details on the published works: (1) and (2) *Sharḥ al-Hamziyya* and *Sharḥ al-Burda* (al-Būṣīrī); (3) *Sharḥ al-Waẓīfa* (Zarrūḳ); (4) *Sharḥ al-Ḥizb al-kabīr* (Shādhilī); (5) *Sharḥ Asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*; (6) *Sharḥ al-Munfaridja* (Ibn Naḥwī); (7) *Sharḥ Tāʾiyya* (Djaʿidī); (8) *K. fī ʿilm al-niyya*; (9) *K. fī dhamm al-ghība wa-madḥ al-ʿuzla wa 'l-ṣamt*; (10) *Taʾlīf fi 'l-adhkār al-nabawiyya*; (11) *Arbaʿīn ḥadīth*; (12) *al-Ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashara*; (13) *Azhār al-bustān* (*Ṭabaḳāt mālikiyya*); (14) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*; (15) *Sharḥ Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* (Djazārī); (16) *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam* (Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh) (pub. in combination with (17), Cairo 1331/1913, and separately, Cairo 1381/1961); (17) *Sharḥ al-Mabāḥith al-aṣliyya* (Tudjībī); (18) *Sharḥ Taṣliya* (Ibn Mashīsh); (19), (20), (21) *Sharḥ al-Fātiḥa* (3 separate commentaries on the first *sūra* of the Ḳurʾān, one of them short, another long, and the third very brief); (22) *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (commentary on the Ḳurʾān in 4 volumes, of which i and ii at least have been published: Cairo 1375/1955 and 1376/1956); (23) *Sharḥ al-Khamriyya* (Ibn al-Fāriḍ); (24) *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīda* (*Rifāʿī*); (25) *Sharḥ Muḳaṭṭaʿāt* (Shushtarī); (26) *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīda fi 'l-sulūk* (Būzīdī); (27) *K. fi 'l-ḳaḍāʾ wa-l-ḳadar*; (28) *Sharḥ abyāt* (Ibn ʿArabī); (29) *Fi 'l-khamra al-azaliyya*; (30) *Fi 'l-ṭalāsim* (this work, and the preceding one, are

short metaphysical treatises in which the author propounds, without actually naming it, the theory of the oneness of existence: *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. In the first, he demonstrates how the Divine Essence remains identical to itself before and after its irradiation—*tadjallī*—in existence; in the second, he describes the existential veils behind which the one Essence conceals itself and through which it may be grasped according to three increasingly perfect modes of unity: *tawḥīd al-afʿāl, tawḥīd al-ṣifāt, tawḥīd al-dhāt*); (31) *Sharḥ Taṣliya* (Ibn ʿArabī); (32) *Sharḥ Nūniyya* (Shushtarī); (33) *Miʿrādj al-tashawwuf ilā ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-taṣawwuf* (glossary of technical terms of Ṣūfism; published Damascus 1355/1937 by al-Hāshimī [*q.v.*]; Fr. tr. by J. L. Michon, see *Bibl.*); (34), (35) *Sharḥ Tāʾiyya fi ʾl-Khamra* (two commentaries, one short and one long, on a poem by his master Būzīdī); (36) *Sharḥ al-Ādjurrūmiyya* (commentary on two levels, grammatical and esoteric, of the treatise on grammar by Ibn Adjurrūm; a *tadjrīd* giving only the esoteric commentary has been published, Istanbul 1315); (37) *Ḥāshiya ʿala ʾl-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (al-Suyūṭī); (38) *Dīwān* (4 *ḳaṣīdas* and various *tawshīḥāt*, about 200 verses in all). To this list must be added: (38) the *Fahrasa* itself and some works not mentioned therein, probably because they were composed not long before the author's death: (39) *Sharḥ ʿAyniyya* (al-Djīlī); (40) *Tabṣirāt darḳāwiyya*; (41) *Taʿrīf Mawlāy Darḳāwī*; (42) *Fi ʾl-mawadda*; (43) *Aḥzāb* (*Ḥizb al-ḥifẓ, Ḥizb al-ʿizz* and *Ḥizb al-fatḥ*).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal devoted a notice to Ibn ʿAdjība in *Les historiens des Chorfa* 336. In Arabic, several of his contemporaries painted glowing portraits of him: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Kūhin (see *ibid.*, 340) and in particular Būziyyān al-Mʿaskarī (*Ṭabaḳāt darḳāwiyya*). Sporadic references to his works are found in bibliographical compilations (F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 358; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, 169-70) and in manuscript catalogues (Allouche and Regragui, *Mss. Ar. Rabat*, i, *passim*). The contemporary historian Muḥammad Dāwūd accords him a prominent place in his *Taʾrīkh Tiṭwān* (see vol. iii, 1962, *passim* and vol. vi, to appear). These sources and data drawn from the author's writings have been gathered together in a study by J. L. Michon, *Ibn ʿAdjība et son Miʿrādj* (thesis, Paris 1966).

(J.-L. Michon)

IBN ĀDJURRŪM, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Sanhādjī, Moroccan grammarian born 672/1273-4, died 723/1323 at Fez, where he taught grammar and the art of Ḳurʾānic recitation. Ibn Ādjurrūm is the author of a celebrated *Muḳaddima* which bears his name, a little treatise of a few pages in which he sets out the system of the *iʿrāb* of words. This summary syntax, easy to memorize, has enjoyed to the present day great popularity in all the Arabic-speaking countries, in the west as well as in the east. Because of its extreme conciseness, the *Muḳaddima* has provoked about 60 commentaries by subsequent grammarians, which testify to its wide diffusion among teachers. The *Muḳaddima* has been known in Europe since the 10th/16th century, being one of the first treatises available to Arabists for the study of the Arabic grammatical system. It has been published a dozen times and translated into most European languages. It is to be remarked that al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 102) considers Ibn Ādjurrūm to represent the Kūfa grammatical school, basing himself on the fact that he uses the term *khafḍ*, and that he considers the imperative to be *muʿrab* and the particle *kayfamā* to govern the *djazm*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 308-10, S II, 332-5; M. al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1955, 117; G. Troupeau, *Trois traductions latines de la Muqaddima d'Ibn Ādjurrūm*, in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 359-65.

(G. Troupeau)

IBN al-ʿAFĪF al-TILIMSĀNĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tilimsānī, nicknamed al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf, "the witty young man", was a poet of great skill.

His father, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī [see al-tilimsānī], was a mystic who had left Tlemcen and settled in the *khānḳāh* of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ in Cairo, where the poet was born on 10 Djumādā II 661/21 April 1263. While still young, Ibn al-ʿAfīf went with his father to Damascus, where he completed his education under the direction of his father and a number of other scholars. He very soon obtained the post of treasurer, and lived at the foot of Mount Ḳāsiyūn.

From his youth he had devoted himself to poetry, with the encouragement of his acquaintances. His literary fame spread quickly; he secured access to the important people of his time, presenting his panegyrics to them, and in particular wrote of the merits of al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, the Ayyūbid ruler of Ḥamāt.

His poetry, relaxed in style, was highly thought of, but his enemies, jealous of his success, conspired against him; for some time he resisted this, then finally decided to retreat from the world and shut himself away in his own house. He died while still very young, at the age of 27, on 14 Radjab 688/3 August 1289.

Ibn al-ʿAfīf led a free and easy existence. His poetic gifts find expression chiefly in poems of love and wine, which reflect the dissolute life of the period; he wrote also *dūbayt*s and *muwashshaḥāt*. His skill and facility of expression enabled him to avoid the mannered style in vogue in the poetry of his time. The love poems, generally addressed to men, could be given a Ṣūfī interpretation, but this is not very probable.

The *dīwān* of Ibn al-ʿAfīf, although rather short, has enjoyed a lasting fame; it has been published several times in Cairo (1274, 1281, 1308) and in Beirut (1885, 1891, 1907), but these editions are very mediocre (a critical edition is at present (1967) in preparation in Paris; on the manuscripts see Brockelmann, I, 300, S I, 458, adding MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, no. 5126). There exist also some *Maḳāmāt* by him (MSS Paris 3176, 3947; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı 2402; Berlin 8594), one of which has been published in Damascus, n.d., and two *khuṭbas* (MS Berlin 3953).

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 422; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, MS British Museum, Or. 53, fol. 62 v.; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, iii, 129-36; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 405; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 381; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1786; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 21; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, x, 53; Brockelmann, I, 300, S I, 458.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN (al-)AḤMAR, byname of several poets, including an Iyādī (see Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 38), a Kinānī (*ibid.*), a Badjalī (*op. cit.*, 37; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 214) and a Bāhilī, who is the best known. The sources vary considerably with regard to the genealogy of this poet, but he seems to have been called Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb ʿAmr b. (al-) Aḥmar b.

al-ʿAmarrad b. Tamīm b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥirām b. Farrāṣ b. Maʿn b. Aʿṣur al-Bāhilī. He is included among the *mukhaḍramūn* [*q.v.*], embraced Islam, took part in the conquests in South-west Asia (in the course of which he lost an eye), settled in Syria and died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. His poems do not seem to have been collected, but he is often quoted as an authority on the Arabic language, although he is criticized for having invented four words. Ibn Sallām, who places him in the third rank of Islamic poets, appreciates his language, but thinks that he uses too many rare expressions. Numerous apophthegms appear in his poems, and a description of sand-grouse (*ḳaṭā*) has remained famous.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, *Anwāʾ*, *Adab al-kātib*, index; idem, *Shiʿr*, 315-8; idem, *Maʿārif*, 587; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 187; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 314; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 492-3; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḳurashī, *Djamhara*, 158-60; Djawālīḳī, *Muʿarrab*, 104, 142; *Aghānī*, xiii, 144; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 37; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 214; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 53; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Aḍdād*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., iii, 38-9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 6466; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 300; Abkāryūs, 230-1; Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-AḤNAF [see ʿABBĀS B. AL-AḤNAF].

IBN AL-AHTAM [see ʿAMR B. AL-AHTAM].

IBN ʿĀʾIDH, the author of a work on the Raids (*maghāzī* [*q.v.*]), used by such later authors as Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and al-Dhahabī. His given name was Muḥammad. His *kunya* is variously given as Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Abū Aḥmad, and his grandfather's name as Saʿīd or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Born in Damascus in 150/767, he died there on Thursday, 25 Rabīʿ II 233/8 December 847 (or in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 232/July-August 847, or in 234/848), having been the tax collector for the Ghūṭa under al-Maʾmūn. As a historian, he stands in the tradition of al-Walīd b. Muslim and al-Wāḳidī on the one side, and Abū Zurʿa al-Dimashḳī, Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī, and Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān on the other. All this information is found in the rather lengthy biography in the *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (Ms. Yale L-312 [Nemoy 1182], ii, 102a-103b), drawing together the older sources and, in turn, serving as the main or exclusive source for later biographers. The *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* further credits Ibn ʿĀʾidh with a work on the Muslim Conquests and the Summer Campaigns and quotes some non-historical statements in his name. Since that name is not infrequent, however, it is not impossible that Ibn ʿAsākir conflated one or more persons. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the *Fihrist*, 109, mentions a historian Ibn ʿĀbid (*sic*) as the author of a history of kings and nations, and this, in turn, obscures the relevance of the reference to a historian of the same name in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 11. If Ibn ʿĀʾidh left no mark in the earlier historical literature known so far, this may be due to his having represented a Syrian tradition unpopular at the time. It may be noted that (if we are dealing with one person) he was considered reliable as a transmitter, but he was also described as a Muʿtazilī (*ḳadarī*).

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1, 207; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Djarḥ*, iv, 1, 52; (al-Dawlābī, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi, Ibn Mākūlā, all the preceding cited in *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, 181; al-Dhahabī. *ʿIbar*, Kuwait 1960, i, 414 (copied by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 78); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 321-26; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 320, 322, 430, 432, (509). (F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ʿĀʾISHA, by-name of several persons, who may be distinguished as follows:

I. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĀʾISHA, ABŪ DJAʿFAR, Medinan singer of unknown father. A pupil of Maʿbad and of Mālik, he was regarded as the equal if not the superior of his masters, and celebrated for his skill at launching into a performance. He was highly respected at Mecca and at Medina, but, extremely vain, he would become very angry when asked to sing. He was invited to the court of Damascus, probably by al-Walīd b. Yazīd but during the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43), and died accidentally on the way back, at Dhū Khushub, when loaded with presents. Two monographs at least were devoted to him, one by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 1348, 202), the other by Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī (*ibid.*, 212).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., ii. 170-207; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ*, 62, 162; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 330-4.

II. IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB B. IBRĀHĪM AL-IMĀM, known as Ibn ʿĀʾisha after his grandmother ʿĀʾisha bint Sulaymān b. ʿAlī. Having hatched a plot against al-Maʾmūn, he was put to death in prison by the caliph and his body was hung up in a street of Baghdād in 209/824-5.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1022, 1073, 1075; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 78-80; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 489; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 329.

III. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAFṢ AL-TAYMĪ, ABŪ BAKR, genealogist, collector of traditions, and wit of Baṣra, who owes his by-name Ibn ʿĀʾisha (al-Akbar) to ʿĀʾisha bint Ṭalḥa [*q.v.*], from whom he was descended.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 12, ii, 155; idem, *Bayān*, i, 102, 320, ii, 290; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 343.

IV. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B ḤAFṢ, ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMAN, the son of the preceding, from whom he takes his by-name Ibn ʿĀʾisha (al-Aṣghar) or al-ʿĀʾishī, or even al-ʿAyshī. Also a traditionist, a *rāwī* and a celebrated orator, he settled in Baghdād in 219/834. He was considered very learned and is often quoted in *isnāds*, and it is generally he who is meant when the name Ibn ʿĀʾisha alone is used. He reports very many historical and religious traditions on the authority of his father, and is even said to have been the author of an historical work. He died at Baṣra in 228/843.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 102, 194, 239, 320; idem, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 12; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 453, 523, 598; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 288; Shaʿrānī, *Ansāb*, 379; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 45; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 329-30. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ʿAḲĪL, ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN AL-HĀSHIMĪ, born 694/1294 (or 698 or 700), died 769/1367, an important Shāfiʿī jurisconsult and grammarian. A native of Bālis [*q.v.*] in Syria, he arrived destitute in Cairo, where his ability was recognized by his teacher in grammar, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*]. His main teachers in *fiḳh* were, among others, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḳōnawī (Brockelmann, II, 105; S II, 101) and the Chief *Ḳāḍī* Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 238); having held various posts as substitute *ḳāḍī*

(*nāʾib*), he became the substitute of the Chief *Ḳāḍī* ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa [*q.v.*], but was dismissed by him on account of unseemliness in a discussion. Ibn ʿAḳīl, however, won the favour of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, and the *amīr* dismissed Ibn Djamāʿa and put Ibn ʿAḳīl in his place in 759/1358. But when Ṣarghitmish fell from power immediately afterwards, Ibn Djamāʿa was reinstalled, and the term of office of Ibn ʿAḳīl lasted only 80 days. Ibn ʿAḳīl's short term of office became memorable through his considerable distributions of charity to the poor and the students, including a legacy of 150,000 *dirhams* which he distributed in sums ranging from 1 to 10 *dīnārs*. He also showed concern for the interests of ordinary people in the matter of making valid legacies.

Ibn ʿAḳīl taught several subjects of religious learning in a number of institutions, including *tafsīr* in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn; his course took 23 years, and after that he started it again but did not live to complete it. His literary output does not seem to have been very considerable; he wrote a commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*], on which al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] wrote a gloss, and another commentary on the same author's *Tashīl*, both of which have been preserved; he also started an extremely detailed work, variously called *Taysīr al-istiʿdād li-rutbat al-idjtihād* and *al-Taʾsīs li-madhhab Ibn Idrīs*, in which he set out the *ikhtilāf* and the various arguments, deciding in favour of the doctrine which he found best supported by traditions; four parts of it exist.

Ibn ʿAḳīl was very elegant in his dress, his food and his dwelling, and liked to mix in high society where he was well liked, but he was unreliable in business matters, though generous, and he died in debt. Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī [*q.v.*] was his son-in-law.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 266 ff. (no. 2157); Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, ii, 347 f.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i, 257 (a short notice among the grammarians); idem, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 284 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vi, 214 (year 769); al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 386 (no. 171); Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, iii, 458; Catalogue Cairo[1], iii, 212; Brockelmann, II, 108, § 11 (at the end, read: Kairo[2] II, 121); S II, 104, § 12 (at the end, read: Kairo[2] II, 158). (J. Schacht)

IBN ʿAḲĪL, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ ʿAlī b. ʿAḳīl b. Muḥammad b. ʿAḳīl b. Aḥmad al-Baghdādī al-Ẓafarī, Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian (431/1040-513/1119), a great Sunnī personality whose life and writings shed light on one of the most important periods in the development of Muslim religious thought, and who stands at the head of a progressive movement within Sunnī traditionalism.

Family origins and early youth. Ibn ʿAḳīl was born in Baghdād, on the left bank quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ (see his *Kitāb al-Funūn*, fol. 12b: "... Bāb al-Ṭāḳ, the quarter in which I was born"), in Djumādā II 431/February-March 1040. This fact, when added to others cited below, leaves little doubt that he belonged to a Ḥanafī family, not only on his mother's side (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 387), but also on that of his father. Some of his earliest recollections went back to this quarter where the great Ḥanafī mosque-college was located, along with the Shrine of Abū Ḥanīfa and the great Ḥanafī cemetery. Muʿtazilism, during this period, had found a refuge within the Ḥanafī school of law, which helps to explain the interest Ibn ʿAḳīl took in Muʿtazilism, the independence of spirit which was never to leave him and which was to endow the Ḥanbalī movement with a new direction and renewed vigour.

Education. This precocious young man had broad interests ranging from Ḳurʾān and traditions, grammar and belles-lettres, asceticism and Ṣūfism, prosody and the art of letter-writing, to those subjects in which he particularly excelled, the art of the sermon, dogmatic theology, dialectics and legal studies. Of the twenty-three teachers he himself names as those under whom he studied, only two belonged to the Ḥanbalī School, Abū Yaʿlā and Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 488/1095). The others were Shāfiʿī, notably Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (d. 478/1085-6); Ḥanafī, including *Ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (d. 478/1085-6); as well as Muʿtazilī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Barhān (d. 456/1064), Abū ʿAlī b. al-Walīd (d. 478/1086) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. al-Tabbān (date of death unknown). He owed his interest in belles-lettres to the paternal side of his family who, in his own words, "were all writers, secretaries, poets and men of letters". His talent as a writer of prose is evident especially in his sermons and meditations.

For eleven years, Ibn ʿAḳīl pursued legal studies under the direction of the Ḥanbalī *ḳaḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ. These years fall between two of the most significant dates of his life: 447/1055-458/1066. The first date was linked in his mind with the entry of the Saldjūḳid hordes into Baghdād, when their ruthless pillaging of his quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ forced him to move. His moving from Bāb al-Ṭāḳ coincided with the beginning of his adhesion to the Ḥanbalī school. At this time, the great Ḥanbalī merchant Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf (d. 460/1067-8) was playing an important political rôle behind the scenes in Baghdād. It was he who suggested to the Caliph al-Ḳāʾim the appointment of the Ḥanafī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (d. 478) as Chief *Ḳāḍī*, a political gesture to conciliate the Ḥanafī Saldjūḳids. In his later reminiscences, Ibn ʿAḳīl speaks of Abū Manṣūr as instrumental in increasing the membership of the Ḥanbalī school through his generous patronage. As Ibn ʿAḳīl was his protégé, it is very likely that Abū Manṣūr was instrumental in Ibn ʿAḳīl's joining the Ḥanbalī school at this time. Thus the event which marked the beginning of a new era for the ʿAbbāsid capital marked also the beginning of a new era in Ibn ʿAḳīl's life at the age of sixteen. The second date, that of the death of his teacher Abū Yaʿlā in 458/1066, marks the beginning of his troubles within the Ḥanbalī school.

Persecution and exile. Ibn ʿAḳīl's intellectual curiosity stubbornly resisted confinement within the limits of the traditional sciences held in honour in the Ḥanbalī school at this time. Before the death of his teacher Abū Yaʿlā in 458, he had already frequented the study circles of Muʿtazilī masters, had delved into the study of *kalām*, vigorously condemned by Ḥanbalism, and had become interested in the writings of the great mystic of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]. In one of his reminiscences, he remarks that his Ḥanbalī companions wanted him to abandon the company of certain scholars, and complains that it hindered him from acquiring useful knowledge.

His appointment to a chair in the Cathedral Mosque of al-Manṣūr after his teacher Abū Yaʿlā died in 458, an appointment made possible by his patron Abū Manṣūr, earned him the hostility of a group of Ḥanbalīs led by the *Sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar (d. 470). The latter, twenty years the senior of Ibn ʿAḳīl, apparently resented the early distinction conferred upon the young man. After the death of

Abū Manṣūr in 460 and the consequent loss of his protection, Ibn ʿAkīl had to go into hiding to escape the wrath of this group. From 460 to 465, he lived in exile in the quarter of Bāb al-Marātib under the protection of Abu 'l-Kāsim b. Riḍwān, also a wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant, son-in-law of Abū Manṣūr.

Public retraction. On Monday 8 Muḥarram 465/24 September 1072, in the mosque of the *Sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar located in the quarter of Nahr al-Muʿallā, on the east side of Baghdād, Ibn ʿAkīl read the text of his retraction in the presence of a numerous gathering. The written retraction was then signed by five *shuhūd*-notaries, including two sons and two sons-in-law of the late Abū Manṣūr. Two days later, in another ceremony in the Caliphal *Dīwān*, Ibn ʿAkīl signed his retraction. In this document, Ibn ʿAkīl retracted writings in favour of Ḥalladj and of certain Muʿtazilī doctrines.

There is no doubt that the Ḥanbalī school as a whole was opposed to Muʿtazilism; and there is no reason to doubt Ibn ʿAkīl's sincerity regarding his abjuration of Muʿtazilism. Although his later writings owe much to the spirit of inquiry he may have gained from his Muʿtazilī professors, he cannot be said to share their theological doctrines. Therefore, in so far as Muʿtazilism is concerned, Ibn ʿAkīl was thoroughly sincere in his retraction and remained afterwards true to Ḥanbalism.

However, as regards Ḥalladj, Ibn ʿAkīl's sincerity in retracting his veneration for him is, one may safely say, open to doubt. He was probably practising *taḳiyya*, prudent dissimulation, in renouncing his writings on the celebrated Muslim saint. In so doing he was not going against the teachings of his school; for Ḥanbalism's attitude towards al-Ḥallādj was, and remained long afterwards, divided. When the Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) transmitted the text of Ibn ʿAkīl's retraction, he omitted the reference to al-Ḥallādj, undoubtedly because of his own Ṣūfī tendencies. The Ḥanbalī Ṭawfī (d. 715/1316), who abridged one of Ibn Ḳudāma's works, believed in the sainthood of Ḥallādj. Ḥanbalism was not opposed to Ṣūfism as such, since some of the greatest Ṣūfīs have come from its ranks, as for instance, al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], founder of the first Ṣūfī brotherhood, the Ḳādiriyya. After the public retraction, the *Sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar is said to have had condemned writings of Ibn ʿAkīl returned to him with the understanding that he would destroy them himself. According to some he destroyed them, but others say that they appeared after his death. We have the testimony of Ibn al-Djawzī, who reported that he had in his own possession the autograph copy of a treatise of Ibn ʿAkīl written in praise of al-Ḥallādj: *Djuzʾ fī naṣr karāmāt al-Ḥallādj*.

Judgments of posterity. Ibn al-Djawzī, who was greatly influenced by the writings of Ibn ʿAkīl, especially in the field of sermon writing, attributes Ibn ʿAkīl's troubles to his intellectual curiosity, and believes that he repented of his innovating tendencies. The Shāfiʿī Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī also holds this view. The Ḥanbalī jurists Ibn Ḳudāma and Ibn Radjab, and the Shāfiʿī Ibn Kathīr, while not condemning Ibn ʿAkīl outright, believe that he never quite rid himself of his Muʿtazilī tendencies. On the other hand, the celebrated Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya held that Ibn ʿAkīl, who fell at first under the influence of Djahmism and Muʿtazilism, rallied in the latter part of his life to the purist form of orthodoxy.

Principal works. The works of Ibn ʿAkīl have not yet been critically edited and published, and therefore his thought cannot as yet be properly studied. G. Makdisi is now in the process of editing the followings works. (1) *Kitāb al-Funūn*; this is the most important work of Ibn ʿAkīl. Historians are not in agreement as to the extent of this work, the figures given ranging from two hundred to as many as eight hundred volumes; only one volume is known to be extant. An abridgment in ten volumes (not extant) was made by Ibn al-Djawzī. Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī reports having studied close to seventy volumes in the *waḳf* of the Maʾmūniyya in Baghdād. It is a journal of encyclopaedic range, covering all sorts of subjects and attesting its author's wide range of interests. (2) *Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*; a work on the methodology of law in three volumes; all extant. (3) A series of brief treatises on the nature of the Ḳurʾān, written in refutation of Ashʿarī doctrines. (4) *Kitāb al-Djadal*; a work on dialectics in one volume.

Among his other important works, now lost: *Kitāb al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-dīn*, on theology; *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, in defence of the traditionalists.

Bibliography: On the public retraction of Ibn ʿAkīl, see I. Goldziher, *Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen*, in *ZDMG*, lxii (1908), 20-1; L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hosayn ibn Mansour al-Hallâj*, Paris 1914-22, 366, 367; for details of the affair, see G. Makdisi, *Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn ʿAqīl*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, 91-126. For Ibn ʿAkīl in the history of Ḥanbalism, see H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le Califat de Baghdad*, in *REI* (1959), 104-5. For bibliography and further details on Ibn ʿAkīl, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIᵉ siècle*, Damascus (*PIFD*) 1963, esp. ch. V, and index s.v. (G. Makdisi)

IBN ʿALĪWA, Shaykh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-ʿAlawī al-Mustaghānimī, *ṣūfī* and poet, born at Mostaganem in Algeria in 1286/1869 of a distinguished but at that time indigent family. He never went to school and his handwriting remained unproficient all his life, but he was taught to read and given lessons in the Ḳurʾān by his father, though even these had to be cut short owing to his family's poverty, which forced him, at an early age, to take to cobbling and then later to open a small shop. In his spare time he attended a course of lessons in the Islamic doctrine of Divine Unity (*tawḥīd*). His father died when he was 16, and not long afterwards he entered the ʿĪsawī [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa*, where he became quite expert in the "wonder-working" practices of that order. He soon, however, began to have doubts about the spiritual value of these practices and gradually ceased to attend the meetings, but he continued, as he tells us, to charm snakes by himself until he came into contact with Muḥammad al-Būzīdī, a *shaykh* of the Ḍarḳāwī-Shādhilī *ṭarīḳa* [see ḌARḲĀWA], who told him one day to bring a snake and charm it in front of him. When this had been done, he told him never to revert to the practice again but to devote himself to mastering the far more poisonous and intractable snake of his own soul. Having received him into his *ṭarīḳa* he forbade him to continue attending the course of lessons, on the grounds that *tawḥīd* was too transcendent for purely outward or mental understanding, and that it requires inward or intellectual understanding, to awaken which he told him to concentrate on the invocation of the Divine Name, *dhikr Allāh*. Later he authorized him to resume the lessons. He made him a

muḳaddam, with authority to initiate novices into the order, at the age of 25.

On the death of the *shaykh* al-Būzīdī 15 years later, in 1909, the members of the order insisted that Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa should be their *shaykh*. Some five years later he decided to make his *zāwiya* independent of the mother-*zāwiya* of the Darḳāwa in Morocco, and the new branch was styled *al-Ṭarīḳa al-ʿAlawiyya al-Darḳāwiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, whence he himself came to be known as the *Shaykh* al-ʿAlawī. One of the reasons for the "rupture", which seems to have taken place more or less amicably, was that he felt the need to introduce, as part of his method, the practice of spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]) in an isolated cell under his close supervision rather than in the wilds of nature according to the traditional Darḳāwī-Shādhilī practice.

His fame spread over North Africa and a large *zāwiya* overlooking the sea was built at Tidgitt, the purely Arab quarter of Mostaganem. As perhaps the most eminent representative of Ṣūfism in his day, and looked upon by many as the *mudjaddid* (renewer) of Islam in its 14th century, he inevitably came into conflict with the enemies of Ṣūfism, in particular members of the "reformist" Salafiyya [*q.v.*] group. Partly as an antidote to their paper *al-Shihāb*, published at Constantine, he started a weekly review at Algiers, *al-Balāgh al-Djazāʾirī*, in which, in addition to his vindications of Ṣūfism, he attacked the so-called "reformers" for their continual yielding to the modern age at the expense of religion. For Muslims in general he stressed the importance of mastering classical Arabic, and inveighed against westernization and in particular against the wearing of modern European dress. Although he discouraged his fellow-countrymen from becoming naturalized French citizens, and although the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭṭābī [*q.v.*] was among his disciples and in correspondence with him, the French authorities avoided taking any drastic action against him personally; but they were uneasy about him, on account of his great influence, and at least once his movements were restricted. By the time of his death in 1934, he was said to have more than 200,000 disciples; he had *zawāyā* all over North Africa and also in Damascus [see AL-HĀSHIMĪ], Jaffa, Gaza, Falūja, Aden and Addis Ababa, and in Europe at The Hague, Marseilles, Paris and Cardiff. His numerous Yemenī disciples, many of them seamen, established also other *zawāyā* at various ports.

Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa was a great lover of poetry and music. According to one of the many Europeans who knew him, "a remarkable radiance emanated from him, an irresistible personal magnetism"; according to another, to meet him was like "coming face to face, in mid-twentieth century, with a mediaeval Saint or a Semitic Patriarch". As regards the title of A. Berque's monograph on him, *Un mystique moderniste* (*Revue Africaine*, 1936, 691-776), the "modernism" appears to have been nothing other than the breadth of his spiritual interests : "To the very end he remained a lover of metaphysical investigation. There are few problems which he had not broached, scarcely any philosophies whose essence he had not extracted". This intellectual amplitude went hand in hand with a profound conservatism and an implacable orthodoxy. Especially characteristic of him is his insistence on the ideal of doing justice to the religion of Islam as an indivisible triplicity, *islām*, *īmān* and *iḥsān* (corresponding to law, dogma and mysticism) by fulfilling, in the highest sense, each domain, so that they become respectively *istislām* (joyous submission to the law), *īḳān* (certainty of faith) and *ʿiyān* (beatific vision). One of the Ḳurʾānic verses most often quoted by him is : "He is the First and the Last and the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden", a verse on which, amongst others, is grounded the basic doctrine of Islamic mysticism, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* [*q.v.*], Oneness of Being. Most of his writings, and not least his poems, contain masterly formulations of this doctrine.

Apart from one tract, *Nūr al-ithmid*, which is confined to the domain of jurisprudence (concerning the posture of the hands in the ritual prayer), his other writings, about 15 in all, are directly or indirectly on Ṣūfism. Of special importance is *al-Minaḥ al-ḳuddūsiyya* written during his *shaykh*'s lifetime and with his encouragement, an extensive commentary on Ibn ʿĀshir's [*q.v.*] *al-Murshid al-muʿīn*. Here he expounds the inward or mystical significance of every feature of Islamic doctrine and ritual, including even details of the *sunna*. In *al-Unmūdhadj al-farīd*, using the symbolism of the letters of the alphabet, he treats of the highest aspect of the doctrine, expounding the relationship between the Divine Essence, Divine Being and the Supreme Spirit. The starting point for this treatise appears to be ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī's *al-Kahf wa 'l-Raḳīm*, but Aḥmad b. ʿAlīwa's treatment is the more subtle. In *Lubāb al-ʿilm fī Sūrat Wa-'l-Nadjm*, he explains the nature of the Prophet's two visions referred to in Ḳurʾān LIII, one with the heart (*fuʾād*) and the other with the eye (*baṣar*). These three works, together with his poems (the third edition of his *Dīwān* was published in Damascus in 1963), are perhaps the most profound of his writings. His earliest book in vindication of Ṣūfism, *al-Ḳawl al-maʿrūf*, first published in 1920, was followed up in 1927 by *Risālat al-Nāṣir Maʿrūf*, an anthology of pronouncements in praise of Ṣūfism by eminent jurists and theologians from the 2nd/8th until the present century. The first part of *al-Mawādd al-ghaythiyya*, his commentary on the aphorisms of Shuʿayb Abū Madyan, was published in 1942, but the second part has not yet been published, neither has his commentary on the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and the first 40 verses of the *Sūrat al-Baḳara*, in which each verse is given four different interpretations ranging from the literal to the purely spiritual. The unique manuscripts of these unpublished works are at Mostaganem.

Bibliography: in addition to the works already mentioned: *al-Shahāʾid wa 'l-fatāwī fīmā ṣaḥḥ laday al-ʿulamāʾ min amr al-shaykh al-ʿAlāwī* (collected by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāriʾ), Tunis 1925; F. Schuon, *Rahimahu Llah* in *Cahiers du Sud*, 1935; ʿUddah b. Tūnis, *al-Rawḍa al-saniyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-ʿalawiyya*, Mostaganem 1936 (containing the *shaykh*'s dictated autobiography as far as 1910); A. Merad, *Le réformisme musulman en Algérie*, Paris and The Hague 1967, *passim*; M. Lings, *A Moslem Saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961.

(M. LINGS)

IBN ʿALḲAMA, TAMMĀM, the name of two prominent figures in Muslim Spain during the early ʿUmayyad amirate. (1) Abū Ghālib Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, *mawlā* (freedman) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam (*i.e.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿa al-Thaḳafī, Muʿāwiya's governor of al-Kūfa in 58/678, Ṭabarī, ii, 181), came to al-Andalus in 123/741 with the vanguard (*ṭalīʿa*) of the Syrian contingent of Baldj b. Bishr al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*]. A Ḳaysī [see ḲAYS] through his connexion

with Th̲aḳīf, Tammām b. ʿAlḳama was one of the chiefs who supported ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, al-Dāk̲h̲il [*q.v.*], in the latter's successful bid (138/755) to re-establish Umayyad rule in al-Andalus after its eclipse in the East. Perhaps the most notable exploit of Tammām b. ʿAlḳama was his share, with the *mawlā* Badr, in the reduction of Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*] (Toledo) in 147/764. Thereafter he was governor of Was̲h̲ḳa (Huesca), Ṭurṭūs̲h̲a (Tortosa) and Ṭarasūna (Tarazona), and died at an advanced age. towards the end of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I's grandson, al-Ḥakam I. al-Rabaḍī (180/796-206/822).

(2) Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, more fully Tammām b. ʿĀmir b. Aḥmad b. G̲h̲ālib b. Tammām b. ʿAlḳama al-Th̲aḳafī, the direct descendant of (1), with whom he is often confused. He is said to have died at the age of 96 (lunar) years in 283/896, *i.e.*, his birth should fall in 187/803, but is given as 194/809-10 by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (cited Ibn al-Abbār). He served as *wazīr* to the Umayyads Muḥammad I [*q.v.*] (238/852-273/886), al-Mund̲h̲ir [*q.v.*] (273/886-275/888) and ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] (275/888-300/912), the last of whom dismissed him. His celebrity is due, however, to his literary work, especially an *urd̲j̲ūza* (poem in the *rad̲j̲az* [*q.v.*] metre), which according to Ibn al-Abbār dealt with the conquest of al-Andalus by the Muslims, gave the names of the Spanish governors and Caliphs (*sic*: the Umayyad *amīr*s from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I are apparently meant) and recounted the wars in al-Andalus from the entry of its conqueror Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] to the last days of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] (206/822-238/852), at which time it was probably composed (Dozy). Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya's account of his ancestress, the Gothic princess Sarah (granddaughter of Witiza, the last ruler of the royal line of the Visigoths), appears to have come from the *urd̲j̲ūza* of Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, which is now lost. The few lines of poetry attributed to Tammām by Ibn al-Abbār are in a different metre and belong to a different work. Ibn Diḥya [*q.v.*] cites Tammām b. ʿAlḳama for the story of Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam, known as al-G̲h̲azāl [*q.v.*], stating that the former interrogated the latter, who was his older contemporary, on his journey to the court of the 'king of the Norsemen', but in view of the unreliable character of Ibn Diḥya this is not unexceptionable evidence either for the alleged journey, or for the existence of a work in prose by Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, in addition to those which have been mentioned.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ed. Dozy (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leiden 1847-51), 77-8, ed. H. Munis, Cairo 1963, i, 143-4; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1868, 6, 101, 103; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mug̲h̲rib fī ḥulā al-Mag̲h̲rib*, ed. S̲h̲awḳī Ḍayf (*D̲h̲ak̲h̲āʾir al-ʿArab*, 10), i, 44; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, Beirut 1954-61, iv, 266 (gives A. H. 149 for the capture of Toledo); Pons Boigues, 47-8; R. Dozy, ed., Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *al-Bayān al-mug̲h̲rib*, i, introd. 14; idem, *Recherches*[3], ii, 268; idem, *Hist. mus. Esp.*, new ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, 1932, index. (D. M. Dunlop)

IBN AL-ALḲAMĪ, Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad, the *wazīr* of al-Mustaʿṣim [*q.v.*], the last ʿAbbāsid caliph. He belonged to a S̲h̲īʿī family, which hailed, according to Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, from the town of Nīl on the canal of the same name. The *nisba* al-ʿAlḳamī was first borne by his grandfather, who was so called after a canal he had dug and not, apparently, Alḳamī [*q.v.*], the western branch of the Euphrates. According to Hindū-S̲h̲āh he held the post of *ustād̲h̲ al-dār* at the time of al-Mustaʿṣim's accession. Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, a fellow-S̲h̲īʿī, speaks of his distinction as a scholar, calligrapher and bibliophile and praises him for his statesmanlike qualities; but even he is constrained to admit to his treasonable correspondence with the Mongols prior to the attack on Bag̲h̲dād. His loyalty seems to have been alienated by the pillaging of the S̲h̲īʿī suburb of Kark̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. The extent of his treason it is difficult to assess. He was certainly at loggerheads with the military leaders in advocating a conciliatory attitude towards Hūlāgū [*q.v.*] but on the other hand one cannot credit the statements of D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī that he deliberately denuded Bag̲h̲dād of troops or that he was personally responsible for the breach of the dyke which contributed to the disastrous defeat of the Caliph's army at Bas̲h̲īriyya. According to Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn he was confirmed in his post as *wazīr* by the Mongols and, when he died on 2 D̲j̲umādā II 656/6 June 1258, was succeeded in that office by his son, S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī. On the other hand, Waṣṣāf speaks of his being passed over in favour of one Ibn ʿAmrān, a man of the people from Baḳʿūbā.

Bibliography: D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī, ed. Ḥabībī, ii, 190 ff., transl. Raverty, 1229 ff.; Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Alizade, 64; Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, 54 ff. (trans. 52 ff.); Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Kitāb al-Fak̲h̲rī*, ed. Derenbourg, 455 ff., trans. Amar, 580 ff.; Hindū-S̲h̲āh b. Sand̲j̲ar Nak̲h̲d̲j̲iwānī, *Tad̲j̲ārib al-salaf*, ed. Eghbal, 355 ff.; J. A. Boyle, *The death of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph: a contemporary Muslim account*, in *JSS*, vi/2 (annotated translation of an appendix to the *Taʾrīkh-i D̲j̲ahān-Gus̲h̲āy* of D̲j̲uwaynī attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī); O. Spies, *Ein unbenutzter Bericht über die Mongolen in Bagdad*, in *Isl.*, xl (1965), 97-112 (annotated translation of an account of the conquest of Bag̲h̲dād from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-S̲h̲āfiʿiyya* of Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn Subkī). (J. A. Boyle)

IBN AL-ʿALLĀF, Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Ziyād Ibn al-ʿAllāf (so called because his father was a seller of *ḳatt*) al-Nahrawānī, poet and traditionist who lived to be a hundred (218-318/833-930), becoming blind in his old age. He frequented the court at Bag̲h̲dād and was an intimate particularly of al-Muʿtaḍid and Ibn al-Muʿtazz. He knew much poetry and composed a great deal himself, so much indeed that his works, collected by a member of his family and accompanied by accounts of his relations with the persons on whom he had written panegyrics, occupied four hundred *waraḳa*s, if the *Fihrist* reading (Cairo ed., 238) is reliable.

Ibn al-ʿAllāf's fame however is based almost entirely on a *ḳaṣīda* of 65 verses (metre *munsariḥ*, rhyme *-dī*), including here and there gnomic verses in which he laments the death of his cat, killed by neighbours because it was about to eat their pigeons. This poem, which greatly interested al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād when it was recited to him by the poet's son, Abu'l-Ḥasan, is considered to be in fact an elegy on the death of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who had been killed by al-Muḳtadir; it is also thought however that it alludes to the treatment inflicted on al-Muḥassin, the son of Ibn al-Furāt (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index). or on a slave of Ibn al-ʿAllāf.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 170-1; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, i, 380; al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, vii, 379; Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 139-42; Damīrī, s.v. *hirr*; H. Bowen, *ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge-London 1928, 81-2; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 388-9. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AMĀD̲J̲ŪR or **IBN MĀD̲J̲ŪR**, name of a family of astronomers from Farg̲h̲āna. The

family consisted of the father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Amādjūr al-Turkī and of his son Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, and also of a freedman of the latter named Mufliḥ. They worked at Baghdād and at Shīrāz between 272/885 and 321/933, making astronomical observations which have been in part preserved by Ibn Yūnus. The son devoted much of his attention to the determination of the limits of the latitude of the moon, observing that it reached greater latitudes than those given by Hipparchus (2nd century B.C.) and finding considerable differences between his own various determinations; this observation, which implies a knowledge of the variation of the plane of the moon's orbit, demonstrates how exact was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī's work. The three astronomers collaborated in compiling the tables called *al-Badīʿ*, *al-Mamarrat*, *al-Khāliṣ*, *al-Muzannar*, and a version of the *Sind-Hind*, now lost, and some tables for Mars according to Persian chronology. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh was the author of two other works: *Djawāmiʿ aḥkām al-kusūfayn* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 5894 and Leiden 1107) and *Zād al-musāfir* (quoted by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 280; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. J. Lippert, 220, 231; A. Sédillot, *Prolegomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, i, Paris 1847, XXXV-XL; Brockelmann, S I, 397; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 630; H. Suter, 49 (no. 99), 211 (1900); idem, *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*, in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, xiv (1902), 165; J. B. J. Delambre, *Hist. de l'astronomie au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1819, 139; E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Transactions of the Amer. Philos. Soc.*, xlvi/2 (1956), nos. 8, 67, 78, 79, 90; C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-Falak*, Rome 1911, 175; M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xxiv (1870), 378, no. 67.

(J. Vernet)

IBN AL-ʿAMĪD, the name of two viziers of the early Būyids, the first of them known also as a man of letters:

(1) Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad was the son of a pedlar or wheat merchant in the Shīʿī town of Ḳumm in central Iran who later became a *kātib* in Khurāsān, where he received the title of *ʿamīd* [*q.v.*] which was in this region usually given to high officials. He appears at Bukhārā (*Mathālib*, 232-6) at an unknown date, perhaps later than his appearance in 321/933 as vizier of Washmgīr [*q.v.*] in Rayy, and in 323 as one of the chief dignitaries of Mardāwīdj just before his assassination at Iṣfahān. It is not known under what circumstances his son became in 328/940 the vizier of one of the Būyids, the future Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] (though it is known that the father was on friendly terms at Rayy with the latter's brother, the future ʿImād al-Dawla; but Abu 'l-Faḍl had quarrelled with his father). The chronicle does not mention his activity (whose double administrative and military character it emphasizes) until 339/950-1, when he foiled a conspiracy to set free the Musāfirid [*q.v.*] Marzubān, who had been imprisoned by Rukn al-Dawla; in the following year his intervention was chiefly responsible for the failure of the invasion of the Sāmānid general Ibn Ḳarategin; in 344/955-6 he organized the resistance to the invasion of Ibn Mākān, and in 435-6 to the revolt of the Daylamī Rūzbihān. Then again nothing is heard of him for ten years. For a time Rukn al-Dawla stationed him in Fārs with his young son, the future ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], and when the boy had grown up, Ibn al-ʿAmīd returned to Rayy to the now ageing Rukn al-Dawla. In this town, in 355/966, he succeeded in curbing the unruliness of an army of untrustworthy Khurāsānī *ghāzī*s passing through on their way to the Byzantine frontier; in 356 he reduced Ādharbaydjān to obedience to Rukn al-Dawla's ally, Ibrāhīm Sālār; he would however have preferred to persuade his prince to retain it and to make him its governor. Finally, in 359, he led an expedition against the Kurdish chief Ḥasanwayh [*q.v.*]. The illness which he contracted during it gave his son the opportunity to make demagogic overtures to the troops, disregarding his father's disapproval. He died at Hamadhān on 5 Ṣafar 360/9 December 970, having been vizier for 32 (lunar) years—a period whose length was to be exceeded later only by Niẓām al-Mulk.

Unfortunately practically nothing is known of his actual administration. Miskawayh, who had been his librarian, praises him, but in general terms only, for having been able to reorganize and maintain a regular system of administration in spite of the disorderly tendencies of the Daylamīs and of Rukn al-Dawla himself, and for having imposed discipline on the troops: it was probably because of his exceptional abilities in this last matter in particular that he enjoyed the apparently unshakeable confidence of his sovereign. The History of Ḳumm mentions during his period, though without naming him, measures in the stabilization of taxes which certainly correspond with his policy. According to Miskawayh, the letter which he wrote to Ibn Hindū on his appointment as governor of Fārs was a perfect summary of the duties and tasks of a good administrator.

Ibn al-ʿAmīd's reputation among his contemporaries and with posterity was not however due mainly to his administrative work but to the prestige which his intellectual and literary personality brought him among the circle of educated men which his office in effect permitted him to gather around him. The *Fihrist* lists only one genuine work written by him—a *K. al-Madhhab fi 'l-balāgha*, of which nothing is known; Abū Ḥayyān states that he has seen a *K. al-Khalḳ wa 'l-khulūḳ* by him but that it had not progressed beyond the stage of a rough draft. But his correspondence, if we are to believe Miskawayh, was so famous and considered so important as a model that there was scarcely a scribe who did not possess a copy of it: this makes it all the more strange that almost nothing of it has been directly preserved and that all that is known of it comes from quotations by Abū Ḥayyān, al-Thaʿālibī and Yāḳūt; even al-Ḳalḳashandī, though quoting so widely from his contemporary and rival Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ, seems not to have known of it. So little being known, there should be pointed out ms. no 412, p. 449 of the Bihar Catalogue, a short recently copied collection of some of Ibn al-ʿAmīd's letters, which deserves study and suggests that an earlier manuscript may exist somewhere in India or elsewhere. The critics' opinions on Ibn al-ʿAmīd's literary worth depended however on what the writer considered to be the stylistic ideal and perhaps also on his personal relations with Ibn al-ʿAmīd: while he is praised by Miskawayh, and in the *Yatīma* there is found the formula which was later so often repeated according to which style "began with Ibn al-Ḥamīd and ended with Ibn al-ʿAmīd", Abū Ḥayyān considers him as the first corruptor of the language of al-Djāḥiẓ and prefers to him his son Abu 'l-Fatḥ and his rival mentioned above, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ. On the whole,

the considerable influence exercised by Ibn al-ʿAmīd must have been due primarily to his prodigious memory in all matters, to his generosity (although Abū Ḥayyān accuses him also of avarice on various occasions), and to his friendly character. In letters, as in politics, he was the master less of his own son than of Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who always referred to him as *al-Ustādh al-Raʾīs*.

Bibliography: See BŪYIDS. Apart from the *Tadjārib* of Miskawayh (to be completed by the *Takmila* of Hamadhānī, ed. A. Y. Kanʿān), the main sources are: the *Mathālib al-Wazīrayn* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, ed. Ibrāhīm Kaylānī, Damascus 1961 (especially 55-6, and from 212 to the end), to be completed by the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, especially vol. i (index); and the *Yatīma* of Thaʿālibī. Yāḳūt's biography of Ibn al-ʿAmīd has not survived; that of Ibn Khallikān (no. 707, de Slane, iii, 256 f.) is based mainly on the *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, of which this part is lost, and the *K. al-Tādjī* of his ancestor mentioned above, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ. The article by Amedroz, *Ibn al-ʿAmīd*, in *Isl.*, iii, 323-51, consists essentially of translations of the passages concerning him in the *Tadjārib* of Miskawayh, at that time unpublished. I have not been able to see the brochure of Khalīl Mardum, *Ibn al-ʿAmīd*, Aleppo 1931.

(2) ABU 'L-FATḤ ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD . . ., born 337/948-9, son and successor of the above, who accompanied his father on the Kurdish campaign during which he died and during which Abu 'l-Fatḥ attracted attention, in spite of his father's disapproval, by his courting of the troops. He had the same intellectual qualities as Abu 'l-Faḍl and some writers even consider him to be a superior stylist, but he had the rashness and inexperience of youth and made the princes uneasy when his incautious expenditure in an attempt to form a personal following affected the regularity of the administration. The exhausted Rukn al-Dawla, wishing only for a quiet life, allowed him to take over his father's office, but he soon attracted the jealousy of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and of his brother, al-Muʾayyid. In 363/974-5 he took part, on the orders of Rukn al-Dawla, in ʿAḍud al-Dawla's campaign in ʿIrāḳ in support of his cousin Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*]. The latter's obvious inefficiency gave them the idea of making ʿIrāḳ into an apanage held by ʿAḍud, under his father's suzerainty, with Abu 'l-Fatḥ as vizier of this region. Abu 'l-Fatḥ, sent to sound the aged ruler on the matter, had great difficulty in pacifying him, Rukn al-Dawla attaching great importance to family solidarity and loyalty; nevertheless, ʿAḍud having left, Abu 'l-Fatḥ remained behind at Baghdād where he amused himself, amassed possessions, improved his relations with Bakhtiyār and his vizier Ibn Baḳiyya [*q.v.*], and received from the caliph, without Rukn al-Dawla's having asked for anything, the *laḳab* of *Dhu 'l-kifāyatayn*, in short gave the impression of following his own personal policy against the interests of Rukn and of ʿAḍud. ʿAḍud used him again in 365/976 to settle with his angry father questions concerning the succession; but in 366, Rukn being now dead, ʿAḍud intervened in ʿIrāḳ, while Abu 'l-Fatḥ, who had remained at Rayy, quarrelled there with the influential counsellor of al-Muʾayyid, Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], whom he feared and tried to get removed and even killed, and finally, on the orders of ʿAḍud, al-Muʾayyid's suzerain, was arrested, tortured and put to death. The family, of whom no other members are known, does not seem to have played after this any role of importance.

Bibliography: See BŪYIDS and the above article on Abu 'l-Faḍl; there is a long biography on Abu 'l-Fatḥ in the *Irshād* of Yāḳūt, v, 347-73, based on the chronicle or the *K. al-Wuzarāʾ* of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, a *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ābī, and an account by Abū Ḥayyān which I have not been able to find either in the *Mathālib* or in the *Imtāʿ* (both of which include several paragraphs on Abu 'l-Fatḥ—see index); the life of Abu 'l-Fatḥ in Ibn Khallikān is also based on the *Wuzarāʾ*, and on the *Tādjī* of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ; see also the correspondence of the latter (ed. in part by Shakīb Arslan) and J. Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAdud ad-Daulas*, 1965; the *Yatīma* contains nothing about him. (CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-ʿAMĪD [see IBN AL-KALĀNISĪ; AL-MAKĪN].

IBN AL-AMĪN MAḤMŪD KEMĀL [see INAL].

IBN ʿĀMIR, ABŪ ʿUMAR ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿĀMIR AL-YAḤṢUBĪ, "reader" of the Ḳurʾān whose *ḳirāʾa* [*q.v.*] is counted among the seven canonical "readings". Of south Arabian origin, he belonged to the first class of the Tābiʿūn [*q.v.*], his guarantors being ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Abu 'l-Dardāʾ [*q.v.*] and other less famous Companions. He settled in Damascus, where he was appointed *ḳāḍī* by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and chief of police by Yazīd b. al-Walīd and Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd; his "reading" was adopted by the inhabitants of Damascus. He died in 118/736, having had as direct disciples his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and especially Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī (d. 145/762), whom Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, 530) includes among the authors of canonical "readings", while mentioning Ibn ʿĀmir only incidentally. His reading was transmitted indirectly by ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Dhakwān (d. 241/856) and the *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, Hishām b. ʿAmmār al-Sulamī (d. 245/859).

Among others of the same name, the best known is ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348, 43-4; Ibn Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, s.v.; Dānī, *Taysīr*, s.v.; idem, *Muḥkam*, Damascus 1960, 140, 188; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Munadjdjid, ii/1, 51; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; ʿAskalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 274; *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii; H. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, 120. (ED.)

IBN ʿAMĪRA, ABU 'L-MUṬARRIF AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, writer, poet and judge, who was born in Valencia (Spain) in Ramaḍān 580/December 1184, and died in Tunis in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 656 or 658/December 1258 or November 1260 (his grandfather's name is given as ʿUmayra in the *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās* of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, 72). His family originated in Alcira (Djazīrat Shuḳr), near Valencia. He studied with the best Andalusian scholars and then travelled probably to the East where he acquired an immense knowledge of *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth* and literature, and also gained some acquaintance with certain branches of the speculative sciences (*maʿḳūlāt*), philosophy, *kalām*, etc.

On his return, he settled for a time in his native town, where he became one of the local dignitaries. It was there that he started a life-long friendship with Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*]. Shortly afterwards, he became a judge at Jativa, and he must have held the same position in Majorca in about 627/1229-30, for he was present in the island when it was conquered by James I of Aragon (Jaime el Conquistador); he wrote an account of the event in a book, the title of which is unknown and which is always referred to as *Kitāb ʿan kāʾinat Mayyūrḳa*; this is his most famous work, and al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*,

ii, 765-6) reproduces long passages from it. From there he must have returned to Valencia, where he witnessed the last years of its history as a Muslim town, until it surrendered, also to James I, nine years after Majorca (17 Ṣafar 636/28 September 1238). His native town being lost, he crossed the Straits to Morocco and entered the service of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd, the tenth Almohad caliph (630-40/1232-42), who appointed him secretary in the Chancellery. A little later, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of the Hilāna tribe, and then transferred to Salé; in the following reign he appears as a *ḳāḍī* in Meknès. Later, he moved to Ceuta and from there to Ifrīḳiya, where he entered the service of the Ḥafṣids, in Tunis. He was appointed *ḳāḍī*, first of al-Urbus, then of Gabès; al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh (647-75/1249-76) made him one of his advisers, and he became his favourite courtier until his death, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 658/26 November 1260.

Ibn ʿAmīra was a prolific writer of both prose and verse; the sources named in the bibliography reproduce an abundance of material, mostly in the form of official State letters and letters addressed to friends. Even his book on the fall of Majorca was a *risāla* addressed to some particular person. His prose is sober, eloquent, beautiful and precise, but is surpassed in these qualities by that of his contemporary Ibn al-Abbār. His poetry is better than his prose. The only work to have survived under his name is *al-Tibyān fī ʿilm al-kalām* (MS Escorial 296), and it seems in fact that this and the work on Majorca are the only books that he wrote, although several others have been attributed to him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Muḳtaḍab min Kitāb Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, Cairo 1957, 145-50 (an abridgement which omits most of the prose quotations); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, ed. and trans. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule ibérique au moyen âge*, Leiden 1938, 33, 48-55, 103-4 of the Arabic text; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, Fās 1315, 72-3; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1942, iii, 218; M. M. Antuña, *Notas sobre dos mss. escurialenses mal catalogados*, in *al-Andalus*, vi/2 (1941), 271-6; Brockelmann, I, 381; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 402; ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, MS Ḳarawiyyīn, i, 70 ff.; Muḥ. b. Sharīfa, *Abu 'l-Muṭarrif Aḥmad b. ʿAmīra al-Makhzūmī, ḥayātuh wa āthāruh*, Rabat 1966. (H. Monès)

IBN ʿAMMĀR, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, *faḳīh* and poet, known at the present time in Algeria under the name of Sīdī Ben ʿAmmār. It is not known where or when he was born and nothing is known of his childhood, his youth and his early studies. He is said to have learned *ḥadīth* from Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAḳīl (or ʿUḳāyl) al-Yāʿalawī (sic) or al-Bāʿalawī (probably al-Yaʿlāwī, *i.e.*, of the Banī Yaʿlā, a tribe of the lesser Kabylie) al-Makkī, who died in 1170/1756; he is said to have studied more particularly the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī under masters (?) whose line went back to Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Maḳḳarī, a former *muftī* of Tlemcen (928/1521-1011/1602). He is said, furthermore, to have been initiated into the precepts of the fraternity of the Shādhiliyya by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Munawwar al-Tilimsānī, a disciple of Mḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Darʿī, and to have received his mystical education from a second line of masters going back to the Egyptian ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAfīfī.

For his literary education and notably for the composition of *muwashshaḥāt* his masters are said to have been two well-known Algerians, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Mandjallātī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known nowadays in Algeria by the name of Sīdī Ben ʿlī.

In 1166/1752 he decided to perform the *ḥadjdj* and, six years later, after a stay in Cairo, withdrew to the Ḥidjāz to end his days there as a *mudjāwir* [*q.v.*]. According to certain indications, he was still alive in 1204/1789, and his death allegedly occurred in Mecca between this date and 1211/1796. This is all that is known of his life and studies. In Algiers he held the post of Mālikī *muftī* for a long time and taught *ḥadīth*.

Among his pupils or listeners is named Aḥmad al-Ghazzāl al-Djazāʾirī, who transmitted, in a *ḳaṣīda* of twenty verses, the memory left by the breadth of his knowledge and the quality of his teaching.

Of his written works the following titles are known: (1) a *dīwān* of verse; (2) *Liwāʾ al-naṣr fī fuḍalāʾ al-ʿaṣr*; (3) *Risāla fī 'l-ṭarīḳa al-khalwatiyya*; (4) *Niḥlat al-labīb bi-akhbār al-riḥla ila 'l-ḥabīb*.

Only the introduction of the last work has survived, and nothing more is known of it; it is principally from this introduction that we draw the preceding remarks on the personality and works of Ibn ʿAmmār, who, for his time, is indisputably both an *ʿālim* and a *faḳīh*, an *adīb*, a poet and something of a mystic. Without completely neglecting the "humanities" of the Middle East, his interest, in all fields, is obviously centred on the Arabo-Islamic West. As a *muftī* he willingly follows Ibn al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], Ibn Marzūḳ [*q.v.*], al-Raṣṣāʿ, al-Wansharīsī [*q.v.*]; as an *adīb* he admires al-Shaḳrāṭisī, al-Tanasī, Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ḳaysī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Zamrak, and he may be considered a disciple of al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAmmār, *Niḥlat al-labīb bi-akhbār al-riḥla ila 'l-ḥabīb*, Algiers 1320/1902; Warthīlānī, *Riḥla*, Algiers 1908; Joachim de Gonzales, *Essai chronologique sur les musulmans célèbres de la ville d'Alger*, Algiers 1886; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, 2 vols., Algiers 1328/1909; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa'l-athbāt*, Fez n.d.; M. Hadj-Sadok, *Le mawlid d'après le muftī-poète d'Alger Ibn ʿAmmār*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957. (M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ʿAMMĀR, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAmmār, poet and vizier of al-Andalus. Born in 422/1031 in a village near Silves, he belonged to a poor and obscure family and his claim to be of Yemenī origin is doubtful. After beginning his studies at Silves, he received at Cordova an advanced literary education and then tried to make his literary talent pay, travelling throughout Spain in search of patrons. Nothing appears to have survived of his first panegyrics, addressed, it seems without much success, to various Andalusian petty kings, especially as he is said to have himself destroyed the works of his youth. In 445/1053, he arrived at Seville and decided to present himself to the local ruler, al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], who had just gained some military successes and was eager to have his exploits praised in writing. Seizing this opportunity, Ibn ʿAmmār addressed to him a panegyric in which he praised his valour and bravery, attacked his Berber enemies and expressed the desire that his own talent should be rewarded. Al-Muʿtaḍid, beguiled by these praises, appointed Ibn ʿAmmār a court poet and adopted him as a companion in his pleasures; this was for him the beginning of an eventful career, which was, however,

always linked with the ʿAbbādids. At the court he became the friend of the prince Muḥammad, accompanying him to Silves when the prince was made governor there; but as he pandered to the desires of his friend, disagreeable rumours began to circulate about the two young men and al-Muʿtaḍid, mistrusting their friendship, recalled his son to Seville in 450/1058 and commanded the poet to leave the kingdom. Ibn ʿAmmār then sought refuge in Saragossa, whence he addressed poems to the ruler of Seville and to his vizier, Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*], in a vain attempt to make them relent. He had to wait until the death of al-Muʿtaḍid and the succession of his friend Muḥammad (who took the title al-Muʿtamid) in 461/1069 before being recalled to Seville.

From then on Ibn ʿAmmār gave up poetry to some extent in order to devote himself to politics, in an effort to play a prominent part in Muslim Spain. Soon after his return he was appointed governor of Silves and later became al-Muʿtamid's chief minister. In 462/1070, he took part in the annexing to the kingdom of Seville of the town of Cordova, which became the seat of the court; the following year he got rid of Ibn Zaydūn, whom he considered as his rival, by sending him back to Seville; he struggled successfully against the favourite Iʿtimād, who was hostile to him, and succeeded in dominating the ruler completely and practically directing the state. He then advocated a policy of expansion based on the support of the Christians, *i.e.*, of Alfonso VI, with whom he strengthened the relations of Seville to such an extent that he was even considered a traitor. His manoeuvres to take Granada with the help of Alfonso VI failed however, and his first action against Murcia (Tudmīr) had no greater success. This attempt was part of a plan which he had conceived in order to gain possession of the town for himself personally; he therefore set himself up as independent governor of Murcia as soon as he had succeeded in taking possession of it, with the help of Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ [*q.v.*], in 471/1078. Taking advantage of this victory, he turned to Toledo, leaving behind in Murcia Ibn Ras̲h̲īḳ, who in turn betrayed him and declared himself independent. Dispossessed of his short-lived conquest, Ibn ʿAmmār took refuge once again at Saragossa with Muʾtamin Ibn Hūd [*q.v.*], in whose name he took part in a number of successful expeditions; he was, however, captured at Segura in Rabīʿ I 477/August 1084, and, forced to abandon all political activity, returned to poetry. While in captivity, he wrote some moving poems in which he implores the help of al-Muʿtamid, but the latter had a score to settle and, instead of simply ransoming him, decided to make sure of his person by buying him. Ibn ʿAmmār was brought back to Cordova in chains and paraded on a donkey, then taken to Seville, where he suffered the most degrading humiliations. In spite of interventions on his behalf, al-Muʿtamid stood firm and did not allow himself to be swayed again by the pleas which Ibn ʿAmmār addressed to him from prison; nevertheless, the poems with which he tried to soften the heart of his former friend are marked by strong emotion and certainly such as to touch al-Muʿtamid's feelings, to the extent that he seemed at one time to be on the point of yielding and granting pardon, but his prisoner made a blunder which was skilfully exploited by his enemies, in particular by the son of Ibn Zaydūn, who had taken his father's place, and al-Muʿtamid in a passion of anger cut off Ibn ʿAmmār's head with one blow of an axe (479/1086).

As regards his character, Ibn ʿAmmār is accorded in Spain the fame which he deserves; his intelligence and especially his unbounded ambition made him a dangerous and much-feared person, who knew too well how to attract people by charm of manner and conversation. His behaviour towards al-Muʿtamid is judged with severity but does not prevent the critics from recognizing his poetic talent. His poetry, very personal in inspiration and composed with remarkable technical skill, is indisputably gifted and original, but his satires are bitter and his panegyrics often lacking in dignity.

His *Dīwān* was much read in Spain, where it appeared in the two recensions, now lost, of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Tamīmī and of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-S̲h̲ilbī; besides, Ibn Bassām included the poems from it which were considered the best in his *Nuk̲h̲bat al-ik̲h̲tiyār fī as̲h̲ʿār D̲h̲i 'l-wizāratayn Ibn ʿAmmār*, which is also lost. Recently, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn K̲h̲āliṣ made an attempt to reconstruct it in a *thèse complémentaire* presented at the Sorbonne in 1953, also devoting to the poet a long chapter in his *thèse principale* on *La vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*; the data thus collected were published in Bag̲h̲dād in 1957 under the title of *Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Andalusī*.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les «Mémoires» de ʿAbd Allāh, dernier roi zīride de Grenade*, in *al-Andalus*, iii-iv (1935-6), index; Ibn Bassām, *D̲h̲akhīra*, ii (MS); Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 88-99; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, apud Dozy, *Scriptorum arabum loci de Abbadidis* (Muʾnis ed., index); Ibn K̲h̲allikān, iv; Marrākus̲h̲ī, *Muʿd̲j̲ib*, index; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn Ḍiḥya, *Muṭrib*; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *K̲h̲arīdat al-ḳaṣr*, MS Paris 3330; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 83-117 and references there given; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*², 75-8; A. Ḍayf, *Balāg̲h̲at al-ʿArab fi 'l-Andalus*, Cairo 1342/1924, 111-20; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ʿAMMĀR [see ʿAMMĀR, BANŪ; AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH; ṬARĀBULUS].

IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ [see AL-ANBĀRĪ, ABU 'L-BARAKĀT. Attia Amer has published in succession at Stockholm (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, ii, iii, vi) the *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ* (1963), the *Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw* (1963) and *al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd* (1966)].

IBN AL-AʿRĀBĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ZIYĀD, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, philologian of the school of Kūfa, who is said to have been the son of a slave from Sind who became a *mawlā* of al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Hās̲h̲imī. Born at Kūfa in 150/767, he was the pupil principally of al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*], of Abū Muʿāwiya al-Ḍarīr, of al-Ḳāsim b. Maʿn al-Masʿūdī (see *Fihrist*, Cairo, 103) and of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*], who had married his mother and whose *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* he handed on; and he in his turn had many disciples, among them T̲h̲aʿlab [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī and Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*], besides Saʿīd b. Salm b. Ḳutayba, whose teacher he was. His biographers praise his learning in grammar, lexicography, genealogies and poetry, and he is said to have dictated from memory, without having to refer to any book, enough material to have loaded several camels. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, who knew him at Bag̲h̲dād or at Sāmarrā, quotes him often as a *rāwī*, without, it seems, resenting his ill-natured attack on the Baṣra scholars Abū ʿUbayda and al-Aṣmaʿī, who, he maintained, knew nothing. He claims to have received from the mouth of the Bedouins many facts which contradict the affirmations of al-Aṣmaʿī, but

he himself indulges in fanciful interpretations and accepts curious grammatical rules, to the extent that his critics have easily been able to point out proofs of his ignorance, even in the domains where he is considered a master.

Afflicted with both a squint and a limp (Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb calls him also al-Aʿradj), he seems not to have had a very distinguished career, but his learning nevertheless met with some success, since audiences of more than one hundred crowded to his classes. At Sāmarrā, al-Wāthiḳ resorted to him for the solution of a philological problem, which proves that he enjoyed quite a wide reputation. In spite of his hostility towards the Muʿtazilīs, it was Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād [*q.v.*] himself who led the funeral prayer at his grave, on 13 Shaʿbān 231/14 April 846 (but the date of his death varies from 230 to 233), at Sāmarrā.

About twenty works are attributed to him: *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. al-Anwāʾ*, *K. Ṣifat al-nakhl*, *K. Ṣifat al-zarʿ*, *K. al-Khayl*, *K. Taʾrīkh al-ḳabāʾil*, *K. Maʿāni ʾl-shiʿr*, *K. Tafsīr al-amthāl* (*Fihrist*: *al-Ḳabāʾil*, but that is an error), *K. al-Nabāt*, *K. al-Alfāẓ*, *K. Nasab al-khayl*, *K. Nawādir al-Zubayriyyīn*, *K. Nawādir Banī Faḳʿas*, *K. al-Dhubāb* (transmitted by al-Sukkarī), *K. al-Nabt wa ʾl-baḳl*, and others listed by Brockelmann. Only a few of these have survived, a *K. al-Fāḍil fi ʾl-adab*, a collection of elegies published by Wright (*Op. ar.*, 97-122), a *K. al-Biʾr* (Cairo, vii, 652) [see BIʾR], and the *K. Asmāʾ khayl al-ʿArab wa-fursānihā*, which must correspond to the *K. Nasab al-khayl* mentioned above (ed. G. Levi Della Vida, *Les "Livres des Chevaux"*, Leyden 1928); on his recension of al-Akhṭal's *Dīwān*, see AL-AKHṬAL.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; Muḥ b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 238; idem, *ʿUyūn* and *Adab al-kātib*, index; Ṭabarī, iii, 972, 1357; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 117, vii, 162-4; *Fihrist*, Cairo, 102-3; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, index; Ibn Khallikān, i; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 282-5; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 189-96; Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal sāʾir*, 490; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 784; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 42-3; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Damascus 1953, iii, 79-80 (no. 993); Anbārī, *Nuzha*², 95-7; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373/1954, 213; *Fihris al-muʾallifīn*, Tetuan 1952, 248; *al-Muḳtabas*, vi, 3-9; Fück, *ʿArabīya*, 49-51 (Fr. trans., 75-8) and index; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 49 and index; Brockelmann, S I, 179-80; B. al-Bustānī, in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 340-4. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ, a traditionist belonging to Seville; b. 468/1076, d. 543/1148. In 485/1092 he travelled with his father to the East, and spent periods studying in Damascus and Baghdād. In 489/1096 he performed the Pilgrimage, after which he returned to Baghdād and studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and others. He then went with his father to Egypt and met traditionists in Cairo and Alexandria. After his father's death in 493/1100 he returned to Seville, where he was credited with encyclopaedic knowledge. He wrote books on a variety of subjects, including *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, Ḳurʾān studies, *adab*, grammar, and history. A long list of his writings is given by Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 483 f. Among them is *ʿĀriḍa al-Aḥwadhī*, a commentary on al-Tirmidhī's collection of traditions. Many of his works are no longer extant. In Seville he acted as *ḳāḍī* for a time, acquiring a reputation for severity towards evildoers and kindness towards humble people. He later resigned this post and devoted himself to scholarship, both teaching and writing. When the Muwaḥḥids entered Seville he and others were taken to Marrākush where he was imprisoned for about a year. He died while on a journey from Marrākush to Fez, where he was buried. Maḳḳarī says a *ziyāra* came to be held at his tomb, which he himself had visited several times. While Ibn al-ʿArabī was generally highly commended, everyone did not accept him as an authority on *ḥadīth*. He has been called *thiḳa* (trustworthy) and *thabat* (reliable), but the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā (d. 544/1149), a contemporary who heard traditions from him, said people criticized his traditions, and Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449) has called him *ḍaʿīf* (weak).

Bibliography: Ibn Bashkuwāl, No. 1181; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 477-89; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 86-90; Ibn Khayr, *Fihrisa*, 567 (Bibl. Arab.-Hisp., x); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, Cairo 1329, 281-4; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, v, 234; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1275, i, 697 f., De Slane (Eng. trans.), iii, 12-14; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 546 A.H.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, Index No. 2045; Brockelmann, I, 525, S I, 632 f., 732 f. (J. ROBSON)

IBN AL-ʿARABĪ, MUḤYI ʾL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿARABĪ AL-ḤĀTIMĪ AL-ṬĀʾĪ, known as al-Shaykh al-Akbar (560/1165-638/1240), was one of the greatest Ṣūfīs of Islam. He is usually referred to—incorrectly—as Ibn ʿArabī, without the article, to distinguish him from Ibn al-ʿArabī, Abū Bakr [*q.v.*]; in Turkey he is often referred to as "Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn ʿArabī"; whereas some sources (*e.g.*, al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 487) give his *kunya* as Abū Bakr, in autograph notes he refers to himself only as Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

Life. He was born at Murcia on 27 Ramaḍān 560/7 August 1165 (see the note by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, reproduced by A. Ateş, in *TV*, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), Pl. XXV), of a family claiming descent from Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*]; some Ṣūfī adepts were numbered among his near relations. When he was eight, his father moved to Seville, where Ibn al-ʿArabī began his formal education; as a young man he is said to have acted as *kātib* to various governors (al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 568). At an early age, in the course of an illness, he enjoyed a vision (*Futūḥāt*, iv, 552) which changed the course of his life, leading him to regard his earlier years as a period of *djāhiliyya* (*Futūḥāt*, i, 207); the genuineness of this "conversion" much impressed his father's friend the philosopher Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*], the *ḳāḍī* of Seville (*Futūḥāt*, i, 170). Although Ibn al-ʿArabī claimed that his *maʿrifa* was communicated to him with no intermediary, he notes in his works the names of many *shaykhs* whom he served and whose company he sought, among them: Abū Djaʿfar al-ʿUraynī (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds* [no. 8, below], fol. 41; *Futūḥāt*, iii, 589, 596, etc.); Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳaysī, a disciple of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fol. 43); Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAdawī, skilled at revealing the future; Abu ʾl-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf, etc. (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fols. 46-73), and two women: Fāṭima bint al-Muthannā and Shams Umm al-Fuḳarāʾ. Although he refers to Abū Madyan (d. 598/1193) as his "*shaykh*", in fact he never met him personally (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fol. 66).

Ibn al-ʿArabī spent some ten years in various towns of Spain and North Africa with these teachers, but until 590/1194 Seville remained his home. In that year, at the age of 30, he went to Tunis to join a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī (*Rūḥ al-*

ḳuds, fol. 33). In the next year he went to Fez, where in 594/1198 he wrote his *K. al-Isrāʾ* (no. 3, below). In 595/1199 he was in Cordova, where he attended the funeral of Ibn Rus̲h̲d, and later at Almeria, where he wrote his *Mawāḳiʿ al-nud̲j̲ūm* (no. 7 below) (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 576); in 598/1202 he was back in Tunis and then, travelling via Cairo and Jerusalem, set out to perform the Pilgrimage (*Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, fol. 63 v.). Deeply moved by the sight of the *Kaʿba*, for him the point of contact between the worlds of the invisible (*g̲h̲ayb*) and the visible (*s̲h̲uhūd*), he stayed for two years at Mecca, frequently performing the *ṭawāf*, reading and meditating, and enjoying many mystic visions and dreams. It was here that he wrote his *Tād̲j̲ al-rasāʾil* (no. 6), his *Rūḥ al-ḳuds* (no. 8), and began, in 598/1202, his great *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (no. 1); here too he addressed to ʿAyn al-S̲h̲ams Niẓām, the daughter of an Iṣfahānī resident in Mecca, the poems collected in a *dīwān* entitled *Tard̲j̲umān al-as̲h̲wāḳ* (no. 13).

In 600/1204 he met at Mecca a number of Anatolian pilgrims from Konya and Malatya, led by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī's father, Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Isḥāḳ, who was then living in Syria; he accompanied them on their homeward journey, via Bag̲h̲dād and Mosul (where they stayed for some months), reaching Malatya by D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 601/June-July 1205. The Sultan of Konya, Kay-K̲h̲usraw I [*q.v.*], now restored to his throne, invited Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn to re-join him (Ibn Bībī, facs. 91 f.; tr. Duda, 41 f.); the latter brought Ibn al-ʿArabī with him, and the Sultan loaded both with gifts (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 569; *Futūḥāt*, iii, 126, 255). In the next years we find Ibn al-ʿArabī again travelling—to Jerusalem, Cairo, and Mecca—but in 606/1209-10 he was back in Konya, where in that year he wrote his *Risālat al-anwār*. In 608/1211-2 he was again in Bag̲h̲dād, perhaps accompanying Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn, who had been sent to the Caliphal court to announce the accession of Kay-Kāʾūs I. To this new ruler Ibn al-ʿArabī addressed a letter of practical advice in religious matters (text in *Futūḥāt*, iv, 604 f.).

In the following years he visited Aleppo (where he began the *S̲h̲arḥ* (no. 14) to his *Tard̲j̲umān al-as̲h̲wāḳ*, completing it in Aksaray in 612/1215) and Sivas (where he had a dream foretelling Kay-Kāʾūs's re-capture of Antalya), but from 612/1216 onwards he lived mainly at Malatya. Here his son Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad was born, in 618/1221. The report that he married the widow of his old friend Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn seems doubtful: at least the latter's son Ṣadr al-Dīn (b. 606/1209-10) and Ibn al-ʿArabī do not speak of each other as step-son and step-father.

It is not known why, or when, Ibn al-ʿArabī finally left Anatolia to settle at Damascus, where he is first found living in 627/1230. Here he probably experienced some discomfort, exposed to the criticisms of the orthodox but finding protectors in the Ibn Zakī family of *ḳāḍīs* (Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo n.d., xiii, 156) and in members of the Ayyūbid ruling family. He led a quiet life of reading and teaching, composing, as the result of a dream in 627/1229, his most influential work, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (no. 2 below), and completing and revising, from 630/1233 onwards, his *Futūḥāt*. A tradition (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 581, from al-Yāfiʿī [*q.v.*]) that towards the end of his life Ibn al-ʿArabī forbade the reading of his works is belied by the facts that he heard and approved the text of his *Kitāb al-Asfār* (no. 10) only 20 days before his death (A. Ateş, in *Bell.*, xvi/61 (1952), 87), and that his disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn, who was with him in his last days, spent his life in teaching and commenting on his master's works. Ibn al-ʿArabī died, in the house of the *ḳāḍī* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-Zakī, on 28 Rabīʿ II 638/16 November 1240, and was buried in that family's *turba* on the slopes of Mount Ḳāsiyūn.

Ibn al-ʿArabī married several wives and presumably had many children, but only two of his sons are known: Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad, b. 618/1221 in Malatya, d. 656/1258 in Damascus, a poet (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, 325 (which, however, gives the date of his death as 686); *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 572; Brockelmann, I, 583), and ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, d. 667/1269 in Damascus (*Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, *loc.cit.*).

The Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, during his stay in Damascus after his Egyptian campaign (923-4/1517-8), ordered the rebuilding of the *turba* where Ibn al-ʿArabī was buried, and the construction nearby of a mosque and a *takkiyya* (H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas* ..., Damascus 1952, 148-50; cf. Ferīdūn, *Muns̲h̲aʾāt*[1], i, 404, 441, 444; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 379); on this occasion a *fatwā* lauding Ibn al-ʿArabī was given by Kemāl-Pas̲h̲a-zāde [*q.v.*] (text in *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, v, 195).

Works. Ibn al-ʿArabī was certainly the most prolific of all Ṣūfī writers; although Brockelmann (I, 571-82, S I, 791-802) lists no less than 239 works (perhaps with some duplication of works with differing titles), he was unable to avail himself fully of the rich resources of the libraries of Istanbul and Anatolia—the investigation of which still remains incomplete. Ibn al-ʿArabī himself did not know how many works he had written; at the request of his friends he endeavoured to draw up a list, of which three (conflicting) versions survive: (1) *Fihrist* (Konya, MS Yusuf Ağa 4989, pp. 378-89, on which see A Ateş, in *TV*, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), 155-6), written by Ṣadr al-Dīn before 627/1230, is incomplete; (2) a MS of 1337/1918-9 (copied from one of 639/1241-2) lies behind Kurkīs al-ʿAwwād, *Fihrist muʾallafāt Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. ʿArabī*, in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, xxix (Damascus 1954), 344-59, 527-36, xxx (1955), 51-60, 268-80, 395-410; this lists 248 works, some said to be uncompleted; (3) the *id̲j̲āza* which Ibn al-ʿArabī gave to the Ayyūbid G̲h̲āzī b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 632/1234 (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss* ..., iv, 77, no. 2992/4) mentions 289 works. [Osman Yahia (see bibl.) lists no fewer than 846 items.] Altogether there seems little doubt that Ibn al-ʿArabī is the author of some 400 works; some of these, as he himself said (K. al-ʿAwwād, *op. cit.*, xxix, 355, 527, 534), had been given away to others, some were in circulation, some he still retained, waiting for God's command to release them. Many of Ibn al-ʿArabī's books, both those written by himself and those owned by him, passed to Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, who left them as *waḳf* to the library which he founded at Konya; in spite of later neglect, many of these survive in the Yusuf Ağa Library at Konya and in other Turkish libraries; and in what follows, especial emphasis will be laid on these and other exceptionally authoritative manuscripts.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's production was not only in the field of *taṣawwuf*, but his other works are not known to survive: among these are an abridgement of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and a *K. Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, a compilation of the traditions collected by Muslim and al-Buk̲h̲ārī; an abridgement of Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Muḥallā* was apparently known to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (*Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, ii, 1617).

Of his *ṣūfī* works, the most important are:

(1) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya fī asrār al-mālikiyya wa 'l-mulkiyya* (Brockelmann[2], no. 10). The auto-

graph text of the second recension, in 37 volumes dated 633-7/1235-9, is preserved in Istanbul, MSS Türk-Islâm Eserleri Müzesi 1845-81; several printed eds.: 1269, 1294, 1329. The work was begun in Mecca in 598/1201 and finished (according to one tradition) in 629/1231. In six *faṣl* subdivided into 560 *bāb*, it contains a full exposition of the author's *ṣūfī* doctrine. A commentary on its difficult passages was written by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (d. 832/1428; Brockelmann, S II, 283), and there are abridgements by (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*] (d. 973/1565): *Lawāḳiḥ al-anwār* ... (Cairo 1311); *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar* ... (Cairo 1277); *al-Yawāḳīt wa 'l-djawāhir* ... (Cairo 1277, 1305, 1321).

(2) *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam wa khuṣūṣ al-kilam* (Brockelmann [2], no. 11). MS written by Ṣadr al-Dīn in 630/1232-3, read to and corrected by the author, in Istanbul, MS Türk-Islâm Eserleri Müzesi 1933. This summary of the teaching of 28 prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, dictated to the author at Damascus by the Prophet in a dream, has been frequently printed: Cairo 1252, Istanbul 1897, Cairo 1304, 1309, 1321, 1329, etc. Abridged Eng. tr.: Sahib Khaja Khan, *Wisdom of the Prophets* ..., Madras 1929; partial Fr. tr.: T. Burckhardt, *La sagesse des prophètes*, Paris 1955; Turkish tr. in the series Şark-islâm Klasikleri (no. 27), by Nûrî Genç Osman, Istanbul 1952. Brockelmann lists no less than 35 commentaries, the most important of which are (a) Ibn al-ʿArabī's own *Miftāḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*, (b) Ṣadr al-Dīn's *al-Fukūk fī mustanadāt Ḥikam al-fuṣūṣ* (see Osman Ergin, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, ii (1957), 75); those by (c) ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilamsānī (d. 690/1291; Brockelmann, I, 300), and (d) ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 736/1335; Brockelmann, S II, 280); (e) the *Maṭlaʿ Khuṣūṣ al-kilam* of Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī (d. 751/1350; Brockelmann, II, 299); (f) the *Naḳd al-nuṣūṣ* of Djāmī [*q.v.*], etc.

(3) *K. al-Isrāʾ ilā maḳām al-asrā* (Brockelmann [2], no. 15). MS Veliyüddin (Istanbul, Bayezid Public Library) 1628, dated 633/1235-6, was read to the author. Printed: Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948. A short work, written in rhyming prose (*sadjʿ*) in Fez in 594/1198, it describes Ibn al-ʿArabī's "*miʿrādj*" from the world of being (*kawn*) to the station (*mawḳif*) in God's presence. Commentaries by (a) his disciple Ismāʿīl b. Sawdakīn al-Nūrī (d. 646/1248; Brockelmann, I, 582), (b) Sitt al-ʿAdjam bint al-Nafīs, and (c) Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Munāwī.

(4) *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār wa musāmarāt al-akhyār* (Brockelmann [2], no. 128). MS Istanbul, Topkapısarayı Ahmed III 2145 is dated 711/1311-2; printed: Cairo 1282 (lith.), 1305, 1324. This two volume collection of anecdotes contains some spurious additions, but the authorship of the basic work is certain.

(5) *Kalām al-ʿAbādila* (Brockelmann [2], no. 126). MS dated 641/1243-4: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4859/2; same date: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/1; MS dated 663/1264-5: Istanbul, Köprülü 713/3 (copied from the autograph); a collection of "sayings" attributed to numerous (imaginary) personages named "ʿAbd Allāh".

(6) *Tādj al-rasāʾil wa minhādj al-wasāʾil* (Brockelmann [2], no. 54). MS dated 613/1216-7 and 616/1219-20, "heard" by the author: Istanbul, Veliyüddin 1759/1; 764/1362-3: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4875, fols. 130-46; printed: Cairo 1328. A set of eight letters recounting his spiritual conversations with the Kaʿba while in Mecca in 600/1203-4.

(7) *Mawāḳiʿ al-nudjūm wa maṭāliʿ aḥillat al-asrār wa 'l-ʿulūm* (Brockelmann [2], no. 18); composed 595/1199 at Almeria; printed: Cairo 1325.

(8) *R. Rūḥ al-ḳuds fī munāṣaḥat al-nafs* (Brockelmann [2], no. 56). MS copied in Rabīʿ I 600/end of 1203, the month of composition: Istanbul University Library A 79; lith. Cairo 1281. A letter written from Mecca to his Tunis friend ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī, with criticisms of the wordly ways of *ṣūfī*s he had met and much information on the *shaykh*s whom he had known in Spain (this section discussed with Sp. tr. by M. Asín Palacios, *Vidas de santones en Andalucía*, Madrid 1933).

(9) *al-Tanazzulāt al-mawṣiliyya fī asrār al-ṭahārāt wa 'l-ṣalawāt wa 'l-ayyām al-aṣliyya* (Brockelmann [2], no. 100). Autograph MS dated 620/1223-4: Istanbul, Şeyh Murad (Süleymaniye) 162; MS read to the author by Ṣadr al-Dīn: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4861; MS read to the author: Istanbul, Murad Molla 1256; MS of ch. 4 dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868, fols. 46 ff. A work of 55 chapters, composed at Mosul, on the "inner" significance of religious duties.

(10) *K. al-Asfār* (not in Brockelmann). MS read to the author, dated 638/1240: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4859, fols. 4-38. On the three "journeys", to, from and in God.

(11) *al-Isfār ʿan natāʾidj al-asfār* (Brockelmann, S no. 152); printed: Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948. Perhaps identical with no. 10.

(12) *Dīwān* (Brockelmann [2], no. 130). MSS written during the author's lifetime: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 5501, 5502; printed Būlāḳ 1271; lith. Bombay n.d.

(13) *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ*, and (14) the commentary on it: *Fatḥ* (*Kashf*) *al-dhakhāʾir wa 'l-aʿlāḳ ʿan wadjh Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ* (Brockelmann [2], no. 129); Eng. tr. of text and part of comm.: R. A. Nicholson, *The Tarjumán al-Ashwáq, a collection of mystical odes*, London (Or. Trans. Fund., n.s. xx) 1911; commentary printed: Beirut 1312. The surviving text of the poems contains 61 love poems preceded by two, completely contradictory, prefaces: according to the first, the poems were written in love for Niẓām bint Makīn al-Dīn; according to the second, they are to be interpreted allegorically. The epilogue of the commentary recounts that it was written because the poems provoked gossip in Syria. The truth may be that the poems fall into two groups: those written in 598/1201-2 for Niẓām, with the first preface, and those written when Ibn al-ʿArabī was about 50, i.e. *ca.* 610/1213 (cf. poem 32), with the second preface, the two groups being combined when the *sharḥ* was undertaken.

(15) *Sharḥ Khalʿ al-naʿlayn* (Brockelmann [2], no. 103a). MS from Ṣadr al-Dīn's library, dated 640/1242-3: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4989, pp. 110-338. A commentary on the work by Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*].

(16) *K. Ḥilyat al-abdāl* (Brockelmann [2], no. 28). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/4; printed: Ḥaydarābād 1948; Turkish tr. Enwer, Istanbul 1326.

(17) *K. Tādj al-tarādjim fī ishārāt al-ʿilm wa laṭāʾif al-fahm* (Brockelmann [2], no 65). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/5; 649/1251-2: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/3.

(18) *K. al-Shawāhid* (Brockelmann [2], no. 29). MS dated 602/1205-6: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4868/6; 649/1251-2: Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4817/2.

(19) *K. Ishārāt al-Ḳurʾān fī ʿālam al-insān* (Brockelmann [2], no. 48). MS written during the author's lifetime: Konya, Yusuf Ağa 4989/1.

For further details of MSS in Konya and Manisa, see A. Ateş, *Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar*, in *Belleten*, xvi/61 (1952), 49-130; idem, *Anadolu kütüphanelerinden* ..., in *TV*, n.s. i/1 (16) (1955), 150-7; idem, *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*

fī maktabāt al-Anāḍūl, in *Madjallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya*, iv (Cairo 1958), 25 ff.

Among the spurious works attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī may be mentioned: *Tafsīr al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (Brockelmann², no. 3); *al-Shadjara al-nuʿmāniyya fi 'l-dawla al-ʿUthmāniyya* (Brockelmann², no. 124); and a popular work on the interpretation of dreams (*Taʿbīr-nāma-i Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿArabī terdjümesi*, Istanbul 1309 etc.; most lately *Rüyâ tâbirleri*, Istanbul 1955).

Thought. With so many of his works still in manuscript, it is as yet impossible to give a complete conspectus of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. The following summary is based on only a few of his writings, mainly *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*.

Before his mystical ideas are examined, it is necessary to consider his epistemological outlook. Like almost all Muslim *ṣūfīs*, Ibn al-ʿArabī regards human reason as severely limited: in the introduction of the *Futūḥāt* (i, 33 ff. and cf. iii, 505), he divides the branches of knowledge (*ʿilm*) into three classes: (a) those which may be attained through reason (*ʿaḳl*); (b) the knowledge attained through "states" (*ḥāl*), acquired by perception of taste, colour, etc.; (c) knowledge of mysteries: this is the knowledge which the soul "blows" (*nafatha*) into the heart (*rūʿ*); it is in part like (though higher than) the knowledge provided by *ʿaḳl* and *ḥāl*; in part it is knowledge arising from "communications" (*akhbār*), *i.e.*, the revelations of prophets. This last "knowledge", coming from God, with or without the mediation of an angel, and acquired only after a profound mystic training, is *maʿrifa*. The true branches of knowledge are the *maʿārif*; and he who knows these knows everything.

The *maʿārif*, and particularly those relating to the "way" of God, are not to be acquired by reason, or by reason's most effective instrument *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], for "every day [Allāh] is upon some labour" (Ḳurʾān, LV, 29). The truth of a statement depends on its source: the prophets recognized truths through inspiration (*ilḳāʾ*); these truths are to be received by faith and are not open to dispute. Ibn al-ʿArabī claimed a similar authority for his own teachings, since the *walī* [*q.v.*] is modelled upon and is the heir of the prophet; but he is far from claiming prophethood (*nubuwwa*) for himself (*Futūḥāt*, iii, 505).

Ibn al-ʿArabī's *maʿārif*, for which he claimed to have only a divine source, has in fact other sources, chief among them the Ḳurʾān, verses or words of which, or the letters prefixed to various *sūras*, he felt free to interpret in a manner unconnected with the context. He also studied the works of such mystics as Djunayd, Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, al-Ḥallādj, and al-Ḳushayrī [*qq.v.*]. He was not uninfluenced by Muslim Neoplatonism: his relations with Ibn Rushd have been noticed above; and he accepted that truth was to be found in the sayings of such philosophers as al-Ghazālī and al-Suhrawardī [*qq.v.*]. Indeed, the comprehension of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings is made exceptionally difficult by the fact that he may use as interchangeable equivalents terms with different meanings taken from such varying sources as these.

Ibn al-ʿArabī believed that God is an Existence free of all attributes, using for this such terms as *ʿamāʾ muṭlaḳ*, *ghayb al-ghuyūb*, almost with the suggestion that God is unknowable. The emanation (*ṣudūr*) of other beings (*mawdjūdāt*) from this Being is explained in a very confused manner (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Khaldūn's *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil* . . ., ed. M. Tâvit al-Ṭancī, Ankara (Ank. Ün. Il. Fak. Yay. xxii) 1957), but agrees in essentials with the Neoplatonist, and hence the Bāṭinī, position (summary in *IA*, art. *Muhyi-d-Din Arabî*, pp. 549a-551a). Man makes various progresses, which are thought of as a series of journeys (*asfār*), in particular three: (1) from God, *al-safar ʿan Allāh*, by which a man having traversed the various worlds (*ʿawālim*) is born into this world, and is then thus furthest removed from God; (2) to God, *al-safar ila 'llāh*, by which, with the help of a guide, he makes the spiritual journey with the goal of reaching the "station of junction [with Universal Intelligence] after separation" (*maḳām al-djamʿ baʿd al-tafriḳa*); (3) in God, *al-safar fi 'llāh*. The first two journeys have an end, the third has no end: it is *baḳāʾ bi'llāh*. The traveller (*sālik*) who is making the third journey performs those precepts of the *sharīʿa* which are *farḍ*; externally, he is living with his fellows; but internally he is dwelling with God. Not every man is capable of more than the first journey; only those specially endowed (*khawāṣṣ*) may win to the vision of God, but even for them this depends on certain conditions (*shurūṭ*), some fulfilled by the traveller (*sālik*, *murīd*) himself, some provided by the *shaykh*. Even the Prophet had a *shaykh*—Gabriel. The *shaykhs* perform the function which the prophets had performed in their day, except that they do not bring a new *sharīʿa*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's views on the "traveller" are expounded especially in his *Tuḥfat al-safara ilā haḍrat al-barara* (Istanbul 1300; Turkish tr. M. Sālim, Istanbul 1303) and *Ḥilyat al-abdāl* (Turkish tr. Enwer, Istanbul 1306). The conditions he must observe are four: (1) silence (*samṭ*); (2) withdrawal from men (*ʿuzla*); (3) hunger (*djūʿ*) and (4) wakefulness (*sahar*). Through their observance with sincere intention (*ikhlāṣ*), there will be awakened in his heart a love (*maḥabba*), which grows to be a passion (*ʿishḳ*) quite distinct from selfish desires (*shahwa*). It is this passion which particularly brings men to God. On the journey the *sālik* experiences a series of "states" (*aḥwāl*), some continuing and hence called "resting-places" (*maḳām*, *manzil*), at each of which he learns various *maʿārif*. When the heart is thoroughly purified, the veil (*ḥidjāb*) of those "other" things which hide God (*mā siwāʾ Allāh*) is drawn aside; all things, past, present and future, are known; God grants the manifestation (*tadjallī*) of Himself; and finally union with Him (*waṣl*) is achieved.

Influence. Thanks to the protection of influential supporters, Ibn al-ʿArabī was only once in his lifetime in danger for his opinions; this was in Egypt (Makkarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 580). Neither he in his lifetime nor his followers after his death founded a *ṭarīḳa*. The greatest influences in spreading his teaching were the works of his disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī [*q.v.*] and Ṣadr al-Dīn's conventicle at Konya, where there foregathered learned *ṣūfīs* who —many of them in flight before the Mongols—had come to Anatolia. The most important of these was the poet ʿIrāḳī ([*q.v.*]; d. 686/1287), author of the *Lamaʿāt*: this abridged paraphrase in Persian of the *Fuṣūṣ* carried Ibn al-ʿArabī's teaching as far as eastern Iran (so that the *Lawāʾiḥ* of Djāmī [*q.v.*] is written in imitation of it). Others were al-Muʾayyad b. Maḥmūd al-Djanadī (Brockelmann, I, 588) and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Farghānī (Brockelmann, S I, 812; see also A. Ateş, in *TM*, vii-viii/2 (1945), 112 ff.).

Ibn al-ʿArabī's mysticism was widely taught in the Yemen, particularly at Zabīd, where it aroused much hostility; some *fuḳahāʾ* and *ḳāḍīs* sought the opinions of various doctors, and *fatwās* to the effect that Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas were *bidʿa* and that every word of the *Fuṣūṣ* was *kufr* were given by, *e.g.*, Ibn

Taymiyya [*q.v.*], Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 745/1344; Brockelmann, II, 106) and Badr al-Dīn b. Djamāʿa (d. 767/1366; Brockelmann, II, 86). Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], in his *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, mentioned above, examined Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystical thought, and found it meaningless and heretical. That he had numerous followers, however, is made clear by the writing of such polemical works as Ibn al-Ahdal's (d. 855/1451) *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ* (Brockelmann, S II, 239) and the *Tanbīh al-ghabī ʿalā takfīr Ibn al-ʿArabī* of Ibrāhīm al-Biḳāʿī (d. 885/1480; Brockelmann, II, 179). It is only later that he found defenders, in the *Tanzīh al-ghabī* of al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*], the *K. al-Radd fī munkir al-Shaykh al-Akbar* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Idrīsī (d. 917/1511; Brockelmann, II, 152), and particularly in the *fatwā* delivered by Kemāl-Pashazāde [*q.v.*] when the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I ordered the restoration of his *turba* (see p. 708b above). Thereafter there were written two major works in his defence: *al-Ḳawl al-mubīn fī 'l-radd ʿan Muḥyi 'l-Dīn*, of al-Shaʿrānī ([*q.v.*] d. 973/1565; Brockelmann, II, 442) and *al-Radd al-matīn* ..., of ʿAbd al-Ghanī [*q.v.*].

The spread of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teaching in Persia and India was promoted particularly by Djāmī [*q.v.*], with his *Lawāʾiḥ*, an Arabic *Sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*, and a Persian *Sharḥ Naḳsh al-Fuṣūṣ*; but here too his doctrines were attacked, *e.g.*, by al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*], in his *al-Radd wa 'l-taṣnīʿ ʿalā kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas had their most profound influence in Anatolia, thanks to the activities of Ṣadr al-Dīn's disciples, so that his works became "text-books" in Ottoman *madrasas*, commentaries being written by Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī (d. 751/1350; Brockelmann, II, 299), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Izniḳī [*q.v.*] and Yazidji-zāde Meḥmed [see YAZIDJI-OGHLU]. Nevertheless, in spite of Kemāl-Pasha-zāde's *fatwā*, al-Ḥalabī ([*q.v.*], d. in Istanbul 956/1549) wrote a refutation of the *Fuṣūṣ* (*Niʿmat al-dharīʿa fī nuṣrat al-sharīʿa*); and a similar work was composed by ʿAlī al-Ḳārī (d. 1014/1605; Brockelmann, II, 519). From this time onwards, however, hostile writing ceases, and there appears a continuous stream of commentaries on and translations of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, chiefly the *Fuṣūṣ*. A comparable influence in Anatolia was exercised only by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; but the two great commentators of the *Mathnawī*, Ismāʿīl Anḳarawī ([*q.v.*], d. 1041/1631-2) and Ṣarī ʿAbd Allāh ([*q.v.*], d. 1071/1661), interpreted the whole text in the light not of Djalāl al-Dīn's teaching but of Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrines (see A. Ateş, *Mesnevî'nin onsekiz beytinin mânası*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 37-50); and from the 8th/14th century onwards this doctrine of monism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd* [*q.v.*]) became the main tenet of Anatolian ṣūfism and of the philosophy expressed in *dīwān* literature.

Ibn al-ʿArabī may have had some influence also on mediaeval Europe, notably on the Catalan missionary Raymond Lull (*ca.* 1235-1315) (see Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs*, iv, 223 ff.); and it has been suggested that his description of his *isrāʾ* influenced Dante (see M. Asín Palacios, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, tr. H. Sunderland, London 1926, intr. and pp. 42-52) [on this question see further MIʿRĀDJ].

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[This article is abridged from the late Ahmed Ateş's contribution, s.v. *Muhyi-d-Dîn Arabî*, to *IA* (fasc. 85, pp. 533-55), where further references are given]. (A. ATEŞ)

IBN ʿARABSHĀH, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AL-DIMASHḲĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-ʿADJAMĪ, born in 791/1392 in Damascus, was taken with his family to Samarḳand in 803/1400-1, when Tīmūr conquered Damascus and carried off many of its inhabitants (cf. *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, Leeuwaarden 1767-72, ii, 143 ff.); there he studied with al-Djurdjānī, al-Djazarī and others, and learned Persian, Turkish and Mongol. In 811/1408-9 he went to Khaṭā in Mongolia where he studied *ḥadīth* with al-Shīrāmī, later to Khwārazm and Dasht (at Serāy and Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān), where he still was in 814/1409-10 (*Vita Timuri*, i, 376). He came through the Crimea to Edirne, where he became a confidant of the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed I b. Bāyezīd. He translated several books for him into Turkish (al-ʿAwfī, *Djāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt wa-lāmiʿ al-riwāyāt*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 510; Abu 'l-Layth, *Tafsīr*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 352; Dīnawarī, *Taʿbīr*, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 312) and conducted, as *Kātib al-Sirr*, the Sultan's correspondence in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Mongol. In 824/1421 he went to Aleppo, in 825/1422 to Damascus, where he studied *ḥadīth* with his friend Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (cf. *Vita Timuri*, i, 32). In 832/1429 he performed the Ḥadjdj, in 840/1436 he migrated to Cairo and was there on friendly terms with Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, amongst others. He died in 854/1450. His chief work is the *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḳdūr fī nawāʾib Tīmūr* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 122 f.; editions in Brockelmann; tr. into Turkish by al-Murtaḍā Naẓmīzāde al-Baghdādī in 1110/1698, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 190; vi, 544), in which Tīmūr's conquests and the conditions under his successor are described. Tīmūr is represented as a cruel profligate and tyrant, but towards the end (ed. Manger, iii, 781 ff.) his great qualities are appreciated. The book contains valuable descriptions of Samarḳand and its learned world (iii, 855 ff.); Latin translation by Golius, Leiden 1636, French translation by Vattier, 1658, English translation by J. H. Sanders, London 1936. His *Fākihat al-khulafāʾ wa-mufākahat al-ẓurafāʾ* in ten chapters, written in

the month of Ṣafar 852/1448 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 345) contains a mirror for princes and beast-fables, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa "like *Kalīla wa Dimna* and *Sulwān al-Mutāʿ*" (see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, ii, nos. 140-4), but, as Chauvin has shown (*op. cit.*, ii, nos. 145-9), it is actually a version of the Persian *Marzbān-nāma* in the recension of Saʿd of Varāvīn (cf. Houtsma in *ZDMG*, lii, 359 ff.; a selection in Freytag, *Locmani Fabulae*, 72 ff.; complete edition see below). The introductory portion of an edition of his *al-Taʾlīf al-ṭāhir fī shiyam . . . Abī Saʿīd Djaḳmaḳ* was published as a posthumous work of S. A. Strong in *JRAS*, 1907, 395 ff. Ten works are mentioned under his name, among them a work on Arabic, Persian and Turkish, *Tardjumān al-murtadjim* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 278). See also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 158; iv, 190, 232, 270, 311; v, 479, and Freytag's work mentioned below.

Of his sons the following were authors: (1) AL-ḤASAN, wrote *Īḍāḥ al-ẓulm wa-bayān al-ʿudwān fī taʾrīkh al-Nābulusī al-Khāridjī al-Khawwān*, in rhymed prose, on al-Nābulusī and his tyrannical proceedings against Damascus, see Brockelmann, II, 30. (2) TĀDJ AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, born 813/1411 in Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān, died 901/1495. He wrote a biography of his father and a work on Ḥanafī *fiḳh* (*Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 5; Brockelmann, II, 19, S II, 13).

Bibliography: Freytag, *Fructus Imperatorum et Jocatio Ingeniosorum*, 2 vols., Bonn 1832 (ed. of the *Fākiha*; pp. xxv-xxxiii sketch of his life based on al-Sakhāwī and Taghrībirdī); Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der arab., Hdschr. zu Gotha*, nos. 94/13, 1840, 1841, 2696; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, no. 488; Brockelmann, I, 196; II, 28-30; Browne, iii, 355 f.; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane*, 1 ff., Berkeley and Los Angeles 1952; *IA*, s.v. Ibn Arabşah, by Ibrahim Kafesoğlu; R. H. Roemer, in *CAJ*, ii, 221 f.

(J. PEDERSEN)

IBN ʿARAFA, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-WARGHAMMĪ (716/1316-803/1401), the outstanding representative of the Mālikī school in Ḥafṣid Tunisia. He was a Berber from south-eastern Tunisia, and had Tunisian and Marīnid teachers such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Ibn Salāma, Ibn Hārūn al-Kinānī, ʿUmar b. Ḳaddāḥ, Ibn al-Djabbāb, Ibn Andarās, and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Abullī. After becoming *imām* of the Great Mosque of Tunis and *muftī*, he exerted by his knowledge and virtue a considerable influence which extended outside the frontiers of his own country. His chief disciples were al-Ghubrīnī, al-Burzūlī, al-Ubbī, and Ibn Nādjī. He opposed the famous historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldūn. Like other Ḥafṣid *fuḳahāʾ* of his time, he strove to revivify Mālikism by reconciling law and custom. His treatise on "Definitions" (*Ḥudūd*), which has become a classic and is the object of a commentary by al-Raṣṣāʿ, testifies to his care in defining juridical ideas with precision. His great work on *fiḳh*, *al-Mabsūṭ* or *al-Mukhtaṣar al-kabīr*, which is still in manuscript, is now almost forgotten.

Bibliography: R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947, index; Ibn Maryam, *Kitāb al-Bustān*, Algiers 1908, Fr. tr. Algiers 1910, index. (H. R. IDRIS)

IBN AL-ʿARĪF, ABU'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, a distinguished man of intellect and celebrated Ṣūfī, born according to Ibn Khallikān on Monday 2 Djumādā I 481/24 July 1088, died in Marrākush 23 Ṣafar 536/27 September 1141.

His father had once been *ʿarīf* in Tangier, that is to say he was employed as head of the guard responsible for keeping watch in the town at night. From this circumstance came his surname Ibn al-ʿArīf. Although naturally inclined to a studious life, the young Aḥmad was apprenticed to a weaver. However, his marked vocation for study became ever stronger and could not be resisted, in spite of constraints and threats. In the end, in Almeria, he was able to receive religious and philological instruction and to satisfy his taste for poetry. He earned a reputation as a traditionist, reader of the Ḳurʾān and poet. He taught in Saragossa, Valencia and Almeria.

It was in this last town that he had his greatest success. His exemplary life and his aptitude for asceticism and meditation enabled him to become a respected Ṣūfī, surrounded by many disciples. Almeria was at that time one of the most vigorous centres of Andalusian Ṣūfism, one of the focal points of opposition to the Almoravid *fuḳahāʾ*. It was there that a solemn condemnation was made, in a collective *fatwā*, of the destruction of the books of al-Ghazālī ordered by the *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Ibn Ḥamdīn.

Ibn al-ʿArīf was initiated into Ṣūfism by Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāḳī. The complete chain of the succession will be found in the text of his epitaph, published and translated by G. Deverdun. We may note in it in particular the name of one of the disciples of Djunayd (298/910), Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. al-Aʿrābī (d. 311/951-2), whom Ibn Masarra, according to M. Asín Palacios (*Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, 35), was later to meet in Mecca. Now, it is known that the teaching of Ibn Masarra (269-319/883-931) exercised a profound and lasting influence on Andalusian Ṣūfī circles until the period of the dissemination, in the Muslim West, of the doctrines of al-Ghazālī, which seemed to infuse fresh, youthful blood into the old Spanish esoteric school, imparting to it a new vitality and, above all, a firm resolve to resist the persecutions of the *fuḳahāʾ*. Men such as Ibn Barradjān of Seville, Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī of Granada and Ibn Ḳasī, who rebelled in the Algarve, owed the greater part of their firmness and intransigence to the *Iḥyāʾ*.

The first-named appeared to the local authorities to be highly dangerous. Did he share his views with Ibn al-ʿArīf? Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Kitāb Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 286) writes that he was *naẓīruhu fi 'l-khulla*, his equal in the matter of friendship with God. Fragments of a correspondence exchanged between the two men, discovered and published by Father Nwyia, show that Ibn al-ʿArīf addressed Ibn Barradjān as though he were his master. There can be no doubt that they were closely linked together. In summoning them both to Marrākush, together with Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī, the Almoravid ʿAlī b. Yūsuf wanted to make it clear that he intended to have their case examined conjointly by his *fuḳahāʾ*. Ibn Barradjān was invited to give an explanation of certain statements of his which were considered heretical. Thrown into prison, he died there shortly afterwards. Ibn al-ʿArīf, on the other hand, was treated liberally. The sovereign ordered that he should be released from the chains in which he had been put at the instigation of his enemy, the *ḳāḍī* of Almeria, Ibn al-Aswad. He received him honourably at court and granted him liberty to go wherever he wished. But he had scant time to profit from this favourable treatment, for shortly after this unfortunate episode he died. It is supposed, though one cannot be certain of it, that Ibn al-Aswad had him poisoned. The renown for saintliness that he

enjoyed, his unanimously recognized noble reputation and the favourable treatment accorded him by the court show clearly that, although belonging to the opposition, Ibn al-ʿArīf was not as fully compromised by political activities as was Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī, who took to flight when summoned to Marrākush, or again as was Ibn Barradjān, whose body the prince ordered to be thrown onto the town dunghill.

The only work of Ibn al-ʿArīf known today is the short work entitled *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, studied and translated by M. Asín Palacios. Ibn al-ʿArabī of Murcia found it extremely valuable—to quote the eminent Spanish scholar—"in justifying and vindicating the most daring theses of his immanentist pantheism".

The tomb of "Sīdī Bellʿarif" is in Marrākush. His biographers record that he was buried near the ancient mosque of ʿAlī, in the centre of the town, in the funerary enclosure (*rawḍa*) of *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Ḥammād.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿArīf Mūsā, *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, Arabic text, trans. and comm. by M. Asín Palacios, Paris 1933 (the preface includes a detailed biography of Ibn al-ʿArīf, with references to numerous Arab sources); to the titles given by M. Asín Palacios may be added:—Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1918, i, 109-12; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *Iʿlām bi-man ḥall Marrākush wa-Āghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fās 1936, i, 160 ff. (containing a vast number of quotations from the works of the many biographers of the Ṣūfī); Tādilī, *al-Tashawwuf ʿilā ridjāl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 96 (a compilation dating from the 7th/13th century). In *Los Almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 285 ff., J. Bosch Vilá traces the activities of the Andalusian Ṣūfīs in the historical context of the decline of Almoravid power. For his epitaph, see G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956, 17; the article by Father Paul Nwyia, *Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān*, in *Hespéris* xliii (1956), 217-21, supplies new information concerning the relations between the two men.

(A. Faure)

IBN AL-ʿARĪF, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd b. Naṣr, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, Andalusian man of letters in the 4th/10th century. He was known principally as a grammarian, and was always called al-Naḥwī. He was brought up in Cordova, his native city, under the guidance of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya [*q.v.*], and in Ifrīḳiya under that of Ibn Rashīḳ. He spent several years in Egypt, where he outshone his brother al-Ḥasan, also known by the name of Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 367/977-8), and, on his return to Spain, the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir appointed him tutor (*muʾaddib*) to his sons. He always took part in the literary gatherings (*madjālis*) of al-Manṣūr, and distinguished himself by his rivalry with the famous Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], of which biographers have collected several instances. Sometimes Ibn al-ʿArīf succeeded, by dishonest means, in confounding his rival before al-Manṣūr, but in the end the curious ʿIrāḳī personality prevailed.

Ibn al-ʿArīf wrote various literary works and grammatical treatises which have not survived. He died in 390/1000, during one of al-Manṣūr's last campaigns, that of Cervera, and was buried at Toledo.

Bibliography: Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, 182; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 653; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh*, no. 354; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 237; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 182-93; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 383-4. On his rivalry with Ṣāʿid see R. Blachère, in *Hespéris*, x (1930), 15-36, *passim*.

(F. de la Granja)

IBN ARṬĀṬ [see ibn sayḥān].

IBN ʿARŪS, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, Sīdī b. ʿArūs, (died 868/1463), the greatest Tunisian saint of the late Middle Ages. A native of Cape Bon, at first he performed menial tasks while educating himself, particularly in Ṣūfism, firstly in Tunisia and then in Morocco, where he lived for a long time. He settled finally at Tunis and there lived as a vagabond marabout and miracle-worker, indulging in the most scandalous excesses, and in *takhrīb*, or violation of moral and religious rules. In spite of the protests of some of the *fuḳahāʾ* he attracted the infatuation of the masses and the protection of members of the ruling house. He was buried in his *zāwiya*. The ʿArūsiyya brotherhood takes its name from him. His *Manāḳib*, composed by a disciple, ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Rāshidī, were printed at Tunis in 1303/1885.

Bibliography: R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, ii, Paris 1947, index.

(H. R. Idris)

IBN ʿASĀKIR, the name of the members of the Banū ʿAsākir family, eminent figures who for almost two centuries, from 470 to 660/1077-1261, held an important position in the history of the town of Damascus and produced a dynasty of Shāfiʿī scholars.

Among the most illustrious members of this remarkable family it is fitting to mention al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, who was born in 470/1077 and died at Damascus in 519/1125. A grammarian and jurisconsult of note, he allied himself by marriage to the family of the Banū Kurashī, which traced its ancestry back to the Umayyads and which included numerous *ḳāḍī*s and scholars, one of whom was the historian Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*]. Al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh had three sons: al-Ṣāʿin, ʿAlī and Muḥammad, and a daughter. The eldest, al-Ṣāʿīn Hibat Allāh b. Ḥasan, was born in Radjab 488/July 1095 and was an eminent lawyer. He taught in the Ghazāliyya *zāwiya* at the Great Mosque of Damascus and was himself a *muftī*; he died in Shaʿbān 563/June 1168 without issue, and was buried like the other members of his family in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

The youngest son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who was Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, left six sons, all well versed in the science of *ḥadīth*. They assured for the family a long survival.

ʿAlī's sister, by her marriage to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Fatḥ al-Sulāmī, a professor at the Amīniyya *madrasa* after 564/1169, established close ties with another family of Shāfiʿī scholars in Damascus, the Banū Sulāmī. The Banū ʿAsākir, Banū Kurashī and Banū Sulāmī composed in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries a highly cultured and influential group of intellectuals.

The best known member of the family is the historian of Damascus Thiḳat al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dimashḳī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ḥāfiẓ. Born in Damascus at the beginning of 499/September-October 1105, ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir grew up during the reign of the *atabeg* Tughtakīn in a family of strict Sunnīs, hostile both to the Shīʿīs, who were supported by the Fāṭimids of Cairo, and to the Ismāʿīlī Bāṭinīs, then very active in Syria. Like all boys belonging to the wealthy classes of society, ʿAlī soon received the basis of a sound education. He began by learning the elements of grammar from

his maternal grandfather Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Abu ʾl-Faḍl al-Kurashī (d. 534/1139), then, in about 505/1111, he went to attend the teaching given by his elder brother at the Great Mosque. He learned to recite the Ḳurʾān and began to learn *ḥadīths* with their *isnāds*. According to custom, he was permitted to transmit these traditions only after the age of puberty. ʿAlī also had as masters the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad al-Afkanī (d. 524/1129) and Djamāl al-Islām b. Muslim Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Sulāmī (d. 533/1139). As a youth he was present at the inaugural lectures of al-Sulāmī at the Shāfiʿī *madrasa* which the *atabeg* Gümüshtegin had built in 514/1120.

On the death of his father, a new period began for ʿAlī, the period of travels across the East in search of *ḥadīths*. In 520/1126, he went to Baghdād with his brother al-Ṣāʿin, who went to the Niẓāmiyya to attend the lectures of the Shāfiʿī Asad al-Miḥānī (d. 527/1132) on *fiḳh*, and of Ibn Burhān, a pupil of al-Ghazālī, on philosophy. In 521 ʿAlī made the pilgrimage. He passed some time at Mecca and Medina and stopped at Kūfa on his way back to Baghdād, where he attended the lectures at the Niẓāmiyya; he attended the lectures of the Ḥanbalī Saʿd al-Khayr Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī, a pupil of al-Ghazālī, and of the disciples of al-Barmakī, of al-Tanūkhī and of Abū Muḥammad al-Djawharī; he attended the lectures on *ḥadīth* of Abū Saʿīd Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḳaramānī and Ibn al-Ḥusayn Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim. ʿAlī visited the region of Mosul and returned to Damascus in 525, the year of the assassination of Tādj al-Mulk Böri. The young man seems to have married towards the end of this period, for his son al-Ḳāsim was born in 527/1133. The situation was becoming unsettled in Damascus and so ʿAlī returned to the East in 529/1134; he crossed Khurāsān, visited Iṣfahān, travelled in Transoxania and stayed in Marw, where he met Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī, with whom he went to Nīshāpūr and Harāt. In 533/1139, Ibn ʿAsākir again passed through Baghdād, and returned to Damascus two years later. In the course of his journeying through ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsān, the Djazīra and the Ḥidjāz, he collected a considerable number of *ḥadīths* and became a *ḥāfiẓ*.

From the reign of Muʿīn al-Dīn Anar onwards, ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir never left his native town, where he devoted himself for forty years to learning and political activity, without neglecting poetry. Because of the eminent position of the Banū ʿAsākir in Damascus society and the personal prestige of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAlī as a *ḥāfiẓ* and lawyer, Nūr al-Dīn, on his occupation of Damascus in 549/1154, immediately established contact with him; the sovereign found in ʿAlī a valuable ally in successfully implementing his programme of Sunnī reaction in Damascus. For him Nūr al-Dīn built the first *dār al-ḥadīth*, known also as the *dār al-Sunna*. From then on it was the task of the Banū ʿAsākir to lead the struggle against the Shīʿīs and to spread traditional Sunnī teaching. As a follower of al-Ashʿarī and combating ideas which cast a slur on the Sunna, Ibn ʿAsākir wrote a collection of forty *ḥadīths* in support of the religious policy of Nūr al-Dīn: *Arbaʿīn fi ʾl-idjtihād fī iḳāmat al-djihād*, exalting the virtues of the Holy War; to this period also belongs his *Faḍl ʿAskalān*, mentioned by al-Dhahabī (*Tadhkira*, iv, 124); the work exhorted the Muslims to recapture the town, which the Franks had just taken from them in 548/1153. Finally, Nūr al-Dīn encouraged ʿAlī to complete his great dictionary entitled *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*. Ibn ʿAsākir witnessed the death of Nūr al-Dīn and was present at Saladin's entry into Damascus in 571/1175. He died a few months later, on 11 Radjab 571/25 January 1176. The Ayyūbid Sultan was present at his funeral in the cemetery of Bāb al-Saghīr, where he was buried by the side of his father and other members of his family.

ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir left considerable works. His principal work, the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, is a biographical dictionary conceived on the same plan as the dictionary of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. It consists of 80 books (*madjallāt*) each of 10 sections (*djuzʾ*) of 20 folios, the whole forming a manuscript in 18 volumes in the Ẓāhiriyya library. This dictionary seems to have been composed in three stages: begun in 529/1134, it consisted in 549/1154 of 57 books of 10 fascicules (*djuzʾ*); at this time Nūr al-Dīn encouraged the author to continue his work. In 562/1167, when ʿImād al-Dīn came to Damascus, he saw a copy of 70 books of 10 fascicules (*kurrāsa*) of 20 folios. Finally al-Ḳāsim, the son of the author, speaks of a collection of 800 fascicules divided into 80 books. The work begins with a highly detailed historical topography of the town of Damascus. This section owes much to Aḥmad b. al-Muʿallā (d. 286/899) and to Ibn Ḥumayd b. Abi ʾl-ʿAdjāʾiz, and was later used by Ibn Shaddād in his *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra* and by Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī for his *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*. The principal part of the work is a collection of biographies. approximating to the genre of *ṭabaḳāt*; after eulogizing the Prophet, the author enumerates in alphabetical order all the important people who dwelt in Damascus permanently or briefly. Widening his horizons, Ibn ʿAsākir also deals with celebrated persons who lived in Ḥalab, Baʿlabakk, Ramla or Ṣaydā. This excellent source for the history of Damascus has so far been only partially published by Badrān and Aḥmad ʿUbayd (7 vols., Damascus 1911-32, as far as part of the letter *ʿayn*). A new edition, promoted by the Arab Academy of Damascus, is in the course of production (2 vols. appeared in 1954, one volume (vol. x) appeared in 1965). It is very probable that this work of Ibn ʿAsākir inspired Ibn al-ʿAdīm to write the *Bughya*.

Besides the two books mentioned, exalting the virtues of *djihād*, we may notice in the abundant production of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim two apologetic works: *Manāḳib ashʿariyya* and the *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī ʿalā Abi ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī* (ed. al-Kawtharī, Damascus 1928). Finally, his poetic gifts caused him to be mentioned among the "scholar-poets" of Damascus by his contemporary ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (*Kharīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, Damascus ed. 1955, 274).

His son, al-Ḳāsim Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad, was born at Damascus in 527/1132. He studied in his native town and in Cairo. He wrote a biography of his father, but this work, which was used by Yāḳūt and al-Dhahabī, is lost. His most remarkable work is *al-Djāmiʿ al-mustaḳṣā fī faḍāʾil al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā*. He died in 600/1203, and was buried on the slopes of Ḳasiyūn (see Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 148; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 38; Brockelmann, S I, 567).

Among the six nephews of the historian, it is fitting to mention Fakhr al-Dīn and Zayn al-Umanāʾ. Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir Abū Manṣūr al-Dimashḳī was born in 550/1155. He was the pupil of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Nīshābūrī before becoming his son-in-law. As *shaykh* of the Shāfiʿīs of Damascus he taught in several *madrasas* in the town. He died in 620/1223 and was buried in the cemetery of the Ṣūfīs (see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 101).

Zayn al-Umanāʾ, Abu ʾl-Barakāt al-Ḥasan b.

Muḥammad Ibn ʿAsākir, the pupil of his uncle the historian, was appointed inspector of the Treasury and of the *waḳf*s in Damascus, then he devoted himself to asceticism and died in 627/1230, at the age of 93. He was buried by the side of his brother Fakhr al-Dīn (see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 127).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 139-146; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1951, i, 336; Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, Cairo [1]1287, i, 261, [2]1962, i/2, 667; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, 471, no. 414, trans. de Slane, ii, 252; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, Ḥaydarābād, iv, 122-7; al-Subkī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iv, 273-7; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, xii, 294; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iv, 239; Juynboll, *Orientalia*, 1846, 161, 163-7; Brockelmann, I, 331; S I, 566; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 126, 233; ii, 104, 130, 131, 187; vi, 143; S. Dahan, in B. Lewis & P. M. Holt (edd.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 112, 114-5. (N. Elisséeff)

IBN AL-ASHʿATH, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, descendant of a noble Kindī family of the Ḥaḍramawt, who became famous because of his insurrection against al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] in 80-2/699-701 or 80-3/699-702. He was the grandson of the famous al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] (see, further to the references given there, L. Caetani, *Annali*, 40 A.H. 501-5 for further information, an assessment of him and a very full bibliography; H. Lammens, *Moʿawia I*er, 131, 150-2), and the son of Muḥammad [*q.v.*], who was less famous than his father al-Ashʿath but nevertheless played an important part in the events of his day. The mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was named Umm ʿAmr and was the daughter of Saʿīd (see al-Ṭabarī, index) b. Ḳays al-Hamdānī (*Aghānī*, v, 153). The sources mention ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as assisting his father in his political activity. It was he who revealed to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād the hiding-place of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl (60/680), though this denunciation was in fact merely the consequence of a thoughtless act (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 231, 261). In 67/686, he fought beside Muṣʿab against al-Mukhtār (*ibid.*, 733), and it was probably from a desire to avenge his father that he either himself killed or encouraged Muṣʿab to kill the prisoners who were supporters of al-Mukhtār (*ibid.*, 739, 740, 749 f.). The sources do not mention him again until 72/691-2, a year when many very important events occurred: ʿAbd al-Malik defeated and killed Muṣʿab on the banks of the Dudjayl, near to the monastery of the Catholicos (Djumādā I or II 72/October 691; for the chronology of the battle, see Périer, *Ḥadjdjādj*, 34, n.1), and al-Ḥadjdjādj, probably in Djumādā II, was sent to fight against Ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca. As is known, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v*] entered the service of the Umayyad caliph, who had defeated Muṣʿab, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān evidently behaved in the same way, since we learn that Bishr, the brother of ʿAbd al-Malik, put him at the head of 5,000 Kūfans intended for a campaign against the Khāridjīs under the command of the Umayyad Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd (72/probably the first months of 692). These Khāridjīs, who had approached the town of al-Ahwāz, withdrew after about twenty days before the superior forces of the government, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went to Rayy, of which he had been appointed governor by Bishr (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 826 f.). Between 72 and 76 there is again a gap in the sources on the activities of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In 75/694-5, al-Ḥadjdjādj, recalled from Arabia and appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ, made his entry into Kūfa. Henceforward it was with the very difficult al-Ḥadjdjādj that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had to deal, since he was his superior. The war against the Azraḳīs was not yet over when another group of Khāridjīs, the majority of them belonging to the Banū Shaybān, spread terror in the territories on the borders of ʿIrāḳ and in ʿIrāḳ itself. This group, consisting of very few men, had inflicted on the government troops some extremely severe defeats (Périer, *op. cit.*, 109-29), when al-Ḥadjdjādj entrusted ʿAbd al-Raḥmān with an army of 6,000 horsemen with instructions to pursue Shabīb [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ashʿath, following the advice of the general al-Djazl ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd, who had had an unhappy experience of Shabīb's tactical skill (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 901-10), hastened in pursuit of the Khāridjīs, while taking every precaution to avoid an unexpected attack. As the campaign dragged on, the governor of al-Madāʾin, ʿUthmān b. Ḳaṭan, in a letter to al-Ḥadjdjādj criticized the way the war was being conducted; invited by al-Ḥadjdjādj to take the initiative, he attacked Shabīb, but could not withstand the Khāridjī counter-attack; he was killed with 1120 (or 720) of his soldiers, and the remnants of the defeated army fled to Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 930-7); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, unhorsed during the battle, was helped by a comrade (Ibn Abī Sabra) to escape and, after a number of adventures, also reached Kūfa, where he remained in hiding until al-Ḥadjdjādj granted him *amān* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 937-9).

Relations between the governor of ʿIrāḳ and Ibn al-Ashʿath had at first been friendly (al-Ḥadjdjādj's son, Muḥammad, married a sister of Ibn al-Ashʿath), but they soon deteriorated; in explaining Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt, all the sources attach great importance to this change of attitude. It appears that Ibn al-Ashʿath, proudly conscious of his noble birth, made it clear that he considered himself to be the most worthy of all the *amīr*s to rule. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 407), he gave himself the title of *Nāṣir al-muʾminīn* (the Helper of the Believers, presumably setting himself up as the defender of the true Believers as against the Umayyads and al-Ḥadjdjādj, whom he condemned as bad Muslims); he also claimed to be the "Ḳaḥṭānī", *i.e.*, the person awaited by the Yemenīs as being he who would restore domination to them (G. van Vloten, *Recherches*, 61). Such arrogance annoyed the governor, who vigorously condemned Ibn al-Ashʿath's behaviour (*e.g.*, "Look how he walks! How I should like to cut off his head!"); when these remarks were reported to Ibn al-Ashʿath, he reacted violently (he is said to have shouted: "I shall have neither respite nor rest until I have removed him from power"; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1043 etc.). A mutual hatred seems to have taken possession of them (the *Anonyme Arabische Chronik*, 318, Ibn Kathīr and other writers stress this hatred). Things had reached this point when there occurred an event which evoked surprise in Kūfa. In Sidjistān [*q.v.*], which since 78/697-8 was, with Khurāsān, ruled by al-Ḥadjdjādj (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1032-4), it was the task of the local governor to keep in subjection the territory of the Kābulistān borderland, the ruler of which, referred to in the sources as Rutbīl [*q.v.*] (but probably to be read Zunbīl), offered resistance to the Muslims. A "Rutbīl" having inflicted on the governor appointed by al-Ḥadjdjādj, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra, a most severe defeat in 79/698-9, al-Ḥadjdjādj, anxious to put an end to this, prepared an army which, because of its splendid equipment, was called the Peacock Army (*djuyūsh al-ṭawāwīs*); to be in command of

it he appointed two generals in succession, choosing finally ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. It was this appointment which aroused surprise in Kūfa; a paternal uncle of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān thought it advisable to warn the governor against the possibility that his nephew might revolt, but al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ refused to reverse his decision. According to al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1042), it is not known where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was at this time; according to one tradition (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1046), he had been sent to Kirmān to put down the opposition of a military leader who had refused to help the governors of Sid̲j̲istān and of Sind when necessary, and the number of details given in this tradition point to its being the more reliable, although another passage suggests that he accompanied the Peacock Army (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1044).

In Périer's *Vie d'al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ad̲j̲*, there is given a very detailed account of the insurrection, with each incident supported by quotations from the sources and with translations of speeches, letters and poems; we give here a summary, emphasizing certain details which help to explain the causes and the development of this event, which came near to overthrowing the Umayyad caliphate. Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ arrived in Sid̲j̲istān in 80/699-700 (on the chronology see below). His first action was to force the troops who were garrisoned there to join the Peacock Army. After refusing an offer of peace from Rutbīl, he invaded Kābulistān, using very different tactics from those of Ibn Abī Bakra: as he occupied the villages and the fortresses, he established garrisons in them and linked the places he had captured by a service of couriers. When he had made himself master of the territory bordering on the high mountains, he returned to Bust, postponing any deeper penetration until the spring of 81/700. But when he informed al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ of this intention, the latter sent him a series of arrogant and offensive messages ordering him to penetrate into the heart of Kābulistān and there to fight the enemy to the death. The invitation to the troops to plough the land, which appears in his second message, and which might seem to be an acquiescence in delay (Périer, 162), should also be interpreted as a threat: he is ironically suggesting that the soldiers may as well start sowing crops since he will not be recalling them until after a total victory. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was certainly offended by the accusations of cowardice and inefficiency which al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ launched against him (he had already shown that he was sensitive to this type of imputation), but he did not act without taking the advice of his counsellors. Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (ix, 35) specifically mentions a meeting at which he informed the ʿIrāḳī leaders of the governor's orders and revealed to them his intention not to obey them. To the troops, he addressed himself in a more diplomatic fashion: after stating that he was concerned for their well-being, that the way in which he conducted the war had the approval of men of experience, and after informing them of the orders and accusations of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, he announced that they were free to make a decision: "For myself", he said, "I am here only as your equal; if you march, I shall march; if you refuse, I shall refuse". The soldiers then shouted that they would not obey al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲. Abū Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāt̲h̲ila, a well-known poet, orator and traditionist, having proclaimed the deposition of the governor, and another orator having invited the troops to march towards ʿIrāḳ to expel from it the enemy of God, they swore an oath of loyalty to Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. Revolt having thus been decided on, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ proposed to Rutbīl an agreement, which he accepted: if Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was the conqueror, he would grant Rutbīl certain facilities; if he were defeated, Rutbīl would grant him refuge. During the march to ʿIrāḳ, the poets who followed the rebel army celebrated the victory in advance; a poem of Aʿs̲h̲ā Hamdān is significant: it accuses al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ of having abandoned the Faith for oppression and apostasy and describes him as a friend of the devil; it adds that Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ had put himself at the head of the Ḳaḥṭānīs and the Hamdānīs against the Maʿaddīs and the T̲h̲aḳafīs (it thus gives expression to religious convictions and tribal hatred). On the rebels' arrival in Fārs, a new and important fact emerged: it was suddenly realized that the deposition of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ would involve that of the caliph also and they acted accordingly: encouraged by the *ḳurrāʾ* and the zealots, the majority of the rebels swore to reject the "*imāms* of error" and renewed their oath of fidelity to Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲, who, in his turn, swore to them the *bayʿa*. Al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, informed of this development in the situation, went to Baṣra and asked ʿAbd al-Malik to send Syrian forces; the caliph sent him one detachment after another. Near Tustar, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲'s advance guard inflicted on that of al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ a defeat and serious losses (9 or 10 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 81/24 or 25 January 701), and al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ withdrew speedily to Baṣra; such prudence was necessary since it is said that Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ had with him 33,000 horsemen and 120,000 infantry. As al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ could not have offered resistance in the town of Baṣra, he entrenched himself at al-Zāwiya. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered Baṣra on 29 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a, and there set up fortifications. After a month of skirmishes of varying severity, in which al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲'s soldiers in general came off worse (they also lacked provisions), a battle was finally joined (end of Muḥarram 82/early March 701). Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was on the point of winning, but the courage and skill of the Syrian Sufyān b. al-Abrad reversed the situation. Many *ḳurrāʾ* (that is *ʿulamāʾ*, according to the explanation given by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr) were killed (the version of the events given by al-Wāḳidī and repeated by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (ix, 40) attributes to this battle events which in fact occurred in the following battle of Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im [*q.v.*]). After this defeat, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ went to Kūfa with his Kūfan soldiers and the élite of the Baṣran cavalry. His lieutenant at Baṣra, the Hās̲h̲imī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās, made efforts to maintain his position in the town, but the Baṣrans had lost no time in accepting the *amān* offered by al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (an equivocal *amān*, which did not prevent his killing a large number of opponents, 11,000 it is said), so with a group of Baṣrans he rejoined his leader at Kūfa. On his arrival at Kūfa, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ had been obliged first to drive out from the citadel an officer of al-Madāʾin, Maṭar b. Nād̲j̲iya, who had taken advantage of the troubled situation to seize it; he succeeded in installing himself there only after a full-scale attack with scaling-ladders and other means of assault. At Kūfa, his forces increased, being joined by a large number of men who were discontented with Umayyad rule. Al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, leaving Baṣra to his cousin Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī ʿAḳīl, set off towards Kūfa (mid-Ṣafar 82/April 701), being harassed en route by detachments of cavalry under the orders of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. Reaching a wide plain near Kūfa, he set up his position at Dayr Ḳurra [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, leaving the town, encamped at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im [*q.v.*] with his troops, who now number-

ed nearly 200,000 (100,000 were on the regular pay-roll, the others were *mawālī*). Al-Ḥadjdjādj's army was smaller and in an awkward situation because provisions reached it only with difficulty; in spite of this, Syrian reinforcements were able to join it. Both the armies dug trenches and for a time they engaged in skirmishes, as at al-Zāwiya. Since the dignitaries in Damascus wished to see a peaceful solution of the situation, ʿAbd al-Malik let himself be persuaded to open negotiations with the rebels, against the advice of al-Ḥadjdjādj. Through the agency of his brother Muḥammad and his son ʿAbd Allāh, he proposed to the rebels that he should dismiss al-Ḥadjdjādj and should give to the ʿIrāḳī soldiers the same pay as the Syrians, and offered to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the governorship of any town in ʿIrāḳ he cared to choose. At a meeting of the leaders of the rebels these proposals were refused, in spite of a speech from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān inviting them to accept. They were convinced that their adversaries had stooped to negotiate only because they were in a difficult situation (in fact there was a famine in al-Ḥadjdjādj's camp) and that the final victory would be theirs. Hostilities being resumed, the two armies still remained for a long time facing each other—it is said that the trench warfare went on for 100 days or about four months, and that there were forty-eight engagements. Those who were the most bitter opponents of the governor were the *ḳurrāʾ*, fanatically convinced that they were fighting to defend the Faith threatened by the impiety of the Umayyads. They had formed themselves into a squadron under the orders of Djabala b. Zaḥr b. Ḳays al-Djuʿfī, and it was only after the death of this leader that their courage deserted them and they dispersed. Finally in Shaʿbān 82/September 701, a great battle was joined. At first the advantage was with the troops of Ibn al-Ashʿath, but shortly before sunset they scattered, and Ibn al-Ashʿath, after vain attempts to rally them, also took flight accompanied only by a few supporters. After visiting Kūfa to take leave of his family, he travelled in the direction of Baṣra. Meanwhile, al-Ḥadjdjādj returned to Kūfa, set up a tribunal there and executed a large number of rebel prisoners.

But Ibn al-Ashʿath was still not defeated. One of his supporters, Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, had taken possession of al-Madāʾin, a key position in ʿIrāḳ; another, the Ḳurayshī ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Samura, had forced al-Ḥadjdjādj's lieutenant to give up Baṣra to him. After remaining at Kūfa for a month, al-Ḥadjdjādj continued his campaign and, at Maskin on the Dudjayl, where there were gathered the still impressive remnants of the rebel army, he inflicted on Ibn al-Ashʿath, after hostilities lasting about a fortnight, the defeat which finally put an end to his insurrection, the events which followed being only its death-throes. Guided by a shepherd across the scrub and marshes, a band of Syrians surprised the rebels in their encampment while al-Ḥadjdjādj attacked them from another side. Attempting to flee, a great number of rebels threw themselves into the river and were drowned. This was Ibn al-Ashʿath's third defeat. He fled with the survivors, this time towards Sidjistān. While fleeing he had again to fight some of al-Ḥadjdjādj's troops sent in pursuit of him under ʿUmāra b. al-Tamīm al-Lakhmī (according to Ibn Kathīr, ix, 47, b. Ghanm).

When he arrived at Sidjistān, he had further adventures: his *ʿāmil* at Zarandj refused to open the gates to him; the *ʿāmil* of Bust opened them, but took him prisoner and put him in chains in order to gain the favour of al-Ḥadjdjādj; it was Rutbīl, coming to meet al-Ashʿath, who forced the *ʿāmil* to release him, then, keeping his promise given some months earlier, took him with him to Kābulistān and showed him great honour. Meanwhile, about 60,000 fugitives had re-assembled in Sidjistān. Invited by them to resume the struggle, Ibn al-Ashʿath accepted (on his encounter with the treacherous *ʿāmil* and the events which followed, see also Ibn Kathīr, ix, 48 f., which records the version of al-Wāḳidī). But ʿUmāra, the general of al-Ḥadjdjādj, advanced, and the majority of Ibn al-Ashʿath's supporters, fearing that they would be unable to offer him resistance, wanted to cross the frontiers into Khurāsān, hoping to recruit new forces and to maintain themselves there until the death of either al-Ḥadjdjādj or ʿAbd al-Malik. Ibn al-Ashʿath was with them, but, as a group of 2,000 men led by ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Samura had defected, he made the fact that there was no longer unity among his supporters a pretext to return again to Rutbīl with the group which preferred to follow him there. The forces remaining in Khurāsān chose as their leader the Hāshimī already mentioned (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; in the version of al-Wāḳidī—Ibn Kathīr: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib); shortly afterwards, engaged in battle by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, they suffered a crushing defeat and their leaders were sent prisoner to al-Ḥadjdjādj, who had most of them executed. While the ruthless governor was occupied in carrying out reprisals and even executing mass sentences, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was living at the court of Rutbīl. But, as it was always feared that he might again give trouble, al-Ḥadjdjādj sent continually to his protector letters in which threats alternated with tempting promises in an effort to get him extradited. In the end Rutbīl yielded. Different versions exist of the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: he is said to have been killed by Rutbīl himself or to have died of an illness, his severed head being sent to al-Ḥadjdjādj, who had asked for it; but the account which is generally accepted by the sources is different: put in chains and confined at ʿUmāra in order to be taken to al-Ḥadjdjādj, he threw himself from the top of a castle at Rukhkhadj, dragging with him in his fall the man to whom he was chained (85/704).

Chronology. This is not certain since, although the sources are in agreement on the days and months of some of the outstanding events, for example the battles of Tustar and al-Zāwiya, they are less so on the years. Wellhausen (*Ar. Reich*, 150 f., Eng. tr., 241 f.) has studied the question and given preference to the series of dates given above: 81 for the beginning of the revolt, 82 for the three defeats of Ibn al-Ashʿath, 83 for the troubles in Sidjistān and the fighting in Khurāsān. Al-Wāḳidī (in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1052 and 1101; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 181 f.) dates the beginning of the revolt in 82, the battle of al-Zāwiya in 83, and then inconsistently gives the year 82 as the date of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, while adding that according to some it took place in 83 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1070); this chronology does not accord with the facts as well as the previous one. Equally unacceptable is the date 14 Djumādā II 83/15 July 703 given solely by a tradition of Abū Mikhnaf (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1094), since if one accepts the year 83 for the hostilities near Baṣra, this leaves too brief an interval between them and the final battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim; if one dates the hostilities near Baṣra in the year 82, it leaves an interval of too

great a length to be probable (cf. Périer, 186, n. 3). Ibn Kat͟hīr (ix, 42 and 47) lengthens the period of the trench warfare near Kūfa in order that it may fill out his account of the year 82, and transfers some of the skirmishes and the final battle of Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im to the year 83; he was evidently attempting to reconcile the divergent accounts, but his solution is not acceptable because he had to disregard the information which limits to about four months the period during which the two armies remained facing one another at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im.

Causes of the revolt. The Arabic sources often have a tendency to explain historical events by incidents relating to persons; in the present case they lay stress, in recounting various episodes, on the mutual hatred of the two protagonists. The facts, however, seem to contradict the suggestion that such a hatred existed: the governor put Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h in command of an army to fight against the K͟hārid̲j̲īs, he is said to have sent him to Kirmān to carry out other tasks, and finally he gave him nothing less than the command of the Peacock Army; the reason for his blindness may have been excessive confidence in the fear which he himself inspired (cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1044), or he may have preferred to keep far from ʿIrāḳ a person who was an embarrassment to him and perhaps dangerous; but if he, as a plebeian, hated the nobly-born Kindī, as is suggested, it is unlikely that he would have shown him so much favour, and if he had been aware of Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h's hostility to him, he would hardly have put into his hands the means of achieving his hostile intentions. It must also be conceded that Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h faithfully carried out the orders of his superior until the autumn of 81. Thus, contrary to the Arabic sources, it is advisable, if not to ignore personal feelings altogether, at least to attach less importance to them and to seek elsewhere the real reasons for the revolt. Von Kremer, in his *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge* (23 f.) and his *Culturgeschichte des Orients* (i, 172, followed by A. Müller and by van Vloten, 17, 26) links the revolt of Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h with the *mawālī* movement, and more precisely with the attempt made by those who had embraced Islam in Baṣra and Kūfa to obtain the same political rights as the Arabs who had been Muslims from an early date. Wellhausen (*Ar. Reich*, 151 ff., Eng. tr., 243 ff.), while recognizing that only a few years had passed since the fall of al-Muk͟htār, who had been their protector, and that al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ had put into force measures which had made things very difficult for the new converts, does not accept the idea that the revolt of Ibn As͟hʿat͟h was no more than a continuation of that of al-Muk͟htār. He notes that the *mawālī* also fought in large numbers, but side by side with their patrons, according to the custom of the time, and that though they might certainly be hostile to the Syrian government, the supporter of Arabism, yet it was not their claims which lay at the root of the revolt. He considers that the basic cause was a rising of the Arab aristocracy against the imperious and arrogant representative of governmental authority, the plebeian al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲. The Arab clans followed their chiefs all the more willingly since their long service in wars and in the garrisons of distant provinces had caused them great hardship. Since not only the Yemenīs of Kūfa, who regarded Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h as one of their chiefs, but other clans and also those of Baṣra did not withhold their support, Wellhausen adds that there must be seen in the rebellion a new attempt by the ʿIrāḳīs to throw off the yoke of the Syrians and an uprising against the use of Syrian militia and the privileges which were granted to them. All these arguments of Wellhausen must be taken into consideration, but when he states that the rebellion had no religious motives, in spite of the vehement participation of the *ḳurrāʾ*, it seems that his judgement is open to criticism. There should perhaps be distinguished two phases in the rebellion: at the beginning, it was no more than a mutiny: the politician al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ set himself up as a strategist and presumed to give from a distance peremptory orders to someone with military experience, who knew that during the winter the mountains of Kābulistān are impassable and foresaw that any attempt to penetrate them would result in a disaster similar to that which two years earlier had overtaken the army of Ibn Abī Bakra. The reaction of the army is understandable. But during the march of the rebels towards ʿIrāḳ and after their arrival there, the revolt changed in character and the religious element became predominant. To assess this it is enough to compare the *bayʿa* of the soldiers to Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h while they were still in Sid̲j̲istān with the exchange of *bayʿa* between them and their leader in Fārs: on this occasion they swore an oath of obedience to him (*bāyaʿūhu*) and he replied to them "Undertake with me (*tubāyiʿūnī*) to depose al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, the enemy of God, to give me support and to fight with me until God expels him from ʿIrāḳ", and the people promised obedience (*bāyaʿahu*; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1055); at Iṣṭak͟hr (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1058), the ceremony was different: the people acknowledged the authority of Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h (*bāyaʿūhu*), but he replied to them with the following *bayʿa*: "You will swear an oath (*tubāyiʿūna*) [to defend] the Book of God and the *Sunna* of His Prophet, to depose the *imāms* of error, to fight against those who regard [the blood of the Prophet's kin] as licit (*al-muḥillīn*)". And it was when they said "Yes" that he made his *bayʿa* (*bāyaʿa*) (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1058; Ibn Kat͟hīr, ix, 36). One has the impression that later the control of the revolt slipped from his hands, although he retained the position of commander in chief; the most significant pointer to this diminution of authority is the rejection of his counsel to accept the offers made by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik to the assembly of the chiefs at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1704 f.), but it is proved also by other indications: the sources do not report any speech by Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h urging the rebels to continue the struggle, but only orders such as might be given by any military leader to soldiers who were in disorder (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1095), whereas they do report violent speeches of *ḳurrāʾ* proclaiming the necessity of fighting against the heterodox, the innovators, who disregard the truth and practise oppression, or of defending both the faith and worldly possessions (*dīnakum wa dunyākum*) because if those people (obviously the Umayyads) conquered, they would ruin both the one and the other, or proclaiming that there are in the world no people more unjust than they (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1086 f., etc.). It is true that the traditionists may have had a predilection for speeches of this type, but their complete silence about any propaganda activities in support of the cause by the person who had begun the revolt is striking. Whereas the *ḳurrāʾ* swore to die and did die on the field of battle, Ibn al-As͟hʿat͟h was inclined towards a compromise with the caliph and ready to lay down arms; he commanded the troops from behind and did not throw himself into the fray, as did many leaders when the cause was already lost; after the defeat at al-Zāwiya he withdrew, at Dayr al-D̲j̲amād̲j̲im and at Maskin he fled; he refused to

continue the struggle in Khurāsān. It would seem as though the reason he continued to fight was that the die was cast and he feared that he would be punished for his revolt. He may have been discouraged or have realized that other motives had superseded those for which the chiefs of clans (the Arab aristocracy) and the ʿIrāḳī soldiers had originally joined the campaign, and he did not approve of them. The fact that the scope of the revolt had been enlarged to include those who were discontented with the Umayyad régime and who found support for their recriminations in religious motives, and who were often *mawālī*, is proved also by al-Ḥadjdjādj's behaviour to the rebels who fell into his hands: it is said (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1097) that he spared all the Ḳurayshīs, all the Syrians, and all those belonging to the clans of the "two arbiters" (named at Ṣiffīn); furthermore he extorted from the captives above all a declaration that they had been infidel (*kāfir*; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1096; cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 358) and punished severely the Persian *mawālī* and the *Zuṭṭ* who had supported the revolt (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 373-4; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 286). The pardon granted to the Arabs and the punishments inflicted on tens of thousands of *mawālī* show that he saw the latter, after the revolt had been extinguished, as the most dangerous and most guilty of the seditious elements.

Bibliography: The main sources are Ṭabarī (ii, 1023-5, 1042-77, 1085-110, 1132-6 and index), who relied mainly on Abū Mikhnaf, traditionist and author of a monograph entitled *Kitāb Dayr al-Djamādjim wa khalʿ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath* (*Fihrist*, 93) and the *Anonyme arabische Chronik* edited by Ahlwardt (308-10, 318-59). To these may be added the *Bidāya* of Ibn Kathīr because of the clarity of its continuous account and of a number of details drawn from Wāḳidī. The other sources either add nothing of importance or are confusing to the reader: a reputable author such as Dīnawarī (*Ṭiwāl*, 253, 322-5) offers an entirely deceptive account in which the revolt is the result of propaganda made at Kūfa, with religious arguments, by Ibn al-Ashʿath, and in which the rebels set out from this town (!); other authors, such as, for example, the author of *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, make use of the facts solely in order to introduce episodes and speeches of a literary character and probably apocryphal. There may also be consulted: Ṭabarī (Zotenberg), iv, 127-48; Ps.-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, Cairo 1322/1904, ii, 51 f., 56-86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 229, 260, 262 f., 276, iv B, 60 (events before the revolt); idem, *Futūḥ*, 67, 293, 323, 399 ff., 417; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 331-4; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 154, 155, 176, 654, 655; Ibn Rusta, in *BGA*, vii, 205, 229, 282 f.; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, in *BGA*, viii, 314-6; idem, *Murūdj*, v, 302-5 and index (with some incorrect information, *e.g.*, that Rutbīl was one of the kings of India); *Aghānī*, v, 153-5, 161, x, 110, 111, xix, 140, 154-6, and index; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1935, 112-8; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ii, 224, iv, 26, 225, 280, 333-6, 365-7, 370-9, 383-9, 399-401 and index; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, 259r.-60r., 268r.-269v., 272r., 276v.-281r. (with some notices lacking elsewhere); Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, MS Paris, 3v.-5r., 6r. and v., 8r.-9r., 10r.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, MS Bodl., fol. 107r.-v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ix, 35-7, 39-42, 47-51, 52, 54, 55; Ibn Khaldūn, Būlāḳ ed. 1284, iii, 47-50, 52. For other references to Arabic sources, see L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, 81 A.H., 970, 82 A.H., 980 f., 85 A.H., 1026; on a long satire by Farazdaḳ, see his *Dīwān*, ed. Hell, index, 19 and tr. Boucher, 623-33; G. Weil, *Geschichte d. Chalifen*, i, 449-65; J. Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, 145-56, 157-8, n. 1 (Eng. tr. Weir, 232-48, 252); A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 390-2; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, 347-9; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjâdj ibn Yousof*, Paris 1904, 129-32, 158-66, 167-204 and index. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

IBN AL-ASHʿATH [see ḤAMDĀN ḲARMAṬ].

IBN ʿĀSHIR, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī, Ṣūfī of the Marīnid period, patron saint of the town of Salé, where he died in 764 or 765/1362-3. He was a native of Jimena in Spain and, for unknown reasons, left there to settle in Algeciras. There he supported himself by teaching the Ḳurʾān, and seems to have been happy there until one of the holy men with whom he was acquainted, and in whom he had great confidence, advised him to flee from the country before the Christians arrived. He then undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return from the east he stopped at Fez, then went to visit one of his sisters at Meknès; but he probably did not find there what he was looking for, and, setting off again, he settled at Shālla, on the left bank of the Bou Regreg, having been offered by a Ṣūfī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Yāburī, whose disciple he became, a *khalwa* in the *zāwiya* which he had set up inside the cemetery. On the death of his master, he left this peaceful place, so conducive to meditation, for another *zāwiya* in Salé itself, on the right bank of the river, near the Great Mosque. Later, with some hard-earned savings, he acquired a small house in the west of the town, opposite the al-Muʿallaḳa gate which opens on to the cemetery where his tomb now stands.

Ibn ʿĀshir, in spite of his learning, was neither an intellectual nor a pedant. He taught mainly the Ḳurʾān, still in order to support himself, for he always made it a strict rule to live by his own work. Ibn Ḳunfudh of Constantine relates that at the time that he met him at Salé in 763/1361-2, *i.e.*, about two years before his death, he was earning his daily pittance by copying a work of *ḥadīth*, the *ʿUmda*, which was one of his favourite books. It is said that he himself bound the copy he had made and sold it for exactly what the work had cost him. His dislike of the world earned him the reputation of being an eccentric solitary. In 757/1356, the Sultan of Morocco (it must have been Abū ʿInān the Marīnid) is said to have tried in vain to approach him, which is why his pleasant and relaxed manner, and the smile with which he greeted Ibn Ḳunfudh, caused general surprise among his disciples and the devout persons who were his followers.

His preference for solitude, silence and meditation increased with age. He had little liking for spiritual gatherings and he barely endured the meetings of *fuḳarāʾ*, at which he refused to preside and during which he spoke only rarely and with the utmost reluctance. Ibn ʿĀshir at the end of his career was a man poorly clad, not easy to approach, gloomy, afflicted by a sort of chronic internal spasm, who kept company with the dead whom he visited in the cemetery behind the Great Mosque.

He belonged to no fraternity. According to Ibn Ḳunfudh, his *ṭarīḳa* was based on the strict, zealous, sincere and unreserved observation of the teaching contained in the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī. Always most anxious to distinguish exactly between what is *ḥalāl* and what is *ḥarām*, he was particularly careful

to accept nothing from anybody and to submit himself daily to a strict examination of his own conscience. One of his biographers, al-Ḥaḍramī, asserts that the *Riʿāya* of al-Muḥāsibī was one of the works which he constantly read.

Many Ṣūfīs gathered round Ibn ʿĀshir at Salé, which was a place suitable for meditation and appeared at that time to those who, aspiring to the mystic life, were fleeing from Fez as a haven of peace and security. Thus one of them, Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda [*q.v.*], came to spend several years there in the company of the saint, of whom he became a famous disciple.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Ibn ʿĀshir al-Ḥāfī (d. 1163/1750) wrote a monograph on his namesake entitled *Tuḥfat al-zāʾir bi-baʿḍ manāḳib sayyidī al-ḥādjdj Aḥmad b. ʿĀshir*, which has not been printed (see I. S. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, ii, Rabat 1958, no. 2303); for the list of the biographers of the saint see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 313-4. Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Uns al-faḳīr wa ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, ed. M. El Fasi and A. Faure, Rabat, 1965, 9-10. See also the excellent pages on Ibn ʿĀshir in Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda*, Beirut 1961, 55 ff.

(A. Faure)

IBN ʿĀSHŪR, patronymic of a family of Idrīsid descent and Moroccan origin which settled in Muslim Spain. It is said that ʿĀshūr, fleeing from religious persecution, came to settle in Morocco. His son Muḥammad was born at Salé in about 1030/1621 and it was with him that the family's importance in the history of Tunisia began, at first in the field of "mysticism", then in those of *fiḳh*, of teaching and of religious offices. Muḥammad b. ʿĀshūr, who was initiated into mysticism in Morocco by the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Kudjayrī, distinguished himself at Tunis as the leader of a religious fraternity. He settled there, on his return from the Pilgrimage, at the age of about thirty, and carried on the trade of tarboosh-maker. At Tunis he came under the influence first of the *shaykh* ʿAlī al-Zawāwī, and on his death succeeded him as leader of the fraternity in the *zāwiya* which was named after him and which was situated in the district of Bāb Manāra (one of the gates of the capital which has only recently been demolished). Finally, however, he adopted the Way of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. Muḥammad b. ʿĀshūr did not seek power, but rather shunned it, and he led a life of strict poverty. There is attributed to him the following dignified remark: "We are not of those who perform the *dhikr* in expectation of payment" (*Dhayl*, 197). On his death in 1110/1698-9, he was buried in the *zāwiya* inherited from his master ʿAlī al-Zawāwī.

His son, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, whose birth was announced to him in a dream by the famous mystic of that name, succeeded him as leader of the fraternity. He was less sensitive than his father and in fact lived fairly comfortably. He is described as the wealthy leader of a *ṭarīḳa*, possessing a certain moral authority which he put at the disposal of any who asked for his protection, including the Jewish and Christian *dhimmīs*. He was visited by dervishes from India as well as from the East. He was still alive when Ḥusayn Khūdja was writing his *Dhayl*.

It was with ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's great-grandsons, Aḥmad (d. 1255/1839), Muḥammad, known as Ḥamda (d. 1265/1849), and in particular Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir (d. 1284/1868), that the family began to gain importance in the field of Islamic studies. Aḥmad

ʿĀshūr
- Muḥammad
  - ʿAbd al-Ḳādir
    - Muḥammad al-Shādhilī
      - Muḥammad
        - Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir
          - Muḥammad
            - Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir
              - Muḥammad al-Fāḍil
        - Muḥammad "Ḥamda"
        - Aḥmad
    - Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḳāsim

taught grammar and *fiḳh* in the Great Mosque al-Zaytūna, followed the profession of notary (*al-tawthīḳ*) and was buried in the *zāwiya* inherited from the *shaykh* ʿAlī al-Zawāwī. Muḥammad known as Ḥamda was also a teacher. Appointed, against his will, by the bey Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (1253-71/1837-54) as *ḳāḍī* to the army, he appealed to the vizier Muṣṭafā Khaznadār to make the bey reverse his decision. He too was buried in the *zāwiya* of Sīdī ʿAlī al-Zawāwī which seems to have become the family burial-place.

The most famous of the three brothers was Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir, who gained renown as an *adīb*—there exist numerous examples of his prose and verse—as a grammarian and as a *faḳīh*. He produced a gloss (*ḥāshiya*) to the commentary on *al-Ḳaṭr* (which remained the basic work for the second year of teaching at al-Zaytūna until the reform of 1958), and an abridgement of the commentary on the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*] written by Ibn Marzūk. On 25 Radjab 1267/26 May 1851, he was appointed chief *ḳāḍī* of Tunis, and in 1277/1860-1 he left this office to become *muftī*. Shortly afterwards he combined this with the duties of syndic (*naḳīb*) of the *ashrāf*. He died on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1284/14 April 1868 and was buried in the same *zāwiya* as his two brothers.

The family tradition was carried on by his grandson, also called Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir (born 1296/1879) and by his great-grandson Muḥammad al-Fāḍil.

Bibliography: Ḥusayn Khūdja, *al-Dhayl li-Kitāb Bashāʾir al-īmān*, Tunis 1908, 192-9; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-mālikiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930, i, 392, no. 1565; Aḥmad b. Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān*, Tunis 1966, viii, nos. 243, 283, 394; *al-Taʾrīkh al-Bāshī*, MS National Library, Tunis, no. 1794, 316; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, MS Aḥmadiyya (Zaytūna), Tunis, no. 6205, fol. 98-9; Muḥammad al-Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351/1932, 122-7; Muḥammad al-Buhlī al-Nayyāl, *al-Ḥaḳīḳa al-taʾrīkhiyya li 'l-taṣawwuf al-islāmī*, Tunis 1965, 306-7.

(M. Talbi)

IBN ʿĀṢIM, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim al-Gharnāṭī, a famous Mālikī jurisconsult, grammarian and man of letters. He was born in Granada on 12 Djumādā I 760/11 April 1359 and died there on 11 Shawwāl 829/15 August 1426. He had a brother, who was also called Muḥammad but had the *kunya* Abū Yaḥyā, and a son who also had the *kunya* Abū Yaḥyā; this last was the author of a

Memorandum on the members of his family (Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 285). Ibn ʿĀṣim came of a family of scholars which belonged to the intellectual aristocracy of Granada; Ibn Djuzayy, the famous commentator of the Ḳurʾān, was his great-uncle on the mother's side. He studied in Granada with numerous professors, including al-Shāṭibī [*q.v.*] (for a fuller list, see Ben Cheneb, in *EI* [1]), and is said to have exercised the profession of a bookbinder; he finally became Chief Ḳāḍī of Granada.

His biographers mention ten works, mostly in metrical form, on *fiḳh*, *ḳirāʾāt*, *naḥw* and *adab*; the following have survived:

1. *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām fī nukat al-ʿuḳūd waʾl-aḥkām*, a treatise of Mālikī law in 1698 verses of *radjaz*, often printed. This treatise, also called *al-ʿĀṣimiyya*, has become, together with the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*qq.v.*], one of the authoritative handbooks of the Mālikī school. Among its commentaries, those of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mayyāra (d. 1072/1662), of Muḥammad b. Sūda al-Tāwudī (d. 1207/1792), of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tasūlī (d. 1278/1861), and of ʿUthmān b. al-Makī al-Tawzarī, a professor at the Zaytūna Mosque in Tunis (wrote 1339/1921), have been printed. The *Tuḥfa* was edited and translated into French by O. Houdas and F. Martel, Algiers and Paris 1882-93, and by L. Bercher, Algiers 1958.

2. *Murtaḳa ʾl-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl*, a short *urdjūza* on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

3. *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ*, or *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-azhār*, a collection of stories and anecdotes, dedicated to the Naṣrid ruler Yūsuf II (793-4/1391-2).

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā al-Tunbuktī, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1329-30, 289 f.; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349, no. 891; Moh. Ben Cheneb, in *EI*[1], s.v. (J. SCHACHT)

IBN ʿASKAR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MIṢBĀḤ, Idrīsid *sharif* and Moroccan author of a highly esteemed hagiographic dictionary. He was born in Shafshāwān (Chechaouen) in 936/1529-30; his father is said to have suffered at the hands of the infidels; his mother, herself an Idrīsid, left a great reputation for saintliness. After moving from place to place in his country, he was appointed by the Saʿdid sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, in 967/1559-60, to be *ḳāḍī* and *muftī* of the little town of Ḳṣar Kutāma. In 969/1562 he made a long stay in southern Morocco, particularly in Marrākush, during which he devoted himself to the study of Ṣūfism. On the death of sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh in 982/1574, his son and successor Muḥammad, the future *al-Maslūkh* ("the flayed"), appointed him inspector (*naḳīb*) of *ḳāḍīs*. When his master was defeated by his uncle Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Malik, Ibn ʿAskar faithfully accompanied his unfortunate patron to the Iberian peninsula. He returned and died with him in the ranks of the small Moroccan army that fought and was destroyed alongside the troops of Don Sebastian of Portugal in the famous battle of Wādi ʾl-makhāzin in which the three rulers taking part all perished, on 30 Djumādā I 986/4 August 1578. The turbulent life and tragic end of Ibn ʿAskar allowed him to write only a single work of moderate size, but original, the *Dawḥat al-nāshir li-maḥāsin man kāna bi ʾl-Maghrib min mashāyikh al-ḳarn al-ʿāshir*. As the title indicates, the author's intention was to commemorate the merits of the *shaykhs* who lived in Morocco in the tenth century of the Hidjra (1495-1592). The personages named as *shaykhs* were not all scholars, but to some extent they all died in an odour of sanctity. The *Dawḥa*, as Lévi-Provençal has pointed out, is the first history of the first disciples of the great saint of the period, al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*]. Ibn ʿAskar's work was continued by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*], *Ṣafwat man intashar*..., and by al-Ḳādirī [*q.v.*], *Nashr al-mathānī*. Ibn ʿAskar's monograph is remarkably vivid and contains a great deal of information, especially about his native province in northern Morocco, the Djabal. Political history occupies almost no place in the work which, however, in Morocco, enjoyed an esteem that was largely merited by the author's sincerity. The *Dawḥa* was lithographed in Fās in 1309/1891 (104 pp.); an English adaptation was made by T. H. Weir, *The shaikhs of Morocco in the XVIth Century*, Edinburgh 1904; and an annotated French translation has been produced by A. Graulle, under the title *Daouhat en Nâchir de Ibn Askar*, in *AM*, xix (1913).

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IBN AL-ʿASSĀL, Coptic family which came originally from the village of Sadamant in the Province of Beni Suef in Middle Egypt at an unknown date and settled in Cairo, where its members rose to wealth and high station at the Ayyūbid court during the 7th/13th century. They owned a residence in the capital and occupied a position of leadership in their own community. Though their history is obscure, they were reckoned among the most learned Copts in mediæval times.

Early modern historians of Egypt appear to have vaguely recognized in Ibn al-ʿAssāl only a single personality in mediæval Christian Arabic literature, until in 1713 Renaudot (pp. 585-86, work cited below) revealed that two different brothers had written independently under that name. Afterwards, while classifying some of their manuscripts in the British Museum in 1894, Rieu (p. 18) was able to establish the fact that they were three brothers instead of two. Then in 1905, from different sources (especially the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), Mallon (*JA*, 1905, 509-29) confirmed Rieu's thesis and proved that the three attained great literary eminence under the collective name of Awlād al-ʿAssāl, *i.e.*, the sons of the honey producer or merchant, presumably the title and vocation of the founder of that family. Coptic historians, however, including Yaʿḳūb Nakhla Rufayla (p. 185) and the Commission of Coptic History (Ladjnat al-Taʾrīkh al-Ḳibṭī, 148-52) increased the number of "Awlād al-ʿAssāl" by two more—the father and a fourth brother—who also were high dignitaries in the Ayyūbid bureaucracy, though rich literary remains were left only by the other three. In 1943, Higgins (see ref. below) has laboured to establish a new thesis that two sets of Awlād al-ʿAssāl had lived—one at the beginning of the 5th/11th century and another in the 7th/13th century. Since this argument is based on a dubious date (500/1107) in the colophon of a single British Museum manuscript (Arab. e 163, f. 288 r.), we must for the present maintain that the 7th/13th century group is the only one convincingly established.

The full names of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl are as follows: (a) Abu'l-Faḍl b. Abī Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Sahl Djirdjis b. Abī al-Yusr Yūḥannā b. al-ʿAssāl, the father, known as *al-kātib al-Miṣrī*, "the Egyptian scribe" or "secretary", who bore the title Fakhr al-

Dawla; (b) al-Ṣafī Abu'l-Faḍāʾil b. al-ʿAssāl, with the title Ṣafī al-Dawla; (c) al-Asʿad Abu'l-Faradj Hibat-Allāh b. al-ʿAssāl; (d) al-Muʾtaman Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAssāl, with the title Muʾtaman al-Dawla; (e) al-Amdjad Abu'l-Madjd b. al-ʿAssāl, who was Secretary of the important *Dīwān* of the Army. The last two were step-brothers of the preceding two, who are described as full brothers.

The literary figures in the list were al-Ṣafī, al-Asʿad and al-Muʾtaman. In spite of their apparent importance, our knowledge of their lives will remain meagre until further data are gleaned from their numerous works, the chief source for any study on the Awlād al-ʿAssāl. All had lived approximately in the tumultuous first half of the 7th/13th century, when Egypt resisted successive crusading attacks on its shores, culminating in the fall of Damietta (1248) and the ultimate discomfiture and imprisonment of King Louis IX of France at the famous battle of Manṣūra in 1350. The firm position of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl in the Ayyūbid administration during those years reveals the loyalty of the Copts to the reigning dynasty and their hostility to the Crusade — a movement which aimed at their humiliation as being schismatics, and thus worse than heretics.

Both al-Ṣafī and al-Asʿad are known from a citation by their third step-brother to have died before 658/1260. The major works of the three are believed to have been accomplished approximately in the decade 627-37/1230-40. All were men of great learning in both the humanities and science. All were masters of Arabic style and in addition well acquainted with Coptic, Greek and Syriac.

Until Ayyūbid times, Coptic was still in use as a language throughout Egypt, though it was increasingly felt that Arabic was becoming a serious menace to its survival. Hence arose a new class of scholars who concentrated on writing Coptic grammars in Arabic and compiled Copto-Arabic dictionaries to ensure the preservation of their ancestral tongue. The Awlād al-ʿAssāl distinguished themselves in this school, as may be witnessed from the enumeration of their works below. In addition to their excellence in Coptic philology, they made outstanding contributions to Coptic canon law, theology, philosophy, Christian polemics, homiletics, Biblical studies, exegesis and all manner of enquiry into their own religion.

The church must have meant a great deal to them, since, as archons or lay leaders of the community, they carried high the torch of reform at a moment when the Patriarchate itself fell into the hands of the ungodly. The infamous Cyril ibn Luḳluḳ (1235-43) occupied the throne of St. Mark by treachery and flourished on simony, while buying royal support by bribery. Finally in 1239 the prelates of the Church forced Cyril to convene a Synod, probably at the Muʿallaḳa Church in Old Cairo, which reviewed all ecclesiastical evils and prescribed total reform. It is noteworthy that al-Ṣafī was the secretary of that Synod and its moving spirit. The Bishops commissioned him to compile what became the greatest and most enduring digest of Coptic canon law and tradition from all the ancient sources available. This tome was named after him *al-Madjmūʿ al-Ṣafawī*, which remains an authority to this day.

The Awlād al-ʿAssāl's monumental contributions may be appraised from the number and nature of their manuscripts. The Coptic Museum alone has forty-nine, besides many more that are found in European collections, including the Vatican, Florence, the Bodleian, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and numerous others, public and private, the most elaborate survey of which we owe to the indefatigable diligence of the late Mgr. Georg Graf (see *Bibl.*).

Besides numerous religious and philological works, they also wrote some Arabic poetry of no mean quality, notably the *urdjūza* type for homiletics and the formulation of legal rules of inheritance. It may, however, be deduced from the above that al-Ṣafī was the canonist and philosopher, al-Asʿad the exegete and grammarian, and al-Muʾtaman the theologian and philologist. Their legacy appears to be the consummation of the Coptic culture in the Islamic Middle Ages, though our comprehension of the depth and breadth of their endeavour is still in its infancy.

Bibliography: G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, Vatican City 1947, 296-7, 387-414; idem, *Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulād al-ʿAssāl und ihr Schrifttum*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. i (1932), 34-56, 129-48, 193-204; A. J. B. Higgins, *Ibn al-ʿAssāl*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliv (1943), 73-5; Ladjnat al-Taʾrikh al-Ḳibṭī, *Taʾrikh al-Umma al-Ḳibṭiyya*, second series, Cairo 1925, 148-52; A Mallon, *Ibn al-ʿAssāl, Les trois écrivains de ce nom*, in *JA*, 10ème serie, vi (1905), 509-29; idem, *Une école de savants égyptiens au moyen âge*, in *Beyrouth Mélanges*, i (1906), 122 ff.; Marcus Smaika and Yassa ʿAbd al-Massih, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic MSS in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the principal churches of Cairo and Alexandria and and the monasteries of Egypt*, 2 vols., Cairo 1939-42, (see Index, ii, 567); E. Renaudot, *Historia patriarcharum alexandrinorum*, Paris 1713, 585 ff.; C. Rieu, *Supplement to Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the British Museum*, London 1894, 18; Yaʿḳūb Nakhla Rufayla, *Taʾrikh al-Umma al-Ḳibṭiyya*, Cairo 1889, 185; J. M. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'église copte d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1677, 335 ff.

(A. S. ATIYA)

IBN ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH, TĀDJ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌL (and ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS, see Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351, 70) AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. ʿAṬĀʾ ALLĀH AL-ISKANDARĪ AL-SHĀDHILĪ, Arab mystic, follower of the doctrines of the mystic al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) as a disciple of the mystic Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Mursī (d. 686/1287). He wrote a biographical work on the life and teachings of both mystics, entitled *Laṭāʾif al-minan fī manāḳib al-Shaykh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās wa-Shaykhihi Abu'l-Ḥasan* (Tunis 1304/1886-87; Cairo 1322/1904, on the margin of Shaʿrānī's *Laṭāʾif al-minan*).

Originally from Alexandria, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh lived in Cairo and died there on 16 Djumādā II 709/21 November 1309 in the *madrasa* al-Manṣūriyya. Brockelmann (see *Bibl.*) lists twenty works by Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, principally on mysticism and asceticism, of which six are in print and the rest in manuscript. By far the most celebrated of his works is a collection of maxims of a distinct beauty of expression, *al-Hikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, with numerous commentaries down to modern times, among them *Ghayth al-mawāhib al-ʿaliyya* (Būlāḳ 1285/1868) by the Spanish mystic Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 796/1394). He is also said to have written in the fields of Ḳurʾānic exegesis, traditions, grammar and the methodology of law (see *Dībādj*, 70).

Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh was one of the foremost adversaries of the renowned Ḥanbalī jurisconsult and theologian, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). When the

latter was arrested in Shawwāl 707/March-April 1308, it was Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh who made accusations against him for attacks which he had made against Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] and other mystics, but none of the accusations was substantiated (according to al-Birzālī [*q.v.*] in Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 45). Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh no doubt had reason to oppose Ibn Taymiyya, who condemns certain doctrines held by the mystics. Thus for instance, in his *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa 'l-masāʾil* (5 vols., Cairo 1341-9), v, 86, Ibn Taymiyya condemns as an innovation (*bidʿa*) the formula of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] mentioning the name of God as a single term, either in the form of a noun or a pronoun (*al-ism al-mufrad muẓharan wa-muḍmaran*). Here, Ibn Taymiyya attributes it to al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], but adds that some of his contemporaries were guilty of it (*wa-hādhā wa-ashbāhuhu waḳaʿa li-baʿḍi man kāna fī zamāninā*). We know that this applies to Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh, among whose works is one entitled *al-Ḳaṣd al-mudjarrad fī maʿrifat al-ism al-mufrad* (Cairo 1930).

Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh was claimed by the Shāfiʿīs (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, v, 176) as well as the Mālikīs (Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 70). At his death he was interred in the Ḳarāfa Cemetery in Cairo where his tomb was for long the object of pious visits. It is located in the south-eastern group of tombs (see L. Massignon, *La Cité des Morts au Caire*, in *BIFAO*, lvii, 67).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see Brockelmann, II, 143-4, S II, 145-7; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taimīya*, Damascus 1939, index, s.v.; Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sikandarī wa-taṣawwufuh* (with bibliography); Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Aʿlām al-Iskandariyya*, Cairo 1965, 213-22.

(G. Makdisi)

IBN AʿTHAM AL-KŪFĪ, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī al-Kindī, Arab historian of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, author of the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (composed 204/819), see Storey, i/2, 1260. The unique manuscript, in two volumes, is preserved in Istanbul, Ahmad III 2956. Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, i, 379) ascribes two other books to Ibn Aʿtham, both of which are lost. Although little is known about the author, his *K. al-Futūḥ* proves to be a major source for the early history of the Arabs, from the caliphate of ʿUthmān to that of Hārūn al-Rashīd, particularly for events in ʿIrāḳ, the conquest of Khurāsān, Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, the Arab-Khazar wars and Arab-Byzantine relations. The value of the work is enhanced by the list of Ibn Aʿtham's authorities, which include al-Madāʾinī, al-Wāḳidī, al-Zuhrī, Abū Mikhnaf, Ibn al-Kalbī and other lesser traditionists. Although Ibn Aʿtham explains that he combined their traditions into a connected historical narrative, he fortunately names his authorities for some significant traditions, al-Madāʾinī in this respect being the source most frequently noted. As a contemporary of al-Madāʾinī ([*q.v.*], 135-225/752-840), Ibn Aʿtham has the pronounced advantage of quoting this great master in his lifetime. Comparison of the narrative of Ibn Aʿtham with the traditions of al-Madāʾinī as related by al-Ṭabarī shows that Ibn Aʿtham not only provides a useful check to the traditions recorded in al-Ṭabarī, but also adds some important details preserved only in the *K. al-Futūḥ*.

It is true that al-Balādhurī in his *Futūḥ al-buldān* gives the most comprehensive account of the advance of the Arab armies into the Sāsānian domains and quotes further authorities, such as Abū ʿUbayda, not named by Ibn Aʿtham; nevertheless Ibn Aʿtham provides more details on the situation of the Arabs in the conquered lands, particularly Armenia and Khurāsān. Moreover, whereas al-Balādhurī was mainly interested in "conquests", Ibn Aʿtham goes further: his interest in the internal events of ʿIrāḳ reveals a wider historical perspective than al-Balādhurī's.

In 596/1199 Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Mustawfī al-Harawī translated into Persian the part of *K. al-Futūḥ* which covers events up to the death of al-Ḥusayn. Of this translation there are many copies (see, *e.g.*, Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 151; Storey, ii/2, 207-9), and at least one published edition (Bombay 1300/1882). This Persian translation has been much discussed, but the real value of the book lies in the Arabic original.

Bibliography: For the Arabic original: A. N. Kurat, *Abū Muḥammad . . . al-Kūfī'nin Kitāb al-Futūḥ'u*, in *AÜDTCF*, vii (1949), 255-82, and cf. idem, *ibid.*, vi (1948), 385 ff.; M. A. Shaban, *The social and political background of the ʿAbbāsid revolution in Khurāsān*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Harvard University, 1960. For the Persian translation: W. Ouseley, *The Oriental collection*, i, 63, 160, ii, 58; W. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis . . . Gotha*, iii, 219; Browne, i, 363; H. Massé, *La chronique d'Ibn Atham et la conquête de l'Afriqiya*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45.

(M. A. Shaban)

IBN AL-ATHĪR, a family name (borne by a number of apparently unrelated families) which was given great and deserved lustre by three brothers, Madjd al-Dīn, ʿIzz al-Dīn, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, who achieved literary fame in the fields of, respectively, philology and religious studies, historiography, and literary criticism. Their father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm (often but apparently incorrectly: Muḥ. b. *Muḥ.* b. ʿAbd al-Karīm), whose life spanned the largest part of the 6th/12th century, was a high official of the Zangids of Mosul, stationed in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (hence the *nisba* al-Djazarī). His three famous sons were born there. The family was, it seems, well-to-do, owning real estate in Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Mosul and investing in commercial enterprises.

(1) Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Saʿādāt al-Mubārak was born in 544/1149. His entire adult life was spent in Mosul, where he worked for the government in the service of Ghāzī b. Mawdūd, Ghāzī's brother Masʿūd, and the latter's son Arslan Shāh. For a while, he was attached to Mudjāhid al-Dīn Ḳaymaz, who, formerly of Irbil, had moved to Mosul and been entrusted there by Ghāzī with the running of affairs. Though he was paralysed in his later years, his administrative services and advice were still very much in demand. However, an anecdote reported by his brother, the historian, depicts him as preferring the contemplative quiet of the invalid to the distractions of politics. He died on Thursday, 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 606/24 June 1210.

Of his works, a *ḥadīth* collection entitled *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl* became a much used standard reference work (autograph copy of the first volume in Istanbul, Feyzullah 299, cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 71-7). His dictionary of less common words and meanings occurring in the Prophetic traditions, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1322, also 1963-65), gained especially wide currency from the fact that it was incorporated in the *Lisān al-ʿArab*. He wrote on particular kinds of names in the *Kitāb al-Banīn wa-'l-banāt wa 'l-ābāʾ wa 'l-ummahāt wa 'l-adhwāʾ*

wa 'l-dhawāt (= *Kitāb al-Muraṣṣa*ʿ, incomplete ed. by C. F. Seybold [Weimar 1896, *Semitistische Studien*, 10/11]). While his works on the *Musnad* of al-Shāfiʿī, on the pious men and women of early Islam (*al-Mukhtār fī manāḳib al-akhyār*, table of contents by O. Spies, in *MO*, xxiv (1930), 31-55), and, it seems, a collection of *Rasāʾil* (listed in Brockelmann as No. 5) are preserved, his major works on grammar and Ḳurʾān interpretation, together with a number of works on other subjects, have not yet been recovered.

(2) ʿIZZ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ was born on 4 Djumādā I 555/13 May 1160. Like his elder brother, he spent most of his adult life in Mosul but in the capacity of a private scholar. He repeatedly visited Baghdād as a pilgrim or as an envoy of the ruler of Mosul. On at least one of these occasions, upon returning from the pilgrimage, we find him, together with Madjd al-Dīn, trying to use the opportunity for studying with a Baghdādī scholar. At the age of twenty-eight, he was with the armies concentrated under the command of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] for the fight against the Crusaders (*Kāmil, sub anno* 584), probably in the company of his brother Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn. Near the end of his life, in 626-28/1228-31, he spent some time as an honoured guest with the Atābak of Aleppo, interrupting his stay for one year to visit Damascus. In Aleppo, Yāḳūt [*q.v.*], just before he died, asked him to arrange for the transfer of his books and papers after his death to a foundation in Baghdād. He agreed but, we are told, handled the task ineptly. He himself died soon thereafter, in Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 630/May-June 1233.

The circumstances of his life are certainly most imperfectly known as compared to the extent of fame and influence that were his on account of his works, which have been preserved and printed repeatedly. He wrote very successful improved compendia of al-Samʿānī's *Ansāb* and of some earlier collections of biographies of the men around Muḥammad, entitled, respectively, *al-Lubāb* and *Usd al-ghāba*. His more noteworthy contribution, however, has been to secular history. On the Zangī (Atābak) dynasty of Mosul, he wrote a comparatively short work, *al-Bāhir*, based on the first-hand knowledge of his father and himself. His great compilation entitled *al-Kāmil*, an annalistic history from the beginning of the world to the year 628, represents the high point of Muslim annalistic historiography. Distinguished by the well-balanced selection of its vast material, by its clear presentation, and by the author's occasional flashes of historical insight, it is somewhat marred, from the modern point of view, by its failure to indicate its sources and the restrictiveness of its annalistic form. A noticeable partiality for the Zangids, leading to some distortion and confusion, is, however, to be expected and is hardly a reason for belittling the great achievement of the historian.

(3) ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FATḤ NAṢR ALLĀH, born on Thursday, 20 Shaʿbān 558/Wednesday, 24 July 1163, led the most active life of the three brothers and achieved the greatest prominence in politics, obtaining at some time the title of *wazīr*, which he retained. He joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in April 1191 (if not already once before, in 583/1187). Near the end of the year, given the choice, he joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son, al-Afḍal, becoming his *wazīr* in Damascus after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death in 589/1193. In this position, he is said to have accumulated so much ill-will that when al-Afḍal had to give up Damascus, he was only with great difficulty able to escape, supposedly to Egypt (according to Ibn Khallikān). In fact, he took refuge in Mosul, where he found employment with Arslan Shāh. In 595/1199, he rejoined al-Afḍal in Syria and Egypt, and in 597/1201 moved with him through Syria to al-Afḍal's final destination in Sumaysāṭ. Travelling to Aleppo in 607/1211 with the intention to join al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, he almost immediately left for Mosul. In 611/1214, he took up residence in Irbil, then in Sindjār, and eventually, in 618/1221, settled again in Mosul, where he remained to the end of his life in the service of Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd b. Arslan Shāh and Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, as *kātib al-inshāʾ*. He died on an embassy to Baghdād on Monday, 29 Rabīʿ II 637/28 November 1239. A son, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (585-622/1189-1225), had begun to follow in his father's footsteps as a littérateur when he died prematurely.

Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's works are all concerned with literary criticism. Those published are *al-Washy al-marḳūm* (Beirut 1298); *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* (ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād and Djamīl Saʿīd, Baghdād 1375/1956); and the most famous of all, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, which caused much attention already when it first appeared (on the editions and on old manuscripts of the work, cf. S. A. Bonebakker, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 186-94). Further, *al-Istidrāk fi 'l-akhdh ʿala 'l-Maʾākhidh al-Kindiyya* (Cairo 1958, on the dependence of al-Mutanabbī on Abū Tammām by the same Ibn al-Dahhān who was the teacher of Madjd al-Dīn, the author for his part of an improved version of Ibn al-Dahhān's *al-Fuṣūl al-adabiyya*), and one of the collections of his *Rasāʾil* (published on the basis of the manuscript Topkapısaray Ahmet III, 2630 [described by O. Rescher, in *RSO*, iv (1911-2), 725], by Anīs al-Maḳdisī [Beirut 1959], according to whom a manuscript in Beirut contains a partly different collection). These *Rasāʾil*, written to and on behalf of many of the important men of the time, dealing with all the topics on which an educated man had to be able to express himself in a literary fashion, and including such things as a preface for a treatise on the *ṣabūḥ* (morning drink) by a friend of his (*Rasāʾil*, 245 ff.), enjoyed hardly less of a reputation than those of his one-time colleague, the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil al-Baysānī. He also wrote, among other things, a long *Risāla* on Egypt (quoted by Ibn Khallikān), a handbook on *inshāʾ* (*al-Maʿālī al-mukhtaraʿa*), and a collection of the poetry of Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Dīk al-Djinn, and al-Mutanabbī. The originality of his substantial contribution to Arabic literary criticism is reputed to be high but remains to be investigated.

Bibliography: Information about the father (from the works of the historian) is to be found in the introd. to the ed., by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir A. Ṭulaymāt, of ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Bāhir* (Cairo, n.d. [1382/1963]), and the ed. of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, *al-Djāmiʿ*; about other members of the family, in H. Ritter, *Oriens*, vi, 71 ff. Meḥmed Sherefeddīn (Yaltkaya), *Ibn Ethīrler* (Istanbul 1322) was not available.

For (1): Knowledge of Madjd al-Dīn's biography goes back mainly to information furnished by his brothers, ʿIzz al-Dīn (*Kāmil, sub anno* 606) as reported by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 238-41, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in whose name the same information appears in Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, 199-301 (Baghdād 1353/1934). How much of the probably quite limited biographical information from the works of other contemporaries such as Ibn Nuḳṭa Ibn al-Mustawfī (*History of Irbil*), and al-Mundhirī

is reflected in, for instance, Ibn Khallikān, no. 524, or Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 22 f., can as yet not be determined. Brockelmann, I, 438 f., S I, 305, 607-9.

For (2): ʿIzz al-Dīn achieved fame too late for inclusion in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, and we are basically restricted to the brief remarks in Ibn Khallikān, no. 433, who, at the age of eighteen, had met him in Aleppo. Later authors apparently had no new worthwhile material to add. For information on his teachers from the *Kāmil*, cf. the introd. of the ed. of *al-Bāhir* by ʿA. A. Ṭulaymāt (the *Bāhir* had previously been published under the title of *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, in vol. ii of the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, hist. or.*, Paris 1876). For the statement concerning Yāḳūt, cf. the references given by Muṣṭafā Djawād, in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, iv, I, 260 f. For the esteem he was held in during the Middle Ages, cf., *e.g.*, al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 332, 413. For some more recent critical judgments, cf. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 58-60; H. A. R. Gibb, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950), 58-72; H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, Wiesbaden 1958, 6 f.; M. Hilmy M. Ahmad and F. Gabrieli, in Lewis and Holt (edd.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 88-90, 98 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 402, 422 f., S I, 565, 587 f.

For (3): In the absence of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn's biographies by his early contemporaries Ibn al-Mustawfī and Ibn al-Nadjdjār, we have to rely on Ibn Khallikān, no. 734, and the brief remarks in Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila*, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1377/1957, 4-6. Their information can to some degree be checked by the data derived from the *Rasāʾil* (cf. D. S. Margoliouth, in *Actes du Dixième Congrès Intern. des Or., Section III*, Leiden 1896, 9-21; C. Cahen, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 34-43). Cf., further (in the absence of the biographies of al-Dhahabī and al-Ṣafadī), Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 187-9. For his son, cf. *Rasāʾil*, 245, as well as Ibn Khallikān and the introd. to the ed. of *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*. Brockelmann, I, 357 f., S I, 521. (F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ʿATTĀSH, ʿABD AL-MALIK, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* who in the mid-5th/11th century was in charge of the *Daʿwa* in ʿIrāḳ and western Persia. Information about him is scanty. According to the autobiography of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*], he went to Rayy in Ramaḍān 464/May-June 1072, and enrolled Ḥasan in the *Daʿwa*. He is also said to have won over the Raʾīs Muẓaffar of Girdkūh, later one of the most active leaders of the Nizārīs. Ẓahīr al-Dīn and Rāwandī also allude to his relations with Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. According to this version, ʿAbd al-Malik, a resident of Iṣfahān, was accused of Shīʿism, and fled from that city to Rayy, where he joined Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. Ibn al-Djawzī gives a slightly different version, and adds further details: he had been a physician, and had been arrested and threatened with death by Sultan Toghrul Bey because of his faith. He made a show of repentance and, being released, went to Rayy, where he associated with Abū ʿAlī al-Nīsābūrī, the leading Ismāʿīlī there. He wrote an Ismāʿīlī book called *al-ʿAḳīḳa*, and died in the region of Rayy. Rāwandī and Ibn al-Athīr agree that he was a man of letters and a fine calligrapher; Rāwandī adds that there were many books in Iṣfahān written in his hand.

His son Aḥmad also played a rôle of some importance. According to Rāwandī he was believed in Iṣfahān not to share his father's religious beliefs, and was left unmolested at the time of his father's flight. He was, however, secretly working for the cause. Acting as a schoolteacher for the children of the Daylamī garrison of the fortress called Shāhdiz, he is said to have preached to the fathers and converted them, and thus gained control of the fortress. He held it for several years, and was finally defeated in 500/1107. After the capture of the castle, Aḥmad was paraded through the streets of Iṣfahān, and then flayed alive. His head was sent to Baghdād. Ibn al-Athīr suggests that he was an ignorant man, and that he owed his command to Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ's respect for his father.

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IBN ĀWĀ (A.; pl. *banāt āwā*, rarely *abnāʾ/banū āwā*) denotes the jackal (*Canis aureus*, formerly *Thos aureus*) in a general sense (Persian *shaghāl*, Turkish *čakal*, French *chacal*). This small member of the canidae which, anatomically, is nearer the wolf (*dhiʾb*) than to the fox (*thaʿlab*), has never suffered the least confusion with the last-named among the Arabs; the elongated muzzle of the *ibn āwā*, the round pupil of the eye, not almond-shaped, its long and shining coat and its swifter pace than that of the fox were sufficient for the Bedouin observer to distinguish between them.

The jackal is a native of the whole of the zone with a steppe climate, as far as the northern and southern fringes of the deserts of Africa and Asia; for preference, it dwells in the grassy savannahs, where it is to be found as far as Cochin China. Its mainly nocturnal habits, its tendencies towards gregariousness, and a sharp and chronic hunger compel it to approach man; encampments and oases pay virtually no attention, at night, to the plaintive yelping (*ʿuwāʾ*, *waʿwaʿa*, *tahawwub*, *ḥibūra*) of this constant visitor, for it contributes to public hygiene by removing household refuse and carrion. This natural cleansing agent of the wayside can, however, cause damage by the depredations which, from its greed, it is led to make in hen-houses, vineyards and orchards.

Each geographical region of the Arabic-speaking countries is familiar with a race of jackal, which it denotes by local names; thus, we find: (a) the *Canis aureus anthus* for North Africa (Maghrib: *dhīb/dīb*, confused with the wolf (*Canis lupus*) which does not exist there, *waʿwaʿ*, *waʿʿ*, *awwāw*, *tamrūr*, *bābā djaʿdān*, *Mḥammed al-djaʿīdāt*, *bū ḍbiḥa*, *ṭālib Yūsuf*; in Maghribī Berber, *ushshən*, tamashəḳ: *ibəgg*, *ibəggi*,

əggur); (b) the *Canis lupaster* for Egypt (*dīb*, taken to be a wolf); (c) the *Thos mesomelas* or Black-backed Jackal of Upper Egypt and the Sudan (*aws, uways*, Sudan *bās̲h̲ūm, baʿs̲h̲ūm, abū s̲h̲uʾm, s̲h̲uʾm/s̲h̲ūm*); (d) the *Canis aureus syriacus* for Syria and ʿIrāḳ (*wāwī*, Lebanon *d̲j̲aḳal*); and (e) the *Canis aureus indicus* for Persia and India (Pahlavi Arabized as *s̲h̲aʿhar, s̲h̲aʿbar, s̲h̲ag̲h̲bar, zag̲h̲bar*).

The sobriquet *ibn āwā* seems to go back to remote antiquity, in the dialects of Arabia which were very prone to make use of the construct form to create compound nouns in which *ibn/bint*, like *abū/umm* and *d̲h̲ū/d̲h̲āt*, deprived of their original meaning, become instruments denoting ownership or qualification. As for *āwā*, the Muslim philologists, impelled by the categorical requirements of triliteralism, attached it, on the pattern *afʿal*, to the root *ʾAWW/ʾAWY* with the idea of "to seek refuge and company in ..."; thus they interpret *ibn āwā* as meaning "the one who responds to the appeal of his congeners to rejoin them". This explanation, valid enough in view of the characteristic behaviour of the jackal which it emphasizes, may be rather the result of the combination of the root *ʾAWW/ʾAWY*, which does not contain the idea of crying out, and of a Bedouin onomatopoeia *waʾwaʾ/wāwā*, a vocal imitation of its bark common to all these peoples. The closely related onomatopoeic root *waʿwaʿ* is still very much alive in present-day speech to evoke the wailing yelp of the jackal (see the different local names for the jackal given above and al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 288, on *waw-waw* = dog, in childish language).

The excessive cowardice of the jackal, which compels it to leave its lair only at night, its instinct as a "carrion-eater", its natural rebelliousness to training, its utter impurity in the eyes of Ḳurʾānic Law and the consequent ban upon the eating of its flesh have condemned it, if not to scorn, at least to total indifference on the part of those who might have been expected to give it their attention, such as huntsmen, naturalists and poets. Although recognizing it to possess the cunning of the fox, they usually refer to it only pro memoria, and, by way of archaisms denoting it, philologists can put forward only the figurative *s̲h̲awṭ barāḥⁱⁿ* which can be interpreted as "luminous rays of the desert" (the exact meaning of *s̲h̲awṭ* here remains elusive, for this term signifies at the same time "long course made up of a single stage", "long journey", and "rays of light filtering through a sky-light"), and as the vestige of the Ḥimyaritic language, under its triple Arabic form of *ʿillaws̲h̲/ʿillawḍ/laʿwaḍ*.

In the Mag̲h̲rib, in particular, so little attention is paid to the proximity of the jackal that many so-called "douar dogs", of very variable and sometimes indefinable types, are considered to be mongrels of jackals (*barhūs̲h̲*) and reveal their essential characteristics.

In this instinctive shunning of the jackal by the Muslim peoples, an exception must be made in the case of the Touareg, who include it among their game and hunt it, either by driving it with beaters or by gin-traps or poison; being far from strict in their observance of Islamic precepts, they sometimes cook the flesh, but for the most part they use the fur for making saddle-bags. Among this people, as in pre-Islamic Arabia, different organs of the jackal are used in the local medicines. In general, in Barbary where it is still regarded with fear as the transmitter of rabies and devastator of hen-houses and sheep-folds, the jackal has become the principal hero of animal tales, in which it takes the part which otherwise falls to the fox (see H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 206-31).

In conclusion, it seems that in the mediæval West the jackal was the basis of an import trade from the Mag̲h̲rib, through Muslim Spain and that, mixed and confused with the fennec [see FANAK] and the fox under the name *adive* (from *al-dīb*), it was esteemed in furriery. The *adive*, with its corruptions *adile, adire, adit, aduz*, and *ardit*, is mentioned in some very ancient chronicles, and in particular we can read in the *Mémoires* (ed. Paris 1924-6) of Philippe de Commynes (15th century) that: "... King Louis XI sent to search for ... strange beasts in all directions, as in Barbary, a species of small lions which are no larger than small foxes and called them *adits*". Finally, it will be noted that it is under the name *adive* that Buffon (*Hist. Nat.*, v, 214) speaks of the jackal.

The jackal therefore is no longer anything more than a pariah in the Islamic countries, whilst the Egyptians of the age of the Pharaohs dedicated a divine cult to it, as Anubis.

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IBN AL-ʿAWWĀM [see FILĀḤA, ii].

IBN BĀBAWAYH(I), ABŪ D̲J̲AʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ḤUSAYN B. MŪSĀ AL-ḲUMMĪ, known as AL-ṢADŪḲ, is universally regarded among the It̲h̲nāʿas̲h̲arī S̲h̲īʿis as one of their foremost doctors and traditionists. E. G. Browne says "the most important of these earlier divines are the three Muḥammads, al-Kulaynī (Md. b. Yaʿḳūb, d. 329/941), Ibn Bābawayhi (Md. b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Mūsā, d. 381/991-2) and Ṭūsī (Md. b. Ḥasan, 460/1067)" (Browne, iv, 358-9). The first composed the *Kāfī*; the second *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu 'l-faḳīh*, and the third the *Istibṣār* and *Tahd̲h̲īb al-Aḥkām*, which are known as the "Four Books" (*al-kutub al-arbaʿa*).

His name is fully discussed by Saʿīd Nafīsī in the Introduction to his edition of Ibn Bābawayhi's *Muṣādaḳat al-ik̲h̲wān* (Tehrān, no date; Introduction dated 7 Tīrmāh 1325), who says that the current pronunciation of his name is *Bā-ba-wayhi* (*bi-fatḥ-i wāw, wa sukūn-i yā, wa hāʾ-i is̲h̲bāʿ s̲h̲uda-i d̲j̲alī talaffuẓ karda and*). Originally, it was *Bā-bū-yi* (Introduction, 4; Fyzee, *Shiite creed*, 8, n. 2). He is generally known as *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲-i Ṣadūḳ*. His place of birth is not mentioned either by Ṭūsī or Nad̲j̲ās̲h̲ī, but Donaldson says that he was born in K̲h̲urāsān (*Shiite religion*, 286) either in 311/923 or some years earlier (Nafīsī, Intr., 6). In 355/966 he went to Bag̲h̲dād, apparently from K̲h̲urāsān, and died at Rayy in 381/991. Ahlwardt mentions the date of his death as 391/1001, but there is no sufficient authority for it (Berlin Catalogue, nos. 1269, and 2721; and some others have followed him).

Of his life and character we know next to nothing; but of his birth an entertaining legend is preserved, according to which Ṣadūḳ was born as the result of a prayerful request to the Hidden Imām, and the great traditionist used to pride himself on the fact that he was begotten by order of the Imām (Fyzee, 9-10; Nafīsī, 5). His father ʿAlī was a rich merchant and had three sons, the eldest Ḥasan, the second Ḥusayn and the youngest Muḥammad al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ (Nafīsī, 6, whose opinion is preferable to mine, see *Shiite creed*, 10). Muḥammad was apparently the son of a slave-girl, probably from Daylam. The eldest son Ḥasan was a theologian of a retiring disposition; Ḥusayn was a well-known jurist and theologian; Muḥammad, known simply as Ibn Bābawayhi, or Shaykh-i Ṣadūḳ among the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

Ṣadūḳ taught at Baghdād and was a contemporary of the Buwayhid Prince Rukn al-Dawla, and entered into controversies on his behalf. He was pre-eminent in knowledge, memory, "justice", intelligence and reliability, and is universally recognized as a pillar of the Ithnāʿasharī faith. Although some have doubted his authority, the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt* declares him to be one of the greatest authorities (iv, 558). Ṣadūḳ came of a very illustrious family of learned men, fifteen of whom have been discussed by Saʿid Nafīsī (*Muṣādaḳat al-ikhwān*, Intr., 4-17).

Works: Ṣadūḳ was a prolific author; of the earliest authorities, Ṭūsī mentions 43 works and Nadjāshī, 193; later authorities like the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* mention 189 and the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, after naming 17 works, says that the rest have not survived. A full list of his works will be found in the *Shiite creed*, 12 ff.; Nafīsī, 6-13, mentions 214 works.

His most important extant books are: (1) *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu 'l-faḳīh*, one of the "four books" (often printed; lith. Tehrān 1326 A.H.); (2) *Risālat al-iʿtiḳādāt* (see Fyzee, *Shiite creed*, containing an English translation and full notes); (3) *Ikmāl al-dīn*, ed. E. Möller, Heidelberg 1901; (4) *Kitāb al-Amālī*; (5) *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*; and (6) *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍāʾ* (for a full list and particulars see my *Shiite creed*, 12-17, and Saʿid Nafīsī in his Intr. to Ibn Bābawayhi's *Muṣadaḳat al-ikhwān*, 11-13.

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Sources: al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 196; al-Ṭūsī, *List*, ed. Sprenger, nos. 661 and 471; Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, Bombay 1317/1900; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, iv, 557-60. There are numerous other references in books of *ridjāl*; space does not permit their mention here.

Modern works: Brockelmann, I, 187; S I, 321-2; D. M. Donaldson, *Shiite religion*, London 1933, 285-6: A. A. A. Fyzee, *The creed of Ibn Bābawayhi*, in *Journal of Bombay University*, xii (1943), 70-86 (a detailed examination of his creed, compared with the *Taṣḥīḥ al-iʿtiḳādāt* of Shaykh Mufīd); J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953, 25, 36, 50, 96; H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, Index.

(A. A. A. Fyzee)

IBN BĀDĪS (dialectal pron.: Ben Badīs), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Muṣṭafā b. Makkī, founder of the orthodox reformist movement in Algeria, born at Constantine in 1889. After studying at the Islamic university of Tunis (al-Zaytūna), he devoted himself to private teaching in a mosque in his native town and led an unspectacular life until 1925, when he turned to journalism. He founded a newspaper, *al-Muntaḳid* ("The Critic"), which went out of circulation after a few months. Immediately afterwards he founded a new newspaper, *al-Shihāb* ("The Meteor"), which soon took the form of a monthly review and appeared regularly, with some success, until the end of 1939. Ibn Bādīs gave of his best to this publication, which he used as a platform for his reformist propaganda (social questions) and for his religious teaching (*tafsīr, ḥadīth*).

At first essentially reformist, *al-Shihāb* tried to spread in Algeria the doctrine of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], obviously taking its inspiration from *al-Manār* of Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*]. But, from 1930 onwards, it dealt more and more with Algerian political questions (this being connected, apparently, with the official celebrations of the centenary of the French settlement in Algeria). From that time onwards the review based its propaganda on two issues—reform (*iṣlāḥ*) and nationalism, strongly tinged with Arabism. This policy led it to attack: (1) Marabout societies, accused of maintaining certain blameworthy forms of religious life, of favouring obscurantism, of profiting from popular credulity and even of being in collusion with the colonial administration; (2) Gallicization (naturalization and, as a necessary corollary, the abandoning of Islamic personal status, the exclusive adoption of French customs and culture, etc.). Moreover, in this review, Ibn Bādīs showed himself to be a passionate defender of the Algerian personality, which he considered to be inalienable from Islam and Arab culture.

Ibn Bādīs became president of the Association of Algerian Muslim *ʿUlamāʾ* (constituted in May 1931) and soon confirmed his position as one of the most representative members of the Algerian Muslim community. A tireless worker for his cause, he began the publication of *al-Shihāb*, and directed the organization for the free teaching of Arabic and the religious education of adults in the numerous cultural centres of his Association. He played an important political rôle alongside the other representatives of Muslim opinion, particularly after the formation of the Popular Front in France, the meeting of the Algerian Muslim Congress in Algiers (June 1936) and the discussion of the "Viollette project" (end of December 1936). During the last years of his life he was engaged in the exhausting work of political leader and of missionary of *iṣlāḥ* in Algeria. He died prematurely on 16 April 1940.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs is remembered with veneration as a master by many followers. His name is already wrapped in legend. Through his activities at the head of the Association of *ʿUlamāʾ* he was one of the most effective workers in the Arab-Islamic cultural renewal in Algeria between 1930 and 1940. His intellectual brilliance and his religious influence (chiefly his Ḳurʾānic exegesis published in *al-Shihāb*) make him incontestably the dominant figure of Algerian Islam in the first half of the 20th century. His ardent faith, devoid of all hatred and fanaticism, his disinterestedness and his extreme simplicity have caused his contemporaries to regard him as a saint. It suffices to quote of Ibn Bādīs these words which summarize his life's work: "I am a sower of love, but on a foundation of justice, equity and respect towards everyone of whatever race or religion" (*al-Shihāb*, August 1939, 346).

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musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940, Paris and The Hague 1967; idem, *Ibn Bādīs, commentateur du Coran* (in the press). (A. MERAD)

IBN BĀDĪS [see MUʿIZZ B. BĀDĪS].

IBN BĀDJDJA (Latinized as Avempace), ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. AL-ṢĀʾIGH AL-TUDJĪBĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-SARAḲUSṬĪ, a celebrated philosopher and *wazīr* in 6th/12th century Spain, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, who ranked him with Ibn Rushd (Averroes) [*q.v.*] in the West and al-Fārābī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) [*q.v.*] in the East, one of the greatest philosophers of Islam. Ibn Bādjdja was also well known as a poet, musician and composer of popular songs. Examples of his verses showing a real lyrical gift are to be found in the mediaeval Arabic accounts of the philosopher (see also in the Bibliography the work of Nykl).

Details of his life are obscure. There is an unconfirmed statement in Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] that the ancestors of Ibn Bādjdja were Jewish. Since he is said to have died young in 533/1139, he must have been born towards the end of the 5th/11th century (not later, for he was politically active in the first decade or so of the 6th/12th century), at or near Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) [*q.v.*], where apparently also he spent his youth. We have no reliable information about his education. When in 503/1110 Saraḳusṭa fell to the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN], or earlier, Ibn Bādjdja for reasons which can only be surmised took service with the new rulers, and became *wazīr*, apparently while still in his twenties, to the Berber governor Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaḥrāwī, known as Ibn Tīfalwīt. During this vizierate he undertook an embassy for Ibn Tīfalwīt to ʿImād al-Dawla b. Hūd, the former ruler of Saraḳusṭa [see HŪDIDS], who still maintained his independence at Rūṭa (Rueda de Jalón). Ibn Bādjdja was thrown into prison, presumably as a traitor, and remained a prisoner for some months. On his release he seems not to have returned to Saraḳusṭa, and was at Balansiyya (Valencia) when news reached him of the death of Ibn Tīfalwīt (510/1117). Shortly after this the Christians finally captured Saraḳusṭa (Ramaḍān 512/ December 1118). Ibn Bādjdja prepared to retire to the west of Spain, but while passing through Shātiba (Játiva), he was again imprisoned by the Almoravid Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn on a charge of heresy, according to Ibn Khāḳān. Having gained his release, according to one account through the help of the father of Ibn Rushd (Averroes), more probably the grandfather, the celebrated *Ḳāḍī* Ibn Rushd, Ibn Bādjdja may have reached Seville. A second vizierate of twenty years to Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn), credited to him by several writers, perhaps began about this time. We find Ibn Bādjdja also at unspecified times at Granada and Wahrān (Oran), and at Ishbīliyya (Seville) in 530/1135 in the company of his friend Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Imām. He died at Fās (Fez) in Ramaḍān 533/May 1139, it is said (somewhat improbably) from the effects of eating a poisoned fruit provided by a servant of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ b. Zuhr (father of the famous Ibn Zuhr or Avenzoar [*q.v.*]).

Ibn Bādjdja's works survive in their original Arabic in a few manuscripts and in Hebrew translations. The late Miguel Asín Palacios considered it possible that there were fragmentary translations into Latin, but no early Latin version of any work of Ibn Bādjdja has come to light, though he is occasionally quoted in the Latin Averroes and (differently) in Albertus Magnus. The most important Arabic MSS are:

(1) Bodleian MS Pococke 206, which contains a collection of the works of Ibn Bādjdja made by the above-mentioned Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Imām. See J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Cod. MSS Or. Catalogus*, i, 1787, 499.

(2) Berlin MS 5060, apparently lost since the second World War. For the contents see W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Hss. der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, iv (1892), 396-99.

(3) Escurial MS 612, containing for the most part commentaries by Ibn Bādjdja on the logical works of al-Fārābī [*q.v.*]. It has been analysed by H. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial, Publications de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes*, IIe série, Vol. X, Paris, 1884, 419-23.

(4) Another MS of collected works of Ibn Bādjdja was signalized by Dr. ʿUmar Farrūkh, but has meantime passed out of the hands of its former owner, al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḥasanī of Baghdād.

The *Risālat al-Wadāʿ* (Letter of Farewell) and the later *Risālat Ittiṣāl al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-insān* (Treatise on the Union of the Intellect with Man) have been given good editions by Asín. Ibn Bādjdja's most celebrated work, the *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* (Rule of the Solitary), hitherto known only from Munk's French rendering of a Hebrew translation (in *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1859), was also edited by Asín from the unique Bodleian MS and published posthumously with a Spanish translation. In these three works, as also in various passages of his *Kitāb fi 'l-Nafs* (Book on the Soul), Ibn Bādjdja's interest is centred on the possibility of the union of the soul with the Divine, which he takes as man's highest activity and the ultimate felicity, as well as the final end of human existence. Instead of representing this union in a religious sense, to be attained by moral purity and acts of devotion, and as fully realizable only in the after-life, Ibn Bādjdja considers it as the last stage of an intellectual ascent, by means of a continuous process of abstraction from the impressions caused by sensible objects consisting of matter and form, through a hierarchy of 'spiritual forms' (*ṣuwar rūḥāniyya*) containing progressively less and less matter, which are intellected by the mind, till finally the Active Intellect is reached. This is devoid of matter and the same for all men (hence Ibn Bādjdja's metaphysical doctrine has been described as panpsychism). The Active Intellect is the highest conception which man can fully comprehend and then only in exceptional circumstances, and is represented not indeed as God, the One, the First Mover, or any aspect of Deity, but as an emanation of Deity, ranking immediately below the Separate Intelligences which move the spheres. These higher Forms are entirely beyond the comprehension of man in the sublunary sphere. Ibn Bādjdja is therefore necessarily concerned with the lower stages of the hierarchy of existence in its metaphysical aspect, but also with the psychological and ethical characteristics of the mind which makes the ascent, which derive according to him from the metaphysical characteristics of the successive stages. The Neoplatonic character of this *schema* is plain, and Ibn Bādjdja's 'spiritual forms' derive probably from a treatise of Alexander of Aphrodisias dealing specifically with them, which was available in Arabic.

Apart from the exposition in the *Risālat Ittiṣāl al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-insān* (cf. ed. Asín, § 23), Ibn Bādjdja made his most sustained effort to explain his thought in the *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*, which, however, was left incomplete at his death (Ibn Ṭufayl). Within Arabic

philosophy, the *Tadbīr* was evidently influenced by al-Fārābī, who in *al-Siyāsa* (*Siyāsāt*) *al-madaniyya*, speaks, like Ibn Bā\dj\dja, of the solitary 'plants', *i.e.*, philosophers in the unfavourable environment of existing imperfect cities, and in the *Fuṣūl al-madanī* states that it is the duty of the virtuous man or true philosopher to emigrate to the ideal cities if such exist in fact in his time, adding that if they do not exist, the virtuous man is a stranger in life and to die is preferable for him than to live (ed. Dunlop, § 88). Ibn Bādjdja, who also envisages emigration for his sage, evidently faces the same situation and suggests the solution, *viz.* withdrawal to a life of speculation within the existing imperfect cities. The idea of the solitary sage may have suggested to Ibn Ṭufayl his philosophical romance *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*], in which an orphan child growing up in solitude finds means of realizing man's highest development. The influence of Ibn Bādjdja on Ibn Rushd (Averroes) has also to be noted, though the latter was never the former's pupil, as has been stated (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). When Ibn Rushd mentions Ibn Bādjdja it is usually in a somewhat critical tone, but he was evidently much interested in the idea of the union with the Active Intellect, and even projected a commentary on the *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid*.

In addition to the fields which have been mentioned, Ibn Bādjdja studied mathematics, astronomy, botany, etc.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, ii, 62-64; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, 406; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*, ed. S. al-Ḥarāʾirī, A. H. 1277, 346-53; Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, ed. L. Gauthier, Beirut 1936, text 5 ff., transl. 3 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, transl. F. Rosenthal, iii, 116, 443 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, transl. De Slane, Paris 1858, iii, 130-33; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 207-8; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Bodleian MS Laud Or. 304, fols. 17b-18a; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Leiden ed., ii, 254, 423; idem, Būlāḳ ed., iv, 612-616; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (A.H. 495-654), ed. Jewett, Chicago 1907, 105; Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, *K. al-Iḥāṭa*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 242 ff.; M. Asín Palacios, *Avempace botánico*, in *Al-Andalus*, v (1940), 255-265; idem, *Tratado de Avempace sobre la unión del intelecto con el hombre*, in *Al-Andalus*, vii (1942), 1-47; idem, *La 'Carta de Adiós' de Avempace*, in *Al-Andalus*, viii (1943), 1-87; idem, *El Régimen del Solitario por Avempace, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Miguel Asín*, Madrid-Granada 1946; D. M. Dunlop, *Ibn Bājjah's Tadbīru 'l-mutawaḥḥid* (*Rule of the Solitary*), in *JRAS*, 1945, 61-81; idem, *The Dīwān attributed to Ibn Bājjah* (*Avempace*), in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 463-477; idem, *Philosophical predecessors and contemporaries of Ibn Bājjah*, in *Islamic Quarterly*, ii (1955), 100-116; idem, *Remarks on the life and works of Ibn Bājjah* (*Avempace*), in *Proceedings of the XXIInd Congress of Orientalists*, ii, Leiden 1957, 188-96; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábigo-española* [2], 1945, 207-8, etc.; P. J. de Menasce, *Arabische Philosophie*, Bern 1948 (short bibliography to date); E. Renan, *Averroès* [4], index; A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 251-4; ʿUmar Farrūkh, *Ibn Bājjah* (*Avempace*) *and the philosophy in the Moslem West*, [1]Beirut 1945, [2]Beirut 1952 (both in Arabic); Leo Africanus, *De viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes*, c. 15, in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, t. xiii, 279; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *The Place of politics in the philosophy of Ibn Bājja*, in *IC*, xxv (1951), 187-211; M. Ṣaghīr Ḥasan al-Maʿṣūmī (ed.), Ibn Bādjdja, *Kitāb al-Nafs*, Damascus 1960; idem, *Avempace—the great philosopher of al-Andalus*, in *IC*, xxxvi (1962), 35-53, 85-101.

(D. M. Dunlop)

IBN BADRŪN [see ibn ʿabdūn].

IBN BAĶĪ, Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad (in some sources: Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), Andalusian poet born at the end of the 5th/11th century. Although he is considered by Arab biographers and in some modern works to be from Cordova (al-Ḳurṭubī), Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn Saʿīd (whose grandfather knew him personally) and Ibn Bassām refer to him as al-Ṭulayṭulī, and the latter states that the disturbances at Toledo (*fitnat Ṭulayṭula*) forced him to leave this town. At this time, probably about 477/1085, the year during which Alfonso VI conquered the town, Ibn Baḳī was still young. Soon afterwards the poet began the journeys across Spain and Morocco which were to continue throughout his life. Always seeking a means of livelihood and unlucky in his fortune, he spent some time in Seville—complaining bitterly of it in his poetry as he was to do of all al-Andalus—then in Cordova. The times, the period of the Almoravids, were not propitious for men of letters who were "fighting against poverty and ignorance" as has been said by E. García Gómez, who has made a study of the period (*al-Andalus*, x (1945), 285-340). Ibn Baḳī was the friend of al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī and, in a poetry contest at Seville, after al-Aʿmā had recited his poem and gained the audience's admiration, Ibn Baḳī had not the courage to read his and tore up the paper on which he had written it. The two poets are rightly classed at the head of their contemporaries and it is surprising to find verses of one attributed to the other. Ibn Baḳī finally found refuge with the Banū ʿAshara, *ḳāḍīs* of Salé, some of whom he praises in his poems.

Of Ibn Baḳī's work there survive various court poems on classical themes which clearly demonstrate his greatness as a poet, which was recognized by his contemporaries and by the later critics. But it is primarily in the genre of *muwashshaḥa* that his brilliance is apparent. His various *muwashshaḥāt* which end in a Romance *khardja* [*q.v.*] have recently aroused particular interest.

This "charmant poète, l'un des meilleurs que l'Andalousie ait eus", in the words of Dozy (*Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], iii, 156), died in 545/1150-1 according to Ibn al-Abbār (*Takmila*, no. 2042). Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān, less reliable as being Eastern writers, give the date as 540/1145-6.

Bibliography: For the sources, see the very complete references given by H. Pérès, *La poésie à Fès sous les Almoravides et les Almohades*, in *Hespéris*, xviii (1933), 13, n. 4; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953, ii, 19-21, 25, 456; idem, *Kitāb Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn* (= *El libro de las banderas de los campeones*), ed. and tr. E. García Gómez, Madrid 1942, 48-9 (192-4 of the tr.); E. García Gómez, *Poetas musulmanes cordobeses*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*, no. 25 (1929), 27-8; R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 241-4; 241-4; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse . . .*, index. Ibn Baḳī as a writer of *muwashshaḥāt*: Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, *Dār al-ṭirāz*, ed. Rikābī, Damascus 1949, index; E. García Gómez, *Estudio del "Dār aṭ-ṭirāz"*, in *al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962), 21-104, *passim*; K.

Heger, *Die bisher veröffentlichten Ḫarǧas und ihre Bedeutung*, in the *Beihefte* of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, no. 101 (1960), 50; E. García Gómez, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid 1965, general index.

(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN AL-BĀḲILLĀNĪ [see AL-BĀḲILLĀNĪ].

IBN BAḲIYYA, ABŪ ṬĀHIR MUḤAMMAD, vizier to the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], whose history is perhaps difficult to relate objectively since the chroniclers, who wrote from the point of view of the military or bureaucratic aristocracy, were *a priori* hostile to a parvenu such as he. Coming from a peasant family of Awana (Upper ʿIrāḳ), he had taken advantage of the disturbances during the first half of the 4th/10th century to organize a force which had seized control of the tolls on the Tigris at Takrīt. At the time of the conquest of ʿIrāḳ by the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla, when he was in fact in charge of provisioning the prince's kitchens in Baghdād, he had succeeded in holding his privileges as tax-farmer to the new government. A certain charm in conversation, combined with skill in intrigue between rivals bidding for power and in the adroit placing of gifts, finally secured him the favour of the vizier, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās al-Shīrāzī, and then of Bakhtiyār at the beginning of his reign; finally, in 362/972, he received the succession from al-Shīrāzī himself, probably without desiring it, and contrary to the customary practice whereby, for more than a century, viziers had been recruited from among the bureaucratic profession. Good fortune did not make him unmindful of his former companions, and it is one of the complaints brought against him by the chroniclers that he appointed men of low rank to numerous positions. It seems, however, that Ibn Baḳiyya was a clever manipulator rather than a true politician and he failed to compensate for his own inadequate administrative training by winning over the chief officials in the administration. He was unlucky enough to serve a fickle prince, and his final ruin was to result from the latter's overthrow.

Though bound up with the fortunes of Bakhtiyār, Ibn Baḳiyya, at the time of the first ʿIrāḳī campaign of his prince's cousin, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], nevertheless perceived the usefulness of enjoying the favour of the latter (a man who today was the protector and tomorrow, it seemed only too clear, would be the redoubtable.adversary of Bakhtiyār) and the favour too of the vizier to Rukn al-Dawla (father of ʿAḍud al-Dawla), Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*], who was lingering in ʿIrāḳ. From them, besides the vizierate, he received also the town of Wāsiṭ, as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]. In the end, however, the policy he had adopted of trying by means of gifts to win the attachment of certain forces, the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*] of Baghdād, the autonomous head of the Baṭīḥa ʿImrān b. Shāhīn who was always in semi-revolt against Baghdād, and others, aroused the suspicions of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, while at the same time Bakhtiyār continued to fear that Ibn Baḳiyya might utterly betray him for the sake of his powerful cousin. When the latter, now successor to Rukn al-Dawla, invaded ʿIrāḳ for the second time, Bakhtiyār attributed the responsibility for the defeat to his vizier and in the end had him arrested and blinded; then ʿAḍud al-Dawla occupied Baghdād, Ibn Baḳiyya fell into his power, and he had him trampled on by his elephants and impaled; the corpse had to await the death of the formidable Būyid before receiving burial (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 42).

Bibliography: See BŪYIDS, ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA, BAKHTIYĀR and IBN AL-ʿAMĪD (Abu 'l-Fatḥ). The principal source is of course Ibn Miskawayh; several letters of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ (particularly in the Leiden MS) are addressed to Ibn Baḳiyya or concern him; the article devoted to him by Yāḳūt in the *Irshād* (vi) is in reality mainly concerned with the relations of Ibn al-ʿAmīd (Abu 'l-Fatḥ) with him; Ibn Khallikān, no. 709 (de Slane, iii, 272 ff.); F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 375-6; J. Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud ad-daulas*, 1965 (Index).

(CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-BALADĪ, SHARAF AL-DĪN ABŪ DJAʿFAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SAʿĪD, vizier of al-Mustandjid. In 563/1167-8 Ibn al-Baladī, who at that time was *Nāẓir* in Wāsiṭ, was appointed vizier. There was an old feud between him and the *ustād-dār* ʿAḍūd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh. After the murder of the caliph in Rabīʿ II 566/December 1170 by ʿAḍud al-Dīn and the *amīr* Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, they forced his successor al-Mustaḍīʾ to appoint ʿAḍud al-Dīn vizier, whereupon Ibn al-Baladī was executed.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 426-9 (Eng. tr. Whitting, 305 f.); Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 216 ff., 230, 237.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

IBN BĀNA, ʿAMR, famous singer, poet and musician of Baghdād, *mawlā* of the Thaḳīf, died in 278/891 at Sāmarrā. His father was a famous secretary and a high official. His mother, Bāna, whose name he bears, was the daughter of Rawḥ, secretary of Salāma al-Waṣif. Ibn Bāna was a very cultured, yet a very proud man. He was the supporter and protégé of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and among the most bitter enemies of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, whom he accused of regarding music merely as a profession, whereas for him it was a source of delight. A mediocre musician, he did not play any instrument; nevertheless he excelled in the arts of singing, of improvisation, and of imitation and in teaching music. He wrote a work on music: *Kitāb Mudjarrad al-aghānī*. He was an intimate companion of al-Mutawakkil.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 145; *Aghānī*, xv, 269-85; Ibn Khallikān-De Slane, ii, 414; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* . . ., iv, 21; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 157-8.

(A. SHILOAH)

IBN AL-BANNĀʾ, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (396/1005-471/1079), Ḳurʾānic scholar, traditionist and jurisconsult of the Ḥanbali School in Baghdād; he studied law under the direction of the *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAlī b. Abī Mūsā al-Hāshimī (d. 428/1037), and later under the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066). The available sources tell us nothing of his family origins; he apparently lived all his life in Baghdād, where he died on 5 Radjab 471/11 January 1079. His scholarship was the subject of criticism as well as praise by Shāfiʿites, beginning with al-Muʾtaman al-Sādjī (d. 507/1113) and carried on as late as the 9th/15th century with Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1448). His teaching career began in the lifetime of his teacher, the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, on the east side of Baghdād, where he had two study circles, one in the Palace Cathedral Mosque (Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr) and another in the Cathedral Mosque of al-Manṣūr. He was commissioned by the wealthy Ḥanbali merchant, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Djarada, to teach in a mosque-college built by the latter and known by his name, Masdjid Ibn Djarada. He was also a special tutor of this merchant's family.

Ibn al-Bannāʾ is said to have written as many as one hundred and fifty works (some say five hundred,

but this number appears to be a copyist's error). He wrote in the fields of history and biography, *fiḳh*, asceticism, *ḥadīth*, theology, philology, pedagogy and the interpretation of dreams. His biographer Ibn Radjab gives a list of his works wherein twenty-eight titles are cited. Four of his works are preserved in manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya library in Damascus (one of which is not cited in Ibn Radjab's list).

Of great importance for the socio-religious history of Baghdād in the 5th/11th century is Ibn al-Bannāʾ's diary cited in Ibn Radjab's list as *al-Taʾrīkh*, the History, or Chronicle. This work is in fact a diary, in which the author recorded his personal observations of day-to-day socio-religious life in the ʿAbbāsid city. Unfortunately, only a small part of the diary has been preserved, a fragment dating from 1 Shawwāl 460/3 August 1068 and ending on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 461/4 September 1069. There is evidence that the author kept his diary until the year 470/1077-8, just one year before his death. We have no way of telling at present how early he began to keep it. In the history of Muslim historiography, Ibn al-Bannāʾ's diary is significant, in that regularly kept diaries were not generally thought to have existed at this early date (cf. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 151). The surviving fragment of the *Diary* is devoted mainly to the Ḥanbalīs and their activities, this being the time when the celebrated Ḥanbalī Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] was being persecuted by a certain group of his own school because of the interest he was taking in Muʿtazilī thought.

Bibliography: For the extant fragment of Idn al-Bannāʾ's diary, see G. Makdisi, *Autograph diary of an eleventh-century historian of Baghdād*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 9-31, 239-60, xix (1957), 13-48, 281-303, 426-43. For further details on his life and works, see *op. cit.*, xviii, 1-31; for further bibliography on Ibn al-Bannāʾ, see *op. cit.*, xviii, p. 1, n. 2. For the diary as a source on the affair of Ibn ʿAḳīl, see G. Makdisi, *Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn ʿAqīl*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, 91-126. (G. MAKDISI)

IBN AL-BANNĀʾ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUTHMĀN AL-AZDĪ, a versatile Moroccan scholar whose reputation rests mainly on his knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, astrology and occult sciences. Born in Marrākush on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 654/29 December 1256, he studied the traditional sciences—Arabic language, grammar, the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*—in his native town, where he was initiated into mathematics and medicine by masters whose identification is still in dispute, though he is known to have attached himself to the saint of Aghmāt [*q.v.*], Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hazmīrī, who directed his knowledge of mathematics toward purposes of divination. Having been invited several times by the Marīnid sultans to go to Fās, he collected together, both in the capital and in Marrākush, a certain number of disciples, who had been drawn sometimes from far-distant places by his reputation as a scholar and Ṣūfī, and in particular he helped to maintain the tradition of mathematics and astronomy in the West; indeed, although he made some advances in arithmetic, especially in calculation involving fractions and square roots (new formula of approximation for

$$\left(\sqrt{a^2 + r} \text{ (for } r > 0) : \sqrt{a^2 + r} \simeq a + \frac{r}{2a + 1}\right),$$

he seems mainly to have been an excellent popularizer and one of the principal exponents of calculation in *ghubār* figures [see ḤISĀB AL-GHUBĀR].

In all probability, he died on Friday 5 Radjab 721/31 July 1321 in Marrākush and soon became a legendary figure; he was regarded as a sort of magician, with the power to perform miracles by means of his scientific knowledge applied to divination and magic. Nevertheless, his biographers praise his piety, his noble character and irreproachable conduct.

The list of works attributed to Ibn al-Bannāʾ is considerable and includes over 80 titles, belonging to the most disparate branches of learning—Arabic grammar and language, rhetoric, exegesis, *uṣūl al-dīn* and *fiḳh*, the division of inheritances, logic, magic, divination, astronomy, meteorology and mathematics; they even include a résumé of the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī. Only a few of his writings have survived however (see Brockelmann), and only one has been published in its entirety, the *Risāla fi 'l-anwāʾ* (ed. and tr. H. P. J. Renaud, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâʾ de Marrakech*, Paris 1948). The best known is, beyond question, the *Talkhīṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb*, which has been the subject of several commentaries (see Suter and add Ibn Ḳunfudh, MS Rabat 531, attributed to Ibn Haydūr in Lévi-Provençal's catalogue), and which has been translated by A. Marre, in *Atti Ac. Lincei*, xvii (1864), also published separately, Rome 1865. Also to be noted are the *Rafʿ al-ḥidjāb ʿan ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (MSS. Tunis 10301, 206 R, 184 R; more detailed than the *Talkhīṣ*), the *Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿadad al-tāmm wa 'l-nāḳiṣ* (MS Tunis 2840), the *Ḳānūn li-faṣl* (*faḍl?*) *al-shams wa 'l-ḳamar wa-awḳāt al-layl wa 'l-nahār* (MS Escorial, 788/16) and some astronomical tables, *Minhādj al-ṭālib li-taʿdīl al-kawākib* (MS Escorial, 909/1; Algiers 1454/1). It is to be hoped that further work, in addition to the existing fragmentary studies, will be done on this scholar who is an eminent figure of the Maghrib and whose knowledge compelled the high esteem of Ibn Khaldūn.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Fās 1317, 41 (tr. A Marre, in *Atti Ac. Lincei*, xix, 1 ff.); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, index; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-Iḳtibās*, Fās 1309, 73; idem, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934, i, 5; Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1336, i, 70 ff.; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fās 1936-, i, 375 f.; Salawī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, ii, 88; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1316, ii, 48; J. A. Sánchez Pérez, *Biografías de los matemáticos árabes que florecieron en España*, Madrid 1921, 51; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 1000; Suter, no. 899; Brockelmann, II, 330, S II, 363; H. P. J. Renaud, *Ibn al-Bannâʾ de Marrakech, ṣufi et mathématicien (XIIIe-XIVe s.J.-C.)*, in *Hespéris*, xxv/1 (1938), 13-42, with a complete list of the works of Ibn al-Bannāʾ; J. Vernet, *Contribución al estudio de la labor astronómica de Ibn al-Bannāʾ*, Tetuan 1952; M. al-Fāsī, *Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-ʿadadī 'l-Marrākushī*, in *RIEI Madrid*, vi/1-2 (1958), 1-10.

(H. SUTER-M. BEN CHENEB*)

IBN BARAKA, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. BARAKA AL-ʿUMĀNĪ, Ibāḍī author born in the village of Bahlā in ʿUmān. The exact dates of his life are unknown. However, an Ibāḍī writer of ʿUmān, Ibn Mudād, regards him as a disciple and supporter of the *imām* Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥbūb, who was killed in 328/939-40. He himself played a considerable part in political life in ʿUmān and wrote several historical and juridical works, of which only the following survive: (1) *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, dealing with the principles of law; (2) *K. al-Muwāzana*, on the state of ʿUmān in the time of

the *imām* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik; in addition, it discusses certain questions of principles and their juridical solutions; (3) *K. al-Sīra*, in subject similar to the preceding work; (4) *Madḥ al-ʿilm*, a eulogy of learning and those who cultivate it; (5) *K. al-Taḳyīd*; (6) *K. al-Taʿāruf*; (7) *K. al-Sharḥ li-Djāmiʿ Ibn Djāʿfar*, no doubt a commentary on *al-Djāmiʿ*, the work of Abū Djābir Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Azkawī of ʿUmān dealing with questions of the application of principles.

Bibliography: Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān fī sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, i, Cairo 1332, 153, 166, 167; idem, *al-Lamʿa* (in a collection of six Ibāḍī works published in 1326 in Algeria), 210-1; *al-Siyar al-ʿumāniyya*, ms. Lwow, fols. 183b-198b and 271a; E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 139, note; A. de Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bull. de Corr. Afr.*, iii, Algiers 1885, 19, nos. 19 and 20.

(T. Lewicki)

IBN BARRADJĀN, Abu 'l-Ḥakam ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, an Andalusian mystic theologian, born in North Africa, who taught in Seville during the first half of the 6th/12th century.

His name is often associated with that of the celebrated Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArīf [*q.v.*], head of the Almeria school. With Ibn Ḳasī and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī, these two men were indeed the leaders of the resistance movement directed against the Almoravids by the canonists and traditionalists and, in general, by those men of religion who, under the influence of the master al-Ghazālī, were then inclining towards *taṣawwuf*. But it is tempting to think that, far more than Ibn al-ʿArīf, it was Ibn Barradjān who was the most ardent and active inspiration of this Ṣūfī opposition to the inquisition of the Almoravid *fuḳahā'*. Ibn al-Abbār, his principal biographer, states that he was outstanding among his colleagues in merit and abilities, and that he was known as the Ghazālī of al-Andalus. This pre-eminence seems to emerge clearly from the fragments of correspondence between himself and Ibn al-ʿArīf that have been discovered. Finally, Ibn Barradjān appears to have been more involved in events than his companion and friend. He aspired to the *imāma*. According to al-Shaʿrānī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 15), he was recognized as *imām* in 130 villages.

This advancement and the agitation which probably accompanied it aroused the suspicions of the Government's local agents. Alerted by them, the Almoravid prince summoned Ibn Barradjān, Ibn al-ʿArīf and Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī to Marrākush. The last-named managed to escape and took refuge in Bidjāya, travelling from there to the East where previously he had lived for a time. The other two both died in 536/1141, the year of their arrival in Morocco. This date is more generally accepted than the year 537/1142 given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

The two men were accorded very different treatment. To Ibn al-ʿArīf, the prince offered his belated but certainly sincere regrets. As for the unfortunate Ibn Barradjān, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf gave orders that his body should be thrown onto the town dunghill, without any prayers for the dead. The intervention of ʿAlī b. Ḥirzihim, a courageous Ṣūfī from Fās who was then passing through Marrākush, saved him from such a disgrace. Ibn Barradjān was buried in the corn-market square (*raḥbat al-ḥinṭa*). In the very year that followed his death, Ibn Ḳasī came out into open rebellion against the Almoravids in the Algarve.

Ibn Barradjān was versed in the science of *ḳirā'āt*, Tradition and *kalām*. As a Ṣūfī, he led an exemplary life of austerity, dedicated to worship. He wrote a commentary on the Ḳur'ān conceived in the spirit of his esoteric doctrine, and also a commentary on the names of Allāh. Among other miracles with which he was credited, he was said to have predicted in 520, with mathematical accuracy, the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, as well as the actual year in which that event took place, that is to say Radjab 583/1187. This aspect of his learning implies that Ibn Barradjān had a reputation for divination, of evident appeal to the popular imagination. When summoned to Marrākush, he had foreseen that only a short span of life was left to him, but also that ʿAlī b. Yūsuf too would die soon afterwards. In fact the prince's death occurred one year after his own.

Ibn Barradjān belongs to the great Ṣūfī tradition of the school of Ibn Masarra, but like the other Andalusian mystics of his time, he felt the influence of al-Ghazālī. Ibn Khaldūn places him in the category of men of the *tadjallī* (revelation, divine irradiation), whom he contrasts with the category of the theorists of monism (*waḥda*), for whom God is the totality of the manifested and non-manifested world, the sole reality (Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, ed. Khalifé, Beirut 1959, 51-2).

The memory of Ibn Barradjān seems to have remained alive for a long time among the populace. In Marrākush, he is still known by the name Sīdī Berridjāl (Sīdī Abu 'l-Ridjāl).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1797; I Goldziher, *Ibn Barraǧān*, *ZDMG*, lxviii (1914), 544. M. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, chapter VIII, gives particulars regarding the Ṣūfī movement resulting from the teaching of Ibn Masarra, after the 5th/11th century; Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, in his *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1918, i, 106, records the main points of his biography and lists some of the many authors who have devoted a notice to him, such as Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*, Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyā'*, Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*. It will be found rewarding to read the first pages of the biography of Ibn al-ʿArīf, written by M. Asín Palacios as a preface to the translated and annotated Arabic text of the *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, Paris 1933; on the relations between Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barradjān, interesting details are given by Father Paul Nwyia, *Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān*, in *Hespéris*, xliii (1956), 217-21.

(A. Faure)

IBN BARRĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ribāṭī, Moroccan scholar born in Taza in about 660/1261-2, died in the same town in about 731/1331. Deeply versed in the Islamic sciences, Ibn Barrī owes his renown to an *urdjūza* of 242 verses, *al-Durar al-lawāmiʿ fī aṣl maḳra' al-imām Nāfiʿ*, completed in 697/1298 and dealing with the "reading" of Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*]; this work, published several times in Cairo and Tunis in collections of treatises of Ḳur'ānic orthoepy and orthography, enjoyed a very great vogue in North Africa. From the same author has survived another *urdjūza* of 30 verses, *fī makhāridj al-ḥurūf*, on the points of articulation of phonemes (MS Berlin 548). See also the next article, beginning of final paragraph.

Of his life, all that is known is that after having been an *ʿadl* (a kind of notary) he was entrusted with the official correspondence of the government at Taza, and retained this post until his death.

Bibliography: Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mārighnī al-Tūnisī, *al-Nudjūm al-ṭawāliʿ ʿala 'l-Durar al-lawāmiʿ*, Tunis 1322; Brockelmann, S II, 350.

(M. BEN CHENEB*)

IBN BARRĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. BARRĪ B. ʿABD AL-DJABBĀR AL-MAKDISĪ (so called after his family's place of origin) AL-MIṢRĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, Arab grammarian born at Cairo on 5 Radjab 499/13 March 1106 and died there 27 Shawwāl 582/11 January 1187. He studied under the masters of that period (see Ibn Khallikān, ii, 293); when he himself was a master, among his disciples was Abū Mūsā al-Djazūlī al-Naḥwī [*q.v.*].

During the whole of Ibn Barrī's life the Crusades were in progress (capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, 1099; disastrous defeat of the Crusaders at Ḥaṭṭīn, in the year of his death, 1187); but he himself was an absent-minded scholar, untidily dressed, who seems to have had no interest beyond his passionate interest in pure *ʿarabiyya*, although he himself made mistakes in *iʿrāb* while speaking, mistakes of which he was unaware. He held the reputation of having the greatest knowledge in his generation of the language, the grammar, and the vocabulary of Arabic and, like Ibn Bābashādh, was the literary reviser of official correspondence at the *Dīwān al-inshā'*. The author of the *Lisān* quotes him continually, *e.g.*: six times under *ḳ r n* (see his Preface, i, 3, line 10, i, 7, line 3 from the bottom).

This scholar showed his learning in writing on the works of other authors: by making annotations (corrections or additions): (1) to the *Muʿarrab* and to the *K. al-Takmila fī mā yalḥan fīhi 'l-ʿāmma* (MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya) of al-Djawālīḳī [*q.v.*]; (2) to the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī. These copious *ḥawāshī*, his chief work (in manuscript; see Brockelmann, I, 134), were collected into an independent work: the *K. al-Tanbīh wa 'l-īḍāḥ ʿammā waḳaʿa min al-wahm fī K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (the title given in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 93, l. 9-10); according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, however, *ibid.*, l. 10, these annotations were begun by his master ʿAlī b. al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ, cf. Brockelmann, S I, 540 bottom, and, according to al-Ṣafadī (al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 529, lines 8-9), Ibn Barrī continued them as far as *w ḳ sh*, a quarter of the work, and the rest was written by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Basṭī; (3) to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-khawāṣṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, according to Ibn Khallikān, ii, 293, l. 17, Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 324, l. 5-6; by his defence of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī against the criticisms of Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*], printed under the title: *al-Istidrākāt ʿalā Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī wa 'ntiṣār Ibn Barrī* (Istanbul 1328) and as an appendix to the *Maḳāmāt* (Cairo 1326)—as well as by his *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Īḍāḥ* of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, in manuscript, Cairo[2], ii, 128. Of the personal writings of Ibn Barrī only two small works are known: the *K. Ghalaṭ al-ḍuʿafā' min al-fuḳahā'*, a criticism of the incorrect terms of the jurists, published by C. C. Torrey in *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 211-24; and *al-Masā'il al-ʿashr al-mutʿiba li 'l-ḥashr*, on some grammatical difficulties, in manuscript, Paris 1266 (no. 3), fols. 181-218.

It should be noted (1) that no. 6 of Brockelmann (S I, 530) is wrongly attributed: this *Sharḥ ikhtiṣār* (and not *iḳtiṣār*) *al-ʿarūḍ*, S. 282 (and not 252) is, as is indicated in the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts of the Escurial (H. Derenbourg, i, 1884, no. 410, 3°), to be attributed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn Barrī, the Ibn al-Barrī of Brockelmann, II, 248 and S II, 350. (2) No. 2 of Brockelmann, I, 302, the 13 verses on the meaning of the word *al-khāl* which *LA* attributes to Ibn Barrī (xiii, 246-7/xi, 232-3) are already cited by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) in his *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn* (Istanbul 1320), 335-7 and there attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Thaʿlab. (3) On the question of the glosses or criticisms of Ibn Barrī to the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* and of his refutation of the criticisms of Ibn al-Khashshāb to this *Durra*, see C. C. Torrey's introduction to his edition of the *K. Ghalaṭ al-ḍuʿafā'* (*Orient. St.*, 212-3).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 301-2, S I, 529-30; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, iv, 233-4; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 278-9; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 292-4 (no. 326); Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, MS Damascus Ẓāhiriyya 438 (*ta'rīkh*), 323-5; Ḳifṭī, *Inbā' al-ruwāt*, ii, 110-1, see 110, n. 2, where other references are given.

(H. FLEISCH)

IBN BASHKUWĀL, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM KHALAF B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MASʿŪD B. MŪSĀ, B. BASHKUWĀL B. YŪSUF B. DĀḤA B. DĀḲA B. NAṢR B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM B. WĀḲID AL-ANṢĀRĪ, an Andalusian scholar of Spanish origin, as his name "son of Pascual" indicates, was a native of Sorrión, an unknown village of the vega of Valencia, which is not to be confused with Sarrión in the province of Teruel. He was born in Cordova on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 949/29 September 1101 and died there on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday 8 Ramaḍān 578/4-5 January 1183 at 83 (lunar) years of age. He received his first education at Cordova from his father and then at Seville, where he heard Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb, Abu 'l-Walīd b. Rushd, Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, and other celebrated scholars. Well-equipped with learning acquired from some 400 books, he became, according to his biographer Ibn al-Abbār, the doyen of the traditionists of Cordova and a scholar without peer in the literary history of al-Andalus. At first he became a member of the judiciary as a subordinate of the chief *ḳāḍī* of Seville, Ibn al-ʿArabī, and worked as a *ʿadl* in Cordova, but soon gave up this administrative career and devoted himself to his chosen vocation of teaching and research, in which he proposed to follow in the footsteps of Ibn al-Faraḍī, the great pioneer in biographical studies, which had had so great a success. Ibn al-Faraḍī, with his *Ta'rīkh ʿulamā' al-Andalus*, had laid the foundations for a knowledge of literary history among the Spanish Muslims. Ibn Bashkuwāl, two centuries later, decided to continue so interesting a work and called his work *al-Ṣila* "the continuation". In it he was able to gather 1400 biographies of men of letters who had flourished in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. Although the information which he gives is above all literary and is excessively and aridly detailed in the lists of masters and disciples, he provides a great deal of new data for history, administration, and the toponymy of numerous towns and localities of Muslim Spain.

He is said to have composed 50 works, but of them, apart from the *Ṣila* (*Kitāb al-Ṣila fī ta'rīkh a'immat al-Andalus*), finished on 3 Djumādā I 534/27 December 1139, ed. F. Codera in *BAH*, i, ii, Madrid 1883, we know only the *Kitāb al-Ghawāmiḍ wa 'l-mubhamāt min al-asmā'*, a dictionary of traditionists whose names are difficult to spell or easily confused with others (Berlin, *Verzeichn.*, no. 1673).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892, i, 172; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 132 ff.; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fez 1316/1898, 116 = Cairo 1351/1932, 114; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 179; idem, *Muʿdjam*, no. 70; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*,

ed. Wüstenfeld, xvii, no. 1; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 270; Pons Boigues, no. 200; Brockelmann, I, 340, S I, 580.

(M. Ben Cheneb-[A. Huici Miranda])

IBN BAṢṢĀL [see filāḥa, ii].

IBN BASSĀM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bassām al-Shantarīnī, Andalusian poet and anthologist, a native of Santarem. Forced to flee from his native town when it was taken by Alfonso V of Castile (485/1092-3), he went to Cordova for the first time in 493/1100 and, during the following years, undertook at Seville the compiling of his *Dhakhīra* and the collecting of the *dīwān*s of some great poets of the 5th/11th century: al-Muʿtamid, Ibn Wahbūn, Ibn ʿAmmār; he also collected the correspondence of the prince of Murcia, Ibn Ṭāhir, and collected in one volume his own satirical poems, which, however, he refrained from circulating. Although in order to support himself he had to accept a reward from those to whom he devoted an entry in his *Dhakhīra*, he behaved more honestly than his contemporary al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [*q.v.*].

The only one of his works which has survived is the *Dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Djazīra*, which is, however, enough to earn him enduring fame and the gratitude of all who are interested in the Arabic literature of Spain. Planning his anthology as a continuation of the *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* of Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī [*q.v.*], Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147) is reputed to have been concerned only with writers and poets who were his contemporaries or nearly so, but on many occasions he goes back as far as the beginning of the 5th/11th century and even to the end of the preceding century. He was so widely read that he could immediately detect the least obvious plagiarism, and he was irritated by the infatuation of his fellow countrymen for everything from the East—"if a crow croaked in that part of the world or if a fly buzzed on the far borders of Syria or of ʿIrāḳ, they would prostrate themselves as if before an idol", he writes in his preface; hence he was anxious to collect and preserve the verse and the prose works written in Spain, which he with his sound judgement was able to evaluate and to offer to posterity. He himself admitted that the compilation of his anthology had caused him immense trouble, and we have in general no possibility of verifying the authenticity of the texts which it contains. The work, which (according to Yāḳūt) consisted of seven volumes, is divided into four sections: I. Men of letters and poets of Cordova and its surrounding district; edition of 1st part, Cairo 1939, of 2nd part, Cairo 1942; II. the western part of al-Andalus (Seville, Portugal); III. the eastern part of al-Andalus; IV. foreign poets and men of letters living in al-Andalus; ed. 1st part, Cairo 1945. (An edition of the whole work is being prepared (1968) at Paris.) For the manuscripts of the unpublished sections see Brockelmann. The notices are of varying length; they contain in general some biographical data, in an ornate but intelligible prose, citations of earlier authors and historians, notably Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], and selected extracts in prose or verse; Ibn Bassām refrains, however, from including the more shocking satirical pieces, probably because of the rigorism which prevailed in his time. A shortened version of the *Dhakhīra* was made by Ibn Mammātī (542-606/1147-1209) under the title *Laṭāʾif al-Dhakhīra wa-ṭarāʾif al-Djazīra* (ms. in the Veliüddin Library, Istanbul).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 275; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 304, iii, 184, 198; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 331; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 311 (Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 353, Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, i, 350); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 123 and index; Dozy, *Abbadidis* . . ., i, 189, 220, ii, 258, iii, 34 ff.; M. G. de Slane, *Note sur les historiens arabes espagnols Ibn Haiyân et Ibn Bessâm*, in *JA*, 1861, 259-68; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 208-16; González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 199-206; Brockelmann, S I, 579. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN BASSĀM, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Naṣr b. Manṣūr b. Bassām al-ʿAbartāʾī, poet and writer of Baghdād. His grandfather, Naṣr, had held high office during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 252), and he himself was at one time employed in the service of the *barīd* [*q.v.*]; he probably carried out other administrative duties, since his biographers attribute to him a collection of letters (*rasāʾil*) which are unlikely to have been of a private nature. However, his fame rests on his epigrams, very brief, for he was short-winded, but effective; many stories are told about his relations with the great men of his time, whom he treated with scant regard, attacking the caliphs and their ministers as well as his own family, so that Yāḳūt counts him among the unfilial (*ʿaḳaḳa*); he also managed to write verses on the most highly placed of his contemporaries and to attribute them to other poets, for example to Ibn al-Rūmī. Certain eulogies of Ibn al-Furāt or of Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] seem out of place in an almost exclusively epigrammatic output.

Ibn Bassām is besides the author of several works: *K. Akhbār ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa*, which Ibn al-Nadīm considers this poet's best monograph and for which Yāḳūt gives the many sources; *K. Akhbār al-Aḥwaṣ*; *K. Munāḳadāt al-shuʿarāʾ*; *K. al-Muʿāḳirīn* or *al-Zandjiyyīn*. He died in 302 or 303/914-6, aged over 70.

Bibliography: Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī*, etc., trans. M. Canard, 157; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 67, 75; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 256-72; Ṭabarī, iii, 2114; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xii, 63; Thaʿālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ*, Cairo 1326/1909, 108; idem, *K. man ghāb ʿanhu 'l-muṭrib*, Istanbul 1302, 249; idem, *Aḥsan mā samiʿtu*, Cairo 1324, 87; *Fihrist*, 214; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xiv, 139-52; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*, Cambridge and London 1928, 81-2; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 362-3. On confusions with Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, see *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 119 ff. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN BAṬṬA, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUkbarī, more generally known under the name of Ibn Baṭṭa, Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult, born at ʿUkbarā in 304/917. He received his early education at Baghdād, where he went while still very young, in 315 or 316/927 or 928, his principal teachers being, together with a number of less well-known *ʿulamāʾ*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khiraḳī (d. 334/945), the author of the famous *Mukhtaṣar*, and Abū Bakr al-Nadjdjād (d. 348/960), the renowned jurisconsult, traditionist and preacher, who gave his courses in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. He studied also under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), called Ghulām al-Khallāl, and also knew personally Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [*q.v.*]) the author of the *Kitāb al-Sunna*, whose sensational activity in the religious and political life of the period was one of the reasons for the condemnation of Ḥanbalism in 323/935 by the caliph al-Rāḍī.

After the years which he spent studying in Baghdād, Ibn Baṭṭa next stayed in Mecca, where he

became the friend of Abū Bakr al-Ādjurī (d. 360/970), the author of the famous *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa* (Cairo 1369/1950), and went on several other journeys in order to study in ʿIrāḳ (in particular in Baṣra), in the border regions between the Islamic countries and the Byzantine Empire, and also in Damascus, where he was anxious to meditate at the tomb of Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 330/942), the founder of a mosque situated outside the Bāb Sharḳī (cf. *Bidāya*, xi, 204-5). When he was about forty—thus about ten years after the arrival of the Būyids in Baghdād (334/945)—Ibn Baṭṭa returned to his native town, where, until his death on 10 Muḥarram 387/23 January 997, he led a secluded life, devoted, it is said, to fasting, meditation and study.

Ibn Baṭṭa wrote several works, listed by the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 526/1132) in his *Ṭabaḳāt* (ii, 152). The two most important, which were to have the greatest influence, were his two professions of faith: his *ʿaḳīda* in the shorter version, the *Ibāna ṣaghīra*, which has survived, and the *Ibāna kabīra*, the text of which appears to be lost, but of which much use was made by the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). Apart from these two professions of faith, of *salafī* type, Ibn Baṭṭa's other works deal mainly with *fiḳh* or *ḥadīth*; in one of them he criticizes the legitimacy of the juridical subterfuges (*ḥiyal* [*q.v.*]) practised by the Ḥanafī school and among certain Shāfiʿis.

Ibn Baṭṭa, through his doctrinal work and his sermons, belongs to the great tradition of Ḥanbalī polemic which was practised, during the century following the death of the founder of the school, by the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), Abū Bakr al-Khallāl and Barbahārī. Like them, he denounced and forbade all the blameworthy innovations (*bidʿa*), which he considered had come to debase the religion founded by the Prophet, in the field of dogma as well as in those of worship, law or morals. His severity concerning *bidʿa* was such that he refused to distinguish, not only between good and bad *bidʿa*s but also between small and great. He saw as the only means of salvation a return to the primitive religion (*dīn ʿatīḳ*) exactly as it had been formulated during the lifetime of the Prophet and of the first three caliphs, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān.

Ibn Baṭṭa's first disciples were numerous (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi* ..., intr., note 109) and he himself can be considered as an excellent example of the Sunnī opposition to the Būyid régime, which favoured Shīʿism and, to a lesser degree, Muʿtazilism and *falsafa*. His influence was profound and lasting. It is found, not only in the Ḥanbalī *Ḳādiriyya* which the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031) wished, in 409/1018, to make the official credo of the state, but also in the works of men such as the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā or the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar (d. 470/1078), Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1117) or ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166). Ibn Baṭṭa was severely attacked by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), a Ḥanbalī who had changed to Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism; he was defended, in his *Muntaẓam* (193-7), by Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), who was much influenced by him.

Under the Ayyūbids there was a revival of interest in Ibn Baṭṭa's dogmatic works with the Damascus traditionist ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1204) and also, but to a lesser degree, with the *shaykh* Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). Under the Mamlūks, Ibn Taymiyya and several of his disciples or admirers such as al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), Ibn al-Ḳayyim (d. 750/1350) or Ibn Kathīr (d. 773/1371) were interested in the works of Ibn Baṭṭa, while later the Ḥanafism of the Ottomans was to be one of the factors which caused them to relapse again into semi-oblivion.

Bibliography: For the Arabic sources: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 371-5; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo ed., ii, 144-53; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 193-7 and *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, iv, 151; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ii, 170; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 321-2; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, i, 365; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 122; see also Brockelmann, I, 194 and S I, 334; L. Massignon, *Textes inédits*, 220; H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958 (PIFD), and in particular, for further bibliography, notes 97-202 in the *Introduction*. (H. Laoust)

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA (sometimes Baṭūṭa), Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Lawātī al-Ṭandjī, Moorish traveller born at Tangier on 17 Radjab 703/25 February 1304, died in Morocco in 770/1368-9 or 779/1377, after many lengthy journeys which make him one of the world's most famous travellers (*djawwāla*) and authors of travel-books (*riḥla*).

The chronology of his journeys may, in spite of some uncertainties of detail, be set out as follows: (1) Departure from Tangiers 2 Radjab 725/13 June 1325; North Africa; Egypt; Upper Egypt; Syria; departure from Damascus for Mecca in Shawwāl 726/September 1326. (2) Departure from Mecca 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 726/17 November 1326; ʿIrāḳ; Khūzistān, Fārs and Djibāl; Tabrīz; Baghdād, Sāmarrā, Mosul, return to Baghdād; a stay in Arabia (with three Pilgrimages) from 727/1327 to 730/1330. (3) Red Sea, Yemen, Aden, Zaylaʿ, Mogadishu and the trading ports of East Africa; return by ʿUmān and the Persian Gulf; a further Pilgrimage in 732/1332. (4) Egypt, Syria; Asia Minor and the territories of the Golden Horde; visit to Constantinople and return to the territories of the Golden Horde; Transoxania and Afghānistān; arrival in the valley of the Indus on 1 Muḥarram 734/12 September 1333; stay at Delhi until Ṣafar 743/July 1342. (5) Stay of a year and a half in the Maldives; Ceylon and a second visit to the Maldives, Bengal, Assam, Sumatra; arrival at the Chinese port of Zaytūn: Ts'üan-chou (it is not certain whether Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reached Peking). (6) Return by Sumatra and Malabar (Muḥarram 748/April-May 1347); the Persian Gulf, Baghdād, Syria, Egypt; a further Pilgrimage. (7) Egypt, Alexandria; embarked in Ṣafar 750/April-May 1349 for Tunis; thence reached Sardinia in a Catalan ship; return by Algeria; arrival at Fez at the end of Shaʿbān 750/November 1349; visit to the kingdom of Granada and return to Morocco. (8) Departure from Sidjilmāsa at the beginning of Muḥarram 753/February 1352; journey across the Sahara; the country of the Niger; return to Sidjilmāsa in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 754/December 1353.

This chronology suffices to demonstrate the new dimensions which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gave to the genre of *riḥla*. Originating from the West, among Spaniards or Maghribīs who were curious to take note, while making the Pilgrimage, of the countries and the customs of the East (which had for long been regarded as the source of knowledge and the model of civilization), the traditional *riḥla* was centred round the visit to the Holy Places of Arabia. Although Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, especially in the beginnings of his work, conforms to this usage, by degrees the extent of his journeys finally blurs the initial object and raises

the *riḥla* to become in fact a description of the known world.

The documentary value of the *Riḥla* is closely linked to the history of its text, which was written down not by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself, but by a scholar, Ibn Djuzayy [*q.v.*], commissioned by the Marinid ruler of the time, Abū ʿInān. The writing of it, from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's dictation, was completed on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 756/9 December 1357, and the definitive text appeared a few months afterwards, under the title of *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār wa-ʿadjāʾib al-asfār*. So far as can be judged, the literary form imposed, commencing with his preface, by Ibn Djuzayy's editing inevitably altered in some degree the original aspect of the work; in it are found descriptions which are pertinent, sober and sometimes succinct to the point of dryness, side by side with high-flown passages whose aim is less to give objective information than to produce stylistic exercises on "marvels" such as were then in favour with the educated public. The predilection for unusal details should perhaps not be attributed to Ibn Djuzayy alone, any more than should the exaggeration or the plagiarism: for this reason the problems raised by the voyage to the country of the Bulgars, by the description of China, by certain details concerning Syria and Arabia, clearly borrowed from Ibn Djubayr, and, in a general way, by all the other suspect passages, should not be solved each time by attributing them to the unnecessary intervention of Ibn Djuzayy, all the more since Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, having admitted that he had sometimes lost during his adventures the notes made on his travels and then re-written them from memory, may on occasion have been tempted to use his imagination to make good any failure of his memory. But that being admitted, it may all the same reasonably be considered that the editor systematically exaggerated in the direction of fantasy tendencies which in the original work were certainly more moderate. It is even more certain that the re-arrangement of several itineraries at the sacrifice of the logical chronology of the journeys, the poetical quotations and, above all, the use of an elaborate prose style, are attributable to Ibn Djuzayy.

Whether or not they are original, these weaknesses do not detract from the value of the work as a whole, which has long been recognized in particular for the descriptions of India, of the Turkish principalities of Asia Minor and of the lands of the Niger. The *riḥla* in the manner of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa thus appeared as one of the most typical forms of the literature of observation (*ʿiyān*). After the disintegration of the Muslim empire (*mamlaka*), the depiction of which had been the mainstay of the descriptive geography of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the formation of the new territorial groupings of the Turco-Mongol period, facilitating the movement of merchandise and of people, made possible the appearance of an original form of *ʿiyān* in the *riḥla*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's place in the history of the genre is at the turning-point: by basing his account on his own travels, around which he builds his professional and even his family life, he goes further than Ibn Djubayr. But already the intervention of Ibn Djuzayy foreshadowed the final development of the *riḥla*; like all works of *ʿiyān*, it became part of a more literary tradition in which the facts were taken over and adjusted to the laws of scholarly prose and the tastes of *adab*. The structure and sequence of the *riḥla* thus correspond exactly to the chronology; in this respect Ibn Baṭṭūṭa follows Ibn Djubayr and differs from such later writers as al-ʿAbdarī or al-ʿAyyāshī, for whom the *riḥla* was merely the pretext for writings inspired mainly by literary or religious preoccupations.

The best edition of the text of the *Riḥla* is still that of C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (with Fr. tr.: Paris 1853-9, 4 vols.; a reprint is in preparation). It is the Arabic text of this edition which is followed both by the new Beirut edition (Dār Ṣādir-Dār Bayrūt, 1379/1960, with a short preface by K. al-Bustānī; see review by P. Masnou in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 211), and also, with important corrections, for the new translation into English by H. A. R. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Cambridge [Hakluyt Society] 1958-62, 2 vols., in progress).

Other principal translations: Turkish, by Meḥmed Sherīf Pasha, 3 vols., Istanbul 1333/1915; Persian, by Muḥammad ʿAlī Muwaḥḥid, Tehrān 1958; German (sections relating to India and China), by H. von Mžik, Hamburg 1911; English (on India), by Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Italian (selections), by F. Gabrieli, Florence 1961; annotated Fr. tr. of sections relating to Africa by R. Mauny *et al.*, *Textes et documents* ..., Dakar 1966. For other editions and translations, cf. Brockelmann (cited below in *Bibl.*).

Bibliography: The most important, if not the only, Arabic source is Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1929-31, iii, 480-1. See also, in addition to the introductions by Defrémery-Sanguinetti and Gibb (*op. cit.*): A. Fischer, *Baṭṭūṭa nicht Baṭūṭa*, in *ZDMG*, lxxii (1918), 289; T. Yamamoto, *On Ṭawālisī described by Ibn Battûta*, in *Mem. Research Dept. Toyo Bunko*, viii (1936), 93-133; R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, iii, Leiden 1938; H. F. Janssens, *Ibn Batouta, "Le voyageur de l'Islam", 1304-1369*, Brussels 1948; H. A. R. Gibb, *Notes sur les voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa en Asie Mineure et en Russie*, in *Et. Lévi-Provençal*, i, 1962, 125-33; I. Hrbek, *The chronology of Ibn Battuta's travels*, in *ArO*, xxx (1962), 409-86; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, x, 235-6; Brockelmann, II, 332-3 and S II, 365-6; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 416-30, Arabic tr. (chap. i-xvi published so far) by Ṣ. D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 421-33; R. Blachère and H. Darmaun, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1957, 316 and 348-51; Pearson, Nos. 8896-8904, and *Supp.*, i, nos. 2271-4.

(A. Miquel)

IBN AL-BAWWĀB, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hilāl, known also under the name of Ibn al-Sitrī, famous calligrapher of the Buwayhid period who died in Baghdād in 413/1022 (this date is more probable than 423/1031). He frequented the governmental circles of the period, as he was closely attached to the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib Muḥammad b. Khalaf at Baghdād and was for some time in charge of the library of the Buwayhid Bahāʾ al-Dawla at Shīrāz. He was also an illuminator (at least one outstanding example of his work surviving), a devout man who knew the Ḳurʾān by heart and is said to have reproduced sixty-four copies of it, and a man of letters who was well versed in the law and who wrote a treatise and a didactic poem on the art of writing. His real title to fame, however, according to the early Arab authors, was to have perfected the style of writing invented, about a century earlier, by his famous predecessor, the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] and to have brought it to a degree of well-balanced elegance which was to be surpassed later only by the efforts of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī [*q.v.*]. "The well-proportioned script" (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*)

which he thus made famous in such a remarkable way, and whose basic geometric outlines E. Robertson and N. Abbott have tried to reconstitute by means of a system of theoretical measurement of the letters described in later treatises on calligraphy, has given rise to many different interpretations—particularly since its title itself means perhaps nothing more than a "fine script". It nevertheless seems likely that we are today in a position to evaluate the calligraphy of Ibn Bawwāb through the unique example of it in a Ḳur'ān in the Chester Beatty Library (MS K. 16), signed by Ibn Bawwāb and dated 391/1000-1, whose calligraphy is as splendid as its illuminations. The type of *naskhī* used in this work, as well as the style of its geometric and floral decorations, form the subject of a long study by D. S. Rice, who applied himself to demonstrating the authenticity of this specimen while revealing forgeries in the five other manuscripts hitherto attributed to the famous calligrapher (among them two copies of the *Dīwān* of Salāma b. Djandal preserved in Istanbul, which do indeed date from the 5th/11th century but which had had false signatures added).

Bibliography: The complete bibliography with references to the details found in the Arabic authors on Ibn al-Bawwāb's biography and to the recent works on his achievements in calligraphy is found in D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1955. On his school, see Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908, 80-4. (J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

IBN AL-BAYṬĀR, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD AL-DĪN B. AL-BAYṬĀR AL-MĀLAḲĪ, botanist and pharmacologist, born in Malaga at the end of the 6th/12th century. He probably belonged to the family of the same name whose existence in Malaga is attested by Ibn al-Abbār (*Muʿdjam*, nos. 35, 165, 241). He studied in Seville and collected plants in the districts round the town with his teachers Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ and Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj. In about 617/1220 he emigrated to the East: after crossing North Africa (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), he visited Asia Minor and Syria and, on his arrival in Egypt, he was appointed by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil as head of the herbalists (*ra'īs ʿalā sā'ir al-ʿashshābīn*). From Cairo he made several scientific expeditions; he next settled in Damascus, where his pupil was Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, with whom he collected plants. He died here in 646/1248.

His main works are: (1) *al-Mughnī fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*, dedicated to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, in which he gives the appropriate simples for each illness. (2) *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, with the same dedication (printed Cairo 1291/1874; good Fr. tr. by L. Leclerc in *Notices et extraits*, xxiii, xxv and xxvi (1877-83); German tr. by J. Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1840-2). In this work the author lists in alphabetical order some 1400 simples, animal, vegetable and mineral, basing it on his own observations and also on over 150 authorities including al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Idrīsī and al-Ghāfiḳī. Meyerhof and Sobhy (*The abridged version of the book of simple drugs of ... al-Ghafiqi by Gregorius Abu-l-Farag* (*Barhebraeus*), Cairo, fasc. I (1932), 32-3) consider that the *Djāmiʿ* of Ibn al-Bayṭār is merely plagiarized from the pharmacopoeia of al-Ghāfiḳī with the addition of material obtained from the works of his teachers. Apart from this doubtful statement (particularly since the mediaeval idea of intellectual honesty was different from that of today), it should be mentioned that, of the total number of simples studied, about a thousand were already known to Greek authors. This work had a considerable influence both outside and within the Islamic world, for example on the Armenian Amir Dowlat. (3) *Mīzān al-ṭabīb*. (4) *Risāla fi 'l-aghdhiya wa 'l-adwiya*. (5) *Maḳāla fi 'l-līmūn*. (6) Commentary on Dioscorides, of which a manuscript has been found and which contains a list of 550 drugs which appear in the first four books of Dioscorides; the technical terms are frequently accompanied by their Latin and Berber equivalents (see *MMMA*, iii/1 (1957), 105-12).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, ii, 133; the other Arabic sources are listed by Zirikli, *Aʿlām*, iv, 192; Brockelmann, I, 492, S I, 896; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 663; Wüstenfeld, *Arab. Aerzte*, no. 231; Fr. R. Dietz, *Analecta medica ...*, i/1: *Elenchus materiae medicae Ibn Baïtharis ...* pars prima (Leipzig 1883); L. Leclerc, *Etudes historiques et philologiques sur Ebn Beithar*, in *JA*, 1862, 433-59; idem, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, ii, 225; on the translation by Sontheimer, see R. Dozy in *ZDMG*, xxiii, 183-200; R. Basset, *Les noms berbères des plantes dans le traité des simples d'Ibn Beïtar*, in *Giornale Soc.As.It.*, xii (1899), 53-66; E. Sickenberger, *Les plantes égyptiennes d'Ibn B.*, in *BIE*, 2nd series, x (1890); A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, no. 61, p. 147; Meyerhof, in *al-Andalus*, iii (1935), 31; C. Dubler, *I. B. en armenio*, in *al-Andalus*, xxi (1956), 125-30. (J. VERNET)

IBN BĪBĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-DJAʿFARĪ AL-RUGHADĪ, known by the name of Ibn al-Bībī al-Munadjdjima (son of the "lady", the astrologer) or simply Ibn Bībī, is the author of *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlā'iyya fi 'l-umūr al-ʿAlā'iyya*, written in Persian, which was completed early in 680 A.H. (beg. 22 April 1281); it deals with the period from 588/1192 to 679/1280 and is an extremely important work for the history of the Seldjūks of Rūm in whose domains it was written. This work is neither a chronicle nor a pragmatical history in the strict sense. The author's intention was, as he himself states in the introduction (cf. MS Aya Sofya 2985 [henceforward referred to as *AS*] p. 11), to hand down what he himself had heard and seen, in the literary style of the time. The main part of Ibn Bībī's work may therefore be classed as memoirs, which gain especial value from the facts that Ibn Bībī was *Mālik-i Dīwān al-Ṭughrā* or *Amīr Dīwān al-Ṭughrā* at the court of the Rūm-Seldjūks, and thus in effect head of the chancellery of the Secretariat of State (cf. *Mukhtaṣar* [see below], 2 and 196), and that his father, Madjd al-Dīn Muḥammad Tardjumān (Sulṭān Walad in a *ḳaṣīda* refers to him as Madjd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, see *Divanı Sultan Veled*, ed. F. Nafiz Uzluk, Ankara 1941, 143, no. 240), was for a long time at the court of Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh as *Munshī*, from 631/1233-4 worked as Secretary in the Seldjūk chancellery at Konya and was sent on a number of diplomatic missions (see *AS*, 482, 485, 542).

Practically all that is known of Ibn Bībī's life is what he himself relates about it in his work (cf. *AS*, 10, 442-3, *Mukhtaṣar*, vii ff. and 196-9). The exact date of his death is not known, yet it seems certain that he must have been still alive in the months between Shaʿbān 683/October 1284 and Shawwāl 684/ December 1285 (cf. H. W. Duda, *Zur Geschichtsforschung über die Rūm-Seldschuken*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxix (1935) p. *19* f.). Ibn Bībī's mother, who

belonged to a distinguished family from Nīshāpūr, was highly skilled in astrology and a considerable authority on this subject. She was no longer alive in the last months of 679/early 1281. His father, who came of a prominent family of Djurdjān, died in Shaʿbān 670/March 1272 at an advanced age. In 628/1231, when Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh's power was waning, Ibn Bībī's parents had moved to the court of the Ayyūbid Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mūsā at Damascus, whence they were invited to Konya by the Rūm-Seldjūk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳobād I, who had heard of the exceptional ability of Ibn Bībī's mother.

Ibn Bībī's work is preserved in three forms:

(1) The above-mentioned original work—the Aya Sofya manuscript as written for the Seldjūk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III. For details of the facsimile edition of this manuscript and of the first volume of a printed edition, see *Bibl.* Ibn Bībī was commissioned to write this work by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik b. Muḥammad Djuwaynī [see DJUWAYNĪ], to whom he also dedicated it.

(2) An epitome (*mukhtaṣar*), also written in Persian, by an anonymous epitomizer while Ibn Bībī was still alive, between Shaʿbān 683/October 1284 and Shawwāl 684/December 1285, which omits a great part of the rhetorical padding of the original work and leaves out the mention of Djuwaynī. This epitome was edited from the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Supp. Persan 1536, apparently of the 9th/15th century) by M. Th. Houtsma as *Recueil*, iv, 1902 [see *Bibl.*].

(3) A paraphrase into Turkish, with occasional omissions and interpolations, of the original work *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya* ... by Yazîdjîoghlu ʿAlī in the third section of his *Oghuznāme*, often called also *Selčūknāme*, which he composed for the Ottoman sultan Murād II in 827/1423-4 or 840/1436-7 (for the date see H. W. Duda, *Zeitgenössische islamische Quellen und das Oġuznāme des Jazyǧyoǧlu ʿAlī zur angeblichen türkischen Besiedlung der Dobrudscha im 13. Jhd. n. Chr.*, in the *Spisanie* of the Bulgarian Academy, lxvi/2 (Sofia 1943), 138 and P. Wittek, *Miscellanea*, in *TM*, xiv (1965), 263 ff.). There are a number of more or less complete manuscripts of this *Oghuznāme* of Yazîdjîoghlu ʿAlī in the libraries of Ankara, Berlin, Istanbul, Leiden, Leningrad, Moscow and Paris (cf. Adnan S. Erzi in *IA* art. Ibn Bîbî, 716b, and P. Wittek in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 202). An edition by M. Th. Houtsma (*Recueil*, iii, see *Bibl.*) is based on two incomplete manuscripts (Leiden, Warner 419 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ancien fonds turc 62) of Yazîdjîoghlu ʿAlī's translation. This contains only about half of the section devoted to the Seldjūks of Asia Minor. There is also an epitome of the *Oghuznāme* made by Seyyid Loḳmān [see LOḲMĀN, SEYYID] in 1008/1599; the unique manuscript is in the Austrian National Library (see Flügel, ii, 225, no. 1001); it was edited and translated into Latin by J. J. W. Lagus (see *Bibl.*). H. W. Duda's *Die Seltschukengeschichte* ... (see *Bibl.*) is a complete German translation, with commentary, of Ibn Bībī's *Mukhtaṣar* (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv) in which Houtsma's text has been supplemented on the basis of Ms. Aya Sofya 2985 and the *Oghuznāme* (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, controlled by the manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Orient Quart 1823).

Bibliography: Storey, i 408-10, 1305; F. Tauer, *Les manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothèques de Stamboul*, Prague 1932; M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après Ibn Bibi* (= *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, iii), Leiden 1902; J. J. W. Lagus, *Seid Locmani ex libro turcico qui Oghuzname inscribitur excerpta*, Helsingfors 1854; M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjouknameh d'Ibn Bibi* (= *Recueil* ..., iv), Leiden 1902; Ibn-i Bîbî, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye fi 'l-umūri 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*, with introd. and table of contents by Adnan Sadık Erzi, i, Tıpkıbasım (= facsimile of *AS*: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından I. Seri, no. 4a), Ankara 1956; Ibn-i Bîbî, *El-Evāmirü 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye fi 'l-umūri 'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*, i (*II. Kılıç Arslan'ın vefatından I. ʿAlāʾuddīn Keykubād'ın cülûsuna kadar*), ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Sadık Erzi (= Ankara Universitesi Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından no. 19), Ankara 1957; *IA*, art. Ibn Bîbî (Adnan S. Erzi); H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959; K. Erdmann, *Ibn Bībī als kunsthistorische Quelle* (= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, xiv), Istanbul 1962. For the other references see *IA*, art. Ibn Bîbî, and H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte*. (H. W. DUDA)

IBN AL-BIRR, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN (or al-Ḥusayn) AL-ṢIḲILLĪ, lexicographer and philologist born in Sicily towards the end of the 4th/10th century. After studying in the east (in 415/1024 he was at Alexandria and Mahdiyya with Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl al-Tudjībī al-Barḳī) he returned to the island at the end of the Kalbī period at the time when the country was split up by the greed of several *ḳāʾids*. It was one of these *ḳāʾids*, Ibn Mankūd (the sources do not agree on the spelling of this name), the ruler of Mazara, who welcomed him warmly. Ibn al-Birr devoted himself to teaching in his new residence and had occasion to meet there the poet Ibn Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*]. But the "Sicilian's" addiction to drink obliged his patron Ibn Mankūd to send him away from Mazara; the scholar went to Palermo, where he continued to carry on his profession of philologist and remained there, according to Ibn Abbār, until 460/1067-8.

The sources, which mention no work by Ibn al-Birr, are unanimous in attributing to him three merits: (1) the transmission of the famous dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī (which he had received from his master Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī) to his pupil Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ [*q.v.*], who is said to have helped to circulate the work in Egypt; but the chain Nīsābūrī-Ibn al-Birr-Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ is regarded as doubtful by certain biographers; (2) his contribution, in Egypt, to the survival of the poetic tradition of al-Mutanabbī (in which he had been initiated by his master Ṣāliḥ b. Rishdīn) as well as in Sicily, where the fame of the panegyrist of Sayf al-Dawla dated from the immigration into the island (in 375/985) of ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Baṣrī, *rāwī* of al-Mutanabbī; (3) the revision of the *Tathḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-djanān*, a work of Siculo-Maghribī dialectology compiled by his pupil Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Makkī [see IBN MAKKĪ].

Bibliography: To the sources indicated in U. Rizzitano, *Notizie bio-bibliografiche su Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ il "siciliano"*, in *Rend. Lin.*, ix/5-6 (1954), 269-70 and 280-1; idem, *Un commento di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ il "siciliano" ad alcuni versi di al-Mutanabbī*, in *RSO*, xxx (1955), 208-9; idem, *Il tathqīf al-lisān wa-talqīḥ al-ǧanān di Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Makkī*, in *Studia Orientalia* (of the Centro di Studi Orientali della Custodia Francescana di Terra Santa), Cairo, i (1956), 194-207, should be added the information, particularly from the *Takmila* of Ibn Abbār,

which is found in Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *al-ʿArab fī Ṣiḳilliyya*, Cairo 1959, 109-10. (U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-BIRZĀLĪ [see AL-BIRZĀLĪ].

IBN BISHR, [see ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH].

IBN AL-BIṬRĪḲ [see SAʿĪD B. AL-BIṬRĪḲ].

IBN BUHLŪL, Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ b. al-Buhlūl Djaʿfar al-Tanūkhī, born in 231/846 and died at Baghdād in 318/930, was primarily a Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī*. Trained in the doctrines of his *madhhab* by his father and Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Djawharī, he received also a very careful education in the fields of philology and of belles-lettres. He followed, in grammar, the school of Kūfa and had the reputation of being a judicious critic of poetry and of *adab*. Appointed in 276/889 by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ, during the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid (256-79/870-92), and on the advice of Ismāʿīl al-Bulbul, *ḳāḍī* of Anbār, Hīt and of the district of the Euphrates, Ibn Buhlūl then remained in the service of al-Muʿtaḍid (279-89/892-902), the son of al-Muwaffaḳ. Al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) appointed him, in 292/904-5, *ḳāḍī* of the Djibāl. At the beginning of the reign of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), Ibn Buhlūl, who had not yet taken up his new post, would have nothing to do with the plot of Ibn Muʿtazz's supporters against the new caliph in 296/909. ʿAlī b. al-Furāt, who then succeeded to the vizierate (296-99/909-12), appointed him *ḳāḍī* at Madīnat al-Manṣūr and, in 298/911, entrusted him in addition with the *ḳaḍāʾ* of al-Ahwāz. Without having the title of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, Ibn Buhlūl seems to have enjoyed all the prestige and the prerogatives of this post. He retained his offices throughout the reign of al-Muḳtadir, until 317/929.

Ibn Buhlūl, who was thus in the service of several caliphs and viziers, appears as a man of great independence of character. He refused to annul, at the request of the mother of al-Muḳtadir, a *waḳf* which she had founded; he was also able, while having served Ibn al-Furāt, to survive his disgrace and to defend him under Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās (306-11/918-23), and later to defend also ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā during the third vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt (311-2/923-4), when the Ḳarmaṭī policy of the "good vizier" was called into question.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 231-4; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 165; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsà*, Cambridge 1927, index; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside de 132/749 à 324/936*, Damascus 1960 (index).

(H. Laoust)

IBN BUḲAYLA, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Ḳays b. Ḥayyān b. Buḳayla al-Ghassānī, legendary character who is supposed to have lived for 350 years (only 320 according to al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 44) and thus takes his place among the *muʿammarūn* [*q.v.*]. The name of his ancestor, who is credited with the construction of al-Ḳaṣr al-abyaḍ at al-Ḥīra, is often corrupted to Nufayla, but the correct reading is furnished by the tradition according to which this Buḳayla owed his surname to a green silk garment, which was the reason for his nickname of "little cabbage".

It is possible that Ibn Buḳayla was an historical person; no historian has cast doubt on this, and some Banū Buḳayla are mentioned at al-Ḥīra by al-Yaʿḳūbī. However, the traditions relating to him have, in addition to his longevity, many legendary characteristics. The strangest tradition is that which associates ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buḳayla with the Djurhum [*q.v.*] and according to which ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*] discovered his body in a catacomb near Mecca. This tradition is related by al-Hamdānī (*Iklīl*, viii, 161 ff.), who states elsewhere (153) on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī that the body of Ibn Buḳayla was discovered lying on a marble plinth in a catacomb reported this time as being close to al-Ḥīra. Elsewhere this character plays a part in two other traditions of Islamic origin. According to the first, he was sent by Parvīz II (or Anūshirwān) to the soothsayer Saṭīḥ [*q.v.*], who was related to him in the female line (!), to question him on the meaning of certain supernatural phenomena (dream of the grand *mobadh*, shocks to the Īwān etc.), which were interpreted as announcing the imminent coming of a prophet (see R. Basset, *La Bordah du Cheikh al Bousiri*, Paris 1894, 59-62). The second of these traditions relates that when Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] was besieging al-Ḥīra, he was attacked with projectiles of burning material and then asked the townspeople to send to him a mature and experienced man for him to question on their situation. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ was therefore sent before Khālid, whose questions, however, he took in a different sense from that intended by the general. Ibn Buḳayla's answers are similar to those found in folk-stories (see Montaignon and Raynaud, *Recueil de fabliaux*, Paris 1877-88, ii, 52). For example, the question, "The son of how many are you?", meaning, "How old are you?", was answered by "The son of only one man". Afterwards he made as if to poison himself, but Khālid took the poison from his hands and swallowed it without suffering the least inconvenience. This caused Ibn Buḳayla to advise his countrymen not to resist the Arab general any further. In one of his replies the old man declared that at one time the sea reached as far as the outskirts of al-Ḥīra, and al-Masʿūdī uses this to support his thesis on the movement of seas and continents, apparently convinced of the truth of such a tradition.

Finally, although ʿAbd al-Masīḥ was not converted to Islam, it is he at least who is said to have pointed out to Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] a suitable site for the foundation of Kūfa.

Bibliography: Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. I. Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 38; Ṭabarī, i, 981-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243, 276; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 6; idem, *Buldān*, trans. Wiet, 141; Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index; idem, *Bayān*, ii, 147; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 217-9, ii, 228; idem, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 310; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 188; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 285; Maḳdisī, *Création*, v, 176; *TA*, s.v. *bḳl*; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, ed. N. A. Fāris, 153, 163, 165; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, i, 224, ii, 207; tr. Rosenthal, i, 219, ii, 202; Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, ii, 55-7; Barbier de Meynard, *Surnoms*, 56; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 935, iv, 657; R. Basset, *1001 Contes*, iii, 213-6.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN BULBUL [see ISMĀʿĪL b. BULBUL].

IBN BURD [see BASHSHĀR B. BURD].

IBN BURD, name of the members of an Andalusian family (the Banū Burd), of which two representatives in particular enjoy some fame.

I.—Ibn Burd al-Akbar, Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad, was head of the Chancellery (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*) under al-Muẓaffar after the arrest and execution of Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Idrīs al-Djazīrī in 394/1004: with the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Dhakwān [*q.v.*], he paved the way for the recognition of Sanchuelo [see ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN IBN ABĪ ʿĀMIR] as heir presumptive to the caliphate, and it was he who drew up the act of investiture dated Rabīʿ I 399/November 1008; along with other dignitaries, he provided a deputy for Sanchuelo during the latter's absence, then, having

taken up office once again during the reign of al-Mustaʿīn, he was appointed *kātib* during the caliphate of Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, became a minister in the cabinet formed by al-Mustaẓhir (414/1023), retired to Saragossa shortly before 417/1026 and died there in 418/1027, more than 80 years of age. Thanks to his perfect mastery of the office of *Kātib* and to his political prudence he was able to live through a troubled period in the history of Andalusia without mishap. According to Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, i/1, 84 ff.), there existed a *dīwān* containing all his correspondence, of which the author of the *Dhakhīra* has given some well chosen extracts; other specimens of his writing can be found in nearly all the sources dealing with this period. Not only do they show the characteristics of his prose and his talents as head of the Chancellery, but they are also indispensable documents for the study of the history and politics of the time. Unlike the majority of the *kuttāb* of his day, Ibn Burd al-Akbar is strikingly clear, precise and always to the point. His style is elegant, sober and flowing; he never uses out-of-the-way words and avoids the pedantic expressions so dear to his contemporaries; *sadjʿ* is even used with such skill that it hardly attracts one's attention. It should be observed that, in spite of the troubled times in which he worked, he was anxious to maintain the technical tradition of the Chancellery of the caliphs, insisting on the perfection with which official documents should be written and assigning great importance to paper, ink, writing, the address and its position, etc. In this respect he was the last Andalusian master of the Chancellery to keep up the great traditions of the Spanish Umayyads.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 86-102; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 72; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 387; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 8, 23, 33, 43; al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, index; Makkarī, *Analectes*, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index.

II.—Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, grandson of the above, Andalusian author and poet of the first half of the 5th/11th century. Born about 395/1005 at Cordova, he died at Almeria in 445/1054. His father, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Burd, had remained almost unknown, and it was the grandson who revived the tradition of Ibn Burd al-Akbar.

It is highly probable that he left Cordova for Saragossa with his grandfather, shortly before 417/1026; after the death of the latter he went to Denia where he was employed in the chancellery of Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], but cannot have remained there for long, for he was at Cordova again in 426/1035, pronouncing the funeral prayer at the grave of Ibn Shuhayd (the Banū Burd were *mawālī* of the Banū Shuhayd). The following year, 427/1036, his name is quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī as the author of a document proclaiming the reappearance of Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad brought about by the astute Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Ibn ʿAbbād with a view to promoting his own designs; this fact seems to prove that Ibn Burd was at that time head of the chancellery; Ibn ʿAbbād's ruse was discovered, and Ibn Burd gave up his position. After that he was to be found in Almeria in the service of Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ whose reign began in 433/1041, and he remained there till his death in 445/1054.

Aḥmad Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar was a prolific poet and writer whose art is known to us thanks once again to Ibn Bassām. His poetry is like that of most of his contemporaries, but his prose is different, for it follows the example, on the one hand, of his grandfather, and on the other, of Ibn Shuhayd. Ibn Bassām quotes long passages from his works: *Sirr al-adab wa-sabk al-dhahab* (i/2, 18 ff.); *Risālat al-sayf wa 'l-kalam* (i/2, 435 ff.) and *al-Risāla al-badiʿa fī tafḍīl uhab al-shā' ʿalā mā yuftarash min al-wiṭā'* (i/2, 446 ff.), besides a brief essay on the palm tree, *Risāla fi 'l-nakhla* (i/2, 441 ff.). The first of these texts is an unsuccessful imitation of the *Kitāb al-Akhlāk wa 'l-siyar* of Ibn Ḥazm, in which Ibn Burd tries to give specimens of his writing on different subjects; the second is a dialogue between the sword and the pen, in which he sometimes succeeds in giving the debate a faintly dramatic aspect; but he does not carry the comparison beyond the external merits of the two antagonists; the last two are ordinary essays with dialogues interspersed. Yākūt attributes two books to him: *al-Taḥṣīl fī tafsīr al-Kur'ān* and *al-Tafṣīl fī tafsīr al-Kur'ān*, but we know nothing of what these were like.

Bibliography: Besides the names already quoted: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 86-91; Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 413; Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. Pérès, Rabat 1940, index; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muktabis*, Cairo 1953, 107; Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, 103; Ibn Khākān, *Maṭmaḥ*, Istanbul 1302, 24-5; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, 40; Yākūt, *Udabā'*, v, 41-3; Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, ed. and trans. García Gómez, Madrid 1942, 141, 180; English trans. by A. J. Arberry, *The pennants*, Cambridge 1953; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS Dār al-kutub, Cairo, fol. 311; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 124; Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 121-2 (confuses the two Ibn Burds); H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; F. de la Granja, *Dos epístolas de Aḥmad ibn Burd al-Aṣgar*, in *al-Andalus*, xxv/2 (1960), 384-413; M. A. Makkī, *Wathā'ik ʿan ʿaṣr al-Murābiṭīn*, in *RIEI* Madrid, vii-viii, 109-98. (H. Monés)

IBN BURGHŪTH [see muḥammad b. ʿumar].

IBN BUṬLĀN, al-Mukhtār (or Yuwānīs = Johannes) b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdūn b. Saʿdūn b. Buṭlān, a Christian physician and theologian of Baghdād. He was the foremost disciple of the Christian priest, philosopher and physician, Ibn al-Ṭayyib [*q.v.*], and Ibn Buṭlān himself was certainly a Nestorian cleric and probably a priest. He used to teach medicine and philosophy in Baghdād, but left his native city in Ramaḍān 440/January 1049 for a journey which took him by way of Raḥba, Ruṣāfa, Aleppo, Antioch, Laodicea and Jaffa to Cairo, where he arrived in Djumādā II 441/November 1049. In Aleppo he was honoured by the Mirdāsid governor Muʿizz al-Dawla Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ (Zambaur, 33, 133), and he advised him on the healthiest location of a hospital which was to be built there; the governor also authorized him to regulate the worship of the Christians, but these last disliked the rules which he made. In Cairo, he became the target of the hostility of his Egyptian colleague, Ibn Riḍwān [*q.v.*], and there ensued a remarkable medico-philosophical controversy in which the two adversaries tried to exhibit their entire erudition, particularly in Greek medicine and philosophy. "Ibn Buṭlān was the more gracious in style, more spirited and more distinguished in literature and subjects connected with it" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). After a stay in Cairo of three or four years, he went to Constantinople where he arrived in the summer of 446/1054; his arrival there coincided with the crisis which led to the schism between the Greek and the Latin Church, and the Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, asked Ibn

Buṭlān to compose for him a treatise on the doctrine of the Eucharist, and in particular on the controversial point of the use of unleavened bread. Ibn Buṭlān stayed in Constantinople for one year and then returned to Syria, alternating between Aleppo and Antioch; he was for some time in the service of Abu 'l-Mutawwadj Muḳallad b. Naṣr b. Munḳidh (d. 450/1059), the great-grandfather of Usāma b. Munḳidh [*q.v.*]; in 455/1063 we find him supervising the building of a hospital in Antioch and at the same time engaged in literary work. Finally he became a monk and retired to a monastery in Antioch; he died on 8 Shawwāl 458/2 September 1066 and was buried in the church of the monastery.

The literary production of Ibn Buṭlān is distinguished by its originality. (1) His main work is the *Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*, a synopsis of hygiene and macrobiotics in the form of tables, an arrangement borrowed from works of astronomy; al-Ghazālī in the preface of his *Iḥyā'* refers to it as his precedent for using an arrangement familiar to the readers from another branch of learning, and it served as a model for the *Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik*, a "mirror for princes" by Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ (wrote 655/1256; cf. G. Richter, *Fürstenspiegel*, 1932, 106, n. 4; Brockelmann, I, 230; S I, 372; M. Plessner, Οἰκονομικός, 30-35). It was translated into Latin with the title *Tacuini Sanitatis Elluchasem Elimithar Medici de Baldath*, Argentorati 1531, second ed. 1533, and into German, by Michael Herr, with the title *Schachtafeln der Gesundheit*, Strassburg 1533; see E. Wickersheimer, *Les Tacuini sanitatis et leur traduction allemande par Michel Herr*, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xii (1950), 85-97. Facsimile editions of MSS of the Latin translation: *Il Tacuinum Sanitatis*, by Elena Berti Tosca, Paris 1937, and *Theatrum Sanitatis*, by L. Serra and S. Baglioni, 2 vols., 1940; see also *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. G. E. von Grunebaum, Chicago 1955, 363 f. Another Latin treatise of hygiene is based on this work (see Brockelmann). (Add to the manuscripts mentioned by Brockelmann: Brit. Museum, Add. 3676; London, Royal College of Physicians, see Tritton in *JRAS*, 1951, 185, No. 24. On the title, see Thorndike and Sarton, in *Isis*, x, 489-93.) (2) *Daʿwat al-atibbā'*, "The Medical Dinner Party", written in 450/1058 and dedicated to Naṣr al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Marwān, the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriḳīn (401/1010-453/1060; Zambaur, p. 136), a witty skit on quacks, their ignorance and arrogance, with remarks on the ethics of the medical profession. A commentary by a Christian author of Baghdād dates from the 6th/12th century. Edition of the text, by Dr. Bishāra Zalzal, Alexandria 1901; study with summary in French, by Dr. Mahmoud Sedky Bey, *Un banquet de médecins*, Cairo 1928; on the miniatures in an illuminated manuscript of the Ambrosiana, dated 672/1273, (not mentioned by Brockelmann), see Dr. Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥriz, *Min al-taṣwīr al-mamlūkī: nuskha min Daʿwat al-aṭibbā' li-bn Buṭlān*, in *MMMA*, vii (1961), 75-80, and R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, 1962, 143 f. (Ibn Buṭlān's *Daʿwat al-ḳusūs*, "The Priests' Dinner Party", which was perhaps a counterpart to the *Daʿwat al-aṭibbā'*, has unfortunately not been preserved.) (3) *Tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ʿāriḍa ʿala 'l-akthar bi-'l-aghdhiya al-ma'lūfa wa-'l-adwiya al-mawdjūda yantafiʿu bihā ruhbān al-adyira wa-man baʿuda min al-madīna*, a treatise on homely remedies, particularly for the benefit of monks. (4) *Risāla fī shirā' al-raḳīḳ wa-taḳlīb al-ʿabīd*, on how to buy slaves and how to detect bodily defects; extracts from the contents in Mez, *Renaissance*, 156-8; Spanish tr. by S. Vilá, *El Renacimiento del Islam*, Madrid 1936, 204-7; Eng. tr., 160-2. (5) Two treatises directed against Ibn Riḍwān [*q.v.*] dating from 441/1049-50, edited and translated by Schacht-Meyerhof, below; a third and final treatise, written after Ibn Buṭlān had left Cairo, and called *Waḳʿat al-aṭibbā'*, has not been preserved. (6) A report of Ibn Buṭlān, addressed at his request to the man of letters and minister, Hilāl al-Ṣābi' [*q.v.*], on his journey from Baghdād to Cairo; it was incorporated in Muḥammad b. Hilāl's *Kitāb al-Rabīʿ*, and considerable extracts have been preserved in the biography of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī and the *Geographisches Wörterbuch* of Yāḳūt. These were translated into English by G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, London 1890, 370-5, and from English into German by R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Innsbruck 1901, 242-6. This report contains most valuable descriptions of Aleppo, Antioch, Laodicea and other cities at the time of Ibn Buṭlān's visit. The treatise, together with other indications, shows the kind of society in which Ibn Buṭlān moved. (7) Ibn Buṭlān's "Treatise on the Eucharist", *Maḳāl fi'l ḳurbān al-muḳaddas*, hastily written in the summer of 446/1054; extracts in text and translation by G. Graf, *Oriens Christianus*, xxxv (1938), 46-70, 175-91. (8) Quotations from his notes for an autobiography, with remarks on the epidemics which he witnessed, have been preserved by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. (9) Ibn Buṭlān's last recorded work, on which he worked in 455/1063, is a Discourse, *Maḳāla*, "on the reason why the skilled physicians have changed the treatment of most diseases which were formerly treated with hot remedies, advising in their place a cooling treatment, e.g. for plegia, facial paralysis, paresis and others, and why they disagree with the rules laid down by the Ancients in compendiums (*kanānish*) and pharmacopoeias (*aḳrābādhīnāt*), and how this new system has gradually gained ground in ʿIrāḳ and the neighbouring countries from the beginning of the year 377/988 down to the year 455"; Ibn Buṭlān refers to changes in climate and subsequent changes in vegetation; extracts have been preserved in the biographies of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and of al-Ṭabbākh, who quotes Abū Dharr al-Ḥalabī. Ibn Buṭlān's refusal to follow slavishly the doctrines of the Ancients, notwithstanding his deep knowledge of them, also appears from his controversy with Ibn Riḍwān. Further writings are mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and by Brockelmann. (The *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb fī maʿrifat al-nabāt li-kull labīb*, attributed to Ibn Buṭlān in one of the two known manuscripts [the other is anonymous], is in reality the work of an Andalusian botanist and pharmacologist of the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century; see M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid and Granada 1943.)

Bibliography: Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, ed. Derenbourg, text 135 ff.; transl. 488 ff.; ed. Hitti, text 183 ff., transl. 214 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 294-315; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*, i, 241-3; Barhebraeus, *Ta'rīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 331-4; Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-nubalā'*, iv, 191-6 (quotes from the *Kunūz al-dhahab* of Abū Dharr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, d. 884/1479, Brockelmann, S II, 76); L. Cheikho, in *al-Machriq*, 1925, 659-64 = *Poètes*, iii, 266-77; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 730 f.; J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo* (Egyptian University,

Faculty of Arts, Publ. no. 13), Cairo 1937; idem, in *B Fac. Ar.*, iv/2, 1936 (issued April 1939), 145-8; Brockelmann, I, 636, S I, 885; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii (*Studi e Testi*, 133), Città del Vaticano 1947, 191-4; V. Rosen, in *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xliv (1883), no. 1, 038-052; S. Pines, in *Arch. d'hist. doctr. et litt. du Moyen-Âge*, 1952, 18-20 (cf. A. M. Goichon, *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 9, 1955, p. 22, n. 9).

(J. SCHACHT)

IBN DA'B, ABU 'L-WALĪD ʿĪSĀ B. YAZĪD B. BAKR B. DA'B AL-LAYTHĪ AL-MADANĪ, traditionist, genealogist, *rāwī* and poet of Medina who, after having been a schoolmaster, lived for a time at the court of al-Mahdī and longer at that of al-Hādī, from whom he received unusual favour, and died in 171/787. He owes his fame mainly to the elegance and delicacy of his speech and his manners, to the extent of his knowledge of genealogies and of early poetry, to his readiness in repartee and to his skill in finding verses apt for the circumstances, which made him an ideal companion for important persons, in spite of his pride and his sometimes rather offhand attitude to the caliph, who seems to have overlooked all this impertinence. There is an anecdote which, albeit presented differently by various authors (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 123), shows that al-Hādī had no hesitation in offering him considerable sums for a few well-chosen verses.

In the field of the transmission of *ḥadīths*, of the historical traditions and of the works of the poets of the Ḥidjāz, Ibn Da'b was not very highly thought of; indeed, although such writers as al-Djāḥiẓ (though he does express doubts in *Bighāl*, § 14), Ibn Ḳutayba or Ibn Sallām see no harm in reproducing traditions on his authority, Khalāf al-Aḥmar and other transmitters accuse him of inventing *ḥadīths*; furthermore, Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlā' points out numerous mistakes in the poems which he transmitted, while others consider that he invented *akhbār* concerning the Arabs. These accusations may be due in part to jealousy, but they may not have been entirely unfounded.

The name of Ibn Da'b usually refers to ʿĪsā b. Yazīd, but many other members of his family are cited as transmitters of historical and genealogical traditions: his great-uncle Ḥudhayfa b. Da'b, his father Yazīd b. Bakr, his brother Yaḥyā b. Yazīd and his cousin Muḥammad b. Ḥudhayfa.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 537-8; Ṭabarī, iii, 593; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 172-3; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 133; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xi, 148; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 263-4 (ed. Pellat, § 2471); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xvi, 152-65; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 408-10, v, 120; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 51; F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-DABAYTHĪ [see IBN AL-DUBAYTHĪ].

IBN ḌABBA [see YAZĪD B. MIḲSAM].

IBN DĀNIYĀL, SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. DĀNIYĀL B. YŪSUF AL-KHUZĀʿĪ AL-MAWṢILĪ, b. *ca.* 646/1248, d. 710/1310, Arab writer in Egypt. Born in Mawṣil; from the age of 19, he lived in Cairo, studying and practising ophthalmology. In literary and colloquial Arabic poetry and versified prose, he wrote some of the earliest shadow-plays in mediaeval Egypt. He apparently composed some Arabic poems too, but he is mainly memorable for the keen observation reflected in his dramatic works. All three plays were actually intended for production, and the manuscripts were most probably intended to serve as guides rather than as binding texts; the producer could, and did, depart from them.

The three plays are: (1) *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (The shadow of imagination) relates the story of Wiṣāl, an erstwhile soldier, ensnared by the wiles of a match-maker. The comic element is provided by his frustration, when he lifts the bride's veil after the wedding-ceremony, and discovers that she is a monster, in everything the opposite of the match-maker's promises; (2) *ʿAdjīb wa-Gharīb* (ʿAdjīb and Gharīb) lacks a plot and is a parade of characters, common in the market-place, plying their odd or dishonest trades—mainly quack-doctors, animal-tamers, and performers; the play is named after two quick-witted rogues who appear at its start; (3) *al-Mutayyam* (The Enamoured) presents a succession of prizefights of cocks, rams and bulls, accompanied by comments and music, and loosely connected by a thin plot: al-Mutayyam and his rival-in-love initiate these prize-fights; and, at the play's end, a party is thrown open to all sorts of pathological characters, who come to feast on a slain bull.

While Ibn Dāniyāl's first play is a farce, the other two are comedies of manners. Ridicule is achieved by contrast, slapstick and obscenity. Lip-service to morals is paid to a limited extent in the second play (in a special ending), and more so in the epilogues of the first (the disappointed bridegroom decides on a pilgrimage to the Ḥidjāz, to atone for his sins) and of the third (the Angel of Death makes an appearance). However, the plays' main asset lies not in their plot or literary quality, but rather in their reflexion of the times. They are a realist's description of *mores* in late 7th/13th century Egypt. Most mediaeval shadow-plays in Arabic were composed by the producers or their circle; Ibn Dāniyāl, however, was a physician by training and occupation, and it is an open question whether or not he incorporated into his plays earlier materials (owned by shadow-play producers), of which hardly anything is known today.

Bibliography: The three plays have been published together (not a complete version) by Muḥammad Taḳi'l-Dīn al-Hilālī, Baghdād 1948. On Ibn Dāniyāl and his work: Saʿīd al-Dīwahdjī, *Ibn Dāniyāl al-Mawṣilī*, in *al-Kitāb*, x (June 1951), 611-7; Fu'ād Ḥasanayn, *Muḥammad ibn Daniyāl*, in *al-Thaḳāfa* (Cairo), iv-v, nos. 208-210, 22 Dec. 1942-5 Jan. 1943; G. Jacob, *ʿAgīb ed-Dīn al-Wāʿiẓ bei Ibn Danijāl*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 67-71; idem, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Berlin 1907, 34 ff.; idem, *al-Mutaijam ein altarabisches Schauspiel für die Schattenbühne bestimmt von Muḥammad ibn Dânîjâl*, Erlangen 1901; P. Kahle, *The Arabic shadow play in Egypt*, in *JRAS*, 1940, 21-34; idem, *Muḥammed ibn Dānijāl und sein zweites arabisches Schattenspiel*, in *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis*, ii/2 (1950), 151-67; J. M. Landau, *Shadow plays in the Near East*, Jerusalem 1948, xxviii-xxxiv; idem, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 18-24. The most recent work, which includes the three plays and a critical analysis, is Ibrāhīm Ḥammāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963.

(J. M. LANDAU)

IBN DARRĀDJ AL-ḲASṬALLĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿĀṢĪ B. AḤMAD B. SULAYMĀN B. ʿĪSĀ B. DARRĀDJ, Andalusian poet whose *nisba* derives from Ḳasṭallat Darrādj, a place which R. Blachère wishes to identify with Cacella (now in Portugal) but which more probably corresponds to Cazalilla or Castellar de Santisteban, in the province of Jaén. Born in Muḥarram 347/March

958, he belonged to a noble family of Ṣanhādja origin which had settled in Spain at the time of the Arab conquest. He seems to have studied at Jaén and to have become acquainted with literary circles in Cordova. Apart from this, nothing at all is known of his early life.

At the age of 35, he appeared as an already accomplished poet at the court of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in 382/992. The poem with which he introduced himself (see *Dīwān*, no. 3), and which contains some details on his family life (for example that he had a daughter eight years old), was considered by the critics at the court to be too perfect to be by an inexperienced poet and some of them accused him of plagiarism. In order to test him, al-Manṣūr summoned him during the night of Thursday 3 Shawwāl 382/1 December 992 and invited him to improvise a description of a tray of apples surrounded by jonquils; the poet then wrote (see *Dīwān*, no. 149) and recited a poem (no. 100) in which he refuted the charges of plagiarism and claimed qualities as a poet and a prose-writer that entitled him to a position in the court. After this test Ibn Darrādj's fortunes began to rise. Al-Manṣūr rewarded him generously, had his name inscribed in the register of his official poets, and appointed him to a post in the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*. For sixteen years he remained in the service of al-Manṣūr and of his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar; this period corresponds to the zenith of the splendour of Muslim Spain and to a period of military and political power such as it was never to know again. Under the ʿĀmirid dictatorship, Ibn Darrādj became the celebrator of the ʿĀmirids and their victories, the chronicler of their exploits and the most highly esteemed panegyrist of their court.

The assassination of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] in 399/1008 and the beginning of the *fitna* inaugurated a new phase in his life. During the first four years he lived at Cordova; he foresaw the dramatic change of régime which was to take place, but, unhampered by excessive moral scruples, he addressed his panegyrics to all those who followed one another on the throne: Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Mahdī, Sulaymān al-Mustaʿīn, al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, etc. Finally, despairing of seeing the situation return to normal, he decided to leave the capital. His first and only journey outside the Peninsula took him, in 404/1014, to Ceuta, at that time governed by ʿAlī b. Ḥammūd, the future founder of the first ʿAlid régime in Spain. Ibn Darrādj, with his opportunism as a court poet, addressed to him a poem feigning Shīʿī sympathies. However, he does not appear to have found at the Ḥammūdid court the serenity which he was seeking, since he was obliged to undertake, during four years, many journeys to various minor courts. Until 408/1018 he travelled through the kingdoms of Almeria, Valencia, Játiva and Tortosa, addressing his poems, without much success, to the Slavonic princelings. Finally he arrived, in 408/1018, in Saragossa, where he attached himself to the court of al-Mundhir b. Yaḥyā al-Tudjībī; for about ten years Ibn Darrādj lived a relatively tranquil life, once again holding the positions of chief official poet and of secretary of the chancellery which he had held at the court of the ʿĀmirids, and serving as court poet to al-Mundhir (408-12/1018-22) and his son Yaḥyā (412-27/1022-36), to whom the third part of his *Dīwān* is dedicated. In material matters his life appears to have been completely comfortable, a poem (no. 57) revealing that he had acquired land and orchards. However, for reasons unknown, his relations with Yaḥyā b. al-Mundhir deteriorated considerably, and Ibn Darrādj found himself obliged to emigrate. In 419/1028 he appears at the court of Denia, addressing his poems to Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], and seems to have passed the final years of his life in this eastern town, since this is where al-Faḍl, his only known son, spent his life. Ibn Darrādj died on 16 Djumādā II 421/22 June 1030.

Ibn Darrādj is considered as one of the greatest poets of Muslim Spain and the main representative of the golden age of Arabo-Andalusian poetry at the end of the 4th/10th and the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Although he lived until the time of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, he was a product of the Spain of the caliphs. Like Ibn Shuhayd, Ibn Ḥazm and al-Ramādī, this poet represents the period during which the character of al-Andalus itself was stamped on its literary production and on all the other manifestations of its culture.

Ibn Darrādj was not, however, a revolutionary poet as, to a certain extent, were those who cultivated *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*; he was, on the contrary, a neo-classic poet of the type of Abū Tammām and al-Mutanabbī—and in fact he is referred to by the critics as "the Mutanabbī of al-Andalus". Like these other poets, Ibn Darrādj adheres scrupulously to what the critics call *ʿamūd al-shiʿr*, the canons of classical poetry. His technique is very polished and he devotes much attention to the correct use of language and the choice of words. His poetry reflects a wide knowledge of Arabic literature and a complete mastery of its vocabulary. He may not achieve the intellectual level and the profundity of thought of Mutanabbī, his favourite model, but some of his compositions (see *e.g.*, nos. 32, 39, 44) are definitely superior to those of his master. The poems in which he describes the battles of al-Manṣūr are full of realism and life and reflect the people's sincere admiration for the leader whom they considered as the champion of Spanish Islam against Christianity; in this respect his poems have much in common with those which al-Mutanabbī dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla.

In the genre of floral poetry (*nawriyyāt*), Ibn Darrādj wrote various poems containing original imagery; in this he appears as the forerunner of such poets as Ibn Khafādja, Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ and al-Ruṣāfī, who were to devote almost all of their poems to this genre.

A large part of his poetry, and this the most sincere and moving part, is devoted to the description of the horrors of the civil war which followed the overthrow of the ʿĀmirid dictatorship. These poems form an elegy for the Muslim Spain which the poet had known during the period of its greatest splendour. The lines in which he refers to his sad personal experience during this war, when he wandered continually from place to place with his large family of twelve, mainly females, deserve especial mention. Some of these poems (for example the description of a stormy voyage in a ship, poem no. 33) are particularly successful.

Because of the great care with which he wrote his poems, as much in their basic inspiration as in their form, without adopting the mannerism and the conventionalism of the oriental poets of his time who had a liking for rhetorical ornaments (*badīʿ*), Ibn Darrādj may be considered as the initiator, in the Arabic poetry of Spain, of a sort of "cultisme" similar to that which was to characterize, six centuries later, another Cordovan, Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561-1627).

His poetry, apart from its purely literary and

aesthetic value, is a very valuable documentary source on contemporary events in Spain and particularly on the relations of al-Andalus with the neighbouring Christian kings (on this aspect, see M. Makki, *La España cristiana en el dīwān de Ibn Darrāŷ*, in *Bol. de la Real Acad. de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, xxx (1963-4), 63-104).

Ibn Darrādj's prose is almost completely lost. It is known that he wrote some very famous official communiqués, such as that which he wrote in the name of al-Manṣūr on the occasion of the capture of Santiago de Compostella (387/992). But the fragments of this prose which are preserved in the *Dīwān* or in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām are much inferior in quality to his poetry.

Bibliography: Original sources: *Dīwān Ibn Darrādj al-Ķasṭallī*, critical ed., with introd., notes and appendices, by Maḥmūd ʿA. Makki, Damascus 1961 (with a long biography and a detailed bibliography); Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muķtabis*, Cairo 1952, no. 186; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 43-78; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 75; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 342; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 466-7; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 60-3; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*², index; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escurial no. 1673, 183, 186, 291; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, 272, iii, 9, 20-1, 35, 124; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa*, 414-5; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. and tr. Lévi-Provençal, 115-6, 160; Maķķarī, *Analectes*, index; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 103-16; Ibn Khallikān, iii, 217-9; Yāķūt, vii, 86; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iv, 272-3; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS Dār al-Kutub, no. 559, xi, 201-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 217-9.

Modern studies: Aḥmad Ḍayf, *Balāgha*, 94-100; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, index; A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 56-8; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*, 58, 174; E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigoandaluces*, Madrid 1959, 29, 98; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-andalusī*, Cairo 1962, 191-213; R. Blachère, *La vie et l'œuvre du poète-épistolier andalou Ibn Darrāğ al-Ķasṭallī*, in *Hespéris*, xvi (1933), 99-121. (M. ʿA. Makkī)

IBN DARRĀDJ AL-ṬUFAYLĪ [see ṬUFAYLĪ].

IBN AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ, ABŪ BAKR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AYBAK AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ, Egyptian historian. His father, Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, was in the service of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Balabān al-Rūmī al-Ẓāhirī, the *Dawādār* of Baybars, whence the by-name Dawādārī. His grandfather, lord of Sarkhad, was tentatively identified by Ṣ. Munadjdjid as ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Ustādār al-Muʿaẓẓamī (d. 645/1247-8), the patron of the medical biographer Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*]. The family is described, somewhat improbably, as of Saldjūķid descent.

The author's family lived in Cairo, in the Ḥārat al-Bāṭiliyya. His father served for 11 years, until 710/1310, as *mutawallī* of Sharķiyya province, the *wilāyat al-ʿUrbān*, and adjoining areas. Released from this post, he moved to Damascus, where he was appointed *mihmāndār*, and, later *mushidd al-dawāwīn*. He lost the latter post through a disagreement, but remained a *mihmāndār* until his death in 713/1313, in a riding accident at ʿAdjlūn. He was buried at Adhriʿāt, near the grave of his parents.

The dates of the author's birth and death are unknown. In his writings, he speaks of having lived in Cairo and moved with his father to Damascus, presumably as a child. He held some official post, which he does not specify. It seems to have been in Egypt, and an incident in 723/1323 (*Chronik*, ix, 310) suggests that it may have been connected with the *Barīd*. He wrote several works, of which two, an extensive universal chronicle (*Durar al-tīdjān*) and an abridgement (*Kanz al-durar*), survive. An autograph of the former, in 9 parts, exists in Istanbul. Parts 6 (on the Fāṭimids) and 9 (on the reign of Muḥammad b. Ķalāwūn) have been published. The author tells us that he began to make notes and drafts for his work in 709/1309, started his final autograph copy in 732/1331-2, and completed it in 736/1335.

Bibliography: Ahmed Zeki Bey, *Mémoire sur les moyens propres à déterminer en Egypte une renaissance des lettres arabes*, Cairo 1910, 13-15; Brockelmann, S II, 44; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Türk edebiyātında ilk mutaṣawwiflar*, Istanbul 1918, 279, n. 2-282; C. Cahen, *Les chroniques arabes . . .*, in *REI*, 1936, 343-4; *Fihris Dār al-Kutub*, v, Cairo 1930, 310; *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, vi (ed. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munaǧǧid, Cairo 1961; cf. *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 429-31), ix (ed. H. R. Roemer, Cairo 1960). (B. LEWIS)

IBN DĀWŪD, MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD B. ʿALĪ B. KHALAF, famous Ẓāhirī jurist and first codifier of Arabic "courtly love", died in 294/909; nothing else is known of his life. Little is known of his Ẓāhirism: Ibn Dāwūd was the leader of a school, who took over the direction of the Ẓāhirī movement of Baghdād on the death of his father [see DĀWŪD B. ʿALĪ]. It is not clear in which direction he led it. It may have been in one less harsh and less uncompromising than that of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], under whom Ẓāhirī intransigeance was to reach its peak (in the *Muḥallā* of Ibn Ḥazm the Ẓāhirīs as a whole are described by the term *aṣḥābunā* and it is not clear whether Ibn Dāwūd is included in this designation). There gathered around Ibn Dāwūd not only Ẓāhirī jurists but also an eclectic group of scholars and grammarians (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ẓāhirī al-Kātib, the Shāfiʿī Ibn Suraydj, Aḥmad b. ʿImrān, an impassioned admirer of the mystic Djunayd, the Malāmatī mystic Ruwayn, the traditionists Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd b. Nāṣiḥ, the principal informer of al-Washsha, and Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Dhāriʿ, the grammarians Thaʿlab and Niftawayh, both of them converts to Ḥanbalism, the second later becoming the transmitter of accounts concerning the death of Ibn Dāwūd). But Ibn Dāwūd was to give more serious contributions to Ẓāhirism: he wrote or transmitted an important number of Ẓāhirī works, a list of which is given in the *Fihrist*. (Among them is a refutation of Ibn Sharshīr, which may well have been a dialectical exposition of Ẓāhirism, the loss of which at an early date is much to be regretted). But Ibn Dāwūd's chief claim to fame is the *Kitāb al-Zahra*, his anthology of courtly love (translated variously as "Book of the flower" or "Book of Venus"). The *Kitāb al-Zahra*, which purports to be an anthology, is however a precursor of the "Trobarclus" of the West: it is difficult fully to comprehend its composition, its deeper purposes, and its guiding inspiration. It is possible that the *Kitāb al-Zahra* conceals the personal secret of Ibn Dāwūd. The following is as much as can be said with certainty, about a work which must be read between the lines, if one is to achieve any insight into the extremely complex personality of its author. The *Zahra* is made up of two parts: the first is a collection of love poetry, the second (MS Turin) is an anthology proper (different parts: panegyric, satire, drinking poetry, versification). The two parts together make up about fifty chapters, each containing a fairly

free selection of one hundred verses. Each chapter illustrates a maxim; these maxims are not of equal importance: they may concern fine points of literary style as well as more urgent matters and, perhaps, the most intimate details of the "secret" of love. The maxims are in rhyming prose—the elegant style of the jurist who had succeeded in delivering *fatwās* in this form. The logical arrangement of the first part is as follows: the first ten chapters are a kind of ethic of love (the *ḥadīth* of *ʿis̲h̲ḳ* gives the advice to put one's trust in a physician rather than in the beloved). The ten chapters which follow depict the various consequences of passion and the misfortunes which befall lovers (calumniators, slanderers and "exile"). Next, in the following ten chapters, are enumerated the obstacles of a deeper or more permanent nature which beset passion (*suluww*, "consolation"—a sort of interior movement which follows the "triumph" of the lover, separation with all its consequences). A further ten chapters (30 to 40) are devoted to situations which are reminiscent of the *nasīb*: the lover and the lightning, the lover on the day of separation, the lover haunted by the memory of the beloved, etc. At the very end of the first part, the ethical values return to the foreground, in particular that of the secret. The death of love is also dealt with. It will be obvious that everything in this work is problematical: it seems innocuous and soothing and yet it gave rise to passion and polemic. Its greatest originality was to have attempted to define a code of courtly behaviour independent of both religion and mysticism. This code seems to be based entirely on the principle: "He who loves, remains chaste, does not tell his love, and dies (or dies of it), dies as a martyr". This *ḥadīth*, transmitted on the authority of Dāwūd the father, sets two problems which long disturbed or annoyed Muslim moralists: *al-naẓar al-mubāḥ* (the lawfulness of glancing at young people or a "strange" woman) and *kitmān*, the obligation to refrain from speaking of one's love, even to the beloved himself. It was particularly among the Ḥanbalīs that the reactions were strongest and opposition to Ibn Dāwūd's ideas most bitter: a work like the *D̲h̲amm al-hawā* of Ibn D̲j̲awzī contains a list of later re-wordings which have been proposed for the famous *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya [*q.v.*] also inveighed against Ibn Dāwūd, doing his utmost to discredit him. On the other hand the Ḥanbalīs, from al-K̲h̲arāʾiṭī (Brockelmann, S I, 250, the author of an *Iʿtilāl al-ḳulūb*, Bursa, Ulu Cami 1535), attribute to the passions a sort of therapeutic action, based both on Islam and on common sense. It is true that, in his description of "courtly" love, Ibn Dāwūd did not admit that it could possess a providential therapeutic quality, and indulged neither in excessive systematization nor misplaced idealism. (He always refrained from confusing human passion and divine love; he attributed to love, and even to the memory of love, a theme dear to the *nasīb*, causes which are predominantly physical: the interaction of the "humours" on the thought and vice-versa). It is possible that he took this categorical attitude, discouraging both mysticism and human wisdom, in order to preserve intact the unimpaired character of "courtly" love. Whether this attitude was dictated by his Ẓāhirism, with its tendency to dispute the capabilities of the human reason, or by a negative mysticism based on *malāmatiyya*, Ibn Dāwūd is regarded by such scholars as L. Massignon, A. R. Nykl and H. Ritter as one of the initiators of the doctrine of "courtly love", both in its Western and in its Oriental manifestations.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Zahra* (first part), ed. A. R. Nykl, Chicago 1932 (second part: MS Turin 25); A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 370; Massignon, *Passion*, 167-81; H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi (1932); Brockelmann, S I, 249; al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, v, 256; *Fihrist*, 217 f.; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, Cairo 1948, no. 578; J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'hégire*, (in the press), index. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-DĀYA, AḤMAD B. YŪSUF B. IBRĀHĪM, Ṭūlūnid historian. His father Yūsuf was a foster-brother of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim and an administrative assistant to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. As such, Yūsuf moved in the centre of intellectual life in Bag̲h̲dād and Sāmarrā and counted among his acquaintances many littérateurs and physicians. After the death of Ibn al-Mahdī in 224/839 (and, presumably, in consequence of it), he left Sāmarrā for Damascus and, it seems, moved from there to Egypt where he thenceforth had his residence. Having connections with the ʿAbbāsid government and with Ibn al-Mudabbir, Yūsuf was under the suspicion of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who imprisoned him but soon released him as the result of an intervention by his numerous friends. When Yūsuf died, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn had his son Aḥmad and the latter's brother arrested, and his files confiscated and searched for evidence of espionage, but nothing incriminating was revealed and the two brothers were released immediately. Yūsuf wrote a book of stories about his patron Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, which is certainly the source of the material on the subject transmitted in his name in the *Ag̲h̲ānī* (for instance, *Ag̲h̲ānī*³, i, 253, 268, ii, 353, iii, 29, iv, 337, 361, vi, 22, ix, 148, 173, xvi, 6, 249, etc.). Like his patron, he also wrote a book on cookery, and he seems to be meant by the Yūsuf b. al-Dāya mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 160, who published a collection of stories about Abū Nuwās together with an anthology of his poetry. He probably provided much material for the works of his son Aḥmad. His *Ak̲h̲bār al-aṭibbāʾ*, cited by Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 124 (cf. F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 246), and, presumably, the source for al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa when they quote Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, would seem to be a case in point.

Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, known by preference as Ibn al-Dāya "son of the wet nurse" (although this nickname would seem to have been originally that of his father), belonged like his father to the class of government officials. A reasonable guess for the date of his birth would seem to be between 245-250/859-864, and he is said to have died between 330-340/941-951. Accurate details are lacking. He wrote a Biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, known from an abridgment in Ibn Saʿīd's *Mug̲h̲rib* (ed. K. Vollers, Berlin 1894, *Semitistische Studien*, i). It was also used in a similar biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, written in the 4th/10th century by a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī (ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1358), who nevertheless criticized Ibn al-Dāya's work as confused and incomplete and not the work of a professional historian. Biographies of K̲h̲umārawayh and Hārūn, including those of Ṭūlūnid lieutenants, are listed by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 157-60, as separate works, but they very likely belonged together with the biography of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, in the same way as Ibn al-Dāya's *Ḥusn al-ʿuḳbā* is listed and cited as a work distinct from his *Kitāb al-Mukāfaʾa*, although it forms part of it. The *Mukāfaʾa* (ed. Cairo 1914, 1940, 1941) consists of three sections containing, respectively, stories about rewards for good deeds,

punishments for evil deeds, and timely escapes from difficult situations. The preserved text may not be complete (cf. F. Sayyid, in his edition of Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, Cairo 1955, 72, n. 43). Two other biographical works, on physicians and on astronomers/astrologers, are not preserved. In the field of science, he wrote a commentary on the Pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium* (*al-Thamara*), which, in addition to the Arabic original, is also preserved (partially?) in Greek translation (*Cat. Codicum Astrol.*, ii, 74, iii, 11), as well as a lost *Compendium of Logic*, dedicated to the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā.

The *Mukāfa'a* and the fragments of the biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn show that Ibn al-Dāya possessed a keen eye for the life around him and a good understanding of the nature of political leadership and all it involved. If he still felt any family animosity against Ibn Ṭūlūn, he never shows it. On the contrary, he displays considerable admiration for Ibn Ṭūlūn's great gifts. Contemporary culture, in terms of language, customs, and the expectations and emotions of individuals, is brought close to us in his works.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, is based upon Ibn Zūlāḳ and Ibn ʿAsākir (presumably, under Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm); Brockelmann, I, 155, S I, 229; A. Schaade, in *ZDMG*, lxxxviii (1934), 269-72; B. Lewis, in *Byzantion*, xiv (1939), 383-6; ʿA. Badawī, *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniyya*, Cairo 1954, 24-9.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN AL-DAYBAʿ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ WADJĪH AL-DĪN AL-SHAYBĀNĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, Arab historian and religious scholar, was born in 866/1461 in Zabīd and died there in 944/1537. Older biographers call him Ibn al-Daybaʿ, but al-Djirāfī refers to him simply as *al-Ḳāḍī al-Ḥāfiẓ* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Daybaʿ. Daybaʿ, said to mean "white" in Nubian, was the *laḳab* of his remote ancestor ʿAlī b. Yūsuf.

Ibn al-Daybaʿ, whose father died in India without having seen him, was brought up by his maternal grandfather in Zabīd [*q.v.*], the centre of Shāfiʿite learning in Tihāmat al-Yaman. He studied a little under this grandfather but more under his maternal uncle, the *muftī* of Zabīd, who taught him various branches of mathematics as well as religious subjects. Ibn al-Daybaʿ also studied *ḥadīth* in the town of Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*], which lies just north of Zabīd. He made the Pilgrimage several times, the first, according to al-Sakhāwī and al-Shawkānī, in 883/1479 (not 884 as in *EI*[1], ii, 369). In 897/1491 (not 896) he took lessons in the Ḥidjāz from the Egyptian Shāfiʿite al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*]; in a verse quoted by al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Daybaʿ expressed the desire to become an *imām* of the *ḥadīth*, which he would recite at the feet of this master.

Born about eight years after the capture of Aden from the last Rasūlid by ʿĀmir I b. Ṭāhir, the inaugurator of the rule of the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] in the Yaman, Ibn al-Daybaʿ lived nearly sixty years under this dynasty. His chief patron was the fourth and last of the Ṭāhirids, al-Malik al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir II b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. At ʿĀmir II's request he wrote a history of the dynasty, *al-ʿIḳd al-bāhir fī ta'rīkh dawlat Banī Ṭāhir*, now lost. ʿĀmir rewarded him with robes of honour, a palm-grove in Zabīd, and the post of teacher of *ḥadīth* in the great mosque, which ʿĀmir had built. The most important surviving history by Ibn al-Daybaʿ is *Bughyat al-mustafīd fī akhbār madīnat Zabīd*, which brings the story of the city down to 901/1495-6 and which closes with the author's autobiography. A number of MSS of *Bughyat al-mustafīd* are extant, but C. Th. Johannsen unfortunately relied on the defective Copenhagen copy for his Latin translation, *Historia Jemenae*, Bonn 1828, with introduction and notes. Ibn al-Daybaʿ composed two supplements to his history of Zabīd, *al-Faḍl al-mazīd fī ta'rīkh Zabīd* and *Ḳurrat al-ʿuyūn fī akhbār al-Yaman al-maymūn*, the second of which ends with 924/1518, the year after ʿĀmir II's death and the almost total destruction of Ṭāhirid power by Mamlūks from Egypt (Ibn al-Daybaʿ wrote a not entirely uncritical elegy of ʿĀmir II). There is no indication that Ibn al-Daybaʿ recorded events which took place in Zabīd during the last twenty years of his lifetime, the period when the Yaman was being made a province of the Ottoman empire.

Another historical work by Ibn al-Daybaʿ is *Aḥsan al-sulūk fī man waliya Zabīd min al-mulūk*, a *radjaz* poem, not the best vehicle for writing history.

Ibn al-Daybaʿ wrote a book on the merits (*faḍā'il*) of the Yaman and its people and at least two books on *ḥadīth*, *Taysīr al-wuṣūl* and *Tamyīz al-ṭayyib min al-khabīth*, which proved of benefit to students. Al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834) found his fame still widespread in the Yaman.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 400, and S II, 32, 238, 548; biographical sketches of Ibn al-Daybaʿ in al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ*, Cairo 1345, iv, 104-5; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348, i, 335-6; and al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[2], Cairo 1374, iv, 91-2. A succinct account of the Ṭāhirids of the Yaman is given in al-Djirāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf min ta'rīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1367, 82-5.

(C. VAN ARENDONK-[G. RENTZ])

IBN DAYṢĀN [see DAYṢĀNIYYA].

IBN DHAKWĀN, name of the members of a family of Cordova, the Banū Dhakwān, which produced several *ḳāḍīs*.

(1) The first was ʿAbd Allāh b. Harthama b. Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdūs b. Dhakwān al-Umawī who, in 370/981, was appointed *ṣāḥib al-radd* (that is, his duty was to pronounce judgements on matters on which the ordinary *ḳāḍīs* were in doubt); see Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 722; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 145.

(2) The most famous member of the family was the son of the above, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who, after having been *ḳāḍī* of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ, succeeded his father as *ṣāḥib al-radd* and was appointed chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova in 392/1001. Possessing excellent diplomatic qualities, and popular among both the Cordovans and the Berbers, he played an important political rôle under al-Manṣūr, whose close confidant and trusted adviser he was. After the death of the *ḥādjib* (392/1002), he retained his post until 394/1004, then regained it from 395 to 401/1005-10. In 399/1009, he gave his sanction to the document drawn up by Ibn Burd [*q.v.*] to make ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchuelo [*q.v.*] the successor of Hishām II on the throne of the Umayyads. He also supported the succession to the caliphate of al-Mahdī (399/1009). Exiled for a time to Almeria and to Oran, he soon regained his office under Hishām II, who returned to the throne in 400/1010. It was he who, in 403/1013, asked for *amān* from the Berbers who were investing the capital. He died in 22 Radjab 413/21 October 1022, and his funeral eulogy was made by Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 224; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmah*, 19-20; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 63; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 174; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 210-1; Nubāhī, *Marḳaba*, 84-7 and index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp.*

Mus., index; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd*, ʿAmmān [1966], 41; idem, *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd*, 23-5; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 82-3.

(3) Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, brother of the above, was *mushāwar* and *ḳāḍī* of Firrish, then also *ḳāḍī* of Cordova and in charge of the *maẓālim*-court. He died in 414/1023. See Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1673; Nubāhī, *Marḳaba*, 86, 87; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 49; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Esp.*, iii, 209.

(4) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, son of the chief *ḳāḍī* (2), was renowned for his virtue, his learning and his honesty. He was appointed vizier during the reign of Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī [see HAMMŪDIDS], became *ḳāḍī* of Cordova in 430/1039 and died on 3 Rabīʿ I 435/10 October 1043. See Ibn Bassām, i/2, 15; Ibn Bashkuwāl, 34; Nubāhī, 84; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 70; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 56.

Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad and Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan, sons of Abū Ḥātim (3), are also mentioned but played a less important rôle than the above. See in particular Ibn Bassām, iv/1, 28; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 160. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN DIḤYA [= DAḤYA], ʿUMAR B. AL-ḤASAN AL-KALBĪ, also known under the name of IBN AL-DJUMAYYIL, Andalusian poet, philologist, and traditionist, born probably in Valencia, in the middle of the 6th/12th century (the year of his birth is variously given as 544, 546, 547 or 548). His *kunya* was Abu 'l-Faḍl but he preferred to call himself Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and this is what he is generally called. In some sources he appears with the *laḳab* Madjd al-Dīn, but he used that of Dhu 'l-nasabayn (he who has two [illustrious] origins), since he claimed descent through his father from Diḥya b. Khalīfa [*q.v.*] and through his mother from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Other *kunya*s of his are known, which are hardly ever used, and various other *nisba*s: al-Dānī (from Denia), al-Balansī, al-Sabtī, al-Andalusī.

While still very young he began his journeys in search of learning, particularly in philology and *ḥadīth*, visited various towns in al-Andalus and the Maghrib and met famous teachers, among those in Andalusia being Ibn Bashkuwāl, Ibn Khayr and Ibn Maḍāʾ [*qq.v*]. He twice filled the office of *ḳāḍī* of Denia, which he was obliged to give up after being denounced for passing a sentence of extreme cruelty. After living for some time in North Africa —in 595/1198 he was expounding in Tunis the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim—he undertook the Pilgrimage to Mecca and on the way stayed in Egypt, to which he was to return later. He next visited Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Persia, and went as far as Nīsābūr in his eagerness to collect traditions and to meet the most famous masters in this subject. In 604/1207, when he was at Arbela, where the feast of the birth of the Prophet was being celebrated with much ceremony, he wrote a work for the occasion entitled *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī mawlid al-sirādj al-munīr*, which ended in a long poem in praise of the *amīr* Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, who rewarded him with a payment of a thousand *dīnār*s. On his return to Egypt, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil appointed him tutor to his son; when the latter succeeded his father, under the title of al-Malik al-Kāmil, he founded the *Dār al-ḥadīth* and appointed Ibn Diḥya as director of it; but towards the end of his life (he died in 633/1235) he was dismissed by the sultan—one source even states that he was flogged and paraded in disgrace through the streets of the city—who appointed in his place the poet's brother, Abū ʿUthmān, who survived him for only a short time (d. 634/1237).

The judgements of his contemporaries on Ibn Diḥya's character and work are contradictory. Whereas the Andalusians in general praise him highly and refer to his great learning, the Eastern critics regard him as a charlatan because of his false claim to an illustrious genealogy, as a plagiarist (Ibn Khallikān states that the poem dedicated to Muẓaffar al-Dīn was written by Ibn Mammātī), or as a liar (which various sources consider to have been the reason for his expulsion from the *Dār al-ḥādīth al-Kāmiliyya*). The titles are known of about twenty of his works, of various types, the majority of which have not survived. There have recently appeared two editions of the work for which he is chiefly known, *al-Muṭrib fī ashʿār ahl al-Maghrib*, a vast anthology of Arabic poets of the West, compiled in Egypt and dedicated to his royal patron al-Malik al-Kāmil. The remainder of his surviving work is so far unpublished.

Bibliography: In addition to that given in Brockelmann, I, 310-2, S I, 544-5, see the study by M. Ghāzi, *Ibn Diḥya fi 'l-Muṭrib*, in *RIEM*, i (1953), 161-74, Sp. tr., *ibid*, 172-90, and the long introduction to the Egyptian edition of the *Muṭrib* published by I. al-Ibyārī, Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Madjid, and A. Aḥmad Badawī, Cairo 1954. Another edition of the same work was published in the same year, at Khartoum, by Muṣṭafā ʿAwaḍ. (F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN DĪNĀR [see ʿĪSĀ B. DĪNĀR; MĀLIK B. DĪNĀR; MUḤAMMAD B. DĪNĀR; YAZĪD B. DĪNĀR].

IBN DIRHAM, DJAʿD, heretic, was a native of Khurāsān but spent most of his life at Damascus; he was imprisoned and then put to death, on the orders of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], by Khālid al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] on the day of the Feast of Sacrifices as a substitute for the ritual sacrifice of a sheep; the sources vary on the place and date of his execution: Kūfa or Wāsiṭ, 124/742 or 125/743. Very few facts are known on the doctrinal position of Djaʿd b. Dirham; it is, however, clear that anti-Marwānid political propaganda and theological propaganda directed against the Muʿtazilīs (whom their enemies wished to accuse not only of having non-Muslim ideologies but also of being influenced by the heretics of the early period of Islam) were in part the reason for the accusations directed at him during five centuries, from al-Dārimī to Ibn Taymiyya: he was accused of having advanced the doctrines, later specifically associated with the Muʿtazilīs, of the created Ḳurʾān and of free will, errors which he was said to have led Marwān b. Muḥammad to hold; of having professed a radical doctrine of denial of the Divine attributes (*taʿṭīl*, of which the Muʿtazilīs were also accused), whence probably the saying attributed to him by Khālid: "God did not speak to Moses, nor take Abraham as His friend"; he is described as a *dahrī* and appears prominently in the list of *zindīḳ*s in the *Fihrist*; according to some verses quoted by al-Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī, the followers of Djaʿd's religion, beardless men (a characteristic borrowed from the portrait of the Manichean "Elect"), accuse the Prophet of lying and deny the resurrection. He is also associated with Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*]; it is certain, however, that the latter did not profess the doctrine of free will. Without casting doubt on the authenticity of the majority of these statements, the co-ordination of which is, however, difficult, it should nevertheless be noted that there is no mention at all of Djaʿd b. Dirham in sources as important as the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī (where he appears, *Annales*, i,

1396, *sub anno* 102, only as the author of an entirely conventional lament), the *K. al-Intiṣār* of al-Khayyāṭ, the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī, and *al-Sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna* ("Profession of faith") of Ibn Baṭṭa.

Bibliography: The earliest source at present known is the *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-djahmiyya* of ʿUthmān al-Dārimī (d. 282/895), ed. G. Vitestam, Leiden 1960, p. 4, lines 7-16, which gives, on the authority of a chain of transmitters, the version of the doctrine and the death of Ibn Dirham which was, in its essentials, repeated in the *Fihrist* and many later texts. See the details in the study by G. Vajda, *Les zindiqs en pays d'Islam*, in *RSO*, xvii (1937), 179[7]-181[9]; see also S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, 124, n. 3; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 54 f.; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², ii, 114; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autour du Coran* ..., Amsterdam 1959, 3-4; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islām*, Paris 1965, 48, n. 48; R. M. Frank, in *Le Muséon*, lxxviii (1965), 396, n. 5-6; M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿarī*, Beirut 1966, 154, n. 1. (G. Vajda)

IBN AL-DJADD, name of the members of a family (Banu 'l-Djadd) famous and influential in Muslim Spain during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, the origin of which, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī (vi, 112), goes back to a certain al-Faraḥ b. al-Djadd al-Fihrī. They were established at Seville and Niebla, where they possessed vast territories. Four important members of this family are mentioned:

I.—Abu 'l-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Djadd (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 109 ff.; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 340; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo. no. 431). He had literary ability, but his passion for wine and his frivolity prevented him from reaching the heights he deserved. For some time he was a secretary (*kātib*), in the service of Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*], during the brief period in which the latter reigned in Murcia.

II.—Of greater importance was his cousin and contemporary Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Djadd. He was one of the best representatives of the family and one of the authorities of his time on *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, literature and genealogy. Yazīd al-Rāḍī, the son of al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād, made him his *wazīr* when he was appointed governor of Algeciras by his father, and took him with him when he went to govern Ronda; Ibn al-Djadd remained with Yazīd till the latter's death at the hands of the Almoravids, in 484/1091 (Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla, apud De Abbadidis*, ii, 75; ed. Monés, ii, 71). He then retired to Seville; the inhabitants of Niebla then offered him the office of jurisconsult (*khuṭṭat al-shūrā*) of the town, which he accepted without enthusiasm, keeping his position till Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn made him *kātib* in the chancellery. He was still holding this office when he died at Marrākush in 515/1121 (Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 1149; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalā'id*, Cairo 1283, 109 ff.; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 341-2; al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, Cairo 1949, 173; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 190-2; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ms. Baghdad, ii, fols. 185-213). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn al-Djadd is an excellent prose writer, his style being on a level with that of the eminent *kuttāb* of the time (Muḥ. b. Abi 'l-Khiṣāl and his brother Abū Marwān, Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḳabṭurnu, etc.), which marks the apogee of prose writing in Muslim Spain.

III.—A third member of the family is Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Djadd, who was a grammarian of repute. He was arrested and executed by the agents of the Almohads in 550/1155, although he had taken no part in politics (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 342-3; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 468; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 275).

IV.—The fourth and last representative of the family to be mentioned is Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. al-Faraḥ b. al-Djadd. the most famous in the history of the family. Ibn al-Abbār dedicates a long article to him in the *Takmila* (no. 825). Born at Niebla in Rabīʿ I 496/December 1102, he studied under the best teachers of the time, such as Ibn Rushd and Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī. The former advised him not to limit himself to the study of grammar, literature and *ḥadīth*, but to study *fiḳh* and *uṣūl*; he showed a special aptitude for these subjects and was not long in becoming the favourite pupil of Ibn Rushd. About 521/1127 he became a jurisconsult in Seville, and continued in this high office for 65 years, till his death in Shawwāl 586/ Nov. 1190, at the age of ninety. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-98) had a profound veneration for him, perhaps because he had undergone a certain amount of injustice in the reign of his predecessor, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1162/84). During the troubled years which preceded the unfortunate campaign against Santarem (580/1184), he was among the Niebla dignitaries who were arrested and imprisoned (cf. A. Huici Miranda, *Hist. pol. del imperio almohade*, i, 255-309). He spent his whole life as a *faḳīh* and teacher. He has left no written work, but his position allowed him to increase his fortune; he was in fact the head of his native town of Niebla.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources quoted in the article: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 243; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 302; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, Cairo 1350, iv, 286; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, photocopy Dār al-kutub, Cairo, iii/1, fol. 58; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 563; M. A. Makkī, *Wathā'iḳ djadīda ʿan ʿaṣr al-Murābiṭīn*, in *RIEI* Madrid, vii-viii, 116, 182-6; E. Térès, *Linajes árabes en al-Andalus*, in *al-Andalus*, xxii/1 (1957), 55, 111, xxiv/2, 337-76. (H. Monés)

IBN DJAʿFAR, Abū Djābir Muḥammad b Djaʿfar al-Azkawī, Ibāḍī scholar of ʿUmān, d. 281/894. He was the author of an important work of *fiḳh* entitled *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ* and usually known as *Djāmiʿ Ibn Djaʿfar* to distinguish it from the other Ibāḍī works with the same title. This work is still unpublished; there are several manuscripts of it in the Mzāb, the earliest of them dated 914/1508. Ibn Djaʿfar also took part in the political events of his time as supporter of the *imām* al-Ṣalt b. Mālik.

Bibliography: A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (1885), 18, no. 16; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *al-Lumʿa al-murḍiya*, printed in a collection entitled *Madjmūʿ sittat kutub*, Algiers n.d. [1326?], 210, 211; Z. Smogorzewski, in *RO*, vi (1929), 7; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *R.Afr.*, c/446-9 (1956), 381, no. 17. (T. Lewicki)

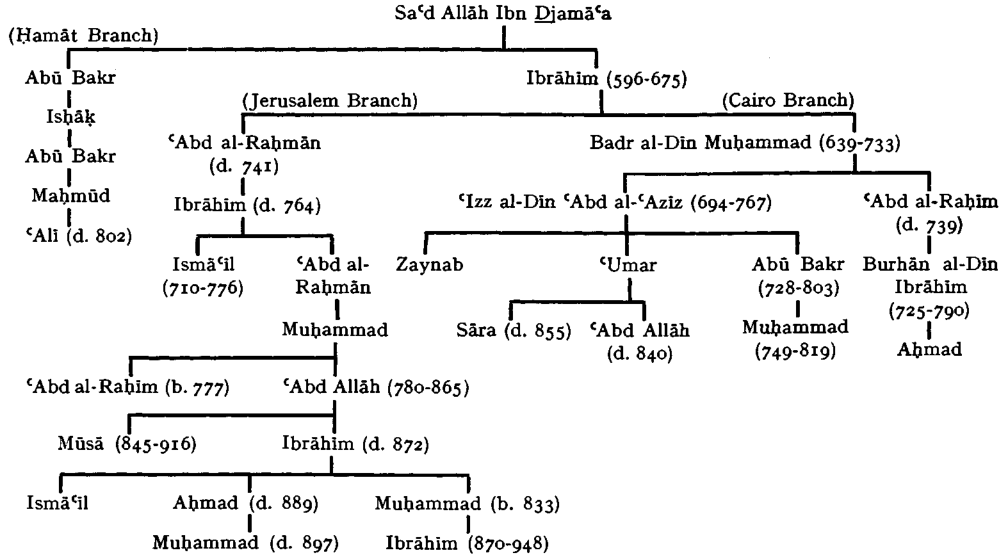
IBN DJAHĪR [see djahīr, Banū].

IBN AL-DJAHM [see ʿalī b. al-djahm; muḥammad b. al-djahm].

IBN DJAMĀʿA, name of a distinguished Shāfiʿī family of the Mamlūk period, in Syria and Egypt, which produced a number of able jurists, notably Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Djamāʿa (639-733/1241-1333), his son ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (694-767/1294-1366), and his grandson Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (725-790/1325-1388).

Originally from Ḥamāt, in northern Syria, the

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BANŪ DJAMĀʿA



Banū Djamāʿa traced their descent to the North Arab tribe of Kināna. The first member of the family to gain a modest reputation for Islamic learning was Burhān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd Allāh (596-675/1200-1277), who studied jurisprudence (*fiḳh*) and tradition (*ḥadīth*) in Damascus, lectured in his native Ḥamāt and elsewhere, and died in Jerusalem shortly after he had gone to settle there. The distinguished career of his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, who rose to become three times Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt, and twice of Damascus, made the fortunes of the family and established it among the leading religio-judicial "dynasties" of the Mamlūk empire. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad was the author of numerous works, of which the most important is a book on constitutional law: *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-Islām* (ed. and German trans by H. Kofler in *Islamica*, vi (1934), vii (1935), *Schlussheft* (1938)). The position of *Khaṭīb* of the Aḳṣā mosque in Jerusalem, which he held before becoming chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt in 690/1291, remained in the family until certainly the early 10th/16th century; it continued as the preserve of the descendants of Muḥammad's brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Djamāʿa, who formed the Jerusalem branch of the Banū Djamāʿa. As for the descendants of Muḥammad they came to form the Cairo branch of the family, which produced the distinguished ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The former, after holding the position of intendant of the treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*) of Egypt for eleven years, was appointed Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt in 738/1340, and remained in this position, with one brief interruption, for 25 years, retiring shortly before his death. His nephew Ibrāhīm, after him, was twice chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt, and died as chief *ḳāḍī* of Damascus. Between 690-784/1291-1383, the three Ibn Djamāʿa mentioned held the office of chief *ḳāḍī* of Egypt—the chief judicial position in the realm—for a total of 61 out of 92 years.

The fortunes of the Banū Djamāʿa declined after the death of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, the family nevertheless maintaining a traditional importance in Jerusalem. After the Ottoman conquest the name of the family appears to have been forgotten.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, index, s.v. Ğamāʿa; K. S. Salibi, *The Banū Jamāʿa; a dynasty of Shāfiʿite jurists in the Mamluk period*, in *Stud. Isl.*, ix (1958), 97-109 (with full references to sources). (K. S. SALIBI)

IBN DJĀMIʿ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ISMĀʿĪL, famous singer and musician of Mecca. Of noble origin, he belonged to the clan of Sahm, one of the principal branches of the tribe of Ḳuraysh. A handsome man, well-versed in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth* and the Ḳur'ān, he had won the admiration of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yūsuf until the latter discovered that he was a singer. He was the pupil of Yaḥyā al-Makkī and of his father-in-law Siyyāṭ, with whom he went to Baghdād. Some time afterwards, he was expelled from there by al-Mahdī in order to separate him from his sons Hārūn and al-Hādī. He returned to Mecca, where he squandered his fortune on his two passions: gaming and dogs. After al-Mahdī's death, he returned to Baghdād and became, during the reign of al-Rashīd, the leader of a rival group to that of his former friend, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. With his tender, sensitive, stirring and expressive character, possessing a voice vibrant with emotion, Ibn Djāmiʿ embodied the typical image of a romantic musician of the period. The flautist Barṣawma said: "Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī is like an orchard in which the sweet and the sour grow side by side . . . Ibn Djāmiʿ is like a pot of honey all of which is delicious".

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, vi, 69-92; *ʿIḳd*, iii, 179; Nuwayri, *Nihāyat al-arab*, v, 324-6; Caussin de Perceval, *Notices anecdotiques* . . ., Paris 1874 (= *JA*, 1873); H. G. Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 115-6. (A. SHILOAH)

IBN DJĀMIʿ (or DJUMAYʿ), ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM (ABU 'L-ʿASHĀ'IR) HIBAT ALLĀH (Nathaniel) B. ZAYN (al-Dīn) B. ḤASAN B. IFRĀ'ĪM B. YAʿḲŪB B. ISMĀʿĪL, Jewish physician who received the honorific titles of Shams al-ri'āsa and Ustādh zamānih. Born at Fusṭāṭ, he was the disciple of Ibn al-ʿAynzarbī (d. 548/1153), entered the service of Saladin, and died in 594/1198. One of his pupils was Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān al-Isrā'īlī (d. ca. 634/1236) and he became famous for having prevented a person in a cataleptic fit from being buried alive. He was the author of several works: (1) *al-Irshād li-maṣāliḥ*

al-anfus wa 'l-asdjād, a compendium of medicine which he dedicated to al-Baysānī, the vizier of Saladin, and which was completed by his son Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl; it consists of four parts and deals with simple and compound medicines, with dietetics, hygiene, therapeutics, etc. (for manuscripts see Brockelmann). (2) *al-Maknūn fī tanḳīḥ al-Ḳānūn*, a commentary on Avicenna. He wrote also a certain number of *risālas* of minor importance, on the description of Alexandria, on what to do when no physician is available, on the lemon and its sorbets, on rhubarb, etc. One of his treatises was used by Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*] and was translated into Latin by Alpagus.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 112; Brockelmann, I, 489, S I, 892; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 432; Wüstenfeld, *Arabische Aerzte*, 183; Leclerc, *Médecine arabe*, ii, 53-5; Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, 178-81; Meyerhof, *Notes*, in *Isis*, xii (1929), 123. (J. VERNET)

IBN DJANĀḤ, ABU 'L-WALĪD MARWĀN (Hebrew name Yōnāh, Latin name Marinus [?]), Jewish physician and philologist, born at Cordova circa 380/990, died at Saragossa about fifty years later. His very important works, written in Arabic, as a grammarian and lexicographer of the Hebrew language do not concern us here. Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (whose notice was reproduced by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), however, praises him as a logician and the author of an epitome of pharmacology, which is mentioned also by Ibn al-Bayṭār.

Bibliography: The study by S. Munk (who had correctly deduced the source of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), *Notice sur Abou'l-Walid Merwan Ibn Djanah*, in *JA*, 1850 (also as a separate volume, Paris 1851), remains basic; Ibn Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. L. Cheikho, 89 (Cairo ed., 135), tr. R. Blachère as *Livre des Catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 158 f.; Eng. tr. J. Finkel, in *JQR*, n.s. xviii (1927-8), 45 ff.; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*..., ii, 50 (tr. H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Algiers 1377/1958, 48 f.); M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit. Jud.*, § 81, 122-5; M. Zobel, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vi, cols. 84-91; S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*², vii, 24-6, 229. (G. VAJDA)

IBN AL-DJARRĀḤ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DĀWŪD B. AL-DJARRĀḤ, secretary of state of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and uncle of the famous vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]. He belonged to a family of Iranian origin which had formerly been converted to Christianity and then embraced Islam. His father Dāwūd had been secretary under al-Mutawakkil and he himself began his career in government service during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid and the vizierate of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān, whose son-in-law he became. He was director of taxes for the eastern provinces and accompanied the vizier to the Djibāl in 285/898; on his return from this expedition, he succeeded in getting his section (which until then had been attached to the office of the Palace directed by Aḥmad Ibn al-Furāt) formed into an independent department. This promotion enabled him, during the last years of the caliphate, to defend with varying degrees of success, against the firmly Shīʿī brothers the Banu 'l-Furāt, the Sunnī secretaries or governors whose accounts had been submitted to strict inspection.

He retained this office under al-Muktafī, then became secretary of the army, occupying this post when, in 294/906, the Pilgrim caravan was attacked by the Ḳarmaṭīs.

Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, who on the death of al-Muktafī had supported the succession of Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], was some months afterwards one of the promoters of the conspiracy to depose the young al-Muḳtadir, and for twenty-four hours he held the office of vizier to Ibn al-Muʿtazz (who was later known as the "caliph of one day"). After managing for a time to avoid the pursuit of his old enemy, Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*], who had become vizier when al-Muḳtadir returned to the throne, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd was finally captured and executed in 296/908.

An administrator whose competence was universally recognized, he was also a highly esteemed man of letters, the author of a poetic anthology, the *K. al-Waraḳa* (published in Cairo in 1953), as well as a *Book of viziers*, of which only a few fragments survive.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index (bibl., at p. 372, n. 3). (D. SOURDEL)

IBN DJARRĀḤ [see DJARRĀḤIDS].

IBN AL-DJAṢṢĀṢ, "the plasterer's son", the by-name of at least two persons who should be distinguished:

I.—ABŪ YAʿḲŪB ISḤĀḲ B. ʿAMMĀR AL-KŪFĪ, who handed down poetry and was very closely connected with the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 74-6 (= *Irshād*, ii, 232).

II.—ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH ḤUSAYN (or Ḥasan) B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-DJAṢṢĀṢ AL-DJAWHARĪ, a celebrated jeweller and financier of the ʿAbbāsid period. Originally a broker in attendance on the harem of the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], he seems to have owed the start of his fortune to a necklace; when he was ordered to reduce the bulk of the pearls in it, he merely replaced them by smaller ones, and the difference in value won him a considerable profit. When instructed by his master to negotiate the marriage of his daughter Ḳaṭr al-nadā to Muʿtaḍid's son, he himself brought the girl to Baghdād in 280/893—incidentally she became the caliph's wife—and settled in the ʿAbbāsid capital. Having taken Ḳaṭr al-nadā's jewels into his keeping, he retained them after her death, which occurred a few years later, and his fortune was correspondingly augmented. In 296/908 he was arrested and fined for giving refuge to Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], but the financial difficulties of al-Muḳtadir soon involved him in more serious straits; in 302/914-5, he was again arrested, his palace, situated in the Sūḳ Yaḥyā, and his other possessions, which had reached a fabulous total value (several million *dīnārs*), were confiscated, but he managed to safeguard part of his fortune and lived the rest of his life in comfort. He died in 315/927-8.

However, it was not his vast wealth and the unusual luxury in which he lived that have primarily brought this man to the notice of posterity; his fame in fact rests mainly on a series of anecdotes of which he is the hero and which present him as a feeble-witted fellow given to absurd and ridiculous observations; such characteristics certainly do not tally with his real personality and, insofar as these repartees are authentic, they were probably dictated by the desire of Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ, a particularly wily individual, to protect his fortune by passing himself off as an inoffensive creature. Certain anecdotes connected with his name are also attributed to other personages, but the essential point is to note this curious occurrence of his name among a class of jesters, in which financiers would hardly seem to belong.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 2133 ff.; Miskawayh, in Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipse*, i, 8; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, ed. Amedroz, 23; ʿArīb, *Tab. cont.*, 28-9, 46; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī ...*, trans. M. Canard, 64 and index; Ḥuṣrī, *Djamʿ*, 249 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 117-9, 283; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 18-32; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Ḥamḳā*, 30-41; idem, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 211-4; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; F. Rosenthal, *Humor*, 13; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 409-10. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FARASH B. AL-DJAWZĪ, jurisconsult, traditionist, historian and preacher, was one of the most famous Ḥanbalīs of Baghdād, where he was born in 510/1126 and died in 597/1200 after a life of great intellectual, religious and political activity. He belonged to a fairly wealthy family and received a very thorough education.

Among his chief teachers (cf. *Dhayl*, i, 401) were some of the most famous *ʿulamāʾ* of his time: Ibn al-Zāghūnī (d. 527/1133), Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 532/1137-8), Abū Manṣūr al-Djawālīkī (d. 539/1144-5), who introduced him to *adab*, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-Nāṣir (d. 550/1155), Abū Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī (d. 556/1161) and Abū Yaʿlā the younger (d. 558/1163; grandson of the *ḳāḍī*, Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ).

In addition to his direct teachers, Ibn al-Djawzī was much influenced by three men whom he did not know personally but whose work he admired and often made use of: the Shāfiʿī Ashʿarī Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038-9), the author of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, the historian and traditionist al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070-1), a Ḥanbalī who had changed to Shāfiʿism, and the Ḥanbalī Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 513/1119-20), whom he followed in the majority of his works while at the same time criticizing or refuting his ideas (*Dhayl*, i, 414). Ibn al-Djawzī had only a slight knowledge of *kalām*, of which he was a severe critic.

Ibn al-Djawzī began his career in the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtafī (530-55/1136-60), mainly thanks to the patronage of the Ḥanbalī vizier Ibn Hubayra, whom the caliph al-Mustandjid (555-66/1160-70) retained in office until his death in 560/1165.

He began his teaching career as assistant to his teacher Abū Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī, who taught *fiḳh* in his *madrasa* at Bāb al-Azadj and, in the year of his death, in a *madrasa* built for him at the Maʾmūniyya. On Nahrawānī's death, in 556/1161, soon after the accession of al-Mustandjid, Ibn al-Djawzī succeeded him as master of these two colleges (*Dhayl*, i, 404).

It was during the reign of al-Muḳtafī, however, with the encouragement of Ibn Hubayra, whose policy for the restoration of the caliphate and for a Sunnī revival he supported, that Ibn al-Djawzī began his career as a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), holding each Friday a session of *waʿẓ* in Ibn Hubayra's own house (*Dhayl*, i, 402). The caliph al-Mustandjid, during whose reign there occurred Nūr al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] three interventions against the Fāṭimids of Egypt, in 559, 562 and 564, authorized Ibn al-Djawzī to preach sermons in the Palace mosque—sermons in which the famous preacher (*Dhayl*, i, 403) vigorously defended the *Sunna* and criticized, not only all those whom he considered to be schismatics, but also the *fuḳahāʾ* who were too blindly attached to their own *madhhabs*.

It was during the reign of al-Mustaḍīʾ (566-74/1171-9), who moreover did a great deal for the development of Ḥanbalism, that Ibn al-Djawzī, as much through his activity in the university as through his preaching, became one of the most influential persons in Baghdād. At the beginning of 567/1171-2, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193) re-established the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* in Cairo, Ibn al-Djawzī celebrated this event by a work which he presented to the caliph: the *Kitāb al-Naṣr ʿalā Miṣr* (*Dhayl*, i, 404). He wrote also, at a date which is not known, another work to the glory of this caliph: *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍīʾ fī dawlat al-Mustaḍīʾ* (*Dhayl*, i, 420).

On 10 Muḥarram 568/1 September 1172—the day of *al-ʿashūrāʾ*—he preached a popular sermon of exhortation to a very large crowd; in the same year he was authorized by the caliph to preach in his presence a series of sermons at the Badr gate (*Dhayl*, i, 404-5). The year 569 was also one in which he preached many sermons, and in 570 both his teaching and his sermons continued to be received enthusiastically; he taught in two new *madrasas* and the caliph had a dais (*dakka*) constructed for him in the Palace mosque. In 571, the caliph conferred on him virtually inquisitorial powers: Ibn al-Djawzī then encouraged his hearers to denounce to him all those who, by their words or their attitude, impugned the reputation of the Companions—a measure aimed directly at the Shīʿism which still flourished in Baghdād (*Dhayl*, i, 407). In 572, during Ramaḍān, he preached in addition sermons in the mosque of al-Manṣūr and, in the caliph's presence, in the house of Ẓahīr al-Dīn, the *ṣāḥib al-makhzin* (*Dhayl*, i, 407-8). Again in 573 he preached many sermons.

The year 574/1178-9 marked the zenith of Ibn al-Djawzī's career at Baghdād. He was then directing five *madrasas* and had already written more than one hundred and fifty works; he enjoyed excellent relations with al-Mustaḍīʾ, and with the vizier, the *ṣāḥib al-makhzin* and the chief *ʿulamāʾ*. Under his influence, Ḥanbalism enjoyed great popular prestige in Baghdād; in 574 the caliph had an inscription engraved on the tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal, on whom he bestowed the title of *imām* (*Bidāya*, xii, 300), and erected a *dakka* for the Ḥanbalī jurisconsult Ibn al-Munā in the mosque of al-Manṣūr (*Dhayl*, i, 409). But the supporters of the other *madhāhib* complained, seeing this act as the result of Ibn al-Djawzī's influence over the caliph and the latter's growing sympathy with Ḥanbalism. In addition troubles broke out between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs (*Bidāya*, xiii, 300-1).

During the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225), who gave a new turn to the policy of the caliphate but who had many Ḥanbalīs in his entourage or in his service, Ibn al-Djawzī, though by now old and less active, did not disappear from the political scene. He had, in particular, the support of the Ḥanbalī vizier Abu 'l Muẓaffar b. Yūnus (d. 593/1197), who also had been a pupil of Abū Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī. He seems to have taken an active part in the condemnation of the *shaykh* Rukn al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166), who was accused of harbouring in his *madrasa* suspect books of philosophy and of *zandaḳa*, in particular the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ (*Dhayl*, i, 425-6). The Djīliyya *madrasa* was taken away from Rukn al-Dīn and given to Ibn al-Djawizī.

The dismissal and arrest of the vizier Ibn Yūnus and the appointment to the vizierate of the Shīʿī Ibn al-Ḳaṣṣāb in 590/1194 marked the beginning of disgrace for Ibn al-Djawzī, who had written, it is not known precisely when, a refutation of al-Nāṣir's policy. In the same year, 590, Ibn al-Djawzī was arrested, without good reason it is said, put under the guard of a Shīʿī and sent to live under house arrest at Wāsiṭ. He remained in exile for five years

until he was set free in 595/1198-9 on the intervention of the caliph's mother, a very devout woman whose sympathy had been gained by one of the preacher's sons, the *shaykh* Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Yūsuf, who was to make his career in the service of the caliphate. But soon after his triumphant return to Baghdād Ibn al-Djawzī died, in 597/1200.

Ibn al-Djawzī was one of the most prolific writers of Arabic literature. Ibn Radjab, in his *Dhayl* (i, 415-20), lists more than 200 works (cf. Brockelmann, I, 659-66 and S I, 914-20). Ibn Taymiyya, moreover, when he was still in Cairo, had counted and been acquainted with more than 1,000 works, varying greatly in length, and later learned of still more. All the great Islamic disciplines are represented in this prodigious output, which includes some major works.

His *Muntaẓam*, part of which has survived (ed. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād 1357-9/1938-40, 6 vols.), is an exceptionally rich source for the history of the caliphate from 257/871 to 574/1179. His *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* (Ḥaydarābād 1355-6/1936-7), which makes great use of the work of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, is a well-documented history of Ṣūfism which aims to demonstrate that the true Ṣūfīs in Islam were primarily in fact those who set themselves to follow faithfully the teaching of the great Companions.

But his best historical work, inseparable from his sermons, is found, as Ibn Taymiyya emphasized, in his laudatory biographies (*manāḳib*); even the choice of subject is in itself instructive: the first four caliphs and the Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (with some Ḥanbalī *ṭabaḳāt*); also several *ʿubbād* or *zuhhād* such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, Maʿrūf al-Karkhī and Rabīʿa al-ʿAdawiyya.

His zeal as a cataloguer of heresies and as a polemicist, which appears throughout his work and prompted him to write refutations of al-Ḥallādj and of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī, appears with particular intensity in one of the major works of Ḥanbalī polemic, *Talbīs Iblīs* (Cairo 1369/1950; Eng. tr. by D. S. Margoliouth, *The Devil's delusion*, in *IC*, ix (1935)-xii (1938)), in which he attacks not only the various sects more or less outside Sunnism (*khawāridj, rawāfiḍ, muʿtazila, falāsifa, bāṭiniyya*, etc.), but also, within Sunnism, all those whom he considered responsible for having introduced into the dogma or the law of Islam innovations which were to be condemned (*bidʿa*): *fuḳahāʾ*, traditionists, statesmen and, above all, *ṣūfiyya*, among whom men such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Ḳushayrī and al-Ghazālī, with many others, are vigorously attacked. Ibn al-Djawzī left, together with an excellent manual of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, several collections of sermons.

Ibn al-Djawzī had very many disciples and his influence on the Ḥanbalism of the Ayyūbid period was considerable. The traditionist ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (d. 600/1203-4) and the jurisconsult Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) went to Baghdād to study under him or his disciples. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) also had a profound knowledge of his works.

Bibliography: Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Cairo 1372/1953, i, 399-434; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, xii, 28-30; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 329-30; Brockelmann, I, 656-66 and S I, 914-20; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAlūdjī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Djawzī*, Baghdād 1385/1965. (H. Laoust)

IBN AL-DJAWZĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Ḳizoghlu, known as **SIBṬ**, famous preacher and historian (581/1185 or 582/1186-654/1256). Son of a Turkish freedman of the vizier Ibn Hubayra and of a daughter of the famous preacher and voluminous writer, Ibn al-Djawzī of Baghdād, from whom he derived the name by which he is known, the young Yūsuf was in fact brought up by this grandfather; after the latter's death (597/1201), he settled at Damascus, where he joined the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam, then his successors al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and al-Ashraf. Although he abandoned the Ḥanbalism of his grandfather for Ḥanafism, the juridical school to which the Turks in general belonged, and in particular (an exceptional thing for Ayyūbids) al-Muʿaẓẓam and al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, he nevertheless inherited Ibn al-Djawzī's eloquence as a preacher and it was essentially for this that he was known during his life-time, moving crowds and princes to tears, urging them to take part in the Holy War, protesting against the giving up of Jerusalem to the Franks, etc. However, his fame now rests primarily on his historical works.

Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī is the author of an immense Universal History, the *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, in which, while he borrowed from his grandfather's *Muntaẓam* the practice of adding for each year to the chronicle of events a section of obituary notices, he far surpassed it in the fullness of his documentation and the scope of the work. It is true that in this respect, and because of the simple information given in his account, he falls far short of his near contemporary Ibn al-Athīr, but, because he preserves *in extenso* and without criticism the versions of sources which often no longer survive, he is in these cases of inestimable value. Although (but this point might well be established more conclusively) his work is of little interest for the period covered by al-Ṭabarī, and for the 6th/12th century, where his sources (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, Ibn al-Djawzī, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and some other minor writers) are preserved, on the other hand it is of the greatest value not only for his own period but also for the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, for which he depended first on the almost completely lost history of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, then, particularly for the years 448-79/1056-86, on the detailed continuation of this work by al-Ṣābiʾ's son, Ghars al-Niʿma Muḥammad, which Sibṭ reproduces almost verbatim. Unfortunately the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* survives only in two forms which each contain slight alterations: it appears that the author's drafts cannot have been re-written in a definitive fair copy before his death, with the result that one whole group of manuscripts, which reproduce the full text of the passages which they preserve, contain lacunae, often actually in the middle of an account, and some confusions which make them difficult to use on their own. A complete and systematic edition, preserved in the other, more numerous, group of manuscripts, was made by the same Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī who, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, wrote a continuation of it; in this edition, however, al-Yūnīnī has on the one hand inserted a number of additions (easily recognizable) and on the other hand cut out some lengthy passages (of little importance except when they contained the names of sources). It is much to be regretted that so far there exist only editions limited to the years 495-658 (the date of the end of the work) and these very mediocre: that of Jewett (Chicago 1907), which covers this period, is the facsimile of a manuscript of the group with lacunae (see Cl. Cahen, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 911),

and it is still on this one alone that the printed edition of Ḥaydarābād is based (1952); in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades* a manuscript of the al-Yūnīnī group was used, but the part published (and translated) covered only about forty years, from the First Crusade onwards. The part based on Ghars al-Niʿma is still unpublished and little known, although an edition of it is planned by G. Makdisi and Cl. Cahen.

The *Mirʾāt al-zamān* is the basic source for all the wealth of the later historiography of Damascus as well as of various other historical works. It was the source in particular already of the Continuation of the Two Gardens by the contemporary of Sibṭ, Abū Shāma. Much used by al-Dhahabī, it was almost the sole source of Ibn Kathīr and of very large sections of the *Nudjūm* of Ibn Taghrībirdī. The *Mirʾāt* and the *Mufarridj* of Ibn Wāṣil alone between them provide nine-tenths of the information known to later writers on the Ayyūbids.

There are attributed to Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī a "Mirror for princes" written for al-Muʿaẓẓam and several other works including a treatise on ʿAlī, the ʿAlids and the ʿAlid *imāms* which, if it is really by him, raises a problem: *a priori* it would be considered as a polemical treatise against Shīʿism if al-Dhahabī, who knew the author, had not stated that he was suspected of Shīʿī tendencies; the existing manuscripts would repay study (see Brockelmann, S I, 589).

Bibliography: Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, Ḥaydarābād ed., i, 29-33; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo ed. 1947, 195; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS 1703, 121r.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām, sub anno* 654. MSS of the *Mirʾāt*: G. Gabrieli, in *Rendiconti Lincei*, 5, xxv (1906); O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, 1932, 66-9; Cl. Cahen, *Chroniques Arabes . . . d'Istanbul*, in *REI*, 1936, 339; also Cairo, Taymūriyya, Taʾrīkh.

Studies: Brockelmann, I, 347 and S I, 589; Cl. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 1940, 64-6; idem, *The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, 60-1; H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kamil*, 9; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, index; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim historiography*, index. (CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-DJAZARĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABU 'L-KHAYR MUḤ. B. MUḤ. B. MUḤ. B. MUḤ. B. ʿALĪ B. YŪSUF AL-DJAZARĪ, *faḳīh*, "reader" and *ḳāḍī*, born in Damascus on 25 Ramaḍān 751/26 November 1350. After completing the traditional studies in his native town, with particular attention to *ḥadīth* and Ḳurʾānic "readings", he made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 768/1367 and then went to Cairo, where he continued the study of the *ḳirāʾāt*. Returning to Damascus, he devoted himself to *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, attending the classes of the pupils of al-Dimyāṭī, al-Abarḳūhī and al-Asnawī. He then returned to Cairo to study rhetoric and the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and, in Alexandria, came in touch with the pupils of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām. He received the *idjāza* as *muftī* from Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*] in 774/1373, from Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn in 778/1376 and finally from the *shaykh al-Islām* al-Bulḳīnī [*q.v.*] in 785/1383. On his return to Damascus he devoted himself to the teaching of the *ḳirāʾāt*, and then was appointed *ḳāḍī* in 793/1391. However, when his property in Egypt was confiscated in 798/1396, he went to Bursa, where the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I had his court. After the battle of Ankara (805/1402) and Bāyazīd's capture, Tīmūr Lang sent him with other prisoners to Samarḳand, where he continued his teaching. Tīmūr died in Shaʿbān 807/February 1405; Ibn al-Djazarī then travelled to Khurāsān, thence to Herāt, Yazd, Iṣfahān and finally to Shīrāz; after teaching there for some time he was, against his wishes, appointed *ḳāḍī* of the town by Pīr Muḥammad. He next went to Baṣra and later, in 823/1420, to Mecca and Medina where he lived for some years before returning to Shīrāz, where he died on 9 Rabīʿ I 833/6 December 1429.

Ibn al-Djazarī left a great number of works, mostly relating to the "readings", *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*; some have been published, others are still in manuscript:— *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ed. Bergsträsser and Pretzl, Istanbul 1933-5, 3 vols.—*Ṭayyibāt al-nashr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, an *urdjūza* of 1,000 verses on the "ten readers" of the Ḳurʾān, completed in Shaʿbān 799/May 1396; ed. Cairo 1282, 2307.—*al-Durra al-muḍiyya fī ḳirāʾāt al-aʾimma al-thalātha al-marḍiyya*, a poem of 241 verses, completed in 823/1420; ed. Cairo 1285, 1308.—*Mundjid al-muḳriʾīn wa-murshid al-ṭālibīn*, on the difficulties of reading the Ḳurʾān; ed. Cairo 1350.—*al-Muḳaddima al-Djazariyya*, an *urdjūza* of 107 verses on the correct pronunciation of the Ḳurʾān; ed. Cairo 1282, 1307. The author's son, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, wrote a commentary on it under the title *al-Ḥawāshī al-mufahhima fī sharḥ al-Muḳaddima*, which was completed in 806/1403; ed. Delhi 1288, Cairo 1309.—*al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn*, a collection of *ḥadīth* used for prayer; ed. Cairo 1279, 1315, Algiers 1328; Urdu trans., Delhi 1871.—*al-Zahr al-fāʾiḥ fī dhikr man tanazzaha ʿan al-dhunūb wa 'l-ḳabāʾiḥ*, Cairo 1305, 1310.—*al-Muṣʿid al-aḥmad fī khatm Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*, Cairo 1347/1929.

Among the works of Ibn al-Djazarī which have survived but not yet been published (for the manuscripts see Brockelmann), we may mention: a *Kitāb al-nashr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*; a commentary on the *Taysīr* of al-Dānī [*q.v.*], *Taḥbīr al-Taysīr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt*; a treatise on pronunciation, *al-Tamhīd fī ʿilm al-tadjwīd*, written by the author in his youth (769/1367); a *mukhtaṣar* of the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ* (see above); a treatise on the technology of *ḥadīth*, *Muḳaddimat ʿilm al-ḥadīth*; a monograph on Ḳurʾān, XI, 46, *Kifāyat al-almaʿī fī āyāt "yā arḍu'blaʿī"*; an *urdjūza* on the transmission of Ḳurʾānic pronunciation, *al-Hidāya ilā maʿālim al-riwāya*; a treatise on ethics, *Mukhtaṣar al-naṣīḥa bi 'l-adilla al-ṣaḥīḥa*; a short treatise on the art of writing, *al-Iṣāba fī lawāzim al-kitāba*; a short *urdjūza* on astronomy; several works on the Prophet: *al-Risāla al-bayāniyya fī ḥaḳḳ abaway al-Nabī*, on the subject of his parents' conversion; *al-Mawlid al-kabīr*, a biography of Muḥammad; *Dhāt al-shifāʾ fī sīrat al-Nabī wa 'l-khulafāʾ*, an *urdjūza* on the Prophet, the orthodox caliphs and the history of Islam up to the reign of Bāyazīd I.

Bibliography: *Ghayāt al-nihāya*, ii, 247 ff. contains some useful information on the author as recorded by one of his students; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, in the margin of Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, i, 39; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, xxiv, 5; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, viii, 256 ff.; Ibn Khāwand-Shāh, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Lucknow 1874, vi, 1234; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1273/1857, iii, 90; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1348/1930, ii, 251; *Maʿārif* (Urdu monthly), Aʿẓamgaṙh, 81/v (Nov. 1957), 325-44, 81/vi (Dec. 1957), 441-52, 82/i (Jan. 1958), 62-76; Dhahabī, *Dhayl Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, Damascus 1347/1949, 377; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān Ḳannawdjī, *Itḥāf al-nubalāʾ al-muttaḳīn*, Cawnpore 1288/1871, 392; Brockelmann, II, 201-3, S II, 274-8; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 405-6. (M. BEN CHENEB*)

IBN DJAZLA, Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā, Arab physician of Baghdād, known in the West under the names of Ben Gesla, Byngezla, Buhahylyha, etc. Of Christian origin, he embraced Islam under the influence of his teacher, the Muʿtazilī Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Walīd, on 11 Djumādā II 466/11 February 1074. He was secretary to the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād and studied medicine with Ṣāʿid b. Hibat Allāh, court physician to al-Muḳtadī. He lived in the al-Karkh quarter, where he attended his neighbours and his friends without payment and even obtained the necessary medicines for them. He died in Shaʿbān 493/June 1100.

Ibn Djazla is the author of: (1) *Taḳwīm al-abdān fī tadbīr al-insān* (printed in Damascus in 1333/1914), which was translated into Latin by the Sicilian Jewish physician, Faradj b. Sālim (Magister Farachi) in 1280, under the title of *Tacuini aegritudinum* (printed at Strasbourg in 1532); this work consists of 44 tables describing 352 maladies and indicating the appropriate diets for them. It is possible that the author was inspired by the *Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* of Ibn Buṭlān; the work was later imitated by Ibn Biklārish and by the anonymous author of Salerno of the middle of the 12th century, and may have had an influence on the arrangement of the tables in the *Taḳwīm al-buldān* of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. (2) *Minhādj al-bayān fīmā yastaʿmiluh al-insān*, dedicated to the caliph al-Muḳtadī; this work, compiled after the *Taḳwīm*, consists of an alphabetical list of plants and drugs, simple or compound; there exists in manuscript a modern French translation of it by P. de Koning (see Dietrich, *Medicinalia*, p. 102, no. 41). (3) *Faḍāʾil al-ṭibb*. (4) *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Naṣārā*, a work in praise of Islam and criticizing Christianity and, in passing, also Judaism; it is apparent from the author's attitude that the basic reason for his conversion to Islam was his identification of Muḥammad with the prophet announced in the books of the Pentateuch and the Gospels. (5) *al-Ishāra fī talkhīṣ al-ʿibāra*. (6) *Mukhtār Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, a summary of the work of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 255; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 365; Ibn Khallikān, no. 822; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 203; Brockelmann, I, 485, S I, 888; Leclerc, *Hist. de la méd. arabe*, i, 493; Steinschneider, nos. 40 and 41; J. von Sontheimer, *Nachricht von einer arabisch-medicinischen Handschrift vermutlich des Ibn Dschezla*, in *Henschel's Janus*, ii (1847), 246-72 (reprinted 1931); E. Mittwoch, *P. de Konings Bearbeitung der Heilmittellehre von Ibn Ǧazla*, in *Quellen und St. zur Gesch. d. Nat. und Med.*, iii/4 (1933), 85-91. (J. Vernet)

IBN AL-DJAZZĀR, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālid, famous physician of Ḳayrawān, died at a great age in about 395/1004-5. His father was a physician, as was also his paternal uncle Abū Bakr. He made no journey outside Ifrīḳiya. A pupil of the celebrated Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*], he was a philanthropist and led an austere life, caring not only for the great and rich but also for the poor, for whom indeed he composed a *Kitāb Ṭibb al-fuḳarāʾ* ("Medicine for the poor"), which is unhappily lost with all the rest of his medical works (about 20 titles) except for a *Risāla fī ibdāl al-adwiya* (on succedanea) and, especially, his famous *Zād al-musāfir* ("Viaticum"). The latter was introduced into Spain by his pupil ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Barīḳ, became known in Italy, and was translated into Greek during the author's lifetime. Later it was translated also into Latin and Hebrew. Several philosophical works of his are also cited. He composed three historical works: *Kitāb Maghāzī Ifrīḳiya* (on the Arab conquest), *K. Akhbār al-dawla* (on the Fāṭimid dynasty), and *K. al-Taʿrīf bi-ṣaḥīḥ al-taʾrīkh* (collection of biographies, consulted by Yāḳūt); probably also a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳuḍāt* ("classes" of *ḳāḍīs*); and a geographical work: *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān*. These books have not survived, but were used by the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, al-Bakrī, Ibn Ḥayyān, Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, and al-Ṣafadī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 238/274, S I, 424; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 117; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Istanbul ed., ii, 318; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Algiers 1958, 8-12; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 136; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Shayyal, Cairo 1948, 132; Abū Bakr al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, Paris MS., fol. 97 r., 101 v.; Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, 119; Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, Cairo 1955, 88-91 and n. at p. 88 (with references); A. Ben Milad, *L'école médicale de Kairouan*, Paris 1933; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, i-ii, Paris 1962, index.

(H. R. Idris)

IBN AL-DJILLĪḲĪ [see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Marwān].

IBN DJINNĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUthmān, was born in Mosul before 300/913 (Pröbster, p. x, *ca.* 320), the son of a Greek slave belonging to Sulaymān b. Fahd b. Aḥmad al-Azdī. His teacher was the Baṣran Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, with whom he was associated for forty years till the latter's death, partly at the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Aleppo and partly at the court of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in Fārs; according to Yāḳūt, he held the post of *Kātib al-inshāʾ* at the court of the latter and of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. In both places he was on friendly terms with al-Mutanabbī, with whom he discussed grammatical questions and on whose *Dīwān* he wrote two commentaries; as they were merely grammatical, it was criticized by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. He also sought other teachers (Rescher, 5 f.). He succeeded al-Fārisī in Baghdād and died in 392/1002. He devoted himself especially to grammar and is celebrated as the most learned authority on *taṣrīf*; he occupied a position midway between the Kūfa and the Baṣra schools. He founded the science of etymology (*al-ishtiḳāḳ al-akbar*), see I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 546. His most important works are *K. Sirr al-ṣināʿa wa-asrār al-balāgha* (on Arabic vowels and consonants) and *K. al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-ʿarabiyya*: in Mosul he studied the language of the Bedouins, which he (like al-Fārisī) found fresh, but vitiated by offences against the classical rules (quotation from *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, in al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*³, ii, 494). Besides other philological works he also wrote poems.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 131, S I, 191; *Fihrist*, 87; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 313 f.; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 442 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 140 f.; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, 248-52; E. Pröbster, *Ibn Ginnī's Kitāb al-Muġtaṣab* (Leipziger Semitische Studien, i/3, 1904); O. Rescher, *Studien über Ibn Ginnī*, in *ZA*, xxiii (1909), 1-54; Ibn Khallikān, no. 423; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 15-32 (his works at 29-32); Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-ʿulamāʾ*, Baghdād 1909, 228-30; J. Fück, *Arabiya* (*Abh. Sächs. Ak. W.*, xlv), 89, 99, 116; H. Loucel, in *Arabica*, x/3 (1963), 262-81; B. Bustānī, in F. Bustānī, *DM*, ii, 415-20 (with a list of his works which have been printed and a bibliography).

(J. Pedersen)

IBN DJUBAYR, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. DJUBAYR AL-KINĀNĪ, Andalusian traveller and writer, born at Valencia 540/1145, into a family which had settled in Spain in 123/740. He studied at Játiva, where his father was a civil servant, and received the traditional instruction of young men of his class, that is to say he learnt the rudiments of the religious sciences and of belles-lettres at the same time, but not without learning how to exercise his poetic skill. His talents won for him the post of secretary to the governor of Granada, Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, but having been induced to drink wine on a certain occasion, he repented bitterly, and to expiate this sin decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. His fame rests on his account of this fairly eventful journey, the *Riḥla*.

Leaving Granada on 19 Shawwāl 578/3 February 1183 in the company of his friend Aḥmad b. Ḥassān, he proceeded to Ceuta via Tarifa and there embarked for Alexandria on a Genoese ship, which took a month to reach its destination by way of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete. At Alexandria Ibn Djubayr had to endure vexations at the hands of the Egyptian customs of which he gives a very lively picture. To reach Mecca he then had to pass through Cairo, Ḳūṣ, and ʿAydhāb, and then cross the Red Sea to Djudda. After staying for nine months in the holy city and performing the pilgrimage, he visited Medina and continued his journey across the desert as far as Kūfa; from there he went to Baghdād and Mosul, crossed the Djazīra to Aleppo, came down to Damascus, and went thence to Acre to wait for a ship to take him back to his native land. He embarked there, again in a Genoese vessel, on 10 Radjab 580/18 October 1184, bound for Sicily; he narrowly escaped with his life in a dramatic shipwreck in the straits of Messina. Re-embarking at Trapani, he arrived at Cartagena on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 580/15 March 1185 and returned to Granada on 22 Muḥarram 581/25 April 1185.

Four years later he undertook a second voyage to the east, which lasted from 585/1189 to 587/1191, but he has left no account of this journey. In 614/1217 he set off once more and stopped at Alexandria in order to teach there; it is there that he died on 27 Shaʿbān 614/29 November 1217.

Ibn Djubayr's *Riḥla* is the first and one of the best of the works of this kind; it has served as model to many other pilgrims, and many later authors have borrowed from it shamelessly, beginning with Ibn Djuzayy [*q.v.*], the editor of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*], who had no scruples in copying from it, especially some descriptions of towns; passages from it are also found in al-Sharīshī, al-ʿAbdarī, al-Maḳrīzī, and others. Ibn Djubayr records his journey day by day, describes the countries which he passes through and furnishes an abundance of information on the people among whom he stayed; all this makes his journey a precious source for the history of the Crusades, the state of navigation in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, the political and social condition of the countries through which he passed, the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc. His style, though in certain narrative passages lively and vivid in a way which recalls the manner of modern reporters, is over-florid and resorts to the devices of rhymed prose when giving generalities on a country, describing towns, and also in expressing the sentiments which storms inspire in this poet; on the other hand, he is skilful at seizing the characteristic and picturesque traits of an animated crowd, and on these occasions his colourful and simple style gives an entirely modern air to his narrative. The verses which have been preserved are of traditional type and of generally sententious character, this dedicated traveller sighing with homesickness for his native land and advising his contemporaries never to go abroad.

The *Riḥla* became known in Europe in the middle of the 19th century. A fragment was published and translated in *Les Historiens orientaux des Croisades*, iii, and M. Amari also edited and translated an extract under the title of *Voyage en Sicile sous le règne de Guillaume le Bon*, in *JA*, 1846. The whole text was not published till 1852, at Leiden, by the young W. Wright, then taken up again and emended by M. J. de Goeje, *GMS*, v, Leiden-London 1907; this last edition was the basis for a poor Egyptian edition, Cairo 1326/1908, but Ḥ. Naṣṣār produced a much better one at Cairo in 1374/1955. Three translations have been published: in Italian by C. Schiaparelli, *Viaggio in Ispagna, Sicilia, etc.*, Rome 1906; in English by R. J. C. Broadhurst, *The travels of Ibn Jubayr*, London 1952; in French by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 3 vols., Paris 1949-56.

Bibliography: See the introductions by Wright and the translators; Pons Boigues, 267 ff.; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ii; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; H. S. Nyberg, *En Mekkapilgrim på Saladins tid*, in *Kungl. Vetenskapsocietetens Årsbok 1945*, Uppsala 1945, 35-62; H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta. Travels in Asia and Africa*[4], London 1957, index; H. Lammens, in *Machriq*, x (1907); R. Blachère and H. Darmaun, *Géographes arabes*[2], Paris 1957, 318-48; Brockelmann, I, 478, S I, 879; A. Gateau, *Quelques observations sur l'intérêt du voyage d'Ibn Jubayr*, in *Hespéris*, xxxvi/3-4 (1949), 289-312; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, in *Izbrannïe sočineniya*, iv, Moscow and Leningrad 1957, 304-7 and index (French tr. by M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xviii-xix (1960-1), 64-9).

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN DJUDʿĀN [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. DJUDʿĀN].

IBN DJULDJUL, ABŪ DĀWŪD SULAYMĀN B. ḤASSĀN AL-ANDALUSĪ, Arab physician, perhaps of Spanish extraction, born in Cordova 332/944, died after 384/994. He began the study of grammar and tradition in Cordova in 343/954, but already at the age of 15 turned to medicine, in which field ten years later he was an acknowledged authority. He was the personal physician of al-Muʾayyad bi'llāh Hishām (336-99/977-1009). It was during this period that he wrote most of his works, such as the *Tafsīr anwāʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyusḳūrīdūs*, composed in 372/982 (of which only extracts survive, in Ms Madrid 233) and the *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ*, composed in 377/987 (ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, *Les générations des médecins et des sages*, Cairo 1955). Further works are: *Maḳāla fī dhikr al-adwiya allatī lam yadhkurhā Diyusḳūrīdūs* (perhaps extant in the manuscript of mixed contents Bodl. 573); *Maḳāla fī adwiyat al-tiryāḳ* (in Bodl. 573); *Risālat al-tabyīn fī mā ghalaṭ fīhi baʿḍ al-mutaṭabbibīn* (lost). Among these works the History of Physicians (*Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*) can claim especial interest: firstly, it is, after the *Taʾrīkh al-aṭibbāʾ* of Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn (ed. F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 55-80), probably the oldest collection of biographies of physicians in Arabic, and secondly it is the earliest example of the use of Arabic translations from Latin (Orosius, Chronicle of Hieronymus, *Etymologiae* of Isidorus of Seville).

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned above): Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 46-8; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed Lippert, 190; Ṣāʿid al-

Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 80-1; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabas*, ed. Ṭandjī, Cairo 1372, 208; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmila ʿalā Kitāb al-ṣila*, Madrid 1915, 297 (most important source); Brockelmann, I², 272, S I, 422; G. C. Anawati, in *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 342-5. (A. Dietrich)

IBN DJUMAYYIL [see ibn diḥya].

IBN DJUZAYY, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kalbī, Arab writer, born in 721/1321 at Granada of a literary family. His father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, was known particularly as a poet and as a *faḳīh*; born in 693/1294, he was one of the teachers of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb and died at the battle of Rio Salado in 741/1340 (cf. al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1367-9, 10 vols., viii, 28-31; Brockelmann, II, 342, S II, 377; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376-81/1957-61, 15 vols., ix, 11). His three sons, Aḥmad, Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh, carried on the family's literary and juristic traditions (cf. Maḳḳarī, *ibid.*, 31 f.; Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, new ed. by M. ʿA. ʿInān, i, Cairo 1375/1955, 163-8, 411). Of the three, it was Muḥammad (Abū ʿAbd Allāh) whose fame chiefly survived. Having served as *kātib* during the reign of the Naṣrid Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf (733-55/1333-54), he then went to Fez, where the Marīnid Abū ʿInān (750-9/1349-58) commanded him to take down in writing the text of the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*]. Besides his redaction of this work, Abū ʿAbd Allāh wrote poems and various other works, particularly on history, law and philology. He died *circa* 756-8/1355-7.

Bibliography: Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, Cairo 1319/1901, 2 vols., ii, 186-95; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1348-50, 4 vols., iv, 165-6; Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, viii, 40 f.; G. de Slane, in *JA*, 4th series, i (1843), 244-6; Brockelmann, S II, 366; Kaḥḥāla, *op. cit.*, xi, 188; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, in *Izbrannïe sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 420-3, 429, 430, Arabic tr. (chap. i-xvi so far published) by Ṣ. D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 424-7, 432, 433. (A. Miquel)

IBN AL-DUBAYTHĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā, an ʿIrāḳī historian, was born in Wāsiṭ on Monday, 26 Radjab 558/Sunday, 30 June 1163, and died in Baghdād on Monday, 8 Rabīʿ II 637/7 November 1239. His History of Wāsiṭ is not preserved. His History of Baghdād, variously called *dhayl* or *mudhayyal* and extant in individual manuscripts, continues the work of al-Samʿānī, which in turn was a continuation of the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* of the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. It is strictly biographical, containing biographies of those who died after the death of al-Samʿānī (562/1166), with the addition of biographies which al-Samʿānī had failed to include. Many of the men listed in the work were known to Ibn al-Dubaythī personally. For the continuity of historical writing at the period, it is characteristic that he studied with an earlier historian of Baghdād, al-Ḳaṭīʿī, who taught him the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi*, 20), and that among other historians who were his students, Ibn al-Nadjdjār, his junior by twenty years, continued his work. An abridgement of Ibn al-Dubaythī's *History* was made by al-Dhahabī for his own use (vol. i, comprising the biographies of those named Muḥammad to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, published by Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1371/1951, under the title of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi min Taʾrīkh ... Ibn al-Dubaythī*; vol. ii, Baghdād 1963, with a biographical introduction in which the editor argues for Dabaythī as the more original form of the *nisba* but gives the apparently wrong date 639 for the author's death).

Bibliography: al-Mustawfī, History of Irbil, as quoted by Ibn Khallikān, no. 633; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 199 f. (the same author's *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* and *ʿIbar*, not available); (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī), *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa*, Baghdād 1351, 135 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭab. al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 26; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 386 f., 406; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 185 f.; Brockelmann, I, 402 f., S I, 565. Another Ibn al-Dubaythī prominent at the time, Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad (558-621/1163-1224), is said to have been a paternal cousin, but the name of his grandfather does not bear this out (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, Baghdād 1962-, iv, 897 f.; Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, *Takmila*, Baghdād 1377/1957, 321, with a note by the editor Muṣṭafā Djawād). (F. Rosenthal)

IBN DUḲMĀḲ, Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Aydamur al-ʿAlāʾī al-Miṣrī (the name is derived from the Turkish *toḳmaḳ* "hammer", cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 102), b. about 750/1349, was a zealous Ḥanafī and wrote a work on the *ṭabaḳāt* of the Ḥanafīs, *Naẓm al-djumān*, in three volumes, the first of which deals with Abū Ḥanīfa (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 136; vi, 317); on account of his depreciatory references to al-Shāfiʿī he was flogged and thrown into prison. His history of Egypt, *Nuzhat al-anām*, in about 12 vols. to the year 779, was of great importance (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 102; vi, 323). By command of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ he wrote a history of the rulers of Egypt to the year 805; he further wrote a separate history of this Sultan, *ʿIḳd al-djawāhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ*, abbreviated under the title *Yanbūʿ al-maẓāhir* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 102; iv, 230; vi, 514). According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa his historical works were largely utilized by al-ʿAynī and al-ʿAsḳalānī (i, 442; ii, 118). He wrote a large work on ten cities of Islam, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, devoting one volume to each city; of these volumes the 4th and 5th describing Cairo and Alexandria are preserved in Cairo and have been published by Vollers (Cairo 1314/1893). According to Vollers (p. 5) he used better authorities than al-Maḳrīzī. The latter, for a time his pupil, seems not to have used his work. Ibn Duḳmāḳ also wrote a work on Ṣūfī biographies, *al-Kunūz al-makhfiyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣūfiyya* (Vollers, 4), also a book on the organization of the army, *Tardjumān al-zamān* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 277), and a book on the interpretation of dreams, *Farāʾid al-fawāʾid* (*op. cit.*, iv, 392). According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321/1903, i, 266, he died in 790/1388, aged over 80; so also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 447; ii, 102, 277; but in any case he was still alive in 793 (see Vollers, *Introduction*) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa elsewhere gives the date of his death as 809/1406 (ii, 149; iv, 230, 392; vi, 323, 357, 514), as does Ibn al-ʿImād.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, no. 457; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vii, 80 f.; Vollers, *Description de l'Égypte par Ibn Doukmak* (*Bibliothèque Khédiviale*), Cairo 1893; Brockelmann, S II, 50 f. (J. Pedersen)

IBN AL-DUMAYNA, one of the lesser poets of the late Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid

periods. His name was Abu 'l-Sarī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad. He belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Taym Allāh, a clan of the Khathʿam tribe. His mother was al-Dumayna bint Ḥudhayfa al-Salūliyya. His notoriety rests on the story of how he murdered the seducer of his wife, killed her and her little daughter, and was finally slain in the ensuing blood-feud. This story is told with many differences in the details and embellished with spurious poems in *Aghānī*[1], xv, 151-4.

In his verses he deals mainly with love and its sorrows in the sentimental way of Arabic erotic poetry. Owing to this affinity in style and sentiment, some of his verses and even whole poems are attributed to other authors, whilst he is reported to have usurped one *ḳaṣīda* from his contemporary Ibn al-Ṭathriyya (see Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 490; cf. also *ibid.*, 49). Some verses of his (often interpolated) became popular love-songs (*Aghānī*[1], x, 161; xv, 151; xix, 82 f.; xxi, 252, 17). Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār collected *Akhbār Ibn al-Dumayna* (*Fihrist*, 111, 13; cf. *Aghānī*[1], xv, 151). Another work of the same title was written by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (*Fihrist*, 147). His *dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1337/1918 (see *Machriq*, 1920 489) on the basis of two manuscripts of the Dār al-Kutub but the oldest known manuscript (Istanbul Aṣir Ef. 950, see O. Rescher in *MFOB*, v, 515), containing the recension of Thaʿlab and Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, has been used as basis for a good edition by A. R. al-Naffākh, Cairo 1379/1960.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 80; Ibn Ḳutayba, 458 f.; Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 27, 19; Washshāʾ, 54; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 151-7; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 136, 264. Indexes to *Ḥamāsa*, Ḳālī, Yāḳūt.

(J. W. FÜCK)

IBN DURAYD, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN AL-AZDĪ, Arab philologist and lexicographer, born at Baṣra in 223/837 as son of a *raʾīs* of some standing and wealth. He was a pure Arab belonging to the Azd [*q.v.*] of ʿUmān and tracing his pedigree back to Ḳaḥṭān (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 195). He was educated by his uncle al-Ḥusayn b. Durayd who engaged for him as tutor the philologist Abū ʿUthmān al-Ushnāndānī (d. 288). During a voyage on the river, Ibn Durayd learned from his tutor some hundred difficult couplets together with their explanation, which he later transmitted to his own pupils; they form al-Ushnāndānī's *Kitāb Maʿānī al-shiʿr* (printed Damascus 1922), which is sometimes ascribed to Ibn Durayd himself (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 366). Ibn Durayd also studied under Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (d. 255), al-Riyāshī (d. 257), Ibn Akhi 'l-Aṣmaʿī and other scholars of the Baṣra school. During the War of the Zandj Ibn Durayd, with his uncle, left Baṣra before it was sacked in Shawwāl 257 and fled to ʿUmān where he stayed twelve years. Little is known of his life during the next decades: once (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 492) he met the ruler of ʿUmān al-Ṣalt b. Mālik al-Ibāḍī of the Banū ʿUmāra (reigned 237-273, see Zambaur, 125). In one of his poems (*Dīwān*, pp. 101 ff.) al-Ṣalt's successor Rashīd b. al-Naḍr (reigned 273-277; Zambaur, 125) is mentioned as a foe of the poet's tribesmen. We also hear of his travels to the islands (in the Persian Gulf). Of his later years we know more, thanks to the information given by his pupil Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mīkāl (270-362; see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 343-6) to al-Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyiʿ (and reproduced from the latter's *Taʾrīkh Nīsābūr* by Yāḳūt, l.c.) and to al-Salāmī (see Yāḳūt, vi, 490). Ismāʿīl's father was appointed governor of al-Ahwāz and Fārs by the caliph al-Muḳtadir (reigned 295-320); he invited Ibn Durayd, who was then living in ʿIrāḳ (see his *Maḳṣūra*, verse 95) to take charge of his son's studies. Ibn Durayd composed for his pupil his famous poem *al-Maḳṣūra*, ending it with a eulogy on the two Mīkālīs. In 297 (see Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vi, 490) he dictated to Ismāʿīl his dictionary of the Arabic language, *al-Djamhara*. Some time later he left Fārs owing to the death of the elder Ibn Mīkāl and the return of his son Ismāʿīl to Nīsābūr. This must have happened somewhere between 297 and 301; for the ruler of Khurāsān Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Sāmānī to whom, after his return, Ismāʿīl paid his respects in Herāt was murdered on 23 Djumādā II 301/24 January 914 (Zambaur, 202). Ibn Durayd went back to ʿIrāḳ and settled in Baghdād. Al-Muḳtadir granted him a monthly stipend of 50 *dīnār* so that he could carry on his studies and his teaching. His profound knowledge of the language and poetry of the Arabs attracted many students. Among the more famous of his pupils are: Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (284-368), al-Marzubānī (297-384), Abu'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī [*q.v.*] (284-356), Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] (288-356), who made Ibn Durayd's works known in Spain (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 348 f., 366, 398, 400), al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 337), Ibn Khālawayh [*q.v.*], Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*].

Ibn Durayd's chief work is his monumental dictionary *al-Djamhara* (Ḥaydarābād 1344), which contains some materials not to be found in our dictionaries; in it Ibn Durayd made use of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of Khalīl—which gave his enemies a pretext for their slander—but in selecting and arranging the words he followed his own judgement. He included a large number of loanwords, tracing as far as possible their origins. His *Kitāb al-Ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) was prompted by the assertion of some (non-Arabs) that the names of the Arabs had on the whole no meaning; therefore, Ibn Durayd gives in this book the etymology of their proper names, arranging them according to the genealogical system.—His *Kitāb al-Malāḥin* (Cairo 1347) contains about 400 ambiguous words for the benefit of such persons who, when unjustly forced to take an oath, want to take refuge in mental reservation.—The *Kitāb al-Mudjtanā* (ed. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād 1342) is a miscellany of remarkable sayings of the Prophet and his successors. There are also some apophthegms of the ancient philosophers and a selection of didactic verses.—His *Kitāb al-Wishāḥ* (see J. Kraemer in *ZDMG*, cx, 259-73) deals not only with the bynames and sobriquets of poets but also with historical und genealogical topics.—Amongst his poems (*Diwān*, collected by Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī, Cairo 1360/1946) we find verses *fi 'l-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd* (pp. 29-31), a *Ḳaṣīda Lughawiyya* (pp. 87-97), an elegy on al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923 (pp. 38-41) and two poems in honour of al-Shāfiʿī (pp. 77 f. and 109).

Ibn Durayd possessed the virtues of a *sayyid*; he was courageous, generous and kind. He was also a cultured man, enjoying good books (see Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 493) as well as singing and music. After two apoplectic fits, he died at the age of 98 in Baghdād on Wednesday, 17 Shaʿbān 321/13 August 933 on the same day as Abū Hāshim al-Djubbāʾī, the leading Muʿtazilī.

Bibliography: given in the article; see also *Fihrist*, 61 f.; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, 461 f.; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 195 ff.; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 322-6; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 483-94; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāʾ*, iii, 92-100; Ibn Khallikān, no. 648; Ibn

Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 132-4; Brockelmann, I, 111; S I, 172; J. Kraemer, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 210 ff.; Mohammad Shafiʿ, *The sons of Mikal*, in *Proceedings of the Idára-i Maʿárif-i Islámia*, Lahore 1933, 107-168; A. Siddiqi, *Ibn Durayd and his treatment of loanwords*, in *Allahabad University Studies*, vi, Arts Section (1930), 669-750.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN DURUSTAWAYH, important grammarian born in 258/871, died at Baghdād in 346/957, all of whose works are lost, with the exception of a *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* (referred to in the *Fihrist* as *Adab al-kuttāb*). In accordance with the ideal of his time, his learning was very extensive; it embraced *ḥadīth*, in which he was a transmitter of the ancient masters ʿAbbās al-Dūrī and Yaʿkūb b. Sufyān al-Nasawī, and also of his contemporary, the famous al-Dārākuṭnī. These compilations still existed in the time of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (5th/11th century). Ibn Durustawayh was also an exegetist of the Ḳurʾān (cf. *Fihrist*): he had tried to find a compromise, in the matter of exegesis, between the theses of the Baṣran al-Akhfash and the Kūfan Thaʿlab [*qq.v.*]. He himself had written a *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Ḳurʾān*. It is not known exactly in what degree he was inspired in this work by that of Abū ʿUthmān al-Djarmī, of whom he was the transmitter. In spite of his relatively conciliatory attitnde to Thaʿlab in the field of exegesis, he was considered to be uncompromisingly "Baṣran" in pure grammar. He is said to have written a work refuting al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama and another in which he attacked the theses of Thaʿlab on the "divergences among grammarians". The lack of these works is particularly regrettable since very little is known of the polemic between Baṣrans and Kūfans and since from the time of Weil (*Abū l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī*, Leiden 1913) there has been a tendency to regard this quarrel simply as a literary genre worked up by the 4th/10th century grammarians of Baghdād, Ibn Durustawayh's contemporaries. The latter seems, in short, to have concerned himself with the theory of grammar (*Kitāb al-Hidāya*) in the manner of the neo-Baṣrans of Baghdād in his time (ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī, Ibn al-Djinnī) whereas, in his written works of Ḳurʾānic exegesis or his collections of *ḥadīth*s, he was much more eclectic, even going so far as to take account of the contribution of the grammarians of Kūfa. His main work nevertheless remains the *Kitāb al-Kuttāb* (ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1927). In it he dwells on details of writing and spelling, in fact on all the material side of the art of writing (the question of the *hamza*, of the *alif maḳṣūra*, the dating of letters, obligatory additions and formulae at the beginning and end of letters, etc.). This work was of course intended for secretaries who wished to be provided with a set of rules for the practical details of their profession. It is not, however, free from grammatical speculations (*e.g.* the relations between the spelling and the structure of words).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 64; Zubaydī, i, 127; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 425; Ibn al-Anbārī, ii, 113; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 388; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar; idem, *Bughya*, 279; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 58-61; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, 19, 34, 49.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD, distinguished author and administrator of the Mamlūk period, who served al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] in the chancery of Cairo and Damascus and left important works on the organization and administration of the Mamlūk state.

Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Ḳurashī al-ʿAdawī al-ʿUmarī was born in Damascus on 3 Shawwāl 700/12 June 1301, of a Shāfiʿī family already distinguished in the Mamlūk civil service [see FAḌL ALLĀH]. His father, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Faḍl Allāh, was head of chancery (*kātib al-sirr*) first in Damascus, and after 729/1329 in Cairo, and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad began his public career as an assistant in Cairo as his father advanced in years. A quarrel with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad brought about his dismissal from office and replacement by his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī. When Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā died in 738/1337 it was ʿAlī who was appointed to replace him as head of chancery in Cairo. As for Aḥmad, it was not long before he was thrown in prison, having further incurred the displeasure of the Sultan.

Released from prison in the early months of 740/1339, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad was soon after appointed head of chancery in Damascus, taking charge at the start of the next year. He remained in that office until 743/1342, when he was dismissed and replaced by his brother Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad. Aḥmad remained out of office until his death, of a fever, on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 749/1 March 1349. His principal works may well have been the product of the leisure of his last years, while he was living in retirement in Damascus.

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, as a government official, was not as successful as his father or his two brothers. Obstinate and outspoken, he was not the sort of man to win easy favour with a sovereign, and he was quick to make enemies of people with whom he dealt. It was the frequent complaints against him that finally brought about his dismissal from the chancery of Damascus. However, he outshone other members of his family by his brilliance as a writer and expert on a wide variety of subjects related to politics and administration. It is with these subjects that his principal works deal. The compendium *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* (ed. Cairo 1312 A.H.) is a manual of administration which describes the organization of the Mamlūk empire in its various provinces and explains the manner of correspondence between the central chancery in Cairo and the other central and provincial offices. The book also explains the manner of correspondence with tribal chiefs, heads of Muslim and *dhimmī* sects, and foreign rulers. The encyclopaedic *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (vol. i, ed. Cairo 1924) touches on many subjects (literature, history, geography, religion and law, politics and administration), and is designed to serve the same purpose as *al-Taʿrīf*. The two works continued to be regarded as authoritative on the subject of administration during the Mamlūk period, and were imitated with due reference by al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] in his well-known *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī kitābat al-inshā*.

Apart from *al-Taʿrīf* and *Masālik*, Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Allāh left a history of his family (whose ancestry he traced to the second Caliph, ʿUmar, whence the *nisba* al-ʿUmarī), a number of minor essays and letters, and some verse of little importance. His over-ornate Arabic prose style was highly esteemed by writers of the Mamlūk period.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Ḥaydarābād Deccan 1348-50 A.H.; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 465 ff.; idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 56 ff.; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nudjūm*; F. Taeschner, *Al-*

ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien, Leipzig 1919; Quatremère, *Notices de l'ouvrage* ..., in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, Paris 1838; D. S. Rice, *A miniature in an autograph of S̲h̲ihāb al-dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 856-67; R. Hartmann, *Die politische Geographie des Mamlukenreiches*, in *ZDMG*, lxx (1916), 1 ff.; G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi*, Cairo 1932, 217; Brockelmann, II, 141. (K. S. Salibi)

IBN FAḌLĀN, in full Aḥmad b. Faḍlān b. al-ʿAbbās b. Rās̲h̲id b. Ḥammād, Arabic writer of whose life nothing is known and who was the author of an account (incorrectly referred to as *Risāla* in Yāḳūt, *Kitāb* in the title of the work itself) of the embassy sent by the caliph al-Muḳtadir to the king of the Bulg̲h̲ārs of the Volga [see bulg̲h̲ār]. Ibn Faḍlān was a client of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who seems to have been the same person as the Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the *kātib al-d̲j̲ays̲h̲*, who conquered Egypt from the Ṭūlūnids in 292/904. He was probably not an Arab by birth.

The embassy in which he took part was led by the eunuch Sūsan al-Rassī, a client of Nad̲h̲īr al-Ḥaramī (on the latter see M. Canard, *La relation* ..., 50, n. 31). Ibn Faḍlān's particular task was to read out the letter from the caliph to the king, to present gifts to him and to his entourage and to supervise the jurists and teachers whom the caliph had sent at the king's request to teach the Bulg̲h̲ārs the laws of Islam. The embassy left Bag̲h̲dād on 11 Ṣafar 309/21 June 921, went to Buk̲h̲ārā, where they were received by the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, then to K̲h̲ʷārazm; they stayed at al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲āniyya (Gurgand̲j̲), which they left on 2 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 309/4 March 922, crossed the country of the Og̲h̲uz Turks, the Pečenegs and the Bas̲h̲gird, and arrived at the capital of the country of the Bulg̲h̲ārs on 12 Muḥarram 310/12 May 922. Having accomplished their mission, the embassy returned to Bag̲h̲dād, but neither the date nor the route of their return journey is known. This embassy from the caliph to the king of the Bulg̲h̲ārs is not mentioned by al-Masʿūdī or by any other writer of the period, nor is Ibn Faḍlān himself. The only information on it is provided by Ibn Faḍlān's account.

This account first became known in Europe only after the publication by Fraehn, in 1823, of the extracts from it which had been given by Yāḳūt (s.vv. *Itil*, *Bas̲h̲g̲h̲ird*, *Bulg̲h̲ār*, *K̲h̲azār*, *K̲h̲uwārizm*, *Rūs*), in whose time several copies of it had been in circulation. Since the discovery of a manuscript at Mas̲h̲had, the account has been the subject of several editions, translations and studies, the most important of which are those of A. Zeki Velidi Togan (1939), I. Kračkovskiy and A. Kovalevskiy (1939), K. Czegledy (1952), and A. Kovalevskiy (1956).

Although the Mas̲h̲had manuscript is neither the original, which was perhaps an official report addressed to the chancellery at Bag̲h̲dād, nor a complete text, since it lacks the account of the return journey, and although the quotations from it by Persian writers do not correspond to this text but to an abridged version thought to be the work of a Sāmānid vizier, the account, even so, is of great historical, geographical and ethnographic interest and shows that Ibn Faḍlān possessed extraordinary powers of observation and an enquiring mind, which led him to bring back a mass of extremely important information on the peoples, including the Rūs and the K̲h̲azars, whom he had been able to see himself or of whom he had heard accounts during his journey.

Bibliography: C. M. Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823; idem, *Die ältesten arabischen Nachrichten über die Wolga-Bulgharen aus Ibn Foszlan's Reiseberichte*, St. Petersburg 1832; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici* ..., 2 fasc., Christiana 1896-1928, i, 89-97 (reprod. of the text of Yāḳūt); *Putes̲h̲estvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu, perevod i kommentariy*, under the direction of I. Y̲u̲. Kračkovskiy, Moscow-Leningrad 1939 (the unnamed translator is A. P. Kovalevskiy; the translation is reproduced in part in *Materialī po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1939, 155-64); A. Zeki Velidi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlan's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939 (Abh. K.M., xxiv); K. Czegledy, *Zur Meschheder Handschrift von Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *Acta Or. Hung.*, i (1950-1), 217-43; A. P. Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Ak̲h̲meda Ibn Fadlan o ego putes̲h̲estvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.*, Kharkov 1956 (introd., tr. and comm., and photographic facsimile of the Arabic text); M. Canard, *La relation du voyage d'Ibn Faḍlān chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, Algiers 1958 (*AIEO Alger*, xvi, introd., tr. and notes).

Studies: J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 25, 82, 111; V. Rosen, *Prolegomena k novomu izdaniy̲u̲ Ibn Fadlana*, in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Russk. Ark̲h̲. Obs̲h̲č.*, xv (1904), 39 ff.; R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae* ..., ii, Leiden 1937, 215 ff.; idem, *Der mittelalterliche Handelsverkehr in Osteuropa*, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 240 ff.; H. Ritter, *Zum Text von Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG*, xcvi (1942), 98-126; R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *Notes on the Risāla of Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, i/2 (1949); D. M. Dunlop, *Zeki Validi's Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Die Welt des Orients*, iv (1949); idem, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 109-14 (tr. of Ibn Faḍlān's passage on the K̲h̲azars); A. Zajączkowski, *Deux nouveaux travaux russes sur Ibn Faḍlān*, in *Przeglad Orientalistyczny*, xxii (1957), 203-27; I. Kračkovskiy, *Izbrannïe sočineniy̲a̲*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 184-6. There are mentioned also in the above work of Kovalevskiy, 91 and 105 (cf. p. 299), other works on Ibn Faḍlān, by C. A. Holmboe, 1869, R. Dvořak, 1911, T. Y. Arne, 1941, chiefly on the funeral customs described by him. See also, at p. 105, a list of articles in Arabic, by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām in *T̲h̲aḳāfa*, 1943, Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *al-Raḥḥāla al-Muslimūn*, 1945, and in Hebrew by Poliak. There should also be mentioned a new edition of the text of the account by S. Dahhān, Damascus 1959 (in the series Publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus). (M. Canard)

IBN FAHD, an important Meccan family whose activities during a period of two hundred years in the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries are known in quite considerable detail. The family claimed ʿAlid descent through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. Its members were all well trained in the traditional subjects and learned mainly in S̲h̲āfiʿī but also in Ḥanafī law. Through four successive generations, they boasted of productive historians whose chief interest lay in local history and biography. Through marriage, the Banū Fahd were closely allied to many other influential Meccan families as well as to scholars from other countries who had come to settle in Mecca. Many of them made their living as merchants. Travel on business took them on frequent trips not only all over Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, but also as far as India and the Red Sea port of Suakin.

The judge Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (*ca.* 735-770/1334(35)-1369) married Khadīdja, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf (677-750/1278(79)-1350), a Shāfiʿī scholar from Aṣfūn in Upper Egypt, who had taken up residence in Mecca (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 350; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 168; Brockelmann, S II, 227). His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had a son Yaḥyā (789-843/1387-1439), who engaged in the Indian trade (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, x, 233); he married the daughter of a Meccan merchant, al-Duḳūḳī (*Ḍawʾ*, v, 240 f.), and had a son named ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (829-888/1425-1484), a rather unsuccessful merchant, who died in Suakin on a business trip (*Ḍawʾ*, iv, 299). Another son of the judge Muḥammad, also named Muḥammad (*ca.* 760-811/1358(59)-1408) (*Ḍawʾ*, ix, 231), had a son ʿAṭiyya (804-874/1402-1469) (*Ḍawʾ*, v, 148 f.), who married Fāṭima, the daughter of a man of Indian ancestry (*Ḍawʾ*, ii, 167, no. 477). They had two sons, Ḥasan (843-922/1439-1516) (*Ḍawʾ*, iii, 105; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 107 f.) and Ḥusayn, who died as an infant in 849/1445 (*Ḍawʾ*, iii, 148). ʿAṭiyya's elder brother,

1. Taḳī ʾl-Dīn Muḥammad, born in Aṣfūn on Tuesday, 5 Rabīʿ II 787/ 16 May 1385, collected a very large library in Mecca and was a prolific author. He wrote on Muḥammad's biography, the stories of the prophets, the glories of the Ḳuraysh, the history of local scholars and the history of various places in and around Mecca, and many other subjects. A list of his works is said to be contained in his *ʿUmdat al-muntaḥil* (preserved in Cairo). Another of his surviving works deals with Djabal Thawr near Mecca (Brockelmann, S II, 538, where the work is listed, it seems wrongly, under his great-grandson Djār Allāh). His *Laḥẓ al-alḥāẓ*, a continuation of al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, has been published in Damascus 1347 (pp. 69-344); it consists of a number of biographies, interspersed with repeated brief notices of the dates of death of scholars in various regions of the Muslim world, and was transmitted by his great-grandson Djār Allāh through his grandson ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and al-Sakhāwī. Taḳī ʾl-Dīn died on Saturday, 7 Rabīʿ I 871/Friday, 17 October 1466 (*Ḍawʾ*, ix, 281-83; Brockelmann, II, 225, S II, 225, III, 1267, also S I, 604 [see G. Vajda, in *JA*, ccxl (1952), 28]). Of his children, Abū Bakr (809-890/1407-1485), married to the daughter of a wealthy Meccan merchant, Abū Bakr al-Tawrīzī (Tabrīzī) (*Ḍawʾ*, xi, 93), was very active as a copyist of manuscripts. He travelled widely and made two journeys to India (*Ḍawʾ*, xi, 92 f.); one of his sons, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (841-873/1437-1469), was born in Calicut (*Ḍaw*, iv, 70 f.). One of his daughters, Kamāliyya, later married her cousin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (No. 3). Abū Bakr's younger brother,

2. Nadjm al-Dīn ʿUmar (Muḥammad), born on Friday night, 29 Djumādā II 812/8 November 1409, also wrote many works, among them a continuation of al-Fāsī's [*q.v.*] History of Mecca and a History of Mecca entitled *Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Ḳurā*, which formed the basis of the History of Mecca by his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He was particularly interested in family history, writing on his own family and other Meccan families related to them by marriage, and in contemporary scholarly biography, writing *muʿdjam*s of his own and his father's teachers and the teachers of other scholars; his own *Muʿdjam* was completed in 861/1457 (Cat. Bankipore, xii, no. 727). For the stage Muslim scholarship had reached in his time, it is characteristic that he compiled a number of indexes to biographical works, including Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's History of Physicians. An example of ʿUmar's penmanship is the manuscript of Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Muʿdjam al-mufahras*, described by V. Rosen, in *Mél. Asiatiques*, viii (1881), 691-702. He died on Friday, 7 Ramaḍān 885/10 November 1480 (*Ḍawʾ*, vi, 126-31; Brockelmann, II, 225, S II, 225; al-Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, esp. 251, 355, 360, 369 f., 398, 403 f.). ʿUmar was married to the daughter of a merchant of Iṣbahānī origin known as al-ʿAdjamī (*Ḍawʾ*, v, 59). Of his children, a daughter, Umm Hāniʾ, continued the alliance of the Banū Fahd with other prominent Meccan families (cf. *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 169, no. 482; ix, 42, no. 112). His son Yaḥyā (848-885/1444-1481) wrote a work on *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], entitled *al-Dalāʾil ilā maʿrifat al-awāʾil* (*Ḍawʾ*, x, 238-40). His scholarly heir, however, was another son,

3. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, born on Saturday, 26 Shawwāl 850/14 January 1447. He closely followed his father in collecting a *Muʿdjam*, making an index to al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, and writing on the history of Mecca. He also compiled a history of Egypt as well as an annalistic history starting with the year 872/1467. Among manuscripts written by him is the *Muʿdjam* of his father in Bankipore (xii, no. 727) and the MS L-234 in Yale University Library. He died in 921/1515 (*Ḍawʾ*, iv, 224-6; al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, ed. J. S. Jabbūr, i, 238 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 100-102; Brockelmann, II, 224, S II, 224). Of his children from his marriage to his cousin Kamāliyya bint Abī Bakr, Yaḥyā died as an infant (*Ḍawʾ*, x, 234). His successor as the family scholar,

4. Muḥibb al-Dīn Djār Allāh (Muḥammad) (891-954/1486-1547) appears to have done little original work, but he received much credit as the transmitter and continuator of the writings of his forefathers. He continued his grandfather's History of Mecca. He also wrote monographs on local history, the market-place ʿUkāẓ, the harbour of Djidda, the *faḍāʾil* of al-ʿAbbās and Wadjdj and al-Ṭāʾif, the history of the sanctuary in Mecca, a *Ḥusn al-ḳirā fī awdiyat Umm al-Ḳurā*, dealing with Mecca, Djidda, and al-Ṭāʾif (MS in Tarīm, cf. R. B. Serjeant, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 254-8). He collected a *Muʿdjam* of his teachers, both scholars and poets, and wrote a work in connexion with the history of Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī, entitled *Taḥḳīḳ al-radjā li-ʿuluww al-maḳarr Ḳarādjā*(?). Short treatises on the days of the week (incomplete) and on the *ribāṭ* of al-ʿAbbās in Mecca (related to the work mentioned above?) are preserved, ostensibly in his own handwriting, in Yale University Library L-235 (Nemoy 1292, 1592) (*Ḍawʾ*, iii, 52; al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 241 f.; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, ii, 131; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 301; Brockelmann, II, 516, S II, 538, III, 1295). A son of Djār Allāh, Muḥammad, owned after him the manuscript written by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (no. 3) preserved in the Yale Library L-234 (fols. 1a, 128a, 166a, 183a).

A certain Taḳī ʾl-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Fahd, who died in 946/1539-40, also seems to have been a member of the family (al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, ii, 92; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 265).

Bibliography: In the article, which is based mainly on al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ* (cf. also *Ḍawʾ*, xi, 265). More manuscripts of works by members of the family than are hitherto known will no doubt be identified in the future.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN AL-FAḤḤĀM, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-

RAḤMĀN B. ʿATĪḲ B. KHALAF AL-ṢIḲILLĪ (422-516/1030-1122), *muḳriʾ*, was probably born in Sicily but soon emigrated to Egypt, where we find him in 438/1046-7, that is, in the time of al-Mustanṣir (427-97/1036-94) *fī ṭalab al-ḳirāʾāt*, say the sources, the traditional science for which he was able to follow the lectures of such scholars as Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Hāshim, Ibn Nafīs, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī b. Fāris and Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī al-Shīrāzī. His master in grammar was the famous Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābashād [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Faḥḥām had the distinction of transmitting one of the two redactions of the commentaries of the celebrated *Muḳaddima*, which the pupil had taken down at the master's dictation (the other commentary is connected with the name of Khalaf b. Ibrāhīm, d. 511/1117).

We know scarcely anything of his life in Sicily and nothing of the main phases of his long stay in Egypt, which he left in 504/1110-1 for an unknown destination. The biographers merely tell us that his fame in Alexandria as a master of *ḳirāʾāt* was so great that he acquired the title of *shaykh al-Iskandariyya*. Among his disciples in that town, two may be mentioned: Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī [*q.v.*] and another scholar of Sicilian origin, ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Saraḳūsī al-Ṣiḳillī, philologist and grammarian who lived in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries.

Ibn al-Faḥḥām is best known by his work on the science of *ḳirāʾāt*, which is entitled *al-Tadjrīd fī bughyat al-murīd*, while his *Mufradāt Yaʿḳūb* have been almost forgotten in the literature of the traditional Muslim sciences.

Bibliography: For the biographical sources, the MSS, commentaries, versifications etc., of the work of Bābashād, as well as for the argument and a summary of the chapters of the *Tadjrīd*, see U. Rizzitano, *Ibn al-Faḥḥām muqriʾ "siciliano"*, in *Studi Or. in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 403-24. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN AL-FAḲĪH, Iranian author of a geography written in Arabic, who lived in the 3rd/9th century. Nothing is known of his life and only one of his works survives, in an abridged form. De Goeje introduced his edition of this work with an authoritative preface in which he reproduced the information, of varying reliability, which Ibn al-Nadīm and the geographer al-Muḳaddasī provide on Ibn al-Faḳīh. According to the *Fihrist* of the former (154), "he produced a *Kitāb al-Buldān* of a thousand folios, a compilation from various works, in particular that of al-Djayhānī, and another work on the best recent (Arabic) poets". Al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed. De Goeje, 4-5) attributes to him a work in five books which he criticizes for its imprecise geographical information and a number of irrelevant digressions. The short notice by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, ii, 63) adds that Ibn al-Faḳīh and his father were well-known as traditionists.

Thus Ibn al-Faḳīh's original work seems to be lost, but there exist three manuscripts of the abridged version, plus a fourth discovered after the publication of De Goeje's edition. From the colophons of the three manuscripts, De Goeje deduced that the abridgement was probably made by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar al-Shayzārī, who in several places altered the coherence of the text, suppressing important passages and retaining trivial ones (which accords with al-Muḳaddasī's criticism). Yāḳūt quotes, in his *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, a series of passages from Ibn al-Faḳīh which appear in a condensed form in the abridged version (introd. De Goeje, p. ix; Yāḳūt, index, 300), a proof that Ibn al-Faḳīh's work was more compact, since it is possible that Yāḳūt sometimes quoted him without giving the author's name.

Sprenger (*Post- und Reiserouten*, p. xvii f.) established that Ibn al-Faḳīh wrote in about 290/903; he mentions two events occurring during the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid in 287 and 288 (text, 53 and 319) and refers to him as "our caliph" (53); this passage must therefore have been written during al-Muʿtaḍid's reign; on the other hand he twice refers to his successor al-Muktafī (pp. 253 and 270); although he is reporting (270) an event which occurred before his accession, it may be concluded that Ibn al-Faḳīh completed his work after the death of al-Muʿtaḍid; this is confirmed by a passage relating that ʿAmr b. Layth was executed on the orders of al-Muʿtaḍid (p. 53, l. 17), since it is known from al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2208) that this caliph, on his deathbed, gave orders for the execution but that this was carried out after the caliph's death. Thus Ibn al-Faḳīh wrote his book in 289-90/902-3 (it contains no reference to any historical event after this date).

That Ibn al-Faḳīh was born at Hamadān is shown not only by his *nisba* (Hamadānī) but also by the details which he provides on this town and its district—a description followed by a digression on his native country. We give here the countries which he describes, arranged according to the space he devotes to them: Iran, Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Egypt, Rūm, Djazīra, Nubia, Abyssinia; the Maghrib, Andalusia, and Sudan are given merely a brief résumé. The proportion devoted to each country was probably decided by the redactor of the abridged version; what should be noticed is the preponderance given to Iran. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, the title of the book was *Kitāb al-Buldān*, but this is not certain, since the title-page and preface no longer exist. The fourth manuscript (Library of the Mausoleum of the Imām Riḍā, Mashhad), the subject of a study in 1923 by Z. V. Togan, does not provide the answer to this question, the manuscript lacking the first and last pages; but Z. V. Togan has recognized that this manuscript contains a sizeable part of the original text, providing valuable extra material on ʿIrāḳ and the regions of Central Asia (making possible additions and emendations to De Goeje's ed.).

The digressions concerning *adab* which are criticized by al-Muḳaddasī are far from being lightweight or superfluous—they are a salient feature of the work: inserted among the geographical sections (which provide instances of the author's taste for buildings and for stories which are more or less fabulous), they demonstrate his intention of retaining the reader's interest by an alternation of documentary sections with literary pieces. Apart from the one in praise of his native country, the digressions are: the "passing from the serious to the sweet, from the jesting to the serious" (41), a debate between the Syrians and the people of Baṣra, and the superiority of the vine over the palm-tree (118), praise of building (151), the duties of an author and the virtues of a good book—a digression which could serve as an introduction to the whole work (193), in praise of fresh water (220), Allāh gives to each country a gift, to the exclusion of others (251). According to al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn al-Faḳīh borrowed a great deal from al-Djāḥiẓ (whom he mentions only three times: 116, 165, 253). But these digressions lead to the conclusion that, without borrowing directly from al-Djāḥiẓ, he was influenced by him.

The general content of the work may be described here in the assessment by De Goeje, who made a

profound study of it: "... I thought that some extracts would suffice, but a more detailed inspection made me change my mind: this work provides a very important contribution to the history of culture in the second part of the 3rd/9th century...; it contains a number of geographical and historical details which were hitherto unknown or imperfectly known; it deserves study because Muḳaddasī borrowed much from it and because it is among the main sources of Yāḳūt". To this may be added the opinion of A. Miquel, the author of a penetrating study: "Chronologically, Ibn al-Faḳīh occupies an essential place in the history of Arabic geography: appearing after the first, basically technical, works, ... on the one hand he reinforced the trend of technical geography towards an inclusion of the themes of *adab*, and on the other he helped to direct the interest of writers towards the world of Islam."

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitab al-boldan*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (= *BGA*, v), Leiden 1885; Brockelmann, I, 227, no. 4, S I, 405 no. 4—406 ("a new edition is in preparation by E. Bräunlich"); R. Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du moyen-âge*, 70 ff. ("Ibn al-Faḳīh has reproduced a large number of the legends, beliefs and ideas concerning the geographical folklore of his time"); G. Wiet, *Introduction à la littérature arabe*, index; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Izbranniye sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 156-9 (Ar. tr., 162-4); A. Z. Validov [= Z. V. Togan], *Meshkhedskaya rukopis Ibnu-l-Fakikha*, in *Izvestiya Russkoy Akad. Nauk*, 1924, 237-48 (reviewed in *JA*, cciv (1924), 149, by J. Deny; ccviii (1926), 146, by G. Ferrand); P. Kahle, *Zu Ibn al-Faḳīh*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxviii (1934), 43-5; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle J.-C.*, Paris 1967, p. XXII, chap. v and index. A French translation based on the four manuscripts is now (1967) in the course of revision.

(H. MASSÉ)

IBN AL-FARAḌĪ, ABU 'L-WALĪD ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. NAṢR AL-AZDĪ B. AL-FARAḌĪ, Andalusian scholar, was born at Cordova on the night of Monday-Tuesday 22-3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 351/22-3 December 962. He studied law, Traditions, literature, and history in his native town, particularly with Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Mālik b. ʿĀʾidh and the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kharrāz. In 382/992 he went to the east to perform the pilgrimage, and, when passing through Ḳayrawān, attended the lectures of the jurisconsult Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] and those of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Ḳābisī. He studied further at Cairo, Mecca, and Medina. On his return to Spain he taught for a time at Cordova, then was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Valencia in the reign of the Marwānid Muḥammad al-Mahdī. He was killed in his house when Cordova was taken and sacked by the Berbers on Monday 6 Shawwāl 403/20 April 1013. For three whole days his body remained unburied, and then was discovered lying in a pile of refuse, so disfigured and decomposed that it was buried without being washed or wrapped in a shroud. It is reported that during his pilgrimage to Mecca he seized the covering of the Kaʿba and asked God to grant him a martyr's death.

Ibn al-Faraḍī was very learned in law, Tradition, literature, and history; in the course of his travels he had gathered together a rich library. Of his works we possess only the *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. Codera, *BAH*, vii-viii, Madrid 1891. The scrupulous exactitude of this work and the abundant information which it provides made Ibn al-Faraḍī the initiator of a series of biographical studies embracing the whole of the Iberian peninsula. These had a great success, being continued and amplified in the course of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries by Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*] with his *Ṣila*. Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*] in his turn supplemented this *Ṣila* with his *Takmilat al-Ṣila* down to the middle of the 7th/13th century and finally this series of supplements to Ibn al-Faraḍī's *Taʾrīkh* received a final revision in the 8th/14th century with the *Ṣilat al-Ṣila* of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr, of which the incomplete manuscript belonging to the library of the famous bibliophile Sīdī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī was edited by Lévi-Provençal in a partial edition beginning with the letter *ʿayn*, Rabat 1937.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310/1892, i, 268; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 277; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, i, 383; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 567; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fez 1316/1898, 149 = Cairo 1351/1932, 143; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Istanbul 1302/1884, 57; Ḍabbī, no. 888; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, xiii, 51; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 165; Pons Boigues, no. 71; Brockelmann, I, 338, S I, 577-8; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 130-2.

(M. BEN CHENEB-[A. HUICI MIRANDA])

IBN FARADJ AL-DJAYYĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, poet, anthologist and historian of Muslim Spain. The only information we have on his life is provided by the few lines inserted by al-Ḥumaydī in his *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis* and reproduced by the other sources; all that is known is that he was among the poets attached to the court of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350-66/961-76). Either his misfortune or his irascible nature led him to compose so wounding a satire on al-Ḥakam that the latter consigned him to prison for the rest of his life, where he continued to write poems and books. He had two brothers, also poets: Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, of whom we know only the names and a few verses.

Ibn Faradj al-Djayyānī owes his fame to a remarkable anthology of Andalusian poetry entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* (the Gardens) and quoted by all subsequent anthologists. The work itself has been lost, but the lengthy quotations made from it by other authors give some idea of its contents. He composed it to rival (*ʿāraḍa bi-hi*) the famous anthology of Eastern poets, *al-Zahra*, by Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]; as the latter had a hundred chapters of a hundred lines each, Ibn Faradj decided to divide his book into two hundred chapters of two hundred lines. The *Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiḳ* is considered one of the earliest manifestations of cultural maturity in Muslim Spain, of the self-awareness it had acquired and of the tendency of its intellectuals to shake off the tutelage of the Muslim East.

A considerable amount of Ibn Faradj's own poetry has come down to us. His poetry is almost exclusively floral (*rawḍiyyāt*) or erotic (*taghazzul*) in character and reveals a delicate poetic gift.

Another book is attributed to Ibn Faradj, the *Taʾrikh al-Muntazīn wa 'l-ḳāʾimīn bi 'l-Andalus wa-akhbāruhum* (History of the insurgents and rebels in Muslim Spain); this book, now lost, must have been written in prison, and it probably expressed the bitterness Ibn Faradj felt towards the caliph.

Bibliography: Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1952, 96; Ḍabbī, *Bughya* 140; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 236; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, index; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*,

Cairo 1955, 56-7; idem, *Rāyāt*, Madrid 1942, 231; English translation by A. J. Arberry, *The pennants* ..., Cambridge 1953; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 89; Ḥimyarī, *Badīʿ*, Rabat 1940, index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*[2], Paris 1953, index; Elias Terés, *Ibn Faraŷ de Jaén y su Kitāb al-Ḥadāʾiq*, in *al-Andalus*, xi/1 (1946), 131-57.

(H. MONÉS)

IBN FARAḤ AL-ISHBĪLĪ, whose full name was SHIHĀB AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. FARAḤ B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-LAKHMĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, born in 625/1228 at Seville (Ishbīliya [*q.v.*]), was taken prisoner in 646/1248 by the Franks (al-Ifrandj), *i.e.*, the Spaniards under Ferdinand III the Saint, of Castile (1217-52), at the conquest of Seville, but escaped and afterwards went, between 650 and 660/1252-62, to Egypt; after hearing the most celebrated teachers of Cairo, he studied under those of Damascus, where he settled and gave lectures in the Umayyad mosque, as a great authority on Tradition; yet he declined the professorship offered him in the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nūriyya. Among those who heard him were al-Dimyāṭī ([*q.v.*] cf. al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, 17), al-Yūnīnī [*q.v.*], al-Muḳātilī, al-Nābulusī, Abū Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, al-Birzālī [*q.v.*], and notably the great authority on history and tradition al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*]. He died in the *turba* of Umm al-Ṣāliḥ on 9 Djumādā II 699/19 February 1300. Only al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn* (ed. Meursinge), no. 88, (wrongly) makes this Ibn Faraḥ the son of another, the author of the eschatological *Tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhira* and of the great Ḳurʾān commentary, *Djāmiʿ aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Faraḥ (al-Maḳḳarī, i, 600, wrongly b. Fardj) al-Anṣārī al-Mālikī al-Ḳurṭubī, died 9 Shawwāl 671/29 April 1273.

Ibn Faraḥ al-Ishbīlī's most celebrated work is the scholastic didactic poem on 28 technical expressions of the science of Tradition in 20 (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, vi, 190, wrongly gives 30) verses in *ṭawīl* metre in the form of a love-poem, so that it was described correctly by al-Ṣafadī in al-Maḳḳarī, i, 819, as a *Ḳaṣīda ghazaliyya fī alḳāb al-ḥadīth* (see Brockelmann, I, 372); it is usually called *Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ* or *Gharāmī ṣaḥīḥ* after the two opening words of the first verse.

The text of the *Ḳaṣīda* was first printed by Krehl in 1860 in al-Maḳḳarī's *Analectes*, i, 819 f. (from al-Ṣafadī) and again in *Madjmūʿ al-mutūn*, Cairo 1313, 51 f., and in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324/1906-7, v, 12 f., where only 18 verses are given. The commentary of ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Djamāʿa al-Ḳinānī, died 816/1413, *Zawāl al-taraḥ fī sharḥ Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ*, is published by Fr. Risch, Leiden 1885 (there is another MS in the British Museum, *Cat. Cod. Orient.*, ii, no. 169/2); in the notes there is also published almost the entire commentary of Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maḳdisī, died 744/1343 (see al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, xxi, no. 12) from the manuscripts of Leiden (*Cat. Cod. Or.*, iv, no. 1749) and Gotha (no. 578, see Pertsch, v, 20). We may also mention Berlin, *Verz.*, no. 1055, *Taʿlīḳ ʿalā Manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ*, a gloss on Ibn Faraḥ's poem of the year 894/1489; Cairo, i[2], 250, contains the commentary of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl al-Tatāʾī (Boinet, *Dictionnaire*, 154 and 899) al-Mālikī, died 937/1530-1, *al-Bahdja al-saniyya fī ḥall al-ishārāt al-sunniyya*.

Besides Ibn Faraḥ's didactic poem there is also a commentary by him on al-Nawawī's [*q.v.*] 40 Traditions, *Sharḥ al-arbaʿīn ḥadīthan al-Nawawiyya*, Berlin, nos. 1488-9.

Bibliography: In the text.

(C. F. SEYBOLD)

IBN FARḤŪN, BURHĀN AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ AL-YAʿMARĪ, Mālikī jurist. He was born about 760/1358 in Medina into a scholarly family of Andalusian origin. After travels in Egypt and Syria he was appointed to the *ḳaḍāʾ* in Medina in 793/1390 and is stated to have revived the Mālikī rite there. He died in 799/1397. Of the eight works (three unfinished) credited to him by Aḥmad Bābā five have survived, and of these two have been printed.

(1) *Al-dībādj al-mudhhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab* (printed several times; the most familiar edition is that combined with Aḥmad Bābā's *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Cairo 1351/1932) is a biographical dictionary of Mālikī scholars. It contains some 630 entries and constitutes a prime source for the intellectual movement in Spain and North Africa up to his time besides providing a great deal of other miscellaneous information. It has the further interest of containing an introduction comprising an apologia for the Mālikī rite and a biography of Mālik himself, and a terminal passage in which Ibn Farḥūn lists the works from which he has compiled the *Dībādj*. The *Dībādj* has generated several supplements and abridgements, of which the best known is the *Nayl al-ibtihādj*.

(2) *Tabṣirat al-ḥukkām fī uṣūl al-aḳḍiya wa-manāhidj al-aḥkām* (printed on the margins of Muḥammad Aḥmad ʿIllīsh's *Fatḥ al-ʿalī al-mālik*, 2 vols., Cairo 1937) is a sort of manual for *ḳāḍīs* containing details of procedure, rules of evidence, etc., and displays a certain independence of mind as, for instance, where (ii, 142 f.) it attempts to justify the bringing within the *ḳāḍī*'s competence of powers theoretically belonging to the *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*, *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*, etc.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 30; Brockelmann II, 226, S II, 226; on the sources of the *Dībādj*, Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la* Salouat el Anfâs, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVme Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, No. 11.

(J. F. P. HOPKINS)

IBN AL-FĀRIḌ, ʿUMAR B. ʿALĪ (SHARAF AL-DĪN) ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AL-MIṢRĪ AL-SAʿDĪ, a celebrated Ṣūfī poet. The name al-Fāriḍ (allocator of shares in an inheritance) refers to the profession of his father (see *Dīwān*, Cairo 1319, 3), who belonged to Ḥamāt but migrated to Cairo, where ʿUmar was born in 576/1181. In early youth he studied Shāfiʿī law and *ḥadīth*; then came his conversion to Ṣūfism, and for many years he led the life of a solitary devotee, on the hills (al-Muḳaṭṭam) to the east of Cairo, in deserts among wild beasts, and afterwards in the Ḥidjāz, and he had a vision of the Prophet. On his return to Cairo he was venerated as a saint until his death (632/1235), and his tomb beneath al-Muḳaṭṭam is still frequented. The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, though small, is one of the most original in Arabic literature. Possibly the minor odes, which exhibit a style of great delicacy and beauty and a more or less copious use of rhetorical artifices, were composed in order to be sung with musical accompaniment at Ṣūfī concerts (Nallino, in *RSO*, viii, 17); in these the outer and inner meanings are so interwoven that they may be read either as love-poems or as mystical hymns. But the *Dīwān* also includes two purely mystical odes: (1) the *Khamriyya* or Wine Ode, describing the "intoxication" produced by the "wine" of Divine Love, and (2) the *Naẓm al-Sulūk* or "The Poem of the

Progress", a poem containing 760 verses, which is often called *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā* to distinguish it from a much shorter ode rhyming in the same letter, *t*. In this famous *ḳaṣīda*, nearly equal in length to all the rest of the *Dīwān* together, Ibn al-Fariḍ sets forth a penetrating psychological description of the whole series of mystical experiences, a unique masterpiece and an instructive work, in which the mystic's experiences are seen as a realization of Muslim orthodoxy. Among Ṣūfīs the *Tā'iyya* occupies the position of a classic, and many commentaries have been written on it.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 262 and S I, 462 ff. A life of the poet by his grandson ʿAlī, the first editor of the *Dīwān*, has been printed as an introduction to the edition of Rushayyid b. Ghālib al-Daḥdāḥ, Marseilles 1853. See also Ibn Khallikān, no. 511; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, Cairo 1351/1932, 149 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321/1903, i, 246; and the references given by Di Matteo (see below) and Nallino, *loc. cit.*, p. 8. Other editions: Cairo 1319 (with two commentaries) and 1335 (with short notes). Translations of the *Tā'iyya al-kubrā*: Von Hammer, *Das arabische hohe Lied der Liebe*, Vienna 1854 (Arabic text and German verse translation; the latter is worthless); Di Matteo (Rome 1917); Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, ch. iii, "The odes of Ibn al-Farid", pp. 199-266 (with explanatory notes).—Tr. of the *Khamriyya*: Eng., by A. Sefi, in *BSOS*, ii (1922), 235-48; Fr., by E. Dermenghem, *L'éloge du vin*, Paris 1931 (with tr. of al-Nābulusī's commentary); Danish, in J. Pedersen, *Muhammedansk Mystik*, Copenhagen 1952, 54-133.—The fullest critical study of Ibn al-Fāriḍ is that by Nallino in his review of Di Matteo's version, in *RSO*, viii (1919-20), 1-106 and 501-62. See also, Pearson, nos. 23631, 23634.

(R. A. NICHOLSON-[J. PEDERSEN])

IBN FĀRIS, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AḤMAD B. FĀRIS B. ZAKARIYYĀ' B. MUḤ. B. ḤABĪB, AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, later (in Rayy) AL-MĀLIKĪ, AL-LUGHAWĪ, Arab philologist. The date of his birth in unknown and the place uncertain: on the one hand, according to one of his poems (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 93) the place was a village, Kursuf, in the district of al-Zahrā', and from it an early *nisba*, al-Zahrāwī, is derived; in any case he was certainly of peasant origin (according to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, 92, lines 12-3); on the other hand, Ibn Fāris himself, in his sources for the *Maḳāyīs* (his *Muḳaddima*, i, 5) names Fāris b. Zakariyyā' [his father] as the person who transmitted to him the *K. al-Manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt (see also Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, 92, lines 6-7; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 153; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 220). Thus he was apparently the son of an educated *faḳīh* who was his first master; but it is strange that such a man should be settled in a village.

Ibn Fāris studied in Ḳazwīn, notably with ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 345/956), by then already in his old age (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, xii, 220). From Ḳazwīn he received a second *nisba*, al-Ḳazwīnī, but for a particular reason, according to al-Ḳifṭī (*Inbāh*, i, 94, lines 4-5); in Zandjān he heard Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Khaṭīb, *rāwiya* of Thaʿlab. He studied also in Baghdād, and in Mecca when making the pilgrimage.

Ibn Fāris lived in Hamadhān and there acquired a great reputation as a scholar. Among his pupils were the future vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād and Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, the author of the *Maḳāmāt*, who owed much to him but who later broke with his master as the result of a reprimand. Though renowned in Hamadhān, Ibn Fāris, who was attached to Ibn al-ʿAmīd (Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥ. and Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAlī), was looked upon with disfavour in Rayy by al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, who had supplanted that family in the vizierate. Ibn ʿAbbād gave a cold reception to the gift of the *K. al-Ḥadjar* of Ibn Fāris; but when his reputation led to his being summoned to Rayy by Fakhr al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Rukn al-Dawla b. Buwayh to be tutor to his son Madjd al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib, his relations improved with the powerful vizier, who honoured and protected Ibn Fāris, or "*shaykhunā* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn", as he was pleased to call him; and the latter dedicated to him his work *al-Ṣāḥibī*. Ibn Fāris died in Rayy in 395/1004, according to the most generally accepted date. From his stay in Rayy he was called al-Rāzī.

Ibn Fāris is an attractive figure. He had a warm heart which is said to have led him to strip himself rather than send any beggar away empty-handed, and he had the gift of writing verses about his misfortunes which strike a touching personal note. But deeper internal conflicts can be discerned within him.

Ibn Fāris had an unbiased mind. It is remarkable that in the 4th/10th century, an age dominated grammatically by Sībawayhi and the Baṣrans, he should have returned to the freedom of thought of the Kūfans and should once again have introduced grammatical discussion in his *K. Kifāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fi'khtilāf al-naḥwiyyīn* (title from Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 85). The guiding principle of the *K. Maḳāyīs al-lugha* is interesting; inspired by al-Khalīl, its plan was novel—to link the meanings of words in their roots to *uṣūl*, basic meanings, and thereby to establish a semantic affiliation. On the other hand, in the matter of the origin of the language, he is one of the most obtuse of theorists: everything is *tawḳīf*, the subject of divine revelation, *aṣl* and *farʿ* alike (*al-Ṣāḥibī*, 96, lines 6-9), which excludes any kind of semantic evolution. It seems in fact that Ibn Fāris was restrained by religious scruples: the Ḳur'ānic verse (II, 29/31), *wa-ʿallama Ādama 'l-asmā'a kullahā*, showed him the universality of the *tawḳīf* (see *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 31-2).

Ibn Fāris had an open mind which was not afraid of innovation; thus, in his *Risāla* against Abū ʿAmr Muḥ. b. Saʿīd, he upheld freedom to follow the times in the Arab quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, and he compiled his *K. al-Ḥamāsa al-muḥdatha*. On the other hand, he appears to have been impervious and even hostile to philosophy, which was not merely useless but a danger to faith (according to *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 77, l. 12 ff., passages which besides are difficult to interpret exactly).

Ibn Fāris pursued his activities in many fields—grammar, poetry, *fiḳh*, *tafsīr*—but lexicography was his favourite domain and to the Arab world he remained *al-lughawī*. He wrote some forty works, both long and short; the most carefully prepared list is by the editor of the *Maḳāyīs* (i, 25-37): 11 works have been published, 2 of these in part only, 7 are still in manuscript; there are 24 of which only the title is known at present. We may particularly regret the *K. Kifāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fi'khtilāf al-naḥwiyyīn* and the *K. al-Intiṣār li-Thaʿlab* (perhaps the same as the first-named under another title) and his *Ḥamāsa*, referred to above and mentioned by the *Fihrist* (80). Published works: (I) *K. al-Mudjmal fi 'l-lugha*, published in part, Cairo, 1 vol., 1331 (according to the editor of the *Maḳāyīs*, i, 35), 1332/1914, 319 pp. (according to Sarkīs, 200); numerous MSS, see Brockelmann, I 130, I[2] 136, S I, 198. Ibn Fāris endeavoured to present the vocabulary in a clear and

authentic fashion (*al-wāḍiḥ, al-ṣaḥīḥ*), by means of brief definitions, illustrated with numerous poetic quotations; he postponed the task of grouping together the post-classical vocabulary (according to S I, 198) to the *Mutakhayyar al-alfāẓ* (quoted by al-Djurdjānī, *Mukhtār al-alfāẓ*). In the preface, he names al-Khalīl and Ibn Durayd as his authorities; a verse by Ibn Fāris (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 92) states that the *Mudjmal* supersedes the *K. al-ʿAyn* and the *K. al-Djīm*; like the latter, it is arranged according to the first radical consonant and begins with *hamza*; but the influence of al-Khalīl is further manifested by the arrangement in separate chapters, under each initial letter, firstly of the *muḍāʿaf* (Type 122), then of the triliteral, then the quadriliteral and quinquiliteral; al-Fīrūzābādī, who loved and praised Ibn Fāris, studied and criticised the *Mudjmal* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 407) and he must evidently have incorporated a certain amount of it into the *Ḳāmūs*. The work is certainly of great value and deserves a scholarly edition. (2) *K. Maḳāyīs al-lugha*, published by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, 6 vols., Cairo 1366-71/1947-52; a detailed *Muḳaddima*, i, 3-47 (with independent pagination, used in this article). The guiding principle of this original dictionary has been described above, but for the quadriliterals and quinquiliterals Ibn Fāris often had recourse to another principle, *al-naḥt*, in which he saw a kind of *ḳiyās* (see the end of the *K. al-Bāʾ*, i, 328-36, for a description of his methodology). The arrangement of the vocabulary is the same as in the *Mudjmal*. (3) *al-Ṣāḥibī fī fiḳh al-lugha wa-sunan al-ʿArab fī kalāmihā*, a mediocre edition, Cairo (1328/1910). This title has given rise to the mistaken belief that it designated two works, a *Fiḳh al-lugha* and also *al-Ṣāḥibī*; thus Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 84, Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, MS Damascus Ẓāhiriyya, no 438 (*Taʾrīkh*), 189-90, and others. The *K. al-Ṣāḥibī* is a new work of its kind, a small-scale *Muzhir*. For the first time, we see an author endeavouring to go beyond the purely grammatical or lexicographical framework in the study of the Arabic language, to reach the level of linguistic speculation and, in what is already a rather systematic general plan, to gather together the Arabs' ideas regarding language, their Arabic language, and any historical or other information that might throw light upon or enlarge his knowledge of it. It is fortunate that a new and careful edition has been published (see *Bibl.*). In this work, the *K. al-Ṣāḥibī*, Ibn Fāris clearly reveals his belief in the superiority of Arabic in the dispute with the Shuʿūbiyya, and provides the Arabs with weapons to use against their adversaries. (4) *K. al-Lāmāt*, the use of *la-*, *li-* in grammar, published by G. Bergsträsser, in *Islamica*, i (1925), 77-99; a short ch. in *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 112-6 (see the discussion of the two texts by Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, 97-9). (5) *Maḳālat* kallā *wa-mā djāʾa minhā fī Kitāb Allāh* (mentioned in *al-Ṣāḥibī*, 162, l. 16), published by ʿAbd al ʿAzīz al-Maymanī (A. Memon) al-Radjakūtī, in *Thalāth rasāʾil*, Cairo 1344. (6) *K. al-Itbāʿ wa 'l-muzāwadja*, a collection of words of the same pattern always used in pairs, published by R. Brünnow, in *Orient. Stud. Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 225-48. See the study by Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 131-49 and ch. 28 of the *Muzhir* of al-Suyūṭī. (7) *K. Sīrat al-Nabī*, a short *sīra*, published under the title *Awdjaz al-siyar li-khayr al-bashar*, Algiers 1301, Bombay 1311. According to the editor of the *Maḳāyīs* (i, 31), the *K. Akhlāḳ al-Nabī* is a different work. (8) *K. Futyā faḳīh al-ʿArab*, a collection of questions, juridical riddles so to speak, based on a rare meaning of a word (a genre imitated by al-Ḥarīrī in his 32nd *Maḳāma*, cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*[3], i, 622-37); published by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūẓ, Damascus 1377/1958, 52 pp. in 8°. (9) *K. Abyāt al-istishhād*, a collection of lines of verse which may serve as proverbs in relevant situations; published by the editor of the *Maḳāyīs*, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, i, 137-61 (2nd series, Cairo 1371/1951). Not mentioned in the historical sources under this title, it is perhaps the same as the *K. Dhakhāʾir al-kalimāt* of Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 84 (according to the editor, i, 138). (10) *K. al-Nayrūz*, an etymological study of this *muʿarrab* word and a study of the words of the pattern *fayʿūl* in Arabic; published by the same, *ibid.*, ii, 17-25, 5th series, Cairo 1373/1954. (11) Extract from the *Risāla* against Ibn Saʿīd and selection of verse in the *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī, iii, 397-404 (ed. of Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd).

For the works of Ibn Fāris in MS, see Brockelmann, I, 130 and S I, 198, nos. 3, 4, 11, 14, and 15. Note especially no. 14, *K. Ḳaṣaṣ al-nahār wa samar al-layl*, and no. 15, *K. Tamām faṣīḥ al-kalām* (for the MSS, see also *Maḳāyīs*, i, 27). In addition, no. 35 of Hārūn (*Maḳāyīs*, i, 35): *K. al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-muʾannath wa 'l-mudhakkar*, MS al-Maktaba al-Taymūriyya (Cairo), 265 (*lugha*), not listed by Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 130, I[2], 135-6, S I, 197-8; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 215-26; Zakī Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IV[e] siècle de l'Hégire (X[e] siècle)*, Paris 1931, 203-9, unreliable, should be checked; biographical notice at the beginning of the ed. of *al-Ṣāḥibī* and in the *Muḳaddima* of the *Maḳāyīs*, i, 3-47; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, iv, 80-98 = *Irshād*, ii, 6-15; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 153; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 100-1 (no. 48); Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, Baghdād 1959 (1960), 219-21; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1350, iii, 132-3; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 92-5, other references in note at p. 92.— On the *Mudjmal*, see J. Kraemer, *op. cit.*; *Maḳāyīs*, i, 21; Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-Muʿdjam al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1375/1956, ii, 432-43. On the *Maḳāyīs*: the *Muḳaddima*, i, 39-45; H. Naṣṣār, *op. cit.*, ii, 401-31. On *al-Ṣāḥibī*: J. Kraemer, 215, and the references given. The new edition has been made by M. Chouémi (Bibliotheca Philologica Arabica, i), Beirut 1383/1964. References in this article are to this edition but its *Muḳaddima* was not available.

(H. FLEISCH)

IBN AL-FARRĀʾ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF B. AḤMAD B. AL-FARRĀʾ, also known under the name of *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā, was one of the masters of the Ḥanbālī school in Baghdād towards the end of the reign of al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031) and during that of al-Ḳāʾim (422-67/1031-75); born in Muḥarram 380/April 990, he died on 19 Ramaḍān 458/15 August 1066.

His father (d. 390/1000), who was a Ḥanafī and held the office of notary (*shāhid*), was said to have refused the office of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* which had been offered to him by the caliph al-Muṭīʿ and the Būyid prince Muʿizz al-Dawla. It was in the Ḥanbalī doctrine, however, that the young Ibn al-Farrāʾ was trained after his father's death and it is said that he even became the favourite disciple of Ibn al-Ḥāmid, with whom he studied the famous *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī (d. 363/974).

He succeeded Ibn al-Ḥāmid on the latter's death in 403/1012, made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 414/1025 and, on his return, devoted himself to teaching *ḥadīth* and Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*. In 421/1030 or 422/1031,

he refused the post of *shāhid* to the Ḥanafī Chief *Ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Mākūlā (d. 447/1055), in spite of the persuasions of the *sharīf* Abū ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (d. 428/1037). He finally accepted this post, however, some years later, probably in 428/1037, as a result of the intervention of the great patrons of Ḥanbalism Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf (d. 460/1067) and Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Djarāda (d. 470/1077). In 429/1038 he was fiercely attacked by a group of Ashʿarī theologians, who accused him of having supported, in his *Kitāb al-Ṣifāt*, an anthropomorphist view of God (*Kāmil*, viii, 16 and 104). In 432/1040 (or, according to other sources, in 433/1041), he formed part of a large audience, which included the famous *zāhid* Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 442/1050), at the solemn reading of the *Ḳādiriyya* in the caliph's palace. He is also mentioned as being present, in 445/1053, at the meeting which was held in the Dār al-Khilāfa under the presidency of Ibn al-Muslima to define the official doctrine of the caliphate in matters of dogma, in particular on the Divine attributes and the uncreated nature of the Ḳurʾān. These details indicate that Ibn al-Farrāʾ was probably, like his Shāfiʿī contemporary al-Māwardī, a member of the entourage of the vizier Ibn al-Muslima.

It was in fact at the suggestion of Ibn al-Muslima and through the good offices of Abū Manṣūr b. Yūsuf that Ibn al-Farrāʾ, in 447/1055, after the death of Ibn Mākūlā, agreed to become *ḳāḍī* of the Ḥarīm, a section of the caliph's palace, but stipulating his own conditions: that he should not be expected to take part in official processions or to meet the important persons received by the caliph, and should be excused from attending in person at the palace; that he should be allowed to spend one day each month at Nahr al-Muʿallā and another at Bāb al-Azadj, nominating during his absence a deputy (*nāʾib*) at the Ḥarīm. To his duties there, was later added responsibility for Ḥarrān and Ḥulwān. Ibn al-Farrāʾ, who remained in office until his death, also taught *ḥadīth* each Friday in the al-Manṣūr mosque.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ produced many works. The principal ones are listed in the *Tabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila* (ii, 205; cf. Brockelmann, I, 502 and S I, 686) by his son, the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 527/1133). His commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī has for long been highly esteemed. His treatise on public law, the *K. al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (published in Cairo in 1357/1938) reveals some surprising similarities with that of al-Māwardī while nevertheless differing from it on many points; both similarities and differences may be explained by the fact that the two men belonged to the entourage of Ibn al-Muslima, but that one was Shāfiʿī and the other Ḥanbalī

Perhaps the most famous work of Ibn al-Farrāʾ is his *K. al-Muʿtamad*, of which he produced two redactions of unequal length (the shorter is preserved in manuscript at Damascus in the Ẓāhiriyya); the *Muʿtamad*, modelled on the treatises of *kalām*, with a preamble sketching a theory of knowledge, is one of the first great works of this type to be written by a Ḥanbālī. Ibn al-Farrāʾ was responsible also for several manuals setting out Ḥanbalī doctrine, both in the field of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and in that of the *furūʿ*.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ was much involved in the politico-religious struggles of his time and was the author of a great number of refutations, the echo of which is often apparent in the *Muʿtamad* but the manuscripts of which appear now to be lost: among them were refutations (*rudūd*) of the Karrāmiyya, the Bāṭiniyya, the Mudjassima, the Ashʿarīs and, in a general way, of the supporters of *kalām* such as Ibn al-Labbān (d. 446/1054). There should also be mentioned his *K. al-Īmān* (manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya) and in particular his *K. Ibṭāl al-taʾwīlāt li-akhbār al-ṣifāt*, in which he contrasted the unquestioning faith (*taslīm*) of the Ḥanbalīs with the semi-rationalism (*taʾwīl*) of Ashʿarism (on this work, cf. *Ṭabāḳat al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 207 ff.; Ibn Taymiyya, in *MRK*, i, 445).

Most of the great Ḥanbalīs who died in the second half of the century followed, to varying extents, the teaching of Ibn al-Farrāʾ. Among them were the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar (d. 470/1077), who was one of the most obstinate opponents of the nascent Ashʿarism; Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥarrānī (d. 476/1083), who was *ḳāḍī* of Ḥarrān and was killed, with his two sons, in his struggle against the Shīʿī *amīr* Muslim b. Ḳuraysh; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Shīrāzī (d. 486/1094), who worked actively in spreading Ḥanbalism in Palestine and Syria, with the support of the *amīr* Tutush. Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 488/1095), Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥulwānī (d. 505/1112) and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1116), together with many others, are also often considered as followers of Ibn al-Farrāʾ.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ left three sons who are mentioned in the history of his *madhhab*. The most famous of them was the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 525/1131; *Dhayl*, i, 212-4; Brockelmann, S I, 557), the author of *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*.

A brother of Ibn al-Farrāʾ, the traditionist Abū Khāzim Ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 430/1039; *Muntaẓam*, viii, 102), is sometimes mentioned as being a Muʿtazilī. He should not be confused with his nephew, Abū Khāzim Ibn Abī Yaʿlā (d. 527/1133), known as a jurisconsult and traditionist.

Ibn al-Farrāʾ's prestige, within his school, was such that for three centuries, until the middle of the 8th/14th century, he was referred to by all the Ḥanbalīs simply as "*al-ḳāḍī*"; afterwards, however, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1222) grew in importance with his *Mughnī*, and the Ḥanbalīs of the end of the 9th/15th century tended to give the title of *al-ḳāḍī* to al-Mardāwī (d. 885/1480; Brockelmann, S I, 130).

Bibliography: Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 256 (no. 730); Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 193-231 (with a list of works, 205); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 243-4; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xii, 94-5; Nābulusī, *Kitāb al-Ikhtiṣār*, Damascus 1350/1932, 389-415; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 306-7; Brockelmann, I, 502 and S I, 686. See also: H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus (*PIFD*) 1958; idem, *Le ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI*, 1959, 96-8; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (*Ve siècle de l'hégire*), Damascus (*PIFD*) 1963, index.

(H. Laoust)

IBN FIRISHTE [see FIRISHTE-OGHLU].

IBN FŪRAK, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Fūrak al-Anṣārī al-Iṣbahānī, Ashʿarite theologian and traditionist, was born about 330/941, perhaps in Ispahan. In ʿIrāḳ, both at Basra and at Baghdad, he studied Ashʿarite *kalām* under Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bāhilī along with al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*] and al-Isfarāʾinī [*q.v.*], and also traditions under ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar al-Iṣbahānī. From ʿIraḳ he went to Rayy, then to Nīshāpūr, where a *madrasa* was built for him beside the *khānḳāh* of the *ṣūfī* al-Būshandjī. He was in Nīshāpūr before the death of the *ṣūfī* Abū ʿUthmān al-Maghribī in 373/983, and probably remained there until shortly before his

own death in 406/1015, when he was summoned to Ghazna by the sultan Maḥmūd. This was probably at the instance of members of the Karrāmiyya sect, against whom he had been disputing in Nīshāpūr. They tried to prove to sultan Maḥmūd that he was a heretic, but he seems to have defended himself successfully, and to have been poisoned by the Karrāmīs on his way back to Nīshāpūr. The version according to which Maḥmūd was responsible for poisoning him, is improbable.

Writings. His main work in the eyes of later generations was *Kitāb Mushkil al-ḥadīth wa-bayānihi* (with many variants of the title). This attempts to explain difficult phrases in such a way as to avoid both anthropomorphism and a Muʿtazilī view (extracts with German translation, Raimund Köbert, *Analecta Orientalia 22*, Rome 1941; full Arabic text, Hyderabad 1362/1943; cf. R. Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, 30 f.). The titles of other extant works and stray references in heresiographers (Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 209, 214, 215, 224; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 253; Abū ʿUdhba, *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya*, 14, 44) show that he took a part in contemporary theological discussions on such questions as: the use of the *istithnāʾ* in respect of one's faith; whether a saint may know he is a saint (cf. also Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahdjūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, 214); the application of atomistic conceptions to man; the sinlessness of prophets; the relation of God's attributes and names to human attributes. Much of his disputation was against Karrāmīs in Nīshāpūr and Ghazna; but his views differed slightly at certain points from other Ashʿarites. He was a Shāfiʿī, but wrote a book on Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, and on the strength of this receives a brief notice (no. 185) in Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā's *Tādj al-tarādjim*.

Influence. It seems improbable that al-Ashʿarī was a mere eponym (as suggested by J. Schacht, in *Stud. Isl.*, i, 33-5), but the early development of Ashʿarite theology is obscure. A lost work by Ibn Fūrak entitled *Ṭabaḳāt al-mutakallimīn* is the main source for our knowledge of al-Ashʿarī and his writings, and was extensively used by Ibn ʿAsākir in his *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* (esp. 123; cf. also R. J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, index). Since Ibn Fūrak's master al-Bāhilī was a pupil of al-Ashʿarī, and since Ibn ʿAsākir has other early sources, it would seem that Ibn Fūrak's material can be relied on. At Nīshāpūr Ibn Fūrak seems to have played a part in securing the adoption of Ashʿarite theology by a group of mystics (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai*², 315), which included al-Maghribī and al-Daḳḳāḳ; the famous Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] was a pupil.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 175 f., S I, 277 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 178, 232 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, iii, 52-6 (cf. ii, 248); Ibn Khallikān, i, 610 (de Slane, ii, 673 f.); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 181 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, 616.8; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 183 f.; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, 179, 187; also *MW*, l (1960), 8n., 11; L. Massignon, *Passion*¹, 585, 658, 711, 737, 739; M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs dans la doctrine d'al-Ašʿarī* ..., Beirut 1965, 326-9, etc.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

IBN AL-FURĀT, name of a number of persons who held the offices of secretary or vizier under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs or the Ikhshidid *amīr*s and who belonged to a Shīʿī family. The earliest member of the family of whom anything is known is ʿUmar b. al-Furāt, who represented the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā and was executed in Baghdād in 203/818-9, on the orders of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī at the time when the ʿIrāḳīs were in revolt against the Shīʿī policy of al-Maʾmūn. A certain Muḥammad b. Mūsā seems to have been the first to hold important administrative office, and it was his sons, the Banu 'l-Furāt, who appeared on the political scene at the end of the 3rd/9th century, in the entourage of the Shīʿī vizier Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul [*q.v.*].

(1) ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-FURĀT, imprisoned at the end of the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid following the fall from favour of Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul, was set free by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, who, at the beginning of his reign, commissioned him to restore the state finances, entrusting him with the direction of the land department of ʿIrāḳ, then, for some months, with the control of that of the whole empire. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, assisted by his brother Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, then proceeded to obtain financial statements from the Sunnī secretaries, particularly from the members of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ. He retained his office under al-Muktafī but encountered the hostility of the new vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh; he died, however, before the latter could take any action against him (291/904).

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(2) ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, born in 241/855, was several times vizier of the caliph al-Muḳtadir. At first deputy to his brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad under the caliphates of al-Muʿtaḍid and of al-Muktafī, he became the right-hand man of the vizier al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, and then was himself chosen as vizier by the young al-Muḳtadir after the failure of the plot of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (Rabīʿ I 296/December 908). Ibn al-Furāt, all-powerful during this first period as vizier and controlled only from a distance by the group of the Dignitaries (*Sādāt*), which included in particular the caliph's mother and the chief eunuchs of the Palace, made the mistake of indulging imprudently, and on several occasions, in embezzlement of large sums, which led to his dismissal in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 299/July 912. He was re-appointed vizier in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 304/June 917, and this time became the victim of the difficulties caused by the revolt of the governor of Ādharbaydjān; he was again dismissed in Djumādā II 306/November 918. He was imprisoned in the Palace throughout the vizierate of his successor and released at the time of the revolution of Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], to be appointed vizier yet again (Rabīʿ II 311/August 923). This third and final vizierate of Ibn al-Furāt was to prove a particularly dramatic one: the minister, assisted by his son al-Muḥassin, had no hesitation in taking a brutal revenge on those who, in the preceding years, had treated him badly, nor in using violence to extort large sums of money from all those who had accepted office during his predecessor's vizierate.

The methods which Ibn al-Furāt and his son used this time soon aroused among the caliph's entourage high feelings, which were increased still more by the news of the attack on the Pilgrims by the Ḳarmaṭīs in Muḥarram 312/April-May 924. Under pressure from the chamberlain and some of the officers in charge of the guards, al-Muḳtadir therefore decided to arrest the vizier (Rabīʿ I 312/June 924). Ibn al-Furāt and his son were brought to trial, but the somewhat insolent attitude of the former minister had the effect of turning the caliph against him, while the newly-appointed vizier instigated some sections of the army to demand that the prisoners be executed without further ado. The caliph, yielding

to popular fury, gave orders to the Prefect of the Police, Nāzūk, to put them to death (Rabīʿ II 312/July 924).

Such was the ignominious end of a man who had been a prominent financier and a politician, but had never shown himself to be a loyal servant of the caliph. An educated man of great culture, an experienced administrator in the organization of the financial services, he had demonstrated his ability to solve rapidly what appeared to be the most complicated problems, restraining effectively when necessary the frauds which seem to have been very common at this time at the various levels of the central organization; remarks attributed to him indicate also that he had a clear grasp of the conditions of economic life in the ʿAbbāsid empire and of the measures which would permanently increase the resources of its Treasury.

Highly intelligent and of great eloquence, Ibn al-Furāt had gained the sympathy of the young al-Muḳtadir, whose mentor he had been and who showed, until the last moment, his admiration for a man who was always to exert a sort of fascination over him. He was moreover a perfect courtier, whose ostentatious generosity and seeking after luxury were part of a policy of enhancing his prestige. Concerned with his own personal glory, which at times coincided with that of the caliph, he restored the authority of the central government in a province such as Fārs, but was too often concerned primarily with increasing his own wealth, that of his collaborators and that of the members of the secret politico-religious party to which he belonged and which was an extremist sect of the Twelver movement.

Bibliography: L. Massignon, *Les origines shīʿites de la famille vizirale des Banû l-Furât*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 25-9; idem, *Recherches sur les Shīʿites extrémistes à Bagdad à la fin du troisième siècle de l'Hégire*, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 378-82; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsà, the Good Vizier*, Cambridge and London 1928, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(3) Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad, brother of the above, was in 296/908 put in charge of the land department of the East and of the West, but died in 297/909-10.

(4) Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar, called also Ibn Ḥinzāba (from his mother's name), son of the above and nephew of the vizier, replaced his father in 297/909-10 at the head of the land department for the East, where he remained until 299/911-2, and again held this office from 304/917 to 306/918 during the second vizierate of his uncle, then from 315/927 to 318/930, during the second vizierate of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] and the vizierate of Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*]; he was put in charge of the land department of the Sawād in 319/931, thanks to the influence of the *amīr* Muʾnis, then again of that of the East from 319/931 to 320/932, under the vizierate of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim, a minister of Shīʿī sympathies who surrounded himself with former collaborators of Ibn al-Furāt. He finally became himself vizier, in 320/932, but only for a few months. Unable to improve the very dangerous political and financial situation, he had to encourage the caliph to repel the advance of the commander-in-chief Muʾnis, who had then returned from Upper Mesopotamia, and to march at the head of his own troops against the rebellious leader: during the fighting which ensued the caliph was killed. Al-Faḍl was next, during the caliphate of al-Rāḍī, put in control of Egypt and Syria with the title of inspector; he then restored the emirate of Egypt to Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, then was appointed to the vizierate in 325/937 by the chief *amīr* Ibn Rāʾiḳ, to whose daughter he married his son. In 326/937, he retired and left ʿIrāḳ for Egypt. He died and was buried at Ramla in Palestine in 327/938.

Bibliography: H. Bowen, *ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsà*, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍī billâh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index, i, 154, n. 11.

(5) Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl, son of the above, born in 308/921, was vizier of the Ikhshidids of Egypt, in charge of the administration of the country in the time of the *amīrs* Anudjūr (334/945-6) and ʿAlī (349/960), then of the eunuch Kāfūr (355-7/966-8), who, after having been regent, succeeded in getting himself recognized as ruler by the caliph of Baghdād, but died soon after this. Djaʿfar remained in office during the eventful year between the death of Kāfūr and the arrival of the Fāṭimids, but he failed to remain in command of the situation created by the dynastic crisis and the threat from outside. Various extortions led to mutinies by the Kāfūrid and Ikhshidid contingents, which took place on two occasions, ending in the pillage of Djaʿfar's palace and obliging him to go into hiding. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh, a relative of the new *amīr* and governor of Syria, thought it his duty to intervene and had Djaʿfar arrested. He was, however, released soon afterwards and appointed governor of Egypt. As such he received the emissaries of the Fāṭimid general Djawhar [*q.v.*] and facilitated the entry of the Fāṭimid troops into Egypt, but he later refused the vizierate which was offered to him. He died in 391/1001, during the reign of the caliph al-Ḥākim, who was to execute his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in 405/1014-5 after having appointed him vizier for a few days.

Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl left behind him the reputation of a generous patron of poets and scholars, having in particular invited to Egypt the traditionist al-Dāraḳuṭnī, but also that of an eccentric who had acquired a collection of snakes and scorpions which terrified his neighbours.

Bibliography: G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, in G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, Paris 1937, iv, 149-50, 153; Ibn Khallikān, i, 319 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 405-12: Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 119, 120; Ibn Taghrībirdī, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN AL-FURĀT, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī (735-807/1334-1405), Egyptian historian, author of a vast universal history, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa 'l-mulūk*, of which he finished completely only the volumes covering the years after 500/1106-7. The majority of the fragments which survive (mainly in Vienna) are autographs and the work does not seem to have been much copied, or indeed much valued in its own time (perhaps because of suspicions concerning its style and orthodoxy), although it was used by al-Maḳrīzī and others. Its value rests not only in its being very detailed, but also in the wide range of its sources, which are often cited side by side verbatim and chosen with great broad-mindedness, the Shīʿī Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ and the Christian Ibn al-ʿAmīd, for example, appearing together with writers of irreproachable Muslim orthodoxy. Not all the volumes are of equal interest today, their value varying according to whether or not the sources used themselves survive: the volumes covering the first two-

thirds of the 6th/12th century are of considerable interest owing to the wide use made of the lost chronicle of the Shīʿī of Aleppo, Ibn Abī Ṭayyiʾ, of the Egyptian Ibn Ṭuwayr, etc.; those covering the Ayyūbid period and that of the early Mamlūks are of less importance, though not without interest, while those concerning the period of the author's own life are once again important. Apart from a few extracts here and there, there have, up to now, been published only two volumes (vol. ix of Vienna) covering the years 789-99/1387-97 (by C. K. Zurayḳ, Beirut 1936 and, with Nadjla ʿIzz al-Dīn, 1938), and two others (vols. vi and vii) covering the years 672-96/1274-97 (same editors, 1939-42); nothing has been found on the period of over a century which separates them. There do exist, however, in addition to a few volumes on the early periods (Paris, London, Bursa), the whole of those for the years 500-65 and 585-696 (the lacuna which until recently existed between 625 and 638 has just been filled by the discovery of a volume in Morocco, of which photographs have been sent to the American University of Beirut, which published the volumes edited by Zurayḳ). Similarly, the years 563-8 and 585 (which come together in vol. iv of the Vienna MS) have been published by M. Ḥasan M. al-Shammāʿ, Baṣra 1967. The manuscripts for the 6th/12th, 7th/13th, and 8th/14th centuries all belong to the autograph series Vienna AF 814 into which may be inserted the MS Vatican V 720 (years 639-58) and the manuscript of Morocco. Al-Sakhawī (see, *e.g.*, F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 419) accuses Ibn al-Furāt of vulgarity of style, but this can apply only to the later years, the remainder of the work consisting of extracts from earlier writers.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 50, S II, 49; Cl. Cahen, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1935; idem, in *BIFAO*, 1937; idem, *Syrie Nord*, 85-6; C. Zurayḳ, in the preface to the first volume of his edition to appear (ix/1, 1936). Main extracts published in addition to Zurayḳ's ed.: Levi Della Vida, in *Orientalia* (on the Mongol invasion in Syria); Le Strange, in *JRAS*, 1900 (on the capture of Baghdād by the Mongols); Karabaček, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazyaditen*, Leipzig 1874, 117; Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, iv (by Reinaud, various extracts on the 13th century); the MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1596 contains the French translation, by Amable Jourdain, of passages relating to the early Mamlūks. (CL. CAHEN)

IBN AL-FUWAṬĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ B. AḤMAD, historian and librarian, born in Baghdād on 17 Muḥarram 642/25 June 1244. At the age of fourteen, he was imprisoned by the conquering Mongols and remained in this situation for, it seems, less than two years. In 660/1261-62, he joined the great scholar and *wazīr*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*], in Marāgha where he became the librarian of the Observatory Library. In 679/1280-81, he returned to his native Baghdād and was soon appointed director of the Mustanṣiriyya Library. Apart from occasional trips within ʿIrāḳ, he travelled to Ādharbaydjān in 704/1304-5 to the court of the Īlkhānid Öldjeytü and spent about three years in the various cities of the region. After a two-year stay in Baghdād, he again returned to Ādharbaydjān in 710-11/1310-12. Back in Baghdād in 712/1312-13, now approaching his seventies, he was dismissed from his position by the new administrator of *waḳf*s. In 716-18/1316-18, we again find him in Ādharbaydjān. He returned to Baghdād in 718/1318, where he died, after having been incapacitated by a stroke, at the beginning of the year 723/January 1323.

Established in two centres of a highly flourishing intellectual life, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī came to know the leading scholars of his time. He did much copying of manuscripts (for himself and, mainly, as a source of income), a few of which are preserved. His own literary labours, primarily in the fields of history and biography, were extensive, and the large works he commenced remained incomplete and largely unpublished. It was possibly their size and incomplete state that contributed to their having been comparatively little used by later generations and to their eventual loss. Their loss is particularly regrettable since they contained enormous amounts of information collected by an alert and open-minded scholar who did not fail to observe a painter illustrating the world history of Rashīd al-Dīn (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 258), and who, in keeping with an often followed practice, elicited much material personally, as, for instance, in the case of Ibn Kammūna (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 161; L. Nemoy, in *RÉJ*, cxxiii (1964), 507-10). The only, at least partly, preserved work is his large biographical dictionary arranged according to nicknames and honorary titles, entitled (*Talkhīṣ*) *Madjmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb*, a first-class reference tool, unique of its kind. About two-thirds of it survives in manuscripts written by the author himself, the fourth volume, from ʿIzz al-Dīn to Ḳayl, written in 712/1312 (Damascus Ẓāhiriyya, Cat. ʿIshsh, p. 165), and the fifth volume covering the letters *k*, *l*, and *m* (in Lahore, also an autograph). The latter has been published by M. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs al-Ḳāsimī in the *Oriental College Magazine* of Lahore (Suppl. 1939, and vols. xvi-xxiii, 1940-47). The edition of vol. iv by Muṣṭafā Djawād began to appear in Damascus in 1962.

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī also wrote a centennial history, apparently the first to be expressly designated as such in the title, *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa wa-'l-tadjārib al-nāfiʿa fī 'l-miʾa al-sābiʿa*. An annalistic history covering the years 626-700/1228-1301 was published as this work by Muṣṭafā Djawād in Baghdād in 1351. There is no manuscript authority whatever for the ascription of this published text to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, and more recently it has been shown by Muṣṭafā Djawād with incontrovertible arguments that this ascription cannot be correct. The work, which, in particular through its reports on unusual occurrences of daily life in Baghdād, is of very great interest, goes back to a contemporary or near-contemporary writer, but its true authorship remains to be ascertained. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī refers, in connection with an event of the year 712, to his annalistically arranged *al-Taʾrīkh wa-'l-ḥawādith* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 139), which may be identical with *al-Ḥawādith al-djāmiʿa* (cf. Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 274-6: *Ḥawādith al-miʾa al-sābiʿa wa-ilā an māta*), or another more comprehensive historical work of his.

Other works, known by title or through rare quotations, are a poetical-biographical anthology, *Naẓm al-durar al-nāṣiʿa fī shuʿarāʾ ahl al-miʾa al-sābiʿa* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 253, 424, 864, 1101; also, part 3, 151 f., 436, and, probably, 57, 62, 89), and a collection possibly of similar contents, *Durar al-aṣdāf fī ghurar al-awṣāf* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 280). He wrote genealogical tables (*Kitāb al-nasab al-mushadjdjar*, *Talkhīṣ*, iv, introd. 59 f.), on the men named ʿAbd al-Karīm (*al-Durr al-naẓīm fī-man tasammā ʿAbd al-Karīm*, *Talkhīṣ*, iv, 1195), and on scholars with gentilics derived from the professions and crafts (like his own, "maker of *fuwaṭ*, cloth wrappers of various kinds") (*Badāʾiʿ al-tuḥaf fī dhikr man nusiba min al-ʿulamāʾ*

ila 'l-ṣanā'iʿ wa- 'l-ḥiraf, cf. *Talkhīṣ*, iv, introd. 60 f.), as well as a list of homonyms in tabular form (*al-Muʾtalif wa-ʾl-mukhtalif*), and other works. His earliest work, written while he was still in his teens, was in praise of wax candles (*fī waṣf al-shamʿa*, *Talkhīṣ*, iv, 45). Another early work written in Marāgha was, it seems, a handbook for those working in the Observatory there, *Kitāb Man ḳaṣada 'l-raṣad* (*Talkhīṣ*, iv, 569).

Bibliography: In addition to all the later reference works in which Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is listed, the most accurate data on his life can be found in the *Talkhīṣ*, as was shown by Muṣṭafā Djawād in the detailed biography prefixed to his edition. See further: Brockelmann, II, 208, S II, 202 (contrary to S I, 590 f., there is no apparent connexion between Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and the *Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-khulafāʾ* of Ibn al-Sāʿī, Būlāḳ 1309); M. Iqbal, in *IC*, xi (1937), 516-22; Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī, *Muʾarrikh al-ʿIrāḳ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī*, 2 vols. (Baghdād 1370-78/1950-58); F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 414; Kūrkīs ʿAwwād, in *Sumer*, xiii (1957), 53 f.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN GABIROL, ABŪ AYYŪB SULAYMĀN B. YAḤYĀ (in Hebrew: Shelōmōh ben Yehudāh; the Latin Avencebrol; Gabirol, or rather Gebirol, is perhaps Djubayr plus the Romance diminutive suffix *-ol*), Jewish poet and philosopher, born at Malaga circa 411/1021-2, died at Valencia 450/1058 (but this date is not absolutely certain). In addition to his works, mainly poetry, written in Hebrew, which do not concern us here, Ibn Gabirol wrote in Arabic a short treatise on morals (*Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāḳ*), which summarizes without much originality (but adapting them to the needs of the Arabic-speaking Jewish public) the usual commonplaces of this literary genre [see AKHLĀḲ]; a collection of ethical sentences, which is preserved, apart from a few fragments, in a Hebrew version (*Mibḥar ha-penīnim* "Selected pearls"), the attribution of which is, however, uncertain; and, most important, a lengthy metaphysical treatise in dialogue form: the Arabic original of this, which, apart from a small number of quotations, is lost, most probably had as its title *Yanbūʿ al-ḥayāt*, *Fons vitae* in the Latin version made in the middle of the 12th century by the Toledan translator John of Spain with the help of Dominicus Gundissalinus. The Hebrew extracts, made by Shemṭōb Ibn Palḳera, are a century later; unlike the Latin version, which was well-known and used by the great Latin scholars such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, etc. (who did not suspect that the author was Jewish but took him for an "Arab"), these extracts remained practically unknown until they were identified by Salomon Munk in the middle of the 19th century.

The philosophical system of Ibn Gabirol, so far as it can be deduced from the *Fons vitae*, which is only the first part of a work which was never completed, is characterized by the fact that it applies the distinction of form and matter to simple (non-material) substances. Although in the "Fountain of Life" Ibn Gabirol refrains from referring explicitly to any religious text whatsoever, in it he conceives the universe as a product of the Divine Will, on the nature of which it is difficult, however, in spite of the relative abundance of texts, to form an opinion. There is no doubt that Ibn Gabirol belongs to the Neoplatonist "intellectual group" which produced also such varied works as the "Theology of Aristotle", the "Liber de Causis", the texts attributed to the "Greek Master" (*al-shaykh al-yūnānī*), the fragments of the pseudo-Empedocles, Isaac Israeli, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Masarra and others [see ANBADUḲLĪS, AFLĀṬŪN, BURUḲLUS, IBN MASARRA, IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ]. Nevertheless, in the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to assign to him definite sources or to establish with certainty the precise origins of his metaphysical concepts. Furthermore, in spite of the praise given to him by his compatriots, the Muslim Ibn Ṣāʿid and the Jew Moses Ibn ʿEzra, no echo of his philosophical thought is found in Islam, and indeed, it is very little known or esteemed among the Jews, who have forgotten Ibn Gabirol the philosopher as readily as they have carefully preserved his Hebrew secular and religious poetry. It is only through his poetry and in particular his meditation in rhymed prose "The Kingly Crown" (*Keter Malkūt*) that something of his philosophical doctrine has penetrated into subsequent Jewish thought; we are not concerned here with the traces, in any case weak and open to debate, which his speculations have left in Jewish mysticism (*Kabbala*).

Bibliography: The basic work is still S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1857 (the later editions are only unaltered reproductions of the first), 1-306; M. Steinschneider, *Heb. Üb.*, § 219, pp. 379-88, and *Arab. Lit. Jud.*, § 81, 125-9. Biographical notice by Ibn Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 89 (tr. R. Blachère, *Livre des catégories des nations*, Paris 1935, 159; Eng. tr. by J. Finkel in *JQR*, n.s. xviii (1927-8), 45 ff.); the notice by Moses Ibn ʿEzra has been translated into French by Munk, *Mélanges*, 263 f., and into Spanish by J. M. Millàs Vallicrosa, *Šelomo Ibn Gabirol como poeta y filósofo*, Madrid 1945, 13. Latin text of the *Fons vitae*, ed. Cl. Bäumker, Munster 1892-5; *Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāḳ*, Ar. text ed. S. Wise, New York 1901. To the bibliographical notices by Steinschneider and by G. Vajda, *Jüdische Philosophie*, Berne 1950, 14-6, may be added F. Brunner, *Ibn Gabirol-Avicembron, La Source de Vie, Livre III* (annotated Fr. tr.), Paris 1950; idem, *Fons Vitae d'Avicembron (Ibn Gabirol) livre III*, in *Studia Philosophica*, xii (1953), 171-83; *La Doctrine de la matière chez Avicebron*, in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1956, 261-79 (cf. *ibid.*, 285-93); *Études sur le sens et la structure des systèmes réalistes*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, i (1958), 295-317; the article in Hebrew by S. Pines, *Fragments of the Arabic original of Fons Vitae in Moses Ibn Ezra's work Arugat Habbosem*, in *Tarbiz*, xxvii (1957-8), 218-23; J. Schlanger, *Sur le rôle du "tout" dans la création selon Ibn Gabirol*, in *REJ*, cxxiv (1965), 125-35; the theses in progress by Jacques Schlanger: full Fr. tr. of the *Fons vitae* and *La philosophie de Salomon Ibn Gabirol*. See also E. Bertola, *Salomon ibn Gabirol (Avicebron), vita, opere e pensiero*, Padua 1953; J. Schirmann and J. Klausner, art. Ibn Gabirol in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. The Artemis Press, Zürich-Stuttgart, have now (1967) announced *Salomo ibn Gabirol und sein Kreis*, by F. P. Bargebuhr.

(G. VAJDA)

IBN GHALBŪN, Muwallad leader who, at the time of the *reyes de taifas*, emerged as ruler of Molina de Aragón, the small town situated at the highest point of the land lying between the Tagus and Jalón rivers, its territory belonging partly to Aragón in the north and partly to Castille in the south. El Cid, on settling at el Poyo de Calamocha, conquered Ibn Ghalbūn, who became his exceedingly loyal subject, as is related with striking emphasis by *el Cantar del mio Cid.*

He had been known hitherto only by his *ma*ʿ*rifa*, but it is now known that his name was ʿAzzūn, since one of his two sons was called Abu ʾl-Ghamr b. ʿAzzūn and the other ʿAlī b. ʿAzzūn, transformed into Gharrūn in the manuscript of *al-Mann bi ʾl-imāma*. All these names are honorific additions in *-on*, so frequent in the Hispano-Muslim upper classes, such as Ibn Badrūn, Ibn Zaydūn, Ibn Khaldūn, and many others.

When Dona Jimena and her daughters went to Valencia to rejoin the Campeador, who had just conquered the city, ʿAzzūn b. Ghalbūn cordially welcomed the horsemen sent to escort the ladies and added two hundred cavalry to their retinue; from Medinaceli onwards, he honoured the wife and daughters of El Cid, with Alvar Fañez, and had them splendidly accommodated at Molina. When the Almoravid army took up its position in front of Valencia with the purpose of reconquering the city, Ibn Ghalbūn did not follow the example of the petty kings of Albarracín, Alpuente, Lérida and Tortosa, who complied with the order to join the army sent by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn against El Cid; the *Cantar* praises him yet again for the noble way in which he welcomed and accompanied the daughters of El Cid and the princes of Carrion on their unfortunate wedding journey, but the minstrel, instead of dealing dispassionately with this episode—so ill-fated in its outcome—cloaks it in a legend and, carried away by his manifest hatred when dealing with the courtly faction of El Cid's enemies, he derides the princes' cowardice at the battle of Cuarte and their panic before the lion let loose at the Valencian court, and lingers over the scene at Corpes, as cruel as it was unjust; such is his hatred that he goes so far as to ascribe to the princes the intention of killing Ibn Ghalbūn in order to steal from him the riches with which he had so splendidly regaled them; after the failure of this plan as a result of the denunciation of a Latinized Moor, he depicts El Cid's faithful friend as a perfect gentleman who cast their dishonourable conduct in their teeth, yet refrained from punishing them because they were the sons-in-law of his great friend El Cid to whom he restored his daughters.

So ends, in the *Cantar*, the passage through history of this Muslim leader, so highly praised for his loyalty and devotion to the Campeador, but we have strong reasons to tone down these eulogies, since the same person affirms: "Even if we wish him ill, we cannot do him harm, for his star is so favourable that, in peace as in war, he will always triumph; he is very dull-witted who does not recognize this truth". This realistic, indeed cynical approach has been clearly confirmed, for we now know that, once El Cid was dead and Valencia had been reconquered by the Almoravids, Ibn Ghalbūn saw the possibility of resisting and conquering the Aragonese on the battlefield; without hesitation, he hastened with his men to take part in the battle of Cutanda against Alfonso I, el Batallador, in the summer of the year 514/1120, alongside the governors of Lérida, Valencia and Granada, with the other local leaders who, like himself, had acknowledged and supported with their arms the rule of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. This interesting unpublished item of information is revealed by *al-Bayān al-mughrib*.

Nothing more is known about Ibn Ghalbūn, as the territory of Molina de Aragón was before long occupied by the conqueror of Cutanda and subsequently became the domain of Enrique de Lara and his descendants. It is very probable that he retired to Andalusia where we find two of his sons who, at the collapse of the Almoravid empire, following in their father's footsteps, succeeded in setting themselves up as petty kings of *taifas* at Jerez and Ronda. The elder, Abu ʾl-Ghamr ʿAzzūn, was quick to acknowledge the Almohades when they landed in Spain and gave them proofs of the sincerity of his allegiance, which were far greater and more effective than the gallant courtesies of his father towards El Cid. In contrast to the other petty Andalusian kings who rose up against ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, from the moment that he learnt of the revolt of al-Massī and of his first victory, he not only remained loyal, but also collaborated with Barrāz in the capture of Seville and with the brothers of al-Mahdī in expelling the Almoravids from Algeciras; he even accompanied them when they went to present themselves in Marrākush.

When Alfonso VII besieged Cordova, he contributed with great decisiveness and speed to the lifting of the siege by bringing into the stronghold the Almohad troops which were stationed in the *Sierra* of Cordova; finally, at the side of Sayyid Yūsuf, the son and future successor of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, he took part in the battle of Zaʿabula or Zaghabūḳa in Rabīʿ I 553/April-May 1158, in the region of el Viso and Mairena del Alcor, to the north of Alcalá de Guadaira, against the army from Avila commanded by the famous count Sancho Gimeno, the Hunchback; during the rout, this son of Ibn Ghalbūn died a martyr's death.

His brother Abu ʾl-ʿAlā, who helped him to seize Ronda, as well as the descendants of both brothers, occupied high posts in the Almohade administration and distinguished themselves by their loyalty, to which the Caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr bore witness most vividly when, in his testamentary speech, he recommended one of them as being "among the most intelligent and perfect men who have given their allegiance to the cause of Ibn Tūmart".

Bibliography: Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*[4], i, 498-9, 501; *El Cantar del mio Cid*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, verses 1517-28, 2635, 2659-88, 2978; Ibn ʿIdhārī, two unpublished folios of the Almoravid *Bayān* in the Library of al-Ḳarawiyyīn, Fez; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 98-9; A. Arenas, *Origenes del muy ilustre señorio de Molina de Aragón*, ch. IV-V, 83-136; A. Huici, *Historia politica del imperio almohade*, i, 383 and note 4; idem, *Un nuevo manuscrito de al-Bayān al-mugrib*, in *al-Andalus*, xxiv/1, 81-4. (A. Huici Miranda)

IBN GHALBŪN [see MUḤAMMAD B. KHALĪL].

IBN GHĀLIB, Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Gharnāṭī, historian and geographer, living in Granada in the 6th/12th century. His fame rests on an excellent work entitled *Farḥat* (or *Fardjat*) *al-anfus fī taʾrīkh al-Andalus*; the text has been lost, but lengthy extracts have been reproduced by al-Maḳḳarī, Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and others, and an abridged version of the geographical part, *Taʿlīḳ muntaḳā min Farḥat al-anfus fī taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, has been preserved (ed. Luṭfī ʿAbd al-Badīʿ in *RIMA*, i/2 (1955), 272-310). The passages quoted by al-Maḳḳarī are numerous, but the most extensive (*Analectes*, i, 184-90) gives interesting details about the habitats of the Arab tribes in Spain. The abridged version of the geographical part is much more valuable, for it contains the most important passages of the "Description of Spain" by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī [see AL-RĀZĪ] the text of which E. Lévi-Provençal tried to reconstruct without being able to take advantage of Ibn Ghālib's work, which was still unpublished and unknown (see *La "Description de*

l'Espagne" *d'Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, in *al-Andalus*, xviii/1 (1953), 51-108).

It is this *Taʿlīḳ* which supplies some details on the life of Ibn Ghālib. From it we learn that he was in the service of Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, governor of Granada and of many other Spanish provinces on behalf of his father ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and of his brother Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, from 552/1160 till his death in 571/1175-6 (see A. Huici Miranda, *Hist. pol. del imperio almohade*, Tetuan 1957, ii, 618-9). Al-Khazradjī (*apud* al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 126) declares that Ibn Ghālib wrote a great historical work going from the Creation to the history of Spain under the dynasty of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and adds that he left Spain in 565/1169-70. Thus the *Farḥat al-anfus* was a work on the history of al-Andalus, preceded by some chapters on universal history and on the geography of Spain.

Bibliography: besides the sources quoted: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1953, index s.vv. Ibn Ghālib and *Farḥat al-anfus*; Sakhāwī, *Iʿlān*, Cairo n.d., 122 (F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 384); Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index, s.v. Ibn Ghālib; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 123-4 (confuses him with Tammām b. Ghālib). (H. Monès)

IBN GHĀNIM, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Maḳdisī al-Wāʿiẓ, author of works on mysticism or edification, of whose life little is known. He is said to have died in 678/1279.

The best-known of his works is the *Kashf al-asrār ʿan (al-)ḥikam (al-mūdaʿa fī) al-ṭuyūr wa 'l-azhār*, published and translated by Garcin de Tassy, *Les oiseaux et les fleurs*, Paris 1821 (tr. reprinted in 1876 in *Allégories, récits poétiques*, etc.; German tr. Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg 1850; lith. text, Cairo 1275, 1280; Būlāḳ ed. 1270, 1290; Cairo 1280, etc.). There may also be mentioned: *Ḥall al-rumūz* (numerous manuscripts); *al-Ḳawl al-nafīs fī taflīs Iblīs*, Caire 1277, etc. (dialogue with Satan); and *al-Rawḍ al-anīḳ fi 'l-waʿẓ al-rashīḳ* (in manuscript).

Another Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, was a Ḥanafī *faḳīh* born in Cairo in 920/1514, and died there on 18 Djumādā II 1004/18 February 1596. Among his works may be mentioned the *Bughyat al-murtād fī taṣḥīḥ al-ṣād* (printed with the *Muḳābasāt* of al-Tawḥīdī), and some *Ḥawāshī ʿala 'l-Ḳāmūs* (see Brockelmann, S II, 234, 395).

Bibliography: Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, iv, 190; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, s.v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*; Cheikho, in *Machriq*, iv, 918-24; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 412; Brockelmann, I, 450, S I, 808-9. (Ed.)

IBN GHĀNIYA [see ghāniya, banū].

IBN GHANNĀM, Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Ghannām al-Ḥarrānī al-Numayrī al-Ḥanbalī al-Maḳdisī (d. 693/1294), is the author of a treatise on oneiromancy that was widely circulated, on account of its alphabetical arrangement which makes it rapid and simple to consult. He was thus the innovator of a system which, after his time, became widely adopted. His treatise, entitled *al-Muʿallam ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿdjam*, led oneiromancy away from the traditional paths by renouncing the plan inspired by that of the Book of Dreams of Artemidorus of Ephesus (ed. T. Fahd, Damascus 1964, *PIFD*) and sanctioned by Naṣr b. Yaʿḳūb al-Dīnawarī [*q.v.*] and by inaugurating the method of classification which was to be called the "key to dreams". The manuscript versions of this treatise are very numerous; the earliest that we have seen are: Istanbul,—Saray, Ahmet III, 3173 (729/1328-9) and 3172 (743/1342-3), Aya Sofya, 1730 (804/1401-2); Çorum, 3093 (826/1413-4); Istanbul Un. Lib. 4864 (920/1514-5) and Kastamonu, 2997 (954/1547-8). The Bursa manuscript, Ulucami 1986, is not dated, but it appears to be of considerable age; the end of the treatise is to be found on a leaf at the beginning of MS 1987, dated 745/1344-5; numerous lacunae in it have been filled in by a recent hand. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥ. al-Ḳudsī made an abridgement of it (cf. Saray, Ahmet III, 3164).

Another innovation is also owed to him, the versification of oneirocritical material in order to render it more easily memorized; indeed, he wrote a poem in *radjaz*, entitled *ʿArūs al-bustān fi 'l-nisāʾ wa 'l-aʿḍāʾ wa 'l-insān* (the poem entitled *Durrat al-aḥlām*, part of which follows his own poem in MS Berlin 4264 and which Brockelmann, II, 498, attributes to him, is by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī; cf. Süleymaniye-Yozgat, 788/1, fols. 1-52 r.) which is less widely distributed than *al-Muʿallam* (cf. Lâleli, 1636bis; Berlin, 4263); in it he tells us that he was the disciple of Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Sabtī al-Baghdādī. This procedure was to be developed by Zayn al-Dīn b. al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) in his *al-Alfiyya al-Wardiyya*, a youthful work, published in Cairo from 1285 A. H. onwards and with a commentary by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621; cf. Lâleli, 1659; Istanbul Un. Lib. A 4240), Muḥ. b. Djābir al-Miknāsī al-Ghassānī (d. 827/1424), the author of a long *manẓūma fi 'l-taʿbīr* (cf. Lâleli, 1661; Aya Sofia, 1729; comp. Brockelmann, S II, 367) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Sakan al-Muʿāfirī al-Mufassir (cf. Köprülü, 1202, dated 911/1505-6; Saray, Ahmet III, 3162, dated 920/1514). We may note that this system was already known to the Byzantines (cf. the collections in verse attributed to Astrampsychos and Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, d. 829, ed. by N. Rigaltius, following the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus of Ephesus and those of Ἀχμὲτ υἱὸς Σηρεΐμ, Paris 1603).

Finally, according to Brockelmann, S I, 913, Ibn Ghannām is the author of a poem entitled *Ḳilādat al-durr al-manthūr fī dhikr al-baʿth wa 'l-nushūr*, ed. Cairo 1302, in the margin of the *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib* of Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ibn al-Wardī (d. 850/1446).

Bibliography: in the text. (T. Fahd)

IBN GHANNĀM, Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Ghannām al-Iḥsāʾī, who died in 1225/1810 at al-Dirʿiyya, the first Wahhābī capital in Nadjd (Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān*, i, 149), was a faithful adherent of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*] and its first authentic chronicler. Little is known about his early life at al-Aḥsāʾ except that he studied theology and philology under the *ʿulamāʾ* there. He later moved to al-Dirʿiyya, where he at first attended the lectures of Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and thereafter taught Arabic and theology. The Shaykhs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Sulaymān, the two famous *ʿulamāʾ* and grandsons of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, were among his pupils at al-Dirʿiyya (Ibn Bishr, *ibid.*). Ibn Bishr mentions *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn fī sharḥ Uṣūl al-dīn* as one among many theological works by Ibn Ghannām (*ibid.*). He does not name any of the others, but Ibn Ghannām refers in his *Rawḍa* (p. 45) to another work of his, *Rafʿ al-malām ʿan al-aʾimma al-aʿlām*. His most famous work is *Rawḍat al-afkār wa 'l-afhām li murtād ḥāl al-imām wa taʿdād ghazawāt dhawī 'l-islām* (British Museum MSS Add. 19799-800 and Add. 23344-5; lith. Bombay 1919; Cairo 1949). Botb manuscripts and printed copies are very rare outside Saudi Arabia.

The *Rawḍa* is in two volumes:

(1) *Rawḍat al-afkār*, a theological exposition of Wahhābism divided into five chapters; the first reveals the religious situation in Arabia and the neighbouring Muslim territories where, according to the *Rawḍa*, Muslims are "sunk in the abyss of paganism, steeped in shame and defiled by the taint of corruption". Chapter two details the genealogy of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and his rise to fame. The *Rawḍa* differs markedly from another contemporary account, the *Lamʿ al-shihāb*. The comments of the author in the final three chapters reveal his vast theological knowledge. He is here commenting on some letters of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb sent to various dignitaries within and outside the Arabian peninsula. From internal evidence it is clear that the *Rawḍa* was written after the death of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

(2) *al-Ghazawāt al-bayāniyya wa 'l-futūḥāt al-rabbāniyya wa-dhikr al-sabab alladhī ḥamala ʿalā dhālik* is the earliest chronicle of the Wahhābī movement detailing its expansion in Arabia. It begins with the events of 1159/1746 and ends abruptly with the events of 1212/1797, despite the fact that the author lived until 1225/1810. It is an invaluable source for the 18th century history of Arabia, which surpasses in wealth of detail Ibn Bishr's *ʿUnwān al-madjd*. It is curious that the latter author, though a Wahhābī, does not mention Ibn Ghannām's History. Close examination of the two texts, however, reveals that Ibn Bishr modelled his work, which carries the Wahhābī history down to 1851, on Ibn Ghannām's *Ghazawāt* (with the principal difference that Ibn Bishr does not digress to describe religious matters).

Ibn Ghannām's *Ghazawāt* was used extensively by H. St. J. Philby and other writers in western languages, *e.g.*, Amīn al-Riḥānī, G. Rentz and R. B. Winder, in compiling their works on Arabia (cf. Bibl.).

Bibliography: Ibn Ghannām, *Rawḍāt al-afkār wa 'l-afhām li murtād ḥāl al-Imām wa taʿdād ghazawāt dhawī 'l-islām*, Bombay 1919; Amīn al-Riḥānī, *Ta'rīkh Nadjd al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1928; Ibn Bishr, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh, *ʿUnwān al-madjd fī ta'rīkh Nadjd*, Mecca 1930, i, 149; H. St. J. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, pp. ix, x, 4; idem, *Sa'udi Arabia*, New York 1955, 5, 80, 117-8; G. S. Rentz, *Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and the beginnings of the first unitarian empire in Arabia*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California 1948; R. B. Winder, *Sa'udi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965, 20, 233, 244; A. M. Abu-Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia*, Beirut 1965, 2-5; idem (ed.), *Lamʿ al-shihāb fī sīrat Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb*, Beirut 1967, 21-8; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Kuwayt*, i/1, Kuwait 1967, 22-8. (A. M. Abu-Hakima)

IBN AL-GHARĀBĪLĪ [see IBN ḲĀSIM AL-GHAZZĪ].

IBN GHARSIYA, Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad, Andalusian writer and poet, who spent his life at Denia in the service of the Slav (and former slave) Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], the ruler of this province from 400/1010 to 436/1044, and of his son ʿAlī Iḳbāl al-Dawla (436-68/1044-76). Both father and son had need of authors and poets to exalt the merits of the Slavs and to contest the alleged superiority of the other *reyes de taifas* of Arab origin; Ibn Gharsiya offered himself for this and, seizing the opportunity of an argument that had taken place between himself and a man of letters from Cordova called Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. al-Djazzār (or al-Kharrāz according to Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, 9; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 157, and al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 280, 327), he wrote a violent, insulting and bitter *risāla* against the Arabs, glorifying the Slavs, the Rūm and all the non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*); this *risāla* is perhaps the only real manifestation of Shuʿūbiyya in Muslim Spain; it takes up all the arguments against the Arabs put forward by all the Shuʿūbīs of the East, and presents them in a complicated style. This work brought fame to Ibn Gharsiya and provoked a number of contemporary authors to draw up even more violent replies in favour of the Arabs. Ibn Bassām reproduced the *risāla* and some of its replies in the *Dhakhīra* (iii, MS coll. Gayangos de la Real Acad. de la Historia, Madrid, no. 12, fols. 120 ff.); the text with some replies can be found again in MS 538 of the Escorial.

Besides the *risāla* we have some verses by Ibn Gharsiya, reproduced by Ibn Saʿīd, in praise of Iḳbāl al-Dawla (also called Muʿizz al-Dawla). According to Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ii, 406-7) and Yūsuf b. al-Shaykh al-Balawī (*Alif bā'*, Cairo 1287, i, 350), Ibn Gharsiya was of Basque origin; having been taken prisoner in his childhood he was brought up in the Islamic faith. Although he was proud of his non-Arab origin he was a fervent Muslim, very much attached to the Arabic language. No further information has come to light about his life and work.

Bibliography: mentioned in the text. The *Risāla* was published for the first time by I. Goldziher with a study on the *Shuʿūbiyya* in Muslim Spain in his article: *Die Šuʿūbiyya unter den Muhammedanern in Spanien*, in *ZDMG*, 1898; ed. by ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1950, with the replies; ed. by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī in his essay: *al-Ṣaḳāliba fī Isbānyā* (publ. of the *IEI* Madrid), 1950, 31 ff. (H. Monès)

IBN AL-GHASĪL [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤANẒALA].

IBN GHĀZĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUthmānī, Moroccan scholar of the 9th/15th century, was born at Meknès in 858/1454 and died in 919/1513 at Fez, where his tomb may still be seen. Of his many works (full list in *Chorfa*, p. 230, n. 2) the most useful to present-day scholars is *al-Rawḍ al-hatūn fī akhbār Miknāsat al-Zaytūn* (Fez 1326/1908; partial tr. Houdas, *Monographie de Méquinez*, in *JA*, i (1885), 101-47).

Bibliography: Lévi-Provençal, *Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 224 (full treatment).

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN GHURĀB, Saʿd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (ca. 779/1377-808/1406), was for ten years during the reigns of Sultan Barḳūḳ and his son Faradj an important figure in the civilian bureaucracy of the Mamluk state. In his brief lifetime, Ibn Ghurāb typifies, in some ways, the precarious career of a Mamluk bureaucrat. His grandfather, Shams al-Dīn Ghurāb, was a Copt who, after conversion to Islam, served as Controller (*nāẓir*) of Alexandria, a post he passed on to his son ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, the father of Ibrāhīm. From childhood Ibrāhīm was under the tutelage of the Majordomo (*ustādār*) of Sultan Barḳūḳ, Djamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who took him to Cairo and later entered him into his household service. Ibrāhīm is held responsible for Maḥmūd's fall from favour, imprisonment and expropriation, receiving as a reward first the post of Controller of the Special Bureau (*nāẓir al-dīwān al-mufrad*), and shortly thereafter that of Controller of Privy Funds (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*) in 798/1396, when he was not yet 20 years old. His career continued to flourish during the remaining years of Sultan Barḳūḳ's reign. In 801/1399 he added the position of Controller of the Army (*nāẓir al-djaysh*) to his

previous post and manoeuvred his less-talented older brother, Fak͟hr al-Dīn Mād̲j̲id (d. 811/1409), into the position of vizier. Owing to internal Mamluk squabbles after Barḳūḳ's death, Ibrāhīm and Mād̲j̲id were dismissed and imprisoned, then reinstated, but once again forced to flee Cairo during the year 802/1400. Reinstated once again in 803 as Majordomo, and adding the title of Emir of the Council (*amīr mad̲j̲lis*) in 804, Ibrāhīm was again in trouble a year later but recovered his political position to such an extent that within a short time he became the real power in the state (cf. Ibn Iyās, i, 347). He was named Privy Secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) and Head of the Advisory Council (*ra'‌s mas͟hwara*). Temporarily blocked during the two and a half month period in which Sultan Farad̲j̲ was deposed and his younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reigned, Ibrāhīm was instrumental in returning Farad̲j̲ to the throne and was rewarded with the rank of Emir of the First Class. Shortly thereafter, he fell ill and died after a long illness, not yet thirty years old. At the time of his death he was referred to as "*al-ḳāḍī al-amīr* . . .".

The Arabic sources are sharply divided in their attitude towards Ibn G͟hurāb. His personal generosity, especially during the great plague of 807/1405, is highly praised by Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī (*Manhal*, i, 93) and Ibn Iyās (*Ta'rīk͟h*, i, 348), and his character is lauded (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, vi, 277), but he is also sharply denounced as having ruined the countryside by his rapacious levies (cf. ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-K͟hiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya*, i, 43) and his manipulation of the price of gold (Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 420). His tomb in the desert north of Cairo still exists under the name of *turbat al-S͟hayk͟h G͟hurāb* (*Bulletin du Comité de l'art arabe, Index Général*, p. 61) and a *k͟hānḳāh* built by him in Cairo preserves a fragmentary inscription giving his titulary of the period 803-5/1401-3 (*CIA*, Egypte, i, 627).

Bibliography: Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, *Manhal* (ed. Nad̲j̲ātī), i, 85-93; G. Wiet, *Les secrétaires de la chancellerie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, i, 277-83; Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 42, 62, 292, 396, 419-20; Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, vi, 3, 6, 14, 72, 91-2, 109, 115, 152, 276-7; Ibn Iyās, i, 304, 316, 319, 321, 324-5, 330, 331, 339, 347-9; Ibn al-Furāt, ix/2, 411, 429, 442, 454, 477; al-Sak͟hāwī, *Ḍaw'*, i, 65-7 (referring to a detailed biography by al-Maḳrīzī in his unpublished *ʿUḳūd*).

For a brief biography of his brother Mād̲j̲id, see the obituary notice in Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, vi, 290; al-Sak͟hāwī, *Daw'*, v, 234. (W. M. BRINNER)

IBN AL-HABBĀRIYYA, ABŪ YAʿLĀ AL-S͟HARĪF NIẒĀM AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ṢĀLIḤ AL-ʿABBĀSĪ AL-HĀS͟HIMĪ, Arab poet of the Sald̲j̲ūḳid period, a descendant of the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], who is named after his maternal grandfather, a certain Habbār. He was born probably in Bag͟hdād (though it is also said that he was born in Ād͟harbayd̲j̲ān) before the middle of the 5th/11th century and followed the traditional pattern of study so thoroughly as to be included among the transmitters of *ḥadīt͟h*, but he could not bring himself to take an interest in theological discussions and preferred to spend his time in the night haunts of Ḳuṭrabbul [*q.v.*] in the company of wits and the gilded youth of the time; his frequenting of these places led him to an inclination for sexual perversions, as he himself admits in his verses. However, his great poetic talent, his incisive wit, and his mastery in the use of the Arabic language saved him from complete degeneration by leading him to devote himself to poetry. In order to obtain the money necessary for his life of pleasure he was forced to sing the praises of the great men of his day, at first of the D̲j̲ahīrids [see D̲J̲AHĪR] of Bag͟hdād. But his inclination for satire made him unsuited to this kind of servile flattery and he soon fell foul of his patrons; when, for example, the young Ibn D̲j̲ahīr became for the second time vizier of the caliph in 484/1091, he greeted this appointment with a biting satire which was soon on everyone's lips. His habit of attacking his contemporaries soon made him unbearable, and he was forced to go and try his fortunes in Iṣfahān, in the circle of Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who finally admitted him to his entourage; by his tactlessness, however, he incurred the wrath of his patron, who, after having ordered his execution, finally pardoned him thanks to the intervention of the *faḳīh* Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-K͟hus͟handī. He also enjoyed the patronage of Tād̲j̲ al-Mulk and of Mad̲j̲d al-Mulk, but a poem in which he expressed his rancour against all the important persons of the time—the caliph al-Muḳtadī (467-87/1075-94), Malikshāh (465-85/1072-92), Niẓām al-Mulk, and Tād̲j̲ al-Mulk himself—earned him so many enemies that after the assassination of Tād̲j̲ al-Mulk (in 486/1093), who had re-admitted him to his favour, he was forced to leave Iṣfahān and go, at a date unknown, to Kirmān; here he addressed his eulogies to the vizier Mukram b. al-ʿAlā' and particularly to the Sald̲j̲ūḳid Īrāns͟hāh [*q.v.*], who reigned there from 489 to 494/1096 to 1101. But it was to his former patron, Mad̲j̲d al-Mulk, that he dedicated, between 489 and 492, his verse rendering of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* entitled *Natā'id̲j̲ al-fiṭna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*; and it was to the Mazyadid Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr that, after the foundation of al-Ḥilla (495/1101-2), he sent his other book *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāg͟him*. At this time he had not left Kirmān, where he died probably in 509/1115-6 (rather than 504/1110-1) at a very advanced age (95 years, it is said).

Ibn al-Habbāriyya left a *Dīwān* which must have been very extensive, since it consisted of three or four volumes, but there remain only a few extracts from it, which have survived thanks to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (*K͟harīdat al-Ḳaṣr*, MS Leiden Or. 21a); the genres most fully represented are *suk͟hf* [*q.v.*], satire, and next panegyrics and love poetry. In the first two genres the poet imitates Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ [*q.v.*], as ʿImād al-Dīn noticed, but he seems, like his model, to present a curious example of split personality, for he can on occasion compose more respectable poems and, what is more, set himself up as the preacher of a high moral standard. Ibn al-Habbāriyya is in fact the author not only of the verse rendering (in *rad̲j̲az* metre) of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* mentioned above (Bombay 1304/1886 and 1317/1899; Baʿabda (Lebanon) 1900, by Niʿmat Allāh al-Asmār, who took some liberties with the original text) but also of the *Kitāb al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāg͟him*, a collection of *urd̲j̲ūza*s totalling 2,000 verses and consisting first of an episodic story where a character in a tale tells in his turn another tale, then of animal stories inspired by *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and finally of some moralizing passages; this work, on which the writer is said to have worked for ten years, is very popular in the East, where it has been published in three editions: Cairo 1292/1875-6, Beirut 1886, Cairo 1936. The *Fulk al-maʿānī* is a kind of anthology in 12 chapters consisting of anecdotes in prose and verse (see Sibṭ Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, MS Paris 1505, 281a-284a; Barthold, in *Zap. Vost. Otd. Imp. Ark͟h. Obč.*, xviii,

0144 ff.). Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vi, 297) mentions in passing a *K. al-Laḳā'iṭ*, which was probably a work of lexicography. His *urdjūza* on chess formed part of the *Ṣādiḥ*; it is to be found at the end of the Paris manuscript of the *Kharīdat al-ʿadjā'ib*.

Bibliography: besides the references in the text: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 587b; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, Cairo 1294, 437; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, MS Paris 2146, 58a, 60a, 103a, 104-5; Yāḳūt, i, 555, 694, ii, 46, iv, 809; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 367-8; Ibn Khallikān, i, 283, ii, 386-9, 484, iii, 435; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, i, 266-7; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Istanbul 1931, i, 124, 130-3; Sarkīs, 271-2; *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'hist. des Seldj.*, ii, 65 and index; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, ii, 171-4; F. al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iv, 116-7; Brockelmann, I, 252-3, S I, 440; A. Dj. Āl Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdad 1961, i, 124-45 and index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ḤABḤĀB [see ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. AL-ḤABḤĀB].

IBN ḤABĪB, ABŪ MARWĀN ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ḤABĪB AL-SULAMĪ, Andalusian scholar claiming descent from the Arab family of Sulaym b. Manṣūr; he was born at Ḥiṣn Wāṭ (identified by Simonet with Huétor Vega), about 180/796 and died at Cordova in 238/853. He studied at Elvira and Cordova, and after he had made the pilgrimage and become acquainted with the doctrine of Mālik [*q.v.*] at Medina became one of his most ardent propagandists in Muslim Spain, where the school of al-Awzāʿī [*q.v.*] had dominated until then. By virtue of his exceptional erudition he became known as the scholar of Spain *par excellence* and was compared with Saḥnūn b. Saʿīd [*q.v.*], the famous jurist of Ifrīḳiya. According to his own account, his works numbered 1050, but of them none remain but an unpublished manuscript preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford, which, despite its antiquity, is of little value. This account, in which he mingles Biblical history with that of Muḥammad and the first Caliphs, the history of al-Andalus with theological questions, is full of fabulous material. Travellers from Spain, greeted in the East as ignorant rustics, accepted as historical truth Egyptian legends which spoke of a country of djinns, of enchanted palaces, of moving statues, and of devils imprisoned in boxes by Satan, such as are reproduced in the History of the conquests of Egypt and the Maghrib by the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, no. 1053; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rīkh*, no. 814; Abu 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamā' Ifrīḳiya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1915, 80, 81 (tr. M. Ben Cheneb, *Classes des Savants de l'Ifrīqīya*, Algiers 1920, 151); Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 28; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 56; Pons Boigues, 29 ff.; González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 141; Brockelmann, I, 149-50, S I, 231. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

IBN ḤABĪB, BADR AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. ʿUMAR AL-DIMASHḲĪ AL-ḤALABĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ (710/1310-779/1377), scholar and jurist, author of several historical, juridical, and poetic works, was born in Damascus. His father Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar (663/1265-726/1326) was appointed Market-inspector (*muḥtasib*) and teacher of tradition in Aleppo, and the family moved to that city. In 733/1332 and again in 739/1338, Ibn Ḥabīb made the pilgrimage to Mecca and during these journeys visited Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Hebron. He held judicial posts in Aleppo such as Scribe of the Judiciary (*kātib al-ḥukm*) and Scribe of the Chancery (*kātib al-inshā'*). He became a well-known writer in his own lifetime. In 755/1354 he visited Tripoli, where he was honoured and rewarded by the Mamluk viceroy of that town, Mandjak al-Nāṣirī, who persuaded him to remain there for two years. In 759/1358, after Mandjak became viceroy of Damascus, he invited Ibn Ḥabīb to that city from his home in Aleppo and the scholar, once more the centre of attention and respect, remained there for three years before returning to Aleppo, where he lived until his death in 779/1377.

Of his many works, largely in the form of poetry or rhymed prose, only ten are known to be extant. By far the most famous of these is his history (in rhymed prose) of the Mamluk Empire from its beginning to his own time, 648/1250-777/1375, called *Durrat al-aslāk fī dawlat (mulk) al-atrāk*. His son, Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, continued the work from 778 to 801 (1376-1399). In 1846 H. E. Weijers and A. Meursinge published the Introduction, the first year, and excerpts from succeeding years, primarily the valuable biographical notes. In 1913 P. Leander published the Introduction and the first eight years in full. Another work, *Nasīm al-ṣabā*, consisting of poetry and rhymed prose about nature and human existence, has been reprinted at least three times during the past century. Some of his other extant unpublished works are a history of princes and prophets from ancient times to his day, *Kitāb al-Mushadjdjar fi 'l-ta'rīkh* (see Rosenthal, *Historiography*[2], 97); a history of the Mamluk sultan Ḳalāwūn and his sons (*Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīh*); a formulary for juridical decisions (*Kashf al-murūṭ ʿan maḥāsin al-shurūṭ*); and several collections of poetry, mostly in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad.

A most critical evaluation of his work as an historian comes from Ibn Taghrībirdī, who wrote (*Nudjūm*, v, 331): "He was the paragon of his age in the scribal art (*insha'*) and in formulating judicial decisions (*shurūṭ*) ... His History is in *radjaz*-metre and is of little worth and quite inexact. I have, therefore, cited it only rarely. If a rhyme did not please him he would omit a datum. This is not my way of writing history".

Bibliography: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal* (Wiet), no. 1720; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 29; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamluks*, i/b, 204 (incorrect dates given there); Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 440; Brockelmann, II, 36; S II, 35; *Orientalia*, Leiden 1846, ii, 197-489; P. Leander, *Aus ... bin Ḥabīb's* Durrat al-aslāk, in *Le Monde Oriental*, vii (1913), 1-81, 242-3. (W. M. BRINNER)

IBN ḤABĪB, MUḤAMMAD [see MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB].

IBN AL-ḤADDĀD, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ʿUTHMĀN AL-ḲAYSĪ, Andalusian poet from Cadix (Wādī Āsh), whence his *nisba*, al-Wādī Āshī; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 133, says that he was also called Māzin. He spent the greater part of his life at Almeria, as court poet to al-Muʿtaṣim (Muḥammad b. Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ, 443-90/1051-97). Towards 461/1068-9 he had to flee from Almeria and take refuge for some time in Saragossa in order to escape the wrath of Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, against whom he had written some satirical verses. Later he returned to Almeria where he remained till his death in 480/1088.

Ibn al-Ḥaddād was a poet, a prose writer and a scholar. His poetry is abundant, diverse, rich and full of agreeable images and subtle metaphors, but less so in his panegyrics than in his love poems. Well

known among his poems are those dedicated to a Christian nun called Nuwayra who, according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, Cairo 1924, i, 385), was a Coptic nun living in the convent of Rīfa, to the north of Asyūṭ, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Ibn al-Ḥaddād had seen her while going through Ḳūṣ to ʿAydhāb in order to embark for the Ḥidjāz; her beauty dazzled him to the extent that he forgot to make his pilgrimage and settled near the convent for a long time; she continued to inspire him long after his return to Spain. The odes addressed to Nuwayra are his best poetry. The *dīwān* of Ibn al-Ḥaddād was voluminous and the poems were even arranged in alphabetical order of the rhymes. He was particularly proud of a *ḳaṣīda* in *sīn* which he called *ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa* (garden of truth) and of which we only possess two verses; they show his tendency to meditation and his liking for *ḥikma* poetry which he called *falsafiyyātī* (my philosophical poems). His prose is pedantic and encumbered with far-fetched images and expressions; most of the prose passages reproduced by Ibn Bassām show a deep unhappiness and a quarrelsome nature. Ibn al-Abbār attributes to him a work on prosody entitled *al-Mustanbaṭ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 133; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 301-36; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1953, i, 143-5; idem, *Rāyāt*, Madrid 1942, 74-5/234-5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, ii, 250-1; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 80; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 86; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, ii, 167; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, i, Cairo 1924, 384-6; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, MS Dār al-kutub, Cairo, xii, fol. 54; Ḳifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, MS Dār al-kutub, fol. 32; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 338-9 and index; Dozy, *Recherches*[2], i, 253-6; Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, Baltimore 1946, 194-5; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (H. Monés)

IBN ḤADJAR AL-ʿASḲALĀNĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar, judge, and historian (773-852/1372-1449), whose life work constitutes the final summation of the science of *ḥadīth* and makes him one of the greatest and, at the same time, most typical representatives of Muslim religious scholarship. He himself did not know the origin of his family name Ibn Ḥadjar. The *nisba* ʿAskalānī was considered by family tradition to go back to 587/1191, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered ʿAskalān [*q.v.*] to be destroyed and its Muslim inhabitants resettled elsewhere. Ibn Ḥadjar's forebears went to Alexandria and eventually to Cairo, where Ibn Ḥadjar was born on 22 Shaʿbān 773/28 February 1372. His paternal grandfather seems to have been a cloth manufacturer in Alexandria. His father, who was in or approaching his fifties when Ibn Ḥadjar was born, had received a good legal training but had been forced to give up an incipient career in the judiciary. He was a devoted writer of occasional poetry. He published a collection of poetry in praise of the Prophet and the Sanctuary in Mecca as well as an *urdjūza* recounting those acts of divine grace of the holy man al-Ṣanāfīrī (d. 26 Shaʿbān 772/15 March 1371, cf. *Durar*, iv, 131 f.) which he had witnessed personally. He died on Wednesday, 23 (25) Radjab 777/19 December 1375. His son later remembered him only dimly "like some unreal phantom of the imagination" (cf. *Durar*, iii, 117, and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 252 f.). Ibn Ḥadjar was now a full orphan, as his mother Tudjdjār had died earlier. It seems to have been Tudjdjār who brought additional wealth and connexions into the family. She belonged to a certain Ziftāwī family, and her brother was a Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchant. She had been married before to Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muhaymin, an adherent of Ibn al-ʿArabī's mystic philosophy, and she left a considerable fortune to her son from this marriage (*Ḍawʾ*, ii, 184); thus, she must have been of independent means.

Ibn Ḥadjar's father had another son from a previous marriage, who was a promising scholar but died young. Tudjdjār bore him a daughter born in Arabia on the pilgrimage and appropriately named Umm Muḥammad Sitt al-Rakb (b. Radjab 770/February 1369, d. Djumādā II 798/February-March 1396). She was three years older than her brother and was "my mother after my mother's death." She later married Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the well-known Kharrūbī family of Kārimī merchants, whose maternal grandfather Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bālisī represented another influential Kārimī family and who himself died in 833/1429-30 as a very wealthy man (*Ḍawʾ*, viii, 246 f.), although his father had managed to run through several fortunes and had died bankrupt (*Ḍawʾ*, vi, 92). For the young son, Muḥammad, and the daughter, Fawz, of Umm Muḥammad, their twenty-four year old uncle Ibn Ḥadjar solicited a number of *idjāzas* (cf. H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 82, and *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 116). Another Kharrūbī, Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who, starting out as a scholar, had become extremely wealthy and the head of his family through repeated inheritances (*Durar*, i, 450 f.), entered Ibn Ḥadjar's life upon the death of his father who had designated Zakī al-Dīn as the principal guardian of his son. In 784/1382-3, Zakī al-Dīn took the eleven-year old Ibn Ḥadjar on the Pilgrimage to Mecca (where he had already been once before with his father). He returned with him in 786 and died soon after, in Muḥarram 787/February 1385. He is supposed to have been a second cousin of the Kharrūbī who married Ibn Ḥadjar's sister.

Ibn Ḥadjar's background was that of long established mercantile wealth and of the kind of usually non-professional but very intense interest in religious learning that was characteristic of the Muslim upper middle classes. The loss of his parents meant no material deprivation for him (for instance, he was able to stay in the house in which he was born until he married). It seems to have had a somewhat retarding influence on his early education inasmuch as he went to school only when he was five. He had memorized the Ḳurʾān by the age of nine. The sojourn in Arabia with Zakī al-Dīn meant no interruption of his studies. These began in earnest after his return to Egypt and Zakī al-Dīn's death. According to the custom of the time, he recorded his studies in the minutest detail, with the names of all his teachers and the books he read, in a series of works, such as *al-Muʿdjam al-mufahras* (autograph Istanbul, Murad Molla 603, cf. Ritter, *loc. cit.*; important mss. in Cairo, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* 82, and in Leningrad, cf. V. Rosen, in *Bulletin de l'Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, xxvi (1880), 18-26, reprinted in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, viii (1881), 691-702), the *Madjmaʿ al-muʾassas bi(li)-'l-Muʿdjam al-mufahras* (Cairo, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* 75; M. Weisweiler, *Istanbuler Handschriftenstudien*, Leipzig 1937, no. 105), the *Maḳāṣid al-ʿaliyyāt* (*ʿaliyya*) *fī fihrist al-marwiyyāt* (*al-kutub wa-'l-adjzāʾ al-marwiyya*) (= ms. Berlin 10123; Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Damascus 1366/1947, 310), and the *Mashyakha* (Istanbul, Feyzullah 534, cf. Ritter,

loc. cit.), to which should be added his *Tadhkira* with the autograph *idjāza*s of his teachers (Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3139, cf. Ritter, *loc. cit.*). Another of Ibn Ḥadjar's guardians and early academic teachers, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, influenced the direction of his studies in an important respect. He introduced him to historical literature and stimulated his interest in the historical side of religious studies. When Ibn Ḥadjar decided to specialize in *ḥadīth*, Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 806/1404) became his principal teacher. He also seems to have profited greatly from his contact with ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa with whom he studied from 790/1388 until Ibn Djamāʿa's death in 819/1416. However, none of his teachers exercised upon him the overpowering influence which he himself came to exercise later on upon some of his students.

Ibn Ḥadjar took his first steps into scholarly *ḥadīth* research at the age of twenty. The decision to devote himself entirely to it came three years later, in 796/1393-4. In Shaʿbān 798/May 1396 his guardian and teacher, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, arranged for him to marry a girl from a highly respected family, then about eighteen years old, Uns, a daughter of the Inspector of the Army (*nāẓir al-djaysh*) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad. On her mother's side, she was a great-granddaughter of a daughter of Mankūtimur, who had inaugurated the College named after him shortly before his death in 698/1298. Ibn Ḥadjar moved into the family mansion of his wife, where he lived until he died. There were later marriages, but no other wife of his was ever brought into the house to live with Uns under the same roof. Uns herself survived him by almost fourteen years (d. Rabīʿ I 867/November-December 1462, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 10 f.) He had spent the months preceding his marriage in Alexandria, in study and research, and the following year, in Shawwāl 799/July 1397, he left for the Ḥidjāz and the Yemen on a journey which extended into 801/1398. The year thereafter, he studied in Palestine and Syria. Although he later went on the Pilgrimage several times, re-visited the Yemen in 806/1403, and undertook a lecture and study tour of Syria in 836-7/1432-3 in the entourage of Barsbāy [*q.v.*], his student travels ended when he returned from Syria in 803/1400. The last years of the eighth century also saw the beginnings of his work as an author. His earliest recorded publication was a paper on prosody written in 795/1392-3. A laudatory book-notice (*taḳrīẓ*) on al-Damāmīnī's *Nuzūl al-ghayth* dating from the same year is quoted by al-Sakhāwī, *Djawāhir*, fol. 190a. Much of the poetry in his highly esteemed *Dīwān* (preserved in manuscript) was also the product of his younger years. Many of his large later works were conceived and begun during this period.

His professional career followed the usual pattern of lecturer, professor and head of college, and, finally, judge, with many other activities, such as those of *muftī*, preacher, and librarian, included. There were some minor annoyances as well as the customary frequent interruptions in his tenure of the judgeship, but otherwise his career proceeded smoothly toward ever growing fame and success. His lectures on *ḥadīth* started in Shawwāl 808/March 1406 in the Shaykhūniyya. Later on, he gave lectures .lso in the renovated Djamāliyya when it was opened in Radjab 811/November 1408, and in the Mankūtimuriyya (Djumādā II 812/October 1409). His principal academic association was with the Khānḳāh al-Baybarsiyya. He was installed as its head in control of both educational and administrative matters (*mashyakha* and *naẓar*) on 3 Rabīʿ I 813/6 July 1410. In 816/1413, he lost the position but was re-instated in Rabīʿ II 818/June 1415, to retain the position for almost thirty-one years until he was ousted on 20 Djumādā I 849/24 August 1445. He transferred his teaching activities to the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyya, while all the time using his influence in attempts to regain control of the Baybarsiyya. On 2 Rabīʿ II 852/6 June 1448 his efforts were successful, and he taught again in the Baybarsiyya for the few remaining months before his final illness in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda of the same year (January 1449). An improvement introduced during his administration of the Baybarsiyya was an alphabetical filing system for the beneficiaries of the institution, which was imitated by other colleges and by the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*. In addition to other lecturerships in *ḥadīth* and, occasionally, in *tafsīr* and *fiḳh*, Ibn Ḥadjar held the office of *muftī* in the Dār al-ʿAdl from 811/1408-9 until his death, and that of associate preacher and *imām* in the Mosque of al-Azhar and the Mosque of ʿAmr. In 826/1423, he took over the administration of the library of the Maḥmūdiyya with its approximately 4,000 valuable manuscripts. During his librarianship, which lasted until his death, he compiled two catalogues, one arranged alphabetically and the other according to topics.

A judgeship, which he did not accept, was offered to him in the Yemen in his early years. Reluctantly, he had been holding an associate judgeship in conjunction with Djalāl al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī when his great opportunity came on 27 Muḥarram 827/31 December 1423 (*Djawāhir*: Saturday, 22 Muḥarram/Sunday, 26 December). He was dismissed for the first time less than eleven months later, but the office of Chief Judge of Egypt (and Syria) remained his for a combined total of about twenty-one years. He was re-instated on 2 Radjab 828/20 May 1425; dismissed on 26 Ṣafar 833/24 November 1429, and re-instated on 26 Djumādā I 834/9 February 1431; dismissed on 5 Shawwāl 840/12 April 1437, and re-instated on 6 Shawwāl 841/2 April 1438; dismissed in Muḥarram 844/June 1440, and re-instated on 26 Ṣafar 844/27 July 1440; dismissed on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 846/17 March 1443, and re-instated after two days (followed by another even briefer period out of office in Rabīʿ I 848/June 1444); dismissed on 11 Muḥarram 849/19 April 1445 (after the collapse of a minaret with much loss of life, when attempts were made to hold the office of the Chief Judge responsible for the safety of the structure), and re-instated on 5 Ṣafar 850/2 May 1446; dismissed in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 850/March 1447, and re-instated on 8 Rabīʿ II 852/11 June 1448. He lost the office finally on 25 Djumādā II 852/26 August 1448. A few months later, about an hour after the evening prayer in the night of Saturday, on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 852/Saturday, 22 February 1449, he died. His last will and testament, with a variety of individual bequests, has been preserved (*Djawāhir*, fols. 324b-325b; also ms. Istanbul, Reis ül-küttap 498, fols. 173b-175a). His physical appearance and his qualities of character as well as his religious and moral behaviour are described by his pupil al-Sakhāwī as completely conforming to the ideal standards of Islam, and there seem to have been few dissenting voices among his biographers, al-Biḳāʿī being a notable exception (cf. *Ḍawʾ*, i, 104 f.). He was a good chess player, and he seems to have remained fond of poetry throughout his life.

Amidst all the success and acclaim which he found as a scholar, teacher, and official, his family life was not free of great disappointments. His wife,

Uns, bore him no living male children but only five daughters, and he survived all of them by many years. His eldest daughter, Zayn Khātūn (802-833/1399-1429/30, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 51), married a Mamlūk official, Shāhīn al-ʿAlāʾī (d. 860/1456, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, iii, 296). Their surviving son, Yūsuf (828-99/1425-93, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, x, 313-18; Brockelmann, S II, 76; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 370), made something of a name for himself as a scholar, but he hardly fulfilled Ibn Ḥadjar's hope for a successor. He aroused al-Sakhāwī's ire by presuming to correct alleged mistakes in the work of his grandfather. The second daughter, Farḥa (804-28/1402-25, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 115), barely lived long enough to be married to Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ashḳar (d. 863/1458-9). The third and fifth daughters, Ghāliya (807-19/1405-16, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 85) and Fāṭima (817-19/1414-16, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 88), did not even reach early maturity. The fourth, Rābiʿa (811-32/1408-28/29, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 34), was married at the age of fifteen to the elderly former judge Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Maknūn, who died soon after (779-829/1377-1426, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 208); in a second marriage, she married the widower of her late sister Farḥa, Ibn al-Ashḳar. A Tatar (Turkish) slave girl of Uns, whom he removed from his house by subterfuge, gave Ibn Ḥadjar his only surviving son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (b. 18 Ṣafar 815/30 May 1412, d. 16 Djumādā II 869/13 February 1465, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 20). There is good reason to suspect that he was not qualified for the scholarly positions in which his father tried to place him, nor was he a good administrator of either college finances or his own. Of Ibn Ḥadjar's marriages in his later years, that to Laylā bint Maḥmūd b. Ṭūghān (d. about eighty years old in 881/1476, cf. *Ḍawʾ*, xii, 123), contracted in Aleppo on his journey to Syria in 836/1432, lasted until his death.

Ibn Ḥadjar's enduring fame was earned by his numerous works mainly on the science of *ḥadīth* and covering its entire range. Their volume alone presupposes the expenditure of a staggering and almost incredible amount of time and labour. Only some of the most famous ones can be mentioned here. In his lifetime, he was most admired for his work on al-Bukhārī. He securely established his scholarly reputation in his early thirties when, in 804/1401-2, he completed the draft of, and three years later published a work on the *isnād*s of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, entitled *Taʿlīḳ al-Taʿlīḳ* (*Djawāhir*, fol. 61a; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 534 f., ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, 552). The introduction to his great commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, entitled *Fatḥ al-bārī* (Brockelmann, S I, 262; Cairo 1959-63), was completed in 813/1410-11, and the commentary itself came gradually into being in lecture courses extending from 817/1414 to its final completion on 1 Radjab 842/18 December 1438. The fame of the work was so great that in 833/1429-30 the Timurid ruler of Fārs and Sidjistān, Shāh Rukh, asked Egypt's ruler Barsbāy to secure for him copies of the material published so far, as was done also by the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz from the other end of the Muslim world. Of Ibn Ḥadjar's large biographical dictionaries, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* (Calcutta 1856-93) deals with the men around Muḥammad, and the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (clean-copied in part already in 807/1404-5, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1325-7) and the *Lisān al-Mīzān* (Ḥaydarābād 1329-31) with traditionists, the latter (finished in draft form in 847/1443-4) also including many men having very tenuous connexions with *ḥadīth*. The biographies of Egyptian judges, *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (Cairo 1957-61; a MS written by his grandson Yūsuf is preserved in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Molla Çelebi 123), show Ibn Ḥadjar's literary interests in addition to his concern with his own position in history, while *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina* (Ḥaydarābād 1348-50), containing biographies of all the noteworthy individuals who died in the 8th/14th century, is the first of the all-inclusive centenary biographical collections. An annalistic supplement to the *Durar*, with the individual biographies arranged alphabetically within each year, was continued by Ibn Ḥadjar down to the year 832/1428-9 (ms. photo. Cairo, *taʾrīkh* 4767, possibly identical with the autograph known to al-Sakhāwī, *Djawāhir*, fol. 183b, as being in the possession of Ibn al-Lubūdī in Damascus). An annalistic history of noteworthy events from 773/1372, the year of his birth, to 850/1446 has the title *Inbāʾ al-ghumr* (cf. O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, in *Abh. K. M.*, xix/3 (1932), 85-7; Hasan Habashi, *Historical studies on the* Inbāʾ al-Ghumr *of Ibn Ḥajar*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, London 1955). Most of the above-mentioned works, and everything else he wrote, are admittedly to a large degree mechanical compilations; the bulk of their material (except for contemporary data) consists of excerpts from one or more similar compilations by earlier authors. However, Ibn Ḥadjar was extremely thorough and aimed at completeness. He was never quite satisfied with the amount of information he was able to gather. His approach was, within limits, critical. He always looked out for additional material with which to enrich and clarify the information furnished by his predecessors. In this spirit, he created handbooks of an enormous scope and laudable accuracy. They summarize practically all the earlier relevant literature and have remained indispensable reference works for present-day scholars.

Bibliography: Brief third-person autobiography in *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, i, 85-8.—Autobibliography used by al-Sakhāwī, *al-Djawāhir wa-'l-durar fī tardjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥadjar*. The *Djawāhir* is a truly comprehensive and informative biography. It has been used here as the basic source, following ms. Istanbul, Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III, 2991 (other MSS.: Paris 2105; Tarīm, cf. R. B. Serjeant, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 307). —Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, ii, 36-40, where many contemporary biographies are mentioned (among them eight from the works of men who predeceased Ibn Ḥadjar). Only a few of these are preserved so far as is known, but excerpts from many of them are to be found in the *Djawāhir*.—See further, Brockelmann, II, 80-84, 676, S II, 72-6, III, 1252; *EI*[1] and *Supplement*, s.v. Ibn Ḥadjar.—For autograph mss. and *idjāza*s, see, for instance, O. Spies, *op. cit.*, 114 (autograph of *Tahdhīb*); H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 79-83; F. Ben Achour, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists*, Leiden 1957, ii, 188; L. Nemoy, *Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University Library*, New Haven 1956, Pl. III.—Recent editions of hitherto unpublished works: *al-Khiṣāl al-mukaffira*, ed. M. Riyāḍ Māliḥ, Damascus 1383/1963; *al-Mashyakha al-bāsima li-'l-Ḳibābī*, ed. J. Sublet (unpublished diss., cf. *Annuaire 1964-5, École Pratique des Hautes Études*, 425 f.); *Tabṣīr al-muntabih*, ed. ʿAlī al-Badjāwī, Cairo 1965-. (F. Rosenthal)

IBN ḤADJAR AL-HAYTAMĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥadjar, Shihāb al-Dīn, al-Haytamī (not al-Hay-

thamī) AL-SAʿDĪ (after the Banū Saʿd in the Sharkiyya province of Lower Egypt, where his family was originally settled), a famous scholar and prolific writer of the Shāfiʿī school. On account of the lawlessness in Sharkiyya, an ancestor, who was nicknamed Ḥadjar because of his taciturnity, moved to the village of Maḥallat Abi 'l-Haytam in Gharbiyya province, and there Ibn Ḥadjar was born towards the end of the year 909/1504 (some say in Radjab, the month in which he was to die). While still a child, he lost his father and then his grandfather, but his father's teachers, Shams al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Ḥamāʾil (d. 932/1526), a noted mystic, and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shanāwī, a disciple of this last, looked after his maintenance and education. Al-Shanāwī placed him in the sanctuary of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā and, after he had completed his elementary education there, sent him to the Azhar mosque in Cairo where he continued his studies from 924/1518, having a very hard time at first. His main teacher at the Azhar mosque was Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520; Brockelmann, II, 122, S II, 117). Ibn Ḥadjar studied the usual branches of Islamic and Arabic learning, and also medicine; lists of his teachers, many of whom, beginning with Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī, were disciples of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī and of al-Suyūṭī [*qq.v.*], are found in the preface to his *Fatāwā*, in *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, and in *EI*¹. At the end of 929/1523, while he was not yet 20 years old, his teachers gave him on their own initiative the *idjāza* to give *fatwā*s and to teach. He married the niece of al-Shanāwī, at the suggestion of this last, in 932/1526, and performed the Pilgrimage in 933/1527, remaining in Mecca during the following year. During this stay in Mecca, he started writing on *fikh*, but not before Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] had appeared to him in his sleep and encouraged him. When he was still a student, Ibn Ḥadjar had expressed his ambitions as an author on *fikh* in a Freudian dream which he himself related (preface to the *Fatāwā*). Having returned to Egypt, he made a second Pilgrimage in 937/1531, again followed by a year's sojourn in Mecca. After a third Pilgrimage in 940/1533, he settled there permanently and devoted himself to authorship and teaching. Although his reputation spread far and wide, his authority in Mecca was not entirely undisputed (see al-Fākihī, in *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 56 ff.), and he engaged in a series of vigorous polemics with Ibn Ziyād, the Shāfiʿī *muftī* of Zabīd (d. 975/1568; Brockelmann, II, 532, S II, 555). He died on 23 Radjab 974/3 February 1567 and was buried in the cemetery of Maʿlāt. He seems to have been quite untouched by the political upheavals occurring during his lifetime.

Ibn Ḥadjar's main work is his commentary on the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* of al-Nawawī [*q.v.*], called *Tuḥfat al-muḥtādj li-sharḥ al-Minhādj*; he began writing it on 12 Muḥarram 958/20 January 1551. With the *Nihāya* of al-Ramlī [*q.v.*], it became one of the two authoritative textbooks of the Shāfiʿī school, and it has often been printed. Whereas the followers of Ibn Ḥadjar (chiefly in Ḥidjāz, Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt and East Africa) and the followers of al-Ramlī had at first disputed fiercely with one another, the opinion finally prevailed that both were to be regarded as equally authoritative and indispensable expounders of the correct Shāfiʿī doctrine. Of almost equal importance are his *fatwā*s on *fikh*, *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā al-fikhiyya*, Cairo 1308, collected by one of his disciples; they include several lengthy treatises with separate titles, *e.g.* his two polemics against Ibn Ziyād; many of the *fatwā*s, and also, incidentally, some of Ibn Ḥadjar's other writings, are concerned with contemporary problems. One of these writings is *al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-muḥriḳa fi 'l-radd ʿalā ahl al-zaygh* (or *al-rafḍ*) *wa'l-zandaḳa*, a defence of the legitimacy of the offices of the first four Caliphs against the claims of the Shīʿa; this work, completed in Shawwāl 950/January 1544, grew out of lectures which Ibn Ḥadjar gave, in answer to numerous requests, in the Great Mosque of Mecca; it had an immediate success, spread in a few years "in innumerable copies to the remotest countries", and has often been printed. Another is the *Kaff al-raʿrāʿ ʿan muḥarramāt al-lahw wa'l-samāʿ*, against music and games as practised in contemporary society. His *Kitāb al-Zawādjir ʿan iḳtirāf al-kabāʾir* (*editio princeps* Būlāḳ 1284) is the most important work in existence on the practical morality of Islam. Towards the end of his life, Ibn Ḥadjar in his *Thabat* (or *Muʿdjam*) gave an account of his teachers in traditions (*ḥadīth*) and their chains of authorities. For details on all this and other works, see Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Preface to the *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282; Preface to *al-Fatāwā al-kubrā*, Cairo 1308, i, 3-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 370-2; al-ʿAydarūsī, *al-Nūr al-sāfir*, 287-92; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, ii, 427 (on Ibn Ḥadjar's maternal grandson); al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 109; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*, 240 f., n. 3; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xv, 26 (on Ibn Ḥadjar's paternal grandson); Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, 81-4; al-Sharīf al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, i, 250-2; I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šîʿâ und der sunnitischen Polemik*, Vienna 1874, 17-9 (= *SBAk. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl. lxxviii, 453-5); Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 387 f., 423 f., iv/1, 105, and Index; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, index; C. van Arendonk, in *EI*¹, s.v.; Brockelmann, II, 508, S II, 527. (C. VAN ARENDONK-[J. SCHACHT])

IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, name of several persons, including in particular a famous Mālikī jurist, four grammarians, two Andalusian men of letters of the Naṣrid period and a poet and theologian who wrote a commentary on al-Sanūsī.

The Mālikī jurist was ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿABDARĪ AL-FĀSĪ, born in Cairo in 737/1336. He is known especially for his *Madkhal al-sharʿ al-sharīf*, printed in Cairo in 1329. In it he appears as a scholar anxious to popularize his learning, as a jurist who was to a certain extent a director of conscience, being one who considered "knowledge" and "action" to be inseparable. He also based his work on the principles according to which "an act of worship without the exact *intention* cannot be in accordance with the Law", and he stated that "an act of worship consists of two parts: the first is the attitude of the body, the second the intention of the heart, but it is the second which is the more important". In this can be clearly seen the application of the principles of the *Iḥyāʾ* (he quotes al-Ghazālī, i, 12) to the Mālikī formalism which was very ready to identify, in the name of intention (*niyya*), the science of law with the analysis of spiritual matters.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 95; Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 428.

Among the grammarians was ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ (d. 647 or 651/1249 or 1253). He was the author of a commentary on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh, of an abridgement of the *Mustaṣfā* of al-Ghazālī, of a work on the imāmate, etc.; see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 156.

SHĪTH B. IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAYDARA AL-KINĀWĪ AL-ḲIFṬĪ (d. 598 or 599 1002-3), was a poet, a wit and a traditionist as well as a grammarian. He was the pupil of Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī of Alexandria. He seems to have excelled in didactic poetry, which accorded particularly well with the wide extent of his learning. This specialist in *adab* and grammar, himself an eminent stylist, was the author of various treatises on philology as well as of a homily addressed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He also wrote on Māliki law (see Yāḳūt, Cairo ed., xi, 278); cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 267.

Two 19th century grammarians were also called Ibn al-Ḥādjdj. They were ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-SULAMĪ (d. 1273/1856) and ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAMDŪN AL-SULAMĪ (d. 1274/1857). They both wrote commentaries on the classic *al-Alfiyya* (see Sarkīs, 70).

Among the Andalusians, ABU 'L-BARAKĀT MUḤAMMAD AL-BALĀFIḲĪ (d. 771/1370) was one of the persons who were most characteristic of his period. Mme. Soledad Gibert has written an exhaustive monograph on him in *al-Andalus*, xxvii (1963), 381-424. Ibn Djazarī considered him to be, in addition to his other talents, an outstanding "reader" of the Ḳur'ān (ed. Bergsträsser, no. 3391).

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Yaʿḳūb b. Saʿīd produced a poetic version of the little *ʿAḳīda* of al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*]; see Brockelmann, S II, 355; Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif* ii, 428. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-ḤĀDJDJ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-NUMAYRĪ, Andalusian scholar and poet of the 8th/14th century. Born at Granada in 713/1313, he left Spain in 737/1337 and did not return until 759/1358, having during his absence made two journeys to the East and served as *kātib* under the Marīnids and Ḥafṣids. Until his death in about 785/1383 he held the office of *ḳāḍī* and undertook various ambassadorial missions for the Naṣrids.

Of his literary output, known by twenty titles, nothing is known to remain but fragments of verse scattered through various anthologies, biographical dictionaries, etc. This corpus has yet to be examined in detail. It is divided into three distinct groups and it is not firmly established that they are all by the same Ibn al-Ḥādjdj.

Bibliography: J. F. P. Hopkins, *An Andalusian poet of the fourteenth century: Ibn al-Ḥājj*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 57-64. (J. F. P. HOPKINS)

IBN AL-ḤADJDJĀDJ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤUSAYN B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD, a Shīʿī Arab poet in the time of the Būyids [*q.v.*]. Born in Baghdād in about 330/941-2, of a family of government officials and secretaries, he completed the traditional studies and was partly trained by Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi' (313-84/925-94 [see AL-ṢĀBI']) who made him take up an administrative career, but he very quickly perceived that his poetic talents could prove more profitable and resigned his post. At first he was connected with the vizier al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*] for whom he wrote a panegyric and a satire on al-Mutanabbī (see R. Blachère, *Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî*, Paris 1935, 224-5), and whose death (353/963) he lamented. He next attached himself to the viziers Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās al-Shīrāzī and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās, for whom he acted as a kind of entertainer, and fell out with a *ḥādjib* of ʿIzz al-Dawla [*q.v.*] as a result of which he was committed to prison for a time. Shortly afterwards, on the strength of a poem addressed to the last-named, he succeeded in getting himself appointed *muḥtasib* of Baghdād, under the vizierate of Ibn Baḳiyya (362-6/973-7 [*q.v.*]) and even in resuming this position after being compelled to surrender it. At this period he also came in touch with Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn al-ʿAmīd [see IBN AL-ʿAMĪD, II] who greatly admired his poetry, and then received some kind of pension from Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and profited from the bounty of the Būyid rulers; but it was principally the viziers and other eminent persons whose company he sought, living very familiarly with them and enjoying their protection and liberality, and this appears to have been his real objective. He even received 1,000 *dīnār*s from a Fāṭimid whom he eulogized and who feared his attacks. Thus, by the practice of what was perhaps a kind of blackmail, he succeeded in amassing a fortune, which he was clever enough to make still more productive, purchased estates, and even farmed the taxes in certain villages; in short, he became an influential man of affairs, and lived in prosperity until his death, which took place on one of his estates in Djumādā II 391/May 1001; he was buried in Baghdād at the feet of Mūsā al-Kāẓim [*q.v.*].

A *muḥtasib* and man of affairs, a family man devoted to his kin, such is one aspect of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj's personality; but there is another, entirely different one which leaps to the eye as soon as one begins to read his poetry, so different indeed that some have found it possible to speak of a dual personality. But his poetry, very extensive since his *Dīwān* comprised ten volumes, also presents itself in two contradictory aspects: on the one hand, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj wrote mediocre and traditional panegyrics, following the neo-classical line; on the other hand, and of greater importance, he made himself the champion of a new type of poetry characterized by what he himself called *sukhf* [*q.v.*], giving to this term the sense of obscenity in scurrilous and vulgar language, lewdness, insolent grossness, cynical and aggressive non-conformism; sexuality and scatology are the basic features of this poetry, which respects nothing, neither Islam, nor the most honourable personages, nor even the poet himself. This *sukhf* is either the sole component of a short piece, or else one of the elements of a poem apparently serious. In Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj there are thus two men, two poets, even two styles; in the traditional poetry, the expression is polished, the resources of *badīʿ* are called into play, while in the *sukhf* the poet abandons himself to his inspiration and does not hesitate to use gutter slang, which gives his work a completely original flavour and makes him the master of the genre; an innovator, he had scarcely any rivals, and Ibn al-Habbāriyya [*q.v.*], who might come to mind, is far from possessing his verve.

The *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj has always been very much sought after, to the point that certain authorities have had to forbid the reading of it (see *Machriq*, x, 1085), but it has not yet been published, despite the existence of a complete manuscript in Baghdād, in the Library of Waḳfs; other libraries possess odd volumes (Dār al-kutub, Cairo, Adab 7342, Maktaba Taymūriyya, 468, 606, 657; Brit. Mus. Or. 4591, Add. 7588; Göttingen, ar. 76). His contemporary and friend al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1116 [*q.v.*]) had made a selection of serious poems under the title *al-Naẓīf min al-sakhīf*, while al-Asṭurlābī (d. 534/1139-40) had concerned himself more particularly with the *sukhf*; his collection entitled *Durrat al-tādj fī shiʿr Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj* (MS Paris B.N., 5913) copied and glossed by Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*] was the subject of an unpublished work, presented as a *thèse complémentaire* at the Sorbonne in 1953, by ʿAlī Āl-Ṭāhir who introduced it

with a study on Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj. Finally, Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī (686-768/1287-1366 [*q.v.*]) also made a selection of poems under the title *Laṭāʾif al-taltīf* (MS Copenhagen, 260).

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 30-102; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Popper, i, 89; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 6-16 = *Udabāʾ*, x, 206-32; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1326, i, 11, ii, 62 ff.; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, 239-40; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 216; Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1904, index; Ibn Khallikān, i, 155 ff.; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, viii, 14; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 130; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 433-5.

(D. S. Margoliouth-[Ch. Pellat])

IBN AL-ḤĀDJIB, Djamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr al-Mālikī, Māliki *faḳīh* and grammarian who owes his popular name to the fact that his father, a Kurd, was chamberlain (*ḥādjib*) to the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Mūsak al-Ṣalāḥī. He was born at Asnā, a village in Upper Egypt, after 570/1174-5. He studied the Islamic sciences in Cairo with great success, particularly with al-Shāṭibī and Muḥammad al-Ghaznawī. After that, at least for some years, he must have lived and taught in Cairo, as is shown by the *Amālī* dated from that town, the earliest in 609/1212-3, the latest in 616/1219-20. Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (401) places his departure for Damascus in 617/1220-1; this is also the earliest date for the *Amālī* from that town. In Damascus, Ibn al-Ḥādjib taught in the Mālikī *zāwiya* of the Great Mosque. A dispute with the Ayyūbī Ismāʿīl al-Ṣāliḥ led to his expulsion from the town (639/1241-2 in Brockelmann, I², 367; 638/1240-1 in Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, 401). He returned to Cairo, and then went to settle in Alexandria, but died there shortly afterwards on Thursday 26 Shawwāl 646/11 February 1249. Among his pupils we find Ibn al-Munayyir, one of the masters of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī.

Ibn al-Ḥādjib earned a reputation as a Mālikī *faḳīh*, but he is primarily known as a grammarian (*naḥwī*); as a jurist, he was the first to combine in his writings the doctrines of the Egyptian Mālikīs with those of the Mālikis of the Maghrib; as grammarian, his general method was one that had already been long practised—résumé and commentary. But he mastered his material to the point of being able to condense it into two very short works, *al-Shāfiya* for *ṣarf* (morphology treated in the Arab manner) and *al-Kāfiya* for *naḥw* (syntax). These two short works enjoyed very great fame and made the reputation of Ibn al-Ḥādjib. They provided material for a host of commentators. Moreover, by separating *ṣarf* and *naḥw*, here going beyond the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī, he returned to the tradition of Ibn Djinnī and al-Māzinī.

Works: (1) *al-Shāfiya*, printed several times, notably in Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥādjib naturally produced a commentary on it (mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 3). Of the numerous commentaries, the best is that of Raḍī ʾl-Dīn al-Astarābādhī. A very convenient edition, based on an old manuscript, has been produced in Cairo (1358/1939), 3 vols, plus one vol. for the *Sharḥ shawāhidi* by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī. (2) *al-Kāfiya*, printed for the first time in Rome in 1592; since then, many times, in Delhi, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Tashkent, Istanbul and Būlāḳ. Of the very numerous commentaries (among them that of the author, published in Istanbul 1311), the best is again that of Raḍī ʾl-Dīn al-Astarābādhī. This last has been published several times; the edition to be most recommended seems to be that of Istanbul 1275, 2 vols. But there is still no really convenient edition of this remarkable work, such as that of the *Sharḥ* on the *Shāfiya* referred to above.—On the commentaries and existing MSS, see Brockelmann, I², 367-8, S I, 531-5. (3) *al-Amālī*: his oral teaching, dictated to his hearers or to his son al-Mufaḍḍal. Brockelmann here distinguishes two series, including different dates (unpublished; MSS: I², 371-2, S I, 537): (a) on the Ḳurʾān, al-Mutanabbī and other poets, etc. (b) on some passages from the Ḳurʾān and especially on the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī. (4) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-muwashshaḥa bi ʾl-asmāʾ al-muʾannatha*, a versified enumeration (in *Kāmil*) of feminine nouns without a feminine termination; published in A. Haffner and L. Cheikho, *Dix anciens traités de philologie arabe* (2nd ed., Beirut 1914), 157; reproduced in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif* of F. A. al-Bustānī, ii, 1958, 426. (5) *Risāla fi ʾl-ʿushr*, on the forms of the adjectives *awwal* and *ākhir* used with *ʿushr* "a tenth"; in MS, Berlin, 6894. (6) *Sharḥ al-Muḳaddima al-Djuzūliyya*; in MS, Fās, Ḳarawiyyīn (see Brockelmann, S I, 539 and 541). (7) *K. al-Maḳṣad al-djalīl fi ʿilm al-khalīl*: an account of Arabic prosody, versified (in the *Basīṭ* metre); in manuscript in several libraries (Brockelmann, I², 371, S I, 537); moreover (*ibid.*) references to the manuscripts of seven commentators. Freytag published this Arabic prosody in verse (334-43), with German translation, in his *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst* (Bonn 1830). (8) An *ʿAḳīda*: profession of Muslim faith; in MS (Brockelmann, S I, 539; for correction, Esc.² 1561, 6). (9) *Iʿrāb baʿḍ āyāt min al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, in manuscript at Aleppo, in the ʿUthmāniyya *madrasa* (and not in Mecca); see *MMIA*, xii, 470 and 471 foot. (10) *Muntahā ʾl-suʾāl wa ʾl-amal fī ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa ʾl-djadal*: a treatise on the sources of law according to the Mālikī school; in manuscript (Brockelmann, I², 372 and S I, 537). Ibn Ḥādjib made extracts from it: *ʿUyūn al-adilla* (MS, Paris, 5318) and an abridgement, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fi ʾl-uṣūl* (numerous MSS, Brockelmann, *ibid.*). This *Mukhtaṣar* was the subject of numerous commentaries (and then of glosses on the commentaries, and super-glosses; see *ibid.*). It has been published (Būlāḳ 1316-9), with the Commentary of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī (*al-ʿAḍudiyya*), and different glosses; also published, Cairo 1326. (11) *al-Mukhtaṣar fi ʾl-furūʿ* or *Djāmiʿ al-Ummahāt* or simply *al-Mukhtaṣar al-farʿī* (titles as given by Muḥ. Ben Cheneb, in *EI¹*, s.v. *Ibn al-Ḥādjib*). This compendium of Mālikī law is still in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I², 373 and S I, 538-9). It was commented on (*al-Tawḍīḥ*) by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ al-Djundī (Sīdī Khalīl in Algeria) who, in regard to law, looked on Ibn al-Ḥādjib as his model; also in manuscript, as are the glosses (see Brockelmann, *ibid.*).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Brockelmann, I², 367-73 and S I, 531-9; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el-Qâdir al-Fâsi*, Paris 1907, no. 191; M. Morand, *Le droit musulman algérien (rite malikite), Les origines*, Algiers 1913, 9 ff. Arabic sources: first Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 323 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo, ii, 413-4 (no. 386); then Taḳī ʾl-Dīn Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa ʾl-lughawiyyīn*, MS. Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, 438 *taʾrīkh*, 401-2, and Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1329, 189-91; then Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 13-14 (tr. Rosenthal, iii, 18-19). Further, M. S. Howell, *Gr. of the Classical Arabic Language*, i, preface, xviii-xix. (H. Fleisch)

IBN ḤĀDJIB, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Nuʿmān, called Ibn Ḥādjib al-**NUʿMĀN**,

secretary, anthologist and wit of the Būyid period (340-423/951-1031). He came of a family of viziers and secretaries which was particularly in favour with the Būyids of Iran, who were probably the authors of his success. He also served the caliphs al-Tāʾiʿ and al-Ḳādir. He was a bitter rival of Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ ibn Turayk, who at one time succeeded in supplanting him at the court of al-Ḳādir. He had a very wide knowledge of literature. According to the *Fihrist*, 116, he compiled a sort of anthology of the court poets, including viziers, secretaries and men of letters (from the Barmakids to his own period). Combining worldly tact with the polished learning of a man of letters, having only minor responsibilities which did not interfere with his life of cultured leisure, a "connoisseur" in both pleasure and *adab*, Ibn Ḥādjib was an example of the many dilettantes who at that time frequented the ʿAbbāsid and Būyid courts.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 166; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 36. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr (or ʿĀmir) b. al-Ḥaḍramī, an agent of Muʿāwiya who is remembered for an incident in 38/658, during the period which followed the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and the arbitration. After the occupation of Egypt by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], Muʿāwiya, turning his attention towards ʿIrāḳ, realised that he had to begin with Baṣra, where he could count on more adherents than in Kūfa. After consulting ʿAmr, he then decided to send Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī to Baṣra and gave him precise instructions: his agent was to base his propaganda on the recent successes of the Umayyads and the doleful memories of the Battle of the Camel [see djamal]; he was to distrust the Rabīʿa (ʿAbd al-Ḳays), win the friendship of the Azd and rely on the Muḍarīs (Tamīm) in order to secure acceptance of the arbitration and to try to withdraw the town from ʿAlī's authority. In fact, the Baṣrans were very divided, and their chief concern was to live in peace. Thus, from the time of his arrival, Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī encountered very strong opposition, and the neutrality of al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] was not unconnected with his final failure. Nevertheless he succeeded in rallying part of the inhabitants who were ready to "avenge the blood of ʿUthmān", to such good effect that the temporary governor, Ziyād b. Abīhi, was terrified and had to abandon the *dār al-imāra* to seek refuge with the Azd. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's supporters then tried to seize the governor's residence, but al-Aḥnaf intervened and order was temporarily restored. It was at that point that ʿAlī sent to Baṣra Aʿyan b. Ḍubayʿa al-Mudjāshiʿī, who, after a day during which the opposing groups had not been sufficiently inflamed for any fighting to break out, was assassinated, probably by the Khāridjīs. The lack of enthusiasm of the Azd, who refused to fight, delayed events still further, but the situation developed after the arrival of Djāriya b. Ḳudāma [*q.v.*], sent by ʿAlī. While the Azd were trying to bring Ziyād back to the *dār al-imāra*, Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī started to fight, but he was beaten and compelled to take refuge in the house of a certain Sunbīl who had given him hospitality at the time of his arrival. Djāriya, following up his advantage, surrounded and set fire to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's hiding-place, and he and his companions perished. Muʿāwiya, his hopes disappointed, had to wait until 41/661, when at last Baṣra was brought under his authority, through the energetic intervention of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3413-7; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 290; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 556a; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 348-55 (which makes use of Wāḳidī and the *Kitāb al-Ghārāt* of Ismāʿīl b. Hilāl al-Thaḳafī); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/1, 38-9; ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, no. 4840; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 210; Caetani, *Annali*, x, 151-67; see also Bibl. to djāriya b. ḳudāma. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN ḤAFṢŪN [see ʿumar b. ḥafṣūn].

IBN ḤAMĀDU (Ibn Ḥammād), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbī Bakr al-Ṣanhādjī, a Berber *ḳāḍī* and historian related to the Banū Ḥammād [*q.v.*] and a native of a village near their Ḳalʿa [*q.v.*]. After studying at the Ḳalʿa and in Bougie, he was *ḳāḍī* of Algeciras and Salé (unless there is some confusion on the part of the writer of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (65), who gives him the *kunya* of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan, he was also *ḳāḍī* of Azammūr in 616/1219), and he died in 628/1231.

His *Kitāb al-Nubadh al-muḥtādja fī akhbār mulūk Ṣanhādja bi-Ifrīḳiya wa-Bidjāya*, which was used by several later historians, in particular Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, vii, 43) and the anonymous author of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 51), appears to be lost, but there survives his short history of the ʿUbaydids, written in 617/1220 and preserved in manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat.,1868) and Algiers (1988, 3); it was first translated in part by Cherbonneau (in *JA*, 1862, ii, 470 ff., 1869, i, 199 ff.), and later was edited and translated in full by M. Vonderheyden (*Histoire des rois ʿobaïdites*, Algiers-Paris 1927). Ibn Ḥamādu also wrote poems, some specimens of which have been preserved by al-Tidjānī (*Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1377/1958, 116-7).

Bibliography: Ghubrīnī, *ʿUnwān al-dirāya*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1910, 128-30; Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula*, 317-8; Ṣafadī, iv, 157-8, no. 1692; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 473-4; R. Brunschvig, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 156, n. 2; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, p. XIX.

This Ibn Ḥamādu should not be confused with his homonym Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥamādu al-Burnūsī al-Sabtī who lived in the 6th/12th century and was the pupil of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*]; he is the author of a *Kitāb al-Muḳtabis fī akhbār al-Maghrib wa ʾl-Andalus*, now lost.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, trans. 314, n. 1; *Mafākhir al-Barbar*, 43, 46, 58, 64; E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 25-6, n. 3; R. Brunschvig, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, 156, n. 2; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, p. XIX. (Ed.)

IBN ḤAMĀMA [see bilāl b. rabāḥ].

IBN ḤAMDĪS, ʿAbd al-Djabbār Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Azdī, Arab poet of Muslim Sicily. From the date of his death (527/1132-3) and some verses in which he refers to himself as an octogenarian, it may be deduced that he was born, at Syracuse, in about 447/1055, *i.e.*, just before the Christian conquest of the island, which was begun in 1060 and completed by the joint action of Robert and Roger d'Hauteville, called to Sicily by Ibn al-Thumna [*q.v.*], *amīr* of Catania.

Practically nothing is known of the period of his youth, which the poet must have spent in Sicily, but judging from allusions in his poems (*Dīwān*, ed. C. Schiaparelli, nos. 27, 110, 127, 157, 269, etc.) to revels and deep drinking, it seems to have been a gay one. And even allowing for the conventional use of these poetic motifs, which are found in almost all Bacchanalian Arabic poetry, one thing is clear: the poet's sincere nostalgia for certain places on the

island, objects of his longing, whose location remains unknown to us apart from Syracuse and Noto, which are occasionally mentioned in his poems.

Nor is it known whether the poet took part in some of the battles against the Normans before he left Sicily for Spain in 471/1078-9. At Seville he was received at the court of the prince al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād (*Dīwān*, 344), who attracted to himself poets and men of letters. In this first exile he was fortunate to live in a literary circle of which the prince was the patron and animating spirit, to take part in the gay life of the ʿAbbādid capital, and to follow the political and military events of that time, which are reflected, joyful or sad according to the circumstances, in some of his *ḳaṣīda*s. In this connexion should be mentioned the two works (*Dīwān*, nos. 277 and 283) in which Ibn Ḥamdīs celebrates the exploits of al-Muʿtamid at the famous battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] in 479/1086, in which the Almoravids and the Andalusians were allied against the Christians under Alfonso VI.

When, following the conquest of his capital by the Almoravids (August 1091), al-Muʿtamid left Seville, Ibn Ḥamdīs left for Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib; he then appears sometimes in Aghmāt, where the defeated prince was a prisoner (an occasion which gives rise to a touching exchange of verses between the two, *Dīwān*, nos. 152, 153 and 335), sometimes with the Zīrids of al-Mahdiyya or at Bidjāya, where the Ḥammādid al-Manṣūr b. Aʿlāʾ al-Nās (483-97/1090-1104) had settled with his troops and his court; it is one of the palaces built by this prince to which the poet's *ḳaṣīda* no. 347 refers.

Ibn Ḥamdīs had not yet left Tunisia at the time of the failure of the expedition mounted by Roger II of Sicily against al-Mahdiyya, which was placed under the command of George of Antioch. This was in July 1123: the Norman fleet was overtaken by a storm, with the result that only part of the troops reached the African shore; after an initial success the Normans were surrounded and massacred. For the poet the moment of exultation had arrived: fate had given him the joy of knowing that the Normans, who had overrun his "native land of Sicily", had been crushed by the Muslims, and the poet, though now almost 70, still found the energy to sing of their exploits (*Dīwān*, no. 143).

The exact place where Ibn Ḥamdīs died is not known: to judge from the remarks which precede the *ḳaṣīda* no. 301, it was Bidjāya, or, more probably, on the island of Majorca in 527/1132-2.

The poetical works of Ibn Ḥamdīs collected in his *Dīwān*, of which two manuscripts exist, consist of: some *ḳaṣīda*s of Sicilian inspiration, the principal themes of which are nostalgia for his birthplace and exhortations to his fellow citizens of Sicily to resist the Normans (*Dīwān*, nos. 75 and 270); poetic epistles and elegies (*Dīwān*, nos. 245, 297, 330, etc.); panegyrics, or occasional poems made for the *amīr*s, ministers and other personalities of the period with whom he came in contact: the ʿAbbādid al-Muʿtamid (*Dīwān*, nos. 86, 88, 101, 120, 127, etc.) and his son al-Rashīd (*Dīwān*, no. 58), the Zīrids Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (*Dīwān*, nos. 33, 34, 62, 132, 218, 228, etc.), ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (*Dīwān*, nos. 63, 64, 134-41), al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (*Dīwān*, nos. 35, 142-4), the Ḥammādid al-Manṣūr (*Dīwān*, nos. 284 and 314); sententious moralizing and didactic *ḳaṣīda*s, or those expressing various states of the poet's soul (especially *Dīwān*, nos. 188, 189, 193, 220 and 238); Bacchic compositions (*Dīwān*, nos. 56 and 57), and finally a large number of *ḳaṣīda*s, or rather fragments, to be classified under the heading of *waṣf*, which are mainly about Sicily and Andalusia, or various subjects such as nature, war, animals, hunting, etc. (*Dīwān*, nos. 3, 6, 17, 21, 23, 31, 81, 116, 161). Ibn Ḥamdīs declares (*Dīwān*, no. 328) his aversion for satire and indeed no poems of *hidjāʾ* are found in the *Dīwān*.

Ibn Ḥamdīs's style and his use of poetic language are both unequal: in his poems, together with great verbal and syntactical simplicity, is found the frequent use of an excessively precious vocabulary and of constructions which are merely tricks of paronomasia and alliteration, puns used to mask the poverty of the thought behind them. In this respect it is fairly clear that Ibn Ḥamdīs succumbed to the charm, or rather the fashion, of the poetical neo-classicism represented by al-Mutanabbī, under whose influence the poet came, especially in panegyric; but his real poetic talent is seen more often in the descriptive fragments, which may have been influenced by the Andalusian poetic environment.

Bibliography: The first scholar to be interested in Ibn Ḥamdīs was M. Amari, who in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* (Arabic text, Leipzig 1857; Ital. tr., Turin 1881-2) published a certain number of poems relating to Sicily, and in his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933-9, ii, 592-602 collected information on the poet's life from different sources. Later, the whole of the *Dīwān* was edited, on the basis of the two surviving manuscripts, by C. Schiaparelli (Rome 1897) who prepared a complete Italian translation of it, which remains unpublished. A new edition, based on only one of the manuscripts (that of the Vatican) and with a certain number of emendations, was published at Beirut in 1960, by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, who was able to add to the first edition of the *Dīwān* about 100 verses from various sources. Translations into European languages of verses of Ibn Ḥamdīs are found in: A. von Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien*, Berlin 1855, ii, 16-33; L. Bercher, *Le palais d'El-Mansour à Bougie*, in *RT*, xxix (1922), 50-6; H. Massé, *Un chapitre des analectes d'al-Maqqari sur la littérature descriptive chez les Arabes*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 235-58; F. Gabrieli, *Ibn Ḥamdīs*, Mazara 1948; idem, *Sicilia e Spagna nella vita e nella poesia di Ibn Ḥamdīs*, in *Dal mondo dell'Islam*, Milan-Naples 1954, 109-26; idem, *Il palazzo ḥammādita di Biǵāya descritto da Ibn Ḥamdīs*, in *Festschrift für Ernst Kuhnel*, Berlin 1959, 54-8. Reference may also be made to: U. Rizzitano, *Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi*, in *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 89-93; ʿAbd al-Mughnī al-Minshāwī and Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, *Tardjamat Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Ṣiḳillī*, Cairo 1347/1929; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Sanūsī, *Fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī wa-dīwān Ibn Ḥamdīs*, Tunis 1952; U. Rizzitano, *Maʿ Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Ṣiḳillī*, in *Fikr*, vii/6 (March 1962), 563-70; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 469-71; *MMIA*, xxxvii (1962/3), 407-13.

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN ḤAMDŪN, name of the members of the family of the Banū Ḥamdūn, a line of "boon-companions" (*nudamāʾ*) of the caliphs, who flourished mainly in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. A great deal of information is available on Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdūn, a contemporary of the caliphs al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil, but very little on the other members of the family. Unfortunately the Arabic sources, accepting the claims of the Banū Ḥamdūn to noble descent, have endowed them with a disproportionately long genealogical tree in which it is difficult to distinguish

the fictitious persons from those who really existed. This is why Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm is given successively, in Yāḳūt, the names of Ibn Ḥamdūn and Ḥamdūn. The *Fihrist* mentions a "family of the Ḥamdūn" (*Āl Ḥamdūn*) in which it does not attempt to distinguish the various members. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamdūn, again according to Yāḳūt, was also called Ibn Ḥamdūn. Finally, Ismāʿīl is referred to sometimes as the father of Ḥamdūn (Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl) and sometimes as the grandfather of Aḥmad. When allowance is made for this genealogical pride of the "boon-companions", whose position made them the equal of favourites, scribes and even viziers, in matters concerning more particularly the Banū Ḥamdūn the following facts may be accepted: there existed originally an ancestor Ḥamdūn (*isnād*: Ḥamdūn → ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr of the *Aghānī*). This Ḥamdūn was certainly at the court of the caliph al-Rashīd. He was succeeded in office by his son or grandson, Aḥmad, who experienced changes in fortune under al-Mutawakkil, who, with his fickle moods, subjected him to some very strange treatment. His ear was cut off on the caliph's orders; certain manifestations of his artistic sensibility led to his being exiled for long periods in Ahwāz or Sind. From the tangled biographical history of the Banū Ḥamdūn there may be obtained an idea of the duties which devolved on the "boon-companions" of the ruler: to show appreciation of the merits of the court poets or favourites, to take part in their master's hunting parties, and to serve, on occasion, as the agent of those in power (cf. the connexion between Aḥmad and the vizier Fatḥ b. Khāḳān; the secret message sent from the ruler to Aḥmad during a riot in Baghdād). All these small details of life at court give the Banū Ḥamdūn a minor place in the history of Arabic literature.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 144; Ṭabarī, iii, 1314, 2164; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 204; *Aghānī*, index s.vv. Ḥamdūn, Aḥmad, Muḥammad (an Ibn Ḥamdūn whose rôle in history is not clearly defined, who served as transmitter to the first Ḥamdūn).

(J. -C. VADET)

IBN ḤAMDŪN, ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN, the author of a vast and highly informative collection dealing with a great variety of *adab* subjects and entitled *al-Tadhkira*, which enjoyed much popularity during the Mamlūk period. Born in Radjab 495/April-May 1102 as one of the sons of an official well versed in financial and administrative matters, of a family which claimed to be related to the Ḥamdānids' ancestor Ḥamdūn, he entered government service, attaining the offices of *ʿāriḍ al-ʿaskar* (Inspector of the Army) under al-Muktafī and *ṣāḥib dīwān al-zimām* (Director General of Internal Revenue, Minister of Finance) under al-Mustandjid. He did not occupy the latter post for very long. He was thrown into prison, where he died at the beginning of the year 562/October-November 1166 (but Ibn Khallikān reports also a later date, Tuesday, 11 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/29 August 1167). Family tradition indicated as the reason for his imprisonment the caliph's discovery of passages in the *Tadhkira* that he considered disrespectful to the government and dynasty, even though Ibn Ḥamdūn had been very circumspect in his writing, as his son Abū Saʿd al-Ḥasan told his friend Yāḳūt; Abū Saʿd (547-608/1152-1211), a great bibliophile who later in his life became impoverished, therefore refrained from publishing anything he wrote.

Bibliography: Al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda* (ʿIrāḳī section), Baghdād 1375/1955, i, 184 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 221 f.; Ibn al-Dubaythī, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-muḥtādj ilayhi*, Baghdād 1371/1951, 33; Ibn Khallikān, no. 626, and later authors; further, Brockelmann, I, 333, S I, 493. For the biography of his son Abū Saʿd, cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 215-17 (important correction in the Cairo ed., ix, 187), for those of his brothers, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad and Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, Baghdād 1962-, iv, 1161-3 and 1166 f. With the exception of Book Two of the *Tadhkira* (Cairo 1345/1927, *al-Rasāʾil al-nādira*, 3), containing material on politics in the *fürstenspiegel* tradition, only small passages of the work have been published from time to time.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ḤĀMID, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤASAN B. ḤĀMID, killed in 403/1012 by Bedouins on his return from the Pilgrimage to Mecca, is one of the most prominent Ḥanbalī scholars of Baghdād under the Būyids. Among his teachers of *ḥadīth* or *fiḳh* were several famous traditionists or jurisconsults, such as Abū Bakr al-Nadjdjād (d. 348/959) and Abū Bakr al-ʿAzīz (d. 363/973), better known under the name of Ghulām al-Khallāl [*q.v.*].

In addition Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Khatlī taught him the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī (d. 363/973), which was to form part of the education of many generations of Ḥanbalī jurisconsults. Ibn Ḥāmid's main career was as a teacher; he is said to have enjoyed a certain esteem with the caliph al-Ḳādir (d. 422/1031) but he refrained from taking any active part in the political life of his time.

His biographers attribute to him a large number of works which appear today to be lost. The most famous is his *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ fi 'khtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ*, which seems to have been an outline of Ḥanbalī doctrine within the framework of an exposition of the divergences of the various schools. He also wrote a commentary (*sharḥ*) on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Khiraḳī, which was for long regarded as authoritative. Two others of his works are often mentioned in the literature of his school, one on dogmatic theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), the other on legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*).

Among the best-known pupils of Ibn Ḥāmid may be mentioned the following: Abū Bakr al-Rawshanānī (d. 401/1011), who was also a pupil of Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/997); Abū Isḥāḳ al-Barmakī (d. 445/1054), a specialist in the law of inheritance; Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fuḳāʿī (d. 424/1033), who taught in the mosque of al-Manṣūr; Abū Ṭālib Ibn al-Baḳḳāl (d. 440/1048), known as a jurisconsult and controversialist; and finally, and most important, the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā ibn al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), who succeeded Ibn Ḥāmid as a teacher and soon became recognized as the main teacher of Ḥanbalism in Baghdād in the first half of the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vii, 303; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ii, 171-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 263-4; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 269; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 349; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 166-7; Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1921, 26; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle (Ve siècle de l'hégire)*, Damascus (PIFD) 1963, 227-32.

(H. LAOUST)

IBN ḤAMMĀD [see IBN ḤAMĀDU].

IBN AL-ḤANAFIYYA [see MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-ḤANAFIYYA].

IBN ḤANBAL [see AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL].

IBN HĀNIʾ AL-ANDALUSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. HĀNIʾ B. SAʿDŪN AL-ANDALUSĪ, famous court poet of the Banū Ḥamdūn, rulers of Masīla, and of the fourth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh; he belonged to the Yemenī tribe of Azd, who, ever since the conflict between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, many times supported the S̲h̲īʿī cause. His Ifrīḳiyan descent was in a direct line from one of the most illustrious *amīrs* of the famous family of the Muhallabids, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, who governed Ifrīḳiya for the ʿAbbāsids from 155 to 171/772-87, distinguishing himself by an energetic policy of pacification and administrative reorganization.

Nevertheless, hardly anything is known of the life of Ibn Hāniʾ. The information about him found in the Sunnī as well as the Ismāʿīlī sources is concerned almost exclusively with his career as a writer of panegyric poetry, at the court of Masīla and then at that of al-Manṣūriyya. The fact that he belonged to the Ismāʿīlī sect surrounded him, even in his own lifetime, with an aura of mystery which is very difficult to penetrate.

He was born in Seville in the reign of the first Umayyad caliph, al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, probably between 322 and 326/934-8. His father, a native of Ifrīḳiya, seems to have settled at Seville after having lived at Cordova, probably at the time when the young *amīr* of al-Andalus, having pacified the kingdom of his ancestors, had just proclaimed himself caliph, while at the other end of Barbary the first Fāṭimid, al-Mahdī bi'llāh, was reasserting in his new capital of al-Mahdiyya, and after the failure of his two attempts against Egypt, his expansionist ambitions concerning the throne of Cordova. Such information as exists on the Fāṭimid propaganda seems to indicate that Hāniʾ, himself a poet, was one of the many missionaries (*duʿāt*) whom the Ismāʿīlī imām maintained in Muslim Spain after the foundation of the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/909-10. Ismāʿīlī agents had already been working for a long time among the Mozarab supporters of Ibn Ḥafṣūn and with the Arab nobles of Kalbī descent, settled in Seville and other fortified towns, whom ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, after his grandfather, the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh, had great difficulty in reducing. Hāniʾ, like the many other Fāṭimid agents disguised as merchants, ascetics or men of science and letters, must have found, from Seville to Elvira and even Cordova, a fertile field for the dissemination of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. In addition, the intellectual development of the young Muḥammad b. Hāniʾ, at first at Seville itself, then in Cordova and Elvira, demonstrates the Ismāʿīlī influence which his father must have had on him, as well as the philosophic teaching which the disciples of Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) continued to disseminate. The future panegyrist of al-Muʿizz in fact pursued his studies in a period when the rationalist theories of Muʿtazilism and the metaphysical theories of Ibn Masarra, close to those of the Ismāʿīlī Bāṭiniyya, were spread among a heterogeneous population which was composed for the greater part of *muwallads* and of Arabs of Yemenī extraction, hostile to the power of the Umayyads and susceptible to Fāṭimid propaganda. At Elvira (near to Bobastro, a fief of the Mozarabs who had for long been in revolt against Cordova) as at Seville (a bastion of the Banu 'l-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ and other great families of the Yemenī nobility), the young poet lost no time in expressing publicly in a region so hostile to the Umayyads his Ismāʿīlī convictions. But having made himself conspicuous by publishing his pro-Fāṭimid sympathies, at a time when in Cordova, thanks to the energetic support of al-Nāṣir, the strictest type of Sunnī orthodoxy, that of Mālikism, had gained the ascendancy, the young Ibn Hāniʾ was bound eventually to become the object of persecutions. Neither Seville nor Elvira, having finally submitted to the central power, could with impunity offer him protection, in spite of the great authority which its protectors, the Banu 'l-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, had nevertheless retained.

Thus Ibn Hāniʾ was obliged to leave al-Andalus for Ifrīḳiya, particularly since, with the accession of al-Muʿizz in 341/952-3, the fortunes of the Fāṭimids, after a brief eclipse due to the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī insurrection of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], were once more enjoying a brilliant success.

In 347/958, the Fāṭimid army, on a campaign in the extreme Mag̲h̲rib under the command of D̲j̲awhar, had arrived in northern Morocco. After this, Ibn Hāniʾ had no hesitation in leaving al-Andalus for good, to join, outside Ceuta, the Fāṭimid general, of whose glory he immediately began to write, vehemently condemning the "accursed" Umayyads. From this time there began for the young poet a brilliant career as a panegyrist, an ardent defender of the cause of the Fāṭimids, who were intensifying their imperialist propaganda in the West as well as in the Muslim East. The sources stress Ibn Hāniʾ's role as propagandist. Among the lords of Masīla, the brothers D̲j̲aʿfar and Yaḥyā (the former being the foster-brother of al-Muʿizz), Ibn Hāniʾ received a great welcome.

At the court of al-Manṣūriyya, where the talented poets included al-Fazārī and Ibn al-Iyādī, the young Ibn Hāniʾ distinguished himself by the zeal which he showed in praising the merits of the imāms and in composing very extravagant panegyrics to the glory of al-Muʿizz. His poems, which immediately became widely read, ensured that the imperial aims and the doctrines of the masters of Ifrīḳiya became widely known within their territories, and also beyond their frontiers as far as Cordova to the west and Bag̲h̲dād to the east.

Thus his poetry is of documentary value in providing information on the political propaganda of the Fāṭimids, who were certainly planning to oust the ʿAbbāsid "usurpers" but who also never missed an opportunity of making known their claims in Muslim Spain, where their hereditary enemies, the Umayyads, were attempting to prevent the infiltration of their doctrines and to put a stop to their subversive intrigues. In addition to their considerable use to the historian of the Fāṭimids, those famous panegyrics dedicated to al-Muʿizz have also an undeniable literary value, despite the exaggerated condemnation of them by Maʿarrī and the more temperate criticism of Ibn S̲h̲araf. There is no doubt that Ibn Hāniʾ is a great poet, the first great poet of the Muslim West. His taste for hyperbole and the secret of his symbolism can be explained by his Ismāʿīlī faith and the sincerity of his adoration for his imām. Ibn Hāniʾ's works may for this reason form an enigma for readers who do not possess the knowledge, albeit elementary, of Ismāʿīlī doctrine which is required to understand his poetry and appreciate its true value.

His death also is shrouded in mystery. The circumstances of it are confusing: it may have been a political murder carried out by agents in the pay of the ʿAbbāsids or the Umayyads, or perhaps a *crime passionnel* after a carousel. Even the date is uncertain. Ibn K̲h̲allikān states that he tried in vain to establish it with certainty and found it only in the *Ḳurād̲h̲āt*

al-dhahab of Ibn Rashīḳ (where it does not in fact appear). The generally accepted date in 362/973.

There has not yet been a critical edition or an exhaustive study of his poems. There have, however, been published several ordinary editions of the *dīwān* (which deserves more detailed attention)—at Būlāḳ and at Beirut, the latest in 1952.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, 130, no. 701; Ibn Abbār, 103, no. 350; Ibn Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1319, ii, 212; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 4; al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Istanbul 1302, 74; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1302, ii, 364 (reproduces only the *Maṭmaḥ*); Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1286, ii, 118; Amari, *Bibl. Ar. Sic.*, Arabic text, fasc. ii, 317; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Jerusalem n.d. [1908], 62; Ibn al-Athīr, tr. Fagnan, 371; Fagnan, *Histoire des Almohades d'al-Merrâkechi*, 93, 193; von Kremer, *Ueber den shiʿitischen Dichter Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad ibn Hāniʾ*, in *ZDMG*, xxiv, 481-94; Pons Boigues, 74, no. 37; Brockelmann, I, 91; Cl. Huart, *Littér. ar.*, 96; Ibn Sharaf al-Ḳayrawānī, *Masāʾil al-intiḳād*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 41-3; Nuʿmān, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. F. Dachraoui (in the press); Ibn Rashīḳ, *Ḳurādhāt al-dhahab*, ed. Bouyahia (in the press); Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1965; M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fāṭimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1942-7; ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī*[2], Beirut 1961. (F. DACHRAOUI).

IBN AL-ḤANNĀṬ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN AL-RUʿAYNĪ AL-ḲURṬUBĪ AL-KAFĪF, Andalusian poet and *kātib*, considered one of the greatest scholars of the early 5th/11th century in the field of Arabic language and literature. Son of a grain merchant (hence the name by which he was commonly known, often wrongly written Ibn al-Khayyāṭ), he owed his chance to study to a family of *ḳuḍāt* at Cordova, the Banū Dhakwān [see IBN DHAKWĀN], who had taken him under their care. He was afflicted from birth by a malformation of the eyes and lost his sight at an early age, but this did not prevent him from acquiring wide learning, interesting himself even in astronomy and philosophy, and towards the end of his life practising successfully the art of healing. During the first years of the 5th/11th century, he composed some poems in praise of the Ḥammūdids ʿAli and al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, and in some of his verses there can be traced pro-ʿAlid sentiments, but it does not seem that he should be considered as truly Shīʿī. Besides, he was appointed *kātib* by the Umayyad Hishām III (418-22/1027-31). According to his biographers, it was because of his interest in logic that he was accused of heresy and banished from Cordova; he took refuge with Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd (428-40/1036-48) at Algeciras, whence he followed the course of events, congratulating Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 434/1042), writing the funeral eulogy of Abu 'l-Ḥazm Djawhar (d. 435/1043) and acclaiming the accession of al-Muẓaffar at Badajoz [see AFṬASIDS] in 437/1045, shortly before his death at the end of the same year.

In the literary field, his disputes with Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] are well known, and indeed the two men held completely opposing ideas, Ibn al-Ḥannāṭ remaining the supporter of the style which is characterized by a sometimes immoderate use of *badīʿ* and of *gharīb*. His rhyming prose, with its relatively long clauses, is still pleasant to read.

Bibliography: The main source is Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 383 ff., who gives extracts from Ibn Ḥayyān as well as examples of the poetry and prose of Ibn al-Ḥannāṭ. See also Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, 121-4; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 67; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 122; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, 640; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index (s.v. Ibn al-Khayyāṭ); H. Massé, in *Mél. René Basset*, i, 256-7; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ḤARB [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SABAʾ; AL-KINDĪ, IBN ḤARB].

IBN HARMA, IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. SALAMA (b. ʿĀmir) B. HARMA AL-FIHRĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, Arab poet of Medina, born in 90/709, who, if his genealogy is authentic, belonged to the tribe of Ḳuraysh. Little is known of his life. A supporter of the ʿAlids, he attended and panegyrised ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*], but he is said to have refrained from giving his support to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] when the latter revolted against the ʿAbbāsids. The *Aghānī* names several persons for whom he had occasion to exercise his poetic gifts, but it must be remembered that after singing the praises of some Umayyads—especially al-Walīd b. Yazīd—he tried in 140/757 to gain the favour of al-Manṣūr, who pardoned his past conduct; perhaps he also approached al-Mahdī, for it is possible that he lived until about 170/786. He was buried at Baḳīʿ [*q.v.*], but by then he had fallen into such complete obscurity that no writer is able to give the exact date of his death. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, however, wrote a *Kitāb Akhbār Ibn Harma* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 161).

The physical and moral portrait of Ibn Harma is scarcely an attractive one. Ugly, small in stature, importunate and avaricious, he was furthermore addicted to drink, a vice which earned him some disappointments, although it is related that al-Manṣūr found a way to safeguard him by decreeing that he would be punished by 80 lashes of the whip if found drunk, but that the policeman who brought him before the governor of Medina would receive 100 lashes.

Of his poetry, handed down by his *rāwī* Ibn Rubayḥ, and collected together by al-Aṣmaʿī, and later by Ibn al-Sikkīt, al-Sukkarī and al-Ṣūlī, all that survives is a small number of verses scattered through works of *adab*. His quite extensive *Dīwān* included *ḳaṣīdas* of Bedouin type, some satires, and some erotic and Bacchic poems, but it is important to note that al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū ʿUbayda described Ibn Harma as one of the poets who have "sealed (*khatama*) poetry" and represent the rearguard (*sāḳa*) of classicism; he is thus one of the last to be regarded by philologists as an authority on the subject of the Arabic language. Al-Djāḥiẓ gives particularly the text of his short fable of the lizard and the frog and, in another context, places him in the same rank as Bashshār [*q.v.*] for the use of *badīʿ* [*q.v.*]; indeed, he seems to have been one of the first poets to exploit the resources of the "trade", as is proved by a *ḳaṣīda* consisting solely of undotted letters.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indexes; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 719-31; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* 68, 247; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 2-4 (notes); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 175-6; *Aghānī*, iv, 101-13 (Beirut ed., iv, 369-97); Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 88, 555, 824; idem, *Djamʿ*, 103; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 203-4 (Cairo ed., i, 383-4); Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 353; Damīrī, s.v. *naʿāma*; Brockelmann, S I, 134; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 122-3 (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ḤASAN AL-NUBĀHĪ [see AL-NUBĀHĪ].

IBN ḤAWḲAL, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM B. ʿALĪ AL-NAṢĪBĪ,

Arab geographer of the second half of the 4th/10th century, one of the best exponents, with his contemporary al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*], of geography based on travel and direct observation (*ʿiyān*).

Ibn Ḥawḳal was born in Naṣībīn (Nisibis) in Upper Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra). He probably spent his early years in this region before beginning, on 7 Ramaḍān 331/15 May 943, an impressive series of journeys, the course of which it is possible to trace, at least in outline, by means of the few dates given in his work: North Africa, Spain and the southern edge of the Sahara (336-40/947-51), Egypt and the northern regions of Islam: Armenia and Ādharbaydjān (about 344/955), al-Djazīra, ʿIrāḳ, Khūzistān and Fārs (350-8/961-9), Khʷārazm and Transoxania (about 358/969), and finally Sicily (362/973), after which we lose trace of him.

It may be said with fair certainty that Ibn Ḥawḳal was engaged in the activities of a merchant and missionary. As to the first, there may be noted the details (often with figures) of prices, products and of economic activity in general. As for his politico-religious sympathies, the Fāṭimid professions of faith which are found in his work indicate that he was at least sincerely in sympathy with the movement; although it is difficult to state categorically that he was a Fāṭimid *dāʿī*, with the convinced and militant attitude which this implies, the interest which he took in Fāṭimid policy certainly appears quite clearly. It is within this context that it is possible to explain, among other details, the passages on Nubia or on the history of North Africa, also Ibn Ḥawḳal's opinions on Umayyad Spain and Kalbī Sicily, his occasional complaints against the administration of Fāṭimid Egypt being explained by strictly commercial considerations.

Apart from a work on Sicily, which has not survived, Ibn Ḥawḳal's main work was a description of the Islamic countries, known under the titles *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. It has so far been impossible to establish with certainty the history of the text; it nevertheless seems clear that it appeared in several successive redactions. The first is dedicated to the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and is therefore earlier than 356/967, when this ruler died. The second, full of criticism of this dynasty and dedicated to a person who has not been identified, must have appeared in about 367/977. Finally, a definitive and complete version of the work must have appeared in about 378/988. The appearance of the work in successive versions is clearly the reason for some of the obscurities to be found in it and in particular those which appear on more than one point in the description of Sicily.

Another, and perhaps the most important, source of confusion is to be found in his plagiarizing, more or less closely, the text of al-Iṣṭakhrī [*q.v.*], which Ibn Ḥawḳal took as the basis for his own description. No detail can be extracted from Ibn Ḥawḳal's work and no judgement pronounced on it before the origin of the passage in question has been determined. Moreover, the patient and systematic comparison of the two texts has the advantage of illustrating Ibn Ḥawḳal's originality compared with his predecessor. It appears on the whole that, leaving aside certain alterations of style intended, in Ibn Ḥawḳal's opinion, to raise the tone, to amplify a phrase or to set his personal mark on al-Iṣṭakhrī's text, all the modifications made by Ibn Ḥawḳal certainly confer on his work a breadth and a personality incomparably larger than those of its predecessor, worthy though the latter was.

To begin with, Ibn Ḥawḳal probably intended nothing more than to make, in the form of corrections, his contribution to the corpus of the geographical school of al-Balkhī [*q.v.*]. To judge from the terms in which he describes his meeting with al-Iṣṭakhrī and the encouragement which the latter gave him, it was as a collection of maps of the Islamic world alone that Ibn Ḥawḳal first envisaged his geographical work. However, very soon the facts which he accumulated during his travels must have encouraged him to devote the greater part of his effort to the text itself, which in al-Balkhī, and even still at several places in al-Iṣṭakhrī, was only secondary, being initially merely a commentary on the maps in the old tradition of the *ṣūra Maʾmūniyya*. Ibn Ḥawḳal's innovation therefore was first to transform this commentary into a work in its own right, considerably expanded and independent of the maps.

Another modification was that, without in the plan of the work going beyond either the general framework of Islam or, in the description of details, the boundaries of each province (*iḳlīm*) dealt with one by one, Ibn Ḥawḳal, adopting in this an outlook of administrative geography as found for example in al-Djayhānī [*q.v.*], adds to his description remarks on various countries or peoples bordering on the Islamic world which he considers to be of particular importance: notable examples are the passages on the Turks, the Khazars, the towns of southern Italy, the Sudanese and the Nubians.

Within the Muslim region proper, he similarly provides additional facts, the important pages here being those devoted to the West (the Maghrib, Spain, Egypt, and Sicily) and the North-East (Khurāsān and Transoxania in particular). Nevertheless it would be wrong, however great their interest, to limit our attention to these pages. Everywhere, in fact, Ibn Ḥawḳal imposes on the work of his predecessor, even if only by corrections of detail or of the order of words or lines, the stamp of his own work, the main aim of which is to place the book firmly within his own period. His constant care to depict a region precisely in the state and at the date that he himself had seen it, and occasional references to the distant or more recent past, give to his text, besides a vividness of description and even a depth of feeling which sometimes appear, undoubted value for the historian. This is particularly true of the notes on economic matters, which form a complete break with convention; for one thing, Ibn Ḥawḳal is much less interested in rare or precious products than in the basic agricultural and manufactured products, and secondly he was able to study on the spot a given economic situation in relation to a particular period or with reference to an implicit norm. He was the only Arab geographer of the period who really sketched a vivid picture of production.

An edition of Ibn Ḥawḳal was published by De Goeje (Leiden 1873). This is now superseded by that of Kramers (Leiden 1938). A translation of the text which had been prepared by Kramers was published with revision by G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre* (Paris-Beirut 1964).

Bibliography: In addition to the introductions by J. H. Kramers and by G. Wiet, we give here, from a relatively abundant bibliography, the most recent works, which discuss the points at issue: Brockelmann, I, 263, S I, 408; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 5; R. Blachère and H. Darmaun, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1957, 134-6; I. Yu.

Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 198-205; Ar. tr. (chap. i-xvi published so far) by Ṣ.D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 200-5; F. Gabrieli, *Ibn Ḥawqal e gli Arabi di Sicilia*, in *L'Islam nella storia*, Bari 1966, 57-67 (reprinted from *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 245-53); A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XI*[e] *s.*, Paris 1967, 299-309 and *passim*. (A. Miquel)

IBN ḤAWSHAB [see manṣūr al-yaman].

IBN AL-ḤAWWĀS, ʿAlī b. Niʿma, was one of the *ḳāʾid*s who shared Sicily after the last Kalbī *amīr* al-Ḥasan—called al-Ṣamṣām—the brother of the *amīr* Aḥmad al-Akḥal (409/1019-429/1038), who was deposed in 444/1052-3 (according to Ibn Khaldūn: 431/1039-40). This was the most obscure and chaotic period of Muslim Sicily, racked by civil wars and the rivalries of the local leaders who sought at the same time to bring about Byzantine intervention and the landing in the island of a Zīrid army. In this disturbed atmosphere, the *ḳāʾid* Ibn al-Ḥawwās managed to remain lord of Agrigento, Castrogiovanni and Castronuovo with their surrounding districts, while his brother-in-law, Ibn al-Maklātī, occupied Catania, which was soon taken from him—together with his wife (Maymūna, Ibn al-Ḥawwās's sister) and his own life—by his rival Ibn al-Thumna [*q.v.*], lord of Syracuse.

Some time afterwards the two brothers-in-law fought each other over an entirely family matter; following his victory, near Castrogiovanni, over his adversary, Ibn al-Ḥawwās became the only powerful *ḳāʾid* in almost the whole of Sicily and he was able to retain this position until the arrival of the Normans, who had been invited by the defeated Ibn al-Thumna to cross the straits. They landed towards the end of February 1061, and Count Roger's first encounters with the Muslims were so unsuccessful that the Normans were obliged to withdraw. But some months later Messina fell into the hands of the attackers, who, reinforced by the troops of Ibn al-Thumna, attacked and defeated the Muslims near Castrogiovanni, without however succeeding in forcing their enemies, who were besieged in the fortress, to capitulate. Ibn al-Ḥawwās fell, two or three years after these events, in the fighting which broke out between his troops and the Zīrid Ayyūb, the son of Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz, who had landed in Sicily with the reinforcements coming from Ifrīḳiya to support the Muslims against the Normans.

Bibliography: The bibliography relating to the events in which Ibn al-Ḥawwās was principally concerned is almost all to be found in the sources noted by M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*[2], Catania 1933-9, s.v., and published in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857; see also H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index. (U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) b. al-Haytham al-Baṣrī al-Miṣrī, was identified towards the end of the 19th century with the Alhazen, Avennathan and Avenetan of mediaeval Latin texts. He is one of the principal Arab mathematicians and, without any doubt, the best physicist.

In respect of his biography we have numerous lacunae. He was born in Baṣra in about 354/965; during the reign of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021) he went to Egypt where he tried to regulate the flow of the Nile. He abandoned this task when he realized its impossibility, in spite of his fears of the caliph's anger. On the death of the latter he returned to Cairo, where he earned his living by copying scientific, and particularly mathematical, manuscripts. He died in 430/1039.

His writings, consisting of more than a hundred titles, have been listed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. Most of these works—some of them very short—are devoted to mathematics and physics, but he also wrote on philosophical and medical subjects. Throughout these latter works can be seen his profound knowledge of the Greek authors, notably Ptolemy, whom he edited, studied and criticized (cf. Pinès, *Congrès Int. Hist. des Sciences*, x (1962), and M. Schramm, *Ibn al-Haythams Weg zur Physik*, 1963, bibliographical lists iii, 38 and iii, 64).

The works best known to us are:—(1) *Maḳāla fi 'stikhrādj samt al-ḳibla* (cf. C. Schoy, *Abhandlung über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla*, in *ZDMG*, lxxv (1921), 242-53) in which he established the theorem of the cotangent:

$$\text{cotg. } \alpha = \frac{\text{sin. } \varphi_1 \text{ cos. } (\lambda_2 - \lambda_1) - \text{cos. } \varphi_1 \text{ tg. } \varphi_2}{\text{sin. } (\lambda_2 - \lambda_1)}.$$

(2) *Maḳāla fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (which had two Hebrew translations, three Latin—one edited by J. M. Millás, *Las traducciones orientales* ..., 285-312—one Persian and one Castilian) on astronomy. This work had a great influence on later writers such as Averroes, al-Djaghmīnī, al-Ḳazwīnī and Peurbach (cf. W. Hartner, *The Mercury Horoscope* ..., 122-35). (3) *Kitāb fi 'l-manāẓir*, clearly commented on by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (died *ca.* 720/1320; ed. Ḥaydarābād 1347-8/1928-30). This work was translated into Latin and published in Basle in 1572 by F. Risner under the title *Thesaurus Opticus*. In the fifth *maḳāla* Alhazen's mathematical genius attained its highest development when he resolved the problem which today bears his name: two points, A and B, are fixed on the plane of a circle with centre O and radius R. Find in the circle (idealized in a mirror) the point M where the ray of light emitted by A must be reflected in order that it may pass through B. Alhazen's demonstration, which is very complex, leads to an equation of the fourth degree which he resolves by the intersection of an equilateral hyperbole with a circle. Leonardo da Vinci later became interested in the problem, which he could only solve mechanically, for lack of mathematical means. C. Huygens (d. 1696) finally gave the most elegant and simplest solution (cf. *Enciclopedia delle matematiche elementari*, i/2, 388-9). (4) *Maḳāla fi ḍawʾ al-ḳamar*, an important work on account of the ideas expounded on light, colours and the celestial movements. (5) *Fi 'l-marāyā 'l-muḥriḳa bi 'l-dawāʾir* (cf. Schramm, ii, 18 and iii, 8), translated by E. Wiedemann in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, x (1910), 293-307. (6) *Fi 'l-marāyā 'l-muḥriḳa bi 'l-ḳuṭuʿ* on parabolic mirrors (translated by J. L. Heiberg and E. Wiedemann, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, x (1910), 201-37). (7) *Fi anna 'l-kura awsaʿ al-ashkāl al-mudjassama allatī iḥāṭuhā mutasāwiya wa-anna 'l-dāʾira awsaʿ al-ashkāl al-musaṭṭaḥa allatī iḥāṭuhā mutasāwiya*, translated and commented on by H. Dilgan (*Actes IX*[e] *Congrès Internat. d'Hist. des Sciences*, 1959, 453-60). In it he demonstrates that "of two regular polygons inscribed in the same circle, that which has the greater number of sides has also the larger surface and the larger perimeter". (8) *Fī kayfiyyāt al-iẓlāl* (abridged translation by E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxix (1907), 226-48). (9) *Fi athar alladhī fi 'l-ḳamar* (tr. C. Schoy, Hanover 1925). (10) *Fi 'l-ḍawʾ* (ed. J. Baarmann, in *ZDMG* xxxvi (1882), 195-237, ed. Cairo 1936). (11) *Fi 'l-makān* (abr. tr. by E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), 1-25) which has no connexion with (12)

Fi 'l-makān wa 'l-zamān (cf. Schramm, ii, 2 and iii, 68). (13) *Fi 'rtifāʿ al-ḳuṭb* (tr. C. Schoy, in *De Zee*, x (1920), 586-601). (14) *Fī ṣūrat al-kusūf* (tr. E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvi (1914), 155-69) in which is expounded for the first time the use of the camera obscura in the observation of solar eclipses. (15) *Fi 'stikhrādj masʾala ʿadadiyya* (tr. E. Wiedemann, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), 11-3. (16) *Liber de crepusculis et nubium ascensionibus*, tr. Gerard of Cremona, published with the treatise *De crepusculis* of Pedro Nunnes (Lisbon 1542) and reprinted by Risner as an appendix to the *Thesaurus*. (17) *Fi 'l-maʿlūmāt* (translated in part by L. A. Sédillot, in *JA*, xxii (1834), 435-58). (18) *Fī tarbīʿ al-dāʾira* (ed. and tr. H. Suter, in *Zeitsch. für Mathematik und Physik. Hist. Abt.*, xlvi (1899), 33-47). (19) *Fī misāḥat al-mudjassam (al-djism) al-mukāfīʾ* (tr. H. Suter, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, xii (1912), 289-332).

Besides the contributions already mentioned, it should be noted that Ibn al-Haytham established that the astronomic twilight began or finished when the negative height of the sun reached 19° and, proceeding from there, he fixed the height of the atmosphere at 52,000 paces; he correctly explained atmospheric refraction and the augmentation of the apparent diameter of the sun and moon when they are near the horizon; like Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī, he established that rays of light start from the object to travel towards the eye, and not the reverse as Euclid, Ptolemy and al-Kindī maintained; he discovered spherical aberration—but he did not consider the caustic curve; he determined that the Milky Way was very remote from the earth and that it did not belong to the atmosphere, since it had no parallax. In the field of mathematics he neatly resolved the problem of al-Mahanī, wrote a treatise on magic squares and made some contributions to commercial mathematics (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über eine besondere Art des Gesellschaftsrechens nach ...*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, lviii (1928), 191-6).

In his *Risāla fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr mumtazidja min al-Yūnānī wa'l-ʿArabī* (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 94), Ibn al-Haytham probably combined the Greek and Arab conceptions of literary criticism.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned above, see Brockelmann, I, 469, S I, 851; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, i, 721; Steinschneider, *Aven Natan e la teoria dell' origine della luce lunare e delle stelle*, in *Bull. di bibliogr. e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, i, Rome 1868, 33-40; Muṣṭafā Naẓīf Bek, *Ibn al-Haytham wa buḥūthuhu wa-kushūfuhu al-naẓariyya*, Cairo 1942-3, 2 vols.; H. J. J. Winster, *The optical researches of Ibn al-Haytham*, in *Centaurus*, iii (1954), 190-210; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 128-30. (J. Vernet)

IBN ḤAYYĀN, Abū Marwān Ḥayyān b. Khalaf b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥayyān, without doubt the greatest historian of the Middle Ages in all Spain, both Muslim and Christian. The Arab biographers tell us little about his life or personality. He was born in Cordova in 377/987-8; his father, who was secretary to the vizier al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], must have greatly influenced his education and the formation of his strongly pro-Umayyad views; he had three teachers: the grammarian Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥubāb, the celebrated man of letters Ṣāʿid of Baghdād, and the traditionalist Ibn Nabal; we now know from his own admission that Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar, ruler of Cordova, rescued him from poverty by conferring on him the office of letter-writer in the government chancellery. We know with what extreme virulence he wrote of numerous personalities of his time, his bitterness towards the divisions and anarchy in the kingdoms of the *Ṭawāʾif*, and also at the scantiness of the sources at his disposal when he was writing the history of the *fitna*; however, living as he did at the culmination of the Middle Ages, he was able to draw on the work of his predecessors. to write the history of his own turbulent century and to set standards for subsequent chroniclers. He died in Rabīʿ I 469/October 1076.

Among the works attributed with greater or less certainty to Ibn Ḥayyān, two titles stand out: the *Muḳtabis* and the *Matīn*. In the most vivid and brilliant period of Hispano-Arabic culture, Ibn Ḥayyān undertook to write the history of al-Andalus on the grand scale. When dealing with events prior to his own time, he limited himself to the compilation of earlier accounts and laid no claim to originality. Such is the *Muḳtabis*, literally "plucking [a brand] from the fire" and hence metaphorically "the book of one who copies the work of others"; it is thus an assemblage of earlier writings, which are copied with indications, as in a modern edition, of the gaps found in the original.

The style is thus not his own but that of his sources; its merit is therefore variable. By gathering together quotations from works most of which are lost, he enables us to appreciate the annals of al-Andalus in an incomparable historical fresco which, although having as its central figure the person of the sovereign, may be regarded as an expression of reality —one however that cannot be corrected either by archive documents or by the writings of political and religious opponents of the Umayyad régime.

Ibn Ḥayyān's original work—the most important in the whole Muslim historiography of the Peninsula—is the *Matīn*, which covers the history of his own times, namely, nearly the whole of the 5th/11th century, in sixty parts or volumes with an admirable attention to detail and an exactitude which are highlighted by a rare political understanding of events. Although all the volumes of the *Matīn* are lost, the author's great admirer Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*] has preserved for us such numerous and extensive passages that, thanks to the (still incomplete) edition of the *Dhakhīra* published in Egypt, it has become possible to reconstruct—admittedly with difficulty—a large part of the vanished text: this arises from the scrupulous fidelity, rare in mediaeval literature, with which Ibn Bassām always indicates the beginning and end of the passages transcribed.

"Whenever one considers any particular aspect of Hispano-Umayyad history", states its most authoritative historian, E. Lévi-Provençal, "one is nearly always obliged to revert to Ibn Ḥayyān. Without his *Muḳtabis*, we should have no quotations from the two Rāzīs, nor from two other chroniclers of the 10th century, almost as important and of the same school, the Ḳurayshī Muʿāwiya ibn Hishām ibn al-Shabānisī and another Cordovan oi Arab stock, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ibn Mufarridj. Without him, we should not be able to check, thanks to numerous quotations, the greater part of the chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳūṭīya and extensive passages from the writings of al-Khushanī and Ibn al-Faraḍī in less abridged versions than those which have been published. Lastly, without Ibn Ḥayyān the skeletal compilation *(talkhīṣ)* of Ibn ʿIdhāri [in *al-Bayān al-mughrib*] would never have seen the light of day, nor propably, as a result, would Dozy's history."

The third part of the *Muḳtabis* has been published by M. M. Antuña, under the title: *Chronique du*

règne du calife umayyade ʿAbd Allāh à Cordoue, Paris 1937, and has been translated into Spanish by Kh. Ghorayyib, in *Cuadernos de historia de España*, Buenos Aires 1952; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez have published the *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" . . . sobre las origenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *al-Andalus*, xix (1954).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 503; E. García Gómez, *A propósito de Ibn Ḥayyān*, in *al-Andalus*, xi, 395-423; M. Antuña, *Abenhayan de Córdoba y su obra histórica*, Madrid 1925; Dozy, *Loci de Abbadidis*, i, 218; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 152-3; Brockelmann, S I, 578; idem, in *OLZ*, 1941, 168-71; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 84-129; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 480.

(A. Huici Miranda)

IBN ḤAYYŪS, Abu 'l-Fityān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyūs al-Ghanawī, Syrian poet of the 5th/11th century. Born at Damascus in Ṣafar 394/December 1003, he seems to have been at first attached to the Banū ʿAmmār [see ʿammār] of Tripoli in Syria, although he is referred to as being in Aleppo in 429/1037-8; his sympathy with the Fāṭimids of Egypt caused him to fall out of favour with the Banū ʿAmmār, who had become independent, and in 464/1072 he was summoned to Aleppo by the Mirdāsid [*q.v.*] Maḥmūd b. Naṣr (457-67/1065-75), in whose praise he began to write. On the death of his patron, he wrote a *marthiya* which was also an eulogy of Naṣr b. Maḥmūd (467-8/1075-6). After the latter had been assassinated, Ibn Ḥayyūs remained at the court of his successor, Sābiḳ b. Maḥmūd, though this did not prevent his addressing praises also to Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, who captured Aleppo in 473/1080; as a reward Muslim gave him al-Mawṣil as a fief, but the poet died before he was able to take possession of it, in Shaʿbān 473/January-February 1081.

Ibn Ḥayyūs, who is considered as one of the greatest Syrian poets of the 5th/11th century after al-Maʿarrī, left a *Dīwān* which was published in Damascus by Khalīl Mardam in 1951 (2 vols.).

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fi taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951-4, i, 258, ii, 74-5; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 10-2; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 108; Brockelmann, S I, 456; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 481-3.

(Ed.)

IBN ḤĀZIM [see muḥammad b. ḥāzim].

IBN ḤAZM, patronymic of an Andalusian family, several members of which played an important rôle during the Umayyad caliphate. The most famous of them is without doubt Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm [see the following article], but some brief details on the Banū Ḥazm are given here, since confusions often arise.

(1) ʿAlī's father was Abū ʿUmar Aḥmād b. Saʿīd b. Ḥazm b. Ghālib b. Ṣāliḥ b. Khalaf. A dignitary at the court of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir and that of his son al-Muẓaffar, he was greatly affected by the serious events which occurred in 399/1009 [see al-andalus] and died on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 402/21 June 1012. See Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 40; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 412; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; idem, *En relisant le "Collier de la Colombe"*, in *al-Andalus*, xv/2 (1950), 345-7.

(2) ʿAlī's elder brother, Abū Bakr, of whom only the *kunya* is known, was born in 379/989 and died at the age of 22 during the epidemic of plague which ravaged Cordova, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 401/June 1011. It was to him that Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*] dedicated his *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*, which indicates the date at which this work was written. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 303, 309; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 64-5; idem, *En relisant . . .*, 346-7.

(3) ʿAlī's son, Abū Rāfiʿ al-Faḍl, entered the service of the ʿAbbādids of Seville and was killed at the battle of al-Zallāḳā [*q.v.*] in Radjab 479/October 1086. He is the author of a historical work entitled *al-Hādī ilā maʿrifat al-nasab al-ʿabbādī*. See Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. Muʾnis, ii, 34.

(4) Another Ibn Ḥazm fairly often mentioned is ʿAlī's cousin Abu 'l-Mughīra ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥazm. Secretary to the administration and a wit, he was appointed vizier by al-Mustaẓhir during the brief caliphate of the latter (414/1023) and then entered the service of the petty kings of Saragossa; he was vizier of Mundhir b. Yaḥyā when the town fell, in 431/1040, and was imprisoned and then probably released after a ransom had been paid. He died in 438/1046. He had belonged to the group of young Cordovan aristocrats of brilliant literary talent, and his relations with Ibn Shuhayd were well-known; according to Ibn Khāḳān (*Maṭmaḥ*, 22 = al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 408-9), Ibn Shuhayd was not a good influence on Abu 'l-Mughīra, who led a more sober life after his friend's death. Ibn Ḥayyān (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 111), who thought very highly of his qualities as a poet and prose writer, states that he wrote in his youth a number of works, and adds that he always won any arguments with his cousin because of his ready wit and his learning. It appears that he enjoyed some degree of fame even beyond the frontiers of Muslim Spain, since it was to him that the Ḳayrawānī Ibn al-Rabīb [*q.v.*] addressed the famous epistle in which he criticized the Andalusians for not perpetuating the memory of their famous men; Abu 'l-Mughīra replied to these criticisms at some length, but Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, i/1, 113-6) did not consider it necessary to preserve the whole of the text of this reply, and in particular made the regrettable decision to suppress the list of Andalusian works with which it ended. It is known that ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm also replied to this letter and that the text of his reply survives, probably in full [see ibn al-rabīb]. In addition Ibn Bassām and al-Maḳḳarī have reproduced a certain number of prose and verse texts by Abu 'l-Mughīra which clearly show considerable literary qualities. See Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 110-52; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. and tr. L. Bercher, 237; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 22; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, 197; H. Pérès, *Poésie*, 14, n. 4, 57; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 334; Dozy, *HME*², ii, 330; Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), 53.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ḤAZM, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, born at Cordova in 384/994, died at Manta Līsham in 456/1064, Andalusian poet, historian, jurist, philosopher and theologian, one of the greatest thinkers of Arabo-Muslim civilization, who codified the Ẓāhirī [see ẓāhiriyya] doctrine and applied its method to all the Ḳurʾānic sciences.

The life of Ibn Ḥazm and the political events of his time. E. García Gómez has pointed out that the period in which Ibn Ḥazm lived corresponds to the "most tragic moments of Muslim Spain" and to "the decisive crisis of Islam in Andalusia". His family origins are obscure; the most probable suggestion is that he was descended from Christian converts to Islam. His grandfather Saʿīd settled at Cordova; his father Aḥmad rose to a high position in the administrative hierarchy, becoming vizier to

al-Manṣūr and to his son al-Muẓaffar: he had enough skill and pliability to remain faithful to the Umayyad caliph, who was officially on the throne, without arousing the suspicions of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

Ibn Ḥazm spent his early years in the surroundings of the harem. Asín Palacios and García Gómez have stressed this point: "an impressionable child and abnormally highly-strung", the revelation of sexual matters and the discovery of the subtle feminine psychology were to have a profound influence on him. This is true; but Ibn Ḥazm should not all the same be regarded as having been a neurotic and morbidly amoral person. Until the age of fourteen the child led a pampered and easy life; but after that he was to suffer from the repercussions of the political struggles between Andalusians, Berbers and Slavs. His father fell into disgrace after the fall of the ʿĀmirids and the replacement of the caliph Hishām II by Muḥammad al-Mahdī; he was forced to leave his palace of Madīnat al-Zāhira. His affairs were not improved by the assassination of al-Mahdī and the return to the throne of Hishām, since the Slav general Wāḍiḥ had him imprisoned and confiscated his possessions. The family then established itself firmly in the service of the legitimist party. Aḥmad took part in an unsuccessful plot against the Slavs. It was in these unhappy circumstances that he died in 402/1012. A period of violence had begun; the house of Ibn Ḥazm's family at Balāṭ Mughīth was destroyed in 403/1013. He himself was forced to take refuge in Almeria, where he was able to enjoy a respite until 407/1016, the year in which the governor of this town made an agreement with the Berbers to overthrow Sulaymān. Ibn Ḥazm, suspected of carrying out pro-Umayyad propaganda, was imprisoned for some months and then banished.

Accompanied by his friend Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Ibn Ḥazm found refuge at Ḥiṣn al-Ḳaṣr, which, according to García Gómez, is not the present day Aznalcazar near Sanlúcar, but was in the region of Malaga or of Murcia. The two friends did not remain there for long: having heard that an Umayyad claimant to the throne, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā, who had been living in Valencia, was raising an army against the Berbers of Cordova, they set out to join him. Ibn Ḥazm became al-Murtaḍā's vizier and fought in his army before Granada. He was taken prisoner and then released. In about 412/1022, Ibn Ḥazm, who had retreated to Jativa, began to write the *Ṭawḳ al-hamāma*, which contains many autobiographical passages relating to the above events.

The Berbers retained Cordova until 414/1023, when al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd was overthrown. The new caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir, appointed his friend Ibn Ḥazm as vizier; unfortunately, he was assassinated after seven weeks, and Ibn Ḥazm was once again put into prison. He reappears in 418/1027 at Jativa. According to al-Djayyānī, reported by Yāḳūt, he became vizier again under Hishām al-Muʿtadd. But his experience of political life had destroyed the ideals he had had in his youth. From now on he devoted himself, in semi-retirement, to intellectual work and study, to writing his books and teaching. His virulent attacks against the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ* who, always supporting those in power, held sway in the schools and exerted their influence on political and social life, his stand against the ʿAbbādids of Seville whose impostures he denounced, in short his radical non-conformity, earned him the hatred of the official thinkers and the hostility of the rulers, who found such a person undesirable in their territory. This was the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* (Reyes de Taifas), which began after the abolition of the caliphate of Cordova, so that the convinced legitimist could not avoid making enemies almost everywhere. Ibn Ḥazm withdrew to the country of his family at Manta Lisham. Little is known of the end of his life, apart from the fact that measures were taken to silence him: in order to make it difficult for him to teach, the formation around him of groups of students was forbidden; only a few disciples, among them the historian al-Ḥumaydī, were brave enough to seek him out and listen to him. He died in his village, leaving, according to his son Abū Rāfiʿ, 400 works.

Ibn Ḥazm and the cultural life of his time. Ibn Ḥazm received a very thorough education. In the *Ṭawḳ* and in his treatise on the merits of Muslim Spain he gives some information on his teachers and he demonstrates that he was truly a man of his time, well-informed on all the main currents of thought, interested in all that was written, and eager to learn. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Yazīd al-Azdī al-Miṣrī taught him traditions, grammar and lexicography, rhetoric, dialectic, and theology (*Ṭawḳ*, ch. 28). Abu 'l-Khiyār al-Lughawī, the jurisconsult, was his teacher for *fiḳh* (*Ṭawḳ*, ch. 26). Abū Saʿīd al-Fatā al-Djaʿfarī gave a commentary on early poetry in the Great Mosque at Cordova (*Ṭawḳ*, 21). For *ḥadīth* he was taught by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Djasūr (*Ṭawḳ*, 30). In his treatise on Spain, Ibn Ḥazm mentions, as his *ustādh* for philosophy, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madhḥidjī, whose treatises he says were famous. In addition to these teachers there should be mentioned his relationship with the poets, scholars and men of letters who were his contemporaries. He refers to them in his works, often cordially. There exists a collection of Epistles addressed to important persons among his friends on religious or intellectual matters. It seems that Ibn Ḥazm was deeply concerned with the problem of spiritual education as a means of saving and promoting human culture (that is, the Arabic culture of his time), if we may judge by his *Risāla fī marātib al-ʿulūm*, which is a complete plan for education. In it he demonstrates that all sciences are related, that they demand researches which are not possible without renouncing a life of pleasure, and that their use is to lead man to victory and to well-being in the next world. There is no thinker more typical of his century than Ibn Ḥazm.

Character of Ibn Ḥazm. It would certainly be an exaggeration to claim that Arabic literature as a whole is impersonal: the great writer and the great thinker may always be discerned through his work. Ibn Ḥazm is no exception. For the modern reader, he is the author in the field of Arab Islam who remains the most alive and the most vigorous. Asín Palacios has shown that he had retained from his early years, passed among the women in the harem, an exaggerated sensitivity which later appeared as a very sensitive conscience: in matters concerning his personal loves, or in his political, social, scientific or religious life, he always regarded with repugnance any falseness, simulation or deceit. He realized that the human soul, if left to itself, spontaneously inclines towards dishonesty, and therefore he mistrusted those internal recesses of the soul in which are hidden unexpressed and unexpressible intentions, double meanings whose ambiguity leads to indecision. His experience as an adult of those in power or

seeking power confirmed in him a mournful scepticism. It may be said that the ideas which govern all his works were controlled by these basic reactions to the human vices as he saw them practised in his own day. He was taught by Islam that there is no refuge from such evils except in God and he adhered to this belief with all the force of his being. It should not be forgotten that he himself lived out his own belief with intensity before giving expression to it dogmatically in a vast system in which it is set out together with all its various consequences, and before defending it passionately against those people whom it exposed and who attacked it in their own defence.

Ibn Ḥazm confronted all these inconstancies of man and society as a man passionately convinced of the truth, and all his researches led towards a truth supported by incontrovertible evidence with incontestable proofs. This Truth is the God of Islam, Who is the foundation of all the other truths. The Muslim faith, in its authenticity, is the basis of a truly human life; but it must be purified of all that men have added, suppressed or modified. Although God is the basic refuge, Ibn Ḥazm, meditating in his own way on this faith, discovered in the statements of the law solid bases which can be relied on and used as arguments to combat error and deceit. First, in spite of, and perhaps even because of, his misanthropy, Ibn Ḥazm recognized friendship and gave it an important place in his ideal conception of human relations. He considered that true friendship is the source of truth, frankness, mutual understanding, and sincerity. It is in friendly relations that verbal statements may be taken at their face value, without any need to suspect something left unsaid or thoughts skilfully and shrewdly disguised. This strongly held opinion explains Ibn Ḥazm's religious respect for the language itself, in which his Ẓāhirī doctrine has its roots. In the same order of ideas, but at another level, Ibn Ḥazm was convinced that the supposedly rational arguments of the philosophers, of the theologians and of certain jurists merely revealed their passions, prejudices and personal preferences, all things unjustifiable in themselves but given a semblance of legitimacy by means of false reasoning. From them stem the innumerable deviations of those who, instead of listening to God, submit to the promptings of presumptuous human reason. This argument contains the origin of Ibn Ḥazm's system of logic, in which reason plays a part, but one rigorously defined, limited and subordinated to the teaching provided by the Word of God. Finally, Ibn Ḥazm relies on his acute sense of reality. The reality created by God has much to teach men, provided that they know this and are willing to observe it by following the advice of the Ḳurʾān. Exasperation often causes the writings of sensitive thinkers to tend towards morbidity, but nothing of this is found in Ibn Ḥazm; his works show not the slightest trace of schizophrenia. Although he cuts himself off from the world, he does not evade it; although he dreams of an ideal, he does not merely cultivate it secretly within himself. He remains a fighter, a man of action, whether he enters the field of politics or whether he carries on polemic in his books. The enemies he is fighting are men of flesh and blood, whose doctrines he studies with care and whose formulas he closely examines. He could perhaps be accused of making no attempt to understand his opponent thoroughly, of being content merely to point out illogicalities and inexact or fallacious expressions, and of using sometimes, to this end, rather specious arguments. But the fact is that he regards them as men not to be trusted, with whom it is not possible to engage in a true dialogue, since they distort language to make it fit in with their whims and force words to say what they do not naturally mean. Together with this search for precise terminology, which prevents his arguments from having any formal or abstract character, he displays a great power of observation, which is apparent especially in the choice of examples drawn from his personal experience or from enquiries which he has made himself. Thus, concerning the *zakāt* on agricultural products and its collection, he says a few words on agriculture in Spain; concerning the parable of the grain of mustard seed in the Gospel he has conducted researches on the size of the plant which grows from it; concerning measures, he mentions a *mudd* which he has seen in a family and establishes through whose hands it has passed in succession until he demonstrates, as in an *isnād*, that it came from Medina, dated from the time of the Prophet, and thus constituted an authentic standard measure. Many other such examples could be given.

But although he has a liking for concrete detail and precise information, Ibn Ḥazm is noted for his sense of synthesis. His great concern is to demonstrate the consistency of the numerous Ḳurʾānic and prophetic texts on which Muslim faith and practice are based. His theories of knowledge, language, logic and interpretation are always directed to this end. In carrying out his project he explains ideas and the relations between them with perfect clarity; his style is at the same time limpid, supple and vigorous. From this point of view, his works conform completely with the Western ideal. There may be mentioned his reference to "talkers of nonsense who embroider the truth, who arrogate to themselves the name of theologians, who string together in their drivelling talk thousands of words, the last of which cancel out the earlier ones". This judgement is typical of Ibn Ḥazm, and demonstrates the importance which he attached to coherence both in the sequence of ideas and in style. In fact he stresses, in the search for and the statement of the truth, the role played by the memory (as did Descartes later): the necessity of retaining in the mind the whole thread of the proof and the discourse; if there is a lapse of memory, error occurs. His personal genius is based on considerable powers of memory and of systematic construction, in which the mass of details, always well marshalled, never blurs the clear outline of the main arguments.

Ibn Ḥazm as psychologist and moralist. Ibn Ḥazm's temperament, his spiritual qualities and his powers of observation and analysis make him a very subtle psychologist and a notable moralist. This appears throughout his writings, but may be seen more particularly in two of his works: the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* and the *Kitāb al-Akhlāḳ wa 'l-siyar*. The first is a treatise on love and lovers. This subject was often treated by the commentators of the early poetry (*nasīb* of the *ḳaṣīda*; *ghazal*); in this sense Ibn Ḥazm had predecessors, the most important of whom were al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī. His treatise belongs to a literary genre which was to become much favoured, that which may be termed the "Code of Love" and which very soon became a collection of clichés, anecdotes and observations, illustrated, more or less aptly, by numerous poetic quotations. Already the *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd may be criticized as being of this type, and Ibn Ḥazm does not seem to have avoided it entirely. But

although from the time the genre was first used the theme was fairly trite, skilled writers like al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn Ḥazm were able to give it an original twist. The bibliography in García Gómez lists the studies of the *Ṭawḳ* from this point of view. Here it may be mentioned that Ibn Ḥazm gradually detaches himself from the stereotyped productions of a light literature and that his discourse becomes increasingly serious. His secular subject becomes full of moral and religious reflexions; the use of more personal examples and of direct observation lends it progressively more depth and psychological truth, while at the same time a hint of pessimism and of bitterness becomes more apparent. It is probable that the work was not written all at the same time, and that it reflects a certain development in the author's experience. An example is the passage which begins with these words: *wa laḳad ra'aytu 'mra'atan kānat mawaddatuhā fī ghayri dhāt Allāh* (ed. L. Bercher, 348). In it can be felt a certain religious and human feeling, an existentialist dialectic of love. The chapter entitled *Ḳubḥ al-maʿṣiya* contains completely personal autobiographical details which have the ring of truth, together with some very vivid notes on feminine psychology. Ibn Ḥazm's gifts as a psychologist and a moralist are well enough demonstrated by some remarks on apparent resignation (ch. 24, ed. Bercher, 238), also by some remarks on the apparent and the hidden meaning in the words of lovers (p. 180), and remarks on the dialectic of consolation (*ḳunūʿ*), in particular among poets who attempt to satisfy themselves "by means of externalizing the passion which grips them (*gharaḍ*; on the meaning of this word, cf. Dozy, *Supp.*), by displaying their mastery of profound ideas and extraordinary designs: each of them speaks according to the strength of his nature, but they merely use the language in an arbitrary way (*taḥakkum bi 'l-lisān*), produce turgid discourses (*tashadduḳ fi 'l-kalām*), and revel in rhetoric (*istiṭāla bi 'l-bayān*), all of which is completely without authenticity"; they are demonstrated also by some remarks on the different motives which exist for apparently identical conduct and on the part played by ostentation (*riyā'*), and by many other passages of the same type. These remarks however also indicate the way in which Ibn Ḥazm made use of these abilities: in a ruthless analysis of the motives, intentions and secret meanings which reveals the reticences or dissimulations concealed under the cover of expression in speech. When a man speaks about himself, and in order to express himself, he does not follow the rules of a language which was made for accurate communication, but he distorts it to his own personal requirements to dissimulate and deceive. When Ibn Ḥazm, in the *Ṭawḳ*, uses the term *iẓhār*, it is always in a pejorative sense: a man does not show himself as he really is but adopts a mask. This is why, after criticizing human words, he seeks authentic truth in the Word of God. His basic argument is exactly the same as that of many Muslim mystics, but he has no confidence in man and is reluctant to search in the depths of human consciousness for a state of authentic sincerity in which is revealed the presence of Divine action. He considers that the artificial nature of consciousness always constitutes a barrier. He therefore exhorts man to escape from himself in order to submit to a purely objective reality, the text of the revealed Ḳur'ān and of the inspired *ḥadīth* taken "as it is", *i.e.*, in its *ẓāhir*. To be united with God is to listen to what He says and understand it in order to obey Him meekly and scrupulously. Man does not find truth and certainty in himself but in God, that is to say in the texts at whose level is achieved the only union possible: the union in understanding, *fahm*.

The *Kitāb al-Akhlāḳ wa 'l-siyar* fully confirms the above conclusions; we limit ourselves to referring to paragraph 267 (ed. and tr. N. Tomiche, 74/96), and, on the goal pursued, to paragraph 5 (13/8) which concludes: "Know therefore that there is only one object to be sought: to banish anxiety, and that one way alone leads to it: the service of God (*al-ʿamal li-'llāh*)". Thus all of Ibn Ḥazm's psychology and moral science concentrates on action, but an action purged of any internal motive and entirely determined by the thought of God.

Ibn Ḥazm as a theoretician of language. Lies and error are obviously linked to speech. It can be said, in brief, that for Ibn Ḥazm the evil in this consists in making use of language for personal ends instead of serving it. In fact there exists in language a reality: instituted by God (cf. Ḳur'ān, II, 31), it contains in itself a truth and is the only means of discovering the truth and of expressing it, so long as it is not cut off from its divine roots (*aṣl al-lugha*) in order to make of it the plaything of human passions, which results in destroying it in every language and in depriving it of any efficacity (*ibṭāl al-lugha*). In the use of a language, the speech ought never to become conventional (the theory of the *tawḳīf* opposed to that of the *iṣṭilāḥ*) nor enigmatic: it should say everything openly, since its function is to bring about mutual comprehension (*tafāhum*). This is why perfect speech (and this is eminently the case of the Word of God) must be expressed completely by its *ẓāhir*. Any attempt to discover a hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) is useless; it leads to arbitrary judgements and leaves room for the passions and the suggestions of the human soul. Thus, in the realm of pure grammatical theory, Ibn Ḥazm strongly opposed all the theories which explained syntax by "hidden meanings". The psychological intentions of the speaker or the listener should not interfere with the meaning of the speech, the only element which has any value. The words by themselves have a significant meaning (*dalīl*) or a designative meaning (*ishāra*); he who uses them must do so with their proper meaning and not alter it by substituting his own subjective one. The ideas of *maʿnā* and of *murād bihi* are therefore perfectly objective and are dependent only upon the structure of the speech and the language in which they come into existence. Similarly, there are basic categories of speech (*ʿanāṣir al-kalām*) which modify the general conclusion of every word spoken: the imperative, the indicative, and the interrogative among others, which are the internal moods of speech and which affect the linguistic material by enabling it to evoke from the listener or the reader a certain response. Ibn Ḥazm also considered, but with detachment, the problem of the origin of languages in reflecting on the language of Adam; but in fact he does not make a categorical statement on this. In short, what constitutes for him the value of Arabic is the fact that it is the language of the Ḳur'ān, the seal of Revelation. It should be added that Ibn Ḥazm had some interesting intuitive theories on this problem, in particular that of an evolution and of a relationship between languages; but he did not develop them, probably because he did not possess the means, and certainly he did not regard this as a central problem.

The logic of Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn Ḥazm's theory of speech is entirely directed towards the formation

of a system of logic capable of analysing the revealed and prophetic texts in the essence of their *ẓāhir* without the risk of debasing them by substituting for that which God means that which man wishes to understand. From this point of view, although he was acquainted with Aristotle and in spite of his own command of logic in the arguments which he advances against his opponents, his tendency is to reduce the importance and the range of application of logical procedures conceived as the instruments of an independent reason. He believes in the value of reason, but conceives its legitimate use only in the sense in which God makes use of it in the Ḳur'ān (cf. the verses which include the verb *ya'ḳilūn*); it is first the faculty of the necessary rational intuitions (the principle of contradiction, the principle that the whole is greater then the part, etc.). Next it is the faculty which understands the senses of creatures and, consequently, it must never in its use become divorced from the results of perception through the senses which it is its task to penetrate. It is reason also which understands words and to which the Word of God is addressed. Thus it has the power to distinguish the true from the false, but always in relation to a fact which is presented to it either by the experience of the senses or by speech. It has also the capacity to reach immediate inferences readily checked by the facts. But it has absolutely no power to discover a truth which has not been given to it, and still less to create or reconstruct one. It is unable to make any value judgement, particularly concerning the moral questions of good and evil. It does not carry with it any speculative or practical imperative which demands that God take it into consideration. Reason is not a ruler but a worker. Entirely subordinated to the service of the understanding of the "signs" of God, it is reason which performs *id̲j̲tihād*, but this personal effort contributes nothing, does not produce any material progress in knowledge; it must result only in a more perfect understanding of the revealed texts and in a knowledge of them which is formally more solid and clear.

Furthermore, Ibn Ḥazm does not recognize an area of logical realities consisting of genus and species, of specific differences, of characteristics. He does not abstain from using these terms, but he does so always in the sense which they have in language (*fi 'l-lug̲h̲a*) and never according to their technical acceptation, except in the case of polemic. Above all he refrains from building up a metaphysical system based on these so-called logical realities. There is no "Ḥazmian theory" of substance and accident, of act and power, of natures, etc. When he makes use of these words it is either in polemic, or to express a common idea, or in referring to the Ḳur'ān or to *ḥadīth*. Thus, in his *Fiṣal*, there is a chapter in which he demonstrates that the word "nature" (*ṭabī'a*) may be used because the Prophet used it in referring to the character of some of his contemporaries. This is very far from the philosophic doctrine of the "natures" as the *falāsifa* received it from the Greeks.

It is true that in his *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb* Ibn Ḥazm presents a summary of Aristotelian logic, but it should not be concluded from this that he understood it in the spirit of Aristotle. The examples which he gives and which he draws from the Ḳur'ān and from *ḥadīth* are already an important indication of this. But nevertheless it is undeniable that, regarded in itself, the logic of Aristotle is closely connected with language; as an instrument for the analysis of linguistic expression it is natural for a Muslim to take an interest in it, and on this point Ibn Ḥazm's attitude is clear. In a dialogue preserved by al-Tawḥīdī between Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī and Mattā b. Yūnus, Abū Sa'īd rejects Aristotelian logic on the ground that it is linked with the Greek language and could not be of the slightest use to the Arabs. In this work Ibn Ḥazm makes a point of mentioning several times that what he obtains from Aristotle is common to all languages and hence can be of profit in the study of Arabic. If the transmission of logic is a grace (*luṭf*) of God, this is because this science is based on "the capacity for understanding which God has created in man". This leads to the central importance of *fahm*. It is thus, for example, that the scientific difference is not at all to be regarded as a constituent element of a concept and still less, beyond the concept, as a constituent element of a nature or of a metaphysical essence, but merely as a means of distinguishing (*tamyīz*) names and beings from one another.

Thus this recourse to Aristotle does not in the least contradict the logical conceptions set out elsewhere by Ibn Ḥazm (in particular in the *Kitāb al-Iḥkām*). It should however be remembered that several Muslim writers on logic have claimed that Ibn Ḥazm's conception of Aristotelian logic was not authentic, and indeed it is possible in one sense to say that he did not understand the full philosophical implications of Aristotle's work. It is probably more exact to say that he did not wish to attribute such wide implications to logic.

Ibn Ḥazm regarded logic as intended to extract the precise meaning of the texts on which the Muslim faith is based and also (and this is perhaps his chief aim) to reconcile the various texts of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīth* whose agreement is not immediately obvious and which sometimes appear flatly contradictory. It is therefore a matter of a logic of the *bayān*. The *ẓāhirī* conception of language led to a *ẓāhirī* system of logic which, in its turn, produced a *ẓāhirī* theology and system of law.

The basic rule is that it is necessary at first to consider all the elements in a text in their general meaning (*'ala 'l-'umūm*). It applies in the first place to the *'anāṣir al-kalām*, which should be understood in their strongest sense: thus a verbal imperative has the general meaning of an obligatory command and should be so understood unless another text is found which is an indication (*dalīl*) that what is involved is not an order, but an invitation or a piece of advice. Similarly a negative imperative has the immediate meaning of a prohibition, and only secondarily, as the result of a *dalīl*, can it be considered as a dissuasion. In the second place words are to be understood in the widest sense of their lexicographical meanings. If it is necessary to restrict them to a particular meaning (*'ala 'l-k̲h̲uṣūṣ*), a *dalīl* must be found. It can thus be seen that by "generality" Ibn Ḥazm does not mean a conceptional generality: in Arabic the various meanings of a word often have no semantic relation to one another; the *'umūm* is thus only the sum of the meanings of a word. If there is no restrictive indication, and if all the possible meanings equally apply, then all may be retained. If certain of them do not apply, then concrete experience plays the part of *dalīl*, providing sufficient indication that these should be excluded. It is also the relations between the *'umūm* and the *k̲h̲uṣūṣ* which are the basis of the theory of *istit̲h̲nā'* (exception). When two texts do not agree, the particular is discarded in favour of the general. These

are the basic principles of methodology which Ibn Ḥazm persistently applied to all the problems of *fiḳh* and *kalām*, adapting them with extreme ingenuity to each case.

Ibn Ḥazm and the sources of the law. As far as the Ḳur'ān is concerned, Ibn Ḥazm's interpretation is always a literal one and a wide one, according to his system of applying the rule of generalization in the understanding of texts. In this way he succeeded in deriving, from verses which appear to have only a limited application, ideas on which he built a whole juridical system. Thus (VI, 164): "*wa-lā taksibu kullu nafs^{in} illā ʿalayhā*" and (II, 286) "*lā yukallifu 'llāhu nafs^{an} illā wusʿahā lahā mā kasabat wa ʿalayhā mā 'ktasabat*" are two verses proposed as the Ḳur'ānic foundation for the doctrine of association (*Kitāb al-Shirka*). It is true that in these matters Ibn Ḥazm is not the only jurist to show great skill in exploiting the texts. In other cases he takes the verses in a very limited sense; for example in the treatise on loans and pledges, on the principle that, in a contract, any condition which is not found in the Book of God is null, he takes the terms of *Sūra* II, 282 in a very narrow sense.

To *ḥadīth* he applies very severe standards and, in his juridical controversies, he rejects the majority of those on which his adversaries rely. He applies moreover the ordinary rules of that criticism which he set out himself in his *Kitāb al-Iḥkām*, showing in this an undeniable sense of history.

He was, in contrast to the Shāfiʿīs, the great opponent of reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*), which he dismisses by demonstrating on the one hand the vagueness of the idea of resemblance and on the other the arbitrary element which exists in the wish to define a point of analogy. In his treatise on law (*Kitāb al-Muḥallā*), when he is attacking a *ḳiyās*, he always concentrates on stressing the inconsistencies which it produces: why make use of analogy in one case and not in another?

He also reduced the scope of *idjmāʿ* by bringing it back to the consensus of the Companions, the only one which is possible and certain.

Ibn Ḥazm as a jurist. He is the most representative of the Ẓāhirī school. On the theoretical level he was a fierce opponent of Ḥanafism and to a lesser degree of Shāfiʿism. But on the theoretical and the practical levels his great enemy was the Mālikism which was strong in Spain in his time. It may even be said that Ibn Ḥazm espoused Ẓāhirism because he saw in it an effective means of opposing and of condemning the tyranny of the Mālikī jurists. In this sense his work as a jurist constituted a liberation of the faithful. There are five *aḥkām*: the prescribed and the forbidden, that which is advised and that which is reprehended, and the permitted. In order to claim that an act falls into one of the first four categories, it is necessary to adduce a text in its *ẓāhir*. If no text can be brought, it is clear that the act in question falls into the final category, that of the *mubāḥ*.

Insensible to the demands brought about by historical changes, Ibn Ḥazm applied himself to reconstructing a legal system stripped of all that he considered to be additions made by the jurists who came after the Prophet and the Companions. He therefore greatly simplifies the law on many points: particularly clear examples of this are found in the chapter on the *zakāt* in his *Kitāb al-Muḥallā*, where, for agricultural products, he retains only wheat, barley, dates and *zabīb*, eliminating all the other types of cereals, fruits and fresh vegetables, and plants used for textiles, dyes and medicines, which other schools had added. Similarly in the *muʿāmalāt*, he limits considerably the forms of association by strict application of the principle that to each person is returned the fruit of his labour. His treatise on sale is also a return to a legislation inspired by such elementary forms of commerce as those for which the Prophet had laid down rules. On certain points, this return to the situation of the past presents great advantages: for example, in his treatise on marriage Ibn Ḥazm takes a very liberal attitude, defending the rights of women as established by the Ḳur'ān and the Prophet and, in particular, reducing considerably the scope of the right of *djabr*.

The reason that he did not see the need to develop the law as a consequence of political and social evolution was that he regarded the Law as being primarily a religious reality which gives man the opportunity to obey God and to submit to Him. It is also the link binding the *Umma*, in its religious form. As for the decisions to take and the conduct to follow at a certain time or in a certain place, it is permissible for a man to seek for the best solution, provided that it is not in any respect contrary to the basic rules established by God. But there is no question of extending these rules themselves. Ibn Ḥazm's juridical work therefore is based on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, but in a special sense. He considers that in fact in the Ḳur'ān everything is *aṣl*: a Ḳur'ānic rule which could be regarded as of very specialized application is a principle in itself, exactly the same as a very general rule. One should not infer, as did al-Shāfiʿī, starting from what he regarded as a particular case, a general motivation (*ʿilla*) from which there could be drawn (by *taʿlīl*) new applications. The Laws of God do not obey any *ʿilla*; they were not formed either by virtue of any standards of value in themselves or with the intention of dealing with a particular situation of humanity at a certain moment in history. God acts as He wishes and pays regard to nothing but His own will.

Conceived in this way, there is a risk that the law becomes entirely unrelated to the present—which is a form of eternity. Ibn Ḥazm can be accused of this in many instances. Nevertheless, among these abstract and formal considerations, his genius is able to stress some important ideas: respect for the right to the fruits of labour, the obligation to increase the value of, and to develop, one's possessions in the common interest, respect for the law concerning land (clearly expounded in the treatises on *muzāraʿa* and *mughārasa*). Finally it should be noted that, although the law properly so-called is confined within narrow limits as being divine law, the field of the *mubāḥ* is correspondingly enlarged and admits of human initiative; and furthermore human relationships are not exclusively juridical: thus a disposition which may not be written in as a condition in a contract may perfectly well be adopted "through the goodwill" of one of the parties to the contract. Although this is not binding and confers no legal right, it is nevertheless a good action and one which God will reward.

Ibn Ḥazm as "historian of religious ideas". This is the description given to him by Asín Palacios in the important work which he devoted to his life, his works and in particular to the *Fiṣal*, which is actually an encyclopaedia of religious knowledge, concerning the different religions which had, or had formerly had, any connexion with Islam. The fullness and accuracy of its documentation certainly class it as a historical work. It is clear that

Ibn Ḥazm had read widely, and he reveals that he had himself carried out some of the enquiries and research necessary for it. This is certainly true of the information which he collected on the Jews and the Christians, and it can be seen especially from his polemic with Ibn Naghrila, a Jew of Granada. Thus he is well informed both on the past history of these religions and on their present states. He does not omit, for example, to point out when an ancient doctrine is still held in his time or when it has been modified. His qualities as a historian are undoubted, but the *Fiṣal* is not only the work of a historian: it is that of a man inspired by a theological ideal. Its general plan is a sign of this: Ibn Ḥazm begins with basic philosophical questions, those concerning knowledge and the possibility of attaining a truth, then he classifies the answers which have been given, eliminating that of the "Sophists", that is the sceptics, and retaining that which admits that it is possible for man to apprehend the truth. He then proceeds to study the problem of the eternity of the world and to reject those doctrines which teach this in favour of an examination of those which believe in a Creation; and by the same process, he deduces the truth of monotheism, and then the reality of a God Who sends to men a revelation through prophets. Thus by degrees he approaches the fundamental dogmas of Islam, whose features are stated more and more clearly as the errors are demolished. In pursuing this line Ibn Ḥazm examines, in order to criticize them, various philosophical and religious systems: speculations on time, space and bodily matter; the astral religions, dualism, metempsychosis, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, the various conceptions of prophecy in Judaism and in Christianity (concerning the person of Jesus). Finally, when it begins to deal with Islam, the *Fiṣal* becomes a treatise of heresiography which concentrates on theological and juridical ideas and not on the history of the sects. The various controversial problems of Muslim theology are considered and resolved according to the principles of a systematic Ẓāhirism. Two points should be mentioned: in discussing the non-Muslim religions, Ibn Ḥazm does not attempt to understand them in themselves; he is interested in them only in relation to dogmas or problems which enable him to compare them with Islam. Thus he attacks the Jews for their limited conception of Prophecy and of the Law, and he attempts to find out their opinions on "abrogation", an idea which is essentially Muslim. Similarly, he attacks the Gospels, demonstrating that they show no guarantee of being a revealed text, since they have not the nature of one (the Ḳur'ān being taken as the criterion), and that they do not even achieve the credibility of *ḥadīth*, since they are totally lacking in *isnād* (Ibn Ḥazm demonstrates this from the prologue to St. Luke's Gospel). The second point to be noted arises from the first: Ibn Ḥazm is always well informed, whether he is writing of non-Muslims or of Muslims whom he is criticizing. He sets out the positions of his adversaries honestly, accurately, and often in detail: this shows him to be a good historian of ideas. Unfortunately he never attempts to understand the importance and the gravity of the problems which occupy the men with whom he disagrees. Starting from the Ḳur'ānic principle that one may not question God, he regards philosophical and theological speculation as no more than the expression of the vain curiosity of a disobedient human spirit. Thus, from the beginning he has no sympathy with the basic steps which form the various points at issue. This is why his sole aim is to trap his interlocutors by means of his dialectic, to make them contradict themselves by processes which are merely splitting hairs over verbal expressions or disproving the validity of their ideas by confronting them with facts of experience which are striking rather than convincing. To give one simple example: he accuses the Muʿtazilīs, who set a limit to the power of God, of attributing to God a weakness greater than that ever experienced by bugs, fleas or worms. Although he does not always go to such extremes, Ibn Ḥazm often has a tendency to do so. This seems more likely to be a result of anger than of innate temperament. Behind these exaggerations there lies a state of mind, an outlook on the world, and a Ẓāhirī conviction. Ibn Ḥazm does not enter into the deeper thoughts of others but he is very well able to understand their methods of argument: he therefore skilfully makes use of the ***argumentum ad hominem***.

The Islam of Ibn Ḥazm and his theology. At the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Muḥallā* there is a chapter entitled *al-tawḥīd*, which consists of a summary of the *ʿaḳīda* of Ibn Ḥazm. The first obligation upon every man, without which there is no *islām*, is to know in his heart with certainty and complete sincerity, with a knowledge in which there remains no trace of doubt, and also to pronounce with his tongue, that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger. He does not consider the question of the *ʿaḳd bi 'l-ḳalb* as implying the development of an interior religious life. It is an "act of the soul" which, during religious worship, accompanies the actions of the body. This statement is based solely on the Ḳur'ān (XCVIII, 5). Ibn Ḥazm's thinking on this point is clearly shown in another passage, on the subject of the *niyya*, of which he states that in order for it to be authentic there is no necessity for it to be guaranteed by another earlier *niyya*, since then there would be an intention of the intention, and this would proceed to infinity. He mistrusts the recesses of the human conscience. It is not necessary to cultivate in oneself, in one's heart, a perfect purity of intention; the heart intervenes only in order to extend itself beyond its own confines, on hearing the word of God, to takeit s part in the prescribed external actions. The necessity for a verbal profession of faith is implied in the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "I have received the order to fight against men until they testify . . .". Only the tongue can be compelled by force; this being so, Ibn Ḥazm demonstrates by philosophic methods, by a study of temporality and of time, that the world is created (*muḥdath*), that it has a Creator (*muḥdith*, called also *khāliḳ*), and that this Creator is unique. He created the world without any reason forcing Him to do so (*bi-ghayri ʿilla awdjabat ʿalayhi*). The soul is created; it is no different from the spirit: it is the living part of man, the part endowed with sensibility and with speech. Some *ḥadīth*s refer indifferently to either the soul or the spirit as being in the hands of God when a person is asleep. The Throne is created, for it is said of God that He is the Ruler of the Throne (IX, 130), and whatever has a master is created. Finally, nothing may be likened to God.

Prophecy is a means by which true knowledge may be obtained. The proof of this is that there are many facts which we can know only if they are reported to us (knowledge by *khabar*). Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets: God by his *milla* has cancelled all the others and He requires all men and all *djinn*s to follow the Ḳur'ānic Law. There have

been other prophets, some mentioned in the Ḳur'ān and others not (IV, 149). It is an obligation (*farḍ*) to believe in them all. They are men created like all other men and are servants of God.

Paradise is a place of sojourn created for the believers. Hell is a created abode, but no believer remains there eternally. God decides which Muslims shall go there: those whose great sins (*kabā'ir*) outweigh their good actions. Later, through intercession (*s̲h̲afā'a*), they are permitted to leave it and to enter Paradise. These two abodes are eternal. Those in Paradise eat, drink, have sexual relations, wear clothes and experience pleasure without ever knowing any suffering. Those in hell are submitted to the tortures which are described in the Ḳur'ān. All this is true literally, not metaphorically, for the Ḳur'ān is *tibyān li-kulli s̲h̲ay'* (XVI, 89); it is necessary to believe in the truth of all the invisible realities which are spoken of in the Book, even though the reader may not understand how they are so (*nu'minu bi-hā wa-lā nadrī kayfa hiya*). Anyone who refuses to accept one letter of the Ḳur'ān which is in the hands of the Muslims, from the *Fātiḥa* or *Umm al-Kitāb* right up to the two final *sūras* (*al-mu'awwid̲h̲atān*), is a *kāfir*. No person possesses a secret concerning religion (cf. II, 159, 174 and III, 187). It is necessary to believe in the angels, in the *d̲j̲inns*, in the Resurrection, in the *ṣirāṭ*, in the scales, in the basin, in the pages on which the angels record the actions of men and in the final rendering of the account of those acts: all this is real. Examples of this account: if a man thinks of a good action and does not do it, this is recorded to his credit as one good action; if he performs it, it is recorded as ten; if he thinks of a bad action and refrains from committing it for God's sake, this is recorded for him as a good action; if he is forced to refrain from it or refrains for any other reason, it is not recorded at all; if he commits it, it is recorded against him as one single bad action. If an unbeliever commits a bad action, then becomes a Muslim and continues in this evil, account is taken in the next life of what he did in his *s̲h̲irk* and in his *islām*; if he repents in his *islām*, that which he did in his *s̲h̲irk* is disregarded; if he has done good while an unbeliever and then embraces Islam, he is rewarded for his good works done both while he was an unbeliever and while he was a Muslim; if he remains an unbeliever, he is rewarded in this world for the good he has done, but gains nothing from it in the next life.

If anyone, through his ignorance or misunderstanding of Arabic, is incapable of knowing all this, he must, when it has been explained to him, believe in his heart and utter with his tongue the profession of faith, adding that all which Muḥammad revealed is true and that all religions apart from his are false.

No person is allowed to refer to God by names other than those which He has used of Himself, nor to describe Him in different terms from those which He Himself has taught us. One may not use derivations (*is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*) in order to apply to Him a name which He has not given to Himself. Thus, He is seated on the Throne, but he may not be invoked by calling him the Seated. On His attributes, Ibn Ḥazm states that God's knowledge is *ḥaḳḳ*. It is eternal and extends to all that is and all that shall be; Similarly there are no limits to His power, which is capable of bringing about that which is impossible (*muḥāl*); God has power even over that which will never be (XIX, 35). It is He Who orders all that He has created, Who makes necessary the necessary (*awd̲j̲aba 'l-wād̲j̲ib*) and Who makes possible the possible (*amkana 'l-mumkin*), etc. God possesses: *'izza, d̲j̲alāl, ikrām, yad, yadāni, 'ayn, a'yun, kibriyā'*. All this is true. It stems from Him and from no-one else. It is not possible to identify, as the Mu'tazila do, God's knowledge with His essence, that is with Him Himself, since in no text is God referred to as Knowledge. The same reasoning applies to His other attributes. When men say "Knower", meaning "God", we understand exactly the same by the two names. But when we say that God is the knower of all things, we think of the things as being known by God. These names, in relation to God, are descriptions (*a'lām*) which are not derived from His attributes. Conversely, it is not permitted to derive attributes from them. In this, Ibn Ḥazm disagrees with the As̲h̲'arīs who practice *is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*. Their mistake, he maintains, was to wish to preserve the reality of the names of God while remaining within the Mu'tazilī system of formulating problems. A careful reading of the Ḳur'ān reveals, as Ibn Ḥazm saw, that there is no risk of the attributes multiplying the Divine Essence, but that they are a sort of extension of the *tawḥīd* and of the *laysa ka-mit̲h̲lihi s̲h̲ay'*: there is no knowledge except in God; there is no power except in God, since He is the one who knows and is powerful. And it is He from whom we learn this.

The vision which the faithful will have of God derives from a faculty (*ḳuwwa*) which they do not possess in this world. Certainly on earth man can see colours and forms, but God is far above this. Furthermore, unlike the sight of ordinary things, which may not be seen clearly or the sight of which may cause distress, the Prophet has stated that nobody will be harmed by his vision of God (*lā tuḍāmūna fī ru'yatihi*).

God created human actions, both good and bad. He must be regarded as the creator of free choice (*ik̲h̲tiyār*), of the will (*irāda*), and of knowledge (*ma'rifa*) in human souls. In the *Fiṣal* Ibn Ḥazm states that God created *istiṭā'a*. In short, man is created free in all his acts, and that wisely, for God puts each being in his rightful place. Freedom belongs to man while still remaining in the hand of God.

All these articles of faith, briefly set out in this chapter of the *Muḥallā*, are developed in the course of many controversies, in particular with the Mu'tazilīs and the As̲h̲'arīs, in the *Fiṣal*.

Concerning the relations of faith with *istidlāl*, it is stated, in this *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, that he who believes firmly in his heart and who declares his faith with his tongue receives help from God, whether or not this is accompanied by recognizable indications. This question forms the subject of a very interesting *risāla*, on Faith, addressed by Ibn Ḥazm to his friend Ibn al-Ḥawwāt̲h̲. In it Ibn Ḥazm studies the delicate problem of *taḳlīd* and demonstrates that to follow the teaching of the Prophet is not to imitate blindly.

It can thus be seen that the principles of the *ẓāhir* were extended from juridical methodology to theological. This simplifies the problems and may appear inadequate to a theoretician. But it is a fact that life has its own logic, which easily surmounts the insurmountable theoretical contradictions which defeat speculative logic. In following the teaching of language, which is the very expression of life, Ibn Ḥazm was able easily to deride the embarrassments of *kalām* and condemn it.

Ibn Ḥazm's political ideas. By tradition and through the events of his life, Ibn Ḥazm was a legitimist, a partisan of the Umayyads. It may seem

surprising that a religious thinker of such strict principles should have supported a dynasty which the Muslim historians have often reproached for its lack of fidelity to the spirit of Islam. Ibn Ḥazm's reasons probably arose mainly from personal motives of loyalty and friendship. In addition however, he seems to have regarded the Umayyads as representing Arabism. All his religious thought moves against an Arabic background. This appears in an unusual way in his work entitled *D̲j̲amharat ansāb al-ʿArab*. He writes "God has said: *We have created you from a male and a female and We have divided you into nations and into tribes so that you shall recognize each other, but assuredly the most noble among you in the eyes of God is the most devout.* Although God has decreed that the most noble is the most devout, even if he be the son of a black prostitute, while the rebel and the unbeliever is placed at the lowest level, even if he be the son of prophets, He has nevertheless made it an aim, by creating us in nations and in tribes, that men should give recognition to each other. Consequently the science of genealogy is of necessity a science of great dignity". There are various types of genealogical research. Some are religious and obligatory for all Muslims, such as knowing the genealogy of the Prophet or making sure that the caliphate is in the hands of a Ḳurays̲h̲ī, or of ascertaining the family connexions of the person with whom one wishes to marry in order to avoid entering the prohibited degrees. Others are *farḍ ʿala 'l-kifāya*: thus it is necessary for the *Umma* to retain the memory of the genealogy of the *Muhād̲j̲irūn* and the *Anṣār*. Another application which he gives is: "Certain jurists make a distinction, in regard to the levying of the poll-tax and the right to take into slavery, between Arabs and non-Arabs. Thus they make a distinction between the status of the Christians of the tribe of Tag̲h̲lib and that of the remainder of the People of the Book . . .". This being so, Ibn Ḥazm generalizes: "God has related to us in the Ḳurʾān the issue of the generations from which the prophets have emerged. This constitutes the science of genealogy. The Prophet himself spoke of ancestral descent: 'We are', he said, 'sons of al-Naḍr b. Kināna'; and he recalled the subdivisions of the tribes of the *Anṣār*, when he assessed their respective merits . . .".

This justification for research into the genealogies of the Arabs clearly shows that Ibn Ḥazm attached to it great importance. He delights in comparing the character of the Spaniards and the Ḳuraysh̲īs, in their good qualities and in their faults. The letter on the merits of the inhabitants of al-Andalus preserved by al-Maḳḳarī contains some significant details on this point, while at the same time it reveals in Ibn Ḥazm a certain chauvinism. He certainly praises Bag̲h̲dād and Baṣra, which were in advance of the other towns in raising the standard of learning. He adds: "As for our own countries, they are in this matter in the situation referred to in the proverb: the people to whom least attention is paid in a country are its inhabitants. I have read in the Gospels that Jesus said: No one is a prophet in his own country". There was no better way of saying that it was time for Spain to stop admiring the East and to think of appreciating its own glories. It seems that the three ideals which were held by Ibn Ḥazm were Ẓāhirism, Arabism and Umayyad Spain. When his political ideal was lost, it can be understood how he devoted all his energies to the other two, seeing in them the only hope of salvation, or at any rate a sufficient reason for continuing the struggle.

After his death, Ibn Ḥazm was attacked by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], who was much influenced by the thinking of al-G̲h̲azālī, in a work entitled *Ḳitāb al-Ḳawāṣim wa 'l-ʿawāṣim*. In the 6th/12th century, this great adversary of their school was attacked by some Mālikī theologians: ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh and Ibn Zarḳūn (who wrote a *Ḳitāb al-Muʿallā*, against the *Muḥallā*). On the other hand, the botanist Ibn al-Rūmiyya and the great mystic of Murcia, Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], were supporters of Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn al-ʿArabī wrote, under the title of *Muʿallā*, a summary of the *Muḥallā*. He showed himself to be Ẓāhirī in matters of law, but, still more important, the concept of the *ẓāhir* played an important part in the mystic anthropology of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who is however classed among the greatest esoteric thinkers.

Today, as is demonstrated by numerous studies on him in Muslim countries, also by research and by editions of manuscripts, there is a renewed interest in Ibn Ḥazm. A study of him can certainly be of benefit to contemporary Islamic thought and help it to solve many problems.

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Marātib al-idjmāʿ fi 'l-ʿibādāt wa 'l-muʿāmalāt, Cairo 1357; *Mulakhkhaṣ ibṭāl al-ḳiyās wa 'l-ra'y, wa 'l-istiḥsān, wa 'l-taḳlīd, wa 'l-taʿlīl*, ed. Saʿid al-Afghānī, Damascus 1379/1960; *Kitāb al-Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347-52; *al-Taḳrīb li-ḥadd al-manṭiḳ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbas (Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt); *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwā' wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1317; Sp. tr. almost complete, by M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Cordoba y su historia critica de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid 1927-32 (with an introduction on the life of the author, invaluable for information on Ibn Ḥazm and his time); Eng. tr., with commentary, of sections on the Shīʿa by I. Friedlander, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907), 1-80 and xxix (1908), 1-183. (R. ARNALDEZ)

IBN ḤIBBĀN, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ḤIBBĀN AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-BUSTĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, traditionist. He was born at Bust [*q.v.*] *ca.* 270/883-4 into a family of Arab descent (see his pedigree in Yāḳūt, i, 613 and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 114). He travelled in search of traditions through many countries from Transoxania to Egypt (list of places and scholars visited, in Yāḳūt, i, 613-5). Of his teachers none had a greater influence upon him than Abū Bakr Ibn Khuzayma al-Shāfiʿī of Nīsābūr who taught him how to ascertain the true meaning of a tradition and to deduce from it all its legal implications. After his return to Sidjistān he was opposed by some Ḥanbalīs because he taught that Allāh is infinite and rejected their anthropomorphic belief in *al-ḥadd li-'llāh* (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 141 f.; i, 190; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 113). They even accused him of *zandaḳa* because he said that prophecy consists in knowledge and in action (*al-nubuwwa ʿilmun wa ʿamal*; Ibn Hadjar, *op. cit.*, v, 113, 12). So he went to Samarḳand, where, by his great knowledge of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* as well as by his sagacity and sound judgement, he won the favour of some influential persons and was appointed (*ca.* 320/932) judge of Samarḳand, where the *amīr* Abu 'l-Muẓaffar built for him and his many pupils a *ṣuffa* (see Idrīsī, d. 405/1014, *Ta'rīkh Samarḳand* quoted by Ibn Ḥadjar, *op. cit.*, v, 114). In this position he had many enemies; one of them, al-Sulaymānī (311-404/923-1014), asserts that Ibn Ḥibbān owed his appointment to Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Muṣʿabī, for whom he had written a book on the Ḳarmaṭīs, and that the people of Samarḳand drove him out (Yāḳūt, i, 619, 17). From his pupil Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyiʿ (331-405/933-1014) we learn (Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 126; Yāḳūt, i, 615) that he met Ibn Ḥibbān for the first time in Nīsābūr in 334/945-6 and served him as his *mustamlī*. Then Ibn Ḥibbān went to Nasā' as judge; in 337/948 he came back to Nīsābūr and built a *khānḳāh*. Three years later he left Nīsābūr for good and went back to Sidjistān. According to al-Sulaymānī (Yāḳūt, i, 619) he presented Ibn Bābū with his book on the Ḳarmaṭīs and was given a post in the administration. He died at Bust in his eighties on 21 Shawwāl 354/20 October 965. His tomb was still visited in the days of Yāḳūt.

Ibn Ḥibbān was a prolific writer, as is shown by some 40 books of his which al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī recommended for study. He had left his house and library at Nīsābūr as an endowment so that scholars might copy his works. But most of them had perished in the stormy times after his death (Yāḳūt i, 616, 6-618,5; 618,21-619,4). Few of them have come down to us; amongst them *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ ʿala 'l-taḳāsīm wa 'l-anwāʿ*; in it the traditions are more systematically arranged than in the books of his predecessors. It was still studied in the 19th century (Shawkānī, *Ithāf al-akābir*, 69; see also Ibn Sālim al-Makkī, *al-Imdād*, 54, and Kūrānī, *al-Anam*, Ḥaydarābād 1328, 35). His (*Ta'rīkh*) *al-Thiḳāt* is an authoritative work on the trustworthiness of the transmitters of traditions, currently referred to by Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥadjar and other critics. A short extract of it is the *Kitāb Mashāhīr ʿulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. M. Fleischhammer in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, xxii (1959). We also possess one of his books on *adab*, the *Rawḍat al-ʿuḳalā' wa-nuzhat al-fuḍalā'*, Cairo 1328.

Bibliography: in the article; see also Brockelmann, I, 164; S I, 273. (J. W. FÜCK)

IBN ḤIDJDJA, ABŪ BAKR (or ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN) TAḲĪ 'L-DĪN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ḤAMAWĪ AL-ḲĀDIRĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ AL-AZRĀRĪ, one of the most famous poets and prose-writers of the Mamlūk period. Born in 767/1366 at Ḥamāt, he first practised the trade of a button-maker (*azrārī*), then applied himself to study, travelling for this purpose to Damascus, Mosul and Cairo. On his return from Egypt in 791/1389, he witnessed the great burning of Damascus during the siege by Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], which gave him the theme for his first literary work, an epistle to Ibn Makānis (MS Berlin no. 9784). Thanks to the patronage of al-Bārizī, private secretary to the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad (815-24/1412-21), he held the office of *munshī* in the *dīwān* of Cairo; in 822/1419 he accompanied the *amīr* Ibrāhīm on his campaign into Asia Minor. After al-Bāzirī's death (in 830/1427), he returned to Ḥamāt, where he died on 15 Shaʿbān 837/27 March 1434.

Ibn Ḥidjdja left an important body of works, both in prose and in poetry. Of his poems, which he collected under the title *al-Thamarāt al-shahiyya fi 'l-fawākih al-ḥamawiyya wa 'l-zawā'id al-miṣriyya* (MSS: Cairo, Berlin, Escorial), the most famous is his *Badīʿiyya* (or *Taḳdīm Abī Bakr*), in praise of the Prophet; comprising 143 verses, it contains 136 figures of *badīʿ*, mentioned by name. On it, in 826/1433, the author wrote a commentary entitled *Khizānat al-adab wa ghāyat al-arab* (publ. Calcutta 1230 as an appendix to the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī; Būlāḳ 1273, 1291; Cairo 1301). As his *Badīʿiyya* was written to rival those of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī and Ṣafī al-Dīn Ḥillī, he attempted to prove its superiority in *Thubūt al-ḥudjdja ʿalā 'l-Mawṣilī wa 'l-Ḥillī li-'bn Ḥidjdja* (MS: Berlin). His anthology of poetry and prose, *Thamarāt al-awrāḳ*, contains the account of the author's travels from Cairo to Damascus (publ. Būlāḳ, on the margins of the *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī; Cairo 1300, having on the margins his *Ta'bīl al-gharīb*; on the margins of al-Ibshīhī's *al-Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1320-1). Another anthology, *Madjrā 'l-sawābiḳ*, contains verses of Ibn Ḥidjdja and Ibn Nubāta on horses (MS: Gotha).

His treatise on *badīʿ*, *Kashf al-lithām ʿan wadjh al-tawriya wa 'l-istikhdām*, was printed at Beirut in 1312. His *Yāḳūt al-kalām fī mā nāb al-Shām* was published in *MMIA*, xxxi (1956). Ibn Ḥidjdja also made new versions and synopses of several older works, notably Ibn al-Habbāriyya's *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāghim* (see the synopsis in al-Shirwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*, Cairo 1325, 161-7); but his most famous and most valuable work is his collection of official letters, diplomas and private correspondence written while he was working at the Mamlūk chancery, *Ḳahwat al-inshā'* (numerous MSS, notably Dār al-Kutub and Escorial).

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(C. BROCKELMANN*)

IBN HINDŪ, ABU 'L-FARADJ ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KĀTIB, secretary of the chancery, man of letters, poet and physician, a native of Rayy but educated at Nīshāpūr, where he was introduced to Greek science. He belonged at first to the *dīwān* of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, for whom he wrote a number of letters; he appears at Arradjān in 354/965 during the visit of al-Mutanabbī, and he seems to have remained in the service of the Buwayhids until his death, probably in 410/1019 rather than 420/1029.

In addition to a *Dīwān*, which is in part preserved in later anthologies, he was the author of a number of works, one of which, *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb*, is still in manuscript, and another, *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya min al-ḥikam al-yūnāniyya*, was published in Damascus in 1318/1900; there is attributed to him also a *K. al-Nafs*, *al-Maḳāla al-mushawwiḳa fi 'l-madkhal ilā ʿilm al-falak* (*al-falsafa*?), *al-Risāla al-mashriḳiyya*, *Unmudhadj al-ḥikma*.

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IBN ḤINZĀBA [see IBN AL-FURĀT].

IBN ḤIRZIHIM, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ISMĀʿĪL B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, jurist and *ṣūfī* of the school of al-Ghazālī. He was a native of Fās. Al-Tādilī, his earliest biographer, does not give the date of his birth. It may however be conjectured that he was born during the second half of the reign of Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn; he died in the last ten days of Shaʿbān 559/July 1164, that is to say about sixteen years after the fall of the Almoravid dynasty.

While quite young, he knew and associated with a *shaykh* by the name of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Naḥwī (d. 513/1119-20), who was very devoted to the doctrine of al-Ghazālī. But it was above all to his paternal uncle, Abū Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥirzihim, that ʿAlī owed his initiation into the Ṣūfism of al-Ghazālī. This relative (with whom he must not be confused) had made the journey to the East and stayed in Syria and Palestine, where he had the good fortune to meet the master Abū Ḥāmid. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥirzihim, in his turn, had the opportunity, when teaching in Fās, to confer the benefits of his learning upon such distinguished intellects as the young and attentive Abū Madyan Shuʿayb who, eager for instruction, travelled to Morocco in search of teachers.

During the difficult days when the Almoravid inquisition was becoming rigorous, Ibn Ḥirzihim remained faithful to his convictions. But, in the stifling atmosphere created by the intransigent Mālikism of the Almoravid *fuḳahā'*, he probably suffered agonies of doubt and fear. One day, he is said to have resolved to burn the copy of the *Iḥyā'* that he had been keeping in his house, in spite of the threats and demands of the authorities. He was then subjected, in a dream, to a severe beating, the effects of which he could still feel even after waking up. This divine warning proved salutory. Under various circumstances he indeed showed that he was not in the least afraid to risk his life and peaceful existence in order to defend and win respect for his opinions. He suffered imprisonment in Fās. The miraculous intervention of the still living saint Abū Yaʿzā, the Sīdī Bū ʿAzzā of the people, saved him. But it was the incident which marked the death of Ibn Barradjān which allowed Ibn Ḥirzihim to express with full force his condemnation of the persecution waged by the *fuḳahā'* against Ṣūfism and philosophical speculation.

ʿAlī b. Yūsuf having ordered the corpse of Ibn Barradjān [*q.v.*] to be thrown onto the town dung-heap, Ibn Ḥirzihim, who was staying in Marrākush at the time, made a vigorous protest against the degrading decree and, disregarding the prince's orders, caused the population of the capital to be publicly invited to do honour to the Ṣūfī scholar by a funeral that was worthy of him.

Ibn Ḥirzihim cannot be compared, for talent and intellectual lustre, with Ibn al-ʿArīf, Ibn Barradjān or even with Abū Bakr al-Mayūrḳī of Granada, the three representatives, with Ibn al-Ḳasī, of the Spanish Ṣūfism so implacably opposed to the Almoravid régime; nevertheless he belongs incontestably, like Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Naḥwī, with that group of *shaykhs*, few in number but courageous and at times brilliant, who, in Spain particularly and to a lesser extent in the Maghrib, had the courage and strength of character to make a solemn protest against the severities and abuses of the Almoravid inquisition, thus helping to prepare for the fall of the dynasty, which Ibn Tūmart, another *shaykh* claiming kinship with the school of al-Ghazālī, was to overthrow.

Sīdī ʿAlī's tomb stands some fifteen kilometres to the south-east of Fās, at Sidi Ḥarāzem, where there is a hot spring much frequented by the townsfolk.

Bibliography: ʿAlī b. Abī Zarʿ, Fās 1303/1886, 191; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās*, Fās 1309/1892, 293; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1316/1899, iii, 69; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Fās 1317/1900, 182; on the form of the name Ḥirzihim, see *El-Maqṣad* (*Vies des saints du Rif*), tr. with notes by G. S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 120, no. 385; Tādilī, *Tashawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 147 ff.; the first work to consult is this collection of the lives of saints, which constitutes the earliest biographical source concerned with the saintly personages who lived in the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries in the Maghrib, and more particularly in Morocco. (A. FAURE)

IBN HISHĀM, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-MALIK, a scholar best known for his work on the biography of Muḥammad. His family was usually said to be of Ḥimyarite origin, and had moved from Baṣra to Egypt, where he was born and spent his life. His knowledge of genealogy and grammar was outstanding. He died in Egypt on 13 Rabīʿ II 218/8 May 833 or in 213/828. His *Kitāb al-Tīdjān* on South Arabian antiquities is extant. He is chiefly famous, however, for his edition of the *Sīra* (Life of Muḥammad) of Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], which became the basic work on this subject. The *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ is not preserved as a single work, but passages from it, which have been omitted by Ibn Hishām, are preserved in the writings of historians like al-Ṭabarī and al-Azraḳī. Comparison shows that what Ibn Hishām has omitted was chiefly material not directly relevant to the career of Muḥammad. He also gave more accurate versions of some of the poems in the *Sīra*, and explained difficult words and phrases. This accounts for the great popularity of Ibn Hishām's edition. (The additions by Ibn Hishām can be conveniently studied in A.

Guillaume's translation of Ibn Isḥāḳ, where they have been separated from the main text.) Ibn Hishām derived his knowledge of Ibn Isḥāḳ's work from Ziyād al-Bakkāʾī (d. 183/799), who lived mostly in Kūfa, and may have travelled to ʿIrāḳ for purposes of study. (For al-Bakkāʾī, cf. Ibn Khallikān, no. 247; de Slane, i, 545). The chief transmitter of Ibn Hishām's work was a pupil of his called Ibn al-Barḳī (see al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffaẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1955-8, class 9, nos. 45, 46). See also SĪRA.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 390, tr. de Slane, ii, 128; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 315; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, ii, 77; Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Einleitung, xxxiv-xxxviii.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

IBN HISHĀM, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤ. ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF B. AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-NAḤWĪ, *faḳīh* and grammarian, was born in Cairo in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 708/April 1310. There he studied the Islamic sciences, particularly under ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. al-Muraḥḥal, Tādj al-Dīn al-Fākihānī and Tādj al-Dīn al-Tibrīzī. From the Spanish grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī he heard only the exposition of the *Dīwān* of Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā. Thereafter he was hostile to him.

Ibn Hishām lived in Cairo; we know of only two journeys, made to Mecca in 749/1348 and 756/1355. A Shāfiʿī *faḳīh*, he became a professor of *Tafsīr* (Ḳurʾānic exegesis) at the Ḳubba Manṣūriyya. Being unable to obtain a professorship in a *madrasa* of his own *madhhab*, he went over to the Ḥanbalīs, who provided what he was seeking in one of their *madrasas* in Cairo (according to Brockelmann, II², 27); this was five years before his death. It is not clear why this celebrated man was kept in the background. The reason may have been jealousy. In any case, it is certain that his reputation was very great. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 249; Eng. tr., Rosenthal, iii, 289) recognized Ibn Hishām as one of those very rare men who, in the history of Arabic grammar, have succeeded in mastering the whole of their subject. He did indeed have an extremely good knowledge of its entire systematization. He for his part was not without envy: al-Shawkānī (i, 401) suggests that his hostility to Abū Ḥayyān was the result of a secret desire to gain recognition and greater eminence, by attacking a master with a great reputation for learning.

In grammar, Ibn Hishām's general method was one that had been long practised—résumé and commentary (or simply commentary). Just as Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] had composed and commented on *al-Shāfiya* and *al-Kāfiya*, Ibn Hishām wrote the *Ḳaṭr al-nadā* and the *Shudhūr al-dhahab* and commented on them; but he succeeded in producing a far-reaching work, with an unusual method of presentation, the *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, a description of syntax arranged to start from each particle, either conjunction, preposition or some other, in alphabetical order. This work won the complete admiration of Ibn Khaldūn (iii, 283; tr. Rosenthal, iii, 324-5).

Ibn Hishām died in Cairo while still quite young on Friday 5 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 761/18 September 1360, leaving a considerable number of grammatical works, several of which are lost—nos. 4, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 21, 24, 25 (list, *Tardjamat Ibn Hishām*, 7-8, by the editor of the *Sharh Shudhūr al-dhadab* and the *Sharḥ Ḳaṭr al-nadā*, see below).

Remarks: (1) In the Arabic historical sources on the question of Ibn Hishām's full name, two forms are to be distinguished, that of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, his earliest biographer, followed by Brockelmann II², 27, and S II, 16, and retained here; and that of al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 293, reproduced in *EI*¹ in the corresponding article: it suppresses b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh and adds the *nisba* al-Anṣārī. With the evidence at present available the question cannot be settled. (2) Ibn Taghrībirdī (v, 173) speaks of an Ibn Hishām who was at first Ḥanafī, then Ḥanbalī. Brockelmann (II², 27 and S II, 16) concludes from this that Ibn Hishām successively adopted the three *madhhabs*, Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī. This is not evident: Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions only two rites and he may have been mistaken about the first.

Works: (1) *Ḳaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā* and its *Sharḥ*, translated into French by A. Goguyer (Leiden 1887). (2) *Shudhūr al-dhahab fī maʿrifat kalām al-ʿArab* and its *Sharḥ*. These both deal for the most part with syntax, and are developed at moderate length, the second a little more fully than the first (numerous commentaries). They have been published several times; note the very convenient edition of Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 11th ed. 1963/1383 for the 1st; 5th ed. 1951/1371 for the 2nd. (3) *Mughnī 'l-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb*, the great treatise on syntax. A first draft made in Mecca (749/1348) was lost on the return journey; the present text was rewritten, also in Mecca (756/1355; see the beginning of the work). This treatise was printed several times, notably at Cairo in 1302 (2 vols. with the commentary of Muḥ. al-Amīr in the margin), 1305, 1307, 1317, and 1348; 1385/1965, 2nd ed. of Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the most practical one. Numerous commentaries are in existence; note *al-Fatḥ al-ḳarīb* of al-Suyūṭī, for the *Shawāhid*, published Cairo 1322, 1324, etc. (4) *al-Iʿrāb ʿan ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb*, an introduction to the study of the Arabic sentence, published (73-92) and translated into French (155-223) by S. de Sacy in his *Anthologie grammaticale arabe* (Paris 1829), published (after the *Sharḥ Ḳaṭr al-nadā*) Būlāḳ 1253; several commentaries. (5) *Mūḳid al-adhhān wa-mūḳiẓ al-wasnān*, on some grammatical difficulties, Cairo 1279, in a *Madjmūʿa*. (6) *Awḍaḥ al-masālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*, a commentary on this *Alfiyya* (also known incorrectly under the title *al-Tawḍīḥ*); printed several times, particularly Cairo 1304, 1316.

The four following studies, in manuscript, were included by al-Suyūṭī in *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir fi 'l-naḥw* (published Ḥaydarābād, 2nd ed., 4 vols., 1359-61), respectively at ii, 298-316, iii, 187-205, iv, 32-40, and 111-22; references omitted by Brockelmann.—(7) *Sharḥ al-Ḳaṣīda al-lughziyya fi 'l-masāʾil al-naḥwiyya*, commentary on versified grammatical puzzles. (8) *Risāla fi 'ntiṣāb* (*Iʿrāb*) lughat^an^ *wa*-faḍl^an^ *wa-iʿrāb* khilāf^an^ *wa*-ayḍ^an^ *wa 'l-kalām ʿalā* halumma djarr^an^, grammatical study on these expressions; it is the same as *Masāʾil fi 'l-naḥw wa-adjwibatuhā*. (9) *Masʾalat iʿtirāḍ al-sharṭ ʿala 'l-sharṭ*, discussion of a particular construction of conditional propositions. (10) *Fawḥ al-shadhā fī masʾalat kadhā*, a revised edition, on the question of *kadhā*, of the *K. al-Shadhā fī aḥkām kadhā* of Abū Ḥayyān. (11) *Alghāz*, a collection of grammatical difficulties, dedicated to the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 757/1356), printed Cairo 1304. (12) *Sharḥ Bānat Suʿād*, commentary on the poem of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr in honour of the Prophet, edited by I. Guidi (Leipzig 1871) and Cairo 1304, 1307.

In *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* of al-Suyūṭī, referred to above, iv, 2-32 and 41-50, various grammatical studies of Ibn Hishām can also be read; we should note 2-9, on interrogation and its particles, 23-6

and 28-9, on some verses of the Ḳur'ān; then other studies, iv, 92-111. A list of the other works still in manuscript will be found under nos. 7, 8, 10, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, and 25 of Brockelmann; note no. 17 on a subject that is unusual for Ibn Hishām.

Note: Another edition of *Shudhūr al-dhahab* and its *Sharḥ* was published in Cairo 1381/1962, by ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: first, Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 308-10 (no. 2248), Ḥaydarābād 1349; Suyūṭī refers to this and reproduces it, *Bughya*, 293 (except for the form of the name), in résumé *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 257, Cairo 1321; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 191-2, has simply copied the text of the *Bughya*; Ibn Taghrībirdī, v, 172-3, only adds *Ḥanafī* (see above) and the mention of the cemetery; Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ*, i, 400-2, Cairo 1348, depends on Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī; the *K. al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir*, 148 v. of Nuʿmānī (in MS, Berlin 9886) could not be used; M. S. Howell, *Gr. of Cl. Ar. Lang.*, i, Preface, xxvi-xxviii; Brockelmann, II², 27-31 and S II, 16-20, provide information about existing manuscripts and commentaries. (H. Fleisch)

IBN HUBAL, Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, physician, born in Baghdād in about 515/1122, who at first studied grammar and *fiḳh* in the Niẓāmiyya but rapidly turned to medicine. He next became physician in ordinary to the Shāh-i Arman in Khilāṭ and acquired great wealth, then entered the service of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' in Mārdīn, and finally went to al-Mawṣil. At the age of 75 he had the misfortune to become blind, but lived on until 610/1213. His chief work is entitled *al-Mukhtārāt fi 'l-ṭibb* (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 4 vols., 1362-4/1943-4); De Koning has published two chapters of it in his *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie*, 186 ff. Ibn Hubal, who was also a poet, left a son, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who in his turn became a physician and practised at the court of the Saldjūḳid Kaykāwus, where he died.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 304 ff.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 238-9; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii, 141 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 490, S I, 895; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, 430; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iv, 116-7. (J. Vernet)

IBN HUBAYRA, name of two persons, ʿUmar b. Hubayra and his son Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, who were both governors of ʿIrāḳ under the Umayyads; they both belonged to the Ḳaysī party [see ḳays], that is to say that of the Arabs of the north in their struggle against those of the south. Involved as they were in the great struggles for the succession on behalf of the caliphs who were the candidates of one or the other party, opposing the Yemenīs solidly implanted in Kūfa, representing order in a very troubled period, induced to stir up the tribal rivalries of the populations which they governed—with so many facts to their discredit, the two Ibn Hubayras have not a very good record in history. Of the father ʿUmar it is known that after taking part in the Holy War against the Byzantines (97/713), he became governor of ʿIrāḳ under Yazīd II, the mortal enemy of the Yemenī party. In 102/720, a year after Yazīd II's accession, he succeeded Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and like him (having the same outlook as a result of having fought in his company on the Byzantine frontier) he was probably entrusted with the liquidation of the party of the Banu 'l-Muhallab. Khurāsān forming also part of the area of which he was in charge, he began by delegating his responsibilities there, at the express command of the caliph, to a Ḳaysī lieutenant, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī, who was able to stir to enthusiasm the warriors of Islam and strike terror into the people of Ṣoghdiana, who were still hesitant to embrace the cause of their Arab conquerors. Nevertheless, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr was soon replaced by a Bakrī, Muslim b. Saʿīd b. Aslam b. Zurʿa. Ibn Hubayra remained firm in his support of the Arabs of the north, al-Farazdaḳ stating on one occasion that he was their glory and supreme support (*Dīwān*, ed. Ṣāwī, 416). Harsh in his treatment of those he conquered, Ibn Hubayra seems to have governed in the name of Arabism and Islam, regarded as a religion of the sword. His methods of governing, however, were not above reproach, although in fact this great Arab nobleman, proud of belonging to the Ghaṭafān, was accused more of cynicism than of corruption. One of the first acts of the caliph Hishām, on his accession in 105/724, was to replace Ibn Hubayra by the Yemenī Khālid al-Ḳasrī, who was well disposed towards the Ḳurayshīs.

Yūsuf, the son of ʿUmar b. Hubayra, was also governor of ʿIrāḳ, from 129-32/741-9; before being appointed to this office, he had, on the orders of the caliph Hishām, taken extremely severe measures against Khālid al-Ḳasrī, who had profited from his father's fall from favour. His triumph came too late however, and his term as governor was merely a lengthy struggle for a lost cause. He was obliged to conquer his province by degrees: he began by defeating the Khāridjīs at ʿAyn al-Tamr; in addition to thus pacifying the Sawād, he succeeded in regaining Ahwāz, the Djibāl and the Djazīra. He was less fortunate in his struggle against Abū Muslim, whose revolt occurred during his governorship. He did not hasten to the help of Naṣr b. Sayyār, the governor of Khurāsān. When Ibn Hubayra's troops finally went into action the cause of the Umayyad caliphate, represented by the caliph Marwān II, was already lost and Ibn Hubayra had to abandon Marwān to his fate. ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra, Ibn Hubayra's chief lieutenant, was killed at Djabalḳ; Yūsuf was unable to hold Kūfa, disturbed by the revolt of the Yemenīs, and fled to Wāsiṭ, where, after being besieged for over eleven months, he was forced to yield to Abū Muslim's lieutenant, Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥṭaba. He was brutally killed with the officers of his entourage. Like his father, Yūsuf defended to the end the cause of the Arab aristocracy, of the "Arab empire", against the *mawālī*, who had been able to win over to their cause a large section of the Yemenī party while deserting the leaders of this same party in favour of the new ʿAbbāsid propagandists. Although incapable of realizing the scope, and still less the development, of this conspiracy, the two Ibn Hubayras were not without energy or planning ability.

Bibliography: on ʿUmar b. Hubayra: Ṭabarī, ii, 1453, 1456, 1471, 1481, 1488; Yaʿḳūbī, iii (ed. Nadjaf, 52); Dīnawarī, 344; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ix, 223 and 229. On Yūsuf b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra: Ṭabarī, ii, 1944, 1984, iii, 2504, 2505; Yaʿḳūbī, iii, 59; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, reprint 1960, 336 and *passim*. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN HUBAYRA, ʿAwn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Dūrī al-Baghdādī, *wazīr* for sixteen years without interruption, until his death, under the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs al-Muḳtafī (530/1136-555/1160) and al-Mustandjid (555/1160-566/1170). He was born in Rabīʿ II 499/ Dec. 1105-Jan. 1106, in the village of Dūr in the

district of Dudjayl, northwest of Baghdād, where he spent the early part of his youth. He went to Baghdād as a young man, and studied Ḥanbali *fiḳh* under Abū Bakr al-Dīnawarī (d. 532/1138) and *adab* under the renowned Ḥanbalī philologist al-Djawālīḳī (d. 540/1145). He also studied traditions under several masters and was for some time the disciple of the ascetic preacher Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Zabīdī, with whom he roamed the streets of Baghdād proclaiming the incomparable attributes of God.

Under the caliphate of al-Muḳtafī, Ibn Hubayra entered government service and gradually worked his way up to be this caliph's *wazīr*. With Ibn Hubayra the influence of the last Saldjūḳids came to an end. He also had a hand in Nūr al-Dīn's conquest of Fāṭimid Egypt. The Ḥanbalī school flourished under his ministry and patronage, and its institutions of learning continued to multiply, a trend which had been taking place before his advent and which explains in part his accession to power. He had many enemies, who apparently succeeded in poisoning him through his own physician, who is said to have been killed six months later, also by poisoning. Ibn Hubayra died on 12 Djumādā I 560/ March 1165.

During his lifetime, Ibn Hubayra was no less active in the field of learning than he was in politics. He composed a commentary in several volumes of the two canonical collections of traditions, those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, entitled *al-Ifṣāḥ ʿan maʿānī 'l-Ṣiḥāḥ*. While commenting on one of the traditions which involved an explanation of the term *fiḳh*, he digressed into a long treatise on questions of law, both those concerning which the founders of the four schools of law were in agreement, as well as those upon which they disagreed. The idea so interested him that he caused specialized scholars of all four schools of law to be brought to Baghdād from outlying provinces at a reputed expense of over one hundred thousand *dīnār*s. This he allegedly did in order to be certain of the accuracy of his work; but this gathering of scholars from many parts of the Muslim world at the expense of the *wazīr* must have also had its political importance. Several copies were made of this work, which found its way into the libraries of governors and *wazīr*s of provinces, as well as those of the Caliph al-Mustandjid and the Ayyūbid Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Zangī. This work, properly called *al-Ishrāf*, but also *al-Ifṣāḥ*, after the original and more voluminous work, was edited by Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh (Aleppo 1929).

Ibn Hubayra has other works to his name: *al-Muḳtaṣad*, a grammar for which Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567/1172) wrote a commentary in four volumes; an abridgment of the *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt; *al-ʿIbādāt al-khams*, according to the Ḥanbalī school of law; *Urdjūza fi 'l-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*; *Urdjūza fī ʿilm al-khaṭṭ*.

His contemporary Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200) compiled a work based exlusively, it would appear, on statements which he had heard from Ibn Hubayra, entitling it: *al-Muḳtabas min al-fawāʾid al-ʿAwniyya* (*i.e.*, ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra). In another work, *Maḥḍ al-maḥḍ*, Ibn al-Djawzī compiled an anthology of highlights from Ibn Hubayra's original *Ifṣāḥ*, *i.e.*, the commentary on the traditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

Most of what we know of Ibn Hubayra comes to us from his contemporary Ibn al-Djawzī, but more extensively from his biographer, the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Māristāniyya (d. 599/1202), from whose work, not extant, much of the *Dhayl* of Ibn Radjab is derived.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa 'l-umam*, Ḥaydarābād 1358/ 1939, x, 214-7; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1952-3, i, 251-89; Brockelmann, I, 298, S I, 688-9, and bibl.; H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Baghdad*, in *REI*, xxvii (1959), 109-10, and note 257 for bibl.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, s.vv. *Ifṣāḥ*, *Iṣlāḥ*, *Urdjūza*. (G. Makdisi)

IBN ḤUBAYSH, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Abī ʿĪsā al-Anṣārī al-Mursī, Spanish traditionist. Ibn Ḥubaysh was born in 504/1110 in Almeria of a family originally from Shāriḳa (Jérica), Valencia. After preliminary studies in Almeria he passed to Cordova in 530/1135 for three years, and having returned to Almeria, was present when in 542/1147 that city fell to the Christians under al-Sulayṭīn, 'the little Sultan', *i.e.*, Alphonso VII of León. After an interview with the latter, during which he traced the genealogy of Alphonso back to the Emperor Heraclius, Ibn Ḥubaysh and his family were allowed to go free. He subsequently held posts in Djazīrat Shaḳr (Alcira), Valencia, for approximately 12 years. In or about 556/1161 he went to Murcia as preacher (*khaṭīb*) in the principal mosque. Twenty years later he became *Ḳāḍī* of Murcia, and held the office till his death in 584/1188. One of his accomplishments, as recorded by a pupil (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, ii, 574), was to have had by heart all or most of *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, an extensive work on Ḥadīth by Ibn Abī Khaythama (d. 279/893, cf. Brockelmann, I, 272).

Ibn Ḥubaysh appears to have planned a continuation of the *Kitāb al-Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], which was never carried out. However, his notes and materials came into the hands of Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], who made use of them in his own *Takmila* ('Completion') of the *Kitāb al-Ṣila*. The literary work of Ibn Ḥubaysh by which he is principally remembered was the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*, or *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* ('Book of the Raids'), in full *Kitāb* (*Dhikr*) *al-Ghazawāt al-ḍāmina al-kāfila wa 'l-futūḥ al-djāmiʿa al-ḥāfila al-kāʾina fī ayyām al-khulafāʾ al-ūlā al-thalātha*. As the name indicates, this gave an account of the victorious expeditions in the first half of the 7th century A.D., for the most part, under the Caliphs Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. Ibn Ḥubaysh received a commission for the book from the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf [*q.v.*] in 575/1179-80 on the same day as he was appointed *Ḳāḍī* (see above), *i.e.*, when he was nearly 70.

The work survives in several manuscripts, and has been utilized by De Goeje (*Mémoire sur le Fotouh as-Shâm*, Leiden 1864; *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*², Leiden 1900) and by Caetani (*Annali dell' Islam*, Milan 1905), the latter in extracts made by J. Horowitz. More recently W. Hoenerbach has underlined the use made by Ibn Ḥubaysh of the *Kitāb al-Ridda* of Wāḳidī, a good early source (*Waṯīma's Kitāb ar-Ridda aus Ibn Ḥağar's Iṣāba*, *Akad. d. Wissens. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, Abh. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwissenschaftl. Kl.*, 1951, Nr. 4, 220 ff.). In general, though Ibn Ḥubaysh was acquainted with Ṭabarī's Annals (*Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk*), he disposed of further materials, and for the early period of the Islamic conquests is doubtless an authority who deserves to be consulted.

Ibn Ḥubaysh, called by Ibn al-Abbār the last of the great traditionists of Western Islam (*wa-kāna ākhira aʾimmati 'l-muḥaddithīn bi 'l-Maghrib*), yet

had several pupils of at least respectable attainments, notably Ibn Diḥya (Brockelmann, I, 310, cf. 371; Pons Boigues, No. 238), the two brothers Ibn Ḥawṭ Allāh (Pons Boigues, Nos. 223 and 229) and al-Kalāʿī (Brockelmann, I, 371; Pons Boigues, No. 239). Al-Kalāʿī wrote a *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ bimā taḍammanahu min maghāzī rasūl Allāh wa-maghāzī al-thalāthati ʾl-khulafāʾ*, in the second part of which he followed especially his teacher Ibn Ḥubaysh. Existing manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ*, which are rather numerous, may therefore be consulted for the text of the *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt* of Ibn Ḥubaysh.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 344, S I, 587; Pons Boigues, 253-54, No. 205; Ibn al-Abbār, ed. Codera, ii, 573-75, No. 1617; al-Ḍabbī, ed. Codera, 345-46, No. 988; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1369/1949, v, 207; W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ix, 221, No. 9689 (gives detailed contents of the *K. al-Ghazawāt*); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii, 550 (11 A. H., § 70) and indices; D. M. Dunlop, *The Spanish historian Ibn Ḥubaish*, in *JRAS*, 1941, 359-62. (D. M. DUNLOP)

IBN HŪD [see HŪDIDS].

IBN HUDHAYL, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-FAZĀRĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, a man of letters and writer of Granada during the second half of the 8th/14th century, who lived at the court of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] of Granada. At the request of sultan Muḥammad (V) b. Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl known as al-Ghānī (who reigned in 755/1354 and 763/1362), Ibn Hudhayl wrote his masterpiece, the *K. Tuḥfat al-anfus wa shiʿār sukkān al-Andalus* (MSS B. N. Madrid, no. 5095 and Escurial, Cod. 1652), a treatise on the "holy war" (*djihād*) aimed at convincing the Andalusian Muslims of the need to resume the profession of arms and to establish once again a cavalry worthy of comparison with that of their illustrious conquering ancestors [see FARAS and FURŪSIYYA]. It would seem that this first attempt at propaganda for the military career on behalf of the "noble cause" aroused almost no enthusiasm among the population of Granada, who preferred the peaceful pursuits of cultivating the land, commerce and the arts to the violence of warfare. Thus, some thirty years later, when the Christian peril was every day becoming more clearly defined, Ibn Hudhayl was once more urged to rouse their energies from torpor, this time, however, by prince Muḥammad VII al-Mustaʿīn (794-810/1392-1408), grandson of Muḥammad V; having no wish to compose a new work, he therefore produced an abridged version of his earlier work, under the title *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān wa shiʿār al-shudjʿān*.

The content and aim of these two treatises (which are in fact only one) are expressed clearly in the introduction by the author himself, who writes: "...the present work, devoted to combat and warfare, to war-horses and arms, to the features that must be looked for in the horse, to the spots that must be shunned and condemned, to everything that is concerned with the conditions of horses, and finally to the teaching of riding and its complements ... Thanks be to God, this work is adequate in the art that it expounds; in its spirit, it constitutes an efficaceous method, a memento for the man who concerns himself with warfare, a guide for the man who practises fighting with lance and sabre". This quotation follows the French translation of the *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān* made by L. Mercier, who has the distinction of being the discoverer, editor and translator of Ibn Hudhayl.

In addition to this master-work, which is of the highest importance for the knowledge of the equestrian and military arts in mediaeval Islam, we also possess several other works of Ibn Hudhayl, of less interest, and concerned with veterinary science in the *K. al-Fawāʾid al-musaṭṭara fī ʿilm al-bayṭara* (Madrid 1935), with belles-lettres in the *K. Maḳālāt al-udabāʾ wa munāẓarāt al-nudjabāʾ*, and with politics in the *K. ʿAyn al-adab wa ʾl-siyāsa wa zayn al-ḥasab wa ʾl-riyāsa*. Two other works, on piety, are also attributed to him, only the titles of which survive, the *K. Tadhkirat man ittaḳā* and the *K. Kamāl al-bughya wa ʾl-nayl*.

Although almost nothing is known of the life of Ibn Hudhayl, from the tenor of his writings it is easy to imagine him as the ideal type of Spanish Muslim gentleman at the end of the 8th/14th century, sprung from a noble family, of perfect education and highly cultured, the image of the man of gentle birth who differed from his Christian neighbour only in his faith.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 379; L. Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux de Ben Hodeïl el Andalousy* (Arabic text of *K. Hilyat al-fursān*), Paris 1922; idem, *La parure des cavaliers ...* (Fr. tr. with notes and commentary, and with critical appendices on the history of the thoroughbred, of equitation, and of the equestrian sports of the Arabs, in the Maghrib and in the East), Paris 1924; idem, *L'ornement des âmes et la devise des habitants d'el-Andalus, Traité de guerre sainte islamique* (Arabic text of *K. Tuḥfat al-anfus*), Paris 1936; idem, *L'ornement des âmes ...*, Fr. tr., Paris 1936; Ibn Hudhayl, *Ḥilyat al-fursān wa shiʿār al-shudjʿān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan (Collection Dhakhāʾir al-ʿArab, vol. 6), Cairo 1951 (merely a reprint of the text published by L. Mercier in 1922). (F. VIRÉ)

IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ (BAR HEBRAEUS, Syriac BAR ʿEBHRĀYĀ) GᵉRĪGHŌR (YŪḤANNĀN) ABU ʾL-FARADJ, author of a history in Arabic, translator and the last classic in Syriac literature, was born in A.D. 1225-6 at Malatya; he owes to the Jewish descent of his father the nickname under which he became famous. During the Mongol invasion of 1243 Ibn al-ʿIbrī's father obtained the post of physician in the entourage of a Tatar general, and in the following year settled with his family at Anṭākiya, which was still in the hands of the Franks. The son was versed in Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew, and studied medicine and rhetoric as well as theology at Anṭākiya and Ṭarābulus (Syria). After having been a monk for about three years, he was ordained Jacobite bishop of Gūbbāsh near Malatya in September 1246, and was transferred to the neighbouring see of Laḳabbīn a year later. In 1253 he was appointed Metropolitan of Aleppo, a position that he succeeded in retaining during the serious rifts in the Jacobite hierarchy at that period. Ibn al-ʿIbrī was present at the capture of the city by the Tatars in January 1260. In 1264 he became Maphrᵉyānā, *i.e.*, head of the Jacobite church in the territories formerly under Persian rule. Thenceforward he travelled widely throughout his vast diocese, protecting the fortunes of his co-religionists during that troubled epoch. He made prolonged visits to Baghdād and to the Mongol court, where he was acquainted with princes and princesses; he had attended the Mongol ruler as physician in 1263. He commissioned the building of several churches and monasteries. When Ibn al-ʿIbrī died at Marāgha in Ādharbaydjān on 29 July 1286, Nestorians, Greeks and Armenians united with

Jacobites in paying tribute to his qualities of tolerance and energy and to his independence in the face of pressure by religious and political leaders. He was buried in the monastery of Mār Mattai at Mosul.

Ibn al-ʿIbrī's brother enumerates thirty-one works—and this is not an exhaustive list—by the polymath, on theology, philosophy, history, grammar and science in addition to poetry and belles lettres. His principal work in Arabic is ***Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-duwal*** (***Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*** authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, ed. E. Pocock, Oxford 1663, Suppl. 1672; ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut 1890), compiled at the request of Muslim friends. It is an abbreviated translation of the first part of his Syriac *Chronography* treating of political history from the Creation to his own times; the Arabic version has additions on Bible history (which it was superfluous to incorporate in the Syriac original) and on the mathematical and medical literature of the Arabs. The first part of the Syriac *Chronography* itself uses Arabic and Persian sources for Islamic history, and quotes the Persian history of Shams al-Dīn Ṣāḥib-Dīwān (d. 683/1284) for the Mongol period. The second and third parts of the *Chronography*, dealing respectively with the history of the Western Jacobite church and that of the Eastern Jacobite and Nestorian churches, were not translated into Arabic.

The extent to which Ibn al-ʿIbrī adopted the literary tastes of his Muslim contemporaries is revealed by his *Keṯhābhā dheThunnāyē meghaḥḥekhāne* (*Laughable stories*, Syriac text with Eng. tr. by E. A. W. Budge, London 1897), a collection of anecdotes reminiscent of *adab* literature but unexpected from the pen of a distinguished Christian prelate; a translation into Arabic appears not to have survived. Ibn al-ʿIbrī's treatises on theology and philosophy are strongly influenced by Muslim authors, notably al-Ghazālī. He translated from Arabic into Syriac *Zubdat al-asrār* by his contemporary Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī, and he produced Syriac renderings of Ibn Sīnā's *K. al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt* and *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*. Ibn al-ʿIbrī's remarkable *Keṯhābhā dheṢemḥē* ("Book of rays") on Syriac grammar follows the pattern laid down by al-Zamakhsharī; his medical works include a shortened translation into Syriac of al-Ghāfiḳī's *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, while a translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn* remained unfinished at his death.

Ibn al-ʿIbrī's writings are not distinguished by great ability or by originality of thought or style; his contribution to literature commands respect rather by its sheer bulk and the fidelity with which he reproduces earlier writers. He sought to transmit the work of Christians to an Arabic-reading public, but his immediate objective was the transmission of general culture, whether Hellenistic or Muslim, to his co-religionists in their own language. By the 7th/13th century, however, the revival of Syriac outside the liturgy was beyond even his erudition and sustained effort. He was, as has been indicated, himself largely under the influence of Arabic—this is strikingly shown too by the naive etymologies of his Syriac chronicles. It is significant that the inscription over Ibn al-ʿIbrī's grave at Mār Mattai is written in Karshūnī—the script is Syriac, but the language is Arabic.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 427; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, Vatican City 1947, 272; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, ii, Bonn 1922, 312; C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac printed books and related literature in the British Museum*, 1962, s.v. (to this should now be added M. Albert, *Patrologia orientalis*, xxx, 1961, 271; A. Torbey, *ibid.*, xxx, 1963, 603; J. Khoury, *ibid.*, xxxi, 1965, 1); Th. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern history* (tr. J. S. Black), London and Edinburgh 1892, 236-56; N. L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médicine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 147.

(J. B. Segal)

IBN ʿIDHĀRĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, Maghribī historian, of whom all that is known is that he lived in the second half of the 7th/13th century and the first decades of the 8th/14th, that he was *ḳā'id* of Fez, and that in the year 712/1312-3 he was still writing his chronicle. To judge from his works, he must have possessed a good knowledge of the history of the caliphs, *imāms* and *amīrs* of the East, about whom he wrote in a work which he himself quotes but which has not survived. The extant chronicle of this historian is entitled *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī (ikhtiṣār) akhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*. In this chronicle, which is divided into three sections, the author sets forth—in that part of the work which has been published—an account, in analytical form and in *talkhīṣ*, of the history of Ifrīḳiya from the conquest of Miṣr in the year 20/640-1 to the capture of al-Mahdiyya by the Almohads in 602/1205-6, with the various dynasties and principalities which followed one another during this period (first part); the conquest of the Iberian peninsula and the history of the emirate, caliphate and the kingdoms of the *taifas* occupy the second part; while accounts of the Almoravid dynasty and the Almohads in the Maghrib and in al-Andalus until their disappearance make up the third part. The text of the first part and of the first half of the second, up to the year 387/997, was published by R. Dozy, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Leiden 1848-51, 2 vols. (together with *Corrections sur les textes du Bayáno 'l-Moghrib*, Leiden 1883); this edition has been superseded by the one which G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden 1948-51, 2 vols.) have made with the help of new, more complete, manuscripts. Translations have been made of the first edition, into Spanish by F. Fernández González (Granada 1860; somewhat defective) and into French by E. Fagnan (Algiers 1901-4, 2 vols.). The end of the second part, which covers the years 392-460/1002-1068 in the incomplete manuscript which has come down to us, has been the subject of an edition by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Bayān*, iii, Paris 1930, which should be used in conjunction with the *Observations sur le texte du tome III du Bayān d'Ibn ʿIḏāri*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1937, 241-58, also by E. Lévi-Provençal, who has published a translation of various fragments of this text in R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leiden 1932, appendix to vol. iii, and in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 149-51 (trans. E. García Gómez). It is the third part of the *Bayān* which has particularly benefited from the discovery of new manuscripts in recent years. From the Almoravid *Bayān*, A. Huici has published and translated fragments relating to the earliest years of Almoravid society up to 541/1146, with gaps from 469-495/1076-1102 (*Un fragmento inédito de Ibn ʿIḏārī sobre los almoravides*, in *Hespéris Tamuda*, ii/1 (1961), 43-111), and E. Lévi-Provençal has published and translated fragments corresponding to the years 485/1092, 487/1094 and 496/1102 and relating to the conquest of Valencia by al-Mazdalī (the whole

translated by E. García Gómez in *La toma de Valencia por el Cid*, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 97-156). The text of the Almohad *Bayān*, more complete, is contained in *El Anónimo de Madrid y Copenhague*, Valencia 1917, which A. Huici has made known, in the *Notes d'histoire almohade*, iii (text and tr. by E. Lévi-Provençal), in *Hespéris*, x (1930), 49-90, and, in definitive and more complete form, in the *III parte de al-Bayān al-Mugrib por Ibn ʿIḏārī*, edited by A. Huici, in collaboration with Muḥ. b. Tāwīt and Muḥ. Ibr. al-Kattānī, Tetuan 1963; A. Huici has published translations from the manuscript of the Almohad *Bayān* in *Colección de crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, ii-iii, Tetuan 1953-4 and, recently, in *Ibn ʿIḏārī: al-Bayān al-Mugrib. Nuevos fragmentos almoravides y almohades*, Valencia 1963.

In short, the historical work of Ibn ʿIdhārī, in the light of the criticisms which his method has provoked, including, among others, those of Cl. Sánchez Albornoz (*En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo. Parte segunda: Los árabes y el régimen prefeudal carolingio. Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII*, ii, Mendoza 1942, 327-35) and A. Huici (*Col. Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, ii, pp. XI and XII), but also of the merits with which one may credit him when one analyses his sources, constitutes, as a compilation of chronicles many of which have been lost, a basic source containing sound and detailed information, indispensable to the historian of the Maghrib and of al-Andalus.

Bibliography: In addition to the bibliography quoted in this article, see the Preface by Dozy to his edition, i, 77-107 (still useful, though incomplete in its judgments); Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber*, no. 373, 151; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 414-5. More recent and useful are: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Alfonso VI y su hermana la infanta Urraca*, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 157-9, with an edition and translation of a very short fragment; A. Huici, *La salida de los almorávides del desierto y el reinado de Yūsuf b. Tāšfīn*, in *Hespéris*, xlvi (1959), in particular, 155-62; idem, *Un nuevo manuscrito de "al-Bayān al-Mugrib"*, in *al-Andalus*, xxiv (1959), 63-84; idem, *Nuevas aportaciones de "al-Bayān al-Mugrib" sobre los almorávides*, in *al-Andalus*, xxviii (1963), 313-30. (J. BOSCH-VILÁ)

IBN IDRĪS [I], name currently given to ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. IDRĪS B. MUḤAMMAD AL-AZAMMŪRĪ AL-ʿAMRĀWĪ AL-FĀSĪ, vizier and man of letters highly regarded in Morocco, whose fame went beyond the borders of his country. We do not know the exact date (1118/1784?) of his birth in Fās, where his family, of very modest situation, claimed to be of Sharīfī origin. After serious studies, Ibn Idrīs started to earn his living as a copyist and school-master, but his culture and talents were very soon observed by the great historian of the dynasty of the ʿAlawids, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayyānī [*q.v.*], who urged him to polish his writings and presented him to the future sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, to whom he became secretary. On his patron's accession to the throne in 1237/1822, Ibn Idrīs was summoned to the vizierate, to replace his former fellow-student, the poet and historian Akansūs [*q.v.*]. As a result of calumnies, he fell into disgrace in 1247/1831 and was even tortured on his master's orders. In 1835 the sultan renewed his confidence in him and restored him to the office of vizier, with the additional post of *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*], which he held with distinction and skill until his death on 4 or 5 Muḥarram 1264/12 or 13 December 1847. He left an immense fortune to his son. He seems to have died as the result of brutalities inflicted on him at the command of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had been exasperated to hear that his vizier was trying to win the favour of the Algerian *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. It is also said that, after he had learnt of certain of the sultan's excesses, the latter apparently decided to do away with this embarrassing witness of acts contrary to Islamic morality.

It is to Ibn Idrīs that is due the renaissance in Morocco of the fine official epistolary style, which had fallen into decline. Possessing very sure taste, he successfully employed rhymed prose without either exaggeration or obscurity. As a poet, he was also highly esteemed by the Moroccan élite. He had a gift for improvisation. It was always with wit, and often with sincerity, that he wrote of the prince whom he served, the saints of his country, the feast of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] or the gardens of Marrākush. He also wrote a long and violent poem against the French occupation of Algeria. His as yet unpublished *dīwān* is in the library of the royal palace at Rabat. His beautiful house, surrounded by a large park, is still known in Marrākush by the name *ʿArṣet ben Drīs*.

Bibliography: E. Fumey, *Choix de correspondances marocaines*, 1st part, Texts and notes, Paris 1903, 132; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, Fās 1916, ii, 362; Akansūs, *al-Djaysh al-ʿaramram*, Fās 1918, ii (especially 31 and 148-53); Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās* ..., Rabat 1932, iv, 189-239 (long extracts from the work in verse and prose); ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Islām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fās 1932-9, i, 324-9, v, 263-92; Mohamed El-Fasi, *La littérature marocaine*, in *Le Maroc* (ouvrage collectif sous la direction d'E. Guernier), Paris 1940, 425; J. Caillé, *Une mission de Léon Roches à Rabat en 1845*, Casablanca 1947, (*PIHEM*, xliii), index; Nacer El-Fasi, *Mohammed ibn Idris, vizir et poète de la Cour de Moulay Abderrahman*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iii/1 (1962) (some translations); Nāṣir al-Fāsī, *Muḥammad b. Idrīs* ..., in *al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī*, no. i (January 1964). (G. DEVERDUN)

IBN IDRĪS [II], ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ IDRĪS, son of the above, was born in Fās where he made a serious study of literature. As private secretary to sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the French emperor Napoleon III. His task was to solicit his intervention with the Spanish government, in order to secure a reduction in the indemnity owed by Morocco after the unfortunate Hispano-Moroccan war of 1845. During July and August 1860, he spent six weeks in Paris where he left excellent impressions. From his journey he brought back an account (*riḥla*) entitled *Tuḥfat al-malik al-ʿazīz bi-mamlakat Barīz* in which, in elegant language, he described the French provinces through which he had travelled, the public buildings he had seen, the receptions he had attended, the customs he had observed, etc. This account was published in Fās in 1327/1907. Ibn Idrīs was entrusted with another diplomatic mission, to Spain; he died of the plague, in Rabat, on 14 Djumādā II 1296/5 June 1879.

Bibliography: H. de la Martinière, *Souvenirs du Maroc*, Paris 1922; Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās*, Rabat 1930, ii, 32-41; ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1369/1950, 372, no. 1153; J. L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830-1894)*, Paris 1961-, index. (G. DEVERDUN)

IBN AL-IFLĪLĪ (or simply AL-IFLĪLĪ), ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARIYYĀʾ AL-ZUHRĪ, philologian, teacher and man of

letters, born in Cordova in 352/963 of a family from al-Iflīl, in Syria(?). After receiving a classical education, he acquired the reputation of a great connoisseur of Arabic poetry, grammar and *gharīb* [*q.v.*]; though he was ignorant, it is said, of prosody, he prided himself on his poetry, but al-Ḥidjārī (*apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 73) criticizes his verse and prose compositions as too lifeless, and will not allow more than two verses of his to be acceptable.

To judge by a passage of the *Risālat al-tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* (*apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 233 ff. = ed. B. al-Bustānī, 168 ff.) of Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*], he seems to have been thickset, to have limped and to have been afflicted with a very large nose. According to the same author (*apud* Ibn Bassām, i/1, 207-8 = Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, 1956/2, 283), it is this scarcely prepossessing physique which for a long time prevented him from following the profession of *kātib* [*q.v.*], for which he believed himself destined. However, during the *fitna*, he entered the service of the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*] and was at last appointed *kātib* under al-Mustakfī (414-6/1024-5), but, according to Ibn Ḥayyān (*apud* Ibn Bassām, i/1, 241), he did not give satisfaction and was dismissed because he used a pedantic and affected style. Under Hishām III (418-22/1027-31) he was accused of impiety and imprisoned at the Muṭbaḳ [see ḲURṬUBA]; afterwards trace is lost of him until his death at Cordova on Sunday 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 441/9 April 1050.

Ibn al-Iflīlī, who taught grammar and *adab* in general, is severely criticized by Ibn Shuhayd (especially *apud* Ibn Bassām, i/1, 206-7) who strongly opposes the accepted teaching methods of his time; and he equally rebukes him for his obstinacy and vanity, which others have in their turn criticized. The fame of this philologian rests, however, on his teaching, which attracted many pupils, among whom al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī [see AL-SHANTAMARĪ] is probably the most famous, and on his commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, an authoritative work in Spain (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 118 = Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, 1954/1, 84; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 35; al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 314). In this commentary, of which a few scattered manuscripts survive (see R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 295, n. 8), each verse is briefly paraphrased and each poem preceded by an introduction on the circumstances of its composition.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 240-2; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 199; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 72-4; Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 195; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa*, 403-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 4-9; Ibn Khallikān, i, 12; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 34, 186; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; González Palencia, *Literatura*[2], 227; R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 295-6; F. al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, ii, 347-8; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī, ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, ʿAmmān [1966], 56-9.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-IKHSHĪD, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MAʿDJŪR, Muʿtazilī of Baghdād (270-326/883-938). He had a reputation for eloquence and command of the Arabic language and for generosity to scholars, to whom he made over the greater part of the revenues of a property which he possessed. In *ḥadīth*, he was a highly-esteemed transmitter, according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who makes no suggestion that he was a heretic. His authority was Djaʿfar al-Faryābī. In the field of *fiḳh*, he followed the Shāfiʿī school and was considered well-versed in its doctrines. In *kalām* he was said to be opposed to al-Kaʿbī and Abū Hāshim al-Djubbā'ī. He probably represented a form of Muʿtazilism which was more pietistic and more popular, more in accordance with his Shāfiʿī ideas and his knowledge of *ḥadīth* and of *tafsīr*. The *Fihrist* gives a list of his works, which include a commentary on the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī and a refutation of the Murdji'a [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 173; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iv, 31; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 231; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1961, 100, 110; A. Nader, *Muʿtazila*, 45, 46, 307; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, ii, 329.

(J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-ʿIMĀD, ʿABD AL-ḤAYY B. AḤMAD, a Syrian teacher of the Ḥanbalī school (1032-1089/1623-1679), completed, in 1080/1670, a large biographical history, entitled *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, which is annalistically arranged and covers the Hidjra years one to 1000. Although historical events are occasionally mentioned, the work concentrates on obituary notices, often rather detailed. The author intended it to be a help for impecunious scholars like himself who were unable to acquire a large library of their own. Owing to its late date of composition and its comprehensive character, it is still useful as a preliminary source of information, and as such it is often referred to in these pages. The absence of a serviceable index in the available edition (Cairo 1350-51) is, therefore, most regrettable.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo 1284, ii, 340 f.; Brockelmann, S II, 403.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN AL-IMĀM AL-SHILBĪ, ABU ʿAMR ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUTHMĀN, an Andalusī man of letters, biographer and historian of the 6th/12th century; born in Silves, he studied in Cordova and Seville, where he became a disciple of Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī. As an admirer of his contemporaries Ibn Bassām [*q.v.*] and Ibn Khāḳān [see AL-FATḤ IBN KHĀḲĀN], he decided to write a sequel to their works, and to include the biographies that they had omitted and those of his contemporaries, as far as 550/1155-6 (he died shortly after that date). His work is now lost, but later compilers have preserved numerous extracts from it; the title appears in various forms but is generally abbreviated to *Simṭ al-djumān*, and the full title was probably *Simṭ al-djumān wa-saḳaṭ al-la'ālī' wa-siḳṭ al-mardjān*. In his *Mughrib* Ibn Saʿīd reproduces about 35 excerpts from the *Simṭ*, some of which are long enough to give an idea of its content and style. To judge by these extracts, the *Simṭ* is closer in style and character to the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām than to the *Maṭmaḥ* and the *Ḳalā'id* of Ibn Khāḳān; his prose, which is not always in rhyme, occasionally provides valuable details of real historical importance (*e.g.*, *Mughrib*, i, 60-2). The specimens of poetry and prose reproduced by Ibn al-Imām are of the same type as those to be found in Ibn Saʿīd, and it may be said that a quarter of the *Mughrib* is taken from the *Simṭ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1833; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953, ii, index; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 233, iii, 29, ix, 246; Gayangos, i, 476; Pons Boigues, no. 181.

(H. MONÉS)

IBN ʿINABA (form most common in ʿIrāḳo-Persian circles; variants: ʿUḳba, ʿUtba, ʿAnbasa) DJAMĀL AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ ... B. ʿINABA AL-DĀWŪDĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, Imāmī genealogist, the most highly esteemed of Ṭālibī *nassāba*. He was born circa 748/1347 (date calculated by reference to the fact that in 764, "at the end of adolescence", he

became the pupil of Ibn Muʿayyā) and died at Kirmān on 7 Ṣafar 828/29 December 1424. He was the pupil of the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUbaydī and, indirectly, of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī and of Djalāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Fakhkhār. The person who had the greatest influence on his education was his father-in-law Ibn Muʿayyā (Tādj al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim). The latter, who was connected with the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], held an eminent position, as much because he had obtained *idjāzas* from thirty *ʿulamāʾ* (notably from Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Ibn Ṭāʾūs and Ibn Fakhkhār) as because he counted among his pupils *al-shahīd al-awwal* of the Twelvers, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī; for twelve years he was Ibn ʿInaba's teacher in law, *ḥadīth*, genealogy, mathematics, poetry, etc.

Ibn ʿInaba's work sets a complex problem. According to the list in the *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, it consists of: (1) *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* (known as *al-kubrā*) completed in 814/1411-2 and surviving in a copy in the collection of the Taymūriyya; according to one tradition, the work is dedicated to Tīmūrlang, but it was in fact written for the Ḥusaynid Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmīd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sharaf Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Faḍl ʿAlī; this presumably corresponds to the edition of Bombay 1318/1900-1. (2) *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib ... al-ṣughrā*, dedicated to the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Fallāḥ al-Mushaʿshaʿī, al-Mahdī (or to his father); it is based, with some additions, according to the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ṣūfī and the *Taʾlīf* of Abū Naṣr Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī. This distinction between the two *ʿUmdas*, denied by al-Kantūrī, who considers them to be identical, is supported by Khiyābānī and in the preface to the edition of Nadjaf 1918, in which the "little" *ʿUmda* is regarded as the only one to have survived; it appears in the manuscripts with slight variations in the title (*ansāb*, or *nasab* or *manāḳib*) and in the arrangement of the material, always, however, subdivided into five *faṣls*, corresponding to the five sons of Abū Ṭālib. This *ʿUmda* seems to be that published in the Lucknow ed. (n.d. [1302/1884-5]), which dates it to 802/1399-1400, and in the undated but recent Beirut ed. (3) A *Kitāb fi 'l-ansāb*, probably in Persian; according to the editors of the Nadjaf text, it was an abridgement of the *ʿUmda*, which may have been the same as the *Kitāb Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* mentioned in the *Dharīʿa*, but might also be identified with two other works mentioned in the *Dharīʿa* itself, *al-Tuḥfa al-djamāliyya* and the *Tuḥfat al-ṭālib*, which are mentioned also by other authors. The problem remains unsolved, particularly since Khiyābānī considers the two *Tuḥfas* to be only one work. (4) *Baḥr al-ansāb fī nasab Banī Hāshim*, consisting of a *muḳaddima* and five chapters, of which Dj. Zaydān mentions a manuscript in the Khedivial library in Cairo and to which the *Dharīʿa* and Khiyābānī also refer.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 119; S II, 272; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1943, 1167-68; al-Kantūrī, *Kashf al-ḥudjub wa 'l-astār*, Calcutta 1330/1912, 386, n. 2136; Āghā Bozorg Tehrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ʿalā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, iii, Nadjaf 1357/1938, 424-5, n. 1536, 448, n. 1627; ʿAbbās al-Ḳummī al-Nadjafī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa 'l-alḳāb*, i, Nadjaf 1956, 391; Dj. Zaydān, *Taʾrīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, iii, Cairo 1913, 174-5; preface to the ed. of Nadjaf 1918, 3-12; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa 'l-laḳab*, Tabrīz, i, 1326 s./1947-8, 275, n. 680; iv, n.d., 96, n. 146; al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xi, 149-52; B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Sulla "Umdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib" e sul suo autore Djamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ... ibn ʿInaba*, in *AIUON*, N.S. xiii (1963), 287-94; G. Levi Della Vida, *Secondo elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici*, Vatican 1965, 80-1, n. 1672.

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

IBN ʿIRĀḲ, Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī, an astronomer and mathematician who flourished ca. 1000 A.D. (the date of his death is uncertain), best known as the teacher of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], was the student of Abu 'l-Wafā al-Buzdjānī [*q.v.*]. He was related to the Ibn ʿIrāḳ family that ruled Khwārazm before its conquest by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], and this accounts for his titles: *al-amīr* and *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn*.

He is also known for his revision, completed in 398/1007-8, of the Arabic version of Menelaus's *Spherics* (ed. and trans. by Krause, 1936), of which the original Greek text is lost. Fifteen shorter mathematical and astronomical treatises, found in MS Bankipore arab. 2468, were published in 1948. These include treatises on the astrolabe; discussions of various problems in earlier *zīdjes* (sets of astronomical tables); a solution of a difficulty in Euclid's *Elements*, Book XIII; and a treatise, *djadwal al-daḳāʾiḳ*, concerning special trigonometric functions.

In al-Bīrūnī's *Treatise on chords*, Ibn ʿIrāḳ is cited as the discoverer of several mathematical proofs; in al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of ancient nations* (ed. and trans. C. E. Sachau) he is credited with a method for determining solar apogee from three arbitrary points on the ecliptic "which is as much superior to that of the modern [Islamic] astronomers as the method of the latter is superior to that of the ancient astronomers"; and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] cites his work in trigonometry.

Bibliography: M. Krause, *Die Sphärik von Menelaos aus Alexandrien in der Verbesserung von Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāq*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, 17, 1936: Krause refers to earlier works on p. 109 and then gives a list of Ibn ʿIrāḳ's known scientific works (5 mathematical, 17 astronomical); *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS in ... Bankipore*, vol. xxii, 1937; *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ila 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad-Deccan 1948. There is a discussion of the second treatise of this collection by E. S. Kennedy and H. Sharkas, *Two medieval methods for determining the obliquity of the ecliptic*, in *The Mathematics Teacher*, lv (1962), 286-90.

(B. R. Goldstein)

IBN ʿIRS (A.; pl. *banāt ʿirs*, rarely *abnāʾ/banū ʿirs*), denotes the weasel, *Mustela nivalis*, the smallest of the mustelidae (*sarʿūb*, pl. *sarāʿib*), whose area of distribution includes almost all the countries of Islam. The geographical forms of the weasel, with *Mustela nivalis nivalis* and *minuta* in the North and *Mustela nivalis boccamela* and *subpalmata* in the Mediterranean zone, present only slight differences of coat and size, and the species possesses a character of uniformity which is also found in the dialectal names of *ʿirsa* in Egypt, *b-el-ʿirs* in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and *ben-l-ʿirs* and *ʿarūsat al-fīrān* in the Maghrib. The terms *sunʿuba* and *kalkasa* are now entirely obsolete; and it is only in Palestine that it may be confused with the sable, *Mustela zibellina*, under the name *sammūr*, and in Algeria with the polecat, *Mustela putorius*, under the descriptive name *fārat al-khayl* (= "rat/mouse of horses").

The Arab authors, both encyclopaedists and naturalists, are very laconic on the subject of the weasel and for the most part are content to repeat, in this connexion, the fabulous inventions of the Greeks on its habit of dropping its young through the throat or ear, its precaution of chewing some rue (*sadhāb*) before attacking snakes (cf. Aristotle, *Hist. des animaux*, tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 601 and al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 228), the way in which it inserts itself into the crocodile's belly when the creature yawns, in order to devour its entrails, a practice which is also attributed to the ichneumon of Egypt (*nims*), and its determined pursuit of shrews and field-mice to the very end of branches of trees to make them fall off into the mouth of its companion which has remained on the ground.

The pelt of the weasel has never been an article of furriery, and certain translators have been mistaken in identifying it with the *fanak* [*q.v.*], confusing it with the fur of the stoat or ermine, *Mustela erminea*, in its summer coat, which at that season differs only in the black tip of the tail that is peculiar to itself and that it retains all the year round, in spite of its white winter coloration; *fanak* also denoted the furs imported from central Europe, of the mink, *Mustela lutreola*, and those of some canidae, such as the fennec, the jackal and the fox, from the Maghrib [see IBN ĀWĀ].

On the other hand, it is in the realm of hunting that the weasel has played a part in Islam, for it figures in the list of beasts of prey or carnivores that are "accredited" (*muʿallamāt, ḍawārʾ*, djawāriḥ*), recognised as lawful instruments of the chase, on the same footing as fowling-birds [see BAYZARA and FAHD]. Indeed, if we remember that the weasel was, with the beech-marten, *Martes foina* (*dalaḳ, sinsār*), and long before the domestic cat, with the civet, *Viverra civetta* (*zabāda, sinnawr zabād*), the genet *Genetta genetta* (*djarnīṭ, ḳaṭṭ al-zabād, kadīs, zurayḳāʾ*) and the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose, *Herpestes ichneumon* (*nims, fār Firʿawn*), a familiar guest attached to the hearth in all oriental and Mediterranean antiquity (for people sought, by adopting these quickly domesticated little animals, not only a faithful companion but also an effective means of destroying the rodents and reptiles that infested their dwellings), it is not surprising that the hunter very soon had the idea of taking advantage of the extremely bloodthirsty instincts of this miniature wild beast, its feline suppleness, its agility in creeping noiselessly into the narrowest fissure, the lightning speed of its leap, the inexorable vice-like grip of its jaws, its great aptitude for being trained, the few attentions that it required and the extreme ease of carrying it about on account of its small size. Numerous items of evidence can be found on the use of the weasel in hunting in the treatises of Muslim writers on hunting; thus Kushādjim (4th/10th century), in his *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (Baghdād 1954, 228-9) which, in the prose sections, is a compilation from sources more than a century earlier, devotes several lines to this form of hunting. For his part, the anonymous author of the *K. al-Bayzara* (Damascus 1953, 29), Master Falconer to the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz bi 'llāh (364-86/975-96), records that the weasel formed part of the hunting equipment of the kings of Persia and ranked with the hounds, cheetahs and falcons which these princes kept in great numbers. As for the famous gentleman hunter Usāma Ibn Munḳidh (d. 584/1188), lord of Shayzar, he notes in his "Recollections of war and the chase" (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, ed. Princeton 1930, chap. III, 213) that his venerated father, when leaving Iṣfahān, which he had visited for reasons of business, found himself presented by the local authorities with several trained falcons and a weasel trained (*ibn ʿirs muʿallam*) to retrieve game-birds from within impenetrable thickets or to flush them out so that they might be taken by the falcons; thus the puny weasel was successfully substituted for the retrieving-dog. The still unpublished source, the *K. al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (Escurial-Madrid, MS ar. 903) of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī Ḥassān al-Asadī (7th/13th century) specifies that in this period, in Baghdād, the weasel, then called *barūraz* ("... *al-barūraz wa huwa ibn ʿirs* ...", fol. 29 v. and 76 r.-v.), was the indispensable aid in hunting wheatear (*faḳāḳ*) with the merlin (*yuʾyuʾ*), for these little birds, at sight of the falcon, darted into thorny bushes, and only the appearance of the weasel, held on a leash, forced them to fly out. This very diverting method of hunting was much appreciated since, being very inexpensive, it could be practised by the most impoverished and by children. Following the same procedure, the weasel, fastened at the neck or waist to a long leash, was used to dislodge the fox when it had gone to ground in its earth; terror made it take to flight, or else, its throat having been seized by these little jaws of steel, it was forcibly dragged out by the leash fastened to its assailant, which would never release its hold.

In the light of these texts, it can be said that the part taken by the weasel in hunting, in the East, was more important than that taken in the West by the ferret, *Mustela putorius furo* (*ibn miḳraḍ*; Maghrib: *nims* through confusion with the ichneumon), a form that, through domestic isolation, has degenerated from a race of polecats imported, as early as the Roman epoch, from the mountain massifs of the Maghrib. Moreover, the certainty of the essentially European origin of the ferret, provided by the scientific data of modern mammalogy, rules out any simple connexion between *ibn ʿirs* and this bastard member of the *mustelidae* which is incapable of living in freedom and, at most, is good only for driving rabbits out of their burrows.

The flesh of the weasel, like that of all carnivores, is forbidden as food in Islam, but early medicine recognized certain therapeutic properties in it, as also in the brain, blood and fat of this animal.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 214; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, ii, 148; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 99; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* (index, s.v.); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des simples*, tr. L. Leclerc, Paris 1877-83, i, no. 12; A. Maʿlūf, *An arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *Mustela*; H. B. Tristram, *The fauna and flora of Palestine*, London 1884; S. Flower, *List of animals in Giza*, Cairo 1910; *The Survey of Iraq fauna*, by members of the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, Bombay 1923; J. Ellerman and T. C. S. Morrison-Scott, *Checklist of Palaearctic and Indian mammals*, London 1961; R. Hainard, *Mammifères sauvages d'Europe*, Neuchatel-Paris 1948, ii, 189 ff.; R. Thévenin, *Les petits carnivores d'Europe*, Paris 1952, 12-43 and bibl.; idem, *Les fourrures*, Paris 1948; A. Cabrera, *La patria de "Putorius furo"*, Madrid 1930; idem, *Los Mamiferos de Marruecos*, Madrid 1932. (F. VIRÉ)

IBN ʿĪSĀ, MAḤAMMAD (sic) B. AḤMAD B. ʿĪSĀ AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, a Moroccan man of letters (to be distinguished from his homonym, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Maghribī, d. in Damascus in 1016/1607; Brockel-

mann, S II, 334). His father, who died in 955/1548-9, was also a renowned man of letters. Ibn ʿĪsā, "no mean poet and a superb prose stylist", was secretary of the sultans ʿAbd Allāh al-G͟hālib bi 'llāh (964-81/1557-74) and Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik (983-6/1576-8), became *wazīr al-ḳalam al-aʿlā*, "First Secretary of State", to the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-D͟hahabī ([*q.v.*], 986-1012/1578-1603), and was attached to the staff of the sultan's son Maʾmūn, governor of Fās from 986/1578. It was no doubt in the service of this sultan that he composed his *Kitāb al-mamdūd wa 'l-maḳṣūr min sanāʾ al-sulṭān Abi 'l-ʿAbbās al-Manṣūr*, the title of which al-Maḳḳarī admired. He was, nevertheless, imprisoned in Fās and his property was confiscated by Maʾmūn, who was notorious for his bad character, and he died, and was perhaps even killed, in prison in 990/1582-3. Maʾmūn was later reproached for this act. A fragment of an anonymous chronicle containing, among others, copies of documents composed by Ibn ʿĪsā, is either part of his work or derived from it; one report, addressed to the sultan in 988/1579-80, presages the fall from favour of the author.

Bibliography: G. Pianel, in *Hespéris*, 1949, 244 f.; 1954, 147-53; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 97; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥid̲j̲āl*, i, 51, no. 146 (on his father), 258, no. 656; al-Fis̲h̲tālī, *Manāhil al-ṣafā* (*Mukhtaṣar al-djuzʾ al-thānī*), Rabat 1964, 244 f.; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1949, ix, 289; *Chronique anonyme de la dynastie saʿdienne*, 84 f. (transl. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, 422); al-Ifrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, text, 163, 180; transl. 270, 290; Aḥmad b. K̲h̲ālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, v, Casablanca 1955, 169; Fr. tr. by his son, M'hammed En Naciri, in *AM*, xxxiv (1936), 303 and n. 1; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-Iʿlām bi-man ḥall Marrākush wa-Ag̲h̲māt min al-aʿlām*, iv, 191. (J. Schacht)

IBN ʿĪSĀ b. MADJD al-DĪN [see AḲ ḤIṢĀRĪ].

IBN-i ISFANDIYĀR, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, Persian historian. Our knowledge of him is based almost entirely on the scanty information which he provides about himself incidentally in the introduction to his *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān*, a history of his native land, Ṭabaristān, and the only work of his known. He was attached to the court of the Āl-i Bāvand rulers of Ṭabaristān, and received generous patronage from Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardas̲h̲īr b. Ḥasan (567/1171-2—602/1205-6). In 606/1210, returning from Bag̲h̲dād to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am, he learned of the assassination of his patron's son and successor Rustam b. Ardas̲h̲īr. Grieved by this event, he spent two months in Rayy, where in the course of his reading he came across a copy of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Yazdādī's Arabic work (now apparently lost) on the history of Ṭabaristān. To make it more widely known, he decided to make a translation of it into Persian, supplementing it with an account of his patron, Ardas̲h̲īr, his ancestors and his descendants. Soon after preparing a first draft, however, he received a letter from his father, who entreated him to put an end to his wanderings and settle at home, apparently Āmul. His visit to his father was marred, however, by disturbances in the region, and following an urge to travel again, he soon left Āmul for K̲h̲ʷārazm, which he describes as a prosperous city and a great seat of learning. Here, after a sojourn of five years, during which he apparently gathered further material for his History, he found in a bookshop a copy of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's translation into Arabic of the epistle of Tansar [*q.v.*], the chief priest of Ardas̲h̲īr the Sāsānid, to D̲j̲usnasaf, the prince of Ṭabaristān. By including in his History a translation into Persian of the epistle, he has preserved for us this significant piece of Pahlavi literature (see A. Christensen, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, Paris 1944, pp. 58-9, and pahlavi).

The *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ṭabaristān*, which he was still writing in 613/1216-7, contains much useful historical, geographical and biographical information. It is also of literary interest, and preserves a number of verses in Ṭabarī dialect. A later and anonymous hand has brought the history of events from 606/1210, when the first domination of the Āl-i Bāvand ended in Ṭabaristān, up to *ca.* 750/1349, when their second domination came to an end. The added section, found in most manuscripts, is taken mostly from Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī's *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Rūyān*, completed apparently in 764/1362.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1941, introd. and 1-8; *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristán*, by E. G. Browne, Leiden and London 1905; Storey, ii/2, 359-61; Browne, ii, 479-80. (E. Yar-Shater)

IBN ISḤĀḲ, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Yasār b. K̲h̲iyār (according to some sources, b. K̲h̲abbār, or Kūmān, or Kūtān), one of the main authorities on *al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, along with Mūsā b. ʿUḳba and al-Wāḳidī. His *kunya* is variously given as Abū ʿAbd Allāh or Abū Bakr. On the whole, the former is the better substantiated and the confusion may have resulted from the fact that he had a brother called Abū Bakr (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400). He was born in Medina in about 85/704, and, according to the majority of the sources, died in Bag̲h̲dād in 150/767 —alternative dates for his death are 151, 153 and, in one case (*Wafayāt*, i, 612), as early as 144/761-2. He was buried in the cemetery of K̲h̲ayzurān, near the grave of Abū Ḥanīfa.

His grandfather, Yasār, was among those taken prisoner at ʿAyn al-Tamr in 12/633-4 and, according to Yāḳūt and al-Bag̲h̲dādī, was one of the first captives sent by K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd to Abū Bakr in Medina. He became the slave of Ḳays b. Mak̲h̲rama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy and, having accepted Islam, was manumitted and became his *mawlā*, thus acquiring the *nisba* al-Muṭṭalibī. His three sons, Mūsā, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Isḥāḳ, were all known as transmitters of *ak̲h̲bār*. Isḥāḳ married the daughter of another *mawlā* and from this marriage Ibn Isḥāḳ was born.

There are no details of his early life, but in view of the family nature of early *ak̲h̲bār* and *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmission, it was natural that he should follow in the footsteps of his father and uncles and become specialized in these branches of knowledge. He must have acquired an early reputation as a scholar for al-Zuhrī, who died in 124/741-2, to have spoken of him as "the most knowledgeable of men in *mag̲h̲āzī*" (*ʿUyūn al-at̲h̲ar*, i, 8). In 119/737 he came to Alexandria and studied under Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb. Subsequently, as Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar puts it, "he related on the authority of a group of the people of Egypt traditions which no one else related on their authority, so far as I know" (*Tahd̲h̲īb*, ix, 44). J. Fück has suggested that Ibn Isḥāḳ returned to Medina from Egypt, before departing finally for ʿIrāḳ. There are frequent references to his having left Medina "of old". This is substantiated by the fact that he has only one transmitter among the people of Medina, Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 399). His leaving Medina is usually attributed to the enmity of two men, His̲h̲ām b. ʿUrwa and Mālik b. Anas. His̲h̲ām b. ʿUrwa is said to have objected to Ibn Isḥāḳ relating traditions on

the authority of his wife, Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr. As J. Horovitz has pointed out, Yāḳūt was mistaken in identifying Hishām with the governor of Medina who ordered Ibn Isḥāḳ to be scourged for dallying with women at the rear of the mosque, since Hishām was governor of Medina for a four-year period up to 86/705, the approximate date of Ibn Isḥāḳ's birth; if the story has any validity, it might refer to Hishām's son, Ismāʿīl, who was governor from 106/724-5 (*op. cit.* in Bibl., 169).

The antagonism of Mālik towards Ibn Isḥāḳ was of a different order. It could have been due to professional jealousy, as the story related by ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs suggests: "I was with Mālik b. Anas when a man said to him: 'Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ says: Present to me the knowledge of Mālik, for I am the man to check it'. Mālik said: 'Look at this anti-Christ saying 'Present to me the knowledge of Mālik'" (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400). Another possibility, as A. Guillaume has suggested (*Life of Muhammad*, Introd., xiii), is that differences may have arisen between them over the contents of Ibn Isḥāḳ's lost book of *Sunan*. This could well have been so, for although later authorities such as Ibn Ḥanbal did not accept Ibn Isḥāḳ as an authority on legal matters, the latter did lay claim to being an authority on *fiḳh*, as we can see from the reference in Ibn Ḥadjar: "Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd had, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāḳ, about 17,000 *ḥadīth*s on legal decisions, apart from *maghāzī*" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 41). Another suggestion is that Mālik "objected to Ibn Isḥāḳ tracing the *ghazawāt* of the Prophet by means of the sons of Jews who had become Muslims and remembered the story of Khaybar and other matters" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 45). Yet another explanation of Mālik's enmity towards Ibn Isḥāḳ is based upon the fact that Mālik objected to him on the grounds of his being a Shīʿī and a Ḳadarī (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400; *ʿUyūn*, i, 9; *Tahdhīb*, ix, 42). The same charge was levelled against al-Wāḳidī and others ... "Aḥmad b. Yūnus said: The scholars of *maghāzī* were Shīʿī, like Ibn Isḥāḳ and Abū Maʿshar and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawwī and others" (*Udabāʾ*, vi, 400).

Having left (or been forced to leave) Medina, Ibn Isḥāḳ went first to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, governor of al-Djazīra, then to Abu 'l-Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr at al-Ḥīra, before finally settling in Baghdād. These peregrinations are reflected in the different *riwāya*s of his *Sīra*. There are some fifteen of these, with Kūfa, Rayy and Baṣra figuring most prominently (Fück, 44) and with only a single Medina *riwāya*. In addition to the *Sīra*, he is credited with a *Kitāb al-Khulafāʾ*, which al-Umawwī related on his authority (*Fihrist*, 92; *Udabāʾ*, vi, 401) and a book of *Sunan* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1008).

As is usual in the literature of *djarḥ wa taʿdīl*, we find the early Muslim critics expressing diametrically opposed judgements on Ibn Isḥāḳ. In addition to the favourable assessment of al-Zuhrī referred to earlier, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Ḳatāda was of the opinion that "knowledge will remain amongst us as long as Ibn Isḥāḳ lives" (*ʿUyūn*, i, 9; *Udabāʾ*, vi, 400; *Tahdhīb*, ix, 44). Shuʿba regarded him as "*amīr al-muʾminīn* in tradition" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 44). Abū Zurʿa, al-Madīnī, Ibn Maʿīn and Ibn Saʿd regarded him as sound in tradition. On the other hand, al-Nisāʾī and Yaḥyā b. Ḳaṭṭān did not accept him in matters of *ḥadīth*. Al-Athram, Sulaymān al-Taymī and Wuhayb b. Khālid regarded him as a liar—a charge which relates to *ḥadīth* and is separate from the oft-quoted accusation contained in al-Djumaḥī, Ibn al-Nadīm and Yāḳūt that Ibn Isḥāḳ included verses in his *Sīra* knowing them to be forged. Al-Bukhārī and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr were not satisfied with his *riwāya*. Ibn Ḥanbal, whilst accepting him on matters relating to *maghāzī*, did not draw upon him for *ḥadīth* because he objected to his use of the collective *isnād*: "I see him relating on the authority of a group of people a single *ḥadīth* and he does not distinguish the words of this one from the words of that" (*Tahdhīb*, ix, 43). To single out Ibn Isḥāḳ on this score is an unfair stricture, since the use of the collective *isnād* is a not uncommon feature in the writings of the early authorities on the *sīra-maghāzī*.

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IBN ISRĀʾĪL AL-DIMASHḲĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. SAWWĀR B. ISRĀʾĪL B. AL-KHIḌR B. ISRĀʾĪL AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, Ṣūfī and poet (603-77/1206-78). Amidst the mediocre poetic talents prevailing in Egypt and Syria during the 7th/13th century, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Ibn Isrāʾīl occupies a place of distinction, while providing a typical example of the numerous writers of insipid poetry who flourished during that century. His life is perhaps of greater interest than his work; born in Damascus, where he studied, he embarked upon a strange career as a dubious mystic and pleasure-loving poet. He joined the suspect Ṣūfī order founded by Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1247-8), whose character and doctrine were severely critized by orthodox authorities such as Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī The bad reputation of this *shaykh* cast a shadow of suspicion upon Ibn Isrāʾīl which was to persist throughout his life. However, Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī states that he received the *khirḳa* of the Ṣūfī from the hands of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, which is not possible, since the latter died in 579/1183.

Ibn Isrāʾīl began to travel up and down the land, in the manner of the poor Ṣūfīs (*ʿalā ḳadam al-fuḳarāʾ*), though he did not refrain from indulging in such passing pleasures (*ḳaḍāʾ al-awḳāt al-ṭayyiba*) as presented themselves. He frequented the company of the rich and influential, belonged to their coteries, wrote poems in their praise, etc. His *dīwān* is far more a reflexion of this worldly life than of his alleged mysticism, although it begins with a poem

in praise of his *shaykh* al-Ḥarīrī. He once claimed authorship of a poem by his contemporary and rival Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Khiyāmī (d. 685/1286), and the matter had to be submitted to the arbitration of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who discovered the truth.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1283, ii, 269-74, 287-95; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1936, vi, 360, vii, 282-3, 369-70; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (MS Cairo Lib. 559), xiv-xv; *Dīwān*, Escurial 437; Brockelmann, I, 257; B. Lewis, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 257; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, ii, 335-6. (H. MONÉS)

IBN AL-IṬNĀBA AL-KHAZRADJĪ, ʿAMR B. ʿĀMIR B. ZAYD MANĀT (see his genealogy in Ibn Saʿd, viii, 264, 2 in the article on his granddaughter Kabsha bint Wāḳid b. ʿAmr, wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*]), a pagan Arab poet named after his mother al-Iṭnāba, who belonged to the Banu 'l-Ḳayn b. Djasr of the Khuzāʿa. He was leader of al-Khazradj [*q.v.*] in their feuds with al-Aws [*q.v.*], whose chief was Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān, father of the well-known Companion of the Prophet Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Ibn al-Iṭnāba restored peace between the Aws and the Khazradj by paying the blood-money after they had fought against each other at the fortress of Fāriʿ (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 500-2, where he is erroneously called ʿĀmir b. al-Iṭnāba). He was on friendly terms with Khālid b. ʿĀmir, the powerful leader of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa; when the latter was treacherously killed by al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim al-Murrī at the court of king Abū Ḳābūs al-Nuʿmān III (reigned *ca.* 580-602), Ibn al-Iṭnāba reviled him for his cowardice, but al-Ḥārith took him by surprise, so that Ibn al-Iṭnāba had to ask his pardon (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 419 f.). In the fanciful account of this incident given in the *Aghānī*[1], x, 30 on the authority of Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn al-Iṭnāba is called "king of the Ḥidjāz" and represented as wearing a crown (*tādj*) and drinking wine whilst his slave girls were singing his invective against al-Ḥārith. After this quarrel Ibn al-Iṭnāba's friend Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā'ī (d. 10/631-2) raided the Banū Murra, took al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim prisoner, but pardoned him.

Ibn al-Iṭnāba's fame as a poet rests on some "incomparable" verses (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ii, 191, 10; 193, 3) on bravery on the battlefield, especially the line "And I say unto my soul, whilst it heaves (from fear) and is frightened: keep thy ground, and thou wilt be praised or else find rest". With these verses Muʿāwiya encouraged himself at Ṣiffīn, when he was at the point of turning his back (Ṭabarī, i, 3300; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 753, etc.). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*Rasā'il*, Cairo 1347, i, 154) adduce them as proof for the tremendous influence which poetry can have on man's actions. They belong to a poem (Ibn al-Athīr i, 501; *Early Arabic Odes* chosen ... by S. M. Husain, no. 12, etc.) which the poet probably composed whilst trying to mediate between the Aws and the Khazradj. In a *ḳaṣīda* (given by Ibn al-Athīr, i, 502; see also Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 52 f. and Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, 714 f.) the poet glorifies his clan and himself.

His invective, mentioned above, against al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim (*Aghānī*[1], x, 30) was set to music and sung by ʿAzza al-Maylā' [*q.v.*] (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 14; x, 31).

Bibliography: in the article; see also Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarā'*, ed. Krenkow 203 f.; and for quotations of verses, A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, 329.

(J. W. FÜCK)

IBN IYĀS (also written AYĀS), ABU 'L-BARAKĀT MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, ZAYN (SHIHĀB) AL-DĪN AL-NĀṢIRĪ AL-DJARKASĪ AL-ḤANAFĪ, born 6 Rabīʿ II 852/9 June 1448, died *ca.* 930/1524, historian of the decline and fall of Mamlūk rule in Egypt and of the first years of the dominion of the Ottoman Turks after their victory over the Mamlūks in 923/1517. Since early in the 19th century Ibn Iyās has been recognized as a prime source for the events of that period and his major work, *Badā'iʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳā'iʿ al-duhūr* (Būlāḳ ed., hereafter abbreviated Ibn Iyās) has appeared in several editions. Indicative, however, of the relatively unimportant position held by Ibn Iyās among his contemporaries—but also of the decline of historical writing in Egypt until the end of the 12th/18th century—is the fact that no biography of this author has been found. The few biographical data known must be gleaned from his own writings. What we learn from this source is important and sheds an interesting light on the history of at least one Mamlūk family during part of the Ḳalāwūnid and the whole of the Circassian period.

A great-grandfather of the author, Özdemir (Azdamur) al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī al-Khāzindār (d. 771/1370) served in various functions under the sultans Ḥasan and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. Among these were those of Emir of Arms (*amīr silāḥ*), 757, Viceroy of Tripoli, 764, then Viceroy of Aleppo, then again Emir of Arms in 768. He was imprisoned for a time and on his release was named Viceroy of Damascus but died before taking office (cf. Ibn Iyās, i, 221). A daughter of Özdemir married a young Mamlūk, Iyās al-Fakhrī, also called "min Djunayd" in reference to his first owner, and "al-Ẓāhirī," to indicate that he later passed into the possession and service of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ. Iyās (*ca.* 780-830/*ca.* 1378-1427) rose to the rank of Second Executive Secretary (*dawādār thānī*) under Sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj, the son of Barḳūḳ (cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, fol. 27b; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 563).

The author's father, Aḥmad, as the grandson of one Mamlūk *amīr* and the son of another, was no longer eligible for inclusion among the military élite of *amīr*s but became one of the *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] which, according to Ibn Iyās, was equivalent to the *adjnād al-ḥalḳa* and served, in his time, as a sort of military reserve responsive to the Sultan's command. Ibn Iyās cites an instance, under Sultan Ḳā'itbāy, where each of the reservists was required to serve on an expedition or furnish either a substitute or 100 *dīnār*s (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 93). From his son's account, Aḥmad b. Iyās (824-908/1421-5102) seems to have been a prominent man closely related to many emirs and high officials. Of his 25 children, only three, two boys and a girl, survived him. The daughter married a Mamlūk, Ḳurḳmās al-ʿAlā'ī (d. 877/1472), who was Emir of the Horse (*amīr ākhūr*); one son was Warden of the Armoury (*zardkāsh*); and the other was the author (cf. Ibn Iyās, ed. Mostafa, iv, 47).

Of the few facts we know about the life of Muḥammad b. Iyās, perhaps the most important is that he studied under two prominent scholars of his time: the polymath al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 119, 271, 307, 339, 392), for whom he seems to have had little respect, and ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Khalīl al-Ḥanafī (d. 920/1514), the Ḥanafī jurist and historian (cf. *ibid.*, 104, 105 and *passim*). The bulk of the corpus of Ibn Iyās's writings (six titles in all, cf. Brockelmann, S II, 405) is historical in nature. His aim seems to have been to write a complete history of Egypt beginning with the Pharaonic era down to his day. In essence, he has given us, in his major work

Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr, a perfunctory survey of all Egyptian history down to the Mamlūk period, followed by a brief year by year summary of events, growing progressively more detailed as he nears his own time. In the first published versions in three volumes (Cairo, 1301-06/1884-88; reprinted Būlāḳ, 1311-12/1894), the history of Egypt from the beginning to the year 815/1412 is covered in the first volume, the second deals with the years 815-906/1412-1501, the end of the reign of al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmān Bāy, and the third with the years 922-8/1516-22, the reign of the last Mamlūk sultan al-As͟hraf Ṭūmān Bāy, omitting the reign of Sultan al-G͟hawrī (906-21/1501-15). This brief résumé both indicates the disproportionate coverage allotted to various periods and points to the problem whether the entire work is to be attributed to Ibn Iyās. The account of al-G͟hawrī's reign, while missing from the manuscripts on which the Cairo-Būlāḳ editions were based, is found in other manuscripts and was included in a re-edition of the parts of the work dealing with the years 872-928/1467-1522, *i.e.*, that period of which Ibn Iyās was an eyewitness observer (3 vols. ed. by P. Kahle, M. Mostafa, M. Sobernheim, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, v, 1931-39; revised ed., M. Mostafa, 1960-63). While earlier portions of the work (from the reign of Ḳāʾit Bāy) are written in a brief, almost vernacular style, the final section, from 922/1516 onwards, is not only fuller and more detailed, but also more finished and polished in style, leading K. Vollers (in *Revue d'Égypte*, 1895, 544-73) to the conclusion that Ibn Iyās may not have been the author of this later section, a view disputed by M. Sobernheim (*EI*[1], ii, 414), who saw in this difference in style the possible conflation of two versions or the combination of a personal diary with a court circular. These later portions include detailed reports on life in Cairo, especially at the Mamlūk court, obituaries of famous men, poems (many of them by the author) in honour of scholars as well as men in power, accounts of civil calamities, records of prices and market trends, as well as details on *causes célèbres* of the day. The work is of great value, therefore, on a number of levels. As an eyewitness account, and, moreover, by a writer close to the ruling circles, it is similar to the work of Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī half a century earlier, although Ibn Iyās certainly lacks the historical sense and the style of the earlier author. It is of great value as an attempt by a contemporary observer to evaluate and explain the defeat of the Mamlūks by the Ottoman Turks. The author is highly critical of Sultan al-G͟hawrī, whom he blames for the financial plight of the state, and seems aware that corrupt administration, internecine strife in Mamlūk circles, and the neglect of artillery all contributed to the Mamlūk defeat. Finally, the language of portions of the text, reflecting the vernacular in Cairo of the author's day, is of value to students of Arabic dialectology.

The other works attributed to Ibn Iyās are: *Mard͟j al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, a popular history of the patriarchs and prophets, perhaps not by Ibn Iyās; *Nas͟hḳ al-azhār fī ʿad͟jāʾib al-aḳṭār*, a cosmography with specific reference to Egypt, written in 922/1517 and much used by 19th-century scholars; a little-known work of which only one manuscript is extant: *Nuzhat al-umam fi 'l-ʿad͟jāʾib wa 'l-ḥikam*; extracts from *Badāʾiʿ*, entitled *D͟jawāhir al-sulūk*; and *Muntaẓam badʾ al-dunyā wa-taʾrīk͟h al-umam* in three volumes (attribution uncertain, cf. C. Cahen, in *REI*, iii (1936), 358), these last two extant in one copy each in Istanbul.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 513; Brockelmann, II, 295; S II, 405; M. Sobernheim, *Ibn Iyās*, in *EI*[1], ii, 414; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* . . ., 3 vols., Cairo 1301-06/1884-88, Būlāḳ 1311-12/1894; *Fihris* . . ., ed. Muḥ. ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, Būlāḳ 1314/1896; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr* . . ., 3 vols., ed. P. Kahle, M. Mostafa, M. Sobernheim, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, v, Istanbul 1931-9; *op. cit.*, 2nd rev. ed., ed. M. Mostafa, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 5c-5e, Cairo 1960-63; *Indices*, ed. A. Schimmel, 1945. Translations: W. H. Salmon, *An account of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt*, Orient. Trans. Fund, N.S. vol. xxv, 1921 (the preface by D. Margoliouth is especially useful); the following French translation with index covers the years 872-928 (note change in title): G. Wiet, *Histoire des Mamlouks Circassiens*, ii, Inst. Fr. d'arch. or., 1945; idem, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 2 vols., Bibl. gén. de l'École prat. des Hautes Études, 1955-60. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN ĶABṬŪRNU, (Ķabṭūrna, Ķubṭūrna or Ķubṭurna), the name of three brothers, all Andalusī men of letters. They were natives of Badajoz, where their family was said to be one of the oldest and most illustrious in the whole western part of al-Andalus. To judge by the name, this family is of Iberian origin; Dozy (*Suppl.*, ii, 302) and Simonet (*Glosario*, 97) suggest that Ķabṭūrnu represents the classical Latin *caput* followed by the mediaeval Latin *torno* ('I turn'); hence the tentative interpretation of E. García Gómez, *vuelvo la cabeza*, a family name which need not astonish us since we know the equally curious *Ibn Arfaʿ Raʾsu*.

Of the three brothers, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is the least known. Apart from a brief notice in the *Rāyāt* of Ibn Saʿīd (no. xxxv, Arabic text, 30, Spanish tr., 163) and two verses reproduced in almost all the anthologies, nothing is known about him.

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is the most eminent of the three brothers. He is held in high regard both as prose-writer and as poet, and it is often said that ʿAbd al-Mad͟jīd Ibn ʿAbdūn (d. 520/1126 or 529/1134) and he are the two greatest writers of the western part of al-Andalus. Yet the few specimens of his prose and poetry that we possess in no way justify this claim. On the contrary, his poetry is artificial and cold, while his prose is pedantic and superficial. Very probably he owes his fame to his wealth and political influence in his capacity of secretary to ʿUmar al-Mutawakkil, petty king of Badajoz (464-88/1072-94). With his brothers he was later employed in the chancellery of the Almoravids. He died in the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn after 520/1126 (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1743).

His brother Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa was of even slighter talent and importance. He too was secretary in the chancellery and died before him (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 259).

In spite of the tragic circumstances in which they lived, the Banū Ķabṭūrnu enjoyed an easy and carefree existence, as if they were unaware of—or indifferent to—the tragic events of their time. Our sources portray the three brothers as irresolutely leading a somewhat decadent *dolce vita*, scenes from which they describe in short verses of rococo style. This child-like vision of an unbroken life of pleasure has ever since stimulated the imagination of later poets and writers and has led them to repeat, over and over again, verses similar to those of the Banū Ķabṭūrnu.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources

already mentioned: Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 148-55; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ii, 468-80; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 367-8, ii, 88, 249-50; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 186-7; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 124 (tr. Fagnan, 149); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, Cairo 1955, i, 528-31; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 160, iv, 250, v, 133, 148, 152, 367, vi, 48; M. ʿA. Makkī, *Wathāʾiḳ taʾrīkhiyya djadīda*, in *RIEIM*, vii-viii (1959-60), 117, 196-8.

(H. Monès)

IBN AL-ḲĀḌĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya al-Miknāsī, a Moroccan polygraph whose biographical works are highly regarded, was born in Fās in 960/1553, of a famous family belonging to the large tribe of the Zanāta [*q.v.*]. His father supervised his education and made him undertake serious study with the best teachers in the Maghrib, in particular with *shaykh* Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Fāsī. After this he even won a certain renown as an expert on arithmetic and the division of inheritances. Being anxious to complete his education, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī took advantage of his pilgrimage to Mecca to spend two years studying with the great doctors of the Muslim East. His return, in 986/1578, coincided with the accession of the Saʿdid sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] with whom he became intimately acquainted. In 944/1586 he wished to return to the East by sea, but was captured by Christian pirates. After eleven months of painful experiences, almost certainly in Spain, his master ransomed him for 20,000 ounces. In gratitude, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī dedicated all his works to his royal benefactor, in whose entourage he continued to live, apparently without any official duties. At some undetermined date he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Salā (Salé), but was recalled for an unknown reason. He then finally settled in his native town and devoted himself to teaching. His biographers record that at the end of his life he was expounding the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*] and that he had the honour to have as his disciple al-Maḳḳarī [*q.v.*], the distinguished author of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, who recited the prayer for the dead over his grave in Fās, on 6 Shaʿbān 1025/19 August 1616 (or perhaps some months earlier in the same year).

Those works of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī whose titles have been preserved are fourteen in number. The most famous are two collections of biographies of great documentary value: (1) *Durrat al-ḥidjāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, a dictionary of famous men of Morocco, including also a series of biographies of illustrious doctors of Islam, and intended to complete the *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān [*q.v.*]; the work has been edited by I. S. Allouche under the title *Durrat al-hijal, Répertoire biographique d'Ahmad Ibn al-Qadi*, 2 vols., Rabat 1934-6; (2) *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī man ḥalla min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*, as the title indicates a dictionary of the important personages and scholars who have lived in Fās, but also a very useful topographical guide to the town, where the work was lithographed in 1309/1892. Pleasant to read, it gives the first general picture of the literary movement in Morocco under the Marīnid and Saʿdid dynasties.

Of his historical works, all of which are unpublished, we should mention *al-Muntaḳā al-maḳṣūr ʿalā maʾāthir khilāfat al-Manṣūr* (var. *ʿalā maḥāsin al-khalīfa Abi 'l-ʿAbbās al-Manṣūr*); this panegyric of the great sultan is a literary anthology rather than a history of the sovereign and has been widely used by later writers, particularly by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] and al-Nāṣirī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922 (essential); Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās* . . ., i, Rabat 1929, 326-8; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām bi man ḥalla Marrākush* . . ., ii, Fās 1936, 93-6; ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1950 (particularly nos. 61, 62, 466, 490, 840, 1362, 1363); I. S. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, ii, Rabat 1958.

(G. Deverdun)

IBN ḲĀḌĪ SAMĀWNĀ [see badr al-dīn ibn ḳāḍī samāwnā].

IBN ḲĀḌĪ SHUHBA, an appellation of members of a family of religious scholars from Damascus called so after an ancestor who had been *ḳāḍī* of Shuhba in Ḥawrān.

1. The most widely known member of this family is Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, Taḳī al-Dīn, known as an author of biographical works, although his main reputation during his lifetime rested on *fiḳh*. He was born in 779/1377, and he died suddenly and painlessly in 851/1448. His most senior teacher was Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī [*q.v.*]. He taught at a number of *madrasas* in Damascus, was an inspector of the Nūrī hospital there, became a *ḳāḍī* and finally Chief *Ḳāḍī* 842-44/1438-40 (with an interruption). He was a member of a delegation sent by Sultan Djuḳmāḳ to Shāh Rukh. His son relates that after his death he often appeared in good dreams. His most detailed existing biography is by his disciple, al-Sakhāwī (see *Bibl.*).

His main work is the important *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, arranged in 29 chapters covering 20 years each, until 840/1436; this was used by Wüstenfeld (see *Bibl.*); an edition is being prepared in Baghdād.

Bibliography: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, xi, 21-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, vii, 314; al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-ʿiḳyān*, ed. Hitti, no. 51; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 269; F. Wüstenfeld, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xxxvi-xxxvii, 1890-91 (esp. vol. xxxvi, 24-7); Brockelmann, II, 63, S II, 50.

2. His son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, d. 874/1470, wrote a biography of his father and a few other works which are mentioned in Brockelmann, II, 37, S II, 25. Badr al-Dīn's son, Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad, is also attested as an author (Brockelmann, S II, 25).

3. The uncle of no. 1, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, d. 789/1387, made extracts from the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. ʿUḳba [*q.v.*]; cf. E. Sachau, *SBPr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1904, xi, 6; Brockelmann, I, 141.

(J. Schacht)

IBN ḲALĀḲIS, Abu 'l-Fatḥ (var. Futūḥ) Naṣr (Allāh) b. ʿAbd Allāh, an Arab poet, writer and letter-writer known by the familiar name of Ibn Ḳalāḳis (or also *al-Ḳāḍī al-aʿazz*). Born in 532/1137 in Alexandria, where he spent his childhood, he afterwards went to Cairo to study, and the sources record that he had Abū Ṭāhir al-Silāfī [*q.v.*] as his *shaykh*.

We do not know for what reason Ibn Ḳalāḳiṣ in about the middle of 1169 visited Sicily, where he lived until the end of the following year, but it may be conjectured that he went there at the invitation of certain friends who will be mentioned below.

Towards the end of 1169, or at the beginning of 1170, the poet was in the Yemen, at Aden and Zabīd, and also in ʿAydhāb on the Egyptian Red Sea coast, for reasons which may have been both commercial and political, as can be deduced from the fact that ʿUmāra al-Yamanī [*q.v.*], the famous Fāṭimid poet, was among those who urged Ibn Ḳalāḳis to visit the

Shīʿī *wazīr* of Aden, Abū Bakr al-ʿĪdī. But on his return from his business journey or mission, he underwent the same experience as he had suffered in Sicily when embarking to return to Egypt—a shipwreck, which on this occasion obliged him to seek hospitality from the sultan of the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea. He died in ʿAydhāb in 567/1172.

Ibn Ḳalāḳis has left a record of his stay in certain towns in Sicily (Termini, Cefalù, Caronia, Patti, Olivieri—rather than "Lipari", as M. Amari has preferred to read, see *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*[2], Catania 1933, iii, 790—Milazzo, Messina and Syracuse), chiefly in *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī* (var. *min*) *awṣāf Ibn al-Ḳāsim*, which, to judge by the fragments in prose and verse brought together in the *Kharīda* of al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī (section devoted to the poets of Egypt, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Shawḳī Ḍayf and Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Cairo, i, 1951, 2nd ed. n.d., i, 145-65) must be regarded, at least in the *muḳaddima*, as a description of the poet's travels in Sicily as well as of his sojourn with a patron of the period, the *ḳāʾid* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, known as Ibn al-Ḥadjar (see M. Amari, *op. cit.*, *passim*) to whom, as to his sons Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, the poet dedicated his *ḳaṣīdas*.

It still remains to identify the other persons encountered at Palermo and mentioned not only in the work named above, but also in his *Dīwān* (ed. Khalīl Muṭrān, Cairo 1905; a more comprehensive ed. has been prepared in Paris), and above all in his unpublished collection of letters (*Tarassul Ibn Ḳalāḳis*, MS of the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Taymūriyya, *Adab* no. 617). This consists of letters addressed to: (1) Djurdannā in *al-Zahr al-bāsim* (*Kharīda*, i, 165, where it is so vocalized by the editors; in the *dīwān*, it is جرزدن), described as *wazīr* to the "*ṣāḥib Ṣiḳilliyya*", which suggests a "Giordano" (a very common name in the Norman period), one of William's ministers, a name not, however, mentioned in that king's entourage; (2) Ghārāt b. Djawshan or Djūshan (*Tarassul*, fol. 34), an eminent personage at the court of William; (3) al-Sadīd al-Ḥuṣrī (*ibid.*, fol. 47-8), which suggests the "Sedictus" mentioned in M. Amari, *op. cit.*, iii, 510 and n. 2; (4) Ibn Fātiḥ (*ibid.*, fol. 43), who is described as a *faḳīh*.

Bibliography: To the sources named by M. Amari, *op. cit.*, *passim*, Brockelmann, I, 261 and S I, 461 and in the article, add the references in Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *al-ʿArab fī Ṣiḳilliyya*, Cairo 1959, 287-94 (see the review by U. Rizzitano, in *Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi*, in *RSO*, vi (1961), especially 78-89).

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-ḲALĀNISĪ, Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza b. Asad ... al-Tamīmī (*ca.* 465-555/1073-1160), a member of an important family of Damascus, who for a time was *raʾīs* of that town, and above all was its historian for the period extending from the middle of the 4th/10th century to 555/1160.

The History of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, known simply by the title *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, consists of two parts, the limits being somewhat imprecise. The first part, the opening pages of which are lost, and which goes down approximately to the time of the author's youth, is based on earlier Syro-Egyptian archives and minor chronicles and not (or at least far less than has been thought) upon the lost History of Baghdād of Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ. For the remainder, Ibn al-Ḳalānisī essentially reports, again in addition to information drawn from archives, the events which had been witnessed either by himself or by contemporaries who had given him first-hand accounts. The *Dhayl*, which has no literary pretensions, provides us with a personal account of politico-social life in Damascus and, around it, in central Syria and Palestine, that is not without partiality but is extraordinarily vivid, in comparison with the main body of Arab historiography. It is a work of very great merit, and the almost exclusive source of what Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī and Abū Shāma, as well as all the succeeding authors who depended on them, knew of the history of central Syria during the first half-century of the period of the Crusades. Unfortunately, having been discovered only at the beginning of this century and translated still later, it has been insufficiently exploited in the standard Histories of the Crusades and of the Latin East.

Bibliography: The *Dhayl* was published, from the unique manuscript, by Amedroz in 1908; an English tr. (with some intentional omissions) was made by H. A. R. Gibb for the years 490-555, under the title *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 1932, and a partial French tr., under the title *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, by R. Le Tourneau, 1952, for the period indicated. The first of these translations is accompanied by an important preface. For the earlier part of the History, see Cl. Cahen, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 156-67.

(Cl. Cahen)

IBN AL-KALBĪ [see al-kalbī].

IBN KAMĀL [see kemālpasha-zāde].

IBN KAMMŪNA, Saʿd b. Manṣūr, oculist and philosopher, lived in Baghdād in the 7th/13th century, under pagan Mongol rule. His works, mostly manuals of philosophy and commentaries on Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī, secured him a place in Islamic philosophical discussions.

A strong tendency toward rationalist deism pervades his *Tanḳīḥ al-abḥāth li 'l-milal al-thalāth*, in which the author, who was a Jew, discusses religion and prophethood in general (drawing on Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Maimonides, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), and devotes a separate chapter to each of the monotheistic faiths, treating the subject with a remarkable show of objectivity. Steinschneider considered the work "the most interesting tract of inter-religious polemics in Arabic". Most of it is devoted to Islam, and the cumulative effect of the discussion was hardly apt to please a Muslim. Written in 679/1280, the book served as a pretext for a mob outbreak against the author, who died shortly thereafter (683/1284-5).

The same qualities of calm discourse, a certain conscious pride in the capacity for adducing detachedly *pro* and *contra* arguments, an appeal to common sense and an appreciation of the essential good to be found in various creeds are evident in his treatise on the differences between Rabbinic and Karaite Jews.

Bibliography: see *Examination of the inquiries into the three faiths*, ed. M. Perlmann (Un. of Calif. Publ. Near East. St. 1967). (M. Perlmann)

IBN ḲASĪ, patronymic of the members of the Banū Ḳasī family which, according to the *Djamhara* of Ibn Ḥazm, is descended from a Visigothic count, Ḳasī; the latter gave his name to a long line of *Muwallad* descendants settled in the regions lying between the Pyrenees and the valley of the Ebro; their superficial Islamization allowed them to preserve old connexions and even family ties with the noble houses of Vasconia. The most outstanding member of this family was Mūsā b. Mūsā Ibn Ḳasī

who, from his fief at Tudela, declared war on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, forming an alliance with García Iñiguez of Navarre; after a series of submissions and rebellions, he was officially acknowledged lord of Tudela. At the request of the Umayyad *amīr* Muḥammad I, he led an expedition against Catalonia and, at the height of his power, succeeded in becoming known as the third king of Spain. As a protection against attacks from Asturias, he built the fortress of Albelda two leagues south of Logroño. He was attacked by Ordoño I, and was put to flight and severely wounded in the cutskirts of Clavijo; he died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his son Lope, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Ordoño I, himself dying soon after. His brothers, Muṭarrif and Ismāʿīl, had themselves proclaimed at Tudela and Saragossa, while Muḥammad b. Lope, grandson of Mūsā b. Mūsā, yielded to the authority of Muḥammad I; appointed governor of Saragossa, he rebelled again and then, under pressure from the Tudjībīs of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, submitted again to the Umayyads; he was eventually killed, after having made repeated attacks on the capital of the Ebro which was occupied by the Tudjībīs. From his death onwards, the numerous descendants of Mūsā b. Mūsā Ibn Ḳasī, divided and in rivalry, grew increasingly weak and ended in obscurity, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. A son of Muḥammad b. Lope, lord of Tudela, died in 303/915, the same year that his brother Muṭarrif was assassinated by his nephew Muḥammad, son of his brother ʿAbd Allāh. A princess of the same lineage, Urraca, married Fruela II, and the other members of this turbulent family were led to Cordova to serve in the army of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III or were converted to Christianity and frequented the courts of León and Navarre.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 314-8, 392-4, ii, 30; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 464; Dozy, *Recherches*², i, 214; A. Huici, *Crónicas latinas de la reconquista*, ii, 77; Sánchez Albornoz, *La auténtica batalla de Clavijo*, 115, n. 53.

(A. Huici Miranda)

IBN ḲASĪ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn, one of the many rebels who helped to precipitate the fall of the Almoravid dynasty in Spain, during the critical period which preceded the landing of the Almohad troops at Cadiz in 541/1146-7.

The scene of his exploits was in the South of what is now Portugal, in the Algarve, and more especially at Silves, the former capital of that region. Immediately outside the town he had had built a *rābiṭa* in which to assemble his followers, the *murīdūn* (aspirants to the mystical life), who were formed into religious militias. From this monastery of soldier-monks he spread his doctrine and published his claims to the *imāma*.

In his youth Ibn Ḳasī was a prodigal who pursued a life of pleasure, until, being suddenly touched by grace, he gave away his possessions and undertook long pilgrimages through Andalusia. From chance meetings on his travels he had gathered round himself a personal guard composed of individuals who were far from respectable (*dāʾirat al-sūʾ*). He professed to be a saint, represented himself as the *mahdī* and performed false miracles (*makhārīḳ*). These items of information that are so unfavourable to Ibn Ḳasī come to us from Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. According to this historian, his disciples were imbued with the doctrines of the Bāṭinī *ghulāt*, infatuated with the philosophic concepts spread by the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, the author of the *Muʿdjib*, passes a judgement on him that is much more severe, but in fact it is too arbitrary and seems to bear little relation to reality. He depicts him as nothing more than a charlatan, a sly trickster (*ṣāḥib ḥiyal, rabb shaʿbadha*), and indeed not a subject of any interest.

To evoke a more exact idea of the man it is necessary to adhere to the facts.

On the question of his belonging to the clan of the declared anti-Almoravid Ṣūfīs, it can be accepted as established that Ibn Ḳasī had felt the influence of the Almeria school. This was directed by Ibn al-ʿArīf, who died at Marrākush in 536/1141, a victim of the suspicion and ill-will of the authorities, at the same time as Ibn Barradjān of Seville, who seems to have been his master rather than his disciple. If we are to believe al-Shaʿrānī, Ibn Barradjān claimed the title of *imām* and was recognized as such in 130 villages. Ibn Ḳasī apparently proposed to follow the example of this celebrated Ṣūfī, who was very opportunely arrested and thrown into prison on the orders of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn before he had had time to put his idea into practice.

Ibn Ḳasī's venture took place between the year 537/1142, one year after the tragic end of Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barradjān, and the year 546/1151, the date of his assassination, against a political background that was at first profoundly disturbed by the decay of the Almoravid power. Rebellion then became established in the towns; insecurity spread through the countryside. The roads were infested with brigands and footpads. An attack on the fortress of Monteagudo failed (538/1144). But on 12 Ṣafar 539/14 August 1144, a small detachment of 70 *murīdūn*, under the command of a certain Ibn al-Ḳābila, a brave and distinguished man, succeeded by a ruse in capturing the fortress of Mertola. Ibn Ḳasī took possession of the stronghold and established himself there, making his supporters recognize him as *imām*. As a result of two rebel chiefs, Ibn Wazīr and Ibn Mundhir, rallying to his cause, Evora, Béja, Huelva, Niebla and Silves joined Mertola to form the fragile kingdom over which Ibn Ḳasī, an ambiguous figure who wished to be both politician and Ṣūfī, was to endeavour to rule. But as early as 540/1145 differences arose, which brought him into conflict with his brother and Ibn Wazīr. He thought it a clever move to approach the Almohads. He succeeded in coming to terms with them and encouraged them to land in Spain. Immediately Jerez, Arcos, Ronda and Niebla recognized Almohad sovereignty; in the Algarve, Silves fell in its turn; next Béja, Mertola, Seville and Badajoz capitulated. Ibn Ḳasī's fortunes began to be jeopardized. The Almohad intervention which he had solicited and supported was the cause of his fall. To escape the clutches of his powerful allies he planned a rapprochement with the Portuguese of Coimbra. This manœuvre provoked the distrust of the people of Silves, for the consequences of such a policy might have been dangerous for their safety. A group of individuals decided to assassinate him; they approached him, struck him down and fixed his head on the end of the very lance that he had received as a gift from the Christians of Coimbra (546/1151).

Of the works attributed to him, only that entitled *Khalʿ al-naʿlayn* is generally mentioned. Ibn ʿArabī, born in Seville fourteen years after Ibn Ḳasī's death, a disciple and continuator of Ibn al-ʿArīf, has left a commentary on it.

Bibliography: M. Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, 109-10; Ibn al-ʿArīf, *Maḥāsin al-madjālis*, Ar. text, tr. and comm. by

M. Asín Palacios, Paris 1933, 5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 285 ff.; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 287 ff. (see note 4 which mentions, besides the works referred to above, also: Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ii, 184; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, tr. Fagnan, 182; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides en España*, 33-52; Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 914-7; P. Nwyia, *Notes sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān*, in *Hespéris*, 1956, 211-21. (A. Faure)

IBN AL-ĶĀSIM, Abu ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ķāsim b. Khālid b. Djunāda al-ʿUtaķī, the most prominent disciple of Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*], and considered the most reliable transmitter of Mālik's opinions. He was a *mawlā* affiliated to the descendants of the ʿUtaķā', a band of robbers who had been captured and subsequently manumitted by Muḥammad. He was born in 128/746 or, more probably, in 132/749 in Ramla, and died in Cairo in 191/806. He is reported to have studied with Mālik for twenty years, and he was the main agent in spreading Mālikī doctrine to Egypt and from there to North Africa and the Maghrib. A main work of the Mālikī school, the *Mudawwana*, is based on the answers which Ibn al-Ķāsim gave, first, to Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] and, later, to Saḥnūn [*q.v.*]; the version of this last, properly called *al-Mudawwana wa 'l-mukhtaliṭa*, because its author had not been able to complete its revision and editing before his death, gained public acclaim and is commonly referred to as the *Mudawwana*, and only a few fragments of the version of Asad b. Furāt, called *Asadiyya*, have survived. The *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn was often commented upon by later scholars. Ibn al-Ķāsim is also the author of one of the versions of the *Muwaṭṭa'* of his teacher, Mālik, and considerable portions of it have been preserved. He does not seem to have transmitted many traditions (*aḥādīth*), apart from the contents of the *Muwaṭṭa'*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, ii, 2 ff. (biography of Asad b. al-Furāt); Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, s.v.; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, no. 500; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr*, no. 24; M. B. Vincent, *Études sur la loi musulmane*, Paris 1842, 38 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 186 (also 1st ed., 1898, I, 176 f.), S I, 299; W. Heffening, in *Muséon*, l, 86-97 (on an old manuscript of the *Mudawwana*, and comparison of its text with the two printed editions of Cairo 1323, in 15 vols., and Cairo 1325, in 4 vols.); J. Schacht, in *Études d'Orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, i, 1962, 273, 281 f. (J. Schacht)

IBN ĶĀSIM [see muḥammad b. ḥāzim].

IBN ĶĀSIM AL-GHAZZĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, also known as Ibn al-Gharābīlī, a Shāfiʿī scholar and commentator, d. 918/1512. He was born and grew up in Ghazza, and was a disciple of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459; Brockelmann, II, 138, S II, 140), but little else is known of his life.

The following works of his have survived:

1. *Fatḥ al-ķarīb al-mudjīb*, or *al-Ķawl al-mukhtār fī sharḥ Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar*, or *Taķrīb*, or *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* of Abū Shudjāʿ [*q.v.*]; *editio princeps*, Būlāķ 1271, very often reprinted, also Singapore 1310 with a Malay interlinear translation; ed. and transl. into French by L. W. C. van den Berg, Leiden 1894 (some corrections of this faulty translation in G.-H. Bousquet, *Kitâb et-Tanbîh*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Alger, ii, xi, xiii, xv, Algiers 1949-52); numerous glosses, *e.g.*, that of al-Bādjūrī [*q.v.*].

2. A gloss on the *Fatḥ al-ghayth* of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāķī, which is a commentary on his own *Alfiyya* or *Tabṣirat al-mubtadi' wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī*, based on the work of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ [*q.v.*], on the science of traditions.

3. A gloss on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] on the *ʿAķā'id* of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*].

4. A gloss on the commentary of Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Djārabardī on the *Shāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*], on grammar.

5. *Manẓūma fi 'l-dāl wa 'l-dhāl*, a short *ķaṣīda* containing pairs of words which differ from each other only by the one having the letter *dāl* and the other the letter *dhāl*; Cat. Berlin, 7027.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 492; S I, 677, II, 440; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, ii, 1416 f. (J. Schacht)

IBN KATHĪR, Abū Maʿbad (or Abū Bakr) ʿAbd Allāh b. Kathīr al-Dārānī al-Makkī, one of the "seven readers" [see ķirā'a] of the Ķur'ān. Born at Mecca, in 45/665, in a family of Iranian origin which had emigrated to the Yemen, he was a *mawlā* of ʿAmr b. ʿAlķama al-Kinānī. He followed the trade of dealer in perfumes (*ʿaṭṭār*, in the Ḥidjāz: *dārānī*). His authorities were the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sā'ib, Mudjāhid and Dirbās. His direct pupils were Ibn Abī Bazzā, or Bazzī, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, called Ķunbul. Both of these became connected with the Shāfiʿī Ibn Mudjāhid, who procured Ibn Kathīr's recognition as a "canonical reader" (al-Subkī, i, 102). Bazzī and Ķunbul are referred to under the name of Ḥaramiyyāni (al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, ed. Pretzl, 3). Ibn Kathīr had a definite influence on contemporary traditionists, Baṣrans as well as Kūfans, such as Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, the two Ḥammāds, and the grammarians al-Khalīl and al-Aṣmaʿī. The Baṣran reader Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā' is said to have been inspired by him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djazarī, ed. Bergsträsser, i, 443; *Fihrist*, 28; Nawawī, 363, 364; Dānī, *Taysīr*, 8, 73; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, v, 367; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 477; Blachère, *Introduction*, 119. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN KATHĪR, ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr, born in Boṣrā *circa* 700/1300 and died in Damascus in Shaʿbān 774/February 1373, was one of the best-known historians and traditionists of Syria under the Baḥrī Mamlūk dynasty. Educated at Damascus, where he went to live with his elder brother in 706/1306, after the death of their father, he had as his main teacher, in *fiķh*, the Shāfiʿī Burhān al-Dīn al-Fazārī (in 729), but next fell strongly, and very early, under the influence of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and his school. In addition, through his marriage with the daughter of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī (d. 742/1342) he became the son-in-law of one of the most famous traditionists of Syria.

His own career, as one of the Syrian *ʿulamā'*, was for long a modest one. Towards the end of the year 741/1341, after the death of Tankiz and before that of Muḥammad b. Ķalāwūn, Ibn Kathīr took part in two enquiries which were held, under the presidency of the governor Alṭunbughā al-Nāṣirī, to pass judgement on a *zindīķ* accused of incarnationism (*ḥulūl*) (*Bidāya*, xiv, 189-90; E. Strauss, *L'inquisition dans l'État mamlouk*, in *RDSO*, xxv (1950), 16-7).

In Muḥarram 746/May 1345, he was appointed *khaṭīb* in the mosque founded at Mizza by the *amīr* Bahā' al-Dīn al-Mardjānī (d. 759/1358; *Bidāya*, xiv, 216, 263). In Dhu 'l-Ķaʿda 748/February 1348, under

the governorship of Arghūn Shāh (d. 750/1349), he succeeded his teacher al-Dhahabī, who had just died, as teacher of *ḥadīth* at the *turba* of Umm Sâliḥ and, according to some sources, in 756 he obtained, for a very short time, the post of director of the *Dār al-ḥadīth* al-Ashrafiyya after the death of the *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī. In 752/1351, after the failure of the revolt of the *amīr* Baybughā Urūs, he was received at the Dammāghiyya *madrasa* by the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 763/1361-2), who arrived in Damascus, accompanied by the four *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Egypt, to restore order there. Under the first governorship of ʿAlī al-Māridānī, Ibn Kathīr took part, in Djumādā II 755/June-July 1354, in the council which condemned to death a Shīʿī of Ḥilla, who, passing through Damascus, was accused of having publicly insulted at the Umayyad mosque the first three caliphs, Muʿāwiya, and Yazīd (*Bidāya*, xiv, 250). In Radjab 759/June 1358, the *amīr* Mandjak consulted him, together with other *ʿulamāʾ*, in order to ratify various decisions concerning the struggle against corruption (*Bidāya*, xiv, 261-2). During the revolt of the *amīr* Baydamūr in 762/1361 (*Bidāya*, xiv, 280-2), Ibn Kathīr, on being consulted with the other chief *ʿulamāʾ* of Damascus, seems to have prudently counselled, in his *fatwā*, a policy of conciliation and compromise. When Baydamūr returned to Damascus, after his dismissal, in Shaʿbān 766/April-May 1365, Ibn Kathīr was appointed to organize in his honour some readings of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*Bidāya*, xiv, 312). In Rabīʿ I 767/November-December 1365, when the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, accused of various extortions, appeared before a council presided over by the governor Mankalī-Bughā, Ibn Kathīr defended his *ḳāḍī* energetically (*Bidāya*, xiv, 316-8). It was probably in gratitude for this that Mankalī-Bughā conferred on him, in Shawwāl 767/June-July 1366, a professorship in Ḳurʾānic exegesis at the Umayyad mosque (*Bidāya*, xiv, 321). The *amīr* Mandjak, appointed governor of Damascus in 770/1368-9, reorganized the defences of the Lebano-Syrian coast, threatened by the incursions of the Franks of Cyprus; Ibn Kathīr wrote, at his request, a short dissertation on the merits of the *ribāṭ*: *al-Idjtihād fī ṭalab al-djihād* (Cairo 1347/1928). Ibn Kathīr died a few years later and was buried in the cemetery of the Ṣūfiyya beside his master, Ibn Taymiyya.

By far the most important of Ibn Kathīr's works is his great history of Islam, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Cairo 1351-8/1932-9, 14 vols.), the interest of which varies according to the periods treated but which is nevertheless one of the principal historical works of the Mamlūk period. The *Bidāya* begins with a *sīra* which, although it is late, is far from lacking interest. His history of the caliphate makes use, among other sources, of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn ʿAsākir, Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, al-Dhahabī, etc. The *Bidāya* ends with a chronicle of the history of Damascus, which owes much to the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338-9) and his *Muʿdjam*. The popularity of the *Bidāya* is proved by the great number of historical works for which it, in its turn, was the basis, including those of Ibn Ḥidjdjī (d. 816/1413), Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1348) and especially Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī (d. 852/1449), who wrote a continuation not only of Ibn Kathīr but of two of the latter's great teachers, al-Mizzī and al-Dhahabī. Al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) was also indebted to the *Bidāya*.

Ibn Kathīr's contribution to the science of *ḥadīth* is also important. His *K. al-Takmīl*, which consisted of a catalogue of the first Muslim traditionists, used the *Tahdhīb* of al-Mizzī and the work of al-Dhahabī. But his principal work in this field is his *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, a monumental compilation in which were listed, in alphabetical order of the Companions who had transmitted them, the traditions contained in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, the "Six Books" and some other less well-known works. In addition, Ibn Kathīr summarized in his *Mukhtaṣar* (Cairo 1355/1937), the *Muḳaddima li-ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245). He himself refers, in the *Bidāya* (xi, 24), to a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī on which he was engaged; this commentary was not completed, but the project was taken up again by Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī. The latter states (*al-Durar al-kāmina*, i, 373) that Ibn Kathīr had also made a collection of the *ḥadīth*s quoted in the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083-4) and in the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib (d. 646/1248-9), a work which he himself had studied, at the beginning of his career, with al-Fazārī.

Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī also reports that Ibn Kathīr had begun work on a vast commentary on the Ḳurʾān. His *Tafsīr* (Cairo 1342/1923), essentially a philological work, is very elementary and foreshadows, in its style, that which al-Suyūṭī wrote later. His *K. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān* (Cairo 1348/1929) is a short manual consisting of a summary of the history of the Ḳurʾān.

Ibn Kathīr was also interested in jurisprudence. He had planned to write a vast treatise of *fiḳh* based on the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, but did not get further than the chapter on the Pilgrimage, in the section on *ʿibādāt*. He also alludes, in the *Bidāya* (xii, 124), to a commentary on the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī. In his *fatwā*, mentioned above, on the *djihād*, he was inspired by the *K. al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya* of Ibn Taymiyya. The *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya* are lost, but often mentioned in the obituaries of the *Bidāya*; they were continued and completed by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba.

Bibliography: further to the references in the text: *Shadharāt*, vi, 231; Brockelmann, II, 60-1, S II, 48-9; H. Laoust, *Ibn Kathīr historien*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 42-88. (H. Laoust)

IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀʿ, ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Shantarīnī al-Saʿdī al-Ṣiḳillī, anthologist, historian, grammarian and lexicographer (we have very little information about his work as a poet), who was born in Sicily in 433/1041, at a time when the island was ravaged by civil war. He devoted himself to the study of lexicography and grammar under the direction of such scholars as Ibn al-Birr [*q.v.*] who, according to the sources, made him familiar with the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī [*q.v.*]. But, as soon as the Norman forces began their conquest of the island in 1061, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ, together with a certain number of the Muslim élite, left Sicily. After a short stay in Andalusia he proceeded to Egypt, where he is known to have been at the beginning of the 6th/12th century.

On the subject of his life in his new home we have only a few items of information, which tell us that he was soon chosen to be tutor to the sons of the Fāṭimid *wazīr* al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and that he devoted himself to the teaching of prosody, grammar and lexicography; several distinguished pupils were educated at his school, among whom Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh b. Barrī [see IBN BARRĪ] is noteworthy. Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ died in Egypt in 515/1121 and was buried not far from the tomb of the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī.

Apart from a certain number of works named in

the various sources but thought to be lost (a list of these will be found in U. Rizzitano, *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, see *Bibl.*), two of his writings have partially survived: the *Kitāb al-Durra al-khaṭīra min shuʿarāʾ al-Djazīra*, an anthology of Arabo-Sicilian poetry, of which there survive only extracts as a result of the activity of later compilers (see *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, 275-80), and *al-Mulaḥ al-ʿaṣriyya*. His other writings have been transmitted in their entirety, but almost all are unpublished: they are the *Madjmūʿ min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-ghawāmiḍihi* (a short commentary on some verses of the poet of Sayf al-Dawla, see *Bibl.*); a group of five short treatises on metre (see *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, 282-4), the *Kitāb al-Afʿāl*, which was first noticed by E. Griffini (see *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, Palermo 1910, i, 431 ff.) and of which we possess an edition (Ḥaydarābād 1354), and lastly the unpublished *Abniyat al-asmāʾ* (see *Notizie bio-bibliografiche*, 285-92, where the *dībādja*, the list of chapters and the conclusion are published).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given by Brockelmann, I, 308, and S I, 540, see U. Rizzitano, *Notizie biobibliografiche su Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il siciliano"*, in *Atti Acc. Naz. dei Lincei*, 8th series, ix (1954), 260-94; idem, *Un commento di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il siciliano" ad alcuni versi di al-Mutanabbī*, in *RSO*, xxx (1955), 207-27; idem, *Un compendio dell'Antologia di poeti arabo-siciliani intitolata ad-Durrah al-khaṭīrah min šuʿarāʾ al-Ğazīrah di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il siciliano"*, in *Atti Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Memorie*, 8th series, viii (1958), 335-78. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀʿ, ʿĪSĀ B. SAʿĪD AL-YAḤṢUBĪ, Andalusian vizier of humble extraction but of Arab origin. Although he was the son of a simple schoolmaster, he succeeded in raising himself in the social scale thanks to al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], who gave him important posts and even entrusted to him the command of an army sent to Morocco in 386/997 to bring Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya (cf. H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, 81) to reason. Al-Manṣūr's successor, his son ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], confirmed his appointment as vizier and left the administration of the state to him; he even gave his youngest sister in marriage to ʿĪsā's son (396/1005). But his rise made him many enemies, while he incurred the resentment of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the brother, and of al-Dhalfāʾ, the mother, of ʿAbd al-Malik, who had complete confidence in him. Anticipating a change in the wind, and urged on by the nobles jealous of the authority of the Slavs (*Saḳāliba* [*q.v.*]), he hatched a plot to put an end to the domination of the ʿĀmirids to whom he owed so much, and to replace Hishām II by a grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār. However, al-Muẓaffar, informed from various sources of the plot against him, forestalled him and decided to have his vizier put to death. When attended by his gay companions, he summoned Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ and had him murdered by his men in his own *madjlis*. Ibn Ḥayyān gives a vivid description of this shocking act, which happened on 10 Rabīʿ I 397/4 December 1006. His goods were confiscated—but it was discovered that he was much poorer than had been commonly believed—and the vengeance of the *ḥādjib* was extended to the family, the friends and the subordinates of his victim.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *apud* Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 103-7 (see also 100-2); Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 459-60. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ḲAṬṬĀN, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABĪ ʿABD ALLĀH AL-FAḌL B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, traditionist, oculist, and especially poet, of Baghdād, born in 478 or 479/1086, died 28 Ramaḍān 558/30 August 1163. Although he was the author of medical works which have not survived, and also transmitted *ḥadīth*s without incurring the reproof of critics, Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān is known chiefly for his vigorous satires which, as Goldziher says (*Muh. St.*, ii, 60), "spared neither the caliph nor anyone else", for his *mudjūn* and for his wit, as well as for his dealing with Ḥayṣa Bayṣa [*q.v.*]. He was one of the first to use the metre *fiʿlun/mutafāʿilun/faʿūlun* [*faʿilun*] characteristic of the *dū bayt* [see RUBĀʿĪ], with the omission of the final foot, as often used by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 207; Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 196; Ibn Khallikān, iii, 116-21; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, iii, 315; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 274, 285-8; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii, 293-5; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 189; F. al-Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 462-3; ʿA. Dj. al-Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī . . . fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961, index. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN ḲAYS AL-RUḲAYYĀT, ʿUBAYD ALLĀH (not ʿAbd Allāh, which was the name of his brother) B. ḲAYS B. SHURAYKH, Arab poet of the Umayyad period. He belonged to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy, one of the lesser clans of the Ḳuraysh. He was born at Mecca, perhaps in the twenties (the anecdote *Aghānī*³, v, 158, 20 which points to 12/633 is not authentic) and grew up in the Ḥidjāz. In 37/657 after the battle of Ṣiffīn he moved with some of his kinsmen to al-Raḳḳa in the Djazīra (Mesopotamia); amongst them was ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Saʿd, whose daughter Ruḳayya is the lady from whom together with some of her namesakes the poet took his strange surname (see Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik*, 29). He remained in Mesopotamia for about 30 years, making, however, occasional journeys to the Ḥidjāz. In 62/683 two sons of his brother ʿAbd Allāh and some other kinsmen of his were slain in the battle on the Ḥarra, and he mourned their loss (poems 40 and 41). Towards the end of the sixties, those of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy who dwelt in Mesopotamia became involved in the contest between the Umayyads and the Zubayrids. When Ḥarb b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, the brother of Ruḳayya, killed one of the Banū Sulaym, ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī (d. 70/690) raided the Banū ʿĀmir in the Wādi 'l-Aḥrār in the neighbourhood of al-Raḳḳa; on this occasion Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt was taken prisoner, but he was set free thanks to the intervention of two Sulamīs (poem 43). He then moved with his kinsmen to Syria; but already in 71/690 we find him in the ʿIrāḳ on the side of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. He took part in the battle of Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ near Maskin, where Muṣʿab fell (72/691). After the battle he fled to Kūfa and found shelter in the house of a lady hailing from the Khazradj, whom he calls in his poems Kathīra. This sojourn gave rise to a love-story about Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt and Kathīra (Ibn al-Washshāʾ, *al-Muwashshā*, 54, 15). After a year he ventured to return to Medina and found in ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib a generous patron. He now sang the praise of the Umayyads. ʿAbd Allah b. Djaʿfar interceded for him with ʿAbd al-Malik, and the caliph pardoned him, though he did not grant him his former annuity. So Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt went to the court of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, the governor of Egypt, and

composed panegyrics on him. In the dispute between the caliph and his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz he supported the latter's claim to the throne (poems III, 9.16 and LXI, 12). The year of the poet's death is unknown.

Though a considerable part of the nearly 1000 verses of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt which have come down to us consists of panegyrics, yet he belongs first and foremost to the erotic poets who flourished at his time in the Ḥidjāz. With ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, by whom he is otherwise easily surpassed, he has some traits in common; his style is lucid and fluent, he avoids uncommon words, he prefers the short metres, especially *khafīf* and *munsariḥ*. His language shows occasionally traces of the dialect of the Ḥidjāz, *e.g.*, *bi 'l-raʾi* instead of *bi 'l-raʾyi* in no. 39, 41. His verses were set to music by the great singers of Medina and later by those at the court of the ʿAbbāsids. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) was probably the first who brought the poet's verses (*shiʿr*) together, and this collection has come down to us in the recension made by Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. 275/888). Another collection or rather selection (*Ikhtiyār shiʿr ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt*) was made by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (*Fihrist*, 143, 3) who died in 280/893. The noted genealogist of the Ḳuraysh, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), considered him the best poet produced by the Ḳuraysh in Islam; his *Akhbār ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt* is apparently the main source of the article on the poet in Abu 'l-Faradj's *Aghānī*, [1]iv, 155-67; [3]v, 72-100). Other books with the same title were written by Ḥammād b. Isḥāḳ, the grandson of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, 243, 2), and, along with selected poems, by Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 309/921).

Bibliography: al Sukkarī's recension of Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt's poems, extant in the Istanbul MS Aṣir Efendi 746 (of which the two Cairo MSS A and B are but copies), was published, with some further poems from other sources and accompanied by a German translation, notes and a valuable introduction, by N. Rhodokanakis (*Der Dīwān des ʿUbaid-Allāh b. Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt*, in *SBAk, Wien*, cxliv, 1902). It is to be noted that the readings of MS C are given in the Additions at the end of the book. See also the review by Th. Nöldeke in *WZKM*, xvii (1903), 78-92. On the edition of the *Dīwān* by Maḥmūd Yūsuf Nadjm see Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad in *Revue de l'Institut des MSS Arabes*, v, 379-93. Further references: Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. J. Hell, 137 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 343-5; *Aghānī*, Tables; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, 186 f.; Fück, *Arabiya*, 28. (J. W. Fück)

IBN KAYSĀN, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Kaysān al-Naḥwī, Arab grammarian, the date and place of whose birth are unknown. He was a pupil of Bundār Ibn Lizza and, in particular, of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/998) and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904); under these teachers he acquired a knowledge of the two grammatical traditions of Baṣra and Kūfa. He lived in Baghdād and died there in 299/911, according to the generally accepted date, in 320/932 according to Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, xvii, 141). His teaching used to attract a great number of listeners, men of wealth or high rank; but whether richly dressed or ill-clad, it is said that they all received the same welcome from him. Among his pupils were Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān known as al-Djaʿd (al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 72) and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Ruhnī al-Shaybānī (Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, xviii, 32).

The historical sources all alike recognize his great philological knowledge, but they unanimously attribute to him (or reproach him for) the mingling of the grammatical doctrines of Baṣra and Kūfa. He counts as a good representative of the so-called eclectic school of Baghdād. In fact Ibn Kaysān appears to be an author of individuality, with a fine and penetrating intellect, who refused to take sides (see in particular al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 58, lines 1-3). But, in regard to method, as G. Weil says in the *Einleitung* (78) of his ed. of the *K. al-Inṣāf* of Ibn al-Anbārī (Leiden 1913), he was a Baṣran. Ibn Kaysān betrays himself by the title of his *K. al-Masāʾil ʿalā madhhab al-naḥwiyyīn mimmā 'khtalafa fīhi 'l-Baṣriyyūn wa 'l-Kūfiyyūn* (*Fihrist*, 81): to contrast Baṣrans and Kūfans in this way, one has to know what a grammatical system is, one has to be a Baṣran; the Kūfan Thaʿlab had given simply *Ikhtilāf al-naḥwiyyīn* as the title of his book which was the point of departure of these long grammatical controversies. Furthermore, Ibn Kaysān, by the title quoted above, is the first author known to have given this generic name *Kūfī* to all those who accepted the views of the grammarians of Kūfa.

The *Fihrist* (81) enumerates fifteen works of Ibn Kaysān; Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, xvii, 139) adds the titles of four others. None of them has survived. They reveal the activities of the *naḥwī*, who dealt with the question of secretaries: firstly the *K. Ghalaṭ Adab al-kātib*, then the *K. Maṣābīḥ al-kuttāb*. He was also a lexicographer: *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, and a Ḳurʾānist: *K. al-Ḳirāʾāt*, *K. Maʿānī 'l-Ḳurʾān*. Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 162, Baghdād, ed. al-Sāmarrāʾī) also mentions the *Sharḥ al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl* [*al-djāhiliyyāt*]; of this *Sharḥ*, the ms. Berlin 7440 contains the commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, Ṭarafa, Labīd, ʿAmr b. Kulthūm and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza. From it M. Schlössinger published the commentary for the *Muʿallaḳa* of ʿAmr (*ZA*, xvi (1902), 15-64) and F. L. Bernstein that for Imruʾ al-Ḳays (*ZA*, xxix (1914), 1-77). In addition, W. Wright published the *K. Talḳīb al-ḳawāfī wa-talḳīb ḥarakātihā*, in *Opuscula arabica*, 47-74 (Leiden 1859), mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, no. 3557, a treatise on rhyme.

Remarks. "Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kaysān," says the *Fihrist* (81), and it considers Kaysān to be a name (*ism*). "Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kaysān," says Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, xvii, 137), and regards Kaysān as a surname (*laḳab*), the name being Ibrāhīm. On the other hand Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 162; cf. Yāḳūt, *ibid.*; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 57) reports the formal statement of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-ʿUkbarī (d. 456/1064) that Kaysān is his father's surname. The situation is thus not clear. At the beginning of the present article the form of the name is given according to Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzha*, 162) and al-Zubaydī (*Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373/1954, 170), as Brockelmann did (I[2], 111 and S I, 170).

In any case, a careful distinction must be made between Ibn Kaysān Abu 'l-Ḥasan and the other Kaysān, also a grammarian, who was taught by al-Khalīl and was a pupil of Abū ʿUbayda: namely Abū Sulaymān Kaysān b. al-Muʿarraf al-Hudjaymī (al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 195-6; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 38; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvii, 31-4; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 382).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Brockelmann, S I, 35; for the date of his death as 320/932, G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 98, 210; M. Schlössinger, in *ZA*, xvi (1902), 18. In the Arabic sources, information concerning Ibn Kaysān is collected together by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, xvii, 137-41 = *Irshād*, vi, 280-3, and later with

repetitions by Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, iii, Cairo 1374/1955, 57-60, Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt*, ed. S. Dedering, ii, Istanbul 1949, 31-2, and Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 8. Numerous other references are to be found, see Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, 57, n. 2, which are helpful in regard to the name and the date of death. Consult, however, al-Sīrāfī, *K. Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn* (ed. F. Krenkow, 1936), 108, lines 6-7.

(H. FLEISCH)

IBN AL-ḲAYSARĀNĪ (the *nisba* refers to Ḳaysāriyya, Caesarea in Palestine; see Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Ḳaysārī). The following persons are known under this name:

1. ABU 'L-FAḌL MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR B. ʿALĪ B. AḤMAD AL-MAḲDISĪ AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, a specialist in traditions. He was born in Jerusalem in 448/1058, studied in Baghdād from 468/1075 onwards, and travelled widely in the eastern part of the Islamic world in order to collect traditions. Being an indefatigable walker, he made all his journeys in search of traditions on foot, and he refrained from asking for alms, accepting only what was offered to him, so that he often suffered hardship; he also earned money as a professional copyist of collections of traditions. He finally settled in Hamadhān where he built a house. He went to Jerusalem in order to take the *iḥrām* on what proved to be his last pilgrimage, and he died on the return journey in Baghdād in 507/1113.

Whilst the unequalled extent of his knowledge of traditions and his personal integrity are generally recognized, his reliability is judged variously by the critics. Al-Anṣārī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] is reported to have spoken well of him as a young man, and he was praised by Ibn Manda [*q.v.*], who related traditions from him, and by others. Other critics, however, such as Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Salāmī (d. 550-1155; cf. Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl ʿalā ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, Cairo 1372/1952, 225-9, no. 113; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, Ḥaydarābād 1334, 81-5, 16th *ṭabaḳa*; Brockelmann, S I, 200, no. 7, is to be corrected), denied or at least questioned his reliability. This may have been caused, in part, by some of the opinions he held; he adopted the Ẓāhirī *madhhab*, "for no particular reason", which may merely have been a rationalization of the tendency, common to many traditionists, to take literally the traditions from the Prophet (he is also called, erroneously, a Ḥanbalī, which is another rationalization of the same tendency), and he was inclined towards extreme Ṣūfism and regarded music, as a means to produce mystical ecstasy (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]), as permitted; he also wrote a treatise trying to establish that it was permitted to look at beardless youths.

He set his son, Abū Zurʿa Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad (b. 481/1088, d. 566/1170), to acquire particularly "high" *isnād*s, and although he was not a scholar himself he related these traditions in Baghdād, which he used to visit from Hamadhān.

Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Ḳaysarānī is the author of numerous writings, some of them substantial, concerned mostly with the technicalities of the transmission of traditions; those which have been preserved in manuscripts are listed in Brockelmann (see below), and the following have been printed: (1) *Kitāb al-Ansāb al-muttafiḳa fi 'l-khaṭṭ al-mutamāthila fi 'l-naḳṭ wa 'l-ḍabṭ*, with a Supplement by Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Iṣfahānī (d. 581/1185); *editio princeps* by P. de Jong, *Homonyma inter nomina relativa*, Leiden 1865; (2) *Kitāb al-Djamʿ bayn ridjāl al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (also with a longer title), Ḥaydarābād 1323; (3) *Tadhkirat al-mawḍūʿāt*, Cairo 1323, 1327; (4) *Shurūṭ al-aʾimma al-sitta*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1357.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 601 f. (s.v. *al-Maḳdis*); Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 37-41, 15th *ṭabaḳa*; al-Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā*, printed in the preface of de Jong, and at the end of the edition of the *Kitāb al-djamʿ* (by far the most detailed biography, with quotations from Abu 'l-Faḍl's poems); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, s.v.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 18; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, i, 221 f.; Brockelmann, I, 436; S I, 603.

2. ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. NAṢR B. ṢAGHĪR B. DĀGHIR B. MUḤAMMAD B. KHĀLID, SHARAF AL-DĪN, the prominent poet of Syria in the time of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī and rival of Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī al-Raffāʾ. He was born in ʿAkkā in 478/1085, was superintendent of the mechanical clocks in Damascus for some time, then lived in Aleppo, and died in Damascus, where he had been invited by the *amīr* Mudjīr al-Dīn (Zambaur, 30), ten days after his arrival in 548/1154. His studies included traditions; he was one of the teachers of Ibn ʿAsākir [*q.v.*], and al-Samʿānī [*q.v.*] mentions meeting him (*Kitāb al-Ansāb*, s.v. al-Ḳaysārī); he was also knowledgeable in astronomy, geometry and arithmetic. Much of his poetry consisted of panegyrics of princes and important people. Ibn Khallikān saw the autograph of his *dīwān* in Aleppo, and he quotes some lines from his poetry; more extensive quotations are given by Yāḳūt, and several of his *ḳaṣīda*s are quoted by Abū Shāma [*q.v.*] in the *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*. Only one copy (badly preserved) of his *dīwān* seems to have survived (Cairo², iii, 111).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 112-21; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 150; Brockelmann, S I, 455. (J. SCHACHT)

IBN ḲAYYIM AL-DJAWZIYYA, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-ZARʿĪ, Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult, born at Damascus on 7 Ṣafar 691/29 January 1292 and died there in 751/1350. He was of humble origin, his father being the superintendent (*ḳayyim*) of the Djawziyya *madrasa*, which served as a court of law for the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Damascus.

Ibn al-Ḳayyim's education was particularly wide and sound. There are mentioned, among his main teachers, the *ḳāḍī* Sulaymān b. Ḥamza (d. 711/1311) and the *shaykh* Abū Bakr (d. 718/1318), son of the traditionist Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, but in particular he was, from 713/1313, the most famous pupil of Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya, all of whose ideas he can be said to have absorbed and whose work he helped to popularize, while retaining his own personality. Well-versed, like his master, in all the main disciplines of the time—Ḳurʾānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *furūʿ*—and like him an adversary of the monist school (*ittiḥādiyya*) which had arisen from the teaching of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Ibn al-Ḳayyim was, unlike his master, much more strongly influenced by Ṣūfism.

He was interested particularly in the *Manāzil* of al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), who enjoyed great prestige under the Mamlūks. Much less of a polemicist than his master and much more a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*), Ibn al-Ḳayyim finally left behind him the justified reputation of a writer of great talent, whose eloquence contrasts with the incisive dryness of the succinct prose of his famous master.

In 726/1326, Ibn al-Ḳayyim was imprisoned in the citadel at Damascus, at the same time as Ibn Taymiyya, and was not released until 728/1328,

after the latter's death. In 731/1331-2, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca; it is said that the Syrian caravan, which left Damascus under the leadership of the *amīr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak, contained a considerable number of jurisconsults and traditionists (Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 154).

Ibn al-Ḳayyim's career was modest, and was hampered by the opposition which the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya encountered in the governmental circles of the Mamlūk state. On 2 Rad͟jab 736/15 February 1336, he delivered for the first time the *k͟huṭba* in the mosque which Nad͟jm al-Dīn b. K͟hālik͟hān had recently founded in the gardens of the G͟hūṭa outside Bāb S͟harḳī and Bāb Tūmā (*Bidāya*, xiv, 174). On 6 Ṣafar 743/11 July 1342, he gave his inaugural lecture at the Ṣadriyya *madrasa*, where he was to teach until his death (*ibid.*, xiv, 202).

On two occasions he was in disagreement with Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 777/1378), the S͟hāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, on points of *fiḳh*, without however becoming involved in serious quarrels.

In Muḥarram 746/4 May-2 June 1345, he had a disagreement with al-Subkī on the question of whether a race or a contest of shooting (*musābaḳa*), in which each of the two competitors puts down his stake, is permitted without the participation of a third competitor (known as *muḥallil*) who himself takes part without contributing a stake and thus makes lawful an operation which otherwise might be regarded as constituting a game of chance (*ḳimār*); expressing the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Ḳayyim maintained that the presence of this *muḥallil* was not necessary (*Bidāya*, xiv, 216). However, when summoned by the S͟hāfiʿī *ḳāḍī ʾl-ḳuḍāt*, he had to submit to the opinion of the majority.

A little later, in 750/1349, he was again in disagreement with al-Subkī, for having given some *fatwā*s on the problem of repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) in conformity with the doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (*Bidāya*, xiv, 235); the Bedouin *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn b. Faḍl reconciled him with his adversary.

Ibn al-Ḳayyim died at Damascus on 23 Rad͟jab 751/26 September 1350; he was buried beside his mother in the cemetery of Bāb Ṣag͟hīr. His son D͟jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 756/1355) succeeded him in his teaching at the Ṣadriyya.

Ibn al-Ḳayyim's doctrinal and literary output was considerable. A list of his works is given in the *D͟hayl* of Ibn Rad͟jab (ii, 449-50). For his *Fawāʾid*, and its place in the history of rhetoric, see BAYĀN, at 1116b. The *Madārid͟j al-sālikīn* (Cairo 1333/1916, 3 vols.), which consist of a commentary on the *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* of al-Anṣārī, can be considered as the masterpiece of Ḥanbalī mystic literature. The *Iʿlām al-muwaḳḳiʿīn* (Cairo 1325/1915, 3 vols.), or guide for the perfect *muftī*, is a treatise on juridical methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*) following the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya in this field. In politics, the *K. al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥukmiyya* (Cairo 1317/1900 and reprinted since that date) is based on the ideas set out by Ibn Taymiyya in his *Ḥisba* and his *K. al-Siyāsa al-s͟harʿiyya*. Finally, in the field of *uṣūl al-dīn*, there should be mentioned the *Ḳaṣīda nūniyya*, an important "profession of faith" in verse directed mainly against the Ittiḥādiyya, and also a polemical treatise against the D͟jahmiyya, the *K. al-Ṣawāʿiḳ al-mursala* (Cairo 1348/1930).

Several Muslim scholars of the Mamlūk period were among Ibn Ḳayyim's pupils or were in varying degrees influenced by him: among them were the S͟hāfiʿī traditionist and historian Ibn Kat͟hīr (d. 774/1373; cf. *Bidāya*, xiv, 234-5), Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Rad͟jab (d. 795/1397), the last great representative of mediaeval Ḥanbalism, and Ibn Ḥad͟jar al-ʿAskalānī (d. 852/1449). Indeed he is still today an author very highly esteemed not only among the Wahhābiyya, but also among the Salafiyya and in many circles of North African Islam.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above, see also: Ibn Rad͟jab, *D͟hayl*, Cairo ed., ii, 447-53; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S͟had͟harāt*, vi, 168-70; Brockelmann, II, 127-9; S II, 126-8; H. Laoust, *Le ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides*, in *REI*, 1960, 66-8; ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm S͟haraf al-Dīn, *Ibn Ḳayyim al-D͟jawziyya*, Cairo 1375/1956.

(H. LAOUST)

IBN K͟HAFĀD͟JA, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. ABI ʾL-FATḤ AL-K͟HAFĀD͟JĪ, famous Andalusian poet, born in 450/1058 at Alcira (D͟jazīrat S͟huḳr), in the present province of Valencia, whence his *nisba*s of al-D͟jazīrī and al-S͟huḳrī.

Born into a wealthy family which owned property in the district, he did not seek favours nor respond to those who invited him to join their entourage, although he followed the custom of the time in singing the praises of important men, such as the Almoravid prince Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Tās͟hfīn, on the occasion of *ʿīd al-fiṭr* in the year 510/1117. Nevertheless he was far from being a court poet and preferred to live in his provincial retreat and to write of the exuberance of nature there, which he wholeheartedly appreciated. In his youth he knew the pleasures of love and enjoyed an uncomplicated life. He died at the age of over eighty in 533/1139.

Ibn K͟hafād͟ja, who appears in his poetry as a sensual man who enjoyed life, writes on all subjects, but it is especially when he writes of nature—his great source of inspiration—that he is at his best; it is moreover as a poet of nature that he is best known. His inspired and passionate descriptions of rivers, ponds, gardens, trees, fruits and flowers earned him the nickname of al-D͟jannān (the gardener).

Ibn K͟hafād͟ja's poetry, which received well-deserved fame in his lifetime, was collected in a *dīwān* (his *rāwiya* was Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Arkus͟hī; cf. Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug͟hrib*, i, 316 and n.), one of the very few surviving complete *dīwān*s of Andalusian poets, and it is significant that at least a dozen manuscripts of it are in existence. The most important Andalusian anthologists, Ibn K͟hāḳān, Ibn Bassām, al-Ḥid͟jārī, Ibn Diḥya and Ibn Saʿīd, gave him an important place in their works, and one of the most sensitive critics, al-S͟haḳundī, included in his brief *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* no less than eight extracts from his poetry. But perhaps nobody admired Ibn K͟hafād͟ja more than al-Maḳḳarī, who quotes him constantly and refers to him as the "al-Ṣanawbarī of al-Andalus" (*Analectes*, ii, 328). He was greatly admired in the East, and from the time of Ibn K͟hallikān, who devoted a notice to him, he appears in Eastern anthologies. The school textbooks of the Arab world contain a selection of his poems and recognize him as one of the best poets of al-Andalus.

Ibn K͟hafād͟ja wrote also rhymed prose; there exist some of his *Ik͟hwāniyyāt*, one of which, addressed to Ibn K͟hāḳān, was inserted by the latter into his *Ḳalāʾid*, and some *rasāʾil* in which he laments the loss of a friend (a theme also found in his poems but there treated sincerely), always with only superficial emotion, as when he expresses, in terms which may be called romantic, his emotion in the

presence of ruins, or when he recalls with nostalgia and melancholy the days of his youth with the well-known theme of repentance.

Ibn Khafādja drew much of his inspiration from Eastern poets such as al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Ṣūrī or Mihyār al-Daylamī, and probably also from al-Buḥturī and al-Ṣanawbarī, although in the case of the last two he does not admit it (cf. H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 36). He in his turn influenced a series of Andalusian poets, beginning with his nephew Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ, with whom, together with another poet, Ibn ʿĀʾisha, he is said to have competed, upon an occasion described by al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 424). He has been described as the creator of a "School of Levante". García Gómez states that the *khafādjī* style continued until the end of the kingdom of Granada.

Bibliography: In addition to references in Brockelmann, II, 272, S I, 480-1, see: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo ed. 1954, 111-7; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 367-71; R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic poetry*, 227-31; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; E. García Gómez, *Poemas arábigoandaluces*, Madrid 1943, 35. The best edition of the *Dīwān* is that by Muṣṭafā Ghāzī, Alexandria 1960. (F. de la Granja)

IBN KHAFĪF, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, also called al-Shaykh al-Kabīr or al-Shaykh al-Shīrāzī, famous mystic of Shīrāz, died 371/982 in his native town, it is said at a very great age (Yāḳūt, s.v. Shīrāz). His works (26 titles preserved in the *Shadd al-Izār*, 42-3) are lost, with the exception of some sentences transmitted mainly by al-Sulamī, Abū Nuʿaym and al-Kushayrī, from a biography written by his disciple, the Ḥallādjī "philosopher" Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī and later re-written and translated into Persian by Ibn Djunayd, the author of the *Shadd al-Izār* (*Sīrat-i Ibn Khafīf*, ed. A. Schimmel, with two professions of faith). But this work is more reliable for information on the life of the master than on his teaching.

According to al-Hudjwīrī (456/1063) however, Ibn Khafīf was the founder of an independent school of mysticism (*Kashf*, GMS, xvii, 247; cf. *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, 135). He had a lasting influence on the Kāzerūnī movement (*Vita Kāzerūnī*, ed. F. Meyer, Istanbul 1943, 17), and he figures in the mystic genealogy of the Suhrawardiyya (Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, 534). As a result, the name of Ibn Khafīf found a place in the genealogical trees of the *futuwwa* (Gölpinarlı, in *İktisat fakültesi mecmuası*, xi, 34). Rūzbahān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209), who was the author after Ibn Khafīf of a *Kitāb al-Ighāna* and who reproduces in his *Jasmin* (ed. Corbin, 9) a long extract from the *ʿAṭf* of al-Daylamī, receives the *khirḳa* at the hands of a descendant of the Banū Sāliba, who were formerly protégés of the Daylamī dynasty and among whom the office of *khafīfī* was handed on from father to son (*Shadd*, 299; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 113; cf. *ibid.*, 117; Massignon, *Passion*, i, 374). Finally, in the time of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), the *ribāṭ* founded by Ibn Khafīf at Shīrāz was still flourishing (*Shadd*, 58). Ibn Khafīf's teaching, together with the more or less occult influence of Ḥallādjism, thus penetrated deeply into the mystic life of Fārs until just before the Mongol invasion.

The question arises as to whether the historical personality of Ibn Khafīf was such as to justify his filling such an important role. It is known for certain that he was Ẓāhirī in *fiḳh*, an Ashʿarī in *kalām*, and an anti-Sālimī in mystical theology (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 315). More simply, the life and the thought of this illustrious Shīrāzī can be said in principle to divide themselves into two successive periods. The first is dominated by the practical problems of the mystic life (*Muʿāmalāt*) which preoccupied greatly the ascetics of Fārs, who often showed definite tendencies to Ẓāhirism and particularly to nascent *Malāmatiyya* or *futuwwa* (examples are Abū ʿAmr al-Iṣṭakhrī, ʿAlī b. Sahl, Bundār b. al-Ḥusayn; al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sharība, 467, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muzayyin, and especially Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, who enjoyed great prestige among them: *Shadd*, 96). The second period, which came under the Djunaydī influence of the Baghdād school, is more speculative; it was during this period that the master finally settled in Shīrāz, that his written work appeared and that he played a political role at the court of the Daylamī ʿAḍud al-Dawla (who was ruler of Shīrāz from 338/949), when his eminent position may have enabled him to offer protection to the Ḥallādjīs who were returning to their native country from ʿIrāḳ, where they had been persecuted. It seems preferable to suppose his thought to have developed in harmony with these two broad phases of his life, leading him towards increasingly intellectualist theses (Djunaydī and semi-Ḥallādjī), than to attribute to him an eclecticism as vague as it was persistent. There are various indications to corroborate this hypothesis: Ibn Khafīf used in turn two initiatory *isnād*s, the one purely Shīrāzī with the names of Djaʿfar al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (*Sīra*, 149, 178, 202) and of Abū ʿAmr al-Iṣṭakhrī (*Sīra*, 33, 35, 87, 152), the other artificially linked to al-Djunayd (L. Massignon, *Essai*, 129, rejected by the Kāzerūnīs, *op. cit.*, 25); Ibn Khafīf retracted at the reading of a dissertation of al-Djunayd (*ʿAṭf*, ed. Vadet, 3), he hesitated between the school of al-Djunayd and the teaching of his first Baghdādī master Ruwaym, a Ẓāhirī mystic of Malāmatiyya tendencies who had close links with Abū ʿAmr al-Iṣṭakhrī but was on rather bad terms with al-Djunayd (I. Goldziher, *Die Zâhiriten*, 179; al-Sulamī, *op. cit.*, 462; al-ʿAfīfī, *Malāmatiyya*, 60; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 431; cf. *Shīrāz-nāma*, 95-6).

The mystic theology of Ibn Khafīf, worked out from actual experience but rapidly codified at a later stage in a circle of theoreticians, reconciles after a fashion the two basic aspects of his life. It seems to have been governed by the following propositions: (1) The necessity of poverty (*faḳr*) and the pre-eminence of this poverty over wealth ("poverty" is an imitation of the Prophet, it is also "to rid oneself of one's attributes", *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, 131; hence it is like a negative realization of *tawḥīd*, "unification of the Divine names and attributes with verification in the heart", Abū Nuʿaym, x, 386). (2) The "poor man" is not *ipso facto* a *ṣūfī*, any more than the *ṣūfī* is himself a *walī*. (3) The impression of the "moment" (*ghalaba*) is not enough to constitute ecstasy (*wadjd*), just as the latter is an insufficient basis for sanctity (*wilāya*). (4) Sanctity is much more a condition, and one not clearly defined, than a transitory and unstable "state" (*ḥāl*). Certainly, in the eyes of Ibn Khafīf the "station" is preferable to the "state", in the same way that "sobriety" is of more worth than "drunkenness". It is difficult to say whether Ibn Khafīf gave anywhere in his works a valid definition of this "sanctity" which he considered to be the true end of "poverty". It has been defined for him by his Ḥallādjī disciples or pseudo-disciples on the basis of their conceptions of *ʿishḳ* and *maḥabba*. Ibn Khafīf contented himself with an incomplete

synthesis. This fact helps to explain both the universal fame of the master of Shīrāz and the almost total disappearance of his work.

The basic text remains the edition of the *Sīrat-i Ibn Khafīf* by Dr A. Schimmel (Ankara 1955, with introd. and bibl.). This text, however, unfortunately does not supersede the notices by the two historians of Shīrāz: Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Zarkūb (d. 734/1333; *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Bahmān Karīmī) and Ibn Djunayd al-Shīrāzī (d. 791/1388, *Shadd al-Izār*). For Ibn Khafīf's "ḥallādjism" there may be consulted L. Massignon, *Akhbār al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1957, 38 and 81, also *Vie et œuvres de Rūzbihān Baklī*, in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen . . .*, Paris 1953.

The life and doctrine of Ibn Khafīf are part of a group of wider questions which have not yet been sufficiently answered. These are: (1) The opposition between the Djunaydism of Baghdād and the practical mysticism of Persia and Khurāsān in the 3rd/9th century (the memory of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, *Malāmatiyya*, the insistence on "poverty" and "sincerity", *futuwwa*; for a summary of their doctrine, see Abū Nuʿaym, x, 387). (2) This opposition was not unconnected with the growing Ashʿarism and Ẓāhirism: at the time of Ibn Khafīf these were the two militant and opposing wings of Shāfiʿism, particularly that of ʿIrāḳ, with which the school of al-Djunayd finally became integrated. (3) It is only when these first two questions have been answered that Ibn Khafīf's rather ambiguous attitude to Ḥallādjism will be better understood, and with it perhaps the internal evolution of this doctrine, at least in Fārs.

Bibliography: in the text. (J. C. Vadet)

IBN KHAFĪF [see MUḤAMMAD B. KHAFĪF].

IBN KHĀḲĀN, name of several secretaries and viziers of the ʿAbbāsid period.

(1) Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān, secretary of Khurāsānī origin, was in the service of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*] under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and became, under al-Mutawakkil, secretary to the office for land-taxes, and then director of the *maẓālim*-court, when his son ʿUbayd Allāh became vizier.

(2) ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā was the first member of the family to become a vizier. Patronized by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, who had appointed him as his private secretary, he succeeded in about 236/851 in gaining appointment to the office of vizier, which had for some years remained vacant, and in obtaining important powers, notably those permitting him to nominate the main government officials and thus to eliminate any possible rivals. He was tutor to one of the princes; at the end of al-Mutawakkil's reign he exercised a considerable influence and seems to have encouraged the caliph in his anti-ʿAlid policy. Having withdrawn from political life after the assassination of al-Mutawakkil, he was exiled to Barḳa in 248/862, and did not return to Baghdād until 253/867. The accession of the caliph al-Muʿtamid led to his being appointed once again to the office of vizier, which he occupied from 256/870 until his death in 263/877.

(3) Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Abū ʿAlī, known as al-Khāḳānī, became vizier in the reign of al-Muḳtadir in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 299/July 912 and remained in office until Muḥarram 301/August 913. He succeeded Ibn al-Furāt, whose officials he dismissed, and attempted to replenish the treasury by imposing severe fines on these discredited officials. He also took measures against the Shīʿī elements in the population of Baghdād and attempted to satisfy the claims of the Ḥanbalīs, but his administration did not please the caliph's entourage. After his dismissal, he was imprisoned once by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and a second time by Ibn al-Furāt, who had returned to power n 304/917; he died in 312/924-5.

(4) ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, son of the above, had been secretary during his father's vizierate and succeeded Ibn al-Furāt in Rabīʿ I 312/June 924, but encountered serious internal difficulties with which he was incapable of dealing, so that he was dismissed in Ramaḍān 313/November 925 on the insistence of the *amīr* Muʾnis; after having been imprisoned and paying a fine, he died in 314/926-7.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, index; Abū Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, 204. (D. Sourdel)

IBN KHĀLAWAYH, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (but Muḥammad in Shīrawayh's History of Hamadhān, see Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 325, 12) b. Ḥamdān al-Hamadhānī, famous Arabic grammarian and *adīb*. He was born in Hamadhān [*q.v.*]. The exact year of his birth is not known but it must have been in the ninth decade of the 3rd century A.H., since he went in 314/926, while still young, to study in Baghdād, where he found eminent teachers. Among his teachers of the Ḳurʾān was the head of the Ḳurʾān readers of Baghdād, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324/936) and he studied grammar and lexicography not only with the representatives of the Kūfan school Ibn al-Anbārī [*q.v.*] and Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. 345/956), but also with the famous Baṣran Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*] and the latter's pupil al-Sīrāfī [*q.v.*], and also with Nifṭawayh, who was already a representative of the mixed school (*khalaṭa 'l-madhhabayn*, *Fihrist*, 81, bottom; in Brockelmann, S I, 184 listed under the Kūfans; d. 323/935). Consequently he was himself an eclectic. There is named as one of his teachers of *ḥadīth* Muḥammad b. Makhlad al-ʿAṭṭār (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, 310 f.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 11th *ṭab.*, no. 40, where Aḥmad is incorrectly given instead of Makhlad; d. 331/942-3). Subkī lists him among the Shāfiʿīs (*Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 212 f.); according to Ibn Ḥadjar, however, he was an Imāmī, who pretended to be a Sunnī only in the presence of Sayf al-Dawla (*Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1330, ii, 267; cf. also Krenkow in a postscript to Ibn Khālawayh, *Iʿrāb thalāthīn sūra*, 246). From Baghdād he went to Syria, and in Aleppo was admitted to the court of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*], who appointed him tutor to one of his sons. After Sayf al-Dawla's death he remained in the service of the Ḥamdānids. Ḳifṭī (*Inbāh*, i, 326, lines 5 ff.) records from the *Kitāb al-Utrudjdja* by Muslim b. Muḥammad al-Lahdjī that Ibn Khālawayh visited the Yemen, and Ibn al-Djazarī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, i, 237, bottom) also mentions the precise place, Dhimār. He died in 370/980-1 in Aleppo.

Already during his lifetime Ibn Khālawayh was famous. His reputation as an expert in all branches of *ʿilm* and *adab* brought to him many pupils from far and near. The sources mention explicitly the ʿIrāḳī *faḳīh* and man of letters al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ (d. 390/1000), the reader of the Ḳurʾān Ibn Ghalbūn (a native of Aleppo, d. 389/999) and al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Anṭākī (d. 399/1008-9) as well as the traditionist Ibn ʿAdī, known also as Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān (Brockelmann, I, 167; d. 360/971). He is reputed also to have been a poet of ability, Thaʿālibī (*Yatīma*, Damascus 1304, i, 76 f.) and Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, iv, 6) providing a few brief specimens of his work. The disputations which he is reported to have had with al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*] in the presence of Sayf

al-Dawla are said to have led to blows (Ibn Khallikān in his biography of al-Mutanabbī).

Of his works, the fullest lists of whose titles are given by Ḳifṭī, Yāḳūt and Ibn Khallikān (see also Flügel, *Grammat. Schulen*, 231), there survive: (1) *Kitāb Laysa*. This deals, in numerous but mainly short chapters, with subjects of Arabic morphology and lexicography. Its name *Laysa* comes from a stereotyped formula which begins almost every chapter: *laysa fī kalām al-ʿarab ... illā ...* The British Museum manuscript was published by H. Dérenbourg in *Hebraica*, x (1893-4), 88-105, *AJSL*, xiv (1898), 81-93, xv (1898-9), 32-41, 215-23, xviii (1901), 36-51; it contains 111 *abwāb* and breaks off in the 111th *bāb*. The text printed by Shinḳīṭī, Cairo 1327 (76 pp.), following an unspecified manuscript, contains the same text with the addition of 77 further *abwāb*. According to Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, *nawʿ* 40 at the beginning, the *Kitāb Laysa* consisted of three substantial volumes, and Ibn Khallikān refers to it as *kitāb kabīr*; the existing printed text can therefore be only a part of the whole work. Of the fifty or so quotations contained in the *Muzhir* about a third do not appear in the Cairo printed edition. (2) *Kitāb Iʿrāb thalāthīn Sūra min al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm* (deals with *istiʿādha*, *basmala*, *sura*s 1 and 86-114), printed Cairo 1360/1941. (3) *Kitāb al-Badīʿ fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt*, a handbook of Ḳurʾān readings, canonical (the "Seven" and Yaʿḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī, the ninth of the "Ten" readers) and non-canonical, see A. J. Arberry, *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 183-90. (4) *Mukhtaṣar shawādhdh al-Ḳurʾān min kitāb al-Badīʿ li-'bn Khālawayh*, an extract from no. 3, not made by the author himself, and containing only the non-canonical readings, ed. G. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1934 (*Ibn Ḫālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten = Bibliotheca Islamica* 7; with foreword by A. Jeffery); on this see A. Jeffery, *Marginalia to Bergsträsser's edition of Ibn Ḫālawaih, Islamica Schlussheft = Abh. KM*, xxiii/6, Leipzig 1938, 130-5. (5) *Kitāb al-Ḳirāʾāt*, MS Istanbul Murad Molla 85, see H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xvii (1928), 249 (it is possible that this is identical with the *Ḥudjdja fī ḳirāʾāt al-aʾimma* listed from information by P. Kraus in Brockelmann, S I, 943, 11 lines from bottom, I², 130, no. 1c). (6) *Sharḥ Maḳṣūrat Ibn Durayd*, for manuscripts see Brockelmann, S I, 172, I², 113. (7) *Kitāb al-Rīḥ*, ed. J. Kratschkovsky, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 331-43. (8) His recension of the *Dīwān* of Abū Firās with introduction and commentary, ed. Sāmī Dahhān, 3 vols., Beirut 1944. On his transmission of works by other authors, see Brockelmann, S I, 190.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 130, S I, 190; also Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāʾ al-nuḥāh*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 324-7 (with further information at 324***); Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, i = *Bibliotheca Islamica* 8a, Cairo 1933, nos. 1083 and 1101 (p. 240); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād 1330, ii, 267; see also H. Dérenbourg's preface to his edition of the *Kitāb Laysa*. [From a book by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma wa 'l-taṭawwur al-lughawī*, Cairo 1967, 184 f. (published after this article was in type) it appears that the *K. Laysa*, in its fragmentary form, has now been published again, by A. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, Cairo 1957; and furthermore that there is in Istanbul a MS (Şehit Ali Paşa 2143), a fragment of five *djuz*ʾ in 171 fols., which is six times as long as the section printed and of entirely different content.] (A. Spitaler)

IBN KHALDŪN, Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (732-84/1332-82), one of the strongest personalities of Arabo-Muslim culture in the period of its decline. He is generally regarded as a historian, sociologist and philosopher. Thus his life and work have already formed the subject of innumerable studies and given rise to the most varied and even the most contradictory interpretations.

I. Life. Ibn Khaldūn's life may be divided into three parts, the first of which (20 years) was occupied by his childhood and education, the second (23 years) by the continuation of his studies and by political adventures, and the third (31 years) by his life as a scholar, teacher and magistrate. The first two periods were spent in the Muslim West and the third was divided between the Maghrib and Egypt.

At Tunis. Ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis, on 1 Ramaḍān 732/27 May 1332, in an Arab family which came originally from the Ḥaḍramawt and had been settled at Seville since the beginning of the Muslim conquest (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 430), playing there an important political role. The family then left Seville for Ceuta immediately before the *Reconquista*. From there they went to Ifrīḳiya and settled in Tunis during the reign of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyāʾ (625-47/1228-49). Ibn Khaldūn's great-grandfather, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who wrote a treatise on *Adab al-kātib* (see E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 280-8), was put in charge of the finances during the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ (678-81/1279-83). The usurper Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-2/1283-4) put an end to his career and to his life, having him strangled after confiscating his possessions and subjecting him to torture. His son, Muḥammad, also occupied various official positions, both at Bougie and Tunis, and died in 737/1337, after renouncing political life upon the fall of Ibn al-Liḥyānī (711-7/1311-7). The latter's son, the father of our Ibn Khaldūn, wisely avoided politics, leading the life of a *faḳīh* and man of letters (*Taʿrīf*, 10-15).

He was thus able to ensure that his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān received a very thorough education. The latter also attended courses given by the most famous teachers of Tunis, to whom he devotes lengthy sections in his autobiography (*Taʿrīf*). He thus received a classical education, based essentially on the study of the Ḳurʾān, of *ḥadīth*, of the Arabic language and of *fiḳh*. The Marīnid invasion (748-50/1347-9) resulted in the arrival in Tunis, with the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan, of a large number of theological and literary scholars. This widened the horizons of the young Ibn Khaldūn, who was thus enabled, particularly under the supervision of al-Ābilī, to learn about the philosophy and the main problems of Arabo-Muslim thought. He was however to undergo much suffering. The Marīnid occupation ended in disorder and bloodshed, and in addition the terrible Black Death which ravaged the world in the middle of the century, coming from the East, claimed many victims in the country, among them Ibn Khaldūn's parents. He was at this time 17 years of age and was to retain all his life a memory of the horror of this event, which is reflected in many passages in his *Taʿrīf* and his *Muḳaddima*. This was the first traumatic experience of his life, which was later to have an undoubted influence on the direction of his thought. In addition, the departure of the Marīnid scholars left a great intellectual vacuum at Tunis, and it seems that at this time the sole aim of the young Ibn Khaldūn was to leave Tunis for Fez, then the most brilliant capital of the Muslim West.

He states (*Taʿrīf*, 55) that he had a great thirst for learning. His elder brother, Muḥammad, dissuaded him from his project, but not for long.

At the court of Fez. He was not yet 20 when, towards the end of 751/1350, the powerful chamberlain Ibn Tafrāgīn appointed him to the office of writer of the *ʿalāma* (the ruler's official signature) on behalf of the sultan Abū Isḥāḳ. He accepted, without, it seems (*Taʿrīf*, 561), the intention of remaining long in the post. The invasion of Ifrīḳiya by the *amīr* of Constantine, Abū Yazīd (753/1352), provided him with the desired opportunity. Under cover of the defeat, he parted company with his master, took refuge for a time at Ebba, then reached Tebessa, then Gafsa, before arriving at Biskra, where he spent the winter with his friends the Banū Muznī. Thus the second period of his life, which was both scholarly and adventurous, began with one of those changes of direction which were to recur on later occasions and which have been severely criticized by the majority of those who have made a study of his life and work. But it was in fact probably not a bad thing: intuitively, Ibn Khaldūn was refusing to be engulfed in an Ifrīḳiya which was then in the process of disintegration and whose court furthermore was far from providing an example of loyalty and good behaviour.

Meanwhile, the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, after an unfortunate adventure, had been killed (752/1351), leaving the western territories of the Maghrib to his son Abū ʿInān, who in any case had not waited for his death before supplanting him in Fez. Once again the Marīnid hegemony seemed to be consolidating itself. Abū ʿInān seized Tlemcen (753/1352) and reduced Bougie again to submission. From Biskra, Ibn Khaldūn offered him his services. On his journey he met the Marīnid chamberlain Ibn Abī ʿAmr, appointed governor of Bougie, who invited him to his new residence, where he lived for some time (until the end of the winter of 754/1353-4), before being summoned to the court at Fez. He was officially part of the sultan's literary circle (*madjlisuh al-ʿilmī*) and soon afterwards also formed part of his secretariat (*kitābatuh*), though without much enthusiasm it seems, for such a post "was not in the family tradition"—that is to say it was beneath their dignity. This remark reveals a far-reaching ambition in a young man of barely 23 years. Somewhat disappointed, he therefore continued to occupy himself mainly with his studies. "I devoted myself", he writes (*Taʿrīf*, 59), "to reflection and to study, and to sitting at the feet of the great teachers, those of the Maghrib as well as those of Spain who were residing temporarily in Fez, and I benefited greatly from their teaching". In brief, his desire for learning still took precedence over his political interests. Nevertheless, it may be that, taking advantage of the sultan's illness, he took part in a plot aiming to liberate the former *amīr* of Bougie, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, and to re-install him in his former kingdom. He himself denies this and refers to intrigues, jealousy and malice (*Taʿrīf*, 67); he was certainly thrown into prison however, remaining there for two years (758-9/1357-8) until the death of Abū ʿInān. This was followed by disturbances, by clashes between the claimants to the throne, and by treachery and bloodshed. Ibn Khaldūn, now set free, took part in all this according to the custom of the time. Changes of loyalty were common and he was no exception and found himself appointed, in Shaʿbān 760/July 1359, to the office of Secretary of the Chancellery (*kitābat al-sirr wa 'l-tarsīl*) for the new sultan, Abū Sālim. In order the better to perform his rôle and consolidate his position, he even made the effort of becoming court-poet ("*akhadhtu nafsī bi 'l-shiʿr*", *Taʿrīf*, 70), and he quotes long extracts from his work as a panegyrist. But this was all wasted effort, since his fortune declined. Two years later he left the chancellery for a judicial post, the *maẓālim*. Then further disturbances resulted in the accession of a new sultan. Ibn Khaldūn changed his allegiance in time, and considered that he was unjustly deprived of any fruits of the victory. He did not hide his ill-humour, made enemies and, after many difficulties, he obtained permission to withdraw to Granada (autumn 764/1362).

At the court of Granada. In Ramaḍān 760/August 1359, a palace revolt had driven Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar from the throne, so that, in Muḥarram 761/December 1359, he had taken refuge in Fez with his famous vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb. There was formed at this time, between the latter and the young Ibn Khaldūn, a real friendship which, apart from inevitable spells of unpleasantness, was to withstand the test of time. In Djumādā II 763/April 1362, Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar regained his throne and Ibn al-Khaṭīb his former rank. The friendship established at Fez ensured that Ibn Khaldūn, forced in his turn to flee to the other side of the Mediterranean, was received in Granada with the highest honours. At the end of 765/1364, he was even sent to Seville, charged with a delicate peace mission to Pedro the Cruel. This contact with the Christian world, then in the midst of a period of change, had an important influence on him. On his return, the Naṣrid *amīr* showered favours on him (*Taʿrīf*, 85). Ibn Khaldūn then sent for his wife and children to come to Constantine. But Ibn al-Khaṭīb felt some resentment at the success of his young friend and Ibn Khaldūn preferred not to take full advantage of his favoured position (spring 766/1365).

At the court of Bougie. It is true that at this time there arose a unique opportunity for him to satisfy his ambition. His friend, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, with whom he had already been in a conspiracy at Fez, had in fact regained his kingdom of Bougie, and offered him the office of *ḥādjib* (chamberlain), which was at that time the most important office in the state, and appointed to the vizierate his younger brother Yaḥyā [see next article]. Ibn Khaldūn held at the same time posts as teacher of *fiḳh* and as preacher. But this success was short-lived. In the following year, the *amīr* of Constantine, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, took the offensive and inflicted a crushing defeat on his cousin Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, who was killed in the battle. Ibn Khaldūn, refusing suggestions that he should continue the struggle in support of one of the younger sons of the dead ruler, handed over the town to the conqueror (Shaʿbān 767/May 1366) and himself entered his service. This was not to be for long, however. Ibn Khaldūn saw which way the wind was blowing: he resigned in time, and took refuge at first with the Dawāwida Arabs, then with his friends the Banū Muznī at Biskra, whereas his brother Yaḥyā was arrested. To the offer by the sultan Abū Ḥammū, in a letter of 17 Radjab 769/8 March 1368 (*Taʿrīf*, 102-3) of the office of *ḥādjib* at Tlemcen, he replied with a courteous refusal, sending him instead his brother Yaḥyā, who had in the meantime been set free. He explains his motives thus: "I was in fact cured of the temptation of office (*ghiwāyat al-rutab*). Furthermore I had for too long neglected scholarly matters. I therefore ceased to involve myself in the

affairs of kings and devoted all my energies to study (*al-ḳirāʾa*) and teaching" (*Taʿrīf*, 103).

Thus at Biskra he attempted to lead the life of a man of letters. He carried on a long correspondence, much ornamented by rhetorical flourishes, with his friend Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Taʿrīf*, 103-30). However he could not resist intrigue. He gave his support, against Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, to the alliance between the Ḥafṣid of Tunis and the ʿAbd al-Wādid Abū Ḥammū of Tlemcen. He next took it upon himself to raise support for the Marīnid Abū Fāris. He was constantly on the move, attempting to form from the small tribal units a force capable of supporting a really great power. But on each occasion events upset his calculations. The claimants were simply too numerous, and this resulted in a new series of changes of front which were basically perhaps only his unsuccessful attempts to back the winner. But in the Muslim West of the 8th/14th century no winner existed. Furthermore his friends the Banū Muznī were beginning to object to the suspicious activities of their guest. Ibn Khaldūn tried once again to escape the lure of politics. He took refuge in the *ribāṭ* of Abū Madyan, "preferring", he writes, "to live in retirement and devote myself exclusively to learning, if only I might be left inpeace" (*Taʿrīf*, 134). He was not left in peace, nor was he of a temperament to remain so for long. Thus, after some new setbacks in the central Maghrib, he met with failure in Fez (774/1372). Welcomed at first, he was later arrested, then released, and finally permitted to withdraw to Muslim Spain (spring 776/1375), where he wished "to settle permanently, withdraw from the world, and devote my life to learning (*ḳaṣd al-ḳarār wa 'l-inḳibād wa 'l-ʿukūf ʿalā ḳirāʾat al-ʿilm*)" (*Taʿrīf*, 226). Yet again he was disappointed. He had become a political personality with a reputation which could not fail to arouse mistrust. He was henceforward condemned to offer his services for hire, and to be regarded with mixed feelings never entirely free from suspicion, whereas apparently his only ambition now was to be left in peace to work out the conclusions to be drawn from his tumultuous experience and to put his ideas in order.

At the castle of Ibn Salāma. Practically ordered to leave the kingdom of Granada, Ibn Khaldūn returned to the Maghrib and, after some difficulties, settled with his family at Tlemcen (1 Shawwāl 776/5 March 1375). In the meantime his friend, the vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb, whom he had tried in vain to save (*Taʿrīf*, 227)—and this is what had earned him the enmity of the *amīr* of Granada—had been strangled in prison at Fez. Ibn Khaldūn may have seen this as a warning; he certainly seems after this to have made a firm decision to restrict himself to study and teaching. But the sultan of Tlemcen was willing to forget the past—Ibn Khaldūn had after all been in turn for him and against him—with the ulterior motive of making use of him once again. He entrusted him with a mission to the Dawāwida. Ibn Khaldūn pretended to accept, but as soon as he had left Tlemcen, he took refuge with the Awlād ʿArīf; they gave him a warm welcome and interceded on his behalf with the sultan of Tlemçen, who gave permission for his family to join him. For the next four years (776-80/1375-9) Ibn Khaldūn lived in the castle of Ibn Salāma, 6 km. south-west of the present-day Frenda, in the department of Oran (*Taʿrīf*, 228). This was a decisive turning-point in his life: really enclosed for the first time in his ivory tower, he informs us that he worked out the *Muḳaddima* "according to that original plan (*al-naḥw al-gharīb*) for which he received inspiration during his retirement" (*Taʿrīf*, 229).

Again in Tunis. After this, to enable him to continue his work, a vast amount of documentation became more and more necessary. Ibn Khaldūn was at this time 47 years of age. He dreamed of returning to Tunis, which he had left at the age of 20—Tunis, where "my ancestors lived and where there still exist their houses, their remains and their tombs" (*Taʿrīf*, 230). He wrote for, and obtained, the permission of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (771-96/1370-94), the architect of the Ḥafṣid restoration, with whom he had had connexions more than ten years earlier at Bougie. And thus, in Shaʿbān 780/November-December 1378, "he abandoned his traveller's staff" (*Taʿrīf*, 231) in his native town. There he followed his new career as a teacher and a scholar and completed a first redaction of his *ʿIbar*, the first copy of which, accompanied by a long panegyric (*Taʿrīf*, 233-4), he presented to the sultan. But the success of his teaching—which some considered subversive—and the favours which he received from the ruler, earned him many enemies. The formation of a cabal against him, the moving spirit in which was the famous Ibn ʿArafa, made him fear the worst. He decided to leave the Muslim West, where his awkward past followed him wherever he went. He made the pretext for this the Pilgrimage. The sultan granted him permission for this; there was a boat on the point of leaving for Alexandria; and Ibn Khaldūn embarked on 15 Shaʿbān 784/24 October 1382 (*Taʿrīf*, 245).

In Cairo. On his arrival in the Mamlūk capital, Ibn Khaldūn was truly dazzled. Students flocked to his courses at al-Azhar, and soon he was appointed teacher of Mālikī *fiḳh* at the al-Ḳamḥiyya *madrasa*. Some time afterwards he was also appointed Mālikī chief *ḳāḍī* (Djumādā II 786/July-August 1384). There then began for him a period of suffering: his family, finally given permission to join him through the intervention of the sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ, was shipwrecked off Alexandria. At the same time his intransigeance and the intrigues of his enemies, who were furious at seeing one of the most important offices of the state entrusted to a "foreigner", caused him to be dismissed from his office as *ḳāḍī* (Djumādā I 787/June-July 1385). In 789/1387, he was appointed to the newly built al-Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa*, and then, on his return from the Pilgrimage, he was appointed teacher of *ḥadīth* at the *madrasa* of Ṣarghatmish. Ibn Khaldūn preserved in its entirety his inaugural course of lectures (Muḥarram 791/January 1389), devoted to the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (*Taʿrīf*, 294-310). At the same time, he was placed at the head of the *khānḳāh* of Baybars, the most important Ṣūfī convent in Egypt. Then, after fourteen years devoted exclusively to teaching, he was once again appointed to the office of *ḳāḍī* (15 Ramaḍān 801/21 May 1399). He was again dismissed (Muḥarram 803/August-September 1400), and some months later (Rabīʿ II 803/November-December 1400) he was obliged to accompany al-Nāṣir on his expedition to relieve Damascus, which was being threatened by Tīmūr-lang, already master of Aleppo. Left in the besieged town—and abandoned without warning by al-Nāṣir, who suspected that a plot was being hatched in Cairo during his absence—he played a certain part in the surrender of the town under a false promise of *amān*, and has provided a detailed account of his interviews with the Mongol leader (*Taʿrīf*, 366-83). He may in fact have thought that he saw in Tīmūr-lang the man of the century who possessed enough

ʿaṣabiyya to re-unite the Muslim world and to give a new direction to history (*Taʿrīf*, 372, 382). Finally, after writing for Tīmūrlang a description of the Maghrib and having witnessed the horrors of the burning and sacking of Damascus, he returned to Cairo, having been stripped and robbed by brigands on the way. In spite of his compromising attitude towards Tīmūrlang (*Taʿrīf*, 378), he was well received at the court. Four times more he was appointed *ḳāḍī* and then dismissed. His last, and sixth, appointment to this office was in Shaʿbān 808/January-February 1406, a few weeks before his death on 26 Ramaḍān 808/16 March 1406.

During his stay in Cairo, Ibn Khaldūn did not sever relations with the Muslim West. He retained his Maghribī dress, a dark burnous. He also attempted to encourage the exchange of gifts between the sultans of Egypt and those of the Maghrib and to produce a climate of co-operation (*Taʿrīf*, 335-46). He sent a copy of his *ʿIbar* to the Marīnid Abū Fāris (796-9/1394-6), continued to correspond with his friends, and preserved in particular long passages, in prose and in verse, from the letters sent to him by the famous poet of Granada, Ibn Zamrak (*Taʿrīf*, 262-74).

Ibn Khaldūn's life has been judged variously, and in general rather severely. There is certainly no doubt that he behaved in a detached, self-interested, haughty, ambitious and equivocal manner. He himself does not attempt to hide this, and openly describes in his *Taʿrīf* his successive changes of allegiance. He has been accused of fickleness and a lack of patriotism. But for such judgements to be strictly applicable presupposes the existence of the idea of "allegiance" to a country, which was not the case. The very concept scarcely existed and was not to appear in Muslim thinking until it was affected by contact with Europe. The only treason was apostasy, nor was loyalty understood except in the context of relations between one man and another, and examples of felony were provided daily by those of the highest rank. Ibn Khaldūn was, moreover, readily pardoned by those who wished to use his services—he was in turn the enemy and the servant, now of one and now of another, in the same way that men were treacherously killed, with or without good reason, simply as a precaution. The struggles which rent the Muslim West in Ibn Khaldūn's time were merely a series of minor and abortive coups. He should therefore be judged according to the standards of his own time and not according to ours.

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldūn, as he proves in his *Muḳaddima*, was an astonishingly clear thinker. It is true that his behaviour was dictated by ambition, the desire of power, a taste for adventure and even a complete ruthlessness in political matters; but it is unlikely that this was all. It would be strange if the theoretician of *ʿaṣabiyya* did not envisage a plan, perhaps rather vague, for the restoration of Arabo-Muslim civilization which he saw—and he states this clearly—to be in its death-throes. His adventures could thus be seen as only the unfruitful and calculated search for an *ʿaṣabiyya* powerful enough to save Islam from ruin. Certain facts support this hypothesis, but Ibn Khaldūn states nothing explicity and his *Taʿrīf* (on which moreover opinions vary) provides no assistance. As has already been mentioned, it gives us no insight into the inner thought of the author himself and presents only his external character. There is thus no way of knowing what his real intentions were.

II. Works. Ibn Khaldūn is known primarily for his *Muḳaddima* and his *ʿIbar*, but he wrote other works which have not all survived.

In about his twentieth year, he attempted, under the influence of al-Ābilī, to make a résumé of the theologico-philosophical "summa" of al-Rāzī entitled *Kitāb Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-mutaʾakhkhirīn min al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ wa 'l-mutakallimīn* (Cairo 1905), an outline which is a condensation of all the Arabo-Muslim cultural tradition concerning the problems of dogma and its philosophical repercussions. This résumé, entitled *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī uṣūl al-dīn* (Tetuan 1952; autograph manuscript dated 29 Ṣafar 752/28 May 1351, Escorial no. 1614), shows a direction of thought which Ibn Khaldūn was never to lose completely.

It should also be remembered that Ibn Khaldūn had stressed in his *Taʿrīf* the studious nature of his period at Fez and at Granada. During this period, that is between 752-65/1351-64, the date at which Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa* was finished (to which we owe the following information), he wrote five works: (1) a commentary on the *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī; (2) an outline of logic; (3) a treatise on arithmetic; (4) several résumés of works by Ibn Rushd, though unfortunately it is not known which ones; and (5) a commentary on a poem by Ibn al-Khaṭīb on the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. All these works are now lost, and indeed seem to have been quickly forgotten even during the author's lifetime. Ibn Khaldūn does not even mention them in his *Taʿrīf*, and his Egyptian biographers do not appear to have heard of them.

They seem moreover to have been of a traditional theologico-philosophical type, including the arithmetic which a *faḳīh* had to know. Nothing up to this time indicated that Ibn Khaldūn would go down to posterity as the brilliant founder of the science of history and of other disciplines. The flowering of his genius took place at the castle of Ibn Salāma, as the result of the fusion of the traditional disciplines in which he had been educated with the rich harvest of political experience which, through a bitter series of failures and impasses, had made him aware of the meaning and deep significance (*ʿibar*) of history. There then began, in the calm of the castle of Ibn Salāma, the work of analysing the passionate and disturbing human adventure, which certainly has its grandeurs but of which he had experienced mainly the miseries. Ibn Khaldūn really changed as a thinker: the pedestrian *faḳīh* which he might after all have been had become a historian of genius, and even the founder of a number of disciplines which were to become some of the most productive of the modern humanities. The first draft of his Introduction (*Muḳaddima*)—which contains the essence of his thought—to his universal history (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar*), as well as large sections of this history itself, were written between 776/1375 and 780/1379 during his retirement. He later continued without ceasing, until the end of his life, to re-write this basic work, and especially the *Muḳaddima*. The *Taʿrīf*, an autobiography which stops in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 807/May 1405 (ed. al-Ṭandjī, Cairo 1951), and the *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, a treatise on mysticism written towards the end of his life (ed. al-Ṭandjī, Istanbul 1958; and ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1959), are minor works compared with his masterpiece, and their main interest is in the light they throw on it. It should be mentioned that the problem of the authenticity of the *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, so important for the history of Ibn Khaldūn's thought, has not yet been definitively solved.

The Ottoman historian Naʿīmā [*q.v.*] (d. 1128/1716) praises Ibn Khaldūn in the introduction to his work

and gives a summary of his ideas. (The first translation into Turkish, of part of the *Muḳaddima*, was made by the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām Pīrī-zāde Meḥmed Ef. in 1143/1749 (see *IA*, s.v. *Ibn Haldûn*, col. 740b); the most recent, complete, translation is by Zakir Kadiri Ugan, 2 vols., Istanbul 1954.) Yet it was in Europe that Ibn K̲h̲aldūn was discovered and the importance of his *Muḳaddima* realized: by d'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale* 1697), by Silvestre de Sacy (*Chrestomatie arabe*, 1806), by von Hammer-Purgstall (*Ueber den Verfall des Islam* . . ., 1812) and especially by Quatremère, who, in 1858, produced the first complete edition of the *Muḳaddima*—another edition of it was published in the same year in Cairo by Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, based on another manuscript containing in particular the dedication to the sultan Abū Fāris of Fez (796-9/1394-7)—and by de Slane, who, some years afterwards, produced the first French translation of it (*Les Prolégomènes*, Paris 1863-8). Since then there has been a continual series of editions and studies on it, in both the East and the West, a proof of the increasing interest in Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's thought, and there have recently been so many of them that bibliographical works on them (by H. Pérès and W. J. Fischel) became necessary. The most recent translation, by F. Rosenthal (into English, 3 vols. New York-London 1958), has the advantage of having been made from the Istanbul manuscript (Atif Efendi 1936), which contains a note in Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's writing stating that it had been "scientifically revised" by the author. There should also be mentioned the Portuguese translation by Khoury, in 3 vols., São Paulo 1958-60; a French translation by V. Monteil is being published.

The *ʿIbar*, the Universal History itself, naturally aroused less interest. The first to produce an edition and translation of extensive passages from the *ʿIbar* was Noël Desvergers, under the title *Histoire de l'Afrique sous la dynastie des Aghlabites et de la Sicile sous la domination musulmane*, Paris 1841. Another partial translation was published some years later by de Slane under the title *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (4 vols., Algiers 1852-6), followed by an edition of the passages translated (2 vols., Algiers 1863). Next there appeared the complete Būlāḳ edition (7 vols., 1868), and since then there have followed also some partial translations. There has not yet appeared, however, a truly critical edition of either the *Muḳaddima* or the *ʿIbar*. The latest edition, that of Beirut (1956-9)—from which our references are taken—is a commercial one, which is however provided with useful indexes.

The criticism generally made of the *ʿIbar* is that it did not fulfil the promises made in the *Muḳaddima*. This is obvious, but it could not have been otherwise. No one man could write alone a universal history according to the demands of the *Muḳaddima*. But it has more serious shortcomings: Ibn K̲h̲aldūn at times demonstrates a surprising lack of learning, for example, concerning the Almohads and their doctrine: "In addition, precise dates are rarely given; the chronological details throughout the work are too often contradictory, and one is obliged to prefer on many occasions those provided in other more humble and much more succinct works" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 392). Nevertheless, the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, through its intelligent arrangement of facts and the detail and scope of the account, remains, in the opinion of the specialist who has made most use of it, an incomparable tool, particularly "for the two centuries nearest to our author, the 13th and the 14th" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, ii, 393). It should also be added that this work, often disappointing on the history of the East, is generally valuable especially for the Muslim West, and in particular for the Berbers.

But Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's main work, of universal value, is the *Muḳaddima*. In the author's intention, and as the title indicates, it is an Introduction to the historian's craft. Thus it is presented as an encyclopaedic synthesis of the methodological and cultural knowledge necessary to enable the historian to produce a truly scientific work. Initially, in fact, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn was preoccupied with epistemology. Then gradually, meditating on the method and the matter of history, he was led, in full consciousness of what he was doing, to create what he refers to as his "new science" (*ʿilm mustanbaṭ al-nas̲h̲ʾa*, 63), which itself turned out to contain more or less implicitly the starting points of several avenues of research leading to the philosophy of history, sociology, economics and yet other disciplines.

In his preface to the Introduction proper (*muḳaddimat al-Muḳaddima*, 1-68), Ibn K̲h̲aldūn begins by defining history—which he expands to include the study of the whole of the human past, including its social, economic and cultural aspects—defining its interest, denouncing the lack of curiosity and of method in his predecessors, and setting out the rules of good and sound criticism. This criticism is based essentially, apart from the examination of evidence, on the criterion of conformity with reality (*ḳānūn al-muṭābaḳa*, 61-2), that is of the probability of the facts reported and their conformity to the nature of things, which is the same as the current of history and of its evolution. Hence the necessity of bringing to light the laws which determine the direction of this current. The science capable of throwing light on this phenomenon is, he says, that of *ʿumrān*, "a science which may be described as independent (*ʿilm mustaḳill bi-nafsih*), which is defined by its object: human civilization (*al-ʿumrān al-bas̲h̲arī*) and social facts as a whole" (62).

All that follows, that is the main part of the *Muḳaddima* itself, is only the detailed exposition of this new and independent science which the author had perceived. In it he develops his argument, contrary to some opinions, according to a strict plan, the broad lines of which he states and clearly explains (68) before beginning his exposition. This exposition is divided into six long chapters which in turn are subdivided into many paragraphs of varying lengths and often mathematically arranged. Chapter 1: a general treatise on human society. In it Ibn K̲h̲aldūn makes an outline study of the influence of environment on human nature, an ethnological and an anthropological study. Chapter 2: on the societies of rural and, generally speaking, fairly primitive, civilization (*ʿumrān badawī*). Chapter 3: on the different forms of government, on states and institutions. Chapter 4: on the societies of urban civilization (*ʿumrān ḥaḍarī*), that is of the most developed and sophisticated forms of civilization. Chapter 5: on industries and economic affairs in general. Chapter 6: on scholarship, literature and cultural matters in general.

This plan clearly shows that Ibn K̲h̲aldūn in his *Muḳaddima* was inclined to concentrate on social phenomena in general. The central point around which his observations are built and to which his researches are directed is the study of the aetiology of decline, that is to say the symptoms and the nature of the ills from which civilizations die. Hence

the *Mukaddima* is very closely linked with the political experiences of its author, who had been in fact very vividly aware that he was witnessing a tremendous change in the course of history, which is why he thought it necessary to write a summary of the past of humanity and to draw lessons (*ʿibar*) from it. He remarks that at certain exceptional moments in history the upheavals are such that one has the impression of being present "at a new creation (*kaʾannahu khalk djadīd*), at an actual renaissance (*nashʾa mustaḥdatha*), and at [the emergence of] a new world (*wa ʿālam muḥdath*). It is so at present (*li-hādha ʾl-ʿahd*). Thus the need is felt for someone to make a record of the situation of humanity and of the world" (53). This "new world", as Ibn Khaldūn knew (866), was coming to birth in other lands; he also realized that the civilization to which he belonged was nearing its end. Although unable to avert the catastrophe, he was anxious at least to understand what was taking place, and therefore felt it necessary to analyse the processes of history.

His main tool in this work of analysis is observation. Fairly recently there has been stressed the realistic aspect of his thought. Ibn Khaldūn, who has a thorough knowledge of the sources on logic and makes use of it, particular of induction, greatly mistrusts speculative reasoning. He admits that reason is a marvellous tool, but only within the framework of its natural limits, which are those of the investigation and the interpretation of what is real. He was much concerned about the problem of knowledge and it led him finally, after a radical criticism, to a refutation of philosophy. "In casting doubts on the adequacy of universal rationality and of individual reality, Ibn Khaldūn at the same time casts doubts on the whole structure of speculative philosophy as it then existed" (N. Nassar, *La pensée réaliste d'Ibn Khaldūn*, 66). Having thus calmly dismissed Arabo-Muslim philosophy, he chose, in order to explore reality and arrive at its meaning, a type of empiricism which has no hesitation in "having recourse to the categories of rational explanation which derive from philosophy". In short, Ibn Khaldūn rejects the traditional speculation of the philosophers, which gets bogged down in fruitless argument and controversy, only to replace it by another type of speculation, the steps of which are more certain and the results more fruitful since it is directly related to concrete facts.

This new positive speculation which he suggests and of which he provides an example in the *Mukaddima* is operated through a dialectical process which has been referred to in several studies (see in particular the recent works of Y. Lacoste and N. Nassar). He could not in fact penetrate to the heart of reality, describe the struggles and conflicts, the tensions and the successive failures of states and civilizations produced by their internal dissensions without encountering, and calling attention to, the process of dialectic, especially since he had encountered logic in his earlier years and since the ideas of contradiction, antithesis, opposition, the complementariness of opposites, of ambiguity, of complexity and of confusion had long been familiar to the Muslim thinking in which he had been educated. They are thus often evoked as operative concepts permitting understanding and explanation. In surmounting the contradictions dialectically, and in attempting to explain them and hence to resolve them, Ibn Khaldūn thus arrives at a dynamic conception of the dialectic development of the destiny of man, and at a system of history which is retrospectively intelligible, rational and necessary. His famous cyclic schema of historical interpretation, which in itself is not particularly original, must be included, in order for its true meaning to be seen, in this general view.

The wealth of the ideas provided in the *Mukaddima* has enabled several specialists to find in it the early beginnings of a number of disciplines which have become independent sciences only very recently. There is of course no argument about Ibn Khaldūn's quality as a historian. Y. Lacoste writes: "If Thucydides is the inventor of history, Ibn Khaldūn introduces history as a science" (*Ibn Khaldoun*, 187). But he has been regarded also as a philosopher, and it is surprising in particular to discover in his *Mukaddima* a very elaborate system of sociology. His "new science", his *ʿilm al-ʿumrān*, the discovery of which dazzled even himself, is basically, strictly speaking, nothing but a system of sociology,—conceived it is true as an auxiliary science to history. He considers that the basic causes of historical evolution are in fact to be sought in the economic and social structures. He therefore set himself to analyse them, elaborating as he did so a certain number of new operative concepts, the most pregnant of which is incontestably that of *ʿaṣabiyya* [*q.v.*]. It should be mentioned that this concept of *ʿaṣabiyya*, and that of *ʿumrān*, have given rise in modern times to many discussions—which cannot be enumerated here—regarding their interpretation (see M. Talbi, *Ibn Khaldūn et le sens de l'histoire*, in *SI*, xxvi (1967), 86-90 and 99-112). He was interested particularly in the influence of the way of life and of methods of production on the evolution of social groups. In a famous sentence, he states: "The differences which are seen between the generations (*adjyāl*) in their behaviour are only the expression of the differences which separate them in their economic way of life" (210). This sentence is often compared with an equally famous one of Marx: "The method of production in the material matters of life determines in general the social, political and intellectual processes of life". The similarity is indeed striking, and it is not the only one between them. Thus Ibn Khaldūn's thought is often interpreted, particularly in recent years, in the spirit of dialectical materialism. But, in spite of the undoubted similarities, it would be difficult to regard Ibn Khaldūn as a forerunner of materialism. Moreover the explanation he gives is not exclusively a socio-economic one but also psychological. "The *Prolegomena* do not contain only a general sociology but also a very detailed and subtle social psychology which may be divided into political psychology, economic psychology, ethical psychology and general psychology. The intermingled and closely linked elements of this social psychology and this general sociology form a whole complex which it is difficult to disentangle" (N. Nassar, *op. cit.*, 178).

There have been identified also, in this complex, economic doctrines sufficiently detailed to justify a study devoted to them, and a philosophy of history to which M. Mahdi has devoted an important work. It also provides ethnographic, anthropological and demographic information of real value.

Thus the atypical figure of Ibn Khaldūn in Arabo-Muslim culture has been unanimously considered, since his discovery in Europe, as that of an authentic genius, "un penseur génial et aberrant" (Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, ii, 391), whose *Mukaddima* represents "one of the solemn moments of human thought" (Bouthoul). Certainly a "solitary genius", he does not belong to any definite current of Arabo-Muslim

thought, since his works are in fact the product of a multitude of agonizing enquiries. His thinking represents a radical change, which unfortunately remained as unproductive as his political misadventures. "Just as he had no forerunners among Arabic writers, so he had no successors or emulators in this idiom until the contemporary period. Although he had a certain influence in Egypt on some writers of the end of the Middle Ages, it can be stated that, in his native Barbary, neither his *Muḳaddima* nor his personal teaching left any permanent mark. And indeed the systematic lack of comprehension and the resolute hostility which this nonconformist thinker of genius encountered among his own people forms one of the most moving dramas, one of the saddest and most significant pages in the history of Muslim culture" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, ii, 391).

Bibliography: Works on Ibn Khaldūn are too numerous to listed in full here. Reference should be made therefore to H. Pérès, *Bibliographie sur la vie et l'œuvre d'Ibn Ḫaldūn*, in *Mél. Lévi Della Vida*, ii, 308-29, and to the most recent bibliography compiled by W. J. Fischel and given at the end of vol. iii of the tr. of the *Muḳaddima* by F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, 27 pp. The following works however may be particularly mentioned: T. Hussein, *Étude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldūn*, Paris 1917; G. Bouthoul, *Ibn Khaldoun, sa philosophie sociale*, Paris 1930; N. Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldūn, historian, sociologist, and philosopher*, New York 1930; M. A. ʿInān, *Ibn Khaldūn, ḥayātuh wa-turāthuh al-fikrī*, Cairo 1933, new ed. with additions, Cairo 1965; R. Brunschvig, an excellent summary in *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947, ii, 385-93; C. Issawi, *An Arab philosophy of history*, London 1950; S. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Dirāsāt ʿan Muḳaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1953; M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldūn's philosophy of history*, London 1957.

Since the publication of W. J. Fischel's bibliography, further studies and works have appeared. Examples are: E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge 1958, chap. iv, 84-113; idem, *Islam in the modern national state*, Cambridge 1965, 16-27 and *passim* (the influence of Ibn Khaldūn on contemporary modernist Muslim thinkers); H. Simon, *Ibn Khaldûns Wissenschaft der menschlichen Kultur*, Leipzig 1959; S. M. Batsieva, *Sotsyal'nïye osnovï istoriko-filosofskogo učeniya Ibn Khalduna*, in *Pamyati I. Yu. Kračkovskogo*, Leningrad 1958; W. J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn's use of historial sources*, in *SI*, xiv (1961); idem, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt, his public functions and his historical research (1382-1406)*, Berkeley 1967; E. Gellner, *From Ibn Khaldūn to Karl Marx*, in *Political Quarterly*, xxxii (1961), 385-92; *al-Fikr* (published in Tunis) devoted its March 1961 number to Ibn Khaldūn; A. Badawī, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1962; A. al-Wardī, *Manṭiḳ Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1962; *Aʿmāl Mahradjān Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo 1962; R. Walzer, *Aspects of Islamic political thought: al-Fārābī and Ibn Xaldūn*, in *Oriens*, xv (1963), 40-60; Jitsuzo Tamura gives an economist's view on Ibn Khaldūn, in Japanese, in *Ajia kazai*, September 1963; H. A. Wolfson devotes several pages to Ibn Khaldūn in connexion with attributes and with predestination in his *Religious philosophy*, Harvard 1961, 177-95; *Colloque de Rabat*, May 1962, ed. Dar-El-Kitab, Casablanca; M. Atallah Berham, *La pensée économique d'Ibn Khaldūn*, University thesis, Paris 1964; N. Nassar, *Le maître d'Ibn Khaldūn: al-Ābilī*, in *SI*, xx (1964), 103-15; idem, *La pensée réaliste d'Ibn Khaldūn*, Paris 1967; G. H. Bousquet, *Les textes sociologiques et économiques de la Muḳaddima (1375-1379)*, Paris 1965; G. Labica, *Esquisse d'une sociologie de la religion chez Ibn Khaldūn*, in *La Pensée*, October 1965, no. 123, 3-23; R. Arnaldez, *Réflexions sur un passage de la Muḳaddima d'Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Mél. R. Crozet*, Poitiers 1966, 1337 ff.; Y. Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldoun, naissance de l'histoire, passé du tiers-monde*, Paris 1966 (a brilliant Marxist interpretation, to be used with caution: cf. review in *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 August 1968, p. 853); E. A. Myers, *Ibn Khaldūn, fore-runner of "new science"*, in *The Arab World*, New York, March 1966; M. Talbi, *Ibn Ḫaldūn et le sens de l'histoire*, in *SI*, xxvi (1967), 73-148; V. Monteil, in *La Rev. Hist.*, April-June 1967; Muh. Mahmoud Rabīʿ, *The political theory of Ibn Khaldūn*, Leiden 1967; J. Bielawski, *Aspect sociologique des opinions d'Ibn Ḫaldūn sur "les sciences de la langue arabe"*, in *Atti del terzo congresso di studi ar. e isl.*, Napoli 1967.

On his influence in Turkey, see Fındıkoğlu Z. Fahri, *Türkiye'de Ibn Haldunizm*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 153-63.

See further Pearson, *Index*, 10897-10923; *Supp.* I, 2872-2887; *Supp.* II, 2796-2805. (M. Talbi)

IBN KHALDŪN, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā, brother of the above, was born in Tunis about 734/1333, died at Tlemcen in Ramaḍān 780/December 1378-January 1379. Like his brother and probably with him, he devoted himself industriously to study in his native town and was intimate with all the important scholars of his time in the Ḥafṣid capital. To judge from his book (on which see below), he seems to have had a special preference for poetry and belles lettres. We know very little of his personality; the references are scattered in various sources, especially ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's autobiography and that portion of the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* which deals with the history of the Berbers. This last book gives a detailed account of the murder of Yaḥyā in Tlemcen; Yaḥyā himself gives a few details of his career in his *Bughyat al-ruwwād*.

Yaḥyā's political life did not begin until 757/1356, when he was with his brother (who was soon afterwards imprisoned) at the court of Abū Sālim, sultan of Fez, and the latter sent two Ḥafṣid *amīrs*, his prisoners, from Tlemcen back to Bougie. He accompanied these two princes in place of his brother, as chamberlain to one of them, the *amīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh. As the latter, in spite of a long siege, could not regain Bougie, he sent Yaḥyā to Abū Ḥammū II, king of Tlemcen, to ask for his assistance (764/1362). Yaḥyā found a kindly reception in Tlemcen and his request was granted. After the Mawlid festival, which he attended there and commemorated in a poem, he went back to his master to bring him to the ʿAbd al-Wādid court on 8 Djumādā II 764/26 March 1363. Both returned to Bougie with an expeditionary force sent by Abū Ḥammū.

In 767/1365-6, the Ḥafṣid *amīr* of Constantine, after taking Bougie, imprisoned Yaḥyā in Bona and confiscated his property; he escaped soon afterwards and went to Biskra to Ibn Muznī and his brother. It was probably at this time that he made the pilgrimage to the tomb of ʿUḳba, which he describes in his *Bughyat al-ruwwād*. In 769/1367 he returned from Biskra to Tlemcen at Abū Ḥammū's request, arrived there in Radjab 769/February 1368, and was appointed *Kātib al-inshā'*. When he learned that Tlemcen was threatened by the Marīnids, he forgot

the kindness shown him by Abū Ḥammū and left him (early 772/1370-1) to enter the service of the Marīnid sultan, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and afterwards of his successor Muḥammad al-Saʿīd. It was only after the capture of Fās al-Djadīd by Sultan Abu 'l-ʿAbbās in 775/1373 that Yaḥyā returned to Tlemcen, where Abū Ḥammū again welcomed him and gave him his former secretarial office. He soon won the king's confidence again but thereby aroused the jealousy of the other court officials, and notably of Abū Ḥammū's eldest son and probable successor, Abū Tāshfīn (II). The latter, with a few hired assassins, fell upon Yaḥyā as he was leaving the palace one night in Ramaḍān 780/1378 and murdered him. When Abū Ḥammū learned that his son had been the instigator of the crime, he had not the courage to take steps against the murderers.

Although Yaḥyā's political career was shorter and less brilliant than that of his brother, yet it gave him the opportunity to write a historical work of great learning, the *Bughyat al-ruwwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*. It was much used by Brosselard and Bargès in their works on Tlemcen and A. Bel published the Arabic text with French translation under the title *Histoire des Beni ʿAbd al-Wād, rois de Tlemcen* (2 vols., Algiers 1904-13). His history of the kingdom of Tlemcen is particularly important for its information on the long and often brilliant reign of Abū Ḥammū II, whose secretary and trusted adviser the writer was. In this capacity he was no doubt able to consult original political documents and he even quotes some in full in his book. Although the book neither covers so wide a field as that of his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān nor shows such a lofty point of view or critical spirit, it is far superior in literary value. Yaḥyā reveals in it not only literary but also poetical skill, his elegant style is often elevated and his narrative is adorned with quotations from the best ancient Arab writers. He not only gives us a picture of the political history of the central Maghribī kingdom, but he also preserves for us in his work poems by contemporary court poets and gives information about scholars of his time and about the poetical meetings at the court of Tlemcen—information hardly to be found elsewhere and affording a precise survey of the intellectual life of the ʿAbd al-Wādid capital in the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: further to works mentioned in the text: Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyan*, Paris 1887, 205-17. (A. Bel)

IBN KHALLĀD, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, a Muʿtazilī theologian. After a slow start, he became the most distinguished disciple of Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933; see al-djubbāʾī), first in al-ʿAskar and then in Baghdād. He is the author of a *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* and a *Kitāb al-Sharḥ*; he was also a man of letters and of general culture (*adab wa-maʿrifa*). He did not live to an old age, and therefore seems to have died before the middle of the 4th/10th century. Two of his disciples, who also studied under Abū Hāshim and in their turn were teachers of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], were Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī and Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. ʿAyyāsh (mentioned by Ibn al-Murtaḍā, see below). It is probable that the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār is a revision and completion of the (unfinished) *Kitāb al-Sharḥ* of Ibn Khallād. The same work was commented upon and supplemented by the Zaydī imām al-Nāṭiḳ bi'l-Ḥaḳḳ (d. 424/1033; Brockelmann, S I, 697f.; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 407). In the official *isnād* of the Muʿtazilī doctrine, Ibn Khallād appears as the authority of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, who is in his turn the authority of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār. The recorded details of his doctrine (see M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, 1910, index, s.v. Ibn Hallâd) confirm his doctrinal position between Abū Hāshim and ʿAbd al-Djabbār.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 174; *al-ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, introd., p. 28, and index; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Die Klassen der Muʿtaziliten*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, 1961, 105 (incorrect translation of this passage in M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme*, etc., 1912, 426 f.); Brockelmann, S I, 348 (read Leiden, Or. 2949, and Landberg, no. 589). Ibn al-Murtaḍā quotes the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, of whose *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila* a manuscript has recently become known (see introduction, p. xvi). See also M. Schreiner, in *Actes du VIII^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, II/i(A), Leiden 1893, 87 and n. 1; A. S. Tritton, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 612-22 (from an unidentified work, possibly the *Ziyādāt* of Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn to the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Ibn Khallād). (J. Schacht)

IBN KHALLIKĀN, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Shams al-Dīn al-Barmakī al-Irbilī al-Shāfiʿī, Arabic biographer, b. 11 Rabīʿ II 608/22 September 1211 at Irbil in a respectable family that claimed descent from the Barmakids. At the age of two, he lost his father, who was *mudarris* in the Muẓaffariyya college founded by the Begteginid [*q.v.*] Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gökburi (see Ibn Khallikān, no. 558). He began his studies under his father's successor Sharaf al-Dīn al-Irbilī (*ibid.*, no. 44); he then continued them from 626/1229 in Aleppo under Ibn Shaddād (*ibid.*, no. 852) and Ibn Yaʿīsh (*ibid.*, no. 842). After Ibn Shaddād's death in 632/1234 he went to Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (*ibid.*, no. 422) in Damascus. He also visited Mosul several times and became acquainted with the historian Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1234) and with Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 158 ff.). In 635 or 636 he went to Egypt and was in 646/1249 at the latest appointed deputy to the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Egypt Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥasan known as Ḳāḍī Sindjār who was in office until 659/1261. In this year the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars appointed Ibn Khallikān *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Damascus. In this capacity he administered justice in the whole of Syria, whilst the judges of the Ḥanafī, Ḥanbalī, and Mālikī schools were his deputies. In 664/1266 Baybars gave orders that the judges of the aforesaid three schools should be promoted to the rank of *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, and in 669/1271 Ibn Khallikān lost his post altogether. He went back to Cairo and became a *mudarris* in the college al-Fakhriyya. After the death of Baybars in 676/1277, Ibn Khallikān was again appointed *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Syria and in 677/1278 was received in Damascus with great honours. But new troubles lay ahead. When Ḳalāwūn ascended the throne, the governor of Damascus Sunḳur al-Ashkar rose in revolt, but was defeated. The troops of Ḳalāwūn entered Damascus in Ṣafar 679/June 1280, and a general amnesty was announced. Yet Ibn Khallikān was arrested and accused of having given a *fatwā* which Sunḳur could use as a justification for his revolt; but three weeks later he was released and re-installed as *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* by an immediate order of the Sultan. At the beginning of the next year (680/1281) Ḳalāwūn visited Damascus; three days later Ibn Khallikān was dismissed. He died on

26 Radjab 681/30 October 1282 in Damascus.

Ibn Khallikān was a man of keen intellect, a shrewd observer, well versed in all legal matters, and just and impartial in his judgement; he was also very cultured, sociable, witty, and a lover of the pleasures of life. He was very fond of poetry and a connoisseur of the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī. Amongst his friends were the Egyptian poets Bahā' al-Dīn Zubayr [*q.v.*] and Ibn Maṭrūḥ (*Wafayāt*, no. 821). Above all he had a liking for historical studies, so much so that he began to collect materials on the lives of persons who for some reason or other had gained fame. Later on he arranged his notes alphabetically according to the *ism* of the person concerned. Thus began his famous biographical dictionary *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa- anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, which contains only persons whose year of death the author could ascertain. He omitted on purpose (1) the Companions of the Prophet, (2) the transmitters of the second generation (*tābiʿūn*) with few exceptions, and (3) all caliphs, because information about persons belonging to one of these groups was easily available in biographical and historical works. He began with the arrangement in 654/1256 at Cairo, but when in 659/1260 he had come to the article on Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak (no. 816) he had to stop, owing to his transfer to Damascus; it was only after his return to Cairo in 669/1271 that he could revise and finish his work in 672/1274. This book, intended by its author as a historical compendium, is a mine of information, especially in those parts where he speaks of contemporaries, whilst in the articles on men of earlier times he often quotes sources which are either lost or not yet published. He himself took pains to improve his book; his autograph (in the British Museum, *Cat.* no 1505 and *Supplement* no. 607) is full of emendations and marginal notes. This and the popularity of the book explain also the differences in the number and serial order of the articles in manuscripts and editions. A supplement, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, was written by Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363). There exist also translations into Persian and Turkish.

Bibliography: Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-djinān*, iv, 143-7; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, v, 14 f.; Tashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 208 f.; Ulughkhānī, *Ẓafar al-wālih*, ed. E. D. Ross, i, 184 (quoting al-Birzālī's *Muʿdjam*); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 370 f.; see also Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks par Makrizi*, i/2, 180-9, 271; Brockelmann I, 326-8; S I, 561; and de Slane's introduction to his translation of Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN KHAMĪS, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿUmar b. Muḥ. al-Ḥimyarī, al-Ḥadjrī al-Ruʿaynī, al-Tilimsānī (and not al-Tūnusī as Ibn Ḳunfudh mistakenly says), Arab poet born at Tlemcen in 650/1252 and assassinated at Granada in 708/1308.

On his origins, which he traces to the tribe of Ḥimyar in the Yemen, there is known only what he himself states in his poems; of the early part of the 58 years of his life we know only that he knew poverty and lived in "a room in a *funduḳ* with sheepskins for bed-covers ", that he was able to give himself freely to pleasures, of which he later repented in his poems, and that he received a very profound literary education, to judge by his work and by his appointment, in 681/1282, to the office of personal secretary of the sultan Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān I b. Yaghmurāsan (681-703/1282-1303).

It is not known how long he occupied this post. In 688/1299, the traveller al-ʿAbdarī, who was passing through Tlemcen and who had a great admiration for him, found him in difficult circumstances. Ten years later, Tlemcen was invested by the Marīnid Abu Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (685-706/1286-1307) and the siege lasted a hundred months, until the besieger was assassinated. Although the exact date and the manner are unknown, it was during this siege that Ibn Khamīs left his native town, following an attempt on his life by those in power who accused him of being in favour of a surrender of the city. This at least is what he himself insinuates in two of his poems. He went to Ceuta, at that time governed by Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥ. b. ʿAḥmad al-ʿAzafī and his brother Abū Ḥātim; there he attempted to establish himself as a teacher, but his attempt failed, his own pupils, instigated by a rival named Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Rabīʿ, having baffled him from the start by hurling at him embarrassing grammatical questions. He went to Algeciras, then to Malaga and finally, in 703/1304, to Granada. Everywhere he earned his living by teaching and by writing poems in which he gives himself the "pleasure of praising" the great. The ruler of Granada at this time was Muḥammad III, known as al-Makhlūʿ (701-8/1302-9), whose vizier, Ibn al-Ḥakīm Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm (660-708/1262-1308), was an important personality of the period and by way of being a patron. Returning from a long voyage in the east, the latter had passed through Tlemcen where he had met Ibn Khamīs. At Granada his court was attended by scholars and men of letters; he invited Ibn Khamīs to join it, thus assuring him at last an easy life, in return of course for laudatory poems. In 706/1306, Ibn Khamīs returned to Malaga on a visit, then went to Almeria where the general Ibn Kumāsha, a subordinate of Ibn al-Ḥakīm, hastened to welcome him. He loved to travel—"I am", he said "like the blood; I put myself in motion every spring". He never forgot Tlemcen, and dreamed of returning there. But, one morning, on the feast of the breaking of the fast in the year 708/1309, he was surprised in his dwelling at Granada by a riot resulting from the coup d'état provoked by Abu 'l-Djuyūsh Naṣr b. Muḥammad, who seized power (708-13/1309-14); a certain ʿAlī b. Naṣr, called al-Abkam (= the dumb), killed him with a lance. The reason for the murder was his connexion with Ibn al-Ḥakīm, who was killed on the same day.

The biographers of Ibn Khamīs describe him as a scholar, philosopher, sage, astrologer, alchemist, heresiographer, and littérateur. But there is no positive evidence for these attributes and all that is certain is that he was a poet. All that have survived of any works he may have written are poems. They are said to have been collected by a certain *ḳāḍī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaḍramī, who has not been further identified, in a collection entitled *al-Durr al-nafīs fī shiʿr Ibn Khamīs*, of which nothing more is known. The poems of Ibn Khamīs are nevertheless accessible, if not entirely, at least in large part. They are scattered throughout the works of al-ʿAbdarī, Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and al-Maḳḳarī, who reproduces Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Ibn Manṣūr was able to collect of them sixteen *ḳaṣīdas*, totalling more than 610 verses, ten of them each consisting of more than 30 verses and two reaching 80 verses each.

We find in them the traditional themes: *madḥ*, *hidjā'*, *fakhr*, sometimes preceded by *nasīb*. He praises the Banū Zayyān of Tlemcen, the traveller

Ibn Rushayd and especially the vizier Ibn al-Ḥakīm, who has protected the poet and confounded his enemies, and who has power, courage, generosity, etc. ... He directs his satire against the Banū Yaghmūr (sic), who have attempted to have him assassinated and who are thus responsible for his exile far from his own small country, bruised by anarchy, who have "forfeited his loyalty for a cheap return" and who are proud, pitiless and vile tyrants. He prides himself on his illustrious ancestry: Mudjāshiʿ, Nahshal, Ḥimyar, Sakāsik, etc.

Apart from this, his poems are embroidered with proper names and unusual words, revealing a depth of culture which it is surprising to find in a native of 7th/13th century Tlemcen of modest circumstances. His works are composed against a background of the stories of Arab, Persian and Greco-Roman antiquity: Hermes, Socrates, al-Fārābī, al-Suhrawardī, Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, ʿAmr b. Hind, Nuʿmān, Imruʾ al-Ḳays and many others form a gallery of the famous. In addition, his guiding principle as regards form is summarized in a verse: "He who does not chew over obscure (*ḥūshī*) language does not taste the savour of the art of good expression (*balāgha*)". This strange precept was not merely a theoretical one, and some of his poems are impossible to understand without a good dictionary. This is probably the reason why he has formerly been classed, with Shanfarā, Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and Sulayk b. ʿĀmir, among the "stallions" (*fuḥūl*) of Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: Yaḥyā Ibn Khaldūn, *Bughyat al-ruwwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min banī ʿAbd al-Wād*, Algiers 1903, i, 10-43, 117; Ibn Ḳunfudh, *Wafayāt*, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers, n.d., 53, no. 708; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934, i, 163, no. 470; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1908, 225; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1949, vii, 280-95; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1939, ii, 301-36; J.-J.-L. Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Béni-Zeiyan*, Paris 1887, 22-4; Abdesselam Meziane, *Ibn Khamīs, poète tlemcenien du XIIIe siècle*, in *Deuxième congrès de la Fédération des sociétés savantes de l'Afrique du Nord à Tlemcen 14-17 avril 1936*, Algiers 1936, ii, 1057-66; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Manṣūr, *al-Muntakhab al-nafīs min shiʿr Ibn Khamīs*, Tlemcen 1365; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djīlālī, *Taʾrīkh al-Djazāʾir al-ʿāmm*, Algiers 1955, ii, 146.

(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN AL-KHASHSHĀB, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Khashshāb (afterwards called Ibn al-Khashshāb) al-Naḥwī (this form for his name is given by his contemporary Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, Ḥaydarābād 1358, 238); his place of birth is unknown, while the date given for his birth, 492/1099, is not certain (see the criticism of Ibn Khallikān, ii, 289). He lived in Baghdād and died there on 3 Ramaḍān 567/30 April 1172, a date generally accepted.

Ibn al-Khashshāb is a complex character. There was in him an insatiable intellectual curiosity. Among his teachers were al-Djawālīḳī and Abū Saʿāda Ibn al-Shadjarī, but he went to hear all the teachers of repute of his day, and he read incessantly. In short, he learnt practically everything that could be learnt at that time in Baghdād. He studied the Islamic sciences, mention being made of *farāʾiḍ* (division of inheritances) and *nasab* (genealogy). He excelled in grammar (*naḥw*), and then in *ḥadīth*. In addition, he had a knowledge of arithmetic, geometry (*handasa*) and logic (*manṭiḳ*), and according to Yāḳūt even of *falsafa* (philosophy).

He was a teacher, who spoke well and easily; he knew how to crack a joke successfully, and moreover he had very beautiful handwriting. Among his pupils were Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī and ʿImād al-Din al-Iṣbahānī; the latter composed a dithyrambic panegyric of him (*Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, i, *al-Ḳism al-ʿIrāḳī*, Damascus 1375/1955, 28, and al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 102). But, apart from such rewarding teaching, his great intellectual activity bore very little fruit: four *radds* (refutations), his reaction to what he read or to accepted teaching; three *sharḥs* which he did not complete, and certain other writings. Something was lacking in all this great activity. Al-Ḳifṭī (*op. cit.*, 101) speaks of the *ḍadjar*, the black mood, to which he was subject. Here we have an indication that his nervous equilibrium was unsatisfactory. This point may explain the lack of control which revealed itself even in his dress and conduct and which was the cause of adverse criticism; and he was also accused of avarice.

The *radds*: *Radd* of Ibn Bābashādh in his *Sharḥ* to the *K. al-Djumal al-kabīr* of al-Zadjdjādjī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, no 4197). *Radd* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Tibrīzī in his *Tahdhīb* of the *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt (*ibid.*, i, no. 828). *Radd* of Abū Saʿāda Ibn al-Shadjarī, last *madjlis* of his *Amālī*, on the subject of verses of al-Mutanabbī (*ibid.*, i, no. 1180). Only one has been preserved, the *Radd* of the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, in manuscript with varying titles (Brockelmann, S I, 494), published under the title *al-Istidrākāt ʿalā Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī wa-ʾntiṣār Ibn Barrī* (Istanbul 1328) and also following these *Maḳāmāt* (Cairo 1326); see also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, no. 1319. On the question of his glosses on the subject of the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī and the reply of Ibn Barrī, see Ch. C. Torrey, *Orient. Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 212-3.

The *sharḥs*: *Sharḥ* to the *K. al-Lumaʿ fi ʾl-naḥw* of Ibn Djinnī. *Sharḥ* to the *Muḳaddima fi ʾl-naḥw* of the vizier Ibn Hubayra. The only one to have survived is the *Sharḥ* to the *K. al-Djumal fi ʾl-naḥw* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, which he called *al-Murtadjal fī sharḥ al-Djumal*, MSS at Gotha (211) and elsewhere (Brockelmann, S I, 504).

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (v, no. 11019) also refers to his *al-Lāmiʿ fi ʾl-naḥw* and *Mawālīd ahl al-bayt* (vi, no. 13360), which does indeed seem to be his work and which is relevant to what has been called his knowledge of *nasab*.

Two works not mentioned in the sources consulted have survived in manuscript. MS Köprülü 1393/5 (five folios) (*MSO*, xiv, 1911, 193, no. 57) contains *al-Lumaʿ fi ʾl-kalām ʿalā lafẓat āmīn al-mustaʿmala fi ʾl-duʿāʾ wa-ḥukmihā*, a study on the word *āmīn* (amen). MS Cairo², iii, 281-2, has preserved *al-Ḳaṣīda al-badīʿa al-ʿarabiyya al-djāmiʿa li-shatāt al-faḍāʾil wa ʾl-rumūz al-ʿilmiyya*, dedicated to Abu ʾl-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (like himself, a pupil of al-Djawālīḳī); it is a versified work on ten subjects relating to the Islamic sciences, enumerated in the Catalogue (282) referred to, and repeated by Brockelmann (S I, 494). This Catalogue gives the reference: see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī in *al-Bayyināt fi ʾl-dīn wa ʾl-idjtimāʿ wa ʾl-adab wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, i, 204-17.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Brockelmann, II, 696 and S I, 493-4; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1900 no. 298. Arabic sources: information was gathered together by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, xii, 47-54= *Irshād*, iv, 286-8 and Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 99-103. For the date of his birth, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 288-90, no. 323. In

the other authors mainly repetitions: Abū Aḥmad al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-dianān*, Ḥaydarābād 1338, iii, 381-2; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, Cairo 1350, iv, 220-2; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 276-7, copied Yāḳūt, references given above; etc. See references in Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 99, n. 1. (H. Fleisch)

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, Aḥmad b. al-Khāṣīb and Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh [see al-khaṣībī].

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī, *kātib* and man of letters of the 3rd/9th century, called Naṭṭāḥa and known also, as his grandfather Ibrāhīm had been (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 92), as al-Khaṣībī, after the ancestor of the family, the governor of Egypt al-Khaṣīb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who had been praised by Abū Nuwās (see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 70 ff. and index).

Often confused with the viziers Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and his grandson Aḥmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh [see al-khaṣībī], he was in fact only the secretary of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 300/913); according to the *Fihrist* (Cairo ed., 181), he was executed by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 296/908-9), but this may have been the son of ʿUbayd Allāh (d. 301/914); however, no further details are available on this person, who has nevertheless a permanent place in Arabic epistolography (see *e.g.*, A. Z. Ṣafwat, *Djamharat rasāʾil al-ʿArab*, iv, 362-4).

Ibn al-Nadīm (Cairo ed., 180) and, after him, Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, ii, 227-30) attribute particularly to Naṭṭāḥa a voluminous collection of letters, a *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-kuttāb*, a *K. Ṣifat al-nafs* and a collection of private letters; Ibn al-Nadīm states that the majority of his letters are *ikhwāniyyāt* and notes that he had carried on a correspondence with Ibn al-Muʿtazz. He was also well known as a poet, and some lines of his have survived.

Bibliography: in the article; see also Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 113 (correcting *baṭāḥa* to *Naṭṭāḥa*). (Ed.)

IBN AL-KHAṢĪB, Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan b. al-Khaṣīb, astrologer who lived in the 2nd/8-9th century, in the circle of the Barmakids (cf. in Ibn al-Ḳifṭī the mention of a *Kitāb al-Manthūr* dedicated to Yaḥyā b. Khālid). He was known in Europe under the name of "Alkasin filius Alkasit" (cf. colophon of MS Bibliothèque Nationale 7.934 and Derwischt, *Bibliographie générale de l'astronomie*, London 1964), or more frequently under that of "Albubather" (Scheibel, *Astronomische bibliographie*, Breslau 1792, under year 1492). He was given the flattering description of "Auctor astronomiae perspicuus". This "astronomer", to judge by the works which have survived (cf. Brockelmann), was primarily an astrologer. Little is known of his life except that he was of Persian origin and lived for a long time at Kūfa. His learning reflects strongly this origin and the special position which astrology had acquired among the Persians. Probably of "Sabian" sympathies, he practised with enthusiasm the art of *ikhtiyārāt*, *masāʾil* (*electiones*, *interrogationes*). He made use of "lots" (*sahm*, *pars*, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Tafhīm*, ed. Djalāl Paymānī, 440). Going beyond the apparently scientific reserve affected by Ptolemy in his *Tetrabiblion* (*opus quadripartitum*), he enjoyed speculating on the compatibility and incompatibility of the planets, signs and houses of the Zodiac, and "lots". He also used *hayladj*/hyleg. He was also bold enough to predict the duration of states and dynasties (*taḥwīl sinī 'l-ʿālam*, an idea of Zurvanite or Indian origin). He earned thus the wrath of his biographer Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, who complains of having been misled by the falseness of these prophecies, based on the absolute confidence which Ibn al-Khaṣīb placed in the geographical dominance of the sign of Gemini over Egypt. He thus was a man of resource, with an ample supply of prescriptions of all kinds, whose enormous repertoire probably gained him the goodwill of his patrons and later the interested approbation of foreign civilizations. The work which earned him the most lasting success was the *Mughnī fi 'l-mawālīd*, *De nativitatibus*, an extract from a sort of astrological encyclopaedia to which he had given the Persian name of *Kār-i mihtar* ("The Practice of the Prince"?). The text of it is preserved in the Arabic collection in the Escurial, in Latin translation in the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale mentioned above and in the two Sessa editions published in Venice in 1492 and 1501. Ibn al-Khaṣīb's translator was the Jewish scholar Plato of Tivoli, whose manuscript was the basis for the works of Sessa. Two centuries later, the learned librarian of the Elector of Saxony, Johannes Milius, drew attention to and wrote a commentary on the works of Albubather. The *De nativitatibus* was from then on inseparable from the *Centiloqium* of the pseudo-Hermes Trismegistus, with which Sessa linked it in a single volume (Milius, *Memorabilia bibliothecae ienensis sive Designatio manuscriptorum*, 199). At the end of his career, as at the beginning, Albubather's works formed an integral part of Hermetic literature.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see *Fihrist*, 272; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Khāndjī, Cairo, 114; Brockelmann, I, 221, S I, 394. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-KHAṬĪB, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Salmānī, vizier and historian of Granada, who bore the *laḳab*s of Lisān al-Dīn and Dhu 'l-wizāratayn, apart from those by which he was designated after his death. Of Arab descent through the sub-tribe of the Salmān, a clan of the Murād of the Yemen, he came from a family which was established in Syria and which arrived in the Iberian peninsula in the 2nd/8th century, took up residence in Cordova, and then moved successively to Toledo, Loja and Granada. At first the family was known by the name Banū Wazīr, but after Saʿīd al-Salmānī it had the name Banu 'l-Khaṭīb.

Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb was born in Loja, about 50 km. from Granada, on 25 Radjab 713/15 November 1313, but he was educated in Granada where his father had settled in order to enter the service of the sultan Abu 'l-Walīd Ismāʿīl. He had numerous eminent teachers who are listed by his biographers and, thanks to their instruction and to his own particular aptitudes, he succeeded in acquiring a vast fund of knowledge which later enabled him to win distinction in various branches of learning and to write many works, whose titles number more than 60. After his father's death in the battle of Salado or Tarifa on 7 Djumādā I 741/30 October 1340, his talents and learning enabled him to enter the service of sultan Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl as secretary, under the administrative and technical direction of the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Djayyāb; when the latter died of the plague in the middle of Shawwāl 749/mid-January 1349, Ibn Khaṭīb was appointed to the office of *kātib al-inshāʾ*, head of the royal chancellery, with the title of vizier; he retained this office in the reign of Muḥammad V al-Ghanī bi-'llāh who raised his rank, and it was then that he assumed the title of Dhu 'l-wizāratayn. After Muḥammad V's deposition (760/1358-9), Ibn al-Khaṭīb's fortune changed for some years; the

ḥādjib Riḍwān, the protector of Ibn Khaṭīb, who had enjoyed great influence and authority in that sovereign's reign before his fall, was assassinated, Lisān al-Dīn was put in prison, and it was only as a result of the intervention of his friend Ibn Marzūḳ, secretary of the Marīnid sultan Abū Sālim, that he regained his freedom and was permitted to go to Morocco, accompanying the dethroned sovereign into exile. He travelled throughout the territory of the Marīnids and finally settled in Salé where he acquired estates and wrote some of his works (see A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Muʾallafāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fi 'l-Maghrib*, in *Hespéris*, xlvi (1959), 247-53). When Muḥammad V was restored to the throne in Djumādā II 763/March-April 1362, Ibn al-Khaṭīb returned to Granada where he was restored to the office of vizier and became the chief dignitary of the court. But some years later, finding himself the victim of intrigues and fearing the worst, he seized the opportunity provided by a tour of inspection of fortresses in the western part of the kingdom of Granada to cross over to Ceuta and, from there, to Tlemcen (773/1371-2), where he was very favourably received by the sultan Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; throughout the short reign of his son and successor Abū Zayyān Muḥammad al-Saʿīd (a minor), he was safe from the demands of Muḥammad V that he should be sent to Granada for trial, for he had been unjustly accused of heresy, among other crimes, as a result of the calumnies of his influential rivals in Granada, especially the *ḳāḍī* al-Nubāhī and the vizier Ibn Zamrak. When Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was dethroned, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī Sālim was proclaimed his successor; then for a short time, through the hostility of one of his enemies, Sulaymān b. Dāwud, who held important offices at the Marīnid court, Ibn al-Khāṭīb experienced the harshest days of his life. Cast into prison, he was brought to trial, through the influence of Ibn Zamrak, who had succeeded him as chief minister of Granada and who had elected to be his accuser, before a private court set up for this purpose, and, although no conclusive sentence seems to have been pronounced in spite of the wishes of those who were in favour of his execution, he was put to death at the instigation of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, being strangled in prison, at the end of 776/May-June 1375.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb was the greatest Muslim writer of Granada and an almost unparalleled source for knowledge of the history and culture of the end of the 7th/13th and of the greater part of the 8th/14th century. He distinguished himself in almost all branches of learning and wrote works on history, poetry, medicine, *adab* and mystico-philosophic subjects. The chancellery correspondence that came from his pen, in its beauty of style, represents, in the words of one author "a marvel of literature"; there is a specimen of it in the *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb wa-nuʿdjat al-muntāb*, from which M. Gaspar y Remiro published and translated various texts in his *Correspondencia diplomática entre Granada y Fez (siglo XIV). Extractos de la «Raihana Alcuttab»* ... (*Mss. de la Bibl. del Escorial*), Granada 1916. His journeys as ambassador to the Marīnid sultans and during his exile in Morocco as well as in his capacity of overseer of fortresses in the kingdom of Granada and also in other circumstances gave him the opportunity to write various *riḥla*s, *risāla*s and *maḳāma*s which have enjoyed a well-deserved reputation (for some of these, see A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Mushāhadāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī bilād al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus* (*Madjmūʿa min rasāʾili-hi*), Alexandria 1958, who re-publishes the *Khaṭrat al-ṭayf fī riḥlat al-shitāʾ wa 'l-ṣayf*; *Mufākharāt Mālaḳa wa-Salā*, translated, from the text of Müller in his *Beiträge*, i, 1-13, under the title *El "Parangón entre Málaga y Salé"*, by E. García Gómez, in *al-Andalus*, ii (1934), 183-96; and *Miʿyār al-ikhtibār fī-dhikr al-maʿāhid wa 'l-diyār*, edited earlier by Simonet, in *Descripción del reino de Granada bajo la dominación de los naseritas*, Madrid 1861, and by Müller in his *Beiträge*, i, 45-100; finally, ʿAbbādī gives for the first time an edition of a *Riḥla* of Lisān al-Dīn across the Maghrib taken from the *K. Nufāḍat al-djirāb fī ʿulālat al-ightirāb* (ms. Escorial 1755), the whole preceded by an introduction and accompanied by notes and a bibliography, all helpful).

Ibn al-Khaṭīb is also the author of medical works such as *al-Maʿlūma* and the *Risāla fī takwīn* (*takawwun*?) *al-djanīn* (cf. Renaud, in *Hespéris*, xix (1942-5), 97 ff., xxxiii (1946), 213 ff.) and of an anthology of poetry entitled *Djaysh al-tawshīḥ* (cf. Stern, *Two anthologies of muwaššaḥ poetry*: *Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb's* ..., in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 151-69), without counting the poems of his own composition which occur in his works. Pending the completion of Mme. Arié's thesis on the writings of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the most complete list of his works is that given by al-Maḳḳarī in the final sections of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, to which one must refer for everything relating to this great figure of the politics and literature of Granada (see also Ibn Khaldūn; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 334-47, no. 294; and Brockelmann, II, 260-3 and S II, 372).

In spite of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's large corpus of writings, which also include certain works on mystico-philosophic subjects such as the *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi 'l-ḥubb al-sharīf* (ms. Damascus Ẓāhiriyya, *taṣawwuf* 85) and others (see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Falsafa wa 'l-akhlāḳ ʿind Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, Tetuan 1953 and, lastly, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭiṭṭawānī, *Ibn al-Khaṭīb min khilāl kutubih*, which have no apparatus criticus), it is above all as an historian that he is renowned. In this field of writing, we may select in particular: (1) *al-Iḥāṭa fī taʾrīkh* (var. *akhbār*) *Gharnāṭa*, a long monograph on Granada divided into two parts containing the description of the town and the biographies of celebrated personages, including the *amīr*s, who were born or lived in Granada or who visited it, with most interesting historical notes, in some cases unique; only a number of incomplete editions have appeared: Cairo 1319/1901-2, 2 vols., very imperfect; Cairo 1955, one vol. by ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān (on this ed. and the surviving mss. of the *Iḥāṭa*, see, in addition to the editor's introd., *MIDEO*, iii (1956), 324-8). (2) *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fi 'l-dawla al-naṣriyya* (Casiri has given long extracts from this, as well as from the *Iḥāṭa*, together with a Latin trans., in his *Bibliotheca*, ii, 71 ff., 177-246, 246-319. A fairly acceptable edition of the *Lamḥa* was published in Cairo in 1347/1928-9; I. S. Allouche translated some chapters from it in his article *La vie économique et sociale à Grenade au XIVe siècle*, in *Mél. d'hist. et d'archéol.*: *Hommage à G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 7-12). This work of Ibn al-Khaṭīb presents a panorama of the civilization of Granada, with biographies of the Naṣrid sovereigns, from approximately 628 to 765/1230 to 1363. (3) *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām fī-man būyiʿa ḳabl al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*, one of the last works written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in 774 and 776/1372-4 (partial ed. by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *Centenario M. Amari*, ii (1910), 427-82 (trans. R. Castrillo, *El Africa del Norte en el «Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām» de Ibn al-Jaṭīb*, Madrid

1958) and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane extraite du «Kitāb Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām»*, Rabat 1934, ²Beirut 1956; partial ed. by A. M. al-ʿAbbādī and M. I. al-Kattānī, *al-Maghrib al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-wasīṭ*, Casablanca 1964). This is an unfinished history of Islam, the first part of which is devoted to the East, the second to Muslim Spain, and the third to North Africa and Sicily.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text and the references given there, the following should also be noted: M. M. Antuña, *El polígrafo granadino Abenaljatib en la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Escorial 1926; Cl. Sánchez Albornoz, *Fuentes de la historia hispano-musulmana del siglo VIII*, vol. ii of *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo*, Mendoza 1942, index s.v. Aben Aljatib (some correction necessary); E. García Gómez, *Ibn Zamrak, el poeta de la Alhambra*, Madrid 1943; Aḥmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī, *Los móviles económicos en la vida de Ibn al-Jatīb*, in *al-Andalus*, xx (1955), 214-21. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

IBN KHĀTIMA, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khātima al-Anṣārī, man of letters, poet, historian and grammarian of al-Andalus. Born at an unknown date in Almeria, where he spent the greater part of his life, he died in 770/1369. An intimate friend of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he associated with the most eminent personages in the kingdom of Granada, but he does not appear to have held any office other than that of *kātib* and *muḳriʾ* at the mosque of Almeria. His teachers included Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Balāfiḳī, Ibn Luyūn, Ibn Djābir, Ibn Shuʿayb and Ibn Farkūn. Held in high esteem in his own lifetime, he is the author of works of merit in various fields. Those known are:

1. *Taḥṣīl al-gharaḍ al-ḳāṣid fī tafṣīl al-maraḍ al-wāfid*, on the outbreak of the plague which occurred in 749-50/1348-9. In medicine, Ibn Khātima studied epidemics in general, and the causes and effects of that of 749-50 in the town of Almeria in particular; mss: Berlin 6369, Escorial (Derenbourg, no. 1785); German trans. Taha Dinanah, in *Arch. für Gesch. d. Med.*, xx (1926), 27-81; Spanish trans., from the German text, of the medical part by J. Fernández Martínez, in *Actualidad medica* (Granada), 403-4 (1958), 449-512, 566-88.

2. *Maziyyat al-Mariyya ʿalā ghayrihā min al-bilād al-andalusiyya*; this work, of a historical character, is lost, but it is often quoted as a source by Ibn al-Khāṭīb, al-Maḳḳarī, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and other historians of the period.

3. *Dīwān*; autograph ms. Escorial (Derenbourg 381), divided into five parts: (a) *fi 'l-madḥ wa 'l-thanāʾ*; (b) *fi 'l-nasīb wa 'l-ghazal*; (c) *fi'l-mulaḥ wa 'l-fukāhāt*; (d) *fi 'l-waṣāyā wa 'l-ḥikam*; (e) *muwashshaḥāt*; study and Spanish trans. of the *dīwān* by S. Gibert (thesis, Madrid 1951). There is another ms. in Rabat, Bibl. Générale, no. 269.

4. *Kitāb rāʾiḳ al-taḥliya fī fāʾiḳ al-tawriya*; a collection of poems of Ibn Khātima containing *tawriyas* [see bayān], compiled by one of his pupils named Ibn Zarḳala; mss: Escorial (Derenbourg, no. 419), Bibl. Nat. Paris (Blochet, no. 5749), Rabat (*Catal.* 1958, no. 1826); study and comm. on this work by S. Gibert in *Etudes d'orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 543-57.

5. *al-Faṣl al-ʿādil bayn al-raḳīb wa 'l-wāshī wa 'l-ādhil*, a short treatise in rhyming prose on the distinction between the spy, the informer and the censor; ed. and trans. S. Gibert, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1954), 1-16.

6. *Īrād al-laʾāl fī anshād al-ḍawāl(l)*, a résumé of a treatise on philology by al-Zubaydī and Ibn Makkī of Cordova with a commentary by Ibn Hishām and arranged in order by Ibn Hānī al-Sabtī; ed. and comm. by G. S. Colin, in *Hespéris*, xii (1931), 1-32.

In his *Nayl al-ibtihādj* (Cairo 1350/72), Aḥmad Bābā gives the title of another work of Ibn Khātima, on some questions of grammar, *Ilḥāḳ al-ʿaḳl bi 'l-ḥiss*, of which nothing further is known.

The National Library of Madrid (ms. 511 gg. 390 Cat. Guillén Robles) possesses a poem of Ibn Khātima that is also included in his *Dīwān*; it is a *takhmīs* of a poem of Ibn al-Khaymī of mystical character.

Bibliography: In addition to the works referred to : Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1939, i, 114-29; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1364/1949, viii, 139-48; idem, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1358-61/1940-2, i, 23, 250, ii, 252, 259, 302, 346, 395; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjal*, Rabat 1934, i, no. 116; Aḥmad Bābā al-Tumbuktī, *Nayl*, Cairo 1350, 72; Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, Paris 1932, i, 78; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ms. Paris, no. 2327, xvii, fol. 210; Brockelmann, II, 259, S II, 396; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 331-3; G. S. Colin, *Quelques poètes arabes d'occident au XIVe siècle*, in *Hespéris*, 1931, 241; M. Antuña, *Abenjátima de Almería y su tratado de la peste*, in *Religión y Cultura*, Madrid, Oct. 1928. (S. Gibert)

IBN KHAṬṬĀB [see al-khaṭṭābī].

IBN KHAYR AL-ISHBĪLĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khayr b. ʿUmar b. Khalīfa al-Lamtūnī al-Amawī, philologian and traditionist of Seville, where he was born in 502/1108. He became *imām* of the mosque at Cordova, and died in that city in 575/1179. Ibn Khayr, who studied under many teachers in different regions of al-Andalus, owes his fame to the catalogue (*fahrasa* [*q.v.*]) of the works which he had read and of the teachers who had given him their *idjāza* at Seville, Cordova, Almería, Malaga, Granada, etc. This work, called *Fahrasat mā rawāhu ʿan shuyūkhi-hi min al-dawāwīn al-muṣannafa fī durūb al-ʿilm wa-anwāʿ al-maʿārif*, was published in Saragossa in 1894-5 by J. Ribera y Tarragó (2 vols., as vols. ix-x of the *BAH*) under the title *Index librorum de diversis scientiarum ordinibus quos a magistris didicit*. After an introduction studded with *ḥadīths*, the author enumerates the works he has studied on Ḳurʾānic sciences (readings, abrogating and abrogated verses, commentary), goes on to *ḥadīth*, to which he devotes much space, together with the *siyar* and the *ansāb*, then to Mālikī *fiḳh*. Next come grammar, lexicography, *adab*, poetry. Finally, he lists the *fahrasas* which preceded his own. For each discipline he quotes the names of his masters, classifying them by region, but gives hardly any biographical information on them. This catalogue is a most important document for the study of the works known and taught in the author's day in Muslim Spain (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 28 ff.). Ibn Khayr in his turn had a great many pupils, a list of whom occupied, it is said, ten thirty-page notebooks.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 112; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 780; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vii, 540; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 242-4; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 231; Ahwānī, in *RIMA*, i/1 (1955), 97-8; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 195; Brockelmann, S I, 499. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-KHAYYĀṬ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, known as Ibn al-Khayyāṭ,

grammarian, a native of Samarḳand who lived in Baṣra and Baghdād. In Baghdād he is said to have quarrelled over grammatical matters with al-Zadjdjādj (d. 316/928 [*q.v.*]). Among his pupils are mentioned Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zadjdjādjī and Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. The latter, in a reply to Sayf al-Dawla, denied having tried to denigrate Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (see Yāḳūt); and from this we learn also that at a certain period of his life the grammarian became afflicted by complete deafness. But Yāḳūt also depicts Ibn al-Khayyāṭ as endowed with a splendid physique and as being a pleasant companion. He died at Baṣra in 320/932.

Apart from the *K. Maʿāni 'l-Ḳur'ān*, all the works attributed to Ibn al-Khayyāṭ are concerned with Arabic grammar: *al-Naḥw al-kabīr*, *al-Mūdjaz fi 'l-naḥw*, *al-Muḳniʿ fi 'l-naḥw*. Since the time of the *Fihrist* (77 and 81), this grammarian has been classed *mimman khalaṭa 'l-madhhabayn*, "among those who combine the two systems" of grammar: those of Baṣra and of Kūfa. But this should not be misinterpreted: it means that, while using the Baṣran method on certain points, he adopted certain Kūfan view-points, but not that he adopted a mixed grammatical system, since, properly speaking, there did not exist an eclectic grammatical system of grammar at Baghdād.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khayyāṭ is not mentioned in Brockelmann. All the references given in Kaḥḥāla, ix, 23, add nothing to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabā'*, xvii, 141-2 = *Irshād*, vi, 283-4. See also an anecdote in Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1373/1954, 75-6. (ED.)

IBN AL-KHAYYĀṬ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-RABAʿĪ, Arab poet who lived for almost half a century at the court of the Kalbī *amīrs* of Sicily, to whom the government on the island had been entrusted by the Fāṭimids in 337/948 [see ṢIḲILLIYA].

Practically nothing is known of the life of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ at Palermo, and indeed all traces of his activity as a poet at the court of the last representatives of the Banū Kalb (until 431/1040) would have been lost if Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Tudjībī al-Barḳī had not preserved in his commentary on the *Ikhtiyār al-Khālidiyyayn min shiʿr Bashshār* (ed. Muḥ. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī, Cairo 1934) some fragments of the work of the poet, who was a great friend of his, though we do not know where and when this friendship was formed.

To judge by the some two hundred lines of his poems which are to be found in various sources, Ibn al-Khayyāṭ is to be considered as the true panegyrist of the Kalbīs, whose political actions, and especially struggles against frequent conspiracies and acts of sedition, he followed for some fifty years, that is until the fall of the dynasty, which was hastened by the treachery of the *ḳā'id* Ibn al-Thumna. Although it is difficult to form a judgement on the poet on the basis of the few verses which have survived, the fragments of his work show, besides his sincere attachment to the cause of the Kalbī family, a sensitivity to certain aspects of the natural background of the country in which he spent the whole of his life.

Bibliography: The only attempt to penetrate the spirit of the poetry of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ has been made by Iḥsān ʿAbbās in *al-ʿArab fī Ṣiḳilliyya*, Cairo 1959, 207-23 (cf. U. Rizzitano, *Il contributo del mondo arabo agli studi arabo-siculi*, in *RSO*, xxxvi (1961), 83-4). Sources (apart from al-Tudjībī) which have preserved verses by Ibn al-Khayyāṭ are mentioned in U. Rizzitano, *Nuove fonti arabe per la storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, in *RSO*, xxxii (1957) [*Scritti in onore di G. Furlani*], 536, n. 2. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN KHAYYĀṬ AL-ʿUṢFURĪ, KHALĪFA, d. 240/854, generally known as Shabāb, was a prominent chronicler and genealogist who specialized in the study of tradition (*muḥaddith*). Little is known about his life. He seems to have lived for about 80 years. He was born in Baṣra, and it would appear that he was educated and also taught exclusively in his native city, not travelling to other cities as was then customary. This is indicated by the fact that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī does not mention him in his History of Baghdād, nor does any other chronicler or biographer refer to any journey that he undertook; furthermore, most of his teachers were of Baṣrī origin or had resided in Baṣra. He came of a well-educated family; his grandfather, who bore the same name, and also his father, were authorities in Tradition. Several men of outstanding culture were among his teachers, such as Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar Ghundar, Hishām al-Kalbī, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, etc., but he was closest to Yazīd b. Zurayʿ [*q.v.*], who is described by Ibn Saʿd as a worthy man with ʿUthmānī tendencies. These tendencies are apparent, to some extent, in Ibn Khayyāṭ's works.

On the whole Ibn Khayyāṭ is regarded by scholars of traditions as honourable, straightforward and trustworthy. Among his many disciples were al-Bukhārī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, Ibn Ḥanbal and Baḳī b. Makhlad.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, he was the author of four books: *al-Ta'rīkh*, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḳurrā'*, *Ta'rīkh al-Zamnā wa 'l-ʿurdjān wa 'l-marḍā wa 'l-ʿumyān*, and *Kitāb Adjzā' al-Ḳur'ān wa-aʿshārihi wa-asbāʿihi wa-āyātih*. It would appear that the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḳurrā'* mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm is identical with the book which has survived under the title of *Ṭabaḳāt Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ* (the unique copy of this book is now in al-Ẓāhiriyya Library, Damascus).

Al-Ta'rīkh has also survived, in a copy found in Morocco (the only copy so far known). In a single volume of 168 fols., it was copied in Muslim Spain in 477/1084.

The author commences his book by defining the word *ta'rīkh*. After discussing the birth of the Prophet he covers the period from the Hidjra to the year 232/846, thus ignoring the Meccan period of the Prophet's life. The importance of the work lies not only in the fact that it is the oldest complete Islamic survey of events which has reached us, but also in the materials it contains and the way in which it was written. The author gives special attention to the Umayyad Caliphate of Damascus and to Muslim foreign affairs, in particular to the extension of the Islamic Empire. He usually narrates each event from two points of view, local and official. He pays little attention to Islamic internal affairs, but he does deal with such decisive events as the death of ʿUthmān, the war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, the battle of al-Ḥarra, the Khāridjī movements, etc.

This book is a very important document for the study of Islamic administration in its early years, as the author, at the end of his account of each Caliph's reign, enumerates all the statesmen, generals and senior officials who held office under him.

As for the biographical *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, it too is the oldest complete book of its kind to have survived; Ibn Saʿd, though earlier, is incomplete. The unique

copy was made by one of the author's disciples, probably during the author's life-time. It consists of 97 folios, written in a fine hand between *kūfī* and *naskh*. Age and mishandling have made it very difficult to read. It contains the biographies of approximately 3375 men and women who were cited as authorities for Islamic traditions during the first 236 years of Islam. It is divided into two unequal parts, a very large one devoted to the men and a smaller to the women.

Ibn Khayyāṭ composed his book in a different way from his contemporary and fellow-citizen Ibn Saʿd. He begins by enumerating the men who were authorities in tradition and lived in Medina, commencing with the Prophet, then the members of Ḳuraysh, group by group according to their pedigree and their relation to the Prophet; then the members of the other Arab tribes. He then takes the Muslim cities and centres and deals with them in a similar manner. The author's biographical accounts are very brief but the significance of the book lies in the fact of its completeness and the close attention which the author pays to genealogy: he enumerates every Arab tribe, group and family who had migrated at the rise of Islam and names their place of settlement. Such information is most valuable for the study of the Islamic movement, the great Arab migration of the 1st/7th century and the history of the Umayyad Caliphate, because of the vital role played by the tribes under this dynasty. The book is of at least equal importance for the study of Islamic dogma, culture and society.

Both texts were edited, independently, by Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus 1967) and by Akram al-ʿUmarī (Baghdād 1967).

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IBN KHĀZIM [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. KHĀZIM].

IBN KHURRADĀDHBIH, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. ʿABD ALLĀH (var. AḤMAD), is one of the earliest geographical writers in Arabic whose writings have survived more or less in their original form. His biography did not interest early authors. Only al-Masʿūdī, Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Iṣfahānī, all of the 4th/10th century, provided some brief particulars concerning his work. His grandfather's Iranian name was transliterated Kh.r.dā.dh.b.h. and read both as Khurdādhbih, "excellent gift of the sun", and Khurradādhbih, "created by the excellent sun". Originally a Zoroastrian, he embraced Islam in order, it is said, to please a member of the powerful Iranian family of the Barāmika [*q.v.*] viziers, probably Yaḥyā b. Khālid [*q.v.*].

Of his father, it is known only that in 201/816, during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, he was governor of Ṭabaristān and that he succeeded in bringing certain districts of Daylam [*q.v.*] into submission.

He himself seems to have been born in Khurāsān; as to the dates of his birth and death there is some disagreement: the years 205/820 and 211/825 have been suggested for the former and 300/911 for the latter. He grew up apparently in Baghdād, in ease and comfort, and received an excellent literary and artistic education from teachers of the standing of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*]. He is said to have had a marked propensity for knowledge and study.

When he reached manhood, his principal career was at first as Director of Posts and Intelligence (*ṣāḥib al-barīd wa 'l-khabar*) in the province of Djibāl [*q.v.*], subsequently being promoted to the office of director-general of the same department in Baghdād and later in Sāmarrā. In this capacity he had access to the caliph al-Muʿtamid and soon became his familiar and friend, taking part in his diversions and sharing his taste for entertainment, secular literature and the arts.

This turn of mind, his Iranian origins and the requirements of his professional career are all reflected in his literary works. A list of them, apparently incomplete, is given by Ibn al-Nadīm, according to whom he wrote the following works: 1. *Adab al-samāʿ* (correct behaviour when listening to singing and music); 2. *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* (on the culinary art); 3. *Kitāb al-Sharāb* (on drinking); 4. *Kitāb al-Nudamāʾ wa'l-djulasāʾ* (on boon-companions and fellow revellers); 5. *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ* [*q.v.*]. None of these five works has survived. 6. *Kitāb al-Lahw wa'l-malāhī*, edited from the unique manuscript by I. A. Khalifé (Beirut 1964); it is presumably to this work that al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] is alluding in his *Risālat al-Ghufrān* when he speaks of the "classes of singers" (*ṭabaḳāt al-mughannīn*). In this book he treats of music and musicians, borrowing the basic technical vocabulary from Persian and giving allegedly historical information (which al-Iṣfahānī considered to be unacceptable). Al-Masʿūdī reproduces five pages from the text of a dissertation on the same subject given by Ibn Khurradādhbih in the presence of the caliph al-Muʿtamid. These have been edited by al-ʿAzzāwī under the title *K. al-Lahw wa'l-malāhī*. De Goeje translated this title as "Le livre du jeu et des instruments de musique" (The book of playing and of musical instruments). 7. *Kitāb Djamharat* (var. *Djumhūr*) *ansāb al-Furs wa 'l-nawāḳil* (var. *nawāfil*) (= The book of the principal genealogies of the Persians and of the transplanted population). 8. *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, regarded by al-Masʿūdī as "the best constructed and most exhaustive" work of its kind (yet it does not appear in Ibn al-Nadīm's list). These two works are frequently cited by al-Thaʿālibī, and no. 8 is cited once by Ibn Shaddād. 9. *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (= The book of itineraries and kingdoms), which made his reputation, often copied or used as a model for imitation and twice edited and translated into French in full, and once in part only; it has been the subject of a controversy that is still unresolved in regard to the date of its composition and the authenticity of the version which has survived; finally, in regard to its scientific value, it has given rise to contradictory appreciations by the early Arab writers and by modern orientalists.

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(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN AL-ḲIFṬĪ, Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī, versatile Arab writer, born in 568/1172 at Ḳifṭ in Upper Egypt. He received his early education in Cairo and in 583/1187 went to Jerusalem, where his father had been appointed as deputy to the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, the famous chancellor and adviser of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin). During the many years which he spent as a student there he was already collecting the material for his later works. He was forced by the disturbances which followed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death to go in 598/1201 to Aleppo, where, under the protection and with the encouragement of a friend of his father, he was able again to pursue his scholarly interests for several years, until the Atabeg of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, placed him in charge of the *dīwān* of the finances, a task which he undertook only reluctantly, but which brought him the honorific title of *al-Ḳāḍī al-Akram*. After al-Ẓāhir's death (613/1216) he resigned, but three years later was appointed by al-Ẓāhir's successor to the same post, which he then held without interruption until 628/1230. There is no doubt that Ibn al-Ḳifṭī had used his influential position in order to further the cause of scholarship, for during these years he gave shelter in Aleppo to Yāḳūt, who had fled from the Mongols, and gave him much help in the compilation of his great geographical dictionary. Dismissed at his own request in 628/1230, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī was able to devote a few years to his own studies until he was appointed vizier by al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in 633/1236. He remained in this office until his death in 646/1248.

Of the 26 works of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī of which the titles are known only two survive: (1) The *Kitāb Ikhbār al-ʿulamā' bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā'*, usually referred to simply as *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, which exists in an epitome by al-Zawzanī (written in 647/1249), ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903; it contains 414 biographies of physicians, philosophers and astronomers with many statements from Greek writers which have not survived in the original; (2) *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, parts i-iii ed. by Muḥ. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1369-74, which contains about a thousand biographies of scholars. Of the posthumous *Akhbār al-Muḥammadīn min al-shuʿarā'* there exist only fragments in Ms. Paris arab. 3335. The remaining titles are mainly of historical works: a history of Cairo until the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, a history of the Seldjūḳs, of the Mirdāsids, of the Būyids, of Maḥmūd b. Sabuktakīn, of the Maghrib, of the Yemen; a comprehensive *Ta'rīkh al-Ḳifṭī* in the epitome of Ibn Maktūm (d. 749/1348) is evidently identical with the history of Cairo mentioned above. Other titles indicate individual biographies (of Ibn Rashīḳ, Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī), the history of scholarship (the Shaykhs of al-Kindī), a supplement to the *Ansāb* of al-Balādhurī, etc.

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(A. Dietrich)

IBN KILLIS, Abu 'l-Faradj Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf, famous Fāṭimid vizier of the caliph al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]. He was by origin a Jew, born in Baghdād in 318/930. He went with his father to Syria and settled at Ramla, becoming an agent for various merchants; but, according to one tradition, having appropriated their money and being unable to repay it, he fled to Egypt, where he entered the service of Kāfūr [*q.v.*], who thought highly of him and whose complete confidence he gained by enabling him to appropriate various inheritances whose existence he brought to his notice and in addition by making purchases for him for which Kāfūr paid in drafts on state land. He acquired precise information on the revenues of all the villages in the country and obtained control of expenditure for Syria and Egypt. Kāfūr having declared one day that if he were a Muslim he ought to be vizier, Ibn Killis aspired to the vizierate, embraced Islam in 356/967 and devoted himself to an assiduous study of the Ḳur'ān and the laws of Islam under the guidance of a teacher. But the following year Kāfūr died, and the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt, who was jealous of Ibn Killis, had him arrested. Later the son of this vizier was to marry a daughter of Ibn Killis (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 173). Thanks to interventions and bribes, he was released and set off for North Africa. It is possible that, while still in Egypt, he had been won over by the Fāṭimid propaganda which was active at the time.

He entered the service of al-Muʿizz li-dīn Allāh who was impressed by his qualities as an administrator. He returned with him to Egypt, which he had encouraged him to conquer, in 362/969. From the beginning of 363/October 973 he was entrusted with the reorganization of the financial system with the assistance of Uslūdj b. al-Ḥasan. By vigorous measures he considerably increased the revenues of the state and ensured confidence in the *muʿizzī dīnār*. After the death of al-Muʿizz in 365/975, he continued to manage affairs on behalf of his son al-ʿAzīz, who appointed him vizier at the beginning of 367/August 977 and, in Ramaḍān of the following year/February 979, conferred on him the title of *al-wazīr al-adjall* ("the illustrious vizier"). He was thus the first vizier of the Fāṭimid dynasty. Al-ʿAzīz bestowed on him honours and wealth, and it was during his tenure of office that under this caliph Egypt enjoyed a prosperity never before attained and the Fāṭimid empire saw its greatest territorial expansion.

Ibn Killis's foreign policy was expressed in the advice which he gave before he died to al-ʿAzīz: to undertake nothing against the Byzantines so long as they themselves did not attack, to be satisfied with a vague acknowledgement of vassalage from the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo, but not to spare Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ, the chief of the Ṭayyi Arabs of Palestine [see DJARRĀḤIDS]. He carried it out successfully but not without resorting to intrigue, to deception and even to attempts at assassination. He re-took Damascus from the Turk Alptakīn, ally of the Ķarmaṭīs, but when the latter, having become a favourite of the caliph in Egypt, showed the vizier little respect, he had him poisoned (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 219, s.a. 365). Ibn Killis put an end to the complicated situation created in Syria and Palestine by Ķassām, the successor of Alptakīn in Damascus, the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib, who had come from Djazīra to seek his fortune in Syria, and Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ; then he forced Bakdjūr, the Ḥamdānid representative at Ḥimṣ (whom al-ʿAzīz had made governor of Damascus and whom Ibn Killis hated because he had had put to death the tenant of the lands which the vizier owned in the region of Damascus and had seized these lands) to leave Damascus [for details, see AL-ʿAZĪZ]. But Ibn Killis prevented the caliph from getting too deeply engaged in northern Syria.

In domestic policy, the favour which Ibn Killis enjoyed suffered only one eclipse of some months (373-4), the reasons for which were perhaps the caliph's anger after the poisoning of Alptakīn, or disturbances caused by a famine in Egypt. He soon recovered all his offices and his immense riches. Moreover Ibn Killis did not fail to flatter his master, as witness the episode of the cherries which he had brought for him by pigeons from Syria (al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 391 and ii, 93; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 252), and the flattering verses in which Ibn Killis explained how it had come about that one of his pigeons had outstripped that of the caliph in a race, a fact of which the vizier's enemies had made use to slander him.

Ibn Killis was noted for the magnificence of the life he led in his palace, his liberality to scholars, jurists, physicians, men of letters and poets, and his concern to promote learning: he was the first to have the idea of making al-Azhar into a university, and he maintained thirty-five jurists. He was a sincere supporter of Fāṭimism; he imprisoned an ʿAlid of Damascus who had mocked at the genealogy of the Fāṭimids. He was a specialist in Ismāʿīlī *fiķh*: all his biographers emphasize the fact that he composed, on the basis of traditions received from al-Muʿizz and al-ʿAzīz, a legal treatise known as *al-Risāla al-wazīriyya*, that he taught it in lectures which he gave personally, and that *fatwā*s were given on the authority of his teaching. He had a mosque built in his palace, supervised the building of the mosque known as that of al-Ḥākim, and added in 378 a *fawwāra* (fountain) in the mosque of ʿAmr (Yāķūt, iii, 899). He appears to have contributed to the development of Fāṭimid ceremonial by instituting at the caliph's court a corps of picked troops (the *ķuwwād*) who paraded in processions, and by founding the regiment which bore his name, *al-ṭāʾifa al-wazīriyya*.

Ibn Killis's biographers praise him highly, although they do not conceal the questionable means which he used to achieve success or to rid himself of his own enemies and those of the dynasty. On his death, at the end of 380/February 991, al-ʿAzīz, who led the funeral prayer for him, wept and showed great grief. The Christian Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd states that Ibn Killis was worthy of this; but the Egyptian populace accused him of showing too great favour to the Christians and to the Jews.

Bibliography: Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho, 155, 163, 164, 172, 173 (= *P.O.*, xxiii, 390 (183), 411 (203), 414 (206), 433 (225)); Abū Shudjāʿ al-Rudhrawārī, *Dhayl Kitāb Tadjārib al-umam*, 185; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1925), 19-23; Ibn al-Ķalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*, 15, 22, 29, 30, 31, 32; Ibn Ḥammād, *Akhbār mulūk Banī ʿUbayd*, ed. Vonderheyden, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, 1303 ed., viii, 219, ix, 6, 19, 27; Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib* . . ., book iv, ed. Tallqvist, 76; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, 45, 51; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāķ ed., ii, 440-4 (tr. de Slane, iv, 359); Kutubī, Būlāķ ed., i, 104; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-djāmiʿ al-ghurar, djuzʾ* vi, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, Cairo 1961, 165, 193, 198, 201-3, 205, 208, 210-3, 216, 218-23, 225-6; Maķrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāk ed., i, 439, ii, 5-6, 226, 341; idem, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Shayyāl, 196, 198-9, 275, 279, 296; Quatremère, *Vie du calife fat. Moezz-lidin-Allāh*, in *JA*, 3rd series, nos. 2 and 3; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimiden-Chalifen*, 50-1, 133 ff.; idem, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten* . . ., 51; R. Gottheil, *A Fetwa on the appointment of Dhimmis to office*, in *Festschrift Goldziher*, 222; G. Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe* (*Hist. de la Nation égypt.*, iv), 1937, 149-50, 188, 192, 194; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Staatskanzlei im islam. Ägypten*, 1928, 19, 28, 64; W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the economic and political life of medieval Islam*, London 1937, 45-68. See also Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1958, 270-2, 298-300, 426-7, 444-5, 536-7, 632-3 and index; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950, 54-9, 174-6 and index.

(M. CANARD)

IBN AL-ĶIRRIYYA, ABŪ SULAYMĀN AYYŪB B. ZAYD, of the Zayd Manāt (al-Ķirriyya was probably the name of his mother or of one of his grandmothers), is presented as an illiterate Bedouin whose eloquence, however, became proverbial to the extent of eclipsing the fame of Saḥbān Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Tradition relates that he lived in the entourage of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], and *adab* books contain discourses, generally rhymed, which he is said to have given on various occasions or in reply to questions from his master. He is reported however to have joined the party of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], drawing up his letters and preparing his speeches; he is even credited with the famous sentence, usually attributed to al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Ķabaʿtharā: "Lunch off al-Ḥadjdjādj before he dines off you". He was imprisoned with other supporters of Ibn al-Ashʿath and was either beheaded by the public executioner or killed with a lance by al-Ḥadjdjādj himself in 84/703.

The *Aghānī* (Beirut ed., ii, 6) however, records a statement by al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] which throws doubt on the historical existence of Ibn al-Ķirriyya: "Two men have always been known only by the name of Madjnūn: the Madjnūn of the Banū ʿĀmir [see MADJNŪN LAYLĀ] and Ibn al-Ķirriyya, but both were invented by the *ruwāt*."

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 104; idem, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Ķutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 290; Ṭabarī, ii, 1127-9; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 323, 383, 394-6; *Aghānī*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 304, 476, 905; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*,

iii, 216-19; Ibn Khallikān, i, 83. See also BAYĀN, 1115a. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ḲIṬṬ, by-name of the Umayyad prince AḤMAD B. MUʿĀWIYA B. MUḤĀMMAD B. HISHĀM B. MUʿĀWIYA B. HISHĀM I, famous for his attack on Zamora in 288/901.

At the end of the reign of *amīr* Muḥammad I and throughout that of his successor ʿAbd Allāh, the unity of the Umayyad emirate of Cordova was on the point of being destroyed. The disloyalty and incessant revolts of the Arab and Berber lords in the provinces made it possible for Alfonso III of Léon to extend his conquests from strategic bases at Coïmbra, Astorga, León and Amaya; in 280/893 he rebuilt the fortress of Zamora, and the garrison made continual raids on the Berbers in the vicinity. Moreover, the Banū Ḳasī in Aragon, Ibn Marwān in Extremadura and above all Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*] in the mountainous region near Ronda were striving to break away from the central authority. At the same time, towards the borders of León, where the Berbers were more numerous, there came a stream of mystics and fanatics, while the doctrines of the Muʿtazilīs were being introduced from the East and the philosopher Ibn Masarra [*q.v.*] was expounding his metaphysical ideas in the Sierra of Cordova. Amidst such disturbances in both the spiritual and political spheres, various adventurers, either zealots or impostors, made their appearance, declaring themselves the enemies of the régime; they found enthusiastic support among the Berbers of the mountainous zone in the centre of the peninsula. One of these figures, who, in the traditional manner, prepared to censure social behaviour and morality at the very time when the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* was spreading the Ismāʿīlī doctrine in North Africa, was the Andalusian missionary Abū ʿAlī al-Sarrādj who, under pretext of preaching the holy war, worked against the régime, cunningly disguised as a Muslim ascetic. Dressed in coarse homespun, wearing rope sandals and riding a donkey, he travelled all over the country. In this disguise, "he worked actively to bring to fruition a projected alliance which had been planned in 285/898 between the Banū Ḳasī of Aragon and ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn"; he did not succeed in carrying through his plan, but three years later he was able to persuade the Umayyad prince Aḥmad b. Muʿāwiya, a devotee of astrology who did not conceal his aspirations to the throne, to come out in open revolt. Ibn Sarrādj presented him as the reforming Mahdī, and the two of them traversed the district of Los Pedroches (Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ) and the Sierra of Almadén (Djabal al-Barānis), where they were received with enthusiasm by the Berbers to whom they preached the holy war against Zamora. Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ's displays of conjuring increased the number of his supporters (whom the Arab sources put at over 60,000), and this fanatical horde, before whom he had promised the seven walls of Zamora would crumble, approached the fortress. While al-Sarrādj prudently withdrew, Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ invited Alfonso III to embrace Islam if he did not wish to be exterminated with all his men; Alfonso indignantly took up his position on the right bank of the Duero and, after a combat which according to Arab sources was favourable to Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ, siege was laid to Zamora. But the Berber leader Nafza, being disillusioned, left Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ together with all his troops, and his departure provoked new desertions. After some indecisive skirmishes, Ibn al-Ḳiṭṭ, finding himself abandoned by almost all his followers, launched a desperate attack on the enemy and was killed, on 20 Radjab 288/10 July 901. For a long time his head remained hanging from the top of one of the gates of Zamora. "This tragi-comical expedition was no more than an isolated episode in the annals of the lower and central Marches" at the end of the 3rd/9th century and at the beginning of the 4th/10th, and its only repercussion is the expedition said to have been undertaken in the same year by the future Ordoño III, son of Alfonso III, who, setting out from Viseo, crossed the Tagus and then the Guadiana to reach the region of Seville, where he sacked and burnt one of the villages".

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 382-5; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*[2], ii, 132-4; Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, 91-2; Sampiro, re-ed. Huici, in *Crón. lat. de la Reconquista*, i, 269; Cirot, *Chron. léonaise*, ii, 33; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 363 (description of Zamora reproduced by Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 223). (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

IBN ḲUBṬŪRNA [see IBN ḲABṬŪRNU].

IBN ḲUDĀMA AL-MAḲDISĪ, MUWAFFAḲ AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Ḥanbalī ascetic, jurisconsult and traditionalist theologian. He was born in Djammāʿīl, near Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maḳdis, whence his ethnic name) in Shaʿbān 541/Jan.-Feb. 1147, and died in Damascus on 5 or 6 Djumādā II 620/6 or 7 July 1223.

In 551/1156, the Banū Ḳudāma moved from Djammāʿīl to take up residence in Damascus. The chroniclers explain this exodus as caused by the bad treatment the Muslims were receiving at the hands of the Franks.

From the sources available to us at the present time it is possible to reconstruct two main branches of this large family from the 5th/11th to the 10th/16th centuries. At the head of one branch is Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn's father, the Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (491-558/1097-1162), the preacher (*khaṭīb*) of Djammāʿīl, a man known for his asceticism, for whom a mosque was built in Damascus (Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 354). On his brother Yūsuf, who stands at the head of the other branch, the sources seem to be silent; but he is the ancestor of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (840-909/1436-1503), whose autograph certificates of audition (*samāʿ*) are to be seen on the margins and in the colophons of many of the manuscripts of the Ẓāhiriyya library in Damascus. The most numerous sub-branch of this family is by far that of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn's brother, the ascetic Shaykh Abū ʿUmar (528-607/1133-1210). Regarding the other brother, ʿUbayd Allāh, our sources are silent, though other members of this sub-branch are known: the son Aḥmad (573-613/1177-1216), the latter's two grandsons Aḥmad (614-687/1217-1288) and ʿUbayd Allāh (635-684/1237-1285), and the latter's grandson ʿAbd Allāh (d. 803/1400).

The smallest sub-branch of all is that of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, whose three sons died in his lifetime and who was survived by his grandson Aḥmad (605-643/1208-1245).

Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn received the first phase of his education in Damascus where he studied the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. He made his first visit to Baghdād in 561 in the company of his maternal cousin, a well-known Ḥanbalī traditionist, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maḳdisī (541-600/1146-1203), also originally from Djammāʿīl, a member of a numerous family tracing their origin back to a certain Surūr b. Rāfiʿ. Arriving at Baghdād they were received by the leading Ḥanbalī of the day, the celebrated mystic ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī [*q.v.*]. Their discipleship was cut short by the latter's death.

Brief though it may have been, this experience must have had its influence on the young Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn, who was to reserve a special place in his heart for mystics and mysticism. This is attested by what the present author regards as his condoning of Ibn ʿAḳīl's [*q.v.*] veneration for the great mystic al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*]; and in a *silsila* preserved in a manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya library of Damascus (see Madjmūʿ 18, fol. 254b), Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn figures as having received the *khirḳa* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī and passed it on to another Ḥanbalī, his cousin Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (543-614/1148-1217), brother of the above mentioned ʿAbd al-Ghanī. On the other hand, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn did not condone what he believed to be the excessive rationalism of Ibn ʿAḳīl, against whom he wrote *Taḥrīm al-naẓar fī kutub ahl al-kalām* (see G. Makdisi, *Ibn Qudāma's censure of speculative theology*, London 1962).

Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn's first sojourn in Baghdād lasted four years. He is known to have visited it again in 567 and 574, making his pilgrimage to Mecca in the previous year 573, and finally settling in Damascus in 575. He left Damascus once again in 583 to take part in Saladin's expedition against the Franks, particularly in the conquest of Jerusalem, which occurred that year.

Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn is known especially for his works on Ḥanbalī law: *al-Mughnī* and *al-ʿUmda* on positive law, and *Rawḍat al-nāẓir*, on the methodology of law, all of which have been published.

Bibliography: For further details on his life, works and ideas, see Brockelmann, I, 398, S I, 688-9; H. Laoust, *Le Précis de Droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950; H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Baghdad*, in *REI*, xxvii (1959), 125-6; G. Makdisi, *Kitāb at-Tauwābīn "Le Livre des Pénitents" de Muwaffaq ad-Dīn Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī*, Damascus 1961; idem, *Ibn Qudāma's censure of speculative theology*, London 1962.

(G. Makdisi)

IBN KUNĀSA, Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (= Kunāsa) b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Māzinī al-Asadī, poet, philologist and *rāwī* of the ʿAbbāsid period. Born at Kūfa in 123/741, he studied in his native town poetry, *ḥadīth* and the other traditional sciences under the most distinguished members of the Banū Asad and became the transmitter of the works of several poets, among whom the most famous was al-Kumayt [*q.v.*]. He also transmitted a certain number of *ḥadīth*s to such important traditionists as al-Aʿmash [*q.v.*] and Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*]. Although he lived at Baghdād he does not seem to have tried to gain admittance to the court. He died at Kūfa on 3 Shawwāl 207/19 February 823, or in 209/824.

So far as can be judged by the few verses which have survived, Ibn Kunāsa was not a great poet, but his poetry, of great simplicity, reflects a morality and a serenity which are worthy of note. Nephew of Ibrāhīm b. al-Adham [*q.v.*] and brought up in a milieu of extreme piety, Ibn Kunāsa nevertheless was the owner of a well-known slave singing-girl, Danānīr, whose death he lamented. His descriptions of Kūfa are also worthy of mention.

He wrote in addition several works, among which the *Fihrist* mentions a *Kitāb Maʿānī 'l-shiʿr*, a *K. Sariḳāt al-Kumayt min al-Ḳur'ān* and a *K. al-Anwā'*, which was much used by later writers and is probably the earliest work of this type (see Ch. Pellat in *Arabica*, 1955/1, 36).

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, index; *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 105, 225; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwā'*, index; idem, *Maʿārif*, 543; *Aghānī*, xii, 105-10 (Beirut ed., xiii, 338-47); Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 336; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 81-3; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 404-8; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 473; ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djawārī al-mughanniyāt*, Cairo n.d., 155-62; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 482-3.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN ḲUNFUDH, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ḥasan (incorrect var. Ḥusayn) b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Khaṭīb b. ʿAlī b. Maymūn b. Ḳunfudh (var. al-Ḳunfudh), Algerian jurist, traditionist and historian born in 731/1330 or, more probably, in 741/1340, died in 809/1406 or 810/1407, in Constantine, a member of a family of teachers and jurists from that town and its environs. His ancestor, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb, who taught *ḥadīth* in Constantine and claimed to belong to the confraternity of the Shādhiliyya, died in 664/1265 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 51); his grandfather ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, also *khaṭīb* in Constantine for half a century and *ḳāḍī* for many years, died in 733/1332 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 54). His maternal grandfather Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb al-Mallārī, a disciple of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*] the mystic, was director of a *zāwiya*, "two stages to the west of Constantine", where he taught; he died in 680/1281 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 58). Finally, his father Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, also *khaṭīb* in Constantine, was a jurist of repute and author of a work entitled *al-Masnūn fī aḥkām al-ṭāʿūn*; he died in 750/1350 (cf. *Wafayāt*, 56).

It is therefore probable that, in the first instance, it was from such relatives as these that he received the essential part of his cultural education. But we know that he left his native town as early as 759/1357, at the age of eighteen, on travels which lasted for eighteen years and which took him first to Fās and later to Marrākush. In 763/1361-2 he was with the Hintāta, one of the principal tribes of the Moroccan Atlas and renowned for its piety, and he went to Tinmellel to meditate at the tomb of the *mahdī* Ibn Tumart. Next he was in Salā (Salé), where he had the signal privilege of approaching the aged theologian and mystic Ibn ʿĀshir [*q.v.*]. In 776/ 1374 he was in Tlemcen, where he met the Ḥafṣid prince Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (770-96/1368-93), and after that in Tunis where, together with another Ḥafṣid prince, Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (797-834/1393-1434), he attended the lectures of the scholar Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghubrīnī (d. 816/1412). Finally he returned to Constantine, at an unknown date, and there assumed the offices of *muftī* and *ḳāḍī*. In 804/ 1401 he was dismissed, and he lived in disgrace until his death.

During his travels, he endeavoured to perfect his knowledge of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *manṭiḳ*, *naḥw*, *ḳirā'āt*, mathematics, etc. and to obtain diplomas (*idjāza*) from his various masters, whose names he subsequently recorded with care in his *Wafayāt*, in chronological order according to the date of death. They are: (a) in Fās: 1. Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ladjā'ī, d. 773/1371, a pupil of the mathematician Ibn al-Bannā'; 2. Abū ʿImran Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Muʿṭī al-ʿAbdūsī, d. 776/1374, a native of Meknès; 3. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Ḳabbāb, d. 779/1378; 4. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Wānaghīlī, the blind, d. 779/1378; 5. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥayātī, d. 781/1379; 6. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Haskūrī; (b) in Salé: 7. Ibn ʿĀshir Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, d. 765/ 1353; 8. Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, d. 776/1374; (c) in Marrākush: 9. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Zukandarī, d. 768/1367; (d) in Tlemcen: 10. Abū

ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, d. 771/1369; 11. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Marzūḳ, d. 780/1379; (e) in Constantine: 12. Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Bādīs, d. 787/1385; 13. Ḥasan b. Khalaf Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Maymūn b. Bādīs, cousin of the last-named, d. 784/1382; (f) in Tunis: 14. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Baṭarnī (var. al-Batrūnī and al-Baṭṭiwī), d. 793/1390; 15. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿArafa, d. 803/1400; 16. Abū Mahdī ʿĪsā al-Ghubrīnī, named above; 17. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ... al-Sabtī, ḳāḍī of Granada, d. 761/1359, who gave him a general idjāza after admitting him to the "pleasure of being present at his lectures" (cf. *Wafayāt*, 58); 18. Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Radjrādjī (probably al-Ragrāgī), d. 810/1407, after the writing of the *Wafayāt*; 19. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr... b. ʿAbbād al-Rundī [*q.v.*], died in Fās in 792/1390. The last two are not named in the *Wafayāt*.

Ibn Ḳunfudh was equally scrupulous, at the end of the same work, in compiling a list of his own writings. Of the 26 titles contained in this list, at the present time, roughly speaking, we know only the following: (1) *Bughyat al-fāriḍ min al-ḥisāb wa 'l-farāʾiḍ*, which is probably the same as the *Muʿāwanat al-rāʾiḍ fī mabādī 'l-farāʾiḍ* or again the *Sharḥ al-urdjūza* (var. *al-manẓūma*) *al-tilimsāniyya fi 'l-farāʾiḍ* and which, according to M. Ben Cheneb, is said to exist in a private(?) library; (2) *al-Fārisiyya fī mabādiʾ al-dawla al-ḥafṣiyya*, ed. M. Nayfar and ʿA. Turkī, Tunis 1968, with an important introd. (3) *al-Masāfa al-saniyya fi 'khtisār al-riḥla al-ʿabdariyya*, the source of Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, Fās ed., 394, Cairo ed., 70 and passim; (4) *Sharaf al-ṭālib fī asnā al-maṭālib* (see mss. in *al-Fārisiyya*, 74-7). (5) *Taysīr al-maṭālib fī taʿdīl al-kawākib*, ms. Rabat 512 bis; (6) *Uns al-faḳīr wa-ʿizz al-ḥaḳīr*, a biography of the Andalusian mystic Abū Madyan and his followers; ms. Rabat, 385; Cairo, vii, 344 v. 45; ed. M. al-Fāsī and A. Faure, Rabat 1965; (7) *Ḥaṭṭ al-niḳāb ʿan wudjūh aʿmāl al-ḥisāb*, a commentary on the *Talkhīṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb* of Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*], ms. Rabat 531.

M. Ben Cheneb attributes to him other works whose titles do not appear on his own list; (8) *Taḥṣīl al-manāḳib fī takmīl al-maʾārib*, a commentary on (5) above; ms. Rabat 512 bis. (9) *Sharḥ urdjūzat Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl* [*q.v.*], ms. Rabat 466, 467, 512 bis (I); Br. Mus. 977a

On the other hand, a number of mss have been discovered (see Introd. to *al-Fārisiyya*), in particular: (10) *Urdjūba fi'l-ṭibb*; (11) *Tuḥfat al-wārid fi 'khtiṣāṣ al-sharaf min ḳibāl al-wālid*; (12) *Tashīl al-maṭālib fī taʿdīl al-kawākib*; (13) *Sirādj al-thiḳāt fī ʿilm al-awḳāt*.

The remainder are now considered to be lost: (a) *ʿAlāmat al-nadjāḥ fī mabādīʾ al-iṣṭilāḥ*; (b) *Anwār al-saʿāda fī uṣūl al-ʿibāda*; (c) *Basṭ al-rumūz al-khafiyya fī sharḥ ʿarūḍ al-Khazradjiyya*; (d) *Hidāyat al-sālik fī bayān Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*; (e) *Īḍāḥ al-maʿānī fī bayān al-mabānī*; (f) *al-Ibrāhīmiyya fī mabādiʾ ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*; (g) *al-Ḳunfudhiyya fī ibṭāl al-dilāla al-falakiyya*; (h) *al-Lubāb fi 'khtiṣār al-Djallāb*; (i) *Tafhīm al-ṭālib li-masāʾil uṣūl* (var. *aṣlay*) *Ibn al-Ḥādjib*; (j) *al-Takhlīṣ fī sharḥ al-talkhīṣ*; (k) *Taḳrīb al-dilāla fī sharḥ al-risāla*; (l) *Talkhīṣ al-ʿamal fī sharḥ al-Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī (cf. Brockelmann, I, 463); (m) *Tashīl al-ʿibāra fī taʿdīl al-ishāra*; (n) *Wasīlat al-Islām bi 'l-nabī ʿalayh al-ṣalāt wa 'l-salām*; (o) *Wiḳāyat al-muwaḳḳit wanikāyat al-munakkit*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī man ḥalla min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*, lith. Fās 1309, 79; idem *Durrat al-ḥidjāl fī asmāʾ al-ridjāl*, Rabat 1934, i, 60; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 75; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa 'l-thānī*, lith. Fās 1310, i, 4; Ibn Maryam-*al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ bi, Tilimsān*, Algiers 1326/1908, 309; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1328/1909, 27-32; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa 'l athbāt*, ii, 323; R. Basset, *Rech. bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat al-Anfās*, Algiers 1905, no. 20; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 98, n. 2, 247, n. 5; M. Ben Cheneb, in *Hespéris*, 1928, 37-49; Brockelmann, II, 241, S I, 598, S II, 341, 361; Cl. Huart, *Litt. ar.*, 343; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1954-6, iv, 83; H. Pérès, ed. of the *Wafayāt* of Ibn Ḳunfudh, Algiers n.d., 58 ff.

(M. HADJ-SADOK)

IBN ḲUTAYBA, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUSLIM AL-DĪNAWARĪ (some add AL-KŪFĪ, which refers to his place of birth, and AL-MARWAZĪ, which is probably the ethnic name of his father), one of the great Sunnī polygraphs of the 3rd/9th century, being both a theologian and a writer of *adab*. He seems to have been descended, in the second or third generation, from an Arabicized Iranian family from Khurāsān which was connected on the female side with the Bāhilīs of Baṣra and may have come to ʿIrāḳ in the wake of the ʿAbbāsid armies during the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

He was born at Kūfa in 213/828, but little is known of his childhood and adolescence. At the most we are able to compile a list of his teachers which, on careful examination, provides much information on his education. Among the most important of them we find men who owe their reputations generally to their attachment to the *Sunna*, either as theologians, traditionists or philologists, or usually as all three. The biographers and critics have produced long lists of them, but a few names should be mentioned here. The three persons who had the greatest influence on the young Ibn Ḳutayba are undoubtedly Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Rāhawayh al-Ḥanẓalī (d. *ca.* 237/851), a Sunnī theologian, a disciple of Ibn Ḥanbal and protégé of the Ṭāhirids of Nīsābūr, where he appears to have spent most of his life, Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Sidjistānī (d. *ca.* 250/864), Sunnī philologist and traditionist and a master of everybody who in ʿIrāḳ was interested in philology and tradition, and finally al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faradj al-Riyāshī (d. 257/871), one of the leaders of philological studies in ʿIrāḳ, transmitter of the works of al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and other pioneers of the 2nd/8th century.

Very few details are available of Ibn Ḳutayba's career, but a comparison of information from different sources allows the following tentative reconstruction: after the change in ideology accepted by al-Mutawakkil and his chief henchmen from 232/846 onwards, Ibn Ḳutayba found himself favoured because of his literary works, the ideas of which tallied pretty well with the new trend. It was perhaps writings of the type of his introduction to the *Adab al-kātib* which caused him to be noticed and given an appointment by the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān, one of those chiefly responsible for the new policy, who may well have continued to be his patron until his disappearance in 263/877. There is no doubt that he owed to him his appointment as *ḳāḍī* of Dīnawar in about

236/851. He seems to have remained in this office until 256/870, when he may have stayed for a short time as inspector of *maẓālim* of Baṣra until the sacking of this town by the Zandj in Shawwāl 257/ November 871. It is not impossible, however, that he owed the latter appointment to the favour of another powerful official of the ʿAbbāsid administration, possibly the Nestorian convert Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad. Mention should also be made of his relations, perhaps only occasional, with the Ṭāhirid governors of Baghdād (*ʿUyūn*, ii, 222).

After 257/871, Ibn Ḳutayba devoted himself to the teaching of his works in a district of Baghdād, where he remained until his death in 276/889.

Ibn Ḳutayba's son, Aḥmad, appears to have been his chief disciple. He is certainly responsible, as is his son ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, for the transmission to Egypt, and indirectly to the West—especially through the intermediary of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī—of the greater part of the works of Abū Muḥammad. In al-Andalus, the direct transmission of Ibn Ḳutayba's work was ensured by the famous Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh, who had come to study in Baghdād in 274/887. Among the eastern disciples, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sukkarī (d. 323/935) seems to have played a particularly important part, his name being found at the head of numerous *isnād*s. But there should also be mentioned Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar Ibn Durustawayh [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Ṣāʾigh (d. 313/925), in addition to other minor disciples.

It can be stated that, with the exception of two titles, all the authentic works of Ibn Ḳutayba as at present known have been published. We list them here, giving for each the most useful edition and a brief description of the contents:

(1) *K. Adab al-kātib* (ed. Grünert, Leiden 1900), manual of philology for the use of secretaries, with a famous introduction which may be regarded as a politico-cultural profession of faith.

(2) *K. al-Anwāʾ* (ed. Pellat-Hamidullah, Ḥaydarābād 1375/1956), treatise on practical astronomy and meteorology.

(3) *K. al-ʿArab* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, in *Rasāʾil al-Bulaghāʾ*, ³Cairo 1325/1946, 344-77), treatise in the anti-Shuʿūbī tradition on the relative merits of the Arabs, the Persians, and the inhabitants of Khurāsān.

(4) *K. al-Ashriba* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1366/ 1947), *fatwā* on drinks written in *adab* style.

(5) *K. al-Ikhtilāf fi 'l-lafẓ wa 'l-radd ʿala 'l-Djahmiyya wa 'l-Mushabbiha* (ed. Muḥammad Ẓāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1349), a theological pamphlet refuting the position of the Mushabbiha on attributes and that of the Muʿtazilīs with Djahmiyya tendencies on the pronunciation of the Ḳurʾān.

(6) *K. Maʿānī 'l-shiʿr* (2 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1368/ 1949), long work on the themes of poetry.

(7) *K. al-Maʿārif* (ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960), a historical manual with encyclopaedic appendices on very varied subjects.

(8) *K. al-Masāʾil wa 'l-adjwiba* (Cairo 1349 H.), a theological work.

(9) *K. al-Maysir wa 'l-ḳidāh* (ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1343), a juridico-philological study on games of chance, as the *K. al-Ashriba* was on fermented drinks.

(10) *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* (ed. Aḥmad Shākir, 2 vols., Cairo 1364-69/1945-50), poetical anthology arranged chronologically, devoting a large section to the "modern" poets. The introduction, somewhat overrated, is often considered as a manifesto of neo-classicism (ed. and tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes under the title *Introduction au Livre de la Poésie et des Poètes*, Paris 1947).

(11) *K. Tafsīr gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1378/1958), philological commentary on the difficult passages of the text of the Ḳurʾān.

(12) *K. Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (ed. Faradj Allāh Zakī al-Kurdī, Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī, Maḥmūd Shābandār-zāde, Cairo 1326), Ibn Ḳutayba's most important "theological" work, in which are clearly set out his religious, heresiographical and political ideas (Fr. tr. by G. Lecomte, Damascus 1962).

(13) *K. Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1373/1954), treatise on Ḳurʾānic rhetoric and on *iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*.

(14) *K. ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (ed. Aḥmad Zakī al-ʿAdawī, Cairo 1343-8/1925-30), a large compendium of *adab*, on a number of apparently secular subjects; important introduction.

The only two authentic texts which are unpublished are:

(15) *K. Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, an incomplete manuscript of which exists in the Ẓāhiriyya at Damascus (*lugha*, 34-5), a philological commentary on *ḥadīth*, in the broadest sense, from the Prophet to Muʿāwiya.

(16) *K. Iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṭ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth li-Abī ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām* (Aya Sofya, 457; Ẓāhiriyya, 7899), a separate fascicule of no. 15 concerning Abū ʿUbayd's errors of interpretation.

The other titles of works attributed to Ibn Ḳutayba are for the present doubtful. Among those whose existence seems the least problematical may however be mentioned: (17) a *K. Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*; (18) a *K. al-Fiḳh*; (19) a *K. Iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān*; (20) a *K. al-Naḥw*; and perhaps: (21) a *K. al-Ḳalam*; (22) a *K. Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*; (23) a *K. al-Ḳirāʾāt*.

All the other titles found in the biographies are of works of dubious authenticity. Several of them probably represent the whole or part of the known works mentioned above.

Finally there should be mentioned the apocryphal works, of which up to now the following are known: (1) *K. al-Alfāẓ al-mughraba bi 'l-alḳāb al-muʿraba* (Fās, Ḳarawiyyīn, *lugha*, 1262); (2) *K. al-Djarāthīm*, an artificial philological collection published in fragments; (3) *K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa* (Cairo 1322, 1327, 1377) which it has been suggested might be attributed to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya; (4) *K. Talḳīn al-mutaʿallim fi 'l-naḥw*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4715.

In addition to showing the influence of Ibn Ḳutayba's teachers briefly listed above, these works bear traces of the main cultural ideas current in ʿAbbāsid society in the 3rd/9th century, which means that they drew their inspiration also from a very wide range of written sources.

First, the essential ideas found in the work of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] certainly seem to have passed into that of Ibn Ḳutayba, and particularly in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* and in *Maʿārif*: *K. Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *K. al-Adab al-kabīr*, *K. al-Āyīn* and *K. Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam* (translated from the history of the kings of Persia entitled *Khudhaynāma*). Next, a fair proportion of the Aristotelian or pseudo-Aristotelian works translated into Arabic at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, mainly under the titles of *K. al-Ḥayawān* and *K. al-Filāḥa*. Although borrowings from the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ cannot be excluded, it seems that the *K. al-Filāḥa* (which is in fact the *Geoponica* of Cassianus) constitutes an original source. Ibn Ḳutayba knew the works of al-Djāḥiẓ remarkably well. Nevertheless his only acknowledged borrowings from this author concern the *K. al-*

Buk͟halāʾ. About the remainder one can only guess. Finally, it is not without interest to note that Ibn Ḳutayba borrowed extensively from existing, and remarkably faithful, translations of the Torah and of the Gospels (in *Maʿārif*, *Muk͟htalif al-ḥadīt͟h* and *ʿUyūn al-ak͟hbār*).

Interested mainly in his work on *adab*, which in fact was until recently the only example of his literary output in their libraries, western critics have often tended to overlook Ibn Ḳutayba's "theological" work and to pass in silence over his religious ideas.

It seems clear however that at some stage Ibn Ḳutayba put his literary talents at the service of the enterprise of the restoration of Sunnism which was undertaken by al-Mutawakkil and his chief helpers. This meant that a number of his works were intended to expound a politico-religious doctrine which we might expect would take its place in the ideological line of the Sunna then coming into being, and particularly that represented by Ibn Ḥanbal and Isḥāḳ b. Rāhawayh.

Nevertheless, Ibn Ḳutayba, who admits to having been tempted in his youth by the quasi-rationalist ideologies which were in vogue at the time, was at times somewhat troubled by the dogmatic intransigeance of the upholders of Tradition.

Although his theodicy is fairly clearly "Ḥanbalī", his attitude on *ḳadar* has nevertheless some strange nuances; although his attitude concerning the Ḳurʾān is orthodox, he is much less categorical on the problem of *lafẓ* [*q.v.*], which he states does not prevent membership of the Sunnī community; although his attitude concerning the Companions is that which remained in later times the touchstone of the Sunna, he nevertheless retained a deep and reverent respect for the family and descendants of the Prophet, so far as they were politically neutral. Even his opinions about the "national groups" (*S͟huʿūbiyya*) seem much more subtle than has hitherto been admitted: whether he is writing of ethnic or of religious groups, one is led to think that he tends to gather together peaceably around the reigning dynasty those among them whom he considers it possible to win over politically.

On the other hand Ibn Ḳutayba's methodology —of which he nowhere gives a systematic definition —certainly seems steadfastly to despise the rational or intellectual criteria held for example among the S͟hāfiʿīs and the Ḥanafīs. The Ḳurʾān and the Sunna remain for him the two fundamental bases of doctrine; the third is *id͟jmāʿ*, of which his conception is perhaps nearer to that of Mālik than of Ibn Ḥanbal. The Ḥanafī *raʾy* and the S͟hāfiʿī *ḳiyās* are fiercely demolished in the *Muk͟htalif*, as are all their equivalents (*naẓar*, *ʿaḳl*, *istiḥsān*, etc.).

Thus all the religious, political and literary work of Ibn Ḳutayba combines to make him an eminent representative, if not the exclusive spokesman, of the *ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-D͟jamāʿa*, who in fact from this period were the party of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty after it abandoned the Muʿtazilī ideology.

Critics from Ibn al-Nadīm onwards all reproduce the same ready-made opinion concerning Ibn Ḳutayba's place in the "philological schools". It is admitted without hesitation that he was the chief creator of a "Bag͟hdādī synthesis" between the philological doctrines of Kūfa and of Baṣra. On close inspection this opinion is shown to be open to doubt. In fact, in addition to the point already emphasized by G. Weil (introd. to the ed. of the *K. al-Inṣāf fī masāʾil al-k͟hilāf*... of Ibn al-Anbārī, Leiden 1913) that the schools of Baṣra and of Kūfa can scarcely have assumed their distinctive characteristics before the end of the 3rd/9th century, nothing has been found in Ibn Ḳutayba's philological work, or at least in what now survives, which could really justify this point of view. Although he in effect contrasts them with the "Baṣrans", he regularly refers to those who were later to be attached to the "School of Kūfa" as "Bag͟hdādīs", and the synthesis of which so much has been made is no more than a genuine eclecticism which never claimed to form a school.

All that can be said is that Ibn Ḳutayba in fact joins certain reputedly Kūfī tendencies to others considered to be Baṣran. His position may be summarized by stating that in grammar he remains on the whole a supporter of the norm, *i.e.*, "Baṣran", in spite of his attachment to the teaching of al-Kisāʾī and of al-Farrāʾ, whereas in a more general way, in philology and especially in poetry, he does not hesitate to depart from the usually accepted views, an attitude considered to be "Kūfī".

Ibn Ḳutayba's writing on poetry is found mainly in two works: the *K. Maʿānī 'l-s͟hiʿr*, a long anthology of poetic themes, and the *K. al-S͟hiʿr wa 'l-s͟huʿarāʾ*, a mainly chronologically arranged anthology. It is possible that other works, now lost, were also on poetry. Thus there is frequently mentioned a *K. ʿUyūn al-s͟hiʿr* of which nothing is known. It is usual (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*) to attribute great importance to the introduction to the *K. al-S͟hiʿr wa 'l-s͟huʿarāʾ*. It is true that it appears as a "veritable manuel du néo-classicisme" (R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 140) in the sense that it exhorts writers to "create antique verses on new thoughts" and contributes some original ideas on the ideal poetic technique. But one has no hesitation in saying that this text, though of some interest for the evidence it contains, is nevertheless grossly overrated as a treatise on style. Close inspection reveals that its few main ideas have nothing at all to do with poetic style. They concern in fact a great problem of cultural ethos, that of the quarrel of Ancients and Moderns, and in addition an important problem of historical method, that of the documentary value of a literary work in the strict sense. There is nothing in this which truly concerns poetics. As Ibn Ḳutayba composed no poetry at all himself, he continues to be regarded as a writer of prose.

Nevertheless, he must be regarded as an innovator, in the sense that he devotes in his anthologies, and particularly in the *S͟hiʿr*, at least as much space to the "modern" as to the "ancient" poets. Thus he professes a great admiration for writers such as Bas͟hs͟hār and Abū Nuwās, to mention only the greatest. In addition he has the merit of mentioning poets of whom otherwise almost nothing is known.

Ibn Ḳutayba's reputation, especially in the West, is based mainly on his ability as a writer of *adab*. His *adab*, which comprises an ethos and a culture in which are united all the intellectual currents of ʿAbbāsid society at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, and which displays an intent to popularize, at least for a certain literate public, is in this sense a kind of humanism. But it would be wrong, in the light of the eclectic professions of faith in the introductions of the *ʿUyūn* and the *Adab al-kātib*, to regard it as a secularist or even simply as a secular humanism, as some have tended to do in the West. What has been said above on his religious position and his attitude as defender of the *Sunna* clearly proves that in his mind there is no difference in kind but simply one of degree between the religious and the secular aspect of his educational work.

Ibn Ḳutayba's culture amalgamates in several

ways the four great cultural trends of his period: the Arabic trend proper, which consists of the "Arabic" sciences, *i.e.*, the religious sciences properly so-called, to which must be added the philological and "historical" sciences; the Indo-Iranian current, which contributes a certain administrative culture and a certain conception of the social relations in a developed society; the Judaeo-Christian trend, which adds a certain spiritual ferment; and, in a lesser degree, the Hellenistic trend which contributes the taste for logic and experimental knowledge.

Similarly Ibn Ḳutayba's ethic brings together the great ethical systems conveyed by these different cultures: the proud and pitiless ethic of the desert, that of the virile and sober qualities of the pre-Islamic *muruwwa*, the civilized and opportunist ethic of the Persian tradition, the spiritual and mystic ethic of the three revealed religions. Nevertheless, one seeks in vain in the resulting synthesis for any influence of Aristotelian or Platonic ethics, they being too clearly incompatible with the developing Sunnī ideal.

It is usual to consider the style of a compiler as a myth. Certainly it must be admitted that the great mass of Ibn Ḳutayba's work cannot be directly attributed to him. The data of *adab* and *ḥadīth* are obviously not written by him. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that all his works are preceded by introductions, usually long, and apparently on the whole original, consisting of several hundred pages in all. Furthermore it cannot be denied that his works of polemical ideology such as the *Mukhtalif*, the *Ikhtilāf fi 'l-lafẓ* and the *Masāʾil* are entirely original. Thus, paradoxically, it is in the works or parts of works of the most technical nature that we must expect to find passages which demonstrate Ibn Ḳutayba's qualities as a writer.

Ibn Ḳutayba is, so far as is known at present, the third great writer of Arabic prose chronologically after Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and al-Djāḥiẓ. After the bombastic and often obscure literary prose of the middle of the 2nd/8th century, and after the brilliant but difficult style of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba introduced a prose whose dominant characteristic was ease and facility. Far from the oratorical periods of the *kuttāb* of the 2nd century and from the faceted style of al-Djāḥiẓ, his sentences are simple, short and without artifice; his language is that in current use, with no concession to *gharīb* and not bound by an exaggerated respect for the norms of grammatical theory. It is already "modern Arabic".

The two aspects of Ibn Ḳutayba, the "secular" and the "religious", which are however distinguished only for the purpose of explanation, reflect a double personality: with a mind open to all the current intellectual ideas, which he attempted to spread among the responsible people of his time, Ibn Ḳutayba, requested at a certain time to give the support of his literary authority to al-Mutawakkil's reform, found himself, as was said by Ibn Taymiyya, spokesman of the nascent Sunna. It is not surprising if, after this, this eclectic man of letters felt himself constrained to stifle certain of his syncretist tendencies. This explains the reticence concerning him which was maintained in later years, in the East as well as in the West, though generally for opposite reasons; and this explains why none of the great ideological schools of Islam has ever dared to claim him.

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For Ibn Ḳutayba's place in the development of rhetoric, see BALĀGHA and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

(G. LECOMTE)

IBN AL-ḲŪṬIYYA, ABŪ BAKR B. ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ʿĪSĀ B. MUZĀḤIM, a grammarian and, in particular, historian of Muslim Spain, who owes his appellation "son of the Gothic woman" to the fact that one of his ancestors, ʿĪsā b. Muzāḥim, a freedman of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, had married Sara, daughter of Olmundo and granddaughter of the penultimate Visigothic king, Vitiza. Leaving Seville where her family was living, Sara had gone to Damascus to complain to the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik of the losses she had suffered at the hands of her uncle Ardabasto who, on the death of his brother, had seized his possessions in the East of al-Andalus. ʿĪsā and Sara returned to al-Andalus, and their descendants lived in Seville.

Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya was thus a *mawlā* of the Umayyads and a descendant of the Visigothic nobility. Born in Seville, he settled in Cordova after studying in his native town and in the capital of al-Andalus, under such famous teachers as Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Aymān, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Lubāba and Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh. He lectured in Cordova and had several pupils, some of them well-known, especially the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥazm Khalaf b. ʿĪsā al-Washḳī and the historian Ibn al-Faraḍī, his principal biographer. He won distinction as a poet, but even more through his knowledge of grammar and lexicography, on which subjects he wrote works highly esteemed by later generations. He also gained a reputation as a jurisconsult and traditionist and, though criticized, he was none the less consulted as to the meaning or idea of such and such a phrase from the grammatical or lexicological point of view. His fame led to his being presented to al-Ḥakam II as the greatest philologist of his time; he held the office of *ḳāḍī* and enjoyed great prestige during his lifetime. He died in Cordova, in old age, on Tuesday 23 Rabīʿ I 367/6 November 977.

Of his various works, among which was his *Kitāb al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, the only ones to have survived are: (1) *Kitāb Taṣārīf al-afʿāl*, published by I. Guidi (*Il libro dei verbi di ... Ibn al-Qūṭiyya*, Leiden 1894) and re-edited recently by ʿAlī Fawda under the title *al-Afʿāl*, Cairo 1953. (2) *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ* (var. *fatḥ*) *al-Andalus*, a history of the conquest of the Iberian peninsula and of the emirate to the end of the reign of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh; the Arabic text, prepared from ms. Paris 706 by Gayangos, Saavedra and Codera, was printed in 1868, but it was published only by J. Ribera, with a Spanish trans. and a helpful introduction, under the title *Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcotía el cordobés* (vol. ii of the *Colección de obras arábigos de historia y geografía que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*), Madrid 1926. Earlier, A. Cherbonneau had brought out an incomplete French trans. (*Histoire de la conquête de l'Espagne par les Musulmans*, in *JA*, i (1853), 458-85 and viii (1856), 428-527); O. Houdas published the first part of the Arabic text with a French trans. (*Histoire de la conquête de l'Andalousie*, in *Recueil de textes ...*, published by the staff of the École des Langues Orientales, i, Paris 1889, 219-80); E. Fagnan also published a trans. of some fragments in his *Extraits*, 195 ff. The *Taʾrīkh* was re-edited recently by ʿAbd Allāh Anīs al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut n.d. [?1957].

The chronicle of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya was dictated in the second half of the 4th/10th century and was written down by one of his pupils; it consists of a series of detached notes taken down from dictation, and it is possible that there existed various recensions or copies made by other pupils; a hypothesis of this kind is supported by the fact that the incomplete edition of the *Taʾrīkh fatḥ al-Andalus* published in Cairo contains many variants (see Muḥ. Ibn ʿAzzūz, *Una edicion parcial poco conocida de la "Historia de Ibn al-Qūṭiyya"*, in *al-Andalus*, xvii (1952), 233-7). This chronicle, which could not have been disseminated before the 5th/11th century, has a special value for the history of al-Andalus in the 3rd/9th century, since it contains traditions, anecdotes, observations and personal impressions, not to be found in any other authors, on specific aspects of life at the Cordovan court and of certain personages. However, it provides, in its first part particularly, only somewhat scanty, imprecise and uncertain information.

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IBN ḲUṬLŪBUGHĀ, Ḳāsim b. Ḳuṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī, Egyptian scholar in *ḥadīth* and religious law. He was born in Muḥarram 802/September 1399. His father, Ḳuṭlūbughā, a freedman of Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī (d. 798/1396), died while he was still young. He supported himself in his youth as an accomplished tailor (needleworker) but embarked early upon his religious studies, which he pursued all his life. An early teacher of his was ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 819/1416). His principal *shaykh* was Ibn al-Humām (d. 861/1457). Like all the aspiring young scholars of the time, he also studied with Ibn Ḥadjar. His travels, not very extensive ones, brought him to Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Mecca. His professional career was not outstanding. He held only shortlived teaching appointments, for instance, in the Baybarsiyya and in the *madrasa* of Djānibak al-Djiddāwī. Equally shortlived stipends from influential friends, consisting in one instance of a monthly allowance of 800, and in another of 2000 *dirhams*, helped him to support his large family. But his scholarly prestige was great, and it seems that his writings and his legal advisory work yielded enough income for his needs. He had close Ṣūfī connexions and, in the great debate about mysticism, took a stand favorable to Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Death came to him on the night of Wednesday-Thursday, 4 Rabīʿ II 879/17-18 August 1474.

His literary production, begun in his nineteenth year, was voluminous, approaching, it would seem, about a hundred titles. Among them, there are some works of historical interest and even a treatise on Avicennan logic. However, practically all he did was in the fields of *ḥadīth* and law. His works were the usual commentaries on legal school texts, compilations of traditions, glosses, additions, indexes of legal works, compilations of biographies of religious scholars, studies on Abū Ḥanīfa and his *Musnad*, discussions of individual legal problems, *fatwās*, and the like. Manuscripts of his more popular works have been preserved in great profusion. The catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, for instance, lists about seventy manuscripts, among them some twenty of his *Tādj al-tarādjim*. This compilation of brief biographies of Ḥanafī authors was first published by G. Flügel and made Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā's name known in the West (*Abh. K. M.*, ii/3, 1862, also Baghdād 1962; a manuscript dated 866 in Chester Beatty 3572[3]). Another of his biographical compilations, the large collection of brief biographies of reliable transmitters entitled *al-Thiḳāt min al-ruwāt*, is largely preserved in the Mss. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 264 and 1060. An inventory of his surviving writings, let alone a census of autograph copies and important old manuscripts, has

not yet been compiled. The same works are often listed under different titles, and some of the legal problems and *fatwās* found in collections are also listed separately. At present, it is not possible to say whether any of his works possesses originality and independent value. Among titles apparently not listed in Brockelmann, mention may be made of his *Takhrīdj aḥādīth* (of the recently published) *al-Ikhtiyār li-taʿlīl al-mukhtār* of Ibn al-Buldadjī (d. 683/1284) (Ms. Istanbul Feyzullah 292, draft copy?); *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* of Ibn Firishta, unless this work is identical with the commentary on the *farāʾiḍ* listed in Brockelmann, S I, 658 (Feyzullah 707, Beşir Ağa 228); *Nuzhat al-rāʾiḍ fī takhrīdj aḥādīth al-farāʾiḍ* of the *Hidāya* (Yeni Cami 301, fols. 1-20a, copied by ʿAlī b. Sūdūn al-Ibrāhīmī in 853); *Risāla fī djawāz idjārat al-iḳṭāʿ* (Ms. Chester Beatty 3202[3], copied by the same Ibrāhīmī, also Laleli 951); the legal problems (cf. *Ḍawʾ*, vi, 187, ll. 18 f.) *al-Ḳawl al-mutbaʿ fī aḥkām al-kanāʾis wa-'l-biyaʿ* (Chester Beatty 3724), *Taḥrīr* (*Ḍawʾ*: *Takhrīdj*) *al-aḳwāl fī masʾalat al-istibdāl*, and *al-Ḳawl al-ḳāsim fī bayān* (*taʾthīr*) *ḥukm al-ḥākim* (Chester Beatty 5276 [1-2]), which, however, might also have been included in the collections of legal problems. An autograph copy of his *Taṣḥīḥ al-Ḳudūrī* dated 868 is contained in Ms. Chester Beatty 5040, pl. 181.

Bibliography: al-Biḳāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-zamān*, as quoted in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 326; al-Maḳrīzī, *ʿUḳūd* (not seen); al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vi, 184-90, 223; Brockelmann, II, 99 f., S II, 93, as well as Brockelmann, I, 469, II, 224, S. I, 296, 362, 611 f., 635, 638, 658, II, 90, 92, 264, III, 1253.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN ḲUZMĀN, name of a Cordovan family, of which five members are, for various reasons, worthy of mention. The genealogy of the family is given in Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1517.

I. ABU 'L-AṢBAGH ʿĪSĀ B. ʿABD AL-MALIK IBN ḲUZMĀN, poet and man of letters of the 4th/10th century. The chamberlain al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir chose him as one of the tutors of the young caliph Hishām II al-Muʾayyad, who succeeded to the throne at the age of eleven in 366/976. Thus, in spite of the opinion of E. Lévi-Provençal (*Du nouveau* ... 13), it is impossible that he should have been the father of the famous writer of *zadjals* (no. V), who had the same name. This information is supplied by Ibn Saʿīd (*Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, i, 210), who adds that he was a member of the same family and quotes four verses by him. Other verses, without any biographical information, are given by al-Thaʿālibī (*Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1947, ii, 34-5) and by al-Ḍabbī, no. 1149.

II. ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, called al-Akbar (the Elder) to distinguish him from his nephew of the same name. A famous stylist and poet, he became secretary and minister of the last Afṭasid ruler of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil; he was thus the col eague of ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ibn ʿAbdūn [*q.v.*] and of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿīd al-Baṭalyawsī, known as Ibn Ḳabṭūrnu [*q.v.*], whose reputation was in fact greater than his. After the extinction of this dynasty (487/1094), he lived in obscurity. His unpleasant character and his bitter tongue earned him many enemies, among them Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdīn, chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, who persecuted him. He died in 508/1114 (cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ed . Codera, no. 1139; *Mughrib*, i, 99, which reproduces the text of the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām; Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, Būlāḳ 1283, 187; Ibn Saʿīd, *ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt*, ed. Maḥdād, Algiers 1949, 45, in which the poet is referred to as Ibn Ḳurbān).

III. ABŪ MARWĀN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, son of the above. He was a great scholar, a most distinguished man of letters, a jurist taught by the chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd, the grandfather of Averroes. He was the last of the great traditionists of Muslim Spain and died a *ḳāḍī*, in 564/1169, at the age of eighty-five, at Osuna (Ushūna), a small town 70 kilometres south-east of Seville (cf. Ibn Bashkuwāl, no. 752; al-Ḍabbī, no. 989).

IV. ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, son of the above. A jurist and a poet, he served as *ḳāḍī* in several regions of the province of Cordova. He died at Osuna in 593/1196-7 or 594/1197-8 (Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1517).

V. ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD (called al-Aṣghar (the Younger) to distinguish him from No. II, who appears to have been his paternal uncle) B. ʿĪSĀ B. ʿABD AL-MALIK ... IBN ḲUZMĀN, the famous *zadjal*-poet. He at first tried writing poetry of the traditional type, in classical language (*muʿrab*). Then, realizing that he could not rival in this field the great poets of his time, such as Ibn Khafādja, he turned to the popular genre known as *zadjal* [*q.v.*], which is written only in the Arabic dialect of Spain. In this his success was so brilliant that he earned the undisputed title of "leader of the zadjalists" (*imām al-zadjdjālīn*).

Very little is known of the life of Ibn Ḳuzmān. He himself merely mentions (*zadjal* no. 38, stanza 9) that he was not yet born at the time of the famous battle of al-Zallāḳa (479/1086). The only certain fact is that he died at Cordova on the penultimate day of Ramaḍān 555/3 October 1160 (see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escorial, fol. 54).

Ibn Ḳuzmān lived in a difficult time for poets. From 489/1096, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn had done away with the last "party kings" (*mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*) with their luxurious courts and their entourages of paid poets. Only the Hūdids, in distant Saragossa, succeeded in maintaining precariously the tradition of the patron princes until 503/1110. The new masters of the country, sultans, viceroys, and governors, were Berber-speakers from the Sahara, who must have been unable to understand the subtleties of Arabic poetry (cf. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 127, 135). It is doubtful, for example, how far the governor of eastern Spain, Ibn Tīfalwīt, of the Saharan tribe of the Massūfa (d. 510/1116-7), was able to appreciate the panegyrics which were addressed to him at Valencia by Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], considered as the finest poet of the time, and then at Saragossa by the famous philosopher, physician and musicologist, Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*].

Thus the only remaining persons to whom poets could turn for patronage were the members of the Hispano-Arab urban aristocracy, rich and powerful noblemen who held in rotation the office of chief magistrate (*ḳāḍī al-djamāʿa*). Their liberality, however, did not always match their wealth. One of them, Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdīn, was so miserly as to be the subject of satires (cf. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*², iii, 156). Hence Ibn Ḳuzmān, always in search of money, dedicated his works to the various representatives of the great families of Cordova: the Banū Ḥamdīn, B. Rushd, B. Sirādj, B. Abi 'l-Khiṣāl, B. Rabīʿ, B. Shuhayd, B. Mughīth, B. al-Munāṣif, B. Yannaḳ, etc. Although he was not really a wandering poet, his habitual lack of money obliged him to seek the patronage of other wealthy men than those of his native town. From there he made many journeys

(*zadjal* no. 84, stanza 1) to Seville, where there lived two of his chief patrons: Abu 'l-ʿAlā' Ibn Zuhr (d. 525/1131), the father of "Avenzoar", and Ibn al-Ḳura͟shī al-Zuhrī. It was while in this town that he learned of the death of his Cordovan patron, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥamdīn in 521/1127 (*zadjal* no. 38, stanza 2).

For the same reason, he went often to Granada to address panegyrics there to ʿAlī b. Aḍḥā al-Hamdānī, *ḳāḍī* of the town, to ʿAlī Ibn Hānī and especially to Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Saʿīd, who was intendant of finance there. It was at the house of the latter that he met the poetess Nazhūn with whom he had a famous altercation (see al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 636). He may also have travelled to Jaen (no. 21, stanza 14). Thus the area of his travels in Muslim Spain was relatively restricted. He himself admits that he had never seen the sea (no. 145, stanza 10) but it is not clear from which period of his life this poem dates. He certainly mentions, in a comparison, the Gibralfaro which dominates Malaga (no. 142, stanza 2), but he may have known of it only by hearsay.

According to his own description, Ibn Ḳuzmān was tall, with blue eyes and a red beard. Other sources describe him as having a squint and being very ugly; in this connexion there is related a comic anecdote which had already been told as applying to al-Djāḥiẓ (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 57).

Like those to whom he dedicated his *zadjals*, he must have had a good knowledge of the Romance dialect current in the south of Muslim Spain. He quotes from it not only isolated words, but also short phrases. Nor was he entirely ignorant of the Berber spoken by the immigrants from the Sahara: certain poems dedicated to Almoravid dignitaries have words from this language inserted in them—these words moreover are those which conquered peoples most readily borrow from their conquerors.

Ibn Ḳuzmān was in no sense a troubadour singing of courtly love, that *ʿishḳ al-muruwwa* which he in fact derides. Like Abū Nuwās and François Villon, he led the life of a needy bohemian, a reckless toper, and an epicene rake (*khalīʿ*, *zānī*, *lawwāṭ*). His licentious conduct caused him to be continually censured by his great enemies the *faḳīhs*, who were particularly powerful under the Almoravids; thus in his writings, the word *faḳīh* often acquired the meaning of "hypocrite". More to be feared were the punishments of the chief of police. Ibn Ḳuzmān's delinquencies and his incorrigible passion for wine led to his being accused of impiety and irreligion and thrown into prison. He was even condemned to be flogged to death and was saved only by the intervention of an Almoravid dignitary, Muḥammad b. Sīr (nos. 39 and 41). It also seems that some of his journeys from one town to another were flights from justice after some escapade.

On the title-page of the unique manuscript of his *Dīwān* he is described as *wazīr*. It is well-known that at this period this title had lost much of its original significance: it had become purely honorific and was given to everyone of a certain social level, and in particular to court poets (cf. its debasement in the Spanish *alguacil*, "police sergeant"). However, as in the title of this manuscript the author is referred to as ʿAbū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, this may be a further confusion with no. II, who was indeed a *wazīr*.

On the other hand there is certainly no foundation for Brockelmann's opinion (S I, 481) that Ibn Ḳuzmān was a travelling entertainer with a monkey: this arises from an error in translation. In two poems (no. 7, st. 2 and no. 121, st. 2) the poet does indeed refer to his *ḳird*, but this word is used here in the sense of "evil spirit, misfortune", and appears each time in contrast with *saʿd*.

The last sixteen years of Ibn Ḳuzmān's life passed in a difficult time of rebellions and wars. In 539/1145, the defeated Almoravid sultan Tā͟shfīn was killed near Oran; his empire, which had for long been eroded by the Almohads, collapsed finally two years later, when the Muslim towns of western Spain revolted against the Almoravid governor, Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya. The Almohads occupied the country and made their capital at Cordova in 543/1148; then once again the towns revolted against them. The situation was further aggravated by the intervention of the King of Castile, Alfonso VII, sometimes directly and sometimes through the intermediary of his Muslim satellites, Ibn Mardanī͟sh and Ibn Hamu͟shku. Unfortunately for Ibn Ḳuzmān, one of his chief protectors, Abū Djaʿfar Ḥamdīn, the chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova, was among the most active fomentors of disorder. In revolt against the Almoravids, he had himself proclaimed *amīr al-muslimīn* in 539/1145, but his reign was brief. In spite of the support of the king of Castile, he was unable to resist either the Almoravids or the Almohads. He died in misery in 548/1153.

Ibn Ḳuzmān died in 555/1160, while Cordova was being besieged by Muḥammad b. Saʿd Ibn Mardanī͟sh, who was attempting to take the town from the Almohads.

In spite of his dissolute life, Ibn Ḳuzmān seems to have reached a relatively advanced age. His first *zadjal* to which a definite date can be given (no. 83, an elegy on the death of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥamdīn) was written in 521/1127. In verses in classical Arabic, he depicts himself as walking in a bent position "as if he were searching for his youth in the dust" (*Analectes*, ii, 431). If we are to take seriously what he says in his *zadjal* no. 147, the poet, towards the end of a not very exemplary life, reformed to the extent of holding the office of *imām* and of muezzin in a local mosque. This theory of a belated conversion may be supported by the fact that he died at the end of Ramaḍān, as did many elderly people, exhausted by the rigours of a month of strict fasting. Nevertheless, his "Testament" (no. 90) is that of a libertine and a toper; but this may perhaps be a work of his youth, and the desire he expresses in it to be buried in a vineyard may be merely the reflection of the work of another bacchic poet, Abū Miḥdjan [*q.v.*] al-Thaḳafī (cf. Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 26). From an unhappy marriage of which he bitterly repented (nos. 18 and 21), he appears to have had several sons (no. 143: *aṭfālī*; no. 11, st. 9: *awlādī*). Only one is known: Aḥmad, a traditionist who died at Malaga shortly after 600/1204.

Works. Ibn Ḳuzmān describes himself as a prose writer and a poet in the classical style as well as a composer of *muwa͟sh͟shaḥs* [*q.v.*] and of *zadjals*. Of his prose there is known only the preface to the *Dīwān*, in rhyming prose. Very few of his classical verses have survived and these do not show any remarkable talent. Only one of his *muwa͟sh͟shaḥs* has been preserved (cf. Hoenerbach, 94).

Thus the important part of his work consists of his *zadjals*. There existed at one time a large collection (*dīwān kabīr*) of these, possessed and used by al-Ḥillī (cf. Hoenerbach, 68), but now apparently lost. Another (abridged?) *dīwān*, entitled *Iṣābat al-aghrāḍ fī waṣf al-aʿrāḍ*, was put together by the

author for an obscure friend of his, Ibrāhīm al-Wa͟shkī, the only existing manuscript of which is unfortunately imperfect. By chance a certain number of the missing poems have been preserved by various anthologists. One has even been discovered in the Geniza of Fusṭāṭ. The 149 *zad͟jals* which are preserved in the *Dīwān* in its present form may be divided into two categories: those with a dedication and those without. Those without are fewer (27) and in general shorter: 5 or 6 stanzas, and, in this detail, are close to the norm of the *muwa͟sh͟shaḥ*. They are the poems which S. M. Stern (*Studies* ..., 385) rightly calls "*muwa͟sh-͟shaḥ*-like *zad͟jals*"; their themes are solely drinking or love.

The poems with dedications are of greatly varying length, most of them having from 5 to 9 stanzas. But they include some very long ones: 42 stanzas (no. 9), 40 stanzas (no. 38), and also some very short ones: 3 stanzas (no. 47), dedicated to the governor Tā͟shfīn "since the Almoravids did not like prolixity". These poems with dedications are of bipartite structure, like the classical *ḳaṣīda*, but are divided into stanzas with varying rhymes and written in dialectical Arabic in metres which are often non-classical. Thus they have been described as "ballades". The first part is a light introduction (*g͟hazal*, *tag͟hazzul*) which replaces the old *nasīb*. The favourite themes for these are wine and love, also their common provider: money. The second is a panegyric (*madḥ*, *madīḥ*) of the person to whom the poem is dedicated and from whom the poet expects a generous reward. Between these two essential sections there is a brief "transition" (*duk͟hūl*, *k͟hurūd͟j*, *tak͟halluṣ*); it is in his ingenious choice of this link-passage that the poet's talent appears.

The panegyrics, often exaggerated, are not of great interest; they contain praise of beauty, of learning and above all of the generosity of the persons to whom they are dedicated. Sometimes the author adds to them a personal *fak͟hr* in which he describes himself as the prince, and even the father, of the genre of the *zad͟jal*, and complains of his plagiarizers.

On the other hand, the humorous introductions form the most original and interesting part of Ibn Ḳuzmān's work. They amount to vignettes describing scenes from the public and private lives of the inhabitants of the city, abounding in valuable details on houses, furniture, costume, food, etc. These vivid and often comic scenes are full of vivacity, variety and realism, interspersed with racy and amusing details which reveal extraordinary powers of observation and expression: drunken quarrels, preparations for a feast day (which provides the poet with the opportunity to complain of his chronic penury), rejoicing at a carnival, the consultation of a fortune-teller, romantic adventures and altercations with deceived husbands. The poet himself often appears on the scene, in a humorous part, without always trying to give himself a favourable role. Licentiousness is freely mingled with burlesque, but very rarely descends to real obscenity.

Unfortunately these sociological documents are not always very easy to understand, for the poet's impetuous and lively style, the incisive brevity of his phrases, the vivacity of his narration and the abruptness with which he jumps from one theme to another, all combine to make accurate translation difficult. Furthermore, allusions are made in these passages to popular characters of the time and to beliefs and customs of which no mention is found elsewhere. Also, it is in these "jests" that there appear most of the terms peculiar to the local dialects, either not to be found in dictionaries or deformed by Eastern copyists. It should also be mentioned that the Eastern anthologists who have included fragments or whole poems by Ibn Ḳuzmān have limited these to passages on drinking or love, *i.e.*, to the parts which contain the most clichés and the vocabulary of which belongs to the common stock of Arabic, with even a classical tendency. The reason for their neglect of the descriptive sections, which are nevertheless those more representative of the poet's talent, is probably their inability to understand the really local vocabulary used in them.

Ibn Ḳuzmān, being essentially a townsman, provides no description of nature in its wild state. He had only unpleasant memories of his journeys from Cordova to Granada, accomplished in precarious and sometimes perilous conditions across the sierras and their ravines where he saw more bramble-bushes and oleanders than sweet-basil (no. 73, st. 5). As with the other poets of Spain (with the exception of his contemporary Ibn K͟hafād͟ja), the nature which he likes and describes is that which he had the opportunity to enjoy during pleasure trips to the country (*nazāyih*), in the pleasure gardens (*manāzih*) which his patrons owned on the outskirts of the large towns and where they went to relax in spring and in autumn. The poet likes to describe the happy frolics of gay young drinkers and pretty girls, singing, dancing and swimming in an enchanting setting beside a fresh stream or a pool among flowers or in the shade of elm-trees full of singing birds. Poem no. 79, in which he reveals his knowledge of astronomy in a detailed description of the night sky of Andalusia, is exceptional.

His descriptions of battles against the Christians (nos. 38, 40, 47, 86, 102) are very vivid, but they seem to be based solely on imagination, since it is almost certain that he was not present at any but merely formed a part of the crowd at the triumphal reception (*burūz*) of the victorious troops.

This essentially humorous poet wrote also a rather touching elegy (no. 83, repeated in part in no. 38, stanzas 36, 37 and 38) written on the occasion of the death of one of his chief Cordovan patrons, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad Ibn Ḥamdīn, in 521/1127. One curious thing is that Ibn Ḳuzmān does not appear to have used the genre of satire, for which he would appear to have been so well-fitted; and his attacks on the *faḳīhs*, his relentless critics, were always discreet and prudent.

The importance attached by writers of *muwa͟sh-͟shaḥs* to the apposite selection of the cadence (or refrain) on which they subsequently constructed their poem is well known. This cadence became the poem's finale, its "sally" (Sp. *salida*), its "going-out" (Ar. *k͟hard͟ja*) and at the same time its "pivot" or centre (*markaz*), providing, as it did, both the metrical pattern for the whole poem and the rhyme which was repeated at the end of every verse. In this matter, Ibn Ḳuzmān did not attempt to be original. None of his "finales" is in the Romance language; some of them consist of a popular proverb. On three occasions, and without always mentioning his source, he has merely borrowed "finales" in dialect from his contemporary and compatriot Ibn Baḳī, the famous author of *muwa͟sh͟shaḥs* (d. 540/1145).

It certainly seems, however, that the re-use of famous "finales", written in dialectical Arabic or in Romance, was a current practice among the poets of Spain, Jewish as well as Muslim. To borrow a

"finale" from a famous poet and reconstruct on it a new *muwashshaḥ* or *zadjal* was regarded as an exercise in virtuosity and has nothing to do with plagiarism: it was a *muʿāraḍa*. The structure and the metre of the *zadjals* of Ibn Ḳuzmān will be studied in the article ZADJAL.

The language used by Ibn Ḳuzmān in his *zadjals* is the Arabic dialect of southern Spain as it was spoken by the educated people of his time, that is to say with a vocabulary much enriched with borrowings from the classical language, but always deprived of grammatical inflections (*iʿrāb*). In *al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī*, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī accused Ibn Ḳuzmān of straying too often from the pure Spanish dialect. But this Mesopotamian critic, living two centuries after Ibn Ḳuzmān, cannot have had any serious knowledge of the peculiarities of that idiom. The writer of this article has demonstrated elsewhere that practically all of these criticisms were unjustified. It is true that Ibn Ḳuzmān may be accused of having misused some initial *hamzas* (*hamzat al-ḳaṭʿ*) in order to suit the metre, but this is a poetic licence used also by poets writing in the classical language. He may also have made more frequent use of the conjunction *fa-* and the particle *ḳad* than the common people did. It should be remembered, however, that his *zadjals* were intended primarily for literate persons.

Ibn Ḳuzmān's own estimate of his talent has been ratified by posterity. Both Eastern and Western Arabic-speaking peoples have pronounced him unsurpassed as a writer of *zadjals*. His works have become accepted as models of perfection in this genre, to such an extent that, for centuries, the Eastern composers of *zadjals* made it a rule to write in an approximation of the Spanish dialect.

Ibn Ḳuzmān's powerful originality has never been equalled. No other poet has covered such a rich range of metrical combinations. Only his successor and compatriot, Madghalīs, has been compared to him by the critics, and this was in order to put Ibn Ḳuzmān on a level with al-Mutanabbī in his choice of themes (*maʿnā*) and to raise Madghalīs to that of Abū Tammām in matters of expression (*lafẓ*) (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 262). But Ibn Ḳuzmān is regarded today as being in the tradition of the eastern poets writing in the classical language: Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādj, Ibn Sukkara, etc., who had the ability to shine even when not using well-worn themes.

Just as there are two strong points of view on the question of whether strophic poems (*muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal*) originated in the east or the west, so there are two conflicting opinions on the origin of the name of the eponymous ancestor, Ḳuzmān.

Some have regarded it as a transcription of the Spanish proper name *Guzman* (the Arabic *ḳāf* being here merely the current form of transcription of the phoneme *g*), itself of Germanic origin. Ibn Ḳuzmān might, therefore, have been of Germanic ancestry (Visigothic perhaps), and the portrait which he had provided of himself would seem to confirm this hypothesis: tall, with blue eyes and red beard. Furthermore, the proper name Ḳuzmān is extremely rare in Arabic onomastic; it was, however, borne by a character in history, an *anṣārī*, who died from wounds received at the battle of Uḥud (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1423; Ibn Hishām, ii, 578; *TA*, under the radicals *ḲZM*). It is not clear why Lerchundi and Simonet suggest that Ibn Ḳuzmān was of Jewish descent (*Crestomatía arabigo-española*, 336). The question is not, however, of great interest. In the time of Ibn Ḳuzmān the old "Arab" families of Muslim Spain had interbred extensively with Iberian, Latin, Germanic, Berber, Jewish, and even Negro elements.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, in his *Kitāb al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila*, adds to the poet's name the ethnic name of al-Zuhrī, which is that of many Spanish Muslims. This ethnic name is derived from the name of one of the main clans of the tribe of Ḳuraysh: the Zuhra. But we would perhaps not be justified in assuming a Ḳurayshī origin from this single piece of evidence. It is in fact very uncertain, since the *nisba* may not be a real one but merely a fictitious one, transmitted by a master to his freedman (*walāʾ*). It may be that there is a connection between this ethnic name and that of the famous Seville family of the Banū Zuhr. Certainly of the four persons to whom the *Dīwān* is dedicated, two are the Sevillians Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr and Ibn al-Ḳurashī al-Zuhrī.

In his *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* (cf. ed. Bercher, Algiers 1949, 300-1, in which the translation is incorrect), Ibn Ḥazm mentions an Ibn Ḳuzmān, a *kātib* who died from his unrequited passion for a beautiful young man of Cordova, Aslam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This Aslam was the second of the chief *ḳāḍīs* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, who succeeded in 300/912. In 314/926, Aslam was dismissed from office because of illness and died in 319/931 (cf. al-Ḍabbī, no. 571; Ibn ʿIdhārī, ii, 193). This Ibn Ḳuzmān, who died of love, might be an ancestor of ʿĪsā (I).

Ibn Bashkuwāl (no. 149) mentions an Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḳuzmān, of Toledo, who died *circa* 490/1097. He does not seem to have been a member of the Cordovan family.

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(G. S. COLIN)

IBN AL-LABBĀD [see ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

IBN AL-LABBĀNA, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĪSĀ AL-LAKHMĪ, Andalusian poet of the 5th/11th century, born in Denia, whence his *nisba* al-Dānī, by which he is often called; but he is much better known under the name of Ibn al-Labbāna "son of the dairy-woman", his mother having been, as is stated by Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, iii, *apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, ii, 409), a seller of milk. It is known that one of his brothers, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was also a poet, but he gave up this career to devote himself to commerce.

Little is known of the life of Ibn al-Labbāna; it probably however resembled that of many poets of the time, who sought an important personage to whom they might address poetic eulogies. He tried his fortune at the court of al-Muʿtaṣim of Almería, the refuge of many poets, and at those of al-Maʾmūn of Toledo and al-Mutawakkil of Badajoz, and addressed panegyrics to these princelings; the sources contain literary anecdotes on his (probably brief) sojourns in these towns, but his chief patron, to whom he was to remain attached for the rest of his life, was al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], ruler of Seville. Fairly numerous accounts of Ibn al-Labbāna's stay at this court show that he was treated with familiarity by the ruler and his sons, for whom he felt a loyal affection and to whom he dedicated eulogistic poems which have the mark of sincerity. In 484/1091, when al-Muʿtamid was deposed by the Almoravids, Ibn al-Labbanā—"one of the few Arabic poets possessing the 'gift of tears' ", as García Gómez has put it—spoke, with a deep and moving sadness, of the departure of the ship which took the ruler and his family into exile. Ibn Labbāna's devotion to his former master did not end with this event: he continued to write in praise of the poet-king and went to visit him in his African exile in Aghmāt.

After the death of al-Muʿtamid, Ibn al-Labbāna went to Bougie, where he visited ʿIzz al-Dawla, a son of al-Muʿtaṣim, and described his visit in a pathetic way (al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, ii, 250). He next went, in 489/1096, to Majorca, where he wrote in praise of the ruler, Mubashshir b. Sulaymān, but these poems do not bear comparison with those which he had dedicated to al-Muʿtamid, as is stated by al-Makkarī (*op. cit.*, ii, 609). A series of intrigues troubled the final years of his life, and he died in Majorca in 507/1113.

Although according to Ibn al-Abbār (*Takmila*, no. 511) his work was collected in a *dīwān*, no copy of this has survived and his poems now survive only dispersed in anthologies. Of his other works, all that is known are the titles and the subjects, all relating to the Banū ʿAbbād.

All the critics and the anthologists agree in praising the excellent poetic gifts of Ibn al-Labbāna and the beauty of his poems, but his universal fame in Arabic literature is due to his loyalty to the ruler of Seville, which he retained until his death; Ibn al-Imām, the author of *Simṭ al-djumān*, calls him for this reason "the Samawʾal of the poets" (*apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 411) and all who write of him praise this quality.

Ibn al-Labbāna was also the author of *muwashshaḥāt*; one of those which have survived ends with a very fine *khardja* in Romance.

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IBN LADJAʾ, ʿUMAR B. LADJAʾ B. ḤUDAYR AL-TAYMĪ, of the Taym b. ʿAbd Manāt, an Arab poet of the 1st/7th century. Al-Djāḥiẓ emphasizes his skill in composing poems in *radjaz* and *ḳaṣīdas*, and Ibn Sallām places him in the fourth "class" of Islamic poets, but he has escaped oblivion chiefly owing to the invectives that he exchanged with Djarīr [*q.v.*]; these fragments of *hidjāʾ* are in part preserved in the *Naḳāʾiḍ* and in various anthologies, which for the most part ignore his other compositions; his rivalry with Djarīr appears basically to have been of a literary character, indeed simply a quarrel between poets each convinced of his own talent, but it soon degenerated and passed from the individual to the tribal level. Ibn Ladjaʾ is said to have died at al-Ahwāz, the date being unknown.

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IBN LAHĪʿA, ʿABD ALLĀH B. LAHĪʿA B. ʿUḲBA, Egyptian traditionist and judge (b. *ca.* 96/688-69, d. Sunday, 15 Rabīʿ I 174/1 August 790, or 23 Djumādā II 174/6 November 790). The few known facts about his life are that he was appointed judge in 155/772 with a monthly salary of thirty *dīnārs*, the appointment being the first direct appointment of a chief judge of Egypt by a caliph instead of the provincial governor; that he held the judgeship for over nine years; and that his "books"—that is, primarily, his scholarly notebooks and materials—perished all or to a large part in a conflagration that destroyed his house in 169 or rather in 170/786. We are told that he considered unbelievers those who professed the createdness of the Ḳurʾān, and that he was ardently pro-Shīʿa. His father, Lahīʿa, is said to have died in 100/718-19, and his brother, ʿĪsā b. Lahīʿa, on whose authority he transmitted traditions, in Shawwāl 145/December 762-January 763. ʿĪsā's son, Lahīʿa, was acting governor *ʿala ʾl-ṣalāt* for some time in 189/805 and judge of Egypt from the beginning of Shaʿbān 196/April 812 to his death in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 204/April-May 820, with an interruption lasting about one year in 198-99/November 813-August or September 814.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa is believed to have been the author of published (written) works. He transmitted the history of the Prophet's raids. He may have been the author of some traditional and historical texts preserved on papyrus. Much of the material of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's [*q.v.*] "Conquest of Egypt", especially the Prophetical traditions cited there, and of al-Kindī's "Governors and judges of Egypt" as well as other Egyptian local histories has passed through him. For many authorities, his reliability as a transmitter of traditions was dubious.

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii/1, 182 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, ed. C. C. Torrey, 244, 246, index 334 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Th. ʿUkāsha, 505, 624; Yaʿḳūb b. Sufyān, *Taʾrīkh*,

Ms. Istanbul, Topkapısarayı, Revan Köşk 1554, fol. 17a; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Djarḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1943-51, ii/2, 145-48; al-Kindī, *Governors and judges*, ed. R. Guest, 368-70, 417-26, index 659a, 665a, intro. 31 f.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiḳāt*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2995, fol. 282a (ʿĪsā; apparently, ʿAbd Allāh was mentioned only in Ibn Ḥibbān's *Ḍuʿafā'*); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Manda, *al-Ta'rīkh al-mustakhradj*, Ms. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 242, fol. 275a (ʿĪsā); and, among later authors, for instance, Samʿānī, fol. 405b, s.v. Ghāfiḳī; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1382/1963, ii, 475-83, iii, 322, 419; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2917, vol. vi, fol. 196a-b; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2920, vol. xvii, fol. 96a-b; Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, ii, 17-19; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*, Cairo 1957-61, 287-93 (ʿAbd Allāh); idem, *Tahdhīb*, v, 373-9, viii, 458 f.; idem, *Lisān*, iv, 403 f.; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbughā, *Thiḳāt*, Ms. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 1060, fols. 194b-195a (ʿĪsā); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 283 f.; Brockelmann, S I, 256; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, Heidelberg 1906, i, 9; M. J. Kister, in *ArO*, xxxii (1964), 233-36; Sezgin, i, 94; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri, II*, Chicago 1967, 208-21.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN LANKAK (the son of the little lame man), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Baṣrī, minor poet of Baṣra who died *ca.* 360/970. Very little is known of his life except that he went to Baghdād, where he was the transmitter of a poem by Diʿbil [*q.v.*] and lived for some time in the circle of al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*]; it was probably at the vizier's suggestion that he addressed a number of epigrams to al-Mutanabbī at the time of the latter's visit in 351/962. His poems were collected in a *Dīwān*, and al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād was still able to appreciate them, but there now survive only a few examples, mostly short, which show him to have had a tendency to be pessimistic and critical: he complains of contemporary poets who deprive him of the glory which he considered his right, of his native town, and above all of fate in general, although he admits in a famous verse that human beings are responsible for their own misfortunes.

Bibliography: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 86, ii, 116-26, 132; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xix, 6-11; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 94; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 177 ff.; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 257 (Sp. tr., 330; Eng. tr., 268); R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 224-5, 228; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 491. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN LISĀN AL-ḤUMMARA, usual by-name of a Bedouin of the 1st/7th century, who became proverbial for his knowledge of the genealogies of the Arabs. His name was Abū Kilāb ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn (ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn) or Warḳā' b. al-Ashʿar, and he belonged to the Banū Taym al-Lāt b. Thaʿlaba. *Ḥummara* means a red-headed sparrow, the ammomanes or "Isabelline lark" (*Ammomanes deserti*), of the family of the *alaudidae*, but the origin of his father's by-name (and of his own, for he is sometimes called simply Lisān al-Ḥummara) is unknown. Practically nothing is known of his life apart from some traditions which show him at Kūfa with al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] and with Muʿāwiya, and which speak of his wisdom, his eloquence, his gift for lively repartee and his profound knowledge of men and women; his cutting judgements on the different tribes derive, however, from folklore. He was considered as one of the best Arab genealogists of the time, and there was a proverb: *ansab min Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara* (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, Cairo 1352-3, ii, 309); another proverb, *aʿmar min Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara* (*op. cit.*, i, 516) would seem to suggest that he was very long-lived, but there is here probably a deformation of the more likely form: *aʿlam min Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara* (cf. Freytag, *Ar. prov.*, iii/1, 163, no. 268); such a corruption could arise from a false reading of *kibar* for *kibr*, for, according to the *Fihrist* (Cairo 1348, 132), Ibn Lisān al-Ḥummara was very proud.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 200, 206; iii, 209; idem, *Bayān*, iii, 162; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, 63; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 535; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 213; *Aghānī*, xiv, 138 (Beirut ed., xvi, 50); Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 296; Damīrī, s.v. *ḥummar*; *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *ḥummar*; *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Imp. Russian Arch. Soc. (Saint Petersburg), xxvii, 234-44; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 6; I. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, XLI; F. al-Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 489. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN LIZZA, by-name usually given (al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 208) to Abū ʿAmr Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī al-Iṣbahānī, Arabic philologist. There is much uncertainty over this name: according to the *Fihrist* (83) it is Abū ʿUmar Mindād b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī Ibn Lazza (a *laḳab*); it is read as Ibn Lazza by Flügel, who reproduced the name in *Die Gr. Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 223. A manuscript of the *Fihrist*, Codex P, has *r* instead of *z* in this *laḳab*. This *r* is found also in the *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, i, 257, of al-Ḳifṭī (Cairo 1369/1950); in the *Talkhīṣ* of Ibn Maktūm (according to the editor of *Inbāh*, *ibid.*, n. 1); and in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāḳūt: Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Karkhī al-Iṣbahānī, called Ibn Lirra. A very short notice is found in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn* of al-Zubaydī, Cairo 1373/1954, 288, under the name Bundār al-Iṣbahānī, but the above-mentioned *Inbāh* has two entries for the same person: one (no. 157) for Bundār al-Iṣbahānī, and another (no. 159) for Bundār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Lirra. In the *Amālī* of al-Ḳālī (2nd ed. Cairo 1344/1926), iii (Dhayl), 102, he becomes Bundār b. Ludda al-Karkhī. From these references the personal name (*ism*) Bundār at least seems well established, the best testimony to his identity being the citations from Ibn Kaysān (see below).

Bundār was an Iranian, a scholar from the region of the Djabal, who was a pupil of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām. He came to Baghdād. His fame and importance arose mainly from his wide knowledge of Arabic poetry and of the *akhbār* and *ansāb* of the Arabs. Ibn Kaysān [*q.v.*] was his pupil and it is significant that in his commentary on the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imru' al-Ḳays, he cites Bundār eleven times (and al-Aṣmaʿī only twice); in particular, one of the two traditions on the genealogy of the poet is given according to Bundār (see *ZA*, xxix (1914), 2 and 9, line 17 f.; similarly *ZA*, xvi (1902), 16). Al-Mutawakkil (232-46/847-61) often gave audience to this scholar of Arab matters; al-Mubarrad, who had only recently left Baṣra, was introduced by him to this caliph, which (if the account is authentic) greatly contributed to his advancement.

According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, vii, 143), Bundār lived to a great age, but the dates of his birth and death are unknown. Nevertheless, what has been said here suffices to establish his place in literary history. The *Fihrist* (83) mentions four works by Bundār; there may be mentioned the *K. Maʿānī 'l-shuʿarā'* and the *K. Djāmiʿ al-lugha* for lexicography. None has survived.

Bibliography: in the text. The *Fihrist* (83) and Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, vii, 128-34 (= *Irshād*, ii, 390-3) are the two important sources; Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 208) quotes the latter but only in part, for the name. (H. Fleisch)

IBN LUYŪN [Spanish León ?], Abū ʿUthmān Saʿd b. Abī Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tudjībī, Andalusian scholar, poet and mystic, born in Almeria in 681/1282 in a family from Lorca. He was one of the most learned men of his time and acquired a mastery of all branches of learning, although he hardly ever left his native town, where he died during a plague epidemic in 750/1349. Deeply religious, he remained celibate, practised asceticism and, being naturally shy, he avoided people and saw only a few friends and pupils, among whom should be mentioned two important persons: Ibn Khātima [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*]. He succeeded in forming a splendid library, the best in Almeria in his time, and, not content with merely acquiring manuscripts, he sought to compare them and to make emendations in order to establish a correct text.

His production was very large, but the greater part of it was not original since it consists of compilations on *ḥadīth*, medicine, the sharing of inheritances, prosody, agriculture, etc. He was fond of writing summaries of important works, which he often wrote in verse. Almost all his work, which consisted of more than a hundred titles, is lost, and the part of it which has survived is practically all unpublished. Of especial interest is the *urdjūza* entitled *Kitāb Ibdāʾ al-malāḥa wa-inhāʾ al-radjāḥa fī uṣūl ṣināʿat al-filāḥa* (cf. art. filāḥa, ii, 902a) of which an edition and translation was promised some years ago by J. Eguaras.

Ibn Luyūn was an expert on poetical matters, but himself a mediocre poet, as one of his pupils, al-Ḥaḍramī, admits. A large part of one of his poetic works, the *Kitāb Naṣāʾiḥ al-aḥbāb wa-ṣaḥāʾiḥ al-ādāb*, was included in a collection by al-Maḳḳarī (*Nafḥ*, Cairo ed. 1367/1949, viii, 58-89), who also reproduces (viii, 89-108) extracts from two other works, all in a sententious style and comparable to the famous moral proverbs of his contemporary Sem Tob de Carrión. He is also the author of *muwashshaḥāt*, one of them containing a *khardja* in Romance, and is thus "a backward-looking archaizer" (García Gómez).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 598; S II, 380; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, Rabat 1934-6, ii, 467-70; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj* (in the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351), 123-4; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo ed., viii, 58-114; E. García Gómez, *Silla del Moro y nuevas escenas andaluzas*, Madrid 1948, 111-2; idem, *Las Jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco*, Madrid 1965, 197-203 and 405; J. Bermúdez Pareja, *El Generalife después del incendio de 1958*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, Granada, i (1965), 9-39, *passim*.

(F. de la Granja)

IBN MĀʾ al-SAMĀʾ, Abū Bakr ʿUbāda, Andalusian poet born in the second half of the 4th/10th century and famous chiefly as the author of *muwashshaḥāt*. His full name was ʿUbāda b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda b. Aflaḥ b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Ḳays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Anṣārī, and he was known by the by-name of Ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ, which some biographers consider to be the name of one of his ancestors. He was a descendant of the famous Companion of the Prophet Saʿd b. ʿUbāda [*q.v.*]. Born, according to some sources, in Malaga (*apud* al-Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, ii, 253-4), or according to others in Cordova (Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 963), he was the pupil of the famous grammarian al-Zubaydī, received a sound education in poetry, and wrote a book, now lost, on the Andalusian poets, which is praised by Ibn Ḥazm in his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* (*apud* al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 118); all that survive are some fragments included in other works (*e.g.*, in *al-Mughrib* by Ibn Saʿīd, Cairo ed. 1954, i, 125). Some writers refer to his Shīʿī tendencies (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 9). He composed panegyrics on the ʿĀmirids and the Ḥammūdids and wrote pleasing poems in the traditional style, but distinguished himself especially in the *muwashshaḥa*, of which, according to Ibn Bassām, he was a consummate master (*shaykh al-ṣināʿa*), bringing new life to this genre and carrying it to perfection. He died at Malaga, probably shortly after 421/1030. Some *muwashshaḥāt* which are attributed to him are in fact by Muḥammad b. ʿUbāda al-Ḳazzāz, with whom he has often been confused both by Arabic anthologists and by various modern orientalists (on this question, see S. M. Stern, *Muḥammad ibn ʿUbāda al-Qazzāz*, in *al-Andalus*, xv (1950), 79 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources given in the article: Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, no. 662; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 1123; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/2, 2-12; Abu 'l-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Badīʿ fī waṣf al-rabīʿ*, ed. H. Pérès, Rabat 1940, index; Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus*, Cairo 1320, 95; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 110-1; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1963, index. On his Shīʿī tendencies, see M. ʿAlī Makkī, *al-Tashayyuʿ fi 'l-Andalus*, in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii (1954), 141-2. As a writer of *muwashshaḥāt* he appears in all the works and studies on this genre.

(F. de la Granja)

IBN MAḌĀʾ, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Ḥārith b. ʿĀṣim al-Lakhmī, Andalusian *faḳīh* and grammarian of the 6th/12th century, who is given indiscriminately the *kunyas* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Abū Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. Born into a famous Cordovan family in 513/1119, he studied grammar at Seville with Ibn al-Rammāk and *ḥadīth* at Ceuta with the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ. He was *ḳāḍī* at Fez and at Bougie, until the Almohad caliph Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin appointed him *ḳāḍī 'l-djamāʿa*, an office which he retained under his son and successor Yaʿḳūb b. Yūsuf.

In spite of his wide education in all branches of learning, he limited his scholarly activity to the study of Arabic grammar, a subject on which he composed three works, only one of which has survived, the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala 'l-nuḥāt*, published in 1947. This book illustrates the clarity of thought and independence of judgement of Ibn Maḍāʾ, who truly deserves the title of *imām fi 'l-naḥw*, which was given to him by his biographer al-Ḍabbī (*Bughya*, no. 465), or of *imām al-naḥwiyyīn*, which was twice applied to him by Ibn Diḥya (*Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 91, 185). This work, written by Ibn Maḍāʾ towards the end of his life (he died in 592/1195 at Seville), "is a violent, reasoned and eloquent attack on the complicated, obscure, casuistic and artificial theories of traditional Arabic grammar as it had been formulated by the great schools of the East" (E. García Gómez). At the same time it calls for the building up of a new grammar, simpler and more clear, and based on the true facts of the language. Ibn Maḍāʾ's work, until recently not known to survive, has aroused a great interest in scholarly

circles in the East because of the problems it poses and the solutions which it indicates, at a time when each scholar is engaged in seeking a method of simplifying the Arabic language (*taysīr al-lugha*).

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned in the article, see Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 139; Shawḳī Ḍayf, introduction to his edition of the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala ʾl-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1366/1947 (important review by E. García Gómez in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 238-40); E. García Gómez, *La gramática y la Giralda*, in *Silla del Moro y Nuevas Escenas Andaluzas*, Madrid 1948, 243-6.

(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN MĀDJA, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. YAZĪD AL-RABAʿĪ AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, author of the *Kitāb al-Sunan*, the last of the six canonical collections of tradition, was born according to his pupil Djaʿfar b. Idrīs (*apud* Yāḳūt, iv, 91) in 209/824-5 and died on Saturday 20 Ramaḍān 273/18 February 887 in Ḳazwīn. Mādja was the (Persian?) byname of his father, a client of the Banū Rabīʿa. Ibn Mādja travelled in search of traditions and learned them from many authorities in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Ḥidjāz and Egypt. His *Kitāb al-Sunan* contains some 4000 traditions in about 150 chapters. It was criticized, because it contains many weak (*ḍaʿīf*) traditions; it was even said that all traditions in it which do not occur in the five earlier collections are not authentic. These *zawāʾid Ibn Mādja ʿala ʾl-kutub al-khamsa* were later collected by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī [*q.v.*] (d. 807/1405) and by Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Būṣīrī (d. 870/1436). Other scholars, especially those of Ḳazwīn, *e.g.*, the *ḳāḍī* al-Khalīlī (d. 446/1054-5; see Brockelmann, I, 352; S I, 618), considered Ibn Mādja an authority of the highest rank (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, ix, 531); gradually his fame increased, until his *Sunan* were included in the "six books", *e.g.*, by al-Ḳaysarānī (d 507/1113) in his *Aṭrāf al-Kutub al-sitta*, by al-Djammāʾīlī (d. 600/1204) in his *Kitāb al-Ikmāl*, which forms the basis of al-Mizzī's *Tahdhīb* and Ibn Ḥadjar's *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*; but it was always considered inferior even to the *Sunan* of al-Nasāʾī. Few commentaries were devoted to it (see Brockelmann, S I, 270). In the Maghrib it was never recognized.

Ibn Mādja wrote also a *Taʾrīkh* (obviously dealing with the scholars of Ḳazwīn, see Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, s.v. *Tawārīkh Ḳazwīn*) and a *Tafsīr*, both of which seem to be lost.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 90; Ibn Khallikān, no. 625; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*[2], ii, 189 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ix, 530-2; in his *Fatḥ al-Bārī*ʾ, vii, 29 he quotes from a manuscript of the *Sunan* written in 370/980-1; for manuscripts, editions and commentaries see Brockelmann I, 163 and S I, 270. For the transmission of Ibn Mādja's *Sunan* and the different versions (chains of authorities) see the following treatises published in Ḥaydarābād in 1328: al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam*, 13; al-Nakhlī, *Bughyat al-ṭālibīn*, 17; Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī, *al-Imdād*, 8; al-Fullānī, *Ḳaṭf al-thamar*, 21; al-Shawkānī, *Itḥāf al-akābir*, 46 f. The Cairo edition of 1349 contains the glosses (*ḥāshiya*) of Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Sindī (d. 1138/1726).

(J. W. FÜCK)

IBN MĀDJID, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MĀDJID B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿAMR B. DUWAYK B. YŪSUF B. ḤASAN B. ḤUSAYN B. ABĪ MAʿLAḲ AL-SAʿDĪ B. ABĪ ʾL-RAKĀʾIB AL-NADJDĪ, was one of the greatest Arab navigators of the Middle Ages. He lived in the second half of the 9th/15th century; the exact dates of his birth or death are not known. Ibn Mādjid belonged to an illustrious family of navigators. His father and grandfather were both *muʿallims* ("master of navigation", see G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 182-3) by profession and were well-known as experts of the Red Sea. They wrote treatises on navigation. Ibn Mādjid improved and made additions to the *urdjūza* (piece of poetry in the *radjaz* metre) entitled *al-Ḥidjāziyya* written by his father (*al-Fawāʾid*, fol. 78a-b). This family tradition of navigational activity was kept up by the grandson, who seems to have surpassed both his father and his grandfather in this field. It was during his lifetime that Ibn Mādjid acquired the reputation of an expert navigator of the Indian Ocean. Sīdī ʿAlī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], the Turkish navigator (d. 970/1562), in the Preface to his work "The Ocean" (*al-Muḥīṭ*), says that during his sojourn at Baṣra, he had collected the works of Ibn Mādjid, namely *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid* and *Ḥāwiyat al-ikhtiṣār*, and some works of Sulaymān al-Mahrī (written in the first half of the 10th/16th century) and had studied them thoroughly for, in his opinion, it was exceedingly difficult to navigate the Indian Ocean without them (see G. Ferrand in *EI*[1], iv, 363). No wonder that Ibn Mādjid gave himself the proud title of "the Fourth after the Three" (*i.e.*, Muḥammad b. Shādān, Sahl b. Abān and Layth b. Kahlān, see below) (*al-Fawāʾid*, f. 4b), or "the Successor of the Lions", or "the Lion of the Sea in fury" (*Ḥāwiya*, f. 88b).

Ibn Mādjid was an author of great merit, who wrote both in prose and verse. Of his known works those that have been published by G. Ferrand in the series *Instructions nautiques et Routières arabes et portugais des xv[e] et xvi[e] siècles*, in vols. i and ii, Paris 1921-3 and 1925, are as follows:

(1) *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid fī uṣūl ʿilm al-baḥr wa ʾl-ḳawāʿid* (dated 895/1490). This prose work covers, among other subjects, the twenty-eight lunar mansions, the stars corresponding to the thirty-eight rhumbs (*khanns*) of the compass, the sea-routes of the Indian Ocean, the latitudes of a number of harbours, the landmarks (*ʿalāmāt*) formed by birds and the outlines of coasts, the landfalls of the west coast of India, the ten large islands of the Indian Ocean (the "island" of Arabia, Madagascar, Sumatra, Java, Taiwan, Ceylon, Zandjbār, al-Baḥrayn, Ibn Gāwān and Socotra), a survey of the coastal regions of Asia and Africa, monsoons favourable for the voyage and a description of the Red Sea with details of anchorages, shallows and reefs.

(2) *Ḥāwiyat al-ikhtiṣār fī uṣūl ʿilm al-biḥār* (dated 866/1462). The work deals with the signs of proximity of land, the lunar mansions and rhumbs, Arabian, Coptic, Byzantine and Persian years, *bāshī* (the elevation of the polar star in relation to its minimal height above the horizon, see Shumovsky, *op. cit.* in *bibl.*, 154), the monsoons of the *bāshī*, the months in which the stars appear, the fixed character of their latitudes and their disappearance, the sea-routes along the coast of India up to Sumatra, China and Taiwan and those along the coasts of various islands of the Indian Ocean, the latitudes of the harbours of the encircling ocean (*al-Muḥīṭ*), currents of the deep seas and nautical astronomy.

(3) *al-Urdjūza* called *al-Muʿarraba* (dated 890/1485) deals with the navigation of the Gulf of Aden. (4) *Ḳiblat al-Islām fī djamīʿ al-dunyā* (dated 893/1488) is dedicated to the *ḳāḍīs* and deals with the direction of the Kaʿba for the purposes of prayer. (5) *Urdjūzat Barr al-ʿArab fī Khalīdj Fārs* (not dated) deals with navigation along the Arabian coast and the islands. (6) *Urdjūza fī ḳismat al-djamma ʿalā*

Banāt Naʿsh (dated 900/1494-5) deals with the constellation *Ursa.* (7) *Urdjūza* called *Kanz al-maʿālima wa dhakhīratihim fī ʿilm al-madjhūlāt fi 'l-baḥr wa 'l-nudjūm wa 'l-burūdj* (undated, but from the context it appears that it was written before 894/1489) deals with the celestial sphere, the signs of the zodiac, the stars, etc. (8) *Urdjūza fi 'l-natakhāt li-Barr al-Hind wa Barr al-ʿArab* (not dated) deals with the landfalls on the western coast of India and the coast of Arabia from 25° N. to 60° N. (9) *Urdjūza* called *Mīmiyyāt al-abdāl,* dealing with certain northern stars. (10) *Urdjūza Mukhammasa,* dealing with certain northern stars. (11) *Urdjūza* on the Byzantine months, rhyming in *nūn.* It is undated, but from the context it seems that it was written before 1475 or 1489. (12) *Urdjūza* called *Ḍarībat al-ḍarāʾib,* undated, deals with the use of certain stars in navigation and with general instructions for navigators. (13) *Urdjūza* dedicated to the caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. It was written before 1475 or 1489, and deals with the lunar mansions, their exact positions in the sky, forms and numbers, etc. (14) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Makkiyya,* not dated, deals with the sea-routes from Djidda to Cape Fartak, Calicut, Dābul, Konkan, Gudjarāt, al-Aṭwāḥ, Hormuz and other places. (15) *Urdjūza* called *Nādirat al-abdāl* on *al-wāḳiʿ, dhubbān* and *al-ʿayyūḳ.* (16) *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Bāʾiyya* called *al-Dhahabiyya* (dated 16 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 882/21 March 1478), deals with the investigation of the reefs, great depths, signs indicating land such as birds and winds, landfalls on capes during monsoons, etc. (17) *Urdjūza* called *al-Fāʾiḳa,* not dated but written before 880/1475, deals with the observation of the Frog. (18) *al-Balīgha,* not dated, deals with the observation of the constellation Canopus and the star Arcturus. (19) Nine short sections (*faṣl*) in prose, not dated: (a) and (b) deal with the *māriza;* (c) with the landings by 10 *iṣbaʿ* (one *iṣbaʿ* = 1° 36′ 25″) of the *djāh* (the Pole Star) on the coast of Gudjarāt; (d) with the soundings of Gudjarāt; (e) with the soundings by 10 *iṣbaʿ* of the *djāh;* (f) with landings; (g) with the soundings around Bāb al-Mandab; (h) with the soundings of Gudjarāt by 10¼ *iṣbaʿ*s of the *djāh;* (i) with knowing the revolution of the Pole Star on leaving the capes of Arabia. (20) *Urdjūza* called *al-Sabʿiyya,* divided into seven sections because it deals with seven branches of nautical lore. (21) *Ḳaṣīda* without title or date, written before 1475, 1478 or 1489. (22) *al-Ḳaṣīda* called *al-Hādiya,* not dated but written before 1475, 1478, or 1489. It deals with the stars that are useful for landfalls, with a description of the landfall points and with the coast from Div to Daybal.

In his *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid,* Ibn Mādjid mentions the titles and cites verses from thirteen of his other works, which are not known to survive (for further details, see G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques,* iii, 198-221; cf. *EI*[1], iv, 363-5).

Three *urdjūzas* of Ibn Mādjid were published by T. A. Shumovsky under the title *Thalāth Rāhmānadjāt al-madjhūla* [sic], Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad 1957. They are based on the unique manuscript in the Library of the Oriental Institute. The texts are accompanied by Russian translations and valuable notes and commentaries by Shumovsky. There is a map showing the ports and harbours mentioned by Ibn Mādjid in his works. Of the three *urdjūzas*, the first is called *al-Sufāliyya* (ff. 83a-96a) (on Sofala, on the east coast of Africa) and deals with the knowledge of the *madjrās* (day's journey by sea) and astronomical calculations from Malabar, Konkan, Gudjarāt, Sind, al-Aṭwāḥ up to Somaliland, and from there to the regions of al-Sawāḥil (east coast of Africa), Zandjbār, Sofala, Madagascar and its islands. It also deals with various other aspects of navigation and with the inhabitants, kings, monsoons, etc. of those regions. This *urdjūza* also devotes some pages towards the end to the Franks and the Portuguese navigators of the Indian Ocean. It is undated. The second *urdjūza,* entitled *al-Maʿlaḳiyya* (ff. 97b-104a, on Malacca), deals with the islands and ports of Ceylon, the Andaman and Nicobars, Java and Sumatra, Siam, Malacca, and other gulfs and islands of these regions, up to Formosa, China and the Pacific Ocean. The third is called *al-Tāʾiyya.* It describes the sea-routes and calculations from Djidda to Aden (ff. 104b-105b).

Sources of his knowledge. Ibn Mādjid was as much interested in the theoretical aspects of navigation as he was in its practical side. The knowledge and experience that he inherited from his forefathers was enriched by his own personal experience of forty years or so. Furthermore, there is little doubt that he was a well-read man and was familiar with ancient Arabic poetry and literature and with works on history and other subjects. He made a particular study and use of the existing works on navigation, astronomy and geography. He considered the study of astronomy and geography as a pre-requisite for anyone who wished to become efficient in navigation, and hence recommended the following works to navigators and sea-captains who wished to become masters of the subject: *Kitāb al-Mabādī wa 'l-ghāyāt* (*Kitāb al-Mabādī wa 'l-ghāyāt fī ʿilm al-miḳāt*) by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Marrākushī al-Maghribī (d. 660/1262); *Kitāb al-Taṣāwīr* (*Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita*) by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī (d. 376/986); *al-Ikhtiṣār al-Shahbatiyya* (?); the book of (Aḥmad b. Dāʾūd) Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895); the book of (Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Naṣīr al-Dīn) al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), the author of the famous Īlkhānī Tables. Then, *Muzīl al-ithbāt ʿan mushtabih al-intisāb* by Abu 'l-Madjd Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 344/955); *Kitāb al-Mushtarik* by Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229); the book of Ibn Saʿīd (d. 672/1274) (Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Maghribī, the author of *Kitāb Djughrāfiyā fi 'l-aḳālīm al-sabʿa*); Ibn Ḥawḳal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*ca.* 365/975). See al-*Fawāʾid,* ff. 43b-44a; for further comments on sources, see G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques,* iii, 229-33.

Ibn Mādjid had studied the works of the three Arab navigators of the ʿAbbāsid period, namely, Muḥammad b. Shādān, Sahl b. Abān and Layth b. Kahlān, even though he was doubtful about the value of their writings and considered them mere compilers and not authors (*al-Fawāʾid,* 3b-4a, 31a). He was equally critical of contemporary Arab navigators and considered himself the most experienced and knowledgeable in the field. Considering the vast amount of his experience and his numerous writings on the subject, he was, probably, not unjustified in this claim.

His contributions and concepts: In Arabic geographical writings of the Middle Ages, the description of the east coast of Africa usually stopped at Sofala or a little further south. The reason was that Arab ships did not sail beyond this point for fear of being wrecked or destroyed by the strong currents and winds there. Moreover, theoretically speaking, according to the Ptolemaic concept the

east coast of Africa, to the south of Sofala, turned towards the east instead of the west, and extended latitudinally as far east as China, leaving only a channel that connected the Indian Ocean with the Pacific, thus giving the Indian Ocean the shape of a lake. So, the Arab geographers and cartographers who mainly followed Ptolemy drew maps which covered the whole of the southern hemisphere with land. For centuries, this theory was accepted and hindered the progress of navigation in southern Africa. Again the *terra incognita* was supposed to be barren and hence commercially unattractive. Al-Bīrūnī (d. *ca.* 442/1050) was the first to propound a theory that there might exist a channel between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic, south of the Mountains of the Moon. This fairly long channel, according to him, lay between Sofala and the cape called "al-Ra'sūn" (*Ṣūrat al-Maʿmūra ʿalā 'l-Bīrūnī*, 62-3; this cape could be no other than the region of the Agulhas currents of modern maps). Ibn Saʿīd (d. 672/1274) placed the conjunction of the two seas (the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic) at Long. 117° 30′ and Lat. 16° 00′ where the sea was called "Sea of Ruin" or "Sea of Suhayl" and it also marked the end of the Mountain of Regret (*Nadāma*) stretching between Long. 109° 00′ and 117° 30′ along the coast of Africa (this place, according to M. Reinaud, was the Cape of Good Hope, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, i, p. cccxvi). However, Ibn Mād͟jid was the first Arab navigator to describe in more positive terms the coast of Africa south of Sofala. He seems to have acquired the information about the existence of a *madk͟hal* (place of entry, from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean) from the Portuguese (*al-Sufāliyya*, ff. 93a, 94a), but he must also have been acquainted with al-Bīrūnī's ideas on the subject through Abu 'l-Fidā's *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, which he had consulted. Thus, Ibn Mād͟jid believed that there existed a *madk͟hal* which separated the African continent from the *terra incognita* in the southern hemisphere. Describing the coast of Africa, he says that when you reach the land of Sofala and the "gulfs", the island of al-Ḳumr (Madagascar) "passes by" to your left, and the land to your right (*i.e.*, the coast of Africa as the ship sailed south) turns away towards the west and the north. This is the place where the "Darkness" (the Atlantic Ocean) begins. From there, the land turns to the "land of al-Kātim" (Kanem). When you pass Kanem, you come to "the land of al-Wāḥāt" (Oases) near al-Mag͟hāriba (Mag͟hrib) which begins at al-Masā. Leaving this behind, you arrive at Asifi and finally Ceuta, at the entrance of the Mediterranean Sea (*al-Fawā'id*, f. 64). It is obvious that Ibn Mād͟jid conceived of Africa as being much smaller than it actually is, for according to his account the east coast of Africa turns sharply westward and emerges at Kanem (south of the land of the "Black People", *i.e.*, Ghana, etc.) and from there it reaches Morocco.

Ibn Mād͟jid surveys the coastal regions of the earth (*dawrat al-arḍ*, actually the landmass of Asia and Africa) systematically, beginning from southern Arabia. His survey of the sea-coasts of the Indian Ocean is much more detailed than those of the Mediterranean or the Caspian regions, for he did not have personal knowledge of the latter. He then describes the ten large islands of the Indian Ocean (see above) (*al-Fawā'id*, ff. 67a-70b).

He does not refer to the *terra incognita* of the southern hemisphere, which indicates that he did not believe in it. His knowledge of astronomy was mainly derived from the works and astronomical tables of Ptolemy, al-Battānī, Ulūg͟h Beg, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī and others, and he incorporates their theories and astronomical concepts in his works. Ibn Mād͟jid's contribution lies mainly in the field of navigation. G. Ferrand rightly describes the *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* as a "compendium of the known knowledge of theoretical and practical navigation". "We must regard it", he says, "as a kind of synthesis of nautical science of the latter years of the Middle Ages. Ibn Mād͟jid is at the same time the earliest of modern writers on nautical science. The description of the Red Sea, for example, has never been surpassed or even equalled, apart from the inevitable errors in latitude, by any of the writers of nautical guides for sailing boats. The information given on the monsoons, local winds, routes and latitudes for crossing the whole Indian Ocean is as precise and detailed as could be expected at this period" (*EI*[1], iv, 365). Most of the place-names given by Ibn Mād͟jid in his works have almost their modern forms and hence are easily identifiable.

There is little doubt that Ibn Mād͟jid used sea-charts and several instruments of navigation. But it is doubtful if he was the inventor of the compass (according to Nafis Ahmad, the Arabs were the inventors of this instrument, *Muslim contribution to geography*, 64). However, Ibn Mād͟jid claims to have fixed the needle (*al-mag͟hnāṭīs*) itself on the case (*al-Fawā'id*, f. 46b). He considered the compass used by the Arabs for navigation in the Indian Ocean much superior to the one used by the Egyptians and the Mag͟hribīs (North Africans) for the compass of the former was divided into thirty-two sections, whereas that of the latter was divided into only sixteen. Moreover, the latter only knew the use of the compass and were not capable of using the Arab boats whereas "we could easily navigate their boats" (*al-Fawā'id*, f. 27). The Arab and the Portuguese instruments were probably equal in quality and accuracy but Ibn Mād͟jid had shown the Portuguese an instrument which they had not seen before (G. Ferrand, *EI*[1], iv, 365 f.). Ibn Mād͟jid's name however became legendary in later centuries and entered navigational lore. Sailors remembered him as S͟hayk͟h Mād͟jid, the inventor of the mariners' compass, and recited the *Fātiḥa* in his memory when they embarked on certain seas (G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 227-8).

Ibn Mād͟jid and the Portuguese. Ibn Mād͟jid was fully aware of the several attempts made by the Portuguese to enter the Indian Ocean through what he calls the *madk͟hal* (*i.e.*, *via* the Cape of Good Hope) and also of their raids along the east coast of Africa. He says that in 900/1495 the Franks (*i.e.*, the Europeans) arrived at the coast of Sofala, passing through the *madk͟hal* that lies between it and al-Mag͟hārib (North Africa) and the existence of which was proved by "the experienced ones" (the Portuguese). The Portuguese, he says, then went to India. Later, they returned to al-Zand͟j (Zand͟jbār) and then went back *via* the same "passage of the Franks". In 906/1501, they again went to India, purchasing houses there, and settled down, making friends with the "Sāmrī" kings (the Zamorins of Kerala) (*al-Sufāliyya*, f. 94a). In his extant works, Ibn Mād͟jid does not record the fact of his having guided Vasco da Gama from Malindi (east coast of Africa) to Calicut (Kerala). This fact is, however, proved by the contemporary Arabic and Portuguese sources. The Portuguese sources refer to him as "Malemo Canaqua" (Castanheda and Goes) or "Malemo Cana" (Barros), both representing *Muʿallim Kanaka* (*i.e.*,

Master of astrological navigation) (G. Ferrand, in *EI*[1], iv, 362; cf. idem, *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 191; and L. Bagrow, *The Vasco Gama's pilot*, 105). But it is the historian Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrwālī (d. 990/1582), the author of *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fi 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, who mentions Ibn Mādjid by name in this context. Referring to Vasco da Gama as the chief of the Franks called "*al-amilandī*" (= "admiral"), he describes the entry of the "cursed Portuguese, a group of the cursed Franks" into the Indian Ocean in the beginning of the 10th century A.H. (A.D. 1495-1591) as "one of the most exceptional and terrorizing events" of the period. He says that a band of them, starting from the Strait of Ceuta, sailed across the Atlantic ("the Sea of Darkness") and, turning eastwards, passed south of the Mountains of the Moon through a "narrow passage near the coast which has mountain on one side and the Sea of Darkness on the other and is full of high waves". Their boats were unable to bear the rigours of this place and were wrecked. They continued in this manner [attempting to pass through] for some time, perishing at this place and none of them surviving to reach India, till "a crow from amongst them" survived and reached India. But [before this], they had gathered information about the Indian Ocean until a sailor called Aḥmad b. Mādjid guided them. The chief of the Franks called *al-amilandī* became friendly with him and they drank together until the latter gave him the necessary information about the route [to India] when in a state of intoxication. Ibn Mādjid instructed them not to sail close to the coast of Malindi but to go straight across the high seas and then turn [towards the coast of India]. If they did so, they would be able to avoid the strong waves. So they followed these instructions and their boats were safe. Thus, as time passed, the number of Portuguese in these regions grew larger. They then built a fort in Kuwwa (Goa) and took Hormuz and began plundering and capturing the Muslim boats on the high seas (translated from the Arabic text cited in *Instructions nautiques*, iii, 185-6).

Bibliography: G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des xv*[e] *et xvi*[e] *siècles*, i, Paris 1921-3 (Ar. texts of Ibn Mādjid's works), ii, Paris 1925 (Ar. texts of the works of Sulaymān al-Mahrī and Ibn Mādjid), iii, Paris 1928 (*Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*); T. A. Shumovsky, *Thalāth rāhmānadjāt al-madjhūla* (sic) *li Aḥmad b. Mādjid: Tri nyeizvvestnïye lotsii Akhmada ibn Madžida arabskogo lotsmana Vasko da Gamï*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Port. tr. by M. Malkiel-Jirmounsky, Lisbon 1960; Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, iv, 552-69.

M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (Ar. text of *Taḳwīm al-buldān* by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ), vol. i, *Introduction générale à la géographie des orientaux*, Paris 1848; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣūrat al-maʿmūra ʿala 'l-Bīrūnī*, *Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 53, Delhi 1937; Nafis Ahmad, *Muslim contribution to geography*, Lahore 1947; L. Bagrow, *The Vasco Gama's pilot*, Genoa (Pubblicazioni del Civico Istituto Colombiano) 1951 (offprint from vol. iii of *Studi Colombiani*).

(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

IBN MĀHĀN, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, governor and military leader of the ʿAbbāsid period, who appears first as commander of the caliph's guard and secretary to the army during the caliphate of al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. He remained commander of the guard under Hārūn al-Rashīd, who, in 180/796, appointed him as governor of Khurāsān, in spite of opposition from Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. It is said that he then followed a policy of oppressing the people, which was probably the cause of the revolt of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth; this obliged the caliph to lead an expedition himself into this province in 192/808. On the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] gave his support to al-Amīn [*q.v.*], and was put in charge of the army which was sent against the troops of al-Maʾmūn in 196/812: his army was routed, and ʿAlī himself was killed in the battle.

His son al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī attempted, in 196/812, to get the inhabitants of Baghdād to recognize al-Maʾmūn, but failed, and the attempt finally cost him his life.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN al-MĀḤŪZ [see ʿubayd allāh b. bashīr].

IBN MAKHLAD, name of several secretaries or viziers of the ʿAbbāsid period, who did not however all belong to the same family.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Djarrāḥ was a secretary of Christian origin and recently converted to Islam, who served the caliph al-Mutawakkil and became vizier under al-Muʿtamid, for the first time in 263/877, then in 264-5/878-9, and was dismissed from the government on the insistence of the regent al-Muwaffaḳ. He seems to have been exiled to Egypt, where he was at first welcomed by Ibn Ṭūlūn, then sent to Antioch, where he seems to have died in 269/882 in obscure circumstances.

Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, son of the above, was twice vizier under the caliph al-Muḳtadir, in 318-9/930-1 and 324/936, then during the amīrate of Badjkam in 328-9/940-1, but was remarkable mainly for his ineptitude.

Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad, secretary and vizier of Christian origin and recently converted to Islam, has sometimes been considered, without adequate proof, as the brother of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad. He belonged in fact to a different and quite inconspicuous family. He distinguished himself in the service of the regent al-Muwaffaḳ between 265/878 and 272/885, playing the role of vizier, even though he did not hold the title, and providing efficient support for the prince in his military undertakings. He received, in 269/882, the honorific title of *Dhu 'l-wizāratayn*, and his name appears on coins minted in ʿIrāḳ. His sudden disgrace seems to have been connected with the activities of his brother ʿAbdūn, who, having remained a Christian, tried to obtain certain privileges for his fellow-Christians. He died in 276/889.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son œuvre*, Beirut 1967, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍī bi'llâh ...*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN MAKKĪ, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Khalaf al-Ṣiḳillī (var. al-Māzarī, al-Ḳurṭubī) Arab *faḳīh* and lexicographer, on whose life one searches in vain in the various biographical sources for any details beyond his emigration to Tunis and his appointment there to the office of *ḳāḍī*. Before going to Tunis he lived in Sicily where he remained probably until the beginning of the Norman occupation in 452/1060. This can be deduced first from his *nisba*, then from the fact that he had as his *shaykh* Ibn al-Birr [*q.v.*], who lived in Sicily at this time, and finally from an even more convincing circumstance, the inclusion of some poetical fragments of Ibn Makki in *al-Durra al-khaṭīra*, the well-known anthology of the poetry of the Arabs of Sicily compiled by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ [*q.v.*].

The only work attributed to Ibn Makkī is the unpublished *Tat͟hḳīf al-lisān wa-talḳīḥ al-d͟janān*, which must be classed with the long series of treatises produced by the specialists in the *laḥn al-ʿāmma*, the study of which might perhaps reveal traces of the *mag͟hribī* dialect spoken in Sicily at the time of the author, *i.e.*, the first half of the 5th/11th century. The *muḳaddima*, which contains the reflexions of a philologist aware of the precarious situation of the Arabic language threatened as it was with corruption and adulteration through the constant effects of the *alḥān*, is followed by the 50 chapters of the text, which has been the subject of three refutations and a commentary. On these, and for everything else concerning the author, the *Tat͟hḳīf*, the sources, etc. there may be consulted U. Rizzitano, *Il "Taṯqīf al-lisān wa talqīḥ al-ǧanān" di Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Makkī*, in *Studia Orientalia*, Cairo 1956, 193-213 (to the two manuscripts mentioned on p. 207 should be added a third preserved in a library in Saudi Arabia of which only the title and the author are given in *RIMA*, i/1 (1955), 154, n. 23).

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN MĀKŪLĀ, name of a family of Bag͟hdādī jurists and traditionists of the 5th/11th century.

(1) The earliest was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. D͟jaʿfar al-ʿId͟jlī, the vizier of the Būyid D͟jalāl al-Dawla (416-35/1035-44). He himself bore the honorific titles of Saʿd al-Dawla and Yamīn al-Dawla. They were not however sufficient to ensure his authority, and still less that of his master. The power of both was sapped by the raids of the Bedouins, both Arab and Kurdish, whose camps were outside the gates of the capital, by the turbulence of the Turkish guard, and by the continual intrigues which the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), with the support of a large group of jurisconsults and of men of letters of traditional outlook (among them the famous al-Māwardī), pursued on behalf of the Sunnī party. Al-Ḥasan was the unfortunate hero of an expedition against Baṣra, which he was unable to take from the ruler of Fārs, Abū Kālid͟jār, the nephew of D͟jalāl al-Dawla, and was in fact killed there (421/1030). At this time there was so little interest in the Būyids that, according to Ibn al-D͟jawzī (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 60), it was not known whether D͟jalāl al-Dawla still had a vizier in office. This may be the reason that certain historians [see bibl.] have confused al-Ḥasan with his brother Hibat Allāh, who appears to have succeeded him in his office of vizier.

(2) The career of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh was hardly more fortunate than that of his brother. Although the chronology of his vizierate is not very certain because of the contradictions between Ibn al-D͟jawzī and Ibn al-At͟hīr, at least its chief events are known. Born in 365/976, he was appointed vizier in 423/1032, but was dismissed in the following year in favour of his rival, a convinced S͟hīʿī, Abū Saʿd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. Restored to office shortly afterwards, he appears to have been vizier intermittently until 426/1035. Ibn al-At͟hīr moreover considers that the vizierate of 424 was his fifth, while noting, in connexion with a mutiny of the Turkish militia, that the same office was held in 423/1031 by a certain Abū Isḥāḳ al-Sahlī. Hibat Allāh's career ended in 430/1038, after more than two years in captivity at Hīt in the hands of the ʿUḳaylid Ḳarwās͟h b. al-Muḳallad, the faithful ally of D͟jalāl al-Dawla (Ibn K͟haldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 450), who had become his gaoler on the latter's orders and whose family always maintained S͟hīʿī sympathies (Ibn K͟haldūn, *ibid.*, 161) [see al-basāsīrī, ḳarwās͟h, ḳurays͟h, ʿukaylids].

The family policy of the Banū Mākūlā seems to have been to pledge loyalty in turn to both the rival parties, the S͟hīʿī and the Sunnī, though inclining more and more towards the latter. This policy began by neglecting the *sunna* on fundamental points of economic life (illegal taxation of markets, measures contrary to the Ḳurʾānic prohibition of usury, *ribāʾ*) and it worked in favour of the Jewish element, which lived very amicably with the S͟hīʿī artisans of the Kark͟h quarter (Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 285).

However, the final disgrace of Hibat Allāh seems to have been due to a sudden access of energy on the part of D͟jalāl al-Dawla, who from then on, through dynastic interests, became reconciled with Abū Kālid͟jār and had decided to ally himself with the ʿUḳaylid and Mazyadī Bedouin *amīr*s rather than suffer the pretensions and insolence of the Sunnī party (Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Bidāya, sub anno* 428). It should be added that Hibat Allāh brought up his son ʿAlī in the best Sunnī traditions and the latter very soon became famous in the science of traditions (Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 281).

Bibliography: on the vizierate of the Banū Mākūlā, see Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 21, 60 (mentions al-Ḥasan but not Hibat Allāh), followed in part by Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd͟jam*, iv, 28; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 287, 293-4, 298, 302, 307; Ibn K͟haldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 446, 447, is in general based on Ibn al-At͟hīr; Ibn Kat͟hīr, *Bidāya*, ed. Saʿāda, xii, 40, merely mentions D͟jalāl al-Dawla's change of policy in 428/1037.

(3) Hibat Allāh's son, ʿAlī, was one of the most famous exponents of *ḥadīt͟h* and of *ʿilm al-rid͟jāl*. He was born in 422/1032 at ʿUkbarā. His teachers included such famous traditionists as Ibn Bis͟hrān (Brockelmann, S I, 281; Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 18), the informant of the Ḥanbalī al-K͟harāʾiṭī (Brockelmann, S I, 250), Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (Ibn al-ʿImād, *S͟hadharāt*, ii, 283), one of the masters of the famous S͟hāfiʿī mystic al-Ḳus͟hayrī. He was on excellent terms with Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḥabbāl (al-D͟hahabī, *Tad͟hkira*, iii, 382) to whom al-Sarrād͟j al-Ḳāriʾ (Brockelmann, S I, 594) owed a large part of his collection of mystico-profane love tales. He was also connected with the great master of Ḥanbalī *ḥadīt͟h*, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, with al-ʿAtīḳī, the informant of al-K͟haṭīb al-Bag͟hdādī [*q.v.*], not to mention the latter himself, who was to make such a remarkable contribution to the science of Traditions in the 5th/11th century. It is very probable that this Ibn Mākūlā had close relations with half-Ḥanbalī and half-S͟hāfiʿī circles, who were much attached to tradition and grouped around the vizier Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*] and the caliph al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*]. All of these were in favour of a restoration of the authority of the caliph at the same time as they were working for the final dispossession of the heretic Būyids, to whom paradoxically the family of Ibn Mākūlā owed its fortune. ʿAlī gained fame by the production of a *Kitāb Ikmāl al-muk͟htalif wa 'l-muʾtalif min asmāʾ al-rid͟jāl*, on the onomastic of *ḥadīt͟h*. In it he used the works of ʿAbd al-G͟hanī al-Azdī (Brockelmann, S I, 281) and of al-Dāraḳuṭnī (*ibid.*, I, 165), greatly esteemed in Ḥanbalī and mystic circles. This work was used by al-Nawawī, one of the greatest authorities of the S͟hāfiʿī school, in his famous biographical dictionary (Brockelmann, S I, 680). The example of Ibn Mākūlā would seem to indicate that the descendants of the most illustrious families found the best refuge, in the troubled period of the 5th/11th

century, in the practice and the study of the traditional disciplines of Islam. It was through them, at least in the eyes of the rigorists of the entourage of the caliph, that the real power seemed to be maintained.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned, see Brockelmann, S I, 602; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 15. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN MALAK [see FIRISHTE-OGHLU].

IBN MĀLIK, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH DJAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. MĀLIK AL-ṬĀʾĪ AL-DJAYYĀNĪ (the name given by al-Maḳḳarī, ii, 421; for his reasons see 427, lines 13-6), Arab grammarian. He was born in Jaen in 600 or 601/1203-4 or 1204-5, according to the most generally accepted date, and was at first a Mālikī. Al-Maḳḳarī (ii, 421) gives the names of four of his teachers in his native town; to them may be added that of Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar al-Shalawbīnī, in Seville. Very soon he left for the Near East (where he became a Shāfiʿī), and we find him in Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Damascus. According to Ibn al-Djazarī (ii, 180), he went first to Damascus where he studied, then stayed in Aleppo and afterwards in Ḥamāt, and returned to Damascus where he settled. His journey to Cairo, which is not mentioned by Ibn al-Djazarī, perhaps occurred some time before his death, which took place in Damascus on 12 Shaʿbān 672/22 February 1274.

In Damascus, Ibn Mālik was the pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sakhāwī and other masters (see Ibn al-Djazarī, ii, 180); in Aleppo, he studied under Ibn Yaʿīsh and his disciple Ibn ʿAmrūn, and for a time taught *ʿarabiyya*; he composed a *Sharḥ* to *al-Muḳaddima al-Djazūliyya* (al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1371/1952, ii, 333). In Ḥamāt also he taught *ʿarabiyya* for a time. But it is not clear whether he was a pupil of Ibn al-Ḥādjib in Damascus. The sources consulted record only his remark about Ibn al-Ḥādjib: "He took his *naḥw* from the author of the *Mufaṣṣal* [al-Zamakhsharī], and the author of the *Mufaṣṣal* and his *naḥw* are of very small account" (al-Ṣafadī, iii, 363; cf. al-Maḳḳarī, ii, 424). This appraisal is evidently very unjust; it is the only discordant note related about his life, which seems to have been a worthy and industrious one.

On settling in Damascus, Ibn Mālik appears to have entered the most productive period of his life, and it is difficult to believe Ibn al-Djazarī when he states (ii, 181) that he put into verse *al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya* in Aleppo and the *Khulāṣa* [*al-alfiyya*] in Ḥamāt. In Damascus, Ibn Mālik demonstrated his mastery of several Islamic sciences: Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (54) gives him the titles of *al-naḥwī*, *al-lughawī*, *al-muḳriʾ*, *al-muḥaddith* and *al-faḳīh al-shāfiʿī*. Ibn Khallikān held him in high regard (al-Ṣafadī, iii, 359). He taught and was senior master at the ʿĀdiliyya *madrasa*. He had many pupils—his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī (a *shaykh* of Abū Ḥayyān), Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Nawawī, etc. (see al-Ṣafadī, iii, 362); but it was in grammar that he earned an immense reputation. This he owed to his philological knowledge, which was certainly very great, but also in large measure to a fact which in itself remains of secondary importance, his versification of Arabic grammar in the *Alfiyya*; rhyme was indeed an aid to memorization in those Arab countries where learning by heart was the usual method of instruction; furthermore the verses of his *Alfiyya*, "always obscure and often unintelligible" (Howell, *Ar. Gr.*, Preface XXVI), offered a choice of material to a host of commentators. Interest in grammar was revived.

From the point of view of grammatical method, Ibn Mālik represents a new state of mind: from the start, Arab grammarians had sought for *shawāhid*, witnesses, to establish the authentic *ʿarabiyya*, in ancient poetry and Ḳurʾānic prose and not in *ḥadīth*. Now Ibn Mālik regarded *ḥadīth* as conclusive, and made use of it, as did his contemporary Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī. The initator of this practice seems to have been Ibn Kharūf, who died in Aleppo at the beginning of the 7th/13th century (on this whole question, see ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 3-8 and J. Fück, *ʿArabiya*, 123-4, French tr. 189-90). One can understand the great interest Ibn Mālik took in *ḥadīth*: he collaborated with Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Yūnīnī (d. 701/1301-2), for his edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (Fück, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 81-2), which led him to deal with difficult passages in a special work, number 7 in the following list (see also Brockelmann, I², 359-63 and S I, 522-7).

1. *Tashīl al-fawāʾid wa-takmīl al-maḳāṣid* (Fās 1323), a résumé of an earlier work no longer surviving, *al-Fawāʾid fi 'l-naḥw*, "a manual of grammar, the conciseness of which verges on obscurity" (Ben Cheneb, in *EI*¹, s.v. Ibn Mālik). The *Tashīl* had a great reputation; there are at least 29 commentaries, by the author, by Abū Ḥayyān and by Ibn ʿAḳīl, among others, in manuscript.

2. *al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya*, a treatise on grammar in 2757 verses (*radjaz*), according to Brockelmann (I², 363), with a commentary by the author, *al-Wāfiya*, in manuscript.

3. *al-Khulāṣa al-alfiyya* or simply *al-Alfiyya*, a résumé of the preceding work in about a thousand verses (*radjaz*), in imitation of *al-Durra al-alfiyya* of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Muʿṭī according to al-Maḳḳarī (ii, 431) (cf. *Alfiyya*, verse 5). Al-ʿAdjīsī (quoted *ibid.*) denies that he wrote it for his son Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad known as al-Asad, as al-Ṣafadī related, following al-Dhahabī (cf. *al-Wāfī*, i, 206); he says that it was written for the *ḳāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm known as Ibn al-Bārizī (cf. Ibn al-Djazarī, ii, 181). The famous *Alfiyya* exists in manuscript in a great many libraries and has been printed frequently. S. de Sacy published an edition with a commentary (Paris-London 1833) and reproduced and translated eight chapters from it in his *Anthologie grammaticale*, Paris 1829, 134-44 and 315-47; Arabic text and French translation by L. Pinto (Constantine 1887), by A. Goguyer (Beirut 1888) who adds the *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl*; Italian translation and commentary by E. Vitto (Beirut 1898). The *Alfiyya* has been the subject of at least 43 commentaries; it will be sufficient to list the following:—that of Ibn Mālik's son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa*, Beirut 1312, Cairo 1342; that of Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *Manhadj al-sālik*, published by S. Glazer, New Haven 1947; that of Ibn ʿAḳīl, which can be said to be a classic, ed. Fr. Dieterici, Leipzig 1851, German tr., Berlin 1852, and in the East in the very convenient ed. of Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (6th. ed., Cairo 1370/1951); for the commentaries of Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hishām, al-Makkūdī, al-Ushmūnī, al-Suyūṭī and Daḥlān, see nos. 3, 10, 12, 15 and 35 of Brockelmann (S I, 523-5).

4. *Lāmiyyat al-afʿāl* or *al-Miftāḥ fī abniyat al-afʿāl*, in 114 verses (*basīṭ*), a complement on morphology to the *Alfiyya*, published by A. Goguyer as a sequel to that work, with translation, notes and

glossary of technical terms for both works; the Commentary of Badr al-Dīn Muḥ. was published by Kellgren (Helsingfors 1854), by Kellgren and Volck (St. Petersburg 1864) and by Volck (Leipzig 1866); the *Lāmiyya* has been printed several times in the East in collections; moreover other commentaries exist (see Brockelmann, I², 362 and S I 526).

5. *Tuḥfat al-mawdūd fi 'l-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, a versification in 162 verses (*ṭawīl*) of almost all the words of the same form terminating with *alif maḳṣūra* or *alif mamdūda* and of different meaning, with a short commentary; ed. Cairo 1897 by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī, then in 1329.

6. *al-Iʿlām bi-thalāth* (*muthallath*) *al-kalām*, a versification (in *radjaz*) of the words with triple vocalization and of different meaning, a work dedicated to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, grandson of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (ed. Cairo 1329, together with the preceding work). See Brockelmann's no. XII for other similar works.

7. *Shawāhid al-tawḍīḥ wa 'l-taṣḥīḥ li-mushkilāt al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, a grammatical discussion of difficult passages from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (Allāhābād 1319); in manuscript in Damascus under the title *al-Tawḍīḥ fī iʿrāb al-Bukhārī* (Brockelmann, S I, 262, emend to *ʿUm*. 17 no. 101).—The following works exist only in manuscript:

8. *ʿUmdat al-ḥāfiẓ wa-ʿuddat al-lāfiẓ*, a résumé of syntax, with a fairly long commentary by the author (Brockelmann, I², 363, IV, should read: Berlin 6631 and 6632).

9. *al-Alfāẓ al-mukhtalifa*, a collection of synonyms (25 fols. in MS Berlin 7041).

10. *al-Iʿtiḍād fi 'l-farḳ bayn al-ẓāʾ wa 'l-ḍāḍ*, a versification in 62 verses (*basīṭ*) of words pronounced with *ẓāʾ* or *ḍād*, with a short commentary by the author (an extract from this work appears in the *Muzhir*³, ii, 283-6), followed by two appendices, one *fīmā yuḳāl bi-ḍād wa-ẓāʾ*, the other *fīmā yuḳāl bi-ṭāʾ wa-ẓāʾ*.

11. *K. al-ʿArūḍ*, on Arabic prosody; only one MS, Escur.² 330, 6°.

12. A summary of grammar, the *Sabk al-manẓūm*, of morphology (*taṣrīf*), the *Īdjāz al-taʿrīf* (Brockelmann, nos. V, VI), and different short works, placed by Brockelmann under nos. XIV to XX (S I, 527). Versifications of words with grammatical or lexicographical peculiarities have been included by al-Suyūṭī in the *Muzhir*³, ii, 113, 114, 115, 224; note 279-82, the 49 verses (*kāmil*) containing the verbs having a *wāw* or a *yāʾ* without distinction as the 3rd radical consonant (printed in a *Madjmūʿa*, Cairo 1306).

Several works of Ibn Mālik, mentioned by his biographers, have not yet been reported in manuscript, in particular *al-Muḳaddima al-asadiyya* (composed for his son known as al-Asad).

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo 1369/1949, ii, 421-33, has brought together almost all the items of information; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt* [Bibl. Isl. 6c], iii, 359-64, important; Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrāʾ*, ii, 180-1, ed. Bergsträsser 1352/1933 (anastatic reprint, Baghdād, ii, 180-1), important for chronological data; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 53-7, repeats, adds little; the others mostly repeat or are useful for the date of Ibn Mālik's birth or his genealogy: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 452-4; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, v, 28-9; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, Damascus (Ẓāhiriyya Taʾrīkh 438), 54-6; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1351, v, 339; other references will also be found in ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1379/1960, x, 234.

European works: Brockelmann, I², 359-63, S I, 521-7; in the short biographical notice, emend *Baʿalbakk*, substitute *Aleppo*, on the subject of Ibn Yaʿīsh; M. S. Howell, *Arabic Grammar*, Preface, XIX-XXI (Allahabad 1883). (H. FLEISCH)

IBN MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-FAḌĀʾIL AL-YAMANĪ, MUḤAMMAD, a Sunnī jurisconsult and minor historian of Yemen, best known for his derogatory tract against the Ismāʿīlīs, entitled *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya wa akhbār al-Ḳarāmiṭa*. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known with certainty. In the introduction to this tract he states that he was converted to the Ismāʿīlī sect during the rule of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥ (d. 473/1080), founder of the Shīʿī Ṣulayḥid [*q.v.*] dynasty, but that towards the end of his life, sickened by the depravity of the sect's local leaders, he abjured and wrote this history of the Ismāʿīlīs in Yemen so as to warn others about them. The *Kashf* became the primary source concerning the history of the sect for all later Sunnī historians of Yemen, including al-Khazradjī. The pamphlet has been printed twice (1939 and 1955) in Cairo from the manuscript preserved in the library of the small Egyptian town of Sawhādj. Another copy, with the title *Risāla*, is to be found in the University of Leiden library (Or. 6349(1)). Neither the author nor the book is mentioned by Brockelmann. All the information concerning Ibn Mālik contained in al-Djanadī's *Sulūk* and al-Khazradjī's *Kifāya*, the two greatest biographical dictionaries of Yemen, is derived exclusively from the *Kashf*. (C. L. GEDDES)

IBN MALKA [see ABU 'L-BARAKĀT].

IBN MAMMĀTĪ, name of three highly-placed officials of the same Coptic family from Asyūṭ who flourished under the later Fāṭimids and early Ayyūbids. The first of the line was ABU 'L-MALĪḤ, who became secretary and general intendent of the *Dīwān* under Badr al-Djamālī during the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1035-94). He was a popular administrator, and was eulogized by the poets of his time. He managed to retain his faith and his position until his death at an unknown date towards the turn of the century.

The second was his son, AL-MUHADHDHAB ABU 'L-MALĪḤ ZAKARIYYĀʾ, who succeeded his father as secretary of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* during the decline of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt. He apparently remained in office until the reign of the last caliph al-ʿĀḍid (555-67/1160-71), during the critical transition between Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid rule when the Sunnī Shīrkūh assumed the vizierate of Shīʿī Egypt and brought his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in his train. The ascent of Shīrkūh to power was precipitated by the imminent danger of an invasion of Egypt by the crusaders under Amalric, the Latin king of Jerusalem. At that time, the situation of the Copts was worsened by the growing hatred shown by Muslims towards Christians as a result of the Crusades. Under Shīrkūh, the Christians suffered a new wave of persecution and al-Muhadhdhab, finding his position in jeopardy, embraced Islam and remained in power until his death, probably in the year 578/1182.

His son, the third and most famous of the line, took his place as head of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* and was later promoted to the secretaryship of all the other *Dīwān*s during the sultanates of both Saladin (564-89/1169-93) and al-ʿAzīz (589-95/1193-8). His

full name, according to al-Maḳrīzī, was AL-ASʿAD B. MUHADHDHAB B. ZAKARIYYĀʾ B. ḲUDĀMA B. MĪNĀ SHARAF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAKĀRIM B. SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-MALĪḤ B. MAMMĀTĪ. His fame was based not only on the fact that he took charge of all the *dīwāns* but also on his literary productivity, both as a writer and as a poet. At least twenty-three books are listed under his name, though most of them are lost. He versified the life of Saladin and *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*]. He remained close to al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Baysānī, who called him the "nightingale of councils" owing to his eloquence and his persuasive style. After al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, his own colleague and rival Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Shukr, of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*, was elevated to the vizierate with disastrous consequences to Ibn Mammātī, whom he humiliated, in the end confiscating all his property. Then Ibn Mammātī fled to Aleppo, where he found refuge at the court of al-Ẓāhir (582-613/1186-1216), a son of Saladin. He remained there until his death in 606/1209 at the age of sixty-two.

The surname Mammātī is explained in the sources by Abu 'l-Malīḥ's gifts of food to the poor during a period of famine. However, it is possible that it is merely a corruption of the Coptic "Mahometi", *i.e.*, "Muḥammadan", since the family embraced Islam; this implies that the name must have appeared only in the lifetime of the second of the line.

Perhaps the most enduring contribution of al-Asʿad b. Mammātī was his work entitled *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, which, on al-Maḳrīzī's authority, is said to have been composed for the sultan al-ʿAzīz in four volumes. Amongst other items, he included in it a complete record of all Egyptian townships with their taxable acreage for the *kharādj*. The portions of the work including that confidential information have been lost, but the list of all inhabited towns and villages survives in numerous manuscripts. The value of the work is enhanced by other rare information on agricultural and irrigation systems, the mint and the weights and measures services, the Ṭirāz ([*q.v.*] weaving centres), shipbuilding for the Ayyūbid arsenal, alum and nitre, forests and animals, the science of surveying, together with some mathematics and geometry, and a whole host of interesting data. Yet perhaps the most valuable part of the book remains in the first and fullest mediaeval cadaster (*rōk*) of all the inhabited sites of Egypt [see RAWK]. Al-Asʿad's self-inflicted exile with his family and his death in relative poverty ended the glory of his dynasty, of which we hear no more in subsequent ages.

Bibliography: A. S. Atiya (ed.), *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, Cairo 1943; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi/2, 244-56; Ibn Khallikān, 99-101; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIḳd al-djumān*, MS photostats, Cairo Library no. 1584, ii, 320; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 160-1; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 325; *TA*, iii, 543. See also for MSS, Brockelmann, I, 335 and S I, 573; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 295, 106-7; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, ii, 329-35; Atiya, *op. cit.*, 32-40. (A. S. ATIYA)

IBN MANDA, a famous Iṣfahānī family of *ḥadīth* scholars and historians which was active for nearly three centuries. Descended from a Sassanian official, Djahārbukht, said to have become a Muslim at the time of the Conquest, the man after whom the family was named was Ibrāhīm (Manda) b. al-Walīd b. Sanda b. Buṭṭa b. *ustandār* al-Fērōzān b. Djahārbukht. His death is placed during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (Abū Nuʿaym, *History of Iṣfahan*, ed. S. Dedering, i, 178; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaydarābād 1333-4, iii, 221). His son, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā, is counted the first prominent scholar in the family (Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 359). Two sons of Yaḥyā are known, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 320/932) (Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 117) and Muḥammad (d. 301/913-4, or 300, according to his great-great-grandson's biography of al-Ṭabarānī) (Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 222-4; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 276-8; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Ahmet III 2917, vol. ix, fol. 7a). Muḥammad's son Isḥāḳ (d. Ramaḍān 341/January-February 953) (Abū Nuʿaym, i, 221 f.) was the father of the most renowned member of the family,

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, who was born in 310/922. His travels are said to have spanned a period of thirty years. They took him to such places as Marw, Bukhārā, Egypt, Ṭarābulus, and Mecca. He visited Nīsābūr for the first time in 339/950-1, and again in 354 or 355/965-6. He married late in life and had four sons, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and the little known ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. He died on 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 395/7 September 1005 (rather than in 396). His publications concerned history, biography, and *ḥadīth*. He wrote on the history of the Prophet and, like his grandson, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, composed a History of Iṣfahān. Of his works there survive his comments on certain verses of the Ḳurʾān and some Prophetical traditions, under the title of *al-Radd ʿala 'l-Djahmi(yya)* (Ms. Istanbul Topkapısarayı, Revan Köşk 510, fols. 56b-66b), but it may be noted that his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, is credited with a similar if, apparently, different work. Further, *al-Tawḥīd wa-maʿrifat asmāʾ Allāh*, preserved in Damascus; parts of his *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, also in Damascus (cf. Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Damascus 1366/1947, 171 f.), whose relationship to the *Taʾrīkh al-mustakhradj* of his son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, remains to be investigated; a treatise on "The men around Muḥammad who lived 120 years" (Cairo, Taymūr, *taʾrīkh* 677, 695), but a work of the same title is ascribed to his grandson; *Fatḥ al-bāb fi 'l-kunā wa-'l-alḳāb* (Berlin 9917), which may be identical with *al-Asmāʾ wa-'l-kunā* cited repeatedly in the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, although the few excerpts from the *Fatḥ* published by S. Dedering (dissertation, Upsala 1927) do not suffice to establish the identity; *al-Asāmī wa-'l-kunā*, on the names and surnames of Ibn Ḥanbal (Ms. Chester Beatty 5165 [2]); *Tasmiyat al-mashāyikh*, on the authorities of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ms. Chester Beatty 4411, 5165 [1]); and a list of transmitters on the authority of Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, incorporated by al-Dhahabī in his *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Cairo 1367- , vi, 195-200. For his role in the transmission of al-Ḥārithī's recension of Abū Ḥanīfa's *Musnad*, cf. the MS in Djakarta described by P. S. van Ronkel, *Suppl. to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences*, Batavia-The Hague 1913, 41-4.

Muḥammad's son ʿAbd Allāh (occasionally but wrongly ʿUbayd Allāh) died in Djīruft on 10 Rabīʿ I 462/27 December 1070 (ʿAbd al-Ghāfir's continuation of al-Ḥākim's history of Nīsābūr, ed. R. N. Frye, *The Histories of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, fol. 37b; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, Ahmet III 2017, Vol. xi, fol. 209b).

Muḥammad's son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was born in 381/991-2, or in 383. He travelled to Baghdād in 406/1015-6, and he visited Wāsiṭ, Mecca, Nīsābūr, Hamadhān, and so on. He started teaching

in 407/1016-7 and was the author of many works, among them, it seems, a *History of Mecca*. The only work of his traced so far is *al-Ta'rīkh al-mustakhradj min kutub al-nās li 'l-tadhkira wa-'l-mustaṭraf min aḳwāl al-ridjāl li-'l-ma'rifa*, ascribed to him in the Ms. Istanbul Köprülü, i, 242 and referred to by later scholars. For the time of the Prophet, the work contains alphabetical lists of the men who, for instance, attended Badr or were engaged in other noteworthy events. Thereafter, it is annalistically arranged. Under each year, the leader of the pilgrimage and those who died in that particular year are mentioned; occasionally, also those born in a given year and some important historical events are listed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, praised for his staunch orthodoxy and his uncompromising stand against "innovators", died on 16 Shawwāl 470/2 May 1078.

Muḥammad's third son, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. in the night of 29 Djumādā II 475/23-4 November 1082) had a son with whom the scholarly activity and renown of the family appear to have come to an end, Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā. Born in Shawwāl 434/May-June 1043, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb died between 10-12 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 511/4-6 April 1118. He enjoyed a lasting reputation as an historian. His *History of Iṣfahān* may have been based upon that of his grandfather, and the latter's list of *ṣaḥāba* who lived 120 years may have been remade by him. A substantial biography of al-Ṭabarānī, together with a list of al-Ṭabarānī's writings, is preserved in Ms. Istanbul Esat Ef. 2431 (cf. M. Weisweiler, *Istanbuler Handschriftenstudien*, Istanbul 1937, 64, n. 1). His *Maʿrifat asāmī ardāf al-nabī* is to be found in Ms. Istanbul Halet Ef. 403, fols. 106a-116a. Excerpts from his *Manāḳib al-Imām* (Ibn Ḥanbal) are quoted in Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. H. Laoust and S. Dahan, Damascus 1951, 56, 150 ff.

Later members of the family, for whom little information is available, were a certain Abū Muḥammad Sufyān b. Ibrāhīm al-Tikakī, mentioned by Samʿānī, 4b, as one of his authorities, and (his grandson?) Abu 'l-Wafā' Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān, who was killed by the Mongols in Iṣfahān in 632/1234-5 (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Duwal*, ii, 103, and *ʿIbar*, v, 131; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 155 f., also vi, 31).

Bibliography, further to that given in the text: For Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ: Abū Nuʿaym, ii, 306; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 220-24; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, MS Ahmet III 2917, vol. x, fols. 217a-218b; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ed. S. Dedering, ii, 190 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, v, 70 ff.; S. Dedering, *Aus dem Kitāb Fatḥ al-bāb*, 1-4; Brockelmann, I, 167 (of the original ed.), S I, 210, 281, 286; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 400, 403 f., 459; G. Vajda, *La liste d'autorités de Manṣūr Ibn Salīm Waǧīh ad-Dīn al-Hamdānī*, in *JA*, 1965, 353, no. 6. A monograph biography by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Madīnī, entitled *Dhikr Ibn Manda wa-aṣḥābih*, is preserved in Damascus, cf. Brockelmann, II, 670, and Y. al-ʿIshsh, *Fihris*, Damascus 1366/1947, 227 f. [Sezgin, i, 214 f.].

For ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Ahmet III 2920, vol. xviii, fol. 86a-b; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 338-42; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Ahmet III 2917, vol. xi, fols. 260b-262b; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, 34-40, 76; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 337 f.; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 475, 481, 513; Vajda, *op. cit.*, 377, no. 76.

For Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 204; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 45-47; idem, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, Ahmet III 2917, vol. xii, fols. 208b-209a; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, 56, 154-66; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh*, Ahmet III 2922, vol. xvi, fol. 33a; Brockelmann, I, 279, 949; F. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 283, 406, 459; G. Vajda, *op. cit.*, 390, no. 122. Much of the information on him and the preceding generation comes from al-Samʿānī, apparently his *Muʿdjam*. (F. Rosenthal)

IBN MANẒŪR, Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Ifrīḳī al-Miṣrī Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl, author of the famous dictionary *Lisān al-ʿArab*, in the East known as Ibn Mukarram, was born in Ramaḍān 630/June-July 1233 and died in Shaʿbān 711/December 1311-January 1312. He claimed descent from Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit who had been after 48/668 governor of Tripolis in North Africa. According to Ibn Ḥadjar, Ibn Mukarram was *ḳāḍī* of Tripolis and "all his life" employed in the *dīwān al-inshā'*; so he is perhaps identical with Muḥammad b. Mukarram, one of the *kuttāb al-inshā'* under Ḳalāwūn (reigned 678-89/1279-90) whose *Tadhkirat al-labīb wa nuzhat al-adīb* is one of the sources of Ḳalḳashandī (see W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im mittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1926, index). Ibn Mukarram was fond of epitomizing voluminous works of earlier authors, *e.g.*, the *Aghānī* (Brockelmann, S I, 226), Ibn ʿAsākir's *Ta'rīkh Dimashḳ* (Brockelmann, I, 331; S I, 567), Samʿānī's *Dhayl Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (part XI is preserved in Ibn Mukarram's autograph in Leiden, MS arab. no. 1023), the *Djāmiʿ al-mufradāt* of Ibn Bayṭār (see A. Taimur, in *RAAD*, iii, 361). His *Lisān al-ʿArab* too (completed in 689/1290; printed Būlāḳ 1300-8 and 1349-) is based on five earlier dictionaries, *viz.* Azharī's *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, Ibn Sīda's *Muḥkam*, Djawharī's *Ḳāmūs* (whom he followed in arranging the roots according to the third radical), Ibn Barrī's glosses to the *Ḳāmūs*, and Dhahabī's *Nihāya*. He is on the whole exact in copying these works, but often omits the authorities mentioned therein, whilst Ibn Murtaḍā, who in his *Tādj al-ʿArūs* draws frequently upon the *Lisān*, often supplements the authorities omitted by Ibn Mukarram.

His *Nithār al-azhār fi 'l-layl wa 'l-nahār*, a short treatise on day and night, the stars and the zodiac, was printed in Istanbul 1298.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 21, S II, 14; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iv, 262-4, no. 725; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 106 f.; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 246; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, i, 106 f.; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 230 f.; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin*, 86-9. For Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit, see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, etc., and Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 20, 32.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN MARDANĪSH, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djudhāmī or al-Tudjībī, mentioned in the Christian chronicles under the name *Rey Lobo* or *Lope*, was a Spanish Muslim leader who was active in political and military affairs in the Sharḳ al-Andalus on the fall of the Almoravid empire, made himself master of Valencia and Murcia, and for 25 years contended with the new North African rulers, the Almohads, for the territories in the centre of al-Andalus. In regard to his name Ibn Mardanīsh, various theories have been advanced concerning his origin, which is evidently neither Arab nor Berber. According to Dozy, this name is a corruption of Martínez, whilst

Codera supposes that it derives from Mardonius, one of his Byzantine ancestors. Both theories are improbable, as also is that proposed by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, iv, 473). While a more fully documented and convincing philological study remains to be made, it is certain that, despite his *nisba*, Ibn Mardanīsh was a *muladí* (*muwallad*) descended from a Spanish Christian family. He was born at Peñíscola, in the modern province of Castellón de la Plana, in 518/1124-5; his father Saʿd was governor of Fraga and its district in the Almoravid period and resisted the attacks of Alfonso I of Aragon in 528/1134; one of his uncles, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, a lieutenant of Ibn ʿIyāḍ, died at Zafadola, in 540/1146, in the battle against the Christians. On the death of Ibn ʿIyāḍ and after ʿAbd Allāh al-Thaghrī had contested his authority in Murcia, compelling him to withdraw, he was welcomed by the townsfolk of Valencia and soon succeeded in dominating the whole Eastern part of al-Andalus. In character energetic, cruel and irreligious, he oppressed his subjects and compelled them to pay higher taxes, while he resorted to gifts to secure the loyalty of the mercenaries whom he hired from the kings of Castile and Aragon and from the count of Barcelona, to whom he paid tribute. He signed a treaty with the republic of Pisa and with Genoa and, according to one tradition, he administered Alméria in the name of Alfonso VII from the time of its conquest in 542/1147. With the able collaboration of his father-in-law, Ibrāhīm b. Hamushk, the Hemochico of the Christian chronicles, he extended his possessions as far as Jaén, Baeza, Cadix, and Carmona, surrounded Cordova and Seville and occupied Granada for a short time. In Ramaḍān 564/June 1169 Ibn Hamushk embraced the Almohad cause and collaborated with the North Africans in the conquest of the Eastern territories, thus bringing the power of Ibn Mardanīsh to an end. Although there are certain divergencies regarding the date of his death, it seems to be generally accepted that it took place on the last day of Radjab 567/28 March 1172. Ibn Mardanīsh had previously recommended his son Hilāl to submit to the superior power of the Almohads.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 259-62; idem, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. Enan, i, 225-6, 306, 310-1, 492-3 (Cairo ed., ii, 85-90); Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. H. Muʾnis, Cairo 1963, ii, index s.v.; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 149, 168, 178-80; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 165 ff. (trans. de Slane, i, 339 ff.); idem, *Histoire des Banou 'l-Ahmar, rois de Grenade*, trans. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *JA*, Paris 1899, 46 n. 6; Maḳḳarī, index, s.v.; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 33-4; Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *Mann bi 'l-imāma*, MS Oxford, used by A. Huici, in *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, Tetuan 1957, index, s.v. Muḥammad b. Saʿd, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Beirut 1384/1965; A. Müller, in *Isl.*, ii, 648-52; Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino*, pp. XXXIV, LIX, 239, 451; Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 364-88; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides*, Saragossa 1899, 109-53, 310-21; idem, *Discurso* delivered on his admission to the Royal Academy of Spain, Madrid 1910, 9, 39; Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, 185-225; I. de las Cagigas, *Los Mudéjares (Minorías étnico-religiosas de la Edad Media española)*, ii, Madrid 1948, 263-70; J. M. Lacarra, *El Rey Lobo de Murcia y el Señorio de Albarracín*, in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid 1952, 516 ff. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

IBN MARYAM, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, North African hagiographer of the 10th/16th century (d. 1014/1605). Less is known of his life than of his work. He compiled a catalogue of local saints, ***al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ***, which deals mainly with those who had lived or studied at Tlemcen, the ancient citadel of the Zanāta. He was interested also in the neighbouring towns of Oran and Nedroma, as well as the basically Berber cantons of the Djabal Tessāla and the Trara, and, further towards Eastern Morocco, in the country of the Ghumāra, the valley of the Sūs, and, in a general way, in the Moroccan Atlas. The chronological details scattered through the work (*e.g.*, at p. 45) do not permit its subject-matter to be traced to an earlier date than the 9th/15th century. Tlemcen was then the intellectual and religious metropolis of Barbary, whose influence reached as far as Fez (224) and Meknès (65). Tunisians (75) and even scholars from the Orient (190) were also drawn to Tlemcen. Because of the persistent struggle against the infidel, the Islamization and Arabization of the country were intensified. All races contributed to this and by the most diverse methods. The saints of Ibn Maryam, fierce and determined fighters, presented an idea of Islam well adapted to the mentality of the masses. Their devotion was intense (nights of prayer accompanied by conversions and various wonders), their frequent and marvellous miracles are reminiscent of the *Fioretti*: thus, *e.g.*, the saints understood the language of animals. Their charity, reserved for Believers only, was inexhaustible. They practised unceasing internal prayer (*dhikr*). They had naturally the gift of being present everywhere, especially for the Pilgrimage, and they communicated with spirits, evil as well as good. When necessary, they made amulets (*ḥizr*), coming to the help of their co-religionists by means of white magic. Always ready to protect the oppressed and to redress wrong, they were nevertheless prejudiced against the Bedouin invaders of Arab origin, who had been settled for three centuries on their soil (the term "Arab" is used only for the Bedouins, 75).

These men of miracles did not, however, neglect the learning and the practice of pious works which were inseparable from Māliki orthodoxy, and they studied devotedly the works of Abū Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī. They often excelled in the science of law and in the apportioning of inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*). The most scholarly of them were theoreticians in law (*uṣūlī*), rhetoricians and logicians (38, 44). They knew the works of Ibn al-Ḥādjib and the early transmitters of Mālik, Ibn al-Ḳāsim and al-Aṣbagh. They thought highly also of oriental scholars such as al-Damīrī (Brockelmann, S II, 401) or even the Shāfiʿī al-Bulḳīnī, or, later, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (confirmed by al-Nabhānī, *Karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo ed., ii, 420). These simple men, of whom Ibn Maryam gives a moving description, were both missionaries and visionaries, passing effortlessly from ordinary daily tasks to the most exalted piety.

Bibliography: *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1326/1907; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 33; Brockelmann, S II, 680.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-MARZUBĀN [see muḥammad b. khalaf b. al-marzubān].

IBN MARZŪḲ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Marzūḳ al-ʿAdjīsī al-Tilimsānī, known as *al-djadd* (the grandfather), *al-raʾīs* (the

Genealogical table of the principal Marāziḳa

- Marzūḳ (end of 5th/11th century)
  - Abū Bakr, servant of Abū Madyan
    - Muḥammad I
      - Muḥammad II (629-81/1231-82)
        - Aḥmad I (668-741/1282-1340)
          - Muḥammad IV = *al-Djadd, al-Ra'īs, al-Khaṭīb* (711-81/1311-79)
            - Aḥmad II
              - Muḥammad VI = *al-Ḥafīd* (766-842/1364-1438)
                - Ḥafṣa
                  - Muḥammad VIII (d. 918/1511)
                - Muḥammad VII = *al-Kafīf* (824-901/1420-95)
                  - Aḥmad III = *Ḥafīd al-Ḥafīd*
            - Muḥammad V
        - Muḥammad III (first *khaṭīb* of al-ʿUbbād)

leader) and *al-khaṭīb* (the preacher), traditionist, preacher and statesman, born at Tlemcen in 710/1310 or 711/1311, died in Cairo in 781/1379. He belonged to a family originally from the south of Ifrīḳiya which had emigrated to Tlemcen on the arrival of the Hilālīs. From then onwards the family produced about ten clerics, all of whom in varying degrees made their mark in the religious, political and literary life of the Maghrib.

It was Marzūḳ, the eponymous ancestor of the Marāziḳa, who first settled in Tlemcen at the end of the 5th/11th century, in the reign of the Lamtūna. He was a man of religion and a landowner.

Abū Bakr was a zealous servant of the famous Andalusian mystic, Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], in the suburb of al-ʿUbbād, and his post became a quasi-hereditary office held of right by his descendants.

Muḥammad II, born 629/1231 and died 681/1282, honoured as a saint, was buried by Yaghmurāsan [*q.v.*] at Dār al-Rāḥa near to al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḳadīm at Tlemcen, among the members of the royal family; a tomb, claimed to be his, has been identified by modern archaeologists.

Aḥmad I, born 681/1282, studied at Fās; he was remembered as an ascetic who, having suffered grievously during the memorable siege of Tlemcen by the sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb (685-706/1252-1307), went on the Pilgrimage in 717/1317, stayed for a time in Egypt and died at Mecca as a *mudjāwir* in 741/1340. His tomb at Bāb al-Maʿlā, between the ramparts and the Adjyād gate, for long attracted crowds of pilgrims.

Muḥammad III was the first *khaṭīb* of the mosque built by the Marīnid sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan (710-32/1310-31) over the tomb of Abū Madyan [*q.v.*]. He was succeeded by his nephew Muḥammad IV, the main subject of this article, who was thus the second *khaṭīb* of the mosque.

Muḥammad VI, known as *al-Ḥafīd* (766-842/1364-1438), is at least as famous as his grandfather Muḥammad IV. All his biographers, including al-Maḳḳarī (*Nafḥ*, vii, 339), consider him as indisputably the master in the Maghrib of the Arabo-Islamic sciences in his day and emphasize his learning and his virtue.

Muḥammad VII (824-901/1420-95) was known as *al-Kafīf* (the blind). He too is remembered as a traditionist and a famous preacher. Al-Maḳḳarī was proud to have him as his maternal grandfather.

Aḥmad III, son of the above, who died shortly after him, was also a famous *khaṭīb*; he is known as *Ḥafīd al-Ḥafīd*.

Muḥammad VIII, another grandson of the *Ḥafīd*, but through his daughter Ḥafṣa, died in 918/1511. He is the last representative of this family of scholars on which any information is available.

The best known of the Marāziḳa is, without question, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad IV. A contemporary of Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who refers to himself as his disciple and who always showed him great respect, of the two brothers Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*], who disliked him, of al-Maḳḳarī (the ancestor of the famous scholar of that name), of Sharīf al-Tilimsānī [*q.v.*] and of many others, he was certainly the member of this family who, by his strong personality, the rôles he played and the positions he occupied, brought it fame and drew to it from this period on the attention of the biographers and historians. His career, like those of several of his contemporaries, was full of incident: travels throughout the Muslim world in search of knowledge and of honours, intrigues among the great, high politico-religious responsibilities, repeated spells in prison, favour and disgrace, etc.

At the age of two according to some, seven according to others, he was taken by his father Aḥmad I to the East where he received, during periods spent at Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron, Alexandria and Cairo, the basis of his education. He was given the title *khaṭīb* early, at the age of nineteen, when, in 729/1329 or 730/1330, he delivered, without preparation, his first sermon in the mosque at Alexandria. In 733/1332 or 735/1334, his father suggested that he return to the Maghrib. After stopping at Alexandria, Tripoli, Djarīd, Tunis and Bougie, he arrived at Tlemcen to find the town besieged by Abu 'l-Ḥasan. He lived with his uncle, Muḥammad III, and, on the latter's death, was appointed in his place as *khaṭīb* of the mosque of al-ʿUbbād and private secretary of Abu 'l-Ḥasan. In the company

of the latter he was present notably at the disaster of Ṭarīfa (741/1340); after this he travelled to obtain the signature of Alfonso XI of Castile to the peace treaty and the liberation of the prisoners of war, among whom was the prince Abū ʿUmar Tās͟hfīn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's own son.

On returning from this mission, he went to Constantine, where news reached him of another disaster suffered by the unfortunate Abu 'l-Ḥasan, that of al-Ḳayrawān. He then returned to Fās in a convoy of important persons, high officials and foreign diplomats, accompanying Abu 'l-Ḥasan's wife, who was rejoining her son Abū ʿInān [*q.v.*], who had just deposed his father and placed himself on his throne. Ibn Marzūḳ did not stay for long at the court of the young sultan. He returned to Tlemcen, then in the hands of the Zayyānid, Abū Saʿīd ʿUt͟hmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, supported by his brother Abū T͟hābit as *zaʿīm*. Soon he was charged by Abū Saʿīd to go and make contact with Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was in Algiers and preparing to lay siege to Tlemcen. Abū T͟hābit and the notables of the Banū Zayyān, disapproving of the principle of this mission, had him arrested en route. He was brought back to Tlemcen and imprisoned in a *muṭbaḳ* (underground prison). His sentence was later commuted to exile in Andalusia; this brought him into contact with Abu 'l-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ at Granada, who had known him personally since the Ṭarifa incident, and who appointed him *k͟haṭīb* of the al-Ḥamrā' (Alhambra) mosque. There he formed a friendship with another exile, Abū Sālim, brother of the sultan Abū ʿInān.

In 754/1353, Abū ʿInān recalled him to Fās and made him a court official. He sent him in 758/1357 to Tunis to ask on his behalf for the hand of the daughter of Abū Yaḥyā. This mission ended in failure, which, added to other grounds for his ill-humour, aroused the sultan's wrath, and for the second time Ibn Marzūḳ found himself in a *muṭbaḳ*. He remained there for six months, being released, thanks to the intercessions of many people, only when he was near to death.

The death of Abū ʿInān in 759/1358 produced a crisis which finally destroyed the dynasty. His throne was disputed by several claimants, sons and brothers of the sultan, one of them being none other than Abū Sālim, the friend of Ibn Marzūḳ's exile. The latter unhesitatingly did all he could to help him to seize power and after a year of manoeuvres they gained the throne, the one to reign and the other to govern. Ibn Marzūḳ was now at the summit of his career, and immediately he was surrounded by envy. The courtiers watched for an opportunity to act and, in 762/1361, Abū Sālim was murdered and Ibn Marzūḳ was consigned to the *muṭbaḳ* for the third time. He regained his liberty only after two years, in 764/1363. He then hastened to embark for Tunis, where the sultan Abū Isḥāḳ (751-70/1350-68) and his vizier Ibn Tafrāgīn appointed him *k͟haṭīb* of the al-S͟hammāʿīn mosque. He remained there for seven years.

In 771/1370, following a palace revolution, he was removed from this office. He hesitated for two years and then in 773/1372 decided to set sail for Alexandria; thence he went to Cairo, where the sultan S͟haʿbān b. Ḥusayn (764-78/1363-76) gave him employment as a judge and a teacher. He was simultaneously *ḳāḍī*, *k͟haṭīb* and teacher in the three mosques of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: S͟hayk͟hūniyya, Ṣarg͟hatmis͟hiyya and Ḳamḥiyya. Thus the end of his life was spent in an atmosphere of calm and respect, and sheltered from want, after he had "preached on forty-eight pulpits of the *Dār al-Islām*". On his death, he was buried (a supreme honour) between Ibn al-Ḳāsim and As͟hhab in the cemetery at Cairo.

He himself compiled the list of his masters, who were many (more than 250), in his book *ʿUd̲j̲ālat al-mustawfiz*. They included judges, preachers, imāms, genealogists, traditionists, historians, men of letters, mystics and at least three women, whose lessons he had attended in mosques or with whom he had only had meetings at Medina, Mecca, Cairo, Alexandria, Balbīs, Jerusalem, Hebron, Damascus, Tripoli, D̲j̲arīd, Tunis, Zāb, Bougie, Tlemcen, and in Andalusia, etc. His disciples were even more numerous, and include such famous names as Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn Ḳunfud͟h, al-S͟hāṭibī [*qq.v.*], etc.

Of those of his works which survive, none is today printed in its entirety. They exist either as very rare manuscripts dispersed among various libraries or are to be found as extracts published in studies and editions of other writers. His known works are:

(1) *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥasan fī ma'āt͟hir mawlānā Abī Ḥasan*, MS Escorial 1666; extracts published with Fr. tr. by E. Lévi-Provençal in *Hespéris*, v (1925); chapter tr. by R. Blachère in *Memorial Henri Basset*; source of Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā'*.

(2) *S͟harḥ K. al-S͟hifā'* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ, in five *mud̲j̲allads*; MS Gotha 2, 83.

(3) *S͟harḥ ʿUmdat al-aḥkām* of Taḳī al-Dīn al-D̲j̲ammāʿīlī, a synthesis in five volumes of the two commentaries by Muḥammad b. Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd (625-702/1227-1302) and ʿUmar al-Fākihānī (654-734/1256-1333) with additions; MS Aya Sofya, 1331; Cairo, i, 292.

(4) *ʿUd̲j̲ālat al-mustawfiz* (var. *al-mustawfī*) *al-mustad̲j̲āz fī d͟hikr man samiʿa dūna man ad̲j̲āz min a'immat al-Mag͟hrib wa 'l-S͟hām wa'l-Ḥid̲j̲āz*, extracts in Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībād̲j̲*, 305; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Durar*, iii, 360; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, vii, 320 ff.; Ibn ʿAmmār, *Niḥla*, 147.

(5) *D̲j̲anī al-d̲j̲annatāyn fī faḍl al-laylatayn*, extracts in Ibn ʿAmmār, *op.cit.*, 103-11.

(6) *Izālat al-ḥād̲j̲ib ʿan furūʿ Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲ib*, commentary of *al-Muk͟htaṣar fi 'l-furūʿ* or *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-ummahāt* of Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲ib (Brockelmann, I, 303).

(7) *S͟harḥ al-Aḥkām al-ṣug͟hrā*, of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿArabī al-Is͟hbīlī (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 634).

(8) A quatrain and a *mawlidiyya* of 117 verses recited at Granada before the sultan in 763/1362 and reproduced by al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, vii, 314 ff.

(9) Various extracts in prose and verse in al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, *passim* and vii, 173 ff., and in Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl*, 40, 250 and *passim*.

Thus Ibn Marzūḳ wrote with equal facility on history, apologetics, religious morals, and law, passing easily from the style of the *fuḳahā'* to that of the *udabā'*, "the Arabic language and its most elegant and most delicate turns of phrase holding for him no secret".

Bibliography: Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī ak͟hbār G͟harnāṭa*, in the part not yet printed but reproduced by Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ* (see below). The reference by Brockelmann and by E. Lévi-Provençal (see below) to the ed. of 1319, ii, 223 and 236, refers only to some very short notices which are of little importance; Yaḥyā Ibn K͟haldūn, *Bug͟hyat al-ruwwād fī d͟hikr al-mulūk min Banī ʿAbd al-Wād*, Algiers 1321/1903, i, 50, no. 39 (tr. A. Bel, 63); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībād̲j̲ al-mud͟hahhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān al-madhhab*, Cairo 1351/1932, 305; Ibn K͟haldūn, *ʿIbar*, vii, 313; idem, *Hist. des Berb.*, ii, 462 (tr. de Slane, iv, 1956 ed , 347 ff.); *al-Taʿrīf*

bi-'bn Khaldūn, ed. Tandjī, Cairo 1380/1951, 49-54; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1348/1929, iii, 360, no. 957; Ibn Ḳunfudh, *al-Wafayāt*, Algiers n.d., ed. H. Pérès, 60, 780; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Rawḍat al-nisrīn fī dawlat Banī Marīn*, ed. with Fr. tr. Gh. Bouali and G. Marçais, Paris 1917, 197; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, Cairo 1326, 18; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1299, ii, 104; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Djadhwat al-iḳtibās fī man ḥalla min al-aʿlām madīnat Fās*, Fez 1309, 140-2; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, on the margin of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1351/1932, 267; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, Cairo 1369/1949, vii, 309-38, viii, 310; Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyāʾ wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ bi-Tilimsān*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1326/1908, 184 (tr. Provenzali, 210-8); Zarkashī, *Taʾrīkh al-dawlatayn al-Muwaḥḥidiyya wa 'l-Ḥafṣiyya*, Cairo 1289, 83 (tr. Fagnan, 237-9); Ibn ʿAmmār, *Niḥlat al-labīb bi-akhbār al-riḥla ila 'l-Ḥabīb*, Algiers 1320/1902, 100-11; J.-J. L. Bargès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni Zeiyān, rois de Tlemcen*, Paris 1887, 99-114; Muḥ. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'idjāza du cheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī*, Paris 1907, 212; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1328/1909, 136-44; Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣā fī akhbār al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, i, 150, ii, 62-3; Brockelmann, II, 239, S II, 62-3, 335-6; A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fās*, 47-50; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le musnad d'Ibn Marzūḳ* (*Hist. du mérinide Abū l-Ḥasan*), extracts ed. and tr. in *Hespéris*, v (1925); R. Blachère, *Sur la vie privée d'Abu l-Ḥasan*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris 1928, 83-9; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa 'l-athbāt*, Fās n.d., i, 394; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djīlālī, *Tārīkh al-Djazāʾir al-ʿāmm*, Algiers 1375/1955, ii, 104. (M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN MARZŪḲ [see ʿUTHMĀN B. MARZŪḲ].

IBN MAṢĀL, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Salīm (or Sulaymān) b. Muḥammad al-Lukkī al-Maghribī, Fāṭimid *amīr*, a native of Lukk near Barḳa (Yāḳūt, iv, 364), probably a Berber, as is indicated by the name Maṣāl and the *nisba* Maghribī. Both he and his father practised falconry and veterinary science, and it was his knowledge of these matters which enabled him to enter a military career in Cairo, no details of which are known. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, from 539/1144-5, during the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ, he was entrusted with the direction of affairs without being given the title of vizier (*nāẓir fi 'l-umūr, nāẓir fi 'l-maṣāliḥ*), this caliph having appointed no vizier since 533/1139. After the death of al-Ḥāfiẓ, in 544/1149, his successor al-Ẓāfir chose Ibn Maṣāl as vizier (this was the last time that a vizier was appointed in this manner by a Fāṭimid caliph), and gave him the titles of *al-sayyid al-adjall, al-mufaḍḍal* (or *al-afḍal*) and *amīr al-djuyūsh*, that is of commander-in-chief. According to Usāma he was then an old man. He restored order after the quarrels between the Blacks and the Rayḥānīs in the army. But the governor of Alexandria, Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Salār [see AL-ʿĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR], marched on Cairo in order to seize power. The caliph commissioned Ibn Maṣāl to go into the Ḥawf (Yāḳūt, ii, 365) to recruit troops while Ibn al-Salār was entering Cairo. Ibn Maṣāl left in Shaʿbān 544/December 1149; he assembled an army composed of Lawāta Berbers, of Blacks, of Bedouin Arabs and of Egyptians. Although he had gained an initial success, he was obliged to go to Upper Egypt to increase the number of his forces. Pursued by the troops of Ibn al-Salār, he was overtaken at Dalāṣ in the province of Bahnasā (Yāḳūt, ii, 581) and was defeated and killed on 19 Shawwāl 544/19 February 1150, his head being taken to Cairo. He had been vizier for only about fifty days.

It is not clear what connexion there was between him and Maḥmūd b. Maṣāl al-Lukkī who, at the beginning of the reign of al-Mustaʿlī, gave his support to Nizār and, after the defeat of Nizār's party, fled to the Maghrib; there is also an Ibn Maṣāl the diploma for whose appointment as governor of Alexandria was drawn up, at a date not given, by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, x, 374-80).

Bibliography: Usāma b. Munḳidh, ed. Hitti, 7-8 (Derenbourg, 9); Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 308, 311; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 544; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar* ..., vi, 521, 540, 648, 552; Ibn Muyassar, 89-90; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 30; idem, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. Shayyāl, 324; Ibn Khallikān, i, 467; Ibn Taghribirdī, Cairo, v, 245, 295, 298; G. Wiet, *Hist. de la Nation égypt.*, iv, 278; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-fāṭimiyya*, 178, 182, 517. (M. Canard)

IBN MASARRA, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masarra al-Djabalī, Andalusian philosopher and mystic, born at Cordova in 269/883 and died in 319/931 in a hermitage on the Sierra near this town, to which he had retired long before. He lived during a period in which Muslim Spain suffered a veritable inquisition conducted by the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ*. His father, ʿAbd Allāh, who may have been of Christian descent, was a Muʿtazilī and in order to teach his doctrines had to take many precautions. The young Muḥammad became his pupil and received from him a theological education as well as training in asceticism. It can easily be imagined that in these circumstances Ibn Masarra acquired at quite an early age the habit of leading a secret life, withdrawn from the world, among initiates with whom he conversed by allusions and symbols.

In 286/899, ʿAbd Allāh died in Mecca, where he had taken refuge from his creditors. Little is known of Ibn Masarra's life between this date and about 300/912, when his biographers show him surrounded by disciples, probably on his return from the East. But already some time before this he had been suspected of heterodoxy. A famous *faḳīh*, Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Ḥabbāb, had written a short work denouncing his errors, and Ibn Masarra had thought it prudent to leave for the East. Asín Palacios thinks that the famous mystic and ascetic Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860) was still remembered as an example. Ibn Masarra could also have met in Mecca his contemporary Nahradjūrī, a mystic with pantheistic tendencies who died there in 330/941; and he must have known a disciple of Djunayd, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. al-ʿArabī (died at Mecca in 341/952). This orthodox mystic, who preached a much less esoteric doctrine than Ibn Masarra, wrote a book against him refuting his ideas.

The exact date of Ibn Masarra's return to Spain is not known; it may have been at the time when, on his accession, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III introduced a more tolerant policy in order to pacify the people (300/912). In his place of retreat on the mountain of Cordova, he seems to have taught a fairly large public, insisting on the importance of the ascetic life and disguising his thought on matters where his doctrine might have proved disturbing. He reserved initiation into the use of symbols for a more intimate group of disciples.

Ibn Masarra was attacked particularly after the promulgation of his works. The titles of two of them are known: the *Kitāb al-Tabṣira* and the *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, but none of them have survived. He died, worn out by work and by the austerity of his life, without having had to undergo any physical suffering for his doctrine.

(1) The doctrine of the pseudo-Empedocles. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, reproduced by al-Ḳifṭī in his *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, connects Ibn Masarra's thought with that of the pseudo-Empedocles. It was probably for having devoted too much attention to this philosophy that he was suspected of *zandaḳa*, and it may be considered as the core of his thinking. Although he was a Muʿtazilī, it should not be forgotten that one essential argument of this theology was attributed to Empedocles: "He was the first to apprehend the union between the meanings of the attributes of God: all lead to a unique reality" (al-Ḳifṭī, 16).

From these statements it is possible to form an idea of what Ibn Masarra's doctrine was. The philosophy of the pseudo-Empedocles has been set out by al-Shahrastānī, al-Shahrazūrī (*Rawḍa*, Leiden MS 1888, 13r-14r; extracts given by Asín Palacios), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (*Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, i, 36 and 37), and al-Ḳifṭī (15-16).

The mind which inquires into philosophy is illuminated by it with a divine light. It contains a mystic conception of the truth: it comes itself to the aid of whoever seeks to acquire it. Indeed, philosophy produces in the soul the desire to depart from this world, in a spiritual *riḥla*; for the soul does not belong here but is imprisoned in the body; being a spiritual thing, it comes under the influence of the principle of pure love, whereas the body, like all corporeal things, is subject to the action of discord (here we find the two opposing principles which are the two poles of the philosophy of the authentic Empedocles). But, joined as it is to the body, the soul is in an intermediate (*mutawassiṭ*) position; using it as a starting point, it is possible to understand the two extreme limits of reality. But in order to understand the soul itself, it is necessary for man himself to have a pure soul (*ṭāhira* = καθαρά, without blemish), without admixture (*zakiyya* = εἰλικρινής), capable of dominating the body (*mustawliya ʿala ʾl-badan* = ἡγεμονίς). The knowledge of truth is the result not only of the use of the appropriate faculty, it is the expression of the ontological level attained by the being of the person who knows it: it is in fact the old idea that like is known by like. Hence the need for a principle of asceticism. The order of being is parallel to that of knowing and even penetrates it. This is a theme of Plotinus: the soul is simple, with an absolute simplicity which is comparable to that of light (*nūr*) opposed to fire (*nār*), or to *lux* (*ḍiyāʾ*) opposed to *lumen* (*ḍawʾ*).

The individual soul is a part of the universal soul (cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, iv, 3, 1). It is derived from a fairly complex system of "processions". At the summit is the Prime Being (*al-Awwal*), the Creator (*al-Bāriʾ*), who is eternally his own Being-Himself (*lam yazal huwiyyatahu*): he is pure Knowledge, pure Will, Generosity, etc. He is the absolute Cause (*ʿilla faḳaṭ*), but not through a sort of pre-existing will; the effect is subordinated to the cause and comes after it (*taḥt al-ʿilla wa baʿdahā*); it has no essential co-existence with it (*maʿiyya bi ʾl-dhāt*). The Creator is the cause of all causes. His first effect (*maʿlūl*) is the *ʿUnṣur*, which Asín Palacios translates as primary Matter: it is the Source of the potential being and of the multiplication of beings, although itself simple and intelligible (cf. the system of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, in which primary Matter is also placed among the intelligible emanations, but on the last degree after the Soul). The second effect of the prime Cause, produced through the intermediary of the *ʿUnṣur*, is the Intellect (*ʿAḳl*); the third, through the intermediary of the first two, is the Soul. All these emanations are simple (*basāʾiṭ*). After them come Universal Nature (*al-Ṭabīʿa al-kulliyya*) and secondary Matter, which are composite (*murakkabāt*). On this process, which gives rise to the five emanations, there is superimposed another. Al-Shahrastānī states, in fact, that on the one hand the Creator brought forth (*abdaʿa*) "reality (*shayʾ*) which is the first simple (*basīṭ*) intelligible". This is the *ʿUnṣur* from which there are next reproduced the realities known as *mabsūṭāt*, which are, by comparison with the *basāʾiṭ*, realities of an inferior degree of simplicity (for example the Intellect compared with the prime Cause; cf. Plotinus, *En.*, v, 3, 16: καὶ τὸ πρὸ τούτου (the Intellect)... τὸ γεννῆσαν αὐτὸ... ἁπλούστερον δὲ νοῦ καὶ ἁπλούστερον κόσμου νοητοῦ—and the Soul compared with the Intellect). Then the *murakkabāt* are derived from the *mabsūṭāt*. But on the other hand, the *ʿUnṣur* gives form (*ṣawwara*) in the Intellect "to such forms as exist in it", that is to the forms which are potentially in it (cf. Plotinus, *En.*, v, 3, 15, concerning the One, which Asín Palacios makes exactly to correspond on this point to the *ʿUnṣur*: the prime Cause is δύναμις πάντων, not in the sense in which one refers to the passive or receptive power of matter, but through its productive action (τῷ ποιεῖν) without having within itself the multiplicity which it creates); the Intellect acts in the same way on the Soul, and the Soul on Universal Nature. In the nature manifested in this world there then emerge, by a process which is not defined, "rinds" or bodies (*fa-ḥaṣalat ḳushūr*), which resemble neither the Soul nor the Intellect, but which enclose a "pulp" (*lubb*) or spirit. Here al-Shahrastānī's exposition is far from clear. In a first text he seems to mean that the "pulps" are formed by the last generation of the forms in the lowest degree of nature: these would be the corporeal forms. The Intellect "looks at" the "rinds" (*naẓara ilayhā*) and perceives in them (*abṣara*) the "pulps". As a result of this "look", there spread on the bodies (*ʿalayhā*) noble, beautiful and brilliant forms which are the individual souls, parts of the Universal Soul and not effects emanating from it, that is to say ontologically distinct from the forms which are effects of *taṣwīr*. They are directed by the Intellect and, through them, it sorts out (*tamyīz*) the pulps, separating them from the rinds and raising them into the spiritual world to which they belong. We have therefore a sort of recovery by the Intellect of all the realities of a spiritual and intelligible nature which inhabit the body of the lower nature. The instruments of this recovery are the individual souls, which in this way receive a mission to rescue the forms. The corporeal forms or pulps are enclosed within the bodies; the purely spiritual souls are *on* the bodies. But in a second text it is stated that the vegetative soul is the rind of the animal soul, which is in its turn the rind of the dianoetic soul (*al-nafs al-manṭiḳiyya*), and the rind of the noetic soul (*ʿaḳliyya*); conversely, that which is above is the pulp of what is immediately below it, so that pulp and rind have a relative value and the intermediate souls (animal, dianoetic) may be considered as rinds or as pulps according to the relationship in which they are

considered. There is thus a hierarchy of souls which fit inside one another so as to enclose themselves all within the prison of the material body (secondary matter). Only the noetic soul has the possibility of emerging. Finally, according to a third text, the Universal Soul, seeing the individual noetic soul led astray (*mughtarra*) by the rebellion (*tamarrud*) of animal and vegetative souls (a rebellion due to their "alienation" (*buʿd*) with regard to its universality), sends down (*ahbaṭat*) towards them one of its parts, subtler and purer than the rebel souls and the souls led astray: this is the Prophet (*Nabī*), sent (*mabʿūth*) into each of the revolutions of the Sphere. Thus the Prophet-Soul is sent by the Universal Soul, not by the Intellect as stated in the first text; it is purer than the rational souls which it comes to save; finally, it is unique in its time whereas they are multiple. It appears that al-Shahrastānī juxtaposes several traditions. That of the first text is derived from the neo-Platonic gnosis, tainted by Iranian dualism: the function of the noetic soul is to gather together all the luminous elements or forms, imprisoned by darkness or matter; here it is not a question of either rebellion or of the seduction of the souls, but of a cosmic salvation. The tradition in the second text is that of the philosophers of nature and of the physicians. The third tradition is connected with the religious gnoses, perhaps with the Manichean gnosis, and is better adapted to Islam: the conception of the prophet and of his role presages the doctrine of al-Fārābī. The rational soul is misled by the lower souls and, in spite of its spirituality, is unable to escape by its own efforts. Thus texts 2 and 3 are complementary. Text 1 retains a separate character. But another difficulty arises: the theology of the pseudo-Aristotle (Dieterici, p. 10 of the Arabic text) attributes to Empedocles the idea that souls fell in this world as the result of a sin committed during their first stay. It is true that Empedocles referred to himself as an inspired prophet who had come down to earth to escape the divine wrath (*Katharmoi*, fragment 115), who had become here a Master, capable by his learning of extricating souls from the "earthly envelope" (ἐπικάλυμμα, fragment 148 = *ḳishr*?). In al-Shahrastānī, on the other hand, it seems that the fault is that of rational souls already bound to the animal and vegetative, that is corporeal, powers. The incarnation is considered here as the reason for the sin, but there as the punishment of a sin, in a sense which recalls certain Hindu points of view.

Finally, the authentic Empedoclean doctrine of Love (*maḥabba*) which unites (*iʾtilāf*) and Hate (*ghalaba*) which separates (*ikhtilāf*) is joined to this system. These are the two principles which go to make up the primary Matter, which marks spiritual beings with the seal of pure Love and corporeal beings with that of Hate. In the composite beings, the proportion of Love and of Hate illustrates their degree of spirituality or of materiality. It should be pointed out that the cyclic rhythm of the cosmos which in Empedocles results from the interaction of these two principles is absent in the pseudo-Empedocles. Here *ghalaba*, in spite of its name, is less a factor of war and hostility, which appears wrongly placed at the level of the first emanation, than the simple fact of the multiplication and division issuing from the One in a Plotinan perspective.

As for Empedocles, E. Brehier had already pointed out that the connexion between the *Phusika* and the *Katharmoi* is not very clear. But in the pseudo-Empedocles, a completely unorganized compilation, the incoherence is still greater if one is to believe the presentation of al-Shahrastānī. It is not known whether Ibn Masarra was equally incoherent, or whether he attempted to produce a more harmonious synthesis. He may have made use of this many-faceted system in order not to arouse the suspicions of the orthodox. From the extent to which he inspired Ibn al-ʿArabī, it may be supposed that he produced at least the beginnings of an organized system. Nevertheless prudence is necessary when attempting to reconstruct, as Asín Palacios has done, Ibn Masarra's thought by reading the doctrine of a not very coherent pseudo-Empedocles into the brief passages in which Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn al-ʿArabī refer to this thought.

(2) Passages from Ibn Ḥazm. (a) *Fiṣal* (iv, 198): "Ibn Masarra was in agreement with the Muʿtazila on *ḳadar*. He stated that the knowledge of God and His power are two created temporal productions (*muḥdathatāni makhlūḳatāni*) and that God has two types of knowledge: the one which He created long ago as a whole and by one single act, the knowledge of the universal realities which cannot be grasped by the perception of the senses (= *ghayb*), for example the fact that there will exist infidels and believers . . .; the second type of knowledge is that of individual truths, the knowledge of vision (*shahāda*), for example that which God has of the unfaithfulness of Zayd and of the faith of ʿAmr . . . Ibn Masarra recalls the Word of God: *ʿĀlim al-ghayb wa ʾl-shahāda* (Ḳurʾān VI, 73; XIII, 9; XXXII, 6). But this does not mean what he thinks. In fact, the obvious meaning of this text is that God knows what you do even if you hide it from Him. He knows that which you cannot perceive of what was, is or shall be. The reason which led Ibn Masarra to support this thesis is that he really pushed the principles of the Muʿtazilis to their extreme conclusions. For there existed among them those who say that God knows continually that a certain person will never believe and that another will never be unfaithful; and who then give man the power to make the Word of their Lord lie, and to make null and cancelled that which has never ceased to exist. This is an abominable contradiction!"

(b) *Fiṣal* (ii, 126): "Djahm b. Ṣafwān, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Ibn Masarra . . . state that God's knowledge is something other than God, that it is produced in time and created".

The first of these texts is centred on the idea of *ḳadar*, and of human freedom: in order to safeguard it, it is necessary that man's acts should not be the object of an eternal knowledge which would determine them right down to each individual detail. The ascetic life demands the liberty of the faithful, at least at the beginning, and even although the ecstacy of the mystic must one day reveal that it is God Who does all. The problem of God's knowledge of individual and contingent facts occupied Muʿtazilī thinking (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*). The majority of these theologians admitted, with various shades of opinion, that God never ceased to know things before they existed. An exception should perhaps be made for Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Fuwāṭī al-Shaybānī. It is thus easy to understand why Ibn Ḥazm points out that Ibn Masarra pushed the Ḳadarī doctrine of the Muʿtazila to its ultimate conclusions, by removing its contradiction. Thus we cannot support Asín Palacios when he attributes to Ibn Masarra on this point the thesis which was later to be that of Avicenna. He writes: "Avicenna, like Ibn Masarra . . ., states that God knows individual

beings as such, *intentione secunda*, that is to say in so far as they are included in their universal causes" (78, n. 1). Ibn Masarra's thought seems rather to be related to that of Christian theologians such as Fonseca and Molina: the knowledge of which he speaks here is the *scientia media*, or *scientia visionis* that Leibnitz, taking the same attitude as Avicenna and those Muʿtazilīs whose inconsequentiality Ibn Masarra intended to point out, was to describe as *scientia pure empirica*, which it is impossible to imagine in God.

The second text is entirely in the tradition of Plotinus and of the pseudo-Empedocles. God, the first principle, cannot possess knowledge, for this would introduce in Him multiplicity. It is the Intellect which knows, with an intelligible and universal knowledge (the knowledge of the *ghayb* in the first text). It is not clear whether the *scientia media* is added simply as a necessary element in order to safeguard freedom, or whether it is an integral part of Ibn Masarra's pseudo-Empedoclean system. It may be that the first knowledge derives from the *ʿAḳl* and the second from the universal Soul. In Ibn al-ʿArabī, the divine *aḥadiyya* does not recognize the individual believer who prays; he must therefore address himself to the *Rubūbiyya*. The *Rubūbiyya* could be considered as corresponding to the universal Soul which sends the prophets, and, through them, the Law addressed to individual men, in which God reveals himself as Lord.

(c) In a third text, Ibn Ḥazm states that he obtained from a disciple of Ibn Masarra, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ruʿaynī, the following opinion of his master: "The Throne is what rules the world (*al-mudabbir li 'l-ʿālam*), and God is too great for there to be attributed to Him the act of actually doing something". By "thing" (*shayʾ*) should be understood a reality of the material world. Asín Palacios attempted to identify the Throne, in this context, as the first emanation, the *ʿUnṣur* of the pseudo-Empedocles. All the same, for Ibn al-ʿArabī from whom he quotes, the Throne is the universal body. The matter remains doubtful.

(3) Passages from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī. (a) On the *ʿArsh*. After a quotation from the Ḳurʾān (LXIX, 17) and from a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet on the bearers of the Throne, he writes: "It has been reported to us as coming from Ibn Masarra, one of the greatest masters of the mystic way in knowledge, states and revelation, that the Throne which is carried is in fact the divine Kingship (*Mulk*)". That which follows may also be considered as the opinion of Ibn Masarra: "The *Mulk* is reduced to the following: Body, Spirit, Nourishment (*ghidhāʾ*), Degree (*martaba*). Adam and Isrāfīl are in charge of the Forms (*ṣuwar*); Gabriel and Muḥammad of the Spirits; Michael and Ibrāhīm of the means of subsistence (*arzāḳ*); Mālik and Riḍwān of the Promise and of the Threat (*Waʿd* and *Waʿīd*) . . . The bearers of the Throne are those who are in charge of its government. They thus govern an elemental form (*ṣūra ʿunṣuriyya*) or a luminous form (*nūriyya*), and a Spirit which rules the elemental form and a spirit which rules the luminous form, and a nourishment for the elemental form and the nourishment of the sciences and of the knowledge for the Spirits, and a palpable degree (the felicity of entering Paradise or the pain of entering Hell) and a spiritual degree which is made from learning". The reason why everything is doubled is that, according to *ḥadīth*, there are four "bearers" for the life here below and four for the life after the Resurrection. It seems that in Ibn al-ʿArabī it is a case not of two worlds, ontologically separate, but of two aspects of human life, the life of the body and the life of the spirit in the mystic light. This having been said, the developments which follow, even though they are inspired by some of Ibn Masarra's ideas, derive entirely from Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought, and it is almost impossible to find in them anything which indicates the doctrine of his predecessor. It would be equally arbitrary to look for similarities with the philosophy of the pseudo-Empedocles. Ibn al-ʿArabī's system is much more complex: he gives an important place to angelology; he gives a meaning to the Pen (*ḳalam*) and to the Tablet (*lawḥ*), also to the *Kursī*. Nevertheless, at least in order to show side by side both the possibilities of concordance and their weaknesses the following table is (see p. 872) inserted.

It may therefore be considered, without having actual proof, that Ibn Masarra's doctrine belonged somewhere between the theories of the pseudo-Empedocles and those of Ibn al-ʿArabī, modifying the still very metaphysical and speculative cosmology of the former in the direction of the mystical cosmology of the latter.

(b) The second text mentions Ibn Masarra only in connexion with an image, a "visualization" as H. Corbin puts it (*L'Imagination créatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, 175). Ibn al-ʿArabī writes: ". . . like the temple which is built on five columns there is a raised roof which covers the temple, and walls in which there is no door. Thus there is absolutely no means of entry for anyone. But on the outside stands a column attached to the wall. The intuitive mystics touch it as they kiss and touch the Black Stone . . .". The rest of the passage is certainly an amplification by Ibn al-ʿArabī. Asín Palacios considered that the five columns might be the five emanations of the pseudo-Empedocles. But this is impossible to accept, since this image is the symbol, visualized mystically, of the absolute divine Unity, the *Aḥadiyya*: it is evoked in the chapter of the *Futūḥāt* devoted to the *tanzīh al-Tawḥīd* which is expressed in God by this formula: *tanazzaha ʿan tanzīh kull munazzih*. The temple cannot therefore signify the emanations. Moreover, the description is clear: the five columns which support the roof form part of this closed building; they do not support it from the outside. The roof, and probably also the wall, covers them entirely. This is the divine mystery. It is therefore not surprising that we are not told what the five columns mean. It may be that the only significance of the number five is the fact that it is an odd number: "God loves the uneven", says a *ḥadīth*, and Ibn al-ʿArabī recalls that this is the expression of his *Fardiyya* and of his *Aḥadiyya*, providing a further commentary on verse 7 of Sūra LVIII: God comes to add Himself to every odd number of creatures, as a fourth or sixth, in order to make it even, for He jealously guards His own unevenness as a unique and incommunicable attribute. H. Corbin in fact, and rightly, is interested only in the exterior column which "alone is able to *translate* to us the Invisible". It is a matter of mysticism, not of cosmology.

After the description of the *Bayt*, Ibn al-ʿArabī writes: "*wa-ḳad nabbaha ʿalā dhālika 'bnu Masarra*". The demonstrative *dhālika* could refer to the Temple, to the image, or to the general fact of visualization, of the visualizing intuition (*kashf ṣuwarī*). The expression *nabbaha ʿalā*, which means "draw attention to", points rather to the second hypothesis. Ibn Masarra

Pseudo-Empedocles	Ibn al-ʿArabī
Prime Cause	God
taṣwīr ↓ ʿ*Unṣur* (forms) ↓	*tadjallī* ↓ ʿ*Amā*ʾ (Cloud) ? (World of pure light)
ʿ*Aḳl* (forms) ↓	ʿ*Aḳl, Ḳalam, Lawḥ* (luminous forms and angels) (World of pure light)
Nafs kulliyya (forms) ↓	*Nafs kulliyya* (luminous forms and angels) (World of pure light)
Universal nature (forms)	Universal nature (luminous forms and angels) (World of pure light)
?	Throne (Universal body) (Mingled light)
	Kursī (in the hollow of the Throne) (Mingled light)
	Spheres (in the hollow of the *Kursī*) (Mingled light)
	(corporeal forms and angels surrounding the Throne) (Mingled light)
taṣwīr ↓ Individual redeeming souls, parts of the Universal Soul sent by the ʿ*Aḳl*	Nourishment
Redeeming souls of the Prophets, sent by the Universal Soul	
'Pulps' (spirits); souls led astray ↕	Spirits (*arwāḥ*)
'Rinds' (material bodies or the most material elements of beings)	Material bodies (mingled light) or elementary forms
Secondary matter	Darkness ↑

would therefore be quoted solely in support of "the noetic validity of the visions of the active Imagination" (H. Corbin, *op. cit.*, 176). The image itself may not come from Ibn Masarra.

(4) Ibn Masarra as ascetic and mystic. In referring, on the information provided by Ibn al-Faraḍī, to other mystics of this period, in particular to Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and to al-Nahradjūrī, Asín Palacios has isolated what might be the main features of the teaching and the ascetic practices of Ibn Masarra. The goal is the purification and the liberation of the soul through mortification, voluntary poverty, and the observance of silence; then by the practice of the virtues: humility, patience, the forgiving of wrongs, love of one's enemies. The daily examination of the conscience gradually raises the soul to the mystic station of Sincerity.

(5) The school of Ibn Masarra. Asín Palacios has studied the progress of Ibn Masarra's ideas, not only in Islam, but also in Jewish and in Christian thought. We have already mentioned his first disciple, al-Ruʿaynī. The most famous heir of Ibn Masarra is Ibn al-ʿArabī who, through the intermediary of the movement of the *murīdūn* of Ibn al-Ḳasī, and through Ibn al-ʿĀrif, can be considered a member of his school.

Bibliography: Asín Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su escuela, Origenes de la filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid 1914. (R. Arnaldez)

IBN MĀSAWAYH, Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yuḥannā, famous physician of the 3rd/9th century, died in 243/857. His career was begun under al-Rashīd and lasted until the reign of al-Mutawakkil. He contributed to the translation of Greek scientific works which provided material for the famous *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*]. But Ibn Māsawayh was known particularly in his capacity as court physician, attending the high society which surrounded the caliph. His patients regarded him in particular as a specialist on diet. He lacked neither patrons nor wealth: he approached Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, the unsuccessful claimant to the caliphate, who was interested in Greek science as well as in Arabic poetry. He was introduced also to the sons of al-Rashīd, among them Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Muḥammad. The extent and the rapidity of his rise to fame did not go without criticism. It seems probable that he owed it to the powerful family of the Bukhtyashūʿ, which supplied four generations of physicians to the court of the caliphs (Ibn Māsawayh's father was said to have been an assistant to Bukhtyashūʿ at Djundaysābūr). The career of Ibn Māsawayh, who became the friend and counsellor of the great as well as their physician; showed striking similarities to those of his influential protectors: all of them were convinced Nestorians, who did not abandon their religion when they were at the caliph's court. These Nestorians, in spite of the differences of creed which separated them from Byzantium, could easily keep in touch with Greek learning; they possessed the "16" treatises of Galen as put together by the Alexandrians, and even show a desire to penetrate beyond the commentators to the original teaching of the master (perhaps because of the disputes between the Jacobites of Alexandria and the Nestorians of the former Persian empire). Also, in addition to the Hellenic origins of their science and to its Christian contributions, they came under the influence also of the school of Djundaysābūr [*q.v.*], an outpost of Hellenism in the Persian empire and one of the centres of that eastern syncretism which united the practical prescriptions of the East with the mystical speculation of ancient Greek paganism. This syncretism also aimed to unite, in one single group, disciplines as different as astrology, alchemy and medicine, in the name of the supremacy attributed to the pseudo-Plato, derived from the *Timaeus* or from the false Democritus of Abdera, under which masqueraded the lucubrations of Bolus

of Mendes (cf. maxims quoted at the beginning of *De complexionibus*; see Thorndike). In this science, as full of fantasy as it was of empiricism and practical observation, of which Ibn Māsawayh became the acknowledged representative, pharmacy tends to take precedence over purely medical research. The remedy, like the malady, is ordained by providence, in the very order of nature. The knowledge of the four "qualities", to which is added that of the properties and the natures as well as the procedures prescribed by the art, enables the physician to penetrate the secret of universal harmony. This harmony acts on the human body through the medium of the humours, which themselves derive from the qualities. Pharmacy takes into account not only the temperaments but also the "seasons" which, thanks to the qualities, have a clearly perceptible affinity with the humours. The somewhat superstitious idea of an "art", which alone is capable of directing the behaviour of the properties, and that of a cosmic development, of which man is merely a reflexion, was that which inspired the two Arabic works of Ibn Māsawayh which have survived under his name: *al-Nawādir al-ṭibbiyya*, a collection of medical aphorisms, and the *Kitāb al-Azmina*, a sort of description of the various seasons of the year, based on the twin theories of the humours and the "qualities". His Latin works are much longer, and it seems that "Mesue" was held in high esteem in the West. As late as the 9th/15th century, one Petrus Gulosius, a physician of Amalfi, stated that to read him was as instructive as it was pleasant (1474). Although Leclerc and others have sometimes hesitated on the ground of the testimony of Leo Africanus (in an unidentified passage; this may be a confusion with Constantine Africanus) to identify Ibn Māsawayh with the Mesue of the Latin texts, and although, in spite of similarities, it has sometimes been considered that there was an elder and a younger Mesue, it may be said that on the whole the Arabic texts preserve what may be called the philosophical part of the author's production, whereas the Western readers were interested mainly in the teaching of Ibn Māsawayh as an eminent medical practitioner. Before them, al-Rāzī, in his *Continens*, had already extolled the merits of Ibn Māsawayh whom he quotes in many passages, especially for practical details (Indian ed., i, 143, 147; ii, 91; iii, 88, 90). Al-Rāzī had used the *Book of fevers*, produced probably in imitation of Hippocrates (*Kitāb al-Ḥummayyāt*) and the *Book of purifying remedies* (*Kitāb al-Adwiya al-munaḳḳiya*). In spite of the fact that his works are not well-known, Ibn Māsawayh is nevertheless one of the great names of Arab medicine and one of the most typical representatives of the science of his period, being at the same time both conservative and of a markedly speculative nature.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 255; Ḳifṭī, Cairo ed., 248; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 175; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 504. For the works of Ibn Māsawayh, see Brockelmann, S I, 416. For the Latin works (preserved in manuscript), see Thorndike and Kibre, London 1963 (note *Aphorismi* = *al-Nawādir al-ṭibbiyya*; *Chirurgia* [Berlin 1893] = *Kitāb al-Tashrīḥ*; *Consolatio* or *consultatio medicinarum simplicium* = *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-adwiya al-mushila*). Steinschneider, *Die Europäische Übersetzungen*, 101. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN AL-MĀSHIṬA, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, secretary of the ʿAbbāsid period, who was director of the Treasury during the vizierate of Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] from 306/918 to 311/923. He wrote a "Book of the Viziers", which has not survived but which is referred to by various authors, notably al-Masʿūdī.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN MASʿŪD, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghāfil b. Ḥabīb ... b. Hudhayl, famous Companion of the Prophet, and reader of the Ḳur'ān. Of Bedouin origin, Ibn Masʿūd was of humble birth. On his father's side he was a client of the Banū Zuhra, a branch of Ḳuraysh, which enabled him, later, to rely on the occasional protection of important Zuhrīs such as al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās. He was one of the earliest Muslims: some sources even assert (al-Sakhāwī, 333, a Kūfan source) that he was the third person to embrace Islam, after Khadīdja and ʿAlī; the *Iṣāba* merely gives him the sixth place (information obtained from a descendant of Abū Bakr, Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad). Legend soon attributed his conversion to a miracle by the Prophet (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, i, 125).

Ibn Masʿūd was hardly in a position, either physically or socially, to contribute much to the worldly power of the new religion, exposed as it was to the hostility of the pagan inhabitants of Mecca; his zeal was nevertheless always valued by the Prophet and rewarded by modest employment. He carried Muḥammad's sandals, and it was also his duty to gather the plant from which his tooth-picks were made. His duties led to his being daily on close terms with the founder of Islam; he is cited as source for some details on the Prophet's nocturnal ascension (*miʿrādj*) and on his miraculous journey to Jerusalem (*isrā'*; Wüstenfeld, *Muḥammad*, 263; Ibn Ḥanbal, no. 4011) and on the date of the Night of Power (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1282).

Most important, he received the Ḳur'ān directly from the mouth of the Prophet himself. He is thought to have been the first to have attempted reading it in public in Mecca, a daring action which earned him insults and persecution from some of the pagans.

He naturally was one of the small group of Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia, together with Miḳdād b. ʿAmr, who was later to become his friend and companion in arms. He returned in time to follow the Prophet to Medina. He was present at the battles of Badr (in the year 2 of the Hidjra) and of Uḥud (year 3), where he was unsparing in his criticism of those fighters who were too greedy for plunder (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1330 and 1395). After these two battles and until the death of the Prophet very little is heard of him among the triumphs of life in Medina and the large numbers of new converts to Islam. It is likely that Ibn Masʿūd built up at that time, through his personal influence, a number of firm friendships. They were probably made among the Anṣār, the converts from distant provinces or the zealots of humble origin. Tradition names an important Anṣārī, Saʿd b. Muʿādh, the leader of the Aws who had joined the Prophet, the Yemenī Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and his constant companions Miḳdād, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān, Abū Dharr, Abu 'l-Dardā' and Salmān al-Fārisī (al-Sakhāwī, 345; *Iṣāba*, s.v.). On the Prophet's death, Ibn Masʿūd came more into the foreground. His help was needed during the revolt of the Arab tribes encamped around Medina (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1878). He took part, during the reign of Abū Bakr, in the battle of the Yarmūk (in the year 13 A.H.) where he was entrusted with guarding the booty (*ibid.*,

2090). After the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, he received, according to Sayf b. ʿUmar, some land in the district (16/637, *ibid.*, 2376). He was present at the founding of Kūfa by his patron Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās, but returned shortly afterwards to Syria, where he was entrusted with a military and diplomatic mission to Ḥimṣ (*ibid.*, 2392). When he returned to ʿIrāḳ, following the armies which were fighting on the two fronts, he very soon ensured the link between the new Arab colony of Kūfa and the central government at Medina (*ibid.*, 2393). In 21/642 he settled permanently at Kūfa, in the quarter of the Hudhaylīs (Ramāda) in which, for reasons unknown, he chose to live in preference to that of the Ḳurayshīs (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2842) to which his Zuhrī patrons could perhaps have gained him admittance. He nevertheless served as lieutenant to his companion ʿAmmār b. Yāsir (*ibid.*, 2637, 2645 and 2647).

Throughout this phase of his life, which marked the zenith of his political career, his duties were those of an administrator, an ambassador, and a missionary, which is quite in accordance with the high opinion which was held of his shrewdness, his learning and above all of his integrity. But once the important conquests were over he became less necessary. In particular he was the object of the scorn of the Muhādjirūn, Ḳurayshīs of noble birth who had formerly emigrated, like him, from Mecca to Medina. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās publicly criticized his financial administration, because of his parsimony (*ibid.*, 2811). In the year 29, he criticized the new governor of Kūfa, al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, whose scandalously pagan behaviour shocked him and led him to protest (*ibid.*, 2842). In the year 30 there appeared the first signs of a break with the caliph ʿUthmān (*ibid.*, 2835). He then fell into disgrace, in circumstances of which little is known. A public scene ensued between Ibn Masʿūd and the caliph, who had him ill-treated. It is not known whether he died in Medina, under a sort of house arrest, or at Kūfa (Ibn Ḥanbal, no. 4432), where his teaching was highly esteemed (in the year 32/652-3); al-Ṭabarī favours the first report, while the Ḥanbalī Ibn Kathīr, the mystic Munāwī and the *Iṣāba* favour the second. It is difficult to reconstruct Ibn Masʿūd's teaching because of the unreliability and the tendentious nature of the sources. Traces of it, corrupt and yet very numerous, are found in *ḥadīth*, in a system of Ḳurʾānic reading which is peculiar to him, and finally in his exegesis of the Ḳurʾān.

(1) *Ḥadīth*. The Kūfan traditionists remained faithful to him, always ready to expatiate on his merits (*manāḳib*; al-Bukhārī, v, 34; Muslim, vii, 147). Ibn Masʿūd always found Kūfan transmitters, whereas the traditionists of the other cities scarcely thought of making use of his name, which, in the eyes of the orthodox, was already suspect. There start from Ibn Masʿūd *isnād*s in which there figure the well-known names of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, and ʿAlḳama al-Kūfī, with whom is associated a small circle of intimates, such as Ḥārith b. Suwayd, Wahb b. Zayd, Wāʾil b. Mahāna, and of course Ibn Masʿūd's own son, Abū ʿUbayda. To these should be added the more disputed authorities: Masrūḳ, Abū Wāʾil, Shaḳīḳ, Abu 'l-Ḍuḥā, and Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit. Later in the *isnād* are reached the great practitioners of *ḥadīth*: the two Sufyāns, and their master al-Aʿmash, whose liking for edifying stories and beautiful legends is well-known. To Ibn Masʿūd are often attributed *ḥadīth*s of eschatological or admonitory content (*ḥadīth* on Islam, which is to end in exile, as it began, al-Tirmidhī, ii, 104: accepted by the mystics, rejected by Ibn Ḥanbal; *ḥadīth* on the duty to maintain intact the unity of the Community, *ibid.*, 105; there is another, more Shīʿī, version of this in al-Munāwī). Al-Sakhāwī very aptly points out that al-Tirmidhī is, among the authors of canonical compilations, the one who most frequently quotes Ibn Masʿūd. The *ḥadīth*s of Ibn Masʿūd thus grew in popularity with the growth of Shīʿī influence, during the 3rd/9th century (see al-Tirmidhī, the chapters on morals: learning, future life, Ḳurʾānic exegesis, good manners, ii, 67, 75, 98, 105, 110, 112, 120, 131, 135, 156). The name of Ibn Masʿūd was also, as is demonstrated by J. Schacht, one of the favourite "labels" of the juridical school of Kūfa (*The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, 231). His is also one of the names to which the *isnād*s of the *Iḥyāʾ* of al-Ghazālī tend to be attached, which does not, however, put them beyond the reach of criticism.

(2) Ḳurʾānic reading. There are two points, though not well established and subject to controversy, on which Ibn Masʿūd's version appears to differ from the norm of ʿUthmān's text: the order of the *sūra*s and some variants in the readings. On the first point, which would be by far the more important if sufficient details were available, information is found in the *Fihrist*. Th. Nöldeke (*Geschichte d. Q.*, ii, 38, 48, 113, 114, 163) and R. Blachère (*Introduction au Coran*, 174-5) reached the same conclusions: there is nothing, or very little, in these variants which has been systematically introduced or which could be of great importance for the study of the religious ideas of the 1st century. In particular, the order adopted by Ibn Masʿūd is far from being a historical one since, if the details in the *Fihrist* are correct and if the recension we possess of Ibn Masʿūd is authentic, he neglected to make use of the close knowledge which he as a faithful Companion possessed of the biography of Muḥammad and of the particular circumstances accompanying each revelation (cf. the chronological list of al-Yaʿḳūbī, which may be based on Shīʿī reminiscences, i, 24). This may have been due to a lack of a sense of sequence, to negligence, to literary prejudice or to the intentional falsification of a document which had a Shīʿī bias, to the advantage of Sunnism. The question, for lack of datable documents, is of course insoluble; and until now it has not been possible to reconstruct with any certainty, in its external form, the Ḳurʾānic corpus of Ibn Masʿūd (cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, 20-113; E. Beck, in *Orientalia*, xxv (1956), 353-83, xxviii (1959), 186-205, 230-56). The variant readings preserved by Ibn Khālawayh (*Mukhtaṣar fī shawādhdh al-ḳirāʾāt*, see as examples, II, verses 24, 48, 91, 102, 108, 126, 177, 220, 222; III, 7, 105, 157, etc.) concern only points of detail. At the most, on reading this work, we may credit Ibn Masʿūd with a sort of prosiness, a fairly free use of the grammatical forms of Arabic, and a certain taste for juridical definitions, which sometimes lead him to seek for supplementary statements of meaning. But nothing of all this, if political opinions were not involved, could cause any very serious harm to the received text of ʿUthmān, or even justify the fanatical attachment which Ibn Masʿūd's supporters had to his system. Nöldeke goes so far as to doubt, for chronological reasons, whether Ibn Masʿūd was really as opposed to the promulgation of ʿUthmān's text as is stated in the sources. But even if we assume Ibn Masʿūd to have been in agreement with ʿUthman on the essentials of the Ḳurʾānic message, it is not certain that he was so on the commentary which should be given on it.

(3) Ḳur'ānic exegesis. It is particularly in this field that there can be attributed to Ibn Masʿūd some cautious Shīʿī tendencies. There is no doubt that Ibn Masʿūd's way of thinking must have been more closely related to that which prevailed among the *Ahl al-bayt* than to the aristocratic mentality of ʿUthmān's entourage. Reference is made to Ibn Masʿūd's favourite passages, those which he probably developed most fully in his teaching: for example, verse 40 of *sūra* V, which is regarded by the Shīʿīs as confirming the dignity of the *imāms* as supreme "witnesses" and lieutenants of God (al-Kulīnī, *Tawḥīd*, 190) and *sūra* LVI (Blachère, no. 23, cf. n. 10 at p. 52 and the commentary of al-Kulīnī, 271). It goes without saying that Ibn Masʿūd, as an exegete, was fairly strongly criticized by al-Ṭabarī, who faithfully reflected the attitude of the Meccan school. He often classes Ibn Masʿūd with Murra al-Hamdānī and Abū Malik al-Ashʿarī in an indeterminate category to which *tafsīr* gives the broad name of "Companions of the Prophet". In reality, this is a Kūfan *isnād* in which Ibn ʿAbbās was artificially included. Even more cautiously, Ibn Masʿūd is separated from his pupil Masrūḳ, who, like him, was often questioned on the realities of the next world. Naturally, Ibn Masʿūd's witness is indispensable for commentary on the *sūrat al-Kahf* (XVIII), with its account of the Seven Sleepers, the most important eschatological passage (*Tafsīr*, xvi, 23, 98). From these few details it may be seen fairly clearly what was the basis for Ibn Masʿūd's reputation among those who, during his lifetime, were his pupils and followers in exegesis. As a specialist in *ta'wīl* (allegorical or interpretative commentary) he foresaw (and even the Sunnīs admit this) the dissensions which were to rend the Muslim community (*Iṣāba*). Having been a witness of the occasions when the Prophet had been inspired and of the immediate consequences of this inspiration, he was in possession of important secrets on the latter end of things and of mankind (cf. a popular form of exegesis with a magical use of *sūras* in Ibn Ḥanbal, no. 4004).

Thus there emerges, from sources which may fairly be regarded as impartial concerning him, a clear picture of Ibn Masʿūd's personality. Unshakeable in his loyalty to the Prophet and his family, he found it difficult to suffer the intrigues of the Meccan aristocracy, including those who seemed to have admitted him completely into their tribe. By nature the friend of the lowly and the humble, he was probably the supporter of a more inward, mystical and more Shīʿī type of Islam, as seems to be indicated by the surprising harmony which is apparent between the texts which appeared under his name and the vicissitudes of his life. His conduct, his *ḥadīth* and his exegesis are certainly those of a man who, as al-Munāwī has said, placed more hope on the next world than on that which he saw reflected in his contemporaries.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Ibn Saʿd, Beirut ed., vii, 342 (advances no opinion on the circumstances of his disgrace, and is followed in this by Ṭabarī); Wüstenfeld, *Muḥammad*, 241, 380, 451, 901; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, i, 124, no 21; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, i, 13; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, sv.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, s.v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 162; Sakhāwī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*, i, 64; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ed. Shākir, vol. vi (collection of *ḥadīth*); *Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 231 (Shīʿī version of Ibn Masʿūd's disgrace; cf. Yaʿḳūbī, i, 147); Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1959, 34; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, index. Modern opinions: Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *ʿUthmān*, 160-1.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN MAṬRŪḤ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Maṭrūḥ, was born on 8 Radjab 592/7 June 1196 at Asyūṭ, which he left while still young for Ḳūṣ. This town was at that time one of the most important cultural centres of Egypt, and it was probably there that Ibn Maṭrūḥ continued, or began, his education. It was there also that he met the poet Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr [*q.v.*], who became his friend, and that he wrote his first attempts at poetry. He also became known to Madjd al-Dīn al-Lamṭī, the governor of the town, to whom he dedicated two poems which show his lack of experience. It is said that Madjd al-Dīn appointed the young poet to an administrative post but that he did not remain in it for long.

Seeking a more propitious atmosphere, Ibn Maṭrūḥ set out for Cairo in about 626/1229 and was presented to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who was representing his father al-Malik al-Kāmil in Egypt. In 629/1231, Ibn Maṭrūḥ accompanied al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb when he was appointed by his father commander-in-chief of the army which was to conquer Mesopotamia and fight against the Mongols and the Khwārazmīs. He remained continually with him, taking part in the military and political struggles and travelling between the conquered towns of Syria and Mesopotamia.

After the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil (635/1238), the rivalry between the Ayyūbid rulers increased and Ibn Maṭrūḥ could not avoid taking part in the struggles. It was to uphold the point of view of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, under whom he was inspector-general of the army, that he returned to Cairo in 637/1239 with Ibn al-Djawzī, the envoy of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, to restore agreement between the Ayyūbid princes. His stay there was brief and he very soon returned to Syria.

In 639/1241, Ibn Maṭrūḥ was again in Egypt. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who had become sultan of Cairo, appointed him treasurer of the city. This appointment was the beginning of a series of high official posts at the sultan's court.

In 643/1245, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb gained control of Damascus, he appointed Ibn Maṭrūḥ as vizier of the town. During this period Ibn Maṭrūḥ enjoyed great prosperity and the esteem of his entourage. But when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb went to Damascus in 646/1248, he relieved Ibn Maṭrūḥ of the office which he held and sent him with the troops to Ḥimṣ. At this time Ibn Maṭrūḥ fell from favour. Scarcely had these troops arrived in Ḥimṣ when they received orders from the sultan to return to Egypt to defend it against the Crusaders who were preparing to attack Damietta. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, now seriously ill, also returned to Egypt and Ibn Maṭrūḥ followed him.

After the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (15 Shaʿbān 647/23 November 1249), Ibn Maṭrūḥ retired to his own home, where he composed a number of short penitential poems. He died in Cairo at the beginning of Shaʿbān 649/end of October 1251. Ibn Khallikān was present at his burial.

The *dīwān* of Ibn Maṭrūḥ was published in Istanbul in 1298; the edition, a mediocre one, contains about 806 lines.

His work consists mainly of eulogistic and of erotic poems, which do not generally reach the level of exalted poetry. His political and official duties prevented his devoting himself entirely to his art. Nevertheless, in some of his best poems his abilities as a poet are apparent.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1949, v, 302; tr. de Slane, iv, 144-51; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 247; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 329; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 203; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, xiii, 217; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-shiʿr fī ʿaṣr al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, Cairo 1957, 177-84; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, 105-20; Brockelmann, I, 263, S I, 465.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN AL-MAWLĀ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, poet, who lived into the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī, although the exact date of his death is not known. Of humble origins, he came from a typically Medinan background: he was a dependant of the tribe of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; he studied with the Mālikī jurist and traditionist Ibn al-Mādjishūn. He was of a melancholy and sensitive temperament, and seems, according to the extracts preserved in the *Aghānī*, to have enjoyed reciting vague poetic compositions. The state of mind revealed in them is that of a sort of resigned heroism mixed with some fear at the sadness of love, of the times and of life. By an odd paradox, this writer of imprecise and rather delicate poetry had a gift for panegyric. He sang the praises, often at a distance and without knowing them (by a sort of mirage which always entices the Arab poet), of such powerful patrons as Yazīd b. Ḥātim (d. 170/788), governor of Egypt and at one time the patron of Bashshār b. Burd, the ʿAbbāsid princes Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 29, 31), and Ḳutham b. al-ʿAbbās (*ibid.*, 33). He soon obtained the privilege of becoming the poet of the caliph al-Mahdī. It is known that this caliph had a great admiration for the past and the culture of South Arabia and that he sincerely wished to gain the goodwill of the Medinans, who had remained faithful to the memory of the ʿAlid rebel Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 53). Ibn al-Mawlā, like many of his fellow citizens, combined a great respect for the memory of the Prophet and of the Hāshimite family, "the guardian of the Faith", with fervent South Arabian sympathies. Therefore, reciting or improvising to these conservative and nostalgic Medinans, who were often stubborn visionaries, he was able to be a powerful propagandist in favour of the new ʿAbbāsid prince and his court and administration.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, iii, 88-96, iv, 115; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 32. (J.-C. Vadet)

IBN MAYMŪN, Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. ʿUbayd Allāh [Maymūn] al-Ḳurṭubī, usually called Moses Maimonides in English and German, Moïse Maïmonide in French, Jewish theologian and physician, born in Cordova in 1135, died in Fusṭāṭ in 1204. A member of a scholarly Jewish family long established in Muslim Spain, Moses Maimonides received his earliest education in his native town which, however, he was compelled to leave with his family in about 1149 on account of the Almohad invasion and the policy of hostility adopted by the new dynasty [see al-muwaḥḥidūn] towards the religious minorities. After staying some ten years in the Maghrib, notably in Fās (perhaps in the guise of converts to Islam, though the matter is far from certain), the family moved to the East. In any case, it was in the Muslim West that Moses Maimonides acquired the essence of his learning, both religious and secular, and it seems clear that his literary activity also started there. After 1166 the Ibn Maymūn family were in Egypt At first, Moses earned his living in that country by entering the trade with India in precious stones, but when the family business was jeopardized by a shipwreck in which his brother lost his life, he was obliged, in order to make a living, to work as a physician, at first as a protégé of the ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*]; later he became court physician to al-Malik al-Afḍal ([see ayyūbids]; it is to be noted that he was never physician to Saladin, and that the invitation which he is alleged to have received from Richard Coeur de Lion is a legend), and was also invested with the office of head and representative spokesman of his religious community (in Hebrew *nāgīd*, a dignity which remained in his family until the 14th century).

Of the writings, in Hebrew and Arabic, of Maimonides, doctor of Jewish law, speculative theologian and physician, we shall consider only those which concern Islamic studies and the history of Arabic literature—his précis of logic, his medical treatises and opuscula (his mathematical and astronomical works are no longer extant), his "Guide of the Perplexed", and his attitude towards Islam, as expressed in his different writings.

Of the précis of logic, *Maḳāla fī ṣināʿat al-manṭiḳ*, which apparently he wrote at the age of sixteen, the Arabic original was, until recently, known only from a unique, and incomplete, manuscript in Hebrew characters. Mübahat Türker discovered two complete copies of the work in Arabic characters (the Istanbul manuscript probably being merely a transcription of the Ankara one), and established its close relationship to al-Fārābī.

In medicine, Moses Maimonides wrote about twelve works (listed in Brockelmann), either of a general nature and dependent on Galen, as was the whole art of healing in his time, with only a few divergences on minor points ("Aphorisms"), or brief monographs on certain illnesses (asthma, haemorrhoids) or instructions on hygiene, such as a short work on sexual intercourse, and finally pharmacology. In the opinion of experts, these writings guarantee him an honourable place in the medicine of his age; indeed, he was much sought after as a medical practitioner, and his medical works were transmitted not only in the Hebrew script but also in the Arabic script by non-Jewish copyists.

It was, however, for the exclusive use of a certain category of his co-religionists that, in about 1190, he wrote his great treatise *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* ("Guide of the Perplexed"). He wrote it for the benefit of those Jewish intellectuals who, by reason of their scientific and philosophical culture, might find themselves perplexed as to the meaning and value of biblical and rabbinical teachings concerning God, the origin of the world, and the validity and significance of religious law. To calm these troubled minds, Moses Maimonides therefore elaborated a system of interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of those scriptural passages that are apparently anthropomorphic; then he endeavoured to show, after an incisive examination of the postulates and methods of *kalām* [*q.v.*], that, despite the importance which it was proper to allow to Aristotle's physics in respect of the sublunary world, neither the eternity of the world nor the law of necessity constraining God Himself were philosophical certainties in face of which belief in a creative, free God could not be reasonably professed; finally, following a Platonic tradition repeated in particular by al-Fārābī, his chief source of inspiration among Muslim philosophers, he justified the concept of the prophet-legislator, the perfect example of whom in his eyes was Moses; the Law revealed to Moses, though initially adapted to the needs of a people

still barely freed from the surrounding paganism, is nevertheless the most perfect that can exist and must remain in force eternally. Such, without any doubt, are the main themes reduced to their simplest expression in the "Guide". It must be emphasized, however, that, by the method of composition of this book and the contradictions in it that he has deliberately allowed to remain, as well as by various allusions, Maimonides sought to make the enlightened reader understand that his own true opinions were far from coinciding with what a superficial reading would suggest. There are thus strong reasons for believing that he did not reject the thesis of the eternity of the world (indeed he openly maintains its perpetuity) and that, in the final count, God was identified, in his belief, with the law of nature, and therefore with a certain necessity (but, it is true, an intelligent and not a blind necessity). The strictly negative attitude from which he never departed in regard to astrology, the occult sciences and non-philosophic mysticism equally testify to his basic rationalism. It is certain, moreover, as can be seen from his "Code of Laws" and his "Treatise on the resurrection", that he tended to minimize the traditional eschatology of Judaism and that he taught unequivocally the eternal survival of the soul alone and the wholly spiritual character of punishment in the after-life; incidentally, it is very probable that, somewhat like Ibn Rus̲h̲d [*q.v.*], his contemporary and in several respects his counterpart among Muslim thinkers, he thought that intellective souls, separated from their bodies and justified here below by the constant exercise of practical and dianoetic values, would be united in the after-life with the Active Intellect; this is tantamount to a denial, with varying qualifications, of the individual immortality of the soul professed in common by the three great monotheistic religions. In both these philosophers, however, these radical views co-existed, without any sign of internal conflict, along with a sincere adherence to their respective religious laws, which they regarded as the best conceivable formula for regulating men's social lives and creating the climate in which the common man could live in peace, under a collective discipline, and in which the philosopher, co-operating in the maintenance of this discipline and himself submitting to it in the scrupulous observance of its rites, could harmoniously unite the life of contemplation with the life of action. But it is not surprising that these views should have seemed too bold, or even scandalously heterodox, and we know that the Muslim scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Bag̲h̲dādī [*q.v.*], who knew Maimonides in Cairo, stated bluntly that the latter had written an heretical book for his co-religionists. Despite the precautions taken to prevent the "Guide" being circulated outside the Jewish community, there were at least partial and abridged transcriptions of it in Arabic script which, at the very least, were circulated among Christian intellectual circles in Egypt. On the other hand, there are almost no traces of any use of the "Guide" by Muslim scholars, and nothing is known as to the identity of the "Tibrīzī" who commented on the twenty-five propositions taken from Aristotle and placed at the beginning of the second part; this commentary has incidentally survived only in the Hebrew version.

As we have said, Moses Maimonides drew his greatest inspiration from al-Fārābī, but one can also detect signs of the influence of Ibn Sīnā, al-G̲h̲azālī (*Tahāfut*) and Ibn Bād̲j̲d̲j̲a. His knowledge of the work of Ibn Rus̲h̲d (whom he held in great esteem) was incomplete, and for the most part was acquired too late to be utilised in the writing of the "Guide".—One final point: in regard to Islam, Moses Maimonides adopted (and this is in no way original) an attitude at once of total refusal to admit the prophetic inspiration of that religion's founder, and also of a certain subtly qualified sympathy for the strict monotheism which characterizes it; evidently he rejected the attempts to discover passages in the Bible announcing the coming of the Prophet of the Arabs, just as he bitterly reproached the Muslims for suspecting the integrity of the scriptural text [see AHL AL-KITĀB and TAḤRĪF].

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 117; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 317-9; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Berlin 1902, 199-221 (for the Hebrew versions, idem, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters . . .*, Berlin 1893, passages indicated in the index, p. 1060, s.v. Maimonides); Brockelmann I², 644-66, S I, 893-4; add *S̲h̲arḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳar* (Explanation of the names of drugs), edited with translation and commentary by M. Meyerhof, in *MIE*, xli (1940); the main part of the bibliography down to 1950 is given in G. Vajda, *Jüdische Philosophie* (*Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, 19), Berne 1950, 20-4; the principal manuals of Jewish philosophy, in particular those of I. Husik, *A history of mediaeval Jewish philosophy*, Philadelphia 1916 (reprinted several times), J. Guttmann, *Die Philosophie des Judentums*, Munich 1933 (English trans., *Philosophies of Judaism*, London 1964) and G. Vajda, *Introduction à la pensée juive du moyen âge*, Paris 1947, include a chapter on Moses Maimonides; of a complete bibliography arranged according to subjects, by Jacob I. Dienstag, the only part to have appeared is *Moses Maimonides, A topical bibliography*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Folklore*, v, Cincinatti 1961, 12-29 of the Hebrew part of the fascicule.—Texts published since 1950: *Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen*. The Arabic Original and the Three Hebrew Versions edited . . . by Abraham S. Halkin and an English Translation by Boaz Cohen, New York 1952; Mübahat Türker, *Mûsâ Ibn-i Meymûn'un* Al-Maḳāla fī Ṣināʿat al-Manṭiq'*ının arapça asli*, in *AÜDTCFD*, xviii (1960), 9-64; a new English translation of the *Guide* by S. Pines, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, Chicago University Press 1963, is preceded by an "Introductory Essay" by L. Strauss and an introduction (particularly important for the relationship of Maimonides' thought with Greek philosophy and Arab philosophy) by the translator. Of recent articles on Maimonides' thought, we mention only A. Altmann, *Essence and Existence in Maimonides*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1953), 294-315; M. Fakhry, *The antinomy of the eternity of the world in Averroes, Maimonides and Aquinas*, in *Le Muséon*, lxvi (1953), 139-55; some points of detail on Maimonides' biography: B. Lewis, *Maimonides, Lionheart and Saladin*, in *Eretz-Israel*, vii (1963), 70-5; on the circulation of the *Guide*: G. Vajda, *Un abrégé chrétien du "Guide des Egarés"*, in *JA*, 1960, 115-36; idem, in *JA*, 1965, 43-50; finally, see S. W. Baron, *A social and religious History of the Jews*², viii, New York 1958, 249-52 and 259-62; M. Mohaghegh, *Maimonides against Galen/Radd-i Ibn Maymūn bar D̲j̲ālīnūs*, in *Mad̲j̲alla-i Dānis̲h̲kada-i adabiyyāt wa-ʿulūm-i insānī*, xv/1 (1967).

Maimonides' Arabic has been the subject, among

others, of studies by I. Friedlaender, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides ... I. Lexicalischer Teil Arabisch-Deutsches Lexicon*, Frankfurt a/M. 1902 (short grammatical sketch by the same author, in *Selections from the Arabic writings of Maimonides*, Leiden 1909), and J. Blau, in *R. Moses b. Maimon Responsa*, iii, Jerusalem 1961, 59-116 (in Hebrew); see, by the same author, *A grammar of mediaeval Judeo-Arabic* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1961.

(G. Vajda)

IBN MAYYĀDA, Abū Sharāḥīl (or Shuraḥbīl) al-Rammāḥ b. Abrad (Yazīd in Ibn Ḳutayba) b. Thawbān al-Murrī, of the Banū Murra b. ʿAwf, Bedouin poet who lived in the Ḥidjāz and in Nadjd from the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) to the period of the early ʿAbbāsids; he died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, about 136/754 according to al-Baghdādī, in 149/766 according to Yāḳūt. His mother Mayyāda (= one who swings) was a slave, said to have been of Berber or Slav origin, whom the poet however claimed to have been Persian, boasting of belonging both to the line of the Chosroes and to the Arabs, his father being a descendant, through his grandmother, of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*]. The *Kitāb Akhbār Ibn Mayyāda* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 161) of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, of which much use was made in the *Aghānī*, does not seem to have survived, so that very little is known of Ibn Mayyāda's life and work. From the brief description of his appearance it can be deduced that he was fair (*aḥmar*), slender, with a long beard and that he was well-groomed. His poetry consists chiefly of *nasīb*, *hidjāʾ* and *madīḥ*. His love poetry, of the Bedouin type and considered by Ibn Sharaf (ed. and tr. Pellat, 27) as superior to that of al-Kumayt, Nuṣayb or al-Ṭirimmāḥ, is addressed to several women, both free and slave, but especially to one called Umm Djaḥdar, who was finally married by her father to a Syrian. It was she who was the cause of an exchange of epigrams, *naḳāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*], between Ibn Mayyāda and another poet, Ḥakam b. Maʿmar al-Khuḍrī, but the *hidjāʾ* of al-Rammāḥ alludes also to other persons; it is said, moreover, that he was inclined to malice and enjoyed exchanging insults with those with whom he came into contact, without however descending to scurrilities.

Ibn Mayyāda's panegyrics were addressed first to the Umayyad governor of Mecca, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and especially to al-Walīd b. Yazīd (125-6/743-4), to whom he paid several visits; a poem much praised by the critics is a *bāʾiyya* in which he lauds the generosity of the caliph, who had rewarded him with a hundred camels and a slave to look after them, a *djāriya* and a horse. On the death of al-Walīd, he wrote his funeral eulogy in a *marthiya* of which a few verses survive. His relations with the Umayyads did not at all prevent him from addressing his praises to the ʿAbbāsids, particularly since under the former he had been beaten for having in one verse given the family of the Prophet precedence over the Banū Marwān; thus he produced a eulogy of the ʿAbbāsid governor of Medina, Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān, and even attempted to gain the favour of al-Manṣūr, but he did not renew the attempt, since the caliph had not the same interest in poetry as al-Walīd b. Yazīd.

He is accused of frequent lapses (*saḳaṭ*) in his poetry, but it is in general praised by the critics; several poems have been set to music, and the philologists cite a number of his verses as *shawāhid*, Ibn Mayyāda being considered as one of the last of the classical poets, of those who "set the seal on" poetry.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; Ibn Sallām does not mention Ibn Mayyāda in the *Ṭabaḳāt* although the *Aghānī* states that he places him in the seventh class; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 747-9 and index; idem, *Adab al-kātib*, 44; idem, *ʿUyūn*, iv, 141; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 43-5; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 175; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 225; *Aghānī*, ii, 85-116 (Beirut ed., ii, 226-300); Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, 193; Ibn Sharaf, *Masāʾil*, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 328-31, 343; ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, 123; idem, *Ṣināʿatayn*, index; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 124; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 56-7; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo ed., i, 152, ii, 195-7; Yāḳūt, ii, 260, s.v. Ḥarrat Laylā; idem, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 143-8; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 228; idem, *Muʿdjam*, 319; Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tashbīhāt*, 211; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 56; Ibn al-Shadjarī, *Ḥamāsa*, 237-8; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 99; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 184-6; R. Blachère, in *Mél. Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, 110, 114; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 150 (Fr. tr., 230-1); Brockelmann, S I, 91, 96; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 98.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN MISDJAḤ, Saʿīd Abū ʿĪsā or Abū ʿUthmān, one of the great singers of the early Ḥidjāzī school of Arabic music, was born in Mecca and died there in the reign of Walīd I (86-96/705-15). He was a half-breed of African descent (*muwallad aswad*), his mother being a slave-girl of a Hāshimite. It is said that he sang Arabic verses to Persian melodies which he had learned from Persian workers who repaired the mosque (in 64/683) or, according to others, who built a house for Muʿāwiya in Mecca; but this adaptation of Arabic texts to Persian tunes had been effected already in Medina by Ṭuways [*q.v.*], by Sāʾib Khāthir and Nashīṭ, both of Persian origin (*Aghānī*[3], viii, 321), and by other singers. According to Abu 'l-Faradj (*Aghānī*[3], iii, 276), Ibn Misdjaḥ blended the song of the Arabs with Persian and Byzantine music in a perfect manner and set by his compositions the model for his successors. The assertion, however, that he went to Syria and thence to Persia to study the music of the Byzantines and the Persians is not supported by earlier authorities. Some of his melodies are given in the *Aghānī*. Pupils of his were Ibn Muḥriz, Ibn Suraydj, al-Gharīḍ, Maʿbad and Yūnus al-Kātib [*qq.v.*].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, index and especially [3]iii, 276-84 (based mainly on the *Akhbār Saʿīd b. Misdjaḥ* by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, see *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 11, 26 and *Fihrist*, 141, 3); a *Kitāb Ibn Misdjaḥ* by Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī is mentioned in *Fihrist*, 148, 6. H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, 69 f., 77 f.

(J. W. Fück)

IBN MISKAWAYH [see miskawayh].

IBN AL-MUʿADHDHAL, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Muʿadhdhal b. Ghaylān b. al-Ḥakam al-ʿAbdī, an Arab satirical poet of Baṣra (d. 240/854-5) who belonged to a family of the ʿAbd al-Ḳays, many members of which wrote poetry. His grandfather Ghaylān is mentioned in the sources as a poet, and his father al-Muʿadhdhal exchanged epigrams with Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] in particular, one of which was considered sufficiently original to be included in the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās (1277 ed., 79; 1332 ed., 151; the Cairo ed. 1953 omits it; metre *ramal*, rhyme *-ānā*). Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, Cairo, 234) attributes fifty leaves of verses to al-Muʿadhdhal, but only a very small number of these survive (see al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, section on the poets, 6-8; *Aghānī*, xii, 57-8 = Beirut ed., xiii, 228-30; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 167-8).

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's brothers Aḥmad, ʿĪsā and ʿAbd Allāh also rank as poets, but their output was very scanty, according to Ibn al-Nadīm (*ibid.*); the first-named, Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Muʿa<u>dh</u><u>dh</u>al, followed the classical tradition, and some of his poems have been preserved, but he impresses mainly by his eloquence and his piety, which was in contrast to the moral laxity of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad; he appears to have enjoyed a certain renown in a milieu that was far-removed from poetry: indeed, while the *A<u>gh</u>ānī* (xii, 57 = Beirut ed., xiii, 228) makes him a Muʿtazilī, al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 103, ii, 306) seems to reproach him with being a Mālikī; indeed the *Fihrist* (282) places him among the members of the school of Mālik, names Ibn al-Mā<u>dj</u>i<u>sh</u>ūn as one of his teachers and Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāḳ al-Ḳāḍī as his pupil, and, although the account is mutilated, attributes certain books to him, the most important being a *Kitāb al-ʿIlla* (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v.). According to certain statements, Aḥmad was regarded as an eminent Baṣran who was present at some battles against the Byzantines and even had access to the caliph at Sāmarrā (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 175; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 651 ff.).

The most celebrated member of the family, however, was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, whom al-Marzubānī (*Muwa<u>shsh</u>aḥ*, 9) had judged worthy of a monograph of about 200 leaves (*Fihrist*, 191) entitled *A<u>kh</u>bār ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Muʿa<u>dh</u><u>dh</u>al*; according to the same Ibn al-Nadīm (234), his *dīwān* filled 150 leaves. Al-Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr*, 654) considered him as the poet *par excellence* of the Baṣra of his period, thus following the legend echoed by al-<u>Th</u>aʿālibī (*<u>Kh</u>āṣṣ al-<u>kh</u>āṣṣ*, Tunis 1293, 100), but he hardly seems to merit such an honour, although a critic such as Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī held certain of his verses to be superior to those which he inspired in al-Buḥturī (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 234). Despite the long account which the *A<u>gh</u>ānī* (xii, 57-72 = Beirut ed., xiii, 228-59) devotes to him, we know little about his life, and from the *<u>kh</u>abar*s which concern him it is just possible to extract certain details about his relations with al-Aṣmaʿī, as well as with the governors of Baṣra and members of the local aristocracy. Unlike most of his colleagues, he does not appear to have tried his fortune in the capital, although before 226/841 he was in Sāmarrā, where the sight of the young Af<u>sh</u>īn [*q.v.*] filled him with ignoble thoughts, his taste for young men being a normal feature of his depraved character. The description of a garden or an entertainment is not without freshness, but the greater part of his surviving poems testify at once to his moral laxity, his pride, his claims to surpass other poets and his propensity in some degree to take everyone as the target for his virulent invectives; no-one escaped, neither his friends nor his neighbours, nor even his brother Aḥmad, of whose reputation in his native town he was no doubt jealous. Among the victims of his epigrams—who often replied in kind—were well-known personages such as Ḥamdān b. Abān al-Lāḥiḳī, al-<u>Dj</u>ammāz [*q.v.*], Yaḥyā b. Ak<u>th</u>am [*q.v.*], and Abū Tammām himself who, according to al-<u>Th</u>aʿālibī (*op. cit.*) is said to have renounced the idea of coming to Baṣra as the result of an attack made on him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (but the *A<u>gh</u>ānī* presents the matter quite differently and gives the leading rôle to Abū Tammām). His malicious gossip—which had won him the nickname of Abu 'l-Summ—was no less feared, and it is even related that some satirical verses had brought such discredit to a *ḳayna* and a male singer that they were compelled to leave Baṣra to earn their living. Thus, from the notices and fragments that have survived, Ibn al-Muʿa<u>dh</u><u>dh</u>al appears as one of the most typical representatives of that group of poets in Baṣra in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries who, themselves debauched and malicious, took pleasure in defiling the good name of other people, in causing scandals, and in singing of wine and love in verses in which obscenity went hand in hand with undeniable satirical talent.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the text: Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, section on the poets, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1934, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 175-6; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 102 (verses quoted anonymously); Marzubānī, *Muwa<u>shsh</u>aḥ*, 346; Ibn al-<u>Dj</u>arrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Ta<u>sh</u>bīhāt*, 19, 58, 59, 76, 91, 95, 175, 200, 221, 259, 312; Ibn al-<u>Sh</u>a<u>dj</u>arī, *Ḥamāsa*, 92, 181, 196, 224; Ps.-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, 382; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1940, ii, 144, 218, iii, 244, vii, 53; Ibn Ra<u>sh</u>īḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 90; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 651-6; idem, *<u>Dj</u>amʿ*, 310; Sīrāfī, *Naḥwiyyīn*, 33-5; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 231, 234, 455; idem, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, index; <u>Th</u>aʿālibī, *<u>Th</u>imār al-ḳulūb*, 217; Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, Istanbul 1287, 136; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 575; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 90; <u>Gh</u>uzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 9-10; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 52; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 168; idem, *Ibn al-Muʿa<u>dh</u><u>dh</u>al wa-a<u>sh</u>ʿāruh* (forthcoming). (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-MUʿALLIM [see AL-MUFĪD].

IBN AL-MUBĀRAK, ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḤANẒALĪ (118 or 119/736 or 737-181/797), a merchant who combined with his business a love of learning. He travelled widely, studying under many authorities, including Abū Ḥanīfa. Besides his large collection of traditions (20,000 according to Ibn Muʿīn), his interests included matters legal, religious and literary. He said that he heard traditions from 4,000 *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>*s and transmitted from 1,000. Muslim has some of his traditions in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn al-Mubārak studied *fiḳh* with Sufyān al-<u>Th</u>awrī and Mālik b. Anas, whose *Muwaṭṭaʾ* he transmitted. He was a pious man, devoted to ascetic practices. He made the Pilgrimage and engaged in *<u>dj</u>ihād* in alternate years. He died at Hīt on the Euphrates after an expedition.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Ma<u>sh</u>āhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār* (Bibl. Isl., xxii), 194 f.; Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī, *Kitāb al-<u>Dj</u>amʿ*, 259 f.; al-Samʿānī, 179a; al-<u>Dh</u>ahabī, *Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, i, 253-7; Ibn Ḥa<u>dj</u>ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tah<u>dh</u>īb*, v, 382-7; Ibn al-ʿImād, *<u>Sh</u>a<u>dh</u>arāt*, year 181; Brockelmann, S I, 256. (J. ROBSON)

IBN AL-MUDABBIR, the name of two brothers, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad and Abū Isḥāḳ (Abū Yusr) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mudabbir, who played an important part as high officials, courtiers and men of letters as well as poets at Sāmarrā and in Egypt and Syria during the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The family seems to have been of Persian origin; it is not mentioned which of the two brothers was the elder.

(1) ABU 'L-ḤASAN (d. 270/883 or 271/884) directed the *dīwān al-<u>dj</u>ay<u>sh</u>* in the reign of the caliph al-Wā<u>th</u>iḳ (227/842-232/847); during the first years of al-Mutawakkil (232/847-247/861) he took over the control of seven *dīwān*s, probably as a kind of deputy *wazīr*. Al-Mutawakkil esteemed him as a poet, and Aḥmad became an influential courtier. The suspicious *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. <u>Kh</u>āḳān removed him from his post and threw him into prison in 240/854. But

shortly afterwards he was created Director of Finance (*ʿāmil al-kharādj*) for Damascus and Urdunn and went to Damascus (for a poem of his in praise of that city, see Yāḳūt, iii, 243). In 247/861 he took over the same office in Egypt; he introduced a number of new taxes (*mukūs*) such as one on cattle fodder (*al-maʿārī*) as well as a monopoly on caustic soda (C. H. Becker, *Beiträge*, 144 ff.; cf. A. Grohmann, *Aperçu* . . ., 74 f., discussing the papyrological evidence). Hence he became the most hated director of finances for centuries, but the most powerful man of his time in Egypt. When in Ramaḍān 254/September-October 868 Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn entered al-Fusṭāṭ as the newly appointed governor, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir attempted to win him over by bribing him with valuable gifts, but in vain as Ibn Ṭūlūn rejected them. The struggle for power that now began between the two rivals was fought out in Egypt as well as at the court of Sāmarrā. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn emerged triumphant; he was able to overthrow Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, to imprison him, and to confiscate his wealth. In 258/872, at the latest, he was set free and transferred back to Syria as director of finances for Damascus, Urdunn and Palestine. When Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn occupied Damascus, in 264/877, Ibn al-Mudabbir was after a short time again arrested (Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 62), sentenced to pay a *muṣādara* of 600,000 *dirhams*, sent to Egypt and kept in prison until his death. According to the *Fihrist* Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir was the author of an apparently lost *K. al-Mudjālasa wa 'l-mudhākara*; some of his poems and anecdotes concerning him have been preserved in the *Aghānī*, the *Murūdj*, the *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, etc.

(2) Abū Isḥāḳ (Abū Yusr) Ibrāhīm (d. Shawwāl 279/December 892-January 893) was in favour with the caliph al-Mutawakkil and numbered among his boon companions (*nudamāʾ*), so that he exercised great influence over the caliph and the affairs of state. The *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khāḳān overthrew him, probably together with his brother Aḥmad, in about 240/855. Ibrāhīm was thrown into prison, where he remained for the next years; the circumstances of his liberation are not known. Some time later he was appointed tax-collector of the province of Akhwās, and it was probably while holding that appointment that he came into contact with the rebellious Zandj (255/868-270/883), was taken prisoner, brought to Baṣra, and put into prison there. He escaped by breaking through the prison wall, an exploit mentioned by al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 13, and Ibn Khallikān, 615, tr. de Slane, iii, 56-7. He accompanied the caliph al-Muʿtamid (256/870-279/892) on his journey to Syria in 269/882 and became for a short period one of his *wazīrs*. He died as director of the *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir is probably the author of *al-ʿAdhrāʾ fī mawāzīn al-balāgha wa adawāt al-kitāba*, one of the earliest treatises on administration and the civil service (W. Björkman, *Staatskanzlei*, 8 and note, but not mentioned by either *al-Fihrist* or Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa; see bayān, 1115a). Many of his poems, some of which are dedicated to the singer ʿArīb, as well as many anecdotes, have been preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the *Irshād* of Yāḳūt, the *Nishwār* of al-Tanūkhī, etc.

Bibliography: *R. al-ʿAdhrāʾ*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1331/1913, 176-93; *Fihrist*, 123 and index; Ṭabarī, index (Ibrāhīm only); Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 596, 599, 613, 615 ff. (Aḥmad only); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 160-4 (Ibrāhīm), viii, 13-8 (Aḥmad); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers, Berlin 1904 (Semitistische Studien, hersg. C. Bezold, Heft 1), 9 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed., i, 103 f., 107, 315; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* (Ibrāhīm); *Aghānī*[1], xix, 114-34 (Ibrāhīm), and Tables s.vv. Ibrāhīm and Aḥmad; al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London 1921, 131-3 (Ibrāhīm only); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, Damascus 1330/1911-2, 59-62 (Aḥmad). — C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1902-3, 142 ff. and 154 ff.; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 8 and index; A. Grohmann, *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe*, Cairo 1932 (= *Étude de Papyrologie*, Tome I), 74 ff.; Zaki Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, index; D. Sourdel, *La vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index; Brockelmann, S I, 152-3; G. Gabrieli, *Nota bibliographica*, in *Rend. Lin.*, xxi (1912), 373.

(H. L. Gottschalk)

IBN MUDJĀHID, Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. al-ʿAbbās Abū Bakr al-Tamīmī (245/859-324/936), was born in Baghdād and seems to have spent his life there. He is noted for his study of the various Ḳurʾān readings, for the large number of pupils who attended his classes, and for writing the first book on the seven Ḳurʾān readings. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī calls him a reliable authority (*thiḳa maʾmūn*), and quotes a statement made in 286/899 by the grammarian Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā to the effect that at that time no one knew more about the Ḳurʾān than Abū Bakr Ibn Mudjāhid. Commentaries on his book about the seven readings were written by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) in three volumes, and by Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (d. 1067/1657) says he possessed both of these and the text. The *Fihrist* ends its short notice by naming a number of books written by Ibn Mudjāhid. As a result of his representations he was influential in persuading the authorities to proscribe the Ḳurʾān versions of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 31; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 144-8 (no. 2580); al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya* (Bibl. Isl. viiia), 139 (no. 663); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 2004; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 324; L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, i, 240-45; G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 210-13; Brockelmann, I, 203, S I, 328. (J. Robson)

IBN AL-MUDJĀWIR, Djamāl (Nadjm) al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Dimashḳī, reputed author of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* (or *al-Mustanṣir*), an important source for the geography, history, and customs of western and southern Arabia in the early part of the 7th/13th century.

Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, a native of Damascus said to have been of Persian descent, was born in 601/1204-5 and died in 690/1291. The brief biographical notices of him give little information on his career.

The author of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* does not tell enough about himself to satisfy our curiosity. He was in India in 618, but he does not say how he got there or what he was doing there. At the end of 618/1222 he sailed from India to Aden. He visited Zabid at least three times, in 619, 624, and 626; he was in Mecca in 621 and in Djudda both before and after the destruction of the tomb of Eve in that year. The only other place in Arabia he mentions having been in is the port of Ghulāfiḳa in the Yaman. At no point does the author say what his business or pleasure in Arabia was. The latest date in the

narrative is Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 626/1229. Internal evidence indicates that the work was composed not long thereafter.

The usually accepted identification of Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Dimashḳī as the author of the book would appear routine, were it not for a single sentence, on page 252 of O. Löfgren's edition (1951-4), in which the author speaks of "my father Muḥammad b. Masʿūd b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Baghdādī al-Naysabūrī". A number of years before this edition came out, M. Jawād, who had noticed this sentence in the Paris MS of the work, disputed the attribution of authorship to Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb. Jawād also remarked that it was hard to believe that such a book could have been written by a man in his early twenties, who for the remaining sixty-odd years of his life had nothing more to set forth on the subject. To Jawād's reservations may be added the fact that Ibn al-ʿImād in his obituary of Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb says that he had a special interest in the history of Baghdād, but makes no reference to a corresponding interest in Arabia. Ibn Taghrībirdī describes Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb simply as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*s.

Abū (Bā) Makhrama (d. 947/1540), whose writings on southern Arabia have also been edited by Löfgren, cites *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* a number of times, but he never names Ibn al-Mudjāwir as the author; his standard reference is to "al-Mustabṣir in his history". (There is no information on the life of Ibn al-Mudjāwir in Löfgren's 260 pages of biographies for southern Arabia by Abū Makhrama, al-Djanadī (d. 732/1332), and al-Ahdal (d. 855/1451)).

Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir, despite its title, is not so much a history as a collection of itineraries and a potpourri of miscellaneous information on the towns and tribes of western and southern Arabia and the life of the people there. Fragmentary historical data of some value are given on the later Ayyūbids in Arabia, the early Rasūlids of the Yaman, and the Ḳatādid Sharīfs, who had established themselves in Mecca just before the author's appearance on the scene. Much more space is allotted to routes between cities, with the length of each stage given in parasangs (*farsakh*s). The geographical material begins in the north with the environs of Medina, though there is no description of the Prophet's city itself. Details on Djudda, Zabīd, and Aden are particularly copious, and stylized maps of all three, as well as similar maps of various other places, are provided. The southern coast of Arabia is treated more extensively than in most Arab geographers, as far around as Ḳalhāt, Musḳaṭ (Maskat), and Ṣuḥār on the Gulf of ʿUmān. The only site in the Persian Gulf dealt with in great detail is the island of Ḳays (Kīsh). The book closes with a short paragraph on al-Baḥrayn, which was said to have 360 villages, with all but one being Imāmī (Twelver Shīʿī). The figure 360 for this small island is manifestly absurd.

The book contains an abundance of fascinating lore on Islamic sects, marriage customs, slavery, weights and measures, coins, cloth, wine, agriculture, shipping, and customs duties. Legends about the Hindu monkey-god Hanuman seem to put Aden in the place of Ceylon. Some of the stories are no doubt apocryphal, but many have an air of authenticity. The author derived much of his information from informants on the spot, both Bedouins and townspeople. He drew to a considerable extent on the works of earlier writers, such as al-Fākihī, the historian of Mecca, ʿUmāra, the historian of Zabīd, and the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal, who are sometimes quoted without acknowledgement.

The author of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* obviously knew a great deal about western and southern Arabia. At the same time, his ignorance of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula was abysmal, as is indicated by his repeating the report he heard from a Jewish goldsmith in Aden about the Saturday River (Nahr al-Sabt) just beyond the Ḥidjāz, a river of sand that flowed strongly for one day out of each week, on the other side of which lived a hundred million Jews descended from those who had fled from Khaybar and Wādī al-Ḳurā in the time of the Prophet. The author also retails with a straight face in half a dozen places information of a historical or geographical nature revealed to him in dreams (he is more precise in dating his dreams than in dating almost anything else in the book). The author demonstrates his accomplishments as a poet by quoting snatches of his own verses in Arabic and Persian.

The work was first brought to the attention of the Western world by A. Sprenger, who relied on it heavily for his exposition of routes in Arabia. F. Hunter in his book on Aden included a translation by S. B. Miles of a long passage in *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*. C. de Landberg printed a number of excerpts from the Arabic text with translations in French. G. Ferrand made a French translation of material on Aden. Before editing the complete work, Löfgren published the section devoted to Aden in his *Arabische Texte* (1936), which should still be consulted for its elaborate notes.

The two candidates for the authorship of *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir* are not the only men on record bearing the name Ibn al-Mudjāwir. Another was Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Mudjāwir al-Shīrāzī, whose father had come to Damascus from Shīrāz. As a teacher of boys in Damascus, Yūsuf attracted the attention of Saladin, who appointed him tutor to his son al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān. When al-ʿAzīz became sovereign of Egypt, he made Yūsuf his vizier. This Yūsuf died in 601, the year of the birth of Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb Ibn al-Mudjāwir. The family of Banu 'l-Mudjāwir in Damascus was said to have received its name from an ancestor who preferred residing in Mecca (*al-mudjāwara*) to the earthly paradise of the Syrian capital.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 482 (634) and S I, 883; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig 1864; F. Hunter, *An account of the British settlement of Aden in Arabia*, London 1877; C. de Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, Leiden 1901-13; idem, *Glossaire Datīnois*, Leiden 1920-42; idem, *Arabica*, iv-v, Leiden 1897-98; G. Ferrand in *JA*, sér. xi, t. xiii (1919), 471-83; O. Löfgren, ed., *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter* = *Taʾrīkh Thaghr ʿAdan* (Abū Makhrama, Ibn al-Mudjāwir, al-Djanadī, and al-Ahdal), Uppsala 1936-50; M. Jawād in *REI*, xii (1938), 286; O. Löfgren, ed., *Ibn al-Muǧāwir, Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis* = *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, Leiden 1951-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 417; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo, viii, 33; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*[2] (Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Mudjāwir and Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb Ibn al-Mudjāwir), ix, Cairo 1957, 301-2 and 341. (G. Rentz)

IBN MUFARRIGH, Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Ziyād b. Rabīʿa b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī, minor poet of Baṣra in the 1st/7th century. There are doubts about his Ḥimyarī origin, and it is possible that his ancestor Mufarrigh was a slave. Ibn Mufar-

righ's date of birth is not known, and the earliest traditions about him tell of his romantic attachment to a Persian woman of Ahwāz in approximately the years 36-40/657-60. Later he was attached to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra [*q.v.*] and Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, but his career took a completely different direction from the time when he decided to follow ʿAbbād b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] to Sidjistān, in 54/674; their relations very soon became embittered, and the poet spent some time in prison; after his release he fled but was forced to wander from town to town, hurling invectives against the family of Ziyād. He was hunted down at Baṣra and arrested by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], who found an original way of punishing him: after forcing him to swallow a purgative, he had him mounted on a donkey to which he had tied a sow and a cat, and this grotesque procession was made to proceed through the streets of the town. Ibn Mufarrigh was then sent back to ʿAbbād, who put him into prison again, and was released only on the intervention of the Yemenīs of Damascus. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya finally granted him his favour and, after obtaining the pardon of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, he was permitted to retire to Kirmān. In 64/684, on the death of Yazīd, Ibn Mufarrigh returned to his native town, from which ʿUbayd Allāh had been driven out, thus taking an easy revenge. He died in 69/689, during the epidemic of plague.

Although the adventures of Ibn Mufarrigh have been somewhat embroidered by legend, his life was nevertheless full of incident and this is reflected in the poems which have survived. Although he was probably originally destined to lead the uneventful existence of a provincial poet, whose chief preoccupation would be to secure for himself the bounty of the local aristocracy, he became, through the pressure of unforeseen circumstances, a sort of polemical poet whose works, more valuable for their content than for their form, owe their partial preservation to the attacks which they contain against the family of Ziyād and, indirectly, against the Umayyads. This opposition, which was the result of the bad treatment he received rather than of a systematic hostility, is nevertheless the sign of a belligerent temperament, which was to cause the poet's descendants to take sides in an even more definite fashion; in fact his son Muḥammad was to be a Khāridjī, and his grandson, Ismāʿīl, became notorious as a Shīʿī poet under the name of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*].

The *Dīwān* of Ibn Mufarrigh does not seem to have been assembled, and there remain of his work only about 300 verses scattered in works of *adab*, grammar and lexicography (for he is cited as an authority, particularly on the use of *hādhā* for *al-ladhī*, in fragment xxxi, 1, and on the name of his mule, ʿAdas). The love poems of his youth and the panegyrics of his benefactors are devoid of any originality, but the invectives launched against his enemies on the other hand contain some original expressions which delighted the population of Baṣra, which was hostile to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād; they contain also three hemistichs in Persian, which prove that this language was well known in Baṣra. Finally it should be mentioned that al-Aṣmaʿī is said to have accused him of having invented the biography and the poems attributed to the Tubbaʿ [*q.v.*]; but nothing certain is known about this.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivB, 77 ff.; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 143-4; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 319-24; Ṭabarī, ii, 191-5; *Aghānī*, xvii, 51-73; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo, iv, 244-51; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1949, v, 384-409; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 431-3; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 297-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xx, 43-6; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd Ier*, in *MFOB*, v/1, 125-7; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 157-61; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, 134 (Fr. tr., 207); Brockelmann, S I, 92; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 32; idem, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Paris-Tehrān 1964, index; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḥabīb al-Luhā «Nawīd», *Ibn Mufarrigh dar Sīstān*, in *Rev. Fac. Let. de Meched*, i/2 (1966), 47-70; Ch. Pellat, *Le poète Ibn Mufarriġ et son œuvre*, in *Mél. Louis Massignon*, iii, 195-232.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN MUFLIḤ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mufliḥ al-Maḳdisī, Ḥanbalī jurisconsult who stands at the head of a large family of jurisconsults, the last of whom died in the first half of the 11th/17th century. Shams al-Dīn married the daughter of the Ḥanbalī *Ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* Djamāl al-Dīn al-Mardāwī (700-769/1300-1367) and, according to his biographers, had seven children from this marriage, both boys and girls. The genealogy which emerges from the biographical sources available to us shows that he had five sons and that the family died out in 1038/1628 (or 1035) with Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, who lived to be 99 years of age and whose son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1036/1626, or 1035) died during the lifetime of the father. (For father and son, see Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, Damascus 1339/1921, 101-3).

Shams al-Dīn is one of the most prolific writers of the Ḥanbalī school of his period. His extant works have preserved for us much that has been lost of earlier Ḥanbalī works, notably his *Ādāb sharʿiyya* (3 vols., Cairo 1348/1930) which contains many excerpts of *Kitāb al-Funūn* of Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], to mention only one important instance. His work on legal methodology, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, has been preserved in manuscript (Berlin 4399) and his *Kitāb al-Furūʿ* (3 vols., 1339/1921) is one of the most important Ḥanbalī works for the establishment of the true legal doctrine of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. After a life of writing and teaching in Damascus in three Ḥanbalī *madrasas*, al-Djawziyya, al-Ṣāḥibiyya and al-ʿUmariyya, he died in 763/1362.

The similarity of some of the names among the descendants of Shams al-Dīn is liable to lead to confusion, especially as regards those named Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, of whom there are five.

Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who died in 803/1400, is the son of Shams al-Dīn and has the additional *laḳab* of Taḳī al-Dīn. He held the post of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* and wrote a history of the Ḥanbalī school, *Ṭabaḳāt aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad*, the greater part of which is said to have been destroyed in a fire. This is not the work used extensively by Nuʿaymī in his *Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*. (On him, see Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 22-3). This Burhān al-Dīn had a grandson (great-grandson of Shams al-Dīn) of the same name, who died in 917/1511 (see *Shadharāt*, viii, 77). A third Burhān al-Dīn was the grandson of Shams al-Dīn and died in 876/1471 (see *Shadharāt*, vii, 321). Another great-grandson of Shams al-Dīn was also a *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* like his ancestor, the first Burhān al-Dīn, and like him he wrote a history of the Ḥanbalī school, entitled *al-Maḳṣad al-arshad fī tardjamat aṣḥāb Aḥmad*, used extensively by Nuʿaymī in his *Dāris* (see *Shadharāt*, vii, 338-9; for Nuʿaymī, see *Bibl.*). The latter's grandson is the last known Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and died in 969/1561.

One of the last Ibn Mufliḥs, Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad (930-1011/1523-1602), wrote a number of historical tracts dealing with Damascus and Cairo,

including an abridgment of Abū Shāma's *Akhbār al-dawlatayn* (see Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar*, 93-5).

Bibliography: For Shams al-Dīn Ibn Mufliḥ see Brockelmann, I, 107, S II, 129, and the bibliography cited there, to which should be added: Muḥammad Djamīl al-Shaṭṭī, *Mukhtaṣar ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 62-3; Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, 2 vols., Damascus 1948-51, index, s.v. On the place of Shams al-Dīn Ibn Mufliḥ in the history of the Ḥanbalī school, see H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides*, in *REI*, xxviii (1960), 68-9, and notes 369-70. On the place of the *ṭabaḳāt*-works of the two Burhān al-Dīns in the history of such works by the Ḥanbalīs, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (PIFD, 1963), 55 ff. (nos. 7 and 8). For additional information on various members of the family, see Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, index, s.v. Mufliḥ. (G. Makdisi)

IBN MUḤRIZ, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muslim (or Salm, or ʿAbd Allāh) b. Muḥriz, famous musician and singer of Mecca, who lived in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries. A *mawlā* of Persian origin of the ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḳuṣayy and the son of a *sādin* of the Kaʿba, he was first the pupil of Ibn Misdjaḥ [*q.v.*], and then of ʿAzzat al-Maylāʾ [*q.v.*], going to Medina to receive lessons from her; he then completed his musical education in Persia and Syria, where he studied Greek music. He is said to have later chosen what seemed best to him from these different musical traditions and it is on this eclecticism that his fame rests. He is credited with the invention of the rhythmic mode known as *ramal* [*q.v.*]. He was known as Ṣannādj al-ʿArab (from *ṣandj*, a kind of Persian harp) and is classed immediately after Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]; he does not, however, seem to have appeared much in public, because of the leprosy with which he was afflicted, and seems to have been content to have his compositions performed by a slave-girl musician. It is probable therefore that he never attended the court at Damascus, although a passage of al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 4) might imply that he was one of the musicians in the entourage of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. The date of his death is unknown, but F. Bustānī puts it at about 140/757.

Bibliography: H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 78-9 and index; *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., i, 352-6; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 23. (Ed.)

IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, Arabic author of Persian origin, one of the first translators into Arabic of literary works of the Indian and Iranian civilizations, and one of the creators of Arabic literary prose. He was born in about 102/720, probably at Djūr, in Fārs (later Fīrūzābād), of a noble Iranian family: his father Dādōe, also known by the Muslim name of al-Mubārak, was a tax-collector under al-Ḥadjdjādj or Khālid al-Ḳasrī; having been put to torture on account of his misappropriations, he was as a result given the surname al-Muḳaffaʿ "the crippled", which passed into the name of his son. The latter was called Rōzbih and, on embracing Islam (which he seems to have done at quite a mature age), he took the name ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ by which he is known to posterity. At first he was secretary to Umayyad governors and officers in Kirmān, where he appears to have amassed a considerable fortune, and on the coming of the ʿAbbāsids he attached himself to the service of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, uncle of al-Manṣūr, whose brother Sulaymān was, under al-Saffāḥ, governor of Baṣra. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ divided the best years of his life between that town and Kūfa, the *miṣrān*[1] of ʿIrāḳ before the founding of Baghdād, frequented the society of men of letters and wits such as Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, Wāliba b. Ḥubāb, Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, Bashshār b. Burd and still others, all persons of loose morals and suspected of *zandaḳa*. His premature and tragic end, which probably occurred in 139/756 or soon after that date, seems, however, to have been brought about not by religious but by political and personal causes. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ is said to have been ordered by his patrons to draft the text of the *amān* which the caliph al-Manṣūr had consented to grant to their brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, who had revolted; and the secretary had performed this task with such zeal, hemming in with such binding commitments and such solemn oaths the promise of pardon to the rebel which the caliph himself was to sign, that it aroused the resentment of the suspicious al-Manṣūr. He gave orders for the removal of this presumptuous secretary, and the new governor of Baṣra, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiya al-Muhallabī, who himself had long-standing personal grievances against Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, took this opportunity to exact the most cruel vengeance: Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ was taken to the governor's palace and put to death under appalling torture, his patrons ʿĪsā and Sulaymān protesting in vain to the caliph at the murder of their *mawlā*. It seems that a son of his, Muḥammad, was later one of al-Manṣūr's secretaries, and it is to him that should be attributed the versions (from Greek or Syriac into Arabic) of certain books of logic of Aristotle (or rather of ancient commentaries on these books) traditionally connected with the more famous name of his father.

Though he died at the age of thirty-six, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ left behind him a considerable quantity of translations and original works, only part of which has survived, and even that in a form that is somewhat uncertain. We consider first his version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], the celebrated collection of Indian fables going back to the *Pančatantra* and the *Tantrākhyāyka*, which this writer turned into Arabic from the Pahlavi version made in the time of Chosroes Anōsharwān. Without dwelling on the history of this well-known work, of which the Arabic version of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ is the principal link in its migration to the West, we merely recall that we possess no reliable and authentic text of this version, such as it must have been when fresh from the pen of this its first translator, and it appears to be impossible that it can ever be successfully reconstructed: the earliest manuscripts available (that of Aya Sofya of the 7th/13th century, reproduced by the ʿAzzām edition, and the Syrian of the 8th/14th century, followed by Cheikho), and the quotations by other authors, in fact present us with a tradition so varied and so much re-written, both in regard to the form and even the substance of the work, that there is perhaps not a single page where one may be certain of finding the original version of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ in its entirety. Attempts have been made to discover at least what part was the work of the translator in his treatment of the material, and in the additions and modifications that he may have introduced into the Pahlavi text (of which we can form some idea, thanks to the ancient Syriac version of the 6th century A.D. which has been preserved); it has been claimed that the hand of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ may be seen particularly in the celebrated autobiography of Burzōē (the translator from Sanscrit into Pahlavi) placed at the beginning of the work, with its criticism of religions and its defence of

human reason. A passage from al-Bīrūnī (*India*, 76) indeed leads one to attribute to the Arabic translator the addition of this sceptical chapter, which contrasts with the Indian basis of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (a basis which otherwise is faithfully maintained in the version, and is hardly at all Islamized), confirming the supposition of Nöldeke, who saw in it the hand of our *zindīḳ*; but the same freedom of spirit and the same criticism of the revealed religions has been noticed by P. Kraus in other writings of the period and environment of Chosroes Anōs͟harwān, such as the *Logic* in Syriac of Paulus Persa, which, while not excluding that Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ may have developed these ideas independently, would reduce the originality of his contribution on this subject. To the translator is also attributed the addition *ex novo* of the chapter on *The trial of Dimna*, the expression of a moral conscience shocked by the cynism of the story of the Lion and the Bull, and perhaps also of the last four chapters of the Arabic text, which are missing from the Syriac version but which incidentally possess features that are quite certainly Indian. To sum up, the translator's own personal share in this his most celebrated work remains somewhat indefinite and requires caution, but this in no way detracts from his unrivalled cultural achievement in having been the first to present this literary jewel from India to Arabo-Islamic civilization, and through it to the Byzantine and Latin West.

If it is difficult to recognize with any certainly the style and spirit of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ in the Arabic translation of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, it is no less difficult to identify these features in the group of works representing the ancient history, culture and civilization of Iran which he is believed to have similarly translated from Pahlavi into Arabic: we refer to the *K͟hudāynāma*, the royal chronicle composed under the Sāsānids and gathering together the fabulous and historical traditions of pre-Muslim Iran; the *Āʾin-nāma*, a picture of the institutions, customs and hierarchy of the Court in the same period; and a *Tād͟jnāma*, the translation of which, as of the other two works, is attributed in the *Fihrist* to Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, the third work being concerned with the life of Anōs͟harwān (though the extracts from it which survive are concerned rather with Parwīz). From all these translations only a few fragments have survived, and it is not even entirely certain, although it is very probable, that these are indeed the versions made by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ. It was primarily Ibn Ḳutayba, in his two works *ᶜUyūn al-ak͟hbār* and *Maᶜārif*, who preserved extracts of varying length from what he calls the *Siyar mulūk al-ᶜAd͟jam* (that is to say, the *K͟hudāynāma*), the *Āʾin* and the *Tād͟j*, without ever expressly mentioning the name of their translator. These passages deal with the dynastic, military and social history of ancient Iran, and recur in almost identical form in other historians such as Eutychius (Saᶜīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ) and al-Ṭabarī who, together with Ibn Ḳutayba, drew from a common source. This source, in all probability the versions of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, thus reveals itself as the principal means of transmission to the Arabs of the epic, history and institutions of Iran which were subsequently to be the subject of many elaborations and developments, all more or less the work of the imagination, in later authors (al-Masᶜūdī, al-T͟haᶜālibī, etc.); while the same material passed directly from these ancient works in Pahlavi, through versions in neo-Persian, to Firdawsī's epic. As with the Indian fables of Bidpai, the part taken by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ in transmitting to Arabo-Islamic culture this ancient Iranian tradition (to which also belong a *Kitāb Mazdak* and the famous letter of Tansar which too is attributed to him) is of the very greatest importance, although the personal and stylistic nature of his contribution is very difficult to evaluate.

A more direct and well-founded verdict on this very celebrated author, whose works of translation, having been revised or lost, seem to conceal his exact physiognomy from us, can, however, be based on certain original writings: the *Adab kabīr* (excluding the *Adab ṣag͟hīr* which, as Richter and Gabrieli have shown, is merely a pseudepigraphic cento of *ḥikam*, drawn partly from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) and the *Risāla* or *Kitāb fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba*, the historical importance of which has recently been recognized. The *Adab kabīr* is a treatise offering advice to the prince (and in this sense it is one of the earliest Arabic *Fürstenspiegel*), to the courtier and to the worldly man of fashion, drawing its wisdom from literary sources, of the type of the Iranian *andarz*, but also from direct experience from the author's life. Its morality is entirely practical, its counsels seldom attain a high ethical level and are restricted to the sphere of *savoir vivre*, shrewdness and the exploitation of the human passions for one's own advantage. Pity and religious unction are wholly absent from it, and its view of the world would be more fitting to a man of the Renaissance than to one of the mediaeval Muslim world. While the *Adab kabīr* is free from any reference to a definite historical milieu, the *Risāla fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba* (included by Ibn Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) in his anthology *Kitāb al-Mant͟hūr wa 'l-manẓūm*) is a topical political pamphlet of the highest importance. Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ here addresses himself to a caliph who is not named but who without doubt is al-Manṣūr, submitting to him a whole series of reflections on certain political religious and social problems arising from his time and milieu, and examined by the writer with a breadth and originality of mind that are very remarkable. The treatment of the military elite of K͟hurāsānīs and their relations with the caliph, the choice of high officials and courtiers, the position of the ᶜIrāḳīs and Syrians at the start of the ᶜAbbāsid dynasty, juridical and administrative discrepancies —all these give rise to remarks and suggestions that are doubly interesting, both for the writer's own ideas and for the light which his proposals throw on the situation. Particular interest has been aroused, amongst others, by the suggestion of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ to the caliph that he should undertake a codification of the laws and juridical decrees, thus unifying under his own authority the divergencies between the schools and the different milieus of Muslim society. This subordination of the s͟harīᶜa to the political authority, advocated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, was not to be realized, and the development of Muslim law followed the opposite path of *id͟jmāᶜ*, in theory shielded from any intervention by the *sulṭān*, which in practice led to *fiḳh* being fixed, out of touch with living reality. But even so, it is very remarkable that a contrary process should have been envisaged by this isolated voice, whether it be through the personal convictions of Ibn al-Muḳaffaᶜ, or whether, as has been supposed, he lent his pen to the programmes of others. The fact remains that these proposals so boldly advanced must have impressed themselves on the caliph's attention, and perhaps may even have offended his autocratic susceptibilities. It has even been suggested (Sourdel) that this pamphlet, although conceived and presented in a spirit of profound loyalty, may have contributed to the

disgrace and lamentable end of the writer. However that may be, the *Adab kabīr* and the *Risāla fi 'l-Ṣaḥāba* are the most reliable items of evidence to enable us to form a judgement about the style of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ—a supple and elegant style, although still marked by a certain archaic dryness: these two texts remain among the most fascinating innovations in Arabic prose *adab*, in the classical period, along with the *rasāʾil* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā and other earlier *kuttāb*.

One highly individual aspect of the spiritual interests of this great writer is, finally, revealed by the fragments (if they are authentic, as we believe) of a religious work, a Manichaean apologia, preserved in the refutation made a century later by the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm, in a treatise published by M. Guidi. We were already familiar with the charges brought against Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ of having attempted to make an "imitation" of the sacred Book of Islam: the work refuted by al-Ḳāsim appears rather, in our view, to be an attack on Muḥammad, the Ḳurʾān and Islam in the name of another faith, namely the Manichaean faith which several of the friends of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ had adopted and of which the writer himself was suspected. The cosmogony and mythology of the religion of Mani were indeed expatiated upon in this work, but what above all is characteristic of it is the rationalistic criticism of fideism in general, such as emerges in one of the longer passages quoted by al-Ḳāsim (26-7 of the text) and presents a striking analogy with certain passages from the autobiography of Burzōē in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. The contradiction between this rationalism and adherence to the Manichaean faith can be resolved by regarding the rational and philosophical basis of the latter, beneath its colourful mythology, as a powerful gnostic effort to provide a satisfactory solution to the mystery of the human condition and the universe. Yet we are aware of the problems that remain unanswered in this respect, in view of the obscurity that cloaks the spiritual evolution of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, the uncertain chronology of his writings, and even the authenticity of certain of them.

Although surrounded by these various reservations necessitated by the state of our knowledge, the figure of this writer appears before us as one of the most brilliant at the opening of the classical age of Arabic literature. Himself of non-Arab blood, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ must have profoundly appreciated the cultural values of the Iranian civilization from which he sprang, and have endeavoured to make them known to the Arab world which had conquered his native land and relegated the religion of his fathers to a subsidiary position. In this sense, he can be regarded as a precursor of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], although no polemical writing of his has survived on the subject of the superiority of the *shuʿūb*, or, more specifically, of the Iranians and Indians, over the Arabs. He did in fact demonstrate this superiority, by revealing to the Arabs the treasures of India and Persia, and by himself following a refined and cultivated way of life (as several anecdotes relate), which incidentally characterized the whole new pro-Iranian élite of the early ʿAbbāsid period. But what sets him apart from the real Shuʿūbiyya is his love for the conquerors' language, which the Shuʿūbiyya themselves used in their anti-Arab polemics, but without making any impassioned study of it and without achieving the mastery over it that this *mawlā* from Fārs displayed so successfully. His works, both as translator and original writer, soon became classic in the great ʿAbbāsid civilization and, by their form as well as their subject-matter, exerted an influence that cannot be exaggerated on the cultural interests and ideals of the succeeding generations. Today, it is even possible to speak of an Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ myth which has dominated the renaissance of neo-Arabic literature. Even when stripped of this myth, the figure of this Persian, the master and almost the Demiurge of the language of the Ḳurʾān on the eve of its most astonishing flowering, retains a position of the very highest eminence in the literary history of Arabism.

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IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ, SEVERUS (SĀWĪRIS), his name before he became a monk being Abu ('l-)Bishr. It is not known why he was called Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ ("son of the cripple"). He gave up his occupation as a clerk (*kātib*), which for a Copt was an important step towards promotion in a career in the administration, in order to become a monk. No biography of him exists. It is however known that he was appointed by the patriarch Anbā Maḳḳāra (932-52 A.D.) to be bishop of Ashmunayn, most probably before he had reached his fiftieth year (the age

legally fixed in the Coptic church for promotion to a bishopric), since he was outstanding in wisdom and merit and in his life and his deeds. From his own works it can be deduced that he lived for 80 years, which would mean that he was a bishop for about 30 years and that he died during the patriarchate of Philotheus (979-1003 A.D.).

In addition to his native Coptic, Severus also knew Greek, and he was the first Copt to adopt the Arabic language in ecclesiastical literature, as Coptic was gradually superseded by Arabic as the official language of Egypt. His literary activities promoted the religious education of the people: the exposition of the Bible, of everyday morality and of the liturgy. He commented on the special practices of the Copts, and condemned them if they were contrary to the true faith. Severus holds an important place as defender of his church and its teachings. This is to be attributed not only to his tracts and polemical treatises, but still more to his confrontations with Christians of other denominations, and with Muslims and Jews. There is a tradition that he was chosen by the patriarch Aphrām to attend an audience with the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz, in order to debate in his presence on questions of dogma with a clever Jew, Moses, who was a friend of the vizier Ibn Killis [*q.v.*] (on this episode, see *BSOAS*, xxx/1 (1967), 180, and MŪSĀ B. ALʿĀZĀR). On many other occasions Severus, on the orders of the caliph al-Muʿizz, held discussions on religious questions with Muslim scholars. Especially worthy of mention is the controversy between the Syrian bishop Yuʾannis b. al-Shammāʿ and the caliph al-Muʿizz himself, in the presence of the bishop of Ashmunayn. Severus defended his beliefs also against the Nestorians, in particular against Elias (Iliya) ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd, bishop of Damascus. In 955 he repudiated the polemical arguments raised by the Melkite Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ (Eutychius) in his history.

The Copts were not unaffected by the great spiritual and religious currents of Islam. From a reference to a lost work of Severus it is known that in one of his books, in a chapter on the attributes of God, he opposed the view ascribed to the Jews and the Muslim Muʿtazilīs concerning the material reality of the Word of God.

Severus's theological treatises were known outside Egypt. Graf refers to an examination and commentary by the Nestorian bishop of Nisibis (Naṣībīn) Īliyā b. Shīnā (975-1045 A.D.) on the ideas of Cyrillus, Severus b. al-Muḳaffaʿ and Saʿīd b. al-Biṭrīḳ.

Severus is best known however for his history of the patriarchs (*Siyar al-bayʿa al-muḳaddasa*), a chronicle which bears his name. During eight years he collected in the monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn and Upper Egypt and in the town of Alexandria (as well as from material in private hands) information about former patriarchs, which was to be found written partly in Greek but mainly in Coptic. It may be presumed that Severus collected the necessary material for the biographies of the patriarchs, beginning with Saint Mark and going up to the fifty-fifth occupant of the see of Alexandria, the patriarch Shenute (859-80 A.D.), without however reducing the work to a unified whole and giving it a formal conclusion. Various Coptic writers occupied themselves with the continuation of the book, taking the biographies up to the patriarch Cyrillus b. Laḳlaḳ (1236-41). There follow a few brief statements taken from manuscripts concerning the patriarchs up to the 9th/15th century; this material however is already known from various other works, such as those of Abu 'l-Barakāt and of al-Maḳrīzī [*qq.v.*]. Severus's History of the Patriarchs is an indispensable source for the history of Egypt, of the Egyptian national church, of the Abyssinian church and of Christianity in Nubia. This chronicle also adds many details and precise data to the source material for the political, social and economic history of Egypt. Some sections of the book have been many times published or used (*e.g.*, by Renaudot, Seybold, and Evett). The latest and most careful edition of the book, with English translation, is being undertaken by A. S. Atiya, Jassa ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and O. H. E. Burmester.

Severus's works consist of 20 or 26 titles, which are listed by Brockelmann and, in more detail, by Graf, see *Bibl.*; it should however be noted that neither was able to take account of all the manuscripts existing in Egypt.

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IBN MUKARRAM [see IBN MANẒŪR].

IBN MUḲLA, ABŪ ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ, vizier of the ʿAbbāsid period. Born in Baghdād in 272/885-6, he began his career as a collector of land-taxes in Fārs, then was given an important post as secretary in the central administration when Ibn al-Furāt [*q.v.*] became vizier in 296/908; he was in fact in charge of the opening and the despatch of official letters. He also collaborated closely with Ibn al-Furāt during the latter's second vizierate (from 304/917 to 306/919), but had no compunction about working against the interests of his master, which explains why he did not re-appear among the administrative staff during Ibn al-Furāt's third vizierate. However ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], during his second vizierate (305-16/917-28), appointed him to take charge of the *dīwān* of public estates. It was then that, having succeeded in attaching himself to the chamberlain Naṣr and in gaining his good opinion, he managed in 316/928 to get himself appointed to the vizierate, which he retained until 318/930. Although he was capable of dealing well enough with the financial difficulties which arose at this time, he was nevertheless unable to put an end to the rivalries between military leaders, and his vizierate saw the abortive palace revolution of 317/929, in the course of which al-Muḳtadir was temporarily replaced by his brother. Ibn Muḳla continued as vizier, but was obliged to act on the advice of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who was moreover put specially in charge of the jurisdiction of the *maẓālim* court, and his inability to free himself from the tutelage of the commander-in-chief Muʾnis led to his fall.

Ibn Muḳla was re-appointed to the vizierate by al-Ḳāhir and was in charge of the government again for about six months (320-1/932-3). But the situation was very unsettled, and he encountered the opposition of the caliph; his intrigues, aimed at deposing al-Ḳāhir, failed, and he was obliged to flee. Some months later however, he succeeded in getting the caliph imprisoned and deposed; this was his third vizierate, which lasted from 322/934 to 324/936 during the reign of the new caliph al-Rāḍī. In spite of his cunning, the vizier did not succeed in imposing his authority on the Ḥamdānid *amīrs* of al-Mawṣil, or on the governor of Wāsiṭ, Ibn Rāʾiḳ, and was unable to arrest the economic and financial crisis. His disgrace really marked the end of the independent

rule of the caliphs: some months afterwards there was appointed the first *amīr al-umarā'* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Muḳla's efforts had produced no result, unless it was in the field of religion, where he gave effective support to the Sunnī reaction which took place after the end of the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir.

When Ibn Rā'iḳ was appointed as *amīr al-umarā'*, Ibn Muḳla's possessions had been confiscated, together with those of his son, who had worked efficiently as his assistant during his second vizierate. As a protest, he intrigued against the new *amīr al-umarā'* to such an extent that the caliph had him imprisoned and Ibn Rā'iḳ had his right hand cut off. Some time later, when the *amīr* Badjkam was approaching Baghdād, Ibn Muḳla's tongue was cut out, and he died, neglected, in prison on 10 Shawwāl 328/20 July 940.

In addition to his political activities, Ibn Muḳla was a famous calligrapher. There is attributed to him, or to his brother, the invention of a special kind of writing, the "proportioned script" (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*), which was later improved by Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā, the Good Vizier*, index; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 492; tr. de Slane, iii, 266-71; D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript*, Dublin 1955, 5.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN MULDJAM, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Murādī, murderer of the caliph ʿAlī in 40/661. Three Khāridjīs, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam, considered as belonging to Kinda, al-Burak b. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAmr b. Bakr al-Tamīmī, having met at Mecca, had long discussions, after the end of the Pilgrimage ceremonies, on the deplorable situation into which the Muslims had fallen because of ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whom they regarded as being in error; spurred by an ardent desire to avenge their companions massacred at al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], they swore an oath to kill these three persons. Each of them having chosen his future victim and agreed on the same day (17 Ramaḍān) on which to act, they went to Kūfa, Damascus and Egypt respectively. At Kūfa, Ibn Muldjam mixed with his fellow tribesmen of Kinda, but took care not to let them know of his plan for fear that his secret might become known. One day he met some members of the tribe of Taym al-Ribāb (who were mourning the ten of their members who had been killed at al-Nahrawān) and in particular a woman, Ḳaṭāmi bint al-Shidjna. Impressed by her great beauty, he asked for her hand in marriage; she accepted, but on condition that his wedding gift should consist of three thousand *dirhams*, a slave, a woman servant and the murder of ʿAlī; she had lost her father and brother at al-Nahrawān and wished for vengeance; she therefore not only persisted in her request, but herself helped in the accomplishment of the murder by arranging for one of her tribe, Wardān, to help Ibn Muldjam; on his side the latter persuaded a man of the Banū Ashdjaʿ, named Shabīb b. Badjara, to take part in his enterprise. The night before the attempt, Ḳaṭāmi received a visit from the conspirators in a tent inside the Great Mosque, where she had retreated to perform her devotions, and bound their chests with a silken band (a strange detail for which no explanation has been found). Armed with swords dipped in poison, the three men stationed themselves before dawn opposite the door from which ʿAlī would come out in order to perform the morning prayer in the Great Mosque. As soon as the caliph appeared, Shabīb attacked him, but, his sword having hit the jamb or the architrave of the door and missed its target, he fled and was lost among the crowd. Wardān also slipped away, but, returning to his house, he was killed there by a cousin who had become suspicious on seeing him untie his silken band. Thus it was Ibn Muldjam only who, with the words "Judgement belongs to God, O ʿAlī, and not to thee and thy companions", succeeded in wounding ʿAlī on the crown of his head, after which he attempted to flee, but was soon thrown to the ground by a Hamdānī, Abū Admā'. Led into the presence of ʿAlī, who had meanwhile returned to his house, he declared that he had been sharpening his sword for forty days and had asked God to kill the most evil of men. ʿAlī replied that he saw Ibn Muldjam himself being killed with this sword and that he judged him to be the most evil of men.

The details given so far are a summary of the traditions related by al-Ṭabarī; in the other sources are found other details and variants from which interesting observations may be made.

The conspiracy and the names of the conspirators. According to the *Istīʿāb* (481) only, the plan to kill ʿAlī was conceived by a Khāridjī survivor of al-Nahrawān. Some verses by the poet al-Nadjāshī (al-Balādhurī, 585v.) praise Muʿāwiya for inciting Ibn Muldjam to commit this crime. The murderer of ʿAlī, known under the patronymic of Ibn Muldjam, was in fact called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Muldjam (al-Ṭabarī, 3468; al-Balādhurī, 576v; Ibn Kathīr, 325); several *nisba*s are attributed to him: al-Ḥimyarī, al-Murādī, and al-Kindī since he was a connexion (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Djabala of Kinda (Ibn Saʿd, 23; al-Balādhurī, 577v; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 36) or perhaps of the Banū Ḥanīfa of Kinda (Ibn Kathīr, 325), and even al-Miṣrī (Ibn Kathīr only, *ibid.*); al-Masʿūdī (426) adds al-Tudjībī (the Tudjīb being a clan of Murād), a *nisba* which the *Istīʿāb* (481, followed by Ibn Shahrāshūb, 93) transforms into al-Tadjūbī, explaining that Tadjūb were a branch of Ḥimyar which had been absorbed by Murād; this source adds a further *nisba*: al-Sakūnī. Al-Burak was a nickname: the real name of the conspirator who offered to kill Muʿāwiya was al-Ḥadjdjādj b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh, or b. Bakr (according to al-Balādhurī, 576v and 577v) and his *nisba*s were al-Ṣarīmī (al-Balādhurī, 577v; al-Mubarrad, 544, 549, 552; al-Masʿūdī, 427), al-Tamīmī al-Ṣarīmī (Ibn Kathīr, 325); al-Dīnawarī (227) alone refers to this conspirator by the name of al-Nazzāl b. ʿĀmir. The third conspirator, the one who wished to kill ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, according to Ibn Saʿd (23) was the son of Bukayr (instead of Bakr) and, according to the *Usd* (36), he was called ʿUmar b. Bukayr; his second *nisba* was al-Saʿdī. According to other sources he was a Persian, since they refer to him as Zādawayh or Zādhawayh (al-Mubarrad, 553; al-Balādhurī, 576v, to "Dhādhawayh" adds ʿAmr), a *mawlā* of the Banu 'l-ʿAnbar b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (al-Balādhurī, 578 r-v, specifies: *mawlā* of the Banū Ḥāritha b. Kaʿb Ibn al-ʿAnbar); al-Dīnawarī differs from all the other sources in calling him ʿAbd Allāh Mālik al-Ṣaydāwī. A tradition of al-Madā'inī widespread among the Khāridjīs (al-Balādhurī, fol. 584v), but which is certainly false (al-Mubarrad, 549), states that all three of the conspirators were sons of Muldjam and were called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ḳays and Yazīd, that their father Muldjam had forbidden them to commit the crime, but that their mother had encouraged them to do it. The conclusion to be drawn from all these variants

is that in general the differences are very slight and may often be explained as variant readings in Arabic; there may therefore be recognized the existence of a fairly precise historical tradition with regard to these fanatics.

ʿAlī's foreknowledge of his fate. ʿAlī had known for a long time that he would be killed, since the Prophet had told him this, or he had himself had a premonition of it (Ibn Saʿd, 22; al-Balāḏhurī, 582r). Several authors, on the basis of numerous traditions, state that Muḥammad (or ʿAlī) had revealed that the latter's beard would be stained with blood flowing from his head (Ibn Saʿd, 21, 22, 23; al-Balāḏhurī, 582 r and v; al-Mubarrad, 544, 579f.; al-Masʿūdī, 440; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil*, 31; Ibn Shahrāshūb, 93, etc.). Another tradition with several variants explains that, according to Muḥammad, the most evil man among the ancients was he who had killed the camel of the prophet Ṣāliḥ (cf. Ḳurʾān, XCI, 11-12 and XXVI, 155-7) and among his contemporaries, he who would kill ʿAlī; in general it is the latter who speaks of the "most evil of men" (Ibn Saʿd, 22, 23 etc.). The characteristic themes of these two types of traditions (the blood-stained beard and the most evil of men) are sometimes fused into one single account (*e.g.*, Ibn Saʿd, 21; al-Mufīd, 13; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 42). The night preceding the attempt, ʿAlī declared that his destiny was about to be fulfilled, and when he left his house in the morning, geese followed him, cackling; he then said that they were the weepers for his funeral (al-Masʿūdī, 431; al-Yaʿḳūbī, 252; al-Mufīd, 15). It is chiefly the Shīʿī authors who stress the fact that ʿAlī knew of his approaching fate but did not wish to send another Muslim to lead the prayer at the mosque as he was advised to do, and that he finally went to meet his destiny reciting verses on how death is not to be feared (al-Mufīd, 15; Ibn Shahrāshūb, 93).

He was able to predict even more: he guessed Ibn Muldjam's attitude to him and knew in advance that he would be his murderer (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 251; al-Mufīd, 13) or "the most evil of men"; twice or thrice he repulsed Ibn Muldjam, who wished to pay him homage on the occasion of his accession to the caliphate (Ibn Saʿd, 22; al-Balāḏhurī, 582r; *Maḳātil*, 31; al-Mufīd, 13); he and his son Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya shuddered one day when Ibn Muldjam entered the *ḥammām* where they happened to be (Ibn Saʿd, 23; al-Balāḏhurī, 582v; *Usd*, 35); he complained in a poem that the Murādī planned to kill him, whereas he wished to give him gifts (Ibn Saʿd, 22; al-Balāḏhurī, 583v; *Maḳātil*, 31) and indeed did so (*Istīʿāb*, 481). Thus relations between ʿAlī and Ibn Muldjam were strained; nevertheless the caliph took no measures against his enemy (Ibn Saʿd, 22: "Would you kill one who has not yet killed me?"), not even when he was warned of the plot by a member of the Murād (Ibn Saʿd, 22) or by someone who had heard a reference to it from Ibn Muldjam himself (al-Balāḏhurī, 579v; al-Ṭabarī, 3459-60; al-Mubarrad, 549, 552; cf. al-Dīnawarī, 228); he merely replied that every man was guarded by two angels until the moment of his death, which was decided by destiny (al-Balāḏhurī, 582r.).

Ḳaṭāmi. Given the number of sources which mention her, there seems no doubt of the existence of this woman and her belonging to the Taym al-Ribāb; the variants concern mainly the name of her father and some secondary details. Instead of al-Shidjna (or Shidjna, as in Ibn Saʿd, 23, and in a tradition collected by al-Balāḏhurī, 578r), we find ʿAlḳama in al-Balāḏhurī (576 v) and al-Mubarrad (549; to be read perhaps ʿUllafa, since Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 114 f., states that she is the sister of Hilāl and al-Mustawrid, the future Khāridjī rebels); or al-Akhḍar (but according to al-Balāḏhurī, 578r, al-Akhḍar was her brother who was killed at al-Nahrawān) b. Shidjna in the *Maḳātil* (32), in al-Mufīd (16), Ibn Shahrāshūb (94); or Sabkha (*sic*) b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAwf b. Thaʿlaba b. Saʿd b. Ḏhahl b. Taym al-Ribāb (*Usd*, 36; Ibn Saʿd, 23: ʿAdī instead of ʿAlī). Only al-Masʿūdī (427) states that Ḳaṭāmi was a cousin of Ibn Muldjam and does not mention her belonging to Taym al-Ribāb. The *Istīʿāb* (482) states that her tribe was that of the Banū ʿIdjl b. Lakhīm. Her brother had been killed at al-Nahrawān (al-Balāḏhurī, 576v; *Imāma*, 254), and this brother was called al-Aṣbagh (Ibn Shahrāshūb, 94). Ibn Muldjam married her and, as he was neglecting his plan, it was she who encouraged him to carry it out (al-Balāḏhurī, 576v; *Imāma*, 254; al-Mubarrad, 549; Ibn Kathīr, 326, 328). In Ibn Kathīr (328) there is a variant not found elsewhere: Ḳaṭāmi went with Ibn Muldjam to the mosque and put up a tent for him there. The Shīʿīs, who have to find an explanation for the crime committed against ʿAlī, relate that Ḳaṭāmi prepared special food (drugged?) for the conspirators and that Wardān received a sum of money from an agent of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Shahrāshūb, 95).

Al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] and the conspiracy. Several sources imply that this man was aware of the plot; Ibn Muldjam is said to have spent the preceding night in consultation with him in a corner of the Great Mosque; when dawn approached, he spoke to Ibn Muldjam a phrase which Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] interpreted as an allusion to a plot; he then intended to warn the caliph, but he arrived too late. The majority of the sources give the ambiguous phrase "The dawn has risen for thee" but the Shīʿī authors or those of Shīʿī sympathies give it as a clear encouragement to Ibn Muldjam: "Deliverance, deliverance! The dawn has risen for thee" (*Maḳātil*, 33; al-Mufīd, 17; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 43). Variants are that the conversation between Ibn Muldjam and al-Ashʿath took place in the mosque of the latter (Ibn Saʿd, 24; *Usd*, 37), or in his house, and Ḥudjr accused al-Ashʿath: "It is thou who hast killed him" after the murder (al-Balāḏhurī, 579r; al-Mubarrad, 581); Ibn Muldjam stayed for a month with al-Ashʿath sharpening his sword (al-Yaʿḳūbī, 251). Al-Masʿūdī (431) differs from the other authors; according to him, Ibn al-Ashʿath was informed of the plot, but he put the blame for it on Ibn Muldjam. According to another version (al-Mubarrad, 550), he warned ʿAlī, who replied that Ibn Muldjam had not killed him yet. There is thus a whole range of information which varies from outright accusation to a suspicion of complicity and even to an act of loyalty.

Details on the murder. Names of Ibn Muldjam's accomplices and their fates. Instead of 17 Ramaḍān, various dates are given as that fixed for the murder of ʿAlī: *Imāma* (254 f.) gives 20 Ramaḍān, al-Mubarrad (549) 21 Ramaḍān, al-Masʿūdī (427) 17 or 21, the *Maḳātil* (33) 19 or 17 (cf. also al-Balāḏhurī, 578 v), but according to al-Mufīd (16) the latter date is to be preferred. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (43) adds that, since the conspirators believed that their deed was an offering to God and that God prefers an offering made at a time which is blessed, the 19 was chosen (the night of the 19th being that of *al-ḳadar* [see RAMAḌĀN]). Furthermore,

the day of ʿAlī's death is not precisely known either, varying between 11 and 21 Ramaḍān (see Caetani, §§ 97-8). He died two or three days after the attack (al-Mubarrad, 551, etc.). Shabīb was the son of Nadjda (instead of Badjara) and his *nisba*s were al-Ashdjaʿī al-Ḥarūrī (al-Masʿūdī, 428; Ibn Kathīr, 326). One tradition states that it was Ibn Badjara who wounded ʿAlī, but this is false (al-Balādhurī, 584r); in fact his sword missed its mark, after which he fled. It was only later that the governor al-Mughīra [*q.v.*] arrested him and killed him, because he had become a seditious element operating in the district of Kūfa; he terrorized people, questioning them about their religious opinions in the manner of the Azraḳīs (al-Balādhurī, 579 r). Wardān was the son of Mudjālid (*Maḳātil*, 32; al-Mufīd, 16; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 43); according to al-Masʿūdī (427), he was called Mudjāshiʿ b. Wardān. Al-Dīnawarī mentions neither Shabīb nor Wardān. Al-Balādhurī relates a tradition in which Wardān is not mentioned (578 v) and another in which he is mentioned, together with the episode of the cousin who killed him (579 r). According to some sources (al-Masʿūdī, 433; *Maḳātil*, 35 and the Shīʿī authors who in general follow it: al-Mufīd, 17, etc.), it was Shabīb and not Wardān who, returning home, was killed by a cousin or a brother, whereas Wardān escaped. There are divergent versions on the question of who seized Ibn Muldjam after the attempt: according to al-Mubarrad (549, 550 and cf. al-Balādhurī, 579 r, al-Masʿūdī, 431, *Maḳātil*, 35, etc.), it was al-Mughīra b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (and not the Ḥaḍramawtī Abū Admāʾ) and, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī (252), Ḳutham b. al-ʿAbbās; Ibn Muldjam is said then to have shouted: "O ʿAlī, deliver me from thy dog!".

The punishment of Ibn Muldjam. The sources describe ʿAlī as always scrupulous in the application of the holy law, and, in the case of Ibn Muldjam, they are more or less unanimous in insisting on the fact that he ordered the strict observance of the *lex talionis*; nevertheless, some of them are at pains to stress his magnanimity. The different versions are: (1) ʿAlī commanded his followers to wait and see the effect of the wound before punishing Ibn Muldjam; if he survived he himself would decide his fate (al-Ṭabarī, 3464; *Maḳātil*, 35 f.; al-Mufīd, 18; Ibn Kathīr, 327; al-Mufīd gives also another decision of ʿAlī: Ibn Muldjam was to be treated as the murderer of a prophet: he was to be killed and then his body burned); (2) ʿAlī advised al-Ḥasan not to expose any criminal to public ridicule and counselled the Banu 'l-Muṭṭalib not to shed Muslim blood because of his murder; the murderer was to be killed in the same manner as he had killed ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, 3464); (3) according to al-Mubarrad (551), ʿAlī stated that the best thing would be to pardon him; (4) ʿAlī commanded that Ibn Muldjam be given good meals and a good bed (Ibn Saʿd, 24); if he, ʿAlī, died of his wound, Ibn Muldjam was to join him immediately in the next world, since he wished to be his accuser before God (Ibn Saʿd, 23; al-Balādhurī, 580r, 582v-583r). Ibn Taghrībirdī (i, 119) and others (*e.g.*, *Usd*, 35) add that ʿAlī recommended that the punishment should not be excessive. Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of ʿAlī, plays a certain role after the murder: she quarrelled with Ibn Muldjam; for example, she reproached him for having killed the Commander of the Faithful and Ibn Muldjam replied: "No, thy father!" (al-Balādhurī, 580r, 583v; al-Mubarrad, 551; *Maḳātil*, 36; al-Mufīd 18; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 44, etc.). After the discussion with ʿAlī, Ibn Muldjam was taken to prison; the people followed him, biting him like wild beasts and heaping reproaches on him; he did not reply (*Maḳātil*, 36 f.; al-Mufīd, 18; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd on the other hand reports the verses which he recited, on leaving ʿAlī, boasting of his action). The accounts of Ibn Muldjam's death, which according to al-Mubarrad (551) were fairly numerous, may in fact be reduced to two: Ibn Muldjam proposed to al-Ḥasan that when he became caliph he should set him free to go to Syria and there kill Muʿāwiya, if his accomplice had not already done so, then to return and give himself up to the caliph. Al-Ḥasan refused and killed Ibn Muldjam; the corpse was burned (in al-Ṭabarī, 3464, a brief account; in the *Maḳātil*, 41, with more details; see also al-Mufīd, 18; Ibn Kathīr, 330; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, 46; Yaʿḳūbī, 254, states that al-Ḥasan killed Ibn Muldjam with his own hand; cf. also al-Balādhurī, 584r). The second version is that al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*] asked al-Ḥasan for permission to take their revenge and, having obtained it, it was this ʿAbd Allād, the nephew of ʿAlī, who subjected Ibn Muldjam to a series of mutilations and tortures. The unfortunate Ibn Muldjam bore these sufferings with great courage and only complained when they prepared to cut out his tongue because, though remaining still alive, he would no longer be able to mention God (Ibn Saʿd, 26; al-Dīnawarī, 229; al-Mubarrad, 551 f.; al-Masʿūdī, 434 f.; *Usd*, 37 f.; Ibn Kathīr, 330, doubts the authenticity of the information on the torture, evidently because it contradicts the recommendations given by ʿAlī). None of the sources casts doubt on Ibn Muldjam's religious fervour; on the contrary, those which describe his physical aspect do not omit to add that his forehead showed the marks of frequent prostrations for prayer (*e.g.* al-Balādhurī, 583v; Ibn Kathīr, 326, etc.).

Verses inserted in the narrative. These verses are sometimes anonymous, sometimes attributed to Ibn Muldjam, and sometimes to well-known poets. They appear in the sources with variants and additions and even different attributions. There should be noted those of the Khāridjī Ibn Abī Mayyās which praise the murder of ʿAlī and Ḳaṭāmi's request for the wedding gift, and those of the poet ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān, also a Khāridjī. The latter have been altered by other poets in order to change praise for the crime into blame and curses (al-Mubarrad, 531 f.). A long poem by Bakr b. Ḥassād al-Bāhirī (Ibn al-Athīr, 332 f.; Bakr b. Ḥammād al-Ḳāhirī, according to the *Istīʿāb*, 484) condemns Ibn Muldjam's deed.

The attempts on the lives of Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. The other conspirators kept their word, but one of them succeeded only in wounding Muʿāwiya, and the other killed in error, instead of the governor of Egypt, one of his officials. Without entering into details, we mention here the opinion of Caetani (*Annali*, 40 A.H., § 96; cf. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moʿāwiya Ier*, Beirut 1906-8, 140-2) on the triple attempt by the Khāridjīs: he considers that this is a legend created by tradition to prevent people thinking that, in the opinion of contemporary observers, ʿAlī was the worst of the Muslim leaders, and to suggest that Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ also deserved to be killed; thus there were grouped together several independent incidents which occurred at different dates. It may be objected to this idea, while retaining Caetani's line of argument, that the authors of the

crime were merely some fanatical Khāridjīs and that the traditionists were eventually interested in presenting the Khāridjīs as persons to be despised for their "opinion" concerning one as worthy of admiration as ʿAlī, and thus not to diminish their culpability in making Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr their victims as well. It may moreover be observed that a conspiracy like that of the three Khāridjīs should not be considered absurd, and, although they did not carry out their attempts on the same day, it is possible that when they met at Mecca they fixed the date for them, at least approximately, realizing that if they did not rid the Muslims of all three persons simultaneously, they would open the way for the ambitions of the one, or ones, who survived and who would be masters of the situation—as did in fact happen with Muʿāwiya after the death of ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3456-61, 3464 f., 3466 f.; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 21-4, 26 f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS Paris, fol. 576r-v, 577v-580r, 582r-584r (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ: 577r, 577v-578r); [Ps.-]Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Muḥ. Maḥmūd al-Rāfiʿī, Cairo 1322/1904, i, 253-7 (this source adds nothing of importance); Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 227-30 (not very precise information); Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 251-2, 254; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 531 f., 549-52, 581 (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr: 552 f.); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 426-31, 434 f., 438 (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr: 436-8); Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣakr, Cairo 1368/1949, 29-38, 41; al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, Nadjaf 1382/1962, 12-8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, 481-4, no. 2015; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1846, 161 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 326-8, 329, 331 (attacks on Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr: 330 f.); idem, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280-6, iv, 34-8 (this source is based on Ibn Saʿd); Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1329, ii, 42-4, 45-6 (this author follows mainly the *Maḳātil*); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 325-30; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 119-20 (follows Ibn Saʿd); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vii, 334-9; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Ḥaydarābād 1312-4, vi, 153, 157, 398, 410-3 (*ḥadīths* on ʿAlī's foreknowledge); Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, Cairo 1302, ii, 312-5; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, iii/3 (Damascus[2], 1366/1947), 56-65 (this author has taken his notices from Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, the *Maḳātil*, Mufīd and the *Istīʿāb* and notes the divergences, but without quotations); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Milan 1905-26, 40 A.H., §§ 32-98 (§§ 34, 35, 45, 63, and 94 contain quotations from secondary sources); G. Levi Della Vida, *Il califfato di Ali secondo il* Kitāb al-Ašrāf *di al-Balādhurī*, in *RSO*, vi/2 (1913), 503-7; F. Buhl, *ʿAlī som Praetendent og Kalif*, Copenhagen 1921, 92-6.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

IBN MUNĀDHIR, Muḥammad, satirical poet, a native of ʿAdan, who went to Baṣra for his education, settled there and posed as a *mawlā* of the Banū Ṣubayr b. Yarbūʿ (Tamīm). He spent a devout and studious youth, following the courses of the best teachers of Baṣra, from whom he learnt grammar, Ḳurʾānic "readings", lexicography, *ḥadīth*, etc., but on the death of his friend ʿAbd al-Madjīd b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaḳafī (for whom he wrote a much-admired funeral oration), his attitude changed completely; applying their point of doctrine concerning the *taghyīr al-munkar*, the Muʿtazilīs were obliged to forbid him entry to the mosque, into which he threw scorpions and put ink in the water reserved for ablutions. His invectives against the philologists, the fundamental spitefulness which led him to attack the honour of his fellow-citizens, and his impious conduct caused him to be accused of *zandaḳa* and expelled from Baṣra; he took refuge in Mecca, where he died in poverty, probably in 198/813.

The praises which he addressed to al-Mahdī and to Hārūn al-Rashīd earned him some rewards, but his panegyrics of the Barmakids brought him severe reproaches after they fell into disgrace. According to Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*q.v.*], his poetry was of little value, while Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*] admitted that he had a certain talent for funeral orations, but his success was chiefly in satire, thanks to his lively and malicious wit. He attempted to imitate ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*] and, on his own admission, wrote very slowly.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, *Ḥayawān*, *Bukhalāʾ*, indexes; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 553-5; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 63, 246, iii, 138; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 49-53; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 747 ff.; *Aghānī*, xvii, 9-30 (Beirut ed., xviii, 103-42); Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, ed. Ṣāwī, 32-3; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, vii, 433; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 295-6; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, index; ʿAsḳalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 390-3, vi, 488; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 55-60; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 249-50; idem, *Bughya*, 107; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ḳurrāʾ*, ii; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 134; G. Vajda, *Zindiqs*, 215; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 169 and index. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-MUNDHIR, Abū Bakr b. Badr, with the by-name al-Bayṭār al-Nāṣirī, was grand master and chief veterinary surgeon of the stables of the Mamlūk sultan of Egypt al-Nāṣir, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (who ruled in 693/1294, from 698/1299 to 708/1309-10 and from 709/1310 to 741/1341). It was at this ruler's request that Ibn al-Mundhir wrote, in about 740/1339-40, his treatise on hippology entitled *Kāshif hamm al-wayl fī maʿrifat amrāḍ al-khayl*, a compilation from earlier sources and in particular from the *Kāmil al-ṣināʿatayn* (*al-bayṭara wa 'l-zarṭafa*) of a certain Ibn Akhī Ḥizām or Ibn Abī Khazzām of the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century; the copyists very soon gave the second title to the work of the Mamlūk veterinary surgeon. It is found also called, more simply, *Kitāb al-Nāṣirī* (MSS Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2813-14 and Vienna, Flügel 1481). A. Perron published a translation of this treatise, in three volumes, with a detailed introduction, under the title *Le Nâcéri: la perfection des deux arts ou traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie arabes, trad. de l'arabe d'Abou Bekr Ibn Bedr*. The first volume, which appeared in 1852, contains as an introduction much information on the Arab horse and the breeding of horses [see faras and furūsiyya], stressing the special efforts made by the sultan al-Nāṣir to develop stud farms in Egypt; it contains in addition a large collection of verses selected from the abundant classical poetry on the horse. The introduction to this first volume received from J. von Hammer-Purgstall (in *Das Pferd bei den Arabern, Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, vi, 1855-6) a rather condescending criticism, which he would surely have modified if he had lived long enough to see the rest of the publication. The second volume (1859) contains the translation of the section on hippology and the third (1860) that on hippiatry. Although it is a good source richly documented, A. Perron's *Le Nâcéri* is no longer a basic work for

the knowledge of early Arab hippology, in view of the number of works devoted to this subject which have been published during the last century; one need mention only, for example, the *K. Ḥilyat al-fursān* ... by the Andalusian Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*], a contemporary of Ibn al-Mundhir.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given above, Brockelmann, II, 136 and S II, 169.
(J. RUSKA-[F. VIRÉ])

IBN AL-MUNḲIDH [see USĀMA; MUNḲIDH, BANŪ].

IBN MUNĪR [see AL-ṬARĀBULUSĪ AL-RAFFĀʾ].

IBN AL-MURĀBIʿ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-AZDĪ, Andalusian writer and poet of the 8th/14th century, born at Velez-Malaga (Ballish). According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he was a provincial man of letters of mediocre talent, feared as a satirist, and distinguished as being the main representative of the *ṭarīḳa adabiyya* (=*ṭarīḳa sāsāniyya* [see SĀSĀN]). Throughout his life he tried to support himself by his pen and his talents, endeavouring to gain the favour of those in power. He travelled to North Africa, but had no more success there than in his own country, to which he was obliged to return. Some of his poems are known, and lack any special merits except for a graceful elegy in which he mourns the death of a cockerel. His most noteworthy work is a *maḳāma* dedicated to the prince Abū Saʿīd Faradj, in which he describes the adventures and misadventures he endured in order to obtain a sheep with which to celebrate the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*; this slight text has a certain interest, since it is one of the rare examples of this genre in al-Andalus; in it he depicts in a masterly fashion the *picaro* which he himself was, and produces the curious mixture of a popular theme developed in a complicated and difficult style, entirely according to the taste of the period. Ibn Murābiʿ died in his native town in 750/1350, during the Black Death which was then ravaging Europe.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escorial no. 1673, 226-30; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, Cairo ed. 1949, vi, 315, viii, 209-13, 363-4; A. M. al-ʿAbbādī, *Maḳāmat al-ʿīd li-ʾbn Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī*, in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii (1954), 159-73; F. de la Granja, *La "Maqāma de la Fiesta" de Ibn al-Murābiʿ al-Azdī*, in *Etudes d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 591-603.
(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN AL-MURTAḌĀ [see MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ AL-MURTAḌĀ].

IBN AL-MUSLIMA, by-name first given to Aḥmad b. ʿUmar (d. 415/1024), of the family of the Āl al-Raḳīl, and name by which his descendants were known until the 6th/12th century. The most important member of the family was his grandson, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, known also by the honorific title of *raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ*, vizier to the caliphate from 437 to 450/1045-58, concerning whom there have arisen a number of important questions which have not yet been satisfactorily answered. The conquest of Baghdād by the Būyids in 334/945 had led to the suppression of the office of vizier to the caliphate, and it was only the decadence of the dynasty and the rivalry among its later members which enabled the caliph al-Ḳāsim to re-appoint one officially, and thus to recover a certain measure of real authority. But little is known either of the conditions under which this office was restored, or through what qualifications or services the caliph was led to choose Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, a lawyer sprung from a family of merchants, as the first holder of the new vizierate. An unbigoted Ḥanbalī, who probably changed to Shāfiʿism while remaining Ḥallādjī and anti-Ashʿarī, Ibn al-Muslima certainly played an important rôle in the movement which arose at that time among the Sunnīs in Baghdād towards a rebirth of Tradition in opposition to the *mutakallimūn* of Shīʿī tendency and towards a political and at first doctrinal stand against Ismāʿīlism made by the caliphate and supported by the Būyid "protectors". It would have been interesting to know what was the relationship between Ibn al-Muslima and the great jurist al-Māwardī, to whom we owe one of the clearest expressions of the viewpoint of the caliphs at this period. But primarily, and certainly in part because of this politico-religious position, Ibn al-Muslima was regarded by his contemporaries as the man who introduced to Baghdād the Saldjūḳid sultan and his Turks. There is no doubt that he was the active agent and perhaps the initiator of this policy, even though later his interpretation of it or the inferences he drew from it did not exactly coincide with those of the new and powerful "protector"; but it is not clear what were the precise reasons which led him to do this or whether and, if so, to what extent he exceeded the instructions, if any, given by the caliph al-Ḳāʾim. It is certain that the years immediately prior to the entry of Toghrïl-Beg into Baghdād (447/1044) saw a conflict between Ibn al-Muslima and the leader of the Turkish Būrid mercenaries, al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], who was continually in a state of semi-revolt; the latter finally recognized the Fāṭimids against the Saldjūḳids, but it is not clear whether, or how far, he had originally been inclined in this direction. It is certain, however, that, from the time of his arrival on the political scene, Toghrïl-Beg had been careful to emphasize his loyalty to the caliphate and its doctrine and thus to deserve the titles which Ibn al-Muslima had sent him long before and which set the seal on this loyalty.

When the Turks had established their power in Baghdād, Ibn al-Muslima seized the family and the possessions of al-Basāsīrī (who had fled) with a severity accentuated by the financial demands of the new rulers. When, therefore, Toghrïl was obliged by his brother's revolt to return hastily to Iran, and al-Basāsīrī, supported by the Arabs of Mesopotamia and by Fāṭimid money, had returned to Baghdād, al-Basāsīrī avenged himself on Ibn al-Muslima with a cruelty which was very different from the personal immunity which the ʿAbbāsid caliph had enjoyed at the hands of an Arab prince. The vizier died under torture (450/1058) before he could be saved by the restoration of the Saldjūḳid sultan.

His son Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Muẓaffar was for some time vizier to the caliph, in 476/1083. His great-great-grandson, ʿAḍud al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Muẓaffar, also held this post for quite a long time under al-Mustaḍīʾ, from 566 to 573/1171-8. It is true that the caliph was obliged by the Turk Ḳaymāz to dismiss him, the Turks taking advantage of this to sack the vizier's house; it was not until Ḳaymāz was forced to leave Baghdād (570/1174) that ʿAḍud al-Dīn regained his post. A few years later, just as he was preparing to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca, he was murdered by a Bāṭinī (573/1178). Like other members of his family (to which ʿImād al-Dīn devotes a special chapter in his *Kharīda*) he had been a man of great learning, and the poet Sibṭ b. al-Taʿāwīdhī wrote various poems in praise of him.

Bibliography: For Ibn al-Muslima (*raʾīs al-*

ruʾasāʾ), the chief sources are the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Djawzī, viii, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, viii-ix, and especially the *Mirʾāt al-zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (unpublished); see also, for the Fāṭimid point of view, the *Sīra* of the missionary al-Muʾayyad al-Shīrāzī, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1949 (index). For a discussion of his rôle, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste*, 1963, who seems, however, to have made too categorical an affirmation of Ibn al-Muslima's difference of opinion with the caliph who kept him in power. See also the article AL-BASĀSĪRĪ. For later members of the family see the *Muntaẓam*, ix and x (index) and the *Kāmil*, ix-xi (index). (CL. CAHEN)

IBN MUṬAYR, AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUṬAYR B. MUKAMMIL AL-ASADĪ, Arabic poet of the 2nd/8th century. A *mawlā* of the Banū Asad (following the manumission or the *mukātaba* [*q.v.*] of his grandfather Mukammil), he was a native of al-Thaʿlabiyya [*q.v.*]; from there he seems to have travelled around in the Arabian peninsula and to have gone in particular to Medina, where he appears on one occasion with the governor of the town; he may even have had the opportunity of reciting poems before al-Walīd b. Yazīd; but his fortune dates from his stay in the Yemen, where he entered the entourage of Maʿn b. Zāʾida [*q.v.*], governor of this province from 141 to 151/758-68, whose funeral eulogy he later composed (the sources vary on the date of Maʿn's death, but it was probably about 152/769). This *marthiya* had become so famous that the caliph al-Mahdī had taken offence; but the poet was able to address himself to the ʿAbbāsid ruler so skilfully while he was on a pilgrimage as to win his favour and follow him to the capital, where he addressed to him a number of panegyrics. Very little is known, however, of the poet's life, there being available only a few *akhbār* from which the broad outline of his life may be sketched.

Ibn Muṭayr had maintained Bedouin customs, and his poetry, being of the Bedouin type, is highly thought of by the most exacting critics, who stress the quality of its language and the richness of its background. The examples of it which have survived include, in addition to the panegyrics, some descriptive poems and some with amorous or bacchic themes in the manner of the ancient writers.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 37-9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 794, 980, 981; *Aghānī*, xiv, 110-4 (= Beirut ed., xv, 331-8): Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 166-78; Ibn Khallikān, i, 185, ii, 112; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, i, 284; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 231; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ ed., ii, 485; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iv, 362-4; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, index; G. Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, index; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 45. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-MUʿTAZZ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS ʿABD ALLĀH, prince and poet, son of the 13th caliph of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, was born in Sāmarrā on 23 Shaʿbān 247/1 November 861 (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 95). The name of his mother is not known with certainty, only that she was a *djāriya* of his grandmother Ḳabīḥa and, like her, probably of Byzantine origin. His grandfather al-Mutawakkil was killed in Shawwāl 247/December 861 and in 255/869 his father was deposed and put in prison where he was left to die. After the death of his father, Ḳabīḥa seems to have taken care of the education of the young prince and to have chosen his teachers: Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Dimashḳī who has handed down what is probably the first attempt of the highly gifted boy to write poetry (al-Marzubānī, *Die Gelehrtenbiographien*, ed. R. Sellheim, i, 340-1, cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 133-4), and the famous philologists al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab. When his grandmother died in 264, Ibn al-Muʿtazz settled in Maṭīra near Sāmarrā. Like many other young princes of the house of the ʿAbbāsids who had to give up political aspirations, Ibn al-Muʿtazz devoted himself, in these years, to the pleasures described by him in his rich poetry of *sharāb* and *ghazal*. Little is known about his relations with his uncles al-Muʿtamid and al-Muwaffaḳ except the conventional elegies by which he lamented the death of the latter (*Dīwān*, ed. Lewin, iv, 220, 222, 237, 255). In a more personal tone he lamented the death of his uncle Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil (iv, 219, 221, 224, 250, 263), and of members of the al-Munaddjim family, particularly the learned ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā (d. 275/888, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 459-77, *Dīwān*, iv, 213, 215, 232, 249, 271). After the death of al-Muʿtamid in 279/892, he accepted an invitation of the new caliph al-Muʿtaḍid to settle in Baghdād. This invitation was probably suggested to the caliph by the *wazīr* ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, who was a friend of the poet (iv, 244, 256, 266, 268, 279), as was also his son and successor al-Ḳāsim (iv, 246, 265, 267, 275-6, 281). The new and magnificent palace *al-Thurayyā* built by al-Muʿtaḍid (see BAGHDĀD, 897-8) and its gardens were described by Ibn al-Muʿtazz in a poem (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1891, i, 115; Beirut 1913, 138-9; Yāḳūt, i, 924). In his *Tabāshīr al-surūr*, a collection of subjects discussed at the literary assemblies held at the court, he gives expression to his aristocratic attitude and to his personal experiences, often alluded to in his *muʿātabāt*-poems, of an epoch in which the natural order of the noble and the vulgar had been disturbed. This epoch of disorder and humiliation had come to an end, according to the poet, with the glorious reign of al-Muʿtaḍid. The restoration of the ʿAbbāsid empire and the defeat of its enemies are the themes of numerous *fakhr*- and *madīḥ*-poems by the prince. His poetic attacks on the Shīʿa and other dissidents were remembered long afterwards (see, *e.g.*, Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 341-2). The obvious silence he preserves in his historical books about the poet Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] is probably due to his dislike of the Shīʿī sympathies of his great contemporary. Besides the score of eulogies in which Ibn al-Muʿtazz praised the achievements of his royal cousin, he composed also a historical poem containing, in its present form, 417 *radjaz* couplets celebrating his life and work (ed. C. Lang in *ZDMG*, xi (1886), 563-611, xii (1887), 232-79). When the caliph died in 289/902 and was succeeded by his son al-Muktafī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have left public life to lead again a life of retirement. In the political emergencies, however, that followed upon the illness and death of al-Muktafī in 295/908, he was involved in the intrigues of those who desired to secure an influence over the new caliph. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 295/August 908, a brother of al-Muktafī, Djaʿfar, was proclaimed caliph as al-Muḳtadir. Already during the illness of al-Muktafī, a group of officers, secretaries and judges, who were not satisfied with the young Djaʿfar, had formed a plot to proclaim Ibn al-Muʿtazz, and had won his acceptance provided that there should be no bloodshed. The *wazīr* al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, who had opposed the dethronement of al-Muḳtadir, was murdered and, on 20 Rabīʿ I 296/17 December 908, Ibn al-Muʿtazz was proclaimed caliph and took the

regnal name al-Muntaṣif bi'llāh. But things changed rapidly as the guards of the caliph made a resolute resistance to attacks on the palace and set out to attack Ibn al-Muʿtazz and those who were with him in his house. These supporters abandoned him, and "the caliph of one day", who had taken refuge in the house of a jeweller, was found and strangled.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz's poetry did not fail to impress his contemporaries and later generations, who particularly admired his *tashbīhāt* for their striking and persuasive power and visuality (cf., *e.g.*, al-Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. Ritter, 85-6). In his *awṣāf*-verses, he displayed an ability to see and enjoy what is beautiful that developed into an artistry much admired by imitators who, like him, tried to describe details of things that escape the ordinary eye, but who, lacking the master's naïvety and sincerity, seldom reached the height of his unpretending genuineness. In spite of its "modernism", Ibn al-Muʿtazz's poetry remains within the traditional scope of Arab poetry, of which he had a profound knowledge.

The surviving specimens of his prose are in the strain of the fluent, simple and natural style that is known to have its earliest representatives in the famous *risāla* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] to the Secretaries and in the writings of Ibn al-Mukaffaʿ [*q.v.*].

The verses of Ibn al-Muʿtazz were collected by his friend Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī [see AL-ṢŪLĪ], who edited them twice: (1) in a *dīwān* divided into chapters in which the poems were arranged in an alphabetical order (parts iii-iv ed. B. Lewin, Istanbul 1943-50. Bibliotheca Islamica 17c-d); (2) in an anthology containing specimens of poems of ʿAbbāsid princes and forming one part of his *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ* (ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1936). There are traces also of another edition made by the philologist and historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]. For a copy of the poems that reached Iṣfahān in the early years of the 4th/10th century, see Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 285.

The rhetorical figures intentionally sought for and occurring with great frequency in the poetry of the ʿAbbāsid period, as represented for instance by Abū Tammām, were highly valued and looked upon as "the new style". In his *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* (ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, GMS, n.s., x), Ibn al-Muʿtazz took up the problem of the figures from a historical point of view and set out to show that what is called *badīʿ* by "the newer ones" did not in fact begin with poets like Bashshār b. Burd but is to be found already in the Ḳur'ān, *ḥadīth* and the language of the Bedouins. To support his thesis, he gives examples, collected by himself, of five figures, probably analysed already by the philologists, in ancient and new poetry. To these five chapters, he added twelve treating of other "embellishments" of style (*maḥāsin al-kalām*). Being a pioneer in the field, Ibn al-Muʿtazz did not aim at presenting a systematic treatment of the subject, but his *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* inaugurated the study of poetics in Islam. See also BADĪʿ; BALĀGHA; BAYĀN; and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

In the book just mentioned, the author quotes another written by him called *al-Fuṣūl al-ḳiṣār*. This title of a book by Ibn al-Muʿtazz is mentioned also by later authors. Some of the moral sentences and aphorisms quoted by them from this book are to be found also in the *Kitāb al-Ādāb* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz (ed. I. Krachkovsky in *MO*, xviii (1924), 56-121), which is probably a compilation of the *Fuṣūl* and other similar collections of the author's made by his friends and disciples. Its content is clearly different from that of *adab*-books of the type of *adab al-kātib*, *adab al-nadīm* etc.; it is a collection of anonymous sayings illustrating the moral qualities and behaviour of an educated man.

In the field of the history of poetry, the subject of a vast literature of which only two specimens now remain, namely those of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*] and of Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī [*q.v.*], both dealing with poets of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, in his last years, wrote *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā' al-muḥdathīn* (facsimile of the unique and incomplete Escorial MS, ed. A. Eghbal, London 1939, GMS, n.s., xiii; ed. A. A. Farrādj, Cairo 1956), in which he collected anecdotes concerning poets of the ʿAbbāsid period with extensive quotations particularly of their lesser known works; the book, therefore, contains *inter alia* long poems which are not to be found in any other source.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text and in Brockelmann, I, 79-80, S I, 128-130: Hilāl al-Sābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, i, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Leiden 1904 (index); ʿArīb, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1897 (index); Miskawayh, *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, i-vii, Oxford 1920-21 (index). The titles of numerous papers by I. Krachkovsky on the subject are quoted in the Introduction to his edition of *Kitāb al-Badīʿ*; cf. I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, vi, 9-330; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khawādji, *Ibn al-Muʿtazz wa-turāthuh fi 'l-adab wa'l-naḳd wa'l-bayān*, Cairo 1368/1949; Aḥmad Kamāl Zakī, *Ibn al-Muʿtazz al-ʿAbbāsī*, Cairo 1965; the *Dīwān* was printed also in Beirut 1961 (ed. Karam al-Bustānī). (B. LEWIN)

IBN MUʿṬĪ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN YAḤYĀ B. ʿABD AL-NŪR ZAYN AL-DĪN AL-ZAWĀWĪ, grammarian of Maghribī origin, b. 564/1168-9, d. in Cairo 628/1231. After studying in the west under al-Djuzūlī, he went to the east, where he taught grammar, first at Damascus and then in Cairo. Ibn Muʿṭī wrote commentaries on grammatical treatises and turned lexicographic works into verse; he seems to have been the first writer to compose a grammatical treatise in one thousand verses (*alfiyya*). This treatise, *al-Durra al-alfiyya fī ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*, was finished in 595/1198-9 and has been the subject of numerous commentaries and of a critical edition, by K. V. Zetterstéen (Leipzig 1900). Ibn Muʿṭī wrote also a grammatical treatise in prose, the *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl*, the first two chapters of which have been published by E. Sjögren (Leipzig 1899).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 366-7, S I, 530-1. (G. TROUPEAU)

IBN AL-MUWAKKIT, MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, born in Marrākush in 1894, where he died on 30 November 1949. His father held the office of *muwaḳḳit* in the Ibn Yūsuf mosque at Marrākush. Hence the son, at the start of his career as a writer, bore the surname Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, but when he came to hold the same position he was himself called al-Muwaḳḳit.

From 1917, he became known to scholars interested in Morocco through the publication of four biographical works, the principal and most useful of which is entitled *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-mashāhīr al-ḥaḍra al-Marrākushiyya* (lith. Fās 1917-8, 2 vols.); the second work, *Taʿṭīr al-anfās fi 'l-taʿrīf bi 'l-shaykh Abi 'l-ʿAbbās*, is a monograph devoted to the saint Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī, one of the seven patron saints of Marrākush; the author added, in the margin, the biography of his own father, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mubārak, under the title

Iẓhār al-maḥāmid fi 'l-ta'rīf bi-mawlānā al-wālid (lith. Fās 1336/1918); the fourth and last of these works, *al-Inbisāṭ bi-talkhīṣ al-Ighṭibāṭ*, is a résumé of the *Kitāb al-Ighṭibāṭ bi-tarādjim a'lām al-Ribāṭ* of Sīdī Muḥammad Bū Djandār (see Allouche and Regragui, *Cat. des mss. arabes de Rabat*, ii, 226).

Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit was brought up in the school of those *'ulamā'* who, influenced by Ṣūfī doctrines, were not reluctant to adhere to a religious confraternity. His father, a devoted reader of the *Dalā'il* of al-Djazūlī, had inspired him with a taste for study and, by his own extreme piety, had furnished him with an example; he had therefore endeavoured, in his writings, to honour the famous precept so highly esteemed by Moroccan hagiographers: *bi-dhikr al-ṣulaḥā' tanzilu 'l-raḥma* through mention of the saints, the divine mercy descends.

Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit was contentedly following the saintly tradition of the biographers and hagiographers of his country as exemplified by Ibn 'Askar, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and Aḥmad Bābā, when suddenly he discovered the writings of the great orthodox reformers of Cairo, Muḥammad 'Abduh and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, and the satirical novels of Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī. At once he rallied to the viewpoint of the *Muṣliḥūn* and, with the ardour of the convert, hurled himself into the battle then being waged by the orthodox reformers against the upholders of religious conservatism.

He started his new career with the publication of a short treatise on *bida'*, *al-Kashf wa 'l-tibyān 'an ḥāl ahl al-zamān* (Cairo 1932), followed almost immediately by *al-Riḥla al-Marrākushiyya* (Cairo 1933), in which, by means of a simple fable with a moral, he drew a pessimistic picture in the darkest colours of the Muslim society of his time. From then onwards, until his death, he kept up a relentless struggle, within his own country, against the confraternities, the marabouts, the *ḳāḍīs* and the *ḳā'ids*, all of whom he considered to be deeply corrupted, castigating modern customs, challenging the ordinary *'ulamā'*, exhorting the people to return to the *sunna* of their virtuous ancestors, *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, and publishing violent pamphlets against his adversaries.

Holding fast to his moral inflexibility, a passionate devotee of justice impelled by a fervent fundamentalism, in the last years of his life and in a milieu that was well suited to such a development, Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit was a strange incarnation of the spirit of the ancient Hebrew prophets. Before his death he circulated a tract, a copy of which he is said to have delivered in person to the sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, in which, among other extraordinary and prodigious events, he foretold the coming of the Antichrist, at the beginning of the year 1980.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa* (particularly 45 and 46); A. Faure, *Un réformateur marocain, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muwaqqit al-Marrākušī*, in *Hespéris*, 1952, 1-2, with the bibliography of most of his works.

(A. FAURE)

IBN MUYASSAR (not Mīsar) TĀDJ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF .... B. DJALAB RĀGHIB, 628-77/1231-78, Egyptian historian. He was descended, hence his by-name, from a Tunisian "imported" at the beginning of the 6th/12th century by an Egyptian *amīr* named Rāghib; under Saladin, the family, being excluded from the military career by the formation of the new army, had entered civilian life. Ibn Muyassar owed his name to a maternal ancestor who had apparently himself been an *amīr* under the Fāṭimids. His *Annales d'Égypte* (ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919; cf. G. Wiet, in *JA*, 1921) have survived in a unique manuscript, which is incomplete and which derives from a copy made by al-Maḳrīzī; the latter itself may not have been complete or free from error. The text as it survives, after the correct order of the leaves is restored, provides (apart from a lacuna covering the years 502-14) a consecutive account of the history of the years 439 to 553/1047-1158, together with two extracts covering the years 362-5/973-6 and 381-7/991-7; however the large extent to which al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, borrows from him for Fāṭimid history enables us to fill the lacuna from 502-14 and to confirm that the chronicle reached as far as the Ayyūbid period, although perhaps not covering it in full. It is more difficult to decide what exactly the two fragments on the 4th/10th century represent: later writers in general attribute to Ibn Muyassar a continuation of al-Muṣabbiḥī, though certainly in a style less developed than the latter's history; but, if the two fragments in question really do belong to Ibn Muyassar, it must be assumed that he also covered, in a more summary fashion, the period which al-Muṣabbiḥī had already dealt with. Direct comparison with al-Muṣabbiḥī is not possible, since the only section of his work which has survived does not cover the years found in Ibn Muyassar; nevertheless the comparison which is now possible with the *Itti'āẓ* of al-Maḳrīzī proves that the 381-7 fragment certainly is a summary of al-Muṣabbiḥī; in the other fragment, belonging to an earlier period than that of al-Muṣabbiḥī, he copies Ibn Zūlāḳ, without mentioning him in it. The "History of the *ḳāḍīs* of Egypt" of Ibn Ḥadjar (ed. R. Guest) even quotes passages of Ibn Muyassar earlier than the Fāṭimids, but these probably belong to another work, one devoted specially to the Egyptian *ḳāḍīs*. In any case the essential part of the Chronicle, that which deals with the Fāṭimids of the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, is based mainly on a lost work of a certain al-Muhannak, which was used also by Ibn Ẓāfir. It contains much valuable and original information on a history whose direct sources have disappeared.

Bibliography: H. Massé's introduction to his ed.; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvii (1937), which contains further references; Fr. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, index.

(CL. CAHEN)

IBN MUZĀḤIM [see NAṢR B. MUZĀḤIM].

IBN AL-MUZAWWIḲ [see IBN AL-SADĪD].

IBN AL-NABĪH, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. YAḤYĀ KAMĀL AL-DĪN IBN AL-NABĪH, well-known poet of the Ayyūbid period (d. 619/1222). The exact place of his birth is not known, but it was in Egypt, near Cairo, probably in about 560/1164. Nor is anything known of his family, his early education or his teachers.

Preferring pleasure to politics, Ibn al-Nabīh lived in Cairo simply, peacefully and happily. He formed many deep friendships there: among his best friends is mentioned the *ḳāḍī* al-As'ad b. al-Khaṭīr Ibn Mammātī, in whose honour he composed a fine *ḳaṣīda*. His biographers state that he wrote panegyrics on a number of Ayyūbid princes, notably al-Malik al-'Ādil and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī.

Failing to find in Cairo the patronage he desired, he left for the Upper Djazīra and settled at Niṣībīn, probably in about 600/1204, at the court of the prince al-Ashraf Mūsā, on whom he wrote panegyrics

while occupying the office of royal letter-writer in the *dīwān al-inshā'*. Ibn al-Nabīh lived the carefree and frivolous life which characterized the court of his patron. He dedicated to him thirty-five poems, which are literary masterpieces. The amorous prologues to these panegyrics show him to be a great love poet. He died at Niṣībīn in 619/1222.

His *Dīwān*, the contents of which he is said to have chosen himself, was published in Beirut in 1299/1881 and in Cairo in 1315/1895 with notes by ʿAlī Pasha Fikrī; the latter edition consists, in addition to two *muwashshaḥ*s and one quatrain, of about 1590 verses. Although in the prologues to the panegyrics and in certain fragments the erotic genre has an important place, Ibn al-Nabīh's work is mainly laudatory in character.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 143-50; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, Cairo 1351, v, 85; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 226; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 152; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 191; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, 87-104; M. K. Ḥusayn, *Dirāsāt fi 'l-shiʿr fi ʿaṣr al-Ayyūbiyyīn*, Cairo 1957, 153-61; ʿIzzat Ḥasan, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt dār al-kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya "al-shiʿr"*, Damascus 1964, 230-1; Brockelmann, I, 304, S I, 465.

(J. RIKABI)

IBN AL-NADĪM, ABU 'L-FARADJ MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ YAʿḲŪB ISḤĀḲ AL-WARRĀḲ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, author of the well-known *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, an "Index" of Arabic books, completed according to the author's own statement (p. 2, line 12; 38, 28; 87, 19; cf. also 132, 7 and 219, 7) in 377/987-8. Of his life very little is known. He died on 20 Shaʿbān 385/17 September 995 according to Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (see Flügel's edition, i, XII, n. 2) or according to others in 388/998 (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 72, where 38 is apparently a misprint); dates later than 385 (*e.g.*, 87, 6; 169, 13, both lacking in codex B) are additions made by copyists; cf. 193, 17, where the author invites his readers to fill in the lacunae in his lists of books. At 237, 6 he mentions that in 340/951-2 he made the acquaintance of a certain scholar, so we may infer that he was born in 325/936-7 at the latest. Of his family nothing is known; there is no reason to connect him with Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī al-Nadīm or with Yaḥyā b. al-Nadīm, a pupil of al-Balādhurī; nor do we known to whom the byname *al-nadīm* (*i.e.*, the companion of a grandee of the realm or even of the caliph) refers. He was a bookseller (*warrāḳ*, one who copies manuscripts and sells them, see Dozy) like his father (see p. 303, 24; 318, 7; 351, 14). He lived in Baghdād (see *e.g.*, p. 337, 26 f.; 349, 7 where *dār al-Rūm* means the quarter of the Byzantines in Baghdād). Sometimes he mentions a stay in Mosul (p. 86, 12; 190, 2; 265, 25 and probably 197, 4, because al-Ṣafwānī was, according to Ṭūsī, 271, a judge of Mosul). Of his teachers he mentions al-Sīrāfī ([*q.v.*] d. 368/978-9), ʿAlī b. Hārūn b. al-Munadjdjim (d. 352/963) (p. 144, 11), and the philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī [*q.v.*] (p. 241, 13); he also heard traditions (p. 24, 14, etc.). He belonged to the circle of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (b. 302/914-5, d. 391/1000-1, a son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] the "Good Vizier" of the Banu 'l-Djarrāḥ), whom he praises (p. 129) for his profound knowledge of the logic and the sciences of the Greeks, Persians and Indians (*al-ʿulūm al-ḳadīma*). Ibn al-Nadīm met in his house the Christian philosopher Ibn al-Khammār (p. 245, 12). With these men, none of whom was an orthodox Sunnī, he shared an admiration for philosophy and especially for Aristotle (see p. 247, 4-14) and the sciences generally, the broadness of their outlook and their tolerance in religious matters. It did not escape his biographers that he was a Shīʿī (Ibn Ḥadjar, *l.c.*); he uses *khāṣṣī* instead of *shīʿī*, *ʿāmmī* instead of *sunnī* (p. 233, 2), *al-ḥashwiyya* for the "Sunnīs" (p. 21, 16; 179, 10; 231, 22), *ahl al-ḥadīth* instead of *ahl al-sunna* (p. 225, 1). He puts the eulogy for prophets (*taslīm*) after the names of the Shīʿī Imāms and the *ahl al-bayt* (p. 173, 3; 220, 16; 222, 6; 235, 12). He calls the Imām al-Riḍā *mawlānā* (p. 221, 6). He asserts that al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*] was a Shīʿī but concealed this fact by *taḳiyya* (p. 98, 21). He claims most of the (orthodox) "traditionists" for the Zaydiyya (pp. 178 f.; 194, 15). He speaks of the Muʿtazila as *ahl al-ʿadl* (p. 180, 22), calls the Ashʿarīs *al-mudjbira* (p. 179, 10; 180, 7; 181, lines 2, 5, 22; cf. *al-idjbār* p. 181, 6). That he belonged to the Imāmiyya (Twelver Shīʿa) is shown by his distaste for the doctrines of the Sabʿiyya (p. 189, 10) and by his criticisms in dealing with their history (p. 186, 25 and 188, 30). He remarks (p. 197, 3 and 214, 13) that a certain Shāfiʿī scholar was secretly an Imāmī. He mentions Shīʿīs among his acquaintances, *e.g.*, Ibn al-Muʿallim [see AL-MUFĪD], the *dāʿī* Ibn Ḥamdan (p. 190, 2) and the author Khushkunānadj (sic!) (p. 139, 24). To the same circle belonged the Jacobite Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/973) who instructed ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī in philosophy and who was, like Ibn al-Nadīm, a copyist and bookseller (p. 264, 8).

The *Fihrist*, which, according to the short preface, is intended to be an index of all books written in Arabic either by Arabs or non-Arabs, exists in two editions or recensions, both of the year 377/938: the larger edition contains ten "discourses" (*maḳālāt*). The first six of them deal with books on Islamic subjects: 1. the Holy Scriptures of Muslims, Jews, and Christians, with emphasis on the Ḳurʾān and Ḳurʾānic sciences; 2. grammar and philology; 3. history, biography, genealogy and kindred subjects; 4. poetry; 5. scholastic theology (*kalām*); 6. law (*fiḳh*) and tradition. The last four discourses deal with non-Islamic subjects, *viz.* 7. philosophy and the "ancient sciences"; 8. legends, fables, magic, conjuring etc.; 9. the doctrines (*maḳālāt*) of the non-monotheistic creeds (Ṣābiʾans, Manicheans, and other dualists, the Hindus, Buddhists and Chinese); 10. alchemy. The shorter edition contains (besides the preface and the first section of the first discourse on the scripts and the different alphabets) only the last four discourses, in other words, the Arabic translations from Greek, Syriac and other languages, together with Arabic books composed on the model of these translations. Of the larger edition the first half (pp. 2-172, 7, Flügel) is extant in the manuscripts P = Paris (de Slane no. 4457) written in 617/1220-1, and B = Chester Beatty, described by A. J. Arberry, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i (I.R.A. Series no. 12, 1948, 19-45); B contains not only the text of pp. 2-172 (Flügel), with the exception of pp. 14,22-29,13 owing to the loss of some leaves, but also the beginning of the fifth discourse giving the text of the first section up to the article on al-Nāshiʾ al-Kabīr (see bibl.). The second half of the larger edition (pp. 172,11-360, Flügel) is extant in the manuscript S = Istanbul, Şehit Ali Paşa 1934 (see H. Ritter in *Isl.*, xvii, 15-23). The shorter edition (pp. 2-21,23 and 238,5-360, Flügel) is preserved in codex K = Istanbul, Köprülü 1135, written in 600/1203-4 (see Ritter, *l.c.*, who shows that Flügel's manuscripts H, V, and C are also directly or indirectly derived from the Istanbul

manuscripts. In the larger edition the preface and the list of contents correspond with pages 2-4,6, Flügel. In the preface of the shorter edition, however, we read instead of Flügel's text 2,9: "This is the register of the books of the old sciences composed by Greeks, Persians, and Indians of which there exist (translations) in the Arabic language and script", and the list of contents is shortened accordingly. Both prefaces have the same date, 377/987-8, yet the shorter one may have been, as suggested by Ritter, the first edition and the printed text an enlargement, especially as manuscript S, by its many blanks left vacant for later additions of dates, names, book-titles and even whole articles, gives the impression of being an unfinished draft. Both prefaces have also after the word *al-nufūs* (p. 2,5) the following dedication (omitted by Flügel on purpose, see vol. ii, 1): *aṭāla 'llāhu baḳā'a 'l-sayyidi 'l-fāḍil*, which may refer to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (cf. p. 244, 6) or else to some other influential person belonging to the circle of the philosophers. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (ii, 211) lists the shorter edition under the title *fawz al-ʿulūm*, which promises the reader the "attainment of success" in these sciences, and is more suitable than the unpretentious "index". There is also a marked difference between the two editions. The last five discourses are much more elaborate than the preceding ones; they contain sections on the beginning of philosophy, on the lives of Plato and Aristotle, the origin of the Arabian Nights, the pyramids etc. The sections on the Manichaeans, the Ṣābi'ans and other religious communities give unique information about their beliefs and doctrines. He also occasionally expresses his opinion about, *e.g.*, white and black magic, sorcery, superstition, and alchemy. The first five sections, on the other hand, are comparable to a bibliography, giving the list of the works of the writer or poet in question and adding as a rule only the briefest information about his life. Being himself a bookseller, he is interested first and foremost in the books and not in the authors, especially as there existed already books (*ṭabaḳāt*) dealing with the biographies of poets, etc. He gives the titles only of those books which he had seen himself or whose existence was vouchsafed by a trustworthy person. Often he mentions the size of a book, especially in the section of the modern poets, where he adds to the name of each of them the numbers of pages (of a given size and a fixed number of lines) of his *dīwān*; this he does because often a copyist cheated his customer by selling him an incomplete copy (p. 159, 17 ff.). He refers often to copies written by famous calligraphers, *e.g.*, Ibn al-Kūfī, Ibn Muḳla, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib akhu 'l-Shāfiʿī, al-Tirmidhī (p. 61, 5), Ibn ʿAmmār, who specialized in copying modern poetry (p. 160, 3), and others; he mentions bibliophiles and their libraries (p. 40, 18 f.; 265, 23) and speaks of an auction (p. 252, 27 f.) and of the trade in books (p. 70, 5 and 8; 77, 14; 79, 23; 271, 5; 359, 20). In the opening section of his work (p. 4,7-21,24) he deals with the alphabets of 14 peoples (Arabs and non-Arabs) and their manner of writing, and also with the writing-pen, paper and its different varieties.

Being the work of an Imāmī author, the *Fihrist* contains statements offensive to an orthodox reader, *e.g.*, the claim that the Prophet received the Muʿtazilī doctrine through divine revelation (see Arberry, *l.c.*, p. 29). No wonder, therefore, that the earliest quotations are to be found in the *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa* by al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]. A generation before al-Ṭūsī a new edition of the *Fihrist* had been made by al-Wazīr al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī ([*q.v.*] d. 418/1027), who had strong Shīʿī leanings, being the son of one of al-Ḥākim's viziers. The first to make an extensive use of the first four discourses is Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228); he quotes from al-Maghribī's edition in his *Irshād al-arīb* (see Bergsträsser, in *ZS*, ii, 185); but he also used Ibn al-Nadīm's autograph, which may simply mean that he used a manuscript which, like the manuscripts B and S and Flügel's edition (see i, XV f. and Ritter, *l.c.*, 22 f.) purported to be a reproduction (*ḥikāya*) of the author's autograph. The same claim is made by the lexicographer al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) in his *ʿUbāb* (see *Khizānat al-adab*, iii, 83). The *Fihrist* is used also by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Ibn Ḥadjar, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, and others. Ibn al-Nadīm wrote also a *Kitāb al-Awṣāf wa 'l-tashbīhāt* (*Fihrist*, p. 12, 2) which has not survived.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article: *Kitāb al-Fihrist* mit Anmerkungen hrsg. von Gustav Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871-2; reprints (1) Cairo 1348 (contains also the Leyden Fragments published by Houtsma, in *WZKM*, iv, 217 ff.); (2) Beirut 1964; Persian translation by R. Tajadod, Teheran 1965. J. Fück, *Neue Materialien zum Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc, 298-321; idem, *Some hitherto unpublished texts on the Muʿtazilite movement* (from ms. B), in *Prof. M. Shafiʿ presentation volume*, Lahore 1956, 51, 76; A. J. Arberry, *New material in the* Kitāb al-Fihrist, in *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, i, 1948, 35-45 (the article on al-Djāḥiẓ from ms. B). Some of the longer chapters of the *Fihrist* are dealt with by, *e.g.*, A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in d. arab. Überlieferung*, Halle 1872; H. Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis im Fihrist*, in *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, vi (1892); idem, *ibid.*, x (1900) and xiv (1902); M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen a. d. Griech.* (see *ZDMG*, l, 371); Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin 1889, i, 331 ff.; Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, Paris 1893, iii, 26 ff.; G. Ferrand, *Relation de voyages etc.*, i, 1913, 118-36 (with reference to pp. 16 and 345, 20 ff., Flügel); J. Fück, *The Arabic literature on Alchemy* . . ., in *Ambix*, iv (1951), 81-144. See also Brockelmann, I, 147; S I, 226. (J. W. Fück)

IBN AL-NADJDJĀR, Muḥibb Allāh b. Maḥāsin al-Baghdādī, historian and leading Shāfiʿī *muḥaddith* of his age, was born in Baghdād in 578/1183. His father, a paper-maker by profession, started him in the study of *uṣūl* and *ḥadīth*, which studies were continued by Abu 'l-Yumn al-Kindī, Ibn al-Kulayb, Ibn al-Ḥaṣīn, Ibn al-Djawzī and others. After a journey that lasted twenty-seven years and carried him throughout the eastern lands of Islam, Arabia and Egypt, Ibn al-Nadjdjār returned to Baghdād and received an appointment to the newly opened al-Mustanṣiriyya as principal Shāfiʿī lecturer on *ḥadīth* and director of the school. He occupied this position until his death in 643/1245.

He is the author of twenty-one known works on history, biography, *ḥadīth* literature, poetry, medicine, travel, love and the etiquette of companionship. Of these, only his history of Medina (*al-Durra al-thamīna fī akhbār al-Madīna*) has survived in full. Two other works, *al-Kamāl fī maʿrifat al-ridjāl* and *Ta'rīkh li-Madīnat al-Salām*, survive only in fragments.

Both his associate Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī and his disciple Ibn al-Sāʿī praised his scholarship. Yāḳūt describes Ibn al-Nadjdjār as "cultured; a connoisseur of history and polite literature; an excellent discourser and lecturer, and a composer of fine poetry"

(*Irshād*, vii, 103). The esteem accorded to his erudition is attested by his having a following (*mashyakha*) of three thousand men and four hundred women (Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 213). In securing data for his histories, Ibn al-Nadjdjār relied on works in the authors' own handwriting; he carried on extensive correspondence with the authorities of his day and travelled widely to effect personal contact with his informants.

Ibn al-Nadjdjār's history of Baghdād, itself a *dhayl* to that of al-Khaṭīb, was continued by Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674/1275-6), Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323), and Ibn Rāfiʿ (d. 774/1372-3). His work on the *Ridjāl* was carried on by Ibn Ḳilič (d. 762/1360-1), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347-8) and Ibn Ḥadjar (d. 852/1448-9)

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 226; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Ḥawādith*, 205; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1949, vi, 28-9; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 522; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, 122-3; Brockelmann, S I, 360; Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgeschichte*, vii, 357; Cl. Huart, *Histoire*, Paris 1901, 229. For a broader treatment see C. E. Farah, *Ibn al-Najjār: a neglected Arabic historian*, in *JAOS*, 1964, 220-30. (C. E. FARAH)

IBN AL-NAFĪS, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ʿALĀʾ ʿALĪ B. ABI 'L-ḤARAM AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-DIMASHḲĪ, a distinguished physician and many-sided author of the 7th/13th century. Except for the date of his death, only few facts of his life have been recorded, because Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, although his contemporary, does not mention Ibn al-Nafīs in his history of physicians; but al-ʿUmarī and al-Ṣafadī give detailed though anecdotal accounts of him and his personal habits. Born in or near Damascus (presumably in the village of al-Ḳurashiyya), he studied medicine there under Muhadhdhib al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 239-46), who came from the school of Ibn al-Tilmīdh [*q.v.*], who in his turn had formed many disciples several of whom came from Baghdād to Damascus. Besides medicine, Ibn al-Nafīs studied grammar, logic, and Islamic religious sciences. At an unknown date he moved to Cairo, where he was given the important post of Chief Physician of Egypt and became the personal physician of sultan Baybars I [*q.v.*]. He presumably worked at the Nāṣirī hospital and trained a number of pupils. The best known among them was Ibn al-Ḳuff (Brockelmann, I, 649; S I, 899), author of a work on surgery [see AL-DJARRĀḤ]. He lectured on Shāfiʿī law at the Masrūriyya *madrasa*. The famous grammarian, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*], was his disciple in logic and praised his teaching. His contemporary, the philologist Ibn al-Naḥḥās [*q.v.*], praised his style in grammar. He became rich and had a luxurious house built for himself in Cairo. He died in Cairo on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 687/18 December 1288 at the age of about 80 (lunar) years, and left his house, his fortune and his books to the Manṣūrī hospital there, founded by sultan Ḳalāwūn and only recently completed (683/1284). In prescribing, "he never departed from the method to which he was accustomed; he did not prescribe a remedy as long as he could prescribe a diet, and he did not prescribe a compound remedy as long as he could content himself with a simple drug" (al-ʿUmarī). Notwithstanding these modern ideas on treatment, and although Ibn al-Nafīs was exalted by his admirers as a second Avicenna, he seems to have been a learned theorist rather than a practical physician, but the range and depth of his general culture are impressive.

The literary activity of Ibn al-Nafīs was important and extensive. He was mainly a commentator but one of independent mind and very extensive knowledge. He is said to have written most of his works out of his head without reference to books, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that as a rule they contain, as far as they are not commentaries, very few references to earlier works. His main writings are: (1) the *Kitāb al-Shāmil fi 'l-ṭibb*, an encyclopaedia of medicine which was to have consisted of three hundred volumes (this word to be taken in the conventional meaning of some ninety folios), of which only eighty volumes were completed; several volumes exist, partly in the autograph of the author (see N. Heer, in *RIMA*, vi (1960), 203-10); (2) the *Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab fi 'l-kuḥl*, a comprehensive but not very original record of the whole knowledge of the Arabs in ophthalmology; it was used by several later authors; (3) the *Mūdjiz al-Ḳānūn*, an extract from all parts of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*], but omitting anatomy and physiology; it is a concise manual of the whole of medicine, particularly useful for the practitioner, and among the works of Ibn al-Nafīs it has met with the greatest success in the Oriental medical world; it exists in numerous manuscripts, was printed or lithographed a number of times, was the subject of a series of commentaries and glosses, the most reputed of which, by Nafīs b. ʿIwaḍ al-Kirmānī (completed 841/1437), was lithographed in India for the last time as recently as 1328/1910; it was also translated into Turkish and into Hebrew. (4) Among the medical commentaries written by Ibn al-Nafīs the most widely disseminated one is on the Aphorisms (*Fuṣūl*) of Hippocrates; he also wrote commentaries on Hippocrates's Prognostics, Epidemics, and *De natura hominis*; (5) he further commented upon the *Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, (6) and he wrote an extensive commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā which exists in numerous manuscripts, improving the arrangement of the subject-matter and, in particular, collecting the passages relating to anatomy from the first three sections of the *Ḳānūn* and commenting on them in a separate section, which was often copied as an independent book; in this section, Ibn al-Nafīs sets out his theory of the lesser circulation of the blood (see below); his commentary on the fifth section of the *Ḳānūn* was translated into Latin by the Renaissance physician and scholar Andrea Alpago and posthumously printed in Venice 1547 (see M.-T. d'Alverny, in *Medioevo e Rinascimento, studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, i, Florence 1955, 195 f.). (7) Of the writings of Ibn al-Nafīs on logic, there exists his commentary on his own *Kitāb al-Wurayḳāt*, a summary of the contents of Aristotle's *Organon* and *Rhetoric*; the section summarizing the *Analytica Priora* includes a discussion of the legal proofs in Islamic law and of the limited value of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] from the point of view of logic. His writings on grammar and rhetoric, and his commentary on the *Tanbīh* of al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] (if the mention of this last work by al-Subkī is not merely the result of an error) do not seem to have survived, but the *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, on the science of tradition, has been preserved. (8) There is, finally, *al-Risāla al-Kāmiliyya fi 'l-sīra al-nabawiyya*, which can be freely translated as *The Theologus Autodidactus*.

In this intellectual tour de force, which was already admired by his contemporaries, Ibn al-Nafīs set out to show, by abstract reasoning which he put into the mouth of a solitary person, called Kāmil, on a desert island, that the events in the life of the

Prophet and in the history of the community of Muslims, including the incursion of the Mongols in his own lifetime and even the physical appearance of the Muslim ruler, no doubt sultan Baybars, were the best things that could possibly have happened and therefore, under divine providence, unavoidable. He ends with a naturalistic explanation of the Last Things.

The most important achievement of Ibn al-Nafīs in the field of medicine is his theory of the lesser or pulmonary circulation of the blood, from the right ventricle of the heart through the pulmonary artery (*vena arteriosa*) to the lung and from there through the pulmonary vein (*arteria venosa*) to the left ventricle of the heart, boldly contradicting the accepted ideas of Galen and of Ibn Sīnā and anticipating part of William Harvey's fundamental discovery; in contrast with Harvey, who started from experiment, Ibn al-Nafīs derived his theory from the same kind of abstract reasoning as in the *Theologus Autodidactus*. This remarkable theory, perhaps because of its unorthodox character, was almost completely ignored by the later Arab medical authors, excepting only an anonymous commentator of the *Ḳānūn* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 5776) who agrees with it, and an otherwise unknown al-Fāḍil al-Baghdādī in his commentary on the *Ḳānūnd̲j̲a*, an extract from the *Ḳānūn* by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Čaghmīnī (d. 745/1344), who made it his object to refute Ibn al-Nafīs's criticisms of Ibn Sīnā (Berlin, Ahlwardt 6294). A theory of the lesser circulation, identical in all essential respects with that of Ibn al-Nafīs and expressed in terms strangely reminiscent of those used by him, was formulated by Michael Servetus in his *Christianismi restitutio* (Vienne 1553), and an exposition of the same doctrine by Realdus Columbus (Realdo Colombo) in his *De re anatomica libri XV* (Venice 1559) forms a close parallel to this. Detailed philological analysis has made it probable that Servetus (and perhaps Colombo, too) had direct knowledge of the theory of Ibn al-Nafīs, and it is likely that this knowledge was transmitted by Andrea Alpago, who spent more than 30 years in Syria, travelled widely in search of Arabic manuscripts, and is known to have translated from the Arabic numerous medical texts not all of which were printed posthumously (he died about 1520).

Bibliography: al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-'l-wafayāt*, see texts and translations in *The Theologus Autodidactus*, below; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-S̲h̲āfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, v, 129; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840, 146 f.; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 207-9; Brockelmann, I, 649; S I, 899 f. (needs many corrections and additions; see, *e.g.*, *The Theologus Autodidactus*, introduction, section 4; Maʿhad al-Mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya, *Fihris al-mak̲h̲ṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, iii/2, Cairo 1959, index; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, Göttingen 1966, index); G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, Baltimore 1931, 1099-1101; Mohyi el Din el Tatawi, *Der Lungenkreislauf nach el-Koraschi*, mimeographed thesis, Freiburg i. Br. 1924; M. Meyerhof, *Ibn al-Nafīs und seine Theorie des Lungenkreislaufs*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, iv (Berlin 1933), 37-88; abridged versions in *BIE*, xvi (1934), 33-46, and in *Isis*, xxii (1935), 100-120; Abdul-Karim Chéhadé, *Ibn an-Nafīs et la découverte de la circulation pulmonaire*, Damascus 1955 (useful only for the plates which reproduce pages from the manuscripts Paris, Arabe 2939, containing Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on the Anatomy of the *Ḳānūn*, and Paris, Arabe 5776, the anonymous commentary on the *Ḳānūn*); G. Wiet, *Ibn al-Nafīs et la circulation pulmonaire*, in *JA*, 1956, 95-100 (important); J. Schacht, *Ibn al-Nafīs, Servetus and Colombo*, in *al-Andalus*, xxii (1957), 317-36; idem, *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafīs*, Oxford 1968 (with a full bibliography).

(MAX MEYERHOF-[J. SCHACHT])

IBN AL-NAḤḤĀS, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀʿĪL (d. 338/950), Egyptian grammarian, expert in early poetry, and especially in the Ḳur'ān. He was content with a limited and provincial sphere of influence; he did not take part in the quarrel between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans which was taking place in his time, but occupied himself more and more with scholarship and even with speculations about the Ḳur'ān. Thus he wrote a *Kitāb Maʿānī al-Ḳur'ān*, and a *Kitāb al-Nāsik̲h̲ wa 'l-mansūk̲h̲* (published in Cairo by Zakī Mud̲j̲āhid). To produce this little book required wide reading and repeated contacts with scholars in other disciplines. For a grammarian, albeit the pupil of al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, of al-Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲ and of Mubarrad (all three specialists in the Ḳur'ān, *Fihrist*, 34), he showed great daring and uncommon intellectual ambition. In fact we learn that, for matters which were not his speciality, Ibn al-Naḥḥās often consulted the S̲h̲āfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Ḥaddād (cf. *Ak̲h̲bār al-Ḥallād̲j̲*, ed. Massignon, Paris 1957, 78) and that he did not hesitate even to ask for information from those who professed dialectic (*ahl al-naẓar*). It must have been in this milieu that he gained the habit of forming a personal opinion on all the questions which he raised, opinions which he had no hesitation in stating with the stubbornness of an idealist. This grammarian, vaguely inclined towards the abstractions of the Baṣra school (he possessed a copy of al-K̲h̲alīl and accused the Kūfan exegesis of being false), thus became involved in the petty quarrels between rites, in the problems peculiar to each of them, and in the statements of the traditional exegesis. In general, Ibn al-Naḥḥās had a definite repugnance for *nas̲k̲h̲* [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, for the "abrogation" pure and simple which declared invalid whole verses of the Ḳur'ān, but he disliked equally *mad̲j̲āz* [*q.v.*], the metaphorical meaning which scholars were tempted to ascribe to certain verses in order to make them compatible with preceding verses. The typically S̲h̲āfiʿī solution which he prefers is to refer to *nadb*; in this way the abrogated verses retain the value of a moral exhortation. If however the subject matter is too serious to allow the slightest compromise (*e.g.*, the Pilgrimage or the Holy War), then abrogation is the only course. Ibn al-Naḥḥās was continually preoccupied with religious problems: he wrote a book on the meaning of the names of God. A taciturn and retiring man, he thus acquired a reputation for avarice and austerity. He never enjoyed the favour of the public and disagreeable or humorous stories circulated concerning the incidents which accompanied his death. Although cut off from the world and very different from the traditional or even contemporary type of grammarian, Ibn al-Naḥḥās followed, with an unusual singleness of mind if without much immediate success, a path which led him to consider such burning questions as the value of the Sunna and of the different rites, and the question of the divine attributes to be seen reflected in the names of God.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 201; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 1954 ed., 239; Ḳifṭī, i, 101; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 1326 ed., 32. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN NĀḲIYĀ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. DĀWŪD (410-85/1020-92), poet and man of letters who was famous for his literary knowledge, for an important *dīwān*, now lost, and primarily for a collection of *maḳāmāt*. He was born in Baghdād, where his childhood was spent in the quarter which had earlier been occupied by the palaces of the Ṭāhirids and their out-buildings; he does not seem to have travelled much, his only patron being a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shahrazūrī. His character oddly combined a very strong religious devotion with a taste for debauchery. He was accused of carrying his faith so far as to deny the divine attributes, but there were also doubts as to whether he would find salvation. He was very well read, and wrote a *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt*, preserved in the Escurial (no. 1378). He wrote also a résumé of the *Aghānī*.

Ibn Nāḳiyā appears to have followed the teaching of the Shāfiʿī scholar Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī (Brockelmann, S I, 669), on whose death he wrote an elegy (Ibn Khallikān). A cynic, he went so far as to thank God for the littleness of man and for the faults which made him so despise the human species (cf. *Dībādja* of the *Maḳāmāt*). This attitude explains the curious and lugubrious trick which led him to write *maḳāmāt* which he intended to be entertaining, and which are in fact full of both physical and moral miseries: the hideousness of promiscuity, the meanness of great men and of scholars, various ironies of fortune, burlesque panegyrics which please nobody—not even their author, the grotesqueness of uninspired poets, lewd old men, preachers who themselves are haunted by the idea of sin and describe it in great detail. This incoherent, lax and mad universe contains one hero, named Fāris b. Bassām al-Miṣrī. This trivial hero wanders across the whole Muslim world from Arabia as far as Khurāsān. In it he meets periodically a certain Abū ʿAmr, as much of a vagabond and as little of a scholar as he is himself, and cast to play the secondary roles (according to a convention of the genre).

The *maḳāmāt* of Ibn Nāḳiyā, much more than those of al-Hamadhānī and of al-Ḥarīrī and, naturally, of al-Zamakhsharī, reflect an attitude of denigration and sarcasm, the controlled and systematic violence of which surprises the reader. It may be that in the licence and disorder of Ibn Nāḳiyā is to be seen the influence of the *malāmatiyya*, a sort of Muslim Jansenism which places no value on deeds and attaches importance only to sincere faith. Thus Ibn Nāḳiyā's work would seem to be deeply rooted in his own personality and to be, in its deliberate ugliness, the paradoxical expression of a type of doctrine of "justification by faith". In addition to being successful literary works, his *maḳāmāt* are of psychological interest, being perhaps a baroque form of self-criticism, revealing curious and sometimes unsuspected "depths" within the Islamic mentality.

Bibliography: Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, vi, 116; Brockelmann, S I, 486; texts of *Maḳāmāt* in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqamenlitteratur*, iv, 123-52; Fr. tr. by Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 10th series, xii, 435-54. (J.-C. VADET)

IBN AL-NAṬṬĀḤ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ṢĀLIḤ B. MIHRĀN AL-NAṬṬĀḤ, traditionist, genealogist and historian (d. 252/866). Little is known about his life except that, as his *nisba* (al-Baṣrī) shows, he was born in Baṣra and lived there for the greater part of his life. He used to visit Baghdād in order to hear and relate traditions.

The field in which Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ excelled was history. Among his authorities were al-Wāḳidī, al-Madāʾinī and Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthanna. Thanks to his (lost) work *Kitāb* (or *Akhbār*) *al-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, later biographers consider him one of the pioneer writers of the dynastic history of the ʿAbbāsids. Whether this work was original or, as F. Rosenthal suggests, a revision of an earlier work written by his teacher, it is clear that Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ provided the outline and the framework for an ʿAbbāsid dynastic history and that his work served as the starting-point for his successors. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ was also the author of various historical, biographical and genealogical monographs, which are listed in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. He may also be the author of a work on the excellences and monuments of Medina. However, none of his works is extant and it is remarkable that later historians seldom quote him or his works (see, *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, iii, 276; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1948, i, 278). It has, however, been suggested by ʿA. al-Dūrī that Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ may have been the author of an important extant work on the ʿAbbāsids known as *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās ... wa wildihi*, preserved in manuscript in the library of the Institute of Higher Islamic Studies in Baghdād. The first pages are missing (204 fols. survive); the name of the author is not given. The work is an annalistic account in biographical form dealing with al-ʿAbbās and his descendants, the ʿAbbāsids. The abrupt manner in which the manuscript ends shows that it is incomplete. A confident attribution of the work to Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ would appear, however, to be rash, in view of the paucity both of the available information on Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ's works and of the deductions which may be drawn from this manuscript.

As a traditionist Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ was also known among the circle of the *Muḥaddithūn*, who thought highly of him and regarded him as trustworthy (*thiḳa*). This judgement enhances his importance as an early historian.

Bibliography: In view of the important place held by Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ in Muslim historiography, the lack of information on him is surprising. Few references are to be found to his life: nevertheless, he is mentioned in Masʿūdī's list of authors (*Murūdj*, ed.-tr. Pellat, § 8) and he figures also among the historians in Sakhāwī's list (mainly derived from Masʿūdī's list, except for its alphabetical arrangement; see F. Rosenthal, *History*, 430 (Arabic tr., 686)); see also *Fihrist*, 107; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 283; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 357-8; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, iii, 74; idem, *al-Mushtabah*, Cairo 1962, i, 644; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1326, ix, 227; idem, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, Ḥaydarābād, vi, 693; idem, *Taḳrīb al-Tahdhīb*, Madīna 1960, ii, 170-1.

Modern Sources: G. Levi Della Vida, *Les "Livres des chevaux"*, Leiden 1928 (Publication de la fondation De Goeje, xxxiv, 8); Brockelmann, S I, 216; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 79, 337, 399 (?), 430 (Arabic tr. by Ṣ. al-ʿAlī with valuable additions, 127, 548, 642, 697); A. Dūrī, *Ḍawʾ djadīd* ..., in *Bull. Coll. Arts and Science*, ii (1957), 65; A. ʿAzzāwī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muʾarrikhīn fī ʿaṣr al-Mughūl wa'l-Turkmān*, Baghdād 1957, 238-9. (F. OMAR)

IBN AL-NAẒAR, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-ʿUmānī, Ibāḍī scholar of ʿUmān who lived in the 6th/12th century (he was killed by Khardala b. Samāʿa). He was the author of the *Kitāb al-Daʿāʾim*, a collection of poems on *fiḳh* of which two editions have been published (one of them in Cairo in 1351). Among his other works there should be mentioned an important *Kitāb Silk al-djumān fī siyar ahl ʿUmān.*

Bibliography: A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (1885), 19, no. 21; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *al-Lumʿa al-murḍiyya*, printed in a collection entitled *Madjmūʿ sittat kutub*, Algiers n.d. [1326?], 217-8; J. Schacht, *Bibliothèques et manuscrits abadites*, in *R.Afr.*, c/446-9 (1956), 383, no. 26. (T. Lewicki)

IBN NUBĀTA, Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥudhaḳī al-Fāriḳī, born at Mayyāfāriḳīn at a date not known, that of 335/946 given by his biographers being probably incorrect (cf. Amedroz, *The Marwanid dynasty at Mayyāfāriḳīn*, in *JRAS*, 1903, 125, n.; idem, *Notes on two articles on Mayyāfāriḳīn*, in *JRAS*, 1909, 175), was preacher (*khaṭīb*) at the court of Sayf al-Dawla at Mayyāfāriḳīn and Aleppo. He died in 374/984-5 in his native town. His sermons (*khuṭab*) in rhyming prose and a very elaborate style can be divided into three sections: (1) praise of God and prayer for the Prophet; (2) exhortation to fear God and the Last Judgement and to observe the moral and religious laws, in particular the obligation of the *djihād*; (3) petition for God's help and blessing, ending in a verse of the Ḳurʾān. In addition to the sermons which he preached on ordinary occasions of worship and for religious festivals, Ibn Nubāta, from 348/959 on, often composed sermons for political occasions. His most famous sermons, the *khuṭab djihādiyya*, were written to exhort the population to support Sayf al-Dawla in the war against the Byzantines, and they aroused great enthusiasm. They contain references to contemporary events, for example the taking of Aleppo by the Byzantines in 351/962, the measures taken for the defence of Mayyāfāriḳīn, the arrival in that town of volunteers from Khurāsān, the assassination of Nicephorus Phocas in 969, etc.

Ibn Nubāta's sermons were collected and arranged together with some sermons by his son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (*ca.* 390/999) and by his grandson Abu 'l-Faradj (*ca.* 420/1029); collected in about 629/1223, they have been printed in various editions, of which one of the best known is the Beirut edition of 1311.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 350-7; Ibn al-Azraḳ al-Fāriḳī, *Taʾrīkh* ..., MS Brit. Mus. Or. 5803, fol. 114 v. (part not yet printed); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iii, 83; M. Canard, *Sayf al-Daula, Recueil de textes* ..., Algiers 1934, 129-34, 142-4, 155-64, 167-73, 415-6 (annotated extracts), 283-4; Muḥammad Ṣadruddin, *Saifuddaulah and his time*, Lahore 1930, 168; Zakī Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-fannī*, ii, 159-65; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 307-13, = Eng. tr., 319-25 (translated extracts). See also the translation by de Slane, in *JA*, 3rd series, ix, 66 ff., of the famous sermon on the vision of the Prophet; Brockelmann, I, 92, S I, 149-50. (M. Canard)

IBN NUBĀTA, Abū Bakr Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. al-Khaṭīb ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Nubāta, a poet and prose writer who was famous in his own day. He traced his descent from the tribe of the Djudhām (Ḳaḥṭān) which had migrated to Syria to settle in the neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriḳīn, the town in which his ancestor al-Khaṭīb ʿAbd al-Raḥīm had lived.

Ibn Nubāta however was born in Cairo, in Rabīʿ I 686/April 1287. His father Shams al-Dīn (b. 666/1268, d. 750/1349; see Brockelmann, S II, 47) was a scholar in *ḥadīth*, so that the young Muḥammad grew up in a religious and scholarly atmosphere. From his youth he distinguished himself by his lively intelligence. His father introduced him to the eminent scholars of the time, in particular to Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd.

Early in his career, Ibn Nubāta wrote a number of panegyrics addressed to the dignitaries of Cairo. Having failed to obtain the success for which he had hoped, he set off at the beginning of 716/1316 for Syria, and settled at Damascus. Thence he would visit Aleppo and go fairly often to Ḥamāt, to the court of the scholarly Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, who ruled Ḥamāt from 710 to 732/1311-32, and whose favourite poet he became. To him he addressed his best panegyrics, known as *al-Muʾayyadiyyāt*. Al-Malik al-Muʾayyad paid him an annual allowance, which he sent to him at Damascus. Ibn Nubāta led at this period a happy life and wrote a number of literary treatises commissioned by al-Malik al-Muʾayyad. When the latter died in 732/1332, the poet wrote moving threnodies lamenting his death. Al-Afḍal, who succeeded his father and ruled Ḥamāt from 732 to 742/1332-41, continued for a time to patronize Ibn Nubāta, but then he devoted himself to a life of mysticism and lost interest in all poets; this put an end to the happy period of Ibn Nubāta's life. From then on he wandered from town to town in Syria, earning his livelihood by writing panegyrics. It was during this period that he was made superintendant of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. To fulfil this duty he went there every year and then returned to Damascus. After al-Afḍal's fall and death at Damascus, Ibn Nubāta dedicated to him a threnody which was in fact a lament for the whole of the Ayyūbid dynasty.

In 743/1342, Ibn Nubāta was appointed secretary to the Chancellery (*Dīwān al-inshāʾ*) at Damascus. His misfortunes at this time led him to write poems soliciting the help of the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in Cairo, who took pity on him and summoned him to Egypt; but the now elderly poet, who left Damascus in Rabīʿ I 761/January-February 1360, worked only a very short time at the sultan's court, in the *Dīwān al-tawḳīʿ*. After the assassination of the sultan (762/1361), Ibn Nubāta spent his last days in poverty; he died on 8 Ṣafar 768/14 October 1366 and was buried in the cemetery of the mystics.

Ibn Nubāta's poetry, of rather conformist type, is full of rhetorical figures and particularly of *tawriyas*; it does not greatly reflect the events of his time. Ibn Nubāta was a conservative poet, and made use of the traditional genres of poetry: laudatory, amorous, elegiac; he also wrote poems in praise of the Prophet, a genre much in vogue at the time.

His *Dīwān*, assembled by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Bashtakī (d. 830/1426-7), is based on the main collection made by the poet, and on other small *dīwān*s with various titles, the majority of which were compiled by the author himself. This great *dīwān*, which does not however contain all his works, was edited in Alexandria and in Cairo in 1323/1905 (on the manuscripts, see Brockelmann; a further manuscript is in al-Ẓāhiriyya library at Damascus, no. 7681). In addition to this *dīwān*, Ibn

Nubāta wrote many prose works mentioned in the *idjāza* which he gave to his pupil Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, and listed also by Brockelmann. In accordance with the fashion of the period, Ibn Nubāta's prose is characterized by mannerisms of style. The most important of these works were written at the request of the ruler of Ḥamāt, al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, when the poet was in Syria; among them are: *Maṭlaʿ al-fawāʾid*, a work of *adab* praised by some men of letters of the period; *Sadjʿ al-muṭawwaḳ*, biographies of the scholars of the period; *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, a commentary on the epistle of Ibn Zaydūn, which reflects the author's linguistic, literary and historical erudition; *al-Fāḍil min inshāʾ al-Fāḍil*, a selection of letters by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil; *Zahr al-manthūr*, a treatise on the art of letterwriting.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 329; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, i, 221; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiv, 322; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1350, iv, 216-23; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1950, xi, 95; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, vi, 31; Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1304, 290-2; Zuruklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 268; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, xi, 273; Aḥmad al-Iskandarī, Aḥmad Amīn and others, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1936, ii, 206-34; ʿUmar Mūsā Pāshā, *Ibn Nubāta al-miṣrī*, Cairo 1963; Brockelmann, II, 11-2 (10-12). The introduction by Muḥ. al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm to his edition of the *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn* (Cairo 1964) contains further bibliographical references and a list of Ibn Nubāta's works.

(J. Rikabi)

IBN NUDJAYM (so called after a remote ancestor), Zayn al-Dīn (or al-ʿĀbidīn), or simply Zayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, a distinguished Ḥanafī scholar. Little is known of the events of his life, except that he was born in Cairo in 926/1520, studied the usual subjects of Islamic and Arabic learning, started to teach and to give *fatwā*s at an early age while his teachers were still alive, performed the *ḥadjdj* in 953/1547, taught at the *madrasa* of the *amīr* Ṣarghitmish, and died in 970/1563, when he had not yet reached the limit of his intellectual development; he was buried near the sanctuary of Sayyida Sukayna. His main activity was in the field of *fiḳh* but he was also inclined towards ṣūfism; he was close to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī [*q.v.*] for ten years and undertook the *ḥadjdj* in his company; he asked al-Shaʿrānī whether he should embrace the *ṣūfī* way of life, but al-Shaʿrānī dissuaded him from doing so before he had gained full mastery of the *sharīʿa*. Ibn Nudjaym was particularly interested in the systematic structure of *fiḳh*, and this interest shows itself in his literary activity, which was very extensive.

(1) His *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir* (printed in Calcutta 1240/1825 and repeatedly in Cairo) is partly based on a work of al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] with the same title; it treats in seven sections of general rules (*ḳawāʿid kulliyya*), difficult details (*fawāʾid*) chapter by chapter, similar and dissimilar cases (*al-djamʿ wa 'l-farḳ*), puzzles (*alghāz*), subterfuges or legal devices (*ḥiyal*), distinctions (*furūḳ*), and finally some anecdotes. (2) Of systematic character, too, is Ibn Nudjaym's *al-Fawāʾid al-Zayniyya* (printed in Calcutta 1244) in which he established more than one thousand rules or norms (*ḳawāʿid*) in *fiḳh*, presumably following the example of Ibn Radjab [*q.v.*]. (3) His smaller treatises and *fatwā*s are very numerous; forty of them were collected after his death by his son Aḥmad under the title *al-Rasāʾil al-Zayniyya fī madhhab al-Ḥanafiyya* (printed Calcutta 1244 and Būlāḳ 1323, see Brockelmann). (4) Ibn Nudjaym also wrote commentaries on several handbooks of Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, not all of which have been preserved; the most famous of them is *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ*, a commentary on the *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ* of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]; he only wrote as far as the beginning of the *kitāb al-idjāra*, and the work was completed, with a *Takmila*, by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭūrī (d. 1004/1595); it was first printed in Cairo, 1311, in eight volumes, seven of which contain *al-Baḥr al-rāʾik* and the eighth the *Takmila*, and several times afterwards; it is one of the great handbooks of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*.

Zayn al-Dīn's younger brother ʿUmar, also called Ibn Nudjaym, studied under him and wrote another commentary on the *Kanz al-daḳāʾik*, called *al-Nahr al-fāʾiḳ*; he died suddenly, presumably poisoned by a jealous wife of his, in 1005/1596 and was buried near his brother (al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, iii, 206).

Bibliography: Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, iii, 154; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, 358; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Taʿlīḳāt al-saniyya* (notes on *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya*), 134; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, v, 17; Ahlwardt, Catalogue Berlin, iv, nos. 4616, 4831; Catalogue Bankipore, xix/2, no. 1699; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, i, 265; Brockelmann, II, 401, 252, S II, 425, 266; there is also a useful biography at the beginning of the editio princeps of *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ*.

(J. Schacht)

IBN RABBAN [see al-Ṭabarī].

IBN al-RABĪB, Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, known also under the name of al-Ḳāḍī al-Tāhartī (because he was for some time *ḳāḍī* of Tāhart), philologist, poet and man of letters of Ḳayrawān, where he died in 430/1038-9. He is remembered only for a *risāla* addressed to Abu 'l-Mughīra Ibn Ḥazm [see ibn ḥazm] in which he criticizes the Andalusians (text in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i, 111-3; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 108-9; H. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī*, Cairo 1944, 64-6; Eng. tr. P. de Gayangos, *The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, London 1840, i, 168-70). This *risāla* produced two answers: the first, from Abu 'l-Mughīra Ibn Ḥazm (partial text in Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 113-6), the second from the latter's cousin, ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm (text in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 109-21; Eng. tr. P. de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, i, 170-90; Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, in *al-Andalus*, xix/1 (1954), 61-103).

Bibliography: in the article. (Ed.)

IBN RADJAB, Zayn al-Dīn (and Djamāl al-Dīn) Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Radjab al-Baghdādī al-Dimashḳī, Ḥanbalī traditionist and jurisconsult, author of a *ṭabaḳāt*-work on the Ḥanbalī school, *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, a continuation of the work of Ibn Abī Yaʿlā [see ibn al-farrāʾ]. Originally from Baghdād, where he was born in 736/1335, he came to Damascus with his father in 744/1343. His father saw to his education, especially in the field of *ḥadīth*, and travelled with him to the Ḥidjāz and Jerusalem for this purpose. Ibn Radjab studied *ḥadīth* also in Cairo. He received *idjāza*s from the traditionists Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḳīb (694-764/1294-1362), and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Nawawī (729-805/1328-1402). Several of his works have come down to us, of which, in addition to the above mentioned *ṭabaḳāt*-work, the most important is *al-Ḳawāʿid* (Cairo 1352/1933), on Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*. He

taught in Damascus in the madrasas al-Ḥanbaliyya al-Sharīfiyya, and al-ʿUmariyya al-Shaykhiyya, as well as in al-Turba al-ʿIzziyya, and died in 795/1392.

Bibliography: Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīkh al-madāris*, 2 vols., Damascus 1951, index, s.v. (ii, 76-7, for biographical notice); H. Laoust, *Le Ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Baḥrides*, in *REI*, xxviii (1960), 70-71, and notes 375-8; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle* (Damascus 1963), index, s.v.; on *ṭabaḳāt*-works of the Ḥanbalīs and other schools of law, see G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 46-67. For a list of Ibn Radjab's works, see Brockelmann, I, 107, S I, 129-30; Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 77; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 339. (G. Makdisi)

IBN RĀHWAYH, i.e., Abū Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanẓalī al-Marwazī, a prominent traditionist. His father was called Rāhwayh because he had been born on a road. Ibn Rāhwayh himself was born in Marw in 161/778 or 166/782-3, travelled in ʿIrāḳ, Ḥidjāz, Yemen and Syria, visited Baghdād more than once and finally settled in Nīsābūr where he died in 238/853; his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. He heard traditions from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (Brockelmann, S I, 256), Sufyān b. ʿUyayna [*q.v.*], Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ, an authority of al-Bukhārī, and Djarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (*Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, ii, no. 116); later sources increase the number of his teachers almost indefinitely. He was the teacher of Ibn Ḳutayba and of Muslim [*qq.v.*]; also the authors of the other classical collections (with the exception of Ibn Mādja) as well as Yaḥyā b. Ādam [*q.v.*] and his contemporary Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] transmitted traditions from him. As a traditionist, he was naturally hostile to the *aṣḥāb al-raʾy* [*q.v.*], and Ibn Ḳutayba quotes a number of statements of his to this effect (*Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, 65-67, Lecomte §§ 63-7). Incredible stories are related of his astounding memory, but it is also said that he became confused five months before he died, and in contrast with his deep knowledge of religious subjects he was incompetent in worldly matters. According to the *Fihrist*, he wrote a *Kitāb al-Sunan fi 'l-fiḳh* (a typical "traditionist" title), a *Kitāb al-Musnad*, and a *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*; one part of his *Musnad* has been preserved (Catalogue Cairo[1], 419) and is to be printed in Ḥaydarābād.

A grandson of Ibn Rāhwayh, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, was a traditionist and Mālikī scholar, widely travelled; he was killed by the Ḳarmaṭīs [*q.v.*] on his return from the *ḥadjdj* in 294/906-7 (Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1330, 244).

The son of this last, also called Muḥammad, was a prominent Mālikī scholar and also a traditionist; he lived in Baghdād and finally became *ḳāḍī* of Ramla, where he died in 336 or 337/947-949 (*Dībādj*, *ibid.*; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iii, no. 1262, where these two persons seem to be confounded).

Bibliography: al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, i, no. 1209; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*; G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, index; idem, *Le Traité des divergences du ḥadīṯ d'Ibn Qutayba*, index; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, i, no. 714; *Fihrist*, 230; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ix, no. 446 (contains only verses in praise of him and traditions related by him); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vi, no. 3381 (an extensive article, contains a long genealogy); Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, i, 109 (a short notice); idem, *Ikhtiṣār al-Nābulusī*, 68-70 (the same notice, supplemented with material from other sources); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, i, no. 408; Brockelmann, S I, 257 (read 419 instead of 305). (J. Schacht)

IBN RĀʾIḲ, or Muḥammad b. Rāʾiḳ, first *amīr al-umarāʾ* [*q.v.*] of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The son of an officer of the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, and of Khazar origin, Ibn Rāʾiḳ had been chief of police, and then chamberlain during the reign of al-Muḳtadir. On the accession of al-Ḳāhir, at first in disgrace for having supported the former caliph and having fled from Baghdād, he succeeded in being made governor of Baṣra. When, on the accession of al-Rāḍī, he was made governor also of Wāsiṭ, he became one of the most powerful governors, and had no scruples about withholding the payments which were due from him in order to make difficulties for the caliph and the vizier. He obtained, through his appointment as *amīr al-umarāʾ* ([*q.v.*] "commander of the commanders"), the chief command of the army, together with responsibility for the financial administration and for maintaining order throughout the empire (324/936). During the two years of his amīrate, Ibn Rāʾiḳ concerned himself mainly with depriving the caliph of every means of defence, and ordered for this reason the massacre of the Ḥudjariyya [*q.v.*] guards, who had proved intractable. He also entered into conflict with the governors of the Ahwāz, the Banu 'l-Barīdī, from whom he attempted to take their province, and treated in a particularly cruel manner the former vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*], who was intriguing against him. In spite of all this, he was removed from office in 326/938 by his own subordinate, Badjkam, who appointed him as governor of the Diyār Muḍar. After Badjkam's death, he seized the power from the new *amīr* Kurānkidj and succeeded in getting himself appointed again as *amīr al-umarāʾ* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 329/September 941. But he was not long in office, as he was assassinated in Radjab 330/April 942 by the Ḥamdānid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, who felt himself to be threatened by him.

Bibliography: H. Bowen, *The life and times of ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā, the Good Vizier*, index; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, i, Algiers 1951, 411-4, 420-4; Defrémery, *Mémoire sur les émirs al-oméra*, in *Mémoires prés. à l'Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1st series, ii, Paris 1852, 105-96; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râdî billâh* . . ., tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index. (D. Sourdel)

IBN AL-RAḲĪḲ (d. after 418/1027-8), or al-Raḳīḳ Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḳāsim al-Kātib al-Ḳayrawānī, who had been secretary of the Zīrids for about a quarter of a century at the time when Ibn Rashīḳ wrote his *ʿUmda*, was a talented man of letters and chronicler. Ibn Rashīḳ acknowledges that he had a certain poetic gift, although his style was rather that of a secretary, and Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i, 217-26) has preserved some long fragments from his poems. There also survives his *Ḳuṭb al-surūr* (MS Paris B.N. nos. 4829, 4830 and 4831; for the other MSS, see Brockelmann) devoted to the Bacchic genre in the form in which it was cultivated in the East.

But Ibn al-Raḳīḳ was considered by his contemporaries (see Ibn Rashīḳ, quoted by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 216) and by posterity as an outstanding historian. Ibn Khaldūn regarded him (*Muḳaddima*, Beirut ed. 1956, 4) as "the best specialist on the history of Ifrīḳiya and of the states whose capital was Ḳayrawān". This reputation was fully justified. His *Kitāb Taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, in several volumes, was the basis for the works of Ibn Shaddād, of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260),

of al-Tidjānī (d. after 708/1308) and especially of Ibn ʿIdhārī (ca. 706/1306-7), al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1331-2), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1405-6) and al-Maḳrīzī (d. 846/1442-3). Al-Sakhāwī (*Iʿlān*, 122; d. 902/1496-7), al-Shammākhī, and even al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, p. 289 ff.), who was writing in 1137/1724-5, appear to quote directly from him. Today, however, the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, although it is constantly referred to as surviving in certain private libraries in Tunisia, cannot in fact be traced. An anonymous fragment, defective at the beginning and lacking a colophon, on the history of the Maghrib from the governorship of ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ to the reign of Ibrāhīm I, which was discovered at Rabat by M. al-Mannūnī, has been published (Tunis 1968) by M. al-Kaʿbī, who attributes it to Ibn al-Raḳīḳ; but this attribution is in fact very dubious. It should be noted finally, if the passages borrowed from Ibn al-Raḳīḳ's work are to be correctly interpreted, that although compiled or written with scrupulous care it is coloured by the Shīʿī sympathies of its author, a fact which seems to have been forgotten or overlooked by the historians who have included long fragments from it.

Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, who in 388/998 was sent by the Zīrid Bādīs on a diplomatic mission to al-Ḥākim of Egypt, seems, to judge from a poem reproduced by Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i, 222-4), to have stayed for a long time in Cairo, of whose delights he writes poignantly and nostalgically. Among his other works not yet traced, there are mentioned: *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ* (on women); *al-Rāḥ wa 'l-irtiyāḥ* (on pleasures); *al-Aghānī* (on songs); and *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarāt al-mulūk* (a manual for the perfect courtier).

Bibliography: the sources are given by Brockelmann, I, 161, S I, 252; Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, 1933, i, 39; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, 2nd ed., i, 51-2; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, i, XIV and ii, 81-2. The best biographical notice on Ibn al-Raḳīḳ is that by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, Cairo ed. 1936, i, 216-26. (M Talbi)

IBN RASHĪD [see RASHĪD, ĀL].

IBN RASHĪĶ, Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Rashīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, and also al-Azdī, al-Masīlī, one of the most illustrious men of letters of Ifrīḳiya, born in 390/1000 at M'sila (Masīla = Muḥammadiyya) in the region of Constantine. His father, known by the single name Rashīḳ, was probably a freed slave of Byzantine origin (*rūmī*), who had become a client of the Azd. He followed the trade of goldsmith in M'sila, where the young Ḥasan, after his first studies, soon revealed his poetic talents, as well as a taste for literature. Wishing to perfect his knowledge and to take advantage of his poetic gifts, Ibn Rashīḳ went to Ḳayrawān, then the capital of Ifrīḳiya and a flourishing centre of culture, in 406/1015-6, the year of the accession of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz. His two-fold ambition was amply realized since he was able to profit from the teaching and instruction of the famous masters of the literary school of Ḳayrawān, such as al-Khushanī, al-Ḳazzāz and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī, perhaps after becoming acquainted with al-Nahshalī in M'sila, of which they were both natives; moreover, as early as 410/1019, he became a protégé of the great patron Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl [*q.v.*], tutor to al-Muʿizz, a poet, man of letters and astronomer (well-known in mediaeval Europe by the names Abenragel, Albohazen and Alboacen) and head of the Zīrid chancellery, where he found a post for the young Ibn Rashīḳ. In the same year, he became court poet to al-Muʿizz and one of the sovereign's intimates. From then onwards his reputation continued to increase, as did his favour with the prince, thanks to his moral qualities, his charming character and his boundless energy: witty, jovial, high-spirited, and indeed a convivial fellow and devotee of the pleasures offered by the Zīrid capital, he was admired for his poetry which enjoyed an exceptional vogue, even in his lifetime, as far afield as Sicily and Spain. He had to face the envy or hostility of many, the most tenacious adversary being his emulator Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*]; their rivalry, inflamed by al-Muʿizz, who often provoked what amounted to poetic jousts between his two greatest poets, was to end only in exile in Sicily, at the intervention of the Sicilian admirers of the "two Ḳayrawānī masters". On the fall of Ḳayrawān, when it was devastated by the Banū Hilāl in 449/1057, Ibn Rashīḳ followed al-Muʿizz to al-Mahdiyya where, from then onwards, he simultaneously praised both the monarch and his son Tamīm, the governor of that town, although at times he had to suffer from the violent ill-temper of al-Muʿizz, who had been rendered irascible by his defeats. It was as a result of one of these scenes, more probably than after the prince's death (which occurred in 454/1062), that he went to Sicily, where he became reconciled with Ibn Sharaf, who had already preceded him there. But he did not follow his old compatriot to Spain, where they had been invited by the ʿAbbādid of Seville, al-Muʿtaḍid: he died in Mazara in 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1.

It was principally to his poetry that Ibn Rashīḳ owed his rise and fame. Ibn Khallikān is alone, so far as we know, in describing his *Dīwān* (in the account of Ibn Yaʿīsh, vi, 50, and not in the account of Ibn Rashīḳ, as various studies say), which incidentally was incomplete. The known recensions of his poems, all recent (*Bisāṭ*; *Nutaf*; *Dīwān* ed. Yāghī; see *Bibl.*), do not, however, reproduce everything that has survived from these poems. In them Ibn Rashīḳ handles all the traditional themes of Arab poetry; his panegyrics and occasional verse prove him chiefly a court poet, and his poem on the Ḳayrawān disaster was to serve as a model for many celebrated elegies: this masterpiece of the genre, in which the expression of severe and dignified grief was allied to a vigorous, taut style of remarkable clarity, is not lacking in epic inspiration, like his threnody (rhyme *-kū*) on al-Muʿizz.

But his poetry is characterized above all by its conscious artistic elegance, in which the poet's exertions, although evident, nevertheless achieve real beauty. In this sense, Ibn Rashīḳ is a classical poet. He is above all the poet most skilled in felicitously applying the theories and rules of Arabic poetry, so expertly expounded in his major work, *al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-shiʿr wa naḳdih* (published successively in Tunis—vol. i only—in about 1285/1868, then, in its entirety, in Cairo 1325/1907, 1344/1925, 1934 and 1955; abridged several times, particularly by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ al-Ṣiḳillī, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī and Abū Nakr Ibn Sarrādj al-Shantarīnī; taught, especially by the author himself in Sicily), which remains the "basic" work for this kind of poetics. This derives from an essential principle which seems to be that of poetry as an "art", as the Arabs have always conceived it—either achieved by effort, *maṣnūʿ*, or spontaneous, *maṭbūʿ*, rather than an "inspiration": poetry, whose importance to the Arabs is primordial and in which the "Moderns" are just as successful as the "Ancients", is superior to prose through its meaning and form; its value—just as for Ḳudāma—varies with that of its components—vocabulary (*al-lafẓ*),

metre (*al-wazn*), meaning (*al-maʿnā*), rhyme (*al-ḳāfiya*), and the culture, intelligence and dexterity of the poet who must be able to handle all types with the same ease and to adapt his poetry according to the subject, the circumstances and the public. The work concludes with some particulars about the life of the Arabs, their language and the knowledge required in order to develop poetic talent. The quotations, which are varied and accompanied by comments, give this work on poetics a quality of *adab* which appreciably enhances it; the reasoned and well-founded judgements which accompany the exposition throughout *al-ʿUmda* in themselves allow Ibn Ras͟hīḳ to be ranked as one of the greatest Arab literary critics. Making use of the various currents of literary criticism which, from Ibn Sallām to al-ʿAskarī, through Ḳudāma, al-Āmidī and al-Ḏjurdjānī, reached its final but incomplete form in the East, Ibn Ras͟hīḳ, who devoted himself to the criticism of poetry, composed a work of synthesis that was at once rational, systematic and original, in which he did not confine himself to a theoretical exposé or to the study of one aspect of poetry or of a single poet, but dealt with poetry in its entirety and as a man of letters, since this criticism flows from the complete and copiously illustrated exposition of poetics, while giving a place, along with the classical criteria, to taste and the "literary sense". The favourite problem of the Arab literary critic, plagiarism (*al-sariḳa*)—already considered at the end of *al-ʿUmda*—became with him, in a remarkable work, *Ḳurāḍat al-ḏhahab fī naḳd as͟hʿār al-ʿArab* (ed. K͟hāndjī, Cairo 1926; ed. Ch. Bouyahia, forthcoming), a study of poetic creation, and more precisely of the particular use made by each poet of poetic themes and the art of expressing them, and, to some extent, of the evolution of Arab poetry. Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's method of literary criticism finds its application in his admirable *Unmūḏhadj al-zamān fī s͟huʿarāʾ al-Ḳayrawān* (a lost work, the substance of which has, however, mostly been preserved in later biographical dictionaries, which often adopted it as a model, closely imitated but never equalled; Ibn al-Abbār makes no secret of this fact for his *Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, incomplete ed. under the title *al-Muḳtaḍab min K. Tuḥfat al-ḳādim*, Cairo 1957, introd.), in which, concentrating upon the writings rather than the lives of the Ifrīḳiyan poets of his period, in each notice he sketched a true literary portrait with the help of objective and methodical criticism, infallible acuteness of judgement, a graphic style and pure, sober and closely knit language, whose magnificence is, however, brought to an end as soon as the writer turns from the portrait to narrative. This trilogy forms the crowning achievement of Arab literary criticism. With the genre discussed in *al-Unmūḏhadj* may be linked a book on the poets of al-Mahdiyya, *al-Rawḍa al-maws͟hiyya fī s͟huʿarāʾ al-Mahdiyya*, of which we have no exact knowledge. All the other works of Ibn Ras͟hīḳ (about thirty in number, mostly *risālas*; see their titles in the authors listed in the *Bibl.*; some, perhaps, are merely chapter headings or a mutilated repetition of other titles already listed) are today lost. For the most part, they are connected with his work as literary critic, whether they are concerned with the science of language (such as *al-S͟huḏhūḏh fi 'l-lug͟ha*, on words rarely employed) or whether they belong to his long polemic with his rival Ibn S͟haraf. For Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's place in the development of rhetoric, see also BADĪʿ, BAYĀN and AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

Ibn Ras͟hīḳ is also regarded by all his biographers, both ancient and modern, as an historian. But nothing is less certain; the only historical work that they attribute to him with any precision, *Mīzān al-ʿamal* (a chronicle regarded as mediocre by Ibn K͟haldūn, *Prolègomenes*, i, 8; Rosenthal, i, 10—in terms incompatible with the esteem he felt for the author of *al-ʿUmda*, see *Prolègomenes*, iii, 378, 380-1; Rosenthal, iii, 338, 405), in reality belongs to an Andalusian homonym of his, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAtīḳ b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ras͟hīḳ al-Tag͟hlabī, d. after 674/1275 (see Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1375/1955, 484). The same must be true of the Commentary on the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* which is attributed to him, the homonyms of this author in both East and West being numerous, with writings on various subjects.

Bibliography: In addition to the works listed in the text: Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 53, 57-65; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 298-304; Yāḳūt, *Irs͟hād*, Cairo 1936-8, viii, 110-21; Ibn K͟hallikān, Cairo 1948, i, 366-8 (no. 157); Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, xvii, MS Paris 2327, 37v.-41v., which mainly uses Ibn Bassām; Ibn S͟hākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāḳ 1299/1881-2, *passim* and ii, 204 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Bug͟hya*, Cairo 1326/1908, 220; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, Tunis 1287/1870-1, 99-102; Ḥādjdjī K͟halīfa, Istanbul ed., 185, 301, 973, 1029, 1169, 1907, 1918; Brockelmann, I, 307, S I, 539-40; Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-ʿaḳīḳ fī ḥaḍārat al-Ḳayrawān wa-s͟hāʿirihā Ibn Ras͟hīḳ*, Tunis 1330/1911-2; idem, *al-Muntak͟hab al-madrasī*[2], Cairo 1944, 75-8; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, *Ibn Ras͟hīḳ*, Cairo 1343/1924-5; idem, *al-Nutaf min s͟hiʿr Ibn Ras͟hīḳ*, Cairo 1343/1924-5; Muḥ. al-Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351/1932-3, i, 52-4; M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*[2], Catania 1933-9, i, 39, ii, 562-7; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn S͟haraf al-Ḳayrawānī: Questions de critique littéraire*, Algiers 1953, Introd. XVIII-XXIII; A. Trabulsi, *La Critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1956, 105-7, and *passim*; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Yāg͟hī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān wa mawḳif Ibn Ras͟hīḳ minhā*, Beirut 1962; idem, *Dīwān Ibn Ras͟hīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī*, Beirut n.d.; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, ii, 792-4 and index; Ch. Bouyahia, in *Ann. de l'Un. de Tunis*, 1965/ii, 233-44; see also *Bibl.* to Ibn S͟haraf for their polemics. (CH. BOUYAHIA)

IBN RAS͟HĪḲ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḲUS͟HAYRĪ, ruler of Murcia, 474/1081-481/1088. He is first heard of as *ʿāmil* of Ḥiṣn Baldj, the modern Vilches, in 474/1081. In this year Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] stayed with Ibn Ras͟hīḳ on his way from Seville to take Murcia from Ibn Ṭāhir for his master al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād. Ibn ʿAmmār and Ibn Ras͟hīḳ formed an association, as a result of which, and by a process of which the accounts differ, Ibn Ras͟hīḳ became the independent ruler of Murcia. Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's position, like that of his neighbours at Valencia and Almería, was precarious, being threatened both by internal strife and continual pressure from the Christians. Indeed the Christians possessed an outpost in the very heart of Ibn Ras͟hīḳ's territory at Aledo, 45 km south-west of Murcia.

The advent of the Almoravids and the great defeat suffered by the Christians at Zallāḳa (479/1086) had but slight immediate effect on the Levante. Ibn Ras͟hīḳ was obliged to pay a token tribute to Muʿtamid and Aledo remained in Christian hands. Yūsuf b. Tas͟hfīn's second expedition put an end to this situation. Yūsuf made directly for Aledo

and laid siege to it with the help of his Andalusian allies (481/1088). He had already made a pact with Muʿtamid that Murcia should be restored to him and, though it seems that Ibn Rashīḳ contrived to postpone the evil hour for a time, he was finally deposed under suspicion of actually helping the Christians besieged at Aledo and was delivered as a prisoner to Muʿtamid. ʿAbd Allāh the Zīrī says that Muʿtamid had him put to death but according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb he was kept prisoner at Seville until released by the Almoravids when they took possession of the city in 484/1091. His subsequent fate is unrecorded.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAbbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, Cairo 1963, ii, 123-4, 134-5, 140-6, 175; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, Beirut 1956, 160, 201, 257; ʿAbd Allāh the Zīrī, *Mémoires*, in *And.*, iii (1935), 324-5, 340-3 (text), and iv (1936-9), 45-7, 79-84 (trs.); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*[2], Leiden 1885, 85, 92; A Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la Reconquista*, Madrid 1956, 94-6. (J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN RAWĀḤA [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. RAWĀḤA].

IBN AL-RĀWANDĪ or **AL-RĒWENDĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AḤMAD B. YAḤYĀ B. ISḤĀḲ, Muʿtazilī and heretic, born at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. The unsolved problem of the date of his death (the middle or the end of the 4th/10th century) should probably be decided, in spite of certain indications to the contrary, in favour of the earlier date, given that his work on the supposed criticism of prophecy by the Brahmans (see AL-BARĀHIMA but the article omits to mention this point) is already mentioned in an unpublished fragment by the Jewish *mutakallim* Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Raḳḳī, known as al-Muḳammiṣ, whose literary activity was not later than the last third of the 3rd/9th century (cf. G. Vajda, in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 61, n. 1).

Ibn al-Rāwandī's intellectual development is difficult to trace. At first an adherent of Muʿtazilism, he then left his friends and attacked them mercilessly, emphasizing their real or apparent inconsistencies, deducing heretical conclusions from their speculations, and provoking from them, but probably after he had left them, refutations no less violent. His attachment, at least temporarily, to Shīʿism seems undeniable, but it is even more certain that he turned after this to free thought (*zandaḳa*), perhaps under the influence of Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*], as stormy a figure as himself. It is not clear whether he ended as a sceptic or whether there is some truth in the Muʿtazilīs' claim that he finally repented. Whatever the facts may have been, a discerning scholar like al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] pays homage to his percipience and his perfect mastery of language.

There are also several obscure points in the bibliography of Ibn al-Rāwandī. The *Fihrist* gives two lists of works which were attributed to him: one consists of eight titles, the other, incompletely transmitted, thirty-seven, the first seven of which are considered to date from his Muʿtazilī period; the second list contains none of the titles enumerated in the first (*Tādj*, *Zumurrudh*, *Naʿt al-ḥikma*, *Dāmigh*, *Ḳaḍīb*, *Farīd* (or *Firind*?), *Murdjān*, *Luʾluʾa*); on the other hand it lists, under numbers 34, 35 and 36, some refutations supposedly composed by Ibn al-Rāwandī himself (see J. Fück, *Texts ... from Ibn al-Nadīm's Kitab al-Fihrist*, in *Professor Muhammad Shafiʿ Presentation Volume*, Lahore 1955, 72 f.). H.S. Nyberg has compiled (Arabic introduction to his ed. of the *K. al-Intiṣār*, Cairo 1925, 32 f., in French in A. N. Nader, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, *Le Livre du Triomphe*..., Beirut 1957, xxviii-xxx) a list of nineteen works to which should be added a *Kitāb al-Khāṭir* and perhaps a *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa*, refuted by al-Djubbāʾī (see A. Borisov, in *SO*, iv (1947), 81 f.).

Fragments of three of his works are preserved in works written by those who refuted his ideas: (1) the *Kitāb Faḍīḥat al-Muʿtazila* is contained, divided up but the major part of it reproduced, in the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* of al-Khayyāṭ. Ibn al-Rāwandī's attack was in its first part a reply to an apologia, or rather a panegyric, of the Muʿtazilī school (*Faḍīlat al-Muʿtazila*) by al-Djāḥiẓ, while the second part consisted of a defence of the Shīʿa. Nyberg's ed. has been reproduced, with a French translation (to be used with caution) by A. N. Nader, Beirut 1957. (2) Fragments of his *Kitāb al-Dāmigh*, written against the Ḳurʾān, were reproduced by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*] in the course of his refutation (also lost) of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*]. These fragments are not the same as those reproduced later by Ibn al-Djawzī in his *Muntaẓam* (see *al-Mughnī*, xvi, Cairo 1380/1960, 389-94, and also 156 and 416. The purely dialectical refutation of the *Barāhima* in vol. xv of *al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1915, 109-46, does not mention Ibn al-Rāwandī at all, but see pp. 73 and 127; see also by the same, *Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Beirut 1966, 51 f., 63, 90 f., 128 f., 222, 224 f., 232, where the use of Ibn al-Rāwandī's works by Shīʿī propagandists is stressed). (3) Some fragments of the *Kitāb al-Zumurrudh* are preserved in the *Madjālis* of the Ismaʿīlī al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*], ed. and tr. by P. Kraus in *Beiträge* (see bibl.).

The quotations, whose verbatim accuracy is not certain, which are found in the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* of al-Māturīdī [*q.v.*], MS Cambridge Add. 3651, 96 v., 101 v. (particularly against al-Warrāḳ) and in Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], *Kitāb-i Djāmiʿ al-Ḥikmatayn*, ed. Corbin-Moin, Tehrān 1953, 232 ff. (against the "*Ḥashwiyya*", but it does not deal with those who are usually referred to by this name in the Sunnī sources) have still to be investigated.

The plentiful extracts from the *K. al-Zumurrudh* provide a fairly clear indication of the most heterodox doctrine of Ibn al-Rāwandī, that for which posterity has been least willing to forgive him: a biting criticism of prophecy in general and of the prophecy of Muḥammad in particular; he maintains in addition that religious dogmas are not acceptable to reason and must, therefore, be rejected; the miracles attributed to the prophets, persons who may reasonably be compared to sorcerers and magicians, are pure invention, and the greatest of the miracles in the eyes of orthodox Muslims, the Ḳurʾān, gets no better treatment: it is neither a revealed book nor even an inimitable literary masterpiece. In order to cloak his theses, which attack the roots of all types of religion, Ibn al-Rāwandī used the fiction that they were uttered by the Brahmans. His reputation as an irreligious iconoclast spread in the 4th/10th century beyond the borders of Muslim literature: his name is mentioned on several occasions by the Ḳaraite Jewish writers Salmon b. Yeruḥam and Yefet b. ʿAlī as that of a particularly dangerous and virulent heretic.

Several generations of Muslim theologians devoted themselves to refuting the attacks of Ibn al-Rāwandī: al-Khayyāṭ, al-Djubbāʾī, Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī, Abū Hāshim, al-Ashʿarī, al-Māturīdī, al-Kaʿbī, to mention only a few of the earliest of them.

Bibliography: The basic work by P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 93-129, 335-79 (with his article Ibn al-Rāwandī in *EI*[1], Supplement) gives almost all

the bibliography prior to its publication; there should be added (what follows is a selection only): for the references to Ibn al-Rāwandī in Judaeo-Arabic literature, S. Poznański, in *MGWJ*, li (1907), 731 f.; other details of this (and in particular of the affinity between Ibn al-Rāwandī and the slightly later Jewish heretic Ḥayyawayh al-Balkhī) in the work in Hebrew by M. Zucker, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Torah*, New York 1959, 13-5, 29-33; see also G. Vajda, in *REJ*, xcix (1935), 88 f. A. Badawi has translated into Arabic the monograph by Kraus: *Min taʾrīkh al-ilḥād fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1945, 77-188. Passages from Tawḥīdī: *al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, Cairo 1373/1953, ii, 14 and *al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-dhakhāʾir*, same date and place, 183. The notice by Ibn Murtaḍā on Ibn al-Rāwandī may be read in the ed. by S. Diwald-Wilzer, *Die Klassen der Muʿtaziliten*, Wiesbaden 1961, 92, lines 1-15. The passage from Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, quoted by Kraus, *Beiträge*, 379, is found in the most recent ed. by I. Sāmarrāʾī, Baghdād 1959, 150. See also the notices in Brockelmann, S I, 340 f., in F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 1967, 620 f. and in Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², i, 252 f.; further, H. S. Nyberg, *ʿAmr Ibn Ubaid et Ibn al-Rawendi, deux reprouvés*, in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1957, 125-36. A preliminary sketch, so far only fragmentary, of a doctrinal study (premature in view of the state of the documentation but excellent so far as it goes) is J. van Ess, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, xlv (1963), 79-85 and *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, passages indicated in the analytical index, p. 495. (P. Kraus-[G. Vajda])

IBN RIḌWĀN, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Riḍwān b. ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar al-Miṣrī, a renowned physician and medical author and polemist of Egypt. We are well informed about his life and personal circumstances because he composed an autobiography, the essence of which has been preserved by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, when he was approaching sixty. It is pervaded by a strong feeling of complacency which is, perhaps, explained by his experiences and explains, in its turn, his addiction to polemics. He was born in 388/998, the son of a baker in Giza (Djīza) near Cairo. He was very poor, had a hard youth, and had to earn his living and the money for his instruction by astrological forecasting in the streets and by similar means. He never had a teacher in medicine, which became a matter of reproach to him later, and he studied exclusively from books. He says himself that he did not possess the means to pay the apprentice's fee demanded by medical practitioners. He also was unable to marry until he was thirty. But after his thirtieth year he began to acquire a good medical reputation, and when he was appointed Chief Physician of Egypt by the Fāṭimid Caliph of Cairo (it cannot have been al-Ḥākim who disappeared in 411/1021, when Ibn Riḍwān was only twenty-three years old, but was probably al-Mustanṣir, 427/1036-487/1094), he acquired prosperity and wealth. Abu 'l-Muʿaskar al-Ḥusayn b. Maʿdān, the ruler of Makrān [*q.v.*], consulted him when he was stricken by hemiplegia. Ibn Riḍwān never left Egypt and perhaps not even the immediate neighbourhood of Cairo, where he became "one of the foremost to give information about the branches of knowledge in which he claimed authority" (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī). The site of his house remained known for a long time. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, he adopted an orphan girl in the period of famine and plague which started in 445/1053, and he educated her and she grew up in his house; but once when he left her alone, she took gold to the amount of 20,000 dīnārs and valuables and fled, and nothing more was heard of her; thereafter, his mind became deranged. Ibn Riḍwān was inclined to acrimonious polemics against his predecessors and contemporaries, including Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Djazzār, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Buṭlān [*qq.v.*] and others. Whereas he is unanimously praised as a medical practitioner, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa calls him "a better medical man (than Ibn Buṭlān) and better trained in the philosophical and associated sciences", he seems to have been unhappy in his personal relationships. According to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, "he was a man of narrow mind and not of sound judgment. He was, moreover, not of good looks and appearance. Nevertheless, many pupils followed his lectures and studied under him, and his fame spread abroad"; but "his pupils used to relate about him ridiculous things concerning his medical argumentations, astrological sayings and logical assertions, if those who have related them are right." Among his disciples were the Fāṭimid prince, philosopher, author and bibliophile al-Mubashshir b. Fātik [*q.v.*] (Brockelmann, I, 600; S I, 829), and the Jewish physician and bibliophile Afrāʾīm (Ephraim) b. al-Zaffān; he was also in friendly relations with an otherwise unknown Jewish physician, Yahūdā b. Saʿāda, to whom he addressed two treatises. Ibn Riḍwān died, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in 453/1061 (or, according to Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, in the sixties of that century).

Ibn Riḍwān's literary output was very extensive; the list of titles given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, if duplicates are eliminated, comes near to one hundred, though many of them no doubt represent short treatises, unfinished notes, and the like. Some twenty have been preserved in manuscripts. A few are concerned with astronomy, logic, philosophy and theology but the great majority are medical and in substance follow closely the works of Galen. Ibn Riḍwān possessed a wide knowledge of ancient medicine but he was not an original thinker, being a mere exponent of Hippocrates's and Galen's thought, without adding anything of his own; this was clearly seen by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, who called his works not very important, derivative, but well arranged. This lack of originality becomes almost a positive quality in the thought of Ibn Riḍwān, to such a degree that he did not allow an original thinker such as al-Rāzī to deviate in the least from the thought of Galen, and indeed most of his polemics have their starting-point in this contention of his. In addition, as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa observes, Ibn Riḍwān "was insolent in what he said, and he abused those with whom he had an argument". This is amply borne out by the contents of his treatises against Ibn Buṭlān (see below).

Among his more important and better known works are: (1) a Commentary on the *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy (*Sharḥ al-maḳālāt al-arbaʿ li-Baṭlūmiyūs*); it was translated into Latin and into Turkish, and the Latin translation was printed, together with the *Quadripartitum*, among the incunabula of Venice (and later) several times; (2) a Commentary on Galen's *Ars parva* (*Sharḥ al-ṣināʿa al-ṣaghīra li-Djālīnūs*); this, too, was translated into Latin, and the translation was repeatedly printed, together with the text of Galen, before and after 1500 (Brockelmann, I, 637, no. 14, and S. I, 886, no. 24 are to be combined); it was also translated into Hebrew; (3) *Kitāb al-Uṣūl fi 'l-ṭibb*, a compendium (*kunnāsh*),

another of Ibn Riḍwān's books to have been translated into Hebrew; (4) *al-Kitāb al-Nāfiʿ fī taʿlīm ṣināʿat al-ṭibb*; in this book Ibn Riḍwān, displaying a remarkable knowledge of Greek medical writers, tries to show that learning medicine from books is preferable to learning it from teachers, turning the necessity of his own study into a virtue; the work contains important information on the transmission of Greek science to the Arabs; summary of the existing part in Schacht-Meyerhof, *Controversy*, 20-8; (5) *Risalā fī dafʿ maḍārr al-abdān bi-arḍ Miṣr*, a treatise dealing with the conditions of health and disease in Egypt and Cairo, the plague and its causes, preventive measures and hygienic rules for the inhabitants of Egypt, including a medical topography of Cairo and its suburbs in the 5th/11th century; translation of this last section by M. Meyerhof in *Sitzungsber. d. Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät*, liv, Erlangen 1923, 197-214, and in *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Médecine Tropicale et d'Hygiène*, ii, Cairo 1929, 211-35; see also K. Vollers, *ZDMG*, xliv (1890), 386 f.; (6) finally, his controversy with Ibn Buṭlān of which three treatises of his have been preserved (edited and translated in Schacht-Meyerhof, *Controversy*), whereas two and perhaps three more have been lost; the controversy started from a disputed point of physiology, and finished with Ibn Riḍwān calling upon the practitioners of Cairo to boycott Ibn Buṭlān.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Égypte*, transl. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris 1830, 26, 103 f.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 443; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 99-105; Barhebraeus (Ibn al-ʿIbrī [*q.v.*]), *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut 1890, 331-4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, year 453 (a short notice of four lines); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iii, 291 (a short notice of two lines); al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 487 (= iii, 138); M. Steinschneider, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un'opera di Bernardino Baldi*, Rome 1874, 40-55; idem, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig 1877, 96-8, 149, 329; G. Gabrieli, in *Isis*, vi (1924), 500-6; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, 729 f.; J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo* (Egyptian University, Faculty of Arts, Publ. No. 13), Cairo 1937; the same, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, iv/2, 1936 (issued April 1939), 145-8; F. Rosenthal, *Die arabische Autobiographie* (Studia Arabica i = Analecta Orientalia 14), Rome 1937, 21-4; M. C. Lyons, "*On the Nature of Man*" [by Galen], *in ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān's Epitome* [transl.], in *Al-Andalus*, xxx (1965), 181-8; Brockelmann, I, 637 f.; S I, 886 (for further manuscripts, see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 87, no. 194; F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 57 f.; A. S. Tritton, in *JRAS*, 1951, 182, no. 1; *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, iii, index, s.v. ʿAlī b. Riḍwān; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, Göttingen 1966, no. 9).

(J. Schacht)

IBN RŪḤ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ b. Abī Baḥr al-Nawbakhtī, third *safīr* or *wakīl* (305/917-326/938) of the absent twelfth *imām* of the Twelver Shīʿīs, during the lesser *Ghayba* [*q.v.*]. Of the Nawbakhtī family only on the mother's side, he was from Ḳumm. He held the title *bāb* already under Ḥasan ʿAskarī [*q.v.*], and transmitted *ḥadīths* from earlier *imāms*. Appointed successor by the second *safīr*, Abū Djaʿfar al-ʿUmarī, despite some opposition, he made himself the unquestioned centre of Twelver Shīʿism at Baghdād under al-Muḳtadir. During a time in hiding, he appointed al-Shalmaghānī [*q.v.*] his deputy, but then denounced him as a heretic. Along with his adherents, the Banū Furāt, Ibn Rūḥ was accused of correspondence with the Ḳarāmiṭa rebels. For five years (312/924-317/929) he was imprisoned, allegedly on a fiscal complaint. Freed by Muʾnis, under al-Rāḍī he was favoured by the court. Ibn Rūḥ calmed disputes among Shīʿī courtiers and suavely avoided giving offence to Sunnīs. Before his death, he appointed Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sāmarrī his successor.

Bibliography: ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Khānadān-e Nawbakhtī*, Teheran 1311 s., 2nd impression 1345, 212-24, gives bibliography. In Western languages, see D. Donaldson, *The Shīʿite religion*, London 1933, 253-5, and Ibn Khallikān, tr. De Slane, i, 439.

(M. G. S. Hodgson)

IBN AL-RŪMĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās b. Djurayдj (or Djurdjis or Djurdjīs), poet of the 3rd/9th century, was born at Baghdād on 2 Radjab 221/21 June 836 and died there in 283/896 (some sources give the date of his death as 276/889 or 284/897). His father, al-ʿAbbās, a Byzantine freedman and a client of ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar, was probably the first member of the family to embrace Islam. His mother Ḥasana, the daughter of ʿAbd Allāh al-Sidjzī, was of Persian origin.

Little is known of his studies. It is known, however, that he went to a school attended by upper-class children and that he was the pupil of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, the friend of his father and like him the son of a freedman and a client of the Banu 'l-ʿAbbās. At various times he was in contact with Thaʿlab, al-Mubarrad, al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash III, Ibn al-Sarrādj and many other men of letters of the period, which provided him with a solid cultural background, the evidence of which is found in his work.

Al-Masʿūdī comments that "poetry was only the least of his talents", and al-Maʿarrī describes him as being primarily a philosopher. During his lifetime his fame as a "scholar" seems to have weighed heavily upon him; some spiteful critics considered that it accorded ill with the bouts of drinking from which he was unable to refrain.

His poetic talent showed itself at an early age. There exist poems which he is said to have composed while at school, and at the age of twenty he had already made his name as a poet. His poems were the subject of study and commentary, and he no longer paid any attention to malicious criticism. Convinced of his own worth and of the poet's sacred right to receive due reward, he preferred a career as a composer of panegyric to an appointment at the chancery which had been offered to him and which later he was to seek in vain.

His violent Shīʿism and his Muʿtazilism inevitably closed to him the doors of the court, to which he gained access only towards the end of his life. The branch of the ʿAbbāsids of which he was the client was unable to be of any help to him. ʿĪsā b. Djaʿfar, the father of his patron ʿUbayd Allāh, was the brother of Zubayda, the mother of al-Amīn; he had succeeded, in spite of the opposition of the Hāshimī majority, in having his nephew proclaimed heir presumptive and, in the conflict which arose soon after between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, he had openly taken the side of the former. Al-Maʾmūn's victory banished him and his descendants from the court, and no further mention of the latter is found.

In 250/864, Ibn al-Rūmī, who until then had

maintained a certain *taḳiyya*, openly gave his support to the Zaydī revolt begun at Kūfa by the Ṭālibī Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. Each of the two lamentations which he dedicated to Yaḥyā was a S̲h̲īʿī manifesto, a call to revolt and a violent and insulting threat directed at the ʿAbbāsids. This same hostility to the dynasty is found in other poems preserved in the *Dīwān*.

But the poet seems to have regained the favour of his patrons under the regency of al-Muwaffaḳ, the brother of al-Muʿtamid, who adopted a conciliatory policy towards the ʿAlids. He is even said to have been in the entourage of al-Muʿtaḍid, the son of al-Muwaffaḳ, who continued the policy of his father and who, himself a poet, brought back the vanished tradition of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* by establishing in his palace various scholars and men of letters.

As the result of his long opposition to the party in power, Ibn al-Rūmī must have been obliged to seek for wealthy patrons outside the court. His *Dīwān* gives evidence of his relationship with the Banū Ṭāhir and in particular with ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, Aḥmad b. al-K̲h̲aṣīb, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul, Ṣāʿid b. Mak̲h̲lad and his son al-ʿAlāʾ, the Banū Wahb and especially al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, Aḥmad b. T̲h̲awāba, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir, the Banu ʾl-Ḏj̲arrāḥ, the Banu ʾl-Furāt, the Banū Nawbak̲h̲t and a great number of minor secretaries too many to enumerate. Many of them showed him favour and gave him presents. But he was extravagant, thriftless and difficult to please, and his praise almost always turned to invective against those who had not fulfilled all his wishes. It must also be recognized that the attitude he had adopted towards the authorities earlier in his life discouraged some high officials from compromising themselves by rewarding him. Others were unable to forget his Byzantine and Christian origin, in spite of his being a Muslim and in spite of the fanatical anti-Christian attitude which, as a new convert, he adopted. Yet others were offended by his arrogance and aggressiveness, and by the proud and threatening manner which he sometimes adopted when reminding them of a promise or trying to hasten a gift. His bitter and sometimes even scurrilous epigrams caused a fair number of patrons to rebuff him.

It is, however, difficult to believe that these epigrams were the direct cause of his death, as is stated, though with many reservations, in some S̲h̲īʿī and Muʿtazilī sources. Al-Ḳāsim, who is accused of having had him poisoned at his table (it is the caliph who is accused in MS Paris 3594), had at this time not yet become vizier; he was engaged in avoiding any scandal and in trying to gain the good opinion of all in order to ensure that he would be appointed to succeed his father. His hatred of the S̲h̲īʿīs and his bloodthirsty disposition did not become apparent until later. But the poet's death aroused suspicion because of the way in which al-Ḳāsim's followers had intentionally spread rumours in order to frighten the poet, who had become old, sick and nervous. Nevertheless, the various details given of his final illness seem rather to be the signs of diabetes.

Popular rumour is also probably responsible for the fictional statements of the poet's pathological superstition and tendency to hypochondria. There seems nothing in his general life to justify them. Any truth which may lie behind these allegations may perhaps be sought in the last years of his life, when he lost one after the other the four (at least) children of his late marriage, as well as his wife, and found himself banished and threatened by his chief patron al-Ḳāsim.

Ibn al-Rūmī did not have the leisure to collect his poems into a *dīwān* himself. The first to undertake this was a certain al-Musayyabī, probably ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Musayyab, a friend of the poet and the author of a biography of him which has not survived. They were then collected by al-Ṣūlī, who produced another recension of the *Dīwān* in which the poems were arranged alphabetically. His work was continued and completed by Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib, the *warrāḳ* of Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Ḏj̲ahs̲h̲iyārī, who is said to have added a thousand verses collected from the various existing recensions. The manuscripts of these recensions which have survived total nearly seventeen thousand verses.

Only a small part of this enormous *Dīwān* has been published. In 1917, Muḥammad S̲h̲arīf Salīm had the first two letters printed; five years later there appeared five other letters published by the same editor, who died without seeing his work in print. This was the only attempt at a critical edition of the *Dīwān*; and in fact Salīm had used only one manuscript (MS Cairo 139), so that his work could profitably be done again, this time with a comparison of all the existing manuscripts.

In addition to this, there have been published some extracts, among which may be mentioned the anthology made by al-Bārūdī (Cairo 1909), the selection by Kāmil Kīlānī (Cairo 1924) and that by al-ʿAḳḳād (Cairo, *circa* 1930).

In the greater part of his work Ibn al-Rūmī shows himself to be a neo-classicist; but his production was so varied that it is difficult to class him with one specific school of poets. Indeed, side by side with formal poems, which in their thought, their art and their studied elegance foreshadow Mutanabbī, are found a great number of poems whose spontaneity, sensitivity, naturalness and clarity prefigure the expressive poetry of the *Rūmiyyāt* of Abū Firās and the nature-poems of which al-Ṣanawbarī was to be the master. In addition there exist, in his *Dīwān*, hundreds of poems, mainly short, in which he shows himself to be, more than anyone else among his contemporaries, a society poet, able to make rhymes at command and seeking to dazzle with his learning, his affectedness, his fondness for artificiality and his search for things witty and unusual. He was above all an example of the Bag̲h̲dādī tradition which was to distinguish court poetry in the following century.

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IBN RUSHAYD, full name Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Rushayd al-Fihrī al-Sabtī, jurist and man of letters, a native, as indicated by his *nisba*, of Ceuta. He was born there in 657/1259 and studied there the sciences of tradition and of grammar. In 683/1284, he decided to travel to the east in order to perform the Pilgrimage and to complete his studies. At Alméria, where he embarked, he met the poet Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Lakhmī al-Rundī, then a minister of the Naṣrid dynasty, formed a friendship with him and travelled with him in Ifrīḳiya, Egypt, Syria and the Ḥidjāz for three years. In Spain, in North Africa and in the east, he studied under famous teachers. On his return to Ceuta he lived for several years in obscurity, then, at the invitation of Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Rundī, he went in 692/1292-3 to the Naṣrid kingdom and assumed the offices of *imām* and *khaṭīb* in the great mosque of Granada, where he gave a commentary every day on two *ḥadīth*s of al-Bukhārī. He was next apppointed *ḳāḍī al-manākiḥ*. After the assassination of his patron (Shawwāl 708/March 1309), Ibn Rushayd went to the court of the Marīnid ruler ʿUthmān b. Abī Yūsuf, who appointed him to lead the prayers in the old mosque at Marrākush. He was held by all in high esteem, and at the end of his life became one of the intimates of the Marīnid sultan. He died at Fez on 23 Muḥarram 721/22 February 1321.

The sources are unanimous in praising the extent of his learning, his competence in the science of *ḥadīth*, his austerity and his modesty. A Mālikī jurist, he was also an eloquent orator. Al-Maḳḳarī lists about ten titles of works by Ibn Rushayd. They cover the science of *ḥadīth* in all its aspects; mathematics; and Arabic language, literature and metrics. Four works have survived in manuscript. The greatest part of his *riḥla*, entitled *Māl al-ʿayba fī mā djumiʿa bi-ṭūl al-ghayba fi ʾl-riḥla ilā Makka wa Ṭayba*, exists in the form of still unpublished fragments preserved in the Escurial (MSS nos. 1680, 1735, 1736, 1737—autographs—, 1739; cf. H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*, iii). Recounting the author's visits to Tunis, Damascus and Cairo, they contain very little geographical information and consist of a series of biographical notices on men of letters, interspersed with poetical quotations. Of the works on *fiḳh* there are preserved only the *Kitāb Ifādat al-naṣīḥ bi ʾl-taʿrīf bi-isnād al-djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, written in 689/1290 (MSS Escurial², 1732/1 and 1785/1), a collection of biographies of Andalusian jurists, and the *Kitāb al-Sanan al-abyan wa ʾl-mawrid al-amʿan fi ʾl-muḥākama bayna ʾl-imāmayn fi ʾl-sanad al-muʿanʿan* (MS Escurial², 1806), a biography of the traditionists al-Bukhārī and Muslim. A short fragment (40 fols.) of the treatise on metrics by Ibn Rushayd, *Djuzʾ mukhtaṣar fi ʾl-ʿarūḍ*, also exists in the Escurial at the beginning of manuscript 1737.

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(R. Arié)

IBN RUSHD, Abu ʾl-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rushd, al-Ḥafīd (the grandson), the "Commentator of Aristotle", famous in the Mediaeval West under the name of Averroes, scholar of the Ḳurʾānic sciences and the natural sciences (physics, medicine, biology, astronomy), theologian and philosopher.

I. *Life*. He was born at Cordova in 520/1126 and died at Marrākush in 595/1198. The Arabic biographical sources are: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, *BAH*, vi, no. 853; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn*; al-Anṣārī, supplement to the dictionaries of Ibn Bashkuwāl and of Ibn al-Abbār (notice published in the complete works of Renan, iii, 329); al-Dhahabī, *Annales* (*ibid.*, 345); ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*.

Ibn Rushd belonged to an important Spanish family. His grandfather (d. 520/1126), a Mālikī jurisconsult, had been *ḳāḍī* and *imām* of the Great Mosque of Cordova. His father was also a *ḳāḍī*. The biographers stress the excellent juridical education of the future Commentator; his teacher was al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū

Muḥammad ibn Rizḳ and he became very competent in the science of *khilāf* (controversies and contradictions in the legal sciences). He learned by heart the *Muwaṭṭa'*. Ibn al-Abbār mentions that he studied "a little" with Ibn Bashkuwāl, which implies that he touched on the science of the traditions of the Prophet; but the same author says that the science of law and of the principles (*uṣūl*), *dirāya*, interested him more than the science of traditions, *riwāya*. He worked also on Ashʿarī *kalām* which he was later to criticize. In medicine, he was the pupil of Abū Djaʿfar Hārūn al-Tadjālī (of Trujillo), who was in addition a teacher of *ḥadīth* (cf. *ʿUyūn*). Ibn al-Abbār mentions another of his teachers, Abū Marwān ibn Djurrayūl (notice no. 1714), who (he says) was one of the foremost practitioners of his art. The biographers do not mention philosophic studies. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa limits himself to reporting, following al-Bādjī, that Averroes studied "philosophical sciences" (*al-ʿulūm al-ḥikmiyya*) with the physician Abū Djaʿfar. Ibn al-Abbār mentions in passing that he "inclined towards the sciences of the Ancients (*ʿulūm al-awā'il*)", probably an allusion to his knowledge of Greek thought.

In 548/1153, Averroes was at Marrākush. Renan supposes that he was occupied there in carrying out the intentions of the Almohad ʿAbd al-Mu'min "in the building of colleges which he was founding at this time". It is known, through the Commentary of the *De Caelo*, that he was engaged there in astronomical observations. It is perhaps to this period of his life that he is referring in the Commentary of book Λ of the *Metaphysics*, when he speaks of the researches which must be done on the movements of the planets in order to found an astronomy which would be physical and not only mathematical: "I hoped in my youth that it would be possible for me to carry out this research successfully; but now that I am old, I have lost this hope . . .". It is possible that he met at this time Ibn Ṭufayl, who was to play an important part in his career as a philosopher by presenting him to Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, the successor of ʿAbd al-Mu'min. Al-Marrākushī (*Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy, 174-5) obtained the account of this interview from a pupil of Ibn Rushd, who reported the actual words of his teacher. The prince questioned Averroes on the sky: is it a substance which has existed from all eternity, or did it have a beginning? (It is known that, ever since Plato's *Timaeus* and the *De Caelo* and the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle down to Proclus and Johannes Philoponus (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī), this problem had been fiercely debated). Ibn Rushd was worried by this dangerous question, but Yūsuf understood this and began a discussion with Ibn Ṭufayl, displaying a wide knowledge of the ancient philosophers and of the theologians. Put thus at ease, Ibn Rushd in his turn began to speak and was able to show the extent of his learning. He received rewards and thenceforth enjoyed the prince's favour. This event may be dated to 1169 or slightly earlier. Al-Marrākushī also tells us that the Commander of the Faithful complained to Ibn Ṭufayl of the obscurity of the texts of Aristotle and of their translations. He wished them to be clearly explained. It is said that Ibn Ṭufayl, considering himself to be too old and too busy, asked Averroes to undertake the work.

Averroes remained in favour throughout the reign of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84). In 565/1169, he was *ḳāḍī* of Seville (*Muʿdjib*, 222). In a passage in the fourth book of the *De partibus animalium*, completed in that year, he points out the duties of his post, and the fact that he was separated from his books which remained in Cordova, all things which made difficult the writing of his paraphrase (Munk, 422). In 567/1171, he was back at Cordova, still as *ḳāḍī*. During this period he increased his rate of production of commentaries in spite of his numerous obligations: he travelled to various towns of the Almohad empire, in particular to Seville, from which he dates several of his works between 1169 and 1179.

In 578/1182, at Marrākush, he succeeded Ibn Ṭufayl as chief physician to Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (Tornberg, *Annales Regum Mauritaniae*, 182). Then he received the office of chief *ḳāḍī* of Cordova.

During the reign of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (580-95/1184-99), Ibn Rushd still enjoyed the prince's favour. It was only during the last years (from 1195) that he fell into disgrace. Several stories exist on this matter. It seems that the caliph, at that time engaged in Spain in a war against the Christians, thought it advisable to gain the support of the *fuḳahā'*, who had long imposed on the people their rigorous orthodoxy (cf. D. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim theology*, New York 1903, 255). Indeed, not only was Averroes banished to Lucena, near Cordova, and his doctrine pronounced anathema following his appearance before a tribunal consisting of the chief men of Cordova, but edicts were issued ordering that philosophical works be burned and forbidding these studies, which were considered dangerous to religion. Those who were jealous of Ibn Rushd or doctrinally opposed to him took advantage of the occasion to criticize him in vulgar epigrams, which have been published and translated by Munk (427-8 and 517).

But once he had returned to Marrākush, to a Berber milieu which was less sensitive on matters of doctrine, the caliph repealed all these edicts and summoned the philosopher again to his court. Ibn Rushd did not have long to enjoy this return to favour, since he died in Marrākush on 9 Ṣafar 595/11 December 1198. He was buried there outside the gate of Taghzut. Later his body was taken to Cordova, where the mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī, still a young man, was present at his funeral (cf. H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, 32-8).

II. *Works*. The chronology of the works of Averroes has been established by M. Alonso (*La cronología en las obras de Averroes*, in *Miscelanea Camillas*, i (1943), 411-60). When Ibn Rushd was presented to the caliph Yūsuf, he had already written some paraphrases or short commentaries (*djawāmiʿ*) on the *Organon*, the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics*, as well as the first redaction of his great medical work, the *Colliget* (*al-Kulliyyāt*, the Book of Generalities), requesting his friend Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr to write a book on the "particularities" (*al-umūr al-djuz'iyya*, therapeutics), "so that their two works together should form a complete treatise on the art of medicine" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). He continued to write the short or middle commentaries (*talkhīṣ*) between 1169 and 1178. But from 1174 to 1180 was the period in which his original works were produced: "Treatises on the intellect", *De substantia orbis*, *Faṣl al-maḳāl*, *Kashf al-manāhidj*, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. The great commentaries (*tafsīr*) did not begin until later. M. Cruz Hernandez (*La filosofía árabe*, Madrid 1963, 253) has produced a clear outline of the various tendencies which have governed the study of Averroes's work. Whereas for the Latin schoolmen Averroes is essentially the Commentator: *Averroes, che'l gran comento feo* (Dante, *Inferno*, iv, 144), Renan points out the differences which can exist between the ideas contained in the commentaries and often presented as those of Aristotle, and the personal ideas of the philosopher.

Nevertheless, even where Ibn Rus͟hd marks this distinction, Renan's attitude is "this may have been only a precaution to allow him to express his philosophical ideas more freely under the cover of someone else" (*Oeuvres complètes*, iii, 61). A little later (67), on the subject of the *Tahāfut*, he claims that "the doctrine set out in it is, on several points, in flagrant contradiction with that of Ibn Rus͟hd". It is true that he bases his judgement on the Latin version, in which he suspects there are interpolations. For him, as for the followers of Averroes in the Middle Ages, the Arab thinker is the one who revealed in Aristotle a rationalist method and doctrine, which as such were opposed to religious dogmas. This being so, Renan, following his preconceptions, considers the theological writings as artifices intended to deceive or to provide a challenge to the inquisition of the Māliki *fuḳahā'*. An examination of the biography and the work of Averroes shows that this assessment is entirely without foundation. Munk, on his side, has attempted to extract from the commentaries Ibn Rus͟hd's own ideas. Asín Palacios, studying the theological Averroism of St. Thomas Aquinas, considers that the philosopher's personal ideas are to be found in the *Tahāfut*, the *Faṣl* and the *Kas͟hf*. Gauthier takes a middle line; he himself has produced a summing up of the question (*La théorie d'Ibn Rochd*, 1-18) and, demonstrating the importance of the theory of prophethood, he ends (180-1) by attributing to Ibn Rus͟hd a doctrine fundamentally analogous to that of al-Fārābī on the philosopher and the prophet: "The double expression of one and the same truth, in terms which are abstract and clear on the one hand, in sensitive and symbolic terms on the other, philosophy and religion will thus exist side by side, without ever clashing, since, addressing themselves to two different categories of mind, their fields will remain entirely separate". Cruz Hernandez concludes his investigation by showing the absurdity of making *a priori* a choice between the philosopher and the theologian. Since Averroes was never forced to dissimulate his ideas, he considers that one must admit the sincerity of the whole work and the fundamental unity of the thought it expresses.

Only a small number of works in Arabic survive. The majority have been preserved only in Latin or Hebrew translations. Some manuscripts give the Arabic text in Hebrew characters. Brockelmann gives (I, 461 f., S I, 833-6, I², 604 f.) a list of the manuscripts, editions and translations. M. Bouyges, *Note sur les philosophes arabes connus des latins*, v, a list of the Arabic texts of Averroes, in *MFO*, viii/1 (1922), may also be consulted. Among the work^ in Arabic which are known so far to have survived are: short or middle commentaries on the *Physics* (*al-Samā' al-ṭabī'ī*); on the *De Caelo et mundo* (*al-Samā' wa 'l-'ālam*); on the *De Generatione et corruptione* (*al-Kawn wa 'l-fasād*); on the *Meteorologica* (*al-Āt͟hār al-'ulwiyya*); on the *De Anima* (*al-Nafs*); on metaphysical questions (*Mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*); on the *De Sensu et Sensibilibus* (*al-'Aḳl wa 'l-ma'ḳūl*), the great Commentary on the *Metaphysics* (*Tafsīr* . . ., ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1938-48), the *Faṣl al-maḳāl* and the *Ḍamīma* (ed. with Fr. tr. L. Gauthier, *Traité décisif*, Algiers 1948, ed. G. F. Hourani, Leiden 1959), the *Kas͟hf 'an manāhid͟j al-adilla* (ed. with German tr., with the *Faṣl*, by M. J. Müller, *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroës*, Münich, text 1859, tr. 1875). There should also be mentioned the research and publications of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī in Cairo.

III. *The thought of Averroes.* It seems certain that Ibn Rus͟hd approached philosophy through the theoretical sciences. As a jurist, he was interested in the *uṣūl* (on this question, see R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Etudes . . . Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 35-68). Ibn al-Abbār mentions the important *Kitāb Bidāyat al-mud͟jtahid wa-nihāyat al-muḳtaṣid fi 'l-fiḳh*, and adds: "In it he gives the reasons for divergences, demonstrates their motivations and justifies them". What interested him in law was a strictness of thought which, without going as far as that of philosophical syllogism, entailed a well-defined method of reasoning and a logic. On the other hand, it is known that he received his first education in philosophy from a physician. At the end of his book on the Generalities (*Colliget*), he stresses the method followed and writes: "We have assembled, in our propositions, the individual facts and the general questions ... Whoever has grasped the generalities which we have written is capable of understanding what is correct and what is erroneous in the therapeutics of the writers of *kunnās͟h*" ('*Uyūn*). At the time when he was writing the *Colliget*, Averroes was studying the *Organon* and the *Physics*, which naturally led him to formulate the metaphysical problem. He thus saw in Aristotle mainly the logician who follows a strict method of demonstration, the scholar who starts from the concrete in order to explain it by linking it with general propositions. He was to grasp even better the theory of knowledge when writing a commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* (1170). This approach led him to discover the true Aristotle, and he thus learned to distinguish it from the image of him given by the Greek commentators such as Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Muslim *falāsifa* such as Ibn Sīnā. This is why he criticized so vigorously the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā, while respecting the medical work of his predecessor (he wrote a commentary on his medical poem *al-Urd͟jūza fi 'l-ṭibb*). Among the other philosophers, he was interested in the ideas of al-Fārābī on logic and was inspired by his moral and political doctrines in the commentary which he wrote on Plato's *Republic*. But he was chiefly in the tradition of Ibn Bād͟jd͟ja, and wrote a commentary on his *Risāla* on union with the Intellect and on his book on the "Régime of the solitary". His relations with Ibn Ṭufayl are well known: Ibn Rus͟hd wrote a commentary on *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*]. There are definite similarities between the two philosophers, but although both recognize the convergence of the two independent attitudes inherent in philosophy and revealed faith, in Ibn Ṭufayl the duality of the persons Ḥayy and Absāl who represent them (this is resolved, at the end of the myth, in a common life devoted to contemplation far from human society) leads to a mystic vision of knowledge, which is not at all to be found in Ibn Rus͟hd, as Renan has clearly pointed out.

A. The theologico-philosophic treatises. It may be considered that they were written in the following order: *Faṣl al-maḳāl* and its appendix the *Ḍamīma*, *Kas͟hf al-manāhid͟j* (575/1179, which mentions the *Faṣl*), *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (which does not mention either of the two preceding works and which, according to Bouyges, was not written before 1180).

(a) The *Faṣl al-maḳāl wa-taḳrīb mā bayn al-s͟harī'a wa 'l-ḥikma min al-ittiṣāl* ("An authoritative treatise and exposition of the convergence which exists between the religious law and philosophy"). Ibn Rus͟hd begins by giving a definition of philosophy entirely in accordance with the Ḳur'ānic recommendations. He himself quotes verses LIX, 2 and VII, 184, among others. It is a rational view of creation which leads to the knowledge of the Creator. These sacred texts are

interpreted as a recommendation to use either purely rational inferences (*ḳiyās ʿaḳlī*), or to use them together with inferences based on the Law (*ḳiyās s̲h̲arʿī*). Thus the Law establishes the legitimacy of rational speculation (*naẓar*), whose method reaches perfection with demonstrative syllogism (*burhān*). Here Averroes was involved in a quarrel among the theologians about the definition of faith and what part it should play in intellectual knowledge. His reply is clear: "The Law imposes an obligation on the believer, since it must be obeyed when it commands rational speculation about beings: that is, before undertaking rational speculation, to proceed by degrees and to take account of what plays the same part in relation to speculation as instruments do in relation to action". This is less a *fides quaerens intellectum* than a perfect faith which embraces rational knowledge. It demands the knowledge of the *ḳiyās ʿaḳlī*, which is indispensable to the true knowledge of God, as it demands also that of the *ḳiyās fiḳhī*, thanks to which, in matters of law, it is possible to know exactly the Divine commandments. Nevertheless this obligation is bounded by the intellectual capacity of each person, since God never imposes more than an individual soul is able to carry out.

But Ibn Rus̲h̲d states that a study of this magnitude cannot be made without taking previous research into account. Thus the pursuit of the above reasoning involves the obligation to examine the works of the ancients (cf. a similar idea developed by Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Mafātīḥ al-g̲h̲ayb*, introduction). It is therefore contrary to the Law to forbid such an examination, provided that the person carrying it out possesses *d̲h̲akāʾ al-fiṭra* (a technical term, derived from a Ḳurʾānic root, to indicate a gift which is given to man of remembering things and recognizing the truth, which may be translated by "a keen sense of the truth"), and *al-ʿadāla al-s̲h̲arʿiyya* accompanied by ethical virtue, that is a religious and moral qualification defined by the Law. But not all men accept proof by demonstration: some give their assent (*taṣdīḳ*) only to dialectical discourses (*al-aḳāwīl al-d̲j̲adaliyya*), others only to rhetorical discourses (*k̲h̲iṭābiyya*). God speaks to men through these three types of discourse in order to reach them all (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVI, 126). If rational research ends in a truth which is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, there is no problem; it is the same as in law (this new comparison with *fiḳh* deserves to be noted), when there are inferred by a juridical syllogism *aḥkām* which are not to be found in the text of the revealed Law. In cases where the Ḳurʾān does not employ rational demonstration, either it is, in its manifest meaning, in agreement with the conclusion of the syllogism, and there is no difficulty, or else it is in apparent disagreement, and it is then necessary to make an interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the literal meaning in a figurative (*mad̲j̲āzī*) meaning, in accordance with the usual practice of the Arabic language. In all this Ibn Rus̲h̲d's thought follows the best established categories of Muslim hermeneutics. This, he points out, is what the jurists do; for them it is simply a case of making a text agree with the conclusion of a syllogism of opinion (*ḳiyās ẓannī*); the *taʾwīl* of the philosopher has a much stronger title to legitimacy, since it produces an agreement between a text and a syllogism which is certain (*ḳiyās yaḳīnī*). Thus there takes place a union between what derives from reason and what derives from tradition (*al-d̲j̲amʿ bayn al-maʿḳūl wa 'l-manḳūl*), and this is the aim of Ibn Rus̲h̲d. The Ḳurʾān itself distinguishes the passages which need interpretation from those which are to be accepted as they stand: on the one hand, the *āyāt mutas̲h̲ābihāt*, on the other, the *āyāt muḥkamāt* (Ḳurʾān, III, 7), the verses which have several meanings and those which have a clear and precise meaning. The *taʾwīl* of these ambiguous verses is known only to God Himself and to those who have a solid grounding in scholarship. Ibn Rus̲h̲d reads this text as a justification of *taʾwīl* for men of true scholarship (cf. L. Gauthier, *La théorie*, 59 f., on the two possible readings). To determine what should be interpreted and what should be understood literally, Averroes does not have recourse to consensus (*id̲j̲māʿ* [*q.v.*]), which he criticizes with arguments curiously reminiscent of those of Ibn Ḥazm on the impossibility of establishing concrete proof of its existence (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, 47). On this subject Averroes deals briefly with a question disputed among the jurists: that of *takfīr*, an accusation of infidelity; he considers that the excommunications launched against the philosophers should not be regarded as *takfīr ḳaṭʿan* (or *ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-ḳaṭʿ*, i.e., a decisive condemnation against which there is no appeal). It is known that more tolerant persons practised the *takfīr ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-tag̲h̲līẓ* as a severe measure. But in the case of the philosophers, they cannot be accused of infidelity on the strength of the consensus, since God restricts the use of *taʾwīl* to scholars in particular. It cannot be a question of a *consensus communis* (*id̲j̲māʿ mustafīd*) accessible to all. Here Ibn Rus̲h̲d uses the technicality of the law to support the cause of the philosophers whom he is defending. Thus he attacks the *takfīr* that al-G̲h̲azālī launched against the *falāsifa*. Then he reverses the positions and shows that it is often the *mutakallimūn*, the theologians, who make undue use of *taʾwīl*, for example over the verses (XI, 9) concerning the Creation: the Ḳurʾān manifestly teaches that the Throne and the Water existed before this world, and that before the six days there existed a period which is the number of the sphere. It is not, of course, impossible that the philosopher may be wrong on such difficult questions (*fī 'l-as̲h̲yāʾ al-ʿawīṣa*). But he may be excused and he will nevertheless have his reward, like the judge who blunders when performing *id̲j̲tihād*, since in this case his error is an involuntary one (*k̲h̲aṭāʾ*) which may creep in even when a duty is being performed.

Thus there are in the Law texts which are to be taken in their *ẓāhir* and to interpret which would be to lapse into unbelief (*kufr*) or heretical innovation (*bidʿa*); there are also texts which it is obligatory for scholars to interpret, but concerning which, for those who are not scholars, on the other hand, *taʾwīl* is a *kufr* or a *bidʿa* (this is what happens to theologians who do not make use of rational demonstration); finally, there are texts concerning which there is doubt: thus the verses on the future life are to be understood literally so far as regards the affirmation of its existence but they admit of different opinions as regards the qualification (*ṣifa*) given to them by scholars, whereas the common man must adhere to the literal meaning. The scholars, for their part, must not "popularize" their learning in the form of dialectical, rhetorical or poetic writings; they must write only works of demonstration (*kutub al-barāhīn*) so that they will be accessible only to those who are capable of following such demonstration. Al-G̲h̲azālī did not follow this rule and was therefore in error, though his intentions were good. The books written by scholars must be forbidden to the ordinary man by the leaders of the community.

Faith involves an assent (*taṣdīḳ*) to a representation (*taṣawwur*). This assent is in response, accord-

ing to temperament, to a demonstrative, dialectical or rhetorical argument. The representation leads to a grasp of either the thing itself or its image (*mit̲h̲āl*). Revelation, being addressed to a larger number, makes very little use of demonstration. It can happen that premises based on opinion may also be certain (*yaḳīna*). In this case, and if no term used in the conclusion is understood in a figurative sense (representing the image of the thing), the text must be understood literally. But if the conclusion is in figurative terms, then interpretation is necessary. If the premises are based entirely on opinion and if the conclusion affects the things themselves, the premises may be interpreted, but not the conclusion. Finally, if the premises consist only of opinion and the conclusion is figurative, scholars have an obligation to interpret, but the ordinary man may not go beyond the literal meaning. Otherwise, in this case, it would be turning away from the letter a mind which had access to nothing else, and since the text contains only opinions and figurative meanings, it would no longer offer any support to a person unable to find other support elsewhere. Thus his faith would be destroyed.

There is therefore only one truth, and strictly speaking there cannot be two different expressions of one single truth as though it were spoken in two languages, that of reason and that of imagination, for that would only introduce different types of *taṣawwur*. Ibn Rus̲h̲d's original contribution is to stress thus the importance of adherence to the truth. Men understand it through the ways (*ṭuruḳ*) which gain their assent; the majority consent to something because of what they themselves are, rather than because of what the thing itself is. Their truth is subjective. Incapable of adopting a rational objective attitude which would govern their personal reactions, they have to have their personal sensibility affected in order to accept what is proposed to them. Consequently it is necessary that the dialectical or rhetorical approaches which they follow should lead them to a representation of the truth, either actual or figurative, which they can accept and adopt, so that their subjective attitude does not lead them into erroneous representations. This is realized in the Ḳurʾān. But going beyond this, scholars, through *taʾwīl*, find the way of reason which leads to the understanding of the truth itself. They verify at the same time the agreement of Law and Reason, of religion and philosophy, while the common man profits from this agreement without knowing that it exists. But it is necessary to respect the situation of the ordinary man and not to reveal to him anything of the interpretations. To act in any other way is to give rise to sects, and this was the error in particular of the Muʿtazila and the As̲h̲ʿarīs. The majority of people should be taught only the general methods which the Ḳurʾān has revealed and used for them. The special method which the Holy Book suggests for those who are capable of it should be reserved for scholars. To conclude, the agreement of the *maʿḳūl* and the *manḳūl* is not that of two formulations, of two expressions, of two equivalent types of representation. It is the fact that different types of mind can arrive at the same truth; it is the practical agreement of two methods in order to arrive at a single practical conclusion, one of them being no more than this, the other based also on a theoretical demonstration and a speculative knowledge. It is thus that, to take an example which is not in Ibn Rus̲h̲d, the same problem may be solved and the same result arrived at by arithmetic or by algebra, although the arithmetical method, remaining at the level of real intuition, produces a better understanding of the concrete relations between facts than does the algebraic method, consisting of the manipulation of conventional signs.

The *Faṣl al-maḳāl* is therefore a treatise on methodology. The problematical element is that of all Muslim thinking: that of the jurisconsults, the grammarians and the Ḳurʾānic commentators, and indeed the theologians. Averroes employs the technical vocabulary in use among these scholars. But he very skilfully manipulates all these ideas within a logical framework borrowed from the Greeks, which can later easily be applied to the problems of philosophy: it is the framework of Aristotle's *Organon*, rational demonstration (*Analytics*), dialectical reasoning (*Topics*), rhetorical argument (*Rhetoric* and to a lesser degree *Poetics*), with, discernible at times in the background, allusions to sophistics.

(b) The *Kitāb al-Kas̲h̲f ʿan manāhid̲j̲ al-adilla fī ʿaḳāʾid al-milla wa taʿrīf mā waḳaʿa fīhā bi ḥasb al-taʾwīl min al-s̲h̲ubah al-muzayyifa waʾl-bidaʿ al-muḍilla* ("Exposition of the methods of demonstration relative to the dogmas of religion, and definition of the equivocations and innovations which appear in them as methods of interpretation and which distort truth or lead into error"). This treatise foreshadows the *Tahāfut* still more clearly than the preceding one, whose general conclusions it evokes in its introduction. Its aim is to show that the theories of the sects satisfy neither the demands of scholarship nor the needs of the common man. It consists of five chapters. The first is devoted to the existence of God; in it the author examines the opinions of the Ḥas̲h̲wiyya, the As̲h̲ʿarīs, the Ṣūfīs and the Muʿtazila. For the first, faith is based entirely on the authority of the Book and owes nothing to reason: a question already dealt with in the *Faṣl*. The As̲h̲ʿarīs allow the use of reason but their methods are open to criticism. They prove the existence of God by the contingency of the world, which has come into existence (*muḥdat̲h̲*). But the agent which brings it into existence (*muḥdit̲h̲*) must have an eternal existence. Consequently its action is eternal and the effects of it also eternal. In order to escape this consequence, it is not possible to say with these theologians that the action of an eternal being has a beginning in time, since this would presuppose a cause which at first prevented this action from coming about, and then a cause which precipitated it. This cause, in its turn, is either eternal or situated within time. And so the reasoning continues, reminiscent of a similar argument of Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī on *tark* and the *murad̲j̲d̲j̲iḥ*. There follows a criticism based more particularly on the atomism of this school. Averroes disagrees with a thesis which, in order to retain the absolute freedom of God, destroys His wisdom and the regular order of His providence. In addition, the As̲h̲ʿarī argument supposes that the universe, in its entirety, is formed in exactly the same way as the sublunary world which surrounds us, which is not proved (Aristotle gives to heaven and the heavenly bodies a separate situation). Ibn Rus̲h̲d also considers time—whether it is created or eternal. This recalls very early discussions which go back to Plato, Aristotle, to middle Platonism (Calvisius Taurus), Philo of Alexandria, Johannes Philoponus (Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī; cf. Ernst Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt*; J. Pouilloux and R. Arnaldez, *Philon d'Alexandrie, De Aeternitate*, Introduction, translation and notes). He examines critically the argument that the infinite cannot be crossed, which demands a point of first departure if one is to arrive at the present event. This is true for sequences in a straight line, but not for cyclic

sequences where an initial point of departure is not apparent. Thus, evaporation is not the first origin of the clouds at any given moment in the sky, since in order to produce evaporation rain is necessary, itself produced by clouds. These clouds therefore stem from other clouds; the very nature of clouds does not permit the idea of any definitely first clouds. In rectilinear causality on the other hand (man gives birth to man), a point of departure is necessary. Nevertheless, if, in such a line, each cause were merely the instrument of an eternal agent, the present effect would result from the present action of this eternal agent, and it would exist even if this agent had made use of such instruments an infinity of times (cf. the double causality of Spinoza).

Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d devotes a special criticism to al-<u>D</u>juwaynī, accusing him of being unaware of the necessity of that which exists, which leads him to oppose Avicenna's doctrine of the necessary by itself and the possible by itself (which is necessary by another). That which is possible by itself can never become necessary by means of its agent. Another argument of al-<u>D</u>juwaynī is that the world was created at a certain place within the infinite void; but any one part of the void is the same as another (cf. Leibnitz), therefore a free will is necessary to decide between one place and another. But, Averroes objects, it is essential to prove first that the void exists and that it is infinite and eternal, otherwise another void would be necessary to contain it.

Against the theory of the Ṣūfīs Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d admits that mystic training may help in the attainment of rational knowledge, but that it cannot replace it. Regarding the Muʿtazila, he states that he has found none of their books in Spain; he says nothing of them, and passes on to the Ḳurʾānic proofs. This is argument by means of Providence and by means of the creation of substances (animals, vegetables, heaven). Averroes underlines the generation of the organic starting from the inorganic; there is therefore an agent which gives life (this was to be stated in the *Tafsīr* of book Λ of the *Metaphysics*, see below). As for the heavens, they are commanded; it is the Ḳurʾānic idea of *tas<u>kh</u>īr* (*sa<u>kh</u><u>kh</u>ar Allāh*, in many verses). The idea of the divine *amr* expressing the act of the unmoved Mover which commands without having to move itself was to be taken up again in the *Tahāfut*. These two types of proof concern the ordinary man, but the scholars give them demonstrative value, and they have a deeper and wider knowledge of the realities on which they base their demonstrations.

In the second chapter he studies the unity of God. The Ḳurʾān proves it by the unity of the government of the world, a proof which the scholars, and Averroes in particular, take up and go into deeply. The criticism of the A<u>sh</u>ʿarī reasoning is subtle and technical. It is enough merely to mention it.

The third chapter deals with the attributes of God: knowledge, life, power, will, hearing, sight, speech. Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d distinguishes clearly between the Ḳurʾānic doctrine and the theories of the theologians who raise problems on which the Ḳurʾān is silent. Thus on knowledge: God knows what He has created, for there exist in creation an order and a wisdom which show that the Creator has knowledge. He must therefore know what will exist, what exists and what will perish. But although the Ḳurʾān presents God's knowledge in this way, it is related only to man's own experience of knowledge. But for man, the knowledge possessed by the subject who knows is, as has already been mentioned in the *Faṣl*, the effect of the object known (*maʿlūl li 'l-maʿlūm*). For the eternal knowledge which is creative, the reverse is true. Thus it is not possible, philosophically speaking, to raise the problem of the knowledge of future contingents in the same way for both God and man; however, in order to be understood, they have to be discussed in the same terms. There appears in this chapter a certain agnosticism, very Islamic, in particular in the matter of knowing whether the attributes may be reduced to the essence or whether they are added to it, whether they are *nafsiyya* (essential) or *maʿnawiyya* (qualificative). Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d dismisses as irrelevant both A<u>sh</u>ʿarīs and Muʿtazila, and criticizes in passing the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (since it is with regard to the attributes that *kalām* attacks Christianity; cf. al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, and Averroes himself, even in the *Tafsīr* of the *Metaphysics*, iii, 1620, 1623). This attitude becomes more firmly established as the treatise proceeds, for example in chapter 4, in the discussion on the corporeality of God, in which, in a surprising way, Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d condemns the Muʿtazila for their denial of any corporeality, and the A<u>sh</u>ʿarīs for having sought a compromise solution. In fact the ordinary man has no idea at all of an incorporeal being, and these doctrines do not give it to him; he needs to address his prayers to a Being who exists somewhere, and the Ḳurʾān states that He is in heaven. Therefore it should be taught, with the Revelation, that God is Light, which solves the problem of the vision of God (*ruʾya*) in the next life. Furthermore, in the same way that light enables colours to be seen but is itself difficult to see, so is God the principle of all sensible experience but nevertheless Himself enveloped in veils of light. But in order to conceive of an incorporeal being, it is necessary first to have an exact knowledge of the soul, which is not possessed by the ordinary man and which is not easy to acquire. The problem of the "direction" (*<u>d</u>jiha*) in which God is found is solved by Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d by a skilful use of the Aristotelian theory of place: "The limit of the enveloping body" (τὸ πέρας τοῦ περιέχοντος σώματος, *Physics*, IV, 212a6). God, not being enveloped by anything, has no place. But He is in a direction, since direction is indicated by the surfaces of bodies. Thus the enveloping sphere is not in any place, since there is no body outside it, any more than there is a void. Thus the Being which exists in the direction marked by the exterior surface of this sphere will be incorporeal. That is the true demonstration.

The fifth chapter deals with divine actions: creation, the sending of prophets, predestination and divine decree, justice and injustice, the future life. On the creation, in addition to what he has already said about it, Averroes states against the A<u>sh</u>ʿarīs that although the world contains contingency, it cannot be contingent as a whole. The liberty of God cannot be that of indifference. Finally the term *ḥudū<u>th</u>* (coming into existence) is not Ḳurʾānic and constitutes in itself a *bidʿa*. On the prophetic mission, Ibn Ru<u>sh</u>d makes a critical examination of the probative value of miracles and of the *iʿ<u>d</u>jāz al-Ḳurʾān*. He regards the problem of predestination as "one of the most difficult". The Ḳurʾān contains on this verses for and against, and these contradictions are found also in *ḥadī<u>th</u>*. Both series of texts must be retained: on the one hand human action obviously depends, both for its cause and its execution, on external and internal conditions created by God; but on the other hand, we are the authors of our own acts since "it is evident that God has created in us faculties by means of which we can acquire things which are opposed by nature", which proves that freedom of choice exists.

Here there is involved the question of secondary causes. All causes other than God Himself have no existence, neither they nor their effects, other than through God. The word "agent" may not be used indiscriminately of God and of other causes. But causes operate, not only because God uses them as instruments, but also because He created them as causes. Furthermore, it can be said that substances and essences have for their cause only God, whereas accidents have other causes. On divine justice, Ibn Rus̲h̲d agrees with As̲h̲ʿarism: it is necessary to believe at the same time both that God is just and that He is the creator of good and evil, in order to avoid any dualism. God created evil with good ends in view: it is *by accident* that fire, which is good, does harm. On this delicate problem, Averroes does not hesitate to reproduce all the sophistries which creep into the theodicy of all periods. It is true that this is a point on which it is necessary to convince both the ordinary man and the philosophers themselves. This does not mean that God is above the just and the unjust: He is just, but in Himself, and not as a judge is, in the service of others. Finally the future life exists; that is not contrary to reason. It is left to each person to imagine the modalities of it for himself.

This treatise is directed against the doctrines that the theologians, going beyond all sound demonstration, construct upon the Book; against the problems which they raise. The feeling behind it is not, basically, very different from that of al-As̲h̲ʿarī and al-G̲h̲azālī at the beginning of their careers, they having become theologians rather in spite of themselves, in order to refute the errors which were threatening Islam. But they were wrong; Ibn Rus̲h̲d considers that the only recourse is to demonstrative knowledge. He condemns theology; the literal meaning of the sacred text seems to him on the whole wiser, even more acceptable to reason, than the theological lucubrations. One would expect that, in distinguishing thus clearly between the common man and the scholars, he would maintain that the arguments and the representations which are in the Ḳur'ān form a bad diet for the uneducated masses who are incapable of teaching themselves (the doctrine of the double truth of the western Averroists: that which is true for religion is false for philosophy). But this is not so: there exists a religious truth which is true for all men whoever they are. The worst misfortune which could befall them would be to lose their faith. Now philosophy, particularly when dealing with obscure questions, shakes the faith of many men and should be reserved for scholars. But theology, with its uncertain or sophistic arguments, while giving the appearance of adhering to the texts, is still more dangerous, especially because its intention is to elaborate the authentic doctrine in which everyone must believe. Philosophers, in all cases where the system of rational demonstration is not followed, are in the same situation as the ordinary man; they also must adhere to the literal meaning of the Ḳur'ān and beware of the false explanations of theology.

(c) The *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*. In the *Faṣl* and the *Kas̲h̲f*, al-G̲h̲azālī had been very severely handled. In the *Tahāfut*, the battle against him grows, becomes more definite and leads Ibn Rus̲h̲d to embrace all the great problems of philosophy. This work combines the results of the paraphrases and of the middle commentaries, as well as all his basic personal ideas on religious questions, the development of which may be traced in the preceding treatises. But in the attack on the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* al-G̲h̲azālī is not the only target. Many of the criticisms in his work directed against Avicenna are accepted by Averroes, if not in the form of argument used by al-G̲h̲azālī, at least for the correctness of their conclusions. The *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* is thus a reconstruction of the true philosophy, that of Aristotle himself, against the false, that of the neo-Platonic *falāsifa*, which distorted the thinking of Aristotle, and against the theological systems. In this sense, it can be said that Ibn Rus̲h̲d's original philosophical doctrine is to be found in this book.

There is a very precise study of this work in the introduction written by S. van den Bergh to his English translation. The two Muslim thinkers are separated on a fundamental point: in the tradition of his master al-D̲j̲uwaynī, al-G̲h̲azālī does not consider that philosophical reasoning has the strictness of mathematical reasoning, and in the *Maḳāṣid*, he points out that there exists there a source of error which misleads the unthinking supporters of logic. Aristotle, on the other hand, believes in the value of demonstration, and shows, as he did for the theologians, that it is the neo-Platonic philosophers who lack strictness, but that sound logic should not be accused of this.

A large part of the work of al-G̲h̲azālī, and thus that of Ibn Rus̲h̲d which follows it, is devoted to the problem of the creation of the world. Averroes' solution is that of an eternal creation. There cannot have existed an empty time which preceded the appearance of the world at a certain moment in it. Time is, according to Aristotle, the numbered number (τὸ ἀριθμούμενον) of movement (*Physics*, IV, 219 b 8). It measures movements only within the limits that movement measures time itself since they are mutual definitions of each other (οὐ μόνον δέ τὴν κίνησιν τῷ χρόνῳ μετροῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῃ κινήσει τὸν χρονὸν διὰ τὸ ὁρίζεσθαι ‘υπ’ ἀλλήλων, *Physics*, IV, 220 b 14-16). But although the time of the movement of the sphere measures the movements within the world, there is no movement outside the sphere which enables time to measure the movement of the sphere. The illusion is therefore one of "aligning": the revolutions of the sphere in a sort of empty, rectilinear time, which, if it is infinite, cannot be crossed, so that an actual revolution cannot take place. But in reality, each revolution is independent of the others. Each of them depends immediately on the actions of the first agent: "Their sequence is accidental" (para. 20). In the sequences of causes it is necessary that the present effect is the result of all these causes. If they are all infinite, it cannot exist. But it is not necessary for all the past revolutions of the sphere to be added together in order for the present revolution to take place. Thus it can be said that "The circular movements of the past and the future are non-existent" (para. 23). This example shows that in the *Tahāfut* the ideas already outlined in the earlier treatises are analysed philosophically in a much deeper fashion. He maintains that the creative will in God should not be conceived in relation to our own; it is founded in the excellence of God, separate from the world; the world does not emanate from Him, in continuity with Him; God is not an agent in the way that it is said, at least as an image, that a person "makes" a shadow, his own shadow. The term "will" expresses the method of this action of a perfectly transcendental being. This is why Ibn Rus̲h̲d sees no incongruity in the fact that such a creator produces a multiplicity of beings as the effect of his act; he thus rejects the principle which is the basis of the emanatist doctrines, that the One can give birth only to one.

In ontology, Averroes criticizes with al-G̲h̲azālī

Avicenna's conception of the Being necessary in itself (*wādjib al wudjūd bi-dhātih*). But he goes further: being is that "which is predicated of the ten categories analogically, and it is in this sense that we say of the substance that it exists by itself and of the accident that it exists through its existing in the existent which subsists by itself. As to the existent which has the meaning of the 'true', all the categories participate in it in the same way, and the existent which has the meaning of the 'true' is something in the mind, namely that a thing is outside the soul in conformity with what it is inside the soul" (303-4). A quiddity, in thought, is only the explanation (*sharḥ*) of the meaning of a name; and it is only when one knows that this meaning exists outside the soul that one knows that it is a quiddity. It is thus not possible really to separate essence and existence; the distinction is made only in thought. In this lies Avicenna's error. If the being which is possible of itself is pure essence, it exists only in thought. Outside it, it is either an essence which exists, or it is nothing. If it exists, to "add" to it existence so that it shall be has no meaning. If it does not exist, it is obviously not possible to add something to nothing. Thus when Avicenna defines the possible as that which has a cause, it must first be specified what cause is referred to, since apart from the fiction of a cause which would give an existence added to a pure essence, if the idea of the cause enters that of the possible, then either the possible becomes necessary (*ḍarūrī*) (since the cause which makes it necessary forms part of its definition), or else one becomes involved in a tautology: that which has a cause is possible, that is, it has a cause (277), and this line can be followed to infinity. In short, Avicenna destroys the idea of the possible as such, since he makes of it either the necessary, or a simple verbal idea in thought. Averroes admits the existence of the true possible (*mumkin ḥaḳīḳī*), which leads to the necessary possible (*mumkin ḍarūrī*), by which he implies a necessary reality based on a true possibility, that is on a potentiality. The cause is the agent which translates the potentiality into the actuality. There is no other action than this. God makes actual the potentialities which are in the world. The world in its totality (*bi-asrih*) is not a pure possible which receives existence. It is an organized whole necessary through the interplay of the causes which are its laws, a commandment (*amr*) of God; but everything in it, even the heavens, is organized starting from potentialities (even if only the potentiality of place), and the proof of this is that everything in it is subjected to movement. God is thus really an agent and it is known in what His action consists. Thus it is legitimate to call him Creator, which is not the case with Avicenna's God. The division of being into actuality and potentiality is much more realistic than Avicenna's division into necessary and possible. It follows being itself, since it can claim to belong to the ten categories and explains movements according to these categories. It makes heaven enter into the physical, since it is moved in a circular direction, and it eliminates from it any "intermediary" character, in the mystic sense of the word. The necessary and the possible of Ibn Sīnā are vague ideas which set on the one side God and on the other the world, and which can no longer explain, except by imprecise images, the relations between them. They limit the action of God to that which is scarcely action: the unique procession of the first Intellect in its perfect unity of essence. The God of Averroes, a true agent, acts on all beings. E. Gilson, comparing the two Muslim thinkers, writes: "For Averroes, God forms part of the universe. In such a universe, divinity is the metaphysical cause of the physical order; it is therefore natural that physical science demonstrates in it the existence of God ... Thus conceived, God is included in the world, and the science of God, or metaphysics, is necessarily the supreme science beyond which no other exists. The universe of Avicenna is quite different. Avicenna's God is transcendent and situated beyond the moving Intelligences ... the highest of which is his first and only emanation" (*Jean Duns Scot*, 77). Certainly the God of Averroes is not the object of a mystic knowledge. He is present in the physical world and He is the keystone of the arch of the universe. But He is nonetheless transcendent and intelligence cannot reach to Him in Himself, but simply as creator (the first prime mover). In this sense, Averroes' thinking conforms completely to Muslim orthodoxy. This God is not quite that of Aristotle although he is reached by an entirely Aristotelian method. He is not the νόησις νοησέως which thinks in and to itself and draws the world to it without being aware of it. Ibn Rushd considers that although the unmoved mover remains mover and unmoved, it moves by its own command, as does a king seated on his throne. It has all the Ḳur'ānic attributes. The attributes are essential and express the richness of the essence: "To suggest ... that the essence cannot be formed by attributes is not correct, since all essence perfects itself (*istakmalat*) thanks to the attributes through which it becomes more perfect (*akmal*) and more eminent" (328). But these attributes in God are not separated; it is our thinking which distinguishes them according to what we consider to be one or another of the infinite divine perfections.

On the knowledge which God has of the universe, Ibn Rushd repeats what he has said in his other treatises. It does not resemble the knowledge which we have of the universal, which is abstractive and potential. Nor does it resemble the knowledge we have of the particular, which is perceptible, material and pluralist. But being in action and not potential, it resembles more closely our knowledge of the particular than our knowledge of the universal. Similarly God's will does not resemble ours (see above).

There remains the question of the last things. Demonstrative proof can establish spirituality and immortality only as regards the intellect, since it alone among the faculties of the soul is indivisible and operates without the need of physical organs. It has been deduced from this that Averroes did not believe in personal immortality. But this is merely the doctrine which he extracts from Aristotle in his commentaries. In fact, he says, there is nothing to prove that the faculties which make use of the physical organs do really weaken at the same time as the organs do. Although this is not a demonstrative proof, it is at least an open door. Since the knowledge of the soul remains obscure, it is reasonable to have recourse to revelation. As for the resurrection of the body, this is not demonstrable. But the speculative virtues cannot do without the moral virtues. Although the soul is immortal, it will not survive by contemplation alone but will need those moral virtues which imply the presence of the body. However the resurrection is not conceived of as the return of life to the earthly body. It is, as the Ḳur'ān says, a second creation.

B. The *Tafsīr* of the *Metaphysics*. Averroes' work ended with the great commentaries. We therefore now examine the main ideas which, towards the end of his life, he drew from Aristotle's

Metaphysics. Understanding well his thought and his method, he elucidates the Aristotelian doctrine while expressing his own point of view on it. Among the possible interpretations he chooses that which suits his own ideas. This commentary is a major work. The Arabic translations were bad. Often Ibn Rus͟hd consulted two or three of them. He studied the writers of antiquity: Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, Nicholas of Damascus, Johannes Philiponus. He discusses them and often, by his own inspiration, he improves an accepted version. Even where the incomprehensibility of a text causes him to stray from the original thought of Aristotle, Averroes never strays very far.

The object of metaphysics. This science is concerned with the study of certain words: "His aim in this book is to distinguish the meanings contained in words. In this science a speculative examination is made of them, and these meanings have in it the place which in any art is held by the object (*mawḍūʿ*) of this art. These words are those used according to different points of view with reference to a single thing (*Comment.*, Δ, Introd.). Thus the examination of these words is a part of metaphysics: they bear an analogical meaning which can be discovered only through them, "to such an extent that here the examination of words is of the same order as the examination of the different sorts of objects which the scholar considers to be his own field". In other sciences, words, having a single meaning, are the immediate signs of objects of experience or of general ideas. In metaphysics, it is true that the words are also signs, but they do not allow their full significance to be grasped; there is nothing which can replace them. The search for the absolute One, the dream of the neo-Platonists, remains for Averroes simply an aim, always in relation to a multiplicity of different aims without which it would be indeterminate. Thus metaphysics must be attached to the fundamental diversity of being, reducible to that of the ten categories. It is because being is always presented in the plurality of the categories that there exists a metaphysical problem of being.

Because of this, metaphysics cannot have the same logical method as the particular sciences, mathematics and physics. The analogy of being, the one, the cause etc. implies an analogical reasoning. Thus, although in one sense it is the First Science which comprehends all the others and takes account of them, it cannot be considered as their source from which they could be unequivocably deduced. Metaphysics itself follows physics, which supplies it with the concrete experience of beings. The object of metaphysics is in fact being as being (*al-mawd̲j̲ūd bi-mā huwa mawd̲j̲ūd*): there is no other science which speculates on this. Mathematics considers being by quantity without asking the question of their existence. Physics considers being as something moved according to the various categories. Metaphysics considers the *lawāḥiḳ* of being (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τούτῳ καθ' αὑτό, that is, all which is attached to it in its quality as being), and, Averroes adds, its causes (*asbāb*). But metaphysics cannot be the science of the totality of causes, because beings do not form one single category and the same is true of causes. This being so, he defines his thinking thus: "Principles, taken in the absolute sense, even although it happens accidentally that certain beings are perceptible and not absolute, must of necessity be sought for beings considered in the absolute sense. These principles are sought for them in so far as they are beings in an absolute sense, not as they are this or that, for example moved or mathematical" (i, 300). Thus it is by remaining in contact with concrete beings that metaphysics asks the question about their being, that is their existence. This idea is repeated in a commentary of E (ii, 713). If metaphysics is the science with the noblest (*as͟hraf*) object, is it universal and does it apply to many categories? It is not the science of one single category; it therefore has regard for the plurality of categories and *a fortiori* the plurality of beings. Thus the highest science is not the science of the general, as are the particular sciences. In its universality it reaches all that is in its character most concrete. Universal science is not abstract, and this is where the universal is distinguished from the general. It is thus seen that perfect metaphysics would resemble the knowledge which belongs to God. The philosopher attempts to achieve it without succeeding, because he cannot escape completely from generic ideas and material perception, analogy being only an imperfect method of knowing. But metaphysics will attain its culminating point if, among beings, there exist natures separated from matter (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ al-mufāriḳa*). These natures are not, like the Platonic Ideas, hypostasized abstract concepts, but realities which are not composed of matter and form. It is right that theology should have as its object a being thus separate, unmoved and eternal. It is above the science of the heavenly bodies, eternal but moved, of which it grasps the cause: "Just as the things of nature are those which have nature included in their definition (*ḳawl*), so the divine things are those which have God and the divine causes included in their definition" (ii, 712). Thus the word θεολογική is translated and understood as *al-ilāhiyyāt al-ḳawl*. "Since separate things precede in existence things which are not separate, the science which is first and earliest in existence must be the science of separate things" (ii, 711). But "first in existence, not first in knowledge since the order in teaching begins with the end. This is why this science is called meta-physics" (*mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*, i, 714).

Thus God is not being considered as being, even taken absolutely, since all being, before becoming what it is, is. Nor can the idea of God be drawn from the notion of being considered as being by means of a sort of division. It is therefore by studying concrete beings and their causes in the distribution of the ten categories that metaphysics must begin the search for God, discovering the distinction of matter and form, then of potentiality and actuality, in order to reach a cause which includes neither matter nor potentiality and which is the eternal and unmoved mover. Thus between physics and theology there exists an intermediary metaphysical research at the level of the concrete universality of being considered as being within all beings. It prepares that theology whose object is neither spiritual in the mystic sense nor ideal in the Platonic sense, but truly meta-physical.

It is not surprising therefore that Averroes gives great importance to the accidental in all the phenomena of this world. He realizes with Aristotle that although the world as a whole is necessary, it includes within itself some realities whose existence merely occurs with a greater frequency (*akt̲h̲ariyya*). This presupposes the existence of realities which occur with a lesser frequency (*aḳalliyya*). Without the accident of chance, there would be no frequency greater than another and everything would be necessary. There must therefore exist in this world accidental causes. But if every cause necessarily produces its effect and itself necessarily results from another

cause, there would have to exist an eternal and continually existing *anniyya* which would determine absolutely the production and the disappearance of each being. Appealing to experience, Averroes disagrees with this entirely determinist conception. No doubt the relation of the cause to the effect is always necessary; but a cause can interfere in a natural process which, as such, is a stranger to its causality. "As for a cause which results in an effect of chance, this is not at all the cause of a natural movement" (ii, 735-6). The result is that the causation of this cause, with regard to the effect produced in the natural process, is without cause. The natural causes are ordered towards a natural end. But the accidental cause, not being naturally directed towards this, is one which produces such an end without its being determined by any cause. Thus fire burns or heats; this is its natural effect. But if it burns a man, its causation intervenes in the natural process of life and destroys it, although the natural end of fire is not to alter the natural processes of life.

Contrary to this is the study of primary substance and of ontological necessity. In a long preamble to the commentary on book Λ, Ibn Rus̲h̲d re-states the complete rational plan of the work and explains that this book is the actual end of it, the two following containing only the criticism of the philosophy of Ideas and Numbers.

Although he is conversant with the analogy of proportionality (iii, 1552), Ibn Rus̲h̲d considers in depth the analogy of attribution. He shows that anteriority of a substance is not like that of one number in relation to another, but that it is "the anteriority of a thing to that which is related to it". Substance is not a universal (this is contrary to Plato). It is divided into perceptible substance, either eternal (*sarmadī*), the heavens, or corruptible (*fāsid*), and unmoved and separate substance. Perceptible eternal substance comes into the field of physics (this is contrary to Avicenna): "The metaphysician seeks to discover what are the principles of substance considered as such, and he explains that separate substance is the principle of physical substance; but in order to solve this problem, it is necessary to resort on the one hand to what is explained in book I of the *Physics* either on generable and corruptible being (i.e. composed of matter and form), or on eternal substance; and on the other hand to that which is explained at the end of book VIII: that the mover of eternal substance is exempt from matter" (iii, 1424). Unmoved substance therefore forms part of metaphysics, but in order to reach an understanding of it, it is necessary to study the changes in moved beings. All generation stems from a being *in posse*: matter. But the matter of the heavenly bodies, subjected merely to a change of place, is in actuality. Thus the heavenly bodies are neither divisible nor corruptible, contrary to the ideas of Avicenna, who considers that the matter of all the bodies is *in posse*.

All generation has three causes: the subject (*mawḍūʿ*), matter *in posse*, and the two contraries (*ḍiddān*) to which it is *in posse*: the one, on which the definition hangs, is form (*ṣūra*), the other is the lack of form (*ʿadam al-ṣūra*). Such are the principles (*mabādiʾ*) of substance. Neither form nor matter can be generated; all that can be engendered is their union (*mad̲j̲mūʿ*) under the action of a mover (*muḥarrik*); what it moves is matter, that towards which it moves is form. Thus the only thing which is engendered is that which is composed (*murakkab*).

Ibn Rus̲h̲d stresses, in criticizing Alexander and Themistius, the question of the "synonymous" or univocal agent (*al-muwāṭiʾ*): man is born of man. But how to explain the animals which are bred by putrefaction (*ʿufūna*)? It is explained thus: there are the natural substances which are engendered naturally (this is what is meant by "univocal generation"), and the accidents which may be produced by nature, art, chance (*bi 'l-ittifāḳ*) or spontaneity (*min tilḳāʾ nafsih*, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου). But all generation of natural substance is natural. Thus the animals which are born from putrefaction are natural productions of a synonymous agent and not the products of chance, "since that which is produced by chance is a generation without order (*niẓām*) and is not an aim pursued by nature". The efficient natural cause has always a natural finality. Decay has the same power as semen among creatures which reproduce themselves in a line of issue (*mutanāsil*): like semen it contains a power of forming each animal which is born of it.

Matter is common to all material beings. In this sense "it has the nature of something universal". But if this were really the case, it would have a form and would be made one by the form. How, being one in number, can it exist in a plurality? It is possible only because it is *in posse*. When the individual differences (*al-fuṣūl al-s̲h̲akh̲ṣiyya*) which give existence to numerical multiplicity are removed, it is said of matter that it is one, and thus that it is common to many things. But it is not called common because it has a common form, as is the case with the category (cf. iii, p. 1473). Unity by form comes from the fact that several concrete beings, numerically distinct, form one same species or one same category. "The community (*is̲h̲tirāk*) which the intelligence recognizes in the common forms has an existence *in posse* outside the soul. That which the intelligence recognizes in matter is pure nothingness, since it is included only by the negation which withdraws from it individual form. But since matter has no existence outside the soul, in so far as it is conceived of as common to the totality of the generables and of the corruptibles . . ., that by means of which it is matter distinct from nothingness and existing outside the soul, is reduced to the fact that it is a subject (substratum) of the perceptible individual which may be seen but is not understood" (p. 1473-4). In short, what makes Zayd exist is not the fact that the intelligible form of the man is shared by common matter: this form and this matter are only thought, and from their encounter, which is that of a universal positive (form) and a universal negative (matter), it having existence only in the soul, there cannot result, outside the soul, this concrete and individual reality which is Zayd. Properly speaking, the creation of an individual takes place neither through matter nor through form. As has been clearly said by M. Cruz Hernandez: "la materia y la forma no poseen *per se* actividad motora, ni autoprincipio de transformacíon alguna". What exists is the individual form in a particular subject, and that which engenders a particular is a particular. Ibn Rus̲h̲d disagrees here with Themistius, who believed that, in generation, the form was created (for him the generation of animals by putrefaction was a proof of this since, he asked, where did the form of these animals come from?). The substantial form would thus be separate and come from without; there would be a *dator formarum* (*wāhib al-ṣuwar*) which would be the agent intellect (*al-ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl*). This was also the doctrine of Avicenna, based on the following argument: "there are no active powers in matter except the four qualities, hot, cold, dry and wet. These qualities produce what is similar to

them. But the substantial forms do not act upon each other". Ibn Rushd's thesis is that "the agent produces only the composite result of matter and form, and this by setting matter in motion and changing it so that that within it which is *in posse* to the form passes into actuality".

As for the agent, Averroes criticizes the theologians who admit only one single efficient cause and who deny secondary causes. This is because they think that all action is creation *ex nihilo*, and when they see a mover act on a mobile thing, they ask which of them creates the movement. But this is not the question; the true agent is that which causes a subject to pass from potentiality to actuality, and it is in this sense only that it is said that it unites matter and form. The forms exist *in posse* in primary matter and in action in the prime mover, rather in the sense in which it is said that the object of art exists in actuality within the soul of the artist.

The moved movers are thus really agents which have their own natural action. This being so, it is necessary to find not only what moves them but what co-ordinates them. There exists a real and universal movement, that of the sphere, which gives continuity and perenniality (*al-ittiṣāl wa 'l-azaliyya*) to all the movements of the world. As for the sphere and the heavenly bodies, they are moved by the desire inspired in them by the first unmoved mover, "because they understand of themselves that their perfection and their substance are only in movement . . . and also that their movement is the cause of the passage into actuality of what is *in posse* in the separate forms, *i.e.*, the material forms" (iii, p. 1595). In fact, although the forms are in action in the prime mover and *in posse* in matter, as has been seen above, it must be stated that the reverse is true in connexion with the concrete realization of material beings: "one has the impression (*yushabbahu*) that they have two existences: the one in action, which is material existence, and the other *in posse*, which is their existence as separate forms "(*ibid.*). This was the theory of the supporters of the Platonic Ideas, but they fell short of the truth, since the separate forms in themselves are not movers: they are found in the Prime Mover which draws all beings to them and through them. The first end of the movement of the heavens is their own perfection, and it is in consequence of (*tābiʿ*) its search for this that in the second place it ensures this passage of material beings from potentiality to action. "Thus he who performs exercise to preserve his health by practising an art, has as his main aim the preservation of health, and as a secondary aim the practice of this art" (1596).

On the Intellect, Ibn Rushd takes his stand against Alexander, who considered that the material intellect was generated and corruptible, which presents insoluble problems in the matter of intellectual knowledge. Ibn Rushd takes up a thesis which he attributes to Theophrastus, Themistius and the majority of the Peripatetic philosophers: the material intellect exists and the separate agent Intellect is as the form in the material intellect. But he states this more clearly by referring to what he has said in the *De Anima*. The material intellect is in itself generable and corruptible (Bouyges, 1489; the Latin translations add a negative: *non est generabilis et corruptibilis.*) The habitual intellect (*bi 'l-malaka*/*habitu*/ἕξει), which holds at our disposition the knowledge of the intelligibles, has a generable and a corruptible part; the corruptible is its action; but in itself it is incorruptible. It comes to us from without (*min khāridj*/θυράθεν) and is not generated; this is why the intellect *in posse* is for it like a place (*makān*) and not like a material thing. If this intellect, in so far as it must unite with the material intellect, had an action which was not generable, its action would be its essence and there would be nothing in it which constrained it to unite with the material intellect. But since it does unite with it, its action in so far as it unites is not its substance. The action which it produces is not for the benefit of itself, but of another. So it is possible for an eternal being to give to a generable and corruptible being the power to understand. When human perfection is achieved, this intellect sheds all potentiality, and of necessity its action, which is not it itself, is reduced to nothing. So, either *we* no longer understand at all through this intellect, or *we* understand through it, in the sense that its action is reduced, in this state, to its substance. Ibn Rushd shows that the second case is the true one (cf. iii, 1489-90). The question is a difficult one. It seems that Averroes considered the habitual intellect to be the way in which the agent Intellect is present in us, that is, in that part of our soul which is the material intellect. Its action in us has a beginning and an end; like acquired knowledge in the scholar, it is not continually in use. It is therefore, from this point of view, connected with the psychological reality of the feelings, of the imagination, of the memory, and of the will. But when used to perfection, it no longer needs the instruments of the soul: it turns back on itself and in itself in its own action, in which it is identical with the intelligible which it thinks. In this perfection of our intellection we understand through the agent Intellect itself, that is through the action which substantially constitutes it. This is what has led to the statement that our individuality disappears. We have seen the modifications which Averroes introduces into this doctrine, which he considers as being that of Aristotle, without altering it in its demonstrative value: since although all that is demonstrated is true, that which is not demonstrable is not necessarily false.

A general study of the thought of Averroes would have to be based on the texts preserved in Latin or Hebrew. This article has been limited to the main works surviving in Arabic. A Latin Averroes, given the slight variations in emphasis which translations always give to the original work, could be quite different on certain details. A complete and meticulous study on this point would be desirable, but it would be a long and difficult task.

There should however finally be mentioned the commentary on the *Republic* which has survived in Hebrew (ed. with introd., tr., and notes by E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, Cambridge 1956). Ibn Rushd did not know the *Politics* of Aristotle; Plato takes its place. "The two works —*Nichomachean Ethics* and *Republic*—form two complementary parts of the same science of Politics, as Averroes stated himself". Averroes' social awareness appears here in his ideal of a perfect city, the image of the world; he makes frequent use of al-Fārābī; he transposes in a very interesting fashion the Greek institutions into Muslim realities, as, in the *Poetics*, he transposed the Greek literary genres; finally he makes many allusions or applications to Muslim public law and to the situation of the Almohad empire compared with the Almoravids.

Ibn Rushd had few disciples in Islam. His great fame among the Western schoolmen is well known. Renan, followed by many others, claimed that Ibn Rushd's thinking contained nothing original. This is because he deliberately belittled the religious and

juridical works. In a general way, he committed an error of appreciation which was to remain a blind spot with the historians of "Arab" thought, who have seen the *falāsifa* as nothing more than the heirs of Greece. If one considers the whole corpus of Ibn Rus͟hd's works and the unity of his wide thought, it becomes apparent that the "Commentator" was a true philosopher.

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(R. Arnaldez)

IBN RUSTA, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Rusta. Little is known of his life except that his native place was Iṣfahān and that he travelled in Ḥid͟jāz in 290/903. He is author of *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, of which only the seventh volume has survived (the complete work must have been very voluminous). It is very likely that he was writing between 290-300/903-13. From the subject matter of the extant volume it is evident that the author was highly educated and possessed literary talent.

His *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* deals with mathematical, descriptive and human geography and a variety of historical and other subjects. The first chapters deal with the celestial sphere, the signs of the Zodiac, the planets, the position of the earth in the universe, and its shape, size and sphericity. The author deals systematically with mathematical and astronomical geography and endeavours to give briefly and without much quotation the sources of his knowledge, and the views and theories of the Arab, Greek and Indian astronomers on the subject. Thus the views of Āryabhatta on the rotation of the earth are included. Among the authorities named by him are Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kat͟hīr al-Farg͟hānī (*ca.* 218/833) and Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarak͟hsī (d. 286/899). However, he quotes numerous verses from the Ḳur'ān in support of his view of astronomy. After the introduction, there follows a description of Mecca and Medina, of the wonders of the world, the seas, rivers and the seven climes; then follow descriptions of Constantinople, of the K͟hazars, the Bulg͟hars, the Slavs, the Russians and other peoples. The author then gives the itineraries of some places, and ends with a description of some categories of Muslim names, religious groups and schisms, and names of people having special physical characteristics. Apart from the description of the lands of Islam, one finds in it details about many regions that lay outside the domain of Islam. Thus, considering the variety of subjects covered in the book, it may be defined as "a short encyclopaedia of historical and geographical knowledge". From the point of view of its arrangement and the presentation of the geographical material, the work may be classified as belonging to the category of the ʿIrāḳī school of geography as distinct from the broad category of the Balk͟hī school [see d͟jug͟hrāfiyā, 580b]. Ibn Rusta's work is to be compared with those of Ḳudāma and Ibn al-Faḳīh, in whose system too Mecca and Arabia are given precedence. By contrast, others belonging to this school give preference to ʿIrāḳ and Īrāns͟hahr. Again, Ibn Rusta prefers to describe the seven climes according to the Greek system and not according to the Persian system of *kis͟hwars*. J. H. Kramers has very correctly evaluated the work of Ibn Rusta as a rich source of information about all kinds of subjects that interested the cultivated classes of society: "It would seem that this kind of literature was used for the collection of all the secular knowledge that could not find a place in the religious and traditional literature" (see *D͟jug͟hrāfiyā*, in *EI*[1], Supp.).

As for the sources of his information, Ibn Rusta seems to have consulted the work of al-D͟jayhānī [*q.v.*]—he might even have met him. Again, it seems that he utilized the more complete edition of Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih [*q.v.*], which is not extant. He used the report drawn up by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, who spent two years in Khmer (Cambodia) and whose report was later used by a number of geographers.

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IBN SAʿĀDA, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mursī (496/1103-565/1170), *ḳāḍī* and traditionist, studied under his kinsman Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (whose *dīwān*s and the original copies of whose traditions he inherited), Abū Muḥammad Ibn ʿAttāb, Abu 'l-Walīd b. Rushd (grandfather of Averroes) and Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī. In 520/1126 he travelled to the East and performed the Pilgrimage the following year. After studying with a number of scholars in Mecca, Alexandria and al-Mahdiyya, he returned to Murcia in 526/1132. His main interests were Ḳur'ānic studies, *ḥadīth*, philology and *kalām*, along with an inclination towards Ṣūfism. He was an eloquent *khaṭīb*, a counsellor, and a teacher of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, and was appointed *ḳāḍī* successively in Murcia and Jativa. He transmitted traditions in these towns and in Valencia, in which three towns he preached the *khuṭba* on Fridays in turn. He was valued for his legal knowledge and just decisions, and was popular with all classes. Among his transmissions was al-Tirmidhī's *Djāmiʿ*.

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IBN AL-SĀʿĀTĪ (the son of the clock-maker), Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān (or Ruḍwān) b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rustam al-Khurāsānī, born at Damascus, where his father, a native of Khurāsān, had settled. His father was a skilled clock-maker, whose most notable works were the clocks at the entrance to the Great Mosque at Damascus, commissioned by the Zangid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (died in Shawwal 569/May 1174); he was also versed in astronomy. Ibn al-Sāʿātī was a physician, but he was also well-versed in literature, logic and the other philosophic disciplines as well as in clock-making. He was at first the vizier of al-Malik al-Fā'iz b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Muḥammad b. Ayyūb (nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), and then vizier and personal physician of his brother al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (died 624/1227). He died at Damascus in about 627/1230. There survives a work of his on clock-making, the *Risāla fī ʿamal al-sāʿāt wa-'stiʿmālihā* (abridged translation E. Wiedemann and Fritz Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova acta academiae naturae curiosorum*, c (1915), 176-267), in which he deals primarily with his father's clock, which he repaired and improved.

His brother, Bahā' al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, also called Ibn al-Sāʿātī, was a well-known poet whose *dīwān* has been edited by A. E. Khūrī (Beirut 1938-9). He died, in Cairo, in about 604/1207; for details of his life see Ibn Khallikān, no. 489.

The same name was also given to the Ḥanafī jurisconsult Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, died 694/1295, author of a much used compendium of *fiḳh* which is called *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn wa-multaḳā 'l-nayyirayn*, because it is an adaptation of the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ḳudūrī [*q.v.*] and of the *Manẓūma* of al-Nasafī; for details see *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, ed. Flügel, 4.

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IBN SABʿĪN, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr, al-ʿAkkī al-Mursī Abū Muḥammad Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, 'Peripatetic' philosopher and Ṣūfī (*ṣūfī ʿalā ḳāʿidat al-falāsifa*). He himself used the surname Ibn Dāra. This last word, which denotes a circle, a ring, the halo round the moon, here apparently signifies the null or zero which, according to the *ḳāḍī* of Granada, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 760/1358-9), was said to correspond to the figure of seventy (*sabʿīn*) "according to certain methods of computation peculiar to the people of the Maghrib".

Ibn Sabʿīn was born in Murcia in 613 or 614/1217-8 and died in Mecca in 668 or 669/1269-71.

"A bitter and tormented spirit", L. Massignon called him. His life, consisting entirely of controversies, quarrels and persecutions, seems to have been a long and painful trial, alleviated however by the love and loyalty bestowed on him by his disciples, the *sabʿīniyya*, men humble of heart and living in poverty. In Spain, where he carried out his studies, fortune at first favoured him. His wide learning and knowledge of medicine and alchemy were esteemed. On the other hand, his Ṣūfism was suspect; he was reproached for some of his doctrinal assertions, among others, that in which he defined God as being the sole reality of existing things; this was regarded as a profession of monist faith, which his own position as a hellenizing philosopher could only render more suspect in the eyes of the *ʿulamā'* and *fuḳahā'*. He was compelled to leave his native land, when about thirty years old, to escape from persecution by his enemies. Followed by a group of disciples, he settled in Ceuta. There he acquired such celebrity that Ibn Khalāṣ, the governor of the city, deputed him to answer the philosophical questions which the emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen had put, through an ambassador, to the Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd (630-40/1232-42). But this high official, fearing that public order might be disturbed by the philosopher's teaching, soon expelled a visitor whom he considered to be compromising. Once again, Ibn Sabʿīn was compelled to go into exile. He turned towards the East. He travelled to Bādis, then to Bougie. It was in that town that he met al-Shushtarī (610-68/1213-69), who became the most faithful, as well as the most moving, of all his disciples. Continuing on his way eastwards, he came to Tunis. In a milieu of orthodox Islam, this Aristotelian Ṣūfī once again came up against the hostility of the *ʿulamā'*. To escape from his chief enemy Abū Bakr al-Sakūnī, a theologian from Seville who had settled in Tunis, he hurriedly left the town. There is a record of his journey on to Gabès, and thence to Cairo. But there he scarcely felt secure and the great Mamlūk sultan Baybars I was ill-disposed towards him. Only the *ḥarām* of Mecca remained as a place of refuge for him. But there too he was persecuted, by an Andalusian émigré named Ḳuṭb al-Ḳasṭallānī (614-86/1217-88). For once, however, he escaped unharmed from the accusations that were brought against him.

M. A. F. Mehren regards Ibn Sabʿīn as "one of the last representatives of the Arab 'Peripatetic' school".

This opinion is shared by L. Massignon, who considers that through his very Hellenism the philosopher was condemned to remain without disciples in the history of Islam. Ibn Khaldūn places him among the adherents of *waḥda*, that is to say among the Monists, whom he contrasts with the theorists of *tadjallī*. His isolation in a world of *ʿulamāʾ*, *muftīs*, theologians and *fuḳahāʾ* is not without its poignancy. He reacted by adopting a haughty attitude, pouring scorn on his adversaries. He possessed a restless temperament, racked by a nervous distemper which led even to the vomiting of blood, according to the reports of some of his biographers. This aristocratic intellectual seems to have found his only consolation among the humble men who listened to him and allowed themselves to be charmed by his words. His disciple al-Shushtarī, who spoke of himself as his slave and dedicated three of his *zadjals* to him, called him "the magnet of souls" (*maghnāṭīs al-nufūs*). That he took his own life in the manner of the Stoics, by opening the veins of his wrists, is in no way improbable [see INTIḤĀR]. For this philosopher, possessed by Love, it was the ultimate way of uniting himself with the Beloved, of fleeing a world that rejected him.

The *isnād* of the *ṭarīḳa sabʿiniyya* given by al-Shushtarī in one of his *ḳaṣīdas* shows the overlapping of the two cultures, the Greek and the Muslim, as accepted by the followers of Ibn Sabʿīn. In it, among other links, we find Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, al-Ḥallādj, al-Shūdhī, who as a mystic was the teacher of that strange character al-Suhrawardī, and Abū Madyan. In this initiatory chain, Hellenistic philosophy and Muslim *taṣawwuf* are linked together under the patronage of Hermes, the spokesman of the gods and their messenger to men.

His biographers ascribe a certain number of works to him, the principal ones being *Budd al-ʿārif*, which he is said to have written at the age of fifteen (an ed. is being prepared in Paris), *al-Duradj*, *al-Iḥāṭa*, *al-Fatḥ al-mushtarak*, a short book, *al-Faḳīriyya*, several treatises and a few essays.

Bibliography: M.A.F. Mehren, *Correspondance du philosophe soufi Ibn Sabʾîn Abd oul-Haqq, avec l'empereur Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen*, in *JA*, 1880 (in this article will be found information concerning his biography, the text of the replies that he is said to have given to the four philosophical questions put by the emperor Frederick II, and also some extracts from his two principal biographers, namely Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* and Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*). See also ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī, *al-Maqṣad* (*Vies des saints du Rîf*), annotated trans. by G. S. Colin, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 47-9, 180-2, n. 141; L. Massignon's helpful studies, *Ibn Sabʿīn et la critique psychologique dans l'histoire de la philosophie musulmane*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, ii, Paris 1928, 123-30; idem, *Recueil de textes inédits relatifs à la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, 123-34; idem, *Investigaciones sobre Šuštarī*, in *al-And.*, xiv/1 (1949), biographical note, 33-5.

(A. Faure)

IBN SAʿD, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Manīʿ al-Baṣrī al-Hāshimī Kātib al-Wāḳidī, traditionist, b. Baṣra *ca.* 168/784, d. Baghdād on 4 Djumādā II 230/16 February 845. He was a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Hāshim, for his grandfather had been a freedman of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. in 140 or 141; see Ibn Saʿd *apud* Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 344). Ibn Saʿd travelled in search of traditions and studied under many authorities. Later he settled in Baghdād and attached himself to al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*], became his secretary and transmitted his works. He also studied genealogy under Hishām b. al-Kalbī. During the *Miḥna* [*q.v.*], he and six other orthodox scholars were summoned by order of al-Maʾmūn and were made to declare their adherence to the Muʿtazilī dogma (Ṭabarī, iii, 1116 ff., *sub anno* 218).

Ibn Saʿd's fame rests on his Book of the Classes (*Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr*; there existed also a small edition, probably an abridgement). It was intended to be an aid to the study of traditions by giving information on some 4250 persons (including about 600 women) who, from the beginning of Islam down to the author's time, had played a rôle as narrators or transmitters of traditions about the Prophet's sayings and doings. Ibn Saʿd compiled it from the works of his predecessors, especially al-Wāḳidī and Ibn al-Kalbī; he usually gives the full *isnād*, but no title; he often quotes, however, the *Kitāb Nasab al-anṣār* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmāra known as Ibn al-Ḳaddāḥ (see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, x, 62) which he had written down at the author's dictation (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 70). Ibn Saʿd opens his work with a biography of the Prophet; then follow the classes, arranged geographically, and within each region chronologically, and sometimes also genealogically. The articles on the Companions of the Prophet are often extensive, whilst the articles on the other classes get shorter and shorter, until sometimes only the name is given. Later on some lacunae were filled in, and even an article on Ibn Saʿd himself (vii/2, 99) was added by his pupil, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Fahm (d. 289/902), in his recension of the work. Another recension (used by Ṭabarī in his "Annals") was made by al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (d. 282/895), and a third one by Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*], which was used by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (see Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 224). The edition published by E. Sachau and others (Leiden 1904-40, 9 volumes in 16 parts) gives the recension of Ibn Ḥayyawayh (d. 381/991), which was also used by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥadjar and others.

According to his biographers Ibn Saʿd wrote also books on *fiḳh* and *gharīb*. The *Fihrist* (MS Chester Beatty, p. 60) mentions besides the two editions of his *Ṭabaḳāt* a *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*. Ibn Saʿd studied the *ḥurūf al-Ḳurʾān* under al-Wāḳidī and taught them to Ibn Abī Usāma, who transmitted them to Ibn Mudjāhid (see Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, ii, 142). Among the critics of traditions Ibn Saʿd has—unlike his master al-Wāḳidī—the reputation of being a trustworthy authority.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd is not to be confused with his namesake, Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfī (d. 276/888; see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 322 f.), to whom al-Ṭabarī is referring when he says *ḥaddathanī Muḥammad b. Saʿd ʿan abīh* ... in an *isnād* which occurs no less than 1560 times in his *Tafsīr* (see H. Horst in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 294) and occasionally in his "Annals" (i, 45, 75, 143, 314, 378, 420, 1394, 1451, 1530). All the transmitters mentioned in this *isnād* belong to the same family: Muḥammad b. Saʿd's father Saʿd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ix, 126; cf. Ibn Saʿd, vi, 212, 20); the latter's paternal uncle Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya al-Ḳāḍī al-Ḥanafī (d. 201 or 202; see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 29 ff.; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 74); Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyya (d. 181; see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ii, 294) and ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd (d. 111 in Kūfa; see Ibn Saʿd, vi, 212; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vii, 224-6), who transmits from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās explanations of Ḳurʾānic verses. None of them was considered by the critics

as an unimpeachable authority; and it was said of ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd that he had his *tafsīr* from al-Kalbī but insinuated (by *tadlīs*) that he had heard it from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

Bibliography: al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 321; Ibn Khallikān, no. 656 (who calls him in error al-Zuhrī); Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ii, 12; idem, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, iii, 63; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ix, 182; Brockelmann, I, 136, S I, 208; O. Lòth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Saʿd*, Leipzig 1869; the prefaces of the individual volumes of Sachau's edition; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 87 ff. On lacunae in Sachau's edition, especially in vol. v, see H. Ritter in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 196-9 and K. W. Zetterstéen in *SB Pr.Ak.W.*, 1933, 790-820; on its third index see W. Gottschalk in *ZDMG*, cv (1955), 105-14. On Ibn Saʿd al-ʿAwfī, see J. W. Fück, in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 85 f. (J. W. Fück)

IBN ṢADAḲA [see ṢADAḲA, BANŪ].

IBN AL-SADĪD, also known as IBN AL-MUZAWWIḲ, FAKHR AL-DĪN MĀDJID B. ABI 'L-FAḌĀʾIL B. SANĀ 'L-MULK, called ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sadīd al-Ḳibṭī, d. 833/1430, was an official of the clerical class who served in various government positions under the patronage of the powerful Secretary Saʿd al-Dīn Ibn Ghurāb. Except for brief biographical sketches, little is known about him. Like Ibn Ghurāb [*q.v.*] he was of Coptic origin, and moved from one high position to another during the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj (reigned 801-15/1399-1412) [*q.v.*]. Among his posts were Controller of the Army (*Nāẓir al-djaysh*), briefly around 807/1404-5; and Privy Secretary (*Kātib al-sirr*), for about six months in 808/1405-6 in place of Ibn Ghurāb, who was elevated at that time to Head of the Council and made Emir of the First Class. After the death of Ibn Ghurāb, one of the latter's competitors for the Sultan's favour, Fatḥ al-Dīn Fatḥ Allāh (d. 816/1413), was named Secretary and Ibn al-Sadīd was moved from that office to be Controller of the Royal Stables (*Nāẓir al-iṣṭabl al-sulṭānī*). During the conflicts that ended his reign in 815/1412, Sultan Faradj named Ibn al-Sadīd Secretary for a second time, but the Sultan was killed before this appointment could take effect. From that time on, Ibn al-Sadīd lived in obscurity. Had it not been for his relationship by marriage and his long-time friendship with the Emir Djānibāk al-Ṣūfī, the bitter rival of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (reigned 825-41/1422-38) [see BARSBĀY], he might have lived out his life in peace. Barsbāy, however, dominated for years by fear of attempts on his throne and his life by Djānibāk after the latter's escape from prison, periodically instituted raids on places where Djānibāk was suspected of hiding and arrested and tortured suspected accomplices. In Rabīʿ II 829/March 1426 Ibn al-Sadīd was seized, and despite protestations that he did not know Djānibāk's whereabouts and had not set eyes on him since his imprisonment, was beaten with cudgels to force him to reveal what he knew. He was banished from Cairo and died four years later in constant fear and suffering on account of Djānibāk.

Bibliography: Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 1950; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper), vi, 167, 173, 176, 306, 598, 815; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ii, 321, 420; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, v, 235. A brief biography is found in Wiet, *Les secretaires*, 283. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN AL-SADĪD, KARĪM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FAḌĀʾIL AKRAM B. HIBAT ALLĀH, AL-ḲIBṬĪ AL-MIṢRĪ, called Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr, *ca.* 654-724/*ca.* 1256-1324, a member of the Coptic scribal class, was converted to Islam as an adult, at which time he took the name ʿAbd al-Karīm, by which he is sometimes known. After beginning his government career as the secretary (*kātib*) of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars II (708-9/1308-9), and after a temporary setback at the latter's fall, he rose under Baybars's successor, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (709-41/1309-40). During that ruler's third reign Ibn al-Sadīd became, for a time, the most powerful figure in the governmental administration.

Most contemporary as well as later accounts, generally based on a biography by Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, assert that he was the first to bear the title of Controller of Privy Funds (*Nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, or *khawāṣṣ*). According to al-Maḳrīzī, however (cf. *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ ed., ii, 227), the title was known from Fāṭimid times but was of minor importance until Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad abolished the vizerate and appointed Ibn al-Sadīd as Controller. In this office he was the supreme financial administrator in the realm and bore other titles as well, such as *ʿaẓīm al-dawla* and *wakīl* of the Sultan. Among his other responsibilities was the control of the finances of the Manṣūrī hospital and *madrasa* and of the *waḳf* of the mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.

Ibn al-Sadīd seems to have had absolute control over the personal finances of the ruler to such an extent, as is related in an anecdote, that the Sultan was unable to pay for a duck that he wished to buy in the absence of his Controller. Like all bureaucrats of the period, however, Ibn al-Sadīd was dependent for his position and advancement on the personal whims and financial needs of his master. Despite his high position and close personal relationship with the Sultan, recounted in numerous anecdotes, Ibn al-Sadīd met a fate which some chroniclers liken to that of the Barmecides. The exact reasons for his fall from favour are not clear, but in 723/1323 he was seized, confined, and forced to sign a statement, witnessed by the Chief Ḳāḍī, to the effect that all the wealth in his possession actually belonged to the Sultan and that none of it was his (*Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ), ii, 59). After this he was moved from one place of confinement to another, from the tomb that he had built at al-Ḳarāfa outside Cairo to Karak al-Shawbak, thence to Jerusalem, and finally to Aswān in Upper Egypt where, several months after his arrest, he was found strangled with his turban. Although some chroniclers report this as a suicide, others make clear their suspicion that the Sultan's orders were involved.

Upon receiving news of the death of Ibn al-Sadīd the Sultan had his son, ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, brought before him and forced from him revelations of the whereabouts of his father's huge hidden treasure. One contemporary account (al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ix, 315) asserts that Ibn al-Sadīd had deposited large sums of money with European merchants in Egypt, planning to flee to a European-held territory—probably Cyprus—in the very year in which he was seized. This account further states that he had been urging on the Sultan a plan to develop the port facilities of Lādhiḳiyya to equal those of Alexandria, with the intention of using that harbour as his point of departure. On the other hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo ed. ix, 77), following earlier authorities, praises him for the sincerity of his Islamic feeling, his generosity, reliability and executive ability.

His sister's son, also named Karīm al-Dīn Akram, (*Manhal*, no. 516) and called Karīm al-Dīn al-Ṣaghīr to distinguish him from his uncle, served as *Nāẓir*

al-dawla and was also exiled to Aswān, where he died in 726/1326. Some nine years later, in 735/1334, the sons of both Karīm al-Dīn al-Ṣag̲h̲īr and of his uncle, Ibn al-Sadīd, were arrested.

Although the downfall of Ibn al-Sadīd may be attributed to a change in the Sultan's personal attitude, deeper historical causes may be suggested. One is the possibility that it was connected with changes in fiscal policy as reflected in the monetary reforms introduced by the Sultan almost immediately after the death of Ibn al-Sadīd. Another is the evident suspicion that Ibn al-Sadīd was involved in events connected with the anti-Christian riots in Cairo and other parts of Egypt in 721/1321. It is recorded that he was stoned by the populace for interceding on behalf of Christians accused of starting fires and was condemned by pious Muslims for having persuaded the Sultan to order the demolition of a *miḥrāb* erected on the site of a destroyed Christian church (cf. *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, 511, 514-6).

A number of building projects are attributed to Ibn al-Sadīd, including a mosque and a *k̲h̲ānḳāh* in Cairo, and the endowment of two mosques bearing his name in the outskirts of Damascus.

Bibliography: As mentioned above, most of the available biographies are based on the as yet unpublished work of al-Ṣafadī and repeat the same material. This is true of Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Durar*, which has two biographies, one under Akram (i, 401-4) and one under ʿAbd al-Karīm (ii, 401-4); of al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 8-15; of Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī (Cairo), ix, esp. 75-7; and even of modern works such as al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, iv, 180, and *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 164. Additional material occurs in Dawādārī, *Kanz*, ix (ed. Roemer), 188, 203, 217, 247, 282, 296, 302, 305, 306, 307, 310, 311, 314-15, 349, 354, 376, 388, 390, 394; and *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* (Būlāḳ), ii, 59, 66, 68, 131, 164, 186, 225, 227, 269, 392, 425, 426, 511, 514-16. Other references are Sauvaire, in *JA*, 1896, 231, 267-68; Wiet, *Lampes*, app. no. 21-2; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 1463; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, ii, 28; iii, 99-100. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN SAʿDŪN [see yaḥyā b. saʿdūn].

IBN AL-ṢAFFĀR, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-G̲h̲āfiḳī al-Andalusī, a student of the Spanish astronomer and mathematician Maslama al-Mad̲j̲rīṭī [*q.v.*], lived in Cordova until shortly after the outbreak of civil strife, at which time he moved to Denia, where he died in 426/1035. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) informs us that Ibn al-Ṣaffār wrote a set of astronomical tables according to the Sindhind method as well as a treatise on the use of the astrolabe. The former seems to survive only partially in an Arabic manuscript written in Hebrew characters (MS Paris, *hebr.*, 1102). The latter text has been edited by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa (see Bibliography). There are two Latin versions of this treatise on the astrolabe; one by Johannes Hispalensis is ascribed to al-Mad̲j̲rīṭī (*Alcacim de Magerit qui dicitur Almacherita*), and the other by Plato of Tivoli is ascribed to Ibn al-Ṣaffār (*Abucazin filio Asafar*). Since they both represent the Arabic text of Ibn al-Ṣaffār, Millás Vallicrosa argued (in his article of 1955) that al-Mad̲j̲rīṭī had been substituted in one version because of the confusion that they both had the same *kunya* (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim). A Hebrew version by Jacob ben Makhir, in two recensions, and a Spanish version are also extant. No other treatises by Ibn al-Ṣaffār are known.

Muḥammad, a brother of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn al-Ṣaffār, is described as an astrolabe-maker by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī; at least one surviving astrolabe (dated 420/1029) is ascribed to him (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Islamic astrolabists and their works*, Geneva 1956, 75).

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, 580-4; H. Suter, *Die Math. und Astron. d. Araber und ihre Werke*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x (1900), 86; Brockelmann, I, 256, S I, 401; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, 70 (transl. R. Blachère, 131); J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manoscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, Madrid 1942, 261-84 (an edition of the Latin version by Johannes Hispalensis of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's treatise on the astrolabe); idem, *Los primeros tratados de astrolabio en la España arabe*, in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, iii (1955), 35-49 (the Arabic text of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's treatise on the astrolabe appears in a supplement, separately paginated, pp. 47-76). (B. R. Goldstein)

IBN AL-ṢAG̲H̲ĪR, historian, author of a chronicle on the Rustamid imāms of Tāhert. His work forms the earliest document on the Ibāḍīs of North Africa which has survived up to the present, with the exception of extracts from the work of Ibn Salām b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*]. The chronicle of Ibn al-Ṣag̲h̲īr was very highly esteemed by the Ibāḍī historians of the Mag̲h̲rib, two of whom, al-Barrādī [*q.v.*] and al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] quote large extracts from it. His opinions concerning the Ibāḍīs of Tāhert and particularly the Rustamids were certainly not hostile, in spite of an anti-Ibāḍī statement made in one passage of his work. He himself was more a S̲h̲īʿī, and his ʿAlid tendencies appear in more than one passage of his chronicle. While still a young man he owned a shop in Tāhert, in the al-Rahādina quarter, and attended the mosque in this quarter. He lived during part of the reign of the imām Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān and also during that of the imām Abū Ḥātim, when he wrote his chronicle, probably in about 290/903.

Ibn al-Ṣag̲h̲īr's work is an anecdotal rather than a political history, and has been rightly described by A. de C. Motylinski as "la monographie de la Tâhert abâdhite dans sa vie intime". The author used as his basic sources stories narrated by various persons of Tāhert, mainly Ibāḍīs, who were often relating their ancestors' version of events. He only rarely gives the names of his informants, among whom there should be mentioned a certain Aḥmad b. Bas̲h̲īr.

Bibliography: *Chronique d'Ibn Ṣag̲h̲īr sur les imams rostemides de Tahert*, ed. and Fr. tr. A. de C. Motylinski, in *Actes du XIVe Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, Algiers 1905, third part (continuation), Paris 1908, 3-132; A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mzab. Les livres de la secte abadhite*, in *Bull. de Correspondance Africaine*, iii (1885), 45-6; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-S̲h̲ammāk̲h̲ī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 192, 194, 221, 222, 223, 262, 263; T. Lewicki, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI*, 1936/3, 69; idem, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIIIe au XVIe siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961-2), 105-6. (T. Lewicki)

IBN ṢĀḤIB AL-ṢALĀT, Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Bād̲j̲ī, Andalusian author of an important history of the Almohads entitled *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma ʿala 'l-mustaḍʿafīn bi-an d̲j̲aʿalahum Allāh al-aʾimma wa-d̲j̲aʿalahum al-wārithīn* (ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Beirut 1964). Practically nothing is known of this Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt nor of his connexion with several other men of the same name. Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt seems himself to have been an Almohad *ḥāfiẓ* and clearly was closely

involved in the events which he describes. Brockelmann's statement, presumably taken from Amari, that he died in 578/1182 is incorrect; it may be deduced from the work itself that he was still living in 594/1198 (Tāzī's Introduction, pp. 24-6). The surviving fragment of *al-Mann bi'l imāma* begins with the year 554/1159 and finishes with 568/1172 (not 580/1159 [*sic*] as in Brockelmann).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 554.

(J. F. P. HOPKINS)

IBN SAHL AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM, one of the few genuine poets of Muslim Spain in the 7th/13th century. When compared with the great names of poetry during this period, such as Abū Baḥr Ṣafwān b. Idrīs (d. 619/1222), Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥarīḳ (d. 622/1225), Muḥammad b. Idrīs *alias* Mardj al-Kuḥl (d. 634/1236), Ibn Lubbāl (d. 683/1284), Ṣāliḥ b. Sharīf al-Rundī (d. 684/1285) and Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (d. 684/1285), Ibn Sahl impresses us by his truly poetic temperament and his artistic sensibility.

Born in Seville in about 609/1212-3 of a Jewish family, he spent nearly all his life in his native town, wholly absorbed in poetry, to which he devoted himself entirely, and it is only towards the end of his life that we find him attached to one of the governors as secretary. The Seville in which he lived was sad and under constant threat, but he succeeded in escaping into a world of imaginary love and romantic dreams. As early as 625/1227, when he was only sixteen years old, he impressed his contemporaries with his poetic talents when he suggested the insertion of a verse in a poem composed by al-Haythamī in praise of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Hūd. He must have been converted to Islam at the start of his poetic career, since the whole of his *dīwān* expresses his deep Muslim conviction; some of his contemporaries doubted the sincerity of his conversion and tormented him with their incessant curiosity about his faith, but he always remained patient and paid no attention to their provocations. We have no reason to doubt his sincerity because, at a time when Muslim Spain was falling into hopeless decline, the material advantages to be secured by such a conversion were practically nil. Ibn Sahl left Seville after it had fallen into the hands of Ferdinand III (646/1248) and settled in Ceuta, where he became one of the secretaries of the governor, Abū ʿAlī Ibn Khalāṣ; in 649/1251, when the latter decided to send his son to bear a message to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Mustanṣir I, the Ḥafṣid ruler of Ifrīḳiya, Ibn Sahl was chosen to accompany him; the travellers set sail on board a galley which was wrecked in a violent storm and all its occupants perished.

The *dīwān* of Ibn Sahl is one of the finest specimens of Andalusian poetry; it consists almost exclusively of love poems and *muwashshaḥāt* which reveal his artistic temperament and his talent as a romantic poet. A number of these poems are dedicated to a youth named Mūsā, and later ones to another youth named Muḥammad; several critics have wondered if Mūsā might not be a symbol of Ibn Sahl's attachment to his original faith and of his regret for abandoning it; the poems dedicated to Muḥammad were composed later, and are regarded as an indication of his final adherence to the faith he had chosen. This is all pure conjecture with no foundation; indeed, one of his first long poems describes the march of a caravan of pilgrims towards Mecca, and palpitates with intense and dramatic Muslim sentiments rare in the poetry of that period.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, i, 23-35; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (MS Cairo), xi, 473; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 244, 296 (where it is said that Ibn Sahl died in 649 or 656); Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, Cairo 1953, i, 264-5; idem, *Rāyāt*, no. xx, Arabic text 22, Spanish tr. 149; idem, *Ikhtiṣār al-Ḳidḥ al-muʿallā*, ed. Ibr. al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1959, 140-1; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, v, 66-71; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, i, Cairo 1956, 51-6; M. Hartmann, *Das arab. Strophengedicht*, Weimar 1897, i, index; Brockelmann, I, 273, S I, 483; M. Soualah, *Ibrahim ibn Sahl, poète musulman d'Espagne*, Algiers 1914-9; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 207.— His *dīwān* has been printed several times in Cairo (1279, 1302), Beirut (1885) and Alexandria (1939); a commentary, by Muḥ. al-Ṣaghīr b. Muḥ. al-Ifrānī, *al-Maslak al-sahl fī tawshīḥ Ibn Sahl*, was lithographed in Fās in 1324. (H. MONÈS)

IBN AL-SĀʿĪ, ʿALĪ B. ANDJAB, ABŪ ṬĀLIB TĀDJ AL-DĪN, ʿIrāḳī historian (14 Shaʿbān 593/2 July 1197-20 Ramaḍān 674/8 March 1276). Born in Baghdād, he appears to have spent all of his life there. He was a librarian, in succession, it seems, of both the Niẓāmiyya and the Mustanṣiriyya libraries. Being inclined to Ṣūfism, he was inducted into it by (ʿUmar b. Muḥammad) al-Suhrawardī in 608/1211-12. He had a son, ʿUbayd Allāh, who was born on 7 Shaʿbān 632/27 April 1235. These are about all the known facts about his life, which began in a tranquil and prosperous period but was then caught up in the storm of the Mongol invasion.

Ibn al-Sāʿī was part of the intellectual life of Baghdād in a period in which historiography was exceptionally flourishing. He wrote numerous and large works. A few titles on *ḥadīth* may have been largely academic exercises, although of considerable size. On *adab*, he composed, for instance, a number of many-volume commentaries on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, commentaries on Thaʿlab's *Faṣīḥ* and the *Nahdj al-balāgha*, and a work on contemporary poets. Titles such as "Lover and Beloved" and "Ascetics" (the latter supposedly his last work) may have been Ṣūfī in character. His historical output was vast. He wrote monographs on the last four ʿAbbāsid caliphs, from al-Nāṣir to al-Mustaʿṣim; biographical collections, such as a continuation of the History of Baghdād, Classes of Jurists, *Manāḳib* of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and of the professors of the Niẓāmiyya; annalistic history, and much more. No complete list of his works, probably numbering far more than one hundred, can be established. With other members of the ʿIrāḳī historical school of the time of the great upheaval, Ibn al-Sāʿī shares the fate that most of his work has been lost. Beyond brief citations in later authors, we possess so far only one volume of his detailed annalistic history, entitled *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar* (part 9, containing the years 595-606, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Baghdād 1353/1934), and an interesting short treatise on some of the wives of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, entitled *Djihat al-aʾimma al-khulafāʾ min al-darāʾir wa-'l-imāʾ*, which was recognized as belonging to Ibn al-Sāʿī and published by Muṣṭafā Djawād (*Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*, Cairo n.d. [1960?]). A brief and mediocre history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (*Akhbār al-khulafāʾ*) is unlikely to go back to him. The existence of a five-volume *Akhbār al-udabāʾ*, claimed by P. Sbath, *al-Fihris, Supplément*, Cairo 1940, 38, is entirely uncertain, as is his connexion with the work mentioned by Brockelmann, S II, 935, No. 58.

Bibliography: (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī), *al-Ḥawā-*

dith al-djāmiʿa, Baghdād 1351, 386; al-Dimyāṭī, *Muʿdjam*, see G. Vajda, *Le Dictionnaire des autorités de ʿAbd al-Muʾmin ad-Dimyāṭī*, Paris 1962, 71; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, *anno* 674, also *Muʿdjam* (or its *Talkhīṣ* by Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba) (not available); al-Ṣafadī (not available); ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḳurashī, *Djawāhir*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1332, 354; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *Muntakhab al-Mukhtār*, Baghdād 1357, 137-9; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, 343 f., and other brief notices. Cf. further, Brockelmann, S I, 590 f. (S II, 935 ??); F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², 56, 58, 305 f., 410, 413, 424, 462 f., 491; ʿAbbās ʿAzzāwī, *al-Taʿrīf bi-ʾl-muʾarrikhīn*, i, Baghdād 1376/1957, 90-5; Muṣṭafā Djawād, introd. to his ed. of *Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN SAʿĪD [see AL-MUNDHIR B. SAʿĪD].

IBN SAʿĪD AL-MAGHRIBĪ, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MŪSĀ B. MUḤ. B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. SAʿĪD, Andalusian poet, anthologist, historian and geographer, born near Granada in 610/1213, in a family which was descended from the Companion of the Prophet ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*] and which had long previously emigrated to Spain, where, during the period of the *Ṭawāʾif*, it had carved out a principality for itself in the Ḳalʿa of the Banū Yaḥṣub (modern name Alcala la Real), but had afterwards been forced to enter the service of the Almohads (for this family, see G. Potiron, *Eléments de biographie et de généalogie des Banū Saʿīd*, in *Arabica*, xii/1 (1965), 78-92). After spending his youth in Seville, where he divided his time between the traditional studies and pleasures, Ibn Saʿīd left Spain in 639/1241 to perform the Pilgrimage, together with his father, who died on the journey, at Alexandria, in 648/1242. He was then given a warm welcome in Cairo, where there had preceded him a fame which was probably due to the *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥulā ʾl-Maghrib* which he had brought with him. This work has a curious history: begun in 530/1135 by Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥidjārī at the suggestion of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿīd, under the title *Kitāb al-Mushib fī gharāʾib al-Maghrib*, it consisted of an account of the events between the conquest of Spain and the year 530; its compilation was continued, with new data added and the title altered, by the two sons of ʿAbd al-Malik, Aḥmad (d. 558/1163) and Muḥammad (519-91/1125-95) and then by the latter's son, Mūsā, and finally by our ʿAlī b. Mūsā. This work, which thus represents the sum of the efforts of several generations of members of the same family, was finished only in 641/1243 by ʿAlī b. Mūsā while he was in Egypt, and it is the autograph but incomplete manuscript, the various volumes of which are dated from 645 to 657/1247-50, which has served as basis for the fragmentary editions of this monumental work (the section relating to Egypt, ed. Zakī Muḥ. Ḥasan, Cairo 1953, one vol.; the section relating to Spain, ed. A. Ḍayf, i, Cairo 1953 [cf. review by E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Arabica*, i/2 (1954), 219-24], ii, Cairo 1955; text and German tr. by K. Vollers of the notice concerning Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, in *Semitist. Studien*, Berlin 1894; 4th vol. published and tr. into German by K. C. Tallquist, under the title *al-ʿUyūn al-duʿdj fī ḥulā dawlat Banī Ṭughdj*, Leiden 1898; the section relating to Sicily, ed. Moritz, Palermo 1910).

In 648/1249, Ibn Saʿīd left Egypt to perform the Pilgrimage and travelled throughout ʿIrāḳ and Syria, probably in order to obtain information with a view to the completion of a *Kitāb al-Mushriḳ fī ḥulā ʾl-Mashriḳ*, which had been undertaken by his father and was to be a counterpart to the first; this work does not appear to have been completed, but several volumes of it in manuscript exist in Cairo. He next performed a second Pilgrimage to Mecca and started on his return journey, writing on the way an account of his voyage, *al-Nafḥa al-miskiyya fī ʾl-riḥla al-Makkiyya*. On his arrival in Tunis (652/1254-5) he entered the service of the *amīr* al-Mustanṣir (see R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index), fell for a time into disgrace, but finally succeeded in regaining favour. In 666/1267, he made a second journey in the East which took him as far as Īrān, but the last years of his life are surrounded by some obscurity; he seems to have returned in about 675/1276 to Tunis, where he died in 685/1286.

Ibn Saʿīd's poetry, to judge from the few examples which have survived (for his *Dīwān* is lost), reveals, among much that is hackneyed and stereotyped, some original ideas and personal accents when, in the East, he expresses his nostalgia for his native Andalus. But his fame rests mainly on the *Mughrib*, the anthologies deriving from it and his historical and geographical works, most of which have today disappeared. The following have been printed: *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyizīn*, partial ed. with Spanish tr. by E. García Gómez, Madrid 1942; Eng. tr. A. J. Arberry, Cambridge 1953.—*ʿUnwān al-murḳiṣāt wa ʾl-muṭribāt*, which seems to have formed part of a *Djāmiʿ al-murḳiṣāt wa ʾl-muṭribāt*; ed. Cairo 1286; partial ed. and Fr. tr. by A. Mahdad, Algiers 1949.—*al-Ghuṣūn al-yāniʿa fī maḥāsin shuʿarāʾ al-miʾa al-sābiʿa*, ed. Ibr. Ibyārī, Cairo 1955; *Ikhtiṣār al-Ḳidḥ al-muʿallā fī ʾl-taʾrīkh al-muḥallā*, ed. Ibyārī, Cairo 1959; *Mukhtaṣar Djughrāfiyā* (and other titles), ed. J. Vernet, Tetuan 1958 (partial Sp. tr. by the same in *Tamuda*, i (1953), vi (1958); ed. with Fr. tr. by G. Potiron, forthcoming).—Some of his other works have survived but are still unpublished (for mss. see Brockelmann): in addition to the *Mushriḳ* already mentioned there exist notably: *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī taʾrīkh djāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*; and *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (Cairo). His writings on the scholars of his time, his own family, his journey to Mecca, and on geography etc. have been used by later writers such as al-Maḳḳarī or Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, but the latter admits that Ibn Saʿīd's geographical writings are full of errors.

Bibliography: autobiography in the introduction to *Mughrib*; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 112; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 357; idem, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 320; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 12,078; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 260; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*², 37, 108, 176; Brockelmann, I, 336-7, S I, 576; F. de la Granja, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 228; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Le zağal hispanique dans le Muġrib d'Ibn Saʿīd*, in *Arabica*, i/1 (1954), 44-52; M. M. Antuña, *Una obra fragmentaria de Abensaid el Magrebi existente en la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, in *Bol. de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, lxxxvi (1925), 639-48; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 187-8; G. Potiron, *Un polygraphe andalou du XIIIe siècle, . . . Ibn Saʿīd*, in *Arabica*, xiii/2 (1966), 142-67.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ṢĀʾIGH AL-ʿARŪḌĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. SIBĀʿ AL-DJUDHĀMĪ, known also under the name of Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmiya, poet, grammarian and lexicographer, born at Damascus in 645/1247 and died there *circa* 722/1322. Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh, who taught grammar, prosody and belles-lettres in a shop in the jewellers' quarter, is the author of a certain number of glosses and abridgements of famous works (com-

mentary on Ibn Durayd's *Maḳṣūra*, an abridgement of the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Djawharī, an abridgement of the commentaries by Ibn Kharūf and by al-Sīrāfī on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh [manuscript in the Ḳarawiyyīn], etc.), as well as of a *Maḳāma shihābiyya* and of a large *Dīwān*, containing especially a long *ḳāfiyya*, composed in Egypt, in which he expressed the nostalgia he felt on being far from his native town; this composition is numbered among the famous *zahriyyāt*.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, s.v.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 340; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 94; Kaḥḥāla, ix, 192; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iii, 281-2. On other persons known by the name of Ibn Ṣāʾigh, see *DM*, iii, 281, 282. (ED.)

IBN AL-ṢALĀḤ, TAḲĪ ʾL-DĪN ABŪ ʿAMR ʿUTHMĀN B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-KURDĪ AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, who belonged to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, was born in 577/1181 at Sharakhān, a village in the Irbil district near Shahrazūr, and died in Damascus in 643/1245. He studied *fiḳh* at Shahrazūr with his father, who later took him to Mosul where he studied *ḥadīth*. He continued his studies in a number of centres such as Baghdād, Naysābūr, Merv, Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥarrān and Jerusalem, with distinction. Ibn Khallikān, who studied under him for a year in Damascus from Shawwāl 632/June-July 1235, says he was one of the most eminent men of his time in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *ʿilm al-ridjāl* and all branches of *ḥadīth* studies, and philology. He taught for a time in the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* in Jerusalem, then went to Damascus where he remained for the rest of his life. He taught in the Rawāḥiyya *madrasa*. When al-Malik al-Ashraf built the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* in Damascus, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was appointed to a chair. He was later appointed to the Shaʾmiyya Djuwāniyya *madrasa* newly founded by Sitt al-Shaʾm. Ibn Khallikān says that although he held these three posts simultaneously he was punctilious in the performance of all his duties. He was renowned for his *fatwās*, was an authority on *ḥadīth*, and was a teacher whose classes were largely attended. His writings, though not numerous, were highly valued. He wrote a description of the rites of the *ḥadjdj*, extant but still unpublished. A work containing his *fatwās* has been published (Cairo 1348). His most famous work is his book on the sciences of *ḥadīth*. He refers to it as *Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth hādhā*, but whether he meant that as a title is not clear. It was published in Lucknow in 1304 with the title *Muḳaddimāt Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, and in Aleppo (1350/1931) with the title *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth al-maʿrūf bi-Muḳaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, accompanied by ʿIrāḳī's commentary and by notes by Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, the editor. This work, divided into 65 *nawʿ*, has a claim to be considered the standard work on the sciences of Tradition. It has given rise to commentaries and abridgements, notable among which are the *Taḳrīb* of al-Nawawī, translated by W. Marçais in *JA*, série ix, vols. xvi-xviii, and Ibn Kathīr's abridgement published with a commentary by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir with the title *al-Bāʿith al-ḥathīth* (Cairo 1370/1951).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, ii, 188-90; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 214 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, v, 137-42; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Nukhbat al-fikar*, Cairo 1352/1934, 2 f.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, year 643; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 8766; Brockelmann, I, 440-42, S I, 610-12. (J. ROBSON)

IBN SALĀM B. ʿUMAR (or ʿAMR), the first known Ibāḍī historian of the Maghrib. He lived, at least for a time (in about 240/855), at Tozeur in southern Tunisia. He is known to have been still living in 260/873-4. He is the author of an historical work on the Ibāḍīs of North Africa which has not survived, but fairly long extracts from which are found in the *Kitāb al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī. This work, whose title is not known, was compiled from the traditions related by the North African Ibāḍī *shaykhs*, such as the author's contemporary Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Nafūsī (whom he met at Tozeur in 240), Nafāth b. Naṣr al-Nafūsī and Sulaymān b. Wakīl al-Zahānī. The extracts given in al-Shammākhī's work deal with the introduction of Islam into the Djabal Nafūsa, with the history of the first Ibāḍī imāms of the Maghrib (Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb al-Maʿāfirī and Abū Ḥātim al-Malzūzī), with the relations of the Ibāḍīs of Tāhert with their co-religionists in the East during the imāmate of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and with several important Ibāḍīs of Ḳayrawān and central and eastern Tunisia. The date of composition of the work is not known, though it seems fairly probable that it was compiled shortly after the year 260/873-4, which is the last date mentioned in the extracts given by al-Shammākhī.

Bibliography: al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, 133-4, 135, 142, 143, 161, 162, 260-2; T Lewicki, *Le culte du bélier dans la Tunisie musulmane*, in *REI*, ix (1935), 196-7; idem, *Une chronique ibāḍite*, in *REI*, viii (1934), 73; idem, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibāḍites-wahbites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961-2), 106-7. (T LEWICKI)

IBN AL-SAL(L)ĀR [see AL-ʿĀDIL B. AL-SALĀR].

IBN SALLĀM [see ABŪ ʿUBAYD IBN SALLĀM].

IBN SALLĀM AL-DJUMAḤĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤ. B. SALLĀM, traditionist and philologist of the Baṣra school. He was a *mawlā* of Ḳudāma b. Maẓʿūn al-Djumaḥī and was born at Baṣra in 139/756. It was in his native town that he began the traditional studies—religious sciences and *adab* in general—particularly with his father, who was very well versed in poetry and lexicography. He was in contact, at Baṣra and also at Baghdād, with a considerable number of the scholars of the period, among them the great names of Arabic literature, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, etc. and several poets such as Bashshār or Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa. He also collected *ḥadīths* as related by famous traditionists and transmitted them in his turn to such figures as Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī or Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his son ʿAbd Allāh. In the same way he became the transmitter of historical traditions, and ʿUmar b. Shabba was among his listeners. He died at Baghdād in 231/845 or 232/846.

His biographers attribute to him several works: a *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* (which, however, is not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm), a *K. al-Fāḍil* (?) *fī mulaḥ* (?) *al-akhbār wa ʾl-ashʿār*, a *K. Buyūtāt al-ʿArab*, a *K. al-Ḥallāb* (*al-Ḥalāʾib*?) *wa-idjrāʾ al-khayl*, perhaps also a *K. al-Fursān*, but his fame rests mainly on his *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, which nevertheless presents several problems: these are not easy to solve because of the disordered state in which the text has survived and the unsatisfactory way in which it has been transmitted; in fact, although it can be accepted that Ibn Sallām is indeed the originator of this work, its contents were transmitted orally and probably worked over by his nephew Abū Khalīfa al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥubāb al-Djumaḥī, who was blind, and were not written down until some decades after the death of its real author; an indication that

this was so is to be found in the fact that al-Djāḥiẓ, when he cites Ibn Sallām, mentions his *isnād* (this does not necessarily refer to the work which was to become the *Ṭabaḳāt*, but the remark has a general significance), whereas Ibn Ḳutayba has a tendency to suppress it. The *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'* was first published at Leiden, in 1916, by J. Hell (with an introduction in German which stated the main problems); this work served as the basis for an edition published in Egypt in 1920 and for several other commercially published editions; finally M. M. Shākir published, also in Cairo, in 1952, under the new title of *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarā'*, an excellent critical edition based on a more complete manuscript than those which had been available to Hell. The editor devotes a long introduction to a detailed criticism of Hell's conclusions, attempts to solve the difficulties caused by the arrangement of the work, lists its sources (he names 70 guarantors) and collects citations from it by later writers, in particular by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, which to a certain extent reveal their methods of work.

Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to Ibn Sallām two distinct works, a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā' al-djāhiliyyīn* and a *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā' al-islāmiyyīn*, which certainly seem to form the two basic parts of the printed work; each of them contains ten classes of four poets, but this perfect symmetry is broken, for they are separated by a third part consisting of a class of poets of *marāthī* (four poets), a class of poets belonging to various cities (Medina: five, Mecca: nine, al-Ṭā'if: five, al-Baḥrayn: three) and a class of Jewish poets (eight). There should thus be a total of 114 notices but five of them have disappeared (they could, however, be fairly easily reconstructed). The notices contain in general only rudimentary biographical facts and brief quotations of verses, but the work is nevertheless of considerable interest: it not only provides a documentation which is still useful, although it seems rather thin, but in addition the choice of poets illustrates the tastes of the amateurs and connoisseurs of poetry; finally it was the first work to pose the problem of the authenticity of ancient poetry and provides the modern critics who have expressed doubts about this with a number of examples.

For his place in the development of rhetoric, see AL-MAʿĀNĪ WA'L-BAYĀN.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* and *Bayān*, indexes; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; Ibn al-Nadīm, Cairo ed., 163, 165; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, v, 327 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xviii, 204-5; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 27; Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī, i, 157; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 182-3; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 47; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, in Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*[2], ii, 253; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 34-7, 63-6 and index; Brockelmann, S I, 165; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 139; ʿAlī Dj. Āl Ṭāhir, in *MMIA*, xli (1966); F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-maʿārif*, iii, 197-8. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN SAMADJŪN, ABŪ BAKR ḤĀMID, physician and pharmacologist of Cordova, concerning whom we possess no other biographical notice than that by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (Cairo 1882, ii, 51). A contemporary of Ibn Djuldjul [*q.v.*], he must have had a part in the rewriting of the text of Dioscorides in Arabic that was undertaken in Cordova, and died probably at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. He wrote a book on medicaments entitled *al-Djāmiʿ fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada* in which he lists the medicinal herbs in the alphabetical order of ancient Semitic, in the same way as al-Idrīsī. In each article he gives a description of the plant and its medical properties, as well as textual quotations from the authors he had consulted, first of all Dioscorides, then Galen, Paul of Aegina, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, Ahron b. Aʿyan, Ibn Māsawayh, etc. Some of the articles are of interest, as for instance that on mandragora (*yabrūḥ*), in which he describes its anaesthetic properties.

This scholar must not be confused with a homonym whose *kunya* is Abū Sākin (Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, 34, no. 95; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Shawḳī Ḍayf, ii, 53) and other persons of the same name.

Bibliography: P. Kahle, *Ibn Samağūn und sein Drogenbuch, Ein Kapitel aus den Anfängen der arabischen Medizin*, in *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, Berlin 1952, 25-44. (J. VERNET)

IBN AL-SAMḤ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM AṢBAGH B. MUḤAMMAD, geometer, is principally known from the report of his pupil Abū Marwān Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Nāshī, which is quoted by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (p. 70 of Cheikho ed.), and thence by Ibn al-Abbār (pp. 246-7 of Bel and Ben Cheneb ed.) and by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (Beirut ed., iii, 62-3). According to this authority he died in Granada on Tuesday 18 Radjab 426/Friday (!) 29 May 1035 after having lived 56 solar years; he was born, then, in 979. Ibn al-Abbār adds the information that he originally came from a learned family of Cordova, but fled to the protection of Ḥabūs b. Māksan of Granada (*ca.* 410-29/1019-38) during the troubles of the early 5th/11th century.

A pupil of Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (d. 398/1007-8; see Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 126-7 and 230), Ibn al-Samḥ wrote on arithmetic, geometry, astronomical instruments and tables, and, perhaps, medicine. Ibn al-Nāshī lists the following works: (1) *Kitāb al-Madkhal ila 'l-handasa fī tafsīr Kitāb Uḳlīdus* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 473); (2) *K. Thimār al-ʿadad*, known as *al-Muʿāmalāt* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 493); (3) *K. Ṭabīʿat al-ʿadad*; (4) *K. al-Kabīr fi 'l-handasa* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 172); (5) A book in two *maḳāla*s on making astrolabes (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 40-1); (6) A book in 130 *bāb*s on using an astrolabe; extant in MSS British Museum Arab 405 and partially in Esc. Arab 972 ff. 29-29v (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 40-1 and Millás Vallicrosa, *Los primeros tratados*, 48); (7) A *zīdj* based on the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* (cf. al-Khuwārizmī) in two *djuz'*, one of which contained the tables, the other explanatory texts. Chapter 63 of al-Zarḳālī's *Kitāb al-ʿAmal bi 'l-ṣafīḥa* (see the *Libros del Saber*, ed. Rico y Sinobas, iii, 209-11) contains the *zīdj*'s method of equalizing the astrological places, in which Ibn al-Samḥ follows Hermes; chapter 64, on the projection of rays, and chapter 65, on the risings of the stars, are also said to follow the opinion of Hermes and may be from Ibn al-Samḥ's *zīdj*. The only other surviving fragments of the *zīdj* seem to be those preserved by al-Djahānī (ed. I. Heller, Noribergae 1549), sign. Niii, on the interval between Caesar and Christ, and Yii, on the projection of rays (cf. also Ibn Ḥazm's *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* (in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 119; Fr. tr. Ch. Pellat, in *al-And.*, xix/1 (1954), 89) and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 557); (8) *Kitāb al-Kāfī fi 'l-ḥisāb al-hawā'ī*, which apparently is extant in MSS Esc. Arab 973 ff. 1-30 and in Berlin Arab 6010 ff. 1-23 (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 20-1); (9) *Kitāb al-Kāmil fi 'l-ḥisāb al-hawā'ī* (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 27).

Ibn al-Samḥ also wrote a work on a planetarium, which is translated into Spanish as the first book of the *Libro de las láminas de las VII planetas*, in which

chapter 13 gives the longitudes of the apogees of the planets for 416/1025 (*Libros del Saber*, iii, 241-71). Ibn Khaldūn (iii, 135) also ascribes to him an abridgement of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

Steinschneider (*Heb. Ueber.*, 584) thinks that Kalonymos ben Kalonymos' Hebrew translation, finished in 1312, of a treatise on the cylinder and the cone ascribed to "Sammāh" is to be referred to Ibn al-Samḥ, and suggests (*Die europ. Ueber.*, sect. 182) that the Latin *Antidotarium* of Abnaçah is also his work; neither of these attributions has anything to support it beyond the vague similarities of the names. Moreover, the implication made by Millás-Vallicrosa (*Azarquiel*, 4, 247 and 278) that the Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Samḥ whose observational activity is mentioned by al-Zarḳālī is our author seems erroneous; he should rather be our author's father. Finally, Ibn al-Samḥ is named as the recipient of an epistle on alchemy alleged to have been written by his fellow-student of al-Madjrīṭī, Abū Bakr b. Bishrūn (see Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 230), and F. Rosenthal (*ibid.*, n. 696) notes that a biography of Maslama names Ibn Bishrūn as the authority for a statement that there was an estrangement between al-Madjrīṭī and Ibn al-Samḥ. However, Rosenthal goes on to conclude that Ibn Bishrūn's epistle is pseudepigraphical, and therefore throws no additional light on the still nebulous Ibn al-Samḥ.

Bibliography: Brief articles on Ibn al-Samḥ can be found in Steinschneider, *Heb. Ueber.*, 585; Suter, 85; Sánchez Pérez, *Biografias de matemáticos árabes*, Madrid 1921, 67; Brockelmann, I, 623 and S I, 861; and E. S. Kennedy, *Islamic astronomical tables*, Philadelphia 1956, no. 26. References to him are also found in J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, and *Los primeros tratados de astrolabia en la España árabe*, in *Rev. Inst. Egipcio de Est. Isl. en Madrid*, iii (1955), 35-49, an article which is republished in his *Nuevos estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, Barcelona 1960, 61-78. But there has been no study of his works or of his influence. (D. PINGREE)

IBN SANĀʾ AL-MULK, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM HIBAT ALLĀH B. ABI 'L-FAḌL DJAʿFAR B. AL-MUʿTAMID, known as al-Ḳāḍī al-Saʿīd, Arabic poet of the Ayyūbid period famous mainly for the treatise *Dār al-ṭirāz* which he devoted to the genre of *muwashshaḥ* [*q.v.*]. He was born in Cairo circa 550/1155, and died there in 608/1211; he was educated by Egyptian teachers and, like his father al-Ḳāḍī al-Rashīd, embarked on the career of *ḳāḍī*; he worked under the direction of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, whom he joined at Damascus and to whom he dedicated some pieces of poetry; he also wrote in praise of Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin).

Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk wrote in the traditional genres without much originality; he is the author of a *Dīwān* (published in Ḥaydarābād [Dairatu'l-Ma'arif, n.s. no. xii] in 1958, by M. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, with detailed biography) and of an anthology of his own works in verse and prose, the *Fuṣūṣ al-fuṣūl wa ʿuḳūd al-ʿuḳūl* (MS Paris 3333); he is said to have written also an abridgement of the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ under the title *Rūḥ al-ḥayawān*; but his importance is due the the fact that he was the first person, in the East, to compose *muwashshaḥāt* (sometimes with a *khardja* containing Persian words) and that he had the idea of deducing from the Andalusian and Maghribī specimens available to him the rules of the genre, while realizing the difficulty of such an enterprise. His treatise, the *Dār al-ṭirāz fī ʿamal al-muwashshaḥāt*, was published by Dj. Rikābī in Damascus in 1368/1949, and made it possible to see more clearly the structure of *muwashshaḥāt* just at a time when the originality of the *khardja* was beginning to be perceived [see MUWASHSHAḤ]. The work consists of a selection of 34 *muwashshaḥāt* from al-Andalus and the Maghrib and 35 specimens composed by the author himself. The whole is preceded by a long introduction in which Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk sets out his theory about the structure and the prosody of the genre.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, iii, s.v.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 265-71; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, v, s.v.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, i, s.v.; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1955, s.v.; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, Egypt, Cairo 1951, i, s.v.; Brockelmann, I², 304, S I, 462; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, index; idem, in F. Bustāni, *DM*, iii, 203-5. (ED.)

IBN SARĀBIYŪN, SUHRĀB, author of the *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-akālīm al-sabʿa*, lived in the first half of the 4th/10th century. Hardly anything is known about the life of the author except for the little that can be ascertained from internal evidence in his extant work. In its introduction he calls himself Suhrāb (p. 5), and so was presumably of Persian origin. Again, from the detailed information that the author presents about the rivers of Baghdād and of ʿIrāḳ (pp. 114-38) it seems that he lived in these regions for some time. The work was produced between 289-334/902-45, and although the title of the work suggests that it dealt with "marvels" (*ʿadjāʾib*) of the world, these are not described in the extant work. The author characterizes the work as a summary of information gathered from various works of earlier writers on the subject, it being his object to make this information on the positions of towns, seas, rivers, mountains, valleys, and on land- and sea-routes, available to those interested in constructing a map of the world. Hence, he describes in detail the technique of constructing a map on a cylindrical projection. Al-Khuwārizmī's work, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, which forms the basis of Suhrāb's work, must, in the opinion of H. von Mžik, have originally contained similar introductions on map-making (the world-map described by Suhrāb and al-Khuwārizmī has been reconstructed in detail by Rāḍiya Djafrī of the Aligarh Muslim University). Though Suhrāb's work is mainly based on al-Khuwārizmī, he must have utilized other sources also, as is evident from a comparative study of the two authors; from this the following points of difference emerge: (1) in many cases, Suhrāb adds 5′ to the longitudes or latitudes of towns, mouths of rivers, mountains, etc. as given by al-Khuwārizmī; and his figures for the limits of some climes as given in the Table are different from those given by al-Khuwārizmī (p. 7); (2) in some cases, the longitudes given by Suhrāb seem to be more correct than those given by al-Khuwārizmī, *e.g.*, the longitude of the city of Baghdād according to al-Khuwārizmī is 78°, but according to Suhrāb it is 70° (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣifat al-maʿmūra ʿalā al-arḍ*, 24, who gives it as 70° 0′). According to al-Khuwārizmī, the river ʿĪsā, a branch of the Euphrates, flows into Baghdād at 69° 40′, but Suhrāb does not give the longitude of the mouth of the tributary; (3) in some cases, Suhrāb indicates the names of certain rivers, lakes and swamps while al-Khuwārizmī does not; thus Suhrāb's information is helpful in identifying place-names and in determining their geographical positions; he also adds some new names to the list, *e.g.*, Kashmīr, Baʿlbakk (pp. 23, 29), but at the same time he omits the towns south of the

Equator which are given by al-Khuwārizmī; Suhrāb also gives a few additional names of mountains, *e.g.*, Ṭūr Sīnā, Djūdī, Siyāh Kōh, etc.; (4) Suhrāb calls the Sea of Baṣra (the Persian Gulf) the "Sea of Fārs" which suggests that he was under the influence of the Balkhī School of Muslim geography; (5) the main difference between the two lies in the arrangement of the rivers: while al-Khuwārizmī describes all the rivers under the climes in which their sources lie, Suhrāb describes most of the large and small rivers in a separate chapter and does not give their longitudes or latitudes as al-Khuwārizmī does, but describes their courses in terms of *farsakhs* or *mīls* or in relation to places; (6) Suhrāb makes use of diacritical marks to names and to portions added by him.

As pointed out by Kračkovskiy, Suhrāb's style is that of a naturalized Arab. The works of Suhrāb and al-Khuwārizmī are complementary and should be studied together.

Bibliography: Suhrāb, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-aḳālīm al-sabʿa ilā nihāyāt al-ʿimāra*, ed. H. von Mžik, Vienna 1929; Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, Vienna 1926; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Izb. Soč.*, iv; Arabic tr. by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, part i, 103-4; al-Bīrūnī, *Ṣūrat al-Maʿmūra ʿalā al-Bīrūnī, Bīrūnī's picture of the world*, ed. Zeki Validi Togan, Delhi (*MASI*, no. 53) 1937. (S. Maqbul Ahmad)

IBN al-SARĀYA [see ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN AL-ḤILLĪ].

IBN al-SARRĀDJ [see IBN AL-ḲIṬṬ].

IBN al-SARRĀDJ, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳurashī al-Dimashḳī, Arab mystic, compiled in about 714/1314 a collection of edifying anecdotes entitled *Tuffāḥ al-arwāḥ wa-miftāḥ al-arbāḥ*, which formed part of his lost work *Tashwīḳ al-arwāḥ wa 'l-ḳulūb ilā dhikr ʿallām al-ghuyūb* (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der ar. Hdss. von Berlin*, no. 8794). (C. Brockelmann)

IBN al-SARRĀDJ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Sarī al-Sarrādj ("the saddle-maker") al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī, Arab grammarian. The date of his birth is unknown, but he lived in Baghdād. He was the youngest pupil of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrad, who for that reason devoted particular attention to him. For a time he allowed himself to be led away from grammatical studies in favour of logic and music, but then returned to them resolutely. He taught in Baghdād, and some famous grammarians were included among his pupils: Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zadjdjādjī, Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī and Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. There is mention of his modesty and the soundness of his teaching, and one fact noted is that he had difficulty in pronouncing the rolled *rāʾ* which, in his speech, became a *ghayn* (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii, 462).

A pupil of al-Mubarrad, he took part in the widespread movement which led the Arab grammarians to base their work on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi. He wrote a *Sharḥ* to the *Kitāb* as the outcome of his teachings. He repeated the doctrine of the *Kitāb* in various didactic works: — the *K. al-Uṣūl al-kabīr* which was esteemed very highly, then the *K. Djumal al-uṣūl* (*wa-huwa 'l-Uṣūl al-ṣaghīr*, according to Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, xviii, 200). The *Fihrist* (62) mentions also the *K. al-Mūdjaz*, the *K. al-Djumal*, the *K. al-Muwāṣalāt fi 'l-akhbār wa 'l-mudhakkarāt* and the *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ* which he did not complete, according to Yāḳūt (*loc. cit.*); the latter adds the *K. al-Khaṭṭ* and the *K. al-Hidjāʾ*. He touched on lexicography in the *K. al-Riyāḥ wa 'l-hawāʾ wa 'l-nār*, and Ḳurʾānic sciences in the *K. Iḥtidjādj al-ḳurrāʾ* and the *K. al-Shakl wa 'l-naḳṭ* (mentioned in al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ii, 295). As one who loved to give a reply by quoting an apposite line of verse, he composed a *K. al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ*; incidentally he was a man of marked sensitivity. He died while quite young in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 316/February 929.

Several authors, among them Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, iii, 463), Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (*Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ*, ed. ʿA. Amer, 150), al-Ḳifṭī (*Inbāh*, iii, 146), record the date of the death of Ibn al-Sarrādj in these words: — *fī yawm al-aḥad li-thalāth layālin baḳīna min Dhi 'l-Ḥidjdja*, that is to say the 27th day of the month, or 10 February; but this 10 February was not a Sunday (according to the *Tables* of H. G. Cattenoz, 2nd ed.). The source of the information was the grammarian Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad (on whom see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 319).

Of his works, the following are preserved in manuscript: — a *K. al-Uṣūl* (Br. Mus. Suppl. 916; Brockelmann, S I, 174), which must be *al-kabīr*; the *K. al-Hidjāʾ*, the *K. al-Mūdjaz*, in a *madjmūʿa*, recently placed in the General Library in Rabat, under no. 100 *ḳ* (this last work published by Moustafa el-Chouémi and Bensalem Damerdji, Beirut 1385/1965); a *K. al-ʿArūḍ* (not mentioned elsewhere) contained in the same *madjmūʿa*.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 62; Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lughawiyyīn*, Cairo 1373/1954, 122-5; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, xviii, 197-201 = *Irshād*, vii, 9-12; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1374/1955, iii, 145-9; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 462-3; the *Muḳaddima* of the editors of the *Mūdjaz*, which also provides information on the *madjmūʿa* mentioned above. Several other references will be found in al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 145, note 1, without adding anything new to all those already available. (H. Fleisch)

IBN ṢAṢRĀ (sometimes, incorrectly, Ṣaṣarrā, Ṣaṣarī, and Ṣarṣarī), the name of a scholarly family of Damascus which can be traced for several centuries. Probably of Mesopotamian origin, as is attested by their *nisbas* al-Taghlibī and al-Baladī (referring to the town of Balad/Balaṭ, now Eski Mosul), the family, like others of its class during Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times, carried on a tradition of Islamic scholarship and activity for generations. Traditionists, teachers, and jurists appear on the family tree from *ca.* 450/1060 to 800/1398. The most important members of the family are the following:

(1) ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, d. 467/1074, a traditionist who transmitted in the name of Tamām b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 414/1023) and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUthmān al-Yabrūdī (d. 401/1010), cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 257. His daughter's son, who studied with him and transmitted in his name, became even more famous as a traditionist, *ḥāfiẓ* and writer. His name was Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad, al-Anṣārī, Abū Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Akfānī (444-523/1052-1129), cf. Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, 132; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 389.

(2) Maḥfūẓ b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Barakāt, *ca.* 455-545/1063-1151, a *ḳāḍī* and son of a *ḳāḍī*, known as "The Great *Ḳāḍī*", cf. Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (Amedroz), 312 (al-Miṣrī (!) = Ṣaṣrā). The remaining members of the family known through references in biographical dictionaries, chronicles, or other contemporary sources were all descendants of Maḥfūẓ through one or another of his three sons:

Hibat Allāh, ʿAlī, and Muḥammad. Of these three, the family of Hibat Allāh was most important.

(3) Hibat Allāh b. Maḥfūẓ, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim, d. 563/1168, served as a ḳāḍī at the age of twenty, heard and transmitted many traditions from teachers such as Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāʾūs and studied jurisprudence with Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sulamī, cf. Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, 274; Ibn Taghrībirdī, iii, 125.

(4) al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, Abu 'l-Mawāhib, 537-86/1142-90, probably the most important of the 6th/12th century members of the family, travelled extensively in the eastern Islamic world in pursuit of the study of traditions. In Iraq he studied with Ibn al-Buṭā (d. 564/1169), and in Iran with al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 569/1174) and Ibn Māshādah (d. 572/1176). He was a companion of Ibn ʿAsākir, the historian of Damascus, and his name appears frequently in the *samāʿāt* of Ibn ʿAsākir's history as well as in the works of other authors. The titles of at least four of his own works are known. He was the first of his family to have been buried in a family *turba* on Mount Ḳāsiyūn, cf. al-Dhahabī, iii, 48; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), vi, 112.

(5) al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, 530-626/1135-1229, the elder brother of al-Ḥasan, also a scholar and traditionist, but not so well known and often confused with his brother by later historians and chroniclers. He was important as a teacher of tradition, which he studied first with his grandfathers (on his maternal side ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Hilāl, d. 565/1169-70) and with many other scholars listed in a 17-volume work no longer extant. See Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim*, 154; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), vi, 272.

(6) Sālim b. al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim, Amīn al-Dīn, 577-637/1181-1240, accompanied his father on some of his journeys and thus had the opportunity of studying with important scholars in other lands. See *Orientalia*, ii, 186.

The children and grandchildren of Sālim were the bearers of the family tradition of scholarship down to the beginning of the 9th/15th century, when the family name disappears. The sons of Sālim, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 664/1266), al-Ḥasan (d. 664/1266), and Muḥammad (d. 670/1272), are all noted in their biographies for their learning and for performing public religious functions—usually as ḳāḍī. In the next generation, that of the grandchildren of Sālim, there is increasing involvement in the financial administration of the province of Damascus. Among the chief figures of that period are the following:

(7) Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sālim, Djamāl al-Dīn, Abū Isḥāḳ, d. 693/1294, became *Nāẓir al-dawāwīn*, as his father before him, serving from 678-79/1279-80. In the latter year he was seized, together with the Vizier of Damascus, Ibn Kusayrāt, and they were mulcted of much wealth. In 682/1283, he was appointed *muḥtasib* and reappointed to his previous post as well. He continued to serve until 687/1288, when he and a number of Damascene notables were summoned to Cairo and were forced to give up their wealth. He was restored to his position, however, and in 691/1292 was again confirmed in office. See al-Djazarī, no. 230; Ibn Kathīr, xiii, 302.

(8) Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Sālim, Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim, 644-98/1246-99, served as ḳāḍī and was named *Nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* in the year 691/1292. In 693/1294 he was appointed to the post of *Nāẓir al-dawāwīn* on the death of his uncle Ibrāhīm (see above), and held that post until 696/1297 when he was summoned to Cairo and was forced to pay 60,000 *dirhams* to obtain his release. He was reinstated as *ḳāḍī* but died destitute a few years later. See *Orientalia*, ii, 297; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 1050.

(9) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Nadjm al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, 655-723/1257-1322, brother of no. (8) and the most prominent of all the Banū Ṣaṣrā. He studied tradition in Egypt as well as Syria, and also studied jurisprudence and grammar. He was appointed to teach at several *madrasas*, among them the Lesser ʿĀdiliyya, the Amīniyya, the Ghazzāliyya, the Greater ʿĀdiliyya, and the Atābakiyya. In 695/1296 he was named *Ḳāḍī* of the Army (*ḳāḍī 'l-ʿaskar*), and in 702/1302 was named Shāfiʿī Chief *Ḳāḍī* of Damascus, a post he held until his death 21 years later. He figured prominently in the religious and civil events in Damascus during that period, which included the *cause célèbre* of Ibn Taymiyya. Students flocked to his lectures and some of the prominent scholars of Damascus were taught by him. Many biographical notices and references are devoted to him, among them Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 106; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, i, 62; Wiet, *Manhal*, no. 260; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 263; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Cairo), ix, 258.

Two women of the family are noted for their scholarly attainments, a sister of the Chief *Ḳāḍī* named Asmāʾ, 638-733/1240-1333, and her daughter Malika, d. 749/1348.

Finally there is a writer of local history known only through a unique Bodleian Library manuscript of one of his works, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad—presumably a great-grandson of the Chief *Ḳāḍī*. His work *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa fi 'l-dawla al-Ẓāhiriyya*, a valuable study of Damascus during a part of the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ, has been edited and translated by W. M. Brinner as *A chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397*, Berkeley 1963, 2 vols.

Bibliography: A brief survey is found in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 285. A full study of the family may be found in the article by W. M. Brinner, *The Banū Ṣaṣrā: A study in the transmission of a scholarly tradition*, in *Arabica*, vii/2 (1960), 167-95. Some important additions to this article appear in a brief notice by G. Vajda, *A propos des Banū Ṣaṣrā*, in *Glanes intéressant l'histoire littéraire du VII^e/XII^e siècle dans le* Muʿǧam al-Šuyūḫ *d'al-Dimyāṭī*, in *Arabica*, viii/1 (1961), 98. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN SAʿŪD [see suʿūd, āl].

IBN al-SAWDĀʾ [see ʿabd allāh b. sabaʾ].

IBN SAYḤĀN, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Sayḥān) b. Arṭāt al-Muḥāribī, a minor poet of Medina who lived in the 1st/7th century, on intimate terms with the governors or members of the Umayyad aristocracy of the town—al-Walīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ; indeed he belonged to a clan which was a *ḥalīf* of the Banū Ḥarb b. Umayya, a fact which incidentally won him the friendship and protection of Muʿāwiya. Although we possess a number of his verses, which belong to the classical categories, as well as a poem in praise of the singer Djamīla [*q.v.*], this somewhat unproductive poet has escaped falling into total oblivion merely because some of his compositions were set to music; in these works panegyrics of his friends are usually combined with the glorification of wine, and he even uses sacrilegious terms in advocating its enjoyment. He thus takes his place in the line of Bacchic poets, while giving this poetry a distinctly anti-Muslim flavour. The potations in

which he indulged with his Umayyad friends brought him into conflict with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], who punished him with the statutory 80 strokes of the whip, but it is interesting to note that Muʿāwiya compelled Marwān to make a public retraction.

Bibliography: the only notice is that in the *Aghānī* (Beirut ed., ii, 208-26) which contains interesting details regarding the consumption of wine in Medina; see also C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, French tr., 96; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 331-2. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, TĀDJ AL-RIʾĀSA AMĪN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ʿALĪ B. MUNDJIB B. SULAYMĀN, Egyptian civil servant and a prolific writer in prose and verse, was born on 22 Shaʿbān 463/25 May 1071. His grandfather had been a *kātib* and his father was a money-changer. He learned the profession of *kātib* under Ibn Mufarridj, *walī* of the Department of the Army (*Dīwān al-Djaysh*), and finally rose to be head of this *Dīwān*. In 495/1102 the vizier al-Afḍal b. Badr [*q.v.*] transferred him to the Chancery (*Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*); on the death of its head Sanāʾ al-Mulk Abū Muḥammad, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī succeeded him, and he was employed there for some fifty years, until his death on 20 Ṣafar 542/21 July 1147.

The following is a tentative list of his works: (1) *Sidjillāt* (referred to as *rasāʾil*) which he composed in the course of his official duties; according to Yāḳūt, he wrote more than four volumes of official letters, while Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Murḳiṣāt*, 111) says that he saw a collection in twenty volumes. For those that survive, dispersed in various histories and literary works, see Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*. (2) *Ḳānūn Dīwān al-Rasāʾil*, a guide to chancery practice, ed. ʿAlī Bahdjat, Cairo 1905, with extensive notes; Fr. tr. by H. Massé, *Code de la chancellerie*, in *BIFAO*, xi (1914), 65-120. The work is dedicated to al-Afḍal Kutayfāt [*q.v.*]. (3) *al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, a history of the Fāṭimid viziers from Ibn Killis to al-Baṭāʾiḥī [*qq.v.*], ed. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, in *BIFAO*, xxv (1924), 49-112; addendum, xxvi (1926), 49-70. (4) *al-Afḍaliyyāt*, a collection of letters and treatises written for al-Afḍal b. Badr. The unique MS (Istanbul, Fatih 5410; a microfilm in the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, Cairo) contains seven opuscula entitled (i) *Risālat al-ʿAfw* (a plea to the vizier for forgiveness), (ii) *Radd al-maẓālim* (in praise of the vizier's sense of justice, with anecdotes and apposite verse quotations), (iii) *Lumaḥ al-mulaḥ*, (iv) *Manāʾiḥ al-ḳarāʾiḥ*, (v) *Munādjāt shahr Ramaḍān*, (vi) *ʿAḳāʾil al-faḍāʾil*, and (vii) *al-Tadallī fi 'l-tasallī*. Four of these figure in the list of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's "books" given by Yāḳūt; it is probable therefore that the three other "books" named by Yāḳūt and not yet known to exist (*ʿUmdat al-muḥādatha*, *Istinzāl al-raḥma*, *Kitāb fi 'l-sukr*) were *risāla*s of the same type. A historical work by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, apparently an abridgement and continuation of an earlier Fāṭimid chronicle, is cited by Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī (*Kanz al-durar*, vi, ed. Ṣ. Munadjdjid, Cairo 1961, 111, etc.; cf. B. Lewis in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 430). The earliest citation is from the reign of al-Ḳāʾim; the latest deals with the accession of al-Ḥāfiẓ in 526/1132. Ibn Aybak cites this work several times, notably for panegyric poems in praise of the Fāṭimid caliphs.

In addition to his historical and epistolary writings, he is credited with the composition of several poetic anthologies, of which at least two, dealing with Sicilian and Spanish Arabic poets, are extant. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's letters are a valuable guide to the prose style of the Fāṭimid period.

Bibliography: Biographical notices: Ibn Muyassar, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, 87-8 (followed by Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, MS 141a); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 422-3. See further Brockelmann, S I, 489-90; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-Fāṭimiyya*, i, Cairo 1958 (2nd. ed. Alexandria 1965); Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950; F. Gabrieli, *L'Antologia di Ibn as-Sairafi sui poeti arabo-siciliani*, in *Boll. del Centro di Studi filologici e linguistici Siciliani*, ii (1954), 1-15; O. Kaak, *De la poésie arabo-sicilienne*, in *Atti del Cong. Intern. di poesia e di filologia per il VII centenario della poesia e della lingua italiana*, Palermo 1953, 155-64. (GAMAL EL-DIN EL-SHAYYAL)

IBN AL-ṢAYRAFĪ, ABŪ BAKR YAḤYĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Andalusian poet, historian and traditionist, born at Granada in 467/1074. He had a profound knowledge of Arabic language and literature, and was a prolific poet, particularly of *muwashshaḥāt*. He was *kātib* of the *amīr* Abū Muḥammad Tāshfīn at Granada; but his fame rests on a history of the Almoravid dynasty entitled *Taʾrīkh al-dawla al-lamtūniyya* or *al-Anwār al-djaliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-murābiṭiyya*; at first ending at the year 530/1135 6, then continued by the author until shortly before his death, which took place at Orihuela probably in 557/1162 (the other date recorded, 570/1174-5, seems to be too late), this chronicle has not yet been discovered; there exist only some extracts, preserved in particular in the *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī and the publication of which had been promised by E. Lévi-Provençal (see Lévi-Provençal and R. Menéndez Pidal, in *al-Andalus*, xiii (1948), 157, 160, 161); this chronicle is also quoted in *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, and some passages from it are reproduced by Ibn al-Khaṭīb and other historians.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 2045; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1937, 183; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, MS Escurial, 416; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 416 (follows Ibn al-Zubayr); Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 193, 240-1 and references there given; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 292. (ED.)

IBN SAYYID AL-NĀS, FATḤ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-YAʿMURĪ AL-ISHBĪLĪ, biographer of the Prophet. The home of the distinguished scholarly family of the Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was in Seville, which they were forced to leave because of the unsettled political situation leading to the city's conquest by the Christians in 646/1248. The grandfather, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who was born in 597/1200-1, settled in Tūnis, where he died in Radjab 659/June 1261 (cf. al-Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, v, 255). His son, Muḥammad, was born in Djumādā II 645/October 1247. He studied with his father in Tūnis and Bidjāyā, and continued his studies in Alexandria, Cairo, and Mecca. He settled in Cairo, where for some time he was rector of the Kāmiliyya. He died in Djumādā I 705/November-December 1305 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iv, 162). His son, Muḥammad, was born in Cairo on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 671/2 June 1273. As a small child—he started out when he was not yet four years old—, he attended classes together with his father (cf. *ʿUyūn*, i, 152, 157, 181, ii, 342, 346 f., etc.). From his family, he inherited a splendid library, which was transferred from Tūnis to Cairo. It also contained the papers of his grandfather, which he occasionally quoted (cf. *ʿUyūn*, i, 302, etc.). He became particularly famous for his excellent,

fast handwriting, both *maghribī* and eastern. He was popular with almost all high government officials, but there are hints that this was not the right company for a scholar and that he was not as devoted to scholarship as a man of his gifts should have been. He held a professorship in *ḥadīth* in the Ẓāhiriyya, and some other teaching and mosque positions. Instead of a government appointment offered him by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lādjīn, he accepted a pension for life, and he had additional sources of income. He died on 11 Shaʿbān 734/17 April 1334.

He wrote a good deal of poetry which was highly esteemed. He is credited with two works on the *ṣaḥāba*, and he wrote a commentary on al-Tirmidhī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (cf. Sezgin, i, 155). MS. Escorial 1160 (= 1155 Casiri) contains his answers to questions submitted to him in 731/1330-1 by Aḥmad b. Aybak Ibn al-Dimyāṭī, concerning various *ḥadīth*s, some problems of the science of *ḥadīth*, and, it seems, biographical information on his father (requiring further study). Mainly, he wrote on the Prophet, and his lasting reputation rests on his biography of the Prophet, entitled *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa 'l-shamāʾil wa 'l-siyar* (ed. Cairo 1356). It is compiled on the basis of Ibn Isḥāḳ (Ibn Hishām) and al-Wāḳidī [*qq.v.*], but it makes use also of a number of sources now lost or imperfectly known, such as Mūsā b. ʿUḳba, Ibn ʿĀʾidh, Abū ʿArūba, and Abū Bishr al-Dawlābī (cf. *ʿUyūn*, ii, 342-7). The work was eminently successful in its time. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās himself wrote an abridgement of it, and it was commented upon several times and also versified.

Bibliography: Biographies by contemporaries such as al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i, 289-311; al-Udfuwī, *al-Badr al-sāfir* (not available, quoted by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 108); al-Dhahabī, *al-Muʿdjam al-mukhtaṣṣ* (not available); al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 344-9, etc., and many later notices, such as, for instance, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324, vi, 29-31; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iv, 208-13. Cf. also Pons Boigues, 320 f.; R. Basset, in *Le Muséon*, v (1886), 247-55 (with a discussion of the Tunisian family Ibn Sayyid al-Nās); Brockelmann, I, 169; II, 85; S II, 77, S III, 1252.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN SHADDĀD, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. SHADDĀD B. TAMĪM B. AL-MUʿIZZ B. BĀDĪS (d. after 582/1186), sometimes also called Abu 'l-Gharīb ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ṣanhādjī, chronicler of Zīrid descent, being the grandson of Tamīm (454-501/1062-1108) and the nephew of Yaḥyā b. Tamīm (501-9/1108-16). He lived at first in the entourage of the last Zīrid of Mahdiyya, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and seems to have gone with him, at least for some time, to the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose support he was seeking. It appears also that he was at Palermo in 551/1156-7. Finally, he travelled to the East and settled at Damascus, in 571/1175-6 at the latest. He was still there in 582/1186 for in that year he recorded an account of events in Ifrīḳiya given to him by a citizen of Mahdiyya (al-Tīdjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis ed. 1958, 14).

His history, which betrays some anti-Shīʿī bias (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, ed. al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1948, 47), and whose full title seems to have been *Kitāb al-Djamʿ wa 'l-bayān fī akhbār al-Ḳayrawān wa fī man fīhā wa fī sāʾir bilād al-Maghrib min al-mulūk wa 'l-aʿyān*, was used by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, Cairo ed. 1938-9, vi, 125), al-Nuwayrī, al-Maḳrīzī, al-Tīdjānī (*Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 14-5, 341-7), and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. It is almost certainly lost (al-Shayyāl, introd. to his ed. of al-Maḳrīzī's *Ittiʿāẓ*, p. *kāf*), and B. Lewis (*The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940, 57) was mistaken in supposing that manuscripts exist in Egypt and Syria.

Bibliography: for the sources, see Brockelmann, S I, 575; Amari, *Storia*, ed. Nallino, 1933, i, 40-1 (see also iii, 486); and H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, i, pp. xviii-xix. (M. TALBI)

IBN SHADDĀD, ʿIZZ AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤALABĪ, Syrian author of topographical and historical works, born in 613/1217 in Aleppo, died in Cairo in 684/1285. A famous secretary of the chancellery and a skilful administrator, he was employed by the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who sent him in 640/1242-3 on a mission to inspect the finances in Ḥarrān. Later, when the Mongols were approaching, in 657/1259, he was instructed to accompany the ruler's family from Damascus to Aleppo and to negotiate an agreement with the Mongols, who had occupied Mayyāfāriḳīn. These negotiations having been unsuccessful, northern Syria was overrun, and Ibn Shaddād fled to Egypt in 659/1261, as did the majority of the important inhabitants. He was welcomed by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars and enjoyed his favour and that of his successors. He did not return to Syria until 669/1271, in the course of a journey made with this sultan.

It was in Egypt that he wrote his main works: the historical topography of Syria and the Djazīra entitled *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-Shaʾm wa 'l-Djazīra*, in three substantial sections, written between 671/1272-3 and 680/1281-2, and the life of Baybars (Turkish tr. of the Edirne MS by Yaltkaya, 1941), sometimes wrongly attributed to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (see next art.). There is also attributed to him a work on the Yemen, unpublished.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 634, S I, 883; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord* . . ., Paris 1940, index; parts of the historical topography have been published: of Aleppo, by D. Sourdel, Beirut 1953; of Damascus, by S. Dahan, Damascus 1956; of Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine, by S. Dahan, Damascus 1963; on the section relating to the Djazīra, see Cl. Cahen, *La Djazīra au milieu du XIIIe siècle d'après ʿIzz al-dīn ibn Chaddād*, in *REI*, viii (1934), 109-28. (D. SOURDEL)

IBN SHADDĀD, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF B. RĀFIʿ B. TAMĪM (not to be confused with ʿIzz al-Dīn, see above), biographer of Saladin, was born in Mosul in 439/1145 and died at Aleppo, at a great age, in 632/1235.

After completing his education in Mosul, he spent four years as assistant teacher (*muʿīd*) in the Niẓāmiyya at Baghdād. Returning to Mosul, he taught at the *madrasa* founded by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī. He was sent by the Atabegs of Mosul on various embassies, to the caliph in Baghdād, to Saladin, and to the governors of neighbouring towns. In 583/1188 he performed the Pilgrimage; while he was at Damascus, on his way home, Saladin, then besieging the castle of Kawkab, sent for him and listened to a work on *ḥadīth* which he had composed. Ibn Shaddād visited Jerusalem (now back in Muslim hands), and then sought Saladin's permission to return to Mosul. Saladin, much impressed by a work on *djihād* which Ibn Shaddād had dedicated to him, retained him in his service (from Djumādā I 584/July 1188); as *ḳāḍī* of the army and of Jerusalem he remained in constant attendance on Saladin until the latter's

death (589/1193), of which he has left a moving description.

Ibn Shaddād then moved to Aleppo, where he acted as the conciliator and adviser of Saladin's sons. In 591/1195 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir appointed him *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo, with supervision of the *waḳfs*. It was in these years that he founded his magnificent *madrasa*, for the promotion of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, opposite the *madrasa* of Nūr al-Dīn, and a *dār al-ḥadīth*, erecting his own tomb between his two foundations. There are numerous records of missions he made to Cairo (in 593, 608 and 603) in attempts to compose Ayyūbid family quarrels; and in 629/1232 he led the delegation which brought the daughter of al-Malik al-Kāmil from Cairo to marry al-Malik al-ʿAzīz of Aleppo. In his latter years his house was frequented by such famous writers as Ibn Khallikān, who has left an impressive description of the aged scholar; Abū Shāma, who gives Ibn Shaddād's biography, s.a. 632, in his *Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn*; and Ibn Wāṣil [*qq.v.*], who visited Aleppo in 627 and 628/1230-1 and attended Ibn Shaddād's lectures.

Ibn Shaddād's minor works are: (1) *Dalāʾil al-aḥkām*, still in manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS ar. 736); (2) *Maldjaʾ al-ḥukkām ʿind iltibās al-aḥkām* (MS in 2 vols. at the Egyptian National Library, Cairo); (3) *Durūs al-ḥadīth*, lectures delivered in Cairo in 629/1231 (Bodleian Library, *Cat.*, i, 1173); (4) *Kitāb al-ʿAṣāʾ*, on the encounter of Moses and Pharaoh (MS: Patna); (5) *Faḍāʾil al-djihād*, the work presented to Saladin (Istanbul, MS Köprülü 764); (6) *Asmāʾ al-ridjāl alladhīn fī Muhadhdhab al-Shīrāzī* (not in Brockelmann: Istanbul, MS Millet/Veliyüddin Carullah 255).

His most important work is his biography of Saladin, entitled *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya wa 'l-maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya* or *Sīrat Salāḥ al-Dīn*. First published by A. Schultens in 1732-55, it was edited, with French tr., by De Slane in *RHC, HOr.*, iii, Paris 1884, 3-370, and reprinted Cairo 1317 A.H.; Eng. tr. by C. R. Conder as *The life of Saladin . . .*, London (PPTS), 1897; extracts, in Italian translation, in F. Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle Crociate*, n.p. 1957, 85 ff. A new edition, based on a MS read over to the author (Jerusalem, al-Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, *taʾrīkh* 595), was published by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1964. The work is in two parts, on Saladin's birth, early life, merits and habits, and on his wars and conquests. Its author claims to depend on trustworthy friends for the account of the years before he joined Saladin's service (in 584/1188), and for the later years on his own observation. For the period before 584/1188, it does in fact rely on second-hand reports, and at times commits errors of detail and chronology; for the later period, his biography, together with the surviving works of ʿImād al-Dīn [*q.v.*], is the most authentic source for Saladin's life, and has been used by nearly all later historians, Muslim and European; it gives invaluable information not only on the battles of the opposed armies and the weapons employed, but also on the social and administrative systems on both the Muslim and the Christian sides, and contains important documents illustrating the relations between Saladin and the neighbouring Crusader States. As a "specimen of royal biography . . . based on a study of character", it is, in F. Gabrieli's words, "without parallel in the historical literature of early Islam".

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 852; Abū Shāma, *al-Dhayl ʿala 'l-Rawḍatayn = Tarādjim ridjāl al-ḳarnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābiʿ*, Cairo 1947, 163; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-Kurūb*, MS; ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila li-wafāyāt al-naḳala* (MS, Alexandria Municipal Library); Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya . . .*, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1964, introduction; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arabic sources for the life of Saladin*, in *Speculum*, xxv (1950), 58-72; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, introduction; H. L. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kamil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, 33, 71 ff., 166, 201, 204; M. Hilmy M. Ahmad, *apud* B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 87-8; F. Gabrieli, *ibid.*, 104; Brockelmann, I, 316-7, S I, 549-50. (GAMAL EL-DIN EL-SHAYYAL)

IBN AL-SHADJARĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABU 'L-SAʿĀDĀT HIBAT ALLĀH B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAMZA, a descendant of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (he is thus called al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-ʿAlawī), was a grammarian and poet of Baghdād, born in Ramaḍān 450/November 1058. After making the traditional studies under the direction of numerous teachers (see how, at the end of his *Nuzha*, Ibn al-Anbārī [*q.v.*], who was his pupil, traced back his grammatical knowledge to ʿAlī through an unbroken line of teachers), he taught grammar for 70 years. At the same time he was *nāʾib* of the *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the Ṭālibīs in al-Karkh, where he lived. He died in Ramaḍān 542/February 1148, and was buried in his own house.

His *Amālī*, dictated in 84 sessions, form his principal work (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1349), completed by his *Intiṣār* which had been provoked by a discussion with Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*]. He is also the author of a *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād 1345; Cairo 1306, under the title *Mukhtārāt shuʿarāʾ al-ʿArab*). Of his other works, we may note a commentary on the *Lumaʿ* of Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] and a treatise entitled *Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuh wa 'khtalafa maʿnāh*. His poems in *ghazal* form, his panegyrics, funeral orations and verses of parenetic character do not reveal any great originality.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzha* (last biography); Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xix, 282-4; Ibn Khallikān, index, s.v.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 407-8; Brockelmann, S I, 493; F. Krenkow, in *JRAS*, 1929, 96-100; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 252. (ED.)

IBN AL-SHAHĪD, ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR AL-TUDJĪBĪ, Andalusian man of letters of the 5th/11th century. Almost nothing is known of his life except that he was one of the panegyrists of al-Muʿtaṣim Ibn Ṣumādiḥ, king of Almeria. Ibn Bassām devotes to him a notice of some length in his *Dhakhīra* (i/2, 180-200) and quotes a fair number of his poems. Ibn Saʿīd also mentions him in the *Mughrib* (ed. Sh. Ḍayf, ii, 209-10) but without giving any personal details of him.

As a poet, Ibn al-Shahīd was merely one of the many flourishing at that period, without any especial claim to fame. He has on the other hand some importance as a prose writer, although this may be judged only from a *Risāla* and a *Maḳāma*, both of them reproduced (the latter only fragmentarily) by Ibn Bassām. The *Maḳāma*, written in an elegant rhyming prose without excessive use of ornament, follows its subject, in the manner of a short story, and differs slightly, in its theme and its structure, from the classical works in the same genre written in the East.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, Cairo 1952, 283-4; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*,

no. 1065; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 37, 83, 368 (where for Ibn Šuhayd, read Ibn al-Šahīd and ignore the reference to his being related to Ibn Shuhayd [*q.v.*]); F. de la Granja, *Los fragmentos en prosa de Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar Ibn al-Šahīd*, in *al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 71-92.

(F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN SHĀHĪN [see NISSĪM BEN YAʿḲOB IBN SHĀHĪN].

IBN SHĀHĪN AL-ẒĀHIRĪ, GHARS AL-DĪN KHALĪL, born in Cairo (or Jerusalem) in 813/1410, son of a *mamlūk* of the Burdjī sultan Sayf al-Dīn Tatar, studied in Cairo and achieved a brilliant administrative career under Barsbay and Čaḳmaḳ (cf. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², iii, 367). In about 857/1453 he composed a major work, *Kashf al-mamālik wa-bayān al-uruḳ wa 'l-masālik*, of which only an abridged version, *Zubdat Kashf al-mamālik* ... has survived. This vivid and exact picture of Egypt under the Mamlūks, the interest of which was first emphasized by Volney in the appendix to the *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*³, ed. Dugour and Durand, Paris year 7/1799, has been published in a rather poor edition by Paul Ravaisse, in *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Viv.*, 3rd series, xvi, Paris 1894. The principal manuscripts are: Paris B. N. 1724 and 2258; Berlin 9818; Oxford, Bodl. i, 735a; Istanbul, Saray 2900 and 3008. An excellent French translation, made in about 1788 by Venture de Paradis, was published by the Institut Français, Damascus in 1950.

Ibn Shāhīn is also the author of an oneirocritical treatise entitled *K. al-Ishārāt fī ʿilm al-ʿibārāt* which was widely circulated. Numerous manuscript versions of it exist in the great oriental collections (Atif Ef. 1973; Rağib Paşa 646; Köprülü, Fazil P. 116; Istanbul Un. Lib. A 35, 2912, 3887, 6245, 6266; Iskilip 1206; Cairo 4856; Paris 2752; etc.) and it is printed in the margin of *Taʿṭīr al-ānām fī taʿbīr al-manām* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1730), Cairo 1301-/1883-. He rewrote the treatise of al-Sālimī (end of 8th/14th century) entitled *K. al-Ishāra ilā ʿilm al-ʿibāra*, which he names as one of his numerous sources and to which he added thirty new chapters. In his introduction, the author mentions having already published a compendium under the title *al-Kawkab al-munīr fī uṣūl al-taʿbīr* (compare *al-Badr al-munīr fī ʿilm al-taʿbīr* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḳdisī, d. 697/1298). He is said to have left about thirty works, including a treatise entitled *al-Mawāhib fī 'khtilāf al-madhāhib*, and a *dīwān* in several parts (cf. Ziriklī, loc. cit.).

Bibliography: R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Ḫalīl aẓ-Ẓāhirī, Kašf al-mamālik*, thesis, Tübingen 1907; *Syriae descriptio*, ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller, in *Analecta Arabica*, iii (1825); M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xvii (1863), 227 ff.; Sarkīs, 1832-4.

(J. GAULMIER and T. FAHD)

IBN SHAHRĀSHŪB, ABŪ DJAʿFAR (or Abū ʿAbd Allāh) MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. SHAHRĀSHŪB B. ABĪ NAṢR B. ABI 'L-DJAYSH, known as Zayn al-Dīn (ʿIzz al-Dīn, Rashīd al-Dīn), Imāmī theologian, preacher and jurist. Born at Sārī, in Māzandarān, he was obliged for religious reasons to leave Saldjūḳid Persia and went to Aleppo, the refuge of the Shīʿī ʿulamāʾ ever since the time of the Ḥamdānids; he died there at an advanced age on 22 Shaʿbān 588/2 September 1192 and was buried at Djabal al-Djawshan, near to a much revered Ḥusaynī *mashhad*. He had the reputation of being the greatest Shīʿī scholar of his time and was recognized and highly thought of even by the Sunnīs: his sermons having made an impression on the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muktafī (530-55/1136-60), he is said to have received at Baghdād the *laḳab* of Rashīd al-Dīn and also to have received the *idjāza* even from famous enemies, notably al-Zamakhsharī, and from Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, also from his contemporary, the pupil of al-Zamakhsharī, al-Khaṭīb al-Khuwārizmī al-Makkī. He had as his teachers Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī [see AL-ṬABARSĪ], author of the *Iḥtidjādj*, Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan Amīn al-Dīn al-Ṭabarsī [see AL-ṬABARSĪ], author of the *Madjmaʿ al-bayān*, the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī [see AL-RĀZĪ], author of one of the most important Shīʿī *tafsīrs* in Persian, and others such as al-Ḳuṭb al-Rāwandī and the Sayyid Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn al-Āmidī. His most important teacher, whom he mentions particularly in his two main works, was, however, the *shaykh* Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. Ibn Shahrāshūb's grandfather—referred to in certain texts as Ibn Kayākī—was the *shaykh*'s direct pupil and transmitted his "lessons" to his grandson through his son; indirectly, as a pupil of al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Shahrāshūb may be said to have been a pupil also of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Saʿādāt Asad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Iṣfahānī. The sources mention a great number of Ibn Shahrāshūb's pupils and it is a sign of his prestige that even al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī acknowledges him as his master, through only one intermediary (*wāsiṭa*).

His main works are the following: (1) *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehrān 1353/1934-5: the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī, which, with the *Ridjāl* of al-Nadjāshī, is its chief source, is incorporated in it; a unique feature, however, is the chapter on the Shīʿī poets, certainly written, according to Iḳbāl, between 573 and 581/1177-86; (2) *Manāḳib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3 vols., ed. Nadjaf 1956, a theoretical-apologetic treatise on the *imāms* rather than a work of genealogy and *ḥadīth*. Other works, the majority consisting of Shīʿī apologetic: *Mutashābih al-Ḳurʾān* (printed in Tehrān); *Bayān al-tanzīl*; *Aʿlam al-ṭarāʾiḳ fī 'l-ḥudūd wa 'l-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*; *Ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Asbāb wa 'l-nuzūl ʿalā madhhab Āl al-Rasūl*; *al-Arbaʿīn fī manāḳib sayyidat al-nisāʾ Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīs madjmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb*, iv, ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, I, n. 443 (which quotes the *Lisān al-mīzān* of Ibn Ḥadjar, the *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī—obituaries for the year 588—and a biography contained in the *Taʾrīkh* of Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī—on whom see Brockelmann, S I, 549, s.v. Ibn Shaddād); Mīrzā Muḥammad Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehrān n.d., 428-9; ʿAbbās al-Ḳummī al-Nadjafī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa 'l-alḳāb*, i, Nadjaf 1956, 327-8; al-Mamaḳānī, *Kitāb Tanzīḥ al-maḳāl fī aḥwāl al-ridjāl*, iii, Nadjaf 1352/1933-4, 157; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa*, s.v.; idem, *Muṣaffā al-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-ridjāl*, Tehrān 1959, cols. 414-5; al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, vi, 28, xlvi, 136, n. 2556; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, lith. Tehrān 1306/1888-9, 602 (wrong pagination); Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī Khiyābānī, *Rayḥānat al-adab fī tarādjim al-maʿrūfīn bi 'l-kunya wa 'l-laḳab*, vi, Tabrīz n.d., 47-8; A. Eghbal, introduction to the edition of the *Maʿālim*, 3-12; al-Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ix, 16.

(B. SCARCIA AMORETTI)

IBN SHĀKIR [see AL-KUTUBĪ].

IBN AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ [see MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ].

IBN SHANABŪDH (SHANBŪDH, SHANNABŪDH), ABU 'L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. AYYŪB B. AL-ṢALT AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, widely travelled and learned

"reader" of the Ķur'ān and teacher of Ķur'ānic reading, died Ṣafar 328/November-December 939, introduced in the public prayer (*fi 'l-miḥrāb*) readings of Ibn Mas'ud, Ubay and others which varied from 'Uthmān's recension; for this, perhaps at the instigaion of his influential colleague Ibn Mudjāhid (whom he detested), he was brought to trial in 323/935 before a special court presided over by the vizier Ibn Muķla and with Ibn Mudjāhid also as a member; he at first in a confident and aggressive manner defended the variants which had provoked the charge. However, after he had been flogged on the vizier's orders he perforce ceased resisting, made a complete recantation and signed a document (*maḥḍar*) stating that for the future he would adhere to 'Uthmān's text as being the only valid one. After being discharged from the vizier's house, Ibn Shanabūdh had at first to seek safety outside Baghdād from the infuriated mob.

Bibliography: al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī bi-'llāh wa 'l-Muttaķī li-'llāh*, ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, Cairo 1935, 62-3; Fr. tr. by M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, i, 109-110 (with bibliography) and index; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 31-2; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, Cairo 1349/1931, 280-1; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (GMS xx), 339r.; Yāķūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 300-4; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. de Slane, i, 687-8, tr. de Slane, iii, 16-8; al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaķāt al-ķurrā'*, Berlin MS or. fol. 3140, 42 v.-43 v.; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr fi 'l-ķirā'āt al-'ashr*, Damascus 1345, i, 39, 122; idem, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, ii (Bibliotheca Islamica 8b), 52-6; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 1857, 266-7; *TA*, ii, 568; Brockelmann, S I, 329; Nöldeke *et al.*, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 110-2. See further ĶIRĀ'A. (R. PARET)

IBN SHARAF AL-ĶAYRAWĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'ĪD AL-DJUDHĀMĪ, writer and poet, born at Ķayrawān about 390/1000. He received his initiation into poetry under the direction of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ķābisī and Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, into grammar under Muḥammad b. Dja'far al-Ķazzāz, and into belles-lettres under al-Ḥuṣrī [*q.v.*]; he probably studied also under Ibn Abi 'l-Ridjāl [*q.v*]. Although he was one-eyed, he succeeded in gaining admittance to the entourage of al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] and thus was on terms of familiarity with the best minds of the age, though not without making enemies and rivals; among these stands out the name of Ibn Rashīķ [*q.v.*], whose name is inseparable from that of Ibn Sharaf because the two men followed more or less parallel courses; their rivalry, slily maintained by al-Mu'izz, turned out in the end to be fruitful, for it stimulated not only an exchange of epigrams and epistles (which are today lost) but also the composition of several works which testify to the high degree of culture reached by the Ķayrawānīs at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Besides this, Ibn Sharaf devoted himself to the habitual activity of court poets, composing verses in praise of the *amīr*, describing flowers and fruits, taking part in the literary gatherings which were held at the court, and replying on the spot to the slightest caprice of his master.

The Hilālī invasion [see HILĀL] obliged al-Mu'izz to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya in 447/1055, and he took the two rival poets with him. After a short stay with Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz, Ibn Sharaf went to Sicily and established himself at Mazara, where he was shortly joined by Ibn Rashīķ, with whom, it is said, he was reconciled. However, he did not stay long in Sicily but in 449/1057 embarked for Spain; after trying his luck at the courts of several of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* [*q.v.*], he settled at Berja, near Almeria, but his biographers state that he died at Seville, on 1 Muḥarram 460/11 November 1067.

As a court poet Ibn Sharaf is compared by Ibn Bassām (*Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 133) to Ibn Darrādj al-Ķasṭallī [*q.v.*], and his *dīwān*, which had been collected, must have been fairly extensive; the author himself had gathered, in his *Abkār al-afkār*, the verse or prose passages which he thought worth preservation, but all of these are lost, as are also his *Lumaḥ al-mulaḥ* (Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, 53v) and his masterpiece, which bore the title of *A'lām al-kalām*. Altogether there remain only the extracts preserved by Ibn Bassām, the verses gathered by al-Maymanī al-Radjakūtī (*al-Nutaf min shi'ray Ibn Rashīķ wa-zamīlih Ibn Sharaf*, Cairo 1343/1924, 90-115), a few historical passages of doubtful authenticity, and, finally, two fragments which probably formed part of the *A'lām al-kalām*: these last are two *ḥadīths* out of the twenty which the author declares that he had composed on the model of the *Maķāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*]. In them he gives in rhymed prose a judgement on the Arab poets who went before him, and then gives in less mannered language a few lessons of literary criticism. This work, which was probably written in Spain, and hence between 449/1057 and 460/1067, is a characteristic specimen of the Ķayrawānī school of criticism. Its genuine interest has attracted the attention of philologists, who have devoted several studies to it: edition of the text by Ḥ. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in *al-Muķtabas*, iv (1911) and offprint Damascus 1329/1911, with title *Rasā'il al-intiķād* (text reproduced by M. Kurd 'Alī in his *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*[3], Damascus 1365/1946, 302-44); ed. by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khāndjī, Cairo 1344/1926, with title *A'lām al-kalām*; ed. and French tr. by Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, under the title *Questions de critique littéraire*; Italian tr. by U. Rizzitano, *Ibn Šaraf al-Qayrawānī (m. 460/1067-8) e la sua* Risālah al-intiqād, in *RSO*, xxi/1 (1956), 51-72. There is no question of its being a *risāla*, but the problem of the title is resolved by the colophon, which has: *tammat al-maķāma al-ma'rūfa bi-masā'il al-intiķād*, if indeed it is a fact that the author gave a particular title to the two fragments preserved.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv/1, 133-86; Yāķūt, *Irshād*, vii, 96 ff. = *Udabā'*, xix, 37 ff.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 204-5; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 1208; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 46; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 145; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, B.M. MS, fols. 52r-57v (Cairo and Khartoum edd., 1954, index); Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, iii, 249-51; Ḥ. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-'aķīķ fi ḥaḍārat al-Ķayrawān wa-shā'irihā Ibn Rashīķ*, Tunis 1330/1911; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*, iii, 259-60. Maymanī's collection of verses may be supplemented from Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Ibn Luyyūn, *Lamḥ*, Ibn al-'Imād, *Kharīda*, 'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, etc. (a new collection is being prepared in Paris).

The son of the foregoing, Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. Muḥammad, was likewise a celebrated poet and prosewriter. Born at Ķayrawān in 444/1052-3, he emigrated with his father and passed the rest of his life in Spain, where he attained the rank of *wazīr* at Almería during the reign of Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim (443/1051-484/1091), at whose court he passed a number of years. He died in 534/1139. Abu 'l-Faḍl was a man of wide culture and a facile talent in the customary genres: panegyric, description, gnomic poetry. He is the author of two collections of aphorisms and maxims in prose and verse, *Nudjḥ*

al-nuṣḥ and *Sirr al-birr*, and also an *urdjūza* on asceticism, but these are mostly lost; to the verses of poetry collected by al-Maymanī (*Nutaf*, 116-21, see above) may be added a few official letters and pieces of verse preserved by Ibn Bassām, iii (still in MS) and some of the anthologies quoted above.

A son of Abu 'l-Faḍl, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, is also quoted by Maķķarī, *Analectes*, index, as a gnomic poet.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, nos. 610 and 1557; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, no. 295; Ibn Khāķān, *Ķalāʾid*, Cairo n.d., 263 ff.; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, B.M. MS, fol. 54r; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, Cairo 1324/1906, 50 (tr. Fagnan, 66); Maķķarī, *Analectes*, index; Dozy, *Recherches*³, i, 248 ff.; González Palencia, *Literatura*², 89-90; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 260-1; bibl. cited by Ch. Pellat in *Questions de critique* (see above), xx, n. 7.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN SHARYA, ʿABĪD/ʿUBAYD AL-DJURHUMĪ, sage and antiquary, frequently cited as a relater of quasi-historical traditions. The form of his name is not certain. The manuscripts appear to vacillate between ʿAbīd and ʿUbayd. ʿUmayr occurs by mistake (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Būlāķ 1286, iii, 351; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-73, iii, 201). The form Sharya is confirmed by the metre (cf. O. Löfgren, *Ein Hamdānī-Fund*, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, vii (1935), 24; al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala 1954, 6). However, Ibn Ḥadjar advocates the pronunciation Shariyya. Sāriya, Sariyya, and Shubruma(?) also occur (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*; Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 10; *Usd*).

Strong attempts have been made in recent years to defend the historical existence of Ibn Sharya (cf., for instance, N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, Chicago 1957, 9 ff.), but his historicity as a scholar and author remains entirely conjectural. According to the sources, Muʿāwiya called him to his court in order to hear him tell stories of the past. He died at the age of over 220, 240, or 300 years during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī (*Muʿammarūn*, ed. Goldziher, *Abh. z. arab. Phil.*, ii, 40-3) knew him as a long-lived sage. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 40, trans. Pellat, 67, 337) already seems to refer to him as an authority on the great South Arabian past, and so does Ibn Hishām in the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347, 66, 209. Later in that century, Ibn Ķutayba (*Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1386/1966, 283, trans. Lecomte, Damascus 1964, 313) knew him as a genealogist, apparently in connexion with South Arabian history. The early historians usually do not mention him by name. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 89) is inclined to discount his reports on South Arabian history as fiction.

He is credited with a collection of proverbs, which is not preserved (*Fihrist*, 89; al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maķāl*, Kharṭūm 1958; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 45, 89, 149). His famous "Book of the kings and history of the past" (*Fihrist*, 89) was already quoted by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 173-5, 275 ff., iv, 89; A. v. Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, Leipzig 1866, 46 ff.). According to a somewhat corrupt passage in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 202, al-Hamdānī mentioned that in the 4th/10th century a great number of different recensions of the work were in circulation. One of those recensions has been preserved in an incomplete form. It has been published under the title of *Akhbār al-Yaman wa-ashʿāruhā wa-ansābuhā*, together with the *Kitāb al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347, 311-487. The quotations in al-Masʿūdī are sufficiently similar to the published text (cf. *Murūdj*, iii, 275 ff. = 483 ff. of the ed.) to prove the general identity. The published text has later additions; it refers often to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās as a cousin of Muʿāwiya; it has an allusion to the expected South Arabian Mahdī (478, cf. also the verses quoted in Nashwān, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, GMS, xxiv, 103) and one to the Berber ʿAlid (which may be a later, Fāṭimid-period addition, 323); and it mentions the Daylam and Turks (476).

The available data would seem to indicate that the use of the figure of Ibn Sharya as an historical narrator does not antedate the early 3rd/9th century, after the figure of the sage had become securely established. The author of the "Book of kings" may not have been a South Arabian patriot, but rather some Baghdādī antiquarian who tried to profit from the fashionable interest in South Arabian antiquity. Whether the work contains many reflexions of genuine South Arabian folklore, as v. Kremer maintained, is another question, though great scepticism would seem to be indicated.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, cf. also, for instance, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 361; idem, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1366/1947, i, 365; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, Damascus 1955, 37, (21); Ibn Ķutayba, *ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 305; *Aghānī*, xxi, 191, 206; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 82; Usāma b. Munķidh, *Lubāb*, Cairo 1354/1935, 123 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*, ms. Topkapusaray, Ahmet III, 2887, vol. iii, 299b-300a; al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, 55 f.; Ibn Ṣaṣrā, ed. Brinner, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, i, 137 f., ii, 101 f.; ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 323. Cf. also Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 97, 182 f., ii, 171, 203 f.; Brockelmann, I, 63 f., S I, 100; Sezgin, i, 260.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

IBN SHAYKH ḤIṬṬĪN [see AL-DIMASHĶĪ, SHAMS AL-DĪN].

IBN SHIBL (or AL-SHIBLĪ), ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. YŪSUF . . . AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 655/1257), but MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿABD ALLĀH according to al-Kutubī (and according to Kaḥḥāla his genealogy is continued thus: B. AḤMAD B. SHIBL B. USĀMA AL-SHĀMĪ) and, according to al-Ṣafadī, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and, later, al-Ziriklī, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. YŪSUF B. SHIBL, theoretician and practitioner in medicine, and poet; he lived during the reigns of al-Ķādir bi-'llāh and of al-Ķāʾim bi-amr Allāh (381-468/991-1075). The exact date of his birth is not known, though Kaḥḥāla puts it at 401/1010-11; he was educated in Baghdād, to which his family belonged, and died there in 473/1080-1, according to al-Ṣafadī, al-Kutubī, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, al-Ziriklī and Kaḥḥāla, or in 474/1081-2, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, and was buried at Bāb al-Ḥarb. The sources, notably the *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, contain little information on his medical career, merely mentioning that he continued in it until an advanced age; but they contain more details on the *dīwān* which he wrote. Among the verses which they quote, in particular two famous *ķaṣīdas* reproduced in full by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, the attribution of some is uncertain (Ibn Sīnā and al-Maʿarrī are mentioned as possible authors). They seem to display, together with a pessimistic view of life similar to that of Ibn Sīnā and ʿUmar Khayyām, a certain mechanistic and determinist conception of the universe seen as

independent of the divine will. This could explain some suspicions of atheism, or at least of doubtful orthodoxy, which were attached to this writer, whose philosophico-scientific scepticism was typical of his period.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, i, Göttingen 1884, 248-52; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, Cairo Radjab 1283/1866, 244-7; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, Damascus 1953, 11-16, n. 872; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, column 766; Kaḥḥāla, ix, Damascus 1959, 196-7; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², ii, 332. An important part of Ibn Shibl's poetry is to be found in Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Paris MS. 3335, fols. 91a-101b (an ed. by M. Mammeri is to appear).

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

IBN AL-SHIḤNA, Muḥibb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad, Ḥanafī chief *ḳāḍī* in Cairo between 866/1463 and 876/1471, died in 890/1485. He belonged to an important family of Aleppo, whose ancestor was a freedman called Maḥmūd al-Khutluḳī or b. al-Khutlū who was *shiḥna* of Aleppo in the time of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-ʿAzīz in about 616/1219. His father was *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, and is remembered for having founded a *waḳf* for the benefit of the mosque of the citadel of Aleppo, commemorated by an inscription which still exists, dated 811/1408. He himself wrote several works, the most important of which is a description of Aleppo and northern Syria entitled *al-Durr al-muntakhab li-taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, a completion of the earlier work by (ʿIzz al-Dīn) Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*]. J. Sauvaget has pointed out that doubts about the authorship of this work are unfounded, as the author mentions the *waḳf* founded by his father.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 53, S II, 40; J. Sauvaget, "*Les perles choisies*" *d'Ibn ach-Chichna*, Beirut 1933, introduction; E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, 2nd part: Syrie du nord, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, Cairo 1955, 130-1.

(D. Sourdel)

IBN SHUBRUMA, ʿAbd Allāh b. Shubruma b. al-Ṭufayl al-Ḍabbī, traditionist, jurist and *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa, and poet and dilettante on occasion. He died in 144/761. His father (or grandfather), Shubruma, was a Companion of the Prophet (*Iṣāba*, ii, 135) who seems to have been a member of the entourage of Ibn Masʿūd [*q.v.*], where there often circulated maxims hostile to "the prince" (who must certainly in the context have been the caliph ʿUthmān). This fact explains the low opinion held of Shubruma b. al-Ṭufayl in later Islamic tradition. His son, ʿAbd Allāh (or his descendant, as the difference in time between the two would seem to indicate), was one of those prudent Kūfans, more adapted to a new era, who made great efforts to achieve a compromise with the new power of the ʿAbbāsids. He had access over matters great and small to the ʿAbbāsid prince, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. He was for long recognized as an authentic transmitter of the important Kūfans, in particular of Abu 'l-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila, the companion of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and of the Shīʿī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shaddād b. al-Hād (*Tahdhīb*, viii, 251; Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 349).

He did not hesitate to quote in law from Ibn Abī Laylā (*Fihrist*, 202; *Tahdhīb*, ix, 301), whose authority was soon contested by the specialists (Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn). Tradition tends to minimize the importance of Ibn Shubruma: it insists that he was only a poet, wit and rhetorician; and only a few of his *ḥadīths* are reported, it being considered that he never had any contact with the neighbouring town of Baṣra, and doubts are cast on the authenticity of the transmission which he claimed to hold from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād. The Ḥanbalīs and the Medinans were more indulgent towards him than the ruling orthodox (*e.g.* ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, who taught from 141/758, and especially Ibn Saʿd, who mocks Ibn Shubruma slightly in the portrait he gives of him).

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut ed., xxiii, 350; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, v, 250; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 146 (where he is presented as an ascetic); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 210; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, see index, iv, 15.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN SHUHAYD, Abū ʿĀmir Aḥmad b. Abī Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī ʿUmar Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Shuhayd al-Ashdjaʿī, Andalusian poet, man of letters and vizier, born at Cordova, in 382/992, of an Arab family whose ancestor Shuhayd had settled in Spain before 162/778 and whose members included important officials in the Umayyad government. ʿĪsā b. Shuhayd had been a minister during the reign of Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86); Abū ʿĀmir's great-grandfather had been appointed vizier in 317/929, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III; his grandfather, Abū ʿUmar, had been the first dignitary to receive, in 327/939, the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*; his father, Abū Marwān, was an important official and al-Manṣūr had even appointed him vizier. Abū ʿĀmir was therefore destined to hold similar offices, and on his father's death, in 393/1003, he was even to inherit the honorific title of *wazīr* and to incur heavy responsibilities while still very young, since he was the last representative of the family. However, he was prevented from occupying the offices which, by his descent, he might have expected through the unrest which very soon occurred in Cordova, the fall of the ʿĀmirids, who were his protectors, and the overthrow of the Umayyads, and was thus led to devote himself wholeheartedly to literature.

He received in his youth the education usually given to young members of the aristocracy, learning a great deal about poetry and *adab*, some history and *fiḳh*, perhaps also a little medicine and philosophy, and prepared himself to fill his position as government official and courtier. Certainly, when the *fitna* broke out in 399/1008, he was attached to the court, but the title of *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* which is attributed to him seems to have been a purely honorific one. A legitimist to a lesser degree than Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], he refused to leave the capital during the years of unrest, but he certainly seems to have had no scruples about making approaches to the Ḥammūdids [*q.v.*], who were established at Cordova in 406/1016; probably his situation was not always very secure, and Ibn Khāḳān even claims, as a result of an unjustifiable interpretation of an alleged *djahdariyya*, that he was for a time in prison. The accession of al-Mustaẓhir, in 414/1023, seemed to put an end to his troubles, and indeed the new caliph did appoint him as *wazīr* in company, notably, with Ibn Ḥazm, but this ministry lasted for only forty-seven days; while Ibn Ḥazm was imprisoned, Ibn Shuhayd succeeded in fleeing and took refuge with the Ḥammūdid Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī at Malaga. He probably returned to Cordova after the flight of al-Mustakfī, in 416/1025, and did not again leave his native town. After the final attempt to restore the Umayyads and the accession of al-Muʿtadd, in 418-1027, he had

an opportunity to play a political rôle under the new caliph; in particular he drew up, against the Cordovans who were discontented because of the extortions of the minister Ḥakam b. Saʿīd, a violent manifesto which he himself read in front of the assembled notables. After the abdication of al-Muʿtadd (422/1031), Ibn Shuhayd was able to live at the court of the Djahwarids, and his funeral prayer was recited by Abu 'l-Ḥazm himself; he was afflicted by hemiplegia and died, after a period of suffering which inspired some of his finest poetry, on 29 Djumādā I 426/11 April 1035, while still in the prime of life.

Ibn Shuhayd is generally thought of as a libertine who led a dissolute life. It is true that his conduct was not of the standard demanded by the puritans of his time, but he seems to have been slandered by the historians and biographers, who accuse him in particular of having sacrificed his salvation to futile pleasures and of having preferred *hazl* to *djidd*, that is, to have written nothing on religion. Actually the dominant feature of his character was an inordinate pride, which is not, however, too much to be regretted since it gave rise to a small masterpiece, the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* (the spirits of inspiration [*tābiʿa*, pl. *tawābiʿ*] and the *zawābiʿ*, pl. of *zawbaʿa*—the name of a genie—given in this form in order to make the rhyme with the preceding word). The author of this article believes that he has demonstrated the *Risāla* to be a work of Ibn Shuhayd's youth, written before 401/1011 (although some passages may have been added later), since it is dedicated to Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥazm, who died during the epidemic of plague which occurred in that year (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 64, n. 3). It consists essentially of school exercises in verse and prose which Ibn Shuhayd had written in imitation of the great Arabic poets and prose writers, with the private conviction that he could equal, if not surpass, them all. The intrinsic quality of these pieces is open to argument, but the originality of the *Risāla* lies in the manner in which they are presented. Basically the work introduces Ibn Shuhayd's inspiring genius, who leads him into the valley of the genies (and not to Paradise), where he meets the *tawābiʿ* of the great figures of the past. In the form in which it has survived (all that exists is an extract fortunately preserved by Ibn Bassām), it may be divided into a prologue and four scenes: *Prologue.* Ibn Shuhayd mentions the remarks of Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥazm on his precocious talent, proclaims his taste for literature, and admits that one of his first poetical attempts—a lament for the death of the object of a juvenile love, already somewhat forgotten—stopped short. There then appears to him a *djinn* named Zuhayr b. Numayr, of the tribe of the Ashdjaʿ (*Ashdjaʿ al-djinn*, not *Ashdjaʿ al-ins*), who helps him to finish his poem and offers him his help, revealing to him the formula to be used to make him appear. *First scene.* Ibn Shuhayd asks Zuhayr to let him visit the valley in which the *tawābiʿ* live and thus meet the inspiring geniuses of Imruʾ al-Ḳays of Ṭarafa, of Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, then of Abū Tammām, of al-Buḥturī, of Abū Nuwās and finally of al-Mutanabbī. The *tābiʿa* of each of them is summoned by Zuhayr by means of a characteristic word or verse from the work of the poet concerned; after some preliminaries it invites Ibn Shuhayd to recite some verses of his own composition and finally accords him its *idjāza*, a kind of *dignus intrare*. The *tābiʿa* in question is always described by the characteristics, easily imagined by Ibn Shuhayd, of the poet which it represents. *Second scene.* Abū ʿĀmir expresses the desire to meet the inspiring geniuses of the prose writers; the *tābiʿas* of al-Djāḥiẓ and of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd reproach him for using rhyming prose, but he defends himself on the grounds that his compatriots speak a barbarous language, then recites some prose passages which he himself has written and, after some delay, receives the approbation of the two prose writers who describe him as *shāʿir khaṭīb*. *Third scene.* Ibn Shuhayd is present at a literary meeting of the *djinns* during which various compositions are examined. *Fourth scene.* Abū ʿĀmir is asked to act as judge of a group of poetry-writing asses and mules. He then meets a goose which is the *tābiʿa* of one of his contemporaries, perhaps Ibn al-Ḥannāt [*q.v.*], and it is with various pieces of literary advice that the surviving text ends.

In addition the biographers attribute to Ibn Shuhayd some prose works which are to be found in part in the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*, a *Ḥānūt ʿaṭṭār* and a *K. Kashf al-dakk wa-īḍāḥ al-shakk*, of which nothing is known. But Ibn Bassām inserted in the *Dhakhīra* a certain number of *risālas* which are not without interest, since they reveal Ibn Shuhayd's constant concern to define *bayān*, *i.e.*, ultimately literary talent, in order to be able to communicate it to the future *kuttāb* who form the élite of the men of letters. Four main ideas are apparent in these texts: (1) literary talent does not consist of craftsmanship and slavish imitation, but of natural gifts supplemented by a suitable proportion of *gharīb* and of grammar; (2) it is God alone who teaches *bayān*; (3) beauty is indefinable and inexplicable, for it derives precisely from this innate talent and is composed of subtle and intangible elements; (4) in short, *bayān* alone is the mark of poetry. In this connexion Ibn Shuhayd distinguishes three categories of men of letters, but more precisely of poets: those who have original ideas but not much inspiration; those who are able to improvise without difficulty long poems of great worth; those who succeed by using the resources of technique. From all the evidence he classes himself in the second category.

Ibn Shuhayd's rôle as a literary critic is therefore not a negligible one, particularly since he has a feeling for the evolution of Arabic literature in prose as well as verse; but the very percipient observations of E. García Gómez, who, in his *Poesía arábigoandaluza*, Madrid 1952, 60-5, and in the introduction to his translation of the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, 6-9, classes Abū ʿĀmir and Ibn Ḥazm as the leaders of a poetic school with a tendency to create a specifically Andalusian poetry, seem in the last analysis to be an exaggeration, since Ibn Ḥazm was hardly ever an innovator and Ibn Shuhayd's only ambition was to surpass his models with the aid of inspiration and no longer of craftsmanship. Some of his verses are indeed of high quality (for example the theme of the *dabīb*) and he excels in description; a writer of great sensibility, he brings to the *ghazal* great finesse, while in his panegyrics he maintains the dignity and nobility suitable to his rank.

In short, although Abū ʿĀmir may be considered as an eminent representative of classical poetry (for he did not stoop to composing *muwashshaḥāt*) and literary prose in Spain at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, his chief merit resides in the form which he had devised to present his youthful works, the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*.

Bibliography: The notice in the *Matīn* of Ibn Ḥayyān was extensively used by Ibn Bassām who, in his *Dhakhīra* (i/1, 161-289 and *passim*), provides the fullest biographical detail and reproduces the

major part of the prose or verse texts which have survived, in particular long extracts from the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ*, which have been published separately, with a long introduction, by B. al-Bustānī, Beirut 1951; Ibn Khāḳān, in the *Ḳalāʾid* and the *Maṭmaḥ*, gives extracts especially from the poems, with personal commentaries which should be read with caution; biographical details are found also in Ḍabbī, *Bughya*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 220-3; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, 78-85; Ibn Khallikān; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, xvii, MS Paris 2327, 26v.-31r.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*; extracts from the works of Ibn Shuhayd are scattered throughout the works mentioned above, as well as in Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 35-50 (which proves that Ibn Shuhayd had quickly become famous also throughout the East); ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, MS Paris 3331, 201r.-204r.; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*. Among the modern works should be mentioned: A. Ḍayf, *Balāghat al-ʿArab fī 'l-Andalus*, Cairo 1924, 43-59; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse, passim*; Z. Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IVᵉ siècle*, Paris 1931, 233-40 (= *al-Nathr al-fannī*, Cairo 1934, 258-60); the most detailed biographies are those of B. al-Bustānī, in his introduction to the *Risālat al-Tawābiʿ wa 'l-zawābiʿ* and in the *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 269-74; of J. Dickie, *Ibn Šuhayd. A biographical and critical study*, in *al-Andalus*, xxix/2 (1964), 234-310, with a very full bibliography; of Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd, ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, ʿAmmān n.d. [1966]. An attempt to reconstruct the poetic works has been made by Ch. Pellat, *Dīwān Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī*, Beirut 1963. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-SĪD [see AL-BATALYAWSĪ].

IBN SĪDA (Sīduh), Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl, or Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, Andalusian philologist and lexicographer, born in Murcia, died at the age of about 60 on Sunday 25 Rabīʿ II 458/26 March 1066. He compiled two important dictionaries: *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam*.

Ibn Sīda was blind, as was his father, so that his life was not very active. It was entirely devoted to philology and lexicography, disciplines which had probably been traditionally cultivated in his family. It was in fact from his father that he received his early education. Later, he attended the lectures of the famous Ṣāʿid al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*], who was himself a pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and of al-Sīrāfī. He then received lessons from Abū ʿAmr al-Ṭalamankī, to whom, it is stated, he recited from memory the *Gharīb al-muṣannaf* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī. From then on Ibn Sīda's life is well documented.

At an unknown date, he left Murcia to settle at Denia, where he found in al-Muwaffaḳ an excellent patron to whom he dedicated *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam*. The introduction to the latter work shows however an author who was bitter and not entirely satisfied with his lot. On the death of al-Muwaffaḳ, therefore, Ibn Sīda chose to flee, but he returned soon afterwards to Denia and the patronage of al-Muwaffaḳ's successor, Iḳbāl al-Dawla.

Among Ibn Sīda's many works (*Sharḥ iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*; *al-Anīḳ fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*; *al-ʿĀlam fi 'l-lugha*; *al-ʿĀlim wa 'l-mutaʿallim*; *al-Wāfī fī ʿilm aḥkām al-ḳawāfī*; *Shādhdh al-lugha*; *al-ʿAwīṣ*), only *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam* survive. Dictionaries based on other dictionaries which display not the slightest specifically Spanish feature, these two works differ from each other less in their content, drawn from earlier works, than in their arrangement. *Al-Muḥkam* is a classical type of dictionary; *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, devoted to the search for the precise term, is rather an analogical dictionary compiled according to the plan of *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*.

Bibliography: Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1885, 405, no. 1205 (does not mention any sources); Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid 1883, 410, no. 889; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. R. Blachère, 142; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 327; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, ed. al-Ṭandjī, Cairo, 293; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo ed. 1310, ii, 25; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xii, 231-5 (quotes Ibn Bashkuwāl and al-Ḥumyadī); Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 204 (quotes al-Ḥumyadī and Yāḳūt); Ibn Khāḳān, *Maṭmaḥ*, 60 (does not mention his sources); introd. to *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam*; M. Talbi, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ d'Ibn Sīda, étude, index*, Tunis 1956, 5-12; J. A. Haywood, *Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066). The greatest Andalusian lexicographer*, in *Actas del Primer congreso de estudios árabes y islámicos*, Cordova 1962; D. Cabanelas Rodriguez, *Ibn Sīda de Murcia, el mayor lexicógrafo de al-Andalus*, Granada 1966; Brockelmann, I, 308, 691, S I, 542. (M. Talbi)

IBN AL-SIKKĪT, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ, a celebrated Arabic philologian and lexicographer, came from a family who were natives of Dawraḳ, in Khūzistān, but apparently he was born in Baghdād in about 186/802. His father, nicknamed al-Sikkīt (the Taciturn), is reputed to have been an expert in poetry and lexicography; it was he who started his son's education, which was later continued under the direction of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, al-Farrāʾ, Ibn al-Aʿrābī and other famous teachers; like many of his contemporaries, he went to live for a time among the Bedouin in order to perfect his knowledge of Arabic. After teaching at the Darb al-Ḳanṭara, in Baghdād, he turned to instruction at a higher level and dictated the most important of his works to his pupils. Entrusted by al-Mutawakkil with the education of his sons al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad, he came to be on familiar terms with the caliph, but his attachment to the ʿAlids, which he was imprudent enough to display in the presence of al-Mutawakkil, brought about his fall; trampled underfoot by the Turkish soldiers of the guard (it is even said that his tongue was torn out), he died at the age of 58, on 5 Radjab 244/17 October 858 (but other dates, 243, 245 and 246, are also given).

In grammar, Ibn al-Sikkīt would belong to the Kūfa school, but he cannot be regarded as an eminent grammarian, while the lexicographical works and commentaries that have won him fame would connect him rather with the Baṣra school, for he underwent the influence of the celebrated masters of that town, al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī; in reality, he represents the syncretist tendency characteristic of the Baghdād school.

A specialist in lexicography and Arabic poetry, Ibn al-Sikkīt left, firstly, about twenty works, the most important of which appear to be the *Kitāb Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiḳ* (ed. Shākir and Hārūn, Cairo 1368/1949; cf. *Oriens*, iii (1950), 325 ff.) and the *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1897 (comm. of al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī, *Kanz al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1895-8); in addition, Haffner published the *Kitāb al-Ḳalb wa 'l-ibdāl* (in *Texte zur arabischen Lexicographie*, Leipzig 1905, 3-65) and the *Kitāb al-Aḍdād* (in *Drei Quellenwerke über die Aḍdād*, Beirut 1913). Incidentally, in the recension of the old *dīwāns*, he holds chronologically an intermediate position between

on the one hand al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and some others who initiated the first work of methodical arrangement, and on the other hand al-Sukkarī [*q.v.*] who completed the process. It is for this reason that the *Fihrist* (i, 157-8) lists some thirty ancient poets whose *dīwān* was collected and commented on by Ibn al-Sikkīt, with a care which in general compels the respect of critics. Only a few of his works have survived: those on al-Khansāʾ (see Cheikho's ed. of the *dīwān* of this poetess, Beirut 1896); on ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (see Nöldeke, *Die Gedichte des ʿUrwa ibn Alward*, Göttingen 1883); on Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm (ed. Th. Kowalski, Leipzig 1914); and on al-Ḥuṭayʾa (ed. N. A. Ṭāhā and M. Ḥalabī, Cairo 1958).

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i, 72, 157-8 (Cairo ed. 107, 224-5); al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. A. Amer, 109-11; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, in *RSO*, viii; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fahrasa*, 382; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xx, 50-2; Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1310, ii, 309; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 418; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 159; M. Ben Cheneb, *Etude sur la fahrasa* . . ., 433, § 237; R. Blachère, *HLA*, i, 113; M. Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1374/1955, 155; S. A. Ahmedali, *Ibn as-Sikkīt*, Lahore n.d.; idem, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 201-8; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, The Hague 1954, 112 and index; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, index; Brockelmann, I², 121, S I, 180.

(ED.)

IBN SĪNĀ, ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. SĪNĀ, known in the West as AVICENNA. He followed the encyclopaedic conception of the sciences that had been traditional since the time of the Greek Sages in uniting philosophy with the study of nature and in seeing the perfection of man as lying in both knowledge and action. He was also as illustrious a physician as he was a philosopher [see ḤIKMA].

Life. His life is known to us from authoritative sources. An autobiography covers his first thirty years, and the rest are documented by his disciple al-Djuzadjānī, who was also his secretary and his friend.

He was born in 370/980 in Afshana, his mother's home, near Bukhārā. His native language was Persian. His father, an official of the Sāmānid administration, had him very carefully educated at Bukhārā. His father and his brother were influenced by Ismāʿīlī propaganda; he was certainly acquainted with its tenets, but refused to adopt them. His intellectual independence was served by an extraordinary intelligence and memory, which allowed him to overtake his teachers at the age of fourteen.

It was he, we are told, who explained logic to his master al-Nātilī. He had no teacher in the natural sciences or in medicine; in fact, famous physicians were working under his direction when he was only sixteen. He did, however, find difficulty in understanding Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which he grasped only with the help of al-Fārābī's commentary. Having cured the *amīr* of Khurāsān of a severe illness, he was allowed to make use of the splendid library of the Sāmānid princes. At the age of eighteen he had mastered all the then known sciences. His subsequent progress was due only to his personal judgment.

His training through contact with life was at least equal to his development in intellectual speculation. At the age of twenty-one he wrote his first philosophical book. The following year, however, the death of his father forced him to enter the administration in order to earn his living. His judgment was swiftly appreciated. Having consulted him on medical matters, the princes had recourse to him also in matters of politics. He was a minister several times, his advice being always listened to; but he became an object of envy, sometimes persecuted by his enemies and sometimes coveted by princes opposing those to whom he wished to remain loyal. He took flight and was obliged to hide on several occasions, earning his living by medical consultations. He was imprisoned, escaped, lived for fourteen years in relative peace at the court of Iṣfahān and died at Hamadān, during an expedition of the prince ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, in 428/1037. He was buried there; and a monument was erected to him to celebrate the (*hidjrī*) millenary of his birth.

If his works are to be understood, they should not be thought of as those of a philosopher who lived in his books. He was occupied all day by affairs of state, and he laboured by night on his great works, which were written with astonishing rapidity. He was never safe, and was frequently compelled to move; he would write on horseback, and sometimes in prison, his only resource for reference being his memory. It has been found surprising that he differs from Aristotle in his works: but he quoted him without re-reading him, and, above all, his independence of mind inclined him to present his own personally worked out thought, rather than to repeat the works of another. Besides, his personal training was different. He was a man who lived in touch with the concrete, constantly faced with difficulties, and a great physician who dealt with specific cases. Aristotle's *Logic* seemed to him insufficient, because it could not be applied in a way that was sufficiently close to life. Many recent controversies have been aroused since the study of his works has increased, especially at the time of his millenary, but the most plausible view of his personality is still the following: he is a scientific man, who attempts to bring the Greek theories to the level of that which needs to be expressed by the study of the concrete, when apprehended by a great mind.

The secret of his evolution, however, will remain concealed from us as long as we do not possess such important works as the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, the "Book of Impartial Judgment", which investigated 28,000 questions, and his "Eastern Philosophy", of which we have only a fragment.

Works. The corpus of Ibn Sīnā's works that has come down to us is considerable, but incomplete. To the many questions that were put to him he replied hastily, without always taking care to keep his texts. Al-Djuzadjānī has preserved several of these; others have been transmitted with different titles, others lost. The manuscript of the *Inṣāf* disappeared at the sack of Iṣfahān, in his own lifetime. The fundamental bibliography is that which al-Djuzadjānī included in his biography, but it is not exhaustive. G. C. Anawati lists a total of 276 works, including texts noted as doubtful and some apocryphal works, in his bibliography of 1950. Mahdavi, in 1954, lists 131 authentic, and 110 doubtful works. Ibn Sīnā was known primarily as a philosopher and a physician, but he contributed also to the advancement of all the sciences that were accessible in his day: natural history, physics, chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, music. Economics and politics benefited from his experience as a statesman. Moral and religious questions (not necessarily pertaining to mysticism), Ḳurʾānic exegesis, statements on Ṣūfī doctrine and behaviour produced minor writings. He wrote poetry for instructional purposes, for he versified epitomes of logic and medicine, but he had also the abilities

of a true poet, clothing his philosophical doctrine in images, both in verse (as in his poem on the soul) and in prose, in symbolic narratives whose meaning has given rise to controversy [see ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN].

Medicine is the subject of separate works; but natural history and mathematics are thought of as parts of philosophy. Thus, his principal treatise on these sciences is included in the great *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifā'*, "Book of Healing [of the Soul]", in the same way as that on Metaphysics, while the famous *Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*, "Canon of Medicine", is a separate work.

The *Ḳānūn* appears to have formed a more consciously coherent whole than the philosophical works. Because it constituted a monumental unity, which maintained its authority until modern times when experimental science began, and because it still remained more accessible than Hippocrates and Galen, it served as a basis for seven centuries of medical teaching and practice. Even today it is still possible to derive useful information from it, for Dr. ʿAbd Allāh Ahmadieh, a clinician of Tehran, has studied the therapeutics of Avicenna and is said to use them with good results, particularly in treating rheumatism.

The *Ḳānūn* is the clear and ordered "Summa" of all the medical knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's time, augmented from his own observations. It is divided into five books. The first contains generalities concerning the human body, sickness, health and general treatment and therapeutics (French translation of the treatise on Anatomy by P. de Koning, 1905; adaptation giving an incomplete résumé of the first book, in English, by Cameron Grüner, 1930). The second contains the Materia Medica and the Pharmacology of herbs; the page on experimentation in medicine (115, of the Rome 1593 edition) quoted in the Introduction to the French translation of the *Is̲h̲ārāt*, 58, is to be found there. This passage sets out the three methods—agreement, difference and concomitant variations—that are usually regarded as characteristic of modern science. The third book deals with special pathology, studied by organs, or rather by systems (German translation of the treatise on diseases of the eyes, by Hirschberg and Lippert, 1902). The fourth book opens with the famous treatise on fevers; then follow the treatise on signs, symptoms, diagnostics and prognostics, minor surgery, tumours, wounds, fractures and bites, and that on poisons. The fifth book contains the pharmacopoeia.

Several treatises take up in isolation a number of the data in the *Ḳānūn* and deal with particular points. Some are very well-known: their smaller size assured them of a wide circulation. Among the most widely diffused are treatises on the pulse, the medical pharmacopoeia, advice for the conservation of health and the study of diarrhoea; in addition, monographs on various remedies, chicory, oxymel, balsam, bleeding. The virtues of wine are not neglected.

Physicians were offered a mnemonic in the form of a poem which established the essentials of Avicenna's theory and practice: principles, observations, advice on therapeutics and dietetics, simple surgical techniques. This is the famous *Urd̲j̲ūza fi 'l-ṭibb*, which was translated into Latin several times from the 13th to the 17th century, under the title *Cantica Avicennae* (ed. with French trans. by H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Paris 1956, *Poème de la Médecine*, together with Armengaud de Blaise's Latin translation).

Ibn Sīnā's philosophical works have come down to us in a mutilated condition. The important *Kitāb al-S̲h̲ifā'* is complete (critical text in process of publication, Cairo 1952-). Extracts chosen by the author himself as being the most characteristic make up the *Kitāb al-Nad̲j̲āt*, "The Book of Salvation [from Error]", which is not an independent redaction, as was thought until 1937 (table of concordances established by A.-M. Goichon in *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, 499-503). The *Kitāb al-Is̲h̲ārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, "Book of directives and remarks", is complete (trans. into Persian and French), as is the *Dānis̲h̲nāma-i ʿAlā'ī*, "The Book of Knowledge for ʿAlā'", a résumé of his doctrine written at the request of the prince ʿAlā' al-Dawla. We have only fragments of the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, "Book of Impartial Judgment between the Easterners and the Westerners", which have been published by A. Badawī, and a small part of the *Manṭiḳ al-mas̲h̲riḳiyyīn*, "Logic of the Easterners", which is the logic of his "Eastern Philosophy", the rest of it being lost. A fairly large number of minor writings are preserved; they illuminate points of detail which are often important, but are far from completing the lacunas.

Ibn Sīnā's was too penetrating a mind, and one too concerned with the absolute, not to venture outside the individual sciences. He looked for the principle and the guarantee of these, and this led him to set above them, on the one hand, the science of being, Metaphysics, and, on the other, the universal tool of truth, Logic, or "the instrumental science", as the *falāsifa* termed it.

As far as one can tell in the absence of several of his fundamental works, he seems to have been an innovator particularly in logic, correcting the excess of abstraction which does not permit Aristotle to take sufficient account of change, which is present everywhere and at all times in the terrestrial world; and, thus, of the difference between strict (*muṭlaḳ*) meaning, and concrete meaning, specified by the particular "conditions" in which a thing is actualized. As a physician, he enters into logic when he admits a sign as the middle term of a syllogism. He gives it the force of a proof, as the latter is recognized in a symptom in medical diagnosis (see Introduction to the French trans. of the *Is̲h̲ārāt*).

In Metaphysics the doctrine of Ibn Sīnā is most individual, and is also illuminated by his personal antecedents. On the other hand, his thought was fashioned by three teachers, of whom, however, he knew only two by name: Aristotle and al-Fārābī, who introduced several of the great concepts subsequently developed by Ibn Sīnā. The third was Plotinus, who came down to him under the name of Aristotle, in the so-called "Theology of Aristotle" [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS], which was composed of extracts from Plotinus's *Enneads*, and presented as the culmination of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This error of attribution dogs the whole of Avicenna's work. As a born metaphysician he earned the title of "Philosopher of being" but as a realist he wished to understand essences in their actualized state, so that he is just as much the "Philosopher of essence". The whole of his metaphysics is ordered round the double problem of the origin of being and its transmission to essence, but to individually actualized essence (cf. Goichon, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937).

It is at this point that a free interpretation of Aristotle and Plotinus gives him his theory of the creation of forms by emanation. This is linked with a cosmogony taken from the apocryphal *Theology*, but is also inspired by hylemorphism and Aristotelian data on the soul. The extensive place occupied in his thought by the intelligence prompts him to this startling view: the gift of being is linked with the

light of the intelligence. Moreover, Ibn Sīnā is a believer; in accordance with Islam he believes in God as the Creator. None of the philosophies handed down from pagan antiquity takes account of this. He attempts to integrate dogma with his philosophical formulation. In fact, he does not succeed very well, but he continually works in this direction.

The first certitude apprehended by the human mind, he says, is that of being, which is apprehended by means of sense-perceptions. The idea of being, however, is so deep-rooted in man that it could be perceived outside of the sensible. This prefiguration of the Cartesian "Cogito ergo sum" appears to have two causes: intuition (*ḥads*) is so powerful in Ibn Sīnā (see in the Physics of the *Dānishnāma* the part that it played for him) that he bases himself here on a metaphysical apprehension of being; in addition, since the human soul, according to him, is a separate intelligence, which leads its own spiritual existence while being united with the body, it is capable of apprehending itself directly.

The second certitude is that the being thus apprehended in man, and in every existing thing, is not present there of necessity. The essence of "man", "horse" or "stone" does not imply the necessity of the existence of a particular man or horse. Existence is given to actualized, concrete beings by a Being that differs from all of them: it is not one of the essences that have no existence in themselves, but its essence is its very being. The Creator is the First Cause; as a consequence of this theory the proof of the existence of God is restricted to Metaphysics, and not to Physics, as happens when God is proved to be the prime mover.

A Western controversy enters here: did Avicenna really believe in the analogy of being? It is true that he does not place the uncreated Being in the genus Substance or in a genus Being; but if he proceeds from knowledge of created beings to that of the uncreated Being, is not this a proof that he considers their natures to be allied? He certainly apprehends an analogy between the being of substance and that of accident, as he states explicitly, but did he go further? (see M. Cruz Hernandez, *passim*).

Ibn Sīnā did not formulate the distinction between the uncreated Being and created beings as clearly as did Thomas Aquinas, but the latter does base himself on Ibn Sīnā's doctrine; only being is in God, God is in no genus and being is not a genus. He then sets out his thought precisely (cf. Vasteenkiste, *Avicenna-Citaten bij S. Thomas*, in *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie*, September 1953, citations nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 148, 330, pp. 460-1, 473 and 491).

With the principles established, two reasons for the omission of the conclusion are plausible, but neither involves the distinction not being made. Either, having set it out and admitted it, he withdrew it with difficulty because of the confusion between the data of Aristotle and Plotinus, or, as G. M. Wickens (*Avicenna, scientist and philosopher*, 52) suggests, he does not speak of it as a discovery because the celebrated distinction was then generally admitted—as Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī says. But Ibn Sīnā maintains that God, as he conceives Him, is "the first with respect to the being of the Universe, anterior to that being, and also, consequently, outside it" (E. Gilson, *L'esprit de la philosophie médiévale*[2], 80-1).

However, this apparent impetus of Ibn Sīnā is interrupted by the data of Plotinus, for they inspire the emanatist theory of creation. The Ḳurʾān, like the Old and New Testaments, explains creation by a free act of will on the part of God. For Ibn Sīnā, by way of Plotinus, the necessary Being is such in all its modes—and thus as creator—and being overflows from it. (Here the reader will ask himself the question: "Is it an analogous being? is it not rather the same being?") Moreover, this emanation does not occur freely, and creation involves intermediaries, which are also creators. From the One can come only one. The necessary Being thus produces a single Intelligence. This, having a cause, necessarily possesses a duality of being and knowledge. It introduces multiplicity into the world; from it can derive another Intelligence, a celestial Soul and a celestial body. Ptolemy's system becomes the framework of creative emanation; emanation descends from sphere to sphere as far as a tenth pure Intelligence, which governs, not a sphere, but our terrestrial world, which is made, unlike the others, of corruptible matter. This brings with it a multiplicity which surpasses human knowledge but is perfectly possessed and dominated by the active Intellect, the tenth Intelligence. Its role is demonstrated in a poetic and symbolic form in the "Tale of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān", a name that refers to the active Intellect itself.

The philosophical origin of this active Intellect is the passage in the *De Anima* in which Aristotle refers by this name to the active part of the human soul. Ibn Sīnā irremediably mutilates the latter by taking away from it this active part, and with it its most noble action and its highest intellectual function: abstraction of intelligibles. This active Intellect, which, according to Aristotle, produces all intelligibles, is now a separate Intelligence. Thus the human soul receives them passively, and so cannot think except by leave of the Intellect; comprehension, knowledge and the sciences are now no longer its affair. It can elaborate only that which is given to it by the active Intellect. The latter produces not only these intelligibles but also all the substantial forms that are created in accordance with the models that it has conceived in conformity with the potentialities of matter. It is in this way, Ibn Sīnā replies to Plato's anxious question (*Parmenides*, 131 a-b), that the concrete being can share in the Idea. The active Intellect has an ability which Plato sought for in vain: it apprehends the two series of relative perceptions, both the forms with their mutual relationships and the concrete beings with their mutual relationships; in addition, it apprehends their common repository, which is its own essence (cf. Goichon, *La théorie des formes chez Avicenne*, in *Atti XII congr. intern. de filosofia*, ix, at 137-8). A reply is also given to the question of Aristotle as to the provenance of form and the contribution of the Ideas to sensible beings (*Metaph.*, Z 8 and M 5).

The human soul by itself can attain only the first three degrees of abstraction: sensation, imagination and the action of estimation that extracts individual non-sensible ideas. It then apprehends the intelligible that is given to it from outside. Intuition is due to its joining with the active Intellect.

Being and intelligence overflow like a river from the necessary Being and descend to the extreme limits of the created. There is an equally full re-ascent, produced by creatures' love and desire for their creators, as far as the supreme Principle, which corresponds to the abundance of this gift. This beautiful concept, which could derive only from a soul inclined towards religion, has been thought of as mystical. The *Risāla fi 'l-ʿishḳ*, "The Epistle on Love", however, is primarily a metaphysical explanation of the tendency of every being towards its

good, and a physical explanation of the motion of the stars; they imitate in their fashion, which is material, the unceasing action of the pure Act. The spheres, in fact, thus imitate the unceasing desire of the celestial Souls which correspond to each one of them. The rational soul of man tends towards its good with a conscious motion of apprehension of, and love for, the active Intellect, and, through it, for the necessary Being, which is pure Good. In the highest states, however, it can tend directly towards the latter.

Ibn Sīnā believed firmly in the immortality of the soul. Corruption cannot touch it, for it is immaterial. The proof of this immateriality lies in its capability of apprehending the intelligibles, which are in no way material. He is much more hesitant on the question of the resurrection of the body, which he at first admits in the *Shifā'* and the *Nadjāt*, and then denies in the epistle *Aḍḥawiyya*, after indicating in the "Tale of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān" that this dogma is often an object of temptations. He appears finally to have decided to understand it in a symbolic sense.

Among the fierce controversies to which Avicenna's thought has given rise is the discussion as to whether or not he should be considered a mystic.

At first sight, the whole range of expressions that he uses to speak of love's re-ascending as far as to the Creator leads one to an affirmative interpretation —not in an esoteric way [see ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN], but in the positive sense of the love of God. The more one studies his philosophical doctrine, the more one finds that it illuminates these expressions. The stages of the Ṣūfīs, studied in the *Ishārāt*, leave rather the impression of experiences observed by a great, curious and respectful mind, which, however, does not participate. Ibn Sīnā is a believer, and this fact should be maintained in opposition to those who have made of him a lover of pleasure who narrowly escapes being a hypocrite, although there is so much seriousness in his life and such efforts to reconcile his philosophy with his faith—even if he is not always successful. He is far above the gnosis impregnated with occultism and paganism to which some would reduce him. Is he a mystic in the exact sense that the word has in Catholic theology? It reserves the word for one whose whole life is a great love of God, in a kind of intimacy of heart and thought with Him, so that God holds the first place in all things and everything is apprehended as related to Him. Had it been thus with Ibn Sīnā, his writings would give a totally different impression. Nevertheless, at bottom he did perhaps apprehend God. It is in the simple expression of apprehension through the heart, in the secret of the heart (*sirr*), in flashes, however short and infrequent, that we are led to see in him a beginning of true mystic apprehension, in opposition to the gnosis and its symbols, for at this depth of the heart there is no longer any need for words. One doubt, however, still enters in: his general doctrine of apprehension, and some of the terms that he uses, in fact, in texts on *sirr*, could be applied at least as well to a privileged connexion with the active Intellect, and not with God Himself (cf. Goichon, *Le "sirr" (l'intime du coeur) dans la doctrine avicennienne de la connaissance*). Again, on this question, the absence of his last great work, the "Eastern Philosophy", precludes a definite answer.

This irreparable lacuna in the transmission of his works does not allow us to understand in what respects he wished to complete, and even to correct, Aristotle, as he states in the prologue. As a hypothesis, suggested by his constant efforts to express the concrete and by his biography, we may suppose that he wished to make room for the oriental scientific tradition, which was more experimental than Greek science. The small alterations made to Aristotelian logic are slanted in this direction. In metaphysics, it is probable that he was shocked by the contradictions between Plotinus and Aristotle that were evident in the texts which the knowledge of the time attributed to one single author, and that he wished to resolve these anomalies by giving new explanations.

Influence of Ibn Sīnā. The transmission of Greek science by the Arabs, and the translation of the works of the Arabs into Latin, produced the first Renaissance in Southern Europe, which began in the 10th century in Sicily, flourished in the 12th round Toledo, and soon afterwards in France. The two principal works of Ibn Sīnā, the *Shifā'* and the *Ḳānūn*, made him an undisputed master in medicine, natural sciences and philosophy.

From the 12th to the 16th century the teaching and practice of medicine were based on him. The works of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī were also known, and he was considered to be a better clinician; but the *Ḳānūn* provided an irreplaceable didactic corpus, for the *Kitāb al-Kulliyyāt fi 'l-ṭibb* of Ibn Rushd corresponded only with the first part of the *Ḳānūn*. The latter was translated in its entirety between 1150 and 1187 by Gerard of Cremona, and, in all, eighty-seven translations of it were made, some of which were only partial. The majority were into Latin, but several Hebrew translations were also made, in Spain, Italy and the south of France. The medical translations are less good than those of the philosophical works; some words transcribed in Arabic from Greek were not understood or identified, and some Arabic technical terms were more or less transcribed in Latin, and remain incomprehensible. The *Ḳānūn* formed the basis of teaching at all the universities. It appears in the oldest known syllabus of teaching given to the School of Medicine at Montpellier, a bull of Clement V, dating from 1309, and in all subsequent ones until 1557. Ten years later Galen was preferred to Ibn Sīnā, but the latter continued to be taught until the 17th century. The editing of the Arabic text, at Rome in 1593, demonstrates the esteem in which he was still held. (On the teaching of the works of Avicenna in the universities, see A. Germain, *L'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier* . . ., Montpellier 1880, 71; Stephen d'Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours*, Paris 1933, i, 119; C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia . . . until the year 1932*, Cambridge 1951, 205-9). Chaucer reminds us in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* that no doctor should be ignorant of him. Almost all, in fact, possessed either fragments of the *Ḳānūn*, especially the "Fevers" and the "Diseases of the eyes", or shorter writings, the treatise on the pulse or that on "Diseases of the heart". All Arab authors, from the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th century, are dependent on Ibn Sīnā, even though they question him, like the father of Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar), or augment and correct him, like Ibn al-Nafīs, who recorded his discovery of pulmonary circulation in his commentary on the *Ḳānūn*; he wrote a summary of the *Ḳānūn* which any physician could obtain more easily than he could the original text.

In the West several physicians learned Arabic for the sake of the works of Ibn Sīnā. The first known influence appears in the works of a Dane, Henrik Harpestraeng, a royal physician who died in 1244. Arnold of Villeneuve, born at Valence, translated the treatise on the diseases of the heart, as well as

some of the books of al-Kindī and other Arab authors. Some surgeons also quoted him as their authority: William of Saliceto in Italy, and his disciple Lanfranc, the founder of surgery in France; Guy of Chauliac, who died in 1368, and whose teaching employed Arabic terms and doctrines. At the University of Bologna, anatomy was still being taught in Arabic terms in the 14th century.

The Renaissance brought a violent reaction; Leonardo da Vinci rejected Ibn Sīnā's anatomy, but, for want of another vocabulary, used the Arabic terms. Paracelsus burned the *Ḳānūn* at Basle. Harvey dealt him a severe blow by publishing his discovery of the major circulation in 1628.

The natural sciences presented in the *Shifāʾ* were much used by the mediaeval encyclopaedists, as were the treatises of al-Rāzī and apocryphal treatises. The "Treatise on Animals" was translated by Michael Scot; Albertus Magnus employed the mineralogy (on Ibn Sīnā's scientific influence, see G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, *passim.*). In physics, Ibn Sīnā was an Aristotelian, and as such inferior to al-Rāzī, who had discovered the existence of the vacuum, which he himself denied. However, he opposed the theory of the transmutation of metals, and hence alchemy (for citations to this effect from several Arab authors, see the introduction by Holmyard and Mandeville to their translation of *Avicennae De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Paris 1927, 6-7).

Ibn Sīnā's influence in philosophy was less absolute and more disputed, but more lasting, for the use made of him by St Thomas Aquinas embodied certain of his proofs in Catholic theology (cf. Goichon, *La philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe médiévale*, Paris 1944, ch. III).

The translation of the *Shifāʾ* came at a moment when Aristotle was scarcely known, and that only through the "Posterior Analytics", the "Topics" and the "Refutation of the Sophists". The corpus that presented a "Metaphysics", the "Treatise on the Soul" and that on the "Heavens", etc. seemed to hold another significance. It was, however, thought to be a simple commentary on Aristotle. For a century it received unreserved admiration; when Aristotle was better known, it was still thought that the *Shifāʾ* augmented his work on the subject of the origin of the world, on God, the soul, the intelligence and angels. He was placed in the Neoplatonist and Augustinian traditions; his attempts to reconcile philosophy and faith corresponded with the ardent desires of the Schoolmen. He was forbidden by the decrees of 1210 and 1215, referring to "Aristoteles et sequaces ejus", which banned Ibn Sīnā from the Sorbonne. But his role remained undiminished in private discussions.

After acclaim for his similarities with Christian thought came criticism of his divergences from it, violently initiated by William of Auvergne in 1230. Nevertheless, a pontifical decree of Gregory IX, in 1231, once more permitted the study of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. The lacunas, however, were now apparent. Nonetheless, the thought of all philosophers was nourished by his, to such a degree that it is impossible to tell what it would have been like without him. Latin scholasticism owes to his opponent, William of Auvergne, the fact that it received from him the distinction between essence and existence, which William considered that he had found in him.

Another current of thought, stemming from English centres of study, developed particularly in the Franciscan order. It saw Ibn Sīnā as more of a philosopher, augmenting Saint Augustine: the active Intellect was like the sun of minds and the internal Master. They believed that he opened up a whole mystic world. Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus were influenced by him. The latter, however, based his doctrine of the univocity of being on the same text that Thomas Aquinas had used to support the opposite doctrine.

Selection was gradually practised in the corpus of Ibn Sīnā. He took his definitive place, together with Saint Thomas Aquinas. The distinction between essence and existence became one of the fundamentals of Thomist philosophy. It gave an explanation for the immateriality of angels; Saint Thomas's *De Ente et Essentia* is imbued with Avicennism. The better the theologian masters his own thought, the less he cites Ibn Sīnā (see the quotations in Vansteenkiste, *op. cit.*), but he still respects him. Saint Thomas's commentators, Cajetan and Jean de Saint-Thomas, writing respectively at the end of the 15th century and during the 17th, still allotted to Ibn Sīnā the place that he had taken in Thomism, the place that is definitely his.

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(A.-M. GOICHON)

IBN SĪRĪN, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD, the first renowned Muslim interpreter of dreams, was also, according to Ibn Saʿd (vii/1, 140), a traditionist "of great trustworthiness, who inspired confidence, great and worthy, well-versed in jurisprudence. He was an *imām* of great scholarship and piety". Born two years before the end of the caliphate of ʿUthmān, *i.e.*, in 34/654, he was the contemporary and friend of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*] and died in the same year as he, in 110/728. His father, a tinker from Djardjarāyā, had been taken prisoner in ʿIrāḳ (at Maysān or at ʿAyn al-Tamr) by Khālid b. al-Walīd; he then became a slave of Anas b. Mālik who was ordered by the caliph ʿUmar to set him free by contract of enfranchisement (see Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 50, no. 1, p. 127). His mother, Ṣafiyya, was a slave of the caliph Abū Bakr; she was held in such esteem within the community that when she died her laying-out was performed by three of the Prophet's wives, and eighteen *Badrī*s, led by Ubayy b. Kaʿb, were present at her burial.

Muḥammad was a cloth merchant, but this does not seem to have earned him enough to live on, since he died in debt (on the origin of this debt, cf. the various opinions reported by Ibn Saʿd, 144 f.). He is reputed to have had thirty children by the same Arab wife, only one of whom survived. He was at one period the secretary of Anas b. Mālik, who had requested that Ibn Sīrīn should lay him out and lead his funeral prayer. In order to do this, he had to be released from prison for one day.

So renowned was he for his piety and for the reliability of the information which he handed on that a century later al-Aṣmaʿī was to say of him: "When the deaf man [Ibn Sīrīn was deaf] relates traditions, clasp your hands" (probably as a sign of the intense interest aroused by his statements). Full details of his life are to be found in Ibn Khallikān, no. 576.

The pages which Ibn Saʿd (*op. cit.*, 140-50) devotes to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn prove the seriousness with which he acted as a *muḥaddith*. He said: "This science is religion; take care from whom you learn it" (141). In the chain of transmitters of *ḥadīth*s in which his name appears there are found also, in particular, those of Abū Hurayra, Zayd b. Thābit, Anas b. Mālik, Yaḥyā b. al-Djazzār, and Shurayḥ. Especially noticeable among those who have transmitted his *ḥadīth*s are Ḳatāda and Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ. He was opposed to the written transmission of traditions (*ibid.*), and regarded the cunning questions which he was asked, particularly on the subject of predestination, as having been prompted

by devils (143). He was capable of laughter and joking, but he had a quick temper, which led to a comparison between his irascibility and the mildness of his friend al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (142). Several details of his behaviour, of his way of dressing, of his scruples over anything unlawful and of his private devotions show him to have been very pious and also very eccentric.

Much less is known of Ibn Sīrīn's activity as a *muʿabbir*, although this finally eclipsed that of *muḥaddith*. In fact Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), although he does not fail to mention his ability to interpret dreams, certainly does not stress this, whereas he does include a whole list of dreams interpreted by Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (v, 91-3) who was the true ancestor of Arab dream interpretation (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 309-12). It was, however, in about the middle of the 3rd/9th century that his fame as an interpreter of dreams began to be attested: several of his interpretations are mentioned in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* of al-Djāḥiẓ and his ability as an interpreter was known also to Ibn Ḳutayba (see *ibid.*, 313 ff.).

From the 4th/10th century onwards he was credited with works on the interpretation of dreams (see *Fihrist*, 316), the diversity of whose titles, and the contents and the late character of which show them to have been the work of forgers anxious to acquire for their writings the authority and prestige of a *tābiʿī* of the second generation. The first of these writings is the *Taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, published several times in Egypt; the second is the *Muntakhab al-kalām fī taʿbīr al-aḥlām*, a compilation made, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, by Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalīlī al-Dārī (see T. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 335, no. 27) and printed in the margin of the first volume of the *Taʿṭīr al-ānām fī taʿbīr al-manām* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (see *ibid.*, 348, no. 85). It is on this compilation that there is based the *thèse complémentaire* by A. Abdel Daïm on *L'Oniromancie arabe d'après Ibn Sīrīn*. Other unpublished writings which bear his name are: *Tafsīr al-aḥlām* (or *al-manām* or *al-manāmāt*); *K. al-luʾluʾ fī taʿbīr al-manām*; *K. al-Tanwīr fī ruʾyat al-taʿbīr*; *K. al-Djawāmiʿ*; etc. His name is also found as the author of treatises in Turkish, Persian, Greek and Latin. The references to the editions and the manuscripts of all these works are to be found *apud* T. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 355, no. 117.

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IBN AL-SITRĪ [see IBN AL-BAWWĀB].

IBN SŪDA (Sawda), name of a number of Mālikī scholars and *ḳāḍī*s of Fez belonging to an Andalusian family which had emigrated to Tāwda (present name Fās al-Bālī), about 80 km. north-north-west of Fez, and was therefore known by the name of Tāwdī.

1. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ibn Abī Muḥammad Ḳāsim Ibn Sūda al-Murrī al-Gharnāṭī, died at Fez on 25 Shawwāl 1004/22 June 1596, was *ḳāḍī* of Taza, of Marrākush and of Fez (see al-Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, 100; al-Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, i, 34; al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, ii, 61; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index).

2. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Sūda (d. 1076/1666) was *ḳāḍī* of Fez (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 402).

3. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ṭālib al-Tāwdī, died at Fez on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1209/17 July 1795, is the most famous member of the Banū Sūda family; Lévi-Provençal (*Chorfa*, 332) even considers him as "one of the greatest scholars that Morocco has produced". After having been the pupil of the leading scholars of Fez, he was initiated into Ṣūfism, then taught in his native town *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, *taṣawwuf*, *kalām*, logic and *uṣūl*; his learning earned him the honorific title of *shaykh al-djamāʿa*. In 1191/1777-8, he went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and spent quite a long time in the holy cities and in Cairo, where he gave lectures and met notably the *shaykh* Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, author of *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, which mentions him under *S.W.D.* At Fez, he was the teacher of the majority of the Moroccan scholars of his time and in particular of Ibn ʿAdjība [*q.v.*]. He wrote a number of glosses and commentaries, among which may be mentioned: (1) *Ṭāliʿ al-amānī ʿalā sharḥ al-Zarḳānī* [*q.v.*]; (2) a *sharḥ* of the *Tuḥfa* of Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*] (Cairo, in the margin of the commentary on the *Tuḥfa* by al-Tasūlī); (3) a commentary on the *Lāmiyya* of al-Zaḳḳāḳ [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, no. 1486; this *sharḥ* has been the subject of a gloss, MS Rabat, no. 1438); (4) *Zād al-mudjidd al-sārī fī maṭāliʿ al-Bukhārī*, a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, published at Fez 1328-30, 4 vols.; (5-6) *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ bi-sharḥ al-Djāmiʿ* of Khalīl [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, 40, 514) also a *Taḳyīd ʿala 'l-Djāmiʿ al-mansūb li-Khalīl* (MS Rabat, no. 1414); (7) *Manāsik al-ḥadjdj*; (8) *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* (MS Rabat, no. 1395; MS of the Real Acad. de Cordoba [see *al-Mulk*, iv (1964-5), 108]); (9) finally a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, no. 414 bis).

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwa*, 159; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, iv, 134; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 71; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, ii, 294; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 332-4; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*, Beirut 1961, i, 293-4; Brockelmann, S II, 689 (see also S I, 263[24], S II, 375).

4. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (1153-1235/1740-1820), son and pupil of the above, was *ḳāḍī* of Fez and took part in the preparation of a commentary on the 40 *ḥadīth*s of al-Nawawī (MS Rabat, no. 55). See al-Kattānī, *Salwa*, i, 115; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, i, 115.

5. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died 26 Djumādā I 1241/6 January 1826, *ḳāḍī* of Fez (see al-Kattānī, *Salwa*, i, 116; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index).

6. Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. al-Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (1220-94/1805-77), was also a Mālikī *faḳīh* and a philologist. In 1269/1853 he performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca, of which he left an account, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya*. He wrote also various glosses, in particular a *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-Samarḳandī* [*q.v.*] *ʿala 'l-Risāla al-ʿaḍudiyya* of al-Īdjī [*q.v.*] (MS Rabat, no. 309) and a *Kitāb fi 'l-radd ʿalā taʾlīf Muḥammad Akansūs* [see AKANṢŪS] (MS Rabat, no. 513).

7. Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad was *ḳāḍī* of al-Ḳaṣr and a preacher at Fez; he died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1299/October 1882. See al-Kattānī, *Salwa*, i, 121; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 380.

8. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ṭālib (1241-1321/1826-1903), a man of great learning in religion and philology, was *ḳāḍī* at Azemmour in 1280/1863-4, then at Tangier in 1292/1875, and finally, in 1294/1877, at Meknès, where he also held the office of

preacher. Among his more important works are a gloss on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, a *risāla* on the *Basmala* and a *Rafʿ al-lubs wa 'l-shubuhāt ʿan thubūt al-sharaf min ḳibal al-ummahāt*, Cairo 1231.

Bibliography: apart from the sources mentioned in this article, see *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 208-9; Sulaymān al-Ḥawwāt (1160-1231/1747-1816) wrote *al-Rawḍa al-maḳṣūda wa 'l-ḥulal al-mamdūda fī maʾāthir Banī Sūda*, a biography of the family of the Banū Sūda from its beginning to Muḥammad al-Tawdī (3) who was the teacher of al-Ḥawwāt, to his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (4) and even to his grandson Abu 'l-Faḍl (5), who was in his turn the pupil of the author; a microfilm of this work is said to exist in the Rabat library.

(Ed.).

IBN SULAYM al-ASWĀNĪ, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad, a Fāṭimid *dāʿī*, author of *Kitāb Akhbār al-Nūba wa 'l-Muḳurra wa ʿAlwa wa 'l-Budja wa 'l-Nīl*. He was sent on a special mission to Nubia by Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī [*q.v.*], probably in 365/975. He persuaded King George of Nubia to resume the delivery of the *baḳt* [*q.v.*], which had lately been withheld, but failed in debate to convert the court to Islam. He travelled into the southern Nubian kingdom of ʿAlwa, but there is no evidence that he actually toured the country of the Budja. His book is known only from excerpts transcribed by al-Maḳrīzī in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, and by Ibn Iyās in *Nashḳ al-azhār*, the latter text appearing on comparison to be an abridgement of the former. The extant passages are, however, one of the principal mediaeval sources on the eastern *bilād al-Sūdān*, and provide data in four categories: a geographical survey of the region, its historical background, an invaluable account of the contemporary situation, and some legendary narratives.

Bibliography: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1922, iii, 252-78; idem, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr al-muḳaffā*, Bibl. Nat., Paris, MS arabe 2144, v, fols. 227-8; Kračkovskiy, *Iz. Soč.*, iv, 192-3, and references there given; Ibn Iyās, *Nashḳ al-azhār fī ʿadjāʾib al-aḳṭār*, British Museum, London, MS. Add. 7503, fols. 72a, 73b, 74b, 76a-79b; Brockelmann, S I, 410; Y. F. Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, 91-2, 190-2.

(Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan)

IBN SURAYDJ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar, a famous Shāfiʿī scholar and polemicist of the 3rd/9th century. His grandfather, Suraydj (d. 235/849-50), had been a pious traditionist (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Juynboll, i, 709 f.; Cairo ed., ii, 281 f.). He is considered the most prominent Shāfiʿī scholar after Shāfiʿī's own companions, and some ranked him even higher than al-Muzanī [*q.v.*]. His main teacher was ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Anmāṭī (d. 288/901), a disciple of Muzanī. The tradition according to which each century would see a renovator of Islam was applied to him by the Shāfiʿīs. He disputed on questions of *fiḳh*, not indeed with Dāwūd b. Khalaf [*q.v.*] (information to this effect is apocryphal), but with Dāwūd's son, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, in the presence of the *wazīr* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*qq.v.*], with whom he became friendly; numerous anecdotes are related of these often stormy sessions. During his earlier years, Ibn Suraydj was *ḳāḍī* in Shīrāz, and he was also active as a traditionist in a small way; towards the end of his life, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā wanted to make him *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād, it is said, but he refused. Ibn Suraydj had visited, out of curiosity, a teaching session of al-Djunayd [*q.v.*]; he did not feel himself drawn to mysticism but kept an objective attitude towards it; when at the beginning of the investigation of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], about 297/909, he was asked for a *fatwā* concerning him, he refrained from giving an opinion, declaring himself ignorant of his source of inspiration. This episode is quite neglected by his biographers. Ibn Suraydj died in Baghdād in 306/918 (305 according to the *Fihrist*), at the age of 57 years and 6 months.

Of the extensive literary activity of Ibn Suraydj, which is said to have run to more than 400 titles (*muṣannaf*), nothing seems to have been preserved; al-Ghazālī refers to his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (quoted by al-Subkī, ii, 96), Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī to his *Kitāb al-Ziyādāt*, and al-Asnawī possessed his *Kitāb al-Furūḳ fi 'l-furūʿ* (cf. *Islamica*, ii/4, 1927, 505-37 on this type of literature) and his *Kitāb al-Wadāʾiʿ* (on deposits). Other titles mentioned include a *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh*, a *Kitāb al-Ghunya fi 'l-furūʿ*, a *Kitāb al-ʿAyn wa 'l-dayn*, and a *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ*. (The *Kitāb al-Khiṣāl fi 'l-furūʿ*, however, which according to al-Subkī was not worth much, is probably by his son, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar, who is also the author of a *Tadhkirat al-ʿālim wa 'l-mutaʿallim*; on him, see al-Subkī, ii, 313; Wüstenfeld, no. 75). Ibn Suraydj further wrote a number of polemical treatises against his opponents, both Ḥanafīs and Ẓāhirīs, and the *ahl al-kalām* [see ʿilm al-kalām]; this is perhaps why the *Fihrist* calls him also a *mutakallim*, although nothing is known of a particular interest of his in theology. So we hear of a *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan*, a *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā ʿĪsā b. Abān* (a Ḥanafī scholar, d. 221/836), a *Kitāb al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Muzanī wa 'l-Shāfiʿī*, a *Kitāb Djawāb al-Ḳāshānī*, a *Kitāb fi 'l-radd ʿala 'bn Dāwūd fī 'l-ḳiyās*, "and another refuting him (*i.e.*, Ibn Dāwūd) on questions on which he had been in opposition to al-Shāfiʿī".

Ibn Suraydj has given its name to the hotly debated problem of the *Masʾala al-Suraydjiyya*, or "vicious circle of repudiation" (*dawr al-ṭalāḳ*, *al-masʾala al-dāʾira*). If a man says to his wife : "If I repudiate you, consider yourself to have been already repudiated by me three times", and then repudiates her once, two (or with a variant, three) answers are possible: either nothing but the repudiation not subject to the condition is effective (or, as an alternative, it is effective and two repudiations of the lot which was made conditional, are added to it, making up the allowed maximum of three repudiations), or no repudiation at all takes place, because, if the repudiation not subject to the condition is effective, three repudiations earlier than it have already taken place, and if this is the case, there is no marriage in which that first repudiation could have effect, and if this is the case, the three repudiations made conditional on it can also have no effect, so no repudiation at all takes place. Ibn Suraydj was no doubt the first to formulate the dilemma (it is most improbable that al-Shāfiʿī himself should have done so and have laid down the second answer, as is sometimes asserted), and the kind of reasoning behind it corresponds to the reasoning apparent from Ibn Suraydj's reported treatment of some other problems (al-Subkī, ii, 93 f.), and for which some veiled criticism was levelled at him (al-Nawawī, al-Dhahabī). Ibn Suraydj's own answer is open to doubt, but he seems to have favoured first the second, and later the first answer. The Shāfiʿī scholars, up to the time of al-Ghazālī, remained under the spell of the reasoning leading to the second answer; al-Ghazālī himself, when he was on the point of breaking away from the scholastic technicalities of *fiḳh*, nevertheless recom-

mended the second answer as a possible escape for people who had been forced to take an oath of secrecy, under penalty of automatic repudiation, by the Bāṭinīs (Ismāʿīlīs [*q.v.*]), but he later adopted the opposite opinion; the final doctrine of the Shāfiʿī school, as for instance expressed by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī and his commentators, most definitely insists on the first answer. Of Ibn Suraydj, the originator of the problem, the traditionist al-Dāraḳuṭnī [*q.v.*] says: "He would have been perfect, were it not that he had thrown among the Muslims the question of the vicious circle of repudiation" (Ibn Taghrībirdī), but the Shāfiʿī scholar Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1083; Brockelmann, I, 388, S I, 671) declared that he was not responsible for it.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 213; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, no. 2044; al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, Baghdād 1346, 89 f.; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 389 f. (obiter); al-Nawawī, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 739-41; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, s.v. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, *ṭabaḳa* 11, no. 27 (Ḥaydarābād 1334, iii, 30-2); Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, ii, 87-96; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Imam el-Schâfiʿî*, ii, Göttingen 1891, no. 75 (based on Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 203; Cairo ed., iii, 194; L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, 34, 164-7; Brockelmann, S I 306, ult. (obiter). On the *Masʾala al-Suraydjiyya*: Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, 78 f.; Arabic text, 57 f.; (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Cairo 1964/1382, 168); L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj*, 586; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Tuḥfa*, and commentaries, *Kitāb al-ṭalāḳ* (ed. Būlāḳ 1290, iii, 419 ff.; Cairo 1305, vii, 112 ff.).

(J. Schacht)

IBN SURAYDJ, ʿUbayd Allāh Abū Yaḥyā, one of the great singers of the early Ḥidjāzī school of Arabic music, was born in Mecca in 40/660. His father was a slave of Turkish origin, his mother a *mawlāt* of the Banū Muṭṭalib. He was favoured by the generous cousin of the Prophet, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*]. Before he became a singer he was a mourner (*nāʾiḥ*) who lamented the dead at funerals. His teacher in music was Ibn Misdjaḥ [*q.v.*]. His greatest pupil was al-Gharīḍ [*q.v.*], who finally outshone his master. Ibn Suraydj's art was highly appreciated by the élite of Mecca, and he was invited by al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik to Damascus. According to Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī he composed 68 melodies, 63 of which were original; one of them belongs to the "three hundred selected airs". He preferred the light rhythms *ramal* and *hazadj*, but mastered also the "heavy" rhythms. He used to improvise his songs and to accompany himself on the Persian flute. He set to music poems of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa and other poets. He moved his audience to tears, for his song came from the heart, not from the head. Some of his melodies go under the name of his son-in-law Saʿīd b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī. He died of elephantiasis in Mecca in 96/714, but other dates (even as late as 126/744) are also given. His death was lamented by Kathīr b. Kathīr (al-Sahmī).

Ibn Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī wrote an *Akhbār Maʿbad wa-Ibn Suraydj* (*Fihrist*, 141, 9) and Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī a *Kitāb Ibn Suraydj* (*Fihrist*, 148, 9).

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Index and especially ³i, 248-323; Farmer, *Ar. music*, index. (J. W. Fück)

IBN SUʿŪD [see suʿūd, āl].

IBN al-TAʿĀWĪDHĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh, better known under the name of Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī, official and poet of the Ayyūbid period, d. 584/1188, author of a substantial *dīwān*. The more perceptive critics agree in crediting him with finesse and delicacy, that is to say, with a perfectly harmonious use of the Arabic language. It is said that his poems were plagiarized and copied by other poets. In the eyes of the public, he united the charm of melody with the distinction of perfect form. He liked to write of the passion "which guides and which leads astray", the intoxication of the first glance which plunges the soul into confusion. His life was free of any great tragedy except that he became blind in his old age, which caused him to fall into the deepest melancholy. He lived during the reigns of the caliphs al-Mustandjid, al-Mustaḍīʾ and al-Nāṣir. Continually seeking for patronage and reward, but too independent to attach himself permanently to one master, he attempted to gain the sympathy of the famous vizier Ibn al-Baladī [*q.v.*]. It is probable that the latter, who at times had himself suffered from the biting satires of Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī, turned a deaf ear to the poet's complaints and petitions. Later he sedulously cultivated the friendship of the caliph al-Nāṣir, which did not however prevent his dedicating enthusiastic panegyrics to Saladin. His powerful and vivid language lacked none of the conceits likely to appeal to the wits of the period. Shameless and fickle, he did not hesitate to mingle his own personal interests with the great lyric themes inherited from early times; any subject was a pretext for a poem: the granting of a fur for which he asks insistently, or of fodder for his horse, grown thin from too long a fast. Ibn Taʿāwīdhī, in spite of some brilliant passages, does not seem to have had any more continuity in his style than in his life. Although the details of his life do not always give a very edifying picture of his character, there is no doubt that he was a talented writer both of prose (he wrote a sarcastic *al-Ḥadjaba wa 'l-ḥidjāb* in fifteen sections) and of verse, of which he is generally regarded as being one of the outstanding authors of his period.

Bibliography: Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, x, 278; Brockelmann, I, 249, S I, 442; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, 281; Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb Maskūnī, *Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī*, *Dīwān*, published in Cairo by Margoliouth in *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, 1321/1903.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl al-Dībādj b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā, Ḥasanid, d. 1 Radjab 199/15 February 815.

The sources generally give the by-name of Ṭabāṭabā to Muḥammad's grandfather, who owed it to a defect in pronunciation, but the *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* calls his father Ibrāhīm by this name and explains it by relating an anecdote according to which Ismāʿīl, ordering a garment for his son, said *ṭabā* instead of *ḳabā*. This same text states however that the expression *ṭabāṭabā* means, in the common language, *sayyid al-sādāt* (of ʿAlid descent on both the father's and the mother's side, a meaning which this word still retains in Persian).

He lived mainly at Medina and his descendants disappeared after a series of migrations (to Ethiopia and to Kirmān).

While his nephews, the grandsons of Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl, are often referred to as good poets, his own reputation is linked with the Zaydī revolt which took place in Kūfa under the effective command of Abu 'l-Sarāyā [*q.v.*] in 199/815. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's political ambitions seem to have been awakened by Naṣr b. Shabath (Shabīb in the *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*), who

sought him out at Medina during the *ḥadjdj* (probably of 198), preferring him as *imām* to the Ḥasanid ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh and to the Ḥusaynid ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who refused to become involved personally in an armed conflict, in accordance with the usual attitude of the Ahl al-Bayt. Once in ʿIrāḳ, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā encountered the opposition of Naṣr's collaborators, who seem to have abandoned him and offered him as compensation the sum of 5,000 *dīnārs*, which he refused. Returning towards the Ḥidjāz, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā stopped at ʿĀnāt, where he succeeded in contacting Abu 'l-Sarāyā, who was engaged in organizing the revolt. While the ʿAlid was with difficulty gathering together a few inadequately armed citizens at Kūfa, where he had immediately gone, Abu 'l-Sarāyā was arming a small group of Zaydīs around the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, and arrived on the day appointed in the suburb of Kūfa chosen in advance. The two groups went together towards the town, where Abu 'l-Sarāyā pronounced a *khuṭba* which included all the Muʿtazilī principles, the ideological basis of the Zaydī revolts; then he obtained, with some difficulty, the investiture of his leader (in the *ʿUmda*: *amīr al-muʾminīn*) on 10 Djumādā I 199/27 December 814, as had been predicted by a *ḥadīth* going back to Zayd b. ʿAlī.

The revolt went through various phases; it began with some victories due in part to the negligence of the enemy commander, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who was occupied in studying the horoscope of the ʿAlid. But Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, merely the nominal leader of the revolt, played only a small part in this event, although some sources mention his receiving a wound outside the gate of Kūfa. The ʿAlid, gravely ill, or rather, according to al-Ṭabarī, poisoned by Abu 'l-Sarāyā himself, welcomed the latter after the victory over al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, but reproached him for having organized night attacks. However, he expressed to him his last wishes, in particular concerning the new *imām*, who was to be ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh. Although such a definite nomination might have been expected to give rise to contradictory proposals, ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh found himself with the task of choosing the new *imām*, he himself having refused this position on the grounds that others were more entitled to it; he proposed Muḥammad b. Zayd, who, with the assent of Abu 'l-Sarāyā, was elected.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1368/1949, 518-36; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl Abī Ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1337/1918, 161; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, vi, Tabriz 1333/1955, 62-4; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imamat zaidite au Yémen*, Leiden 1960, 95-101.

(B. Scarcia Amoretti)

IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ [see abu 'l-maḥāsin].

IBN TAYMIYYA, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya, born at Ḥarrān on 10 Rabīʿ I 661/22 January 1263 and died at Damascus on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 728/26 September 1328, Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult. Belonging to a family which had already given to this school two well-known scholars, his uncle Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 622/1225) and his paternal grandfather Madjd al-Dīn (d. 653/1255), Ibn Taymiyya was forced to leave his native town in 667/1269 before the approach of the Mongols and to take refuge in Damascus with his father ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (d. 682/1284) and his three brothers. It was at Damascus, where his father was the director of the Sukkariyya *madrasa*, that he was educated; among his teachers was Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maḳdisī (d. 682/1283), who was the first Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Syria after the reform of the judiciary by Baybars. He succeeded his father in his office at the Sukkariyya and, on 2 Muḥarram 683/21 March 1284, gave his first lesson there. One year later, on 10 Ṣafar 684/17 April 1285, he began to teach Ḳurʾānic exegesis at the Umayyad Mosque.

He performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca towards the end of 691/November 1292 and was back in Damascus in 692/February 1293, bringing with him from this journey the subject matter of his treatise on the *Manāsik al-ḥadjdj* in which he denounced a certain number of *bidʿas* in the ritual of the Pilgrimage (*MRK*, ii, 365-401).

Ibn Taymiyya's first incursion into political life took place in 693/1293, at the time of the affair of ʿAssāf al-Naṣrānī, a Christian of Suwaydāʾ who was accused of having insulted the Prophet: Ibn Taymiyya's intransigeance in this affair led to his being imprisoned for the first time, at the ʿAdhrāwiyya. On this occasion he wrote his first great work, the *K. al-Ṣārim al-maslūl ʿalā shātim al-Rasūl* (Ḥaydarābād 1322/1905).

On 17 Shaʿbān 695/20 June 1296, Ibn Taymiyya began to teach at the Ḥanbaliyya, the oldest Ḥanbalī *madrasa* of Damascus, where he succeeded one of his teachers, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Munadjdjā, who had just died.

During the reign of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lādjīn (696-8/1297-9) he was appointed by the sultan to exhort the faithful to the *djihād* at the time of the expedition undertaken by the sultan against the kingdom of Little Armenia. At almost the same time, in 698/1299, he wrote, at the request of the people of Ḥamāt, one of his most famous professions of faith, *al-Ḥamawiyya al-kubrā*, very hostile to Ashʿarism and to *kalām* (*MRK*, i, 414-69).

Accused by his enemies of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*), Ibn Taymiyya refused to appear before the Ḥanafī *ḳāḍī* Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 745/1344-5), on the grounds that this *ḳāḍī* had not received from the sultan powers of jurisdiction in matters of dogma. After a private meeting, held in the house of the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 699/1299-1300), at which the *Ḥamawiyya* was studied, Ibn Taymiyya, whose replies are said to have been judged satisfactory, was troubled no further.

During the Mongol invasion in 699/1300, led by the Īlkhān Ghāzān with the support of the Mamlūk *amīr* Ḳibdjaḳ, Ibn Taymiyya was, at Damascus, one of the spokesmen of the resistance party. In addition, he took part, in Shawwāl 699/June 1300, in the expedition which the Mamlūk authorities undertook against the Shīʿīs of Kasrawān who were accused of helping the Franks and the Mongols.

In 700/1300, when a new Mongol threat arose, he was instructed to exhort people to the *djihād* and went to Cairo, in Djumādā I 700/January 1301, to ask the Mamlūk sultan Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn to intervene in Syria. In 702/1303, at the time of the new Mongol invasion, he was present at the victory of Shaḳḥab, on 4 Ramaḍān 702/22 April 1303, where he had been instructed to issue a *fatwā* on the dispensation from the duty of fasting for those who were fighting.

The years which followed were marked by intense polemic activity. In 704/1305, he attacked a certain Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭṭān, accused of using *ḥashīsh*, and another *shaykh*, Muḥammad al-Khabbāz, who was accused, among other things, of antinomianism. At about the same time he went with some stone-

masons to smash a sacred rock in the mosque of al-Narandj (*Bidāya*, xiv, 34). He also took up arms against the Ittiḥādiyya, supporters of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240-1), and sent to one of their most prominent members, the *shaykh* Naṣr al-Dīn al-Manbidjī, the spiritual director of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr, a letter which was courteous, but nevertheless firmly condemned the monism of Ibn al-ʿArabī (*MRM*, i, 161-83). Towards the end of the year 704/July 1305, he took part in a new expedition against the *Rawāfiḍ* of Kasrawān and, on his return, attacked in Damascus the Aḥmadiyya Rifāʿiyya, whose *shaykh* was accused of Mongol sympathies (*MRM*, i, 121-46).

His enemies then renewed their attacks on his *credo* and cast doubts on the correctness of his profession of faith *al-Wāsiṭiyya*, written shortly before the arrival of the Mongols in Damascus. Two councils were held on 8 and 12 Radjab 705/24 and 28 January 1306, at the residence of the governor of Damascus, al-Afram. The second council, a member of which was Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 715/1315), a pupil of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10), found that the *Wāsiṭiyya* "was in conformity with the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*".

The affair seemed to be finished. However the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-Ṣarṣarī (d. 723/1323), a pupil of Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 688/1289), set about reopening it, having several of Ibn Taymiyya's pupils beaten and imprisoning the traditionist al-Mizzī (d. 743/1342-3). A third council was held at the governor's residence on 7 Shaʿbān 705/22 February 1306, on the sultan's orders. Again the *Wāsiṭiyya* was not condemned, and Ibn al-Ṣarṣarī resigned. The two adversaries were finally sent to Cairo, where they arrived on 22 Ramaḍān 705/7 April 1306.

The very day after his arrival, Ibn Taymiyya appeared before a new council which was held in the Citadel and consisted of a number of high officials of the state and the four *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Egypt. Ibn Taymiyya was accused of anthropomorphism and condemned to imprisonment. He remained in the Citadel of Cairo for nearly a year and a half, until 26 Rabīʿ I 707/25 September 1307. He was released on the intervention of the *amīr* Salār, the rival of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr, and of the Bedouin *amīr* Muhannā b. ʿĪsā (d. 736/1335-6), for whom he wrote, at a date not known, *al-ʿAḳīda al-tadmuriyya* (Cairo 1325/1908).

Granted his liberty, but not authorized to return to Syria, Ibn Taymiyya, who continued to denounce all the innovations (*bidʿa*) which he regarded as heretical, soon encountered the opposition of two of the most influential Ṣūfīs of Egypt: Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh (d. 709/1309-10), a pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mursī, and Karīm al-Dīn al-Amulī (d. 710/1310-11), the head of the *Dār Saʿīd al-suʿadā'*. Following a popular demonstration, he was summoned, in Shawwāl 707/end of March 1308, before the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa, who questioned him on his interpretation of the doctrine of the intercession of the saints (*tawassul*; *istighātha*). He was authorized to return to Syria but was nevertheless held in Cairo and imprisoned for several months in the prison of the *ḳāḍīs*.

The coming to power of Baybars al-Djāshnikīr, proclaimed sultan in 708/1309, was to re-open a period of persecutions. On the last night of Ṣafar 709/7-8 August 1309, Ibn Taymiyya was taken, under strong guard, to Alexandria, where he was put under house arrest. Lodged in a tower of the sultan's palace, permitted to receive visits and to write, Ibn Taymiyya, during the seven months which his exile was to last, was able to meet at Alexandria Maghribīs who were passing through, and wrote some important works, among them a long refutation (now lost) of the *Murshida* of Ibn Tūmart, and the *Radd ʿala 'l-Manṭiḳiyyīn* (Bombay 1368/1949). Restored to the throne on 1 Shawwāl 709/4 March 1310, Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn released Ibn Taymiyya and received him in audience in Cairo (*Bidāya*, xiv, 53-4).

Ibn Taymiyya was back in Cairo on 8 Shawwāl 709/11 March 1310 and remained there again for about three years. He was occasionally consulted by Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (al-Malik al-Nāṣir) on Syrian affairs and continued to teach privately and to give answers to the various enquiries which were addressed to him. It was at this time that he began, if not the final redaction, at least the development of his treatise on juridical policy, the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, the date of which may be put at between 711/1311 and 714/1315 (cf. the Fr. tr. by H. Laoust, Damascus (PIFD) 1948, and Eng. tr. by Omar A. Farrukh, Beirut 1966; latest ed. by Muḥammad al-Mubārak, Beirut 1967). Several of the *Fatāwā miṣriyya* (Cairo 1368/1949) also date from this period.

A new Mongol threat, rapidly dispelled, caused Ibn Taymiyya to return to Damascus, where he arrived, after a brief stay in Jerusalem, on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 712/28 February 1313. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who had preceded him by one week, had left on the Pilgrimage; on his return to Damascus on 11 Muḥarram 713/8 May 1313, he took various measures of administrative and financial reorganization. In addition, a new governor of Damascus, the *amīr* Tankiz (d. 740/1340), had been appointed in Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312.

It was under the governorate of Tankiz that Ibn Taymiyya spent his last fifteen years. Promoted to the rank of professor, and considered by his supporters as an independant *mudjtahid*, he now had as his chief pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]), who did much to spread his ideas and indeed shared some of his persecution. Relations between Ḥanbalīs and Ashʿarīs continued often to be strained, as is proved by the incident in Muḥarram 716/April 1316 which again saw the two schools in disagreement on the question of dogma (*Bidāya*, xiv, 75-6).

Towards the end of 716/February 1317 and in the following months, Ibn Taymiyya was involved in the affair concerning Ḥumayḍa, the *amīr* of Mecca who had formed an agreement with the Īlkhān Khudābanda (d. 716/1316) in order that there should prevail in Mecca a policy favourable to Shīʿism; it seems to have been at about this time that Ibn Taymiyya wrote the *Minhādj al-sunna al-nabawiyya* (Cairo 1321/1904; reprinted), in which he attacked the Imāmī theologian al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) (cf. H. Laoust, *La critique du sunnisme dans la doctrine d'al-Ḥillī*, in *REI*, 1966, 35-60).

However the persecutions were soon to recommence. In 718/1318, a letter from the sultan forbade Ibn Taymiyya to issue any *fatwās* on repudiation (*ṭalāḳ*) contrary to the prevailing Ḥanbalī doctrine; he was criticized for denying the validity of uniting three repudiations into one single one and for considering the oath (*ḥalf*) of repudiation as a single oath if the person who uttered it did not intend to proceed to an actual repudiation. Two councils were held on the matter, presided over

by Tankiz, in 718/1318 and 719/1319. A third council, held on 20 Radjab 720/26 August 1320, accused Ibn Taymiyya of infringing the sultan's prohibition and condemned him to prison.

Ibn Taymiyya was immediately arrested and imprisoned in the Citadel at Damascus, where he remained for slightly over five months, and was released, on 10 Muḥarram 721/9 February 1321, by a decree from al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He is mentioned in the years that followed as taking part in various incidents in the religious or political life of Egypt and Syria (cf. *REI*, 1960, 32-3).

On 16 Shaʿbān 726/18 July 1326, Ibn Taymiyya was again arrested, without any further trial, and was deprived of the right to issue *fatwās* by a decree of the sultan which was read out in the Umayyad Mosque. He was criticized because of his *risāla* on visits to tombs (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*) in which he condemned the cult of saints. A number of his disciples were arrested at the same time as he was but must have been released shortly afterwards except for Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (the text of the *Ziyārat al-ḳubūr*, written before this date, is given in *MR*, 103-22).

Ibn Taymiyya then encountered the opposition of the Mālikī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*, Taḳī al-Dīn al-Ikhnāʾī (d. 750/1349). Another influential opponent was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī, a disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who, after having been director of the Dār Saʿīd al-suʿadāʾ in Cairo, had recently been appointed Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* at Damascus.

Ibn Taymiyya remained a prisoner in the Citadel for more than two years; he continued to write and to issue *fatwās*; there date from this period several works which have survived and which were written with the aim of justifying his doctrines, in particular the *Kitāb Maʿārif al-wuṣūl*, on the methodology of *fiḳh* (*MRK*, i, 180-217), the *Rafʿ al-malām* (*MR*, 55-83) and the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿala 'l-Ikhnāʾī* (Cairo 1346/1928), in which he made a violent personal attack on his opponent and set out at length his ideas on the cult of saints (cf. *Essai*, 353-4).

As a result of a complaint by al-Ikhnāʾī to the sultan, the latter ordered, on 9 Djumādā II 728/21 April 1328, that Ibn Taymiyya's paper, ink and pens should be taken from him. Five months later, Ibn Taymiyya died in the Citadel, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 728/26 September 1328. His burial, attended by a large number of the inhabitants of Damascus, was in the cemetery of the *Ṣūfiyya*, where his tomb is still honoured.

Ibn Taymiyya's works are numerous; nearly all have now appeared in print. A list of his main works is given in the treatise by Ibn al-Ḳayyim entitled *Asmāʾ muʾallafāt Ibn Taymiyya* (Damascus 1372/1953); cf. Brockelmann, II, 125-7 and S II, 119-26. There should be mentioned several collections published in Cairo or in Arabia: *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil* (abbr. as *MR* in this article, Cairo 1323/1906); *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil al-kubrā* (abbr. *MRK*, Cairo 1326/1906, 2 vols.); *Kitāb Madjmūʿat al-fatāwa* (Cairo 1326-9/1908-11); *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa 'l-masāʾil* (abbr. *MRM*, Cairo (*Manār* press) 1349/1930- , 5 vols.); and finally *Madjmūʿat fatāwā shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya* (Riyāḍ 1381-3/1961-4, 30 vols.).

Ibn Taymiyya's education was primarily that of a Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult. He possessed a very sound knowledge of all the great works of his school, from those of the imām Aḥmad (d. 240/854-5) or of al-Khallāl (d. 311/923-4) to those of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn b. Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223) or of his own paternal grandfather, Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Barakāt (d. 652/1254), whose *Muḥarrar* and *Muntaḳā* formed part of the everyday reading of the Ḥanbalīs of the Mamlūk period.

To this knowledge of early and classical Ḥanbalism, he added not only that of the other schools of jurisprudence (*khilāf*), but also that of heresiographical literature (*firaḳ*), in particular of *falsafa* and of Ṣūfism. Indeed, he refers to knowing and having reflected on the works of many of the *Ṣūfiyya*: Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), Djunayd (d. 290/903), Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī (d. 564/1169), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī (d. 561/1166) and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1235). He mentions also having allowed himself to be deluded, in his youth, by the *Futūḥāt* of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240-1), before discovering how subtly heretical they were. He never condemned Ṣūfism in itself, but only that which he considered to be, in the case of too many Ṣūfīs, inadmissible deviations in doctrine, ritual or morals, such as monism (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*), antinomianism (*ibāḥa*) or esotericism (*ghuluww*).

His doctrine was intended to be primarily, while centred on and inspired by the spirit of Ḥanbalism, a doctrine of synthesis or of conciliation—"the happy mean" (*wasaṭ*)—which would accord to each school its rightful place in a strongly hierarchical whole in conformity with the precepts of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*. "The dogmatic theologians", he wrote, "based their system on reason (*ʿaḳl*), the traditionists based theirs on *ḥadīth* (*naḳl*), and the Ṣūfīs theirs on free-will (*irāda*)". Tradition, reason and free-will are precisely the three elements Ibn Taymiyya aimed to integrate and harmonize in a solidly constructed doctrine which might be defined as a conservative reformism, whether it was a case of the formulation of the *credo*, the rehabilitation of *idjtihād* or the reconstruction of the state.

In the field of dogma, Ibn Taymiyya's main intention was to follow the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*, "to describe God only as He has described Himself, in His Book and as the Prophet has described Him in the *Sunna*". Repudiating simultaneously *taʿṭīl*, the denial of attributes, *tashbīh*, the comparison of God with His creatures, and *taʾwīl*, recourse to allegorical or symbolic exegesis, he concentrates on other notions which are characteristic of Ḥanbalism: *tafwīḍ*, or leaving to God the ultimate mystery of things, and *taslīm*, voluntary and intentional submission to the word of God and of his Prophet both in knowledge and in action; this doctrine nevertheless provides authority, within the framework of Holy Writ and of tradition, for the widest possible scope in the personal interiorization of religion. In fact, in his definition of faith (*īmān*), Ibn Taymiyya encompasses the feelings on which it is based, the formulas in which it is expressed and the actions through which it is completed. In politics, he admits the legitimacy of the first four caliphs (*Rāshidūn*) in their chronological order of succession, but distinguishes between the problem of the caliphate (*khilāfa*) and that of the respective merits (*tafḍīl*) of these four caliphs; although he declares the obvious superiority of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, he acknowledges that there might be hesitation in pronouncing (*tawaḳḳuf*) on the respective merits of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.

His loyalty to the "men of old" (*salaf*) led him to prefer the ideas upheld by the Companions

(*ṣaḥāba*) or their early successors to the doctrine taught by the founders of the *madhāhib*.

Ibn Taymiyya did not, as is sometimes said, announce the "re-opening" of *idjtihād*, and still less did he claim this privilege for himself: he did not consider that *idjtihād* required to be "closed", since its continuance is necessary for the interpretation of the Law (cf. the opposition between *kulliyyāt* and *djuz'iyyāt*). But anxious to impose some discipline on this *idjtihād*, he attempted to define the rules which every *mudjtahid* ought to follow. With this intent, he announced the absolute supremacy of the text (*naṣṣ*) (Ḳur'ān or *ḥadīth*) and reduced correspondingly the importance of *idjmā'*, to which he opposed the agreement (*ittifāḳ*) of the doctors of the Law, the validity of which derives from the text on which it is based.

He attaches much importance to reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās*), which consists first of all in seeking the cause (*'illa*) of a judgement (*ḥukm*) resulting from the Ḳur'ān or from the *Sunna* and then in extending this judgement to all cases which share the same cause.

Ibn Taymiyya was often suspicious of *maṣlaḥa*, which he criticized for approaching methods based on reason (*ra'y*; *istiḥsān*; *dhawḳ*; *kashf*), but he finally approved a use of it which was both extensive and disciplined. The application of *maṣlaḥa*, which may apply in all fields, including even that of the *'ibādāt*, presupposes a previous long meditation on the Ḳur'ān, on *ḥadīth* and on the jurisprudence of the great doctors of the Law.

In fact Ibn Taymiyya considered religion and the State to be indissolubly linked. Without the coercive power (*shawka*) of the State, religion is in danger. Without the discipline of the revealed Law, the State becomes a tyrannical organization. The essential function of the State is to see that justice (*'adl*) prevails, to ordain good (*amr*) and to forbid evil, to bring about, in reality, the reign of unity (*taḥḳīḳ al-tawḥīd*), and to prepare for the coming of a society devoted to the service of God (*'ibāda*).

While recognizing the legitimacy of the *Rāshidūn*, Ibn Taymiyya never upheld the principle of the permanence of the single caliphate. He pointed out that the Muslim profession of faith (*shahāda*) requires obedience only to God and to His Prophet: it does not limit the number of the *imāms* to whom obedience is owed. He regards the Muslim community (*umma*) as a natural confederation of states.

Every imām is at once the proxy (*wakīl*), guardian (*walī*) and partner (*sharīk*) of those whom he administers, and therefore his mission is to construct and instil respect for the system of orders and prohibitions which, within the framework of the revealed Law according to the circumstances, is to govern the various areas of the life of the community.

Furthermore, each member of the community has the duty and the right to give advice (*naṣīḥa*), within the limits of his competence, to his brothers in religion and hence to ordain good and forbid evil, striving to avoid anything which could endanger the solidarity of the Believers and divide the community.

Ibn Taymiyya's economic ethics also share this emphasis on solidarity or the importance of the community. He favours the idea of property, but states that the rich should be the friends and partners of the poor, and substitutes for the idea of competition that of co-operation and mutual help. He disapproved of the authoritarian fixing of prices (*tas'īr*) and permitted this fixing only after negotiation and agreement. He reminded people that "The revealed Law condemns those who make riches their goal and wish to resemble Ḳārūn, just as it condemns those whose aim is political power and who wish to be like Pharaoh".

Ibn Taymiyya's influence, even in his own lifetime and under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, was great, in spite of the hostility which he encountered from the powerful family of the Subkī, the two founders of which, Taḳī 'l-Dīn (d. 756/1355) and his son Tādj al-Dīn (d. 771/1369-70), were among the most eminent representatives of Shāfi'ism and Syro-Egyptian Ash'arism. Among his chief disciples, in the world of the *'ulamā'*, were, in addition to Ibn al-Ḳayyim mentioned above, men or women who sometimes belonged to other schools than his.

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī (d. 711/1311-2), one of his first disciples, was the son of the head of the Rifā'iyya brotherhood of Wāsiṭ. Umm Zaynab (d. 711/1311-2), a native of Baghdād, who led a campaign in Damascus against the Ittiḥādiyya, is an excellent example of the type of devout woman which existed at that time in Syria. Al-Mizzī (d. 743/1342-3), who had come from Aleppo and was one of the greatest traditionists of the period, belonged to the Shāfi'ī school. Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347-8), the famous theologian and historian, wrote a summary of the *Minhādj al-sunna* of Ibn Taymiyya. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372-3), also a Shāfi'ī, inserted, in his *Bidāya*, a valuable biography of Ibn Taymiyya, of whom he was an admirer. Finally, Ibn Radjab (d. 795/1393), who wrote a well-documented history of Ḥanbalism, was inspired by Ibn Taymiyya's doctrine in his *Ḳawā'id fiḳhiyya*.

In addition, Ibn Taymiyya's influence under the Baḥrī sultans extended also to the milieu of the *umarā'*. Thus Katbughā al-Manṣūrī (d. 721/1321), who was *ḥādjib* at Damascus, and Arghūn al-Nāṣirī (d. 731/1330-1), who held the offices of viceroy of Egypt and governor of Aleppo, are often described, together with several other *amīrs*, as disciples or admirers of Ibn Taymiyya.

Under the Circassian Mamlūks (783-922/1382-1517), Ibn Taymiyya's influence was less apparent but nevertheless continued to be deeply felt in various *'ulamā'* circles. Al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1441-2), in his *Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo 1326/1909, iv, 185), contrasts to the supporters of al-Ash'arī—of whom he was one—those of Ibn Taymiyya, the defender of the faith of the "men of old" (*salaf*). "People", he writes, "are divided into two factions over the question of Ibn Taymiyya; for until the present, the latter has retained admirers and disciples in Syria and Egypt".

The Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt (922/1517), which led to the official supremacy of the Ḥanafī school, struck a severe blow to Ḥanbalism, which did not however disappear altogether. Supporters of Ibn Taymiyya remained: among them were al-'Ulaymī (d. ca. 928/1522), the historian of Jerusalem and Hebron, who wrote a history of Ḥanbalism which is a valuable source of information on this school after the death of Ibn al-Ḳayyim, and also especially al-Mar'ī (d. 1033/1623), who wrote a laudatory biography of Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* (Cairo 1329/1911). It was under the Ottomans also that Ibn Taymiyya's ideas, most of which were adopted by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), gave rise to Wahhābism and to the state of the Su'ūd dynasty. Ibn Taymiyya

remains today, with al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), one of the writers who have had the greatest influence on contemporary Islam, particularly in Sunnī circles.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, the following may be consulted: Moh. Ben Cheneb, s.v., in *EI*[1]; Brockelmann, II, 125-7; S II, 119-26; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taymiyya, IFAO*, Cairo 1939; idem, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique d'Ibn Taymiyya, IFAO*, Cairo 1939; idem, *La bibliographie d'Ibn Taymiyya d'après Ibn Kathīr*, in *BÉt. Or.*, ix (1943), 115-62; idem, *Le ḥanbalisme sous les Mamlūks Baḥrides*, in *REI*, 1960, 1-71; idem, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 266-76.

(H. Laoust)

IBN AL-TAYYĀN [see TAMMĀM B. GHĀLIB].

IBN AL-ṬAYYIB, Abu 'l-Faradj ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿIrāḳī, Nestorian monk, physician, philosopher and theologian known in mediaeval Europe under the name of Abulpharagius Abdalla Benattibus. He studied and worked at the ʿAḍudī hospital of Baghdād, was the secretary of the *katholikos* Elias I, and died in 435/1043. The physicians Ibn Buṭlān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī were his pupils. An inventory of his works of Christian exegesis has been made by Graf: there may be mentioned especially the *Firdaws al-Naṣrāniyya*, the Arabic translation of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and the *Fiḳh al-Naṣrāniyya* (ed. W. Hoenerbach and O. Spies, Louvain 1956). In philosophy he wrote several commentaries on works of Aristotle, on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see FURFŪRIYŪS] (the text mentioned by Brockelmann I, 233 *Logic* no. 4 is to be attributed to Ibn al-Ṭayyib and not to al-Fārābī; cf. S. M. Stern, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 419-25). He wrote a commentary on the *Tabula Cebetis* of Ibn Miskawayh [*q.v.*]. In medicine he wrote abridgements of Hippocrates, Aristotle and Galen.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. J. Lippert, 233; al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1935, 27; Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Ṣālḥānī, Beirut 1890, 330; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Beirut 1377/1957, i, 241; Brockelmann, I, 635, S I, 884; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 730; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Litteratur*, ii, 160-76; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte*, Göttingen 1840, 132, 78; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, i, 486-8.

(J. Vernet)

IBN THAWĀBA, name of the members of an important family, of Christian origin, among whom were several high officials of the ʿAbbāsid administration. An anecdote related by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 130) and repeated by Yāḳūt (*Udabāʾ*, iv, 144-5) suggests that the family's ancestor, Thawāba, lived in Baḥrayn where he was a barber. His son Muḥammad entered the administration at an unknown date. The best-known members of the family are:

Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who was, under al-Muhtadī (ruled 255/869-256/870), one of the chief assistants of the vizier Sulaymān b. Wahb. Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul himself, whom Aḥmad disliked and disagreed with, forgave him for his hostile attitude towards him and entrusted him with the administration of several regions of ʿIrāḳ. He was to remain in charge of these districts until the arrival in office of the vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, who replaced him by Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Makhlad; but Ibn Thawāba remained an official until his death, in 277/890 according to the majority of his biographers, in 273/886 according to al-Ṣūlī.

He was a stylist of talent and a poet. He is said to have left two works, one of them a collection of letters, which have not survived. But he had acquired a reputation for clumsiness, and his contemporaries regarded as grotesque his affected language, his upstart affectation, and his excessive arrogance. It is not known whether he shared the pro-Shīʿī sentiments of his son Muḥammad, but Ibn Bulbul's conciliatory attitude towards him seems to indicate this.

Ibn Thawāba presided over a circle in which a number of poets and men of letters met regularly. His generosity, sometimes ostentatious, led some poets of his time (such as al-Buḥturī and al-Rūmī) to write of him very elegant panegyrics, which still survive. But the disagreements which he had with some of them, and notably with Ibn al-Rūmī, earned him a series of epigrams full of irony and persiflage. Some writers of the following centuries, and notably al-Tawḥīdī, retained the image of him which is given in these satires and present him in some of their anecdotes as a grotesque, narrow and pretentious bore.

Very little is known of the career of his son Muḥammad. He was the secretary of the Turk Bāykbāk and he had to go into hiding for a period to escape from the anger of al-Muhtadī, who had been incited against him by certain courtiers who accused him of Shīʿism. His master finally exonerated him and obtained for him the caliph's pardon, which enabled him to return to his office in 250/864. He also was a man of letters and is said to have left a collection of letters which has not survived.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 130, 168; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 144-74; *Aghānī*, Dār al-Thaḳāfa ed., xviii, 96; Tawḥīdī, *Akhlāḳ al-wazīrayn*, Damascus 1965, 236 ff.; Ḥusrī, *Zahr*, index; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn al-Rūmī, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Beirut 1967, 193-5; *D.M.*, ii, 293.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad, the brother of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, occupied a high office in the administration; under the vizierate of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb he was appointed as deputy to the vizier's son, al-Ḥasan, who had just been put in charge of several offices, among them the Chancellery and the Police (*Nishwār*, viii, 83-4; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 187). On al-Ḥasan's death, Djaʿfar succeeded him in these offices and remained in them until he died in 284/897 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii/2, 68). He was replaced by his son Muḥammad, who was a great favourite of al-Muḳtadir and who died in 312/924 (*Udabāʾ*, xviii, 96). Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad, who was the last of the Banū Thawāba to hold an important office in the administration. On his death, the offices which had been hereditary among the Banū Thawāba since the death of al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh were entrusted to Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābī (*Udabāʾ*, vii, 188).

Djaʿfar was a cultivated man and a talented poet. It is known that he attempted to compete with Ibn al-Rūmī and that he was closely connected with Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who wrote a touching elegy on his death in which Djaʿfar's moral and literary virtues are sympathetically enumerated.

His son and his grandson were also talented men of letters. Abū ʿAbd Allāh is said to have left a collection of letters (*Udabāʾ*, iv, 146).

Biblioigraphy: *Fihrist*, 130, 168; Yāḳūt,

Udabā', iv, 146; vii, 187; xviii, 96; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 83-4; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 669; *D.M.*, ii, 293.

(S. Boustany)

IBN AL-THUMNA, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, one of the Muslim *ḳā'ids* who shared Sicily among themselves after the last Kalbī *amīr* al-Ḥasan, called al-Ṣamṣām, was deposed in 444/1052-3 (according to Ibn Khaldūn: 431/1039-40). Having unexpectedly become lord of Syracuse, on the east coast of the island, Ibn al-Thumna, after killing his adversary Ibn al-Maklātī, who was absolute master of Catania, had to fight another rival, Ibn al-Ḥawwās [*q.v.*]. But, having been defeated by the latter, he decided to give his support to the Normans and to encourage them to make themselves masters of Sicily. The first landing by Count Roger on the island took place towards the end of February 1061, but this ended in a repulse, which forced the Normans to withdraw and Ibn al-Thumna to take refuge in Catania. Some months after these events, Messina fell into the hands of the Normans, who then joined Ibn al-Thumna for their attacks against the army of Ibn al-Ḥawwās; the latter was beaten on the outskirts of Castrogiovanni, which the Christians had been besieging for a month. But, as the Normans were unable to make the fortress capitulate, Robert and Roger decided to withdraw, whereas Ibn al-Thumna continued to reduce his most stubborn adversaries to obedience, until his death in 454/1062 on the battlefield.

Bibliography: the bibliography of the events in which Ibn al-Thumna took part is found almost exclusively in the sources noted by M. Amari in the *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², and published in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857.

(U. Rizzitano)

IBN AL-ṬIḲṬAḲĀ, Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, ʿIrāḳī historian. A descendant of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī through Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabāṭabā, he was born, it seems, shortly after the conquest of Baghdād by the Mongols, which he does not mention as having witnessed personally. His father, Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ramaḍān, chief *naḳīb* of the ʿAlids, had gained great wealth and influence, but in a game of political intrigue against the brothers ʿAlā' al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī [*qq.v.*], he lost his life and property (Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961, 180 f.). His son too, was a *naḳīb* of the ʿAlids, probably with more regionally limited authority. He appears to have travelled widely in ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbaydjān. In the period from Djumādā II to Shawwāl 701/February to early June 1302, during a stay in Mosul on the way to Tabrīz, he wrote his history, *al-Fakhrī*, for Fakhr al-Dīn ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm of Mosul. The work consists of a brief *fürstenspiegel* and biographies of the caliphs down to al-Mustaʿṣim, followed in each case by biographies of the viziers of the caliph (ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha 1860; H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895; and later reprints; French trans. É. Amar, Paris 1910, *Archives Marocaines*, xiv; Engl. trans. C. E. J. Whitting, London 1947). The author's skilful choice of his largely anecdotal material, his reflective rather than factual approach to history, and the obvious love for his subject of an urbane and literate personality combine to make the *Fakhrī* enjoyable and instructive reading to a degree uncommon in medieval scholarly historiography. A Persian translation by Hindūshāh b. Sandjar made in 723-4/1323-4 and entitled *Tadjārib al-salaf*, indicates the title of Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā's work as *Munyat al-fuḍalā' fī tawārīkh al-khulafā' wa-'l-wuzarā'*. This *Munya* was probably a later edition of the historical section of the *Fakhrī*. A *Kitāb al-Ghāyāt* is mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ Madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, ed. M. Djawād, iv/2, Damascus 1963, 784.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 207 f., S II, 201 f.; Storey, ii, 80 f., 1232 f.; J. A. Boyle, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 175-7; ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-mu'arrikhīn*, Baghdād 1376/1957, i, 131-7; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in medieval Islam*, Cambridge 1958, 62-7; J. Kritzeck, in J. Kritzeck and R. B. Winder, *The world of Islam*, New York 1959, 159-84.

(F. Rosenthal)

IBN AL-TILMĪDH, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh b. Abi 'l-ʿAlā' Ṣāʿid b. Ibrāhīm, with the honorific names of Muwaffiḳ al-Mulk and Amīn al-Dawla (he was widely known under the latter name), Christian Arab physician of Baghdād, where he was born in the second half of the 5th/11th century, and son of a very eminent physician. He completed his education in various branches of learning by making fairly long journeys in Persia, and then returned to settle in Baghdād, where he succeeded his father. He seems to have been extraordinarily gifted: in addition to his fine command of Arabic, he knew Syriac and Persian, was skilled in poetry and music, and was also an excellent calligrapher. He was well-versed in Christian theology, and evidently also in the Muslim religion, since he wrote on medical questions treated in *ḥadīths*. He appears to have been a priest, and he was the leader of the Christian community of Baghdād. As a physician, he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and his successors, for example ʿAbd al-Laṭīf [*q.v.*]; he enjoyed the favour of the caliphs al-Muḳtafī, al-Mustandjid and al-Mustaḍī' [*qq.v.*], and he remained until his death the Christian director (*sāʿūr*, a Syriac title) of the famous hospital founded by ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in the capital. He was appointed by al-Mustaḍī' as head of all the physicians, and, in this capacity, was instructed to examine the professional competence of all the physicians of Baghdād and the surrounding district. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (i, 261) relates an amusing scene which took place during an examination of this type. Ibn al-Tilmīdh died on 28 Rabīʿ I 560/12 February 1165 in Baghdād at the age of 95 lunar years (92 solar years), leaving to his son a considerable fortune and a large library, which on the son's death became the property of the state. It appears from the various information given by the Arab historians that Ibn al-Tilmīdh made use of the works of the Greek physicians, and also of the great *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] as the basis of his teaching on the theory of medicine. He acquired a following of eminent disciples (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr al-Masīḥī, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, Muwaffiḳ al-Dīn b. al-Maṭrān, etc.), the majority of whom later went from ʿIrāḳ to Syria and Egypt, where they founded new medical schools which began to flourish in Egypt in the 7th/13th century [see IBN AL-NAFĪS]. Ibn al-Tilmīdh left a whole series of medical works; they are not in fact original, but consist for the most part of commentaries on or summaries of works from the Hippocratic *Corpus* and from Galen, or of works by Ibn Sīnā, Rāzī, Ḥunayn and other Christian physicians. His pharmacological works are nevertheless often quoted, in particular an *Aḳrābādhīn* (Pharmacopoeia) and two abridged versions of it intended for use in hospitals. In the ʿAḍudī hospital they replaced the Pharmacopoeia of Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255/869), which had been used until then. These works and some others (a treatise on bleeding and a

practical manual of medical treatment) have survived in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I, 487, S I, 891); nothing has so far been printed.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 340; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 259-67; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. arab. Ärzte*, 97; Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 1876, ii, 24-7; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, Baltimore 1931, ii, 234; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vii, 243-7; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia* ..., no. 43 and no. 116; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 59; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 191 (ed. Wüstenfeld, v, 129, no. 520).

(M. Meyerhof)

IBN ṬUFAYL, celebrated philosopher, whose full name was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭufayl al-Ḳaysī. He belonged to the prominent Arab tribe of Ḳays; he was also called al-Andalusī, al-Ḳurṭubī or al-Ishbīlī. Christian scholastics call him Abubacer, a corruption of Abū Bakr.

Ibn Ṭufayl was probably born in the first decade of the 6th/12th century in Wādī Āsh, the modern Guadix, 40 miles N.E. of Granada. Nothing is known of his family or his education. That he was a pupil of Ibn Bādjdja [*q.v.*], as is frequently stated, is incorrect, for in the introduction to his philosophical romance he says expressly that he was not acquainted with this philosopher. He first of all practised as a physician in Granada, and then became secretary to the governor of the province. In 594/1154, he became secretary to the governor of Ceuta and Tangier, a son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, the founder of the Almohad dynasty. Finally he received the appointment of court physician to the Almohad sultan Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf (558-80/1163-84). It has also been held that he was the latter's vizier; but it is doubtful if he really held this title, since only one text gives him it, as L. Gauthier points out. Al-Biṭrawdjī [*q.v.*], who was his pupil, simply calls him *ḳāḍī* (L. Gauthier, *Ibn Thofaïl*, 6). In any case Ibn Ṭufayl always had great influence with this prince, which he used to attract scholars to the court. For example, he introduced the young Ibn Rushd to the sultan. The historian ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (*al-Muʿdjib*, ed. Dozy², 174 f.; tr. Fagnan, 208-10) gives a description of this meeting from Averroes' own account. On this occasion the sultan showed a remarkable erudition in philosophical matters. It was also Ibn Ṭufayl who, at the instigation of the prince, advised Averroes to write a commentary on the works of Aristotle. This is stated by Abū Bakr Bundūd, a pupil of Ibn Ṭufayl, who says further: "The commander of the faithful was exceedingly attached to him (Ibn Ṭufayl). I am told that he remained whole days and nights in the palace with him without appearing in public".

In 578/1182 Ibn Ṭufayl on account of his advanced age was succeeded by Ibn Rushd as court physician to the Caliph. But he continued to retain Abū Yaʿḳūb's favour, and, after the latter's death in 580, retained the friendship of his son and successor, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb. He died in 581/1185-6 at Marrākush, the Caliph himself attending his obsequies.

Ibn Ṭufayl is the author of the celebrated philosophical novel *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* [*q.v.*], one of the most remarkable books of the Middle Ages. Little else from his pen is known. He wrote two treatises on medicine, and corresponded with Averroes about the latter's medical work *al-Kulliyyāt*. According to the astronomer al-Biṭrūdjī and Ibn Rushd in his middle commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (book xii), he had some original astronomical ideas. Al-Biṭrūdjī attempted to refute Ptolemy's theory of epicycles and eccentric circles, and says in his preface that he is following the ideas of Ibn Ṭufayl.

Bibliography: To the references given in the bibliography to ḤAYY B. YAḲẒĀN, add: D. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim theology*, 1903, 252-6; T. J. de Boer, *The history of philosophy in Islam*, London 1903; Franck, *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques* (s.v., art. by S. Munk); Fr. Überwegs, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Max Heinze, ii; C. A. Nallino, art. *Ibn Tufail*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xviii, 684-5; idem, in *RSO*, x (1925), 434-40; Max Meyerhof and Joseph Schacht, *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafīs*, Oxford 1968; Persian tr. of *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*, by B. Foruzanfar, Tehrān 1956; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Falsafat Ibn Ṭufayl wa-risālatuhu*, Cairo n.d. (al-Dirāsāt al-falsafiyya wa 'l-akhlāḳiyya); Brockelmann, I, 460, II 704, S II, 831; *DM*, iii, 299-307. (B. Carra de Vaux*)

IBN ṬŪLŪN, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, al-Ṣāliḥī, al-Dimashḳī, al-Ḥanafī (880-953/1473-1546), a scholar and a prolific writer, noted in his own time as a teacher of traditions and jurisprudence, is perhaps more valued today for his historical writings dealing with the end of Mamlūk rule and the beginning of Ottoman domination of Syria. His autobiography, called *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn fī aḥwāl Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn* (pub. Damascus 1348/1929), while it gives little personal information, is an excellent source for a study both of the author's intellectual development and of traditional Islamic education at that time.

Ibn Ṭūlūn was born in al-Ṣāliḥiyya, the suburb of Damascus on Mount Ḳāsiyūn, to a family with scholarly connexions. His paternal uncle, Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ṭūlūn, was a *ḳāḍī* and *muftī* of the Palace of Justice (*Dār al-ʿadl*). He traced his paternal ancestry to a Mamlūk, Khumārwayh b. Ṭūlūn, while his mother, Azdān, who died of plague during his infancy, was of Anatolian origin (*rūmiyya*). The latter term and the fact, mentioned in the autobiography, that she spoke *lisān al-arwām*, has given rise to dispute as to whether this meant, in the usage of that time, that she was Anatolian Turkish or Greek. Reared by his father and the aforementioned uncle, Ibn Ṭūlūn showed precocious intellectual abilities, completing the reading of the Ḳurʾān by the age of seven and in 891/1484, when he was eleven, receiving a stipend from the *waḳf* of the Māridāniyya *madrasa* as a student of jurisprudence (*fiḳh*). During his lifetime he filled numerous teaching and administrative posts of a religious nature—the latter, however, never of very high rank—although in his last years he declined posts such as preacher (*khaṭīb*) in the Umayyad Mosque and Ḥanafī Muftī of Damascus, pleading advanced age as a reason. Most of his life was devoted to scholarship and writing and he seems to have avoided any political involvements under both régimes. He died over 70 years of age, a bachelor without issue.

In the breadth of his interests and variety of his writings Ibn Ṭūlūn resembles his Egyptian contemporary, al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*] (d. 911/1505), from whom he received an *idjāza*. In his autobiography, which records all the scholars with whom he studied, he lists as well all the books he read, covering at least thirty fields of learning and representing all the traditional Islamic sciences as well as "secular" sciences such as medicine and astronomy. His wide-ranging interests are reflected in his numerous writings, the titles of 750 of which are listed, varying in length from brief pamphlets to weighty

volumes, many of which are no longer extant. In the field of history the scholars who influenced him most strongly were Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī [*q.v.*] (d. 909/1503) and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521), both of whom are known today for their studies of the mosques and *madrasas* of Damascus respectively. Several of Ibn Ṭūlūn's works, especially those devoted to suburbs of Damascus like al-Ṣāliḥiyya, his birthplace, and al-Mizza, reflect the methods of these scholars.

Among the numerous works by Ibn Ṭūlūn the following historical studies—mostly, but not exclusively, dealing with Damascus and its environs—have been published:

(1) *Mufākahat al-khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān* (2 vols., ed. M. Mostafa, Cairo 1962-4), a chronicle of Egypt and Syria covering the years 884-926/1479-1520. The published text omits the years 898/1492-93, 920/1514, and 925/1519, which were missing in the manuscript used—Tübingen MS No. MA VI, 7.

Extracts were published much earlier by R. Hartmann as *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn*, in *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, 3. Jahr, Heft 2, 1926.

(2) *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya* (2 pts., ed. Muḥ. Aḥmad Duhmān, Damascus 1368-75/1949-56), a history of the author's birthplace, and an account of scholars and religious monuments.

(3) *Iʿlām al-warā bi-man waliya nāʾiban min al-atrāk bi-Dimashḳ al-shām al-kubrā*. The original has not been published as yet. A French translation by H. Laoust is included in the work *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans* ... (Damascus 1952).

(4) Five shorter works were published from autograph manuscripts in 1348/1929 in Damascus by Maktabat al-Ḳudsī wa 'l-Budayr under the title *Rasāʾil taʾrīkhiyya*:

(a) *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn*, the autobiography, 54 pp.
(b) *al-Shamʿa al-muḍīʾa fī akhbār al-ḳalʿa al-dimashḳiyya*, a history of the Citadel of Damascus, 28 pp.
(c) *al-Muʿizza fīmā ḳīla fī 'l-Mizza*, about the suburb of Damascus al-Mizza, and an account of its mosques, tombs, great men, etc., 26 pp. (d) *al-Lamʿāt al-barḳiyya fi 'l-nukat al-taʾrīkhiyya*, 44 stories, 72 pp.
(e) *Iʿlām al-sāʾilīn ʿan kutub sayyid al-mursalīn*.

(5) *Ḍarb al-ḥūṭa ʿalā djamīʿ al-Ghūṭa*, about the Ghūṭa (orchards and gardens) of Damascus. Published by Asʿad Ṭalas in *RAAD*, xxi/3-4, 149-61; 5-6, 236-47; 7-8, 338-51, and by Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt in *al-Khizāna al-sharḳiyya*, ii/39.

(6) *al-Shadharāt al-dhahabiyya fī tarādjim al-aʾimma al-ithnā ʿashar ʿind al-imāmiyya*, a collection of literary material about the twelve imāms. Published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid as *al-Aʾimma al-ithnāʿashar* (Beirut 1958).

Some of his other historical studies, especially the biographical dictionaries, contain valuable contemporary material and are undoubtedly worthy of publication.

Bibliography: The best source for the life and work of Ibn Ṭūlūn is his autobiography *al-Fulk al-mashḥūn*, mentioned above. All other biographical sketches are based on it, for example: al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, ii, 52-4; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, viii, 298; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vii, 184-5; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 318-20, by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, as well as the latter's introduction to *al-Aʾimma al-ithnāʿashar*, mentioned above, and his study *al-Muʾarrikhūn al-dimashḳiyyūn*, Cairo 1956, 79-81 (note some errors there, esp. attribution of publication of part of *Iʿlām al-warā* to Littmann). See also the introduction to *al-Ḳalāʾid al-djawhariyya*, i, by M. A. Duhmān, pp. [i-xxiv]; the introduction by M. Mostafa to vol. ii of *Mufākahat al-khillān*, pp. [vii-xxi]; the excellent introduction by H. Laoust to *Les gouverneurs de Damas*, esp. pp. ix-xvii. The best information on extant manuscripts is in Brockelmann, II, 481, S II, 494. (W. M. Brinner)

IBN ṬŪLŪN [see AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN and ṬŪLŪNIDS].

IBN TŪMART, the Mahdī [*q.v.*] of the Almohads and founder of the Almohad movement [see MUWAḤIDDŪN]. The biographies of so celebrated a figure inevitably contain much legendary matter besides evident contradictions. He was born between 471/1078 and 474/1081 in the Anti-Atlas of Morocco. His father belonged to the Hargha and his mother to the Masakkāla, both of which are divisions of the Maṣmūda tribal group and there can be no doubt that he was a pure Berber despite the various Sharīfian genealogies attributed to him. Of his first 30 or so years we have no real knowledge. In 500/1106 he left his native mountains and went first to Cordoba, where he spent a year. Only Ibn Ḳunfudh gives any information as to what he did there, saying merely that he studied with the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Ḥamdīn. Ibn Tūmart next embarked at Alméria for the East. At Alexandria he met Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī and then went via Mecca to Baghdād, where he met Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Mubārak b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār. All the sources recount, some with reserve, Ibn Tūmart's supposed meeting with al-Ghazālī in Baghdād. The story (given most fully by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, pp. 14-8) goes that al-Ghazālī, learning that his new student was recently in Cordoba, enquired as to the doings of the *fuḳahāʾ* there. When told that at the instigation of Ibn Ḥamdīn, *ḳāḍī* of Cordoba, the *Iḥyāʾ* had been officially burnt throughout the Almoravid dominions he called upon God to destroy the Almoravids. Thereupon Ibn Tūmart exclaimed: "Imām, pray to God to do that by my hand!" The Imām ignored him at first but on a second occasion acceded. His prayer of course was granted. The story is, however, apocryphal: by the time Ibn Tūmart reached Baghdād al-Ghazālī had already left the city for good and had been for over ten years in Khurāsān, where it is never hinted that Ibn Tūmart ever went.

The return towards the Maghrib began in 510/1116 or 511/1117. It was a turbulent journey. Ibn Tūmart caused public disturbances and put himself in danger of his life by his uncompromising insistence on the punctilious observance of religious obligations. At the same time his learning and piety made an impression, and during the many long halts in his journey he found ready audiences. En route, probably at Tunis, he was joined by Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Ṣanhādjī, surnamed al-Baydhaḳ, who became his devoted follower and whose *Mémoires* are a prime source of information for the remainder of Ibn Tūmart's career and that of his successor ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. At Mallāla, near Bougie (Bidjāya), the momentous meeting between Ibn Tūmart and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin took place. Love of the supernatural has embellished the circumstances of this meeting with a wealth of picturesque detail but subsequent events confirmed the power of this combination of Ibn Tūmart's personal magnetism and ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's administrative and military genius. This peculiar force of personality must be invoked to explain why Ibn Tūmart, despite the continual riots which he provoked, ran the gauntlet of lesser authorities unscathed and finally confronted the Al-

moravid sultan himself at Marrākush. This was in 514/1120. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn arranged a debate between Ibn Tūmart and a group of *fuḳahāʾ*, who were as nonplussed as ʿAlī himself. One party, represented by the vizier Mālik b. Wuhayb, saw in Ibn Tūmart's preaching a serious threat to the régime and so advocated his destruction. Others, among whom Yintān b. ʿUmar is mentioned, could not stomach the punishment of one who could not be convicted of any crime against the *Sharīʿa*. While the pacific ʿAlī vacillated, Yintān took Ibn Tūmart under his protection. But Yintān succeeded in convincing the stubborn and now perhaps over-confident Ibn Tūmart of his mortal danger, so he prudently withdrew to Aghmāt. There the usual disturbances took place and a new stage in his career began.

Until now Ibn Tūmart had apparently not viewed himself as the actual or potential leader of a movement or as a rebel against established authority; he was merely an individual fulfilling his religious obligations as he conceived them. But now the situation had changed. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf had finally overcome his scruples at the news of the latest troubles in Aghmāt and despatched a messenger to order the return of the trouble-maker to Marrākush. Ibn Tūmart refused to go and so was now in open rebellion. At the same time he had now won a powerful supporter in the person of Ismāʿīl Īgig, chief of the Hazardja, who was soon after joined by ʿUmar Īntī and Yūsuf b. Wānūdīn of the Hintāta. He found himself apparently by accident the spiritual leader of substantial forces united, no doubt, more by tribal anti-Almoravid sentiments than by concern for the purity of the faith. The idea of proclaiming himself Mahdī began to grow in his mind and from the time he finally reached his birthplace at Īgīlīz in 515/1121 and installed himself in a cave (*al-Ghār al-muḳaddas*—not now identifiable with certainty) he devoted himself to spreading the belief that the appearance of the Mahdī in the Maghrib was imminent. At the end of one harangue in which he listed the attributes of the Mahdī he was finally acclaimed. "When the Imām al-Mahdī finished his speech", says ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, "ten men, of whom I was one, rushed up to him and I said: 'These signs are found only in you! You are the Mahdī!' And so we swore fealty to him as the Mahdī."

Just as the Ten mentioned by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and often encountered subsequently have analogies with *al-ʿAshara al-mubashshara* [*q.v.*], so other features of Ibn Tūmart's career indicate a conscious attempt by himself or his followers to liken him to the Prophet. His expeditions are referred to as *maghāzī*; the acclamation just mentioned took place under a tree, like the Prophet's *Bayʿat al-riḍwān*; the move to Tīnmallal (see below) is called a *hidjra*; the *Ahl Tīnmallal* have analogies with the Companions; etc.

Within two years, marked by numerous skirmishes between Almohads and Almoravids, most of the Anti-Atlas and Sūs were actively backing Ibn Tūmart and all the Maṣmūda tribes were ready to support him. The Almoravid government, now seriously alarmed, increased its efforts. Ibn Tūmart, judging it prudent to move to a more easily defended position, "emigrated" in 517/1123 to Tīnmallal (*var.* Tīnmāl) in the upper Nfis valley, about 75 kms. south-south-west of Marrākush. The manner in which he and his followers took possession of Tīnmallal and its territory is not entirely clear, but it led to a protest by one of the Ten which cost him his life. The Ahl Tīnmallal of the Almohad hierarchy are significantly a heterogeneous group. This fact and other evidence indicates that the original inhabitants of Tīnmallal were liquidated and replaced by a mixed group of the Mahdī's close followers.

The next few years were passed in the consolidation and steady extension of Almohad power. This was made easier by the preoccupation of the Almoravids with troubles in Spain but also made more difficult by discord among the Almohads themselves. Though the Almohad movement was certainly helped by the antipathy for the Almoravids shared by all the mountain tribes, it was at the same time hindered by the fragmentation of the Maṣmūda into very small and jealously independent groups who resisted incorporation into any larger federation. Perhaps impatience with the speed of the movement's development was the main motive behind the next important event in the Mahdī's career, the *tamyīz*.

The scanty texts on the *tamyīz* are difficult to interpret, but it seems that under the supervision of one Bashīr al-Wansharīsī there was a methodical and stringent elimination of real or suspected dissidents. This took place in 523 or 524/1128-9. Dating from this period, and obscurely connected with the *tamyīz*, is the peculiar organization of the Almohads into a hierarchy headed by the Ten. The origin and significance of this apparently quite artificial creation remain a mystery.

Whether the *tamyīz* so consolidated the movement's strength that Ibn Tūmart felt strong enough to embark on the taking of Marrākush or whether it aroused such resentment that such a diversion of interest became necessary is an open question, but the campaign began at once. The leader was the same al-Bashīr. The expedition was unsuccessful, for though the Almohads besieged Marrākush for six weeks they were defeated, five of the Ten being killed, nearby at al-Buḥayra in mid-524/1130. This defeat was doubtless a severe psychological setback for the Almohads, but subsequent events show that it did not in fact much hinder the progress of the movement; and it was an empty victory for the Almoravids, who proved impotent to press home their advantage.

The Mahdī died a few months after the battle of al-Buḥayra, in Ramaḍān 524/August 1130. His close companions concealed his death, presumably because they feared the effect on the morale of the Almohads of his death at this inauspicious moment without moreover his having justified any of his Mahdī-pretensions. His "retreat" lasted for three years until the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in 527/1132. He was buried at Tīnmallal. His tomb was still venerated, according to Leo Africanus, some five centuries later, but he and his movement no longer survive in local tradition.

Ibn Tūmart regarded himself primarily as a religious reformer. It is not certain that even when in later life he had adopted the mantle of the Mahdī and become the head of an embryonic state in declared rebellion against the Almoravids he had developed any secular ambitions beyond those necessary to back his religious ones. As a Muslim he naturally did not draw a sharp distinction between the religious and the secular. He was a fundamentalist who wished to re-establish what he conceived to be the original purity of the faith by reference to the Ḳurʾān and the Sunna and so rejected the *taḳlīd* which in his day dominated theology in the West. He placed especial stress on the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, which to him meant a complete abstraction

or spiritualization of the concept of God, as opposed to *tadjsīm*, the literal acceptance of the anthropomorphic phrases of the Ḳurʾān of which he so often accused the Almoravids. But there is nothing original in his religious ideas. He adopted those which suited him wherever he found them, including the Shīʿī notion of the impeccable (*maʿṣūm*) Imām, who he claimed to be. His theology is not important. His career followed a pattern, familiar in the Maghrib, of a charismatic personality being able briefly to unite groups who live normally in anarchical fragmentation. It is a question primarily of personalities, that of the Berber race and that of the leader, and doctrine is of minor importance. The role of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin in founding the Almohad state was as important as that of the Mahdī, though probably neither would have achieved anything without the other.

The writings attributed to the Mahdī consist of a collection of short pieces without organic unity or title gathered in a unique manuscript, and one or two letters of doubtful authenticity.

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(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN ṬUMLŪS, Andalusian physician and philosopher, whose full name was Yūsuf b. Aḥmad, with the *kunyas* Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj and Abū Isḥāḳ. He was known in mediaeval Europe under the name of Alhagiag bin Thalmus, and Nallino (cf. *RSO*, xiii, 170) considers that the name Ṭumlūs may be a corruption of Bartholomaeus or Ptolemaeus. He was born at Alcira in about 560/1164, was a pupil of Ibn Widāḥ al-Lakhmī and perhaps of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). He studied medicine and philosophy, and succeeded Ibn Rushd as personal physician to the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir (595-610/1199-1214). He died at Alcira in 620/1223. A few years later, the family estates were shared out among the Christian conquerors. His biographers attribute to him the following works: (1) commentaries on *Analitika protera kai hystera* and on *Peri hermeneias* (Escorial[2] 649); (2) *De mistione propositionis de inesse et necessariae*; (3) *Kitāb al-madkhal li-ṣināʿat al-manṭiḳ* (*Introducción al arte de la lógica*, ed. with Sp. tr. by Asín Palácios, Madrid 1916); and (4) a commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Urdjūza* on medicine.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, no. 2093; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Beirut 1377/1957, ii, 81; Brockelmann, I, 606 (= 463), S I, 837; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, ii, Baltimore 1931, 596, 500; M. Steinschneider, *Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, 107, § 44, no. xxiii; Miguel Cruz Hernández, *Filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid 1957, 249-66.

(J. Vernet)

IBN al-ṬUWAYR, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ḥasan ... al-Ḳaysarānī al-Miṣrī (525-617/1130-1220), high-ranking official of the later Fāṭimids, wrote in the reign of Salāḥ al-Dīn a "History of the two dynasties", *Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, an important work now unfortunately lost, to which the great compilers of the Mamlūk period, Ibn al-Furāt, al-Maḳrīzī, al-Ḳalḳashandī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and even before them Ibn Khaldūn, owe the most important part of their knowledge of the history of the later Fāṭimids and of the general institutions of the régime.

Bibliography: Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxviii (1937), 10-14 and 16, n. 1.

(Cl. Cahen)

IBN UDHAYNA [see ʿurwa b. udhayna].

IBN ʿUḲBA [see mūsā b. ʿuḳba].

IBN al-UKHUWWA, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḳurashī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, author of a manual of *ḥisba*, enlarging, from an Egyptian point of view, that of the Syrian writer of the previous century, al-Shayzarī. It was published by R. Levy, with an analysis in English, under the doubtful title of *Maʿālim al-ḳurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba* (*GMS*, n.s. xii, London 1938); according to the only biographical notice so far discovered, that by Ibn Ḥadjar (*Durar*, Ḥaydarābād no. 446), the author died in 729/1329, and nothing more is known of him.

Bibliography: In addition to the work mentioned above and the article ḥisba, see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Sur quelques ouvrages de hisba*, in *JA*, ccxxx (1938), 449 f.

(Cl. Cahen)

IBN ʿUMAR [see ʿabd allāh b. ʿumar; yaʿḳūb b. ʿumar al-maghribī].

IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT, in Turkish Cezire-i Ibn Ömer or Cizre, today a frontier town between Turkey and Syria, is said to have been founded by and named after al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Taghlibī (d. *ca.* 250/865). Its construction is attributed also to Ardashīr Bābakān. The ancient town was called in Aramaic Djazarta d'Kardū, a name which re-appears in Christian texts of the 16th and 17th centuries. It has been identified with the ancient Bāzabdā, where Alexander the Great crossed the Tigris; later this was one of the foremost points of the Roman advance mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (xx, xvii, i).

Situated in the Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] (37° 15′ N and 42° 5′ E), at 400 metres altitude, 125 kilometres downstream from the confluence of the Bohtan Su, to the west of Mount Djūdī [*q.v.*], Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar is on the Tigris at the point where its distance from the Euphrates is greatest. Emerging from the gorges of the Taurus, the Tigris then enters the Upper Djazīra, a flat region where the river flows more slowly. The city was built in a bend in the river, the two ends of which were joined at the narrowest point by a canal which is said to have been dug by al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿUmar. The site of the town thus became an island, whence its name of Djazīra; the force of the current turned the canal into the main bed of the Tigris, while the flow in the original river bed encircling the town dried up. The town also possessed a bridge, and was a river port in an island position; from this point the Tigris was navigable, and a

system of navigation existed to transport merchandize in the direction of Mosul. As a river port, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar was an important commercial centre in a prosperous region of vineyards and orchards, made so by the supply of fresh water. In the neighbouring mountains, covered with oak forests and producing an abundance of walnuts, hazel-nuts and gall-nuts, bees produced honey and wax which were exported. The frontier between the Arab and the Kurdish regions is marked by a Roman road, *darb ʿatīḳ*, which joins Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar to Niṣībīn and then Mārdīn.

The town, whose monuments witness to its brilliant past, lost many of its inhabitants at the beginning of the 20th century; the population, which consists of Muslims, Kurds, and Christians of various denominations, fell from 9,560 in 1890 to 5,575 in 1940. In 1960 it was 6,473. In the 4th/10th century, the town possessed imposing walls built of mud bricks, which in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had three gates; they were rebuilt in basalt, and a section of them still stands today, dominated to the north by the castle of the Kurdish *amīrs*. In the 6th/12th century, the town possessed a hospital, fourteen *ḥammāms*, of which eight still remained at the end of the 19th century, with thirty *sabīls* and nineteen mosques. The intellectual and religious role which the town played in the 6th/12th century was illustrated by four Shāfiʿī *madrasas*, while there existed for the Ṣūfīs two *khānḳāhs* outside the walls. Beside the original Great Mosque, the *amīr* Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ built another in the following century. In the 19th century, there remained of this active commercial centre, according to Cuinet, five *khāns*, a vaulted bazaar, one hundred and six small shops and ten cafés. The presence of some early churches demonstrates the importance of the Christian element.

Slightly downstream from Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar there exist today the ruins of a fine bridge of which a single arch of twenty-eight metres is still standing; on its piers are carved representations of the signs of the zodiac as on the bridge of Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*], a work of the Artukid period. Upstream there exists on the Batman Su a bridge built by the *amīr* Timurtash of Mārdīn.

For a long time under the control of the Kurdish *amīrs*, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar had a certain importance in the Middle Ages. In the 4th/10th century the town was a dependency of Mosul; in the 5th/11th century, after having had as governor in 495/1102 Shams al-Dawla Djakarmish, a former *mamlūk* of Malikshāh, it was in the hands of the Marwānids; in the 6th/12th century, it belonged to the Zangids, who appointed ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaysī as governor in 541/1146. In 553/1158, the region occupied by the Bashnawī Kurds was taken by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd b. Zangī. In the 6th and 7th/12th and 13th centuries, two families brought glory to the town: the Banu ʾl-Athīr, rich in scholars and writers, and the Banū ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djazārī, who produced many *imāms*. In the 10th/16th century, there was rivalry between the Ṣafawids and the Ottomans for the possession of the town; the Kurds then sought the protection of the Ottomans, and succeeded in maintaining a relative independence together with the Ḥāmidiyya. After 941/1535, when Sayyid Aḥmad was its master, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar controlled Mosul. In 973/1566, some Christian families, fleeing from Irbil, took refuge there. In the 11th/17th century, the town in practice regained its autonomy, but in the 19th century there occurred a reaction by the Ottomans, who occupied the region in 1248/1833 and re-took Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar in 1836, from which date the town stagnated; the former centre of a Kurdish principality became the modest capital of a Turkish *ḳaḍāʾ*.

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(N. Elisséeff)

IBN UMAYL, al-Ḥakīm al-Ṣādiḳ al-Tamīmī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, one of the representatives of the allegorical and mystagogical type of alchemy, which has now become an object of psychoanalytic interpretation (cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychologie und Alchemie*², Zurich 1952, index s.v. Senior). He lived in Egypt, about the first half of the 4th/10th century (for the chronological connection with the Djābir-question cf. M. Plessner, in *ZDMG*, cxv (1965), 31 f.). Among his numerous writings are several *ḳaṣīdas*, one of which, the *Risālat al-shams ila ʾl-hilāl*, was commented upon by himself under the title *al-Māʾ al-waraḳī wa ʾl-arḍ al-nadjmiyya*. This commentary and the poem became known in mediaeval Europe in a defective Latin version as *Tabula chimica* and *Epistola solis ad lunam crescentem*, the name of the author being rendered Senior Zadith Filius Hamuelis. *Al-Māʾ al-waraḳī* begins with a description of two quasi-archaeological excursions to an ancient temple at Būṣīr al-Sidr [*q.v.*] in order to find documents of alchemical wisdom there. This introduction follows a common pattern of fiction in Hermetic literature, but, as B. H. Stricker has shown, Ibn Umayl must actually have been in that temple, where he saw a statue of Imhotep, without of course recognizing its true significance (*AO*, xix (1942), 101-37). His special interest in the old temples and their wall-paintings is also indicated by another title: *al-Sifr al-kabīr fī ḥall al-ashkāl al-birbāwiyya wa ʾl-taṣāwīr* (cf. Semenov, no. 534). Among the many alchemical authorities quoted in *al-Māʾ al-waraḳī* we find the names of Hermes [see hirmis], the legendary Egyptian king Marḳūnus (cf. G. Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi*, Paris 1953, 21), Democritus, Socrates, Plato, Zosimus, Mary the Jewess, Khālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*], Dhu ʾl-Nūn [*q.v.*], and Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*]; he also depends on the *Turba Philosophorum*. He is silent about al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], but he seems to include him when attacking those contemporary adepts who tried to obtain the elixir [see al-iksīr] from base organic substances such as eggs and hairs.

Bibliography: *Three Arabic treatises on alchemy by Muḥammad bin Umail*, ed. M. Turāb ʿAli, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xii/1 (1933), 1-213 (contains the text of *al-Māʾ al-waraḳī*, *Risālat al-shams ila ʾl-hilāl*, and *al-Ḳaṣīdat al-nūniyya* together with an edition of the Latin version of the first two writings and an excursus on the date, writings and place in al-

chemical history of Ibn Umayl by H. E. Stapleton and M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn; p. 126 f. a list of titles and extant manuscripts; for further references see Brockelmann, I, 279 and S I, 429 f., 962; A. Siggel, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften Deutschlands. Handschriften der ehemals Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Berlin 1950, 17-20, 39 f., 54-56; A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnikh rukopisey akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, i, Tashkent 1952, nos. 533 f.; A. Mazahéri, *Bibliographie avec index analytique*, in A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, repr. Leiden 1966, nos. 523 f.; J. Ruska, *Turba Philosophorum*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, i (1931), 310-8; idem, *Studien zu Muḥammad Ibn Umail al-Tamīmī's Kitāb al-Mā' al-Waraqī wa 'l-Arḍ an-Najmīyah*, in *Isis*, xxiv (1936), 310-42 (important); idem, *Der Urtext der Tabula Chemica*, in *Archeion*, xvi (1934), 273-83; idem, *Chaucer und das Buch Senior*, in *Anglia*, lxi (1937), 136 f.; P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, Cairo 1933, 1942 (*MIE*, xliv, xlv), indexes; H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis and F. Sherwood Taylor, *The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Mā' al-waraqī of Ibn Umail*, in *Ambix*, iii (1949), 69-90.

(G. Strohmaier)

IBN ʿUNAYN, Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Ghālib al-Anṣārī, satirical poet born at Damascus on 9 Shaʿbān 549/19 October 1154, and died there on 20 Rabīʿ I 630/4 January 1233. After receiving a traditional education from the main teachers of Damascus and spending a period in ʿIrāḳ, Ibn ʿUnayn began early to use his lively satire against many different kinds of people; he did not spare even Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who had just made himself master of the town (570/1174), and for this he was soon banished. He then went on some journeys connected with commercial matters, which led him to ʿIrāḳ, Ādharbaydjān, Khurāsān, Transoxania and even to India; then he returned to the Yemen, where he spent some time in the entourage of Saladin's brother, Ṭughtakīn; and then he settled for a time in Egypt (before 593/1197). His nostalgia for his native town led him to write a request in verse to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil for permission to return there, and he finally saw again the Umayyad Mosque in 597/1201. Al-ʿĀdil's son, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, who was then governor of Damascus, welcomed the poet, who became his favourite and even his *wazīr*.

Ibn ʿUnayn is said to be the author of a *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Djamhara* of Ibn Durayd and of a *Ta'rīkh ʿAzīzī*, but neither of these works seems to have survived. It was mainly as a poet that he was famous. With his taste for jokes, irony and mockery, he held up to ridicule, with great wit, important people, the *ḳāḍīs*, the *fuḳahā'*, and the preachers, to such an extent that he was accused of *zandaḳa*. His *hidjā'*, aimed against himself, his father and important people, even sultans, was wicked and scathing. The panegyrics on his patrons are well written, whereas his satirical poetry is full of dialectal expressions. He expressed his nostalgia in some famous poems which include long descriptions of Damascus and its surroundings, while no other country pleases him. He wrote riddles as well, and also topical poems, in which he refers to all kinds of personal or historical facts. He always refused to collect his works in a *dīwān*, but one of his compatriots managed to save some of them to form the *Dīwān* published by Khalīl Mardam at Damascus in 1946.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, iv; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xix, 81-92; Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi-xii; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, viii, s.v.; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv, v; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, col. 767; J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides*, Paris 1949, index; Khalīl Mardam, introduction to the *Dīwān*; idem, in *DM*, iii, 403-7.

(Ed.)

IBN ʿUṢFŪR, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mu'min, Andalusian grammarian of the 7th/13th century. Born at Seville in 597/1200, he studied under al-Shalawbīn, the most famous grammarian of the period. After a quarrel with his master, he left his native town and travelled throughout al-Andalus, staying in several towns where he taught the Ḳur'ān and grammar. Then he proceeded to Ifrīḳiya, staying at Tunis and at Bougie, at the court of the Ḥafṣid *amīr* Abū Zakariyyā'. Returning to his own country, he once again travelled in al-Andalus, then crossed to the Maghrib and stayed at Salé. At the invitation of the Ḥafṣid caliph al-Mustanṣir, he returned to Ifrīḳiya and settled in Tunis, where he died in 670/1271.

Ibn ʿUṣfūr was the author of two grammatical treatises, the *K. al-Muḳarrib fi 'l-naḥw* and the *K. al-Mumtiʿ fi 'l-taṣrīf*, and dictated also commentaries on four grammatical works: the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh, the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* of al-Fārisī, the *K. al-Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī and the *Muḳaddima* of al-Djuzūlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 381, S I, 546; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, vii, 251, and add to the references there given: Ibn al-Zubayr, *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 142-3 (no. 285).

(G. Troupeau)

IBN ʿUYAYNA [see sufyān b. ʿuyayna].

IBN WĀFID, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī, Andalusian physician, pharmacologist, and agricultural theorist. Little is known of his life except that he was born in 398/1007 (according to Ṣāʿid) and was resident at Toledo in 460/1067 having studied medicine with Zahrāwī at Cordoba. He died in 467/1074. In spite of his pharmacological knowledge, says Ṣāʿid, he preferred to treat sickness by diet and if forced to use drugs preferred the simple to the compound. Of the seven works by him mentioned by his biographers the following are certainly or probably extant:

(1) *K. fi 'l-adwiya al-mufrada*. This was abridged and translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona with the title *Liber Albenguefith philosophi de virtutibus medicinarum et ciborum*. There are also translations into Hebrew and Catalan. The Arabic text is partially extant but has not been published.

(2) *K. al-Wisād fi 'l-ṭibb*. In MS.

(3) *Madjmūʿ fi 'l-filāḥa*. Texts in Arabic and Castilian which are almost certainly to be identified with this are discussed by Millás and García Gómez.

(4) *De balneis sermo*. A work with this title is mentioned by Mieli but does not clearly correspond with any Arabic title.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, ii, 551; Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, Cairo n.d., 110 = Fr. tr. R. Blachère, Paris 1935, 148 ff.; Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿa (ed. Müller), ii, 49; J. Millás Vallicrosa, *El libro de agricultura de Ibn Wāfid y su influencia en la agricultura del Renacimiento*, in *And.*, viii (1943), 281-332 = *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia española*, Barcelona 1949, ch. 7; E. García Gómez, *Sobre agricultura arábigoandaluza (Cuestiones bibliográficas)*, in *And.*, x (1945), 127-46; Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin*, § 96 (on the Latin tr. of the

K. al-Adwiya); M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, § 475 (on the Hebrew tr.); Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leiden 1938, § 38.7. (J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN WAHB, ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihrī al-Ḳurashī, Mālikī traditionist of Egypt, born in Cairo in 125/743 and died there in 197/813. From a very early age he was taught by the imām of Medina, until the latter's death, and then returned to Cairo, where his own tomb is in the Ḳarāfa (see Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 16; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra*, 44). The *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ (*Tartīb al-madārik*, Cairo MS, fol. 88a) states that he wrote thirty works based on Mālik, and mentions the titles of some of them. Up to now the only work known is a codex on papyrus of about one hundred pages, a fragment of his *Djāmiʿ*; this manuscript, which has been edited with a commentary by J. David-Weill, is dated 276/889. This fragment of the *Djāmiʿ* consists of: the Book of Genealogies, the Book of Silence, the Book of the Seal, some traditions concerning the battle of Ḥunayn and a prayer of Ibn ʿAbbās. It is strange that practically nothing of this text is found in any of the numerous recensions of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik or in the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn. (For other fragments, see J. Schacht, in *Arabica*, xiv (1967), 231.)

For the biography of Ibn Wahb see *Le Djāmiʿ d'Ibn Wahb*, ed. J. David-Weill (BIFAO), Cairo 1939-48, i, XI, and J. David-Weill, *Manuscrit malékite d'Ibn Wahb*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, Cairo 1940, iii, 177-83. (J. David-Weill)

IBN WAHBŪN, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djalīl b. Wahbūn, Arab poet of Spain, whose career was passed at the court of the master of Seville, al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*]. Born at Murcia, probably about 430-40/1039-49, into a family of humble origin, he went to seek his fortune at Seville, where he was the pupil of the philologist al-Aʿlam al-Shantamarī [*q.v.*] and formed a friendship with the vizier and poet Ibn ʿAmmār [*q.v.*] before being admitted to the court, in circumstances which are variously reported. He then became one of the official panegyrists of al-Muʿtamid and made his mark by a number of brilliant improvisations. In 476/1083 he delivered the funeral oration of al-Aʿlam, then had the courage to intercede in favour of Ibn ʿAmmār and to lament his death; there exist also some fragments of poems which he composed after the battle of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*] and on the occasion of the voyage of al-Muʿtamid to Morocco to ask for help from Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn in 481/1089. Ibn Wahbūn also left some fairly successful descriptive poems, notably that on the palace of al-Muʿtamid called al-Zāhī, as well as a number of short pieces, in which he does not scruple to reveal his taste for *ghilmān*.

His poetry, however, reaches quite another level when he is either complaining of the injustice of his fate or expressing, in commenting on human destiny, a pessimism which shows the influence of al-Mutanabbī. His natural pride and his loyalty to al-Muʿtamid, in spite of some stormy periods, are the other aspects of his character which deserve mention.

It is likely that he did not know of his master's tragic fate, for it was probably in 484/1092 (and not in 533/1138-9 as is given by some sources) that he was killed by some Christian horsemen when he was travelling to Murcia with Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām collected the *Dīwān* of Ibn Wahbūn under the title *al-Iklīl al-mushtamil ʿalā shiʿr ʿAbd al-Djalīl*, but this collection has not survived, and of this anthologist's work on the poet there remains only a chapter of the *Dhakhīra* (2, still unpublished); al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid*, 13-4, 242-5; Ibn Diḥya, *Muṭrib*, index, s.v.; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, xvii, MS Paris, 32v.-36v.; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, xi, MS Paris; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*, 37; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*², 246; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, index; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, 102-5; Ibn Khallikān, index, s.v.; Ḍabbī, 374, no. 1101; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, index; Dozy, *De Abbadidis*, i, 50, 116-7; Luya, in *Hespéris*, 1936, 150; A. Ḍayf, *Balāghat al-ʿArab fi 'l-Andalus*, 121-8; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, index; A. González Palencia, *Literatura*², 93, 200, 202; S. Khalis, *La vie littéraire à Séville au XIe siècle*, unpublished thesis, Sorbonne 1953. (Ch. Pellat)

IBN WAḤSHIYYA, name of a person to whom are attributed a number of works and whose full name is said to have been Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḳays (omitted in *Fihrist*, 311, which adds: b. al-Mukhtār b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Djarthiya b. Badniyā b. Barṭāniyā b. ʿĀlāṭiyā) al-Kasdānī (omitted in MS Istanbul, Beyazit 4064 [see below]) al-Ṣūfī (added in *Fihrist* and some manuscripts) al-Ḳussaynī (added in MSS Beyazit 4064 and Leiden, vocalized thus in Beyazit, read al-Ḳasītī or al Ḳusaytī by M. Plessner; cf. *Fihrist*: *min ahl Ḳussīn*), known as Ibn Waḥshiyya, but of whose existence there is as yet no reliable historical proof. Since Nöldeke (in *ZDMG*, xxix (1875), 453 f.), it has been thought that the real author (or at least compiler) was Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, to whom Ibn Waḥshiyya states that he dictated his translations "from the language of the Chaldees into Arabic". This Abū Ṭālib al-Zayyāt, who claims to be a pupil and secretary of Ibn Waḥshiyya, was, according to L. Massignon (apud Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i, Paris 1944, App. III, 396), "a Shīʿī, a member of a family of viziers" (d. *ca.* 340/951); he lived in the time of Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 312). If all parts of his name are correct, he was the great-great-grandson of the vizier Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik (b. Abān, omitted in all sources when Abū Ṭālib is referred to) al-Zayyāt [see ibn al-zayyāt]. Probably originally Christian before being converted to Islam, as the *laḳab* al-Zayyāt would seem to imply, the family appears to have come from one of the localities named al-Karkh [*q.v.*]. It may have had in its possession ancient documents in Syriac (*bi 'l-suryāniyya al-ḳadīma*: MS Leiden, pp. 1 and 3) written in ancient Edessan script, which, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, came to be called Estrangelo and was much developed by the Nestorians of Persia. Certainly the language and style of the translations which are attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya are not those of a native user of Arabic. The question is whether they were made directly from Syriac, from Greek or from Pahlavi. There are certain indications which support the author's claim to have translated from Syriac, the most important of them being, in addition to the style of the language, the type of prayers which are included, in particular, in the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* and which bear a striking resemblance to those of Syriac liturgy (cf. in particular the prayer with which the book begins (see *ZS*, vi (1928-9), 35 f.) and which is a sort of *prūmīyōn* = πρόιμον in the style of the Syriac breviary). This type of prayer is found in the manuals of magic and talismanic art (such as

Ghāyat al-ḥakīm of the Ps.-Madjrīṭī) and what has been preserved from the Ḥarrānians by Ibn al-Nadīm, but nowhere is it so close, in form and in spirit, to that of the prayers of the Syriac liturgy. This indication alone however is of no significance, since this type of prayer is found also in the Byzantine liturgy. A detailed study of the works attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya would probably show that in them Syriac served as a vehicle for Greek, Pahlavi and Indian scientific and pseudo-scientific ideas.

Here follows a list of the works attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya with a summary of what is known about each of them:

(1) The most important of them all is undoubtedly the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*, a vast work (MS Leiden, 1264 pages; Beyazit 19052-3, 465 fols., 32 × 24 cm., *naskhī*; Beyazit 4064, 332 fols., 25 × 17 cm., *naskhī*), represented by numerous manuscripts not all of which are complete. Ibn Waḥshiyya states that he "translated it from the language of the Chaldees into Arabic ... in 291/903-4" and "dictated it to Abū Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt in 318/930" (Leiden MS, p. 1). The original title in "Nabataean" (*i.e.*, Syriac) was *K. Iflāḥ al-arḍ wa-iṣlāḥ al-zarʿ wa 'l-shadjar wa 'l-thimār wa-dafʿ al-āfāt ʿanhā*. M. Plessner has given a list of its contents in *ZS*, vi (1928-9), 35-55. From 1835 to 1875, this work was the subject of vigorous debate among orientalists: E. M. Quatremère, in his *Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*, in *JA*, xv (1835), 5-55, 97-137, 209-71 (see also *Journal des Savants*, March 1857) considered it to be the translation of a Chaldean work of the period of Nabuchodonosor II (605-562 B. C.; the *Fihrist* says of Ibn Waḥshiyya: *wa-huwa min wild Sinḥārīb* = Sennacherib, 705-681 B. C.); E Meyer, in *Gesch. der Botanik*, iii (1856), 43-89, places it in the first century A. D.; D. Chwolson in *Über die Überreste der altbabylonischen Literatur im arabischen Übersetzungen*, in *Mémoires des Savants Etrangers présentés à l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii (1859), 329-524, dates it at the latest to the beginning of the 14th century B. C. This extreme view of Chwolson produced such a violent reaction from orientalists that it was about fifty years before this work was discussed again. Three important studies were written in reply to the articles mentioned above: E. Renan (*Sur les débris de l'ancienne littérature babylonienne conservés dans les traditions arabes*, in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxiv/1 (1861), 139-90; extracts in *Revue Germanique*, x (1860), 136-66; *L'Institut*, April-May 1860, 37-44), after summarizing the different opinions concerning the date, ascribes the work to the Hellenistic period (3rd-4th centuries A. D.), in a Sabean, and more precisely a Mandean, environment; he considers the "Nabataean" language to be Mandean. A year later there appeared the most controversial study on the question, that of Alfred von Gutschmid, *Die Nabatäische Landwirtschaft und ihre Geschwister*, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 1-110 (= *Kleine Schriften*, ii, 568-716; cf. also *War Ibn Wahshijjah ein nabatäischer Herodot?*, in *Berichte über d. Verhandl. d. kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1862, 67-99 = *Kleine Schriften*, ii, 717-53), who maintained with strong arguments that the Nabataean works were nothing but a forgery of the Muslim period (beginning of the 9th century A. D.) and certainly not earlier than 700 A. D. He based his proofs on the similarity between the religious and political situation which appears in these works and that of the early ʿAbbāsid period (the Arab disdain for the Nabataeans in spite of their illustrious past; the fashion for agnosticism; the greatness and wisdom attributed to the Chaldeans in the Muslim legends). But whereas von Gutschmid still regarded Ibn Waḥshiyya as an early and well-disguised forger, Nöldeke, in *Noch Einiges über die "nabatäische Landwirtschaft"*, in *ZDMG*, xxix (1875), 445-55, added further proofs to the theses that these works were forged, dating them to the beginning of the 4th/10th century. He considers the author of this forgery to be Abū Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt. He sees in it the influence of Greek works written in the *koine* and points out the author's use of an Edesso-Ḥarrānian calendar (based on the solar (Julian) calendar, instead of the Muslim lunar calendar) and his knowledge of the kalends.

The work attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya has not yet recovered from this serious attack by A. von Gutschmid and Th. Nöldeke, in spite of the efforts of several scholars during the last fifty years to re-instate him (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Zur Nabatäischen Landwirtschaft*, in *ZS*, i (1922), 201-2; M. Plessner, *Der Inhalt der Nabatäischen Landwirtschaft. Ein Versuch Ibn Waḥšija zu rehabilitieren*, in *ZS*, vi (1928-9), 27-56; E. Bergdolt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Botanik. I — Ibn Waḥschija: Die Kultur des Veilchens* (viola odorata) *und die Bedingungen des Blühens in der Ruhezeit*, in *Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft*, l (1932), 321-36; *II — Über einigen Pfropfungen*, *ib.*, lii (1934), 87-94; *III — Wasseranzeigende Pflanzen*, *ib.*, liv (1936), 127-34; G. O. S. Darby, *The mysterious Abolays*, in *Osiris*, i (1936), 251-59; idem, *Ibn Waḥshīya in mediaeval Spanish literature*, in *Isis*, xxxii (1941), 433-8). The very pessimistic prediction of Franz Boll, who says, referring to the *K. Tankalūsha* (see below): "ist gleich seinen übrigen Schriften verdientermassen noch immer unedirt geblieben und wird es wohl auch bleiben" (*Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903, 428), certainly seems to be justified.

It was concerning *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* that the dispute over Ibn Waḥshiyya arose; the other works attributed to him, although much less well-known, suffered repercussions from this.

(2) *K. Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām*, an extraordinary collection of 93 cryptic alphabets attributed to the ancient Semitic, Hellenistic and Hindu peoples, and to famous persons, accompanied by alphabets appropriate to each planet and each sign of the zodiac (MS Paris 6805, 131 fols., *naskhī* of 1165/1751-2, in which it is stated, fol. 129 r., that the work was written for ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 241/885 (*sic*); the author lived in Damascus; J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained, with an account of the Egyptian priests, their classes, initiation and sacrifices in the Arabic language ...*, London 1806; S. de Sacy, *apud* A. L. Millin, *Magasin Encyclopédique*, vi (1810), 145-75; v. Gutschmid, *loc. cit.*, 16-21). This type of collection of scripts is used in works of magic and of talismanic art; specimens of it are found in many *madjmūʿas* of esoteric writings. It is not impossible that many of these alphabets were used as ciphers; they have the characteristics of this (symmetry, opposition, superposition, interlacing of downstrokes; differentiation by small downstrokes, decorative refinements).

(3) *K. Tankalūsha* (= Teucros; cf. A. Borissov, in *JA*, ccxxvi (1935), 300-5) *al-Bābilī al-Ḳūḳānī, fī ṣuwar daradj al-falak wa-mā yadillu ʿalayhi min aḥwāl al-mawlūdīn*, "translated from the Nabataean into Arabic by Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Waḥshiyya

and dictated to ʿAlī (*sic*) b. Abī Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt" (MS Leiden 891/2, fols. 28-69, preceded by a treatise on astrological divination attributed to Dorotheos [of Sidon], the translator of which is said to have been ʿUmar b. Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī, see Brockelmann, S I, 392), an astrological treatise describing the twelve signs of the zodiac and the thirty degrees of each of them and based on the Pahlavi versions of the Παρανατέλλοντα of Teucros of Babylon and the Ἀνθολογίαι of Vettius Valens (cf. Nallino, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi per trafila pehlevica*, in *A volume.... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 345-63; idem, *Raccolta*, v, 1944, 236 ff.).

(4) *K. al-Sumūm*, translated from the "Nabataean" and dictated to Abū Ṭālib ... al-Zayyāt (MSS Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa 2073, *naskhī* of 905/1499-1500, 21.5 × 15 cm.; Leiden 726, 142 fols., a copy made from the British Museum manuscript 1357; other manuscripts in Brockelmann, S I, 431). Ibn Waḥshiyya gives his sources: it is a compilation from two treatises on toxicology, one by Yārbūkā (Istanbul MS: Baryūfā) al-Nabaṭī al-Kardānī, the other by Sūhāb Sāṭ (Istanbul MS: Shūhāt Bisāṭ) "of the inhabitants of ʿAḳūḳūḳā" (so Istanbul). It is the manual of poisons of Çanakya, according to a new redaction, produced in the medical circles of Gondeshāpūr, from the Persian translation of this treatise (cf. B. Strauss, *Das Giftbuch des Sâhâq*, in *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. der Medizin*, iv/2 (1934), 28 (116) ff.; Massignon, *loc. cit.*, 393). The work covers (a) things which kill by a look, (b) voices which terrify, (c) things which kill by their smell, (d) those which are lethal if eaten or drunk and (e) those which are lethal if touched; from chapter 8 onwards it deals with snake-bites, bites by dogs, the stings of spiders, scorpions, etc. (cf. *K. al-Sumūm wa-dafʿ maḍārrihā* by the Ps.-Djābir: Brockelmann, S I, 428, n. 31; Kraus, *Jabir*, i, 156-9).

(5) *K. al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*, a treatise on alchemy (MSS Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 963/3, fol. 49v. ff., *naskhī*, 24 × 18 cm.; the same *madjmūʿa*, fols. 1-38v., attributes to him *K. al-Shawāhid fi 'l-ḥadjar al-wāḥid*; Haci Beşir Ağa, 649, fols. 22r-30r, *taʿlīḳ fārisī*, n. d., 35 × 26 cm., in a *madjmūʿa* of works on alchemy, the majority of them Persian, beginning with the *K. Muṣaḥḥaḥāt Aflāṭūn wa-tafsīr Djābir* [b.] *Ḥayyān al-Ṣūfī*, fols. 1-22r). In another *madjmūʿa* in Konya (Yusuf Ağa, 4887/3, 55 fols., 16 × 11.5 cm., small *taʿlīḳ* of 707/1307-8; see also 5486 in the same collection), there is attributed to him another treatise on alchemy entitled *K. Kashf al-rumūz*.

There are also attributed to him other Hermetic works such as *Kanz al-ḥikma*, *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār fi 'l-ḥikma*, used by the Ismāʿīlīs, *K. al-Hayākil wa 'l-tamāthīl* and *K. Ṭabḳānā* (cf. reference in Brockelmann, I, 281, S I, 431), about which much less is known. He himself states, in *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (Leiden MS, p. 2), that he translated also extracts from a vast and valuable work on astrology entitled *K. D(dh)awānāy al-Bābilī fī asrār al-falak wa 'l-aḥkām ʿala 'l-ḥawādith min ḥarakāt al-nudjūm*, and *K. al-Adwār al-kabīr*. The *Fihrist*, 312, lists other titles, for the existence of which there is no other evidence.

From his works as a whole there emerges a striking resemblence between his opinions and those of the Neoplatonist school of Syria founded by Iamblichus (d. 330 A. D.). Like the latter, Ibn Waḥshiyya believed that man can come into contact with God by means of esoteric rites and symbolic formulas. The perspicacious Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 120/165 f.; tr. Rosenthal, iii, 151 f.) had realized this when he stressed the care which the ancient authors of *Geoponica* took to discover the secret correspondences between the spiritual properties (*rūḥāniyyāt*) of plants and those of the heavenly bodies, and when he stated that the *K. al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* had been translated from the Greek (*turdjima min kutub al-Yūnāniyyīn*).

In conclusion, we believe (as had already been suggested by G. H. Ewald, in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1857, 141 and 1861 (15 May)) that the works attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya are to be considered as the result of various successive re-writings and revisions of scientific and pseudo-scientific materials surviving from antiquity, preserved, amplified and modified by Syrian and Alexandrian Hellenism and carried on until the period of the translators of the *Bayt al-Ḥikma*, either by Greek documents or by Pahlavi and Syriac versions (there should be noted the existence in Persian of a treatise of *Geoponica* already used by ʿAlī b. Sahl b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī in *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, completed in 235/850: cf. reference in Brockelmann, S I, 363). The present writer plans further research on Ibn Waḥshiyya's work along these lines.

Bibliography: In addition to the numerous works mentioned in the article, see also C. A. Nallino, *ʿIlm al-falak ʿind al-ʿArab*, Rome 1911, 208 ff.; P. Kraus, *Jâbir Ibn Ḥayyân. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam* (I-II, *Mém. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, xliv-xlv, Cairo 1942-3), i, p. LIX and index; I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 158 (a product of the *shuʿūbiyya*); J. Ruska, *Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus und die arabischen Versionen der griechischen Landwirtschaft*, in *Isl.*, v (1914), 174-9 (= Ḳusṭā B. Lūḳā, *al-Filāḥa al-yūnāniyya*; the Leiden manuscript is based on a Persian version; ed. Cairo 1293/1876); idem, *Weinbau und Wein in den arabischen Bearbeitungen der Geoponica*, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. der Technik*, vi (1913), 305-20; idem, *Turba philosophorum: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, in *Quellen u. Studien z. Gesch. der Naturwiss. u. der Medizin*, i (1931), 1-368; idem, *Arabische Alchemie*, in *Archeion*, xiv (1932), 425-35; idem, *Über das Fortleben der antiken Wissenschaften im Orient*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Mathematik, der Naturwiss. u. der Technik*, x (N. F. i) (1927-8), 112-35; P. Sbath, *L'ouvrage géoponique d'Anatolius de Bérytos*, (4th cent.), Arabic manuscript discovered by Sbath, in *BIÉ*, xiii (1931), 47-54; G. Sarton, *Introd. to the history of science*, i, 634-5, ii, 425, 842; Ps.-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed. Ritter, Leipzig 1932, 60, 179, 229 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, *K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. Banqueri, i-ii, Madrid 1802 (tr. J.-J. Clément-Mullet, i-ii, Paris 1864-7); Ibn Baṣṣāl, *K. al-Filāḥa*, ed. with Sp. tr. and notes by J. M. Millás Vallicrosa and M. Aziman, Tetuan 1955. (T. FAHD)

IBN AL-WANNĀN, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD, Moroccan poet of the 12th/18th century, famous for one poem, well-known in Moroccan literary circles. Neither the date nor the place of his birth is known. He is said to have belonged to an Arab family from the Tuwāt (southern Algeria and Morocco). He described himself as Ḥimyarī, therefore Yemenī, and claimed descent from the Anṣār. He lived and died in Fez, where his family had settled at an unknown date and was known by the name of Banū Mallūk (changed by him into Mulūk). Al-Wannān was a

nickname of his grandfather, and it is not known whether he was given it because of his peevish nature or because he played the *wann* (cymbals) (see *L.A.* under the root *w.n.n.*). His father was a court poet of the ʿAlawid sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1170-1204/1757-90). Totally deaf, but with a lively intelligence, he left behind him the reputation of an amusing courtier, with an inexhaustible supply of witty anecdotes. The sultan, who prided himself on his literary culture, called him Abu 'l-Shamaḳmaḳ, probably because he had a large mouth and a large nose, like the poet from Kūfa with the same name [*q.v.*], and was as skilful as he in panegyric and satire. This *kunya* became part of his proper name, and was passed on to his son and to the *urdjūza* on which the latter's fame was based.

As Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad did not succeed, either during his father's lifetime or after his death, in gaining admittance to the court, which was barred to him by envy, and as he wished at all costs to recite to the sultan the *urdjūza* which he had written for this purpose, he resorted to a ruse: stationing himself one day on a promontory overlooking the route of the royal procession, he declaimed at the top of his voice as the sultan was passing, in the *radjaz* metre, the following couplet:

"My lord, son of the Prophet (*nabī*),
Abu 'l-Shamaḳmaḳ was my father (*abī*)"

The Sultan recognized him, received him, listened to his poem, with which he was delighted, gave him a generous reward and awarded him a place in his entourage where he remained until his death, which is said to have occurred in 1187/1773.

Of his works, which are reputed to have included epistles on various subjects and some poems, all that is known is the *urdjūza* called *al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, a *ḳāfiyya* of 275 verses in the *radjaz* metre. The success of this work is due to its educational value. It is in fact a résumé of the traditional culture of the Arabs in a form which could be understood, learned and remembered by an educated Moroccan of that period: a vocabulary dealing with the desert, inherited from the early poets of the Djāhiliyya—the names of its winds, its flora and fauna, its proverbs, legends, anecdotes, historical facts, famous characters (both men and women)—in short a synthesis of the great collections of *adab*, poetry and history. Thus the *Shamaḳmaḳiyya* was used as a textbook, a précis to be learned by heart in the same way as the *Muʿallaḳāt*, the *dīwān*s and the *maḳāmāt*, and it has formed the subject of several commentaries, the best known of which are: (1) Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Khālid ... al-Nāṣirī, *Zahr al-afnān min ḥadīḳat Ibn al-Wannān*, lith. Fez 1314/1896; (2) Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḥadidjī Muḥammad al-Makkī b. Muḥammad al-Biṭāwrī al-Sharshālī al-Ḥasanī, *Iḳtiṭāf zahrat al-afnān min dawḥat ḳāfiyyat Ibn al-Wannān*, lith. Fez 1333/1915; (3) Abū Muḥammad al-ʿArabī b. ʿAlī al-Mashrafī, *Sharḥ al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya* (cf. Kattānī, *Fihris*, ii, 15); (4) ʿAbd Allāh Kannūn (Gennûn), *Sharḥ al-Shamaḳmaḳiyya*, Cairo 1964.

Bibliography: Nāṣirī Salāwī, *Istiḳṣā*, iv, 122; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 150, 210, 353; idem, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, 28, no. 80; 115, no. 340; Brockelmann, S II, 706; ʿUmar Tawfīḳ Safar-Agha, *al-Nuṣūṣ al-adabiyya*, Casablanca n.d., 308-18; A. Bustānī, in *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iv, 141-2.

(M. HADJ-SADOK)

IBN AL-WARDĪ, SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR, Shāfiʿī scholar, d. in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 861/September-October 1457. He is said to be the author of the *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib wa-farīdat al-gharāʾib*, a sort of geography and natural history without any scientific value. In spite of the authorities mentioned in the introduction (al-Masʿūdī, al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Marrākushī), the *Kharīda* is merely a plagiarism of the *Djāmiʿ al-funūn wa-salwat al-maḥzūn* of Nadjm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī, who lived in Egypt *circa* 732/1332. The work has nevertheless had a certain vogue among orientalists, who have published or translated fragments from it: De Guignes, A. Hylander (Lund 1824), C. J. Tornberg (Upsala), M. Fraehn (Halle), etc.; it has been printed in Cairo several times since 1276.

However, there remain two problems: the first is the name of this Ibn al-Wardī, who, according to al-Ziriklī, was called Ibn al-Wurūdī; the second is the real authorship of the *Kharīda*, which is also attributed to Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī [see next article] and to ʿUmar b. Manṣūr b. Muḥ. b. ʿUmar Ibn al-Wardī al-Subkī in a Vatican manuscript.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ii, 60; Brockelmann, II, 131-2, S II, 162-3; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 137; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, x. (ED.)

IBN AL-WARDĪ, ZAYN AL-DĪN ABŪ ḤAFṢ ʿUMAR B. MUẒAFFAR B. ʿUMAR B. ABI 'L-FAWĀRIS MUḤ. B. ʿALĪ AL-WARDĪ AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-BAKRĪ AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, Shāfiʿī *faḳīh*, philologist, man of letters, historian and poet, born at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān (he has also the *nisba* al-Maʿarrī) in 689 or 691/1290-2, died of plague in Aleppo on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 749/18 March 1349.

He was educated in his native town, then at Ḥamāt, Damascus and Aleppo; he seems to have held for a time the office of deputy to the *ḳāḍī*s of Manbidj and of Aleppo, but, as the result of a dream, he abandoned this career to devote himself to his literary work.

He is the author of the following works: a *Dīwān* including poems, *maḳāmāt*, epistles, discourses, a *risāla* on the plague, etc. (published in Istanbul by Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, in the *Madjmūʿat al-Djawāʾib*, in 1300); *Lāmiyyat* (or *Naṣīḥat* or *Waṣiyyat*) *al-ikhwān wa-murshidat al-khillān*, a moral poem of 77 verses in the *ramal* metre, long a classic (ed. Cairo 1301 with commentary by Masʿūd b. Ḥasan al-Ḳunāwī; in C. J. David, *Tansīb al-albāb*, Mosul 1863; also al-Shirwānī, *Nafḥat al-Yaman*; Fr. tr. in *RI*, 1900; with the text, by A. Roux, Algiers 1905); *Taḥrīr al-khaṣāṣa fī taysīr al-Khulāṣa*, a prose version of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (MS Cairo); *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya fī mushkilāt al-iʿrāb*, an *urdjūza* of 153 verses (ed. R. Abicht, Breslau 1891); a commentary on the preceding work (MS Berlin); *al-Bahdja al-wardiyya*, an *urdjūza*, a rendering in 5000 verses of *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr* of al-Ḳazwīnī (a manual of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*) (lith. Cairo 1311); *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, an abridgement of the chronicle of Abu 'l-Fidāʾ with continuation from 729 to 749/1329-49 (Cairo 1285); *al-Masāʾil al-mudhahhaba fi 'l-masāʾil al-mulaḳḳaba*, an *urdjūza* of 71 verses on questions of succession (MSS Berlin and Cairo); *al-Shihāb al-thāḳib wa 'l-ʿadhāb al-wāḳif*, a work of mysticism (MS Aya Sofya); *al-Alfiyya al-wardiyya*, an *urdjūza* on the interpretation of dreams (several eds. in Egypt after that of Būlāḳ 1285); also: *al-Lubāb fī ʿilm al-iʿrāb*; *al-Durra*, a commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Muʿṭī; *Tadhkirat* (*Mudhakkirat*) *al-gharīb*; *Abkār al-afkār*.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 116; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, vi, 243; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 365; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 161; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, s.v.; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, 198; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber*, no. 412; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*,

s.v.; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, s.v.; Brockelmann, II, 140-1, S II, 174-5. (MOH. BEN CHENEB *)

IBN WĀṢIL, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH DJAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SĀLIM B. NAṢR ALLĀH B. SĀLIM B. WĀṢIL, historian, *ḳāḍī* and man of letters, born in Ḥamāt on Sunday 2 Shawwāl 604/20 April 1208. He began his studies under his father, who was successively *ḳāḍī* of Ḥamāt and al-Maʿarra, and a *mudarris* at the Nāṣiriyya in Jerusalem. During his father's absence on the Pilgrimage in 624-6/1227-9, Ibn Wāṣil deputized for him at the Nāṣiriyya. In the next two years he continued his studies at Damascus and Aleppo (where his teachers included the historian Ibn Shaddād [*q.v.*]) In 629/1232 he attached himself to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the Ayyūbid ruler of Karak, where he studied under Shams al-Dīn al-Khusraw-shāhī. For two years from 631/1234 he was in the service of the Ayyūbid ruler of Ḥamāt, al-Muẓaffar II, upon whose orders he assisted the Egyptian mathematician ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar (known as Taʿāsīf) in the construction of an observatory and various astronomical instruments. He then returned to Damascus, where he made the acquaintance of the Kurdish *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Abī ʿAlī (later the deputy in Egypt of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn), whose friendship was to be of great profit to him during his years in Egypt.

In 641/1243-4, accompanied by his friend and relative Ibn Abi 'l-Dam [*q.v.*], he went on a delegation to Baghdād, and thence made his way to Cairo. There he procured access to the sultans al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn, to whom he dedicated his *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥī* (no. (1) below), and his successor al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrān-shāh, to whom he dedicated his *Naẓm al-durar* (no. (2) below) and a work on astronomy. After performing the Pilgrimage in the company of his friend Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Abī ʿAlī in 649/1252, he returned to witness the assassination of Tūrān-shāh, the fall of the Ayyūbids, and the establishment of the Mamlūk dynasty.

In Ramaḍān 659/August 1261, Baybars sent him on an embassy to the King of Sicily, Manfred, whom he met in Barletta in southern Italy and to whom he dedicated a treatise on logic, *al-Risāla al-Anbrūriyya*.

In about 663/1264-5, Ibn Wāṣil returned to his native Ḥamāt, where he was appointed chief *ḳāḍī* but devoted his time to writing, composing there his *Mukhtaṣar al-Aghānī* and his *Mufarridj al-kurūb* (no. (3) below), begun in 671 and finished in 683 (1272-85). Stricken with blindness in his last years, he died at Ḥamāt, at the age of 93, in 697/1298.

Ibn Wāṣil's three historical works are: (1) *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥī*, a general history from the Prophet to 637/1240 (MS: British Museum, 6657); (2) *Naẓm al-durar fi 'l-ḥawādith wa 'l-siyar* (MS: Chester Beatty 5264); (3) *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*: reaching to the year 661/1263, this is the most valuable source for the history of the Ayyūbids. The full text, which can be reconstituted from the four incomplete manuscripts, is in process of publication by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, the three volumes published (Cairo 1954, 1957, 1961) reaching to the death of al-ʿĀdil I.

Bibliography: Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Wāṣil and his book*, Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Alexandria 1948; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, i-iii, Cairo 1954-61; Brockelmann, I, 323, S I, 555; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 131; C. Waddy, *An introduction to the chronicle called* Mufarridj al-kurūb . . ., unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, London 1934; H. Hilmy M. Ahmad, in B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (edd.), *Historians*, 94-5 and index; F. Gabrieli, *ibid.*, 105; idem, *Saggi orientali*, Caltanisetta 1960, 97-106. (GAMAL EL-DIN EL-SHAYYAL)

IBN YAʿĪSH, ABEN YAʿĪSH, family name of a number of Jews originating from Spain and Portugal who were active in medicine, scholarship, business or diplomacy. The relationship (if any) of the various bearers of this name is generally uncertain. The most notable are:

1. SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM IBN YAʿĪSH (Abū Rabīʿ Sulaymān ibn Yaʿīsh), a physician and scholar of Seville, where he died in Muḥarram 746/May 1345. His works include an important detailed commentary in Arabic on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ḳānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*; an Arabic super-commentary on Abraham ibn ʿEzra's commentary on the Pentateuch; and a dictionary of difficult words occurring in Arabic poetry. He may also be identical with Solomon ben Abraham ibn Daʾūd, who translated into Hebrew two Arabic medical works: Ibn Rushd's *Kulliyyāt fi'l-ṭibb* (translation entitled *Mikhlol*), and Ibn Sīnā's *al-Urdjūza*, with Ibn Rushd's commentary.

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Berlin 1893, repr. Graz 1956, 672-3, 686-7, 840; idem, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfort 1902, 167; H. Friedenwald, *The Jews in medicine*, Baltimore 1944, 156, 634, 643; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, xi, 210, 449, 458; photograph of his tombstone, with commentary, in F. Cantera and J. M. Millás, *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España*, Madrid 1956, 175-80.

2. SALOMO(N) IBN YAʿĪSH (other spellings: Sallomo Abenajaex [autograph], Abenaish, Abenjaish), *alias* ALVARO MENDEZ (Mendes), ca. 1520-1603, a merchant and financier who was active in international and Ottoman diplomacy. He was born at Tavira (Portugal) into a Marrano ('new Christian', crypto-Jewish) family, and made a fortune as a young man by farming the diamond mines in Narsinga (the later Madras Presidency), returning to Portugal in about 1555. King João III made him a Knight of the Order of Santiago. He subsequently lived for various periods in Madrid, Florence and Paris. In 1585 he came to Salonica, where he openly returned to Judaism, and then settled in Istanbul. He hated Spain passionately, and European diplomatic documents show that he actively and successfully fostered the development of an Anglo-Turkish entente against Spain: he had some influence at the courts of both Murād III and Queen Elizabeth (whose physician Rodrigo Lopez was his brother-in-law). He also enjoyed considerable prestige in several other European courts, notably that of France. His diplomatic efforts played a part in nullifying Spanish attempts to secure Ottoman neutrality in the war between England and Spain, and in ensuring England's benevolent neutrality during the successful Ottoman campaign in Hungary which culminated in the victory at Ḥāč Ovasī (Kereztes) in 1005/1596. As a reward the Sultan created him Duke of Mitylene. The grant of Tiberias, originally made to his kinsman Joseph Nasi (João Miquez, d. 1579; see NASI) was renewed to him, and his own son Jacob (Francisco) settled there. Salomo ibn Yaʿīsh died in Istanbul in 1603.

Bibliography: L. Wolf, *Jews in Elizabethan England*, in *Transactions of the Jewish Hist. Soc. of England*, xi (1924-7), 1-91; A. Galanté, *Don Salomon Aben Yaèche, duc de Mételin*, Istanbul 1936.

3. A noted family called Ibn Yaʿīsh, reputedly descended from Yaḥyā ibn Yaʿīsh, a 6th/12th century

physician in Portugal, produced physicians, rabbis and merchants in the Ottoman Empire from the 10th/16th to the 20th centuries.

Bibliography: H. Friedenwald, *The Jews in medicine*, Baltimore 1944, 691; S. A. Rosanes, *Divrei yemei Yisrael be-Togarma* (i², Tel-Aviv 1936, ii-iv (*Qoroth ha-Yehudim be-Turkiyah*), Sofia 1936), i², 70, 167-8, ii, 33, iii, 77, 104, iv, 6; A. Galanté, *Don Salomon* ..., 22; *Jewish Enc.*, xii, 581-4; C. B. Friedberg, *Bet eqed sefarim*², Tel-Aviv 1951-6, i, B, 1013, iii, M, 3408. (E. Birnbaum)

IBN YAʿĪSH, Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Yaʿīsh b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿīsh al-Ḥalabī, also known as Ibn al-Ṣāniʿ, Arab grammarian, born at Aleppo on 3 Ramaḍān 553/28 September 1158, died there 25 Djumādā I 643/18 October 1245. He studied grammar (*naḥw*) and tradition (*ḥadīth*) first in Aleppo, then in 577/1181 in Mosul and finally under Abu 'l-Yumn al-Kindī in Damascus. Then he returned to Aleppo, where he lectured on grammar and literature until his death. Ibn Khallikān, who was his pupil in 626-7/1229-30, gives a vivid picture of him, and tells some anecdotes about his wit. Other pupils of his were Yāḳūt (i, 757, *Irshād*, iii, 77 f.), Ibn Mālik Djamāl al-Dīn and al-Sharīshī. Ibn Yaʿīsh is best known for his extensive commentary on Zamakhsharī's *al-Mufaṣṣal* (published by G. Jahn, Leipzig 1882-6, 2 vols.). He adheres strictly to the doctrine of Sībawayh and the Baṣra school, but discusses at length the differences between the two schools. His style is verbose and sometimes slovenly. For other works of his, see Brockelmann, I, 397; S I, 521.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, no. 843; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djinān*, iv, 106; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 419; G. Weil, in *ZA*, xix, 4; idem, in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf* (= *Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufier*, Leiden 1913), *passim*. (J. W. Fück)

IBN YALLAS, Muḥammad al-Ḥādjdj ʿIlāl ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Yallas Shāwush, Ṣūfī *Shaykh* of the order of the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*]. Born in 1271/1855, he studied theology and law thoroughly at Tlemcen, where he was initiated into *taṣawwuf* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Dakkālī. His other teachers in Ṣūfism were, successively, Muḥammad al-Habrī (d. 1900) and Ibn al-Ḥabīb al-Būzīdī (d. 1909 at Mostaganem) with whom his fellow-pupil was Aḥmad al-ʿĀlawī (or Ibn ʿAlīwa [*q.v.*]), the founder of the ʿAlawiyya *ṭarīḳa*. In 1911, he emigrated to Damascus with his disciple Muḥammad al-Hāshimī [*q.v.*], who was to succeed him as spiritual leader of the Darḳāwa-ʿAlawiyya in Syria after his death at Damascus on 11 Djumādā II 1346/6 December 1927. He was the author of a *Dīwān* (printed at Damascus, n.d.) in which he celebrated the beauty of Laylā, the beloved Divine Presence; his poems are still sung in Damascus during the sessions of *dhikr* of the *fukarāʾ*.

Bibliography: see the articles referred to above. (J.-L Michon)

IBN-I YAMĪN, in full Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Amīr Yamīn al-Dīn Tughrāʾī Mustawfī Faryūmadī, the most important Persian poet of *ḳiṭʿas* (literally "fragments", *i.e.*, epigrams or occasional verses), born in 685/1287 in Faryūmad (in the district of Bayhaḳ, the modern Sabzavār), where his father was a small landowner and at the same time a director of finance (*mustawfī*), in the service of the governor of Khurāsān, Khwādja ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad. Both occupations, it seems, had been hereditary in the family from ancient times (according to some, having immigrated from Transoxania to Faryūmad). Ibn-i Yamīn received the usual education (chiefly in medicine and literature) in his native town, whose culture at that time stood at a very high level. Under the influence of his father, who was himself a poet and who loved his son dearly, he began at an early age to write verses. The son even entered into a poetical contest with his father. On his father's death (724/1323-4) Ibn-i Yamīn's peaceful life came to an end, since he now became court poet, financial official, and after a time *mustawfī* to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, and was later granted the title of *amīr*. He disliked the bustle of court life, and disagreement arose between him and his master, who moreover fell from favour and was replaced by Tari Taghāʾī (727-9/1327-29), a tyrant, under whom Ibn-i Yamīn lost the greater part of his estate, and was finally forced to give up also the remainder. After spending the years 738-42/1337-41 at the court of the Īlkhān Tagha Tīmūr in Gurgān, he joined in 742/1341 the radical wing of the Sarbadārs [*q.v.*]. The encounter with the Kurts at Zāva (743/1342) resulted in a severe defeat for the Sarbadārs; the poet was taken prisoner and lost the *dīwān* containing all that he had written until then. The conquerors took him to Herāt, where he was well treated, so that he was able to write his poetry in peace. In 747/1346, he returned to Sabzavār, from whence however he was soon temporarily driven out, by a crisis of the Sarbadārs, to Ādharbaydjān and Baghdād. From 749/1348 he lived almost without interruption in Faryūmad in the "service" of the Sarbadārs, and even received a pension from them. He occupied himself with farming and the writing of epigrams. He died at the same place at an advanced age in 769/1368.

Like all the inhabitants of Sabzavār, he was a Shīʿī, though not without hesitations. He was one of the earliest poets to write of the *imāms* and the tragedy of Karbalāʾ.

The question of the authenticity of the *kulliyyāt* and *dīwāns* which appear under the name of Ibn-i Yamīn has not been satisfactorily solved. When the *dīwān* written in his early years was irretrievably lost in 743/1342, the poet made great efforts to reconstruct it. With the help of his own memory and notes, and those of his friends, he succeeded in producing a first redaction of the earlier collection in 746/1346 and a second in 1356. Compared with the edition of Saʿīd Nafīsī with more than 5,000 couplets, the reliable MS 403 (Dorn) in the Saltīkov-Shčedrin Library (Leningrad) consists of about 16,120 couplets according to Mullādjānāvī Shahristānī (according to S. Imronov, however, only 13,387 couplets); the manuscript dates from the 9th/15th century and was copied from Ibn-i Yamīn's texts. There exist however several other manuscripts which differ from this one and those related to it, yet similarly bear the name of Ibn-i Yamīn, but which must belong to another poet, as has already been recognized by ʿA. A. Dihkhudā. According to the completely convincing arguments of S. Imronov, this is the much later Shaykh al-shuyūkh Ibn-i Yamīn Shiburghānī (d. 1005/1596-7), a distinguished Ṣūfī of his day (cf. S. Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i naẓm wa nathr*, i, 587), whose *dīwān* is indeed entirely permeated by mysticism.

Ibn-i Yamīn's *ḳaṣīdas* are certainly not of the highest quality and are marred by mendicancy, repetition and plagiarism. They are in praise of 65 rulers of minor importance, whose generosity he praises in thinly-veiled appeals for money. On

the other hand, he is an unequalled master in *ḳiṭʿas*, "epigrams", to which after 757/1356 he applied himself almost exclusively (they are of course included with the earlier poems in the manuscripts which have now come to light). These epigrams are divided by A. R. Khekmat into autobiographical, social critical, didactic, philosophical, and other types. Particularly convincing is his sympathy for the rural population, of whose joys and sorrows he had direct experience. His pen was guided by reason, though not without inconsistencies (such as a belief in predestination side by side with enthusiasm for free will and work). He sharply opposed flattery, untruthfulness, despotism and foreign rule. He lived in an unsettled age, which is vividly reflected in his *kulliyyāt*, which therefore represent a useful historical source. Ibn-i Yamīn's literary heritage consists of collected poetical works, a *Karnāme* and short prose works (letters).

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B. Editions and translations: H. G. Keene, *Specimens of Persian poetry. Strophes of Ebn Yemeen*, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, v (1816), 137-9 (six *ḳiṭʿas*); J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, 234-9 (30 *ḳiṭʿas* in German tr.); *Kitāb-i muḳaṭṭaʿāt-i Ibn-i Yamīn...*, Calcutta 1865 (defective); O. M. von Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Ibn Jamins Bruchstücke*, [1]Vienna 1852, [2]Stuttgart 1879 (tr. of 159 *ḳiṭʿas*); Y. E. Bertel's, *Nuskhai kulliyyati Ibni Yamin*, in *Madjallai "Oyanda"*, ii/4 (1927), 236-40 (with two letters in prose); E. H. Rodwell, *Persice Ibn-i Yamin, 100 short poems*, London 1933; *Dīwān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsimī, Tehrān 1317/1938; Saʿīd Nafīsī (ed.), *Dīwān-i ḳiṭaʾāt wa rubāʿiyyāt*, i, Tehrān 1318/1939 (5130 verses; biography in introd.); *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥusayn-Ḳulī Bāstānī, Tehrān 1345/1966; *Muqattaoti Ibni Yamin*, in *Ṣadā-yi Sharḳ*, 1966/4, 108-26; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Gandj-i sukhan*[2], ii, Tehrān 1339/1960, 216-20.

C. Biographies and studies: Rashīd Yāsimī, *Aḥwāl-i Ibn-i Yamīn*, Tehrān 1303/1924 (see review by Y. Bertel's in *Iran*, i (Leningrad 1927), 253-60); Mullādjānāvī Shahristānī, *Shāir-i asr-i XIV Ibn-i Yamīn*, in *Shafaḳ-i surkh*, 1960, no. 8, 127-39; S. Imronov, *Ibn-i Yamīn Faryumadī i Ibn-i Yamīn Shiburgānī*, in *IV vsesoyuznaya naučnaya konferentsiya po iranskoy filologii*, Tashkent 1964, 71-3 (Tādjik version in *Ṣadā-yi Sharḳ*, 1964, no. 12, 142-8); idem, *Ibn-i Yamīn tardjumān*, in *Ṣadā-yi Sharḳ*, 1965, no. 7, 108-11 (as translator from Arabic); idem, *Ibn-i Yamīn Farʾyumadī i problema atributsii pripisīvayemīkh yemu proizvedeniy* (dissertation), Dushanbe 1966; idem, *Ibni Yamini Farʾyumadi va taʾsiri u...*, in *V. Meždunarodnaya naučnaya konferentsiya po ironskoy filologii*, Dushanbe 1966, 71-4 (Tādjik version in *Yubileynīy Sbornik Džami*, Dushanbe (*Irfon*) 1966); idem, *Ibn-i Yamin Farʾyumadi. Monografiya*, Dushanbe (*Irfon*) 1966; A. R. Khekmat, *Rasskaz o persidskom poete. Žizn i tvorčestvo Ibn Yamina*, Moscow 1965.

D. *Tadhkiras* and catalogues: Dawlatshāh, 275; *Āteshkada*, 16; *Haft iḳlīm*, no. 770; Sprenger, *Cat. Libr. King of Oudh*, 433-4; Ethé, *Cat. India Office Library*, nos. 1230, 1231; Rieu, *CPM*, 825b, 871a, and *Supp.*, no. 261/2 and 107.

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IBN YŪNUS, Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ṣadafī (b. 281/894, d. Monday 26 Djumādā II 347/14 September 958, which, however, was a Tuesday), a grandson of the famous early Egyptian supporter of al-Shāfiʿī, Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, and the father of the astronomer (below). He wrote on Egyptian scholars and, in a separate work, on the foreigners who came to visit or settle in Egypt. Both works were much used sources of information for later authors, but they seem not to have been preserved. Only part of a supplement by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭaḥḥān has so far been traced in a manuscript in Damascus.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, 350b; Sezgin, i, 357 f. (F. Rosenthal)

IBN YŪNUS (or yūnis), whose full name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Yūnus al-Ṣadafī, one of the most prominent Muslim astronomers, died in 399/1009.

Ibn Yūnus's chief astronomical work, *al-Zīdj al-kabīr al-ḥākimī* (not all of which seems to have survived), was begun *ca.* 380/990 and completed shortly before his death. Several long extracts have been published and translated, and it is one of the few *zīdj*es (sets of astronomical tables) that has been treated extensively by modern scholars. He quotes a large number of astronomical observations (eclipses and other phenomena), some made by his predecessors of the 9th and 10th centuries and others made by himself in Cairo; they constitute the most extensive list of medieval astronomical observations presently known. Ibn Yūnus is especially careful in reporting the researches of his predecessors, and his criticisms of errors and discrepancies in their works are distinctly modern in tone.

The *zīdj* of Ibn Yūnus was analysed by Delambre on the basis of Caussin's publication of chapters 3-5 and an unpublished translation of most of the remaining chapters by Sédillot that has since disappeared. The observations reported by Ibn Yūnus were discussed by S. Newcomb, who was interested in their possible usefulness for determining the value of the secular acceleration of the moon. Ibn Yūnus's original contributions to plane and spherical trigonometry have been treated by Delambre, von Braunmühl, and Schoy.

Bibliography: C. Caussin, *Le livre de la grande table hakémite*, in *Notices et extraits* ...., vii (1804), 16-240; Delambre, *Hist. de l'astron. du moyen âge*, Paris 1819; S. Newcomb, *Researches on the motion of the moon*, in *Washington Observations for 1875* (Washington 1878), Appendix 2, pp. 44-54, 276-8; von Braunmühl, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Trigonometrie*, i, Leipzig 1900; H. Suter, *Die Math.*

und Astron. d. Araber, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, x (1900), 77-9 (to the list of mss. noted by Suter may be added: Chester Beatty Library MS arab. 3673); C. Schoy, 3 articles in the *Annalen der Hydrographie und Maritimen Meteorologie*: *Das 20. Kapitel der grossen Ḥākemitischen Tafeln des Ibn Yūnus "Über die Berechnung des Azimuts aus der Höhe und der Höhe aus dem Azimut"*, xlviii (1920), 97-111, *Über eine arabische Methode, die geographische Breite aus der Höhe der Sonne im 1 Vertical (Höhe ohne Azimut) zu bestimmen*, xlix (1921), 124-33, *Die Bestimmung der geographischen Breite eines Ortes durch Beobachtungen der Meridianhöhe der Sonne* ..., l (1922), 3-20; C. Schoy, *Beiträge zur arabischen Trigonometrie*, in *Isis*, v (1923), 364-99; Brockelmann, I, 255, S I, 400; E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, xlvi (1956), 126. (B. R. GOLDSTEIN)

IBN (AL)-ZABĪR, ABŪ KAT͟HĪR ʿABD ALLĀH B. (AL-)ZABĪR B. AL-AS͟HYAM AL-ASADĪ, Arabic poet of the 1st/7th century. He became a writer of panegyrics of the local Umayyads and wrote particularly, in an entirely classical manner, in praise of Asmāʾ b. K͟hārid͟ja; but he did not hesitate to address praises to the Zubayrids after Muṣʿa b. al-Zubayr, who had seized Kūfa, had treated him leniently when his supporters had arrested him; it was, so to speak, as a private person that he wrote a *hid͟jāʾ* against ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who had treated badly his own brother ʿAmr, a friend of the poet. According to the *Ag͟hānī*, his satires were much feared, and they are certainly caustic without being scurrilous. His quarrels with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, governor of Kūfa for his maternal uncle Muʿāwiya, are widely reported; but in addition the poet did not hesitate to complain to the caliph—who saw that he obtained justice—of the bad treatment he had received from his nephew, just as he takes to task al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j in person in an often-quoted poem. He is said to have died either during a campaign organized by the latter, or while trying to escape from compulsory conscription for the operations in Media, probably about 78/698.

Bibliography: Some verses of Ibn (al-)Zabīr are quoted as examples in dictionaries and grammatical works; the most detailed notice is that in the *Ag͟hānī*, xiii, 33-49, = Beirut ed., xiv, 211-46; see also D͟jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 226; idem, *Buk͟halāʾ*, ed. Ḥād͟jirī, 207, 380; Ibn Ḳutayba, *S͟hiʿr*, index; idem, *ʿUyūn*, ii, 186; iii, 67, 265; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 146; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 122, 217, 665; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 405, 474, 817; Ṭabarī, ii, 231, 269, 871; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, v, 300-1; Marzubānī, *Muʿd͟jam*, 244, 470; Bag͟hdādī, *K͟hizāna* (Būlāḳ), i, 345; ii, 100; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 317; iv, 30, 272, 307; Tibrīzī, *S͟harḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa, passim*; Caetani, *Annali*, ii, 231, 269, 871; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 133, 143 = Fr. tr. 205-6, 220. (ED.)

IBN ẒAFAR, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH (var. Abū Hās͟him, Abū Djaʿfar) MUḤ. B. ABĪ MUḤ., an Arab scholar and polygraph to whom the sources attribute the *nisba* al-Ṣiḳillī (often followed by the *nisba* al-Makkī) and various honorific titles. According to Ibn K͟hallikān (M. Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula* [=*BAS*], Leipzig 1857, 630), he was born in Sicily (in 497/1104, according to certain biographers) and brought up in Mecca; he travelled in various countries in the East and in the Mag͟hrib and, towards the end of his life, retired to Ḥamāt where he died in 565/1170 (var. 567 and 598). But these biographical data, and in particular his origin, birth and journeyings, vary considerably in the other authors mentioned in the *BAS*. In fact, according to Yāḳūt (*Irs͟hād*, vii, 102), the places where he stayed during his journeys were Egypt, Ifrīḳiya (in al-Mahdiyya), Sicily, Egypt again, Aleppo and Ḥamāt.

Of this author's vast output (Ibn Ẓafar, in the introduction of his *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ* [see below], credits himself with 32 works), only four works have survived. As for the subjects treated in those of his writings which must be regarded as lost and which, according to Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, 102), were destroyed in Aleppo during the struggles between S͟hīʿīs and Sunnīs, from the few that we possess it may be deduced that they were concerned with Ḳurʾānic exegesis, theology, *fiḳh*, moral philosophy, exhortation, grammar, Aristotelian logic and lexicography (several commentaries on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī).

The only writings to have survived are: *Yanbūʿ al-ḥayāt fī tad͟hkīr al-d͟hikr al-ḥakīm*, a long unt published commentary on the Ḳurʾān and, in he-author's own opinion, the best of his writings (for the MSS, see Brockelmann, I, 352, S I 596); *K͟hayr al-bis͟har bi-k͟hayr al-bas͟har* (lith. Cairo 1280/1863) on the predictions received by mankind on the subject of Muḥammad's prophetic mission; *Anbāʾ nud͟jabāʾ al-abnāʾ* (the undated Cairo ed. belongs to 1322/1904), biographies of illustrious individuals, starting with Muḥammad, and various subjects of *adab* (see Brockelmann, I, 352, S I, 595, and also C. A. Nallino, *I manoscritti arabi ... di Torino*, in *Mem. Acc. Scienze*, 1900, 37-8); *Sulwān al-muṭāʿ fī ʿudwān al-atbāʿ* (lith. Cairo 1278/1861-2; printed Tunis 1279/1862, Beirut 1300/1882-3); this *Fürstenspiegel*, drawn up on the model of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and of which Italian, English and Turkish translations were made, must be regarded as the author's most widely known work.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 352, S I, 595; the preface to the Italian translation, by M. Amari, of the *Sulwān*, Florence 1851, 1882; on the *Sulwān*, see V. Chauvin, ii, 175-87.—M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1933, iii, 735-57. Lastly, we must add that, in the Catalogue of MSS in the Mosque of al-Azhar, a work (775, no. 2120 "Fiḳh ʿĀmm") is attributed to Ibn Ẓafar, bearing the title *Zād al-mulūk al-muẓaffarī* (*Muẓaffirī*?) *fī 'l-muʿtaḳadāt wa 'l-ʿibādāt*, of which the author himself makes no mention in the list of his writings contained in the *muḳaddima* of the *Sulwān*. (U. RIZZITANO)

IBN ẒĀFIR, D͟JAMĀL AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ABĪ MANṢŪR ẒĀFIR B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-AZDĪ, Egyptian chancery secretary and man of letters, born in Cairo in 567/1171. He was the pupil of his father, who was a teacher at the Mālikī *madrasa* al-Ḳumḥiyya, and eventually succeeded him. He was next employed in the chancery of al-ʿAzīz (589-95/1193-8), then in that of al-ʿĀdil (596-615/1200-18), and finally in that of the latter's son, al-As͟hraf (d. 635/1237), at Damascus. In 612/1215, he gave up his office and returned to Cairo, where he died, according to Yāḳūt, on 15 S͟haʿbān 613/27 November 1216, or, according to Ibn S͟hākir, in 623/1226.

There are attributed to him about a dozen works, among which there have survived the *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih* (Būlāḳ 1278, Cairo 1316, on the margin of the *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*), an anthology of improvisations of some worth; *al-Manāḳib al-nūriyya* (MS Escorial), which must be identical with the *Kitāb al-Tas͟hbīhāt*; and finally *K. al-Duwal al-munḳaṭiʿa* (MSS British Museum, Gotha and photocopy in Cairo), of which the *Ak͟hbār mulūk al-dawla al-*

saldjūḳiyya may form a part (see Cl. Cahen, in *Historians of the Middle East*, 70), but of which the most important part is that which concerns the Fāṭimids: it was used by Ibn Khallikān and Wüstenfeld, but remains unpublished. The other titles mentioned are *Akhbār al-shudjʿān*, *Asās al-siyāsa* (or *al-balāgha*), *Nafāʾis al-Dhakhīra* (extracts from Ibn Bassām?), *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī dhamm al-ṣāḥib wa ʾl-khalīl* (abridged by al-Suyūṭī), *Man uṣība mimman ismuh ʿAlī*, *Makrumāt al-kuttāb*.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 228 = *Udabāʾ*, xiii, 264; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, s.v.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 167-8, 176; Süssheim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der Seldjukgeschichte*, Leipzig 1911, 32 ff.; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 322; Brockelmann, S I, 533; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvii (1937), 2 ff. (Ed.)

IBN al-ZAḲḲĀḲ, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAṭiyyat Allāh b. Muṭarrif b. Salama, Andalusian poet, born at the very end of the 5th/11th century, probably at Valencia, whence his *nisba* of al-Balansī, although he is sometimes, probably wrongly, given that of al-Mursī (of Murcia). The little that is known of his personal life is in part contradictory; his genealogy varies according to the writer, but the most probable is that given above. It is known that his mother was the sister of the great poet Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*]; the information concerning his father is confused: Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik describes him as related to the Banū ʿAbbād of Seville [see ʿabbādids], but states that he denied this relationship when al-Muʿtamid was deposed and exiled by the Almoravids (484/1091) and that he lived in Valencia, where he was the muezzin of the Great Mosque. Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 196) states that he was a poor artisan and relates an anecdote in which the son plays a part and which seems to be a legend. Nor do the early writers agree about his ethnic name: some consider his *nisba* to be al-Lakhmī, which implies a purely Arab origin, others refer to him as al-Buluggīnī, making him a Berber. Nor are they consistent on the name under which the poet is known, Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ, which has been confused with others and corrupted into Ibn al-Raḳḳāḳ and Ibn al-Daḳḳāḳ.

He studied *ḥadīth* with Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī [see al-baṭalyawsī] and probably studied poetry with his uncle Ibn Khafādja. His life was short but very happy, to judge by his epitaph, which he wrote himself. He died in 528/1133 or 530/1135, before he was forty.

Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ, whose poems, collected in a *dīwān*, "passed from hand to hand", very soon acquired great fame, and the Arab authorities and critics, as well as modern orientalists, regard him as one of the great poets of Muslim Spain. His poetry, according to E. García Gómez, imitates Ibn Khafādja, but not slavishly; it is more restrained, perhaps less brilliant, but more refined.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1844; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa ʾl-takmila*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1964, v, 265-8; Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 100-10; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Mughrib*, Cairo 1955, ii, 323-38; H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1953, index; E. García Gómez, *Ibn al-Zaqqāq, Poesías*, ed. and tr., with important introduction, Madrid 1956. The edition of the *Dīwān Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ al-Balansī*, preceded by a study, was published in Beirut, in 1964, by ʿAfīfa Maḥmūd Dayarānī.

(F. de la Granja)

IBN ZĀKŪR, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Ḳāsim b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī al-Maghribī, who was born in Fez in the first half of the 11th/17th century, and who died in that city on 20 Muḥarram 1120/11 April 1708 and was buried at bāb Gīsa, was a fine scholar, historian, biographer and poet of his day, and a commentator on didactic poems. He applied himself early in life to studies predominantly Islamic in Fez, under masters of high repute such as Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (1007-91/1599-1680); his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, d. 1100/1689; Abū ʿĪsā (alternatively Abū ʿAbd Allāh) Muḥ. al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (1035-1109/1624-98); Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Yūsī (1040-1102/1630-91); Abū Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ṭayyib al-Ḳādirī (1058-1110/1648-98); the *ḳāḍi ʾl-djamāʿa* and *muftī* of Fez Abū Muḥ. (also Abū ʿAbd Allāh) Muḥ. al-ʿArabī (pronounced al-ʿArbī) b. Aḥmad Burdula (or Burdala or, more exactly, Burdulla or Burdullu) al-Andalusī, al-Fāsī (1042-1133/1632-1721); Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥasanī called al-Kammād, d. 1116/1704; Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās (alternatively, Abu ʾl-Faḍl) Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabī (pronounced al-ʿArbī) b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādjdj al-Ḥārithī al-Mirdāsī al-Sulamī, *ḳāḍī* of Fās al-djadīd, d. 1109/1697.

He completed his studies subsequently in Tetuan under Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Ḥādjdj ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tiṭṭawānī al-Andalusī called Baraka or Barakatuh or Bārāktu, d. 1120/1709, and then in Algiers, under Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān (alternatively, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) b. Yūsuf al-Māndjallātī (pronounced al-Mangellātī), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Ḥasanī (on these two teachers there is little information), Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥ. b. Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammūda called Ḳaddūra, d. 1098/1687.

From each of these teachers he requested, and nearly always obtained, an *idjāza* (authorization to teach) which he preserved carefully. Six of these documents have survived *in extenso*, with dates. The earliest, drawn up by Muḥ. al-Mahdī, in Fez, is dated Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1100/1689. During the seven months which he spent in Algiers, he had three *idjāza* conferred on him, one in Djumādā II and two in Radjab 1094/1683. In Tetuan, ʿAlī Bārāktu conferred his in Shaʿbān 1094/1683; finally, in Fez, he obtained an *idjāza* from Ḥasan al-Yūsī in 1095/1684.

These texts provide accurate information on the subjects studied and the works read: (a) grammar: Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*], *Alfiyya* and *Kāfiyya*; (b) rhetoric: al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*], *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, abridged by al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] under the title *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, with a commentary by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī [*q.v.*], entitled *Mukhtaṣar*, and a gloss by al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.*]; (c) law: Khalīl [*q.v.*], *Mukhtaṣar*; Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*], *Risāla*; Ibn ʿĀṣim [*q.v.*], *Tuḥfa*; Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Tilimsānī, al-Waḳshī (699-760/1299-1359), *al-Urdjūza fi ʾl-farāʾiḍ*; (d) *ḥadīth*: al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*], *Ṣaḥīḥ*; al-Tirmidhī [*q.v.*], *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *Shamāʾil*; al-Suyūṭī [*q.v.*], *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr min ḥadīth al-Bashīr al-nadhīr*; (e) *uṣūl*: al-Subkī [*q.v.*], *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ*, with the commentaries of al-Maḥallī (Djalāl al-Dīn) [*q.v.*], of al-ʿIrāḳī (Walī al-Dīn) [*q.v.*] and of al-Kūrānī (Muḥ. b. Rasūl) [*q.v.*]; (f) theology: Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Djazāʾirī, *Manẓūma fi ʾl-tawḥīd* (consisting of 79 verses, reproduced in *Nashr azāhir al-bustān*, 17).

In addition, Ibn Zākūr had expounded to him eleven works by his teacher Muḥ. al-Mahdī mentioned

above (cf. ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 24; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 274 and n. 1). He also studied poetry, versification and *adab*, and joined the confraternity founded in Morocco by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Nāṣir.

The method of tuition consisted often in listening to an elucidation of the same treatise carried out several times by the same tutor, and on occasion by several tutors. Thus, the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl was explained to him three times by Burdullu and once by Bārāktu; similarly, *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* was explained to him by Māndjallātī and by Bārāktu.

In addition, according to his biographers, he knew by heart the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, the *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ*, the *Kāfiyya* and the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, etc., and had acquired the titles of *adīb*, of *ḳawwāl* (versed in the art of fine speaking) and of *nāẓim* (versifier).

According to these biographers, he was the author of sixteen works: (1) a *riḥla* entitled *Nashr azāhir al-bustān fī man adjāzanī bi 'l-Djazāʾir wa-Tiṭṭawān min fuḍalāʾ al-akābir wa 'l-aʿyān*, Algiers 1319/1902; (2) a *dīwān* entitled *al-Rawḍ al-ʿarīḍ fī badīʿ al-tawshīḥ wa-muntaḳa 'l-ḳarīḍ*; for the autograph MS, now at Rabat, see *RIMA*, v (1959), 189; about fifteen fragments, totalling 350 verses, are contained in his *riḥla* and in ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, *passim*; (3) *al-Muʿrib al-mubīn ʿammā taḍammanah al-Anīs al-muṭrib. wa-Rawḍat al-nisrīn*, MS. in Rabat (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Mss. ar. de Rabat*, w. 498 (2), 215) and in the library of Abu 'l-Djaʿd (Tādlā) under the title *al-Muṭrib fī akhbār salāṭīn al-Maghrib* (cf. Neigel, in *RMM*, xxiv, 296); (4) *Aʿdjab al-ʿadjab* (alternatively, *Tafrīdj al-kurab*) *fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* of al-Shanfarā, of which there are half a dozen MSS (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 54); (5) *al-Nafaḥāt al-aradjiyya wa 'l-nasamāt al-banafsadjiyya fī sharḥ al-Khazradjiyya*), MS. in Rabat, 291, 2 and in Cairo², ii, 245 (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 545); (6) *Miḳbās al-fawāʾid fī sharḥ mā khafiya min al-ḳalāʾid*, a commentary on the *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān* by al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān [*q.v.*]; MS in Rabat, al-Djalāwī collection 149.

The rest of his works, which appear to have been lost, comprise: (7) *al-Istishfāʾ min al-alam bi-dhikrā* (alternatively *bi-dhikr*) *āthār ṣāḥib al-ʿalam*, a genealogical work devoted to the descendants of the Moroccan saint ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*]; (8) Commentary in three volumes on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, entitled *ʿUnwān al-nafāsa fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*; (9) *al-Ṣanīʿ al-badīʿ fī sharḥ al-ḥilliyya dhāt al-badīʿ*, or Commentary on the poem entitled *al-Kāfiyya al-badīʿiyya* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] devoted to the praises of the Prophet; (10) *al-Djūd bi 'l-mawdjūd fī sharḥ al-maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd* of Ibn Mālik [*q.v.*]; (11) *al-Rawḍa al-djamiyya fī ḍabṭ al-sana al-shamsiyya* or *Urdjūza fi 'l-tawḳīt*; (12) *Miʿrādj al-wuṣūl ilā samāwāt al-uṣūl*, or a poetic version of the *Waraḳāt* of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]; (13) *al-Ḥusām al-maslūl fī ḳaṣr al-mafʿūl ʿala 'l-fāʿil wa 'l-fāʿil ʿala 'l-mafʿūl*; (14) *Anfaʿ al-wasāʾil fī ablagh al-khuṭab wa-abdaʿ al-rasāʾil*; (15) *al-Durra al-maknūza fī tadhyīl al-urdjūza* (appendix to the *Urdjūza* by Ibn Sīnā on medicine); (16) *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ fī ḥadīth al-barāʾ*.

Ibn Zākūr thus touched upon more than one aspect of Arabo-Islamic culture: grammar, literature, stylistics, metrics, *sīra*, biographical literature, genealogy, *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl*, medicine, astronomy. To judge from those of his writings which have come down to us, he belongs to the school of al-Fatḥ Ibn Khāḳān with regard to his prose, and to that of Abū Tammām for his poetry.

Bibliography: ʿAlamī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib fī man laḳiyahu muʾallifuhu min udabāʾ al-Maghrib*, lith. Fez 1315/1897, 19-38; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa 'l-thānī*, lith. Fez 1310/1892, ii, 186; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar, wa-mustafāḍ al-mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-ʿibar, min akhbār aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāniya wa 'l-ḥādiya ʿashar*, fol. 57v.; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fez 1314/1896, iii, 179; *RMM*, xxiv, 296; R. Basset, *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salouat el-anfâs*, Algiers 1905, 13, no. 18; Muḥ. al-Saʾiḥ, *al-Muntakhabāt al-ʿabḳariyya*, 58; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 287-90; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihrist*, 1346/1927, i, 130; Brockelmann, I, 26, S I, 54, 545, S II, 684; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Manṣūr, *al-Djazāʾir fī riḥlat Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. Zākūr*, in *al-Baṣāʾir*, no. 348, of 6 January 1956, 2, no. 350 of 20 January 1956, 5, no. 351 of 27 January 1956, 2, no. 354 of 17 February 1956, 2; ʿAbd Allāh Kannūn (= Gennūn), *al-Muntakhab min shiʿr Ibn Zākūr*, Cairo 1942; idem, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1961, 313.

(M. Hadj-Sadok)

IBN ZAMRAK, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣurayḥī, known as Ibn Zamrak (or Zumruk), Andalusian poet and statesman, born at Granada in 733/1333. Although he was of humble origin, he devoted himself to study and received his education from famous masters, notably al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*qq.v.*]. Thanks to the active patronage of the latter, the young poet obtained a post in the government administration of Granada. In 760/1359, when Muḥammad V was deposed and welcomed at Fez by the Marīnid sultan Abū Sālim, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Zamrak followed him into exile. During this period, Ibn Zamrak pursued his studies, took part in the festivals at the court and, on occasion, wrote poetry. When, after various vicissitudes, Muḥammad V returned to Granada (763/1362), he appointed him private secretary (*kātib sirrih*) by a *ẓahīr* which was drawn up by Ibn Khaṭīb himself. During the following years, he often filled the rôle of court poet. In 773/1371-2, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who until then had assisted the Naṣrid ruler in carrying out the complicated policy of Granada, in particular that concerning Morocco (which was in a state of chaos following the assassination of Abū Sālim in 762/1361), defected and joined the Marīnid sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at Tlemcen; it was then that Ibn Zamrak succeeded his teacher and patron in the post of chief minister. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, arrested in Fez, had to appear before a court of enquiry in Granada presided over by Ibn Zamrak, where he was accused of heresy, subjected to torture, and finally put to death in prison. At this stage there was no criticism of Ibn Zamrak, who continued to fulfil his duties as chief minister and court poet. But after the death of Muḥammad V (793/1391), his son and successor, Yūsuf II, dismissed Ibn Zamrak and imprisoned him for nearly two years in the citadel of Almeria; restored again to office, the poet-minister was once again dismissed by the next king, Muḥammad VII, being replaced by Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim. He was re-appointed in 795/1393, but shortly afterwards, at a date not known, was assassinated on the sultan's orders.

The *Dīwān* of Ibn Zamrak has not been preserved, but a considerable number of poems, collected by Ibn al-Khaṭīb and reproduced by al-Maḳḳarī, have survived: they consist of elegies, panegyrics, and congratulations written on the occasion of religious

festivals or of important events at the court. In some of his poems there can be traced the undoubted influence of Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*], if not obvious plagiarism from him. In the panegyrics, the descriptive themes of the verses in which he celebrates the beauty of Granada and its gardens and palaces are of particular interest; some of these verses are still permanently preserved since they form a part of the decoration of the walls of the Alhambra.

The character of Ibn Zamrak provides the central theme in the novel by the Egyptian writer and teacher Suhayr al-Ḳalamāwī entitled *Thumma gharabat al-shams* (Cairo 1949).

Bibliography: The fundamental study of E. García Gómez, *Ibn Zamrak, el poeta de la Alhambra*, in *Cinco poetas musulmanes*[2], Madrid-Buenos Aires 1944, 169-271, has been used as a basis for this article. To the sources mentioned in it there should be added: Maḳḳarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, Cairo 1359/1940, ii, 7-206; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj* in the margins of the *Dībādj* of Ibn Farḥūn, Cairo 1351, 282-3; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Katība al-kāmina*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1953, 282-8. The *mawlidiyyāt* of Ibn Zamrak have been studied by A. Salmi, in *Hespéris*, xliii (1956), 335-435, *passim*. (F. DE LA GRANJA)

IBN AL-ZARḲALA [see AL-ZARḲALĪ].

IBN ZAYDĀN, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD AL-MALIK B. ZAYDĀN B. ISMĀʿĪL (the last named was the famous ʿAlawid sultan who died in 1140/1727), Moroccan official and historian, born in Rabīʿ II 1290/June 1873 in the imperial palace at Meknès. He received a thorough education from the best teachers, first in his native town and then at Fez, in the mosque of al-Ḳarawiyyīn. In 1324/1906, he succeeded his father in the office of *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the ʿAlawid *shurafāʾ* for the town of Meknès and its surroundings, including the small mountain district of the Zarhūn. He made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1913 and took advantage of the occasion to complete his education by attending the courses of the most distinguished teachers of the great Muslim cities of the Middle East. On his return journey he also visited Tunis, Ḳayrawān and Algiers.

After the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, he accepted the post of assistant director of the military college of Dār al-Bayḍāʾ at Meknès (now the Military Academy of independent Morocco). He died on 16 November 1946 and was buried at Meknès in the burial chamber (*ḍarīḥ*) of his great ancestor the sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Ibn Zaydān's works, though of great importance, are still not all published. They may be considered as the best source not only for the history of Meknès, but also for that of the ʿAlawid dynasty. Ibn Zaydān thoroughly appreciated the importance of sources and he succeeded in building up a large library (with a catalogue) containing a considerable number of manuscripts and archive documents. In particular his official position enabled him to acquire and to publish some hundreds of *ẓahīrs* [*q.v.*]. All his works are written in a clear language and set out in a very modern manner with plans, reproductions, portraits and, above all, with very complete indexes, which make them valuable and practical reference works. Among those published so far, or about to be published, may be mentioned: (1) *Itḥāf aʿlām al-nās bi-djamāl akhbār ḥāḍirat Miknās*, 5 vols. have appeared of the 8 announced, Rabat 1929-33 (portrait of the author in vol. i); the work consists of several hundred biographies, the most important of which are those of the early sultans of the present dynasty and of their most famous ministers. (2) *al-Durar al-fākhira bi-maʾāthir al-mulūk al-ʿalawiyyīn bi-Fās al-zāhira*, Rabat 1937; contains new facts and documents on the beginnings, at Fez, of the ʿAlawid dynasty. (3) *al-ʿIzz wa 'l-ṣawla fī maʿālim naẓm al-dawla*, 2 vols., Rabat (Royal Press) 1961-2; through the documents here published and annotated, this constitutes an excellent source on the functioning and the life of the sultan's palace and on the mechanism of the Moroccan government. (4) *al-Manāhidj al-sawiyya fī maʾāthir mulūk al-dawla al-ʿalawiyya*, 2 vols., to be published at the Royal Press, Rabat. Among the unpublished works is a *dīwān* of poems written in honour of the birth of the Prophet (*mawlūdiyyāt*).

Bibliography: W. Marçais, *Les belles chroniques de Meknès*, in *CR. Ac. des I. et B.L.*, 1929, 19-20; anon, *Un petit fils de M. Ismaël à Meknès*, in *Afrique du Nord illustrée*, 29 June 1930; H. Pérès, *La littérature arabe et l'Islam par les textes, les XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Algiers 1938, 207-8; ʿAbd al-Salam b. Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1950, 33-4, 57. (G. DEVERDUN)

IBN ZAYDŪN, ABU 'L-WALĪD AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. GHĀLIB AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, famous Andalusian poet born at Cordova of an aristocratic family, in 394/1003. His early years coincided with the especially troubled period at the end of the Umayyad caliphate. He probably took part in the events which led to the establishment of the Djahwarid oligarchy in Cordova, since Ibn Khāḳān refers to him as *zaʿīm al-fitna al-ḳurṭubiyya*. Soon after the governor Abu 'l-Ḥazm ibn Djahwar had seized power, he made Ibn Zaydūn his companion, and then his vizier, even conferring on him the title of *dhu 'l-wizāratayn*.

His patron was, however, turned against him by a clique which had formed around another of Ibn Djahwar's ministers, Ibn ʿAbdūs, by an accusation of intrigue and treachery—he was accused of plotting to restore the Umayyads—but in reality because of politics and personal rivalry, and was cast into prison. After attempting in vain to move Ibn Djahwar by his poems, he succeeded in escaping from prison and fleeing from Cordova, returning only after Ibn Djahwar's death. The latter's son, al-Walīd, restored him to his former office, and even made him his ambassador to the other petty kings of Andalusia. He once again suffered from the slanders of his enemies and again left Cordova to enter, after various journeys, the service of the ʿAbbādids of Seville, whose fortunes were at this time in the ascendant. He enjoyed high favour at the court of ʿAbbād b. Muḥammad al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 460/1068), and even more so at that of the latter's son, Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muʿtamid (d. 488/1095), himself a poet, with whom he held some famous poetic contests. Through his intrigues, Ibn Zaydūn probably helped al-Muʿtamid to conquer Cordova, which then became the capital of the ʿAbbādids, and where he again took up residence for a time. The poet-vizier of al-Muʿtamid, Abū Bakr Ibn ʿAmmār (d. 479/1086), taking a dislike to Ibn Zaydūn, succeeded in getting him sent to Seville, ostensibly so that he might, with his influence in Seville circles, quell a riot. Ibn Zaydūn died during this mission, in 463/1070.

Ibn Zaydūn's romantic and literary life was dominated by his stormy relations with the poetess Wallāda [*q.v.*], the daughter of the Umayyad caliph

al-Mustakfī. This poetess was not without talent but was incurably flirtatious and caused both happiness and unhappiness to Ibn Zaydūn, who wrote on the subject of her favours and her inconstancy the sincerest of all his poetic works. Her deception went even further, since it seems certain that Ibn Zaydūn's enemy, Ibn ʿAbdūs, intrigued against him through jealousy; and then, when Ibn Zaydūn had gone away, Wallāda easily found consolation with his rival.

Ibn Zaydūn's poetry fits admirably the description of "neo-classical", so much so that he was given the name of "the western Buḥturī". Although his *dīwān* contains a number of short occasional poems, it contains many of perfectly classical structure. The genre which he cultivates the most is probably panegyric, dedicated to one or other of his successive masters. The enmity with which he was surrounded inspired him in addition to write virulent satirical poems. Among the most moving poems are some elegies, notably those which lament the death of the mother of Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar and the daughter of al-Muʿtaḍid.

But the most personal poems are of course those concerning his affair with Wallāda. Critics have not failed to point out the particularly languishing and plaintive character of his love poetry, as well as of the numerous poems in which he celebrated the enchanted scenes of his love. It is moreover in these poems that he appears most typically western. Some have thought to see in this languor an influence of the Christian milieu; it is more likely that they reflect the influence of the locality, and merely crystallize a general tendency of the poetry of his period.

There should be mentioned the existence in this work of a strophic poetry of *muwashshaḥ* type, as well as a whole series of poetical enigmas in which there appears a symbolism on the names of birds (*muṭayyarāt*).

Although Ibn Zaydūn cannot be denied a certain talent in the expression of emotion, and notably of his passion for Wallāda and for his country, it must be admitted that this talent is not adequate to deal with solemn *ḳaṣīda*s, in which his writing remains stilted and conventional; his panegyrics remain very artificial, in spite, or because, of a somewhat heavy use of contrived styles. The short poems, on the other hand, give an impression of improvisation and real originality.

In addition to his *dīwān*, Ibn Zaydūn wrote a number of epistles, the two most famous of which are the *Risāla hazliyya*, in which he puts into the mouth of Wallāda a satire on his rival Ibn ʿAbdūs (commentary by Ibn Nubāta—d. 768/1366—*Sarḥ al-ʿuyun fī sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*), and the *Risāla djiddiyya*, addressed from his prison to Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar. The epistles of Ibn Zaydūn continue the tradition begun by al-Djāḥiẓ in his *Tarbīʿ*, and carried on among others by al-Khuwārizmī, al-Tawḥīdī and al-Hamadhānī.

It appears that these *rasāʾil* had more success in the East than his poems, whose originality was questioned there.

Bibliography: The most important biographical notice is Ibn Khāḳān, *Ḳalāʾid* (1283 ed.), 70-83; see also Brockelmann, I, 274, S I, 485. Editions of the *dīwān*: Kāmil Kīlānī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalīfa (Cairo 1932); Muḥammad Sayyid Kaylānī (Cairo 1956); ʿAlī ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (Cairo 1957); Karam Bustānī (Beirut 1963). Studies: see especially A. Cour, *Un poète arabe d'Andalousie*, Constantine 1920 (reviews by H. Massé, in *Hespéris*, 1921, 183-93 and A. Schaade, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 180-9), and A. al-Iskandarī, *Ibn Zaydūn* (in Arabic), in *MMIA*, xi (1931), 513-22, 577-92, 656-69. (G. Lecomte)

IBN ZAYLĀ, Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Zaylā (according to Brockelmann, I, 458, and b. Ṭāhir b. Zaylā al-Iṣfahānī in S I, 829), died, while still young, in 440/1048. A pupil of Ibn Sīnā and a member of his immediate circle, he wrote a commentary on the Story of Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān [*q.v.*], which Mehren used (MS BM Or. 978(3)) and the greater part of which he translated to accompany his edition of this brief work (*Traités mystiques*, fasc. i, 1889). Mehren mentions also a Hebrew translation of this commentary published by D. Kaufmann, Berlin 1886. Ibn Zaylā is quoted also by H. Corbin in *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire*, ii, 148 and 150-4, and often quoted and discussed by A. M. Goichon in *Le Récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān commenté par des textes d'Avicenne* (see index). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (ii, 19) lists among the works of Ibn Sīnā a *Kitāb Taʿālīḳ*, a Book of glosses, or of notes which his pupil Abū Manṣūr b. Zaylā had written down according to his instructions. It was to his questions and to those of Bahmanyār that Ibn Sīnā replied in his *Mubāḥathāt* (Brockelmann, S I, 817). A mathematician and an excellent musician, Ibn Zaylā wrote *al-Kitāb al-kāfī fi 'l-mūsīḳī* ("What should be known about music"), published in Cairo in 1964 by Zakariyyāʾ Yūsuf, with an introduction giving also (p. 2) references to the other authors who have mentioned Ibn Zaylā: al-Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām*, no. 50, 99-100; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 862; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 278; ʿU. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iv, 13; Ḳadrī Tūḳān, *Turāth al-ʿArab al-ʿilmī*, 3rd. ed., 400; H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, 220. In addition to his better known works, Ibn Zaylā wrote also an abridged version of the sections on the natural sciences in the *Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā, a book on the soul, and various letters.

Bibliography: In the article.

(A.-M. Goichon)

IBN AL-ZAYYĀT, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik, vizier of the ʿAbbāsid period. Belonging to a family of merchants who held official positions at the court, Ibn al-Zayyāt attracted attention for his qualities as a secretary and a man of letters, was appointed vizier by the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in about 221/833, and, with the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī Duʾād, contributed to the direction of the general policy of the empire.

Remaining vizier during the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), he encouraged the caliph to impose heavy fines on several secretaries, in particular on the assistants of two Turkish leaders who were taking over important governorships in the provinces, and he acquired an unpleasant notoriety by inflicting on the culprits a particularly cruel torture, that of the *tannūr*, an iron cylinder with spikes inside it. He quarrelled with the chief *ḳāḍī* Ibn Abī Duʾād, apparently merely for reasons of personal rivalry, and it is not known what part he played in the prosecution of the *miḥna*.

Although the caliph al-Mutawakkil retained him in his service when he came to power, this was only temporary: some weeks later, in Ṣafar 233/September-October 847, he dismissed him and inflicted on him the torture which he himself had invented. Ibn al-Zayyāt died soon afterwards. During his vizierate he had tried in vain to restrain the influence of the Turkish leaders, and left behind mainly a reputation for harshness and cruelty.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(D. SOURDEL)

IBN AL-ZAYYĀT, ABŪ YAʿḲŪB YŪSUF B. YAḤYĀ B. ʿĪSĀ B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, Moroccan man of letters and jurist, known and esteemed as a hagiographer. A native of Tadla (Tādilā), he spent most of his life at Marrākush and in the region surrounding it. He was one of the companions of the famous Moroccan saint Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (524-601/1130-1204). He died in 628 or 629/1230-1 when he was *ḳāḍī* of the Regrāga. His body is said to have been transported to Marrākush and buried in the *ḳubba* of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Farrān and Sīdī Muḥammad al-Barbūshī, outside the ramparts of the town, near to the gate known as Bāb al-Khamīs.

Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādilī was himself as devout as the saintly personages whose *fioretti* he collected in the famous hagiographical collection *al-Tashawwuf ilā ridjāl al-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958). Completed in 617/1221, this valuable compilation of lives of saints is, together with *al-Minhādj al-wāḍiḥ fī taḥḳīḳ karāmāt Abī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ*, of Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Mādjirī, the *Maḳṣad* of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bādisī and the *Uns al-faḳīr* of Ibn Ḳunfudh al-Ḳusanṭīnī, the earliest source on the religious history of Morocco. The *Tashawwuf* is devoted to the saints (*ṣāliḥūn*) who lived or stayed in Marrākush or in southern Morocco between the 5th/11th and the beginning of the 7th/13th centuries. Ibn al-Zayyāt is thought to have written a second such collection covering all the holy men of the country, but of this no trace has been found. There do, however, exist copies of the very interesting notice he wrote on the great Moroccan saint Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī. This text is found fairly frequently appended to manuscripts of the *Tashawwuf*. The *ḳāḍī* ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī transcribed it in the second volume of his *Iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-aʿlām*, Fez 1936, 240-65 (see A. Faure, *Abū-l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī, la justice et la charité*, in *Hespéris*, xliii (1956), 448-56).

In the field of literature there has been attributed to Ibn al-Zayyāt a commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, which also is lost.

Bibliography: For the bibliography of Ibn al-Zayyāt, see Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībādj*, Fez 1900, 386; Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya fī 'l-taʿrīf bi-mashāhīr al-ḥaḍra al-marrākushiyya*, Fez 1918, i, 147; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 220. On the early sources for the religious history of Morocco, see ʿAbd al-Hakḳ al-Bādisī, *al-Maḳsad* (Lives of the saints of the Rif), annotated Fr. tr. by G. S. Colin in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 1 ff. On the documentary value of the *Tashawwuf*, see *Hespéris*, xli (1954), 482; A. Faure, *Le Tashawwuf et l'école ascétique marocaine des XIe-XIIe-XIIIe siècles de l'ère chrétienne*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, ii, 119-31.

(A. FAURE)

IBN AL-ZIBAʿRĀ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ZIBAʿRĀ B. ḲAYS B. ʿADĪ B. SAʿD B. SAHM, noted poet of the Ḳuraysh, famous for the terseness of his style (Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, i, 124, 19), who satirized in his *hidjā'* [*q.v.*] the Prophet and his followers. Among his poems preserved by Ibn Isḥāḳ there is one (Ibn Hishām, 417 f., who justly doubts its authenticity) which refers to the first raid after the *hidjra*. After Badr, where he killed ʿAbd Allāh b. Salama al-ʿAdjlānī (Wāḳidī [Wellhausen], 139), he lamented the death of the Meccan leaders (Ibn Hishām, 521 f., who says that others ascribe these verses to Aʿshā bani Tamīm). Soon after this battle Ibn al-Zibaʿrā was sent along with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], Hubayra b. Abī Wahb and Abū ʿAzza, who also had satirized the Prophet, to the Banū ʿAbd Manāt and other confederates to ask them for assistance against him (Wāḳidī, 101). He glorified the victory of the Meccans at Uḥud in poems, two of which are given together with the rejoinders of Ḥassān b. Thābit by Ibn Isḥāḳ (Ibn Hishām, 616 f. and 619 f., cf. also 636). Another poem (given by Ibn Hishām, 703-5, together with the rejoinders of Ḥassān b. Thābit and Kaʿb b. Mālik) refers to the campaign of the "trench" (*al-khandaḳ*). When the Prophet had signed at Ḥudaybiya the treaty with the Meccans, ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa, the doorkeeper of the Kaʿba, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and Khālid b. al-Walīd went to him and embraced Islam. ʿUthmān was, like ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, a clansman of Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, who blamed him in a poem (Ibn Hishām, 718). To the period between Ḥudaybiya and the fall of Mecca belong some verses against the Meccan Mawhab b. Rabāḥ, who had attacked Suhayl b. ʿAmr in connexion with the case of Abū Baṣīr (see Ibn Hishām, 751 f., and Wāḳidī, 261 f.). When the Prophet, after he had conquered Mecca, ordered the execution of some persons who had harmed him by their poems and songs (Ibn Hishām, 819), Ibn al-Zibaʿrā fled with Hubayra b. Abī Wahb to Nadjrān, and returned only after Ḥassān b. Thābit had assured him of the Prophet's clemency. The authenticity of the poem which he addressed to Muḥammad on this occasion is (according to Ibn Hishām, 828) uncertain. Other verses ascribed to him cannot be dated; *e.g.*, the verses in which he praises Khalaf b. Wahb al-Djumaḥī (*Aghānī*[3], vii, 114), an ancestor of Abū Dahbal [*q.v.*]. Then we are told that he wrote on the hangings of the Kaʿba some verses derogatory to the Ḳuraysh; the Banū Sahm were forced to hand him over to the Ḳuraysh, who punished him and set him free only after he had composed an oft-quoted poem in honour of Ḳuṣayy (ʿAynī, *Shawāhid*, iv, 140; Ibn Hishām, ii, 25, etc.); but some verses of this poem occur also in a poem of Maṭrūd b. Kaʿb (al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, iv, 179; cf. also Yaʿḳūbī, i, 282). He criticized the Ḳuraysh on another occasion (Djumaḥī, 57; *Aghānī*[3], iv, 140; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, i, 94) probably because they were unwilling to risk their profits by fighting against Muḥammad. Sometimes verses of other poets are ascribed to him, *e.g.*, Kaʿb b. Mālik (Yāḳūt, iv, 169; cf. Ibn Hishām, 705 and *Aghānī*[1], xv, 29, 21); and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (no. xi, Schulthess). On the other hand, verses of Ibn al-Zibaʿrā were ascribed to other poets, *e.g.*, his poem in praise of the Banū Khālida bint Arkam (see al-Mubarrad, *Mā 'ttafaḳa lafẓuh*, ed. A. Memon, Cairo 1350, 27, with the editor's footnote). Other verses (*Aghānī*[3], i, 62; 64) show that he enjoyed the patronage of Abū Rabīʿa, the grandfather, and ʿAbd Allāh, the father of the poet ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Rabīʿa. He also praised the Banū al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, the strongest family within the powerful Banū Makhzūm (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 46, 20); for his connexion with this family, see also Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 149, s.v. Busr b. Sufyān). In the other poems which refer to the fights between the Meccans and the Muslims, our poet never hints at religious or ideological differences, but considers these fights only as the outcome of troubles between clans of the same tribe. He is proud of his own clan and extols its virtues. The new religion did not change his attitude; for the last information about him is that he and Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī visited in

the reign of ʿUmar their old rival Ḥassān b. Thābit and irritated him by reciting the poems they had composed in olden days against him, but had then to listen to the latter's recital of his rejoinders (*Aghānī*[3], iv, 140; Djumaḥī, 60). It was just this clannishness which gave his verses an actuality even long after his death. His poems against the Banū Hāshim were still popular with the Umayyads, and Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya recited one of these poems when he was told that Medina had been taken by his troops (Dīnawarī [Guirgass], 277; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 1316, ii, 233, with additional verses in which the caliph addresses himself). Even in the days of al-Muʿtaḍid (reigned 279/892-289/902) this story was mentioned in an edict amongst the sins of Yazīd (Ṭabarī, iii, 2174).

Bibliography: in the article; consult also the biographies of the *ṣaḥāba* by Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Ibn Ḥadjar; al-Djumaḥī, ed. Hell, 57-60; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 76; *Aghānī*[1], xiv, 11-25; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʾālī*, 833 f.; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 132 f.; A. Fischer and E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, 328a; P. Minganti, in *RSO*, xxxviii, 323-59 (biography and collections of poems with translations).

(J. W. Fück)

IBN AL-ZUBAYR, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b. Muḥammad al-Thaḳafī al-ʿĀṣimī, Andalusian traditionist, reader of the Ḳurʾān, man of letters and historian, born at Jaén (Djayyān) in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 627/September-October 1230, d. Granada on 8 Rabīʿ I 708/26 August 1308. He seems to have been particularly interested in Ḳurʾānic 'readings', but his biographers speak very highly of his knowledge of the Arabic language and describe him as "the *muḥaddith* of al-Andalus and of the Maghrib". His propensity for redressing wrongs got him into trouble in his native town, then at Malaga, whither he had had to flee; his action against a sorcerer called Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī, who had a strong influence over the local authorities, obliged him to leave the town and go to Granada where he is said to have succeeded in having condemned to death the magician, who had been given a mission to carry out by the ruler of Malaga. He was at first received with honour by the *amīr* of Granada, but later had some disagreements with him. Then his situation improved and he was probably able to devote himself freely to his teaching activities, while holding the offices of *khaṭīb* and of *imām* at the Great Mosque, and of *ḳāḍī* in charge of marriages. He ended his days in Granada, respected by all the inhabitants. He left a number of works whose titles are mentioned by his biographers: *Milāk al-taʾwīl fi 'l-mutashābih al-lafẓ fi 'l-Tanzīl*, *al-Burhān fī tartīb suwar al-Ḳurʾān*, *al-Iʿlām bi-man khutima bi-h al-ḳuṭr al-andalusī min al-aʿlām*, *K. al-Zamān wa 'l-makān*, *Radd al-djāhil min iʿtisāf al-madjāhil*, a *Muʿdjam*, a *taʿlīḳ* on the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh and finally, the only one which has in part survived, the *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, a continuation of the *Takmila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*], the last part of which was published by E. Lévi-Provençal, at Rabat in 1937; this work contains Andalusian biographies of the 6th and 7th/12th and 13th centuries.

Bibliography: Introd. to the ed. by Lévi-Provençal; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, i, 72; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fez ed., 57; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥidjāl*, ed. Allouche, Rabat 1934-6, no. 8; Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 275; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, i, 84-8, no. 232; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 126-7; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 363, ii, 115, v, 626; Dozy, *De Abbadidis*, ii, 166; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, no. 268; Brockelmann, S II, 376-7; *DM*, iii, 132.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBN AL-ZUBAYR, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayr b. Bakkār ... b. al-Zubayr b. al ʿAwwām, genealogist. He was born in Medina in 172/788. Falling foul of the ʿAlid faction he went to Baghdād, where he is known to have been in 235/850. In 242/856 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Mecca and died there in 256/870. Over 30 titles of works by him are quoted but of them only two are extant: *al-Muwaffaḳiyyāt*, a collection of anecdotes compiled for Muwaffaḳ, son of the Caliph Mutawakkil, and the celebrated [*Djamharat*] *Nasab Ḳuraysh wa-akhbārhā*. In spite of its fame the second half only of *Nasab Ḳuraysh* has survived (ed. Maḥmūd M. Shākir, Cairo 1381/1961).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 141, S I, 215; Sezgin, i, 317; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 218-20; Dhahabī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, *ṭabaḳa* 8, no. 124; there is a very full introduction to Shākir's edition.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

IBN AL-ZUBAYR [see ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr].

IBN ZUHR, patronymic of a family of scholars who came originally from Arabia (Iyād) and settled, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, at Djafu Shāṭiba (Játiva) in the east of Spain. Ibn Khallikān says of the members of this family that they were "all *ʿulamāʾ*, *ruʾasāʾ*, *ḥukamāʾ* and viziers who reached high ranks in the entourages of princes".

I. Zuhr al-Iyādī was the father of Marwān, who was the father of Abū Bakr Muḥammad, who was famous as a jurisconsult; he died at Talabīra (Talavera) in 422/1030-1.

II. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Zuhr al-Iyādī came from Seville. He was well versed in the Ḳurʾānic sciences and in *fiḳh*, following in this the example of his father. His own interests were in the study of the different types of sciences. He left for the East with the intention of performing the Pilgrimage, went to Ḳayrawān, and then to Cairo, where he spent a long time studying medicine. Ibn Khallikān relates a slightly different itinerary, stating that he went first as far as Baghdād and stopped on the way back in Egypt and at Ḳayrawān. Ibn al-Abbār says that he became a famous and excellent physician. Returning to Spain, he settled at Dāniya (Denia), where he was welcomed by Mudjāhid [*q.v.*], who was reigning there at that time. His fame spread to all the provinces in the peninsula. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa relates that he held unorthodox opinions (*ārāʾ shādhdha*) in medicine, for instance he forbade hot baths (*ḥammām*) because they had a poisonous action (*yaʿfin al-adjsām*) and because they interfered with the composition of the humours. He died at Denia, according to Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Khallikān, at Seville, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in about 470/1078 as Ibn al-Abbār surmises.

III. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, son of the above; generally known by the mediaeval western scholars by his *kunya* only: Aboali, Abuleli, Ebilule, or followed by Zuhr: Abulelizor, Albuleizor.

(1) Life. Born in Seville, he went to Cordova where he met Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī, who taught in the Great Mosque and who advised him to study the science of *ḥadīth* with Abū Bakr ibn Mufawwaz and Abū Djaʿfar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He "heard" (*samiʿa*) from Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ayyūb the reading of that category of *ḥadīths* which have been transmitted by the guarantors in a chain and with "a

touching of hands" (*al-ḥadīth al-musalsal fi 'l-akhdh bi 'l-yad*). This means that he received in the subject the most thorough education. Many scholars, before taking up one of the natural sciences or philosophy, began with a serious study of the religious sciences. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was also distinguished in belles lettres (*adab*). He was in correspondence with al-Ḥarīrī, the author of the *Maḳāmāt*. But he had a predilection for medicine. While still quite young, during the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid, the ʿAbbādid ruler of Seville (433-60/1042-68), he had studied this art which he learned from his father. He became famous in it and "eclipsed all who had preceded him with the breadth of his knowledge of it and with the wisdom he showed in making use of it, so much so that the people of the Maghrib made him and his family, in this matter, a subject of boasting" (Ibn al-Abbār). Al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād gave his patronage to Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, who was always grateful to him for this, although he supported the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (who became master of the country in 484/1091). It is not clear whether he was Yūsuf's vizier. Wüstenfeld says so (*Geschichte*, 89-90), but the biographers are silent on this precise point. They mention only that he took part in the administration of public affairs at an exceptionally high level. The manuscript of the *Tadhkira* gives him this title of *wazīr* (so that the western writers called him Alguazir Albuleizor). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ died at Cordova in 525/1130, from a *naghla*, "a senile wart turned malignant" (G. Colin. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa tells us that this is the name given in Spain to a *dubayla*, which, according to Dozy, is "an ulcer, the pus of which is ichorous in whatever part of the body it appears", and which G. Colin, who distinguishes it from a *naghla*, identifies with a gastric ulcer, while H. Jahier (in his translation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Algiers 1958), translates as "phlegmon gangréneux" without questioning the assimilation of the two terms). Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was buried in Seville.

(2) Works. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa mentions 9 works by him. Two are devoted to medical observations (*mudjarrabāt*). The others are: "The book of the properties of drugs" (*K. al-Khawāṣṣ*); "The book of simple medicaments" (*K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*); the "Explanation through witnesses of the libel" (*K. al-Īḍāḥ bi-shawāhid al-iftiḍāḥ*) against Ibn Riḍwān (d. 460/1068) and his refutation of the "Book of introduction to medicine" of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ; the "Solution of the doubts of al-Rāzī concerning the books of Galen" (*K. Ḥall shukūk al-Rāzī ʿalā kutub Djālīnūs*); a "Treatise refuting Avicenna" on some passages in his "Book of simple medicaments" (*Maḳāla fi 'l-radd ʿalā Abī ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā* ...); an expansion of the *Risāla* of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī on the composition of medicaments (*Maḳāla fī basṭihi li-risālat... al-Kindī fī tarkīb al-adwiya*). And finally the following title: "The book of delicate medical questions" (*K. al-Nukaṭ al-ṭibbiyya*), which G. Colin considers to indicate the work which he has edited under the title of *Tadhkira* (taken from the *explicit* of the Paris MS: *kamalat al-Tadhkira*); it is a brief treatise, written for his son, in which each *nukta* is introduced by *tadhakkar* ("remember").

(3) As a physician. Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ owed his fame to his skill as a practising physician. He diagnosed without questioning his patients, but merely by examining the urine and taking the pulse. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, who relates this, probably did so in order to emphasize his great experience and perspicacity. In fact, if this report is true, it should be pointed out that Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ was wrong to abandon a method which had become part of Arab medical practice and which consisted of finding out about the patient's forbears and ancestry and about the conditions under which he lived. Be that as it may, it is reported that he used for his treatment some "extraordinary" medicines (*nawādir*), which may be taken to mean either that they were rare or that they were wonderfully efficacious. He had a wide knowledge of the classical writers. It was during his lifetime that the Canon of Avicenna was introduced in the West. A merchant coming from ʿIrāḳ offered him a copy; but Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, having read it, found fault with it and put it aside to use the margins for writing out his prescriptions. G. Colin rightly points out that though he may not have agreed with Avicenna on every point yet he did not consider him entirely worthless, since he took the trouble to refute his book on simple medicaments.

In the *Tadhkira* the practitioner's ideal is seen more clearly. Unlike the physicians of his time, whom he accuses of using medicine with insufficient precautions, he counsels prudence (*ḥazm*) in treatment. In the field of medicine based on the humours and on therapeutics based on the qualities of the remedies (cold, hot, dry and wet) and on their degrees, he shows the error of attempting to restore the equilibrium of the temperament by administering the remedy in too great a dose and thus setting off a reaction in the opposite direction. The corrective strength of the medication must be in proportion to the pathogenic tendency (*bi-ḳadr dhalik al-mayl*). "How often have doctors helped on the causes of death!", he exclaims. From this arises his basic principle in treating a patient: it is necessary, so to speak, to try on the patient the simple or composite remedy, using it at first "at the beginning of the lowest degree" (*fī awwal al-daradjat al-ūlā*). Then, according to the results obtained, the physician will gradually increase its strength. It is wrong to hurry, even if one is certain of not making a mistake. As for the medicaments themselves, care should be taken to mix them with substances which are capable on the one hand of conveying them to the diseased organs, and on the other hand of correcting any harmful side-effects which they may have. These practical recommendations based the progress of the medical art on the precise observation of the effects of a treatment prudently administered, and thus experimental, which is in itself already a positive method.

IV. Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abi 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, son of the above, usually referred to under the name of Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (the Abhomeron Avenzoar of the mediaeval West). He was born in Seville. His biographers do not give his date of birth but, from various indications, G. Colin places it in about 484-7/1092-5. He died at Seville in 557/1161.

(1) Life. He was taught medicine by his father and excelled in it an early age. He had received also a solid literary and juridical education. He does not seem to have travelled to the East, but he cerainly went to North Africa. He was in the service of the Almoravid dynasty and received wealth and favours from these rulers. It was for one of them, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, that he wrote the *Kitāb al-Iḳtiṣād* (Ibn al-Abbār gives it as *K. al-Iḳtiḍāʾ*, a title which G. Colin corrected), completed in 515/1121. In 535/1140, he was in prison at Marrākush, the town being in the power of Ibrāhīm's brother, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (cf. Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1717). The reason for this disgrace is not known, but Abū Marwān, in his *Taysīr*, refers to this ruler as "the

wretched ʿAlī", and in his "Book of foods" he mentions "the time of suffering which I was forced to endure by the *amīr*". During the Almohad period, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin took him into his personal service and "had confidence in him in medical matters" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa). He was appointed vizier. Ibn Rus͟hd [*q.v.*] became his friend (but was not his pupil) and it seems that they studied some subjects together and collaborated to a certain extent. Abū Marwān died from the same disease as his father. An anecdote (given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa) relates that when Abū Marwān predicted to a colleague named al-Fār that he would die of convulsions (*s͟hanād͟j*) because he ate too many figs, the other replied that he would die of a *nag͟hla* because he did not eat enough of them. Both prognostications proved correct.

(2) Works. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Abū Marwān wrote six works: the *Taysīr fi 'l-mudāwāt wa 'l-tadbīr* ("Practical manual of treatments and diets"), followed by a formulary, the *D͟jāmiʿ*; *K. al-Ag͟hd͟hiya* ("Book of foods"); *K. al Zīna* ("Book of embellishment", written for his son Abū Bakr, on purgatives); *Maḳāla fi ʿilal al-kulā* ("Treatise on diseases of the kidneys"); *Risāla fī ʿillatay al-baraṣ wa 'l-bahaḳ* (letter to a doctor in Seville on white leprosy, or vitiligo, and pityriasis); *Tad͟hkira*, for his son Abū Bakr (G. Colin thinks that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa must have attributed this work to Abū Marwān in error, when it was really by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ). To this list should be added the *K. al-Iḳtiṣād fi iṣlāḥ al-anfus wa 'l-ad͟jsād* mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār. Of these six works there have survived the *K. al-Iḳtiṣād*, which dates from 515/1121; the *Taysīr*, written between 1121 and 1162; and the "Book of foods" (between 1130 and 1162).

The first is an "abridged summary" (*d͟jumla mukh͟taṣara*) which combines "the methods of therapeutics (*ṭibb*) and of prophylaxis (*rutba*)". It was intended to be read in public before the ruler, and was therefore divided into equal sections of medium length (*iḳtiṣād* is the term for this type of division), in the same way as the Ḳurʾān is divided for the same purpose; since the Ḳurʾān has thirty of these sections, Abū Marwān's work was intended to consist of the same number, but only half of them (15) have survived. It begins with a general introduction, in which the author distinguishes between *ṭibb* and *rutba* and then between the medicine of the body and the medicine of the soul. There follows the enumeration of the three souls: the rational, in the brain; the animal, in the heart; the natural, in the liver. The two last are normally subordinated to the first. Then Avenzoar reviews the treatments of the different organs, beginning with the tongue, since it is thanks to it that man is able to praise God. The description of the diseases takes second place to the details of therapeutic measures.

The *Taysīr* begins, after an introduction which includes some "recettes cabalistiques" (G. Colin), with a descriptive study of ailments and their treatment. It follows approximately an order which had become traditional, starting with the head and ending with the feet. But the plan is very flexible. Following his father, Abū Marwān stresses the value of experiment. His observations lead him to some original views: a description of mediastinal tumours (*al-awrām allatī taḥdut͟hu fi 'l-g͟his͟hāʾ allad͟hī yaḳsim al-ṣadr ṭūlan*, book i, 16, ch. VI); of pericardial abscesses (*awrām g͟his͟hāʾ al-ḳalb*, book i, 12, ch. VII), which he was the first to describe. Also interesting are the chapters on intestinal erosions (*saḥd͟j*), paralysis of the pharynx, and inflammation of the middle ear. He was one of the first to recommend tracheotomy, and artificial feeding via the oesophagus or the rectum. He points out the harm caused by marsh vapours. His study of scabies should also be mentioned. He described the agent of this disease (*sarcoptes scabiei*), and he was among the first, though not actually the first, to do so: as has been pointed out by G. Sarton, he was preceded in this by Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī (second half of the 4th/10th century); cf. the German translation of some passages from the *K. al-Muʿālad͟ja al-buḳraṭiyya* of al-Ṭabarī, by Muḥammad Rihāb, in *Archiv für Geschichte des Medizin*, xix (1927), 134 and *Isis*, x, 119.

The *K. al-Ag͟hd͟hiya* deals with the various diets, with condiments, culinary preparations, and drinks. It also covers medicaments (and it is here that we find what G. Colin refers to as cabalistic medicine), as well as rules of hygiene (cf. Renaud, in *Hespéris*, xii).

(3) As a physician. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa relates several anecdotes intended to illustrate Abū Marwān's skill and perspicacity. He succeeded in administering a purgative to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was averse to this treatment, by making him eat some grapes picked from a vine which the skilful doctor had watered with water mixed with purgative drugs. On another occasion, he cured a man who had an enormous belly and had intestinal trouble by pointing out that he drank water from a ewer of doubtful cleanliness: he broke the ewer and there was seen to emerge from it a frog which had slid in and grown fat there and was the cause of the illness. Ibn Rus͟hd wrote in his *Colliget* that for anyone wishing to study the treatises on therapeutics (*kanānis͟h*), the best of all is the *Taysīr*, which he had asked his friend to compile and which he had transcribed. While praising the *Taysīr* only for its practical application, Ibn Rus͟hd underlines, perhaps unwittingly but nevertheless very clearly, the type of medicine practised by Avenzoar, which was less a general science (on this point Avenzoar is not original and reproduces the system of Galen) than a very practical art of healing. Finally it should be mentioned that Abū Marwān, as an article of faith and perhaps also through conviction, seems to adhere to the As͟hʿarī doctrine that secondary causes are not necessary. A good medicine cures if God wills it. He himself, stricken by the malady from which he was to die and urged by his son to try new remedies, declared: "If God wished to change this my bodily frame, He will not give me power to use remedies other than those which will carry out His decree and His will".

V. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr al-Ḥafīd ("the grandson"), son of the above; born Seville in 504/1110-11 (or 507), d. 595/1198-9 He learned the Ḳurʾān by heart, and studied traditions and Arabic language and literature. He had read with ʿAbd al-Malik al-Bād͟jī the *Mudawwana* of Ṣaḥnūn on the doctrine of Mālik and the *Musnad* of Ibn Abī S͟hayba. He was outstanding in everything. He received his medical education from his father and he in his turn distinguished himself in the practice of this art. He was also a poet, famous for his *muwas͟hs͟haḥāt*. He practised archery and played chess. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa describes him as a man of physical, moral and intellectual accomplishments. He enjoyed the confidence of the caliph Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr who summoned him to Africa as his personal physician. When this ruler decided to have all books of logic and philosophy destroyed, he put Abū Bakr in charge of this operation, allowing him as an

exception to retain the works which were his own personal property. Abū Bakr carried this out faithfully. But Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, who relates the matter, probably wishing to illustrate the spirit in which the great physician performed this, gives immediately afterwards an anecdote which may be summarized thus: Abū Bakr had discovered two of his students in the possession of a book of logic; he was angry and confiscated the book. But later, when he had completed the medical education of the two students, he directed them to study carefully the religious sciences, and it was only after this that he returned to them their book of logic, with the remark: "Now you are equipped to read this book and others like it".

The vizier Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūdjān, a jealous and spiteful man, had him poisoned. He was mourned by the caliph.

Abū Bakr had been above all a practising physician. He did however write a treatise on ophthalmology. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn Khallikān have preserved a number of his poems, for which he had been as famous as for his medical skill.

VI. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥafīd, son of the above, born at Seville in 577/1181-2, and died of poison at Salé in 602/1205-6, at the age of twenty-five. His body was later taken to Seville and buried beside his ancestors at the Gate of Victory. He had learned medicine from his father and he too had been initiated into the secrets of medical practice. Also with his father, he had studied the *Kitāb al-Nabāt* of Abū Ḥanifa al-Dīnawarī. He was attached to the service of the caliph al-Nāṣir b. al-Manṣūr. On his death, he left two sons, who both lived at Seville. The younger, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Muḥammad, studied the works of Galen.

Bibliography: I. Biographical sources: Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, Cairo 1299 (Fr. tr. of the 13th chapter by H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Algiers 1958); Ibn al-Abbār, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Codera (*BAH*, iv, Madrid 1886); *K. al-Takmila*, ed. Codera (*BAH*, v, vi, Madrid 1887-9), nos. 255, 854, 1691, 1717; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 683.

II. General bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 486/640, 487/642, S I, 889, 890; G. Colin, *Avenzoar, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris 1911; idem, *La Tedhkira d'Abū'l-ʿAlāʾ*, Paris 1911 (reviews by Cl. Huart, in *JA*, 1913, I and II; interesting corrections of the translation of the *Tadhkira*); G. Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 230-4; H. P. J. Renaud, *Trois études d'histoire de la médecine en Occident*, in *Hespéris*, xii (1931); idem, in *Hespéris*, xx (1935), 87, review of the thesis of Abdalmalik Faraj, *Relations hispano-maghrébines au XII^e siècle*, Paris 1935. (R. Arnaldez)

IBN ZŪLĀḲ (or zawlāḳ), Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm . . . al-Laythī, born 306/919, died 386/996, Egyptian historian, the author of a number of biographical, historical and topographical works on Egypt in the time of the Ikhshīdids and early Fāṭimids. These works, though almost entirely lost, underlie a good deal of subsequent historiography relating to this period. He is said to have written continuations to the works of al-Kindī [*q.v.*] on the governors and judges of Egypt, a book on the Mādharāʾī [*q.v.*] family of officials, and others on the reigns of the Ikhshīd, Kāfūr, al-Muʿizz and, according to some, al-ʿAzīz. A biography of Djawhar, mentioned in an Ismāʿīlī bibliography, is probably, as Ivanow suggests, an extract from the book on al-Muʿizz. These works are quoted extensively by Maḳrīzī, both in the *Khiṭaṭ* and the *Ittiʿāẓ*, by Ibn Saʿīd, by Ibn Ḥadjar in his *Rafʿ al-iṣr* (i, Cairo 1957, 2), and by other later authors. A manuscript biography of the Egyptian grammarian Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kindī al-Ṣayrafī [see ibn al-ṣayrafī], preserved in the Egyptian library, is ascribed to him (Cairo catalogue, v, 1348/1930, 14).

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iii, 7-9; Ibn Khallikān, Būlāḳ ed., i, 167 = De Slane, i, 388; Brockelmann, I, 149, S I 230; Kaḥḥāla, iii, 194; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 220; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens* . . ., i, Strasburg 1902, 13-15; R. Gottheil, *Al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrahim ibn Zūlāḳ*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907), 254-70; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 154-5; W. Ivanow, *Ismaili literature: a bibliographical survey*², Tehrān 1963, 39. (Ed.)

IBN ZURʿA, Abū ʿAlī ʿĪsā b. Isḥāḳ b. Zurʿa, Jacobite Christian philosopher, apologist and translator, born at Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 331/August 943, d. on 6 Shaʿbān 398/16 April 1008 (the respective dates of 371/981 and 448/1056 given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa should not be accepted, since Ibn Zurʿa is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (circa 377/987), and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa himself speaks of his relations with Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, d. 364/975). He studied literature, physics, mathematics and then philosophy under the direction of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*]; he seems also to have studied medicine, since Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa includes him among the famous physicians. Nevertheless he was forced to earn his living by engaging in commercial activities and trading in particular with Byzantium, which, in the opinion of Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī, hindered greatly his philosophical work. Furthermore, his competitors denounced him to the authorities, accusing him of secret intrigues with Byzantium, so that he was arrested and sentenced, and his possessions were confiscated. These disasters ruined his already poor health and hastened his death.

Ibn Zurʿa translated or abridged, probably from the Syriac, several works of Aristotle and in particular the *Historia Animalium*; he is, because of this, esteemed as a translator. However, his fame is based on a number of treatises on philosophy, theology and of apologetics, which are mostly lost. Of the list of his works given by Ibn al-Nadīm and completed by al-Ḳifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, it appears that there has survived only one translation (the Sophistical Refutations of Aristotle, *Sūfisṭīḳā*, ms. Paris, ar. 2346; see ʿA. Badawī, *Manṭiḳ Arisṭū*, iii, 737-1016), and ten or so treatises. Four of these have been published by P. Sbath (*Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IX^e au XIV^e siècle*, Cairo 1929); a treatise on the intellect (68-75); a letter to a Muslim friend on the existence of God (6-19); a refutation of the *Awāʾil al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī (52-8), the *Risāla ila 'l-Yahūdī Bishr b. Finḥās* (19-52). Six others exist in manuscript, especially in Paris (BN 132, 173, 174) and in the Vatican (113, 123, 127, 135): Replies to the five questions of Abū Ḥakīm Yūsuf al-Buḥayrī; Replies to twelve other questions by the above; Treatise on union; a defence of the Jacobite doctrine; Questions concerning the attitude of the body during prayer, concerning vows, fasting and almsgiving; a Treatise in which he defends those who devote themselves to logic and philosophy. It should be stated that the attribution of these works to Ibn Zurʿa is not absolutely certain; at least two other texts have been falsely attributed to him: the

Maḳāla fī māhiyyat ittiḥād al-Naṣārā of Abū ʿAlī Naṣīf b. Yumn, and a fragment of the *Kitāb al-Madjāmiʿ* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (Severus).

The surviving works of Ibn Zurʿa have formed the subject of a thesis (unpublished) presented at the Sorbonne in 1952 by Cyrille Haddad: *ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa, philosophe arabe et apologiste chrétien du Xᵉ siècle*. This study shows that Ibn Zurʿa follows in general his teacher, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, but departs from him on points of detail, makes great use of Aristotelian logic, of Platonic or Plotinan doctrine, of the Bible and of the Fathers of the Church, in order to present, in a fairly heavy style, a cool but scholarly and rational apologetic, which only rarely has recourse to *argumentum ad hominem*.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, index (Cairo ed., 369-70); Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 33; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ii, 245 ff.; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, iii, 277; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, i, 235 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, 66-9; Suter, 77; Graf, *Geschichte der christl. ar. Lit.*, ii, 52 ff.; Cheikho, *Cat. des mss des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam*, Beirut 1924; Brockelmann, I, 208, S I, 371; *DM*, iii, 133-4.

(Ed.)

IBO [see NIGERIA].

IBRĀHĪM, the ABRAHAM of the Bible, plays in Islamic religious history an important role as the founder or reformer of the monotheistic Kaʿba cult. He is mentioned, in greater or less detail, in 25 *sūra*s of the Ḳurʾān. Moses is the only Biblical character who is mentioned more frequently, though this does not mean that Abraham is considered second to him in importance.

In two *sūra*s, which are to be dated from the first Meccan period, there is a reference to the "leaves, scrolls" (*ṣuḥuf*) of Abraham and Moses, by which presumably texts of revelation are meant (LXXXVII, 18f.; LIII, 36f.). In the latter passage Abraham is indicated as he "who paid his debt in full". In a whole series of *sūra*s of the second and third Meccan period it is related how Abraham attacked the idol-worship of his father (named Āzar in *sūra* VI, 74) and his people and advocated belief in one single God (XXXVII, 83-98; XXVI, 69-89; XIX, 41-50; XLIII, 26-8; XXI, 51-73; XXIX, 16-27; VI, 74-84). Moreover, in one passage Abraham is explicitly referred to as a "speaker of truth" (*ṣiddīḳ*) and a prophet. In some *sūra*s of the first(?) to third Meccan periods the story of the visit to Abraham of the men sent by God is related in connexion with the announcement of the punishment to be imposed on Lot's people (LI, 24-34; XV, 51-60; XI, 69-76; XXIX, 31f.; cf. Genesis, xviii). In *sūra* XXXVII the account of Abraham's struggle against the idolatry of his countrymen leads into the story of the sacrifice of Isaac (without mentioning the latter by name, verses 100-11; the reference to the announcement of Isaac appears only subsequently, verse 112 f.). In a large number of the other passages mentioned above dating from the Meccan periods, reference is made to Abraham's descendants. Some of these speak generally of a young man (*ghulām*), who is not given a name (LI, 28; XV, 53; XXXVII, 101); in one place Isaac is mentioned alone (XXXVII, 112f., see above); in five places he is mentioned together with Jacob, who in this connexion appears as another son of Abraham and not as his grandson (XIX, 49; XXI 72; XXIX, 27; VI, 84; XI, 71; cf. XXXVIII, 45-7; XII, 6, 38). On the occasions when the name of Ishmael is mentioned too, it appears without any reference to the person and history of Abraham (XIX, 54f.; XXXVIII, 48; XXI, 85; VI, 86).

In the *sūra*s of the Medinan period, Abraham as a figure in religious history becomes still more prominent, together with Ishmael, who from then on no longer leads an isolated and shadowy existence, but rather supports his father in the effort to build up the Kaʿba in Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage and make it into a place of pure monotheistic belief (II, 124-41; III, 65-8, 95-7; IV, 125; XXII, 26-9, 78). Ishmael as well as Isaac, of whom he takes precedence, is now referred to as Abraham's son and Jacob is no longer considered as another son but—in accordance with the Biblical genealogy—as Abraham's grandson (II, 132f.; II, 136 = III, 84; II, 140; IV, 163). Islam is referred to simply as "the religion of Abraham" (*millat Ibrāhīm*), and Abraham is given the epithet *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*], to which is frequently added the remark "and he was not a pagan" (II, 135; III, 67, 95; IV, 125; XXII, 31, 78). In *sūra* IV, 125, in which also Abraham is described as *ḥanīf*, it is stated in addition that God took him as a friend (*khalīl*, cf. Isaiah xli, 8. Hence the later designation of Hebron, the alleged burial place of Abraham, as al-Khalīl).

In his dissertation *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, C. Snouck Hurgronje brought together and interpreted all these facts which are documented in the Ḳurʾān in a synthesis which traces their development (Leiden 1880, 29-47 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, i, 1923, 22-33). He concluded that it was not until after the Hidjra that Muḥammad, on the occasion of his controversy with the Jews, pronounced the Old Testament patriarch a *ḥanīf* and the first Muslim, and maintained that he, together with Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, built the Kaʿba and introduced the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. Abraham — always according to Snouck Hurgronje—became only at this juncture the most important forerunner of the Arabian Prophet: Islam was able to claim, as being the religion of pure monotheism already propagated by Abraham, priority over both Judaism (founded by Moses) and Christianity (founded by Jesus).

This thesis of Snouck Hurgronje became more widely known through a supplement which A. J. Wensinck added to the article IBRĀHĪM in *EI*[1] and provoked contradiction and denial, especially from Muslims. In the Arabic translation of *EI*[1] these criticisms were expressed in a detailed commentary on the article IBRĀHĪM. Some non-Muslims as well expressed doubts about Snouck Hurgronje's reasoning and conclusions. They were criticized by Youakim Moubarac, a pupil of Louis Massignon, in a special work (1958), in an attempt to mediate between Islam and Christianity; his criticism however went too far. More moderate and scientifically better grounded is the opinion of Edmund Beck (in *Le Muséon*, lxv, 1952). Snouck Hurgronje's reasoning has indeed certain weaknesses. In three *sūra*s which are attributed to the third Meccan period (XIV, XVI, VI) there is already anticipated the role of Abraham which is characteristic of the Medinan period: in *sūra* XIV, 35-41, Abraham appears, after Ishmael and Isaac have been born to him in spite of his great age, as the ancestor of the inhabitants of Mecca and prays to God that He will "make this place secure". And the passages XVI, 120-3, VI, 79, 161 speak of the religion (*milla*) of Abraham as that of a *ḥanīf* who was not a pagan (cf. also X, 105, in which however Abraham is not named). Snouck Hurgronje avoided the difficulty by

regarding these passages as later, Medinan, interpolations. This is however a rather questionable method. But even if it is granted that he is right on this point (the individual *sūras* are admittedly often made up of passages from different periods), it must be admitted that already long before the Hid̲j̲ra Muḥammad had esteemed Abraham as the champion of a pure monotheistic faith, so that in the period following the Hid̲j̲ra it was not an entirely new function which was attributed to him. E. Beck summarizes the results of his reflections on this as follows: "(1) Muḥammad had regarded Mecca as connected with Abraham already in the Meccan period, before associating Ishmael with this patriarch. (2) Also the conception implied by the term *millat Ibrāhīm* did not arise exclusively from the polemic with Jews (and Christians) which took place in the early Medinan period. The idea and the expression are derived from a development which reaches back far into the Meccan period. The development itself occurred organically, favoured and accelerated by the Jewish and Christian opponents, whose arguments Muḥammad was able skilfully to turn to his own purpose". The above conclusions of E. Beck are however little more than a slight modification of Snouck Hurgronje's thesis. They do not remove the divergences which exist between the opinions of Muslims and non-Muslims over the figure of Abraham as presented in the Ḳurʾān. The former consider that Abraham actually was in Mecca and, together with Ishmael, built the Kaʿba there and spread the pure monotheistic faith. Non-Muslims regard this merely as a religious legend. At the present stage of the dialogue there can be no reconciliation of the two points of view.

In the statements collected above on the history of Abraham as presented in the Ḳurʾān there have been indicated only the most important basic themes. There are many details which could be mentioned. Among these are the rescue of Abraham from the fire into which his heathen compatriots had thrown him (XXXVII, 97 f.; XXI, 68-70; XXIX, 24); his intercession on behalf of his pagan father (XIX, 47; XXVI, 86; LX, 4-6; IX, 114); his quarrel with the autocratic king (Nimrod, II, 258); the killing of the four birds (II, 260; cf. Genesis, xv, 9 ff.). Much more material exists in the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, the histories of the prophets (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) and works of universal history. It is in part borrowed from Jewish sources and may for the most part be termed scholarly or pseudo-scholarly edifying supplementation. Episodes which are described with excessively fantastic details are the arguments between the believer Abraham and the pagan king Nimrod, the story of the sacrifice of Abraham's son, which was averted at the last minute (on which there remains disagreement on whether the son was Isaac or Ishmael), and the sojourn in Mecca of Hagar and Ishmael. In some cases the Islamic legend of Abraham has even influenced the later Jewish tradition. There is no need to go further into these byways here, particularly since Grünbaum, Eisenberg, Sidersky and Schützinger have already dealt with them exhaustively (see bibl.). It may be mentioned in passing that the Biblical name of Abraham's father (*Tĕraḥ*) is correctly transmitted in the above-mentioned secondary literature (*Tʾrk̲h̲*), whereas in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 74) he is called Āzar. (On this name, see J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 85 f.)

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(R. PARET)

IBRĀHĪM I B. AL-AG̲H̲LAB B. SĀLIM B. ʿIḲĀL (184-96/800-12), founder of the Ifrīḳiyan dynasty of the Ag̲h̲labids, was a Tamīmī of the clan of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt. This clan, as a result of the Muslim conquests, had settled at a very early date in K̲h̲urāsān, where they were enemies especially of the Muhallabids, whom Ibrāhīm was later to encounter again in Egypt and then in Ifrīḳiya. It was thus that al-Ag̲h̲lab, the eponymous ancestor of the Ag̲h̲labids, was born at Marw al-Rūd̲h̲. He embraced the cause of the ʿAbbāsids, of whom he was one of the most fervent supporters with Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲urāsānī. It was in their service that he first visited the Mag̲h̲rib in the army of Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲. The latter appointed him to be in charge of the Zāb (144/761), that is, the region of the Aurès to the south of the present-day Constantinois. In 148/765, Ibn al-As̲h̲ʿat̲h̲ was driven out by his own troops, and al-Ag̲h̲lab replaced him at Ḳayrawān, beneath the walls of which he was killed during one of the numerous insurrections which continually rent the country.

His family returned towards Egypt. Ibrāhīm at this time was ten years of age. He began his education with a thorough study of *fiḳh* and was one of the most brilliant pupils of al-Layt̲h̲ b. Saʿd (d. 179/795). But being descended from one of the most illustrious officers of the ʿAbbāsid army, he necessarily followed the tradition of his family. He thus joined the *d̲j̲und* of Egypt and took a fatal part in the upheavals which were disturbing the country. He took part in 174/790 in the pillage of the public treasury, taking only his exact due "without anything extra", according to al-Balād̲h̲urī. This action caused him to be banished by the Muhallabid

governor of Egypt and obliged to live under supervision in the Zāb, which was governed by another Muhallabid, i.e. by a traditional enemy of the family.

Helped by the troubles which were continually disturbing Ifrīḳiya, Ibrāhīm managed to consolidate his position in the Zāb, where the memory of his father was still fresh. He learned above all not to exceed the bounds of the law. Mellowed by his trials, he held himself aloof from the insurrections and, as the result of a power vacuum in the Zāb (a consequence of those insurrections), he came to possess real *de facto* authority there. In 179/795, Harthama, who had come from Baghdād to restore law and order in the country, transformed this *de facto* authority into a proper investiture. Probably two years later, Ibrāhīm was promoted by al-Rashīd, who was apparently satisfied with his services, from the rank of deputy-governor to that of governor of the Zāb responsible directly to himself.

Soon a new insurrection was to give him the keys of Ḳayrawān. In Ramaḍān 183/October 799, Tammān, the Tamīmī governor of Tunis (belonging to the clan of the Malik b. Zayd Manāt, who were hostile to the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt) had driven Ibn al-ʿAkkī out of Ḳayrawān. From the Zāb, Ibrāhīm rushed in to restore the legitimate governor to his rights. This restoration of the *status quo* did not in fact receive the support of the caliphate or that of the Ifrīḳiyans. Therefore, for various reasons of Baghdādī and Ifrīḳiyan policy, Ibrāhīm was invited to take the place of Ibn al-ʿAkkī, and al-Rashīd, in return for a favourable financial arrangement, was persuaded to confer on him the title of hereditary *amīr*. In this way Ifrīḳiya acquired, peacefully and painlessly, the status of an autonomous emirate.

This easy accession to power was not, however, without difficulties for Ibrāhīm. He had to contend with the hostility of the *fuḳahāʾ* and members of the *djund*. He had to suffer many affronts, and use much moderation, cunning and energy in order to consolidate his régime. On his accession he built, two miles south of Ḳayrawān, a fortified residence, al-ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*], which, garrisoned by a strong guard of black soldiers, was to save the dynasty on more than one occasion. The first rebellion broke out at Tunis (186/802), then there was another at Tripoli (189/805). But the most serious uprising was that of the *djund*, which was put down only with the help of reinforcements opportunely sent by the caliph. And when Ibrāhīm I died (21 Shawwāl 196/5 July 812), his son and successor ʿAbd Allāh was besieged in Tripoli.

Ibrāhīm I was remembered as a cultured, energetic and just ruler. Al-Nuwayrī writes: "He was a *faḳīh*, scholar, orator and poet. He was also a man of judgement and energy . . . Never before his reign had Ifrīḳiya been ruled by an *amīr* so just in his conduct, so exemplary in his policy, so benevolent to his subjects and so energetic in the organization of affairs".

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IBRĀHĪM II, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, born 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 235/27 June 850, was, after Ibrāhīm I, the most outstanding personality of the Aghlabid dynasty, being distinguished as much for his exceptional qualities as for his barely credible crimes. Raised to power by the enthusiasm of the people, in place of the legitimate successor who was still a minor and of whom he was to have been the regent, he began his reign (261/875) with just measures and wise administration. With this aim, he did not shrink from unpopular but salutary measures such as withdrawing from circulation valueless fragments of coin (*ḳiṭaʿ*) which had become current, an action which very nearly gave rise to a serious riot in Ḳayrawān (*thawrat al-darāhim*). He was able on this occasion to act calmly and, while holding to his decision, to avoid bloodshed.

But, affected by a mental illness which was gradually to get worse, he very soon in fact deliberately built up a system of complete despotism in matters of government, and, abusing this right, caused much bloodshed. He certainly committed, to achieve his policy and also gratuitously, many crimes, and even more were attributed to him. He was thus regarded by posterity as a monster, and was remembered chiefly as the grim hero of a series of horrible stories in which the victims were his daughters, his sons, his servants, his favourites, his slave girls and many others. In this terrifying portrait of him given by the majority of the chroniclers, a large part was certainly played by Ismāʿīlī propaganda, which was particularly active at the end of his reign.

The despotism of Ibrāhīm II did not fail to provoke violent reactions. The Berbers, more exposed to it than the others, were the first to revolt (268-9/881-3) throughout the kingdom and were severely punished. The bodies of the victims were borne away by cartloads and thrown into common graves. Twelve years later (280/893), it was the turn of the great "feudal lords" to take up the struggle. The cause of this insurrection was the *amīr*'s policy of subjugating powerful figures, and the most important victims were the proud warriors of the citadel of Balazma, the key to the *massif* of the Kutāma, from which there began the movement which was to overthrow the Aghlabid dynasty. Ibrāhīm II, who at first imagined this to be a repetition of the great rebellion of the *djund* which had very nearly taken the throne from Ziyādat Allāh I, was seized with panic. In fact, he easily overcame his adversaries, who did not even attempt to unite their force. He next came into conflict with the Nafūsa Berbers (283-4/896-7), whose ranks were completely routed. Then, after having had his cousin, the governor of Tripoli, executed in atrocious circumstances, he made a show of invading Egypt (whence in 267/880-1 there had set out the abortive expedition of Abu'l-ʿAbbās Ibn Ṭūlūn against Ifrīḳiya) before returning to Tunis.

Some years later (289/902), he abdicated in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh II, who had been recalled from Sicily, and went, surrounded by *ahl al-baṣāʾir* "perspicacious people", and wearing the patched habit of penitent ascetics, to seek and find martyrdom under the walls of Cosenza (17 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 289/23 October 902). The *amīr*, whose arrival spread panic throughout southern Italy, planned, it is said, nothing less than to take Byzantium by way of Rome. His reign was one of power and folly. With

the growth of the illness which was consuming him, he gradually deteriorated as a ruler, and by his errors prepared the way for the triumph of the Fāṭimids.

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IBRĀHĪM, eighteenth Ottoman Sultan, was born on 12 Shawwāl 1024/4 November 1615, the youngest son of Aḥmad I [*q.v.*]. He spent all his early life in close confinement, in constant fear of being put to death (as four of his elder brothers were); so that when Murād IV [*q.v.*] died and Ibrāhīm, the sole surviving prince of the dynasty, was called to ascend the throne, only the combined persuasions of his mother Kösem and the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*qq.v.*] induced him to emerge (16 Shawwāl 1049/8 February 1640).

The capable Ḳara Muṣṭafā remained in power for the first four years of Ibrāhīm's reign. He promoted peaceful relations with Persia and, by the treaty of Szön (15 March 1642), renewed the peace with Austria; while in 1051/1642 Azov (Azaḳ [*q.v.*]) was recovered from the Cossacks. He carried through a reform of the coinage [see SIKKA] and a new land-survey (*taḥrīr* [*q.v.*]) in an attempt to stabilize the economy, and took strict measures to restore the authority of Istanbul over refractory provincial governors (repression of the revolt of Naṣūḥ Pasha-zāde Ḥüseyn Pasha, 1053/1643).

During at least the first years of his reign, Ibrāhīm was capable of concerning himself with the well-being of his empire. The Grand Vizier addressed to his utterly inexperienced new master a memorandum on public affairs (F. R. Unat, *Sadrazam Kemenkeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyihası*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/6 (1942), 443-80); Koči Beg [*q.v.*] also submitted a précis of advice on government (MS Revan 1323, ? autograph); and documents in the Sultan's own hand, preserved in Topkapısarayı, show him urging the Grand Vizier to attend, e.g., to the provisioning of Istanbul (Ç. Uluçay, *Sultan Ibrâhim deli mi, hasta mı idi?*, in *Tarih Dünyası*, no. 12 (1950), at p. 498; cf. *IA*, art. *Ibrâhim*, 880 b). But perhaps as a result of the terrors and tension of his early years he was subject to perpetual headaches and to attacks of physical prostration; furthermore, since fears that he might be impotent put the survival of the dynasty in doubt, he was encouraged, by his mother and his entourage, to abandon himself to the pleasures of the harem (and soon fathered several children in rapid succession, the future sultans Meḥemmed IV, Süleymān II and Aḥmed II [*qq.v.*] among them). Thus he came increasingly under the influence of concubines and favourites, and of the charlatan Djindji Khodja [see ḤUSAYN, DJINDJI KHODJA], who purported to cure the Sultan's fits.

Djindji Khodja and his allies the *rikābdār* Yūsuf and Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha became more and more powerful, controlling appointments and dismissals, enriching themselves by bribes and finally procuring the execution of the upright but tactless Ḳara Muṣṭafā (21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1053/31 January 1644). Sulṭan-zāde Muṣṭafā now became Grand Vizier, while Djindji Khodja was appointed *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu and Yūsuf Kapudān Pasha. The new Grand Vizier did nothing to restrain the Sultan's eccentricities and extravagance.

It was at this juncture that the seizure by Maltese corsairs of a ship carrying pilgrims to Egypt provoked the Sultan, urged on by Yūsuf, to invade Crete (Djumādā I 1055/June 1645), and thus to embark on the exhausting war with Venice, which was to last for 24 years [see IḲRĪTISH; ḲANDIYA]. Yūsuf Pasha's initial success in forcing the surrender of Canea (Ḥanya) aroused the jealousy of the Grand Vizier; and the intrigues between them and the attempts of each to win over the wayward Sultan led successively to the deposition of Muṣṭafā (Shawwāl 1055/December 1645) and to the execution of Yūsuf (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1055/January 1646).

Ibrāhīm's addiction to the women of the harem now found its culmination in his taking one of his concubines (Telli Khāṣṣeki) in legal marriage (after which he is said to have ordered the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pasha on the Hippodrome, which was made over to the lady, to be carpeted with furs). The imposition of heavy taxes, not for the prosecution of the war but for the satisfaction of such eccentric whims, aroused increasing discontent both in the provinces (revolt of Varvar ʿAlī Pasha at Sīvas, put down by Ipshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]) and in Istanbul. Various Janissary officers persuaded some members of the *ʿulemāʾ* to join in a plot, at first directed against the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Pasha, who on 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 was strangled and torn to pieces (whence his later nickname "Hezār-pāre"); and on the same day Ibrāhīm was seized and put into close confinement in the Palace, while his seven year old son Meḥemmed (IV) was placed on the throne. Ten days later, however, fearing that Ibrāhīm's partisans might procure his restoration, the new Grand Vizier, Ṣofu Meḥmed Pasha, accompanied by the Shaykh al-Islām (who had given a *fetwā* sanctioning the execution), had him strangled (28 Radjab 1058/18 August 1648).

Bibliography: General histories: P. Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish Empire*, London 1680; Hammer-Purgstall, v, 295-454; Zinkeisen, iv, 530-802; Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie*...², iv, 64-71; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, 212-44; T. Yılmaz Öztuna, *Türkiye tarihi*, ix, Istanbul 1966, 98 141. For a popular account of the period, see Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Samūr dewri*, Istanbul 1927, and idem, *Ḳadīnlar salṭanatī*, Istanbul 1332. Ottoman chronicles: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, ii, 219-330, 339-40; Naʿīmā, iii, 452-iv, 334; Ḳaračelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Rawḍat al-abrār*, 610 ff.; Münedjdjim-bashī, iii, 679-93; Ṣolaḳzāde, 766-73.

The above is an abridgement of the article *Ibrâhim* in *IA*, fasc. 49, pp. 880-5, which includes references to and quotations from archive documents, and further bibliography.

(M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿABD ALLĀH, full brother of Muḥammad [*q.v.*] called al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who rebelled with him against the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762-3. Their father ʿAbd Allāh, the son of al-Ḥasan (al-Muthannā) b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī,

was thus Ḥasanid through his father and Ḥusaynid through his mother, which earned him the by-name of al-Maḥḍ (of pure blood). He was considered as the *shaykh* of the Hāshimites (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) as well as of the Ḥasanids, since he enjoyed great authority after his father al-Ḥasan died during the reign of the caliph al-Walīd I. Ibrāhīm's mother, Hind bint Abī ʿUbayda, before marrying the ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh, had been the wife of ʿAbd Allāh the son of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik; she was renowned as a poet and the sources have preserved some of her verses.

The intrigues of the ʿAlids to raise one of the members of their family to the caliphate had begun very early, during the Umayyad period. At a gathering of the Hāshimites held at al-Abwāʾ, after the murder of al-Walīd II [*q.v.*], ʿAbd Allāh had got all those present (except Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], who was at that time the most influential of the Ḥusaynids) to agree that his son Muḥammad should be recognized as claimant to the caliphate; the *bayʿa* had thus been given to this young man, then thirty-two years of age. After this, the two brothers Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm carried out a vigorous campaign of propaganda, travelling throughout the lands of the empire, especially the farthest east, including Sind. When the ʿAbbāsid al-Saffāḥ ascended the throne, the frustrated ʿAlids were forced to accept the *fait accompli*, but they did not give up their plans; the two brothers continued their proselytizing in secret, changing its objective and making the ʿAbbāsids the target of their accusations. Al-Saffāḥ scarcely heeded their activity, but his successor al-Manṣūr took offence at it; as Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm had not come to meet him during the Pilgrimage of 136/754 and had not rendered homage to him, he decided, in 140/758, to imprison in a *dār* in Medina the aged ʿAbd Allāh, and shortly afterwards some other ʿAlids, then to transfer all these prisoners to Kūfa, where they were thrown into a foul dungeon. He hoped thus to lure Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm from their hiding-place, but, on the advice of their father, they did not allow themselves to be inveigled into suspending their revolutionary activities.

Al-Manṣūr having intensified the search, Muḥammad decided to resort to action against the ʿAbbāsids and began a revolt on 1 Radjab 145/25 September 762, at Medina. For details of this action, during which he was killed on 14 Ramaḍān 145/6 December 762, see the article MUḤAMMAD AL-NAFS AL-ZAKIYYA.

Ibrāhīm had been for some time in Baṣra, where the movement had many supporters; Muḥammad having told him in advance of his plans, he too began a revolt (1 Ramaḍān 145/23 November 762); his movement at Baṣra was more extensive and lasted longer than that at Medina. Al-Manṣūr, alarmed by the insurrection, had gone from Baghdād, which he was then engaged in building, to Kūfa, in order to keep control over the inhabitants. He brought in troops from al-Djazīra and from Syria, resorting to stratagems to make them appear more numerous than they really were, and instructed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*] to interrupt his activities in the Ḥidjāz, after his victory over Muḥammad, and to march immediately with his army against Ibrāhīm. The latter, master of Baṣra thanks to the governor there, who was in sympathy with the rebels, had seized the treasury and had sent armed bands to occupy other towns and districts (al-Ahwāz, some towns of Fārs, Wāsiṭ). When the news of Muḥammad's death reached Baṣra, the rebels paid homage to Ibrāhīm, who advanced towards Kūfa, where many of his supporters urged him to go, but he gave up this plan and withdrew; then, instead of awaiting at Baṣra an attack from ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, he went to Bākhamrā (1 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 145/21 January 763), where a battle took place between the ʿAbbāsid forces and the rebels. ʿĪsā's vanguard was at first routed, but this first failure soon turned to victory for the government troops. Ibrāhīm, left alone with a few faithful followers after the majority of his supporters had been scattered, was mortally wounded, and died on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 145/14 February 763 (according to one source it was in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja). He was then 47 years of age. The revolt of the two brothers had thus occupied almost the whole of the second half of the year 145.

There were several causes for the failure of the revolt: Muḥammad's hasty decision to open his campaign of insurrection at Medina, where he could find neither the means nor the forces necessary for his enterprise; the prompt reaction of al-Manṣūr and the chance offered to him of first extinguishing the revolt begun in Medina and then of attacking Baṣra with a larger number of troops; the lack of enthusiasm of the supporters of the ʿAlids. This last point is proved by the following facts: the Medinans, taken unawares, had at first sworn homage to Muḥammad, but they turned again to the caliph at the approach of ʿĪsā; the supporters from other towns did not rally either to Medina or Baṣra; the majority of the *fuḳahāʾ* limited themselves to giving verbal approval or to providing a contribution in money, as Abū Ḥanīfa is said to have done; the Kūfans were afraid and remained inactive; the Syrians drove out Mūsā, the brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, who had been sent to govern their territory; at Wāsiṭ, the supporters preferred to await the result of the conflict; before and during the battle of Bākhamrā, there were defections, and finally an almost general dispersal. But it may be that the reason for the ʿAlid failure is to be sought not only in these last-minute occurrences but earlier, in the situation created by the accession of the ʿAbbāsids, which the ʿAlids had not properly assessed. Both sides had based their propaganda on the merits and the right to power of the family of the Prophet, and had promised to observe scrupulously the true religion, but the ʿAbbāsids, now in power, were in fact keeping their promises. The ʿAlids therefore were hard put to it to find motives for opposition to these new rulers. While great social, political, and to a certain extent also religious, reforms were in progress, it was unlikely that the people, who had put their confidence in the ʿAbbāsids for the solution of their problems, would take part in a struggle waged against these rulers by members of their own family in the cause of a strict legitimism—all the more since it was only the Ḥasanid branch of the ʿAlids which proposed to challenge them, the other great branch, that of the Ḥusaynids, having no intention of doing so. Another reason for the lack of enthusiasm of the Muslims in general for the Ḥasanid cause was probably the fact that on the questions which were troubling the Muslim world the Ḥasanid position was either not clear or open to criticism. The sources are by no means explicit on this, but there were quarrels between Ibrāhīm and his Zaydī supporters, evidently because the latter suspected, and in fact very soon realized, that their aims were not the same as those of the Ḥasanids. The Zaydīs at this period formed what was in effect a political party with social objectives

(see L. Veccia Vaglieri, *op. cit.* in bibliography); thus the groups describing themselves as Zaydīs who joined Ibrāhīm in Baṣra demanded as a condition of their joining the campaign that, if Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm should die, the command should go to ʿĪsā, the son of the martyr Zayd b. Ḥusayn [*q.v.*]; they soon fell into disagreement with Ibrāhīm, and wished to put a leader of their own at the head of the rebels, renouncing this project only when they feared that al-Manṣūr would take advantage of this quarrel; they nevertheless reserved the right to re-open the matter after the victory. They next raised objections on a detail of ritual, on the tactics to adopt during the battle, and on the way in which provisions and money should be requisitioned. Nevertheless some Zaydīs remained with the ʿAlid until the end of the battle, and, when he was wounded, bravely defended his body.

Ibrāhīm appears to have been more intelligent than his brother Muḥammad, or so it would seem from the fact that when the founders of Muʿtazilism, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b. Ubayd, came to Medina with a group of followers of their movement to meet the ʿAlid claimant to the caliphate, ʿAbd Allāh (with the agreement of his advisers) preferred that they should meet Ibrāhīm rather than Muḥammad, since, given the intelligence of the questioners, the interview promised to be an awkward one. The *Maḳātil* (193 f.) confirms that Ibrāhīm made a very good impression on them. He was better educated than his brother, if not in the religious sciences at least in the field of literature, since it is reported that he was fond of poetry, that he compiled a collection of the poems of his host and supporter Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī [*q.v.*], and that he himself wrote poems. He was active and courageous: during the period which he spent in hiding he boldly faced great dangers (Ṭabarī, iii, 284-90). The sources extol his piety and his respect for ritual observances: still more interesting are reports of episodes which show him to be free from fanaticism and of a merciful nature.

Bibliography: The sources which devote most space to the revolt of 145 are Ṭabarī and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī in his *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*; Ṭabarī, iii, 143, 147, 152, 158, 163 f. (al-Manṣūr's concern at the plotting of the two brothers and the measures which he took), 169-90 (transfer of the ʿAlid prisoners to Kūfa and their sufferings), 282-318 (the revolt of Ibrāhīm); *Maḳātil*, ed. A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1365, 205-29, 232-309 (discussion between Ibrāhīm and the Muʿtazilīs, 293 f.), 315-89 (revolt of Ibrāhīm); the protests of the Zaydīs: 334, cf. 332, 333-5, 344, 370, 405 f., 408. In addition there may be consulted: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ms. Paris, 612v-632r; *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje and De Jong, Leiden 1869, 230-5, and Index; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 418 f., 424, 431 f., 444 f., 450-6; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1293, iii, 34-41; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 194-202; *Aghānī*, xviii, 207 f. (the marriages and poetry of Hind, the mother of Ibrāhīm), 208 f., xv, 89; Yāḳūt, *s.v.* Bākhamrā; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 402-22, 428-37 and index; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar*, ii, 16-20; Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghamar*, ed. Munadjdjid, i, 198-203; Ibn Kathīr, Cairo 1348-53, x, 80 f.; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, Nadjaf 1337/1918, 87-92; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iii, 187-96 (= Beirut 1958, 398 ff.); Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, v, 308.

Western authors: G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim 1846-51, ii, 40-56; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, London 1891, 450-4; A. Noeldeke, *Der Chalif Mansur*, in *Orientalische Skizzen*, 126-34; C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1921, 40-53 (Fr. tr. by J. Ryckmans, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite au Yémen*, Leiden 1960, supporters of the two brothers: 285-90); Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 197-8; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Divagazioni su due rivolte alidi*, in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Rome 1964, 315-21, 328, 337-41, 342 f.; on the participation of a number of Muʿtazilīs in the movement of revolt and on the recognition of the two brothers as *imāms* by the "Shīʿat al-Muʿtazila", see W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 72-4, 211.

(L. Veccia Vaglieri)

IBRĀHĪM b. **ADHAM** b. Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Djābir (Abū Isḥāḳ) al-ʿIdjlī was born in Balkh, in Khurāsān, into a family from the Kūfa area belonging to the tribal group Bakr b. Wāʾil. The date given for his death in the most dependable sources is 161/777-8.

He was one of the most prominent of the Ṣūfīs of the 2nd/8th century, celebrated in later legend especially for his asceticism. R. A. Nicholson characterizes him as "essentially an ascetic and quietist of a practical type", who had not crossed the borderline which divides asceticism from mysticism. Ibrāhīm caught the imagination of subsequent generations of Ṣūfīs especially because of his generosity, illustrated by many tales of kind acts to friends, and his feats of self-denial, which were in such contrast to the luxury in which he is supposed to have spent his early life.

The earlier Arabic sources, mainly Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn ʿAsākir, permit the sketching of an outline of his life: He was born into the Arab community settled in Balkh in about 112/730, or perhaps earlier, and migrated from Khurāsān to Syria some time before 137/754. During the rest of his life he led a somewhat nomadic existence mostly in this region, going as far north as the Sayḥān River and as far south as Ghazza. He disapproved of begging and worked with his hands for his livelihood, reaping, gleaning or grinding corn, or tending orchards, for example. In addition to this he probably engaged in military operations on the border with Byzantium; the frontier fortresses of the Thughūr (to the north of Syria, in modern Turkey) are mentioned repeatedly in the anecdotes. We are told that he took part in two land and two naval expeditions against Byzantium; he died on the second naval expedition of "[a disease of] the belly" (Abū Nuʿaym, vii, 388). The manner of his death is confirmed by the circumstantial account of it given by Ibn ʿAsākir (196). He was buried on a Byzantine island, according to some accounts near a fortress called Sūḳīn, or Sūfanan. Another account places his death in Egypt. In various other less reliable accounts his tomb is said to be in Tyre, in Baghdād, in Damascus, in 'the city of Lot' (= Kafr Barīk), in the Cave of Jeremiah near Jerusalem and finally and most persistently of all, in Djabala on the Syrian coast.

Ibrāhīm b. Adham is known widely in legend as the ruler of Balkh who abdicated his throne to take up the ascetic life. There seems to be no historical basis for this belief. The first source to give him royal status is al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), the legendary nature of whose account is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that it includes a description of Ibrāhīm's encounter with the immortal prophet Khiḍr; how-

ever, from al-Sulamī onwards this legend is found firmly rooted in the accounts of Ibrāhīm's life. Thus the anecdotes generally associate his conversion, or repentance, with his abdication; the accounts of this may be grouped under about ten different themes, e.g. that he repented after reflecting on the utter contentment of a beggar whom he saw sitting in the shade of the palace, or that he was warned by Khiḍr, in the guise of a fakir, of the transitory nature of this world. The best known of the themes is also the earliest, being found in al-Kalābādhī (108), which (in Arberry's translation) reads: "... he went out to hunt for pleasure, and a voice called him, saying 'Not for this wast thou created, and not to this wast thou commanded'. Twice the voice called him; and on the third occasion the call came from the pommel of his saddle. Then he said: 'By God, I will not disobey God henceforth, so long as my Lord protects me from sin.' "

Here it may be remarked that the postulation that the story of Ibrāhīm's conversion was modelled on the story of the Buddha (first put forward by Goldziher, see *JRAS*, 1904, 132-3) has been questioned more than once (see for example L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines* ..., Paris 1922, 63; cf. R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim mysticism*, London 1960, 21-2) and perhaps ought no longer to be accepted.

Ibrāhīm's migration from Balkh to Syria is well attested, and the many different "conversion" legends explain his motive for it. However, another interesting possibility is opened up by a brief reference in Ibn ʿAsākir (168); it reports that "Ibrāhīm b. Adham left Khurāsān with Djahḍam, fleeing from Abū Muslim, then he went to live in the Thughūr ...". Al-Bukhārī (iv/1, 23) supplies corroboration that Djahḍam [b. ʿAbd Allāh, of al-Yamāma] left Khurāsān at this time, and there would be no chronological inconsistency between the year of the revolt of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]—129/747—and what is known of Ibrāhīm's life. Space does not permit full discussion of this question here; suffice it to say that a study of the material available discloses no reason for rejecting this account in Ibn ʿAsākir.

So much for the literature in Arabic. The literature on Ibn Adham underwent certain changes when it passed into other languages: much of the factual material was lost, while the more legendary and fanciful themes were taken over and often greatly embellished. This process can be observed in Persian, by far the richest source being Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* [see ʿAṬṬĀR]; much of the literature on Ibrāhīm in Indian and Indonesian languages seems to have come via Persian. The non-Arabic sources are of almost no value as sources of factual data: certain seemingly authentic details (e.g. the day and month of Ibrāhīm's death in Persian sources, the names given to certain individuals in Malay sources) can only be imaginary. Another feature of the non-Arabic literature is the occurrence of full-length autobiographies, as opposed to anecdotes, round the figure of Ibn Adham, sometimes preceded by an account of his father, Adham. Such highly embellished biographies have been written in Turkish, by Darwīsh Ḥasan al-Rūmī, known only from an abridgement, or collection of excerpts, in Arabic; in Urdu, by a Muḥammad Abu'l Ḥasan; in "Cashmiri language"—but the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and in Malay, possibly to be attributed to a Shaykh Abū Bakr from Ḥaḍramawt. A published abridgement of the Malay version seems to be the source for short versions in Javanese, Sundanese and Bugis. Besides these accounts, anecdotes of Ibrāhīm b. Adham can be found scattered through Islamic, particularly Ṣūfī, literature. No doubt Ṣūfī Orders have played their part in perpetuating his memory; the author knows of no evidence that the Adhamiyya Order, of which Ibrāhīm is the eponym (though of course not the founder), exists at the present time.

Bibliography: Four brief early sources (in Arabic): al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1361, i/1, 273; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), *Kitāb Mashāhīr ʿulamāʾ al-amṣār*, ed. Fleischhammer, Cairo/Wiesbaden 1959, 183; *Aghānī*[1], xii, 111, 113; al-Kalābādhī (d. circa 385/995), *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1934, 108 (translated A. J. Arberry, *The doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, Cambridge 1935). A manifestly legendary flavour appears for the first time in al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 13 ff.

By far the most informative sources are Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1937-8, vii, 367-95, viii, 3-58, and Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176), *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1330, ii, 167-96; the sayings and anecdotes recorded by Abū Nuʿaym give the best insight into Ibrāhīm's character and personality. The richest source in Persian is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (ed. R. A. Nicholson, London and Leiden 1905, i, 85-106); translations of relevant portions of this have been supplied by A. Pavet de Courteille, J. Hallauer, Claud Field, Bankey Behari and A. J. Arberry in different publications. For an example of works in Persian composed in India see Allāh Diyah ... Čishtī al-ʿUthmānī (d. after 1658 AD), *Siyar al-aḳṭāb*, Lucknow 1877, 29-45.

On the Arabic abridgement of the Turkish biography see W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften ... zu Berlin*, viii, Berlin 1896, 47-9; on the Urdu poem see Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie*, i, Paris 1870, 101; on the Malay version see *Studies in Islam*, v/1, New Delhi 1968, 7-20.

Useful compilations of data on Ibn Adham can be found in an article by R. A. Nicholson in *ZA*, xxvi (1912), 215-20; in H. Ritter's *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955 (see index); and under IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM in *EI*[1]. For reference to pictorial representations of this saint see W. G. Archer, *Indian painting in the Punjab Hills*, London 1952, 79, 83, 84, 92. (RUSSELL JONES)

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ [see AL-SHĪRĀZĪ].

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ B. ḤASAN AL-SAḲḲĀʾ, Egyptian teacher and preacher, whose father's family came from the village of Shabrākhūm (formerly the *markaz* of Zifta, now that of Ḳuwaysna in Lower Egypt). He himself was born in 1212/1797 in Cairo, where he was to spend his whole life. After he had followed the course of studies at the *kuttāb* and then at al-Azhar (Shāfiʿī rite) until 1234/1819, his whole career was spent as a teacher at al-Azhar. His biographers give the titles of his works and mention his zeal for work and for reading, but in fact little is known of his life, since the history of the members of al-Azhar in the 19th century has still to be written, and the researches of Mme. ʿAfāf Luṭfī Sayyid are only now beginning to provide information on this subject. He owed his fame to his gifts as an orator, being preacher at al-Azhar Mosque for over twenty years. He preached sermons on all the customary occasions and celebrations and gave

an oration in Arabic at the ceremony of the opening of the Suez Canal (Port Said, 16 November 1869, according to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Ismāʿīl*, i, 102). His *Ghāyat al-umniyya fi 'l-khuṭab al-minbariyya* (lith.) is a collection of sermons for all the Fridays and feast days of the year and for some extraordinary occasions (eclipses, etc.): it has a certain interest for the study of religious feeling in the 19th century. He performed the Pilgrimage in 1263/1847. On 15 Ramaḍān 1280/23 February 1864 he was granted a pension of 2,020 piastres (Abdin Palace archives, communicated by Mme. ʿAfāf Luṭfī Sayyid). He was an invalid for the last ten years of his life and died on 14 Djumādā II 1298/14 May 1881, being given a semi-official funeral.

His grandson (through his daughter) Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Saḳḳāʾ, born in 1262/1846, was also an *ʿālim* and preacher at al-Azhar. He died on 24 Djumādā I 1326/24 June 1908 and was buried near his grandfather.

Bibliography: Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 48; Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *Muḳaddimat murshid al-anām li-birr umm al-Imām* (MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub, fiḳh shāfiʿī no. 1522, ii, 638-48, 675); Brockelmann, II, 490, S II, 747 (incomplete list of works, see also the two following references); ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xii, 118; *al-Muʿdjam al-aṣghar li-tarādjim wa-muʾallafāt ʿulamāʾ al-Azhar* (manuscript catalogue of the works by members of al-Azhar existing in the library of al-Azhar in Cairo), notice no. 27. For the members of al-Azhar in general, see two articles by Mme. ʿAfāf Luṭfī Sayyid: *The role of the Ulama in Egypt during the early nineteenth century*, in P. M. Holt (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, Oxford 1968, and *The beginning of modernization among the rectors of al-Azhar*, in W. R. Polk and R. L. Chambers (ed.), *The beginning of modernization in the Middle East: the nineteenth century*, Chicago 1968. (J. Jomier)

IBRĀHĪM B. AL-**ASHTAR**, son of the famous Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī [see AL-ASHTAR] and himself a soldier attached to the ʿAlid party. It is said that he had already fought at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in the ranks of ʿAlī, but his historical importance is based on his action in support of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*]. In fact he seems to have hesitated before joining the agitator, and the chroniclers themselves consider that it was necessary for the latter to forge a letter which purported to be written by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to Ibrāhīm before the latter agreed to recognize al-Mukhtār as the agent of ʿAlī's son. Ibn al-Ashtar, whose name is mentioned together with that of the famous *Khashabiyya* ([*q.v.*] and not *Ḥusayniyya* as might be supposed from their appeal to exact vengeance for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī), is famous for the defeat which he inflicted on the Umayyad troops and for the fact that he killed with his own hand ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] and some other important adversaries, during the battle fought at al-Djāzir, near al-Madāʾin, on 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686; the heads of the victims were sent to al-Mukhtār, who in his turn sent them to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

After the death of al-Mukhtār (14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687) during an attempt at a sortie, during the siege of Kūfa by the troops of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and in the absence of Ibn al-Ashtar (who had been sent by his leader to al-Mawṣil), the Zubayrid party received the support of this brave general; in spite of the efforts of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān to detach him from his enemies, he remained faithful to them, and it was while fighting in the ranks of Muṣʿab that he was killed at Maskin, in Djumādā I 72/October 691, on the eve of the battle of Dayr al-Djāthaliḳ [*q.v.*]; al-Masʿūdī wrote a striking description of the last moments of Ibn al-Ashtar, whose body, sent over to the enemy, was later burned.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar is sometimes confused with Abū ʿImrān Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Ḳays al-Nakhaʿī, a *faḳīh* and traditionist of Kūfa (50-96/670-715); see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, s.v.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub annis* 67, 72; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 222, 223, 224-5, 242-6; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, tab. 264 and Register, s.v.; *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., xvii, 252; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 122-3. (Ed.)

IBRĀHĪM B. **DHAKWĀN** AL-ḤARRĀNĪ, vizier of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Hādī. The caliph, on his accession, had appointed as vizier and chamberlain the powerful al-Rabīʿ, but he soon replaced him by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī, who had been his adviser when he was governor of Djurdjān. Some historians however do not give Ibrāhīm the title of vizier, but refer to him only as director of finance.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index. (D. Sourdel)

IBRĀHĪM B. **HILĀL** [see AL-ṢĀBIʾ].

IBRĀHĪM B. **KHĀLID** [see ABŪ THAWR].

IBRĀHĪM B. AL-**MAHDĪ**, ʿAbbāsid prince, born end of 162/July 779, d. in Ramaḍān 224/July 839. The son of the caliph al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] and of a concubine of Daylamī origin named Shikla, he was in Baghdād at the time when the caliph al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*], who was then living at Marw, nominated as his successor ʿAlī al-Riḍā. The inhabitants of Baghdād and the ʿAbbāsid aristocracy, in revolt against this decision which seemed to them to be contrary to the legitimist principle established by the first caliphs of the dynasty, then rejected the authority of al-Maʾmūn and proclaimed in his place, as the caliph, his uncle Ibrāhīm, who took the regnal name of al-Mubārak and received publicly the usual oath of allegiance in the Great Mosque on 5 Muḥarram 202/24 July 817. Ibrāhīm's reign was in fact only a short one; revolts broke out at first within the army, then his generals Saʿīd b. Sadjūr and ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad were beaten near Wāsiṭ on 26 Radjab 202/7 February 818 by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*], governor of ʿIrāḳ in the name of al-Maʾmūn. After their defeat ʿĪsā openly went over to al-Maʾmūn, while other leaders worked in secret to prepare for his return. When al-Maʾmūn decided to return to Baghdād, Ibrāhīm had to renounce his claims; he resigned from office in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 203/June 819, shortly before the definitive return of the caliph, who entered the capital on 14 Ṣafar 204/11 August 819. Ibrāhīm succeeded in hiding for several years, and it was only during the year 210/825-6 that his retreat was discovered and he was put in prison, to be in fact pardoned soon afterwards.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had become drawn into a risky adventure, was not well suited for political responsibilities. He was a cultured man, interested in singing and music. From 210/825-6 till his death, he led, at Baghdād then at Sāmarrā, the life of a poet-musician, at the mercy of the moods of his patrons, eventually playing at the court the role of an official panegyrist.

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index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, index; Ibn Taghrībirdī, i, 578 ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 8; Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, i, 16 ff.

(D. Sourdel)

IBRĀHĪM B. MASʿŪD [see GHAZNAWIDS].

IBRĀHĪM B. AL-MUDABBIR [see IBN AL-MUDABBIR].

IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ʿABBĀS ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, better known as Ibrāhīm al-Imām. Born in al-Ḥumayma in 82/701-2, the son of a freedwoman, he was brought up with his brother, Mūsā, and his half-brothers Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Abū Djaʿfar and al-ʿAbbās.

When the pro-ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* formed round his father it had its headquarters in Kūfa among the Ḥārithī tribe of Banū Musaliyya and its *mawālī*, but soon transferred its activity to Khurāsān while maintaining the connexion with Kūfa and al-Ḥumayma. The tendency of Muslim chroniclers to identify a movement with its leader and give him the credit for its achievements makes it difficult to assess the part played by certain figures of the ʿAbbāsid revolution. In the new militant phase which began when he took over on his father's death in 125/742-3, Ibrāhīm, with his practical approach, his generosity and his popularity among the Hāshimīs, seemed to be the man to meet the demands of the hour. Nevertheless, the role of *dāʿīs* such as Abū Hāshim Bakīr b. Māhān and Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, who had been working for the *daʿwa* since the days of Muḥammad, must not be forgotten. In that very year in Mecca several *dāʿīs* urged Ibrāhīm to proclaim the rising, but in vain. In 127/744-5, on the advice of the dying Bakīr, Ibrāhīm al-Imām appointed the latter's son-in-law, Abū Salama Ḥafs b. Sulaymān, chief *dāʿī* in Kūfa.

Realizing that the situation had come to a head, Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī requested Ibrāhīm through Abū Salama to send a representative to lead the movement in his name. Only when Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī and others declined did his choice fall, in 128/745-6, on his *mawlā* Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], who was ordered to remain in constant touch with Abū Salama and obey the orders of Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī. That he received from Ibrāhīm instructions to kill all Arabs indiscriminately is not unanimously agreed by the historians. This allegation, not mentioned by several early historians and not in harmony with the tactics and circumstances of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, is probably due to anti-ʿAbbāsid propaganda. Probably under the impression that Ibrāhīm would send a man from his own ʿAbbāsid family, Sulaymān al-Khuzāʿī was at first reluctant to accept Abū Muslim; he yielded later to persuasion, but without compromising his position, so that every important decision remained his. Though the ʿAbbāsid revolution was a complex phenomenon, the main appeal seems to have been made to the Arabs, especially in Marw and its villages. The *dāʿīs* realized that the Arabs held the lever of power and constituted the only striking-force in Khurāsān, and that to win them over was to seize power. The *dāʿīs* could not act until the struggle between Naṣr b. Sayyār and Ibn al-Karmānī had reached a stalemate and Arab tribesmen adhering to both factions were disgruntled and wanted change. In this nucleus of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* the Yamanī partisans invited their fellow-tribesmen to join the movement, as did the Rabīʿīs and the Muḍarīs (*Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* ..., fol. 118b.). Discontented Arabs generally joined in the protest against Umayyad fiscal policy, by which taxes were imposed on Arab settlers and collected through the *dihḳāns* [*q.v.*], and against Umayyad military policy, which kept the Muḳātila in the frontier area for prolonged periods (i.e. *Tadjmīr al-buʿūth*), while at the same time demanding an increased share in the *ghanīma* (Shaʿbān, *The social* ... *background* ..., 140 ff.).

Upon Ibrāhīm's orders, the rising was launched publicly on 15 Ramaḍān 129/30 May 747. Abū Muslim entrenched himself in the Khuzāʿī village of Safidhandj, won over the Yamanī ʿAlī b. al-Karmānī by recognizing him as governor of Khurāsān, and used him subsequently to paralyse the activities of the Khāridjī Shaybān al-Ṣaghīr so that the ʿAbbāsid partisans found it easy to drive Naṣr b. Sayyār out of Marw. Having gained control of Khurāsān, Ibrāhīm appointed Ḳaḥtaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī commander of the army of Khurāsān, which was advancing into ʿIrāḳ.

It was at that very moment when the ʿAbbāsid cause was prospering and advancing westwards that Ibrāhīm was arrested in al-Ḥumayma. Accounts vary on how Marwān II succeeded in tracing the head of the secret organization. Ibrāhīm's arrest was probably due to Naṣr's efforts. He was imprisoned in Ḥarrān, where he died in Muḥarram 132/August 749, allegedly either murdered or poisoned by Marwān's orders. Possibly, however, he fell victim to the plague which ravaged Syria in that year. His death at a critical moment left the stage to two powerful rival *dāʿīs*, Abū Salama and Abū Muslim. The rivalry between them seems to have played a part in saving the caliphate for Ibrāhīm's heir and brother Abu 'l-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm's sons, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad, do not seem to have aspired to the caliphate, but to have devoted their lives to the *djihād* against the Byzantines and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Bibliography: Of primary importance for a better understanding of Ibrāhīm and his time are the still unpublished works such as the relevant parts of Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS Istanbul Aşir Ef. 597-8, and MS Paris, fols. 768a-775a; the anonymous *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* ... *wa-wildihi*, MS in the Institute of Higher Islamic Studies, Baghdad, fols. 113b-203b, throwing light on the secret dealings of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī's *Futūḥ*, MS Istanbul, Aḥmed III 2956, invaluable for its information on the Arab settlers in Khurāsān; Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Azdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, MS Chester Beatty, fols. 38 ff., a local history with a universal tendency, which contains brief but illuminating information on Arab support for the ʿAbbāsids. These works clarify certain vague or brief accounts in Ṭabarī (see index), otherwise one of the important sources on Ibrāhīm. Other relevant works are: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 393, 398 f., 409 f.; Djāḥiẓ, *Faḍl banī Hāshim*, ed. Sandūbī, 79; Pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, ii, 221 f., 217 f.; Dīnawārī, 338 ff.; 344-6, 357; *Fragmenta hist. arab.*, ed. De Goeje, 183-98; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 61, 69 ff., 89, 97 f.; idem, *Tanbīh*, 338-9; P. A. Gryaznevič (ed.), *Arabskiy Anonim XI veka*, Moscow 1960, fols. 255b, 284a, 289b, 295a; see also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 60; *Aghānī*³, ii, 74. Later historians draw mainly on these earlier ones when writing on the period. However, useful additional data will be found in Balʿamī, tr. H. Zotenberg, 1867; Ibn al-Athīr, v (index); Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ii, 287 ff., 291, 292; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islam* ..., MS British Mus., fols. 4a-5b; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Eng. tr. De Slane, i, 575-6, ii, 103; Maḳrīzī, *al-Nizāʿ* ..., p. 5; idem, *Muntakhab al-tadhkira*, MS

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IBRĀHĪM B. SAYĀBA, minor poet of the second half of the 2nd/8th century who died circa 193/809. Of obscure origin and a *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsids, he held, according to Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the office of secretary to al-Mahdī but, having once been suspected of *zandaḳa*, he was dismissed and obliged to beg for a living. Like so many of his contemporaries, he led a disorganized and even dissolute life, but he was not lacking in wit, to judge by the anecdotes of which he is the hero. Ibn al-Muʿtazz described him as a born (*maṭbūʿ*) poet, while the author of the *Aghānī* has a different opinion of him: according to him, he wrote verses of little value which Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and his son Isḥāḳ set to music out of friendship towards him, so that he acquired a certain degree of fame and succeeded in becoming acquainted with persons in high society; he was in fact known to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ after having been on fairly intimate terms with Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, to whom he addressed notably (it is not clear in what circumstances) an epistle of which al-Djāḥiẓ (*Bayān*, iii, 215) states that all the inhabitants of Baghdād at that time knew it by heart.

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IBRĀHĪM B. SHĀHRUKH (ABU ʾL-FATḤ MĪRZĀ IBRĀHĪM SULṬĀN BAHĀDUR), Tīmurid prince, second son of Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], born 28 Shawwāl 796/26 August 1394. In 812/1409, Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of Balkh and Ṭukhāristān up to the borders of Kābul and Badakhshān, and in 817/1414 he was appointed governor of Fārs, a position which he held for over twenty years up to his death on 4 Shawwāl 838/3 May 1435. In 823-4/1420-1, and in 832/1429, he took part in Shāhrukh's campaigns in Ādharbāydjān. In 824/1421 he annexed Khūzistān to the Tīmūrid empire.

Ibrāhīm had two sons: Ismaʿīl (died *ca.* 835/1432), and ʿAbd Allāh, born 27 Radjab 836/19 March 1433, who, though still an infant, succeeded his father as governor of Fārs, and was later appointed governor of Samarḳand.

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IBRĀHĪM B. SHĪRKŪH, AL-MALIK AL-MANṢŪR NĀṢIR AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM B. AL-MALIK AL-MUDJĀHID ASAD AL-DĪN SHĪRKŪH II, cousin of Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), succeeded his father Shīrkūh [*q.v.*], prince of Aleppo and Damascus, in Radjab 637/January-February 1240. When he became master of the province of Ḥimṣ, to which at that time there belonged Tadmur, Raḥba and Māksīn, the pressure of the Khuwārizmians in northern Syria was very great. When Ibrāhīm learned of the defeat of the Aleppan army at Buzāʿa in Rabīʿ II 638/October-November 1240, he set off northwards with reinforcements of troops from Damascus. In Radjab 638/January 1241, the Khuwārizmians marched against Aleppo but did not attack the town and, after unsuccessful attempts to encircle it, withdrew towards the east. Ibrāhīm overtook them and defeated them in Shawwāl 638/April 1241; he gained further victories over them in Ṣafar 640/August 1242 and again at the end of 641 and beginning of 642/April-June 1244. The Khuwārizmians seem to have been driven out of Syria.

Ibrāhīm b. Shīrkūh became involved in the family quarrels between Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Cairo and Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl of Damascus. In the spring of 642/1244 hostilities broke out between Cairo and Damascus; and Nāṣir Dāwūd, the Ayyūbid prince of Karak, and Ibrāhīm allied themselves with Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who had the support of the Knights Templar. Ibrāhīm went in person to ʿAkkā to ratify the agreement with the Franks. The ruler of Egypt, on his side, acquired the services of the Khuwārizmians, who were ready to hire themselves to whoever offered most. On 14 Djumādā I 642/18 October 1244, there took place, to the north-east of Ghazza, the battle of Ḥarbiyya, or Forbie, at which the Franco-Syrian allies were defeated. In the following year, Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb laid siege to Damascus in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 642/May 1245; six months later the town capitulated and Ismāʿīl received Baʿalbakk in compensation. The Khuwārizmians, dissatisfied with Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, in 644/1246 offered their services to Ismāʿīl to re-take Damascus. Ibrāhīm b. Shīrkūh and Nāṣir Yūsuf of Aleppo, in the pay of Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, then set off southwards with a large army. The Khuwārizmians raised the siege of Damascus and moved northwards; they were defeated near the lake of Ḥimṣ on 8 Muḥarram 644/26 May 1246. Ibrāhīm reached Damascus and encamped at Nayrab, to the west of the town, where he became ill and died on 11 Ṣafar 644/28 June 1246. He is buried at Ḥimṣ beside his father. His son, Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Mūsā, succeeded him, with the titles of al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dawla, and recognized the authority of Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *Tarādjim ridjāl*, ed. Kawtharī, 1947, 178; E. Blochet, *Hist. d'Alep de Kamāl ad-Dīn*, 213-26; al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd,

Chronique des Ayyoubides, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, xv (1955-7), 109-84; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 229; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 627-8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 154-72; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, iii, 416, 419; Cl. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, 648-9; S. Runciman, *Hist. of the Crusades*, iii, 223, 225-6, 228; K. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, ii, 561-4, 708-10.

(N. Elisséeff)

IBRĀHĪM b. al-SINDĪ b. Shāhak, *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsids, who seems to have defended their cause with talent and perseverence, but of whose life very few precise details are known. His father, al-Sindī b. Shāhak, whose origins are obscure, was probably a former slave from Sind who had risen to hold important offices; he is said to have been *ḳāḍī* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 70) and governor (*wālī*) in Syria (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 393), but his main role seems to have been that of a police officer giving especial allegiance to Hārūn al-Rashīd, who entrusted him in particular with carrying out his decisions concerning the Barāmika [*q.v.*]. It is even possible that after the execution of Djaʿfar al-Barmakī he was in charge of the mint (Father Anastase, *Nuḳūd*, Cairo-Baghdād 1939, 48, 49, 57); he does not seem to have been chief of police strictly speaking, but to have been only a subordinate of the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* in a district of Baghdād under al-Rashīd and under al-Amīn, of whom he was a trusted adviser. The poet Kushādjim, Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Sindī (d. 330/941-2), was his grandson (*Fihrist*, Cairo, 240; M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla*, 291). On al-Sindī, see also Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Couronne*, 40; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 236-7; Ṭabarī, iii, 281 ff.; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 423, 425, v, 339, 393; *Fakhrī*, 145; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 302; idem, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Khallikān, i, 135, 173; Ibn Bābuya, *Ithbāt al-Ghayba*, ed. Möller, 37; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī is known primarily because his friend al-Djāḥiẓ mentions him in several of his works. He describes him (*Bayān*, i, 335) as "an incomparable man: an eloquent orator, a genealogist, *faḳīh*, grammarian and prosodist, traditionist, transmitter of poetry and a poet..., an astrologer and a physician". Al-Djāḥiẓ classes him among the great *mutakallimūn*, but he stresses his knowledge of the dynasty and of the *ridjāl al-daʿwa* (which probably means of the propagandists). In another passage (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, 77), he states that Ibrāhīm "defended his masters, declared their titles to fame (*ayyām*), exhorted the people to obey them, teaching them their *manāḳib*" and, by virtue of his eloquence, was "more useful to them than ten thousand drawn swords". Whereas his brother Naṣr (*Bayān*, i, 335) seems to have transmitted faithfully religious and historical traditions, according to al-Djāḥiẓ (*loc. cit.*), Ibrāhīm's reports, based on several transmitters who were well acquainted with the history of the Ḳuraysh and the ʿAbbāsids, contain information different from that which was to be found in al-Haytham b. ʿAdī and Ibn al-Kalbī [*qq.v.*], but which was not embellished (? *muṣawwar*). It would indeed be useful to have more precise information on the propaganda which was current in the middle of the 3rd/9th century. Apart from the data supplied by al-Djāḥiẓ, it is known only that at one time Ibrāhīm held an administrative post at Kūfa (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 121; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 355).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 19, 265; idem, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; idem, *Mukhtār*, Berlin 5032 (see *Oriens*, vii/1 (1954), 86; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, 1940 ed., i, 179, ii, 15, 28, 29, 279; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 737; Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 178; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, ii, 121 f.; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 130.

(Ch. Pellat)

IBRĀHĪM b. al-WALĪD b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Abū Isḥāḳ, son of the caliph al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] and of a slave (Suʿār in al-Yaʿḳūbī, Dayrā in al-Masʿūdī), was appointed as *walī al-ʿahd* by his brother Yazīd [*q.v.*] three days after the latter succeeded to the caliphate (20 Djumādā II 126/9 April 744). According to al-Ṭabarī, this appointment was made on the insistence of the Ḳadariyya [*q.v.*], who wanted to ensure an heir to the throne who would be favourable to them. When Yazīd succeeded in imposing his authority in Urdunn, Ibrāhīm was appointed governor (*amīr*) of this district. After the death of Yazīd (7 or 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 126/20 September or 2 October 744), who, according to an allegation made only by al-Yaʿḳūbī, was thought to have been poisoned by Ibrāhīm, the caliphate of the latter was recognized only in the southern part of Syria; in the north, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ opposed the entry of his cousin, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], whom he had appointed as *amīr*, so that he was obliged to lay siege to the town.

Earlier, on the death of al-Walīd II, Marwān b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], the governor of Armenia and of Ādharbaydjān, had gone with an army into Djazīra and had received there in secret the *bayʿa* of the inhabitants. He planned, in order to avenge the murder of al-Walīd, to march against Yazīd, but instead concluded a peace with the new caliph. Following this agreement, the reward for which was the governorship of the Djazīra in addition to Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, Marwān was preparing to return to Armenia, when the death of Yazīd and Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne led him to continue his march. He entered Syria at the head of the *djund*s of Djazīra and Armenia to depose the new caliph. At Ḥalab (according to Ibn al-Athīr at Ḳinnasrīn), he defeated Ibrāhīm's two brothers, Bishr [*q.v.*] and Masrūr, and took them prisoner; then he raised the siege of Ḥimṣ begun by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (or, according to some sources, he drove him out of the town, into which he had already gained entry), who fled to Damascus, and received the *bayʿa* of its inhabitants. As Marwān was marching with 80,000 men towards Damascus, Ibrāhīm sent against him an army under the command of his cousin Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. In the battle which followed at ʿAyn al-Djarr, a place near Damascus, this army suffered a crushing defeat (7 Ṣafar 127/18 November 744) and its leader fled to Damascus. The *amīr*s of Damascus decided to kill the two sons of al-Walīd II, al-Ḥakam and ʿUthmān, who were prisoners, because Marwān, before the battle of ʿAyn al-Djarr, had proposed to recognize their right to the caliphate (as sons of al-Walīd II) and they feared that if one of them became caliph he would take revenge on the murderers of his father. After the death of these claimants to the throne, the situation had changed, and Marwān was able from then on to advance his own candidature. When he approached Damascus, the inhabitants hastened to swear allegiance to him. The sources differ in their reports of Ibrāhīm's behaviour on Marwān's entry into Damascus: al-Yaʿḳūbī states that he hastened to recognize Marwān as the new caliph (15 Ṣafar 127/26 November 744) in Damascus itself; according to the other historians he fled to Tadmur (Palmyra) with

Sulaymān b. Hishām and it was not until some time afterwards that he asked for and obtained *amān* from Marwān; this earned him the by-name of *al-makhlūʿ*. In any case, from the time that Ibrāhīm gave his support to Marwān, he became a member of the caliph's suite and was treated with respect. He died on the day which marked the end of the Umayyad dynasty, *i.e.*, in the battle of the Zāb [*q.v.*] (11 Djumādā II 132/25 January 750); it is said that his body was found among those of the fugitives who were drowned in the river. There exist also other versions: according to Ibn al-Athīr, he was killed in Syria by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]; according to al-Masʿūdī, Marwān, having seized Damascus, drove Ibrāhīm out and later, having taken him prisoner before the battle of the Zāb, killed him and crucified his body. Al-Dīnawarī states simply that Marwān killed him on the day of his entry into Damascus.

Al-Masʿūdī does not list Ibrāhīm's reign in the series of the Umayyad caliphates, evidently because his accession to the throne had not been unanimously recognized. Indeed it must be emphasized that Ibrāhīm did not play an important role in the period of anarchy which followed the death of al-Walīd; the sources are completely silent on him before his accession to the caliphate and they do not attribute any importance to him during his brief reign.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, ii, 839, 1270, 1834, 1869, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1890, 1892, 1893; iii, 41 and index; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 349, 402, 403; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 350; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 19, 32, 50, 73, 74, 352; ix, 43; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 223, 233, 235, 243-6, 322 and index; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, x, 13, 21-3, 43; G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 678-85; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*; Eng. tr., *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, 369, 374, 376, 378, 384; for other sources, see L. Caetani, *Chronographia*, v, 1599. (V. Cremonesi)

IBRĀHĪM B. YAʿḲŪB AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ, Spanish Jewish traveller, born in Tortosa, to judge by his *nisba*, is known for having made, *circa* 354/965, a long journey in western, central and eastern Europe. It is not clear why he made this tour: it has been suggested that he was trading in horses or in slaves, and it is not impossible that he was on an official intelligence mission for the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, he being chosen for this in view of the help which he could expect to receive from the Jewish colonies in Europe.

Similarly, all that is known of the route of the journey and of some of the places where he stopped is conjecture. Taking account of the details given in the itineraries in the Slav countries, and thereby correcting slightly the schema advanced in *Annales E. S. C.* (see *Bibl.*), the following tentative itinerary may be accepted: Bordeaux, Noirmoutier, Saint-Malo, Rouen, Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Mainz, Fulda, Soest, Paderborn, Schleswig, Magdeburg (where he was received at the court of the emperor Otto I), Prague, Cracow, Augsburg, Cortona and Trapani. This much is definite, that Ibrāhīm's journey covered, to use his own expression, two main groups of countries: Frankish and Slav, the former occupying the traditional Latin region of western Europe: Italy, countries to the west of the Rhine and southern Germany.

It must be supposed, in view of the number of times Ibrāhīm is cited by later writers, that there once existed an account of his journey, now lost and known mainly through al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] and al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], either directly or through the intermediary of al-ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*]. Al-Bakrī used Ibrāhīm as a source for the Slav countries of Europe, chiefly Poland, Bohemia and the Slav Obodrites of Schwerin-Mecklenburg, in addition to some details on Spain: an indication either that Ibrāhīm's work was more than a simple account of the European journey, or that he wrote other works besides this one. Al-Ḳazwīnī has preserved, for the Slav countries, the passages concerning Poland and the "Town of Women"; he is particularly indebted to Ibrāhīm, whether he cites him or not, or cites him through al-ʿUdhrī, for a collection of notes on the towns of western and southern Europe.

The date of the original work and the quality of the fragments which survive, notably those about the Slavs, show how greatly to be regretted is the loss of so much of it. To judge by these fragments, the account of the journey must have combined direct and oral information. Most famous among passages of the former type are the description of the abbey of Fulda, that of the salt-pans of Soest, the reflections on commerce at Augsburg or at Prague, the indication of the fact that there were found as far away as Germany Sāmānid *dirhams* struck at Samarḳand in 301-2/914-5. The oral information naturally includes more legend, but it is nevertheless often of considerable value, as is shown by the information collected on the Bulgars or the details concerning whale-fishing off the coast of Ireland. Finally, to reverse the point of view, the work provides an excellent illustration of how the developing Europe of that period could appear to a foreign visitor.

The fragments of Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb on the Slavs have been edited and translated (into Polish and Latin with very full documentation) by T. Kowalski (see *Bibl.*). A French translation of the passages on western Europe has been made by A. Miquel (see *Bibl.*). A French translation of the whole by M. Canard is in preparation.

Bibliography: A. Kunik and V. Rosen, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikhʾ avtorovʾ o Rusi i Slavyanakhʾ*, St. Petersburg 1878-1903; G. Jacob, *Ein arabischer Berichterstatter aus dem 10. Jahrhundert über Fulda, Schleswig, Soest, Paderborn und andere deutsche Städte*, Berlin 1891; idem, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892-6; idem, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927; T. Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Jaʿkūba z podróży do Krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al-Bekrīego*, Cracow 1946; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 190-3, Ar. tr. (chaps. i-xvi published to date) by Ṣ. D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 190-2; M. Canard, *Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb et sa relation de voyage en Europe*, in *Ét. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 503-8 (with further bibliography); A. Miquel, *L'Europe occidentale dans la relation arabe d'Ibrâhîm b. Yaʿqûb*, in *Annales E. S. C.*, 1966, 1048-64; idem, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1967, 146-8. (A. Miquel)

IBRĀHĪM B. ʿALĪ AL-AḤDAB, Ḥanafī *shaykh* of Lebanon (born at Tripoli in 1243/1827, died at Beirut on 22 Radjab 1308/3 March 1891), who is a distinguished representative of Arabic culture in the 19th century. After following the traditional studies, he became a teacher (1264-8/1848-52), then went to Istanbul (where he addressed a long panegyric to the sultan ʿAbd al-Madjid), was for several years adviser to Saʿīd Djunbulāṭ and tutor to his children, and finally became a magistrate

in Beirut in 1276/1859. A collaborator in the revue *Thamarāt al-funūn* and an important figure in a kind of literary circle, he engaged from this time onwards in an intense literary activity which produced several collections of poems, works of *adab* and of grammar, *rasāʾil*, *maḳāmāt*, plays, newspaper articles, etc. Part of his work seems to be lost; other works are still in manuscript, but a dozen or so have been published, in particular the *Farāʾid al-laʾāl fī Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, a poetic version of the collection of proverbs by al-Maydānī (Beirut 1312/1894, 2 vols.). The list given by Brockelmann (S III, 533) is incomplete and inaccurate (in particular the *Tafṣīl al-yāḳūt*... is the work of Ibrāhīm's son Saʿīd), but that of Djabbūr ʿAbd al-Nūr (*Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, vii, 170-4) seems to be nearly exhaustive. Though he was overshadowed by the great names of the *Nahḍa* [*q.v.*], Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab nevertheless played a significant role because of his sound Arabic culture, which enabled him to uphold tradition while it did not prevent his following, though still tentatively, the movement of renewal which was a feature of the 19th century.

Bibliography: Introduction to the *Farāʾid al-laʾāl* by the author's two sons, Saʿīd and Ḥusayn; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Bayṭār, *Ḥilyat al-bashar fī taʾrīkh al-ḳarn al-thālith ʿashar*, i, Damascus 1961; the bibliographical works of Ziriklī, Kaḥḥāla, and Dāghir; the most extensive study is that mentioned above by Dj. ʿAbd al-Nūr, who is preparing (1967) a monograph entitled *al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab*. (ED.)

IBRĀHĪM BEY AL-KABĪR AL-MUḤAMMADĪ (i.e., the *mamlūk* of Muḥammad Bey Abu 'l-Dhahab) was raised to the beylicate in 1182/1768-9, and held the appointments of *amīr al-ḥadjdj* in 1186/1772-3 and *daftardār* in 1187/1773-4. When Abu 'l-Dhahab went on campaign against Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Muḥarram 1189/March 1775), he left Ibrāhīm as his deputy in command of Cairo. On his death, the ascendancy in Egypt passed to his retainers (the Muḥammadiyya) headed by Ibrāhīm and Murād Bey, the former becoming *shaykh al-balad*. The characters of the two men were strongly contrasted, Murād being headstrong, bold and ruthless, while Ibrāhīm was of a conciliatory but less decisive nature. Murād's plot to assassinate Ismāʿīl Bey, the *khushdāsh* and client of the late ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], who had hitherto abstained from the competition for power, produced a faction-fight in Cairo. Ibrāhīm and Murād found themselves abandoned by many of the other grandees, and fled to Upper Egypt, while Ismāʿīl Bey was appointed *shaykh al-balad* (Djumādā II 1191/July 1777). Ismāʿīl was, however, unable to maintain himself in power. Murād and Ibrāhīm re-entered Cairo, and the latter resumed the position of *shaykh al-balad* (Muḥarram 1192/February 1778). The political situation remained unstable, since the Muḥammadiyya owed their return to a conspiracy organized by Ḥasan Bey al-Djuddāwī, the head of the ʿAlawiyya (*i.e.*, the *mamlūks* of ʿAlī Bey). Murād again fomented factional hostility; the ʿAlawiyya were expelled from Cairo and proscribed (Djumādā I 1192/June 1778). The duumvirs, however, failed to dislodge them from Upper Egypt, where they were joined by Ismāʿīl Bey, and in 1195/1781 Murād ceded much of the south to them. Late in 1197/1783 factional struggles among the Muḥammadiyya in Cairo culminated in open hostilities between Murād and Ibrāhīm. In Shawwāl 1198/September 1784 Ibrāhīm was evicted from Cairo, and Murād assumed sole power. They were reconciled, and Ibrāhīm was restored as *shaykh al-balad* in Rabīʿ II 1199/February 1785. Meanwhile the state of security and condition of agriculture in Egypt had seriously declined. The Pilgrimage caravan was ill-provided, and in both 1198/1783-4 and 1199/1784-5 failed to visit Medina. At this point the imperial Ottoman government intervened with the despatch of an expeditionary force to Egypt under Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], bearing a demand for arrears of tribute and dues to the Holy Cities, and a formal censure because of the failure of the Pilgrimage caravan to reach Medina. The duumvirs, after vacillation, decided on resistance (21 Ramaḍān 1200/18 July 1786), but their forces under Murād's command were defeated, and on 8 Shawwāl/4 August Ibrāhīm left Cairo. It was entered four days later by Ḥasan Pasha, who summoned Ismāʿīl Bey and Ḥasan Bey al-Djuddāwī from Upper Egypt, and (on 14 Muḥarram 1201/6 November 1786) appointed the former *shaykh al-balad* and the latter *amīr al-ḥadjdj*. Meanwhile Ibrāhīm and Murād in their turn had sought asylum in the south, from which Ḥasan Pasha was unable to evict them. Before leaving Cairo (on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1201/6 October 1787) he published an imperial order excluding them from Cairo, but permitting them to live in Upper Egypt. A prolonged struggle, between Ismāʿīl on the one hand and Murād and Ibrāhīm on the other, now began. The exactions of the grandees in Cairo and the cutting of communications with Upper Egypt by the rebels contributed to the miserable economic and political condition of Egypt in these years. In Muḥarram 1202/October 1787 and Muḥarram 1205/October 1790 there were popular risings in Cairo. Ismāʿīl Bey's death (Radjab 1205/March 1791) in a great epidemic of plague tipped the balance in favour of Ibrāhīm and Murād, who returned to Cairo in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1205/July 1791, while Ḥasan Bey al-Djuddāwī fled to Upper Egypt. The restored rule of the duumvirs lasted for seven years, until the French invasion under Bonaparte (Muḥarram 1213/July 1798). The defeat of Murād at Shubrakhīt and Inbāba, followed by the flight of Ibrāhīm to Syria (21 July 1798), marked the end of the duumvirate. Ibrāhīm never regained his ascendancy in Egypt, and was only one of several competitors for power in the interval between the evacuation of the French and the installation of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha as viceroy (1801-5). Distrusting Muḥammad ʿAlī, he remained in Upper Egypt when many of the Mamlūk grandees went to Cairo, and thus he escaped the massacre in the Citadel (5 Ṣafar 1226/1 March 1811). He and his companions withdrew into Nubia, and made a permanent encampment (*ordu*, whence the Sudanese place-name al-ʿUrḍi) at the modern Dongola [*q.v.*]. Here, in Djabartī's words, "they cultivated millet and fed on it, wearing the shirts the slave-traders wear in their own country". The news of his death reached Cairo in Rabīʿ II 1231/March 1816.

Bibliography: Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār* (Būlāḳ ed.); especially the annals for 1189 (vol. i) and 1190-1212 (vol. ii) covering the period of his ascendancy; also vol. iv, pp. 263-4 for his obituary. (P. M. HOLT)

IBRĀHĪM DERWĪSH PASHA (1812-96), Ottoman general, was the son of a certain Ibrāhīm Agha, one of the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] of Lofča (Lovets, in Bulgaria). Entering the army as a volunteer, he was soon commissioned; he was promoted to *biñbashî* in 1252/1836-7 and to *mü̲shîr* ("general") on 28 April 1862. He was in command of operations in Montenegro [see ḲARADAGH], and in 1865, as commander

of the Fourth Army, accompanied Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] in the pacification of the Ḳozan area of the Taurus. After failing to prevent the spread of the revolt in Herzegovina in 1875, he was dismissed. His most illustrious service was performed during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, when, as commander of the army defending Lāzistān, he repeatedly beat off Russian attacks and successfully held Batumi [*q.v.*] until the armistice—the only Ottoman general undefeated in this war. He then occupied a succession of posts: governor of Diyārbakr and of Selānik, Minister of Marine, Chief of the General Staff, and special commissioner to Egypt. He died on 22 June 1896 and is buried by the *türbe* of Sultan Maḥmūd on Divanyolu.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TTEM*, year 15, no. 10/87, and year 16, no. 14/91; idem, *Tezakir*, i-iii, ed. C. Baysun, Ankara 1960-7 (index); Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha, *Mirʾāt-i ḥaḳīḳat*, Istanbul 1326, i, 46, 48, 79, ii, 118; Meḥmed ʿĀrif, *Bashîmîza gelenler*, Istanbul 1328, 205; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields*, London 1963, 215 and n. l; *IA*, iii, 552 (of which the above is an abridgement).

(M. C. Şihabeddin Tekindağ)

IBRĀHĪM EDHEM PASHA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II; born probably in Chios in 1818 (?) of Greek parents, he was bought as a slave by Khusrev Pasha [*q.v.*] and sent to France in 1827 to receive technical training. After graduating in Paris as a mining engineer in 1839, he returned to Istanbul and was nominated to the *Shūrā-yi ʿAskerī* (High Military Council) with the rank of Colonel. After serving a few years in Anatolia as chief engineer of mines, he was called to Istanbul in 1263/1847 to be appointed to the Palace army staff. Promoted *Mīrliwā* (Brigadier-general) in 1264/1848 and *Ferīḳ* (Lieutenant-general) three years later, he was removed from his military post in 1271/1855 owing to a palace intrigue, although maintaining his position as a member of the *Medjlis-i Tanẓīmāt* (Council of Reforms), to which he had been nominated in Muḥarram 1271/October 1854. On 26 Rabīʿ I 1273/24 November 1856 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs with the rank of vizier in the cabinet of Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*]. On his dismissal on 8 Ramaḍān 1273/2 May 1857 he returned to the *Medjlis-i Tanẓīmāt*. On 29 Djumādā I 1276/24 December 1859 he became Minister of Commerce in the cabinet of Meḥmed Rüshdü Pasha. Dismissed on 9 Muḥarram 1278/17 July 1861, he was reappointed three times to the same office in the following fifteen years. Meanwhile he served as Minister of Public Works, of Public Instruction, and of Justice, as governor of Tırhala and Yanya, as a member of the *Shūrā-yi Dewlet* (High Council of State) etc. Appointed ambassador to Berlin on 5 Rabīʿ I 1293/31 March 1876 he remained only a few months abroad, being nominated Ottoman deputy delegate to the Conference of Constantinople which was entrusted with the settlement of the Balkan Crisis. His firm attitude at the conference won him the confidence of the new sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II who appointed him on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/26 December president of the *Shūrā-yi Dewlet* and on 21 Muḥarram 1294/5 February 1877 Grand Vizier in place of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*]. His grand vizierate was marked by the opening of the Ottoman Parliament on 19 March and by the rejection of the London Protocol on 9 April, resulting in the Russian declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire. He was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate on 7 Muḥarram 1295/11 January 1878 largely because he had lost the confidence of the Chamber as a result of the defeats of the Ottoman armies fighting the Russians. On 9 Rabīʿ I 1296/3 March 1879 he was nominated ambassador to Vienna and on 20 Rabīʿ II 1300/28 February 1883 he became Minister of the Interior in the cabinet of Küčük Saʿīd Pasha [*q.v.*], to be dismissed finally on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1302/24 September 1885. He died in Istanbul on 2 Ramaḍān 1310/20 March 1893 and was buried near the mosque of Mihrimāh Sulṭān at Üsküdār.

Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha did not distinguish himself as an able statesman; he could even be held responsible for the disastrous Turco-Russian war of 1877. Nevertheless his contribution to the modernization of Turkey is worthy of mention. The foundation of a modern printing press (*Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire*) near the Topkapî Palace during his period as Minister of Public Instruction in 1863 and the introduction of the decimal system of measurement into Turkey during his presidency of the Council of Public Works in 1869 are important achievements in this respect. His articles on geology published in the *Medjmūʿa-i Funūn* (1862) greatly helped the diffusion of Western science among the Turkish intellectuals. His sons ʿOthmān Ḥamdī [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl Ghālib [*q.v.*] and Khalīl Edhem Eldem [*q.v.*] contributed also to the development of arts and scholarship in Turkey.

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IBRĀHĪM ḤAḲḲĪ PASHA (1863-1918), Ottoman statesman, diplomat, and Grand Vizier (1910-11), was born in Beshiktāsh. He was the son of Remzī Efendi, who had been *mutaṣarrîf* of Saḳîz (Chios) and President of the Beshiktāsh municipal council. Ibrāhīm Ḥaḳḳī began his secondary education in a local school and then went to the Civil Service Training School (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*) where he completed his higher education. At the same time he had been learning French and English from private tutors. He graduated in 1882 and joined the secretariat of the Ministry of External Affairs as an unpaid apprentice. In the following year he was appointed translator at the Palace—translating novels for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II—and in 1886 he also began teaching history and law at various institutions in the capital. He was appointed legal adviser to the Sublime Porte in 1894. Thus his talents had brought him into the top ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy at an unusually young age. As legal adviser he served on numerous administrative commissions at home and on diplomatic missions abroad, acquiring experience in all aspects of public life.

After the Young Turk Revolution, Ḥaḳḳī Bey served brief terms in Meḥmed Kāmil Pasha's cabinet as Minister of Education and Minister of the Interior before he was appointed ambassador to Italy. This was a period of great political instability in Istanbul, marked by the formation and fall of five ministries in the first eighteen months after the revolution.

When Ḥusayn Ḥilmī Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] resigned on 28 December 1909, there was speculation as to who would succeed him. Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a was amongst the candidates under consideration and he was appointed on 12 January 1910 because of his political neutrality, which made him acceptable to the Unionists as well as to the conservatives. Not being a partisan of any political group Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a was able to bargain with all sides and demand absolute freedom of action in forming his cabinet. One of his first acts as Grand Vizier was to appoint Maḥmūd S̲h̲awkat (Şevket) Pas̲h̲a—the Generalissimo who administered martial law and dominated Turkish politics—Minister of War, thus bringing him under cabinet control.

Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a's grand vizierate of twenty months was a period of external peace. Internally, however, the conflict between the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAKKĪ D̲J̲EMʿIYETI] and the opposition continued unabated. Ibrāhīm Ḥakkī was a moderating influence inside the country; outside he played an active role, visiting the capitals of Europe in 1910 and discussing various problems with foreign statesmen. He resigned on 30 September 1911 after the Italian ultimatum and declaration of war. He was blamed for permitting the Ottoman Empire to be caught unprepared and diplomatically isolated, and he accepted his responsibility gracefully. Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a returned to the university, unable to play an active or open political role while his opponents threatened to impeach him for his diplomatic failure with Italy.

However, when the Unionists regained power in January 1913 they decided to place their relations with the Great Powers on a new footing and to find solutions to political and economic problems which embittered these relations. Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a was sent to London, where he spent the next seventeen months negotiating a settlement. In his capacity as legal adviser to the Porte he also wrote memoranda on the capitulations. In July 1915 Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a was appointed ambassador to Berlin, the most important diplomatic post at the time. The appointment was significant because the Porte was embarking on a more active policy vis-à-vis her ally Germany. Furthermore the man chosen to inaugurate this change was an ex-Grand Vizier and one of Turkey's most experienced diplomats. It is also significant that a civilian was replacing a soldier (Maḥmūd Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a). In Berlin Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a negotiated and helped to draft the Turco-German Treaties in 1917, replacing the capitulations by new legal provisions corresponding to the modern European law of nations. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Ḥakkī was one of the Turkish plenipotentiaries who negotiated and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. He died in Berlin on 29 July 1918 and was buried in the cemetery of Yaḥyā Efendi in Bes̲h̲iktās̲h̲ on 7 August.

Ibrāhīm Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a's bureaucratic and academic approach to politics is summed up in his comparison of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to Louis XI. In 1908 he remarked to a foreign observer: "Louis XI shut Cardinal Balau in an iron cage but he founded the French State as it exists today. Now the incidents of his reign have passed away, but France remains. In the same way, when history comes to consider the reign of Abdul Hamid, she will overlook the little things and recognise that he preserved Turkey as a country" (Allen Upward, *The east end of Europe*, London 1908, 338-9). His attitude towards the Unionists was the same; though he did not join their party or even subscribe to their ideology, he recognized that they alone were capable of leading the country. Though this was a rational approach to politics, it was completely out of touch with the political sentiments of the time. This explains Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a's lack of success as a politician, but his contribution as an administrator and diplomat was second to none.

Bibliography: Adnan-Adıvar in *IA*, v, 892-4. See also M. K. Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 1764-1804; Ali Çankaya, *Mülkiye tarihi ve mülkiyeliler*, Ankara 1954, 54-8; A. F. Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*[2], Ankara 1951, *passim*; H. Z. Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1940-2, ii, 43 ff. and 212; H. C. Yalçin, *Talât Paşa*, Istanbul 1943, 36; I. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iv, *passim*. For the Anglo-Turkish negotiations which Ḥakkī Pas̲h̲a conducted in London in 1913-14 see British documents in Public Record Office (London), F.O. 371/2125, 2126 etc. See also the contemporary Turkish press, particularly *Ṭanīn* and *Iḳdām*. (FEROZ AHMAD)

IBRĀHĪM AL-**ḤALABĪ** [see AL-ḤALABĪ].

IBRĀHĪM AL-**ḤĀMIDĪ** [see al-ḤĀMIDĪ].

IBRĀHĪM B. ISḤĀḲ, B. IBRĀHĪM B. BIS̲H̲R AL-**ḤARBĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ, traditionist, jurist and man of letters (198-285/811-98). He was a pupil in *ḥadīt̲h̲* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, which did not prevent al-Subkī from listing him among the S̲h̲āfiʿīs. Among his teachers were the Baṣran Musaddad b. Musarhad, who was always closely linked with Ḥanbalism (Brockelmann, S I, 310), ʿAffān b. Muslim, also a traditionist, and al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, a man of letters and exegetist. His philological learning often brought him into contact with the grammarian T̲h̲aʿlab as well as with Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, a pupil of the latter (Brockelmann, S I, 283). He had as a transmitter also Mūsā b. Hārūn, one of the informants of al-Ṭabarī. He vigorously opposed Muʿtazilism and, in particular, the doctrine of the created Ḳurʾān. This resolute supporter of the *Sunna*, defender of predestination and enemy of the famous vizier Ibn Abī Dūʾād, was a man of great piety, whose asceticism was much admired by his contemporaries. He is said to have carried "patience" and resignation to destiny to the limits of heroism.

Posterity, which devoutly preserved legends about him, attributes to him a large number of works: a *Kitāb Manāsik al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, a *Kitāb al-Hadāyā*, and *Kitāb al-Ḥammām*, as well as twenty-four collections of *ḥadīt̲h̲s*. He is reported to have collected, in addition to the *ḥadīt̲h̲* of the "ten" indubitably destined for Paradise because of a promise of the Prophet, traditions going back to the most famous persons of early Islam, whether Umayyads, ʿAbbāsids or simply Companions. There have survived by him a philological work (*G̲h̲arīb al-ḥadīt̲h̲*) and a treatise on ethics (*K. Ikrām al-ḍayf*). Neither of these two works has been published. Ibrāhīm nevertheless appears beside Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, Ibn al-Munādī, Ibn Ṣāʿid, and Ibn Maʿīn as one of the promoters of the Sunnī reaction against the Muʿtazilī philosophy and ideal.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 188; main source: Yāḳūt, *Udabaʾ*, i, 112. On his connexion with S̲h̲āfiʿism: Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 26; contrary opinion in Ibn Kat̲h̲īr and Yāfiʿī, who made him a Ḥanbalī (*Mirʾāt al-d̲j̲inān*, ii, 210 and *Bidāya*, ix, 79). The *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād* of al-K̲h̲aṭīb, vi, 27, has nothing on this matter (cf. *Tad̲h̲kira*, ii, 162).

(J.-C. VADET)

IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PAS̲H̲A [see KEČIBOYNUZU IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PAS̲H̲A].

IBRĀHĪM AL-IMĀM [see IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD].

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN, the ancestor of the Ibrāhīm-Khānzāde family, was the son of Selīm II's daughter Esmākhān Sulṭān (d. 993/1585) by her first marriage, to the Grand Vizier Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. According to a late tradition (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, ii, 38), perhaps based on the misconception that the sons of princesses were not allowed to live [see DĀMĀD], his birth was at first concealed. He first appears as *ḳapidji-bashi*, in Muḥarram 1003/September 1594. By 1019/1610 he was *beglerbegi* of Bosna—a promotion which was indeed contrary to Meḥemmed II's enactment that sons of princesses should not rise beyond the degree of *sandjaḳ-begi* (cf. *Ḳānūn-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, *TOEM* supp. 1330, p. 29); his appointment to this and other high governorates was, it is said, a reward for his presenting to the Sultan the property on which his father's palace in the At-Meydān stood, a site needed for the building of the Mosque of Aḥmed I (Barozzi-Berchet, *Relazioni* ..., 181). He died after 1031/1621-2.

His descendants, the Ibrāhīm-Khānzāde, formed, like the Ewrenōszāde and the Ṭūrkhānzāde, one of the historic families of the Empire, although they never filled important positions in the state. His grandson ʿAlī Beg is mentioned frequently by the chroniclers (Rāshid, ii, 361; Hammer-Purgstall, ix, 563, no. 2696; de La Motraye, *Voyages*, i, 326). Towards the end of the 11th/17th century the legend arose that if the Ottoman dynasty were to die out the Ibrāhīm-Khānzāde family would succeed, and that hence the Sultans were bound to respect the life of every member of it (de La Motraye, *Voyages*, i, 261 f.; G. C. von den Driesch, *Historische Nachricht...*, Nürnberg 1723, 137; D. Cantemir, *The History ... of the Othman Empire*, London 1734, 107; C. W. Lüdeke, *Beschreibung des Türkischen Reiches ...*, Leipzig 1771-8, i, 292, ii, 63). They had their residence in the suburb of Eyyub on the Golden Horn, and until recently acted as *mütewellī* of the *waḳf*s of their ancestor Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 198).

Bibliography: besides the works cited in the text: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 99; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, ii, 307; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, art. *Ibrâhim Han*, in *IA*, with further details on Ibrāhīm's career and other members of the family, based on references in unpublished chronicles and in Ottoman archive sources.

(J. H. MORDTMANN*)

IBRĀHĪM LŌDĪ was the last of the Lōdī Sultans of Delhi, who was defeated and slain on the battlefield by Bābur [*q.v.*] in the historic first battle of Pānīpat in 932/1526. His death opens a new chapter in the annals of India as it marks the end of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] and the beginning of the Moghul rule which was to last for more than four centuries.

The eldest son of Sikandar Lōdī (*reg.* 894/1489-923/1517) he succeeded to the throne on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 923/22 November 1517, one day after his father's death. Since he was distrustful and ungenerous, the nobles did not like the idea of Ibrāhīm coming to the throne but were obliged to accept him as the ruler. In token of their displeasure they contrived to divide the kingdom into two parts and to set up Ibrāhīm's younger brother Djalāl Khān as the ruler of the Sharḳī province of Djawnpūr [*q.v.*]. Sensing trouble in this move of the nobles, Ibrāhīm took immediate steps to end this diarchy and deprive Djalāl Khān of his newly acquired power. Apprised of Ibrāhīm's designs, Djalāl Khān raised the banner of revolt but could not withstand the might of the Sultan's army and fled to Gawālior, where he took refuge with Bikramadjīt, son of the great Mān Singh who had bravely withstood Sikandar Lōdī so long. This prompted Ibrāhīm to attack and besiege Gawālior. However, while the siege was still in progress Djalāl Khān was captured and taken to Hānsī, where he was imprisoned along with other rebellious Afghan nobles. Djalāl Khān subsequently died in prison.

Suspecting disaffection on the part of the grandees of the empire, Ibrāhīm indulged in acts of capricious tyranny, thus alienating the sympathies of most of the experienced and loyal servants of his father and "driving them into the arms of an invader". Two leading nobles, Miyāṅ Bhōa, a former chief minister of Sultan Sikandar, and Aʿẓam Humāyūn Sarwānī, the ruler of Kālpī, were put to death in prison at the instigation of the Sultan. Their fate alarmed other nobles, who began to look to their own safety. Many of them rebelled, so that chaos and anarchy reigned in the land. While the Sultan was still busy suppressing the rebellions, the Pandjāb under Dawlat Khān Lōdī, son of Tātār Khān Lōdī, also revolted; this prompted the Sultan to summon the refractory governor to Delhi. Sensing trouble, Dawlat Khān instead sent his son Dilāwar Khān to the Court; but this merely roused the anger of the Sultan, who put Dilāwar in prison for some time. There he saw many other nobles suffering torture and indignity, and having seen the small reward accorded to loyalty he apprised his father, on his return to the Pandjāb, of Ibrāhīm's true designs. Convinced of the doom that might befall him if Ibrāhīm continued to occupy the throne, Dawlat Khān invited Bābur to attack India, little realizing that his act would prove a turning point in the history of the sub-continent, sounding the death-knell of the Pathan empire and ushering in the establishment of a new alien dynasty.

On learning of Bābur's advance Ibrāhīm marched out with a huge army said to number more than a million to meet the invader. The two armies met at Pānīpat; Bābur's artillery, and his superior tactics and strategy played havoc with the enemy. Ibrāhīm put up a heroic resistance but was no match for the skilful and experienced Turk. He died with his crown on his head and adorned with all the insignia of royalty. He had ruled for some nine years.

After the battle Bābur ordered his men to search for Ibrāhīm's body. It was found lying amidst the corpses of his nobles and his personal body-guard. His severed head was brought to Bābur, and he was given a hero's burial. His tomb, a plain white-washed structure, still stands near the place where he died. It became in course of time a place of pilgrimage for the local villagers, who looked upon the last Lōdī Sultan as a martyr and began to venerate him as a saint.

We have it on Bābur's testimony (cf. *Bābur-nāma*, Eng. trans., 541, 478) that the queen-mother did not take the death of her son with good grace. Although generously treated by Bābur, she plotted to poison him; but her plans miscarried and Bābur was saved. The conspirators were all executed and Ibrāhīm's mother was deported to Kābul. However, apprehensive of the fate awaiting her, she committed suicide by drowning herself in a river while on the way to Kābul. Ibrāhīm's son, still a minor, was also despatched to Kābul to join his grandmother, but his fate is unknown.

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Dacca 1960, 229-59; ʿAbd Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Dāwūdī*, Aligarh 1954, 85-107; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 341 ff.; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow 1867, i, 347 ff.; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, *Maʾāthir-i Raḥīmī* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 478 ff.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* (Bibl. Ind.), i, 326; *Bābur-nāma*, (Memoirs of Babur), Eng. tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, ii, 478, 541, and index; Abdul Halim, *History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra*, Dacca 1961, 132-98; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 246-50.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IBRĀHĪM al-MAWṢILĪ, Abū Isḥāḳ, one of the greatest musicians and composers of the early ʿAbbāsid period, b. 125/742 in Kūfa, d. 188/804 in Baghdād. His father Māhān (a name which Ibrāhīm changed into Maymūn) and his mother Dōshēr hailed from Arradjān in Fārs, and had come with their patrons to al-ʿIrāḳ. When he lost his father, his mother took him to her brothers, in whose care he was brought up, but he ran away because his relatives would not permit him to study music. He went first to Mosul—hence his *nisba* Mawṣilī, though other explanations are also given—and then to Rayy, where he learned the Persian style of singing; an envoy of the caliph al-Manṣūr was so pleased by his singing that he gave him money which enabled him to finish his training under Djuwānawayh, a Magian at Ubulla. Soon Ibrāhīm attracted the attention either of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī or of his brother ʿAlī; shortly afterwards he was called to the court of the caliph al-Mahdī, a great patron of music. Here he met the musicians Fulayḥ b. Abi ʾl-ʿAwrāʾ al-Makkī and Siyāṭ and profited from the latter's instruction (*Aghānī*³, vi, 152); the caliph's sons Mūsā (afterwards, as caliph, al-Hādī) and Hārūn (afterwards al-Rashīd) asked him to join their banquets; but when al-Mahdī heard of these bouts he imprisoned Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm consoled himself by setting to music a poem which Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya had composed not long before under similar circumstances. Yet Ibrāhīm remained all his life addicted to wine. When al-Hādī became caliph in 169/785 he summoned Ibrāhīm and was very generous to him. It is said that he received, besides his monthly remuneration of 10,000 *dirhams*, large gifts (*Aghānī*³, v, 161, 3). In addition he had an income from landed property (*ibid.*, v, 193) and from music lessons. Amongst his pupils were his favourite Sulaym b. Sallām, Mukhāriḳ, furthermore ʿAllawayhi and ʿAmr b. Bāna, who both later went over to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; Barṣawmā, the flutist, and Zalzal, the lute-player, who had both been discovered by Ibrāhīm, and al-Muʿallā (b. Ayyūb) b. Ṭarīf, who was not a professional artist but who, like his brother Layth, held responsible posts in the administration (see Ṭabarī, Index).

He was the first musician to train white slave-girls in the art of singing, who fetched much higher prices than black or yellow girls (*Aghānī*³, v, 164 f.). He reached the summit of his career in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who formed a real affection for this gifted artist; he had to wait upon the caliph daily, but was later permitted to stay at home on Saturdays (*Aghānī*,³ v, 33). He had also to accompany him on his journeys.

It was upon Hārūn's orders that Ibrāhīm, together with his colleagues Ibn Djāmiʿ and Fulayḥ b. Abi ʾl-ʿAwrāʾ, made a selection of 100 songs (*al-aṣwāt al-miʾa al-mukhtāra*), which form the framework of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*]. This collaboration of Ibrāhīm and Ibn Djāmiʿ is noteworthy, because they held different opinions about the principles of their art. Ibn Djāmiʿ tried to introduce some changes into the art of singing, the rhythms, and the modulations, whilst Ibrāhīm clung to the old Ḥidjāzī style which he declared to be classical. These differences were the beginning of the war between the classicists, led by Iṣḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*], and the modernists led by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], a war that was to end only in the days of al-Mutawakkil with the triumph of the classicists. Ibrāhīm died in 188/804 at the age of 63 years of a disease of the stomach. Posterity remembered him as one of the greatest singers, whose melodies were so entrancing that they were ascribed to the inspiration of the devil himself.

Bibliography: The main source for Ibrāhīm, his son Isḥāḳ, and the singers, musicians and composers of their time is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (see Index; article on Ibrāhīm in *Aghānī*³, v, 154-258); *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, vi, 175-8; *Fihrist*, 140; Ibn Khallikān, no. 9; H. G. Farmer, *History of Arab music*, index; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hofe der frühen Abbasiden*, Frankfurt am Main, 1965, 182 f.

(J. W. Fück)

IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA, Ottoman statesman, diplomat, founder of the first Turkish printing press, and a pioneer of reform policy, was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj) in Erdel (Transylvania) of Christian parents. His family name and his Christian name are not known. He was probably born between 1670 and 1674. So far no Ottoman source has been found which provides information on the Christian phase of his life; but on the basis of a statement made by the Catholic Hungarian nobleman Czézárnak de Saussure, who met Ibrāhīm in Turkey in 1732, when he was there in the company of Ferenc Rákóczi, Ibrāhīm is believed to have been educated at the college of Kolozsvár to become a Calvinist minister. In the light of this assumption Ibrāhīm has traditionally been represented as a Calvinist convert to Islam; but on the basis of the short autobiographical account given by Ibrāhīm in his unpublished *Risāle-i Islāmiyye* (MS: Esad Ef. 1187), N. Berkes has concluded that Ibrāhīm was not a Calvinist but a Unitarian. Unitarianism was very strong in Transylvania at the time when the Ottomans controlled Hungary and were also supporting Transylvanian independence from the Habsburgs. With the termination of the Ottoman protection of Transylvania and of Unitarianism and the ascendancy won by the Catholic church when the Habsburgs occupied Kolozsvár, the Transylvanian Unitarians were no longer allowed to study the works of Servetus and Dávid. The belief that Ibrāhīm had been a Calvinist is probably due to the fact that during the years when he was a theological student the college where he studied belonged no more to the persecuted and clandestine Unitarians but had been given over to the Calvinists. Ibrāhīm relates in his treatise how he secretly studied anti-trinitarian texts (and possibly Servetus' *Biblia Sacra*) and realized that the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad had been predicted in those parts of the Bible which had been purged or falsified by the upholders of the doctrine of the Trinity. He relates also how he attained *hidāya*, thus implying that he had been converted to Islam before he actually "turned Turk".

Czézárnak de Saussure again seems to be responsible for the origin of the traditional account of his conversion to Islam. According to this account, neither convincing in itself nor supported by any evidence coming from Ibrāhīm or from any other

original source, he was captured by Turkish troops during an encounter between Austrian and Turkish forces and later was sold as a slave; having fallen into the hands of a cruel master, and unable to expect that his poor relatives would ransom him, he perforce turned Muslim. More probably, Ibrāhīm fled from Habsburg rule in Transylvania and in 1691 joined the forces of Tököly Imre, who, in alliance with the Ottoman army, was fighting against the Habsburgs to procure his restoration in Transylvania. Ibrāhīm probably worked for Tököly as a liaison officer with the Turks. In fact, this remained his chief function in his subsequent career in the Turkish service.

How Ibrāhīm acquired Ottoman and Muslim culture and whether or not he studied at the *Enderūn* [*q.v.*] is not known. But he seems to have been taken into Ottoman service and to have become a member of the bureaucracy, later receiving promotion. His *Risāle-i Islāmiyye*, written about ten years after his embracing Islam, is not a treatise written to defend Islam, as Karácson and others following him have claimed, but seems to have been written to prove the link between his early Unitarianism and his passage to Islam. It does not yet contain any idea of the need for reform in the Ottoman institutions, a theme to which he seems to have turned only later. On the contrary, the treatise is a passionate condemnation of Catholicism and of the temporal power of the Papacy. It also reiterates his firm belief in the eventual victory of Islam over the Catholic world, since Muḥammad's monotheistic Islam was destined to be a superior religion, whose coming was predicted by Jesus himself. The argument must have been appealing to the Ottomans, who had entered into the second phase of their struggle against the Catholic world.

Ibrāhīm's career in Ottoman service and his diplomatic work seem to have begun after the composition of this treatise. He was elevated to the position of permanent *müteferriḳa* [*q.v.*], and became a special counsellor and envoy of the Ottoman Sultan. Ibrāhīm seems to have abandoned his interest in religion and theology by the time he entered this service. He took part particularly in diplomatic negotiations with Austria and Russia. In 1127/1715 he was sent to Vienna for negotiations with Prince Eugène. In 1128/1716 he served as the Ottoman commissioner with the Hungarians who were assembled in Belgrade to promote their struggle, supported by the Ottomans, for independence. In 1132/1720 he was appointed liaison officer to Prince Ferenc Rákóczi, who had come to Turkey in 1717 from France, and with French support, to wage a joint struggle against Austria. Ibrāhīm seems to have occupied his position until Rákóczi's death in 1735, although his function probably became merely honorary when Rákóczi's activities came to an end following the failure of his attempts to arouse the support of the Hungarians under Habsburg rule. Ibrāhīm continued to be sent with further diplomatic missions. In 1150/1737 he was dispatched to the Palatinus of Kiev for negotiations in connexion with the Polish treaty; he was one of the promoters of a Turkish-French alliance against Austria and Russia during the years 1150-2/1737-9; in 1151/1738 he conducted negotiations on behalf of the Ottoman government and the anti-Austrian Hungarians for the surrender of the fortress of Orsova to the Ottoman forces. He also took an active part, together with the Comte de Bonneval [see AḤMAD PASHA BONNEVAL] in promoting Turkish-Swedish cooperation against Russia. In 1156/1743 he was sent also to Dāghistān on a diplomatic mission.

Ibrāhīm's fame in recent years relies less on his state service and diplomatic activities than on his major contributions to the Turkish intellectual and cultural awakening. He took a leading and active part in the attempts at reform initiated in the early part of the 12th/18th century. Following the Treaty of Passarowicz (1131/1719) the idea of introducing European military practices was born. Ibrāhīm was probably one of those who not only promoted the idea but also supplied information which he had obtained from his observations. Very likely it was he who inspired the first memorandum given to Aḥmed III arguing the necessity of military innovation and the employment of European officers to train the Ottoman army.

But the enterprise which has made his name memorable is his establishment of a Turkish printing press. The idea seems to have been in the air in 1719; and when Meḥmed, known as Yirmisekiz Čelebi, was sent to France on a diplomatic mission, he is shown by French sources to have been already convinced of the necessity and the permissibility of the innovation. The Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, Meḥmed Čelebi, and the latter's son Saʿīd Efendi (later Pasha and also an envoy to France), and the Shaykh al-Islām encouraged and supported Ibrāhīm in opening the press in 1140/1727. In an essay entitled *Wasīlat al-ṭibāʿa* Ibrāhīm made a plea for the enterprise with a brilliant exposition of the losses incurred by Islamic learning from the absence of the art of printing among the Muslims and of the great benefits its establishment would bring to the Muslims and to the future of the Ottoman state. He was not interested in printing theologically controversial writings and met no opposition from the "religious institution". The alleged opposition to the opening of the printing press does not seem to have been motivated by religion but rather by the economic interests of copyists and calligraphers. Ibrāhīm's major interest in printing was still in line with his political and diplomatic career as well as with his interest in Islamic reform. The works he printed in his press were all related to secular matters, such as language, history, geography, and the natural and physical sciences [for details see MAṬBAʿA]. In addition to his pioneer work as a printer he was also an editor, a compiler, a translator, and a writer. He also prepared a number of maps, printed the majority of them, and prided himself on being a geographer and cartographer.

In 1144/1731 Ibrāhīm wrote his *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-umam* in order to show the causes of the decline of the Ottoman power in Europe before the Christian states, to describe the modern forms of government, their military methods and organization, and finally to propose ways to remove the existing aberrations of the Ottoman system and to reform them (printed Istanbul 1145/1732; Fr. tr. by Baron Reviczki, *Traité de la tactique*, Vienne 1769). He placed prime importance upon the use of modern sciences, particularly upon the knowledge derived from new geographical explorations and upon the importance of the use of intelligence information to be obtained about the conditions of the European nations and their military forces. If he was not the first to draw attention to the consequences of the geographical discoveries and of the encirclement of the Ottoman empire by sea power, he was certainly the first to warn the Ottoman authorities of the future consequences of the modernizing trend in

Russia under the leadership of Peter the Great. Ibrāhīm died in 1158/1745 and was buried in Ghalaṭa.

Bibliography: a bibliography of the books printed at Ibrāhīm's press will be found under MAṬBAʿA. On Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa: Czézárnak de Saussure, *Lettres de Turquie (1700-39) et Notices (1740)*, ed. K. Thály, Budapest, 1909; G. Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, Venice 1787, iii; A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, Paris 1887, 28 ff.; I. Karácson, *Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa*, in *TOEM*, i (1326), 178-85; F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1919; Ihsan [Sungu], *İlk Türk matbaasına dair yeni vesikalar*, in *Hayat*, iii (1928), 413-4; Selim N. Gerçek, *Türk matbaacılığı*, Istanbul 1939; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 147-52; K. Mikes, *Türkiye mektupları*, Ankara 1944, 117 ff., and 152 ff.; Aladár v. Simonffy, *Ibrahim Müteferrika, Bahnbrecher des Buchdrucks in der Türkei*, Budapest 1944, Turkish trans. *İbrahim Müteferrika, Türkiyede matbaacılığın bânisi*, Ankara 1945; *IA*, art. İbrahim Müteferrika (T. Halasi Kun); N. Berkes, *Ilk Türk matbaası kurucusunun dinî ve fikrî kimliği*, in *Belleten*, xxvi/104 (1962), 716-37; idem, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, McGill 1964, 36-46. (NIYAZI BERKES)

IBRĀHĪM PASHA (?1493-942/1536), Grand Vizier of Süleymān I, known to the chroniclers as 'Maḳbūl' ("the favourite") and 'Maḳtūl' ("the executed"), was probably born near Parga, on the coast of Epirus. Enslaved as a child, he was brought up in the "Palace School", and then attached to the service of Prince Süleymān while he was governor of Maʿnīsa (according to other accounts he was taken in a raid by Iskender Pasha and presented to Prince Süleymān at Kefe; or was taken by pirates and sold to a widow near Maʿnīsa, etc.); he gained the confidence and friendship of the Prince, and upon Süleymān's accession (926/1520) became his *Khāṣṣ-oda bashi* [see GHULĀM, p. 1088a]. The following year the Sultan was causing to be built for him the famous palace on the north-west side of the Hippodrome (see Z. Orgun, *Ibrâhim Paşa sarayı*, Istanbul 1939, and ISTANBUL). Already the influence of "Ibrāhīm Agha" was greater than that of the viziers, and on 13 Shaʿbān 929/27 June 1523, in succession to Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], he was appointed Grand Vizier and *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli (see Pečewī, i, 20). He was only about thirty years old; and this unprecedented promotion—direct from the Palace Service to the two highest offices of the state held in plurality—deeply offended Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMAD PASHA KHĀʾIN], who could reasonably have expected the promotion, and who was allowed to withdraw from the capital as governor of Egypt. Ibrāhīm Pasha's marriage to Süleymān's sister Khadīdje in Radjab 930/May 1524 was celebrated with spectacular pomp, but four months later he had to set out for Egypt in order to compose the difficulties provoked by Aḥmad Pasha's revolt [see MIṢR]. He was absent for a year, and was then recalled hurriedly as the result of a Janissary disturbance, perhaps provoked by his rivals. He was appointed *serdār* [*q.v.*] on the great campaign into Hungary in 932/1526 [see MOHAČ]. From Buda (T. Budīn [*q.v.*]) Ibrāhīm Pasha brought back to stand before his Palace three bronze statues of Hercules, Diana and Apollo (this action provoked the famous epigram of Fighānī [*q.v.*], which cost the poet his life). The next year Ibrāhīm put down the revolts which had broken out in Anatolia (see Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, ii, 121-5; DJALĀLĪ [in Supplement]; and ḲALENDER SHĀH). In 935/1529 he was *serdār* (for his *berāt* see Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², i, 544-6; his *khāṣṣ* was increased to the value of 3 million *aḳčes*, see Pečewī, i, 129) on the campaign in which Budīn was re-taken and Vienna (Beč [*q.v.*]) besieged. In 938/1532 the third Hungarian campaign resulted only in the surrender of the fortress of Güns (Hung.: Köszeg; T.: Kösek [*q.v.*]). The following year Ibrāhīm Pasha acted with quasi-plenipotentiary powers in the negotiations with Ferdinand's ambassador Cornelius Schepper, whose reports (A. von Gévay, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke*, 2 vols., Vienna 1840-42, part 6; *Missions diplomatiques de ... Scepperus* = *Mém. de l'Ac. Roy. des Sciences de Belgique*, xxx (1857)) give a vivid picture of Ibrāhīm's excessively—and dangerously—arrogant attitude.

In the autumn of the same year, upon the outbreak of war with Persia, Ibrāhīm Pasha took command of the Ottoman army; after wintering at Aleppo, he occupied Tebrīz on 25 Muḥarram 941/6 August 1534, where next month the Sultan joined him; Baghdād was occupied on 24 Djumādā I 941/1 December 1534. It was during this campaign that Ibrāhīm's authority and pretensions reached their height: in one firman sent him there figures among his *alḳāb*: "*ḳāʾim-maḳām-i salṭanat*" (Topkapı Sarayı archives, no. 2759); and the army criers (*dellāl*) ended their proclamations with the words: "*Serʿasker-Sulṭān emridür*" (Pečewī, i, 189; when the very wealthy and influential Bash-Defterdār Iskender Čelebi protested, Ibrāhīm Pasha procured first his dismissal and later his execution). The Sultan and the Grand Vizier arrived back at Istanbul in Radjab 942/January 1536, and during the next month Ibrāhīm was conducting with the French ambassador the negotiations for the capitulations (Charrière, *Négotiations* ..., i, 255 ff.).

Then quite unexpectedly, after no hint that the Sultan had withdrawn his favour, Ibrāhīm was strangled, on the night of 22 Ramaḍān 942/14-15 March 1536, in his bedroom in the *ḥarem* of Topkapı Sarayı (Pečewī, i, 191); his body was buried at the Djānfedā Zāwiyesi behind the Arsenal (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 28; ii, 39). Various explanations were advanced for his fall: his arrogation of the titles of sovereignty; his responsibility for the execution of Iskender Čelebi; extravagance on the campaign of 941/1534; an irreligious attitude; the intrigues of Khurrem Sulṭān [*q.v.*] ("Roxelana"), given freer play after the death of Ibrāhīm's protector the Wālide Ḥafṣa Sulṭān; and possibly jealousy felt by his wife Khadīdje Sulṭān, the sister of Süleymān I, for his other wife Muḥsine.

Ibrāhīm Pasha had a son by Khadīdje, named Meḥmed Shāh. His parents embraced Islam, the father taking the name Yūnus and being made a *sandjaḳ-begi*, while two brothers of Ibrāhīm were admitted to the Palace (Albéri, *Relazioni* ..., iii, 103). Numerous foundations were made by himself and by his wife Muḥsine in Istanbul (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 28), Ghalaṭa, Mecca, Hezārghrad, etc. His palace on the At-Meydān was later used as a training school for *ʿadjamī oghlans* [see GHULĀM, 1087a]. His gardens at Sütlüdje on the Golden Horn long remained a popular place of resort (ʿAṭā, i, 111).

Bibliography: General histories: Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 32-163, ix, XXIX-XXXII; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, ii, iii, 70-81; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, Ankara 1949, 305-46. Ottoman chroniclers: Pečewī, i, 20, 79-91; Djalālzāde Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik* (in MS, unpublished but

important, since the author was Ibrāhīm's private secretary); ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār* (in MS); idem, *Maḥāsin al-ādāb* (unpubl.), cited in *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 29; "Ferdi" [*q.v.*] (= Bostānzāde), *Süleymānnāme* (in MS); Kemālpashazāde, book x (= Pavet de Courteille, *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz* ..., Paris 1859). Contemporary Western sources: Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, xxxv, 258 ff.; Albéri, *Relazioni* ..., 3rd ser., iii, 99 ff. (Bragadino), 113 ff. (Minio); P. Giovio, *Cose dei Turchi*, Venice 1541; A. Geuffroy, *Briefve description de la mort du grand Turc*, Paris 1546; G. Postel, *La tierce partie des orientales histoires*, Poitiers 1560, 48-61. For his wives, see: Çağatay Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektupları*, Istanbul 1950; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kanunî* ... *Ibrahim Paşa padişah dâmadı değildi*, in *Belleten*, xxix/114 (1965), 355-61.

The above is abridged from the article in *IA*, fasc. 50, 908-15, where will be found further bibliography and especially (915a) references to archive documents. (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin)

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, the eldest son of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], general, and viceroy of Egypt. He is often described as Muḥammad ʿAlī's "adopted" son. Amīna, a relative of his foster-father, the governor (*čorbadjī*) of Kavalla in Macedonia, was certainly a divorced woman when Muḥammad ʿAlī married her in 1787, and it cannot be denied that Muḥammad ʿAlī had a certain preference for his son Ṭūsūn, who died on 28 September 1816; there was certainly also a rivalry between Ibrāhīm and Ṭūsūn. The year of his birth is decisive, however, and this is usually given as 1789 (but occasionally also as 1786). In the older authorities like Djabarti we find no hint that he was not Muḥammad ʿAlī's real son.

When his position in Egypt had been somewhat secured, Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1805 sent for his two sons Ibrāhīm and Ṭūsūn, and in 1809 for his wife and the younger children, Ismāʿīl and two daughters. In 1806 Ibrāhīm was sent with the Ḳapudān Pasha to Istanbul as a hostage for the tribute promised by his father; after the departure of the English fleet from Alexandria in 1807 the Porte sent him back. In 1807 Ibrāhīm became *defterdār*. After the great massacre of the Mamlūks in 1811 he was sent by his father to Upper Egypt. He drove the remnants of the Mamlūks into Nubia, subdued the Bedouins, and restored order and security in the country. Under his governorship, in accordance with Muḥammad ʿAlī's policy of expropriating the cultivable land of Egypt, all *iltizāms* [*q.v.*] and estates in *waḳf* were confiscated, and the registration of land was completed in 1812 (G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt*, London 1962, 4, 6). He remained in charge of the administration of Upper Egypt till the beginning of 1816. In the meanwhile he had been given the title of Pasha by the Porte in recognition of the services of his father.

In 1816, his father sent him to Arabia to make a final reckoning with the Wahhābīs, against whom his brother Ṭūsūn had been fighting successfully from 1811 to 1813 and, from 1813 to 1815, Muḥammad ʿAlī himself also. After three years of heavy fighting the goal was achieved, al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the capital of the Wahhābīs, was destroyed and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Suʿūd with his relatives were sent as prisoners to Egypt. In December 1819, Ibrāhīm made his triumphal entry into Cairo. Soon afterwards the Sultan appointed him governor of Djudda. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad ʿAlī's third son, Ismāʿīl, had conquered Nubia and Sinnār (1820-21), while another expeditionary force invaded Kordofān. The exploitation of the ancient goldfields and the capture of slaves, who were to form the basis of Muḥammad ʿAlī's new army, were the two objects of this expedition. Ibrāhīm Pasha was sent to Sinnār as commander-in-chief, and expedited the procurement of slaves and their transmission to Egypt. Falling ill with dysentery, he returned to Cairo early in 1822 (R. Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881*, London 1959, 11-12).

In the following years, Ibrāhīm Pasha took part in training the new troops (*niẓām djadīd*), who were entrusted to the French Colonel Sèves. Ibrāhīm was an industrious pupil of the European instructor and the latter, under the name of Sulaymān Pasha [*q.v*], became his main support in his later campaigns.

During the Greek War of Independence, when Muḥammad ʿAlī was appointed to conquer the Morea by a firman of the sultan dated 16 January 1824, he sent his son Ibrāhīm Pasha there, with an excellent army trained on the European model and ample supplies of war material, at the end of July 1824. The capture of Navarino and his entry into Tripolitsa practically brought the Peninsula under his control. February to April 1826 were devoted to the siege and capture of Missolonghi. After the intervention of the Great Powers had been rejected by the Porte and Muḥammad ʿAlī, the naval battle of Navarino [*q.v.*] took place, in which, in October 1827, the greater part of the Egyptian-Turkish fleet was destroyed by the allied fleets of Great Britain, France and Russia, and finally Muḥammad ʿAlī was forced by the British Admiral Codrington, who appeared before Alexandria, to recall his son and the Egyptian troops. Ibrāhīm arrived in Alexandria on 10 October 1828.

In 1831 Ibrāhīm Pasha was entrusted by his father with the conduct of the Syrian campaign. On 1 November he arrived with his troops in Palestine. After a six months' siege he obtained the surrender of ʿAkkā, on 27 May 1832, after previously gaining victories over the Pasha of Tripoli and Aleppo on the plain of Zarʿā south of Ḥimṣ. Ibrāhīm's subsequent march march through Syria and Asia Minor was made possible by his victories over the advance guard of the Turkish army under Muḥammad Pasha of Aleppo at Ḥimṣ on 8-9 July, over the main Turkish army under Ḥusayn Pasha in the pass of Baylān at Alexandretta (29 July), and over the Turkish army under Rashīd Pasha at Ḳonya (21 December). These victories showed the superiority of the Egyptian army, Ibrāhīm's skill as a leader, and the cleverness of his policy of uniting the various groups in Syria under one banner by the cry of "liberation from the Turkish yoke" and of winning to his side the influential Amīr Bashīr II Shihāb of Lebanon. Ibrāhīm Pasha advanced as far as Kūtāhiya. There in May 1833, not without pressure from the European powers, a treaty was signed between the Porte and Muḥammad ʿAlī, by which Syria and Adana were ceded to the latter. Ibrāhīm received from the Sultan the title of *muḥaṣṣil* of Adana, and his father appointed him to administer the new territory. The application of a centralized administrative and bureaucratic control, which was Muḥammad ʿAlī's instrument of government in Egypt, aroused the resentment of the diverse populations of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria (cf. W. R. Polk, *The opening of south Lebanon, 1788-1840*, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, 106-40). Sporadic but increasingly serious armed revolts broke out, provoked particularly by Ibrāhīm's measures of conscription and

of impounding arms. The enhanced status of the Christians alarmed the Muslims and Druzes, and disturbed the traditional *modus vivendi*: in particular, the employment of Maronites to suppress the Druze revolt in Ḥawrān (1838) had evil consequences in the two decades following Ibrāhīm's withdrawal.

When the war was begun again by Turkey in 1839, Ibrāhīm on 24 June won a decisive victory over the Turkish army under Ḥāfiẓ Pasha at Nizib west of Biredjik, and the Turkish fleet under Fewzī Pasha went over to Muḥammad ʿAlī. The intervention of the powers, whose negotiations led to the Treaty of London on 15 July 1840 (the so-called Quadruple Alliance), altered the situation. Hoping for support from the French, Muḥammad ʿAlī rejected the demand that he should evacuate Syria as far as ʿAkkā and confine himself to the hereditary pashalic of Egypt. No support was given to him, and the coasts of Syria and Egypt were blockaded by the allied fleets. Ibrāhīm was in a difficult position between the forces which they landed and the hostile people of the Lebanon, who were stirred up against him. After the capture of ʿAkkā by the British Admiral Napier and the latter's negotiations with Muḥammad ʿAlī in Alexandria, the latter was forced to agree to the evacuation of Syria on 22 November 1840. On 29 December, Ibrāhīm left Damascus with his troops and returned to Egypt via Ghazza, sending a portion of the army home via ʿAḳaba under Sulaymān Pasha.

In the years that followed, Ibrāhīm Pasha was mainly concerned with the administration of Egypt. His interest in and knowledge of agriculture is praised. He was several times in Europe, sometimes visiting watering-places to improve his health. Owing to his father's senility, Ibrāhīm formally assumed the governorship of Egypt on 2 September 1848, having received the sultan's firman some weeks earlier. He predeceased his father, however, on 10 November 1848, and was succeeded by his nephew, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I [*q.v.*]. Through his son Ismāʿīl (*regn.* 1863-79) he was the progenitor of the former khedivial and royal family of Egypt.

Bibliography: No full-length study of Ibrāhīm Pasha has yet been made, and the primary sources for his career have not been systematically investigated. These include: (A) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, Būlāḳ 1290; (B) Archival materials, especially in Cairo and Istanbul (see P. M. Holt (ed.), *Political and social change in modern Egypt*, London 1968, 28-51). Selections of documents have been published: (i) on the Syrian phase by Asad H. Rustum in [anon.], *Ḥurūb Ibrāhīm Bāshā al-Miṣrī fī Sūriyā wa 'l-Anaḍūl*, Cairo [1927], and *A corpus of Arabic documents relating to the history of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha*, Beirut 1929-34; (ii) from the archives of the European states on various phases of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule in a series of volumes published under the auspices of King Fuʾād I (see *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte par divers historiens et archéologues*, iii, Cairo 1933, 375-6); (C) the writings of expatriates and travellers, many of whom were French (see Jean-Marie Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, Cairo 1956, 169-323). Information on Ibrāhīm Pasha may be found scattered in numerous modern works concerned primarily with Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, of which the following are a selection: H. Dodwell, *The founder of modern Egypt*, Cambridge 1931; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī*, Cairo 1951; Helen Anne B. Rivlin *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

Ottoman archive material is used by Şinasi Altundağ, *Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa isyanı: Mısır meselesi 1831-1843*, Ankara 1945.

For Ibrāhīm Pasha in Syria, see Asad J. Rustum, *The royal archives of Egypt and the origins of the Egyptian expedition to Syria 1831-1841*, Beirut 1936, and *The royal archives of Egypt and the disturbances in Palestine, 1834*, Beirut 1938.

(P. Kahle-[P. M. Holt])

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, ČANDARLÎ [see djandarlî].

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, DĀMĀD, (?-1010/1601), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Ibrāhīm Pasha, according to Pečewī (ii, 284), was of Bosnian origin. The Venetian sources refer to him as "di nazione schiavone" (Alberi, iii, 241-2, 290, 367-8) or "di Chersego" (Alberi, iii, 432; cf. also Soranzo, 10: "nativo della Provincia di Herzecovina"). Perhaps the most exact indication is that of Minadoi, who describes Ibrāhīm Pasha (*Historia*, 266) as "di natione schiavona, del luoco detto Chianichii, una breve giornata discosto da Ragusi". Minadoi obtained his information from "Chrestoforo de Boni", who was interpreter to the Venetian consul in Syria, Giovanni Michele, and, like Ibrāhīm Pasha, a man of Slavonic descent from the region near Ragusa. De Boni had become acquainted with Ibrāhīm Pasha when the latter was operating against the Druzes of the Lebanon in 993/1585 (Minadoi, *Historia*, 277). As to the birth date of Ibrāhīm Pasha, no precise evidence would seem to be available. Minadoi (*Historia*, 266), writing not long before 1588 (the date of the first edition of his work), sets the age of Ibrāhīm Pasha at about thirty-two years. The statements made in the *relazioni* of the Venetian baili at Istanbul (Alberi, ii, 357 and iii, 290, 367-8, 432) suggest that Ibrāhīm Pasha was born circa 1550 A. D.

Ibrāhīm Pasha entered the imperial palace as a child of the *devshirme* [*q.v.*]. He rose to the office of *rikābdār* and, on the accession to the throne of Murād III in 982/1574, became *silāḥdār* and thereafter, in 988/1580, Agha of the Janissaries. He was made Beglerbeg of Rūmeli in 990/1582 and, while holding this appointment, had a large share in the organization of the festivities which Murād III, in the summer of the same year, gave in order to celebrate the circumcision of his son, the future Meḥemmed III. The year 990/1582 saw also the betrothal of Ibrāhīm Pasha to ʿĀyishe, a daughter of Murād III, and his advancement to the rank of vizier.

Ibrāhīm Pasha was sent out in 991/1583 to become Beglerbeg of Miṣr (Egypt). On his return from Egypt through Syria in 993/1585 he undertook a campaign against the Druze chieftains of the Lebanon. Soon after his arrival in Istanbul—an event that he marked by a lavish presentation of gifts ("*pīshkesh-i ʿaẓīm*") to the Sultan—he received in marriage the princess ʿĀyishe. The exact progression of Ibrāhīm Pasha in rank and in office during the next few years is not wholly clear. There is mention of him as fifth vizier (Venetian *relazione* of 1583: Alberi, iii, 241), as fourth vizier (Venetian *relazione* of 1585: Alberi, iii, 290) and as third vizier (Ṣolāḳzāde, 609 —narrating events of 993/1585). Two Venetian *relazioni* a little later in time note that Ibrāhīm Pasha *had been* second vizier (cf. Giovanni Moro (1590) in Alberi, iii, 367 and Bernardo Lorenzo (1592) in Alberi, ii, 357).

Ibrāhīm, during these years, served for a short while as Kapudān, i.e., High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 140; Daniş-

mend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 543 gives the following dates: Radjab 995/July 1587—Djumādā I 996/April 1588). The Venetian bailo Giovanni Moro, in his report to the Signoria submitted in 1590, observes (Alberi, iii, 357) that the Sultan, dissatisfied with the state of affairs at the arsenal (*tersāne*), resolved to appoint Uludj Ḥasan Pasha as Ḳapudān, "senza che Ibraim ne sapesse parola". A brief reference in Selānikī (*Taʾrīkh*, 254) describes Ibrāhīm as dismissed (*maʿzul*) from office (here unspecified) in Djumādā I 996/April 1588 (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 111, 113 amends this date to Djumādā I 997/April 1589).

The accession of Sultan Meḥemmed III in 1003/1595 brought Ibrāhīm Pasha once more to the rank of second vizier (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, i, 10). At this time the Ottoman empire was involved in the great war (1001-1015/1593-1606) with Austria. The departure of the Grand Vizier Ferhād Pasha [*q.v.*] on a campaign against Wallachia in Shaʿbān 1003/April 1595 saw Ibrāhīm Pasha, as second vizier, appointed to be *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the Grand Vizier at Istanbul.

On the death of the Grand Vizier Ḳodja Sinān Pasha in Shaʿbān 1004/April 1596 Ibrāhīm Pasha was raised to the Grand Vizierate. He was to hold the office for a little less than seven months. During this brief period of time the Ottomans captured from the Christians the important fortress of Eğri [*q.v.*], i.e., Eger (Erlau) in Hungary (Muḥarram-Ṣafar 1005/September-October 1596) and defeated the forces of the Emperor Rudolf II at the battle of Ḥāč Ovasī (Mezö-Keresztes) fought in Rabīʿ I 1005/October 1596. After the battle Čighālazāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] was made Grand Vizier, but the office was bestowed once again on Ibrāhīm Pasha a few weeks later in Rabīʿ II 1005/December 1596. He was dismissed, for the second time, from the Grand Vizierate in Rabīʿ I 1006/November 1597 and re-appointed to it, for the third time, in Djumādā II 1007/January 1599, holding the office now until his death two and a half years later.

Ibrāhīm Pasha, as Grand Vizier and as *serdār*, i.e., general-in-chief, took command of the Ottoman armies engaged in the Hungarian war. The campaign of 1008/1599 had amongst its main objectives the repair and strengthening of the frontier fortresses and included also measures to win the local Hungarian population, which had suffered much in the course of the long war, to a more favourable attitude towards the Ottomans. Ibrāhīm Pasha, having wintered at Belgrade, led his forces in 1009/1600 against the Christian fortress of Kanizsa [*q.v.*] and, after a short siege, accepted its surrender in Rabīʿ II 1009/October 1600. This notable success marked, however, virtually the end of his career. He died at Zemūn, near Belgrade, on 9 Muḥarram 1010/10 July 1601.

Ibrāhīm Pasha is described in the sources as a man of handsome appearance (Alberi, iii, 241-2; Minadoi, 266: "bello di sembianti"), generous (Alberi, iii, 432), subtle of intellect, but deceitful (Alberi, iii, 290 — cf. also Pečewī, ii, 229-231) and even "leggiero di cervello e vario" (Alberi, ii, 357), not a sagacious figure nor apt for high command (Alberi, iii, 432: "non e riputato prudente, ne atto a supremo commando"—relazione of Matteo Zane, dated 1594)—though his undeniable success in the Hungarian campaigns of 1596, 1599 and 1600 would seem to call into doubt this last judgement of Matteo Zane.

Bibliography: Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281, 158, 168 ff., 193, 205, 222, 254; Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, ii, 21, 25, 168, 170, 189 ff., 206 ff., 209, 224, 227, 231 ff., 284; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, 10, 53, 67, 84, 86 ff., 92 ff., 99, 102, 116 ff., 123 ff., 135, 142, 146 ff.; idem, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, Istanbul 1329, 140; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 80, 107, 110, 117, 123 ff., 128, 139, 142, 144, 157, 160, 168, 170, 172, 184 ff., 187, 204, 214 ff., 221 ff., 228 ff., 234 ff., 247 ff., 251 ff.; Ṣolāḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 603, 608, 625 ff., 631 ff., 639 ff., 644, 650, 651 ff., 656 ff., 660 ff.; ʿOthmānzāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 45; Ḥüseyn Ayvānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 16; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 97; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti zamanında kullanılmış olan bazı mühürler hakkında bir tetkik*, in *Belleten*, iv (1940), 506-7 (and Plate XCI, no. 4); idem, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 351-4, 357, 359, 613 (index); İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, iii, Istanbul 1950, 111, 113, 543; G. T. Minadoi, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi e Persiani*, Venice 1594, 266-7, 270-1, 276-95 passim; L. Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, Ferrara 1598, 10; E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ser. 3, Florence 1840-55, ii, 357, iii, 241-2, 290, 357, 367-8, 432-3; O. Burian, *The report of Lello, third English ambassador to the Sublime Porte* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları no. 83), Ankara 1952, 1-4 passim; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 125, 148, 161, 165-74 passim, 300-3, 312, 319, 332, 341, 349-61 passim, 431-2 and viii, 4, 6-7, 379-83; *İA*, s.v. *İbrahim Paşa* (by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu).

(V. J. Parry)

IBRĀHĪM PASHA, KARA, Ottoman Grand Vizier under Meḥemmed IV, was born in 1030/1620, in a village near Bayburt, of a Muslim family. He first appears as a *lewend* [*q.v.*] serving under Abaza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*]; when Abaza Ḥasan's rebellion was crushed (1069/1658) he took service under a succession of prominent figures, firstly Firārī Muṣṭafā Pasha and finally Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, whose *ketkhudā* he became. Helped by the Pasha's influence and enjoying the confidence of the Sultan he now began to rise rapidly in the service of the state. He was appointed firstly *küčük* and then *büyük mīr-akhōr*, in Rabīʿ II 1082/August 1671 (Rāshid, i, 255); then when his patron Ḳara Muṣṭafā became Grand Vizier (1087/1676) he himself was made third vizier (Siliḥdār, i, 653). Ḳara Muṣṭafā, however, beginning to resent Ibrāhīm's growing intimacy with the Sultan, had him appointed Ḳapudān Pasha (17 Ramaḍān 1088/13 November 1677) in order to remove him from the court; but Ibrāhīm immediately procured himself the further post of *ḳāʾimmaḳām* to the Grand Vizier, thus ensuring his continued presence at the capital. The Grand Vizier succeeded in having him dismissed from both posts and demoted to fifth vizier (10 Shawwāl 1089/25 November 1678: the date given in *Sefinetü 'l-vüzera*, ed. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1952, 39, is erroneous), but Ibrāhīm's influence over the Sultan was not weakened; he became successively fourth and third vizier, and, on the outbreak of the war with Austria, Ḳara Muṣṭafā found it prudent to re-appoint him *ḳāʾimmaḳām*. During the siege of Vienna, he remained at Belgrade to support the operations, but when word of the failure of the expedition was received, immediately returned to Edirne. He now began to intrigue actively against Ḳara Muṣṭafā, and finally succeeded in procuring his former patron's execution and his own appointment as Grand Vizier (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1094/December 1683, see Siliḥdār, ii, 119-21). However he was quite incapable of coping with the dangerous situation developing on the various battle-fronts, and not once did he take the field himself, so that on 20 Muḥarram 1097/17 Decem-

ber 1685 (so Rās͟hid, ii, 6) he was dismissed. He asked permission to go on the Pilgrimage, but his enemies warned the Sultan that this was merely a cover for him to stir up trouble in Anatolia, by returning to the "Dj̲elālī" activities that had occupied his early years; his property was confiscated, he was exiled to Rhodes (Rabīʿ II 1097/March 1686), and he was soon after executed (S͟haʿbān 1098/June 1687).

Bibliography: The two principal sources for Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha's career are Rās͟hid (i, 255, 334, 392, 429, 437, 439, 441, 445, 469 f., 475, 484 f.; ii, 6) and Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Ag͟ha Siliḥdār (i, 653, 656, 663, 669, 671, 716, 718, 726 f., 738, 749 f.; ii, 7 f., 12, 17, 119 f., 129, 189, 201 f., 209 f., 215, 225 f., 228 f., 237, 242 f., 279, 288, 294); Rās͟hid, as official historiographer, is concerned to gloss over Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha's failings, whereas Siliḥdār does not hesitate to record his weaknesses. See also *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā*ʾ, 110-1; *Sidj̲ill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, i, 110; Hammer-Purgstall, vi, *passim*. This article is abridged from that in *IA*, fascs. 49-50, pp. 906-8, where further references are given.

(İ. Parmaksizoğlu)

IBRĀHĪM PAS͟HA, NEVS͟HEHIRLI, favourite and Grand Vizier of Aḥmad III [*q.v.*], was born at Mūs͟hḳara (now Nevşehir), the son of a certain ʿAlī Ag͟ha; since he is said to have been about 70 years old when he died in 1143/1730, his birth may be dated to about 1073/1662. In 1100/1689 he came to Istanbul to find employment, and his relatives procured him entry to the Palace service, as *ḥelwādj̲ī*, as *baltadj̲ī*, and then as *kātib*, in which capacity, at Edirne, he became known to prince Aḥmad. When Aḥmad came to the throne (1115/1703), Ibrāhīm was made secretary to the Chief of the Eunuchs (*Dār al-Saʿāda Ag͟hasî*), holding this post for six years; but his rivals, jealous of his intimacy with the Sultan, procured his banishment for a time to Edirne. In 1127/1715 he took part, as *mewḳūfātčî* [*q.v.*], in Dāmād ʿAlī Pas͟ha's campaign in Greece, and was entrusted with the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] of the re-conquered Morea. Next year, as *defterdār* of Nīs͟h, he was present on the Peterwardein campaign; he did much to prevent a complete disaster after the Grand Vizier was killed, and was charged with breaking the news of the defeat to Aḥmad III. Ibrāhīm henceforth held a succession of posts in close attendance on the Sultan, and in Rabīʿ I 1129/February 1717, when second vizier, he was married to Aḥmad's favourite daughter Fāṭima, the 13-year-old widow of ʿAlī Pas͟ha. He attempted to use his influence with the Sultan to persuade him to make peace, but was unable to prevail against the Grand Vizier K͟halīl Pas͟ha; however, the loss of Belgrade [*q.v.*] (Ramaḍān 1129/August 1717) obliged the Ottomans to pursue negotiations: an armistice was signed on 1 February 1718 and Ibrāhīm, as the protagonist of the "peace policy", was finally persuaded to accept the Grand Vizierate, on 8 Dj̲umādā II 1130/9 May 1718. His first care was to see that the peace negotiations were prosecuted, and his efforts were rewarded by the signature of the Treaty of Passarowitz (Pasarofča) two months later.

Ibrāhīm wanted Turkey to engage in no more foreign adventures, but applied himself to measures of economy and reconstruction; he attempted to limit the army payrolls to effective troops only, to raise new taxes, and to stabilize the currency. At the same time, however, he and his master, encouraged perhaps by the report of Yirmisekiz Čelebi Meḥmed Efendi [*q.v.*] on his embassy to Paris and his descriptions of Versailles and Fontainebleau, engaged in the building of romantically-named *kös͟hk*s, fountains and palaces ("Emnābād", "Nes͟hāṭābād", etc.) along the Bosphorus [see Bog͟haz-ići], at Eyyūb and at Kāg͟hidk͟hāne ("Saʿdābād", the "Sweet Waters of Europe"), which were the scene of elegant parties of pleasure, of music, and of poetry, whose spirit is most vividly portrayed in the works of Nedīm [*q.v.*]. This genuinely cultured but reckless and extravagant indulgence is epitomized in the "tulipomania" which won for Ibrāhīm's Grand Vizierate the name of "Lāle dewri" [*q.v.*]. One important reflexion of this tendency to "Westernization" is the introduction into Turkey of the printing of Islamic works [see Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa; Maṭbaʿa]. The populace however, resenting this extravagance and distressed at the territorial losses accepted under the recent treaty, found ample cause for criticism of Ibrāhīm in his favouritism of his relatives and dependents and in his cultivation of the foreign ambassadors.

When Dürrī Efendi returned from an embassy to Persia to report that the country was in utter turmoil, attacked both by the Afg͟hāns and by the Russians, Ibrāhīm summoned the notables (Radj̲ab 1134/May 1722) to propose that the Ottoman state must intervene in order to protect its eastern frontiers. Such a policy threatened in fact to bring the Ottoman Empire into conflict not with Persia but with Russia, over the possession of the territories west of the Caspian; in July 1723, however, the mediation of the Marquis de Bonnac led to an agreement with Peter the Great for the partition of Persia (S͟hawwāl 1136/June 1724), so that the war which broke out in 1723/1135 (and was to last in effect until 1149/1736) was limited to hostilities between Turkey and Persia. The occupation of Hamad͟hān, Gandj̲a, Tabriz, Rewān, etc., obliged Ṭahmāsp II [*q.v.*] to sue for peace, and the short-lived Treaty of Hamad͟hān was concluded on 17 Ṣafar 1140/4 October 1727. A Persian invasion obliged the reluctant Aḥmad to declare war in 1730; but although the court encamped at Üsküdār, the lack of any vigorous activity, as a final cause of discontent, provoked a rising in Istanbul, headed by Patrona K͟halīl [*q.v.*]. The Sultan at first restrained Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha from crossing to Istanbul to attempt to suppress the disturbances, but he finally realized that the only hope (in the upshot, vain) of preserving his own position was to sacrifice his favourite: on 17 Rabīʿ I/30 September he placed him in confinement and took back his seal of office; a *fetwā* for his execution having been issued by the S͟hayk͟h al-Islām and other prominent *ʿulemā*ʾ, he was executed; and his body was paraded before the rebels and torn to pieces.

Ibrāhīm's earlier career had convinced him that it was impolitic for Turkey to become embroiled with the now technically superior European powers. He was a man of culture, a constant reader of Naʿīmā [*q.v.*], and he promoted the translation into Turkish of such works as ʿAynī's *ʿIḳd al-dj̲umān*, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ's *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, etc.; he was a generous patron of poets, artists, and calligraphers. He founded many *waḳf*s, especially in Istanbul, Ürgüp, and his native Mūs͟hḳara, which, by erecting new buildings and encouraging the settlement of adjacent tribesfolk [see Iskān], he raised to be a township, with the name of "Nev-s͟hehir".

Bibliography: Ottoman chronicles: Rās͟hid[2], iii-v, *passim*; Čelebizāde ʿĀṣim, Istanbul 1282 (= vol. vi of "Rās͟hid"[2]); Ṣubḥī, Istanbul 1198; Silaḥdār Meḥmed, *Nuṣretnāme* (unpublished MS); ʿAbdī, Ankara (TTK) 1943. General histories: Hammer-Purgstall, vii, *passim*; Zinkeisen, *GOR*,

v, *passim*; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/1-2, Ankara 1956-9.

Also: Gerard Cornelius von den Driesch, *Historische Nachricht von der Kayserl. Gross-Botschaft nach Constantinopel*, Nürnberg 1723 (with portrait of Ibrāhīm at p. 171); C. Schéfer (ed.), *Mémoire historique sur l'ambassade . . . par le marquis de Bonnac*, Paris 1894; A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV*, Paris 1887; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 123-4; ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, 29 ff.

Studies: Aḥmad Refīḳ, *Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha zamānında Ürgüp ve Nevshehir*, in *TOEM*, xiv/3 (80) (1340), 156-85; Münir Aktepe, *Dâmâd Ibrahim Paşa devrinde lâle*, in *TD*, iv/7-vi/9 (1953-4); idem, in *TM*, xi (1954), 115-30 (on "tulipomania"); idem, *Patrona isyânı, 1730*, Istanbul 1958 (with full bibl.); idem, *Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Paşa'ya âid iki vakfiye*, in *TD*, xi/15 (1960), 149-60; M. L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as revealed in despatches of the Venetian Baili* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, xxvii/3), Urbana 1944. The above is an abridgement of the article *Nevşehirli Ibrahim Paşa* in *IA*, fasc. 92, 234-9 (with further bibliography in the text). (M. MÜNIR AKTEPE)

IBRĀHĪM PEČEWĪ [see PEČEWĪ].

IBRĀHĪM SHĀH SHARḲĪ, the third of the *salāṭīn al-sharḳ*, the name given to the rulers of the state of Djawnpur [*q.v.*], *regnabat* 804-44/1402-40. He and his elder brother Mubārak Shāh 'Ḳaranful', whom he succeeded on the Djawnpur throne, were the adopted sons of the eunuch Malik Sarwar, the first sultan, and they are generally supposed to have been Ḥabshīs [*q.v.*]. Ibrāhīm succeeded to a kingdom of considerable extent, from Koyl (later ʿAlīgaṙh) and Iṭāwā [*q.v.*] in the west to Bihār and Tirhut [*qq.v.*] in the east, an area of about the size of Austria. It was Ibrāhīm who did most to make Djawnpur the important state it became, both by force of arms and in the cultural sphere. He set his sights high, aiming at the capture of Dihlī itself, marching on it in 809/1407 and annexing Kannawdj and Sambhal [*qq.v.*] on the way, and was deterred from making a final assault on Dihlī only by the receipt of the news that Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gudjarāt was marching to the aid of the Dihlī sultan. He was unsuccessful in his attacks on other possessions of the Dihlī sultanate, including Bayānā, south-west of Āgrā, and Kalpī [*q.v.*], which he had the misfortune to attack in 834/1431 just as Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī [*q.v.*] of Mālwā had the same idea. From this time he intervened on several occasions in the affairs of the Bengal sultanate [*q.v.* in Supplement], according to one account coercing the Hindū usurper Rādjā Ganesh to bring up his son in the Islamic faith with the support of the Pāṇḍūā *shaykh* Nūr Ḳuṭb al-ʿĀlam [*q.v.*]; and on his invasion of Bengal in 836/1432 the Bengal sultan sought help from Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh. He enforced order throughout his own dominions, and in spite of his failure to bring the Djawnpur sultanate any fresh territories he was respected as the wielder of the greatest power in northern India.

His reign is especially distinguished for his great patronage of art and letters, which earned for Djawnpur the title of 'Shīrāz of the east'; the liberal conditions of his court attracted scholars and litterateurs from all over the Islamic world, and important literary works, as well as works in *kalām* and *fiḳh*, were produced in Djawnpur. He graced his capital with many fine buildings, of which the Aṭalā *masdjid* is the principal survivor [see DJAWNPUR].

Bibliography: See DJAWNPUR and SHARḲIDS. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

IBRĀHĪM SHINĀSĪ [see SHINĀSĪ].

IBRĀHĪM AL-YĀZIDJĪ [see AL-YĀZIDJĪ].

(AL-) **IBRĀHĪMĪ**, MUḤAMMAD AL-BASHĪR, Algerian reformist scholar and writer, born 13 Shawwāl 1306/12 June 1889 at Bougie. He showed at an early age signs of great intelligence and his childhood and youth were spent in concentrated study. Already at the age of fourteen he had studied, at the school run by his uncle, Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Ibrāhīmī, the Ḳurʾān and the main classical literary and philological works. In 1912, on his way to the Ḥidjāz, he stayed for three months in Cairo, where he followed courses at al-Azhar and at the Dār al-Waʿẓ wa'l-Irshād which Rashīd had just opened on the island of Rawḍa. At Medina, Bashīr Ibrāhīmī pursued more advanced work in *tafsīr* and in *ḥadīth*, began to study genealogies, and carried out research in public and private libraries. And it was at Medina that he became the friend of Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*]. For three months the two young scholars devoted their attention to considering projects for religious reform and for the renewal of Arabic studies in Algeria.

After spending two years (1917-18) at Damascus as a professor at the Madrasa Sulṭāniyya, Ibrāhīmī returned to Algeria, where he immediately set to work, with Ibn Bādīs, to propagate reform and lay the foundations of an Arabic national culture. Their efforts led to the foundation of the Association of Algerian Muslim ʿUlamāʾ in 1931, to the organization of a system of free Arabic education, and to the formation of a reformist Arabic press (the principal organs of which were *al-Shihāb* and *al-Baṣāʾir*).

On the death of Ibn Bādīs in April 1940, Ibrāhīmī became the leader of the Algerian reformist movement, to which he imparted (at least after the end of the Second World War) the character of a movement pursuing nationalist aims. The claims he made for his people, over a period of about ten years, may be summarized under three headings: the separation of the Muslim religion from the state, the independence of the Muslim judicial system, and the official recognition of the Arabic language. He also worked ceaselessly for the spread of free education in Arabic, under the auspices of the Association of ʿUlamāʾ.

In order to meet its constantly increasing educational obligations and to enable its best pupils to proceed to a higher education in Arabic, the Association of ʿUlamāʾ sought financial and academic help from the other Arab countries, which led them to send the *shaykh* Ibrāhīmī on a mission to the East in order to carry out on the spot the necessary enquiries and negotiations (1952). He did not return to his own country until 1962.

During his stay in the East, Ibrāhīmī acted as spokesman for Algeria conceived as an Arab and Muslim nation. He was also able to take part in the religious and intellectual life of the countries in which he stayed (Egypt, Syria, Irak, the Ḥidjāz, Kuwait, Pakistan) and was finally recognized everywhere as one of the outstanding figures of contemporary Islam. In 1961 he was elected as an active member of the Cairo Academy of the Arabic Language.

On his return to Algeria, *shaykh* Ibrāhīmī lost the support of the first leaders of independent Algeria because of his political views, which were based on the Islamic principle of the *shūrā* [*q.v.*], and his advocacy of "a city of justice and liberty". He died in Algiers on 19 Muḥarram 1385/20 May 1965.

Bashīr Ibrāhīmī was, with Ibn Bādīs and Ṭayyib

al-ʿUḳbī, one of the chief architects of Muslim reformism in Algeria. A distinguished orator and writer, and a scholar in the traditional Islamic disciplines, he may be considered as one of the last great representatives of classical Arabic culture.

Ibrāhīmī's works are quite substantial, but, apart from his editorials from *al-Baṣāʾir*, collected under the title of *ʿUyūn al-Baṣāʾir* (Cairo 1963, 693 pp.), they are still unpublished. They include (1) ten or so short works on linguistic questions (*al-Tasmiya bi'l-maṣdar*; *al-Ṣifāt allatī dj̲āʾat ʿalā wazn faʿal*; *al-Nuḳāyāt wa'l-nufāyāt*, or terms of the form *fuʿāla*; *al-Iṭṭirād wa'l-s̲h̲ud̲h̲ūd̲h̲*; *Baḳāyā faṣḥ al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-lahdja al-ʿāmmiyya al-djazāʾiriyya*; *Risāla fī makh̲āridj al-ḥurūf wa-ṣifāti-hā bayn al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā wa'l-ʿāmmiyya*; a supplement to treatises on proverbs, *amt̲h̲āl*; etc.); (2) some religious studies (*Ḥikmat mas̲h̲rūʿiyyat al-zakāt fi 'l-islām*; *S̲h̲uʿab al-īmān*); (3) a play: *Kāhinat awrās* ("*La Kahena*"); (4) an immensely long *urdjūza* (36,000 verses). This "epic" (*malḥama*), as it is described by the author, covers the history of Islam and of Algeria, as well as the various aspects of the social and religious life of the Muslim community of Algeria.

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(A. MERAD)

IBRAIL, from the Rumanian Brăila, town of Wallachia (Ţara Românească) on the left bank of the Danube, about 20 km. south of the point where it is joined by the Siret; an important trading town situated at the junction of several trade routes. In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Brăila had connexions with Braşov in Transylvania and Lemberg in Poland. Its port was visited not only by boats from the commercial towns on the Danube but also by ships from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Even in the 10th/16th century, when the Bosphorus and the Black Sea were controlled by the Porte, an average of 70 or 80 ships anchored regularly there. During Meḥemmed II's campaign against Vlad Ţepeş, prince of Wallachia, an Ottoman fleet disembarked troops at Brăila (866/1462), but the town was not taken until Rabīʿ II 945/September 1538, following the campaign of Süleymān I against Moldavia. Radu Paisie, prince of Wallachia, was obliged to surrender it to the Sultan (946/1539), who appropriated also a fairly extensive territory surrounding the town. Once Brăila had become part of the Ottoman Empire, its new masters concerned themselves with its organization. There exists a 10th/16th century collection of regulations covering various aspects of economic and social life, taxes, land laws, etc. Under the Ottomans Brăila became a centre of supplies from which products from Wallachia were sent to Istanbul. For three centuries its history merges with that of other Danube commercial ports annexed by the Ottomans: it became the main object of the Rumanian princes in their struggles against the Porte. In 982/1574, the Moldavian prince Ioan cel Cumplit burned the town but was unable to take the fortress. In Radjab 1003/March 1595, Mihai Viteazul of Wallachia, at war with the Porte, forced the garrison to capitulate, but his assassination caused Brăila to be returned to the Sultan. Prince Mihnea, taking arms against the Sultan, occupied it for a brief period in 1069/1659. During the Russo-Turkish wars Brăila was taken and then returned again to the sultan. During a further war it was taken by the Russians on 6 June 1828 and finally ceded to Wallachia by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1830. It later became the centre of the activities of Bulgarian emigrés which paved the way for the independence of Bulgaria.

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(N. BELDICEANU)

ʿIBRĪ [see YAHŪD].

ʿIBRĪ, a town in Oman (ʿUmān [*q.v.*]) in eastern Arabia. ʿIbrī is the capital of al-Ẓāhira, the highland district stretching from the inland slopes of the mountain range of al-Ḥadjar westwards to the sands of al-Rubʿ al-K̲h̲ālī. The town lies in the great wadi coursing down from the mountains to the sands near the point where its name changes from Wādī al-Kabīr to Wādī al-ʿAyn. Higher up in the wadi are the towns of al-ʿArāḳī and al-Dariz. Just east of ʿIbrī is the settlement of al-Sulayf, while farther east is the massif of Djabal al-Kawr, beyond which one comes to Nazwā, until recently the capital of the Imāmate of Oman. South of ʿIbrī is Fahūd, one of the principal centres of the new oil industry in Oman. ʿIbrī is a central and commanding point on the main interior route from the Trucial Coast and al-Buraymī [*q.v.*] to the districts of al-S̲h̲arḳiyya and Djaʿlān. In going from ʿIbrī to al-Buraymī, a distance of some 150 km., one passes through the cluster of villages known as Aflādj Banī Ḳitab.

The name ʿIbrī for the town is said to be derived from the tribe of the ʿIbriyyūn, who trace their descent back to the Azd and ultimately to the prophet Hūd [*q.v.*] (ʿĀbar). The ʿIbriyyūn, however, now have their headquarters in al-Ḥamrāʾ near Nazwā and have no strong connexion with ʿIbrī. The dominant tribe in ʿIbrī is the Yaʿāḳib, who, though they claim a Southern Arab origin, now belong to the G̲h̲āfirī (Northern Arab) faction in Oman. Among the other residents of ʿIbrī are members of the tribe of Banū Kalbān.

ʿIbrī, besides its strategic importance, has considerable importance as a market for the nomads of al-Ẓāhira, where the Durūʿ [*q.v.*] are the strongest tribe. The nomads sell the famous camels of Oman and buy the products of local handicrafts and imports from abroad. Agriculture flourishes, with the date and fruit groves being

perhaps the largest in Oman on the inland side of the mountains. Among the fruits are mangoes, peaches, apricots, quinces, bananas, oranges, pomegranates, plums, and guavas.

As a former district capital under the Ibāḍī imāmate, ʿIbrī is said to have the biggest Ibāḍī mosque in Oman. The town has also been occupied at times by Wahhābīs. In 1251/1836, when the British naval officers Wellsted and Whitelock approached ʿIbrī as the first Europeans to visit this region, the place was full of Wahhābīs and the travellers were forced to turn back. In 1375/1955 the British journalist J. Morris, who came to ʿIbrī in the train of Saʿīd b. Taymūr, Sultan of Muscat, encountered none of the old xenophobia.

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(G. Rentz)

IBRISHĪM [see ḤARĪR].

IBRUH, Sp. Ebro. Most writers in Arabic on the topography of Spain mention the river Ebro, but they are generally limited to the conventional information that it rises in the mountains of Nabarra or the Rūm, passes through Tudela (Tuṭīla) and Zaragoza (Saraḳusṭa), and reaches the Mediterranean a little below Tortosa (Ṭurṭūsha). The Muslims never controlled the headwaters of the Ebro and were consequently vague about them. The same is true of the Duero, to the extent that Zuhrī states that the Ebro and Duero share a common source. Sometimes other riverain towns, as Calahorra (Ḳalahurra), Mequinenza (Miknāsa), and Flix (Iflīsh), and affluents, as the Gállego (Djallaḳ, Djilliḳ, Djillaḳ), Segre (Shiḳar), and Cinca (Nahr al-Zaytūn), are mentioned. Both ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī and Ibn Saʿīd know the river without giving its name. Bakrī is aware of the etymological connexion between Iberia (Ibāriya) and Ebro. Zuhrī states that gold is found in it (without saying where) and adds the enigmatic information that for 100 miles, from Tudela to Mequinenza, and again from Flix to Tortosa, they employ lanterns (*yataʿāṭawna ʾl-surudj*) on the river bank.

The name is spelt *alif, bā, rā, hā*. In manuscripts the *alif* is preceded by *hamza* without bearer, which is the Maghribī manner of indicating *madda*. The inference is that the vowel of the first syllable was felt to be *fatḥa*, i.e. Ābru(h), Abru(h), and this indeed corresponds with the Spanish Ebro. On the other hand those who connected the name with Iberia presumably pronounced it Ibru(h). The spelling Ībruh seems not to occur.

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(J. F. P. Hopkins)

AL-**IBSHĪHĪ**, Bahā al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, Egyptian writer (790-after 850/1388-after 1446), author of a famous anthology. He was born in a village in the Fayyūm, Abshūya (whence the reading al-Abshīhī for his *nisba*, which is also pronounced al-Ibshayhī), but he lived most of his life at Maḥalla al-kubrā or in the neighbouring small town of Nahrarīr. He went quite often to Cairo, where he was able to receive lessons from Djalāl al-Dīn al-Bulḳīnī, the son of the Shāfiʿī doctor of the same name (Brockelmann, S II, 139). He is said to have had as a student al-Biḳāʿī (*ibid.*, 177), the opponent of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and Ibn Fahd (*ibid.*, 225). His reputation is based on the *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaẓraf*, one of the most famous anthologies of Arabic literature (more than ten eds. at Būlāḳ and Cairo; Fr. tr. G. Rat, Paris-Toulon 1899-1902) but, according to al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 109, he wrote also a work of edification entitled *Aṭwāḳ al-azhār ʿalā ṣudūr al-anhār* and began a treatise on epistolography; he may also be the author of the *Tadhkirat al-ʿārifīn wa-tabṣirat al-mustabṣirīn* (manuscript at Damascus; see Ḥ. al-Zayyāt, *Khazāʾin al-kutub fī Dimashḳ*, 80, no. 24). In the *Mustaṭraf* the author appears mainly as an anthologist, anxious to make known "literary characteristics, edifying discourses, wise maxims". He acknowledges as his predecessors al-Zamakhsharī (*Rabīʿ al-abrār*) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*). He also draws material from works of *ḥadīth* (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, Tirmidhī) or of theology (Ibn al-Djawzī). The rather haphazard arrangement is not, however, entirely illogical. A first section deals with the human mind and the natural lights of reason: religion, wisdom, good customs, various talents (chapters i to xvi). There then follows a sort of treatise on society and its most characteristic categories (xvii-xxii); the work then deals with pure morality (to ch. lii); there follow, as a diversion, various thoughts on the marvels of nature and the profane arts of poetry and music. The *Mustaṭraf* is thus "a vast encyclopaedia of *omni rescibili*, which enjoyed an immense popularity" (M. Rat, preface to his translation, x). It is a *vade mecum* for the honest Muslim, which does not hesitate to mingle the fields of *adab* and of pure ethics (*akhlāḳ*), which in principle remain distinct from each other. On matters of faith, the work is very discreet, merely mentioning the most essential ritual observances. In social ethics, honour is given to both the "poverty" of the saint and the honest labour of the artisan. In the field of ethics, it advocates obedience to the established authorities, patience and endurance. It speaks rapturously of generosity, which culminates in *īthār*, "abnegation", the rather ostentatious virtue of momentarily renouncing the self. This generosity, which excludes pride (*kibr*), is nevertheless accompanied by a very strong feeling of personal dignity (*ʿuluww al-himma*). As regards style, the author does not hesitate to pass from the sublime to the trivial, and his work is at the same time a sort of *Fürstenspiegel*, a manual of literature and a collection of anecdotes often enlivened by proverbs in the popular language of Cairo; the *Mustaṭraf* has provided valuable information on the state of the spoken language in Egypt in the 9th/15th century (Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxv, 528, a review of the work by Spitta Bey: *Grammatik des arabischen des vulgär Dialektes von Aegypten*, 1880). The naturalness with which al-Ibshīhī links the various categories of Arabic literature to an oral and popular culture gives to his rather clumsy work the value of direct testimony. A Turkish translation (Istanbul 1261-3/1845-7) made by Ekmekčizāde Aḥmad, under the auspices of Meḥmed Esʿad (Imāmzāde?), demonstrates the popularity which was enjoyed until modern times by a work which succeeded in assembling "in a brilliant style, Ḳurʾānic quotations, prophetic sentences, philological difficulties, comic anecdotes" (Turkish preface); a short treatise (1-29) by the translator refers to the fundamental values of Islam (the divine unity, the five pillars of worship, respect for the poor and for the saint).

The *nisba* al-Ibshīhī belonged also to other persons: (1) an Egyptian Mālikī jurist and man of

letters, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā (834-98/1430-92). He owed his literary education to the Mālikī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī and his juridical education to the classical Mālikī writers: Abū Zayd, Sīdī Khalīl, the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. He was an expert in Ḳurʾānic reading, and may have been the pupil of Ṭāhir b. ʿArabshāh (Brockelmann, S II, 21). (2) A Shāfiʿī traditionist, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 892/1487), who gained a certain fame for his scholarship and the many journeys he made. He was known also by the names of Ibn Ḥarfūsh and Ibn Ṣahṣāḥ. He had dealings with al-Sakhāwī, who accused him of plagiarism and of producing an unauthorized version of his work of *ḥadīth*, *al-Maḳāṣid al-ḥasana* (Brockelmann, S II, 31; Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, i, 187).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 56, S II, 55.

(J.-C. Vadet)

IBSHĪR MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA [see IPSHĪR MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA].

IBTIDĀʾ, introduction, prologue, a term in rhetoric. In Ḳazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* (published under the title *Matn al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo n.d., 125 and 127), its extended version, the *Īḍāḥ* (ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, vi, 147-50, 154), and the various works based on the *Talkhīṣ*, the *ibtidāʾ* is mentioned, along with the *takhalluṣ*, "transition" [*q.v.*], and the *intihāʾ*, "conclusion" [*q.v.*], as one of the three sections of the poem or composition which should receive particular attention and should conform to certain criteria of style and content. In the opening line of a poem complicated syntax should be avoided and the two hemistichs should be closely related in sense; in the case of a panegyric, it should not contain anything that could be interpreted as an evil omen or an improper allusion to the ruler or dignitary to whom the poem is addressed, etc. In poetry as well as in prose the author may earn distinction by observing the *barāʿat al-istihlāl*, "the skilful opening", by which is understood an introduction that contains an allusion to the main theme of the work.

This theory, in particular the reference to the *barāʿat al-istihlāl*, reflects a tendency on the part of Ḳazwīnī and his followers to emphasize the importance of thematic unity and restrict the use of the conventional prologue of ancient poetry, the *nasīb* [*q.v.*]. They explain the term *tashbīb*, originally a near synonym of *nasīb*, as synonymous with *ibtidāʾ* in its widest sense (see also H. A. R. Gibb, in *BSOAS*, xii (1948), 576).

Works on rhetoric outside Ḳazwīnī's tradition offer essentially the same theories under headings like *al-mabdaʾ*, *al-mabādiʾ wa 'l-iftitāḥāt*, *ḥusn al-maṭlaʿ*, etc. Of special interest are the chapters in Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ii, 235-58) and Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Khizāna* (Cairo 1304, 3-20), which give much attention to the *ibtidāʾ* in prose. In dealing with the Ḳurʾān, some authors regard the letters found at the beginning of some *sūra*s as models of *ibtidāʾ*. For the *ibtidāʾ* in oratory see KHUṬBA.

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(S. A. Bonebakker)

IČ-OGHLANÎ (T.), literally "lad of the interior", i.e. "page of the inner service (*Enderūn* [*q.v.*])", Ottoman term for those boys and youths, at first slaves, recruits through the *devshirme* [*q.v.*], and occasionally hostages, later (from the 11th/17th century) also free-born Muslims, who were selected for training in the palaces of Edirne and Istanbul in order to occupy the higher executive offices of the state. For details, see GHULĀM, iv; ḲAPÎ-ḲULU; SARĀY-I HÜMĀYŪN.

(Ed.)

IČIL (IČEL), mountainous province in southern Turkey, situated on the western spurs of the Taurus on the Mediterranean opposite Cyprus. The chief town is today the port of Mersin; its administrative districts are Mersin, Anamur, Gülnar, Mut, Silifke and Tarsus. The province is bounded in the north by the province of Konya, in the north-east by that of Niğde, in the east by Adana and in the west by Antalya. The main river is the Göksu [*q.v.*] (Kalykadnos/Saleph), which rises in the Bolkar Dağı and flows below Silifke into the Mediterranean.

In antiquity the borders of "Stony Cilicia" (as this territory, also called Isauria, was called to distinguish it from the neighbouring "Flat Cilicia", i.e. the plain of Adana) were considered to be in the west the promontory of Korakesion (Alanya), in the east the valley of the Lamus (Lâmas suyu). In the Byzantine period the territory formed, from the 9th century, a part of the military frontier against the Arabs under the name of Seleukeia. In the time of the Crusades the kingdom of Little Armenia fortified the towns there, among them Anamur, Sechin and Kelenderis on the coast and Ermenak [*q.v.*] and Lauzad inland. The Seldjuks, under ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs I and especially under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳobād I, occupied by about 625/1228 the majority of these castles (many of them today are either without names or not yet identified) as far as Silifke, whose citadel Camardesium was occupied by the Knights of St. John. The newly-conquered "Seldjuk-Armenia" was given the name of "Wilāyat-i Arman", or Armanistān; the province was also called the "Wilāyat of Ḳamar al-Dīn", after its first Seldjuk governor. The immigration of numerous Oguz tribes soon made the "Province of Armanāk" into a pronouncedly Türkmen territory which, after the division of the Seldjuk state belonging to the western half of Rūm, soon became the main territory of the Türkmen princes of Ḳaramān, who gradually succeeded in capturing all the fortresses (especially Ermenak and finally also the town of Silifke) from the Seldjuks and the remaining Armenians and Crusaders. From this province as a centre, which, as the "inner part" of their principality, was called *Ič il(i)*, the Ḳaramānids built up their dominion. There are references from the 8th/14th century to the Varsaḳ-Türkmens as being their neighbours and allies, among whom, in 853/1449-50, the militant Ṣafawid Shaykh Djunayd [*q.v.*] disseminated his propaganda (emirs: Ḥamza b. Ḳara ʿĪsā, 837/1427; Uyuz Beg, circa 875/1470; Yūsuf Beg Varsaḳ, governor of Kemākh for Shāh Ismāʿil, fell in the battle of Čaldiran [*q.v.*] in 920/1514). In Zeyne, a *ḳaṣaba* of Ič il, there died in 862/1457-8 the founder of the Samarḳandiyya order, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī. Ič il also provided the Ḳaramānids with a refuge when they came into conflict with the Ottomans from the end of the

8th/14th century. From 799/1397, and especially from the middle of the 9th/15th century, they retired to "Ṭash il(i)", as the heartland of Ḳaramān was now often called, or "Ič il" (the two terms are often used as synonyms. It is not yet clear whether *ṭash ili* means originally "outside land" or "stone land"). Its last strongholds, the fortresses of Silifke, Ermenak and some others, recovered with the aid of the Crusaders under Mocenigo, did not fall to the Ottomans until after Meḥemmed II's victory over Uzun Ḥasan, in the autumn of 878/1473. The Cypriots had lost in 852/1448 their last town on the mainland (Korykos); and the Mamlūks also, to whom ʿAlāya [see ALANYA] had belonged for some time from 830/1427, retreated from the coast of Ič il. In 888/1483, the district was allotted as a *sandjāḳ* to the newly created Ottoman *wilāyet* of Ḳaramān, its administrative centre being Silifke. After the conquest of Cyprus in 979/1571, the Ottomans placed Ič il under their new *eyālet* of Ḳibrîs, in which they resettled *yurük*s [*q.v.*] from there. The *Djihānnumā* refers to "Ičil proper" (or Silifke) as being a mainland *sandjāḳ* of Cyprus. When Evliyā Čelebi travelled through the *sandjāḳ* in 1082/1671, it belonged to the *eyālet* of Adana. Evliyā's itinerary, which still awaits detailed investigation, contains remarks on the summer pastures of the Türkmens of Ič il (Toḳar, Küčük Čimen, Seki yaylalarî). The tribesfolk, among whom, as Faruk Sümer has shown, well-known Oguz tribal groups were to be identified, were still predominantly nomadic. During the efforts to sedentarize them, refractory *yürük*s were again settled in Cyprus in 1124 and 1126/1712 and 1714. In the 18th century, the *sandjāḳ* appears repeatedly as an *arpalîḳ* [*q.v.*] of dismissed Grand Viziers. From 1831, Ič il belonged to the *eyālet* of Adana. Under the Turkish Republic the *kaza* of Ermenak was attached to the *vilâyet* of Konya and the rest of "Stony Cilicia" was, together with Mersin, made into a new *vilâyet*, Içel.

Bibliography: *İA*, s.vv. *İçel* (Besim Darkot), *Karamanoğullari* and *Silifke* (Şihabeddin Tekindağ), with references to the geographical literature and to the Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources.

(B. FLEMMING)

ICONOGRAPHY [see ṢŪRA].

ʿĪD, festival. The word is derived by the Arab lexicographers from the root *ʿwd* and explained as "the (periodically) returning". But it is in fact one of those Aramaic loanwords which are particularly numerous in the domain of religion; cf. for example the Syriac *ʿīdā* "festival, holiday".

The Muslim year has two canonical festivals, the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* [*q.v.*] or "sacrificial festival" on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* [*q.v.*] "festival of breaking the fast" on 1 Shawwāl. The special legal regulations for these are dealt with in the following articles. Common to both festivals is the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd(ayn)*, the festival of public prayer of the whole community, which is considered *sunna*. In many ways it has preserved older forms of the *ṣalāt* than the daily or even the Friday *ṣalāt* (although in other points it has come to resemble the latter) and in its general style much resembles the *ṣalāt* for drought and eclipses. It consists only of two *rakʿa* [*q.v.*] and contains several more *takbīr* [*q.v.*] than the ordinary *ṣalāt*. After it a *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] in two parts is delivered. It has no *adhān* [*q.v.*] and no *iḳāma* [*q.v.*]; as in the oldest times, the only summons to it is the words *al-ṣalāt djāmiʿat^an^*. It should be celebrated in the open air on the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*], which is still often done, though now mosques are frequently preferred. The time for its performance is between sunset and the moment when the sun has reached its zenith.

At both festivals, which in practice last three or four days, the Muslim puts on new or at least his best clothes; people visit, congratulate, and bestow presents on one another. The cemeteries are visited, and people stay in them for hours, sometimes spending the whole night in tents. These more popular practices are more usual at the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* than at the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*; the festival of breaking the fast is much more joyfully celebrated because the hardships of Ramaḍān are over, so that at the present day the "minor festival" has in practice become of much greater importance than the "major festival".

Bibliography: The books of *fiḳh* in the chapter *Ṣalāt al-ʿidayn*; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 126 ff.; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* (*Abh. Pr. Ak. W., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1913, no. 9), 19, 27 ff., 40-1; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, Paris 1788, ii, 222-31 and 423-36; Sell, *The faith of Islam*[2], London 1896, 318-26; Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les particularités de la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*[2], Paris 1869, 69-71; Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, London 1832, 261-9; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 159 ff.; idem, *Mekka*, ii, 91-7; idem, *The Atchehnese*, i, 237-44; idem, *Het Gajōland*, Batavia 1903, 325 f.; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, chap. x; Mez, *Renaissance*, 402-3; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 277 f.; F. M. Pareja, *Islamologia*, Rome 1951, 411-2; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, New York 1951, chaps. 2 and 3; J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, chaps. 3 and 4 (with bibliography). (E. MITTWOCH*)

ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ (also called *ʿīd al-ḳurbān* or *ʿīd al-naḥr*) "sacrificial feast" or AL-ʿĪD AL-KABĪR "the major festival", in India *baḳar ʿīd* (*baḳra ʿīd*), in Turkey *büyük bayram* or *kurban bayramı*. It is celebrated on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the day on which the pilgrims sacrifice in the valley of Minā [see ḤADJDJ], the first of the three *ayyām al-tashrīḳ* (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923). The old Arab custom of sacrificing on this day in Minā was adopted by Islam not only for pilgrims but also for all Muslims as *sunna*. It becomes a necessary duty (*wādjib*) only by reason of a vow (*nadhr*).

This *sunna* is obligatory (*muʾakkada ʿala 'l-kifāya*) on every free Muslim who can afford to buy a sacrificial victim. Sheep (one for each person) or camels or cattle (one for one to ten persons) are sacrificed. The animals must be of a fixed age and be free from certain blemishes (lack of an eye, lameness etc.). The period of the sacrifice begins with the *ṣalāt al-ʿīd* and ends with sunset on the third of the three *ayyām al-tashrīḳ*. The following practices are recommended to the sacrificers: 1. the *tasmiya*, *i.e.*, the saying of the *Basmala* [*q.v.*]; 2. the *ṣalāt ʿala 'l-nabī*, the blessing on the Prophet; 3. the turning towards the *ḳibla*; 4. the threefold *takbīr* before and after the *tasmiya*; 5. a request for the gracious acceptance of the sacrifice. If the latter is offered on account of a vow, the sacrificer must eat none of it but must give it all away for pious purposes. If the sacrifice, as is usually the case, is a free will offering, the sacrificer enjoys a portion (a third) of the animal and gives the rest away. Among the Druses, the festival is now celebrated in memory of the sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel (R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, Wiesbaden 1960-2, i, 199).

On the public prayer and the usages at the festival on this holiday see ʿĪD.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned for the article ʿĪD, the books of *fiḳh* in the chapter on *uḍḥiyya*. (E. MITTWOCH)

ʿĪD AL-FIṬR, "festival of the breaking of the fast" or *al-ʿīd al-ṣaghīr* "the minor festival", Turkish *küçük bayram* or *şeker bayramı*, is the festival celebrated on 1 Shawwāl and the following days. If the Muslim has not paid the *zakāt al-fiṭr* [see ZAKĀT] before the end of the period of fasting, he is legally bound to do this on 1 Shawwāl at the latest and is recommended to do it before the public prayer (*ṣalāt*) which is celebrated on this day [see ʿĪD].

As this festival marks the end of the hardships of the period of fasting, it is, although called the "minor", celebrated with much more festivity and rejoicing than the "major festival"; cf. ʿĪD.

Bibliography: The books of *fiḳh* in the section *zakāt al-fiṭr* and the bibliography to the article ʿĪD. (E. MITTWOCH)

AL-ʿIDĀDA [see AL-ASṬURLĀB].

IḌĀFA [see NISBA].

IḌĀFA, infinitive of the verb *aḍāfa (ilā)* "to unite (with)", has became a term in Arabic grammar. In the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi it has at first a very wide meaning: it is inserted into the theory of the *djarr* (genitive) [the Kūfans say *khafḍ*] set out in Chapter 100. There we find: "*al-Djarr* is found only in nouns that are *muḍāf ilayhi*", that is: "that have received an adjunction", the *muḍāf* being that which is "added". It is the *iḍāfa*, the fact of having united one term with another, that requires the *djarr* (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 110), but the "operator" of this putting into the *djarr*, the *ʿāmil*, is the *ḥarf al-djarr* (preposition), *murād* (intended) (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 304, lines 11-12; *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* i, 250, line 3 a.f.), expressed or understood (*muḳaddar*). Thus the *iḍāfa* always implies a *ḥarf al-djarr*; as far as Sībawayhi is concerned, see his distinctions in Ch. 100. The theory of the *djarr* sets *iḍāfa* within very wide boundaries: as soon as there is a noun in the genitive (*madjrūr*), there is *iḍāfa*: *marartu* *bi-zaydin*, "I passed by Zayd"; the verb *marartu* (1st term: *muḍāf*) is linked, united with "Zayd" (2nd term: *muḍāf ilayhi*), and the instrument of this *iḍāfa* is the *ḥarf al-djarr*: the preposition *bi-* (see Sībawayhi, i, 178, lines 1-10). Note that Sībawayhi extended the *iḍāfa* even to the *nisba*: ii, Ch. 318; equally Ibn al-Sarrādj, 126.

The determination of one noun by another noun in the *djarr* also comes into this framework: *ghulāmu zaydin*, "Zayd's young slave": *ghulāmu* (1st term: *muḍāf*) is linked, united with "Zayd" (2nd term: *muḍāf ilayhi*), and the instrument of this *iḍāfa* is a *ḥarf al-djarr*, *muḳaddar*, unexpressed, but leaving its trace: the *djarr* of the *muḍāf ilayhi*. In fact, *ghulāmu zaydin* is thought of as implying the *ḥarf al-djarr*: *li-*, which is present in: *al-ghulāmu 'lladhī li-zaydin*, "the young slave belonging to Zayd" (cf. Ibn Yaʿīsh, 303, line 23). According to the context, the Arab grammarians assume the presence of: *li-*, *min* or even *fī*.

Iḍāfa in its general sense continued to be employed for the theory of the *djarr*, e.g.: *Mufaṣṣal*, § 110 and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 303-4. In common usage the word was limited to expressing the relationship of the determining of one term by another term, the determinative complement (the Hebrew "construct state"). European grammars thus translate *iḍāfa* as: "annexation", as did S. de Sacy (*Gr. Ar.*^{2}, Paris 1831, ii, § 235); the term was also listed by J. Marouzeau in the *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*^{3}, 21.

Arab grammarians called the determination by the determinative complement: *iḍāfa maḥḍa*, "pure" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, 60), *iḍāfa maʿnawiyya*, "semantic" (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 111; Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 252;), *iḍāfa maḥḍa wa-maʿnawiyya* (*Alfiyya*, verse 390), *iḍāfa ḥaḳīḳiyya*, "true" (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 305, line 12). It expresses different relationships: possession, material, etc. (see de Sacy, *ibid.*, § 98-9, or W. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*^{3}, ii, § 76). The two terms, closely joined, cannot be separated one from another: the first (*al-muḍāf*) does not take the article or nunation: in the dual and the sound plural the terminations *-ni*, *-na* are omitted: the second term (*al-muḍāf ilayhi*) is in the *djarr*, e.g.: *ibnu 'l-maliki*, "the son of the king", in the dual: *ibnā 'l-maliki*, "the two sons of the king", and in the plural: *banū 'l-maliki*, "the sons of the king". Both are definite or indefinite together: *ibnu 'l-maliki*, "the son of the king"; *ibnu malikin*, "a king's son". Semantically there is a difference: *taʿrīf* in the first case, that is, the indication of a definite being; *takhṣīṣ* in the second: the indication of the category of a given being (see, among others, al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 18). This *takhṣīṣ* can be (for us) the equivalent of an adjective, e.g.: *ḥimāru waḥshin*, "a wild ass", but this does not alter the character of the Arabic construction.

Another *iḍāfa* also exists. One can say, with an adjective, *al-radjulu 'l-ḥasanu wadjhuhū* or *radjulun ḥasanun wadjhuhū*, "the man (or: a man) with a beautiful face"; one says more frequently (using the *djarr*), in the same sense: *al-radjulu 'l-ḥasanu 'l-wadjhi*, or *radjulun ḥasanu 'l-wadjhi*. One can use an active participle (followed by the *djarr* in place of the verbal construction with the *naṣb*), e.g.: *bashshir ... wa-'l muḳīmī 'l-ṣalāti* (Ḳurʾān, XXII, 36/35), "announce the good news ... and to those that accomplished the prayers"; ... *hadyan bāligha 'l-kaʿbati* (*ibid.*, V, 96/95). "... a sacrificial beast that arrives at the Kaʿba". The second type requires the use of the *djarr*; the Arab grammarians consequently included it in the *iḍāfa*, but they declared it *ghayr maḥḍa*, "impure" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, 60), *lafẓiyya*, "verbal, formal" (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 111; Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 252; *Alfiyya*, verse 390); it is a simple way of expressing the same sense more lightly, *lā tufīd illā takhfīf fi 'l-lafẓ*, as Ibn al-Ḥādjib says (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 256), and presupposes no *ḥarf al-djarr*; but what is its *ʿāmil*? (see *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 251, line 13 f.).

In Arabic this *iḍāfa lafẓiyya* must be carefully distinguished from the true one: the construction contains an important difference: the first term, as we have seen, can take the article; in addition, the function is different: determination in the true *iḍāfa*, qualification in the *lafẓiyya*, and, one must add, a limited qualification: *radjulun ḥasanu 'l-wadjhi*; first a man is qualified by "beautiful", by the complement in the *djarr*, then this beauty is limited, here, to the "face" (cf. Ibn Yaʿīsh, 306, lines 20-2). The construction is important: with an adjective it is a normal method of description in Arabic. It is used in ancient Semitic. But, where Arabic distinguishes the two *iḍāfa*s in grammatical construction, ancient Semitic uses the same method for both: the construct state, the genitival relationship (see C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, ii, Berlin 1913, § 171 f; for Hebrew see, especially, P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome 1923, § 129 i).

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ii.—Iranian languages

The term *iḍāfa* (*ezāfe*) is used loosely in New Persian for the enclitic particle *-i* (strictly *kasra-yi iḍāfa*) which serves to connect a nominal form with a following determinant, be it descriptive, appositional, or genitival, *e.g.*, *āb-i garm* 'warm water', *rūd-i nīl* 'the river Nile', *kitāb-i pisar* 'the boy's book', or in any combination of these, *e.g.*, *āb-i garm-i rūd-i nīl* 'the warm water of the river Nile'. Following a final vowel the particle appears as *-yi*, the semi-vowel being written with the letter ی after ا *-ā* and و *-ū*, but abbreviated to the form of a *hamza* (when written at all) after ه *-a* and ی *-ī*, *e.g.*, *kitābhā-yi pisar* 'the boy's books', *sū-yi man* '(in) my direction, towards me', *khāna-yi buzurg* 'the big house'. In early Persian the particle was often written as ی, or by various other conventions, in all phonetic contexts.

By origin the particle is a relative pronoun. Already in both Old Iranian languages known, Old Persian and Avestan, there are examples of the use of the relative (*h*)*ya-*, besides its normal function, as a kind of article, agreeing entirely with its antecedent and linking to it a simple determinant instead of a full clause, *e.g.*, OP *kāsaka*(*h*) *hya*(*h*) *kapautaka*(*h*) 'the blue (NP *kabūd*) stone, lapis lazuli', *gaumāta*(*h*) *hya*(*h*) *maguš* 'Gaumata the Magian (nominative)', *gaumātam tyam magum* (accusative); Av. *daēvō yō apaošō* 'the demon Apaosha', *tām čarətām yām darəγām* 'the long (NP *dīr*) race-course (acc. fem.)', *tāiš šyaoθanāiš yāiš vahištāiš* 'for the best actions (instrumental plur. neuter), *daēnām ... yām hudānaoš* 'the conscience (acc. fem.) of the sensible man' (R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, § 261; H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 749 ff.).

This innovation became so characteristic of the relative *y-* stem that wherever derivatives of it survived in Middle and later Iranian dialects it was mainly, if not solely, in some articular use. Thus Soghdian *yw* (< *yam*, if not from the demonstrative *ayam*), Khwārezmian *ī* (masc.), *yā* (fem.), and Digoron Ossetic *i* are used as definite articles (see H. W. Bailey, *Asica*, in *TPhS*, 1945, 17 ff.). In Middle Persian the particle *ī*(*g*), spelt *ʿy* and *ʿyg* in Manichaean script, served both as a relative, *e.g.*, *den ī āwarē* 'the religion which you bring', *winĕh ig ašmā kird* 'the sin which you committed', and as a connective, *e.g.*, *bōy īg narm* 'a mild scent', *frazend ī wahman* 'the son of Vahman'; it was not yet, however, essential to the construction, *e.g.*, *bōyestān āfrīdag* 'blessed garden', *dibīrān nēwān* 'good scribes'. In the other Western Middle Iranian language, Parthian, the place of *ī*(*g*) was very early taken by the particle *čē* (see M. Boyce, *The use of relative particles in Western Middle Iranian*, in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges Morgenstierne*, Wiesbaden 1964, 28-47).

In New Persian the old relative has entirely given way to the particle *ki*. In some modern Western Iranian dialects, however, particles similar to Persian *-i* function as both relative and *iḍāfa*. In Northern Kurdish, for example, where a distinction of gender is also preserved: *kar-ē dēza* 'the grey ass', *žin-ā wī* 'his wife', *aw kar-ē ta dīt* 'that ass which you saw', *žin-ā ta dīt* 'the woman whom you saw'. In the Hawrāmī dialect of Gōrānī there is a distinction between an epithetic *iḍāfa ī*, *kitēb-ī syāw* 'a black book', and a genitival *ū*, *har-ū šwānay* 'the shepherd's ass'. The New Persian construction, and *-i* form, has been borrowed by many other dialects. (D. N. MacKenzie)

(iii) Turkic languages.

The Turkish *izâfet* construction (*izâfet terkibi*) is made up of two components: (1) the governed noun (*muzâf ileyhi*) or complementing element (*mütemmim, tamlayan/tamamlayıcı unsur*); (2) the governing noun (*muzâf*) or complemented element (*tamamlanan unsur*). In the Turkish *izâfet*, in contrast to the Arabic or Persian usage, the governed noun regularly precedes the governing noun.

The Turkish *izâfet* is based: (1) on the possessive relationship, and (2) on the qualifying relationship between two nouns.

The possessive *izâfet*, which in modern Turkish grammars is referred to as *iyelik grupu/takımı* (possessive group/annexation), *isim takımı/tamlaması* (noun annexation/complement), may be divided into two categories: (1) definite *izâfet* (*tâyinli izâfet, belirli isim takımı/tamlaması*); (2) indefinite *izâfet* (*tâyinsiz izâfet, belirsiz isim takımı/tamlaması*). The differences between the two categories are: (1) in the definite *izâfet* the governed noun is placed into the genitive: *bahçe-nin kapı-sı* 'the gate of the garden', in the indefinite *izâfet* it stands in the indefinite (suffixless) case: *bahçe kapı-sı* 'garden-gate'; (2) as seen from the foregoing example, the definite *izâfet* establishes a loose, temporary relationship between the components; in the indefinite *izâfet* this relationship is close, permanent, similar to that of the components of a compound noun; (3) in the definite *izâfet* both components keep their stress, while in the indefinite *izâfet* only the first component is stressed. In both categories the governing noun takes the possessive suffix of the third person, except that if the first component is the genitive of the personal pronoun of the first or second person, the second component takes the possessive suffix of the first or second person: *ben-im ev-im* 'my house', *siz-in ev-iniz* 'your house' (colloquially also *benim ev*, etc.).

In the qualifying *izâfet* two nouns are juxtaposed without change. The first component indicates the thing of which the second component is made, or to which it is compared: *ipek gömlek* 'silk shirt', *çelik irade* 'iron will'. In recent Turkish grammars this type of *izâfet* is dealt with in the chapter on *sıfat takımı* (adjective annexation) or *sıfat tamlaması* (adjective complement).

Syntactically the *izâfet* construction is treated as a unity, declensional endings being added to the second component: *müdürün şapkası-nı* 'the hat (= acc.) of the director', *misafir odası-n-da* 'in the guest-room', *taş köprü-den* 'from the stone bridge'. The plural suffix can be added to the first component only in the possessive *izâfet*: *öğretmen-ler-in vazifesi* 'the duty of the teachers' and *öğretmen-ler klübü* 'teachers' club'. If meaning requires a further possessive suffix to be attached to the indefinite *izâfet*, the first possessive suffix is dropped: *para çanta-sı* 'purse', but *para çanta-m* 'my purse', *para*

çanta-nız 'your purse', *Enver'in para çanta-sı* 'Enver's purse'.

An *izâfet* can be a component of another *izâfet* construction: *üniversite profesörü-nün asistanı-nın tetkik seyahati* 'the study trip of the assistant of the university professor'.

Already in the Old Turkish inscriptions of the 8th century A.D. the whole system of *izâfet* is developed, except that the genitive suffix is less frequently used than today, and the possessive suffix in the indefinite *izâfet* is also often omitted: *Tabghač budun sabï* 'the words of the Chinese people', *Ötüken yïsh* 'the Ötüken Forest'.

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IḌAM [see ḤAMḌ, WĀDĪ AL-].

IʿDĀM [see ḲATL].

ĪDAR, name of a fortified town in northern Gudjarāt, 100 km. north-east of Aḥmadābād, and of its surrounding territory, largely mountainous. The former *rādjā*s of Īdar were in the 8th/14th century a constant thorn in the flesh of the first governors in Gudjarāt of the Dihlī sultanate, and military action was almost always required to collect the tribute the governors exacted. After Gudjarāt became an independent sultanate Aḥmad Shāh I was similarly troubled, and the strength of Īdar, so near his newly founded capital of Aḥmadābād, was a cause for concern. He consequently built another new garrison town, Aḥmadnagar (now called Himatnagar), some 20 km. below Īdar as a base of operations against it, and waged continuous warfare on the *rādjā* from 829/1425 to 831/1428, when the *rādjā* at last sought peace and promised tribute. The agreement was generally honoured, although in later years there were many more occasions when the tribute was withheld with consequent renewed hostilities. Aḥmad's son Muḥammad I renewed the attack in 850/1446, on which occasion the ruler bought peace by giving Muḥammad his daughter in marriage.

In the reign of Muẓaffar II the powerful Mahārānā Sāngrām of Čitawr had established a usurper on the throne of Īdar. Such interference in the affairs of a feudatory state could not be tolerated even by the mild Muẓaffar, and the rightful heir was restored by a Gudjarāt army. Sāngrām was, however, incensed at insults offered to his name by the Gudjarātī *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] at Īdar, and raided the border towns, including Īdar, in 925/1519, before being defeated by a large Gudjarāt army and compelled to pay reparations.

In Mughal times there were often similar clashes at first between the Īdar rulers and the Mughal army commanders, who expelled the Hindū rulers from time to time; and in 984/1576 the *rādjā* did not submit to the Mughal armies until defeated in pitched battle. After this, affairs quietened down, although in 1018-9/1609-10 we hear of the *rādjā* of Īdar being called upon, under the usual agreement with tributary rulers, to furnish a contingent of 2000 horse for the defence of Gudjarāt against the depredations of the Niẓām Shāhī armies under Malik ʿAnbar. In later times, when the Mughal empire was breaking up and the province of Gudjarāt was under the *ṣūbadārī* of Mahārādjā Abhaysingh, the latter gave Īdar in *djāgīr* to his brothers, establishing a new Rādjpūt dynasty of rulers there. The later history of Īdar is not relevant to the affairs of Islam in India.

Bibliography: See GUDJARĀT. For the history of Īdar state under the Marāthās, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiii (1908), 325-8.

(J. Burton-Page)

IDĀRA, the common name in modern Arabic, Persian, Turkish, etc. for administration. The term appears to have acquired its technical significance during the period of European influence. Muslim administration is discussed in the articles on administrative departments and services (BĀB-I-ʿĀLĪ, BAYT AL-MĀL, BARĪD, DĪWĀN, DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN, ISTĪFĀʾ, ḲALAM, ḲĀNŪN, RAWK, TAḤRĪR etc.); on officers and functionaries (ʿĀMIL, ʿAMĪD, DAFTARDĀR, ḤĀDJIB, KÂHYA, KHĀZIN, MUSHĪR, MUSHRIF, MUSTAWFĪ, NĀʾIB, NĀẒIR, RAʾĪS AL-KUTTĀB, SHĀDD, WAKĪL, WĀSIṬA, WAZĪR, etc.); on scribes (KĀTIB) and civil servants (MAʾMŪR); on administrative documents, records, and accounts (DAFTAR, DIPLOMATIC, INSHĀʾ, MUḤĀSABA, RASĀʾIL, SIDJILL). Provincial administration is discussed in articles on officers (AMĪR, BEGLERBEGI, ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM, MUDĪR, MUTAṢARRIF, SANDJAK-BEY, WĀLĪ, etc.) and on territorial sub-divisions (EYĀLET, ḲAḌĀʾ, KŪRA, NĀḤIYA, NIYĀBA, MAMLAKA, RUSTĀḲ, SANDJAḲ, TASSŪDJ, USTĀN, VILÂYET, etc.). On police matters see ʿASAS, DĀRŪGHA, SHIḤNA, SHURṬA; on the introduction of the modern apparatus of government, see ḤUKŪMA, TANẒĪMĀT. (Ed.)

ʿIDDA, from the verb *ʿadda*, "to count, enumerate" (days or menstruations), Arabic term for the duration of widowhood or, rather, the period of abstention from sexual relations imposed on a widow or a divorced woman, or a woman whose marriage has been annulled, before she may re-marry. In pre-Islamic Arabia the institution is thought to have been unknown with regard to a divorced woman. The Ḳurʾānic provisions on which it was based were not always respected during the early years of Islam (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 181) although at a very early date the jurists gave their sanction to them by considering completely void any marriage contracted during an *ʿidda* not yet completed. This basic element in the law of marriage is equally important for determining paternity.

The difficulties of *fiḳh* in this matter arise from the fact that there exist two methods of calculating the period of delay: the first, in months and days, applying mainly to widows; and the second, applying to the divorced woman or woman whose marriage has been annulled, based on the occurrence of three menstrual periods. The origin of this system is found in the Ḳurʾān (II, 234 and 228), whose rules on the matter were too clear and unequivocal to permit the great jurists to alter or modify them.

To the above two circumstances (the expiry of a fixed period and the occurrence of a third menstruation) which mark the end of the *ʿidda* there should be added a third: childbirth. In fact the *ʿidda* of a woman who is pregnant at the time that the marriage is dissolved ends with her accouchement. We shall deal first with this case, which is the simplest.

(1) For a woman who is pregnant, whatever the reason for the ending of her marriage (the death of her husband, divorce, annulment), the *ʿidda* lasts until her accouchement and ends with it, even if it

follows very closely after the end of the marriage. Scarcely any except the "Twelver" S̲h̲īʿīs and the Zaydīs prolong the *ʿidda*, in the case of a widow only, beyond the accouchement until the expiry of the period of 4 months and 10 days stipulated by the Ḳurʾān for all widows indiscriminately. They maintain that this period of delay is established not merely to avoid a confusion in establishing birth, but also out of respect for the memory of the deceased; they do not consider it fitting that a widow should be able to re-marry too soon after her husband's death merely because in the meantime she has given birth to a child.

(2) For widows who are not pregnant and for divorced women who are either too young to menstruate or who have reached the menopause, the *ʿidda* is counted in months and days.

(a) A widow must observe a retreat of 4 months and 10 days after her husband's death. This figure, the reasons for the adoption of which are not very clear, is that which appears in the Ḳurʾān (II, 234); widows are obliged to observe this retreat whether or not the marriage has been consummated and whether or not they have reached the age of puberty, the only condition being that the marriage has been validly concluded. Here again the idea of avoiding uncertainty of birth gives place to that of social and family propriety.

(b) Divorced women who are either too young or too old to menstruate are obliged to observe a retreat of three lunar months (Ḳurʾān, LXV, 4).

(c) Divorced women and those women whose marriage has been annulled and who are of menstruating age "shall wait by themselves for three *ḳurūʾ*" (Ḳurʾān, II, 228).

The word *ḳurūʾ* (pl. of *ḳurʾ*) in the Ḳurʾānic text has given rise, from the beginning of Islam, to a controversy among the commentators. Some understand it to mean the inter-menstrual periods, or, according to their terminology, the periods of "purity" which come between those of menstruation. This was the opinion which prevailed in the S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālikī schools and among the Dj̲aʿfarī S̲h̲īʿīs. But the Ḥanafīs, the Ḥanbalīs and the Zaydīs consider the word *ḳurʾ* to be synonymous with menstrual indisposition, *ḥayḍ* [*q.v.*]. Thus there are slight variations in the calculation of the duration of the *ʿidda*, according to whether the word *ḳurūʾ* is given the first or the second meaning.

Although widows are forced to abstain from sexual relations whatever the circumstances, i.e. even when their marriage has not been consummated, the law is different for divorced women and for those whose marriage has been annulled. Muslim law insists that they observe an *ʿidda* only when the marriage has been consummated, and even, in S̲h̲āfiʿī law, truly consummated, this school rejecting the theory of *k̲h̲alwa* in which consummation is presumed to have occurred if a husband and wife have been alone together in a place where it would have been possible for them to have had sexual intercourse. Since all the other schools admit the presumption of consummation as a result of *k̲h̲alwa*, the question arose as to whether this presumption is an absolute one. According to the majority of Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī writers, *k̲h̲alwa* does not cause consummation to be presumed, and so does not involve an obligation to observe *ʿidda*, except when there exists no insurmountable obstacle to the consummation, such as the emasculation of the husband or a vaginal occlusion in the wife.

The writers are always careful to mention the various hypotheses which lead successively from one method of calculation to the other. There is, for example, the case of the wife under the age of puberty who reaches puberty during the period of the *ʿidda*, calculated in months; there is also that of the divorced woman whose divorce can still be revoked who becomes a widow during the *ʿidda*, the marriage not having yet been finally dissolved; she is subject from the date of her husband's death to the retreat prescribed for widows.

It would take too long to list all the eventualities provided for. It should merely be mentioned that the woman who has been definitively divorced (*bāʾin*) must always observe a period of retreat counted by menstruations, even if her husband happens to die during her retreat, since her widowhood then occurs after the dissolution of her marriage. It is only in a case where the divorce is pronounced *in articulo mortis* (*maraḍ al-mawt*) that the wife, whose right to the inheritance is then not lost, must observe the longer of the two periods of retreat.

(3) Date of commencement of the *ʿidda*. When a marriage has been legally concluded, the *ʿidda* begins from the moment the marriage ends, that is from the husband's death or from the pronouncing of the divorce, even if the wife does not know of it. Formerly (before the modern laws on the publicity which must be given to divorces) it sometimes happened that a wife did not know that she had been divorced. In such a case she might observe the whole of her *ʿidda* without being aware of it. The annulment of a marriage on the other hand, or a husband's decision to separate himself from his wife for a particular reason, must be reported to the wife. In such a case it is from the moment that she hears of it that the *ʿidda* begins.

(4) The *ʿidda* calculated by menstrual or inter-menstrual periods gives rise to many practical difficulties which the jurists have not always been able to solve satisfactorily. These difficulties arise from the fact that, in the last resort, reliance has to be placed on the statements of the interested party herself. She might be tempted to lie, either in order to prolong the waiting period, claiming to have had no menstruation, or at least no third one, or, on the other hand in order to shorten it by maintaining that her menstrual periods were very brief and came very close together. The first type of behaviour was particularly frequent among Ḥanafī populations. In fact, Ḥanafī law allows the irrevocably divorced woman (*bāʾin*) to retain the whole of her *nafaḳa* (maintenance) throughout the period of her *ʿidda*. This explains why those who had no prospect of re-marrying delayed in announcing the occurrence of the third menstrual period which, by concluding the *ʿidda*, thus deprived them of all *nafaḳa*. It is only in modern legislation that this device is prevented by fixing a maximum period of one year, after which the wife, although still considered to be in retreat if she has not announced her third menstrual period, has nevertheless no longer the right to maintenance (Egypt, Sudan). Certain countries (Ottoman and Jordanian law, Syrian code) fix a definite maximum of nine months or a year to the retreat itself. Deception of this nature is much less frequent among the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Mālikīs, who allow the *bāʾin* divorced woman only the right to remain in the husband's house during the period of retreat, without any right to food or clothing—a fairly miserly concession which does not encourage them to prolong the period of their retreat.

Deception practised for the opposite reason, how-

ever, was foreseen by the classical writers. This is when a divorced woman, having already received another offer of marriage and fearing that the prospective husband will be discouraged by having to wait too long, pretends that the menstrual and inter-menstrual periods are shorter than they actually are. In Ḥanafī law (the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa has prevailed on this matter) the *ʿidda* may never be for a period of less than 60 days. The minima fixed by the other schools vary from 30 to 39 days. It should be noted in this connexion that in Mālikī law the woman's word alone is not sufficient, even though she adheres to the minimum of 30 days fixed by this school for the total of the three menstrual periods. In these circumstances she must be examined by two women.

(5) The *ʿidda* for a female slave is governed by special rules, of which a brief indication is sufficient. A female slave who is merely a concubine must observe a period of retreat equal to one menstruation or of one month, according to whether she is or is not of menstruating age, commencing from the time when she becomes the property of a new master if he intends to have sexual relations with her, or if there occurs a change in her legal status. This is known as *istibrāʾ* [*q.v.*]. But a slave may well be married, in which case she must observe, in the same circumstances in which the *ʿidda* is imposed on a free woman, a *ʿidda*, the duration of which, by application of the "rule of the half-rate", should be half as long as that of a free woman. In other words, the *ʿidda* of a slave who is a widow would last for two months and five days, and that of a divorced woman not of menstruating age for one and a half months. As it is not possible to halve the period of three menstruations which is insisted on for the divorced free woman, it was decided that the *ʿidda* of a divorced slave who is of menstruating age should consist of two inter-menstrual periods (S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālikī law) or of two menstruations (Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī law), the only exception being an *umm walad*, who as such is treated as a free woman.

(6) The rights and the obligations of a woman who is observing a *ʿidda* vary according to whether she is a widow or divorced. A widow never has the right to full maintenance (*nafaḳa*), even if she is pregnant. On this point all the schools agree. There is in any case no person from whom she could claim maintenance except the heirs, and it is not considered right that they should be responsible for a debt which by definition cannot have been incurred before the death of the deceased. The widow is however not really treated so unfairly; it should be remembered that she is entitled to a share in the estate of her deceased husband. Though she has no right to *nafaḳa* (food and clothing), she is however expected to complete her *ʿidda* in her husband's house, thus in a sense she is housed. In addition she must go into mourning and wear no jewellery or cosmetics (as a moral obligation). Her right to leave the house is less strictly controlled than that of a divorced woman, it being considered that she might be forced to go out to earn her living since she has no *nafaḳa*. The rules for the *bāʾin* divorced woman (the position of the woman whose divorce is revocable is exactly the same as that of the married woman) vary according to the different schools. The Ḥanafīs hold that her former husband must be responsible for her maintenance (food, clothing, housing) throughout the period of the *ʿidda*, even when she is not pregnant; only in a case where the marriage has been ended through her own fault (adultery, apostasy, etc.) is she to be deprived of *nafaḳa*. The other schools are much less liberal, either (like the Ḥanbalīs) refusing any rights to the irrevocably divorced woman, or (like the Mālikīs and the S̲h̲āfiʿīs) granting her only the right to be housed—unless she is pregnant, in which case, because of the verse of the Ḳurʾān: "If they are with child, expend upon them until they bring forth their burden" (LXV, 6), the husband must provide her with complete *nafaḳa* (food, clothing, lodging). A *bāʾin* divorced woman does not of course inherit from her husband unless he has divorced her during his last illness (except in S̲h̲āfiʿī law). The majority of the schools do not insist on a *bāʾin* divorced woman's going into mourning or observing the detailed (moral) regulations concerning cosmetics and dress which are imposed on a widow. It is only in Ḥanafī law that she is subject to such a (moral) obligation, probably in compensation for her being allowed *nafaḳa*, a concession which is granted to her only by this school.

It should be remembered that it is the right and the duty of every woman who is observing a *ʿidda* to do so in the house of her former husband.

(7) Any marriage entered into during the *ʿidda* for a former union is absolutely void (*fāsid* [*q.v.*] in Ḥanafī law). The husband and wife must separate of their own accord; if not, the nullity of the marriage is pronounced by a judge. Because such a marriage is always *fāsid* in Ḥanafī law, and is considered so by the other schools only when it has been entered into in good faith, the wife receives (provided that the marriage has been consummated) the whole of the customary nuptial gift (*mahr*); any children born are legitimate. After this second marriage has been dissolved, the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs stipulate that the wife shall observe two *ʿidda*s: the portion of the first *ʿidda* which still remained to be completed at the time of her second marriage, and a new *ʿidda* of three menstrual or inter-menstrual periods. The Ḥanafīs, however, insist only on one *ʿidda* of three menstrual periods, against which may be set the amount of the first *ʿidda* already completed. Doctrine on this combination of the two *ʿidda*s is obscure and diverse, not only from one school to another, but also within the same school. Nevertheless, in all cases, at the end of this second *ʿidda* the wife may re-marry the second husband (the one from whom, she had been separated), but a new marriage contract is necessary and the payment of a new dower. This is the solution recognized by the majority of the schools; only the Mālikīs and the S̲h̲īʿīs, basing their rule on a decision attributed to the caliph ʿUmar (but which he is said to have reversed), state that after a marriage has become null and void through being entered into during a not yet completed *ʿidda*, the wife "is to be eternally forbidden" to the second husband.

(8) Modern legal codes, from the Ottoman Family Law of 1917 to the Iraqi Code of Personal Status of 1959, have devoted much attention to the institution of the *ʿidda*, but without departing significantly from the principles of classical Muslim law. All of them have preserved the two Ḳurʾānic waiting periods: 4 months and ten days for a widow and 3 menstrual or inter-menstrual periods for a divorced woman of menstruating age, except that in the Tunisian Code of Personal Status (art. 35) the three menstruations have been replaced by a fixed period of three months. The few modifications made to the classical law (particularly by the Ḥanafī countries) are concerned with the calculating of the duration of the *ʿidda* by menstruations. They tend to fix a maximum and a

minimum period within which the three menstruations of the wife must occur. It is thus that it is laid down by the Ottoman law of 1917 (art. 140) and the Jordanian law of 1951 (art. 102) that the *ʿidda* may not be prolonged beyond nine months. In Egypt, the Sudan, and finally in Syria, they have preferred not to fix a maximum limit to the *ʿidda* of the divorced woman who is of menstruating age, while stipulating nevertheless that she may not claim maintenance for longer than twelve months (Egyptian Law no. 25 of 1929, art. 17; Sudanese Judicial Circular no. 28 of 1927, art. 5), and even, in Syria (Code Statut personel, art. 84), for longer than nine months, after the ending of the marriage. The effect of these measures has been to put an end in practice to the abuse of the law by certain divorced women claiming to have had no menstruation for many years in order to continue to receive maintenance. In some countries the minimum duration of the *ʿidda*, calculated in menstruations, has been fixed at three months.

Bibliography: The subject is always given a separate chapter in the great treatises of *fiḳh*. There may be consulted, for Ḥanafī law, Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Cairo 1313, iii, 26-38; for Shāfiʿī law, Shīrāzī, *al-Muhadhdhab* (ed. Ḥalabī), ii, 142-55; for Mālikī law, Dardīr Dasūḳī, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* (ed. Ḥalabī), ii, 468-502; and the exhaustive study in comparative law by Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī* (3rd ed. Cairo), vii, 448-88. For Shīʿī law, see Syed Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Laws*, Calcutta 1928, 340, 353-4. A good summary of the subject is presented in Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bercher and Bousquet, *Le Statut personnel en droit musulman hanafite*, 156 ff. For the law previous to the formation of the juridical schools, see J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, 181, 197-8, 225-6; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1965, ii, nos. 712 to 721 and 880 to 885. See also ṬALĀḲ.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

IDFŪ [see ADFŪ].

IDGHĀM (*iddighām*), infinitive of the verb *adghama* "to make (a thing) enter (another)"; in Arabic grammar: *al-idghām idkhāl ḥarf fī ḥarf*, "*al-idgham* is making a *ḥarf* enter a *ḥarf*" (*LA*, xv, 93, lines 18-9/xii, 203b, lines 2-3); one says: *adghamtu ʾl-ḥarfa* and *iddaghamtuh*, according to the pattern *iftaʿaltuh* (*ibid.*), whence the use of *idghām* and *iddighām* in the same sense; the first is a term of the Kūfans, the second of the Baṣrans (Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1456, lines 17-8), although the latter also frequently use the verb *adghama*, e.g.: Sībawayhi, ii, 459, lines 4, 11, etc., but see Notes, 2. The Arab grammarians define more exactly this idea of *idkhāl ḥarf fī ḥarf*: "*al-idghām* is the use of two *ḥarf*s from the same *makhradj*, the first *sākin*, the second *mutaḥarrik*, without separation" (Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *Shāfiya*, in *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 233 end-234). Ibn Yaʿīsh adds (1456, line 19): "and they become, because of the force (*shidda*) of their union, like a single *ḥarf*". We call it the contraction of two similar consonants in a geminate (see H. Fleisch, *Études de Phonétique arabe*, in *MUSJ*, xxviii (1949-50), 258, and *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, § 50h). In this geminate (*ḥarf mushaddad*), the Arab grammarians recognize a duality of *ḥarf*s and not one single *ḥarf* (that we should call long; see *Traité*, § 4); for the doctrine of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, see *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 235, lines 12-3 and 16. In vocalization of texts the *ḥarf mushaddad* receives the sign *tashdīd* or *shadda* (W. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*³, i, 14c).

The Arab grammarians see the cause of *iddighām* in a dislike of repeating the same consonant consecutively when the separator is a short vowel. Sībawayhi speaks clearly on this subject (ii, Ch. 408 and 559), texts cited and translated in *Études de Ph.*, mentioned above, 256-7 (see also *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 238, line 20 f.). At any rate, the tendency to *iddighām* is certainly strong in Arabic: the language resorts to it regularly, whenever there is the possibility of suppressing the intervening short vowel (see *Muf.*, § 731): in verbs with 2nd and 3rd radical consonants the same (*muḍāʿaf* verbs), whenever the 3rd consonant does not take a consonantal conjugational suffix: **madada* > *madda*, "to lengthen, stretch out", etc.; in the IXth and XIth forms: *ifʿalla* and *ifʿālla*. In nouns: in the active participle: **mādid* > *mādd*; in the broken plural *faʿālilu*: **mawādidu* > *mawāddu*, "matters", etc. (see *Traité*, i, § 28). The Arabic language also practises *iddighām* when the same consonant ends one word and begins the next. This is called: *al-iddighām fi ʾl-infiṣāl* (as opposed to *al-iddighām fī kalima*; cf. Sībawayhi, ii, 455, line 15). If the first *ḥarf* is *sākin* and the second *mutaḥarrik*, the Arab grammarians prescribe *iddighām* (*Muf.*, 731; *Shāfiya* in *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 234, lines 1-2; *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 236, lines 3-4), e.g.: *lam yaruḥ ḥātim* > *lam yaruḥḥātim*, "Ḥātim has not gone". When both are *mutaḥarrik*, *iddighām* is called permissible (numerous examples, *Traité*, § 12); it is even praised when it allows the avoidance of a succession of five or more short syllables, e.g.: *djaʿala laka* > *djaʿallaka*, "he placed for you" (Sībawayhi, ii, 455, line 16 f.; *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 248, line 4 f.).

The Arab grammarians distinguish: *iddighām al-mithlayn*, *iddighām al-mutaḳāribayn*. The contraction of two consonants into a geminate requires that they be the same; this is *iddighām al-mithlayn*, and, properly speaking, *al-iddighām*. When the consonants are close: *mutaḳāribayn*, as long as they remain close, they are still not the same, and *iddighām* is never possible; they must be made *mutamāthilayn*, like each other. It is here that the Arab grammarians hit on the phenomenon of assimilation, but they did not characterize it as such; they saw it simply as a *ḳalb*, a change, necessary for the operation of *iddighām* (*Shāfiya* in *Sh.Sh.*, iii, 264, line 7; *Muf.*, § 735). Assimilation has no proper term in their terminology. They extended the use of the term *iddighām* (which was valid only for two identical *ḥarf*s) when they stated that two close *ḥarf*s had contracted, and they called this: *iddighām al-mutaḳāribayn*, but explanations were necessary: some idea of phonetics was required to make known the *ḥurūf mutamāthila* (identical) and the *ḥurūf mutaḳāriba* (close). This is the reason for Sībawayhi's opening the *Bāb al-iddighām* with Ch. 565 on phonetics; he gives his reasons at the end of this chapter. Since Sībawayhi, accounts of phonetics are to be found under *iddighām*, as preliminaries to it: Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Mūzadj fi ʾl-naḥw* (Beirut 1965/1385), 165 f.: al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Djumal* (Paris 1957), 375 f.; al-Zamakhsharī, *Muf.*, § 732 f. Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *al-Shāfiya*, inserted phonetics in the account of *iddighām*, as did his commentator, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī in the *Sh.Sh.*: *iddighām*, iii, 233-92; phonetics: 250-64.

Notes: 1). *al-iddighām . . . yakūn fi ʾl-mithlayn wa-ʾl-mutaḳāribayn*: the formula is found in the *Shāfiya* (*Sh.Sh.*, iii, 234, line 1), but the doctrine, in almost the same terms, is found in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (ii, Ch. 566, 567). It should be noted that the Arab grammarians say: *iddighām al-mithlayn* or *al-mutamāthilayn* for two identical *ḥarf*s in the same

word and in *infiṣāl* and *iddighām al-mutaḳāribayn* in the case of *infiṣāl*, the *t* of the form *iftaʿala* being considered *fī ḥukm al-infiṣāl* (*Muf.*, § 731; see Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1458, lines 4-6).

2). *idghām*, *iddighām*; the Arabic word, without vocalization, can be read in either way; the verbs *adghama* and *iddaghama* can also be read in either way in all their "tenses", when unvocalized. How can one distinguish, in editions, the first, original vocalization from that which is due to the initiative of the editor? The edition of the *Kitāb* (Paris) vocalizes: *Bāb al-idghām* (ii, 452); was this Sībawayhi's pronunciation?

Bibliography: in the text; works cited in abbreviation: Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, ed. Paris 1881-5; *Muf.*, Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*[2], ed. J. P. Broch (Christiania 1879) and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, ed. G. Jahn (Leipzig 1882); *Sh.Sh.*, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (Cairo 1358/1939). The easiest account to consult is that of the *Muf.*: § 731 for the conditions of *iddighām* and § 735 f. (with the corresponding commentary of Ibn Yaʿīsh). Sīrāfī, at the end of the *Sharḥ* of the *Kitāb*, adds two chapters, one on the *iddighām* of the Kūfans (he gives phonetic terms peculiar to al-Farrāʾ), and the other on the *iddighām* of the *Ḳurrāʾ*. (H. Fleisch)

IDHĀʿA, modern Arabic term for "broadcasting" (broadcaster = *mudhīʿ*, microphone = *midhyāʿ*).

Broadcasting in the Islamic world was inaugurated in Turkey in 1925, three years after the establishment of regular transmissions from London. In most Islamic lands however its growth was delayed by their dependent political and under-developed economic status. In Egypt, for example, broadcasting began in 1934 and at the time of the 1952 revolution its output was only 15 hours daily, with a total transmitting power of 73 KW. With the subsequent upsurge of national sentiment and economic development it rose by 1966 to 130 hours daily with a transmitting power of nearly 6,000 KW (statement by Deputy Premier for Guidance and Culture in *al-Idhāʿa wa'l-Talafisyūn*, 28 March 1966).

In 1964 Turkey was again an innovator in the Islamic world when she set up an independent Broadcasting Corporation, not subject to direct government control. This Corporation was financed by licences and advertising, but deficits were underwritten by the government. Elsewhere in the Islamic world broadcasting output was under direct government control, many hours being dedicated to the exposition of government policy, official statements, and verbatim reports of speeches by the Leader. Long recordings were broadcast of the trial of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1954-5 and of that of former ministers in Iraq in 1958-9; the session of sentencing in November 1958 was relayed "live", as were the opening and closing sessions of Subandrio's trial in Indonesia in 1966. Though advertising on the air is permitted in many countries, underdevelopment makes it a less valuable source of revenue than in Europe or America. The main broadcasting categories are the same as elsewhere. The Ḳurʾān plays a great role in religious broadcasting, and in the UAR continuous recitation from 4-9 hrs. and from 12-21 hrs. was introduced in April 1964. Friday services are also broadcast, and religious talks and recitations, particularly in Ramaḍān. In Saudi Arabia broadcasting was long limited almost entirely to news and instructive and religious talks. States with large Christian minorities broadcast also occasional Christian services. The UAR, Turkey, and some other countries have cultural programmes adapted to differing intellectual levels. Standards of news broadcasts are related to those of the local press and news agencies; those of light entertainment to the existence of a cinema industry.

Many Muslim lands consist of vast territories in which the population is concentrated in limited areas, widely separated by tracts of desert or, in the case of Indonesia, by sea. Illiteracy is in general high, and in many cases independent nationhood is a recent acquisition. Broadcasting is thus exceptionally valuable as a means of diffusing information and ideas, creating a common national spirit, and spreading an educated form of speech. But the geographical characteristics at the same time necessitate an exceptionally heavy capital expenditure to ensure the clear reception which is essential for effective broadcasting. In Indonesia a network of regional stations, carrying their own programmes, has been set up, but in general the organization is highly centralized. The density of listening sets was enormously increased in the decade from 1955 to 1965 by the introduction of transistor sets. In the Middle East, which is predominantly Muslim, sets were estimated by the BBC (*Handbook*, 1967) to have risen in that period from two to twelve million—roughly one to every ten of the population. In the South Asian Muslim world the figure was far lower.

Most Muslim states cater for their national minorities in the minority language concerned; as Iraq for Kurds; Iran for Turcomans, Assyrians, Armenians, Kurds, Azarbaijanis and Arabs in Ahwaz; Morocco and Algeria for Berbers. Mali broadcasts in French, Bambara, Sonraie, Peul, Sarakole, Wolof, Tamachek (Tuareg Berber), and Hassani Arabic. Most cater also for resident foreign minorities, as the UAR for English, French, Germans, Italians, and Greeks. Some also direct broadcasts in the home language to their nationals abroad; as Lebanon to South America and West Africa, Jordan to South America, and the Turks to their emigrant workers in Germany.

Where a language is being modernized or given a more national flavour, as with Turkish and Urdu, broadcasting has a special importance; and in the Arab world for spreading a universally used form of Arabic.

Most Muslim states direct broadcasts, in the language of the people addressed, to one or more great powers directly concerned with the area and to neighbouring states. To be successful, such broadcasting involves heavy expense for the engagement of suitable, probably foreign, staff, and for powerful transmitters and if possible medium relay stations. Standards of language and content must rival those of the receiving country and, to be politically effective, the ideas expressed must appeal to at least a significant section of the population. Where these conditions are fulfilled, and only then, broadcast campaigns have effectively stimulated latent feelings or acted as detonators to set off an explosion of popular feeling. Radio warfare has been waged between Indonesia and Malaysia, and between the UAR and Iran. It has occurred frequently within the Arab world, where it is facilitated by the common language. It took place between Morocco and Algeria during the fighting in autumn 1963, but the most frequent protagonist has been the UAR, with its powerful transmitters, its developed news services, its relatively developed culture and, in the political field, the appeal of its pan-Arab and socialist policies to an important section in every Arab state. The UAR

in fact comes sixth in the list of external broadcasters with 589 hours weekly in some 30 languages, including 13 African. This compares with 1381 hours from the USSR; 909 from the Voice of America; and 663, in about 40 languages, from the BBC. Iran, apart from local languages, broadcasts in Russian, French, English, Urdu, Turkish and Arabic. Pakistan and Turkey each broadcast in twelve or more languages. Of lesser powers, Somalia after acquiring two 50 KW transmitters from the USSR in 1960, three years after independence, set out "to make its voice heard in the world" with six hours of daily transmissions in Somali; 1½ in Arabic; ¾ in English; ½ hour each in Italian, Amharic and Swahili; 10 minutes in Galla, and occasional broadcasts in Danḳalī.

The example of broadcasting from abroad to Islamic lands was set by the great powers, just before and during the second world war. The Italian Fascist régime introduced broadcasting in Arabic in 1935. Great Britain did the same in January 1938 and Nazi Germany in mid-1938; the latter specialized in scurrilous and violent propaganda. Later the USA and, in 1943, the USSR added their voices. Broadcasts in Arabic from Paris began before 1939; they include dialect transmissions for Algerians in France. Those for overseas reached their maximum during the Algerian fighting, after France ceased to control local broadcasting in other Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa. Later they were much reduced. By 1966, 45 states, Muslim and non-Muslim, were directing broadcasts in Arabic to Arab countries; 20 in Persian to Iran; 17 in Indonesian to Indonesia. The BBC alone broadcast for 12 hours daily in Arabic (ten from April 1967) and received some 80,000 letters from Arab listeners in the course of that year. The first Arab state seriously to organize external broadcasting was Syria, under the Shishakli regime (1950-4). Syria and the UAR introduced Hebrew broadcasts to Israel, which in turn broadcasts in Arabic to its Arab minority and to its neighbours.

Professedly indigenous clandestine stations come and go, particularly during crises. A few have been genuine, but in general they have been directed from abroad by communist, Western or outside Muslim states.

The cost of installing and producing television has limited its introduction in the Muslim world, though in Asia, and in Africa north of the Sahara, most Muslim states had by 1966 at least some service, and many encouraged the purchase of sets by customs remissions or other means. Except in the UAR the service was virtually restricted to the capital or a few large cities. In Iran private companies supported by advertising revenue provided services in Teheran and Abadan. In certain areas (Saudi Arabia and Libya) American Forces or Oil Company transmissions were receivable locally before the introduction of national systems. The latter have been made possible by oil revenues and, in the former case, by the weakening of religious objections.

Bibliography: *World Radio and TV Handbook* (annually from 1947); *Statistical Yearbook* (UNESCO); *Internationales Handbuch für Rundfunk und Fernsehen*, Hamburg 1964; G. A. Coddling jr., *Broadcasting without barriers*, UNESCO 1959; *BBC Yearbook* (now *Handbook*), London (annually from 1928); *BBC Monitoring Service daily digest of world broadcasts 1939-1947* and *Summary of world broadcasts 1947-* (these contain selections of broadcasts from and about Islamic countries and, from 1949, of broadcasting developments in them). N. Barbour, *Broadcasting to the Arab world*, in *MEJ*, v (1951), 57-69. No publications cover the Islamic world as such; information must be sought in the broadcasting publications of each country. (N. Barbour)

ĪDHADJ or Māl-Amīr, town of western Persia, situated on a tributary of the upper reaches of the Dudjayl or Kārūn river, in southern Luristān, at 49° 45′ E. and 31° 50′ N. In mediaeval times it was generally reckoned to be part of the province of al-Ahwāz or Khūzistān [*q.v.*], and under the ʿAbbāsids was the capital of a separate administrative district or *kūra*. It lay on a plain at an altitude of 3,100 feet, and though reckoned by the geographers to be in the *garmsīr* or hot zone, the nearby mountains gave it a pleasant and healthy climate; the winter snow from these mountains was gathered and exported from Īdhadj to the torrid, low-lying parts of al-Ahwāz (cf. Muḳaddasī, 414; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 416; Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 74). The district was also frequently subject to earthquakes.

Īdhadj (the vocalisation Aydhadj is also found) was a populous and prosperous place in pre-Islamic times. There are many Elamitic remains in the vicinity, mostly dating from the end of the second millenium B.C. (see the detailed description of pre-Islamic antiquities by M. Streck in *EI*[1], s.v. Māl Amīr). In Sāsānid times, the district was included in the territories of the Ispahbadh of Fārs (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 201). A fire-temple of the local Zoroastrians remained in use till the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd; V. Minorsky surmised that this may have been the Parthian sanctuary of Shāmī, to the north of Īdhadj (*Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran* (*circa A.D.* 950), Cairo 1955, text 27, tr. 60, 108).

When the Arabs invaded al-Ahwāz in 17/638, they penetrated via Rāmhurmuz to Īdhadj and made peace with the local lord, Tīrawayh, leaving him in possession of power. But the town had to be conquered again in 21/642 after the battle of Nihāwand, and in 26/646-7 a rising of the people of Īdhadj and the local Kurds had to be suppressed by the governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (Balādhurī, 382; Ṭabarī, i, 2553, 2614, 2829). During ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate, there was a revolt there by one Khurrazādh b. Bās (Balādhurī, 383). Towards the very end of the Umayyad period, Abū Djaʿfar, the later caliph al-Manṣūr, was governing Īdhadj on behalf of the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*]. Al-Manṣūr's son, the later al-Mahdī, was born there of a local woman, and some later descendants of al-Mahdī retained the *nisba* of "al-Īdhadjī". In 270/883 a force of local volunteers, cavalry and infantry, was raised by the governor of Īdhadj, Aḥmad b. Dīnār, to reinforce al-Muwaffaḳ's army for the final assault on the Zandj rebels (Ṭabarī, iii, 527, 2085; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 54b; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 416). In 295/907-8 the region was the theatre of operations during the rebellion against al-Muktafī of the governor of Fārs and Kirmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī; it was probably during these campaignings that al-Mismaʿī destroyed a famous bridge near Īdhadj which carried the road to Iṣfahān, thus impeding the advance of the caliphal general Badr al-Ḥammāmī. This important bridge, which was doubtless originally of Sāsānid construction, was later rebuilt at great cost by one of the viziers (apparently Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳummī or Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-ʿAmīd) of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran*, text 27, 30-1, tr. 60, 64-5, 108, 114-18; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 9; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 189, s.v. "Ḳanṭarat Khurrazādh", based on Abū

Dulaf; the same in Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ii, 201). Īdhadj seems to have flourished in Būyid times, and coins were minted there.

However, the greatest period of Īdhadj's florescence was from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries under the Hazāraspid dynasty of Atabegs of Great Lur (550-827/1155-1423) [see HAZĀRASPIDS and LUR-I BUZURG]. These Atabegs, of Kurdish origin, made their peace with the incoming Mongols and enjoyed virtual independence under the Mongol Khāns and then the Īl Khāns; at times their power extended to Iṣfahān and the shores of the Persian Gulf. Īdhadj and the nearby town of Sūsan were the winter residences of the Hazāraspids, their *yaylāḳs* or summer-quarters being further to the north on the upper Zanda Rūd and the Kārūn headwaters. It is at this time that the name for Īdhadj of Māl-Amīr or Māl-i Amīr "the Amīr's property" comes into use, and gradually replaces the older designation. The newer term may be connected with the residence there of the Hazāraspids, as is probably the name of the Īdhadj-Iṣfahān road, *Djādda-yi Atābeg* "the Atabeg's road", in use till modern times. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through the town twice in the course of his travels, once in 727/1327, during the reign of the Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad, and again in 748/1347, during the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II b. Aḥmad. He praises Aḥmad's piety and asceticism, and says that he built 460 hospices for travellers in his territories, of which 44 were in the capital Īdhadj or Māl al-Amīr (he uses both these names); Afrāsiyāb, on the other hand, was a drunkard (*Travels*, ii, 30-42, tr. Gibb, ii, 287-94).

The Tīmūrid Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] ended the line of Atabegs in 827/1423, and the region of Māl-Amīr fell into the hands of Bakhtiyārī chiefs. The town itself now became deserted and drops out of history, but its site is marked by a large mound and several lesser ones (see Jéquier, *Description du site de Mâlamîr*, in *Mémoirs de la Délégation en Perse*, Paris 1901, iii/1, 133-43).

The district of Īdhadj was agriculturally prosperous during mediaeval Islamic times, since there was a fair rainfall and dry-farming was possible. Its specialities included grapes, citrus fruits, melons, pistachio nuts and a variety of cardamom whose juice was used as a remedy for gout. The existence there of many mines is mentioned by Ḳazwīnī, but the substances involved are not specified.

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned in the article): Schwarz, *Iran*, iv, 293, 335-40, 439-40; Le Strange, 245-6; V. Minorsky, in *EI*[1], art. LUR-I BUZURG. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

IDHN (A.), very general term, meaning simply "authorization".

We shall concern ourselves here only with *fiḳh*, but, even within this restricted field, shall examine only (a) the authorization necessary to enable certain types of incapable persons (i.e., those who are partially incapable) to conclude isolated legal transactions, when such transactions could, according to circumstances, either cause the position of the incapable person to become worse or better; and (b) the general authorization to carry out commercial transactions in a normal way, granted by a guardian to a minor who has reached years of discretion, or by a master to a slave.

(a) Semi-incapable persons, in general minors who are no longer children, and spendthrifts and the like, have the right to enter alone (i.e., without authorization) into transactions concerning inheritance which can result only in advantage (*naf' maḥḍ*) for them, for example, the acceptance of a gift free of encumbrances. They have not the power, even if authorized (any more than has their guardian), to conclude transactions which involve a definite loss (*al-taṣarrufāt al-ḍārra al-maḥḍa*). The most typical example of these completely forbidden transactions is that of making gifts. There remain the legal transactions which are as likely to bring a loss as a gain. This category includes the majority of contracts dealing with their patrimony: selling, renting, loan, etc. In these cases the *walī* in the case of a minor, or the judge in that of a spendthrift, must intervene. Their intervention is envisaged by the Ḥanafī *fuḳahā'*, and also by the Mālikīs, as occurring after the transaction, according to the principle *al-idjāza fi 'l-intihā' ka 'l-idhn fi 'l-ibtidā'* (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxiv, 182), "ratification afterwards is equal to authorization beforehand". But there is nothing, theoretically, which forbids the guardian or the judge to grant his authorization in advance, or at the same time as the transaction is concluded by the incapable person. When the usual procedure of ratification afterwards is followed, the transaction, before the approval of the guardian or the judge has been given, is considered to be *mawḳūf*, "in suspense", neither invalid nor truly valid; it can only be made fully effective by ratification. The Shāfi'is do not permit semi-incapable persons to complete such transactions (sales, renting, etc.), which are the exclusive province of the *walī*. They consider that these transactions can be neither authorized nor ratified; they must be concluded by the guardian himself on behalf of the minor. The Ḥanbalīs reject the process of ratification afterwards and insist on prior authorization if a *walī* allows a minor to carry out a transaction which he is capable of carrying out himself.

(b) A minor who is no longer a child (except in Shāfi'i law), and also a slave, may be authorized to take part in a commercial transaction; he then becomes *ma'dhūn*: *al-ṣaghīr al-ma'dhūn* or *al-'abd al-ma'dhūn*. In this case the authorization is, necessarily, given beforehand. It is very rarely given expressly but usually tacitly, when the *walī* or the master allows the minor or the slave to trade without raising any objection. The early *fuḳahā'* questioned the regularity of such a tacit authorization. The opinion which prevailed was that in such cases silence equalled consent, except in the case of a judge, who must always give his express approval. The Shāfi'i school, with its rigid principles, could not admit that a minor could be authorized to trade; their attitude to a slave was of course different. This school has remained in general faithful to its first doctrine; however the exigencies of modern life led certain Shāfi'is of Khurāsān, and even, it is said, the famous Imām al-Haramayn, to attempt to modify it, tending to consider valid an authorization to trade granted to a minor.

The question of the extent of the authorization given to a minor or to a slave and whether a *walī* or a master can impose a limit on it is decided differently by the different schools. The Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs consider that this authorization is the equivalent of a complete withdrawal of prohibition, which is not subject to qualification. The Shāfi'is and the Ḥanbalīs (so far as concerns a slave at least) regard it as a type of procuration and consider it to be the duty of the granter of the procuration to fix the limits of it, as in the general law regarding procurations.

Bibliography: The *idhn* or *idjāza* granted in respect of one single transaction to a minor who was reached years of discretion is studied in

the works of *fiḳh* in the chapter on incapacity (*ḥadjr*). Examples are Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, vii, 171 ff., and Ḥaṭṭāb and Mawwāq, commentaries on Khalīl, Cairo 1329, v, 61 ff. Among modern writers, see Ṣubḥī Maḥmasānī, *Naẓariyyat al-ʿāmma li 'l-mawdjibāt wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*, Beirut 1948, ii, 106-7. The "authorized" minor and slave generally form the subject of a special chapter in the works of *fiḳh*: e.g. Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, iv, 3 (ed. Ḥalabī). On the "authorized" slave, see Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, ii, 352-6. See also Ḳudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet and Bercher, 224-30; and Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1965, i, no. 108-9 and 309-11.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ĪDJĀB (A.), literally "making definite, binding, due (*wādjib*)", is in Islamic law the technical term for the offer which, together with the acceptance (*ḳabūl* [see BAYʿ]), is one of the two essential formal elements which for the juridical analysis constitute a contract, which is construed as a bilateral transaction. Offer and acceptance can be expressed verbally (also in the form of compliance with an order, e.g. by the words "sell me" and "I sell you herewith"), or by the conclusive acts of the parties, e.g. the silent exchange of goods if that is the local custom, at least if the objects exchanged are of small value. There is an obvious contrast between the etymological meaning of the term and the function of what it designs, because the offer can always be withdrawn before it has been accepted (and, according to a Meccan doctrine which was later taken up by al-Shāfiʿī, the so-called *khiyār al-madjlis*, even after it has been accepted, as long as the two parties have not separated). This leads to the conclusion that the bilateral construction of contracts, which is quite isolated among the laws of antiquity, was preceded by a unilateral one, which is well known from other systems of law. If this is so, the change from the unilateral to the bilateral construction must have been made at some early date in the formative period of Islamic law.

Bibliography: al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, *s.v.*; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii, 320; I. Goldziher, in *RSO*, i (1907), 209; J. Schacht, *Introduction*, 22, 145; idem, *Origins*, 159-61. (J. Schacht)

ĪDJĀR, IDJĀRA, derived from *adjr* (remuneration), synonymous terms meaning a contract to hire. There are also used, but less frequently, the terms *istiʾdjār* and *kirāʾ*. The hirer is called, in the hire of things, *muʾdjir* or *ādjir* or *mukārī*; in the hire of services, *adjīr*; the person hiring is, in all cases, called *mustaʾdjir*; the thing or service hired, *maʾdjūr*, or, rarely, *muʾdjar*, *mustaʾdjar*. The remuneration is uniformly called *udjra* or *adjr*; if it is fixed in the contract, it is *adjr musamma*ⁿ; if it has to be determined by the judge, *adjr al-mithl*.

Īdjār or *idjāra* is the contract by which one person makes over to someone else the enjoyment, by personal right, of a thing or of an activity, in return for payment. There are distinguished two main types of *idjāra*: the hire of things (*idjārat al-aʿyān*) and the hire of services (*idjārat al-aʿmāl*). The latter category embraces two sub-divisions: the hire of services proper, i.e. a contract to work, and the hire of skill, more specifically called *istiṣnāʿ* (in the case of the craftsman). Within the same category there are distinguished the case in which the lessee has the exclusive use of the services of the lessor, who is then called *adjīr khāṣṣ*, and the case of the *adjīr mushtarak*, who may hire his services to various people.

Hiring is a purely consensual contract, like sale [see BAYʿ]. It should be noted, however, firstly that the parties are not required to have reached their majority (*bulūgh*); it is sufficient that they should be free men, of sound mind and capable of discernment (*ʿāḳil* and *mumayyiz*); and secondly that, in principle, the payment is due only on the fact of enjoyment of the service or the possibility of such enjoyment.

It is not necessary that the lessor (of things) should be the owner of them; it is enough that he should possess the right to dispose of them (*taṣarruf*).

Anything which may be valid for payment in a sale (a possession whose ownership is transferred: money, a tangible thing) may be valid as payment for hire. But the enjoyment of a thing may also count as payment for hire, in which case the contract usually is regarded as consisting of two reciprocal *idjāras*.

The period of the *idjāra* must be stated, but no limit is necessarily fixed. This rule has allowed the mechanism of the *idjāra* to be used to evade the principle of the inalienability of a *waḳf*; in various forms, known under the names of *idjāra ṭawīla*, *idjāratayn*, *ḥikr*, a contract, duly authorized by the *ḳāḍī*, is made with the *mutawallī*, who gives the "hirer" the right to remain—in fact, indefinitely—in possession of the property, to plant on it or construct buildings on it, acquiring the ownership of them with all that that implies.

Bibliography: Besides the treatises of *fiḳh*, from Shaybānī and Sarakhsī onwards, the chapter on *Idjāra*, see also *Madjalla* (the Ottoman civil code), art. 404 f.; Ghazālī, *Wadjīz*, Cairo 1318/1900, i, 138 f.; Ibn ʿAbdīn, *Radd al-muhtār*, v, 2 f.; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Tuḥfa*, text and Fr. tr. Houdas and Martel, Algiers 1882, 551 f.; Ibn Ḳāḍī Samawna, *Djāmiʿ al-fuṣūlayn*, Cairo 1301/1883, ii, 179 f.; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1367/1947, v, 397 f.; Ibn Nudjaym, *al-Baḥr al-rāʾiḳ*, Cairo 1333/1914, vii, 297 f.; Tabbah, *Propriété privée et registre foncier*, Beirut 1947, i, 259 f. (E. Tyan)

IDJĀRA, the granting of protection (*djiwār* [*q.v.*]) to a stranger according to ancient Arab practice. This form of protection was especially important for those who travelled about, but it was also used in other cases. The *djār* (pl. *djīrān*) is mostly the person protected, but may also be the protector (as in Sūra VIII, 48/50; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 760, 18). To ask for protection is *istadjāra* (Sūra IX, 6). The granting of protection was announced publicly (cf. Zaynab's *idjāra* of her former pagan husband in Ibn Hishām, 469); and thus, when ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn wanted to renounce the *djiwār* of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra for that of God, al-Walīd made him declare his renunciation publicly to show that he was not alleging inadequate protection on the part of al-Walīd (*ibid*, 243). It was a point of honour to protect the *djār* as effectively as one protected one's own kin (cf. Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, 422; Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 40), and shortcomings in this could be made a serious taunt. Normally a request for *djiwār* had to be accepted (Sūra IX, 6; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 99), and the granting of *djiwār* by one member of a group would be accepted by other members; in connexion with Zaynab's *idjāra* Muḥammad said that protection granted by the least of the Muslims (*adnā-hum*) was binding on all. Two men refused *djiwār* to Muḥammad on his return from al-Ṭāʾif on the grounds that their position in the tribe of Ḳuraysh was not such that they were entitled to do this, since one was a *ḥalīf* and the

other belonged to a clan outside the central group (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1203). The Ḳurʾān (XXIII, 88/90; cf. LXXII, 22) applies this conception to God, and says 'He grants protection (*yudjīru*) but none grants protection against Him (*lā yudjāru ʿalay-hi*)'. Among contemporary nomads such as the Ruwalāʾ there is a similar term *ḳaṣīr*, but this indicates a mutual relationship between members of different tribes by which each grants protection against his fellow-tribesmen (A. Musil, *Manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 267-9; H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert*, London 1949, 126-32).

Originally the claim for protection would seem to have been dependent on actual physical contiguity. This may be the touching of a tent-pole, or even coming within some yards of the tent, or the touching of a child of the family; but even lesser contacts may make protection obligatory, for example, when the camel-saddles of two men touch, or when a man uses a vessel belonging to another (cf. S. Fraenkel, *Das Schutzrecht der Araber*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, 293-301). There does not seem to be a hard and fast line between the *djār* and the *dakhīl*, the suppliant who "enters" to seek protection. The latter is more prominent in Musil's description of the Ruwalāʾ (*op. cit.*, 441-8; but cf. mention of neighbour, 460) and also in H. R. P. Dickson's (*op. cit.*, 133-9). The rights of the *dakhīl* vary from tribe to tribe (cf. Dickson, 139), but are usually only for a limited period.

The eating of someone's food constitutes a claim for protection, so long as some of the food remains in one's body, and this period is considered to be three days. This applies particularly to the person who has the status of *ḍayf*, "guest". Hospitality is highly regarded by the desert Arabs, and a stranger travelling in the desert (unless obviously an enemy) is offered lodging and the best food available. If he chooses to do so, he may remain for three days, and for a further three days (while the food remains in him) he is under his host's protection (Musil, *op. cit.*, 455-70; Dickson, *op. cit.*, 118-22, 190-1).

Proximity to a sacred place gives protection. In the *ḥaram* or sacred area round a sanctuary animals and plants were protected as well as human beings (Wellhausen, *Reste*², 78). Ḳuṣayy and Hāshim respectively speak of their descendants as *djīrān Allāh* (Ibn Hishām, 83, 87); and it is also said that, when men become Muslims, they become God's *djīrān* under His *dhimma*, "protection". A person who takes refuge at the grave of a great man or saint is known as *djār al-ḳabr*, and often is effectively protected since otherwise the dead personage would be dishonoured (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 237-8, Eng. tr. i, 215-7, with further references).

Bibliography: Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v. "Djār", "Guest"; references in Fraenkel, *op. cit.*

(W. Montgomery Watt)

IʿDJĀZ, literally "the rendering incapable, powerless", since the second half of the 3rd/9th century technical term for the inimitability or uniqueness of the Ḳurʾān in content and form. The numerous descriptive definitions do not, after the 4th/10th century, show significant divergencies. Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1854-62 (written *ca.* 1158/1745), somewhat surprisingly, does not include the term; but the opening passage of his article on *muʿdjiza*, pp. 975-7, implies the character of *iʿdjāz* as action or failure to act not to be accounted for by habitual natural process coupled with a "challenge", *taḥaddī*, which is not taken up and at any rate does not result in anything "matching" the object of the challenge, *ʿadam al-muʿāraḍa* (see below). The Muslim theologian who most recently devoted an extensive treatise to this topic, Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfiʿī (d. 1937), *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-balāgha al-nabawiyya* (Cairo 1345/1926), explains (7th ed., Cairo 1381/1961, 156): the *iʿdjāz* is two things combined, viz. the insufficiency of human strength to attempt a "confirmatory miracle", *muʿdjiza*, and the persistence of this inadequacy through the ages. Theological formulae tend to represent a summation of analytical labours and to embody the results of disputes extending in many cases over centuries; in that of the *iʿdjāz*, the decisive discussions took place between *ca.* 750 and 1000 A.D.

Two factors combined to make the uniqueness of the Ḳurʾān crucial within the never fully systematized dogmatics of Islam: the necessity to prove the mission of the Prophet and the necessity to secure an incontrovertible authority for Muslim doctrine, law and mores. These interlocking needs could, in the atmosphere of the period, be met only by establishing the transcendental or miraculous character of the document of revelation and the singularity or miraculousness of the historical Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh revealing it. The concept of the miracle as testimony, *muʿdjiza* [*q.v.*], designed to confirm the veracity of a prophet and carefully defined *per se* as well as over against the *karāmāt* [*q.v.*], the *charismata* which God allows to happen through His lesser "friends", was developed to identify the Ḳurʾān as the *muʿdjiza* of Muḥammad. It implied the supernatural nature of the Revelation which had, from the beginning, been the primary postulate and justification of Muḥammad's preaching.

To view the Ḳurʾān *in toto* as a miraculous intrusion (or a series of intrusions) of the divine and, hence, the unrepeatable into human experience spurred rather than blocked the question regarding the precise nature of the properties which set it apart from all other literature—this word being taken in the widest possible sense and including the books embodying earlier revelations. Supported by the complementary doctrine of Muḥammad's *ummiyya* or illiteracy, the prophecies of future events, mundane and eschatological, paralleled by information about the remote past, together with the statements about the Lord Himself, were adduced as features both beyond the reach of Muḥammad's human horizon and unmatchable by others.

Appreciation of the applicability of these criteria to the Torah and the Gospel on the one hand and, on the other, the historical fact of Muḥammad's pagan compatriots denying to his revelation a divine source and attributing it rather to the inspiration of the demons on whom poets as well as soothsayers would rely led to an ever-increasing emphasis on the stylistic qualities of the Book, whose linguistic form had to be dissociated from the *kuhhān*'s rhymed prose, *sadjʿ* [*q.v.*], even more sharply than from the poets' verse. It seems that on the level of systematic discussion, it was the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] (d. 232/846) who in considering the *iʿdjāz* first separated the formal aspects of the Book from its contents. The word *iʿdjāz*, traceable in the early part of the 3rd/9th century and developing into a technical term towards its end, has tended more and more to evoke the associations of the rhetorically unsurpassable.

The weakness of the aesthetic argument—that in every area of human endeavour there will be one supreme achievement; that it was difficult to maintain the incomparability of every single passage

of the Book; that an element of opinion was being injected into the valuation of the revealed text and thereby, to the more critical or the less pious, a direct challenge presented to denigrate or even match it — had however become apparent even sooner. Those weaknesses had already been countered (although a measure of refinement and elaboration of the argumentation was to follow in the 4th/10th century) by the concept of the *taḥaddī*, or challenge. Based essentially on Ḳurʾān XVII, 90 and X, 90, where it is declared that men and *djinn*, even were they to combine their efforts, are incapable of producing anything equalling as much as a single *sūra* of the Book, the *iʿdjāz* was substantiated by the pagan Arabs' failure to take up the challenge, a failure explicable solely by the realization on the part of those greatest masters of the word which the world had ever seen, motivated as they were by hatred of the new faith, by loyalty to the old and by artistic pride, that such an undertaking would be beyond them. (So already Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥudjadj al-nubuwwa*, in *Rasāʾil al-Djāḥiẓ* ed. Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1352/1933, 143-4; tr. C. Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich and Stuttgart 1967, 78-80, who deals with the subject in a routine manner, suggesting that he is treating a familiar line of reasoning).

But once again, historical fact—for attempts to match the Ḳurʾānic style were indeed undertaken—and a keener sense of the vulnerability of a proof based on historical incident and subjective judgement would modify the argument. Reliance on *taḥaddī* was supplemented by the doctrine of the *ṣarfa*, the "turning away". (Cf. as an intellectual precedent to the concept of *ṣarfa*, Lactantius (ca. 240-ca. 340 A.D.), *Div. Inst.*, IV, 2, 5: *aversos esse arbitror divina providentia, ne scire possent veritatem*, "God must have turned the ancient philosophers away from the right way of finding the truth"). With the abandonment of the claim to literary inimitability as such and the recognition of the ability *in potentia* of the Arab rhetoricians of Muḥammad's day victoriously to rise to the *taḥaddī*, the miracle was perceived as consisting in God's preventing the competent from taking up the challenge altogether. So already al-Naẓẓām; cf. Bouman, *Conflit*, 22. Although the *ṣarfa* implies the relinquishing of its supernatural aspect, the conviction of the Book's stylistic supremacy continued in the consensus of the community to be upheld as an empirical fact by some theologians such as Bāḳillānī (d. 404/1013), who were not prepared to accept it as a necessity *a priori*. His contemporary, the Muʿtazilī *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Astarābādī (d. 415/1025), in his extensive discussion of the *iʿdjāz* insists on the intrinsic excellence of the Ḳurʾān and particularly on the outstanding quality of its *faṣāḥa*; it is this level of stylistic perfection which prevented a *muʿāraḍa* in spite of the indubitable occurrence of the *taḥaddī* (cf., e.g., *Mughnī*, ed. Amīn al-Khūlī, Cairo 1380/1960, xvi, 247; esp. also the long discussion, 264 ff.); no special act of God by way of a *ṣarfa* was required to inhibit the pagan Arabs from attempting to match Revelation (this is implied throughout and set forth explicitly at 322 ff.).

Muslim tradition identifies a comparatively small number of outspoken critics of the Book. Djaʿd b. Dirham (executed in 105/723) is generally named as its first detractor. Deprecation was, on occasion, accompanied by the attempt to match the revealed text by something artistically equivalent or better. The existence, though repressed from common memory, of revelations similar in form to that of the Ḳurʾān promulgated by the counter-prophet Maslama (Musaylima) set an uncomfortable precedent. It is possible that the celebrated Iranian convert, the great stylist Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (d. 140/757 or 142/759), actually did try his hand at such a *muʿāraḍa*, but found it impossible to complete his task—a fate shared by some other writers to whom tradition imputes the same ambition. (Cf. M. Guidi, *La Lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo*, Rome 1927, XVI, 64-5, 72; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 401-4; Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, tr. from the Persian version of Balʿamī by H. Zotenberg (reprint, Paris 1958), iv, 450-2.) Bashshār b. Burd (d. 166/783) is quoted as freely comparing to its disadvantage Ḳurʾānic with contemporary verse and as having boasted of having personally surpassed *sūra* LIX; a similar statement is attributed to Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya (d. 213/828) with reference to *sūra* LXXVII. Among the Muʿtazila, Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. Ṣabīḥ, better known as al-Murdār (not al-Muzdār as Rāfiʿī consistently writes, *op. cit.*, e.g., p. 161), a contemporary of Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. between 210/825 and 225/840), whose student he was, and of Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. *ca.* 225/840), is singled out as a sceptic in regard to the uniqueness of the Holy Book. The bitterest scoffer at the Ḳurʾān would seem to have been Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 250/864 or, more likely, 297/910 or 299/912), parts of whose attacks on the mission of the prophets in general and on Muḥammad in particular have been preserved in the refutation by the Muʿtazilī al-Khayyāṭ (d. between 287/900 and 297/910). The victory of the dogma of the eternity *a parte ante* or the uncreatedness of the Divine Word helped to consolidate a climate of opinion in which the consensus peaceably secured the recognition of the *iʿdjāz* as an integral part of the faith. This is not to say that critical remarks on individual images would no longer occur. Nor that the stylistic insuperability of the Book would have found universal acceptance among theologians: Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), in his *Kitāb al-Faṣl fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1317-21, iii, 15 ff.; tr. M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, Madrid 1927-32, iii, 248 ff.; see also *Faṣl*, i, 106 ff., tr., i, 222 ff., as well as al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085), the *imām al-ḥaramayn* and teacher of al-Ghazālī, in his *al-ʿAḳīda al-niẓāmiyya*, ed. M. Kawtharī, Cairo 1948, 54-5; tr. H. Klopfer, *Das Dogma des Imâm al-Ḥaramain al-Djuwainî und sein Werk al-ʿAqîdat an-niẓâmîya*, Cairo-Wiesbaden 1958, 89-90, to mention only two outstanding figures from widely separated regions and school affiliations, refuse, the one to acknowledge its aesthetic qualities as a major proof of its uniqueness, the other to recognize its unqualified aesthetic superiority altogether. Whether the "competition" with the Ḳurʾān (or perhaps only with LXXVII, 30-3) of which al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) has been accused ever was undertaken must remain uncertain; that the poet embarked on a systematic counterfoil appears exceedingly doubtful. The last *muʿāraḍat al-Ḳurʾān* of which a somewhat vague report has come down to us is due to one Muhadhdhib al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 601/1205; cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 404).

The critical appraisal of the Ḳurʾān's artistry had been paralleled, if not preceded, by reflexions on certain grammatical peculiarities of the Book. The awareness of differences in linguistic usage during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries came more and more to be coupled with the postulate that grammar was to be judged by the Ḳurʾānic text rather than the Ḳurʾānic text by the tradition of classical grammar;

cf. al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1864-92, 485; Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), *Kitāb al Imtāʿ wa ʾl-muʾānasa*, ed. A. Amīn and A. al-Zayn, Cairo 1939-44, iii, 185; and the explicit statement by Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284): *taṣḥīḥ ḳawāʿid al-ʿarabiyya bi ʾl-Ḳurʾān, apud* M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 222-3; similarly Ḳasṭallānī (d. 923/1517) *apud* Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920; re-issued 1952, p. 50, n. 3.

The major works marking the development of the *iʿdjāz* concept and the researches supporting it have been put together by Abdul Aleem, *ʿIjazuʾl-Qurʾan* (sic), in *IC*, vii (1933), 64-82, 215-83, and G. E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arab literary theory and criticism. The sections on poetry of al-Bâqillânî's* Iʿjāz al-Qurʾân, Chicago 1950 (with bibliography). The first systematic treatments carrying the word *iʿdjāz* in their title which have been preserved—the oldest, by Muḥammad b. Yazīd (or Zayd) al-Wāsiṭī (d. 306/918-9), is lost—are concerned above all with the literary uniqueness of Revelation, the leading interest of both ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) and Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 386/996 or more probably 388/998). Outside the circle of "specialists", too, the tracing of poetic imagery in the Ḳurʾān preoccupied the literary theorists who, like Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 295/908), would invoke Ḳurʾānic precedent to justify modern stylistic trends and for whom the existence of figurative speech in Revelation constituted an important motivation for the study and ever more minute classification of tropes and figures in general. The treatment of the *iʿdjāz* by Bāḳillānī, the first it would seem to aspire to systematic comprehensiveness, decisively influenced the later writers, whether mostly concerned with style like ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 470/1078) in his *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, or with theology proper like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) in his *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* and his *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz* and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) in his *Fawāʾid*. By their time, the term *ʿilm al-iʿdjāz* had, in common parlance, become very nearly synonymous with *ʿilm al-bayān* or *ʿilm al-maʿānī* to designate the science of rhetoric; cf. Abdul Aleem, *op. cit.*, 82. Broadly speaking, nothing new has been added to the traditional argumentation since the 5th/11th century. The discussion of the *iʿdjāz* in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's (d. 1905) *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (esp. ch. xii; Eng. tr. by I. Musaʿad and K. Cragg, *The theory of unity*, London 1966, 118-22; competent summary of all references to the Ḳurʾān in Stieglecker [see Bibl.], 404-8) differs from older presentations essentially by omitting grammatical and aesthetic detail.

In contrasting the stylistic perfection of the Ḳurʾān with the stylistic imperfections of the older Scriptures the Muslim theologian found himself unknowingly and on purely postulative grounds in agreement with a long line of Christian thinkers whose outlook on the Biblical text is best summed up in Nietzsche's brash dictum that the Holy Ghost wrote bad Greek. The knowledge of the Western theologian that the Biblical books were redacted by different writers and that they were, in many cases, accessible to him only in (inspired) translation facilitated admission of formal imperfections in Scripture and therewith lessened the compulsive insistence on its stylistic authority. Christian teaching, leaving the inspired writer, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, free in matters of style, has provided no motivation to seek an exact correlation between the revealed text on the one hand and grammar and rhetoric on the other; cf. L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, p. 26, n. 4. It thereby relieved the theologian and the critic from searching for a harmony between two stylistic worlds, which at best would yield an ahistoric concept of literary perfection and at worst would prevent anything resembling textual and substantive criticism of Revelation as adumbrated by the Oratorian monk R. Simon as early as 1638, but which could not possibly be accepted within Islam even today under the pressure of a concept of *litteratim* inspiration which would confine dissenters to questioning the completeness or genuineness of the transmitted text but inhibit examination of its dictation, word for word and letter for letter. In Christianity, besides, the apology for the "low" style of the Bible is merely part of an educational problem—what to do with secular erudition within Christianity; whereas in Islam, the central position of the Ḳurʾān, as the focal point and justification of grammatical and literary studies, was, theoretically at least, never contested from within the believing community.

In another respect, however, Islam has come very close to Christian teaching (or, at any rate, Christian sentiment). In identifying the Ḳurʾān, i.e. the *fact* of revelation, as the *muʿdjiza* of the Prophet it approaches very nearly the insight into the nature of the revelation which made Jesus refuse "to grant the sign, the miracle, the external proof asked of Him, which would have taken its place outside Revelation: this proof, moreover, would have been ineffective, and would not have provoked genuine faith, but at the most a gross superstition" (R. Mehl, *La condition du philosophe chrétien*, Paris-Neuchâtel 1947, 119; Eng. tr. by E. Kushner, *The condition of the Christian philosopher*, Philadelphia 1963, 127), which it must be admitted is precisely what happened whenever in Christianity or in Islam this insight of the central figure of the faith has been disregarded.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article: T. Andrae, *Die person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 94-10; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autour du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī*, Amsterdam 1959, with bibliography; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Paderborn, Munich and Vienna 1962, esp. pp. 371-408; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 124 ff. (G. E. von Grunebaum)

IDJĀZA (A.) authorization, licence. When used in its technical meaning, this word means, in the strict sense, the third of the eight methods of receiving the transmission of a *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] (the various ways are set out precisely in W. Marçais, *Taqrīb*, 115-26). It means in short the fact that an authorized guarantor of a text or of a whole book (his own work or a work received through a chain of transmitters going back to the first transmitter or to the author) gives a person the authorization to transmit it in his turn so that the person authorized can avail himself of this transmission. But beyond this narrow definition there is in fact involved the principle, fundamental in Islam, of the pre-eminent value attached to oral testimony, a principle which has been maintained through all the fictions to which *idjāza* and the other methods of transmission have given rise from a very early date and which still today continue to influence Muslim traditional thinking. It is this that gives its ideological and historical importance to the very full documentation contained

in the *isnāds* ("chaînes de témoignages fondamentales", L. Massignon), in the *samāʿs* ("certificates of hearing") and in the *idjāzas*—often having indications of dates and places and details of the names of the persons who formed links in the transmission—which precede, frame or follow not only the texts of *ḥadīth*, of *fiḳh* or of *tafsīr*, but also theological, mystical, historical and philological works, and even literary collections, of both prose and poetry. Separate from the texts there appear the systematic lists of authorities (*muʿdjam*, *mashyakha*, *thabat*, *fahrasa* [*q.v.*], *barnamādj*), which form in themselves a well developed branch, still flourishing and so far insufficiently exploited, of the work of the traditional Muslim scholars. In spite of the very serious reservations which had been made from the beginning, notably by the *imām* al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), with regard to transmissions not guaranteed by the direct study of the text transmitted and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding the text, yet practice, supported when necessary by appropriate statements of casuistic reasoning, has always tended towards the acceptance of fictions and increasing indulgence: a general *idjāza* without the hearing of the texts, an *idjāza* conferred on young children who have not yet reached the age of reason, even to those still unborn, an *idjāza* obtained as the result of a short interview during journeys whose aim was not exclusively study or the Pilgrimage, an *idjāza* requested and granted by letter without any personal contact between the authority and the candidate. Among the fictional *idjāzāt*, which were moreover of social and political significance, were those conferred at their request on rulers or on high state dignitaries. Examples of *idjāza* in verse exist from the second half of the 3rd/9th century (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, 350), and these very soon became couched in turgid rhetoric (see below).

Among the "Twelver" Shīʿīs the *idjāza* obtains its authority from the infallible *imāms* whose *ḥadīths* are scrupulously transmitted by their faithful supporters (see H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 303).

In Persian and in Ottoman Turkish (in the latter as a composite word, *idjāzet-nāme*, *icazetname*) the term has come into modern use to mean "certificate of fitness" (to teach).

Bibliography: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1938, especially 311-55; see also idem, *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm*, ed. Youssef Eche (al-ʿIshsh), Damascus 1949; an unpublished treatise by al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), *K. al-Wadjīz fī dhikr al-mudjāz wa 'l-mudjīz* (MS Chester Beatty Arabic 4874, fols. 1-20), analysed by G. Vajda in *Bull. de l'Inst. de Rech. et d'Hist. des Textes*, no. 14, 1966; Mīrzā ʿAlī Taḳī, *al-Idjāzāt, containing Licenses to learned men*, Lucknow 1286/1869. On the subject of the superior value as proof of the spoken over the written word: L. Massignon, *Études sur les "Isnad" ou chaînes de témoignages fondamentales dans la tradition musulmane hallagienne*, in *Mélanges Félix Grat*, i, Paris 1946, 385-420 (= *Opera Minora*, ii, Beirut 1963, 61-92); R. Brunschvig, *Le système de la preuve en droit musulman*, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, xviii, *La Preuve*, Brussels 1964, 169-86. On the *idjāza* and the related documents in general: I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 188-93 (this study is the basis of his article in *EI*[1]; reservations made by F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 1967, 53-84, must be taken into account); W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, i, 54-95; W. Marçais, *Le Taqrîb de En-Nawawî*, Paris 1902, 115-26; J. Pedersen, *Den Arabiske Bog*, Copenhagen 1946, 23-30, 144; excellent general outline on *idjāza* and *samāʿ* by Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Idjāzāt al-samāʿ fi 'l-makhṭūṭāt al-ḳadīma*, in *RIMA*, i (1955), 232-51; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, *Kutub barāmidj al-ʿulamāʾ bi 'l-Andalus*, *ibid.*, 91-120 (also idem, *Naṣṣ Barnāmadj Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ*, *ibid.*, 252-71). Shīʿī *idjāzāt* form the subject of a double volume (25-26) of the great theological encyclopaedia *Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1110/1699); see also Abdullah Fayyad, *al-Ijazat alʿ-ilmiyya ʿind al-Moslimeen*, Baghdad 1967; Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) includes in his *Iʿlām* a list of *muʿdjams* and *mashyakhas*, tr. in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, [2] Leiden 1968, 451-3; a more complete list, to the 14th/20th century, is given in Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa 'l-athbāt* ..., Fez 1346/1927 (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 891), a most valuable source of information which is in need of systematic indexing. Among the lists of transmissions may be mentioned (in addition to the *Barnāmadj* of Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ mentioned above) the printed works of Abū Bakr Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1180), *Fahrasa*, "Index Librorum ...", edd. F. Codera and J. Ribera, *BAH*, vols. ix-x, Saragossa 1894-5, and the five works, collected in one volume at Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910, of five scholars of the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries, al-Kūrānī, al-Nakhlī, al-Baṣrī, al-Fullānī, al-Shawkānī (full titles *apud* J. Robson in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 580, no. 6). Recently Orientalists have begun to take an interest in the analysis of the lists of authorities and the certificates of "audition"; among others may be mentioned A. J. Arberry, *Sakhawiana* (Chester Beatty Monographs, no. 1); idem, *A twelfth-century reading list* (same series, no. 2), London 1951; G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris 1957 (bibliographical details at p. VI, n. 2); idem, *Le dictionnaire des autorités de ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Dimyāṭī*, Paris 1962; J. Sublet, *Les Maîtres et les études de deux traditionnistes de l'époque mamlouke* (*al-Mashyakha al-bāsima* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAṣkalānī), in *BEO*, xx (1967). (G. Vajda)

Most *idjāzas* are plain statements of fact, but sometimes rhymed prose (*sadjʿ* [*q.v.*]) is used and the beneficiary is described in extravagant epithets (*idjāza ṭannāna*, Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 246, 4 from below). In some later *idjāzas* we find lengthy introductions and the whole document becomes an exercise in rhetoric. Ḳalḳashandī regards this as normal, as appears from his brief discussion of the *idjāza* in the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (Cairo 1331/1913, xiv, 322-35) and the examples of *idjāzas* for various purposes (*futyā*, *tadrīs*, *ʿirāda*, *riwāya*) which he sets up as models (other examples of this pompous style in A. J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library*: *A handlist of the Arabic manuscripts*, Dublin 1955, i, plate 14, iv, plate 124; of an *idjāza* as part of a *samāʿ*, S. A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 65). As early as the 3rd/9th century the poetic form was used (see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357/1938, 350-1; idem, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 164-5). The traveller Ibn Djubayr records that he obtained an *idjāza* in both prose and verse (*nathr wa-naẓm*, ed. Wright-de Goeje, 201, 18).

That the poetic form was popular for the idjāza as well as for the request for an idjāza (istidʿāʾ) is shown by examples quoted in Makkarī's *Analectes* (i, 628, 715, 743 ff.). *Idjāza* poems also occur in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's *Dīwān* (Damascus 1297/1879, 481-3, for his own poems) and a late example is found in Shirwānī's *Ḥadīkat al-afrāḥ* (Būlāk 1282/1866, 76).

Idjāza as a technical term in prosody occurs as a synonym of various terms for faults in the rhyme [see art. KĀFIYA]. As a term in rhetoric it is used when a poet builds some lines or even a whole poem on a single line or hemistich suggested by somebody else, often a ruler (but cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* s.v. *adjāza*). It is also used when two poets compose alternately a hemistich or one or more lines of the same poem, often in the form of a contest, in which case we also find the term *tamlīṭ* (or *mumālaṭa, imlāṭ, TA*, v, 227 below). Other terms occur either as synonyms or to indicate different forms of *tamlīṭ*. The interpretation of these terms given by Ibn Ẓāfir in his *Badāʾiʿ al-Badāʾih* (Būlāk 1278/1862 and on the margin of ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898) does not seem to have been generally accepted.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīk, *al- ʿUmda*, Cairo 1325/1907, i, 127-8, 135, ii, 72-5; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung*, Bonn 1830, 527.

(I. GOLDZIHER-[S. A. BONEBAKKER])

IDJĀZA [see ḤADJDJ].

AL-ĪDJĪ, ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. RUKN AL-DĪN B. ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR AL-BAKRĪ AL-SHABĀNKĀRĪ, Shāfiʿī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian. Born probably after 680/1281 in Īg, the chief town of Shabānkāra, he began his theological education mainly among the pupils of al-Bayḍāwī. The last Īlkhān, Abū Saʿīd (716-36/1316-36), invited him to his court in Sulṭāniyya and appointed him *kāḍī al-mamālik*, probably on the suggestion of his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn (728-36/1328-36), with whom al-Īdjī had formed an acquaintance; in 730/1330 al-Īdjī's reputation as a scholar is mentioned for the first time in a contemporary source (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 808, 6 ff.). Later, probably after the execution of Ghiyāth al-Dīn and the death of Abū Saʿīd (736/1336), al-Īdjī appears as chief *kāḍī* in Shīrāz, at the court of the Īndjū Abū Isḥāk; it was here that Ḥāfiẓ met him (*Dīwān*, ed. Ḳazwīnī-Ghanī, 363, 7). When the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn was planning to conquer Abū Isḥāk's kingdom for himself, al-Īdjī attempted, as the latter's agent, to negotiate between the two, but without result; at this time Mubāriz al-Dīn was his guest for a few days in Shabānkāra. Once again al-Īdjī returned for a short time to Shīrāz; however, during the siege of the town (754/1353) he went over to Mubāriz al-Dīn and withdrew to Shabānkāra. There Shāh Shudjāʿ, Mubāriz al-Dīn's son, visited him a year later. In 756/1355, evidently in connexion with the insurrection against the Muẓaffarids of Malik Ardashīr, the last Atabeg of Shabānkāra, al-Īdjī was imprisoned in the fortress of Diraymiyān (at Īg) and died there in the same year.

Al-Īdjī's works have no claims to originality, being intended as systematic handbooks for teaching in *madrasas*. Their popularity is evident from the great number of commentaries. A dedication to Ghiyāth al-Dīn shows that two of his books were composed before 736/1336: the *Fawāʾid al-Ghiyāthiyya*, an abridgement of the section on rhetoric from al-Sakkākī's encyclopaedic *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, and the commentary to Ibn al-Ḥadjar's (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaṣar* of his own *Muntaha 'l-suʾūl wa 'l-amal fī ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa 'l-djadal*. Al-Īdjī's fame was based, already during his own lifetime, on his *K. al-Mawāḳif fī ʿilm al-kalām*, which is still today used as a basis for the teaching of theology at al-Azhar. Although (subsequently?) dedicated to Abū Isḥāk, it was probably composed before 730/1330, for it is mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, which was written in that year (808, 15; this reference may however be a later addition by the author). The book sets out in the style of a *summa theologica*, in concise language, the traditional ideas of 6th/12th century Islamic theology; it is based mainly on the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and the *Abkār al-afkār* of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), in places also on the former's *Nihāyat al-ʿuḳūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*. For further works, see Brockelmann, II, 267 ff., and A. Ateş in *IA*, v, 921 ff. s.v. *Īcī* (with detailed summaries).

Bibliography: For his biography, see the sources given in Brockelmann, II, 267; S II, 287; and Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, v, 199. In addition, see Muʿīn al-Dīn Yazdī, *Mawāhib-i ilāhiyya dar taʾrīkh-i Āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehrān 1326, i, 241 ff., 257; *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (with the *Dhayl* of Maḥmūd Kutubī), 654 ff., 663; Mīrkhwānd, Tehrān 1339, iv, 484 f. 487, 494; Khwāndamīr, Bombay 1857, iii/1, 125 f., iii/2, 21; numerous anecdotes in the *Ḥikāyāt-i Fārsī* of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī (see *Kulliyyāt-i ʿUbayd-i Zākānī*, ed. Parvīz Atābakī, Tehran 1321 [h.s.?], 311 f.); Ḳāsim Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār u afkār u aḥwāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Tehrān 1321, i, 29, 31, 75, 99 ff.; L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 165 ff., 370 ff.; J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966.

(J. VAN ESS)

ʿIDJL, ancient Arabian tribe, reckoned part of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. Their common ancestor ʿIdjl b. Ludjaym was proverbially noted for his stupidity (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 48n.; Eng. tr. i, 52n.). The tribe as a whole had a reputation for niggardliness (Masʿūdī, vi, 138f.; Yāḳūt, i, 183). They originally lived in al-Yamāma and in the region about the roads from Kūfa and Baṣra to Mecca. Among the settled localities belonging to them were Arāka, Djawkhāʾ and al-Khaḍārim; while their waters included Bukayʿ, Tukayyid, al-Ruwaytha, Zumīm, Sāk, Shubrum, Ẓabya, al-Ḳayyāra, Maḥḍara, and al-Hadjīra. Some of Banū ʿIdjl settled at Djaylān in al-Baḥrayn among Persian immigrants from Iṣṭakhr who practised agriculture (Yākūt, ii, 179; Goldziher, i, 103; Eng. tr., i, 100). At a later date there were members of Banū ʿIdjl in the region of Aleppo (al-Ḳalkashandī, *Nihāya*, 350).

The relations of ʿIdjl with cognate tribes are discussed in the article on Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*]. They fought against Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim and Tamīm at Nibādj and Taytal, and also at Musalliḥa. The most important battle in which they were engaged, however, was that of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. According to some accounts their leader Ḥanẓala b. Thaʿlaba played an important part before the battle encouraging the Arabs to fight, while during the battle he commanded the right wing of the Arabs. The conversion of a ʿIdjlī to Islam is mentioned by al-Wāḳidī (ed. M. Jones, i, 198). Some of the tribe had become Christian, and these took the Persian side at the battle of Ullays in 12/634. Men of ʿIdjl and Ḥanīfa were in a force at Ḳalʿat al-Nusayr (or Numayr) near Nihāwand in 22/643. Horsemen of ʿIdjl supported Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in his rising at Kūfa in the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

The connexion of parts of ᶜIdjl with Persian culture is noteworthy, and may partly explain the type of heresy to which they were prone. At Kūfa al-Mughīra b. Saᶜīd al-ᶜIdjlī was executed as a heretic in 119/737 and Abū Manṣūr al-ᶜIdjlī [see MANṢŪRIYYA] in 124/742. The well-known Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] is thought to have been a slave attached to ᶜIdjl.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam*, index; Ṭabarī, index; *Aghānī*, index; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 173-81, 270, 449, 592, 603; iii, 404.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-ᶜ**IDJLĪ**, ABŪ DULAF [see AL-ḲĀSIM B. ᶜĪSĀ].

AL-ᶜ**IDJLĪ**, ABŪ MANṢŪR [see MANṢŪRIYYA].

IDJMĀᶜ, the third, and in practice the most important, of the bases of Islamic religious law, according to the classical theory [see UṢŪL]. It is in theory the unanimous agreement of the Umma on a regulation (*ḥukm*) imposed by God. Technically it is "the unanimous doctrine and opinion of the recognized religious authorities at any given time".

Statement of the problem: The idea of *idjmāᶜ* as a source of law, as proving in an intangible and definitive way the validity of a *ḥukm* (W. M. Watt, *Islam and the integration of society*, London 1961, 203), was a result of the need to perpetuate a truth given by the Ḳurʾān and corroborated by the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Arguments arose among the faithful after the death of the Prophet who, during his lifetime, was the "proof" (*ḥudjdja*) and point of reference in legislative matters. The need began to be felt for a binding principle which would ratify a custom, as yet vague and undefined, which was being called upon to systematize itself at the same time as it was expanding and coming under attack from both Shīᶜīs and Khāridjīs. The idea became defined and was given its theoretical formulation with the elaboration of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, i.e. in the 2nd/8th century. The definition of *idjmāᶜ* as a source of law then raises the question of the probative validity (*ḥudjdjiyya*) of this concept.

Denied by the Khāridjīs (al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl*, 19) and by al-Naẓẓām (*ibid.*, 19-20), this validity became the object of long discussions in the classical treatises on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Whether it is the Ḥanafī *idjmāᶜ* extending the consensus of the *Umma* to all the Believers or the *idjmāᶜ* of Ibn Ḥazm limiting it only to the Companions of the Prophet, the procedure is always the same; it consists of basing the *ḥudjdjiyya* of the *idjmāᶜ* on a passage from "Ḳurʾān or Tradition giving a reason in plain language" (Hourani, 19). This procedure clearly illustrates the exigencies of Islamic jurisprudence.

The rationalism of the Muᶜtazilīs, with its tendency to ethics rather than logic, amounts, where *idjmāᶜ* is concerned, to no more than a deontology addressed to the personal convictions of the believer.

The primacy of reason (*al-ᶜaḳl ḳabl al-samᶜ*), repeatedly expressed by ᶜAbd al-Djabbār (*Mughnī*, xii, 378 and *passim*; *Sharḥ*, 45 and *passim*; Ibn Mattawayh, *Muḥīṭ*, 17 ff.; Abu'l-Ḥusayn, *Muᶜtamad*, ii, 460) is circumscribed by the principle of 'that which is best' (*al-aṣlaḥ*), which can limit even the divine will. In the field of *idjmāᶜ*, rationalism was obliged to make way for the strictest fideism, since reason is no more capable of deciding the inerrancy (*ᶜiṣma*) of a group of people than of guaranteeing that an individual is always exempt from error in his words and his deeds. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār thus takes over the objection of al-Naẓẓām, who, though frequently named elsewhere (*Mughnī*, xvii, 72, xv, 361, 392 and *passim*), is not mentioned in connexion with *idjmāᶜ* (compare *Mughnī*, xvii, 158 and *Muᶜtamad*, 458). Thus the *ḳāḍī* affirms unequivocally: "As for demonstrating the legal validity of *idjmāᶜ* by a process of reason, that is impossible" (*fa-amma 'l-istidlāl ᶜalā ṣiḥḥat al-idjmāᶜ min djihat al-ᶜaḳl, fa-baᶜīd*; *Mughnī*, xvii, 199); for, he continues, "no proof (*dalīl*) can demonstrate that a certain group is free of error in its words and its deeds, just as nothing can prove this for each of the matters of religious obligation (*mukallafūn*); and there is no difference between the man who imposes by means of reason (*man awdjaba ᶜaḳlan*) the legal validity of *idjmāᶜ* and the man who decides the probative value of divergence (*man awdjaba kawn al-khilāf ḥudjdjatan*) or ascribes probative value to the statement of each *mukallaf* (*man djaᶜala kawn kull mukallaf ḥudjdjatan*). This affirmation is even more erroneous than that of *taḳlīd*, whose nullity (*buṭlān*) we have already demonstrated" (see also *Mughnī*, xvii, 206, 216). We may note in passing that the Muᶜtazilī view coincides with that of Ibn Ḥazm and his school. By more devious and never explicit routes, his pupil Abu'l-Ḥusayn adopted the same viewpoint. After presenting the five Ḳurʾānic proofs universally admitted by the *uṣūliyyūn* and the proof deduced from the classic tradition "My community will never agree upon an error" (*Muᶜtamad*, 458-76), he sets out (in order to refute them) two arguments which one might have thought to be dictated by common-sense but which would in fact, for the logician, merely lead the line of reasoning back to a vicious circle in one case and to a *petitio principii* in the other (*Muᶜtamad*, 476-7). To avoid these two impasses it was necessary, in the field of *idjmāᶜ*, to dissociate the domain of faith from that of reason. ᶜAbd al-Djabbār saw this and stated it; Abu'l-Ḥusayn suggested it.

The Muᶜtazilī attitude, which always attracted al-Ghazālī, may be seen on the subject of *ḥudjdjiyyat al-idjmāᶜ* in the force he gives to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, "My community will never agree upon an error", supporting this with a para-syllogistic argument (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 110-2). Drawing his inspiration from Aristotelian logic, al-Ghazālī applies to the argument drawn from the *Sunna* a syllogism, in which the second premise, statement of a particular truth, is replaced by an arbitrary hypothesis depending on a *petitio principii*, that the normal course of events (*ᶜāda*) is a source of knowledge.

A connected and no less important problem is that of the relationship between *idjmāᶜ* and *tawātur* [*q.v.*]. The *ḥudjdjiyya* of *tawātur* is objective, since it concerns *ḥissiyyāt* and consists in the convergence of sayings and in the authentication of chains of authorities. It is in this sense, according to al-Ghazālī for example, that *tawātur* provides a guarantee as reliable as *ḥissiyyāt* and *ᶜaḳliyyāt* (al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, 112-3), whilst the *ḥudjdjiyya* of *idjmāᶜ* consists in this same convergence but with the addition of a faith (*taṣdīḳ*) which goes beyond the bounds of objectivity and amounts to the deep conviction of every Believer, as much as to objective credibility. It will be understood, then, that for al-Ghazālī, *idjmāᶜ* is "the most important source of religion" (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 112; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, i, 316).

In modern times, parallel with a classical and conservative trend represented by ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, there is developing a modernist trend inherited from the reformism of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh (Hourani, 39-43) by the Pakistani, Kamāl Fārūḳī. In his recent work (*Islamic jurisprudence*, Karachi 1962), K. Fārūḳī does not re-examine the theoretical problem of the proofs on which the validity of

idjmāʿ is based. Like Muḥammad ʿAbduh, he thinks that the scriptural proofs establish, though in a limited sense, the legal authority for the consensus of the *Umma* (Hourani, 43). But beyond this, he attempts to reconsider the concept of *idjmāʿ* as a result of a critical analysis of the concept of *ʿiṣma*. In showing that the *ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*] (infallibility) of the *Umma* is circumscribed and defined by divine infallibility, K. Fārūḳī illustrates the relative nature of the former and tries to adapt the concept of the legal validity of *idjmāʿ* to the necessities of the modern world and the exigencies of the socio-political system of which the Believer is a part.

Development: As the concept of *idjmāʿ* developed, the dispersion of the faithful from Medina became greater and the Muslim world expanded, the solutions to the problem became more diverse. The concept of "favourable acceptance" became more worked out and the idea of a certain *de facto* agreement led to a theoretical definition of *idjmāʿ* differing according to the schools

The point of departure for this development is given by the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Mālik wa 'l-Shāfiʿī* (*Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, 177-83). Al-Shāfiʿī called into question the idea of the consensus of Medina by showing the obscure and imprecise nature of the concept of "the usage of Medina". He substituted the assertion of a basic truth, upon which, as far as law was concerned, the infallibility of the unanimous pronouncements of the *Umma* rested, for the Mālikī *idjmāʿ*, which merely affirmed an existing fact. The principle was stated in legal terms, although not based on law.

The *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī, this scholar's only work on the subject, should be regarded as the résumé of a system of thought developed through oral discussions. This is the characteristic of the primitive religious law which was "a doctrine of essentially oral transmission" (H. Laoust, in *EI*², s.v. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 274a). We must make a jump of three centuries to reach the degree of systematization which is achieved by the *Mustaṣfā* of al-Ghazālī.

With the *Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* of Ibn Ḥazm, we find ourselves faced with a work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* in which *idjmāʿ* is treated as a juridical source needing a foundation and raising technical problems to be solved. For Ibn Ḥazm, *idjmāʿ* is limited to that of the Companions of the Prophet. A system which rejects the use of analogical reasoning and insists on the exclusive use of proof texts can only allow *idjmāʿ* which is derived from a revealed text about a word or deed of the Prophet. Here *idjmāʿ* seems to have been re-absorbed by Ḳurʾān and *Sunna*. In this perspective the technical problems posed by the formation of *idjmāʿ* diminish. The necessity for a continuous thread reaching back to the *idjmāʿ* of the Companions resolves the problem of its constitutors and that posed by a divergence of opinions within one generation; the expression *ūlu 'l-amr*, often used by Ibn Ḥazm, shows that *amīrs* and scholars ought to guide us by imposing upon us only those things which God or the Prophet have commanded. The problem of the succession of generations is resolved and, in the same way, the difficulty presented by the necessity of verifying the opinions of the whole of the *Umma* in every generation disappears.

The Ḥanafīs al-Bazdawī (d. 482/1089) and al-Sarakhsī (d. 490/1096) denounce the weakness of the argument on which the Ẓāhirī *idjmāʿ* was based, the precedence of the witness of the Companions (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, i, 313). For the latter, the chief merit of the Companion is to be a Believer. According to al-Bazdawī (*Uṣūl*, iii, 181), "by the *Umma* is understood only those who have not adopted pernicious doctrines (*ahwāʾ*) and innovations (*bidaʿ*); and, if the *Umma* should find itself subject to error when the revelation is interrupted, then the divine promise to assure that the *Umma* should persevere in the truth would become void. It is, therefore, necessary to assert that the *idjmāʿ* of the *Umma* is certainly a source of truth (*ṣawāb*) by virtue of divine generosity, and that its object is to preserve the religion of Allāh". For these theologians *idjmāʿ* draws its validity from itself; it is held to be an autonomous juridical source (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, i, 295).

The definition of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, the teacher of al-Ghazālī, is narrower. According to him, the *faḳīh* alone is competent in the matter (*Kitāb al-Waraḳāt*). His disciple, al-Ghazālī, explains it in detail: *idjmāʿ* is the agreement of the community of Muḥammad, in particular on all religious questions (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 110). This community of Muḥammad forms a whole within which two categories must be distinguished; those who are definitely concerned in *idjmāʿ* (*al-wāḍiḥ fi'l-ithbāt*; *Mustaṣfā*, i, 115), i.e., every *mudjtahid* whose juridical opinion is held to be valid (*ahl al-ḥall wa'l-ʿaḳd*), and those of whom note is certainly not taken (*al-wāḍiḥ fi'l-nafy*), i.e., children who have not yet reached intellectual maturity (*tamyīz*), foetuses and lunatics. Between these two well-defined categories there is an intermediate zone of uncertainty, on the subject of which various problems arise: the questions of the rôle of the ordinary believer (*al-ʿāmmī al-mukallaf*), the "innovator", who takes a position contrary to *idjmāʿ*, the "Followers" (*tābiʿūn* [*q.v.*]), younger contemporaries of the Companions and those opposed to them, the minority who oppose the majority who make up *idjmāʿ*.

From all the solutions put forward, it is possible to extract a constant of Sunnī thought; *idjmāʿ* is the agreement of all the believers in general, and in particular that of those qualified, to whom was entrusted the task of taking the decisions in juridical matters.

Method: Once the question of the constitutors of *idjmāʿ* has been settled, the question of the method by which they reach agreement may be asked. This agreement can be made by word or deed, it can be explicitly stated or silent. The Ḥanafīs, who distinguish between the "concession" (*rukhṣa*) and the strict rule (*ʿazīma* [*q.v.*]), consider tacit *idjmāʿ* to be valid only with regard to a concession, while for establishing a strict rule *idjmāʿ* definitely stated or expressed by an act is necessary. The Ḥanafīs, indeed, are the only ones to allow tacit *idjmāʿ* (see the *Kashf al-asrār*, a commentary on the *Uṣūl* of al-Bazdawī, iii, 946: ". . . the concession is based on necessity and it is necessity which makes *idjmāʿ* out of tacit agreement"), while the Ẓāhirīs, in their literalism, refuse it categorically. The Shāfiʿīs, like al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī and al-Āmidī, allow it as *idjmāʿ* but with certain reservations. "It is *idjmāʿ*", al-Ghazālī tells us, "provided that this tacit agreement is accompanied by indications of approval on the part of those who are silent" (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 121). It is difficult indeed to give the same probative value to silence as to a definite statement (*ibid*, 121).

But what is the value of an agreement which, without being formulated, is expressed by an act? Can it be held as valid inasmuch as this act, carried out by the majority of Believers, takes for granted at least the *idjmāʿ* of the élite, just as an act of the Prophet indicates his approval of that act? Put in another way, does the infallibility of the *Umma*

guarantee its conduct as well as its statements? The Shāfiʿīs refuse to adopt this position for, they say, it is impossible to verify whether or not the totality of a people carries out an act unanimously. This assumes a complete record of the Believers and of their conduct. Although silence may sometimes be considered an indication of approval of a statement, and consequently regarded as tacit agreement, *idjmāʿ* based on an act cannot be considered valid because of the difficulty of verification. Silence, indeed, may be ascertained directly through the absence of any opposing statement, whilst the unanimous execution of an act cannot be ascertained except by a continuous control, which would obviously be impossible to effect. Here again the Ḥanafīs differ from the rest of the Sunnīs and allow the validity of agreement about an action when the action concerns the whole body of the Believers, as for example agreement about the prohibition of adultery or usurious sale.

The opinion of the community, whether silent, signalled by an act (or by an abstention), or stated in words, takes place in time. Since *idjmāʿ* is the juridical source which mitigates the interruption of revelation with the death of the Prophet and allows the formulation of solutions to new problems which might arise, it is conditioned by the passing of the various periods during which the consensus is formed. This conditioning process raises an important question: does the formation of the consensus require the disappearance of the generation or not? For the Mālikīs and the Ẓāhirīs this is no problem, but what about the Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs? According to al-Āmidī, his master al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, the Ashʿarīs and the Muʿtazilīs did not consider the extinction of the generation a necessary condition for the formation of *idjmāʿ*. For Ibn Ḥanbal, this formation is subject to the total disappearance of the generation (cf. al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, i, 367 ff.).

It follows from this that for the first group *idjmāʿ* is valid even if it is not unanimous and simply expresses the opinion of the majority (*idjmāʿ al-akthar*). As with the question whether the statements of the "Followers" should be taken into consideration, so the group which does not consider necessary the disappearance of the generation does take into consideration the statement of the Follower, if he had been a *mudjtahid* and had opposed the Companions before the latter had formed their *idjmāʿ*.

Al-Sarakhsī (*Uṣūl*, i, 315) refuses to place any importance on the disappearance of the generation. Given that the generations overlap and that it is impossible to distinguish the end of one from the beginning of the next, the statements of one generation cannot be rounded off without, in so doing, "finally closing the gate of *idjmāʿ*". Al-Ghazālī (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 121) to all intents and purposes had resolved the question by stating: "For *idjmāʿ* to be formed, it is enough that agreement should have taken place, even if only for an instant".

Rôle: The opinions of the jurists concerning the role played by *idjmāʿ* are varied. For some of them it could decide all religious questions. This is the opinion of al-Ghazālī. There are, however, religious questions which are not subject to a legal ruling and on which *idjmāʿ* cannot provide a decision, because they depend directly upon the revelation which provides the basis for *idjmāʿ*. Arguments based on *idjmāʿ* can only be used to demonstrate religious truths which do not themselves prove the legal validity of *idjmāʿ*, e.g., the statement that the vision of God in the next world is not spatial, or the denial of the existence of a second God.

For al-Djuwaynī *idjmāʿ* is agreement on a *ḥukm sharʿī*. In general, the opinion of the jurists is guided by this *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet: "You are better judges than I in temporal affairs, I am a better judge than you in what concerns your religion". Besides, it is agreed that an error in a temporal matter cannot incur the charge of impiety (*kufr*), but is simply considered as due to ignorance (*djahl*).

To sum up, the role of *idjmāʿ* is to decide in juridical questions of theory or practice concerning, in one way or another, the behaviour of the Believer, in so far as he is subject to the rules of conduct laid down by God and His Prophet. That is to say that *idjmāʿ* has a part to play as *dalīl sharʿī* in the field of *muʿāmalāt* [*q.v.*] but has no probative value in those of *ʿibādāt* or *iʿtiḳādāt*. These latter, indeed, provide the basis for *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās*, that *ḳiyās* which, together with *idjtihād*, is for the Ḥanafī a means to arrive at *idjmāʿ*, provided the *mudjtahid* possesses the moral guarantees demanded by *idjmāʿ*: integrity and honesty. For these, his mind must not be iniquitous (*fāsiḳ*) or blinded by the passion (*hawā*) which inspires pernicious doctrines (al-Bazdawī, *op. cit.*, iii, 957). However, *idjtihād* and *raʾy* are only required in special cases. In these cases, it falls to the *mudjtahid* to settle the affair, whilst when it is a question of *uṣūl al-dīn*, the ordinary Believer should be heard along with the *mudjtahid* (al-Bazdawī, *op. cit.*, iii, 959).

The Shāfiʿīs are more guarded for, al-Ghazālī says (*op. cit.*, i, 123), any solution given by means of *idjtihād* or *ḳiyās* is only a probable opinion and liable to error and divergence, which destroys the infallibility of the *Umma* and its unanimity. Besides, agreement cannot be reached through *ḳiyās* since, in their deliberations, the *mudjtahids* may adopt different principles. It is otherwise for the Muʿtazilīs; according to Abu'l-Ḥusayn, for example, *idjtihād* is the rational striving of the *mudjtahid* as an intelligent person (*ʿāḳil*), not the preserve of the recognized *mudjtahid* as such (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 489, 490-1; *Mughnī*, xvii, 224-8). This seems to have been the opinion of their master Wāṣil (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, i, 326) opposed by al-Āmidī (*wa-fīhi khilāf*).

From all this, then, it appears that the main principle is that of unanimity; *ḳiyās* and *idjtihād* are for the Sunnīs—with the exception of the Ẓāhirīs who allow only *dalīl*—an approach to *idjmāʿ*, provided that their conclusions are unanimous. *Idjmāʿ* is a source of truth only when it appears as the agreement of the statements of the whole community. The infallibility of the *Umma* resides in its unanimity.

With K. Fārūḳī and his followers contemporary Islam is in the process of seeking a theoretical justification for the calling into question of classical *idjmāʿ* (Hourani, 59-60); not innovation, but renewal of an obsolete idea which, to be effective, must be freed from the straitjacket of formal concepts in which it had been imprisoned by the discussions of the *mudjtahids* of the classical period.

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IDJTIHĀD (A.), literally "exerting oneself", is the technical term in Islamic law, first, for the use of individual reasoning in general and later, in a restricted meaning, for the use of the method of reasoning by analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]). The lawyer who is qualified to use it is called *mudjtahid*. Individual reasoning, both in its arbitrary and its systematically disciplined form, was freely used by the ancient schools of law, and it is often simply called *raʾy* [*q.v.*], "opinion, considered opinion". An older, narrower technical meaning of the term *idjtihād*, which has survived in the terminology of the school of Medina, is "technical estimate, discretion of the expert". It was left to Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] to reject the use of discretionary reasoning in religious law on principle, and to identify the legitimate function of *idjtihād* with the use of *ḳiyās*, the drawing of conclusions by the method of analogy, or systematic reasoning, from the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna* of the Prophet. This important innovation prevailed in the theory of Islamic law.

During the first two and a half centuries of Islam (or until about the middle of the ninth century A.D.), there was never any question of denying to any scholar or specialist of the sacred Law the right to find his own solutions to legal problems. It was only after the formative period of Islamic law had come to an end that the question of who was qualified to exercise *idjtihād* was raised. From about the middle of the 3rd/9th century the idea began to gain ground that only the great scholars of the past, and not the epigones, had the right to *idjtihād*. By the beginning of the fourth century (about A. D. 900), the point had been reached when the scholars of all schools felt that all essential questions had been thoroughly discussed and finally settled, and a consensus gradually established itself to the effect that from that time onwards no one might be deemed to have the necessary qualifications for independent reasoning in law, and that all future activity would have to be confined to the explanation, application, and, at the most, interpretation of the doctrine as it had been laid down once and for all. This "closing of the door of *idjtihād*", as it was called, amounted to the demand for *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], the unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of established schools and authorities. A person bound to practise *taḳlīd* is called *muḳallid*. See further Section II.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *Origins*, 6 n. 3, 99 f., 116, 127 f.; idem, *Introduction*, 37, 46, 53, 69 ff., and bibliography. (J. SCHACHT)

II. According to the classical doctrine of Islamic legal theory, *idjtihād* means exerting oneself to form an opinion (*ẓann*) in a case (*ḳaḍiyya*) or as to a rule (*ḥukm*) of law (*Lisān*, iv, 109, lines 19 ff.). This is done by applying analogy (*ḳiyās*) to the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*. The *mudjtahid* is one who by his own exertions forms his own opinion, being thus exactly opposed to the *muḳallid*, "imitator", who, as Subkī in his *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* says, "takes the saying of another without knowledge of its basis (*dalīl*)". For thus applying himself he would, according to a tradition from the Prophet, receive a reward even though his decision were wrong; while, if it was right, he received a double reward [see KHAṬAʾ]. The duty and right of *idjtihād* thus did not involve inerrancy. Its result was always *ẓann*, fallible opinion (cf. R. Brunschvig, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, i, Rome 1956, 61-82). Only the combined *idjtihād* of the whole Muslim people led to *idjmāʿ*, agreement, and was inerrant. On the controversy as to the possibility of error in *mudjtahids* see Taftāzānī on the *ʿAḳāʾid* of Nasafī, ed. Cairo 1321, 145 ff. But this broad *idjtihād* soon passed into the special *idjtihād* of those who had a peculiar right to form judgments and whose judgments should be followed by others. At this point, and from the nature of the case, a difference arose between theology (*kalām*) and law (*fiḳh*). Even to the present day many theologians assert that *taḳlīd* does not furnish a saving faith; see for example, the *Kifāyat al-ʿawāmm* of Faḍālī, *passim*, and the translation in D. B. Macdonald's *Development of Muslim theology*, 315-51. But all canon lawyers for centuries have admittedly been *muḳallids* of one degree or another. When later Islam looked back to the founding of the four legal schools (*madhāhib*), it assigned to the founders and to some of their contemporaries an *idjtihād* of the first rank. These had possessed a right to work out all questions from the very foundation [cf. UṢŪL], using Ḳurʾān, *sunna*, *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ*, *istiṣḥāb*, etc., and were *mudjtahids* absolutely (*muṭlaḳ*). Later came those who played the same part within the school (*fī 'l-madhhab*), determining the *furūʿ* as the masters had settled the broad principles (*uṣūl*) of *fiḳh* and had laid down fundamental texts (*nuṣūṣ*). If the view so stated was found implicitly in a *naṣṣ* of the founder of the *madhhab*, it was called a *wadjh*. Still later and inferior were those who had a right only by their knowledge of previous decisions to

answer specific questions submitted to them; these were called *mudjtahidūn bi 'l-fatwā*, "for giving legal opinions". All *mudjtahids* had been in a sense *muftīs*, givers of *fatwās*; but these were *muftīs* only. Such was the formal and generally accepted position. But from time to time individuals appeared who, moved either by ambition or by objection to recognized doctrines, returned to the earliest meaning of *idjtihād* and asserted the right to form their own opinion from first principles. One of these was Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328; cf. H. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de ... B. Taymīya*, Cairo 1939). Another was Ibn Rushd ([*q.v.*]; Averroes, the philosopher, d. 595/1198; cf. R. Brunschvig, in *Études ... Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, i, 41, 56-63). Another was Suyūṭī ([*q.v.*]; d. 911/1505), in whom the claim to *idjtihād* united with one to be the *mudjaddid*, or "renewer of religion", in his century. At every time there must exist at least one *mudjtahid*, was his contention (Goldziher, *Characteristik ... us-Sujūṭī's*, 19 ff.), just as in every century there must come a *mudjaddid*. Another, but a very heretical one, was the Emperor Akbar ([*q.v.*]; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 311). In Shīʿite Islam there are still absolute *mudjtahids*. This is because they are regarded as the spokesmen of the Hidden Imām (cf. C. Frank, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 171-92). Their position is thus quite different from that of the *ʿulamāʾ* among Sunnīs. They freely criticize and even control the actions of the Shāh, who is merely a *locum tenens* and preserver of order during the absence of the Hidden Imām, the ruler *de iure divino* (cf. J. Eliash and N. R. Keddie, both in *Studia Islamica*, xxix (1969)). But the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* are regarded universally as the subservient creatures of the government (Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 215-8, 233, 285).

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(D. B. Macdonald*)

III. The question of *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd* continued to be discussed by the Muslim scholars, particularly in the sub-continent of India. Inspired less by this discussion than, to a certain degree, by the doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya and of his disciples, there arose, from the 12th/18th century onwards, individuals and schools of thought who advocated a return to the pristine purity of Islam, such as the Salafiyya [*q.v.*], who may be called Reformers, and others, from the last decades of the 19th century onwards, who laid the emphasis on renovating Islam in the light of modern conditions, and who may be called Modernists [see iṣlāḥ]. Both tendencies reject traditional *taḳlīd* and some Modernists, in particular, combine this with extravagant claims to a new, free *idjtihād* which goes far beyond any that was practised in the formative period of Islamic law. But the recent reshaping of institutions of the *sharīʿa* by secular legislation in several Islamic countries takes its inspiration from modern constitutional and social ideas rather than from the essentially traditional problem of the legitimacy of *idjtihād* and *taḳlīd*. Whereas this problem has largely lost its relevance in the field of "civil" law, it has retained its full importance as far as the religious duties of Islam in the narrow meaning of the term, such as fasting, are concerned.

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(J. Schacht)

IDJTIMĀʿ [see istiḳbāl].

IḌMĀR is the infinitive of the verb *aḍmara/yuḍmiru*, "to conceal". The Arab grammarians use it when speaking about an unexpressed grammatical element, supposedly existent and active; it can thus be translated as "imply". The opposite is *iẓhār*, from the verb *aẓhara* "to reveal". A good example of the two is supplied by Ch. 50 of Sībawayhi. One can say (i, 107): *al-ṣabiyya al-ṣabiyya*, "the small boy, the small boy!" with *iḍmār* of a verb in the *djazm* requiring the *naṣb* of the substantive, or, with *iẓhār* of this verb: *lā tuwaṭṭiʾ al-ṣabiyya*, "do not tread on the small boy". This verb *aḍmara* is used thus in all the "tenses": perfective, inperfective, etc. (so too with *aẓhara*). The infinitive *iḍmār* is particularly to be noted; it appears in the title of 14 chapters of the *Kitāb*. Since Sībawayhi, this verb has formed part of the grammatical vocabulary, e.g.: al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2] (ed. Broch), *yantaṣib bi-an muḍmara* (§ 411), "is put into the *naṣb* by means of *an* understood". In this sense of "imply" *iḍmār* joins *taḳdīr*; but *taḳdīr*, as the instrument of a method—the system of *ḳiyās*—has a wider use; it extends as far as the admission of a supposition (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 7).

The verb *aḍmara*, in the *Kitāb*, has a particular use, derived from the sense of "to conceal", signifying: "express by a personal pronoun", e.g.: i, 344, line 13, for *aḍmara*; i, 190, lines 10-11, for *muḍmar*, *tuḍmir*. This use is continued, e.g.: *al-iḍmār ḳabl al-dhikr* (al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 18). In the *Kitāb*, *iḍmār* refers to the personal pronouns: *huwa*, *hiya*, etc. (i, 188, lines 1-2); by means of them "you conceal (*tuḍmir*) a noun", known beforehand to the listener (*ibid.*, lines 8-9). Sībawayhi also uses for this purpose: *ʿalāmat al-iḍmār*, "the sign of expression by means of personal pronouns", e.g.: the titles of chaps. 205, 210, 213. For the separate pronouns, the *ʿalāmat al-iḍmār* is said to be *ẓāhira*, "expressed"; for the affixed pronouns, *al-iḍmār* has no *ʿalāma ẓāhira* (i, 188, lines 4-8). He calls the demonstrative pronouns (i, 187, lines 22-3) *al-asmāʾ al-mubhama*.

Ibn al-Sarrādj (*al-Mūdjaz fi 'l-naḥw*, Beirut 1385/1965) refers to the personal pronouns as *al-maknī* (*al-makniyyāt*) (74); they are divided into: *muttaṣil* (affixed) and *munfaṣil* (separate). He does not omit *ḍamīr* (32) or *muḍmar* (55, 65), and he includes (76) in *al-mubhamāt* the demonstrative and the relative pronouns. The principal divisions had been established; but afterwards *al-muḍmar* was preferred to *al-maknī* (the Kūfan term, according to Ibn Hishām, *Sharḥ Shudhūr al-dhahab*, 147, ed. Maṭb. Muḥ. ʿAlī Ṣabīḥ). Al-Zamakhsharī says in the *Muf.*: *al-muḍmar* (*al-muḍmarāt*) (§ 160, 165) for the personal pronouns, and *al-mubham* (*al-mubhamāt, al-asmāʾ al-mubhama*) (§ § 159, 262, 293) for the *asmāʾ al-ishāra* (demonstrative pronouns) and *al-mawṣūlāt* (relative pronouns); *al-ḍamīr* is very frequently found as a synonym for *al-muḍmar* (personal pronoun) [see ḍamīr in *EI*[1]]. This is the usage of Ibn Mālik in the *Alfiyya*;

see the *Lexique grammatical* of A. Goguyer (*La Alfiyya d'Ibnu-Mālik*, Beirut 1888), 263 (for *al-ism al-mubham*), 297 (for *ḍamīr* and *muḍmar*). The modern grammar of R. al-Sh̲artūnī, *Mabādiʾ al-ʿarabiyya*, which still used *al-muḍmar* in § 60 (vol. for the 2nd year, Beirut 1904), now recognizes only *al-ḍamīr* (pl. *al-ḍamāʾir*) for the personal pronoun, in its 9th ed. (1961), vol. no. 4, which is at present in use in the Lebanon.

In prosody (*ʿarūḍ*), *iḍmār*, "to hide", has taken on a technical meaning: "*al-iḍmār* is the quiescence (*sukūn*) of the *tāʾ* of *mutafāʿilun* in the *Kāmil*" (*LA*, vi, 164, line 3/iv, 492b, line 11). This *mutfāʿilun* is called in the scansion of the *adj̲zāʾ*: *mustafʿilun*. The *ḥaraka* of the *tāʾ* is thought of as something concealed that can be made to reappear (*ibid.*, line 9/lines 22-3). As it is not a question of *ḥad̲h̲f* (suppression), but of *iḍmār* of the *ḥaraka*, it normally follows, according to the above-mentioned way of understanding *iḍmār* as "to conceal", that in recitation of the *Kāmil* this *mutfāʿilun* (*mustafʿilun*) should not be pronounced exactly like the *mustafʿilun* of the *Radj̲az* or the *Basīṭ*, but that one should have a means of making good the element of duration (the *mora*) lacking in *mutafāʿilun*, which has become *mutfāʿilun*, in order to maintain an adequate measure.

Bibliography in the text; see also W. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*³, i, 105 B and D. The *Lexique grammatical* of the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi, in preparation by G. Troupeau, will give details of the use of *iḍmār* in this work. (H. Fleisch)

IDOL, IDOLATRY [see ṢANAM, WAT̲H̲ANIYYA].

IDRĀK means, in general, sensory perception and then, more generally, comprehension (synonym of *fahm*), in Persian *dar-yāftan* (Tahānawī). The philosophical usage of the word often derives from any one of the etymological meanings of the root *DRK*, which connotes the idea of attaining, of a thing reaching its term or arriving at maturity, of re-joining, meeting, catching, grasping.

There occurs in a passage of the *Futūḥāt* of Ibn al-ʿArabī (Cairo ed., ii, 579) the participle *mudrak* in a context which demonstrates the force of the meaning which the root has in the language. It is necessary, by means of *tanzīh* (the negative way), to dissociate God from any possibility of His being *grasped* through premises: in fact no human action can attain and reach God; He cannot be the end of a process of thought which will thus bring about a real knowledge. The divine essence and human knowledge are on two different planes. But Ibn al-ʿArabī has in fact just stated (p. 578) that, in order for something to be known, there must be an adequation between the quality attributed to an object and the object which is thus described (*ḳiyām al-ṣifa bi ʾl-mawṣūf*). Consequently this adequation is a characteristic inherent in *idrāk*: the intelligence (and also, to a certain extent, the senses), in reaching its object, puts itself on the same level as it, on an equal footing with it; this is *adaequatio rei et intellectus*.

The whole philosophical problem of *idrāk* is to find out what this adequation is, how and where it is achieved. *Idrāk* is absolutely perfect in the case of the *mudrik li-d̲h̲ātihi*, which grasps itself intuitively. Apart from this case, states Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Mubāḥat̲h̲āt*, ed. ʿA. Badawī, in *Aristū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, i, 124), it depends on the degree of abstraction of the knowledge which it confers, since it involves a certain relation to that which is taken from it or to that which is attributed to it (*lahu iḍāfatu-mmā ilā mā yunzaʿu ʿanhu aw yulḳā ʿalayhi*). In fact *idrāk* is an attainment (*taḥṣīl*) or a "taking" (*ak̲h̲d̲h̲*) of the form of a thing. This form can be grasped without reference to matter and all its concomitants (*lawāḥiḳ*), the references (*ʿalāʾiḳ*) to matter being entirely withdrawn (*nazʿ*^{an} *kāmil*^{an}). On the other hand, in sensory knowledge, *idrāk*, although the grasp of matter in itself may be taken away from it, reaches the form together with its material concomitants and its references to matter. Thus we grasp not the idea of man, but the actual Zayd or ʿAmr. Form exists for the senses only when it is connected with an existing matter. Through the imagination (*k̲h̲ayāl*), form is even further divorced from matter, since it can be imagined in the complete absence of perceptible matter, without a relation of dependence between them (*ʿalāḳa*). However, the imagination does not detach form from the concomitants of matter since it grasps it only in its individuality: one does not imagine man in general, but always according to a particular definition of quantity, quanlity and position (*ʿalā taḳdīri-mmā wa takyīfi-mmā wa waḍʿi-mmā*). The estimative faculty (*wahm*) grasps a yet slightly more abstract form: it attains the idea which is in itself quite immaterial, but grasps it in so far as it appears accidentally in a material thing. Thus Aristotle said that man is seen in Callias. The imagination, which represents individual reality in the form of an image linked to the *lawāḥiḳ* of the matter, remains connected with *wahm* as does the image of Callias to the idea of man perceived in it. The *idrāk* in *wahm* is therefore very complex. At the highest point, on the other hand, the *idrāk* of the intelligence is simple, since it has to deal with a form which is either in itself separate from all matter, or else remains detached from matter and from all its concomitants.

Consequently, each faculty has its own *idrāk*. The grasp of the intellect is a perfect intuition in which that which is understood is immediately identified with the person who understands. Sensory apprehension, however, requires an instrument (*āla*), for example the eye, and sometimes an intermediary such as the air. It is not that *idrāk* uses this instrument or this intermediary to attain perceptible truth outside the soul, but that through them the senses receive a certain individual impression which transforms them and endows them with a certain conformity to that which is perceived. Thus *idrāk*, on the level of sensation, achieves an adequation in spite of the obstacle of perceptible matter, since that which perceives in actuality is similar to that which is perceived in actuality (*fa-yakūn al-ḥāss bi-ʾl-fiʿl mit̲h̲l al-maḥsūs bi ʾl-fiʿl*). *Idrāk* is thus, at this level, what is known as sensory intuition, and it prepares the way for the perfect spiritual grasp which is intellectual intuition.

In order to justify the possibility of an adequation of the knower and the known in sensory perception, Ibn Sīnā distinguishes the close (*ḳarīb*) perceptible, that is the modification of the percipient soul by the action which is exerted on it (*fa-inna ʾl-iḥsās infiʿālu-mmā wa-ʾstiḥāla ilā mus̲h̲ākalat al-maḥsūs bi ʾl-fiʿl*), and the distant (*baʿīd*) perceptible, which is outside (*k̲h̲āridj̲*) the soul, the form by which external things are "informed" and which corresponds to the form by which the soul is "informed" at the time the feeling takes place. He uses in both cases the same expression: *al-mutaṣawwar bi ʾl-ṣūra*. He points out, however, that the information in things occurs through a movement which engenders them or produces in them this or that attribute, by means of a change (*tag̲h̲ayyur*) which leads to a passing from

one opposite to another (for example, a cold body becomes warm), whereas the information which makes the soul aware of the perceptible form is not the result of a movement of this sort but is a perfecting of the soul (*istikmāl*), that is the making actual of a potential of the soul which does not cause it to pass, in its essence, from one opposite to another. Thus the soul grasps directly the perceptible forms, without these forms having to engender themselves in it from their opposites. "The result of this is that the soul feels itself and not the idea ... when we mean the most immediate act of perception, in which there is no intermediary" (*fa-hiya taḥissu dhātahā, lā'l-thaldj idhā ʿanaynā akrab al-iḥsās, alladhī lā wāsiṭata fīhi*). Consequently, even at the level of perception, *idrāk* has, according to this doctrine, a character of immediacy which confirms its intuitive value.

Al-Kindī, in his "Treatise on Definitions" (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. Abū Rida, Cairo 1950, i, 165, 167), had already defined the intellect (*ʿaḳl*), the imagination (*tawahhum, fanṭāsyā, takhayyul*) and perception as the faculties which "grasp" (*mudrika*) forms: "Perception is the existence (*inniyya* = Dasein) of the grasp (*idrāk*) by the soul of forms endowed with matter, in their matter (*ṣuwar dhawāt al-ṭīn fī ṭīnatihā*). It can be seen that the idea of *idrāk* is not yet developed as it is to be in Ibn Sīnā, cf. *Shifāʾ, al-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, vi, *ʿIlm al-Nafs*: this way of expressing it can lead one to infer that the sensory *idrāk* has the power of grasping forms in their matter itself, i.e. that it involves an intentionality which directs it outside. Ibn Sīnā regards *idrāk* as an action which remains within the soul, which ends in an affection of the soul and gives it a perfection (cf. the lexicographical meaning of "reaching its maturity"). It is the perceptible form in the soul which is intentional, the close form being turned towards the distant form; it is not *idrāk* itself. An intentional *idrāk* would express rather this other meaning of the root: "to rejoin, meet, overtake".

Al-Ghazālī, on the other hand, attributes to *idrāk* a dynamism which extends its scope to the things themselves. The heart (*ḳalb*) has, he says, three sorts of "expeditionary troops" (*djunūd*): the will, the motive power of the limbs of the body, and the third, which is "that which grasps things and informs itself of them, as spies do (*al-mudrik al-mutaʿarrif li'l-ashyāʾ ka'l-djawāsīs*)". These are the five senses. "These troops are spread (*mabthūtha*) throughout specific organs, and this is expressed by the terms learning (*ʿilm*) and *idrāk*" (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo, iii, 5). In fact al-Ghazālī conceives the feelings as linked to two fundamental vital functions: the acquisition of what is useful and the avoiding of what is harmful. Hence his military metaphors. The subjective side (the "close form" of Ibn Sīnā) in perception is thus completely directed towards an encounter with the things on the frontier of the body, and *idrāk* is no longer the grasp of something affecting the soul which reflects its external cause; it is the direct grasp of the nature of this cause in the form in which it manifests itself in the place where it is and whence it acts on the body. The form of an edible fruit is grasped neither in the soul nor in the eye, but on the tree so that one is able to go and pick it there. If the form is felt in the soul, one no longer has a cognitive sensation but the grasp of an affective state, pleasure (*ladhdha*) or pain (*alam*). From this point of view, *idrāk* is divided, at the sensory level, into what may be called on the one hand external, localized and cognitive perceptions, and on the other hand perceptions which are internal, non-localized or badly localized and affective.

This difference in the conception of *idrāk* arises from the fact that the *falāsifa* present it in relation to the degree of abstraction from what it grasps, in a hierarchy of knowledges which culminates in intuition of the intellect. On the other hand, al-Ghazālī, having a theologian's approach, considers primarily the concrete situation of conscious man in this world below (*dunyā*), a situation directed towards the religious values of *dīn*, according to a perspective in which true knowledge is more a means than an end.

Al-Tahānawī (Beirut ed., ii, 484) summarizes the question of *idrāk* in these terms: "For the philosophers (*ḥukamāʾ*), this word is synonymous with knowing, in the sense of a form which, deriving from a thing, presents itself to the intellect, without specifying whether this thing is abstract or material, particular or universal, present or absent, whether it is realized in the *mudrik* himself, or in an instrument. In this meaning, *idrāk* embraces four divisions: the act of perception (*iḥsās*), of imagining (*takhayyul*), of supposing (*tawahhum*) and of understanding (*taʿaḳḳul*). Some limit the word *idrāk* to the particular meaning of *iḥsās*, and it is then more particular than the word 'knowing' ...".

Finally, al-Tahānawī mentions that in the terminology of the Ṣūfīs *idrāk* is of two sorts: the *idrāk basīṭ* (simple), which is the grasp of the existence of God together with the forgetting both of this grasp and of the fact that it is the existence of God which is grasped (this is therefore *idrāk* in a state of ecstasy involving a total loss of consciousness of self); *idrāk murakkab* (composite) accompanied by the awareness of this grasp and of the fact that it is the existence of God which is grasped. It should be mentioned that the mystics do not speak, any more than the philosophers do, of a grasp of God's essence, which is impossible, but of a grasp of His existence. To the extent to which perception produces an awareness of the existence of a thing, this *idrāk murakkab* of the mystics would be analogous to a sensory knowledge. This recalls the question of the vision of God after death. Probably the eyes do not grasp it: *lā tudrikuh al-abṣār*, but there could occur a grasp without qualification which would therefore be reduced to a grasp of the existence [of God]. And indeed, some have claimed that although the colour black is visible, this is not because it is black in colour, but because it exists. Thus, although the existence is already the specific object of sensory vision, it is possible *a fortiori* to conceive of a non-sensory *idrāk* which would be a "vision" of the existence of God (on this question, cf. Fathalla Kholeif, *A study on Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and his controversies in Transoxiana*, Beirut 1966, 118 f. and p. 16 of the Arabic text).

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(R. Arnaldez)

IDRĀKĪ BĒGLĀRĪ, a native of Ṭhaṭṭa [*q.v.*], the old capital of lower Sind, belonged to the Arghūn tribe of Turkomans (cf. ʿAlī Shēr Ḳāniʿ, *Maḳālāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Karachi 1958, 80). No biographical details about him are available beyond the fact that 'Idrākī' was his poetical name. As to his *nisba* Bēglārī, it is not clear whether it was a surname or whether he adopted it on account of his close association with the Bēglār family of lower Sind. His patron, Shāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān (d. 1039/1621) b. Shāh Ḳāsim Khān-i Zamān, was well-known for his valour and literary accomplishments. A

nobleman of great influence during the days of the last independent ruler of Sind, Mirzā Ghāzī Bēg (d. 1021/1612), he composed poetry under the pen-name of Bēglār (cf. *The Persian poets of Sind*, 49). The Bēglārs, according to Idrākī himself (cf. *Bēglār-nāma*, 25), originally hailed from Samarḳand and claimed descent from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the grandson of the Prophet. As Idrākī was a Turkoman, he could not belong to the tribe of the Bēglārs. It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that Idrākī, considering himself a disciple in poetry of Shāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān, adopted this *nisba*, perhaps just to please and flatter his patron. He himself admits that praising the Amīr had always been his only profession and that he was "one of his retainers". It appears that Idrākī was a poor man of humble origin, possessing talent but lacking patronage. Circumstances appear to have compelled him to attach himself to the family of the Bēglārs as a "court poet" in order to make a living. This is why we find no details about his life; even his real name has not been recorded by any historian of Persian literature in Sind. It would be safe to say that it was at Naṣrpūr, the seat of the Bēglār family, that Idrākī lived most of his life and that he also died there. It is regrettable that while the graves of the Bēglār Amīrs have been preserved and even bear inscriptions, Idrākī's grave has not been traced so far—a further indication that he was not considered a socially important personnage.

His fame rests mainly on his two outstanding poetical works: (1) *Čanēsar-nāma* (Karachi 1956), a *mathnawī* (composed in 1010/1601-2) dealing with a romantic tale of Sind, in which Līlā, the consort of Čanēsar, a ruler of the Sūmrā dynasty, willingly agrees to let her rival Kawńrau, the unmarried daughter of a local landlord, pass a night with her husband, to be finally discarded by the royal prince as a faithless wife. Mīr Ṭāhir Muḥammad "Nisyānī" wrongly attributes the *Čanēsar-nāma* to Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭāhirī*, Hyderabad 1964, 36, 236). This raises the question: was Idrākī a hired poet and is this why we find no details about his life? (2) *Bēglār-nāma* (ed. Hyderabad (West Pakistan), printed but not yet published), a detailed account of the life and achievements of the father of Shāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Sulṭān, the author's patron, Khān-i Zamān Amīr Shāh Ḳāsim Khān b. Amīr Sayyid Ḳāsim Bēglār (d. 954/1547), a nobleman and military commander, who flourished during the reign of Mirzā Shāh Ḥusayn Arghūn [*q.v.*]. Amīr Shāh Ḳāsim himself was attached to the court of Mirzā ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān I (d. 980/1572), the founder of the Tarkhān dynasty of Sind. The book, apart from recounting the military achievements of Amīr Shāh Ḳāsim, also throws valuable side-lights on historical events in Sind, with particular reference to the Arghūns and the reigns of Mirzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān I and his successors. It was composed in 1017/1608-9 (cf. *Bēglār-nāma*, 262), when the Khān-i Zamān had reached the age of 70. He died two years later in 1019/1610-11. Later the author made some unimportant additions to the text referring to events up to 1034/1624.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IDRĪS, person mentioned twice in the Ḳurʾān (second Meccan period): XIX, 57/56-58/57, "And mention in the Book Idrīs; he was a true man (*ṣiddīḳ*), a Prophet. We raised him up to a high place", and XXI, 85-86, "And [make mention of] Ismāʿīl, Idrīs, Dhu 'l-Kifl—each was of the patient, and We admitted them into Our mercy; they were of the righteous" (tr. A. J. Arberry). Among the explanations suggested for this name, obviously foreign and adapted, like the name Iblīs [*q.v.*], to the pattern *ifʿīl*, may be mentioned that of Casanova (in *JA*, cciv, 358, followed by Torrey, *The Jewish foundation of Islam*, New York 1933, 72) which connects it with ʿEzra (under the Greek form Ἔσδρας), and that which considers it to be a corruption of Andreas and referring either to the apostle Andrew (T. Nöldeke, in *ZA*, xvii, 84 ff.) or to a person with the same name, the cook of Alexander the Great who achieved immortality by accident, according to the romance of Alexander (R. Hartmann, *ibid.*, xxiv, 314 ff.). In any case, the brief references in the Ḳurʾān have been sufficient for later Muslim legend, often filled out with material from apocryphal Biblical and Rabbinical sources, to identify him with characters in the Bible and the Apocrypha who ascended into Heaven: most frequently with Ḥanōkh (Enoch, Arabic spelling Akhnūkh), more rarely with Elijah (Ilyās) or al-Khiḍr (Khaḍir). On the other hand, as a result of the syncretism practised by the Hermetists, the astrologers and the alchemists, whose speculations are not easy to distinguish from one another and whose ideas tend to become identical, especially among the "Sabeans", Idrīs has been introduced into the genealogy of the "Hermes" (*Hirmis* [*q.v.*], pl. *Harāmisa*); this thread can be traced from Abū Maʿshar (*K. al-Ulūf*), whose sources have not yet been identified, to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, not to mention still later compilations. Similarly Idrīs has been credited with a number of wise sayings, and Muslim mystic thought, particularly that with a philosophico-theosophical tendency, gives him a place among its mythical illuminati; Ibn al-ʿArabī describes him as "the prophet of the philosophers"; a number of works were attributed to him (Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*] wrote a commentary on one, cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 599, no. 7170); he is credited also with various inventions, arts of divination like geomancy and *zāʾiradja* [*q.v.*], and with useful arts, particularly that of writing (which again connects him with Hermes and with the Babylonian god Nabū) and that of making garments (an attribute grafted by Balʿamī onto the Iranian myth of Gayōmarth); this reputation assured him a place among the patron saints of the craftsmen's guilds and the representative figures of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*].

Sunnī legend generally places Idrīs between Adam and Noah; it makes him the recipient of a number of revelations in the form of holy books (*ṣuḥuf*); it relates how he entered into Paradise while still alive, never to leave it again (this is an idea which, in the Jewish Aggada, is attached to the 3rd century Palestinian rabbi, Yehoshuʿa ben Levi); the Prophet is said to have met him during his ascension to Heaven. The Shīʿī legend concerning him (Ibn

Bābūya, d. 381/991) is a combination of Biblical stories of Elijah (I Kings XXI, XVII and XIX; II Kings I, 9-15, in this order) and of Elisha (II Kings VII) adapted to the theory of ghayba [q.v.].

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(G. Vajda)

IDRĪS I (al-Akbar) b. 'Abd Allāh, son of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī [q.v.], given the by-name al-Aṣghar in the 'Alid genealogies, and founder of the Idrīsid dynasty in the Maghrib. After the defeat and death of his nephew al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan at Fakhkh [q.v.], near Mecca, on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 169/11 June 786, Idrīs, who had fought on his side and had managed to escape the massacre, remained in hiding for some time, then, accompanied by a devoted freedman, Rāshid, reached Egypt. With the help of the head of the courier-service, Wāḍiḥ, a partisan of the 'Alids, he then succeeded in crossing Egypt and continuing his journey towards the Maghrib. He thus reached Tlemcen, then the province of Tangiers, where he finally settled at Walīla (Volubilis). Having entered the Maghrib in 170/786-7, he settled at Walīla under the protection of the chief of the Berber tribe of the Awraba, Abū Laylā Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, on 1 Rabī' I 172/9 August 788. This tribe, like a number of others in the province of Tangiers, professed Mu'tazilism. Six months after his arrival this chief had Idrīs proclaimed as ruling imām on Friday 4 Ramaḍān 172/5 February 789, by his own and allied tribes. Idrīs is then said to have founded Madīnat Fās, originally just a military camp, on the right bank of the wādī Fās. After many expeditions to impose his authority on the neighbouring tribes, the majority of them professing Christianity, Judaism or practising the cults of sun- or fire-worship, he returned to Walīla. He thus succeeded in consolidating his power over the valley of the Wargha and in forcing the tribes of the Tāmesnā and the Ghayyātha of Tāzā to respect its frontiers. It is certain that the expeditions to the Sūs al-Aḳṣā, to Māssa and to Tlemcen with which he is credited should be attributed to his son Idrīs II. He died at Walīla, poisoned, it is said, on the orders of Hārūn al-Rashīd, by a certain Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Djazarī, known as al-Shammākh, at the beginning of the year 175/May-June 791, after a reign of less than three years. He was buried in the ribāṭ built outside the town, on the site of the present mausoleum of Mawlāy Idrīs.

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(D. Eustache)

IDRĪS II (al-Aṣghar, or more correctly al-Azhar), b. Idrīs I. On his death, Idrīs I left a

concubine named Kanza, of the Berber tribe of the Nefza, who was seven months pregnant and gave birth at Walīla in Rabīʿ II 175/August 791 to a son, also named Idrīs. To distinguish them, the first was called al-Akbar and his son al-Aṣghar, or, as a hypocorism, al-Azhar. Rāshid (see preceding article) had persuaded the Berbers to wait for the birth of the child and, if it was a son, to proclaim him as imām. When this happened, Rāshid acted as regent and served the young prince as tutor and mentor. In 186/802, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab instigated the revolt of Bahlūl b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid among the Maṭghara and had Rāshid assassinated. The regency passed to Abū Khālid Yazīd b. Ilyās who, at the beginning of 187/803, had Idrīs II, then aged eleven, proclaimed imām in the mosque of Walīla. The young prince succeeded in making peace with the Aghlabid ruler. In 189/805, he welcomed some Arab supporters who came from Ifrīḳiya and from al-Andalus. Walīla then seemed too small for him, and Idrīs II's wish to become independent of the Berbers led him to seek a site on which to found another capital; in 190 and 191/806-7 he made some unsuccessful attempts. In 192/808, having executed Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, the chief of the Awraba, who was accused of having been in communication with the Aghlabid, he once again had allegiance sworn to him; he was now seventeen. Then, at the end of the year, he settled on the right bank of the wādī Fās, which was inhabited by some Zanāta, the Banū Izghaten, and where his father had founded the fortified military camp of Garwāwa, the beginnings of Madīnat Fās. He had the walls strengthened, then in 193/809 he moved to the left bank, where he had bought the land from the Banu 'l-Khayr, a fraction of the Zawāgha, in a place called al-Maḳarmada, and founded an eastern quarter, hence known as Ifrīḳiya and ʿUdwat al-Ḳarawiyyīn. At the beginning of 197/end of 812, he launched an expedition against the Maṣmūda of the High Atlas and seized Neffīs, then another against the Nefza of the country around Tlemcen. He remained for some time in this town, where he restored the mosque of Agādīr and had his name inscribed on the *minbar* (199/815). He entrusted the town and its province to his cousin, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh, and returned to Fās. At the end of 202/spring-summer 818, there arrived in Morocco a great number of *rabaḍiyya*, common people of Cordova expelled by al-Ḥakam I. Idrīs, wishing to end the Berber predominance in the right bank district, invited them to come and live there: this was to be the ʿUdwat al-Andalus. After many battles during his reign against the Barghawāṭa, the Khāridjī and pagan Berber tribes, Idrīs died as the result of an accident, at Fās or Walīla, in Djumāda II 213/September 828, at the age of 38, after an effective reign of 22 years. He was buried at Walīla, beside his father. It was not until the 9th/15th century, in Radjab 841/1437-8, that for reasons connected with the defence of Islam against the Christian invaders and the prestige of the holy town of Fās, founded by Idrīs, his body was removed and opportunely rediscovered there in the mosque of the Chorfa, where his tomb still remains the object of veneration by the Moroccans.

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IDRĪS, historian of Yemen [see AL-SHARĪF ABŪ MUḤAMMAD IDRĪS B. ʿALĪ].

IDRĪS B. AL-ḤASAN, Ismāʿīlī historian [see Supplement].

AL-**IDRĪSĪ**, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs al-ʿĀlī bi-amr Allāh, called also al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī because of his exalted lineage, owes his fame to a work of descriptive geography entitled *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fi 'khtirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, which was produced on the orders of Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, as a key to a large silver planisphere which the author himself had made. For this reason the work was also called *Kitāb Rudjār* (the Book of Roger) or *al-Kitāb al-Rudjārī*. According to information found at the end of the six complete manuscripts which have survived, the book was completed in 548/1154, and this is the only certain date known in the life of al-Idrīsī. Biographical notices on him are rather rare, and according to F. Pons Boigues this is to be explained by the fact that the Arab biographers considered al-Idrīsī to be a renegade, since he had lived at the court of a Christian king and written in praise of him in his work. Some western writers state that he was born at Ceuta in 493/1100 and that he studied at Cordova (hence the by-name al-Ḳurṭubī). He states in his book that he travelled a great deal in Spain and in North Africa. The circumstances with led him to settle in Sicily at the court of Roger II are not known, nor are the details of the last days of his life and of his death, which some state to have occurred in 560/1165.

The Sicilian Arab poet, Ibn Bashrūn (or Bishrūn), his contemporary, states that al-Idrīsī had written for William I another geographical work entitled *Rawḍ al-uns wa nuzhat al-nafs*, of which up to now no certain trace has been found. According to Reinaud and Rommel this information is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the content of the citations from al-Idrīsī given by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ in his *Taḳwīm* does not tally with the corresponding passages of the Book of Roger. It is worthy of note that Abu 'l-Fidāʾ refers to a work which he calls in his introduction *Kitāb al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī fi 'l-mamālik wa 'l-masālik*.

At the beginning of this century, J. Horovitz discovered in Istanbul the manuscript of a work by

al-Idrīsī entitled *Uns al-muhadj wa rawḍ al-furadj* or, according to another reference found at the end of the manuscript, *Rawḍ al-furadj wa nuzhat al-muhadj*. C. F. Seybold, in his article on al-Idrīsī in *EI*[1], states that this is a summary of al-Idrīsī's second geographical work written for William I, whereas J. H. Kramers thought that it was an extract from the "great Idrīsī" written in 588/1192 and rewritten a century later, since it contains the addition of a brief description of an eighth climatic zone south of the Equator and a reference to the author Ibn Saʿīd, who was alive *circa* 670/1270. This abridgement is known usually as the "little Idrīsī", the name given to it by K. Miller, and later adopted generally.

In addition to the complete text of the Book of Roger there exists an abbreviated text in which here and there sections have been cut, apparently without any precise motive. The fact that this text has been thus abbreviated has made it difficult to evaluate: to give only a few examples, it has been called in turn "estratto spoglio" (Schiaparelli), "résumé superficiel" (Seybold), "incomplete abridgement" (Kramers) and "extraits maigres" (Lelewel). This abridgement, which was included among the first secular Arabic works printed by the Medici press in Rome [see MAṬBAʿA] in 1592, has the title *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī dhikr al-amṣār wa 'l-aḳṭār wa 'l-buldān wa 'l-djuzur wa 'l-madāyin wa 'l-āfāḳ*. This Medici edition was translated into Italian in 1600 by the Italian polygraph B. Baldi, this unpublished translation being now in the University of Montpellier, and into Latin in 1619 by the Maronites Gabriel Sionita and Joannes Hesronita. This Latin translation was published in Paris with the title *Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio continens praesertim exactam universiae Asiae et Africae, rerumque in iis hactenus incognitarum explicationem*. The manuscripts of this abridgement do not mention the author, which is why a copyist's error in transcribing *arḍunā* ("our country") instead of *arḍuhā* in a passage on Nubia led to the work's being attributed simply to a "Nubian". Many studies have been published based on various parts of the Medici text.

Of the Book of Roger there exist two abridgements. The first, entitled *Djany al-azhār min al-rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, discovered in Cairo in 1893 by Vollers, was abridged by a certain Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maḳrīzī. The fact that he had the same name as the historian al-Maḳrīzī caused this manuscript to be erroneously attributed to the historian; it was for a long time thought to be an abbreviation of a geographical encyclopaedia entitled *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aḳṭār* compiled by Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyārī [*q.v.*]. The second abridgement of the Book of Roger, whose author, an Arabic-speaking Armenian, named it simply *Kitāb al-djughrafiya* (sic!) *al-kulliyya ay ṣūrat al-arḍ*, was discovered at the beginning of this century by E. Griffini in a private collection in Tunis.

The maps (some of them in colour) which illustrate the text and which are found in a certain number of manuscripts as well as in the Istanbul manuscript of the "little Idrīsī" are of especial interest. There is, in general, one for each section of the seven climatic zones, plus a planisphere in the introductory chapter. The majority have been published by K. Miller in his *Mappae arabicae*.

The critical edition of the Book of Roger, which has been hoped for since the end of the 18th century, is now finally being undertaken by an international group of scholars, each dealing with the part on which he is a specialist, under the auspices of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio e l'Estremo Oriente at Rome and under the direction of a committee consisting of G. Tucci, E. Cerulli, †G. Levi Della Vida, F. Gabrieli, L. Veccia Vaglieri, A. Bombaci and L. Petech. An editorial committee is based at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples.

There should also be mentioned a second original work which is attributed to al-Idrīsī: a treatise on simples entitled *Kitāb al-Djāmiʿ li-ashtāt al-nabāt* or *Kitāb al-Mufradāt* or *Kitāb al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, the manuscript of which was discovered in 1928 by H. Ritter in the Fatih library in Istanbul. Although the manuscript is incomplete and has many lacunae, the importance of this work, which is often mentioned by Ibn al-Bayṭār and which was thought to be lost, has been demonstrated by M. Meyerhof, who states that al-Idrīsī succeeds in giving synonyms for each drug in a great number of languages, sometimes as many as twelve.

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See also DJUGHRĀFIYĀ, at p.584a. (G. OMAN)

IDRĪSIDS (ADĀRISA), Moroccan dynasty of descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, founded in 172/789 by Idrīs I [*q.v.*], who was succeeded by his son, Idrīs II [*q.v.*]. The decadence of the dynasty was to commence with the latter's death. He left twelve sons: Muḥammad, Aḥmad, ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿĪsā, Idrīs, Djaʿfar, Ḥamza, Yaḥyā, ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ḳāsim, Dāwūd, ʿUmar. His eldest son, Muḥammad (no. 3 in the table), succeeded him and, on the advice of his grandmother Kanza, divided the kingdom among the eldest of his brothers, he himself retaining the capital of Fās. Al-Ḳāsim received Ṭandja and its dependencies, including the town of al-Baṣra; ʿUmar received the countries of the Ṣinhādja and of the Ghumāra of the Rif; Dāwūd the country of the Hawwāra, to the east of Tāzā; Yaḥyā, Dāy and its dependencies; ʿĪsā, Wazekkūr and the northern Tāmesnā, with Salā (Shālla); Ḥamza, al-Awdiya, the territory of Walīla; ʿUbayd Allāh, the south with the country of the Lamṭa and its dependencies. The other princes who were too young to rule remained under the tutelage of their eldest brother and of their grandmother. At the same time, Tlemcen (Agādīr) remained the fief of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the cousin of Idrīs II.

This division immediately produced rivalries. ʿĪsā, ruler of Wazekkūr, revolted against Muḥammad, who appealed to his brother al-Ḳāsim, ruler of Ṭandja, to go and punish the rebel. Meeting with a refusal, he entrusted the task to ʿUmar, ruler of the Rif, who attacked Wazekkūr and drove out ʿĪsā, who was forced to take refuge in Salā. ʿUmar then marched on Ṭandja to punish the insubordination of al-Ḳāsim; the latter, defeated, had to flee towards Aẓayla (Arzila), near which he settled. As a reward, ʿUmar was given the governorship of Ṭandja and ruled over his own domain and that of his brother until his death, at Fadjdj al-Faras in the country of the Ṣinhādja, in Shawwāl 220/September-October 835. His body was transported to Fās for burial. On Muḥammad's orders, his apanage passed to his son ʿAlī b. ʿUmar.

Muḥammad survived his brother by only seven months and, after a reign of over eight years, died, in Rabīʿ II 221/March-April 836, at Fās and was buried there. He had appointed to succeed him his son ʿAlī (no. 4), aged nine years. The Awraba and the Berber coalition swore an oath of allegiance to him, and the chiefs of the tribes acted as regents until he came of age. He was endowed with great qualities and succeeded in organizing the country, pacifying it and ensuring the stability of the state. He reigned at Fās for thirteen years and died in Radjab 234/January 849.

He was succeeded by his brother Yaḥyā (no. 5), during whose peaceful reign there came to settle in Fās many immigrants from al-Andalus and Ifrīḳiya. The town, which soon became too small for its population, was to have many new buildings added, in particular the two great mosques of Fās, that of the Ḳarawiyyīn and that of al-Andalus, both founded in 245/859. Yaḥyā died in 249/863 and was succeeded by his son, Yaḥyā II (no. 6), who showed no aptitude for rule and proceeded to share out his domain yet again: the Banū ʿUmar retained their territory, but Dāwūd added a great deal to his, to the east of Fās, where he had for some time occupied the right bank when engaged in fighting his great-nephew; the family of al-Ḳāsim received the west side of Fās together with the government of the territories of the Luwāta and Kutāma tribes; Ḥusayn, Yaḥyā's maternal uncle, received the territory to the south of Fās,

up to the Atlas mountains. Yaḥyā led a dissolute life and was forced, as the result of a scandal, to flee from his palace and take refuge in the district of the Andalusians, where he died in 252/866, the circumstances of his death being unknown. He had married a daughter of his cousin ʿAlī b. ʿUmar (no. 7), ruler of the Ghumāra, and when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sahl al-Djudhamī, a powerful citizen of Fās, took advantage of the general discontent to seize the power for himself, Yaḥyā's widow appealed for help to her father, who seized the quarter of the Ḳarawiyyīn and restored order. Thus the power passed from the family of Muḥammad to that of ʿUmar. During ʿAlī b. ʿUmar's reign a Ṣufrī Khāridjī, ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, revolted in the mountain district of Madyūna to the south of Fās. After several battles, ʿAlī was defeated and forced to leave the town to take refuge with the Awraba. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ occupied the Andalusian quarter, but the quarter of the Ḳarawiyyīn refused to submit to him and summoned as ruler Yaḥyā (III) b. al-Ḳāsim (no. 8), named al-Miḳdām.

With this prince the power changed again to another family. He succeeded in taking the Andalusian quarter, from which the usurper fled; he reigned for a long period over the whole kingdom and fought against the Ṣufrīs. He was killed in 292/905, during a battle, by Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān, a general of Yaḥyā b. Idrīs b. ʿUmar (no. 9).

The civil war then became complicated by threats from outside: the kingdom was attacked by the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya. Yaḥyā IV was defeated by the Fāṭimid general Maṣāla b. Ḥabūs in 305/917 and was forced to recognize the sovereignty of the Mahdī and to pay him tribute. He retained the governorship of Fās and its province, and that of the remainder of the country was given to Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, chief of the Miknāsa and cousin of the general. Yaḥyā was thus thwarting the ambition of the Zanātī to dominate the whole country, and Maṣāla, arriving a second time in 307/919-20 and being warned against Yaḥyā by Mūsā, took him prisoner and deposed him. He then fell into the hands of his enemy and had to go into exile at Aẓayla. Maṣāla immediately appointed a governor at Fās and then departed, leaving the country to be ruled by the Zanāta. In 313/925, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim (no. 10), named al-Ḥadjdjām, revolted, defeated Mūsā and succeeded in taking Fās; but two years later, in 315/927, through the treachery of the governor of Fās, he fell into the hands of Mūsā and was killed.

Having become the sole ruler of the western Maghrib, Mūsā pursued the Idrīsids as far as their fortress at Ḥadjar al-Naṣr in 317/929, and then threw off the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph at the instigation of the Umayyad ruler of Spain who, after seizing Malīla in 314/927, had just taken Sabta (Ceuta) in 319/931. The Fāṭimid caliph then sent his general Ḥumayd b. Yaṣāl, and Mūsā was defeated. The Idrīsid family took advantage of this to raise the siege of their fortress and to destroy the Zanāta troops. Once the Fāṭimid forces had left, however, Mūsā once again recognized the suzerainty of the Umayyad caliph and, this time, the Fāṭimid general Maysūr, who was sent to punish him, put him to flight and the Idrīsids pursued him until he was killed. The Idrīsids then established themselves in the Rif and in the north-west of the country, where they ruled, sometimes acknowledging as suzerain the Umayyad caliph, and sometimes the Fāṭimid. Al-Ḳāsim Gannūn (no. 11) ruled in the name of the latter until 337/948-9. His son, Abu 'l-ʿAysh Aḥmad (no. 12), ruled in the name of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir, but refused to give up Ṭandja to him; he was besieged in the town and obliged to withdraw, and the country was occupied by the Umayyads, Abu 'l-ʿAysh retaining only the regions of al-Baṣra and Aẓayla. He then gave up the power to his brother al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn (no. 13) and set off to take part in the Holy War in Spain.

In 347/958, the Fāṭimid general Djawhar arrived to fight against the Umayyads, conquered them and subjugated the whole country. The Idrīsid prince was forced again to recognize the authority of the Fāṭimid caliph. The Umayyads, after first suffering a defeat in 362/972, sent the general Ghālib to lay siege to the Idrīsids at Ḥadjar al-Naṣr. Al-Ḥasan, forced to surrender in 363/974, was taken to Cordova. Ghālib then expelled all the Idrīsids from their territories and took them or their sons as hostages to the Andalusian capital. Next, in 368/979, Buluggīn b. Zīrī came from Ifrīḳiya to conquer the western Maghrib, defeating the Umayyads and imposing Fāṭimid suzerainty on the country. In the meantime, al-Ḥasan, who had at first been made welcome, was banished from Cordova, and took refuge in Egypt. Several years later he returned, with Fāṭimid sup-

THE IDRĪSID DYNASTY

1.	Idrīs I b. ʿAbd Allāh	172/789	to 175/791
	[Rāshid, regent	175/791	to 186/802]
	[Abū Khālid Yazīd, regent	186/802	to 192/808]
2.	Idrīs II b. Idrīs I	192/808	to 213/828
3.	Muḥammad b. Idrīs II	213/828	to 221/836
4.	ʿAlī b. Muḥammad	221/836	to 234/849
5.	Yaḥyā I b. Muḥammad	234/849	to 249/863
6.	Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā	249/863	to 252/866
7.	ʿAlī II b. ʿUmar	252/866	to ?
8.	Yaḥyā III b. al-Ḳāsim	?	to 292/905
9.	Yaḥyā IV b. Idrīs b. ʿUmar	292/905	to 307/919-20
	[Fāṭimid governor, Mūsā b. ʿAbi 'l-ʿĀfiya]		
10.	al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadjdjām b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḳāsim	313/925	to 315/927
	[Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya]		
11.	al-Ḳāsim Gannūn b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḳāsim	326/937-8	to 337/948-9
12.	Abu 'l-ʿAysh Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn	337/948-9	to 343/954-5
13.	al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim Gannūn	343/954-5	to 363/974 and 375/985

port, in order to seize power once again. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Umayyad general sent by al-Manṣūr, then assassinated on the road to Cordova in 375/985. Thus, after more than two centuries, the Idrīsid dynasty died out. Later, a branch descended from the Banū ʿUmar succeeded in establishing at Malaga a kingdom which lasted for slightly more than twenty years [see ḤAMMŪDIDS]. In Morocco today there exists a large number of s̲h̲arīfs descended from the Idrīsids [see S̲H̲URAFĀʾ].

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 357-9 (tr. Wiet, 223-6); Ibn Ḥazm, *D̲j̲amhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 43-4; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, 118-32/231-56; anon., *al-Istibṣār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 194-6 (tr. Fagnan, 149-55); Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, i, 82-4, 210-4, 235 f. (tr. Fagnan, i, 96-9, 303-10, 344 f.); Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*, lith. Fez n.d., 4-63 (tr. Beaumier, 9-130); Yaḥyā Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Bug̲h̲yat al-ruwwād*, ed. and tr. Bel, i, 79-83/101-10; D̲j̲aznāʾī, *Zahrat al-ās*, ed. and tr. Bel, 7-23, 34 f., 84 f./27-61, 84 f., 169 f.; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. and tr. de Slane, iv, 14-18/ii, 559-71; Nāṣirī Salawī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, i, 133-88 (tr. Graulle, 1-79); Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, lith. Fez 1314, ii, 11-15; Muḥammad Ibn D̲j̲aʿfar al-Kattānī, *al-Azhār al-ʿāṭira*, lith. Fez 1324, 185-94; *D̲j̲amʿ tawārīk̲h̲ Madīnat Fās*, ed. Cusa, 4-13; Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ii, Espagne et Afrique, 371-95; Fournel, *Berbers*, i, 496-504; ii, 13-21, 154-9, 219-20, 286-8, 293-5, 299-303, 325-6, 363-5; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane*, 116-26; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, i, 107-28.

(D. EUSTACHE)

IDRĪSIYYA [see ṬARĪḲA].

IḌṬIRĀR, "compulsion, coercion", as opposed to *ik̲h̲tiyār*, "freedom of choice". Although the term itself, in its *maṣdar* form, does not belong to the language of the Ḳurʾān, the verbal use of the VIIIth form is of relatively frequent occurrence there. The idea is that of an absolute necessity (*ḍarūra*), by means of physical (secondarily moral) compulsion.

I.—*Iḍṭirār* takes on its technical sense in connexion with the theory of human actions. It thus belongs to the vocabulary of the "science of *kalām*" (the "theology" or rather the "defensive apologia" of Islam). It makes its appearance quite early: in the résumés of the thought of His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam, the S̲h̲īʿī (Rāfiḍī), discussed by the Muʿtazilī schools. His̲h̲ām b. al-Ḥakam distinguishes human actions carried out under compulsion (*iḍṭirār*) and those carried out of "free choice" (*ik̲h̲tiyār*); the latter are not "compulsory", but "voluntary" and the results of an "acquisition" (*iktisāb*). This last idea, accepted by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr and his school (called *ahl al-it̲h̲bāt*, "people of the firm proof", by al-As̲h̲ʿarī), prefigures the As̲h̲ʿarite *kasb* or *iktisāb*. In the present state of our knowledge of the texts it is difficult to state whether it originates, as the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. Cairo 1369/1950, i, 110) says, in the vocabulary of His̲h̲ām, or that of Ḍirār, when he summarizes and discusses him. In the same way, one cannot say with certainty whether or not His̲h̲ām influenced Ḍirār (or they influenced one another) in the technical use of *iḍṭirār* as the "opposite correlative" (*muḳābal*) of *ik̲h̲tiyār*. In any case, we find the pair *iḍṭirār-ik̲h̲tiyār* among the Muʿtazilīs of Bag̲h̲dād, especially in D̲j̲aʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850-1); whereas Burg̲h̲ūt̲h̲, the disciple of the Baṣran Ḍirār, preferred to use *ṭawʿ* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 91 and 98). Strictly speaking, the Muʿtazilīs call man "the creator of his actions" only if he acts of "free choice".

The As̲h̲ʿarite reform takes over the vocabulary and adapts it to its own theories. The *Lumaʿ* of al-As̲h̲ʿarī (text and English trans. *ap.* R. J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-As̲h̲ʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 39/57 and 41-42/58-60) sets out to prove that all human actions are directly created by God, those produced by an acquired motion (*ḥarakat al-iktisāb*) as well as those produced by a compulsory motion (*ḥarakat al-iḍṭirār*). The system of reference here is thus no longer *iḍṭirār-ik̲h̲tiyār*, but rather *iḍṭirār-iktisāb*. Al-As̲h̲ʿarī states that the two ideas differ in that *iḍṭirār* has as its basis necessity (*ḍarūra*) and *iktisāb* has as its basis acquisition or attribution (*kasb*), which is not necessary. But their relationship with the creative power of God is the same (*ibid.*, 42/60). Al-Bāḳillānī deals with a very similar problem in his chapter on the "ability to act" (*istiṭāʿa*), in connexion with the agent who is "compelled (*muḍṭarr*) to act" (*Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 293).

In one of his best analyses of human action (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, ed. Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 219-20), al-G̲h̲azālī distinguishes three kinds of actions: natural (cleaving water with one's body), voluntary (breathing), chosen (*ik̲h̲tiyārī*) (writing). The first is necessary (*ḍarūrī*) in the strict sense, in that it cannot not take place; it comes about *bi-'l-iḍṭirār*. But all three are alike, he says (*ibid.*, 219), with respect to the actual nature (*ḥaḳīḳa*) of the compulsion (*iḍṭirār*) or the coercion or obligation (*d̲j̲abr*) that determines them. Al-G̲h̲azālī's conclusion, in fact, in conformity with the As̲h̲ʿarite system but following a more highly developed psychological analysis, is that, even in the case of "chosen" action, the decision of the will necessarily follows the judgment of the intellect, and that, accordingly, man is "compelled to free choice", *mad̲j̲būr ʿala 'l-ik̲h̲tiyār* (*ibid.*, 220). A "natural" action occurring through *iḍṭirār* is purely determined; divine action is itself purely free; human actions are in an "intermediate position", compelled to free choice. This is why the "people of the truth" (*ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*) defined "free" actions of man by means of acquisition (*kasb*).

In conclusion: in later As̲h̲ʿarite *kalām* the term *iḍṭirār* is reserved rather for an action that, of itself, cannot not take place. If human "free choice", which is only "acquisition", also remains without true ontological freedom, and is thus "compulsory", this is in a different sense: it is then called *mad̲j̲būr*. That which is known in Western philosophy as "determinism" should, on the whole, be rendered as *d̲j̲abr* or *ḍarūra* (this latter word is common in the vocabulary of *falsafa*).

II.—Another use of *iḍṭirār* ("opposite correlative": *iktisāb*) is found, in an analogical sense, in the study of the different kinds of knowledge. In this way, G̲h̲aylān already distinguished between necessary (*ḍarūrī* or *iḍṭirārī*) knowledge, which asserts directly and compulsorily on the mind, and acquired (*iktisābī*) knowledge (see W. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, 41-2, 132 and ref.). We find the same distinction in the As̲h̲ʿarite school, *e.g.*, al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, 7-8. Necessary (*ḍarūrī*) knowledge is that which every man is compelled to admit, such, says al-Bāḳillānī, is the sense of *iḍṭirār*. In the classic theme of the "channels (or "sources") of knowledge" (*asbāb al-ʿilm*) the idea of "necessary knowledge" is regularly rendered by *ḍarūrī*.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

AL-ʿIFĀR (sometimes given in Western sources as ʿAFAR), a small tribe in Oman in eastern Arabia.

The *nisba* is ʿIfārī. The tribesmen, who are nomads, range through the *sayḥ* or steppe east of the south-eastern corner of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī. One of the landmarks in this district is Ḳārat al-Kibrīt (the Sulphur Hill). West of the hill is Wādī al-ʿUmayrī, one of a number of valleys which run down to the quicksands of Umm al-Samīm [*q.v.*]. North of al-ʿIfār is the tribe of al-Durūʿ [*q.v.*], while to the east are sections of al-Djanaba [*q.v.*] and the tribes of Āl Wahība [*q.v.*] and al-Ḥikmān. Other sections of al-Djanaba and the tribe of al-Ḥarāsīs [*q.v.*] border on al-ʿIfār to the south.

The tradition of al-ʿIfār holds that the tribal ancestress was ʿAfrāʾ (a name still used in Arabia for a dust-coloured she-camel), a sister of ʿĀmir and Kathīr. ʿAfrāʾ, who had no husband, was got with child by an *ʿāfūr* (a sand devil, with no doubt an echo of *ʿifrīt*). ʿĀmir was bent on killing his wayward sister, but Kathīr intervened to save her, and she gave birth to a son who was named ʿIfār. This tradition points to a blood relationship between al-ʿIfār and the tribes of al-ʿAwāmir [*q.v.*] and Bayt Kathīr, the latter of which is the dominant tribe in the hinterland of the region of Ẓufār [*q.v.*] to the southwest of the range of al-ʿIfār. The people of al-ʿIfār believe that their forebears came from Ḥabarūt in western Ẓufār.

The three main sections of al-ʿIfār are Bayt Ḥamūda, al-Mazāniwa (pronounced *mzānwa*, with the singular Muzayniwī), and al-Maḥāḳiḳa (pronounced *mḥāgga*, with the singular Muḥayḳiḳī). The members of the tribe belong to the Hināwī (Southern Arab) faction in Oman, but they enjoy the special privilege of being allowed to travel unmolested, along with anyone accompanying them, in Ghāfirī (Northern Arab) territory. The tribesmen of al-ʿIfār, like their neighbours of al-Djanaba and al-Ḥarāsīs, call themselves Sunnīs. Other powerful neighbours, such as Āl Wahība and al-Durūʿ, are Ibāḍīs or mainly so.

Bibliography: Interviews with members of al-ʿIfār, supplemented by brief references in Admiralty, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; G. Rentz, etc., *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952; W. Thesiger, *Arabian sands*, London 1959. (G. RENTZ)

IFLĀḲ [see EFLĀḲ].

AL-IFLĪLĪ [see IBN AL-IFLĪLĪ].

IFNI, formerly called Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, a former Spanish enclave, about 600 square miles in area, on the coast of southern Morocco, situated between 28° 54′ 3″ and 29° 38′ 10″ N. Spanish rights in the area, where Spain held a trading post from about 1476-1524, were based upon the treaty of Tetuan (1860). They were recognised by France in 1912, but actual occupation was not affected until 1934. Its capital, Sidi Ifni, was formerly the seat of a single centralized administration for *Africa Occidental Española*, but in January 1958, following the repulse, in the previous November, of an invasion by Moroccan irregulars, it became a separate province from Spanish Sahara, each having its own military governor. Ifni is semi-desert in the south and its undeveloped resources are insufficient to maintain its population of about 40,000. With no significant exports, it was an economic liability to Spain and entirely dependent upon Morocco, where nearly half the male population found work as migrant labour. There has been no effective Hispanization. Claims to the territory advanced since 1958 by Morocco appear to have been supported by the leaders of the indigenous population, the seven tribes of the predominantly sedentary, Berber-speaking, Ait Ba-Amran. In December 1965, a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly called upon Spain to accelerate the decolonization of Ifni. Further pressure followed. Agreement between the Spanish and Moroccan governments for the transfer of sovereignty to Morocco was reached in January 1969.

Bibliography: T. Garcia Figueras, *Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña-Ifni-Sahara*, Madrid 1941; J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Saharinos*, Madrid 1955; N. Barbour, *Survey of North-West Africa*, London 1959; R. Pelissier, *Les territoires espagnoles d'Afrique*, Paris 1963. (D. H. JONES)

IFOGHAS, confederation of Touareg tribes consisting of about 17,000 persons who live in the southern Sahara between latitudes 17° and 21° N. at the north-east extremity of the republic of Mali. They inhabit the fairly low mountains of the Adrar [*q.v.*] and especially its valleys and its surrounding depressions. The Adrar is a dense massif, of crystalline and granitic rocks, less than 1.000 metres high, which slopes to the west and is bordered to the west and the south by small sandstone plateaus. The wādīs flow almost every summer during the rainy season (136 mm. at Kidal) and sometimes join the Tilemsi to the west. The valleys and depressions are fairly rich in vegetation (acacias, tamarisks and tropical types of plant); the water there is fairly shallow and the pasturage relatively rich.

The region was probably at first inhabited by Songhaï negroes, to whom are attributed the ruins of some villages. It is then thought to have been for a long time disputed between the Touareg, the Moors and the Songhaï. The Touareg Ifoghas became and remained masters of the country, which was an important crossroad of caravan routes to the Niger (Gao), Agadès, the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, particularly Touat.

The Ifoghas, like the other Touareg, are fair-skinned, speaking *Tamahaḳḳ* (a Berber dialect) and are nomadic shepherds and caravaneers. They are however less poor than the Touareg of the north (Ahaggar and Azdjer); their line of descent is not through the women and their social structure is somewhat different: they have neither "warriors" nor slave tribes. They travel in small groups with their goatskin tents and their sheep and goats over fairly short distances, entrusting most of their camels, which travel farther afield, to keepers. In spite of the advent of lorries, they still trade by caravan with the oases of Touat and Tidikelt, from which they obtain dates, and increasingly with the Sahel area, whence they obtain millet and rice. Their only fixed points are the very small palm-grove of Tessalit, in the north-west, and the administrative centre of Kidal in the south; Kidal is the only market, its stall-holders being Mzābīs and "Arabs" from the north.

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IFRĀGHA (or AFRĀGHA), the Arabic form of Fraga, name of a small town (pop. *ca.* 9000) in NE Spain 30 kms WSW of Lérida. The old part of the town is situated on the steep left bank of the R. Cinca some 18 kms above its confluence with the Ebro. Practically no traces of Muslim rule survive.

Fraga fell into Arab hands presumably when Mūsā

b. Nuṣayr took Saragossa in 96/714. Thereafter it may be assumed to have shared the fortunes of Saragossa, being rarely mentioned by name in the histories. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century it was still nominally in Almoravid territory under the governorship of Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya [see GHĀNIYA, Banū]. In 528/1134 Alfonso I "the Battler" (who had already taken Saragossa in 512/1118) tried to take Fraga but was soundly beaten by Yaḥyā. In 543/1149 the town was seized by Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona, and Muslim rule there came to an end.

Idrīsī places Fraga with Jaca, Lérida, and Mequinenza in the province of Zaytūn, a name which he applies also, as does al-Ḥimyarī, to the Cinca. Al-Ḥimyarī also gives a few details on the battle in 528/1134. Yāḳūt gives correctly the date of the fall of Fraga to the Catalans but his short entry is otherwise a singular concentration of errors. Ḳazwīnī describes the warren of tunnels in which the inhabitants took refuge in time of trouble.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *al-Maghrib*, 176, tr. 211, 190, tr. 231; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, no. 20; Yāḳūt s.v.; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, s.v. Farāgha; Codera, *Decadencia*, 111 ff. (J. F. P. HOPKINS)

BANŪ **ĪFRAN** (or IFRAN, IFRĀN, UFRĀN ŪFRĀN etc.). the most important branch of the large Berber tribe of the Zenāta (Zanāta [*q.v.*]). According to the writings, now lost, of three Berber genealogists used by Ibn Khaldūn, namely Sābiḳ b. Sulaymān al-Maṭmāṭī, Hanīʾ b. Masdūr al-Kūmī and Kaḥlān b. Abī Luwā, the Banū Īfran are descended from Iṣlitan (also Yaṣlitan), son of Misrā, son of Zākiyā, son of Wardīran (or of Warshīk), son of Adīdat. According to the same tradition, Zākiyā was the brother of Dammar (Demmer), the eponymous ancestor of the Berber tribe of that name, while the sister-tribes of the Banū Īfran, descended from Iṣlitan, were the Maghrāwa, the Banū Īrniyān and the Banū Wasīn. Along with this tradition, which seems to have been generally adopted in Berber circles during the Middle Ages, Ibn Khaldūn also transmitted another, which appears to be far more authentic, since it derives from an Īfranid informant. It was taken by Ibn Khaldūn from the *Djamhara* of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], who reproduced it from the account given by the Spanish historian Yūsuf al-Warrāḳ (or Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn al-Warrāḳ), d. 363/973. This last-named scholar took his account from Ayyūb, son of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād [*q.v.*], whom he had met in Cordova, where Ayyūb had been sent by his father on a mission to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Now this second tradition regarding the origin of the Banū Īfran, which may be called the "tribal" tradition, does not differ greatly from the first as known from the writings of al-Maṭmāṭī, al-Kūmī and Kaḥlān b. Abī Luwā. According to Ayyūb, the Banū Īfran were descendants of Īfrī, son of Iṣlitan, son of Misrā, son of Zākiyā, son of Warsīk (or Warshīk), son of Adīdat, son of Adīdat, son of Djānā, the eponym of all the Zanāta tribes. We may add that the Īfranid tradition transmitted by Ayyūb also regards the Banū Maghrāw (Maghrāwa), the Banū Īrniyān and the Banū Wasīn as sister-tribes of the Banū Īfran, and Dammar as the brother of Zākiyā. Lastly, according to the Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī (after 504/1110-1), the Banū Īfran and the Banū Wasīn were kinsmen, and together formed the tribe (or rather confederation) known as the Banū Tīdjart. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the name Īfrī, the eponym of the Banū Īfran, derives from the Berber word *ifri* meaning "cavern" (in modern Berber dialects *ifri/afra/ufru*, and the corresponding diminutives *tifrit* etc., mean "grotto", "cavern", "hiding-place").

The earliest mention of the Banū Īfran (who were unknown to the Greek and Latin writers of antiquity and even to Byzantine authors of the 6th century, writing in Greek or Latin) occurs in the period of the Muslim conquest of North Africa, that is to say the second half of the 1st/7th century. At that period, they were the largest and most powerful tribe of the great Zanāta family. According to Ibn Khaldūn, there were branches of them in Ifrīḳiya, the Aurès and the central Maghrib. Later, towards the end of the 1st/7th century, the Banū Īfran appear as one of the most important tribes of eastern Barbary. With the Maghrāwa and several other Berber tribes of the Zanāta branch and that of the Butr, they then joined the great Berber confederation headed by the tribe of the Djarāwa commanded by the Kāhina [*q.v.*], at once queen and prophetess. At this period the Djarāwa apparently inhabited the Aurès, and the main body of the Banū Īfran occupied the regions adjacent to what is now Tunisia. The Banū Īfran were so closely attached to the person of the Kāhina that a Berber tradition quoted by Ibn ʿIdhārī makes Īfran, the ancestor of this tribe, the father of the Kāhina. It is moreover very probable that the Banū Īfran originally were merely a confederation of sections of various east-Berber tribes, apparently formed in the second half of the 6th or the first half of the 7th century A. D. In fact, the name Banū Īfran is as yet not mentioned among those of the east Berber tribes dealt with in the *Iohannis* of Corippus (6th century), a well-known low-Latin source which gives an almost complete list of the peoples inhabiting the eastern part of Barbary at the time of the country's reconquest by the Byzantine Empire.

The Banū Īfran properly speaking, the nucleus of the future confederation of that name, were originally, it seems, no more than a somewhat insignificant tribe who had succeeded in placing themselves at the head of a number of fractions of Berber tribes at the time of the Byzantine domination or during the disturbed period of the first Arab invasions of Tripolitania and Ifrīḳiya proper. The region originally inhabited by this people was in western Tripolitania, the hypothetical homeland of all the Zanāta tribes (*arḍ Zanāta*, "land of the Zanāta" according to the accounts of Arab traditionists of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, used by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in his description of the conquest of the Maghrib). The Zanāta tribe then occupied not only the interior of western Tripolitania but also the country surrounding the town of Sabra (the ancient Sabratha), on the coast, where they are mentioned in 123/741. The territory occupied by the Zanāta was bordered on the East by the *arḍ Hawwāra* "land of the Hawwāra", which included all the central part of Tripolitania. Now it was on the borders between these two lands, in the modern district of Yefren, that the Berber tribe of the Banū Īfran (or Yafran) dwelt, being thought by some to form part of the Zanāta and by others to belong to the Hawwāra. Nothing is known of the earliest history of these Banū Īfran, who first appear in Arabic sources at about the middle of the 3rd/9th century as the eastern neighbours and rivals of the Nafūsa. It is quite probable however that these Banū Īfran of western Tripolitania were merely the remnants of the large Zanāta confederation of the same name who had continued to live in the Yefren after the emigration of the main body of that confederation further to the West, towards what is

now Tunisia, probably at the time of the conquest of Tripolitania by the Arabs. As has been said, Ibn Khaldūn connects the name of Īfrī, the ancestor and eponym of the Banū Īfran, with the Berber word *ifri* "cavern". If this etymology is correct it may be supposed that the confederation of the Banū Īfran (or rather its nucleus) owed its name to the fact that the Zanāta elements which it included originally lived in cave dwellings. Now it is known that the mountainous districts situated in the interior of western Tripolitania and south-eastern Tunisia, Djabal Demmer (Dammar), Djabal Nafūsa and Ghariyān, abound in cave dwellings both old and new (cf. J. Despois, *Djebel Nefousa*, 202-6), and there is nothing against the hypothesis that it was in this part of the *arḍ Zanāta* that the Banū Īfran had its origin. A thorough analysis of Berber and particularly Īfranid traditions seems to confirm this identification of the tribe's original home. Thus it seems possible to connect the Iṣlitan (Yaṣlitan, sister-tribe of the Banū Īfran) with the town of Zliten, situated on the coast of Tripolitania, east of the ruins of Leptis Magna, in the country that belonged in the Middle Ages to the Hawwāra. The name of Misrā, the grandfather of Īfrī in the same traditions, must be connected with that of the Misrāta tribe, held by mediaeval Berber genealogists to belong to a branch of the Hawwāra and occupying the most easterly part of the coastal zone of the *arḍ Hawwāra*, in central Tripolitania. The principal centre of this tribe, in the Middle Ages, was the town of Suwayḳat Ibn Mathkūd, today called Misurata. It is not far from these two places in Tripolitania that the district of Yefren, the home of the Īfran/Yafran in the 3rd/9th century, is situated. The name of the great-grandfather of the Banū Īfran, that is to say Zākiyā, seems to indicate that among the Berber tribes which formed the confederation of the Banū Īfran there were also some fractions of the Luwāta [*q.v.*], a tribe which, at the time of the conquest of North Africa by the Arabs, occupied the ancient Marmarica and Cyrenaica. It seems indeed that the name Zākiyā is repeated in the name Arzāḳiya, which was according to al-Bakrī the principal locality in the oasis of Awdjila/Djalo, situated in the heart of the Luwāta country. It is very probable that this name is composed of two elements, *-zāḳiya*, which is merely a variant of the Zākiyā of the Berber genealogists, and *Ar-*. This second element recurs in the name of the ancient Libyan tribe of Arzugitani (Ar-zug-itani), identical with the Zauekes of Herodotus and the Zawāgha of the Arab historians. It is probably related to *War-*, the element preceding several Berber tribal and personal names (cf., *e.g.*, Warzaydān, from the Arabic proper name Zaydān), the significance of which has not yet been fully explained (see T. Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, 45-6).

Tripolitania.—The Banū Īfran of western Tripolitania, a fraction of the large confederation of that name, which remained in the same place after the emigration of the main body of that people to what are now Tunisia and the Aurès, in the 3rd/9th century were a tribe of sufficient strenth to fight the Nafūsa, then the most powerful Berber people in western Tripolitania. We know that they were Ibāḍīs, without however being supporters of the Rustamid *imāms* of Tāhert. They supported the cause of the Ibāḍī leader of Tripolitania, Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, who had revolted against the Banū Rustam. Later, in the 5th/11th century, the Khalafī sectarians still formed part of the population of Yefren, along with the Nukkārīs (it will be seen later that, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, Nukkārism became the national religion of the eastern branch of all the Īfranid tribes). In the 6th/12th century, the Yefren sectarians were converted to the more moderate doctrines of the Ibāḍī-Wahbīs, former supporters of the Rustamid *imāms*. Nominally subject to the various dynasties which in turn ruled eastern Barbary, the people of *waṭan Yafran*, "land of Yafran", endeavoured to preserve their independence under chiefs who bore the title *muḳaddam* and belonged to the family of ʿAwn b. Ḥarīz, for a considerable time with success.

Ifrīḳiya.—The Īfranid tribes which emigrated to Ifrīḳiya were joined also by groups deriving from the Berber tribe of the Maghīla [*q.v.*], the Machlyes of Herodotus. At one time these groups played a considerable part in the confederation of the Banū Īfran, but later they broke away to form a separate tribe. It was from these Maghīla, united with the Banū Īfran, that Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī (in some sources called al-Maghīlī) originated, the leader of the Banū Īfran in Ifrīḳiya and the central Maghrib, and also the supreme leader of the North African Ṣufrīs at the beginning and towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century. He was in command of the Īfranid tribes apparently from the year 111/729-30. In 151/768-9 he had successfully retained leadership of the Banū Īfran for forty years, thus making his appearance in history only a quarter of a century after the death of the Kāhina and the fall of the confederation of Berber tribes which she had governed and whose principal support the Banū Īfran, with the Djarāwa and the Maghrāwa, had been. In 124/741-2, when the Ṣufrī leader ʿAbd al-Wāḥid marched on Ḳayrawān, Abū Ḳurra al-Maghīlī, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, was in command of the vanguard of his army. At this period the main body of the Banū Īfran was probably still in Ifrīḳiya, near the Aurès, which formed the centre of the Kāhina's state. It may be supposed that this tribe took part in the Ṣufrī rising of the Warfadjdjūma, who occupied the town of Ḳayrawān in 139/757. When, in 141/758-9, the Ibāḍī *imām* of Tripolitania, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. al-Samḥ al-Maʿāfirī, expelled the Warfadjdjūma from Ḳayrawān and made Ifrīḳiya a province of his state, the Ṣufrī Berber tribes of that country, fleeing from their Ibāḍī enemies, presumably began to move towards the central Maghrib. This movement must have assumed the nature of a mass migration after 144/761-2, that is to say after the reconquest of eastern Barbary by the Arab general Ibn al-Ashʿath, who thus became the common foe of all Berber sects—Khāridjīs, Ibāḍīs and Ṣufrīs—in North Africa. It was apparently at this period, between 140/757-8 and 144/761-2, that the main body of Īfranid tribes, commanded by Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī al-Maghīlī, emigrated to the central Maghrib.

Little is known of the history of the branches of the Banū Īfran who continued to inhabit Ifrīḳiya after the emigration of the tribes led by Abū Ḳurra. Ibn Khaldūn claims that there were two Īfranid tribes in this province, the Marandjiṣa and the Banū Wārkū (Wārko). These tribes inhabited the country lying between Ḳayrawān and Tunis, in the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Aurès massif. It seems that these tribes were soon converted to Ibāḍism, having adopted the doctrines of the Nukkārī sect. It was from the Banū Wārkū (the name of this tribe is perhaps the same as Arkū, in al-Idrīsī the name of a locality on the route leading from Lorbeus to al-Masīla) that Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād traced his origin, the leader of the Nukkārī revolt which almost destroyed

Fāṭimid domination in North Africa. A branch of the Wārkū inhabited Sadāda (now Sdada) in the Bilād al-Djarīd, in immediate proximity to the Banū Wasīn (also Wisyān), a sister-tribe of the Banū Īfran according to the Berber genealogists; incidentally these were Ibāḍī-Wahbīs. The Banū Wārkū gave assistance to Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād, and after his death and the failure of the Nukkārī revolt, they had to endure the revenge of the Fāṭimid government. From then onwards their name disappears completely from North African chronicles. The Ibāḍī chronicles tell of a war between the Banū Wasīn and the Banū Īfran which occurred in 362/972-3, probably in the Bilād al-Djarīd and the Zāb. In the circumstances, it seems probable that this refers to the Banū Wārkū. The Marandjiṣa, a sister-tribe of the Banū Wārkū, lost much of their influence after the failure of Abū Yazīd's revolt. Nevertheless, they were not exterminated, and they are mentioned in Arabic sources until the end of the 8th/14th century. They still lived as nomads, travelling through the region between Ḳayrawān and the town of Tunis, but they also engaged in agriculture. It seems fairly probable that the Zanāta who lived near al-Sibkha (Sebkha Sidi Hani) in the 3rd/9th century and are mentioned by the Ibāḍī historians were a branch of the Marandjiṣa. Similarly, the Īfranid fraction to whom Cape Ifrān (lying to the East of Carthage and mentioned by al-Idrīsī) owes its name appears to have belonged to the Marandjiṣa branch. The situation of the Marandjiṣa declined after the conquest of Ifrīḳiya by the Almohads (1159-60), who imposed taxes upon this tribe and compelled it to supply the sultan with a certain number of fighting men. Later, they became dependent upon Arab tribes. It was only in the second half of the 8th/14th century that the situation of the Marandjiṣa became more prosperous under the domination of the Ḥafṣid sultans.

Wargla.—It seems that, when Abū Yazīd's revolt was crushed, a fraction of the Banū Īfran, probably belonging to the branch of the Banū Wārkū from the Bilād al-Djarīd, fled to the oasis of Wardjlān (Wargla), with which the places in the Bilād al-Djarīd maintained close trade relations. Indeed the Ibāḍī chronicles mention, in the oasis of Wargla, a village named Ifrān (also Īfran, Īfrān or Farān), the name of which seems to derive from the name of the Banū Īfran tribe. This village, which was situated about 20 km. north of the present town of Wargla, on a site today not inhabited, between Khefīf and ʿArīfdjī, appears for the first time in the sources shortly after 409/1018-19.

Central Maghrib.—The Īfranid tribes which emigrated to the central Maghrib towards the middle of the 2nd/8th century and remained under the command of Abū Ḳurra al-Īfranī al-Maghīlī founded a Ṣufrī state, probably between 140/757-8 and 148/765-6, whose capital became the town of Tlemcen, built by the newcomers on the site of an ancient Roman town. Abū Ḳurra was proclaimed Ṣufrī caliph (*imām*) there in 148/765. An interesting feature is that, in the time of al-Bakrī (1067-8), one of the five gates of Tlemcen still bore the name Bāb Abī Ḳurra, probably from the name of the founder of Tlemcen. Abū Ḳurra's domain extended from Tlemcen to the mountain of the Banū Rāshid and as far as Tāhert. Among the Berber tribes inhabiting this State, alongside the Banū Īfran, were the Maghīla, Abū Ḳurra's tribe, now settled in the environs of Tlemcen. This tribe, which also was Ṣufrī, was smaller than that of the Banū Īfran; it co-operated with the latter in their war against Ibn al-Ashʿath in 148/765. It seems also that a fraction of the Djarāwa, a tribe which, with the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, had once formed the nucleus of the Kāhina's state, had followed the Īfranid tribes of Abū Ḳurra in their flight to the central Maghrib. This tribe gave its name to the mediaeval town of Djarāwa, situated 10 miles S.-E. of the mouth of the Mulūya and surrounded by numerous villages whose population was formed by the Banū Īfran, among other tribes. It seems also that it was at this period that the Maghrāwa came and settled in Tlemcen and its environs, a sister-tribe of the Banū Īfran and like them formerly included in the confederation of the Kāhina.

Immediately after its foundation, Abū Ḳurra's kingdom was attacked by the Arab army sent by Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*]. This army was placed under the command of al-Aghlab al-Tamīmī who, after setting up his headquarters at Ṭubna in the Zāb, tried to attack first Tlemcen, then Tangier, but was compelled by the Berbers to withdraw. Soon the Ṣufrī and Ibāḍī Berber tribes formed a coalition in which the Banū Īfran, still under the command of Abū Ḳurra, played a considerable part. In 150/767 Abū Ḳurra's army appeared before the walls of Ḳayrawān, while in 151/768 he himself came with 40,000 Īfranid horsemen to lay siege to the town of Ṭubna.

Not a great deal is known of the Īfranid state of Tlemcen after the siege of Ṭubna. It is however very probable that friendly relations were maintained with the Ibāḍī kingdom of Banū Rustam [*q.v.*] in Tāhert, which bordered on Tlemcen. The first ruler of Tāhert, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, who governed the town from 160/776-7 or 162/778-9, even allied himself with the Banū Īfran by marriage, since he probably married a daughter of the ruling family of Tlemcen. From this union was born ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the second Ibāḍī *imām* of Tāhert. This marriage must have taken place in about 148/765-6 at the latest, since in 167/784-5, at the time of the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was already an adult and a member of the council of six empowered to choose the future *imām* from its own members. Curiously enough, another member of the same council was Abū Ḳudāma Yazīd b. Fandīn al-Īfranī, a cousin and supporter of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who later became his implacable enemy and one of the founders of the Nukkārī heresy. He conducted a long war with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, probably relying mainly on the Banū Īfran; in the end he died in battle, killed by Aflaḥ, son of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in about 188/803-4 or shortly afterwards. At that time, the Īfranid state of Abū Ḳurra had already ceased to exist for some years. It seems moreover that control of Tlemcen, which was then inhabited by the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, had passed after the death of Abū Ḳurra into the hands of Maghrāwa leaders belonging to the dynasty of the Banū Khazar, this dynasty being destined to play a considerable part in the history of the Maghrib. In 173/789-90 (or according to certain historians, in 174/790-1), at the time of the conquest of that country by Idrīs I [*q.v.*], the founder of the dynasty of the Idrīsids, Muḥammad Ibn Khazar b. Ṣūlāt, the ruler of the town of Tlemcen, came before the conqueror and, thanks to his prompt submission, obtained security for himself and for all the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib. It was Sulaymān, brother of Idrīs I and later hereditary ruler of that town, who became the Idrīsid governor of Tlemcen; it seems however that, save for this fact, conditions in the central Maghrib were little changed. The Zanāta

tribes in the country continued to recognize the supremacy of the Maghrāwa, which had long replaced the supremacy of the Banū Īfran. Thus the Maghrāwa, who in the days of the confederation of Berber tribes ruled by the Kāhina had once been the most powerful of these tribes after the Djarāwa, now recovered their importance. But the rivalry between the Īfranid and the Maghrāwa leaders was long to continue in the central Maghrib as well as in the Maghrib al-Akṣā, and it was only with the conquest of the whole of the Maghrib by the Almoravid army that this discord was finally brought to an end, with the disappearance of the states created by the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa. The Īfranid tribes of the central Maghrib, for their part, certainly succeeded in retaining much of their independence after 173/789-90, though of course under the control of Sulaymān and the Maghrāwa leaders. At the time of the Idrīsid domination of the Maghrib, the Banū Īfran were already Sunnī, having abandoned their earlier Ṣufrī beliefs at some point of time now difficult to determine. In any case the Ibāḍī Berber genealogist al-Birzālī, who supplied Ibn Ḥazm (5th/11th century) with information regarding the Zanāta tribes in the Maghrib, believed that the Banū Īfran had always been Sunnī and appeared to know nothing of their Ṣufrī past.

The Īfranid kingdom of the central Maghrib makes its appearance in the historical sources after the expulsion of the Idrīsid rulers from Tlemcen by the Fāṭimids, which took place in 319/931. The Sunnī Īfranid tribes of the country took no part in the Nukkārī revolt of Abū Yazīd Makhlad b. Kaydād al-Īfranī, although it is not impossible that their leaders may have helped him to get in touch with the Umayyad government in Cordova and that it was from their territory that Abū Yazīd's son Ayyūb set out for Spain, when entrusted by his father with a political mission to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. In any case, during the war between Abū Yazīd and the Fāṭimids, the numbers and strength of the Banū Īfran in the central Maghrib remained unchanged. At that time their leader was Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Īfranī, whose power was restricted solely to the Īfranid tribes in the neighbourhood of Tlemcen, while the town itself had, since the fall of the local Idrīsid rulers, once again become the capital of the Maghrāwa and was then governed by Muḥammad Ibn Khazar, a member of the same dynasty of Maghrāwa leaders as those who controlled Tlemcen in 173/789-90. When the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr (334-41/946-53) gave Muḥammad Ibn Khazar command over this part of the Maghrib, war broke out between the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, in the course of which Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Īfranī was killed by an Īfranid leader who remained in the service of the Fāṭimid government and of this branch of the Maghrāwa. His son Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad al-Īfranī succeeded him as ruler of the Banū Īfran. In order to secure his support against the Maghrāwa, who had been overcome by the Fāṭimid government, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad openly placed himself at the service of the Umayyad caliph of Spain, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who was trying to win the friendship of the Zanāta leaders in the central Maghrib and to rally them to his cause. He established his capital in the town of Fakkān (also Āfakkān or Ifkān), which he founded, in 338/949-50, at a place where the Zanāta tribes held their markets, situated at the confluence of the Wādī Fekkan and the Wādī Ḥammām, five leagues S.S.W. of the modern town of Mascara. Then, rebelling against Fāṭimid rule, he took the town of Tāhert, assisted by his kinsman al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, whom Ibn ʿIdhārī speaks of as al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanātī and who seems to have been the son of the Maghrāwa leader Muḥammad Ibn Khazar (according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Khayr was a member of the clan of Banū Warzamār "kings of the Zanāta"); al-Khayr abandoned his father's policy of hostility to the Īfranid dynasty and became an ally of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad and of the Umayyads in Spain. Shortly afterwards, in 343/954-5, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad captured from the Fāṭimids the town of Oran, which was taken by storm and devastated. Soon the whole country, from Tāhert to Tangier, was under the domination of the Īfranid leader, who thus re-established the supremacy of his tribe over all the branches of the Zanāta inhabiting the central Maghrib, including the Maghrāwa; he caused the public prayer (*khuṭba*) to be recited in the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in every mosque in the country. In the same year, or possibly in 344/955-6, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad received a diploma whereby ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III appointed him governor of the country of the Zanāta, the central Maghrib and Tlemcen. At his own request he was also entrusted by the Umayyad caliph with the government of Fez for his kinsman Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad, apparently the son of his Maghrāwa ally al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar al-Zanātī.

But this was Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad's last success. In 347/958-9 the Fāṭimid army, commanded by Djawhar, secretary to the caliph al-Muʿizz, conquered the central Maghrib and captured the town of Fakkān, Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad's capital, which was laid waste. Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad was killed, and the Banū Īfran's domination of this part of North Africa was for a time destroyed. The command of the Zanāta tribes of the central Maghrib, so relentlessly harried by the Fāṭimids, once again reverted to the Maghrāwa, that is to say to Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar, who was governing Fez in the name of the Umayyad caliphs of Spain. This leader even succeeded in reconquering the town of Tlemcen from the Fāṭimid state, between 360/970-1 and 370/980-1. It seems however that the dynasty of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad eventually recovered from the defeat of 347/958-9 and continued to reign over the Īfranid tribes of the central Maghrib. Rulers drawn from this family were still in control there, with Tlemcen as their capital, in the first half of the 5th/11th century. At the time of the invasion of the Banū Hilāl, the master of Tlemcen was prince Bakhtīt, whom Ibn Khaldūn describes, in one passage in his book, as an Īfranid and, in another, as a descendant of Muḥammad Ibn Khazar, that is to say as a Maghrāwa. Be that as it may, he had as his vizier an Īfranid general, who died in a battle against the Banū Hilāl in 450/1058. At that period the Banū Īfran shared their rule over the Zanāta in the central Maghrib with the Maghrāwa and two other large Berber tribes, the Wāmannū and the Banū Īlūman. Bakhtīt was succeeded by his son al-ʿAbbās, who was reigning in Tlemcen at the time of the conquest of the central Maghrib by the Almoravid army.

Al-Maghrib al-Akṣā.—After the death of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad in 347/958-9, one of his sons, Yaddū, took refuge in the Sahara to escape from the Fāṭimid army. Later he returned to the central Maghrib, where he lived for a time. At this period he appears among the Zanāta leaders in the entourage of Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, governor of the Maghrib for the Umayyad caliphs of Spain, from the year 365/975-6. Yaddū was then regarded as the most influen-

tial of the Zanāta leaders. In 369/979-80, the family of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad, still loyal to the Umayyads of Cordova, had to flee before the army of Bulukkīn b. Zīrī, the Fāṭimid governor of Ifrīkiya, who not only seized the central Maghrib but also penetrated as far as Fez and even Sidjilmāsa. But Yaddū b. Yaʿlā, who was among the fugitives, returned to the central Maghrib only after Bulukkīn had left for Ifrīkiya, as did some other rulers of the dynasty of Yaʿlā who succeeded in restoring the state of Tlemcen. He settled in al-Maghrib al-Akṣā and in 376/986-7 was appointed governor of the province for the Umayyad dynasty, with his base at Fez, formerly the territory of the Maghrāwa (from the time of the rule of Muḥammad b. al-Khayr). It was probably at this time that a certain number of families of the Banū Īfran settled in Fez, whose descendants were still living there, with other sections of the Zanāta tribes, in 462/1069-70, when the army of the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn seized the capital of al-Maghrib al-Akṣā. However, the Umayyad government, fearing that Yaddū b. Yaʿlā's power might become too great, decided to offer support simultaneously to Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, one of the *amīrs* of the Maghrāwa. As a result, the old rivalry between the Banū Īfran and the Maghrāwa, previously allayed by the alliance concluded between Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad and al-Khayr b. Muḥammad Ibn Khazar and his son Muḥammad, was revived after 40 years of harmony. In 379/989-90 or 381/991-2, Yaddū b. Yaʿlā openly revolted against the Umayyad government, which had appointed Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya to govern Fez. The result of this conflict was the war waged by Yaddū against the combined forces of the Umayyads and the Maghrāwa. The latter finally prevailed, and Yaddū was obliged to seek refuge in the Sahara, where he died in 383/993-4. His successor as ruler of the tribe was Ḥabbūs, son of his brother Zīrī b. Yaʿlā. Ḥabbūs was murdered by his cousin, the Īfranid *amīr* Abū Yaddās b. Dūnās, who was however compelled to flee soon afterwards. Ḥammāma, brother of Ḥabbūs, then assumed the leadership of the Banū Īfran. He led the tribe against the town of Shāla (Salé) in the province of Tadla, capturing the town from Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya, together with part of Tadla that depended on it, and setting up there a new Īfranid kingdom. Under the direction of the dynasty of the Banū Yaʿlā, this kingdom lasted until the conquest of Morocco by the Almoravids. Ḥammāma died after 406/1015-6 and was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-Kāmil Tamīm, who, having to fight against the anti-Muslim kingdom of the Barghawāṭa, was obliged to make peace with the Maghrāwa of Fez. However, war broke out once again in 424/1033, and Abu 'l-Kāmil even succeeded in capturing Fez; it was only in 429/1037-8 that he was driven out by the Maghrāwa. Forced by the Maghrāwa *amīr* to withdraw to his kingdom of Tadla, he lived there until his death in 446/1054-5. It was apparently in the reign of Abu 'l-Kāmil that the Īfranid dynasty of Salé also took possession of the large commercial town of Aghmāt, whose ruler was of Maghrāwa origin. But soon the conquest of this part of the Maghrib by the Almoravid army, which captured Aghmāt in 449/1057-8 and invaded the country of Tadla in the following year, ended the existence of the kingdom of Salé. The Īfranid rulers of the country perished and their state was annexed to the kingdom of the Almoravids.

The Banū Īfran of Tadla were not the only Īfranid branch to be established in the western part of what is now Morocco. Certain Īfranid families seem to have begun to penetrate into this region long before the state of Salé was founded. Thanks to the account left by Zammūr, who in 352/963 went as ambassador for the king of the Barghawāṭa (in the province of Tamesna) to the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir, we know that, among the Muslim-Berber petty tribes under the authority of the kings of the Barghawāṭa, there was also an Īfranid tribe. This seems to be a reference to a fraction of the Banū Īfran who emigrated from the central Maghrib after the collapse of the Īfranid State of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad in 347/958-9.

Spain.—The first wave of Īfranid emigrants came to Spain in 347/958-9, after the death of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad and the fall of his kingdom. This group, led by Ibn Ḳurra, son of Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad's uncle, was given a very cordial welcome in Cordova. Another branch of the Banū Īfran settled in Spain towards the end of the 4th/10th century. This consisted of a fraction led by the Īfranid ruler Abū Yaddās b. Dūnās who, after killing his cousin Yaddū b. Yaʿlā and attempting unsuccessfully to seize command of all the Īfranid tribes of al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, fled to Spain with his three brothers and a numerous body of supporters. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this emigration occurred in 383/993-4 or 382/992-3. Abū Yaddās is said to have acted in concert with the Umayyad government of Cordova, which was anxious to remove the family of Yaddū b. Yaʿlā from supreme command over all the Īfranid tribes of al-Maghrib al-Akṣā and to replace it by another ruling family, more closely linked with the interests of the Umayyad dynasty. The Umayyad government welcomed the emigrants. All the fighting men of Abū Yaddās were enrolled in the Berber forces in Spain, and their leader was granted a considerable sum of money and several fiefs (*iḳṭāʿ*). Later, in 400/1009-10, Abū Yaddās, together with all the Berber forces, is found supporting the cause of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn in the war he fought with his predecessor al-Mahdī. He died in a battle on the banks of the Guadiaro; descendants of his held high rank in the Zanāta forces in Spain. At the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of Abū Yaddās's brother al-ʿAṭṭāf, entered the service of the Hammūdid dynasty and was given command of Cordova. But it was Abū Nūr, son of Abū Ḳurra, another brother of Abū Yaddās, who played a considerable part in Muslim Spain in the first half of the 5th/11th century. In 405/1014-5 he succeeded in driving from the town of Ronda the governor, ʿĀmir b. Futūḥ, who was ruling there in the name of the Umayyad dynasty, and established himself there as an independent prince. In addition to Ronda, his principality included the town of Takurunna (Tacoronna). If Ibn al-Khaṭīb is to be believed, Abū Nūr obtained this territory from Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Sulaymān b. al-Nāṣir, who divided certain provinces of al-Andalus between the leaders of six Berber tribes which had settled in Spain. In 443/1051-2, with various other Berber leaders, Abū Nūr was forced to recognize the supremacy of the ʿAbbādids of Seville. He died soon afterwards, in 450/1058-9, and was succeeded by his son Abū Naṣr, who reigned until 457/1065, when he was murdered by a traitor acting with the connivance of the ʿAbbādid government.

It is quite probable that a section of the Banū Īfran settled in the neighbourhood of Mazarrón, in the province of Murcia. There is there a "diputación" called Ifre, a name which C. E. Dubler has connected with that of the Banū Īfran (or Ifrīn, the vocalization adopted by this scholar). It seems however that the

modern Iîre owes its name not to Īfran but to Īfrī —the eponym of this tribe, according to the traditions of the mediaeval Berber genealogists. Moreover, it is not impossible that the modern Spanish place-name derives, not from the name of the tribe of the Banū Īfran or its eponym, but directly from the Berber word *ifri* "cavern".

Sicily.—It is possible that some families of Īfranid origin may have lived in Sicily, which was closely linked with Ifrīḳiya from the 3rd/9th century, and that certain warriors belonging to the Banū Īfran and deriving from branches of the Marandjīṣa and the Banū Wārkū may have made their way there with Aghlabid or Fāṭimid troops. Among the inhabitants of the town of Corleone mentioned in a mediaeval source, there is in fact a reference to a man bearing the name Ibn Abī Yafran and probably of Īfranid stock.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Description*, 12, 70-1, 76, 79, 140, 141, 142 (tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 31, 145, 155, 160-1, 270, 271, 273); Dardjīnī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, MS 275 of the Cracow collection, fols. 113r. and 134r.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, ed. A. Gateau, Algiers 1947, 136-7 and 173; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, Leyden 1938, 89, lines 14-6 and 107, lines 5-8; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *K. al-Bayān al-mughrib*², i, 75-6 198, 216 and ii, 219, 222; Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*², i, 36-7, ii, 11, 71, 130, 148, iii, 92, 185-7, 190, 193, 197-201, 212-23, 225-6, 229, 232, 237-41, 249, 251-2, 254, 270-1, 336, iv, 2, 560; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tr. Dozy and De Goeje, Leyden 1866, Ar. text, 120, 124, tr., 140, 146; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 139, 273; Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 53-76, 226, 249; Nuwayrī, *apud* Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 380-1; Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1883-4, 260, 355-6, 424; M. Canard, *Une famille de partisans, puis d'adversaires des Fāṭimides en Afrique du Nord*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie. Hommage à G. Marcais*, Algiers 1957, 43, 44, 48; C. Dubler, *Über die Berbersiedlungen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, in *Sache und Wort. Festschrift Jakob Jud, Romanica Helvetica*, xx (1943), 191; Ferrand, in *R. Afr.*. 1886, 268; H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 6, 12, 364, 371-3, ii, 5-6, 223, 288, 303, 317-8, 320; T. Lewicki, *Etudes ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, 45-6 and *passim*; idem, *Ibāḍitica I*, in *RO*, xxv/2 (1961), 107; idem, *La répartition géographique des groupements ibāḍites dans l'Afrique du Nord au moyen âge*, in *RO*, xxi (1957), 330-1 and *passim*; idem, *Les Ibāḍites en Tunisie au moyen âge*, Rome 1959, 13.

(T. Lewicki)

IFRANDJ or Firandj, the Arabic term for the Franks. This name, which probably reached the Muslims via the Byzantines, was originally used of the inhabitants of the empire of Charlemagne, and later extended to Europeans in general. In medieval times it was not normally applied to the Spanish Christians [see andalus, djillīḳiyya and below], the Slavs [see ṣaḳāliba] or the Vikings [see madjūs ii], but otherwise was used fairly broadly of continental Europe and the British Isles. The land of the Franks was called ifrandja (Persian and Turkish *Firangistān*).

The earliest Muslim notions of the geographical configuration of Western Europe were derived from Ptolemy's *Geographikê Hyphêgêsis*, best known in the Arabic adaptation by al-Khuwārizmī. The earlier Muslim geographical writers have little to add to this. Ibn Khurradādhbih (ca. 232/846) knows that Ifrandja, with other 'lands of polytheism', adjoins Spain (*tudjāwir al-Andalus*) (*B.G.A.*, vi, 90), and is part of Europe, which he calls Arūfa (*ibid.*, 155). He mentions Frankish slaves and coral among imports arriving across the Mediterranean (*ibid.*, 92) and, in addition, gives a curious and often cited account of a group of Jewish merchants called Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*], who are said to have traded between the ports of Ifrandja and of the Middle East (*ibid.*, 153-4. C. Cahen, *Y a-t-il eu des Rahdānites?*, in *REJ*, ive sér, iii (cxxiii), 1964, 499-505, expresses some well-grounded doubts about this story). Other early geographers are equally brief on Ifrandja, though Ibn Rusta (ca. 290-300/903-13) mentions the British Isles (*B.G.A.*, vii, 85) and gives the fullest of several accounts of Rome (*ibid.*, 127-30: see further rūmiya). This is based on the report of a returned prisoner of war called Hārūn b. Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] who, to his description of Rome, appends a brief note on Ifrandja and Britain. The latter 'is ruled by seven kings'—obviously a belated allusion to the already defunct Anglo-Saxon heptarchy. Rather fuller information was available to Masʿūdī, who refers to the Franks both in the *Murūdj* (iii, 66-7, 69-72; ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, §§ 910-1, 914-6) and in the *Tanbīh* (*B.G.A.*, viii, 22 ff.; 176 ff., etc.). The Franks are, he says, descended from Japhet; they are a numerous, courageous, well-organized and well-disciplined people, with a vast and unified realm. They have some 150 cities, with Bawīra (? Barīza) as capital. Alone among Muslim authors of his time, Masʿūdī gives a list of the Frankish kings from Clovis to Louis IV, based, he tells us, on a book prepared by a Christian bishop for the Andalusian heir-apparent (later Caliph) al-Ḥakam in the year 328/939. He came across a copy of this book in Egypt in 336/947.

Diplomatic contacts between the Franks and the Caliphate were few, and have left little trace. The famous exchange of embassies between Charlemagne and Hārūn al-Rashīd is known only from a Frankish source; if it happened at all, it was of insufficient importance to attract the attention of the Arabic chroniclers, since they make no mention of it. Barthold has indeed rejected the whole story as inauthentic (*Sočineniya*, vi, Moscow 1966, 342-64, = *Khristianskiy Vostok*, i (1912), 69-94; for an opposing view see F. W. Buckler, *Harunu 'l-Rashīd and Charles the Great*, Cambridge 1931; cf. F. F. Schmidt in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 409-11; Barthold, *Soč*, vi, 432-61 = *Khrist. Vostok*, iii (1915), 263-296; W. Ebermann, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 233-5; S. Runciman, *Charlemagne and Palestine*, in *English Historical Review*, l (1935), 606-19; Madjīd Khaddūri, *al-Ṣilāt al-diblūmāṭīḳiyya bayna Hārūn al-Rashīd wa-Sharlamān*, Baghdad 1939; G. Musca, *Carlo Magno ed Harun al-Rashid*, Bari 1963). The first definite report of a Frankish embassy to Baghdad dates from the year 293/906 when, according to *al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf*, by al-Awḥadī, an embassy arrived at the court of al-Muktafī from Bertha, daughter of king Lothair II of Lorraine and wife of Adalbert the Rich, Marquis of Ivrée (M. Hamidullah, *Embassy of Queen Bertha to Caliph al-Muktafi billah in Baghdad 293/906*, in *J. Pak. Hist. Soc.*, i (1953), 272-300; idem, in *Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii (1956-7), 115-45; G. Levi Della Vida, *La corrispondenza di Berta di Toscana col Califfo Muktafi*, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, lxvi (1954), 21-38 = idem, *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi*, Milan-Naples 1959, 26-44). The envoy, a

eunuch from North Africa, brought a variety of gifts, and a letter in the Frankish script, 'resembling the Greek writing, but straighter'. After some search, a Frank was found working in the clothing store, who read the letter and translated it into Greek, which was then translated by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn from Greek into Arabic. Some eighty years later Ibn al-Nadīm drew on this passage for his note on the Frankish script, included in his discussion of writing, and adds that he had often seen this script on Frankish swords (*Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871, 20; on the high reputation of European swords among the Muslims see A. Zeki Validi [Togan], *Die Schwerter der Germanen nach arabischen Berichten des 9-11 Jahrhunderts*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 19-37).

By far the most important known visitor from the Muslim lands to Europe in this period was Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿḳūb [*q.v.*], a Spanish Jew from Tortosa who travelled extensively in Frankish Europe ca. 354/965, probably on some sort of official mission for the Umayyad Caliph of Cordova. Ibn Yaʿḳūb's own account is lost, but is known from quotations by later geographers, especially Bakrī and Ḳazwīnī. This is the only personal description of Western Europe by a named traveller from the Muslim world, until the first Ottoman reports.

During the 11th century, the advance of Christendom against Islam in the Western, Central and Eastern Mediterranean brought a new relationship. For more than two centuries, Franks and Muslims were in close and regular contact—often in battle, but often also in trade, diplomacy, even, on occasion, in alliance. Knowledge of the Franks and their country was now, for the Muslims, a matter of practical necessity, and not just of intellectual curiosity. It is therefore the more remarkable that they should have continued to show so little interest. In the East, the Muslim chroniclers have much to say about the military and, to a lesser extent, the political activities of the Crusaders, whom they usually call Ifrandj. They show however very little concern with the internal affairs of the Crusading states, still less with the differences between the various national contingents, and none at all with their places of origin or reasons for coming. There are some personal impressions of contact with the Crusaders in the East, such as those of Ibn Djubayr and Usāma b. Munḳidh, but these are exceptional and without influence on later writers. Only one work is mentioned which purports to be an account 'of the Franks who had come to the lands of Islam in these years', by Ḥamdān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Athāribī, a 6th/12th century author (Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, 70; cit. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 62). Characteristically, it has not survived, even in quotation. The main increases in Muslim knowledge of Europe come not from the East but from the West, from Spanish, Sicilian and North African authors like Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn Saʿīd, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī [*qq.v.*]. These provide fuller and more accurate geographical information, which forms the basis of most later eastern accounts in Arabic.

The first extant Muslim work on Frankish history —apart from Masʿūdī's king-list—is that included by Rashīd al-Dīn in his universal history, the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. His informant was a Frankish traveller, probably a monk, who had come to the Mongol court in Persia as an envoy from the Papal Curia. Through him, Rashīd al-Dīn was able to use the work of a European chronicler whom Jahn has identified as Martin of Troppau, also known as Martin Polonus (d. 1278). From this source, supplemented by oral information, Rashīd al-Dīn was able to compile a brief history of the Holy Roman Emperors to Albert I and of the Popes to Benedict XI, both correctly described as living at that time.

Apart from other works associated with or based on the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, no other Muslim author appears to have written on Frankish history until the 10th/16th century. Even the great Ibn Khaldūn has little to say about Christian Europe, but merely remarks, with obvious caution, that he had 'heard of late' that the philosophic sciences were flourishing in those parts, 'but God knows best what goes on there' (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 93; tr. Rosenthal, iii, 117-8). In earlier days, Muslims no doubt had good reason for withholding from the Franks the scholarly interest which they had shown in the Greeks, Persians, and Indians. By the 8th/14th century however this attitude was dangerously out of date. Even the rapid growth of commercial and diplomatic relations after the Crusades evoked only a limited practical interest. In about 741/1340, Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī included two Western kings, of Spain and France, in his list of the sovereigns with whom the Sultan of Egypt corresponded, with a few details and the correct style and form of address for each. A later revision, the *Tathḳīf* adds a few more names, and Ḳalḳashandī provides a much fuller list of European states and rulers, with some information about each (ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 60-5; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 33-53).

The Ottomans had dealings with Franks of various kinds from an early date—as merchants, as enemies, as neighbours, as diplomatic visitors. In Greece they conquered Frankish principalities; at Varna in 1444 they captured Frankish knights whom they paraded, in their splendid attire, across the lands of Islam as far as Herat (cf. the verses cited by Z. V. Togan in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi*, iii (1939), 535). By the 16th century they were involved in extensive and complex dealings with European states. Ottoman interest in Christian Europe, though far from overwhelming, is noticeably greater than among earlier Muslim peoples. This interest was nourished by closer contacts, by the flow of European visitors and renegades, and, in time, by a growing awareness of European power and wealth.

One expression of this interest is the study of European history, which, however limited in scope and impact, nevertheless marks a change from the almost total disregard of earlier times. In 980/1572 two writers, a translator and a *kātib*, completed, on the orders of the Reʾīs Efendi Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*], a Turkish version of a history of France, from the legendary Faramund to 1560. It survives in a unique manuscript (Babinger, 107). This was followed by the famous *Taʾrīkh al-Hind al-Gharbī* [*q.v.*], an account, adapted from European sources, of the discovery of the New World, and, in the 17th and 18th centuries, by a number of other historical and geographical works which give some account of Europe, drawn mostly from European sources [see DJUGHRĀFIYĀ VI; KĀTIB ČELEBI: MÜNEDJDJIM-BASHĪ; IBRĀHĪM MÜTEFERRIḲA]. During the 18th century some additional, if rather stereotyped information was provided by a sequence of Ottoman ambassadors who went on missions to the capitals of Europe. Similar reports on journeys to Europe, mostly by official envoys, were also written in Morocco and Persia (on Turkish reports see Babinger,

323 ff. and Koray[2], 196-7; on Persian reports, Storey, i/2, 1066-71, 1153, 1195; on Moroccan travellers, H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930*, Paris 1937, and *Hespéris-Tamuda, passim*; see further SEFĀRETNĀME, SAFĪR). From India, two remarkable travellers left accounts of visits to Europe: Shaykh Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn and Abū Ṭālib Khān [*qq.v.*]—the first in 1765-6, the second between 1799 and 1803. Both works have been translated into English.

Between the 16th and the 19th centuries, 'Frank' came to be the common term, in most Muslim countries, for Christian Europeans in general. It was however limited, as Sāmī Frasheri explains (*Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, s.v. Firenk), to Catholics and Protestants; 'Russians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and other orthodox peoples are not called Frank'. It has also, on occasion, been applied to various things believed to have been introduced by the Franks, such as syphilis, cannon, European dress, and modern civilization [see TAFARNUDJ].

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(B. LEWIS)

SPAIN

In the writings of the Arabs of Spain and the Maghrib the term Ifrandj (also often Ifrandja with the additional meaning of "land of the Ifrandj") denotes any of the Christian peoples with whom the writers are acquainted. The more usual term is *Rūm*, or for Peninsula Christians *Djalāliḳa* [see DJILLĪḲIYA] or *Bashkunish* [*q.v.*]. There appears to be no distinction between *Ifrandj* and *Rūm*, and though particular writers may be suspected of using them in specific ways it is impossible to be certain; writers certainly vary among themselves and it would be unsafe in any particular case, without corroborative evidence, to draw any definite conclusions solely on the basis of the use of the term *Ifrandj*. Thus Ibn al-Abbār says that in 614/1217 the *Ifrandj* took Alcácer do Sal (*Ḥulla*, ii, 290). The account in the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* (s.v. *Ḳaṣr Abī Dānis*) has *Rūm*. The author of the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* (*sub anno* 614) simply has *al-ʿaduww* (which is a common usage). The Christians concerned here were Portuguese assisted by German crusaders. The natural supposition that *Ifrandj* in principle means "the Franks" is not supported by the actual usage of historical writers. For instance Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, ii, 23) refers to a Christian king in north-western Spain as one of the kings of *Ifrandja*, but also to a raid on *bilād al-Rūm* which is clearly the Narbonne region (*Aʿmāl*, ii, 11-2). The earliest use of the word *Ifrandj* by a Spanish writer seems to be that of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977) who applies it to the inhabitants of the Saragossa region (p. 133).

This vagueness of terminology reflects a vagueness of knowledge, itself perhaps the result of a lack of curiosity, shared even by those who profess to give specifically geographical information. The rather scanty and confused corpus of material furnished by this class of writers does however show clear signs of a notion that *Ifrandj* = Franks. One strand of the web of tradition, distinguished by the use of the term *al-arḍ al-kabīra* for the continent north of the Pyrenees, has its earliest representation in the *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* of Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (Cairo n.d., 85). Ṣāʿid equates *Ifrandja al-ʿuẓmā* with *al-arḍ al-kabīra* but distinguishes it from *Ifrānsa*. Ṣāʿid's contemporary Bakrī (fl. 460/1067) and others after him such as ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī use similar phraseology but omit the reference to *Ifrānsa* (Bakrī, *Djughrāfiyat al-Andalus wa-Urūbba*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1968, 66-7; *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, s.v. *Ifrandja*). This is seemingly a native tradition owing nothing to the Orient, but another major strand is that found in its earliest form in Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 67; ed.-tr. Pellat, § 911). Notable features of Masʿūdī's account are that the *Ifrandj* are distinct from the *Djalāliḳa*—*i.e.*, they are not inhabitants of the Peninsula—and their capital is Paris. Both Bakrī (137 f.) and ʿAbd al-Munʿim (s.v. *Ifrandja*) use Masʿūdī's material with some additions of unknown provenance but neither writer handles his material in such a fashion as to convince the reader that it has been brought up to date or collated with the other information. Thus although the article *Ifrandja* in *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* gives a reasonably coherent account of France, the article *Burdīl* (Bordeaux), otherwise accurate, places that city in Djillīḳiya; and Barcelona is stated (s.v. *Barshalūna*) to be the residence of the king of *Ifrandja*. None of the extant travellers' accounts—Ghazāl, Ṭurṭūshī, Rabīʿ b. Zayd *alias* Recemundo—provides any information on the *Ifrandj*/Franks.

The picture of Western Europe which emerges is that of a vast, cold, but fertile land extending northwards to the limits of habitation and hemmed in on the east by mountains and forests in or beyond which dwell the *Ṣaḳāliba*. The Christian *Ifrandj*, though unhygienic in their habits, are hardy and good fighters. For long they owed allegiance to one king, whose capital is, or was, Paris or Lyons. So vague and fragmentary is this picture that one may with justification suspect that the extant literature does not represent fully the information on western Europe available to the Muslims of Spain.

Bibliography: In the text.

(J. F. P. HOPKINS)

AL-IFRĀNĪ (IFRANĪ, UFRĀNĪ, etc.) ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤADJDJ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, called al-Ṣaghīr, Moroccan historian and biographer, born at Marrākush *ca.* 1080/1669-70.

His father belonged to the Berber tribe of the Ifrān or Ufrān, which was settled in southern Morocco around the Wādī Darʿa. Very little is known of his life; he pursued his studies in his native town, then at Fez, and lived either in one of the main cities of Morocco or in the *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] of the *S͟harḳāwa* [*q.v.*] of Abu 'l-D̲j̲aʿd (Boujad). Towards the end of his life he was an *imām* and preacher (*k̲h̲aṭīb*) in the Yūsufī *masd̲j̲id* (or Madrasat Ibn Yūsuf) at Marrāku*s̲h̲*; he died in either 1156/1743 or 1157/1745 (G. Deverdun, *Un registre d'inventaire et de prêt . . . daté de 1111/1700*, in *Hespéris*, 1944, 59 and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ii, 15).

Al-Ifrānī is known primarily as the author of the great chronicle of the Saʿdid sultans of Morocco entitled *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-ak̲h̲bār mulūk al-ḳarn al-ḥādī*, published with Fr. tr. by O. Houdas, *Nozhet elhadi, Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1151-1610)*, Paris 1888-9 (= PELOV, 3rd ser., vol. ii) (and lith. Fez. 1307). This is by far the most important source for the history of the first of the S̲h̲arīfī dynasties of Morocco, since it is based not only on the content of the contemporary chronicles but also, to a certain extent, on original archive material. It covers altogether the period from 917/1511-2 to the end of the 11th/17th century and deals, though very unequally, with the reigns of the various Saʿdid princes, the longest and most detailed account being of course that of the reign of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

In addition to his history of the Saʿdids, al-Ifrānī wrote various other historical, biographical or literary works. The principal ones are, in the order in which they were written: (1) *al-Maslak al-sahl fī s̲h̲arḥ taws̲h̲īḥ Ibn Sahl*, a commentary on a poem by the famous Spanish poet Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl [*q.v.*], (lith. Fez 1324); (2) a monograph on the ʿAlawid sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf* or *al-Ẓill al-warīf fī mafāk̲h̲ir mawlānā Ismāʿīl ibn al-S̲h̲arīf*; (3) a collection of biographies of the Moroccan saints of the 11th/17th century, *Ṣafwat man intas̲h̲ar min ak̲h̲bār ṣulaḥāʾ al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿas̲h̲ar*; this (lith. Fez n.d.) is an essential work for the history of the S̲h̲arīfī and marabout movement in Morocco from the end of the Middle Ages.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

IFRĀṬ, IFRĀṬ FI'L-ṢIFA [see MUBĀLAG̲H̲A].

IFRĪḲIYA, the eastern part of the Mag̲h̲rib, whence the name adopted by some modern historians for Eastern Barbary.

The term *Ifrīḳiya* is undoubtedly—whatever the Arab writers say—borrowed from the Latin *Africa*, so the origin of the Arabic word must be sought in the etymology of the Latin term, a question which, from the most ancient times to today, has continued to defeat scholars. What is certain is that the term *Africa*, and the other forms derived from the same radical *Afer* (pl. *Afri*), are attested in the Latin sources well before the fall of Carthage; it is known in particular that the elder Scipio (235-183 B.C.) had received after his victory over Hannibal at Zama (202 B.C.) the by-name of "Africanus"; the adjective *africus* is also attested many times in a period before the fall of Carthage (146 B.C.), whose territory, annexed by Rome, was called *Provincia Africa*, "or, through omission of the substantive, simply *Africa*" (Gsell, *Hist. ancienne*, vii, 2). This *Provincia Africa* was the country of the Afri, a term which, after having been applied to the natives of the territories of Carthage and even sometimes used to distinguish them from the *Poeni* or the *Carthaginienses*, had ended by embracing also the latter—as may indeed be inferred from the by-name of the conqueror of Hannibal. These are the only definite facts on the matter.

After this there are few precise indications on the origin of the term *Africa*, and there is no unanimity of opinion on the matter. Fournel, in 1875, declared unequivocably: "I have no hesitation in saying that it is absolutely unknown" (*Berbers*, i, 23); Gsell, some decades later, stated: "It is better to admit our ignorance on the origin of this name" (*Hist. ancienne*, vii, 5); and we are no further forward today. Nevertheless, from ancient times to today, there have been advanced a number of theories, in varying degrees ingenious or convincing, which may be classified into two main groups.

1. The mythical etymologies. From remotest antiquity, a certain number of explanations, all based on the genealogical myth of divine or heroic origin entertained in the ancient world, have been put forward. For example *Africa* was considered to be the country of the children of Afer, the son of a "princess Libya, either a native, or a daughter of Jupiter, or of Neptune, or of Epaphus" (d'Avezac, *Afrique*, 4); or else the son of the Libyan Hercules; or of Cronos and Philyra; or of Abraham and Keturah; or the grandson of Abraham and the leader of an expedition to Libya, etc. (for the sources, see Gsell, *Hist. ancienne*, vii, 4).

The Arabs, certainly not completely ignorant of these legends, which were probably fairly widespread in the country they had just conquered, themselves showed no less imagination. They adopted mainly a system of explanation probably influenced on the one hand by the ancient myths and based in addition on the model which had allowed them to propound the existence of an Arab race, that is by supposing the existence of an eponymous ancestor named generally *Ifrīḳīs* (= Africus), or sometimes *Ifrīḳīs̲h̲*, who gave his name to the Ifrīḳiyans and to their country. This explanation, later taken up with variants by most of the Arab chroniclers and geographers, represents in fact one single tradition which had been collected and disseminated by His̲h̲ām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. between 204 and 206/819-21) [see AL-KALBĪ].

It should however be noted that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (187-257/803-71), who belonged to a family of serious *faḳīh*s and *muḥaddit̲h̲*s and who was the author of the earliest written source on the history of the conquest of Ifrīḳiya, does not mention this explanation in his work, probably advisedly. Ibn al-Kalbī is considered by serious traditionists as not to be trusted (Yāḳūt, xix, 287-8). Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, with his well-known critical approach, mentions it in his *Muḳaddima* (16) only as an example of the "false tales" (*al-ak̲h̲bār al-wāhiya*) with which his predecessors had padded out their works. And when he reproduces it later (*ʿIbar*, ii, 95, 108, 170), he does

so without taking any responsibility for it, or clearly indicating his reservations about it (ii, 170).

Ifriḳis or Ifrīḳish is of course always presented by the chroniclers relating the legend as a purely Arab hero. His history is always in some degree linked with the origin, still obscure, of the Berbers [*q.v.*], whom the Arabs generally described as Canaanite or Himyarite orientals. Ifriḳis, whose genealogy is given with a number of variants, is presented as a powerful king of the Yemen, contemporary with Solomon; he is said to have conquered the Maghrib, to which he gave his name, and established permanently there certain south Arabian tribes. Al-Balādhurī (d. circa 279/892), following Ibn al-Kalbī, refers to him as Ifriḳis b. Ḳays b. Ṣayfī al-Ḥimyarī, and the same descent is given in Ibn Khaldūn. But he is also sometimes given, among others, the name of Ifrīḳis b. Abraha b. al-Rā'ish (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 21; Yāḳūt, i, 228).

The Arab chroniclers put forward also another explanation, equally mythical, in which however the hero who gave his name to Ifrīḳiya becomes a Biblical character. According to this explanation, which echoes the Greco-Jewish legend related by Josephus (Tissot, *Exploration*, i, 389, note 5), this hero was Ifriḳ (= Epher), son of Abraham and his second wife Faṭūrā (= Keturah) (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 21); or else Fāriḳ b. Bayṣar b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ (Noah) (Yāḳūt, i, 228). Other genealogies, equally Biblical, are suggested by Ibn Abī Dīnār (*Mu'nis*, 19).

2. The philological etymologies. Other explanations, based on the Arabic root *FRḲ* (= to separate) which is detected in "Ifrīḳiya", have also been advanced by al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050, cited by Yāḳūt, i, 228), al-Zabīdī (*TA*, vii, 46), and Ibn Abī Dīnār (*Mu'nis*, 19); they explain that Ifrīḳiya was so called "because it separates Egypt from the Maghrib" (*faraḳat bayna Miṣr wa 'l-Maghrib*), according to Leo Africanus (tr. Epaulard, 3), because it is separated from Europe, and partly from Asia, by the Mediterranean.

A number of other etymologies, all by philological derivation, some ancient and others suggested by modern scholars, have been worked out from Latin, Greek or Semitic roots.

The name "Africa" is made to derive: from the Latin word *aprica* (= the Hot), an etymology suggested by Isidorus ("Africam quidam inde nominatam existimant, quasi apricam, quod sit aperta caelo vel soli et sine horrore frigoris") and Servius (see Tissot, *Exploration*, i, 289, note 2; Gsell, *Afrique*, vii, 3, note 8), and mentioned also by Ibn Abī Dīnār who, linking the Latin word to an Arabic root, writes: "Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, citing various sources, assures us that Ifrīkiya was called *Ibrīḳiya* [= Aprica], a word derived from *barīḳ* [brightness], because its sky is cloudless" (*Mu'nis*, 19); or from the Greek word *a-phrike* (= deprived of cold) (see d'Avezac, *Afrique*, 4); or from the semitic root *FRḲ*.

M. d'Avezac (*Afrique*, 4-5), after mentioning that the word *Africa* had been regarded as representing "a territory rich in spices, the country of palm-trees, the region of dust, the divided country, the land of Barqah", adds: "But how artificial these various conjectures appear beside the very simple statement of Suidas, that Africa was the ancient name of Carthage itself . . . and the basic etymology of this early name of Carthage is simply and naturally supplied by the language of Carthage itself, referring to Afryqah as a "separated" settlement, a colony of Tyre; and the Arabs came, by a regular derivation, to refer to the region dependent upon this ancient Afryqah as Afryqyah".

This explanation, which was adopted by de Slane and rejected by Fournel, Tissot, and Gsell, involves two main difficulties: (a) Firstly, it is not absolutely certain that Carthage had the name of "Afryqah" in ancient times. The isolated attestation of Suidas (Carthago, quae Africa et Byrsa dicta fuit) is that of a late author (9th-10th centuries A.D.) whom many consider unsound. It is therefore not conclusive (Fournel, *Berbers*, i, 24, n. 2; Gsell, *Afrique*, vii, 3, n. 2). (b) Furthermore, to the difficulties of derivation is added the fact that the word Afer or its derivatives, which are probably not Latin words, have not been found in any Punic inscription, either in the time of Gsell (*Afrique*, vii, 4) or today.

It was therefore natural to consider other etymologies taken from Berber words: from *ifri* (cave); or from the Īfran [*q.v.*]; or from the name of the tribe of the Awrigha.

The last etymology was first suggested by Carette, prompted by the derivation of the word Libya, used by the Greeks, and which originally referred to the country of the *Lebou* or *Luwāta*. Reasoning along the same lines, he wrote on the origin of the term *Africa*: "It was probably for the Phoenician colonists of Carthage what the name of Libya had been for the Greek colonists of Cyrene . . ., a name borrowed from the people with whom they first came in contact, and already traditionally in use in the country; a name earlier even than that of Libya, since the settlement of the Carthaginians was earlier than that of the Cyreneans" (*Recherches*, 309-10). After adding that "this origin of the name of Africa is not based on any documents", but that it nevertheless seemed to him "probable", he attempts, with the help of some rather tenuous proofs, to establish that the Awrigha must, in the remotest antiquity, have inhabited the territory occupied by Carthage. Under the domination of the latter, "this tribe of the Aourir'a [= Awrigha] may have been destroyed or dispersed, except for one single group, the Haouâra . . ." (*Recherches*, 311).

This explanation was adopted by Vivien de Saint-Martin and by Tissot, who identified the Awrigha with the "Afāriḳa" of the Arab geographers, and with the "Ifuraces" of Corippus. We know today that this identification is hazardous. Furthermore, Carette's explanations are based only on the most fragile of hypotheses. In the absence of definite facts, and if one is not (with the prudence of Fournel or Gsell) to admit that one knows nothing, it seems that the least hazardous hypothesis remains that which makes the term Africa (= *Ifrīḳiya*) derive from the Semitic root *FRḲ*. Indeed, since the Romans could neither have found the word in their own language nor have borrowed it from the Greeks (who called Ifrīḳiya "Libya"), they can have received it only from their predecessors, the Carthaginians, whose heirs they had become through the fortunes of war. The "Land of Africa" or the *Provincia Africa* —the Ifrīḳiya of the Arabs—referred first of all in fact to the territory which had been conquered from Carthage and fallen under the authority of Rome. This is the only fact which is indisputably established.

Since the Arabic script does not indicate all the vowels, there exists some uncertainty about the spelling of the word Ifrīḳiya. The compilers of some dictionaries reproduce the word without vocalization, and give no indication of how it is to be read (*Ḳāmūs*, iii, 275; *Ṣiḥāḥ*, iv, 1543). In Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933),

the word is vocalized thus: *Ifrīḳiyya* (*Djamhara*, i, 126), without any indication whether this vocalization is that of the author or of the editor. Ibn Manẓūr (*LA*, x, 307) states that it should be read *Ifrīḳiya* (*mukhaffafat al-yā'*); and al-Zabīdī (*TA*, vii, 46) adopts the same spelling. He stipulates that it should be read (*bi 'l-kasr ... wa-hiya mukhaffafa*). These two writers also add that the plural of Ifrīḳiya is *Afāriḳ*, and quote two verses of al-Aḥwaṣ (which are not an absolutely conclusive proof). In Ibn Abī Dīnār, the word is sometimes spelt Ifrīḳiyā (in the title for example), and sometimes Ifriḳiya (*Mu'nis*, 19).

Today's usage is mainly as follows: Ifrīḳiyā is used when referring to the African continent, and Ifrīḳiya when referring to the mediaeval Arabo-Muslim territory which bore this name.

The limits of Ifriḳiya. The boundaries of this territory are very indefinite. The details given by the various Arabo-Muslim geographers and historians do not always agree, and it is clear that the exact frontiers of Ifrīḳiya were never very precisely understood.

In general, the first Arab historians of the conquest confused Ifrīḳiya with the territory which came under the power of the exarch Gregory, whose authority was considered to extend from Tripoli to Tangiers (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), *Futūḥ*, 42-3; al-Balādhurī (d. circa 279/892), *Futūḥ*, i, 267). One page before this, however, the same al-Balādhurī makes ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ write, in a letter addressed to ʿUmar: "We have reached Tripoli, a town separated from Ifrīḳiya by nine days' march". Al-Warrāḳ (4th/10th century), the source of al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 21), considered that "the boundaries of Ifrīḳiya extend, in length, from Barḳa in the east to Tangiers the Green, called also Mauritania, in the west. In width, its boundaries extend from the sea to the sands which mark the beginning of the country of the Black People (*al-Sūdān*)" (see also Yāḳūt, i, 228; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, fol. 75; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, 20). Thus all these writers regarded Ifrīḳiya as comprising the whole of the Maghrib. This idea, as a result of political vicissitudes, became progressively modified in other authors.

The geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. circa 272/885), who divides the inhabited world into four parts, adopts the Greek terminology to describe the African continent; he calls it *Lūbya* (= Libya) and includes in it Egypt, Abyssinia, the country of the Berbers, etc. (*Masālik*, 24-5). He reserves the term Ifrīḳiya for the Aghlabid kingdom, of which he lists the main towns (*Masālik*, 6-7). This tendency to limit Ifrīḳiya proper, at the most to the kingdom which was that of the Aghlabids, re-appears in most of the other geographers (Ibn al-Faḳīh (d. circa 290/903), *Buldān*, 30-1; al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. circa 350/961), *Masālik*, 33; Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229), i, 228; Marrākushī (d. circa 647/1249), *Muʿdjib*, 273, 433-42). This kingdom extended from the east of Bougie to a few parasangs from Barḳa (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 215).

Saḥnūn (d. 240/855), however, considered that "the boundaries of Ifrīḳiya extend from Tripoli to Tobna" (*apud* al-Dāwūdī, *Amwāl*, in *Mél. Lévi-Provençal*, ii, 409). For al-Muḳaddasī (d. circa 375/985) "the first district (*ḳūra*) on coming from Egypt is that of Barḳa; next come Ifrīḳiya, the districts of Tāhart, of Sidjilmāsa and of Fās, then Sūs al-Aḳṣā" (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 4-5), and he mentions, among the towns of Ifrīḳiya, Djazīrat Banī Zaghnāya (Algiers), Mattīdja (Mittidja) and Ashīr, that is to say, regions over which the Aghlabids never had any authority. It should finally be noted that Yāḳūt fixes its western limits, according to some, at Bougie or at Miliana, whereas Ibn Abī Dīnār states that in his time (end of the 11th/17th century) the word Ifrīḳiya was hardly used any more, except of the plain of the Medjerda as far as Bēja (*Mu'nis*, 20). This last usage has still not entirely disappeared from the Bedouin language of Tunisia.

In short, Ifrīḳiya was sometimes confused with the whole of the Maghrib and sometimes considered as a geographically separate region. It may be said that the geographical Ifrīḳiya consisted essentially of the ancient (Numidia) Proconsularis and Byzacena, which formed the nucleus of it, to which were later added Tripolitania, the Numidia of the Aurès, and even a part of Sitifian Numidia. Upon this geographical concept was superimposed an administrative concept. Because of this Ifrīḳiya tended to be confused, in the writings of the chroniclers, with the territory which in the Middle Ages was ruled in turn from Ḳayrawān, from Mahdiyya or from Tunis, a territory which expanded or contracted according to the vicissitudes of history. This explains the often ambiguous use of the term, the implication of which becomes clear only in relation to the context and the period.

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Siècle, in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 88-94; see also ALGERIA, BERBERS, LIBYA, MOROCCO, TUNISIA.

(M. TALBI)

ʿIFRĪT, sometimes connected with *nifrīt*, wicked, is an epithet expressing power, cunning and insubordination. In spite of its aberrant form, the word seems to be of Arabic origin. The lexicographers consider it to derive from the verb *ʿafara*, "to roll someone in the dust" and, by extension, "to bring low".

The word is used rarely in Arabic poetry of the time of the *Hidjra* and is found only once in the Ḳurʾān. To Solomon's request that he should be brought the throne of the queen of Sheba, "an *ʿifrīt* of the *djinns* said, 'I shall bring it to you before you can rise from your place'" (XXVII, 39). From all the evidence, and as is also confirmed by the beginning of verse 40 of the same *sūra*, the epithet is not there used of a special category of *djinns* but in the sense of "rebellious". A *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad and reported by Abū Hurayra uses the same expression: "*ʿifrīt min al-djinn*" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334, ii, 72; cf. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1319, i, 173).

After its use in the Ḳurʾān, the word became more widely used: in its substantive form, it came to mean a class of particularly powerful chthonian forces, formidable and cunning. It would, however, be difficult to state exactly its implication because of the ambiguity of the term *djinn*, which is applied to everything hidden and veiled from sight, and includes demons as well as *mārid*. The latter word, which is also found only once in the Ḳurʾān (XXXVII, 7), is used there also as an adjective and means strictly "rebel" (cf. Ḳurʾān, IV, 117, XXII, 3). But it in its turn ended by being used of one particular class of fantastic beings from the nether regions, which are difficult to distinguish from the *ʿafārīt*. The Islamic theologians must soon have felt the necessity of providing a clearer definition of these rather obscure and shifting notions. The majority of the commentators considered both the one and the other to be rebellious and wicked demons. Al-Djāḥiẓ provides more precise definitions. According to him, the *shayṭān* is a renegade *djinnī* who sows discord and does evil; one who is strong enough to perform difficult tasks, carry heavy burdens and overhear what passes in the upper regions (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXVII, 6-10, LXXII, 8-9) is a *mārid*; one who is more powerful still is an *ʿifrīt* (*Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356, i, 291). In fact, the difference between these infernal beings is not a qualitative one at all; it is solely a matter of their varying abilities to perform marvels.

From this general point of view, the popular tales are in agreement with al-Djāḥiẓ. But they often represent the *mārid* as superior to the *ʿifrīt*; he is even forty times stronger than him (*Sayf b. Dhī Yazan*, Cairo n.d., iii, 155). He has at his command a thousand auxiliaries, *ʿawn*; each auxiliary has under his orders a thousand *shayṭāns*, each of whom is in command of a thousand *djinnīs* ("Thousand and one nights", no. 995). Nevertheless this superiority is not always asserted. It can happen that the *ʿifrīt* dominates its rivals from afar (*Sayf*, ii, 131, 286 f.). The story-tellers even add a subtle remark which is certainly surprising: the *djinnī* and the *ʿifrīt* are endowed with the same strength; but the *djinnī* surpasses the *ʿifrīt* in its power to assume different forms, which the latter is incapable of doing (*Sayf*, iii, 155). However, in the "Thousand and one nights" the *ʿifrīt* appears to humans in the most varied forms (nights nos. 14 and 22). The same is true of the *mārid*, which transforms itself into a bird, a snake, a woman, etc. It would in fact be difficult to establish a real distinction between the two main types of the Arab chthonian genies. Moreover it is not unusual for editors to use indiscriminately the terms *ʿifrīt* and *mārid* (nights nos. 3, 4, 672, 674, 675; *Sayf*, i, 45, 49, 97, 127), which leads to the conclusion that they are synonymous. In fact they certainly come from the same mould, so that it is possible for the same description to serve for both.

In the popular tales, the *ʿifrīt*, like the *mārid*, is a *djinnī* of enormous size (night no. 1; *Sayf*, i, 47). It is formed basically of smoke (night no. 3; *Sayf*, ii, 2), which allows it to contract and to insert itself into a jar (night no. 3). When it is wounded, smoke emerges from its wounds (*Sayf*, i, 50, 97), although, in the Ḳurʾān, the *djinns* are created of "clear fire" (LV, 15). It has wings which it unfolds when it takes flight (night no. 179; *Sayf*, i, 50). It haunts ruins (night no. 991) and lives under the ground (nights nos. 6 and 184; *Sayf*, i, 47), which is its true habitat. In spite of its great power, it is possible for man to enslave it, with the help of God and by means of magic. The sharpest weapons have no effect on it (*Sayf*, ii, 287); in order to wound or kill it, it must be bewitched (*Sayf*, i, 43, 162).

On the moral plane, the *ʿafārīt* are not fundamentally evil. One of them takes pity on an unfortunate husband terrorized by his wife (night no. 991), another allies himself with an *ʿifrīta*, to give help to a young girl who is being forced to marry a hideous hunchback (nights nos. 21 and 22). However, it is wickedness that predominates among this species of renegades. They carry away men's daughters (*Sayf*, i, 96) and will stop at no misdeed. It is from among them that the magicians choose their acolytes. But there are also believing *ʿafārīt*, who do good and carry out God's purposes.

Like all the djinns, the *ʿafārīt* are divided into males and females, but the *ʿifrīta* (nights nos. 2 and 22) sometimes seems to be more powerful than the male (*Sayf*, i, 94). They marry among themselves, and it is possible for them to marry humans (nights nos. 2 and 659). Their social organization is an imitation of that of the Arabs. They are divided into tribes and clans and ruled by kings who sometimes go to war (nights nos 652-9): Their conception of honour is inspired by that of the Bedouin; they are obliged especially to carry out blood vengeance (*Sayf*, ii, 160, 167).

The term *ʿifrīt* may be used of humans, and even of animals. It then expresses cunning, ingenuity and strength (*al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and *LA*, art. *ʿafara*). In contemporary Islam it always has the meaning of "powerful and formidable demon". In Egypt, together with this general meaning (Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1895, 232), which gives supremacy to the *mārid* (A. Amin, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Cairo 1953, 355), it means also the ghost or spirit of a person deceased (Lane, *ibid.*, 236). In the Arabic dialect of Syria, it means both a chthonian genie and a man who is intelligent and resourceful.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, the main works on *djinna* may be consulted: Shiblī, *Akām al-murdjān fī aḥkām al-djān*; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*; N. T. Niʿma, *al-Djinn fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1961; J. Henninger, *Geisterglaube bei den vorislamischen Arabern*, in *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, xviii (1963). It should be mentioned in passing that Wensinck

rejects the Latin etymology of the word *djinn* and considers, with Wellhausen, that it is of Arabic origin (*The etymology of the Arabic djinn*, 506, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 5e reeks, Deel IV, Amsterdam 1920). See the discussion in J. Chelhod, *Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes*, Paris 1965, 70.

(J. Chelhod)

IFRUḲLUS [see buruḳlus].

ĪGHĀR, verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *w.gh.r.* (?), meaning here an exemption or a privilege with respect to taxes. The classical ʿAbbāsid administration used this term both for the privilege, and for the land which was covered by this privilege, of having to pay only one single tax payment, directly to the Treasury and not through tax-collectors. The districts of Mardj and Karadj in western Iran are regularly referred to as al-Īghārayn even after they had lost the official status which earned them this name. In the following centuries the term *īghār* disappeared, becoming absorbed in that of *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] which gradually broadened in connotation.

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IGHARGHAR, Eghergher in Tuareg, is a Saharan wādī to the north of the massif of Hoggar (Ahaggar). Its most important tributary is, on the west, the Taghmert n-Akh. The basin of the Igharghar runs from the volcanic massif of Atakor, in the south, to the plateaus of primary sandstone of the "Tassilian enceinte" (Emmidin and Tassili of the Azdjer), surrounded by the granitic and metamorphic mountains of Tefedest and Turha. The Igharghar and its tributaries flow, usually intermittently, at the most once a year and their waters do not usually reach as far as Amguid. To the north of Amguid a secondary flow seems however to take place along the gorges which cross the *hamada* of Tinghert. Then the bed of the Igharghar disappears in the dunes of the great eastern Erg. It may perhaps have had a longer course during the wet spells of the Quaternary Age via the Gassi Touil and the Oued Righ to as far as the Melghir salt lake. The valley of the Igharghar, affording very poor pasturage, is not a route of much importance. Amguid is a minor administrative centre and the small agricultural centres (*arem*) such as Idelès, upstream, are rare and often temporary.

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(J. Despois)

IGHRĀḲ, IGHRĀḲ FI'L-ṢIFA [see mubālagha].

ĪHĀM [see tawriya].

IḤDĀTH, *maṣdar* of *aḥdatha*, from the root *ḥ.d.th.*, which expresses the idea of an innovation in time. *Ḥadīth* is the opposite of *ḳadīm*, "ancient", whence "eternal" *a parte ante*; *ḥudūth* is the opposite of *ḳudma*.

In the Ḳurʾān the fourth form (*yuḥdith, muḥdath*) is used with the direct object *dhikr*. Commenting on XX, 113, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī considers why the Word of God produces a *dhikr* and not a *taḳwā*; the reason, he suggests, is that "*taḳwā* denotes the act of not doing evil, and it consists in remaining in a fundamental negativeness" (*wa-dhālika 'stimrār ʿala 'l-ʿadam al-aṣlī*); "as for the production of *dhikr*, it is something new coming into being after not having existed (*ammā ḥudūth al-dhikr fa-amr ḥadath baʿd an lam yakun*)". *Ḥadath* clearly contrasts here with *istimrār*, an unchanging permanence; remembering, in fact, denotes a change of state which causes a transition from oblivion to memory. In his commentary on XXI, 2, where we find *dhikr muḥdath*, he explains that God renews men's memory (*yudjaddid lahum al-dhikr*) at every moment (*waḳtan fa-waḳtan*), verse after verse and sūra after sūra. It may be called a continuous revelation, that is to say constantly renewed, parallel to continuous creation. One cannot, however, follow the Muʿtazila, who, on the basis of this verse, argue thus: the Ḳurʾān is *dhikr*, *dhikr* is *muḥdath* (created) and so the Ḳurʾān is created. The Ḳurʾān, which uses many terms to signify creation, does not use *aḥdatha* in this sense.

In the *ḥadīth* on Medina, according to the explanation of the *LA*, the expression *aḥdatha ḥadathan* means to introduce or to encourage an innovation, in the sense of a heretical innovation, *bidʿa*; this is interesting in that it brings together the two roots *ḥ.d.th.* and *b.d.ʿ.*, and, consequently, *iḥdāth* and *ibdāʿ* (*cf. infra*).

In his *Taʿrīfāt*, al-Djurdjānī is very close to the lexicographical sense. *Iḥdāth* is the act of bringing into existence a thing that is preceded by a time (*īdjād shayʾ masbūḳ bi-'l-zamān*). *Muḥdath*, then, is contrasted with *sābiḳ*, that which precedes and is a time. The idea of a production in time can be applied to everything that appears, in this world, for the first time in a moment of time, or to the creation in time of the universe (a doctrine rejected by the philosophers). Ibn Manẓūr writes (*LA*): "*Ḥudūth* is the generation (*kawn*) of something that did not exist". This root is then applied to the creation of beings by God; this is made clear in the sentence: *lam yakun, thumma kāna*, "it was not, *then* it was". These expressions do not, in themselves, necessarily imply creation *ex nihilo*, for, in the view of the *falāsifa*, *kawn*, in the Aristotelian sense of γένεσις, is the actualization of a material potentiality; this presupposes the existence of a matter. Ibn Rushd writes: "If something is produced without change it must be produced from a non-thing (*law kāna yaḥduth shayʾ min ghayr taghayyur la-ḥadatha min lā-shayʾ*)". He defines *takawwun* (establishment in being) as a production that follows a change (*ḥudūth tābiʿ li-taghayyur*). Immediate and absolute *ḥudūth* or *iḥdāth* is inconceivable to him.

For the senses in which Ibn Sīnā uses *iḥdath*, in comparison with *ibdāʿ*, *ṣunʿ* and *takwīn*, A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, should be consulted, as should also *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā* (see the index under Ḥ.d.ṯ.) and the *Livre des Directives et Remarques* (trans. of the *Ishārāt*, notes to pages 373, 377, 386), both by the same author. Apart from the general sense of "produce", Ibn Sīnā gives many precise philosophical senses. He distinguishes between *al-iḥdāth al-zamānī*, the act of bringing into existence a thing which did not exist at an earlier time (*fī zamān sābiḳ*), and *al-iḥdāth al-ghayr zamānī*, the bringing into existence of a thing that does not contain that existence in its essence, not at one time to the exclusion of another, but at any time. Since time is not generated through generation in time, but through immediate creative production (*ibdāʿ*), the Creator (*muḥdith*) is anterior not in time, but by essence. Then again, every effect (*maʿlūl*) is *muḥdath*, for it draws its existence from something else. In this sense, *iḥdāth* consists in bringing into existence an essence which, in itself, is merely possible, and the *muḥdath* is thus the contingent, not in the

sense that it could equally exist or not exist, but in the sense that, when it exists, it does not exist of itself. This relation of ideas is well demonstrated in a commentary of Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the famous verse 117 of the *sūrat al-baḳara*: "Immediate Creator (*badīʿ*) of the heaven and the earth, and when he has decided something he has only to say to it: Be! and it is". Al-Rāzī writes, in a style rather like that of Avicenna: "Everything that is not the necessary Being is possible (*mumkin*) by its essence; everything that is possible by its essence is brought into being (*muḥdat͟h*; here, not in time); and every *muḥdat͟h* is created (*mak͟hlūḳ*) as a creature of the necessary Being". Then, showing that it is impossible to take this verse literally, he interprets it by a *taʾwīl* and says that it indicates "the speed with which divine power enters upon the bringing into being of things: God creates (*yak͟hliḳ*) them, but not with reflexion, taking precautions or experimentation". *Kun*, then, relates to Avicenna's sense of *ibdāʿ*, conformably with the first word of the verse, *badīʿ*. In fact, however, there is no need to distinguish between two kinds of action, in the case of the creation of the world by God; it may be said that *iḥdāt͟h*, with reference to the Creator, is an *ibdāʿ*, inasmuch as it denotes the immediate action of the first Cause. When the first cause, however, produces, through an intermediary, secondary causes, *iḥdāt͟h* is the term that applies, and it must then be distinguished from *ibdāʿ*.

When we leave *falsafa*, the inheritor of the metaphysics of matter and form, and move to As͟hʿarite theology, which is founded on the idea of the discontinuity of time and that of the reality of bodies, creation *ex nihilo* is more easily justified as the only logical solution of the contingency of creatures. Al-Bāḳillānī distinguishes the knowledge of the *ḳadīm*, the object of which is God, from the knowledge of the *muḥdat͟h*, the object of which is the world (*ʿālam*). The beings of the world are divided into bodies which are compound, substances each of which is an atom (*d͟jawhar munfarid*), and accidents (*aʿrāḍ*), which exist in bodies and in substances. Everything that is not God is *muḥdat͟h*. Bodies, being compounded (*muʾallaf*), are necessarily produced in being; the same, however, is true of substances and accidents. The demonstration of this, in which al-Bāḳillānī makes a division into two, accident and substance (in his reasoning he no longer mentions substances, and replaces them by bodies, doubtless because the argument, which can be more easily grasped at the level of the compound, is for him equally valid for the simple), is as follows: accidents are realities which come into existence (*ḥawādit͟h*); when one is produced, motion, for example, another, rest, is destroyed. Bodies cannot, however, exist before their accidents exist, for, in their composition, the parts that compose them have certain accidental relationships of proximity of distance. Thus, if bodies do not precede accidents, which are *muḥdat͟hāt*, they are themselves necessarily created. It is apparent that atoms, also, cannot exist without being in a place, in rest or in motion and in some relationship with one another, all of which determinations are accidents, since they are variable. Thus these singular substances do not precede accidents, and they are created. Al-Bāḳillānī defines *muḥdat͟h* as a being that derives from not-being (*al-mawd͟jūd ʿan al-ʿadam*). Now, as an accident cannot subsist by itself in two successive moments of time, *iḥdāt͟h* is, broadly speaking, a continuous creation, just as much for *aʿrāḍ* as for *d͟jawāhir*. Substance is not a being that, once it exists, subsists by the laws of its nature alone. God makes it exist (*īd͟jād*) and subsist (*ibḳāʾ*), as al-Rāzī shows in many passages of his *Mafātīḥ al-g͟hayb*, especially in the commentary on the sūra *Sabā*. Thus we may say that, in the minds of the theologians, *iḥdāt͟h* is, relative to creation, both *īd͟jād* and *ibḳāʾ*. ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Bag͟hdādī presents the same ideas as al-Bāḳillānī in his *K. Uṣūl al-Dīn*.

The radical opposition of *ḳadīm* and *muḥdat͟h* is of Muʿtazilī origin. This school understands *īd͟jād* in the strict sense of the creation of existence, to the exclusion of essence. The Muʿtazila wish thus to banish from creation all exemplarism. The way that this problem of theirs is dealt with, however, is outside the terms of reference of a study of *iḥdāt͟h*.

It should be noticed that the idea of *iḥdāt͟h* can be distinguished from that of *k͟halḳ*, in that it refers rather to the newness of the thing created, whereas *k͟halḳ* denotes the actual act of the creator. In absolute terms, a *muḥdat͟h* whose *muḥdit͟h* does not exist can be conceived of. But, as Ibn Ḥazm points out, if the Creator (*K͟hāliḳ*) is the one that gives being (*mūd͟jid*), "God constantly causes every existing thing to exist throughout its existence". Ibn Ḥazm agrees with al-Naẓẓām in stating, in opposition to As͟hʿarite atomism, that continuous creation is not a succession of *iḥdāt͟h*, in which, at every moment, a creature's existence is renewed after having been destroyed, but an action that continues uninterruptedly as long as the creature is to survive: "*wa-'llāh mūd͟jid li-kull mā yūd͟jid fī kull waḳt abadan wa-in lam yufnihi ḳabl d͟hālik*" (*Fiṣal*, v, 55).

(R. Arnaldez)

IḤRĀM, *maṣdar* of the verb *aḥrama*, is an "act of declaring (or making) sacred or forbidden". The opposite is *iḥlāl* "act of declaring permitted". The word *iḥrām* had become a technical term for the state of temporary consecration of someone who is performing the *ḥad͟jd͟j* or the *ʿumra*; a person in this state is referred to as *muḥrim*. The entering into this holy state (also called *iḥlāl*) is accomplished, for men and women, by the statement of intention, accompanied by certain rites and in addition, for men, by the donning of the ritual garment. When making the intention, the pilgrim states the juridical type of pilgrimage which he wishes to perform [see ḤAD͟JD͟J, iii, § B]. To be in a state of *iḥrām* is considered an indispensable condition (by the Ḥanafīs) or *rukn* (by the three other schools) of both the great and the lesser Pilgrimage. For the *ḥad͟jd͟j* the entering into this state may normally take place during the months of S͟hawwāl, D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda and the beginning of D͟hu 'l-Ḥid͟jd͟ja (up to and including the night of the 9th/10th). For the *ʿumra* it may take place at any time of the year, except for the middle days of the *ḥad͟jd͟j*.

The places (*mīḳāt* or *muḥall*) traditionally stipulated for the assumption of the *iḥrām* are: (a) For those coming from Syria, Egypt or the west: originally al-D͟juḥfa, now replaced by a locality near it, Rābig͟h (about 200 km. north-north-west of Mecca). (b) For those coming from ʿIrāḳ or further: D͟hāt ʿIrḳ, about 94 km. north-east of Mecca, at the foot of Mount ʿIrḳ, which dominates Wādī 'l-ʿAḳīḳ; this is the site of the present-day Ḍarība. (c) D͟hu 'l-Ḥulayfa (the present-day Abar ʿAlī, about ten kilometres from Medina) for the Medinans. (d) For those coming from the Yemen by the Red Sea coastal route: Yalamlam, a mountain of the Tihāma, 54 km. (?) or two stages (?) south of Mecca. (e) For the people of the Nad͟jd: Ḳarn al-Manāzil (to the east of ʿArafāt). (f) The people of Mecca and other Muslims

who are already in Mecca assume the *iḥrām* for the *ḥadjdj* in Mecca itself, but they are obliged to leave the holy ground (*ḥaram*) of Mecca if they propose to assume it for the *ʿumra*. In this case they will go for preference to al-Djiʿrāna or to Tanʿim (the present-day masādjid ʿĀʾisha).

Pilgrims travelling by boat put on the holy garments while on board, when their boat draws level with the appropriate *mīḳāt*. Those travelling by air do so at the place from which they board the plane for Djudda.

The garment for men consists of two pieces of white seamless cloth. One (*izār*) is worn round the loins and falls to the knees like a wide loin-cloth. The other (*ridāʾ*) is draped round the upper half of the wearer's chest. This type of garment, which must formerly have been in common use, is still worn today by the Afars (or Danāḳil) in the deserts at the foot of the mountains of Ethiopia towards the Red Sea as well as by some Somali tribes of the country. The costume is completed by sandals (or, if need be, shoes which leave the ankles uncovered). Men's heads must be bare. In addition a sunshade may be used and papers or items of value may be carried in a leather shoulder-bag. There is no special garment for women, but propriety demands that they wear long sleeves, fairly long skirts and, nowadays, a kind of kerchief and head-veil.

The minutiae, and the differences between the juridical schools, are such that it is impossible to enumerate all the details here. Before entering that state of *iḥrām* the pilgrim usually performs a major ablution (*ghusl*) and has his hair and his nails cut and his armpits shaved. It is permitted at this stage to use a perfume which leaves no trace, as did the Prophet when he made his Farewell Pilgrimage. Two traditional *rakʿa*s are performed (*sunna*). After this the pilgrim recites many times the *talbiya* [*q.v.*].

The jurists lay down the following points: it is forbidden to the *muḥrim* to wear any sewn garments; he must refrain from arguments, from hunting, from sexual intercourse, from perfumes, and from cutting or trimming the hair of his head or body or his nails. He is however permitted to wash himself and scrape his skin in moderation, but without causing any hairs to fall out. Any contract of marriage made while in the state of *iḥrām* is not valid. Expiatory measures are prescribed for those who fail to observe any secondary requirements of the ritual. All the prohibitions belonging to this state of consecration cease with the return to normal life following the final de-consecration [see ḤADJDJ, ʿUMRA]. This includes the cutting or trimming of the hair and the resumption of normal clothes.

Preachers stress the fact that the *iḥrām* symbolizes the pilgrim's separation from the world and his intention to be with God alone; it also demonstrates the unity of the Muslim community and the equality of all its members, without any priestly hierarchy or any superiority arising from worldly attributes.

In an entirely different context, the expression *takbīr al-iḥrām* refers to the *takbīr* with which the ritual prayer begins, and which puts the worshipper into a temporary state of special relationship with God.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*², 122 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, 68 ff.; Juynboll, *Handb. des islām. Gesetzes*, 79-80, 143 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*², 481 ff.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 168 ff.; the works of *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*, in the chapters on *ḥadjdj*, *ʿumra*, *ṣalāt*. The travel books of Burckhardt, Burton, v. Maltzan, Keane; H. Kazem Zadeh, in *RMM*, xix, 198 ff.; J. Jomier, *Le pèlerinage musulman vu du Caire vers 1960*, in *MIDEO*, ix, 28-37, 58-69; A. J. Wensinck, in *Isl.*, iv, 229-32.

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IḤṢĀN [see MUḤṢAN].

IḤSĀN, AḤMAD [see AḤMAD IḤSĀN].

IḤTISĀB [see ḤISBA].

IḤYĀʾ means, in the language of the *fuḳahāʾ*, "bringing to life", with the precise meaning of putting a piece of land to use. The word is in fact nearly always associated with *mawāt* [*q.v.*] lands, that is, land which is uncultivated or merely lying fallow, which belongs to nobody and which is, in general, far from centres of population. The appropriation of this land by an individual entails his first putting it to use. The writers base this method of acquiring property by putting it to use on a statement by ʿUmar and on *ḥadīth*s which they trace to the Prophet and in which it is said in particular: "*Mawāt* land belongs to whoever restores is to life" (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, *Bāb man aḥyā arḍan mawātan*).

Before investigating what is entailed by the "putting to use" necessary for the legal acquisition of such lands, it is as well to define whether or not this operation (whatever the methods employed) must be preceded by an authorization from the public authority. Preliminary authorization is insisted on only in Ḥanafī law, following the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa, which prevailed over that of his disciples, and in Imāmī Shīʿī law. The other schools consider it unnecessary, or at the most recommended, as in Shāfiʿī law. It is unnecessary even in Mālikī law, although this seems to insist on the previous authority of the *imām* when land near to inhabited places is concerned; but on careful examination of the texts which are the accepted authorities in this school, it is seen that what is required is not an actual authorization but a check by the *imām* to ensure that the land which it is planned to bring into use is not "common" land, in which case, since such land may not be acquired by an owner, any "putting of it to use" would be invalid. There is no danger of this however with land which is very far from habitation, hence there is no necessity for a previous authorization with regard to it.

Whether authorization is necessary, as in Ḥanafī and Imāmī law, or superfluous, as in the system of the other schools, the question arises as to whether the *dhimmī* has the same right as the Muslim to put waste land to use in order to become the owner of it. There is no uncertainty about this in Ḥanafī law: the Ḥanafīs say that there is no reason to deprive the *dhimmī* of using *iḥyāʾ* as a means of acquiring a property since he is allowed to use all the other means of acquiring property which are recognized by Muslim law. It may be that the liberalism of Ḥanafī law is to be explained by the fact that since this school insists that *iḥyāʾ* has to be subject to an authorization from the *imām*, the decision whether it should be granted to a *dhimmī* is left to him. In the other schools the question is a very controversial one. Although the Mālikīs adopt a solution very similar to that of the Ḥanafīs (that the *dhimmī* has the same rights in this as the Muslim), Shāfiʿīs, Ḥanbalīs and Imāmīs vary, according to the school, between supporting the liberal attitude and defending the principle whereby in Islamic countries waste land is reserved for Muslims.

What constitutes *iḥyāʾ*? What must the would-be



Pilgrim in *iḥrām* dress.

owner do in order to be considered to have put to use a piece of land hitherto considered as vacant or waste and hence acquire the ownership of it? There arises here the distinction between *taḥdjīr* or "delimitation" and putting to use properly so-called, *iḥyāʾ*. A person who has been authorized to put to use a piece of land (in Ḥanafī or Imāmī law) or who, on his own account (in the other systems), chooses a piece of waste land, with the intention of putting it to use, must begin by defining the limits of the land which he is undertaking to exploit. This is *taḥdjīr*, so called because the first procedure is to set stones along the length of each boundary in order to fix the extreme limits of the area to be brought into use. Any other method of delimitation—a fence for example, or a ditch—is equally valid. *Taḥdjīr* is not in itself "putting to use" and hence does not confer ownership; on this point the *fuḳahāʾ* of all the schools agree completely; but this delimitation nevertheless forms the first step towards an actual putting to use of the waste land. It should be stressed however that the importance of this first stage varies greatly according to whether Ḥanafī doctrine or that of the other schools is involved.

A. In Ḥanafī law, because for the actual *iḥyāʾ* the previous authority of the *imām* is always insisted upon, the simple formality of delimitation, even although carried out without authorization, confers on the person performing it a sort of *de facto* monopoly, since he could be supplanted only by an actual exploiter provided with the (very unlikely) authorization of the *imām*. This "monopoly" lasts for at least three years. This was in fact the period which, in accordance with the sayings of ʿUmar, was granted to the exploiter in order that he might complete the bringing into use of the land whose boundaries he had already marked out. Once this period had expired, unless the *imām* granted him a further extension of it, the land was taken from him to be given to a more diligent exploiter. But if the putting to use was completed within the three years, the occupant of the land became the absolute owner of it. Apart from this, Ḥanafī law is not very exacting over the conditions of this putting to use. The Ḥanafī writers (only the later writers it is true) consider that these conditions will depend on the exploiter's final intentions for the waste land. If the land is desert and he intends to cultivate it, he will have, first of all, to irrigate it, for example by digging a well; if he plans to live there, it will be enough for him to build the four walls of a house (Ḥanafī law does not insist that this house should have a roof). As the logical conclusion of the reasoning which makes the conditions of the putting to use depend on the use which is finally to be made of the land, it could be admitted that the mere erecting of a fence constitutes a real putting to use, when the possessor has decided to use the land considered as waste land simply for grazing sheep.

B. In the doctrine of the other schools, *taḥdjīr* has much less weight than in Ḥanafī law, because of the fact that the *iḥyāʾ* itself is not subject to an authorization. If confers on the person who has performed it only a priority of claim, and this only of a moral kind, in the sense that it has no legal sanction and that nobody is forced to respect it except as a matter of conscience (*diyāna*). The result is that if a person other than he who has marked the boundaries were to manage to put the land to use before him, this other person would be considered as the real owner of the land, and the right of priority of the person who had done no more than define the boundaries would lapse. All the same, this moral right was, at certain periods, strong enough for the Ḥanbalī Ibn Ḳudāma (*Mughnī*, v, 519) to have no hesitation in including it among the possessions left on the death of someone who has already marked the boundaries of, but not yet acquired ownership of, a piece of land. To make up for the uncertainty of *taḥdjīr* as conceived by the non-Ḥanafī writers, the latter are more exacting than the Ḥanafīs on the conditions of the putting to use. They recognize, it is true, that there exist no absolute rules concerning it and that what is understood by putting to use (*iḥyāʾ*) is governed by the usage and custom of each country, taking into account the geographical situation and the nature and quality of the land to be put to use. Nevertheless, one rule is common to them all, that which, based on the literal meaning of the word *iḥyāʾ*, classes as putting to use only those actions which "bring new life" to the dead land, the mere fact of having exploited it not being, properly speaking, a putting to use; thus Khalīl (*Mukhtaṣar*, book on *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*) writes: "*Iḥyāʾ* does not consist of fencing in the land, grazing animals, or digging a well to water them"; but the digging of a well in order to irrigate the land would be an act of *iḥyāʾ*. On this point, the Mālikī rule is based, with a few very slight differences, on the same principles as that of the Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and even Imāmī schools.

With the passage of time, the idea of *iḥyāʾ* or acquiring property by putting to use became of decreasing importance, in proportion as there disappeared *mawāt* lands, which almost everywhere were losing their character of *res nullius* to become state lands. This phenomenon was particularly evident in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman code of land laws of 1858 devoted only two articles to the restoration of waste land (articles 103 and 104), whereas a whole section of it was reserved for *mīriyya* or state-owned land. It is true that later, in 1877, the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] was to lay down detailed rules on the matter (articles 1270 f.) on the basis of the rules of Ḥanafī law. Thus for *iḥyāʾ* proper, a previous authorization was still necessary (as in articles 103 and 104 of the Code of land laws), but for *taḥdjīr* authorization was not expressly demanded by the *Medjelle*; from this it was deduced in general that (in conformity with the old and less developed solution of Ḥanafī doctrine) the authorization was not indispensable, and that thus, in practice, it was possible to circumvent quite easily the principle that the putting to use must be preceded by an authorization from the *imām*.

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh* include a chapter on *iḥyāʾ al-mawāt*; in the great work by Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1367, the question is dealt with on pages 513-5, and then on pages 538-44 of vol. v. Besides the general treatises of *fiḳh*, there may be consulted the following works, all very early: Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb (d. 182/798), *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ ed., 1302 (Fr. tr. by Fagnan, *Le Livre de l'Impôt foncier*, Paris 1921); Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 202/817-8), *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1347, 84 ff. (Eng. tr. by A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i, Leiden 1958); Ibn Salām (d. 224/839), *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1353; Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1909 (Fr. tr. by Fagnan, *Les Statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers 1916). For Ottoman law, N. Chiha, *Traité de la propriété immobilière en droit ottoman*, Cairo 1906; see also D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, i, no. 69.

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ʿIḲĀB (A.), punishment. On legal penalties, see DJAZĀʾ, ḤADD, TAʿZĪR, ʿUḲŪBA. On divine punishment, see ʿADHĀB; on the "punishment of the tomb", see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR.

AL-**ʿIḲĀB**, name of one of the most decisive battles in the long struggle between Islam and Christendom for possession of the Iberian Peninsula. It took place on Monday 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212, and ended with a complete victory for a large all-Iberian Christian army, supported by considerable crusading forces from Western Europe and led by Alfonso VIII of Castile, over an equally numerous Muslim army led by Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the fourth Almohade Caliph. It is known in Spanish annals as the "battle of Las Navas de Tolosa", although it took place some 9 km. to the north-west of the locality now bearing that name (province of Ciudad Real). The battle-field was the mound-strewn plain some 4.5 km. to the west of the present town of Santa Elena, between it and the village of Miranda del Rey. These rocky mounds (*ʿiḳāb*, sing. *ʿaḳaba*) gave the battle its Arabic name, while the plain itself—extending between mountains (*nava*)—gave it its Spanish one.

Al-ʿIḳāb was the historical sequel to the Almohade victory over Castile in the battle of Alarcos (al-Arak) 18 years earlier (9 Shaʿbān 591/18 July 1194). After that great victory, Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, the third Almohade Caliph, captured the stronghold of Calatrava, the seat of the intrepid knights of the Order of Calatrava. In the following years Almohade forces ravaged the region of Toledo, so that Castile felt that it could not ultimately resist the Muslim pressure if it remained alone: to survive, it had to gain the support of the other Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula.

This was the aim that Alfonso VIII of Castile endeavoured to attain after Alarcos. He managed to arrange matters with his rivals Sancho VIII (the Strong), king of Navarre, and Pedro II of Aragon, but had no success with Alfonso IX of Leon. However, he was able to secure for Castile the support of the most prominent knights of the Peninsula, such as Alvaro Núñez de Lara, Diego López de Haro and his cousin Lope Díaz, together with their powerful following. At the same time he sent a delegation to Pope Innocent III, asking him to summon a Crusade against the Muslims of Spain. The Pope agreed, and promulgated bulls asking the bishops of Italy and Western Europe to preach the crusade and urge people to enlist against the Muslims, with a promise of complete forgiveness of their sins in return.

In the meantime things had considerably deteriorated on the Muslim side since the death of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr (22 January 1199). He was succeeded by his 17-year-old son Muḥammad, surnamed al-Nāṣir. The real authority in the empire passed into the hands of his uncles, none of whom was capable of sustaining the responsibilities they had assumed. The only capable man near the throne was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, son of Abū Ḥafṣ Intī (al-Hintātī), one of the founders of the Almohade movement. When al-Nāṣir grew older, he endeavoured to concentrate power in his own hands with the help of a group of selfish and intriguing viziers such as Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yuwaggān, Abū Saʿīd ibn Djāmiʿ and Abū Muḥammad b. Muthannā. Moreover, al-Nāṣir was a conceited young man, who endeavoured all the time to conceal his personal physical and intellectual shortcomings by an outward show of daring and will to do great things. To bring the Banū Ghāniyya rebellion to an end he exhausted the military forces of the empire in costly campaigns that extended from the Balearic Islands to the deserts of Libya.

Encouraged by the general support he had gained, Alfonso VIII felt able, early in 1209, to challenge once more the Almohade power. Before the expiration of his truce with the Almohades in 1210 he started raiding the provinces of Jaen and Murcia. Al-Nāṣir responded to the challenge and started preparing a campaign against Castile. He issued a general call to arms (*istinfār*) and already in the summer of 1210 the preparations for the coming campaign were in full swing. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, who had been his viceroy in Ifrīḳiya (Tunisia) since 1207, advised him against the campaign, because he realized, better than the Caliph and his viziers, the seriousness of the malaise from which the vast Almohade empire was suffering.

In fact the Almohade empire was rapidly waning under al-Nāṣir. The provincial governors were becoming ruthless feudal lords. In the northern provinces of Morocco the peasantry was mercilessly exploited. In the south the tribes were dangerously hostile because of the continual recruitment and death of the flower of their youth. The situation in the Andalusian provinces was still worse, because of the lack of understanding between the governors, most of whom were mediocre princes (*sayyids*) and the mercurial local chiefs, who rarely knew what they really wanted. The once flourishing peasantry and middle class of the towns were falling rapidly into poverty and despair.

Nevertheless, immense numbers of warriors hurried to participate in the forthcoming struggle. Numerous volunteers (*muṭṭawwiʿa*), *aʿrāb* (mercenaries of the Hilāliyya) and *aghzāz* (mercenaries of Turkish, Turcoman and Kurdish stock coming from Egypt: see GHUZZ ii) enlisted. The arrival of such numbers of combatants in Seville sent a wave of fear throughout the Peninsula. One of the Christian princes is said to have hurried to assure al-Nāṣir of his loyalty.

In June 1212 the Christian forces—led by the three kings of Castile, Navarre and Aragon—marched on Calatrava and captured it. Its defender Yūsuf b. Ḳādis hurried to Jaen to give account of his behaviour to the Caliph. Without giving him the opportunity to speak, al-Nāṣir had him executed on the spot. This rash action cost the Muslims dear, because the Andalusian contingents, dismayed by this injustice towards their most prominent general, decided to abstain from fighting when the battle came. The Muslims then advanced to Baeza and from there they laid siege to the fortress of Salvatierra, which was used as a base for operations by the Order of Calatrava. The fortress fell to the Muslims. Encouraged by this initial success, they advanced westwards. They left the site of the present Santa Elena behind and pitched their camp some 4-5 km. to the west. They occupied the mountain canyons that pierce the craggy eastern wing of the Sierra Morena and especially the strategic pass of Losa. Making good use of the hilly plain (that looks like a sea with waves), the Muslims arranged themselves in good order: the hosts of the *muṭṭawwiʿa* formed the left flank; the regular Almohade troops formed the main central force, while the contingents of the Andalusians formed the right flank, supported by some 15,000 *aʿrāb* and *aghzāz*. The total Muslim forces cannot have surpassed 200,000, half of whom were *muṭṭawwiʿa*. Right in the middle of the regular

troops stood the tent of the Caliph on a mound surrounded by huge chains fastened to iron poles. Outside these chains stood the force of the *ʿabīd*, the special guard of the caliph bearing their long javelins.

The Christian forces were by no means fewer in number than the Muslims, and they had more cavalry and were far better equipped and trained. They tried to make their camp on the heights of Moradal that dominate the mountain pass (Puerto) of the same name. From there they could overlook the whole Muslim camp, but the position was too arid to support such huge numbers for a long time. Descending to the plain near Úbeda and climbing again, they marched westwards to occupy the oval tableland called La Mesa del Rey, which also dominated the plain where the Muslims were and had the advantage of easy descents to the plain from both its east and west.

They began the attack early in the morning of Monday 15 Ṣafar 609/16 July 1212. Their left wing advanced on the *muṭṭawwiʿa* and tried to pierce their lines, but were driven back with losses. They then managed to attack from the east, and a picked force of their cavalry charged the Andalusian contingents. To their surprise, these began to flee. Their unexpected flight was followed by that of the *aʿrāb* and the *aghzāz*. Very soon the Almohade regular troops were left without cover, and all the weight of the Christian forces fell upon them. They steadfastly held their position, but were outnumbered and soon their ranks were penetrated. At the same time the Christians charged the *muṭṭawwiʿa* again and routed them, taking advantage of the panic that assailed the Muslims. Soon Count Álvaro Núñez de Lara and his knights opened a wide gap in the Muslim ranks and reached the circles of the *ʿabīd*, followed by the kings of Navarre and Aragon. Al-Nāṣir had barely time to flee with a few of his men, to Baeza and then to Jaen and Seville. The rest of the Muslim forces were cut to pieces, and the number of the slain was enormous. To complete the catastrophe, Alfonso VIII soon occupied Baeza and Úbeda and slaughtered there in cold blood some 60,000 Muslims.

This was the last great battle fought by the Muslims in Spain. Its repercussions on the future of Muslim Spain were worse than the defeat itself. It definitively broke the morale of the Muslims and dissipated the myth of the power of the North African troops. From that day onwards, Islam in Spain was always on the defensive, merely trying to delay the relentless Christian advance. The blow was beyond repair for the Almohade empire. The huge number of the fallen of the Almohade troops as well as the manifest incapacity of al-Nāṣir and his men sealed the fate of the Almohades. Al-Nāṣir could not survive his ignominious defeat for long. A short time after his return to Marrākush he shut himself up in his palace, to die ingloriously on 22 December 1213, some 17 months after al-ʿIḳāb.

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IḲĀLA, an agreement which cancels, wholly or in part, a previous agreement between the same parties. The question is treated by the *fuḳahāʾ* in the chapter on sale; the authors devote to it long expositions, because of the favour with which *fiḳh* regards all methods of mitigating the obligatory nature of a contract. As is said in a *ḥadīth*: "For him who annuls (*aḳāla*) a sale which the other party regrets [having concluded], God will annul his sins on the day of the Resurrection". When Muslim jurists consider the subject of sale, they ask themselves first what is the juridical nature of this agreement. Is the *iḳāla* a rescission by *faskh*, or a re-sale by the buyer to the first seller of the object which he had already acquired? The question is not without practical importance. If it is a question of a rescission by *faskh*, this can come into effect at any moment, either before or after the buyer's taking possession of the object; there does not exist in this case the possibility of a third person's pre-empting it, since the operation does not involve a new transfer of ownership; and, in principle, when the *iḳāla* refers to the whole of the previous agreement, the seller must return the same sum as he had received. But if the *iḳāla* is regarded as a re-sale by the buyer to the first seller, it must then lead to consequences diametrically opposite to those above, although the Mālikīs, who maintain this view, give a separate place to the *iḳāla* which is concerned with foodstuffs.

The Shāfiʿī, Ḥanbalī and Imāmī schools consider the *iḳāla* to be, indisputably, a *faskh*, a retroactive rescission of the sale; the Mālikī school considers it to be, in general, a re-sale; the Ḥanafīs, following the teaching of Abū Ḥanīfa, make a distinction: so far as concerns the relations between the two parties, it is a recission; but as far as third parties are concerned, it is a re-sale, which will not however be vitiated by the addition of a forbidden stipulation. This solution, obviously prompted by the desire to protect third parties, has been criticized on the grounds of principle. Ibn Ḳudāma, in his treatise on Muslim comparative law (*Mughnī*, iv, 121), expresses surprise that the nature of a juridical operation may change according to the point of view from which it is considered.

The schools agree in allowing the above rules to be transferred from the contract of sale to other contracts, not only to contracts which are "brothers" of sale: change, barter, amicable settlements, etc. but also to all contracts, when these are not by their nature *ghayr lāzim*, that is revocable unilaterally, in which case *iḳāla* is obviously unnecessary. It is impossible when the contract to which it puts an end is, of its very nature, not susceptible to cancellation, such as marriage or repudiation by agreement.

An *iḳāla* based on mutual agreement requires for its completion the same conditions of validity as any other agreement, that is an offer and a matching acceptance, both to be made at the same contractual meeting (*madjlis*).

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh* in the chapter on sale. See especially Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*,

v, 306-8; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iv, 70-2 (Ḥanafī); Suyūṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1936, 178-9 (Shāfiʿī); Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, iv, 121-3 (Ḥanbalī); Ḥillī, *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām*, Beirut 1930, 190 (Imāmī), Fr. tr. Querry, *Droit musulman schyite*, i, 573-9; for Mālikī law: Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, iii, no. 192 and the commentaries on it by Dardīr-Dasūḳī, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥalabī, iii, 154-5 and by al-Khirshī, Cairo 1323, iv, 76-7. Among contemporary writers, see Maḥmaṣānī, *al-Mawdjibāt wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*, Beirut 1948, ii, 232-3; Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation*, Cairo 1936, 146-7.

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IḲĀMA (a.), the second call to the *ṣalāt* which is pronounced by the *mu'adhdhin* in the mosque before each of the five prescribed daily *ṣalāts* as well as before the *ṣalāt* at the Friday service. This second call is given at the moment at which the *ṣalāt* begins. The formulae of the *iḳāma* are the same as those of the *adhān* [*q.v.*]. According to the Ḥanafīs, they are repeated as often as in the *adhān*; according to the other schools, they are pronounced only once with the exception of the words "God is great", which are repeated twice at the beginning as well as at the end of the *iḳāma*. Moreover, after the formula "come unto blessedness", there are repeated twice the words "*ḳad ḳāmat al-ṣalāt*" (now begins the *ṣalāt*). In the lawbooks the calling of the *iḳāma* is also recommended as *sunna* to every believer who is performing the *ṣalāt* alone.

According to E. Mittwoch (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913, phil.-hist. Kl., No. 2, 24) the calling of *iḳāma* was borrowed by the Muslims from the benedictions in Jewish prayer. According to C. H. Becker (*Zur Geschichte der islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii, 389 = *Islamstudien*, i, 488-9), on the other hand, the custom developed out of the original *adhān* in the mosque, which was modelled on the Christian mass (see however al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270, ii, 271, lines 14-5).

Iḳāma originally denotes the action of the *mu'adhdhin* (the calling of the prescribed formulae) by which he causes the *ṣalāt* to begin. On this linguistic usage, see C. Brockelmann, *Iqāmat aṣ-Ṣalāt* (*Festschr. E. Sachau*, 1915, 314-20) and J. Weiss, in *Isl.*, vii (1916), 131-6; cf. the expressions: *aḳāma 'l-ṣalāt* and *uḳīmat al-ṣalāt* (gloss. to Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, s.v.; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Adhān*, No. 23 f.). In the works on *fiḳh*, however, *iḳāma* is also explained as the call itself which is intended to summon the believers to rise for the *ṣalāt*. See Bādjūrī (Būlāḳ 1307), i, 167, l. 12.

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(T. W. Juynboll*)

IḲBĀL, Muḥammad, was born in 1873 (or more probably 1876) in Sialkot, Pandjāb. During his studies in Lahore he became acquainted with Sir Thomas Arnold, who was partly responsible for his coming to England in 1905. In Cambridge, Iḳbāl, already a noted romantic and Indian-nationalist poet in Urdu, studied philosophy under the Hegelian J. M. E. McTaggart, and law. In 1907 he visited Germany and obtained his Ph. D. in Munich with F. Hommel. His thesis *The development of metaphysics in Persia* shows already his interest in Islamic mystical philosophy, which he judged, then, from a more pantheistic viewpoint. From 1908 onwards Iḳbāl lived in Lahore, for a while teaching philosophy, but then concentrating upon his legal practice. The mental crisis which he experienced after his return from Europe, whose possibilities—but also weaknesses — he had recognized and analysed fairly well, resulted in a stronger interest in the revival of the Muslim peoples, which was kindled, as in many of his Indian contemporaries, by the unhappy fate of the Turks during the Balkan War. His notebook of 1910 (*Stray reflections*, ed. Javid Iqbal, Lahore 1961) contains already many of the ideas which he elaborated later, and the poems *Shikwā* (Complaint) and *Djawāb-i Shikwā* (*Answer*) teach the Muslims that they have fallen into disgrace because of their own laziness and lack of faith. These ideas were expressed more distinctly in the *Asrār-i khūdī* (Secrets of the Self) 1915, which he wrote in Persian in order to reach a wider readership. His stress upon the development of the ego instead of mystical annihilation as well as Nietzschean trends shocked his audience. A second *mathnawī* in Persian, complementing the first one, *Rumūz-i bīkhūdī* (Mysteries of Selflessness) 1918, determined the duties of the individual in the ideal Muslim community. Iḳbāl then turned to lyric poetry in Persian, and published in 1923 the *Payām-i Mashriḳ*, an answer to Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. The following year, his Urdu poems were printed as *Bāng-i darā* (The Sound of the caravan-bell), and in 1927 a second collection of Persian lyrics, *Zabūr-i ʿAdjam* (Persian Psalms) with an appendix modelled upon Shabistarī's *Gulshan-i rāz*, was published. In 1928, Iḳbāl delivered at several Indian universities his *Six lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, an attempt at reconciling Muslim theology with European philosophy and science in a very personal way. At that time, the poet had started cooperating with the Muslim League; he presented his famous statement on the necessity of forming a separate Muslim state in Northwest India at their annual session in Allahabad 1930. In the following years, he took part in two Round Table Conferences in London, visited France (where he met Henri Bergson and Louis Massignon), Spain, Italy (meeting Mussolini), and attended a Muslim conference in Jerusalem. In the autumn of 1933 he was invited to Afghanistan to discuss the foundation of a university in Kabul, a journey which resulted in the Persian poems *Musāfir* (The Traveller); at the same time the Persian collection *Pas či bāyad kard* (What is to be done?—the title alluding to Tolstoy's famous book!) was written. However Iḳbāl's *magnum opus* in Persian is the *Djāvīdnāme*, 1932, dedicated to his son Djāvīd, a poetical account of a spiritual journey in the company of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī through the spheres, where he discusses philosophical and political problems with Muslim and non-Muslim leaders. In 1935, the most important collection of Iḳbāl's Urdu poetry came out, *Bāl-i Djibrīl* (Gabriel's Wing), which contains the famous hymn on the Mosque of Cordova. One year later followed the Urdu *dīwān Ḍarb-i Kalīm* (The Stroke of Moses) with its bitter critique of the political and religious situation. After a long period of ill-health, which, however, did not prevent him from conceiving a new evaluation of Islamic law, Iḳbāl (upon whom the British Crown had conferred a knighthood as early as 1922) died on 21 April 1938. A collection of Persian quatrains and a few Urdu poems, *Armaghān-i Ḥidjāz* (Gift of the Ḥidjāz), was published shortly after his death.

The very titles of Iḳbāl's poems indicate his main intention: he felt like the caravan-bell which leads

those who are going astray in the wilderness towards the right goal, embodied in the Kaʿba, or guides his people like Moses, producing water out of the rock. The form of his poetry, both in Urdu and in Persian, is classical, with the exception of a few verse schemes which he invented: he uses *gh͟azal*, *ḳaṣīda*, *sāḳīnāme*, and all his *mat͟hnawī*s are written in the metre of Rūmī's *Mat͟hnawī-yi maʿnawī*. His imagery likewise is traditional, and he applies the inherited patterns of similes and metaphors to modern subjects (Farhād as the representative of exploited workers, K͟husraw as the imperialist and capitalist). Many of his expressions can be traced back to classical Indo-Muslim poetry; but he needed these forms to gain an audience for his ideas. For poetry was, for him, not a means in itself but had to be, as he frequently asserted, "the heritage of prophecy", and its criterion is not its aesthetic beauty but its "life-yielding capacity". That is why he liked certain metres which could be easily memorized, and did not do away with the formal limits of Persian poetry with which his public was familiar. His poetry primarily concentrates upon one goal: to teach the Muslims how to regain strength by developing their personalities, be it as individuals or as nations. He has been accused of transplanting the Nietzschean superman into an Islamic environment; Iḳbāl's ideal man, however, can only be understood in his relation to God.

God is, for Iḳbāl, the greatest Ego, as witnessed by His personal name Allāh. He is "perfect personality which is compatible only with the conception of an Infinite Being" (F. von Hügel), which comprises everything and yet is distinct from everything. Each created being, too, has a small ego which it is called upon to develop. "Throughout the whole universe runs the gradually rising note of egohood", and every ego is constantly striving towards a fuller realization of itself. Thus reality is eternal becoming; even death does not mean a break in this development, but opens new doors of self-realization. Immortality, then, is not ours by right, but is only an aspiration: only those who have perfected their ego during their lifetime as much as possible can partake in it. This perfection does not lead, as in the Nietzschean superman, to a detachment from God but can rather be attained by constant love and prayer. Love, *ʿis͟hḳ*, is the force that moves everything created, the dynamic force of life as contrasted to *ʿilm*, the dry intellectual attempt to approach reality. Borne by this love, man turns towards God in prayer (Iḳbāl's prayer-poems are partly very daring); in the solitude of prayer (*k͟halwa*) he draws closer to God and then returns to the world as a manifestation of Divine qualities (*d͟jilwa*), changing the course of time. Life consists of constant changes of *k͟halwa* and *d͟jilwa*, man thus drawing closer and closer to God in order to become endowed with some of His attributes. In this movement he realizes that the so-called predestination (*ḳadar*) does not exist as a blind fate but rather consists of a cooperation between the human and the Divine will, whereby a new situation may be created when man chooses one of the innumerable destinies hidden in God. But though there can be a union of will (when God's hand becomes man's hand, cf. Sūra VIII, 17) there is no union of being: man remains man even in the moment of ecstasy and does not lose his identity in the ocean of the Divine, but rather takes God in his embrace: the heart of the faithful contains God, Whom Heaven and earth cannot contain. He remains *ʿabd*, God's servant—that is the highest stage mankind can reach, since it is the stage of the Prophet himself (who was addressed as *ʿabduhū* in the account of his *miʿrād͟j*, Sūra XVII, 1)—an idea probably influenced by the tradition of Aḥmad Sirhindī. Real union is not desirable either: only the constant quest, the *sūzis͟h-i nātamām*, the searching for higher values, for the unfathomable depths of the Divine, are important, even after death—"I am as long as I move", is Iḳbāl's confession. (One may compare al-G͟hazālī's chapter on *s͟hawḳ* in the *Iḥyāʾ*.)

The burden which heaven and earth did not accept (Sūra XXXIII, 72) is, for Iḳbāl, the burden of individuation, and on the way towards its full realization man has to cope with two problems, with Iblīs, and with time. Iblīs, the Mephistophelian power, is a favourite figure with Iḳbāl: it is he who gives man the taste for striving, entangles him in a steady struggle, thus contributing to his spiritual development, and will eventually prostrate himself before the man who has defeated him, thus making up for his refusal to prostrate before Adam (Sūra II, 32, etc.). This is at least one of the different aspects of Iḳbāl's Satanology.—As to time, Iḳbāl was influenced in his view of the two levels of time, created and uncreated time, partly by Ṣūfism, partly by Bergson; he often compared serial created time to a *zunnār*, a magician's girdle which should be torn in order to reach the Divine *nunc aeternum*, when the faithful can speak, according to the example of the Prophet: "I have a time with God to which even Gabriel has no access".

Iḳbāl studied European philosophy intensely; he was impressed first by Hegel, but soon came to prefer the vitalists. His interpretation of Nietzsche, whom he compares to an Eastern *mad͟jd͟hūb*, is very thought-provoking; he felt that the German philosopher stopped at the *lā ilāh* of the confession of faith without reaching the affirmation *illā 'llāh*—a symbol which he also uses for Bolshevist Russia, which scattered the "idols" of imperialism and capitalism but failed to affirm positively the power of the one God. What Iḳbāl liked most in Nietzsche are the anti-Christian and anti-Platonic trends; his hostile words against Plato in the *Asrār-i k͟hūdī* resound, though somewhat more mildly, through his whole work. Platonic mysticism was, for him, one of the main reasons of the decline of Islam. Iḳbāl was a sincere admirer of Goethe, whose *Faust* seemed to him "nothing short of Divine workmanship", and who inspired his *Payām-i Mas͟hriḳ*, parts of his Satanology, the two Preludes in the *D͟jāvīdnāme*, etc. He compared him once with Rūmī, who was his oriental spiritual leader throughout his life. He discovered, probably under the influence of S͟hiblī's *sawāniḥ-i Mawlānā Rūm*, the dynamic character of many of Rūmī's verses upon which he frequently relies. Very strong is likewise the influence of al-Ḥallād͟j, whose thoughts he learned to understand thanks to Massignon's books, and whom he made, in the *D͟jāvīdnāme*, a kind of forerunner of himself, blowing the trumpet of resurrection for the spiritually dead Muslims.

Iḳbāl's main source of inspiration was the Ḳurʾān, whose beauty he praised again and again, and which unfolds every day new worlds, new possibilities before the faithful. His interpretation of single verses, however, is sometimes very unusual and personal, because he tries to affirm their relation with the findings of modern science. The Ḳurʾān and the *s͟harīʿa* were thought of as capable of infinite development but at the same time as the unchangeable expression of the Divine will; hence a certain traditionism, for

example in his attitude towards women, which seems to contradict his outspoken belief in the dynamic nature of Islam. This latter belief is expressed in his numerous attacks on the theologians who cling only to the externals of religion and sink into the dust under the burden of commentaries, but never look at the original meaning of the Holy Writ. Though Iḳbāl often advocates id̲j̲tihād, he sometimes prefers taḳlīd, traditional behaviour, as a kind of safeguard amid changing social life, until the Muslim community has attained a new consciousness and is freed from the idols of the modern "-isms" which threaten the pure monotheistic faith. Unity is one of Iḳbāl's keywords: the Divine unity should be reflected in the unity of believers (notwithstanding geographical borders) who are bound by one Divine law, guided by one prophet, in whom prophethood has reached its culmination and end, and praying towards one centre, the Kaʿba. Islam is a spiritual force, opposed to blood kinship and earthrootedness; it is the witness of unity.

Iḳbāl combines many contradictory trends in himself; his verses could serve both conservatives and progressives as weapons. His knowledge of European philosophy was deep, his approach original, and furthermore, he intuitively expressed many ideas that were current, in the twenties, in European religious psychology and philosophy. In spite of his interest in Western and Islamic philosophy, he did not become a systematic philosopher; one would rather call him a "prophetic philosopher", or a "philosopher-poet", since poetry, which he wrote in masterly fashion in two languages, was not a means in itself, but a vehicle to propagate his mission, to restore the Muslims to new life. His work has been criticized, in the beginning, by several orientalists, and has been praised, especially after the foundation of Pakistan whose "spiritual father" he is called, more than that of any other writer; so that even the slightest sign of criticism became considered sacrilege. Thanks to a large number of translations in Oriental and European languages, a real understanding of his work is now possible, yet a scholarly evaluation of his links with the poetical-mystical tradition of the subcontinent still remains to be made.

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(A. SCHIMMEL)

IḲFĀʾ [see ḲĀFIYA].

IK̲H̲LĀṢ. The IVth form adds to the double idea of the root—purity and salvation—that of "dedicating, devoting or consecrating oneself" to something. *Ik̲h̲lāṣ* is pre-eminently an interior virtue of the faithful Muslim, which implies both the unadulterated purity (and thus sincerity) of religious actions, pure (exclusive) worship given to God and pure (absolute) devotion to God and the Community of Believers. The perfection of one's adherence, and witness, to faith is gauged by *ik̲h̲lāṣ* and *iḥsān* (uprightness in good).

The Ḳurʾān often uses the participle *muk̲h̲liṣ*, "he who devotes himself to God", who gives Him the worship that is His due (II, 139; IV, 146; XXXIX, 2-3; XL, 14, 65; XCVIII, 5, etc.). The worship due to God consists principally in proclaiming Him to be One and Unique, the absolute Lord, with Whom no other creature can be associated. This is why sūra CXII, which proclaims God to be One in Himself and Inscrutable (*aḥad, ṣamad*), "Who does not beget and is not begotten", is most usually called *sūrat al-ik̲h̲lāṣ*. The opposites of this interior attitude of the faithful Believer are hypocrisy (*nifāḳ*) and the grave sin of *s̲h̲irk*, "associating others with God". Hypocrisy is, in any case, a *s̲h̲irk* of the heart, and any trace of *s̲h̲irk*, however faint, is an obstacle to purity of action. *Ik̲h̲lāṣ* cannot, then, be translated simply as "sincerity", as is often done. *Ik̲h̲lāṣ* presupposes sincerity (*ṣidḳ*), that is to say "agreement of the heart and the lips", but, in a way, goes beyond this in a unity and purity of interior gaze which is directed at God and God alone.

The importance given to *ik̲h̲lāṣ* in any attempt to interiorize religious values is characteristic of Muslim aspirations. We shall give three examples, which follow three quite different lines of thought.

1.—The moderate Ismāʿīlism of the *Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ* makes *ik̲h̲lāṣ* one of the conditions of faith (*s̲h̲arāʾiṭ al-īmān*), and one of the virtues of the Believer, together with complete reliance (*tawakkul*), endurance of trials (*ṣabr*) and acceptance (*riḍāʾ*) of the divine Decree. *Ik̲h̲lāṣ* is absolute purity and unity of intention, both in work accomplished (*ʿamal*) before God and in requests (*duʿā*) addressed to God (*Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ed. Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 131-2).

2.—Analyses of *ik̲h̲lāṣ* belong, above all, to Ṣūfī meditations and investigations. *Ik̲h̲lāṣ* is the secret of hearts that have drawn near to God by means of supererogatory works (*al-taḳarrub bi-'l-nawāfil*), especially retreats and forty-day fasts. A well-known *ḥadīt̲h̲ al-ik̲h̲lāṣ* goes back to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], who himself had it from Ḥud̲h̲ayfa b. al-Yamān (cf.

L. Massignon, *Passion*², 595-6). It is the secret imparted by Muḥammad to Ḥudhayfa, who questioned him about the "inner knowledge" (*ʿilm bāṭin*). The Prophet received the reply from God through the angel Gabriel: "It is a secret (*sirr*) of My secret (*sirrī*); I set it in the heart of My servant and none of My creatures can comprehend it". Al-Muḥāsibī sees in *ikhlāṣ* "the very principle of the spiritual continuity of the true *Sunna*" (*ibid.*, 596), and al-Ḥallādj wrote a *Kitāb al-Ṣidḳ wa-'l-ikhlāṣ*, in which he both separated and united "sincerity" (*ṣidḳ*) and the perfect worship of predestined hearts" (*ibid.*).

The great Ṣūfī manuals frequently refer to it and avail themselves of it to reorganize the "sayings of the Ancients". Three examples: (a) al-Kalābādhī makes *ikhlāṣ* a "stage" (*maḳāma*) of the soul and devotes to it a short chapter of his *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf* (ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1353/1933, 70; Eng. trans. by the same, Cambridge 1935, 90-1). He reproduces a phrase of Djunayd, who defines *ikhlāṣ* as "that through which God is desired, in whatever act it may be", and he stresses the stipulation formulated by Ruwaym, that no consideration should be given to the act performed, but only to God. (b) Similar themes, with references to the "Ancients", in the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (ed. Cairo 1351/1932, iv, 33-5), in which the stress is laid upon uprightness of intention (*niyya*) "for the Face of God" (*li-wadjh Allāh*). (c) Al-Ḳushayrī, in his *Risāla fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf* (Cairo n.d., 95-6), quoting many Ṣūfī traditions, distinguishes between the *ikhlāṣ* of the mass of mankind (*al-ʿawāmm*) in which the soul, in the spiritual state that it attains, should not seek its own happiness, and that of the privileged (*al-khawāṣṣ*), in which the worship given to God should be so pure that no consideration can be paid even to the *ikhlāṣ*.

Almost every author might be mentioned. Al-Anṣārī, the great Ḥanbalī mystic, in his *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* (ed. with Fr. trans. S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 31/72), numbers *ikhlāṣ* among the ten "types of behaviour" (*muʿāmalāt*) demanded of the Ṣūfī. He defines it as the effort to "purify action of all admixture", that is to say, as Maḥmūd al-Firkāwī comments (ed. Beaurecueil, Cairo 1953, 34), to purify it of infatuation, hypocrisy, the appetite of the soul and other similar things. Al-Anṣārī distinguishes three degrees: (a) detaching oneself from correctly accomplished acts and not seeking satisfaction in them; (b) endeavouring to act well, but being ashamed of one's action and seeing it only in the light of divine Generosity; (c) "purifying action by freeing oneself from action".

The text, however, that had the most profound influence was undoubtedly al-Ghazālī's development in his *Iḥyāʾ* (Cairo ed., 1352/1933, iv, 321-8): four chapters devoted to the virtue and merit of *ikhlāṣ*, its nature (*ḥaḳīḳa*), what the *Shaykhs* have said about it and what obstructs it. This constitutes a small treatise on spiritual psychology, which readily adopts and develops, as often in the *Iḥyāʾ*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's account. Having underlined the unity of intention that makes up *ikhlāṣ*, al-Ghazālī, too, stresses the complete disinterestedness that it implies.

3.—The influence of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī on Ibn Taymiyya needs no demonstration (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymīya*, Cairo 1939, 84 and 90, n. 1); similarly with the influence of certain Shīʿī views that he opposed in other connexions. If the direct heritage of al-Anṣārī is added to this, it is hardly surprising to find in the interiorist Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya frequent references to the virtue of *ikhlāṣ*, such as we have defined it. He proclaims its value against a completely exterior juridicism: first of all in the very act of obedience to the religious Law (*ibid.*, 472 and n. 2 with ref.). He emphasizes the idea of devotion, pure and absolute devotion to God, the Prophet, the Community. When he wishes to increase "effort (*djihād*) on the path of God" in order to extend on earth "the rights of God and man", he makes *djihād* the highest form of *ikhlāṣ* towards God (*ibid.*, 360, n. 3). Pure worship and absolute devotion are thus seen as the most profound attitude demanded of the Believer.

Ibn Taymiyya's disciples readily adopted the theme of *ikhlāṣ*, above all his direct disciple Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, who saw in absolute devotion to God (*ikhlāṣ li-'llāh*) one of the fundamental virtues. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb later echoed this (*ibid.*, 531). Following these, several contemporary reformist trends (the *salafiyya*) emphasized it. *Ikhlāṣ* was for the Ṣūfīs an indispensable stage of the soul in its quest for union with God. Through Ibn Taymiyya's influence, and owing to his acceptance of Ṣūfī ideas, it became for the Muslim who wished to interiorize his faith an attitude existentially required by the very values of Islam.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

IKHMĪM [see AKHMĪM].

IKHSHĪD, the title given to local Iranian rulers of Soghdia and Farghāna in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period. Although Justi (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, 141a), Unvala (*The translation of an extract from Mafâtîh al-ʿUlûm of al-Khwârazmî*, in *J. of the K.R. Cama Inst.*, xi (1928), 18-19) and Spuler (*Iran*, 30-1, 356) derive it from O. Pers. *khshaeta-* 'shining, brilliant', an etymology from O. Pers. *khshāyathiya-* 'king, ruler' (M. Pers. and N. Pers. *shāh*) is more probable (Christensen, and Bosworth and Clauson, see below). This O. Pers. term *khshāyathiya-* penetrated beyond Transoxania as far as Mongolia, where we find the Orkhon Turkish title of *shadh*, a rank given to senior members of the princely family below the Ḳaghan.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Transoxania, the rulers of Soghdia were called Ikhshīds, and Muḳaddasī, 279, says that the Ikhshīd, king of Samarḳand, had his castle and residence at Māymurgh in the Samarḳand oasis. The Ikhshīds continued in Soghdia well into the early ʿAbbāsid period, having transferred their seat to Ishtīkhān after the Arab conquest of Samarḳand; the submission of the then Ikhshīd to the Caliph al-Mahdī is recorded by Yaʿḳūbī (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 95, 202). The local ruler of Farghāna also had this title (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40), and according to Ibn al-Athīr, v, 344, it was he who called in against the Arabs the Chinese army of Kao-hsien-chih, defeated by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ at Talas in 133/751. The title evidently carried great prestige in Central Asia, for it was adopted in the 4th/10th century by the Turkish commander Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*], claiming descent from the ancient princes of Farghāna.

Bibliography: in addition to the references given above, see C. E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 6-7. O. I. Smirnova gives a list of the Ikhshīds of Soghdia in the period 31-168/650-783 in her *Sogdiskie moneti kak novi istočnik dlya istorii Sredney Azii*, in *SO*, vi (1949), 356-67. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

IKHSHĪDIDS [see KĀFŪR and MUḤAMMAD B. ṬUGHDJ].

IKHTILĀDJ, spontaneous pulsations, tremblings or convulsions which occur in all parts of the body, in particular in the limbs, the eyelids and the eyebrows and which provide omens the interpretation of which as a divinatory sign is known as the *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj* or "palmoscopy".

Palmoscopy forms part of physiognomy and, like it, formed part of medical diagnosis by the physicians of classical antiquity, among them Galen, who established a distinction between "palpitation" and "trembling, shudder, convulsion".

As a divinatory practice, Islamic palmoscopy seems to have as its source the Περὶ παλμῶν of the Ps.-Melampos, as can be seen from the table of concordances established by T. Fahd comparing the contents of this treatise with that of an Arabic treatise of the type of *Tafsīr al-ikhtilādjāt* (cf. *La divination arabe*, 418-29).

However, the Ps.-Melampos was not the only source of Arabic palmoscopy. In fact there existed before it a Mesopotamian tradition, the written elements of which reached the Arabs through Persia. Ibn al-Nadīm, who was conversant with an Arabic translation of the short works attributed to Melampos (*op. cit.*, 391 f.), mentions, under the same heading (*Fihrist*, 314), two titles whose Iranian origin is beyond doubt: the first is *Kitāb al-Ikhtilādj ʿalā thalāthat awdjuh li-'l-Furs*, "The book of pulsations, with three interpretations, for Persians", which has not survived, but the contents of which might be similar to a paragraph of the Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa-'l-zadjr wa-'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs* (ed. K. Inostranzeff, in *Matériaux de sources arabes, pour l'histoire de la culture dans la Perse sassanide*, extr. from the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Archaeological Society, xviii, St. Petersburg 1907, 21-2); the second is *Kitāb al-Ikhtilādj wa-'l-zadjr wa-mā yarā al-insān fī thiyābih wa-djasadih wa-ṣifat al-khīlān wa-ʿilādj al-nisāʾ wa-maʿrifat mā yadullu ʿalayh al-ḥayyāt*, "The book of pulsations, omens and of what man sees from his clothing and his body; description of *naevi* and of the treatment of women; the knowledge of the signs provided by snakes". The content of this collection of omens recalls that of an Assyro-Babylonian *series* entitled *Shumma ālu ina mele shakīn* (cf. transliteration and tr. *apud* Fr. Nötscher, in *Orientalia*, O. S. xxxi (1928), xxxix-xlii (1929), li-liv (1930); for the detailed references, cf. *La divination arabe*, 399, notes 5 to 9).

The earliest manuscript examples of the treatises of *ikhtilādj* bear the name of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, the reputed teacher of esoteric sciences in early Islam. This attribution is due to the fact that he had gathered round him a circle of Iranian and Byzantine *mawālī* who were engaged in translating into Arabic specimens of the literatures of their native countries (cf. T. Fahd, *Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣâdiq et la tradition scientifique arabe*, in *Le shîʿisme imâmite*, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (mai 1968), Paris 1970, 131-42). In this way several traditions came together, and the spirit of compromise which was a characteristic of Islamic thought in the 2nd/8th century led to the adoption of a table of concordance combining the various opinions which the sources presented. Thus the three interpretations found in the treatise attributed by the *Fihrist* to the Persians became five and even six. It was felt necessary to attach each of these interpretations to a well-known name: Daniel, Alexander, the Persian scholars, the Hindus, the sages of Byzantium, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ.

Like all the ancient divinatory practices, palmoscopy underwent its own evolution within the framework of Islamic culture, in the same way as it did within other cultures, since there exist Greek, Slav, Rumanian, Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Indian and European treatises on palmoscopy, collected by Hermann Diels in his *Beiträge zur Zukungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients*, in *Abh. des kgl. Ak. der Wissenschaft*, 1907/4 (Melampos); 1908/4 (other treatises). This evolution can be perceived in particular in the poem on palmoscopy by Aḥmad b. Naṣīr al-Bāʿūlī (probable reading al-Baʿūnī, d. 816/1413; cf. *La divination arabe*, 401, note 4), in *Kitāb al-Ikhtilādj wa-duʿāʾih* by a certain Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām (translations of both *apud* Diels, *op. cit.*, 79-80 and 87-91) and in *Kitāb Kifāyat al-muḥtādj fī maʿrifat al-ikhtilādj* by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (lith. Cairo, n.d.).

In Turkey palmoscopy developed in a special way. Here were produced, besides the many traditional treatises of *ikhtilādj*, others concerning the omens to be drawn from wounds accidentally received by a soldier on campaign and from injuries voluntarily received during archery (cf. Osman-Bey, *Les Imâms et les Derviches. Pratiques, superstitions et mœurs des Turcs*, Paris 1881, 177-82).

Finally it should be mentioned that in the chapter which Ibn al-Nadīm devotes to the Ḥarrānians, the term *ikhtilādj* is applied to a divinatory rite which consisted of interpreting the twitches of animals sacrificed to the gods (cf. *Fihrist*, 224, 409; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 68 f.).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources and studies mentioned above, see the many references given in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, 397-402; for survivals in Islam of palmoscopic practices, see E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 366. (T. FAHD)

IKHTILĀF (A.), difference, also inconsistency; as a technical term, the differences of opinion amongst the authorities of religious law, both between the several schools and within each of them; opp. *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*], *ittifāḳ*. The ancient schools of law, on the one hand, accepted geographical differences of doctrines as natural; on the other hand, they voiced strong objections to disagreement within each school, an opinion which was mitigated by their acceptance as legitimate of different opinions if based on *idjtihād* [*q.v.*]. The rising tide of traditions from the Prophet, in particular, threatened the continuity and uniformity of doctrine in the ancient schools, and reinforced their aversion to disagreement. The opportunity for disagreements on questions of principle arose only from the time of Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*] and his systematic innovation. But the several schools arrived at a compromise, and the consensus (*idjmāʿ*), which acted as the integrating principle of Islam, succeeded in making innocuous those differences of opinion which it could not eliminate. The four schools, then, are equally covered by *idjmāʿ*, their alternative interpretations of Ḳurʾān and *sunna* are equally legitimate, they are all equally orthodox. This view has found expression in a saying which occurs first in the *Fiḳh al-akbar* of Abū Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and was later attributed to the Prophet, to the effect that "difference of opinion in the community of Muslims is a concession (*raḥma*) on the part of Allāh". The work of Shaʿrānī (see below) expresses the attitude underlying this tradition with monotonous regularity.

The recording of these differences of opinion has produced a considerable literature since the begin-

nings of the study of *fiḳh*. The earlier works reflect the discussions between the several schools, the later ones are simply handbooks. To the earliest existing works belong the *Radd ʿalā Siyar al-Awzāʿī* and the *Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfa wa 'bn Abī Laylā* of Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], both separately printed (Cairo 1357) and also commented upon by Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, vii, 303 ff. and 87 ff.), the *Kitāb al-ḥudjadj* of Shaybānī [*q.v.*], a part of which was printed in Lucknow 1888, and another part commented upon by Shāfiʿī (*Umm*, vii, 277 ff), on the differences of the scholars of ʿIrāḳ and of Medina, Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb ikhtilāf Mālik wa-'l-Shāfiʿī* (*Umm*, vii, 177 ff.), and his *Kitāb ikhtilāf ʿAlī wa-ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd* (*Umm*, vii, 151 ff.), on the points on which the ʿIrāḳians diverge from traditions of ʿAlī and Ibn Masʿūd. Tirmidhī ([*q.v.*]; d. 279/892) in his *Djāmiʿ* indicates for which doctrine each tradition serves as authority, so that his work is an important source for the comparative study of early *ikhtilāf*. Ibn Ḳutayba ([*q.v.*]; d. 276/889) in the *Kitāb mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* tries to reconcile the contradictions of traditions (cf. G. Lecomte, *Le traité des divergences du Ḥadīt d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1962), as before him Shāfiʿī had done in his *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth*. Ṭabarī ([*q.v.*]; d. 310/923) composed his *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'* as a kind of systematic justification of his own *madhhab*; it consists mostly of extracts from the works of his predecessors and, as many of them have been lost, is very valuable as a source, but unfortunately only two fragments of this very extensive work have survived (ed. F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and J. Schacht, Leiden 1933). The early period of the works on *ikhtilāf* comes to an end with the *Sharḥ maʿānī 'l-āthār* of Ṭaḥāwī ([*q.v.*]; d. 321/933); the author argues from the Ḥanafī point of view but unfortunately does not mention the adherents of the numerous divisions of doctrine which he discusses. Of later handbooks may be mentioned *al-Ishrāf ʿalā masā'il al-khilāf* by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Baghdādī (d. 422/1031; Mālikī); the *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid* of Ibn Rushd ([*q.v.*]; Averroes, the philosopher, d. 595/1198), parts of which have been translated (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Études d'orientalisme ... Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 35-68); the *Mīzān al-kubrā* of Shaʿrānī ([*q.v.*]; d. 973/1565), derived from the *Raḥmat al-umma* of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashḳī (wrote 780/1378), which is in turn derived from the *Ishrāf* of Ibn Hubayra ([*q.v.*]; d. 560/1165); and the modern *Kitāb al-fiḳh ʿala 'l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, i-iv, Cairo 1931-8 (not completed).

There have been movements aiming at abolishing the diversities of opinion in religious law within orthodox Islam, and even at bridging the differences dividing Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. The most important, though unsuccessful, effort in this last direction was undertaken under the auspices of the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*]. Within the Sunnī field, the effort of King Ibn Suʿūd [see SUʿŪD, ĀL] to create, within his country, a "non-denominational" doctrine of Islamic law was defeated by the resistance of the traditional *ʿulamā'* (see J. Schacht, in *American Journal of Comparative Law*, viii (1959), 146 f. and *Studia Islamica*, xii (1960), 123, n. 3). In recent years, however, a chair for the study of Shīʿī law was created at al-Azhar, Shīʿī law was included in the courses of the Institute of Higher Arabic Studies (*Maʿhad al-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabiyya al-ʿĀliya*) of the Arab League, and a *Risālat al-Islām, Madjalla islāmiyya ʿālamiyya*, published by the Institute for the Coordination of the Schools of Islamic law in Cairo (*Dār al-taḳrīb bayn al-madhāhib al-islāmiyya bi 'l-Ḳāhira*), began to appear in 1368/1949.

Bibliography: F. Kern, in *ZDMG*, lv (1901), 61-95; idem, Introduction to his edition of Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf*; Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xxxviii (1884), 669 ff.; *Ẓâhiriten*, 94-102; *Muh. Studien*, ii, 74, 253 f. (tr. Bercher, 88, 316 f.); *Vorlesungen*, 51-3, 66, 315-7; and in *Beiträge zur Religionswiss.*, i (1913-14), 115-42; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 306 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index; J. Schacht, *Origins*, 95-7, 214-8; idem, *Introduction*, 67, 265 (*bibl.*); J.-P. Charnay, in *L'ambivalence dans la culture arabe*, Paris 1967, 191-231; J. Berque, *ibid.*, 232-52; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *ibid.*, 253-7; Ch. Chehata, *ibid.*, 258-66.—P. Rondot, *Les Chiites et l'unité de l'Islam d'aujourd'hui*, in *Orient*, no. 12, 1959, 61-70; F. R. C. Bagley, in *MW*, l (1960), 122-29; E. Shinar, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, (*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix) Jerusalem 1961, 104 and n. 37 (both on the tendency to unify the *madhāhib*); Muḥammad Taḳī al-Ḥakam, *al-Uṣūl al-ʿāmma li 'l-fiḳh al-muḳāran*, Beirut 1963 (an effort to conciliate the doctrines of the several *madhāhib*, including the Shīʿīs); A. d'Emilia, in *OM*, 1964, 306 f. (on modern eclecticism in Yemen and other countries). (J. SCHACHT)

IKHTIYĀR, choice. For the use of the word as a juridical term, see KHIYĀR and NAṢṢ; in literary criticism, see NAḲD; in the sense of "elder", see SHAYKH. The immediately following article deals with the philosophical and theological senses of the word.

As a philosophical term, *ikhtiyār* means free preference or choice, option, whence: power of choice, free will. The word itself is not Ḳur'ānic but is common in the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām* and *fiḳh*. The VIIIth form of the verb is, however, used in the Ḳur'ān, always referring to a divine act. "I have chosen you (*ikhtartuka*)", says God addressing Moses (XX, 13); or: "We have chosen them (*ikhtarnāhum*)" (XLIV, 32); or again: "Your Lord creates what He wishes, and He chooses (*wa-yakhtār*)" (XXVIII, 68). The act of absolute choice, then, appears as an attribute of God.

From its very root (*khayr*, good), *ikhtiyār* implies primarily not a sovereign indifference above good and evil, but free choice of what is good. This nuance should, no doubt, be kept in mind for the precise understanding of the Ashʿarī thesis (*e.g.*, al-Ghazālī) that there is, strictly speaking, no *ikhtiyār* except in God; we shall return to this. The fact remains that the common usage of the word signifies simply the power of choice. It is thus distinguished, in its connotations, from *ḥurriyya* [*q.v.*], personal and political freedom of exultation or autonomy.

Two common usages of *ikhtiyār* should be noticed, one from the vocabulary of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and the other concerning the question of the *imāma*; (1) with the meaning of opinion freely stated; (2) with the meaning of choice or election. Concerning the designation of the *Imām*, many schools subscribe to choice by election (*ikhtiyār*), others to determination by means of a text (*naṣṣ*). The first opinion, which depends on the precedent of Abū Bakr, is defended by most of the Muʿtazilīs, certain Ḥanbalīs, such as Abū Yaʿlā, the Ashʿarīs and Māturīdīs, and, under certain conditions (descent from ʿAlī), the Zaydīs. The second remains one of the principal features of Shīʿī thought; in quite different historical connexions, it is adopted by Ibn Taymiyya on behalf of Abū Bakr (cf. *Minhādj al-sunna al-nabawiyya*,

Cairo 1382/1962, i, 340-65, with reference to Ibn Ḥazm). In treatises on the *imāma*, it is customary to contrast the *ahl al-ikhtiyār* with the *ahl al-naṣṣ*, the supporters of free election with the supporters of textual determination.

It is, however, in the schools of *ʿilm al-kalām* that the question of the existence and the nature of free will in man is faced. It is one of the most discussed problems in the "Treatise on Actions".

The Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra, such as Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā Burghūth, a disciple of al-Nadjdjār, contrasted *ikhtiyāran*, that which is performed voluntarily, with *ṭawʿan*, that which is performed through obedience and submission. In the school of Baghdād, the first term is more frequently used as an opposite correlative (*muḳābal*) of *iḍṭirār* [*q.v.*], "constraint". According to the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ashʿarī (ed. Cairo 1369/1950, i, 110), Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb set out as follows the thesis of the Rāfiḍī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam: human action depends on a double perspective; it is from free choice (*ikhtiyārī*) inasmuch as it is willed and "acquired" by the subject who performs it, it is constrained (*iḍṭirārī*) inasmuch as it cannot occur without the appearance of the cause that provokes it (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 116). This distinction established within the same action is denied by the various Muʿtazilī branches. Briefly, it may be said that in their eyes man is the "inventor" (*mukhtariʿ*) or "creator" (*khāliḳ*) of his actions inasmuch as he is *mukhtār* (in the sense of "one who chooses") and endowed with *ikhtiyār*.

But Hishām b. al-Ḥakam had, on this very point, as it were, anticipated the Ashʿarī reaction. It should first of all be noted that the very word *ikhtiyār* is relatively little employed, or rather, it is used primarily to characterize divine action which operates *bi-'l-ḳudra wa-'l-ikhtiyār* (*e.g.*, al-Ashʿarī, *Istiḥsān al-khawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. with Eng. trans. R. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 93/127; al-Bāḳillānī, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 36). God alone is truly a "free Agent", *al-fāʿil al-mukhtār*.

Quite quickly, however, *ikhtiyār* takes on the common sense of an act that can be performed or not performed by the subject. Al-Bāḳillānī stresses the difference between a deliberate movement (*ʿalā ṭarīḳ al-ikhtiyār*) of the hand and the "movement" which is the trembling of the hemiplegic (*Tamhīd*, 308, see also 286). This is a psychological statement that has to be placed within the vaster problem of the "creation" and "acquisition" of actions. In fact, generally speaking in the Ashʿarī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī schools, it is not *al-ikhtiyār* that is the title of discussions on free human action but rather *al-ḳudra al-ḥāditha*, the "contingent ("commenced") power (of action)". The opposite correlative is no longer *ikhtiyār-iḍṭirār*, but as formerly with Ḍirār, the leader of the Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra, *iktisāb-iḍṭirār*. With the Ashʿarīs, the "acquisition of action", *iktisāb* (or, often, *kasb*), is understood as an "attribution" carried out directly by God, and with the Māturīdīs as a simple "qualification" (*ṣifa*) of the action. The problem dealt with is that of *istiṭāʿa*, the "capacity" to act created by God in the human subject. *Ikhtiyār* does not belong to the list of technical words established by al-Djurdjānī in his *Taʿrīfāt*.

The existential determinism of the *falāsifa* does not hesitate, either, to speak of *ikhtiyār* and of *ikhtiyārī* action, but without in any way committing itself to the ontological reality of human free will. *Ikhtiyār* must then most often be translated as "power of choice" (cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, s.v.), and *ikhtiyārī* as "deliberate". Ibn Sīnā says that the concupiscent and irascible faculties, simple opinion and the judgment of the intellect are all capable of *ikhtiyār* (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 387-8). "Choice" presupposes an elective action, and it thus depends on a knowledge, which can, however, be instinctive as well as intellectual, animal as well as human and superhuman as well as human. Every animate being and every intelligent being, from animals to the celestial spheres and the separate Intellects, is endowed with *ikhtiyār*. Al-Kindī speaks of the *ikhtiyār* of the celestial spheres, and of their *ikhtiyārī* obedience to God (*Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Riḍa, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 246-7). The adjective *ikhtiyārī* is the opposite of "natural" (*ṭabīʿī*) and is applied to the freedom of spontaneity of the estimative faculty in animals in the same way as it is to the intelligent choice of a rational or spiritual nature (thus Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi 'l-ʿishḳ*, ed. Mehren, *Traités mystiques*, iii, Leiden 1894, 9-14). The act of choice becomes "evident" when it is linked with a voluntary action (Ibn Sīnā, *Nadjāt*[2], Cairo 1357/1938, 215), but it is not will that defines it. That which effects greater or less perfection of choice is not the degree of a freedom in which are joined intelligence and rational will, but the degree and quality of knowledge. The choice that depends on intelligence is the only one that can tend towards the "pure and true" good; it is no less caught up in the universal causal sequence.

It was probably the double line of influence, on the one hand of the tradition of *kalām* (especially al-Bāḳillānī) and on the other of Ibn Sīnā, that inspired the analysis of the act of choice sketched by al-Ghazālī at the beginning of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (with regard to the man put before two identical cups or two similar dates), and particularly in the *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 219-20 [see IḌṬIRĀR]. Two points of view should be mentioned: (1) in human *ikhtiyār*, voluntary decision is subordinated to the judgment of the intellect, that is to say, it is "constrained" by it; (2) in consequence, an absolute free choice is exercised in God alone, for God does not act "for a motive" or "to attain an end" (*gharaḍ*, *ghāya*). The Ashʿarī, purely voluntaristic, idea of freedom makes the necessary "motive of preference" (*muradjdjiḥ*), chosen by the intellect, into a decisive argument against "man as creator of his actions". Human choice, which is always motivated, is not a truly *free* choice; it is "an intermediary" between natural constraint and the pure divine freedom, both *iḍṭirārī* and *ikhtiyārī*, as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam says.

Al-Ghazālī's analysis remains one of the peaks of Ashʿarī thought. Similar themes are found, with more or less precision, in all subsequent treatises and manuals. In modern times, the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (Cairo 1353, 60) limits itself to the double affirmation of two contrasting truths: the divine Omnipotence, "which is proved", and the "evidence" of man "who is free (*mukhtār*) in his actions". It should finally be noted that nowadays, when Muʿtazilī theses are undeniably coming back into favour, the current philosophical vocabulary uses *ḥurriyya* more commonly than *ikhtiyār* for the problem of the ontological foundation of human freedom.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

IKHTIYĀRĀT or hemerologies and menologies (Gr. καταρχαί, Lat. *electiones*) means an

astrological procedure whose aim is to ascertain the auspicious (*sa'd*) or inauspicious (*naḥs*) character of the future. It deals with years, months, days and hours. This task, which was the duty of the official astrologer of the court as early as the Umayyad period, became increasingly important under the ʿAbbāsids as a result of the adoption of Iranian customs and Sāsānid calendars which established precisely how the prince's time should be spent during all the days of the week (cf. for example the Ps.-Djāḥiẓ, *Bāb al-ʿirāfa wa 'l-zadjr wa 'l-firāsa ʿalā madhhab al-Furs*, ed. K. Inostranzeff, in *Matériaux de sources arabes pour l'histoire de la Perse sassanide*, extr. from the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Archeol. Soc., xviii, St. Petersburg 1907, 59; F. Gabrieli, *Etichetta di corte e costumi sasanidi nel Kitâb Aḫlaq al-Mulûk di al-Ǧâḥiẓ*, in *RSO*, xi (1928), 292-305).

Divinatory hemerology was known to the early Arabs, as to all the peoples of antiquity (see *La divination arabe*, 483, notes 4-5); the best known example is that found in the legend of the Ghariyyān of al-Mundhir b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, who once a year stood for two days beside these two sacred stones which were sprinkled with blood: one of these days was auspicious (*yawm naʿīm*); on this day he was generous to those who came to see him; the other was inauspicious (*yawm buʾs*); on this day his unfortunate visitors were sacrificed to his idols (on this legend and the Ghariyyān, see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 91-4). For the Islamic period, particularly under the ʿAbbāsids, there exist a large number of accounts which attest how frequently recourse was made to hemerology (cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 38 ff.; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 484 f.).

The theoretical basis of hemerology underwent its greatest development during the ʿAbbāsid period. There exist many short works of *ikhtiyārāt*, bearing the names of such famous astrologers as al-Kindī (Brockelmann, S I, 392), Sahl b. Bishr, whose treatise survives in a Latin version (*ibid.*, 396), al-Kasrānī (*ibid.*, 392), Abū Maʿshar al-Falakī (*ibid.*, I, 222), Abū Saʿīd al-Sidjāzī (*ibid.*, S I, 389), Muḥammad b. Yaʿḳūb b. Nawbakht (*ibid.*, 869), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*ibid.*, I, 507, S I, 924) and several others. For its practical application, brief calendars, worked out according to various procedures, indicate the good or the bad actions which are to be advised or discouraged for a certain day of the week and a certain month of the lunar year (see examples in *La divination arabe*, 487).

In Iranian and Turkish milieus, more especial attention is paid to the first day of the Iranian year, the Nawrūz [*q.v.*]; the actions performed on this day presage what the whole year will be like (cf. H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, ii, 145 ff.; *La divination arabe*, 486, 489, note 1).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, 483-8; C. A. Nallino, *Astrologia, astronomia*, in *Raccolta di scritti editi ed inediti*, vol. v, Rome 1944, 1-41; I. Goldziher, *Über Tagewählerei bei den Muhammedanern*, in *Globus*, lx (1891), 257-9. (T. FAHD)

IKHTIYĀRĀT, in the sense of "anthologies" [see MUKHTĀRĀT].

IKHWĀN [see ṬARĪḲA].

AL-**IKHWĀN** ("the Brothers"), Arab tribesmen joining a religious and military movement which had its heyday in Arabia from 1330 to 1348/1912-30 under the rule of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, popularly known as Ibn Suʿūd [see SUʿŪD, ĀL]. The movement, inspired by a resurgence of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], bore a strong resemblance to the original welling up of Islam among the tribes of Arabia in the 1st/7th century. In both cases the strength of tribal ties, the amazingly rapid spread of religious fervour in an attempt to form a cohesive community rising above tribal divisiveness, the zealous desire to propagate Islam by the *djihād*, and the eagerness of the *mudjāhid*s to die as martyrs were strikingly similar. So likewise was the settlement of nomadic tribesmen in military cantonments, one of the distinctive features of the Ikhwān movement. Thanks in good measure to the prowess of the Ikhwān, most of the Arabian Peninsula was brought under the sway of a single Imām, Ibn Suʿūd. When the triumphant devotees of *tawḥīd* started to break out of the Peninsula to the north, however, the parallel with *fadjr al-Islām* faded. The Ikhwān came up against British military aircraft and armoured cars based in the mandates of Transjordan and ʿIrāḳ and British warships stationed in the Persian Gulf for the protection of Britain's allies. The fanatical bravery of the Ikhwān beat in vain against the machines of the 20th century. And in challenging this century and its profound changes, the Ikhwān at last revolted against their sovereign, Ibn Suʿūd, who with superior force stopped and confined them. The Ikhwān movement may thus be regarded as the last gasp of pristine Islamic militancy, reproducing in many ways the beliefs and tactics of 1,300 years ago.

The progress and decline of the Ikhwān movement form an important chapter in the history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. During the close association between Ibn Suʿūd and the Ikhwān the state expanded to the west and north, occupying the regions of ʿAsīr, Djabal Shammar, and al-Ḥidjāz. Ibn Suʿūd as the new Protector of the Holy Cities acquired a position of prominence and dignity in the Islamic world. When the Ikhwān revolted, the response of the King and his government to the issues they raised determined the future course of the kingdom, which from then on emerged rapidly from its xenophobic isolation. The excesses of the Ikhwān harmed the reputation of Arabia in the Islamic world, yet their reckless courage and dedication to the principles of early Islam made a deep impression on many Muslims.

In the 12th and 13th/18th and 19th centuries Āl Suʿūd in their wars relied primarily on the sturdy town-dwellers of Nadjd, who stood firmer in battle than the mercurial Bedouin auxiliaries. In 1319/1902 Ibn Suʿūd recovered al-Riyāḍ, the capital of his forefathers, from Āl Rashīd of Ḥāyil in Djabal Shammar, and began the reconstruction of the dominion of his house. Although a townsman by birth and largely by upbringing, he had lived among the Bedouins and knew them well. As he became embroiled in the tribal feuds which for ages had rent Arabia, he searched for a way of turning the talents of the Bedouins to better use. The answer he hit upon was to mobilize them in settlements, where they could more easily be taught the doctrines of Islam, be made more reliable citizens, and be moulded into a formidable martial force. This revolutionary approach called for the Bedouins to depart from their old way of life, which came to be referred to as al-Djāhiliyya, and to embrace a new way, illumined by God's grace, so that the name *hidjra* (variant *hudjra*) was given to the settlements and the name Ikhwān to the settlers.

The Bedouin moving into a *hidjra* gave up his

house of hair for a mud hut. Often he sold his camels and *ghanam*, for he was now more of a farmer than a herder. He might even become a trader after a fashion by selling the products of his tillage.

The government supported the establishment of the *hidjras* through the selection of sites; the grant of land; the building of mosques, schools, and dwellings; the provision of seeds and tools and the giving of instruction in planting; the supply of arms and ammunition; and, above all, the sending of religious teachers (*muṭawwiʿ*, pl. *maṭāwiʿa*) to indoctrinate the Ikhwān with a knowledge of Islam as it was in the time of the Prophet and *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*. This was Islam as taught by Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*], but the Ikhwān often went to extremes. They were vehement in denouncing *bidʿa*s of all sorts. Electricity, which brought light without oil or wax, was iniquitous. The Ikhwān broke mirrors because they reflected images. In their personal appearance men must follow what was believed to be the Prophet's example. Moustaches must be trimmed almost out of sight and beards grown long. The traditional headcloth and headropes of the Bedouin must be replaced by a white turban.

Missionary work in the *hidjras* was carried on under the direction of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, a descendant of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who composed Ḥanbalī tracts for distribution among the Ikhwān. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1332/September 1914 he joined other *ʿulamāʾ* in addressing a circular to "*kāffat al-Ikhwān min ahl al-hidjar*" in which moderation was urged upon them. No difference, the scholars said, could be found in the *Sharīʿa* between the wearing of headropes and the wearing of a turban. At the same time Ibn Suʿūd wrote another circular to the Ikhwān in which he pointed out that there were no basic contradictions in the four *madhhabs* of Sunnī Islam, even though he and his government adhered to Ḥanbalism. He remarked that the Ikhwān had in their colonies the books of the different *madhhabs*, as well as the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*qq.v.*], the spiritual precursors of Wahhābism. As the Ikhwān movement developed, however, such pleas for moderation and tolerance were often ignored by its followers. Nevertheless, the religious teaching in the *hidjras* did go far towards making honest and law-abiding citizens out of the Ikhwān while they were at home and not on the warpath.

As soldiers the Ikhwān called themselves "knights of God's unity and brothers of those who obey God". They courted death in fighting for the faith. One of their war-cries was "The winds of Paradise are blowing. Where are you who hanker after Paradise?" As in times of old, they assigned a fifth of their booty to the Imām, Ibn Suʿūd. When they encountered the British, they did not shrink from facing their engines of war; with their rifles they would fire at planes flying overhead. Their raids might cover hundreds of miles, with long lines of camels, two riders to each, and horses preceded by banners inscribed with the *shahāda*. The raiders usually attacked their objective in a wild charge at dawn. The Arabs they marched against dreaded their approach, as they often put to death those whom they considered *kāfirs*, that is, those who did not profess their version of *tawḥīd*.

In or about 1330/1912 the first *hidjra* was founded in Nadjd at the wells of al-Arṭāwiyya northeast of al-Zilfī on the road from Kuwait to the district of al-Ḳaṣīm. When the Danish traveller B. Raunkiaer passed by the wells in Rabīʿ I 1330/March 1912, he saw no settlement. The new townsmen were made up of members of the tribes of Muṭayr and Ḥarb [*qq.v.*]. The redoubtable Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh, the paramount chief of Muṭayr, became their leader. Another *hidjra*, occupied in the same or the following year, was al-Ghaṭghaṭ below the scarp of Djabal Ṭuwayḳ to the southwest of al-Riyāḍ. Here the nucleus consisted of members of the tribe of ʿUtayba [*q.v.*] under the command of Sulṭān b. Bidjād Ibn Ḥumayd, the chief of Barḳā, one of the two main divisions of the tribe. As a champion of the faith Ibn Ḥumayd came to be known as Sulṭān al-Dīn.

All told, scores of *hidjras* were built. Several lists of their names have been compiled, none of which is complete or wholly accurate. Oppenheim and Caskel give a total of 114, with many marked as being of uncertain identity (see G. Rentz's review in *Oriens*, x (1957), 77-89). Philby estimated that the total was about 200. In some of the larger ones, such as the first two, the population may have numbered as many as 10,000, while smaller ones had as few as 10 inhabitants. Although an effort was made to bring elements of different tribes together in a single *hidjra* in order to put an end to intertribal feuding, most of the settlement came to be associated with particular tribes. The lists recorded by Oppenheim and Caskel, though only approximate, give an idea of the tribes most active in the movement: Ḥarb 27 *hidjras*, ʿUtayba 19, Muṭayr 16, al-ʿUdjmān 14, Shammar 9, and Ḳaḥṭān 8. The *hidjras* were scattered throughout Nadjd and what is now the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. In the south they reached the fringes of al-Rubʿ al-Khālī, and in the north they came close to the Syrian Desert. Westwards they did not extend into the high mountains of al-Ḥidjāz and ʿAsīr.

By 1336/1918 the military organization of the Ikhwān had developed to the point where they began replacing the townsmen of Nadjd as the élite of Ibn Suʿūd's army, marching with his bodyguard under his banner. In that year Ibn Suʿūd advanced with the Ikhwān to the walls of Ḥāyil, Ibn Rashīd's capital, but failed to take the city for want of artillery. In 1337/1919 the Ikhwān on their own won the first great victory in a contest destined to end with the downfall of the Hāshimid regime of King al-Ḥusayn in al-Ḥidjāz. One of the main causes of the growing enmity between Ibn Suʿūd and al-Ḥusayn was their dispute over the borderland between Nadjd and al-Ḥidjāz and the allegiance of the tribes living there. The key oases were al-Khurma and Taraba [*qq.v.*], and the most important tribe was ʿUtayba. Ibn Suʿūd already had a strong segment of ʿUtayba with him under Ibn Ḥumayd in al-Ghaṭghaṭ. The Amīr of al-Khurma was the Sharīf Khālid b. Manṣūr Ibn Luʾayy of Dhawū ʿAbd Allāh [see HĀSHIMIDS]. Ibn Luʾayy, after falling out with his kinsman ʿAbd Allāh, son of King al-Ḥusayn, during the siege of the Ottoman forces in Medina, returned to al-Khurma, where he enrolled as a member of Ibn Suʿūd's Ikhwān and energetically spread their doctrines among the tribes. From 1336/1917 onwards, al-Ḥusayn sent three expeditions against Ibn Luʾayy, but all were repulsed. After the surrender of Medina, al-Ḥusayn mounted an even larger expedition and gave the command to his son ʿAbd Allāh. The people of al-Khurma called on Ibn Suʿūd for help, and he commissioned Ibn Ḥumayd to lead forward a contingent of the Ikhwān. Together Ibn Luʾayy and Ibn Ḥumayd made a surprise attack on ʿAbd Allāh's fortified camp at Taraba and thoroughly routed the Hāshimid forces, both regulars and irregulars. The road to Mecca lav

open, but for diplomatic reasons Ibn Su'ūd held the Ikhwān back.

In 1338/1920 soldiers of the Ikhwān took part in the capture of Abhā, the capital of highland 'Asīr, and manned the garrison established there to maintain Ibn Su'ūd's rule. The Ikhwān were so high-handed in their conduct that the people of 'Asīr revolted, and Ibn Su'ūd had to send his son Fayṣal with another detachment of Ikhwān under Ibn Ḥumayd to regain control of the region.

A conflict arose between Ibn Su'ūd and Sālim b. Mubārak Āl Ṣabāḥ, the ruler of Kuwait, over the borderland between their domains in 1338/1920. Ibn Su'ūd felt that Sālim was pressing his claims too far south, and Sālim protested at the building of a *hidjra* by the Ikhwān of Muṭayr at Ḳarya al-'Ulyā (pronounced *garyat al-'ilyā*). Sālim dispatched troops into the disputed area, and at Ḥamḍ near Ḳarya they were overwhelmed by Fayṣal al-Dawīsh and the Ikhwān. Fearing invasion, the people of Kuwait in two months built a long wall with four gates to protect their town. In Muḥarram 1339/October 1920 al-Dawīsh moved, not against Kuwait town itself, but against the neighbouring oasis of al-Djahrā', which Sālim defended with desperation and success. Losses on both sides were heavy. Britain, pledged to protect Kuwait, sent two warships to the port and two military planes from 'Irāḳ, which dropped a warning notice on the Ikhwān. Undeterred, al-Dawīsh proceeded to the outskirts of al-Zubayr in 'Irāḳ, where the British intervened again. The crisis between Kuwait and Ibn Su'ūd was solved by a delegation from Kuwait to Nadjd led by the heir apparent, Aḥmad Āl Djābir Āl Ṣabāḥ, who, unlike Sālim, was on good terms with Ibn Su'ūd. Sālim died in Djumādā II 1339/February 1921 while the delegation was conferring with Ibn Su'ūd, and Aḥmad as his successor restored amicable relations.

At a congress in al-Riyāḍ in 1339/1921, attended by many of the Ikhwān, Ibn Su'ūd was acclaimed Sultan of Nadjd, a title new to his family. His father 'Abd al-Raḥmān kept the old title of Imām. The new Sultan celebrated by crushing at long last his old enemies, Āl Rashīd. After a siege of nearly two months in which al-Dawīsh and the Ikhwān played a prominent part, Ḥāyil capitulated in Ṣafar 1340 /November 1921. The Ikhwān leaders criticized the generous terms which Ibn Su'ūd accorded to Āl Rashīd.

The occupation of Āl Rashīd's lands eliminated the buffer between Ibn Su'ūd's state and the new states of Transjordan and 'Irāḳ. A number of followers of Āl Rashīd, particularly from the tribe of Shammar, took refuge in 'Irāḳ and made it a base for raids against the subjects of Ibn Su'ūd. The Ikhwān, restrained from hurling themselves against the Hāshimids in al-Ḥidjāz, found substitute targets in their new neighbours, where al-Ḥusayn's sons 'Abd Allāh and Fayṣal had assumed the thrones of Transjordan and 'Irāḳ. In the eyes of the Ikhwān, backsliding Hāshimids were fair game wherever they might be. Further, there were many Shī'is in 'Irāḳ, especially among the sheep-herding tribes which ranged down towards Nadjd and Kuwait, and Shī'ism was abhorrent to the Ikhwān.

In 1340/1922 the Ikhwān reached well beyond Ḥāyil to the northwest, occupying the oases of al-Djawf and Sakākā at the south end of Wādī al-Sirḥān leading to Transjordan. A raiding party of Ikhwān attacked two villages of Banū Ṣakhr very near the Transjordanian capital of 'Ammān and withdrew before British planes could overtake them.

The British government, which held the mandates for Transjordan and 'Irāḳ and had a treaty with Ibn Su'ūd, to whom it paid a modest subsidy, sought ways of preventing the raids and counter-raids. The British felt that to determine the allegiance of tribes and to define boundary lines were essential steps. Representatives of 'Irāḳ and Nadjd were brought together to sign a treaty at al-Muḥammara on 7 Ramaḍān 1340/5 May 1922, which Ibn Su'ūd refused to ratify on the grounds that his representative had exceeded his instructions. Ibn Su'ūd, however, in a meeting with British and 'Irāḳī officials at al-'Uḳayr accepted on 12 Rabī' II 1341/2 December 1922 a protocol to the treaty drawing a boundary between Nadjd and 'Irāḳ. At the same time a convention drawing a boundary between Nadjd and Kuwait was concluded with the British Political Agent from Kuwait. These instruments also established a neutral zone between Nadjd and 'Irāḳ and another between Nadjd and Kuwait, in each of which both governments concerned would have equal rights. The idea of the neutral zone was to provide a common territory without permanent inhabitants to which nomads with their livestock from both sides could resort for watering and grazing. For countless centuries the Bedouins of Arabia had moved back and forth without artificial boundaries to stop them. It would take time for them to adjust to the new arrangements, especially since the lines sketched on maps were not marked on the ground. Furthermore, the definition of the new boundaries was imprecise in a number of points, leaving room for argument over the location of the lines. For the better part of a decade raiding across boundaries was to remain a common practice.

Aiming to ease the tension between Ibn Su'ūd and his three Hāshimid neighbours, the British invited the four to send representatives to a conference at Kuwait. King al-Ḥusayn of al-Ḥidjāz refused to do so, but delegates from the other three met intermittently from Djumādā I to Ramaḍān 1342/December 1923-April 1924 without solving any of their problems, including control of the tribes on all sides. The situation between al-Ḥusayn and Ibn Su'ūd grew worse when al-Ḥusayn was proclaimed Caliph in Radjab 1342/March 1924, an act regarded by the Ikhwān as further proof of Hāshimid heresy. Islamic circles in Egypt and India voiced vigorous criticism of al-Ḥusayn's administration of the affairs of the Holy Land and the Pilgrimage. In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 1342/June 1924 a congress of Ibn Su'ūd's notables met in al-Riyāḍ. The leaders of the Ikhwān accused al-Ḥusayn of barring them from the pilgrimage, and the *'ulamā'* affirmed that the Muslims of Nadjd had the right to fulfil this fundamental duty "by consent or by force". The congress closed with the cry: "*Tawakkalnā 'ala 'llāh—ila 'l-Ḥidjāz!*"

The Ikhwān did not move in time for the pilgrimage of 1342/1924, as their campaign against al-Ḥidjāz began in Muḥarram 1343/August 1924. The main thrust westwards was accompanied by diversionary expeditions against the Hāshimids on two other fronts. A flying column of Ikhwān raided villages of Banū Ṣakhr just south of 'Ammān, only to be thrown back with severe losses by British planes and armoured cars, while other Ikhwān made a series of irruptions into 'Irāḳ, where again the British opposed them with modern equipment.

In the west the Ikhwān advanced under the command of Ibn Lu'ayy and Ibn Ḥumayd. Early in Ṣafar 1343/September 1924 their vanguard, with no responsible officer in charge, surged into the town

of al-Ṭā'if and put to flight the defending forces under al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAlī. A brawl with the citizens led to the slaughter of some hundreds before Ibn Ḥumayd arrived in haste to restore order. This was the only instance of uncontrolled violence by the Ikhwān during the war in al-Ḥidjāz (Ibn Suʿūd immediately issued strict instructions against any repetition), but it was enough to strike terror into the hearts of al-Ḥusayn's subjects. Many, including the Amīr ʿAlī, abandoned Mecca, leaving it defenceless. In Rabīʿ I 1343/October 1924 the Ikhwān under Ibn Lu'ayy and Ibn Ḥumayd thronged into the Holy City, wearing the *iḥrām* dress and carrying their rifles with muzzles down. The occupation took place nearly two months before the arrival of Ibn Suʿūd from al-Riyāḍ. When the Ikhwān chose Ibn Lu'ayy as Amīr of Mecca, it became one of the ironies of history that the last Sharīf of the nearly thousand-year-old Hāshimid dynasty to govern the city should be an adherent of the Ikhwān of Nadjd.

Carrying out the tenets of Wahhābism, the Ikhwān destroyed many of the shrines in Mecca, thus provoking an unfavourable response in the Islamic world. Once again the Ikhwān showed resentment at Ibn Suʿūd's leniency when he treated the people of al-Ḥidjāz gently, and an ominous speech by Fayṣal al-Dawīsh in Mecca on *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr* indicated an inclination towards open revolt.

The leading citizens of al-Ḥidjāz had prevailed upon al-Ḥusayn to abdicate and had recognized his son ʿAlī as the constitutional monarch. The Ikhwān joined in the sieges of ʿAlī's main footholds, Djudda and Medina, but it was Ibn Suʿūd who accepted the surrender of Djudda in Djumādā II 1344/December 1925 and his son Muḥammad, rather than Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, who a little earlier accepted the surrender of Medina (Djumādā I/December).

While the siege of Djudda was going on, Ibn Suʿūd concluded with Britain in Rabīʿ II 1344/November 1925 the agreements of Baḥra and Ḥaddā' (places on the way from Djudda to Mecca), with Britain acting on behalf of ʿIrāḳ and Transjordan. Both agreements were designed to enforce more effective control over raiding, and the Ḥaddā' agreement drew a boundary line between Nadjd and Transjordan (with the exception of the district of Maʿān and al-ʿAḳaba, which Ibn Suʿūd claimed as part of al-Ḥidjāz).

To avoid trouble with the people of al-Ḥidjāz, Ibn Suʿūd sent most of the Ikhwān back to Nadjd or off on expeditions to rivet his control over districts in the south near the borders of the Yaman and in the north towards al-ʿAḳaba. In Mecca the Ikhwān influenced events again during the pilgrimage of 1344/1926, when they stoned the Egyptian caravan on the grounds that the *Maḥmal* and its military band were *bidʿas*. The Egyptians fired on the pilgrims from Nadjd and killed a number of them. This incident was partly responsible for Egyptian coolness towards the new regime in al-Ḥidjāz during the next 10 years.

The restlessness of the Ikhwān under the rule of Ibn Suʿūd came to the surface in a congress of their chiefs at al-Arṭāwiyya in 1345/1926. Ibn Suʿūd, now King of al-Ḥidjāz, was condemned for a number of his acts, such as sending his son Suʿūd on a visit to Egypt, the land of *shirk*, and his use of automobiles, telephones, and the telegraph. Ibn Suʿūd thereupon summoned his notables to a congress in al-Riyāḍ in Radjab 1345/January 1927. Some but not all of the Ikhwān chiefs came. The *ʿulamā'* issued a *fatwā* in Shaʿbān/February, which in general deferred to the authority of Ibn Suʿūd as Imām but at the same time made concessions to the Ikhwān. The entry of the *Maḥmal* into Mecca was, if possible, to be prohibited. Strong measures were to be taken to bring the Shīʿis of al-Ḥasā and al-Ḳaṭīf into the fold of true Islam. On the use of the telegraph however, the *ʿulamā'* declined to give an opinion, holding it to be a modern invention about which nothing could be found in the works of the religious authorities. Two months later another congress in al-Riyāḍ brought together 3,000 of the Ikhwān leaders, only Ibn Ḥumayd being absent, and Ibn Suʿūd received further support. Ibn Suʿūd strengthened his diplomatic position by signing the treaty of Djudda with Britain on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1345/20 May 1927, even though dealings with Christian powers were anathema to men such as Ibn Ḥumayd and al-Dawīsh, who continued recalcitrant.

In Djumādā I 1346/November 1927 an incident in ʿIrāḳ north of the neutral zone between it and Nadjd set in train the revolt of the Ikhwān against their sovereign. Protocol No. 1 of al-ʿUḳayr had forbidden the building of forts in the vicinity of the boundary. When ʿIrāḳ began to construct a police post at the wells of Buṣayya, Ibn Suʿūd's government called this a violation of the protocol. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh's Ikhwān of Muṭayr took the matter into their own hands, descending on the post at night and virtually wiping out the ʿIrāḳī force. Other incidents followed in quick succession, with Muṭayr repeatedly defying Ibn Suʿūd's orders. The British struck back by bombing Nadjd territory. In Ramaḍān 1346/March 1928 Ibn Ḥumayd began to outdo al-Dawīsh in aggressiveness, calling for an all-out assault by the Ikhwān on the infidels of ʿIrāḳ. In Shawwāl/April Ibn Suʿūd, who was preparing to negotiate again with Britain, prevailed on the Ikhwān to suspend operations for a time, but the negotiations, which took place in Djudda in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/May, failed to settle the problems of ʿIrāḳī military posts and Ikhwān raids, nor was the deadlock resolved in a second round of negotiations in Djudda in Ṣafar 1347/August 1928.

To cope with the internal crisis Ibn Suʿūd held a congress in al-Riyāḍ in Djumādā I 1347/October 1928, which Ibn Ḥumayd, al-Dawīsh, and Ḍidān b. Fahhād Ibn Ḥithlayn of al-ʿUdjmān refused to attend, though al-Dāwīsh did send his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (ʿUzayyiz). Ibn Suʿūd went so far as to offer to abdicate, but the congress instead deposed the three rebel chiefs. The charge was spread at the time or soon after that the three planned to carve up Ibn Suʿūd's realm, with al-Dawīsh taking Nadjd, Ibn Ḥumayd taking al-Ḥidjāz, and Ibn Ḥithlayn taking al-Ḥasā, while a leader of Shammar who had joined the Ikhwān would get Ḥāyil and a leader of al-Ruwala would get al-Djawf.

The situation stayed relatively quiet until Ramaḍān 1347/February 1929, when Ibn Ḥumayd in a raid northwards massacred a number of Nadjd merchants escorting camels to sell in Egypt. This bloody deed solidified opinion in the towns of Nadjd behind Ibn Suʿūd, and tribes which had suffered at the hands of the Ikhwān supported the townsmen. Ibn Suʿūd called on the rebels to surrender and undergo trial in the *Sharīʿa* courts, but they refused. Finally Ibn Suʿūd overtook the rebels on the plain of al-Sabala (often written Sibila in English) not far from al-Arṭāwiyya, the fountainhead of the Ikhwān movement. Here in Shawwāl 1347/March 1929 Ibn Suʿūd broke the back of the revolt. Ibn Ḥumayd fled, only to be captured and imprisoned in al-Riyāḍ, while his *hidjra* at al-Ghaṭghaṭ was razed by Ibn Suʿūd's

brother ʿAbd Allāh. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, gravely wounded, was carried to al-Arṭāwiyya.

In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1347/May 1929 Ḍidān Ibn Ḥithlayn was killed by order of Fahd, son of Ibn Suʿūd's governor of al-Ḥasā, ʿAbd Allāh b. Djalwī, and in revenge the Ikhwān of al-ʿUdjmān killed Fahd. Ḍidān's place was taken by his cousin Nāyif Aba 'l-Kilāb. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, recovered from his wound, joined Nāyif in the east in Muḥarram 1348/June 1929. Among the stoutest opponents of the rebels was the tribe of al-ʿAwāzim [*q.v.*]. During the summer the rebels won successes, cutting the road from the coast to al-Riyāḍ via Abū Djifān and in another foray destroying a number of lorries bringing supplies to Ibn Suʿūd's son Suʿūd, who was in the field against them. In Rabīʿ I 1348/August 1929 al-Dawīsh's son ʿUzayyiz led a long raid into the country of Shammar and ʿAnaza, but he died from thirst in the desert after being defeated in a battle with Ibn Suʿūd's governor of Ḥāyil, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Musāʿid Āl Djalwī. Hundreds of the Ikhwān of Muṭayr fell in this battle. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh was hard put to find water for all his Ikhwān and grazing for his many thousands of camels, and the rebel cause was doomed when an important section of ʿUtayba under ʿUmar Ibn Rubayʿān chose Ibn Suʿūd's side. Relentlessly Ibn Suʿūd's forces closed in on the rebels, and in Shaʿbān 1348/January 1930 Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, Nāyif Ibn Ḥithlayn, and other chiefs surrendered to the British in Kuwait territory. The British negotiated terms of extradition with Ibn Suʿūd, and at the end of Shaʿbān/January the captive chiefs were handed over. Their lives were spared, but they went to gaol in al-Riyāḍ.

Thus peace was restored by 1348/1930 to the realm of Ibn Suʿūd, and the age of tribal raiding came to an end. The suppression of the revolt did not mean the total eclipse of the Ikhwān movement; it meant rather that it would be consigned to a subordinate role in the state. Some of the *hidjras* were abandoned, but others continued to flourish. Ikhwān chiefs who had remained loyal to Ibn Suʿūd received regular stipends, and the Ikhwān in the *hidjras* got an annual grant (*sharha*) of rice. Among the loyal chiefs was the Sharīf Khālid Ibn Lu'ayy, who commanded expeditions against the Yamanīs in Nadjrān in 1350/1932 and the Idrīsids in Tihāmat ʿAsīr in 1351/1933, during the second of which he fell ill and died. Other loyal chiefs held places of honour in the King's court. The religious zeal of the Ikhwān remained alive among large sections of the population of the kingdom, and it is still displayed by the *muṭawwiʿs* and the members of *Hay'āt al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*. As the military establishment of the kingdom developed, the Ikhwān detachments became the National Guard, popularly known as *al-Mudjāhidūn*. Now they move about in motor vehicles, which their predecessors once looked upon as works of *siḥr*.

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(G. RENTZ)

AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN, "the Muslim Brethren", Muslim movement, both religious and political, founded in Egypt by Ḥasan al-Bannā' [*q.v.*].

History. Many facets of the history of the Muslim Brethren are still unknown, which is to be expected since the movement engaged in many secret activities, on several occasions threatening the established régimes and being persecuted by them, many notorious militant members of it being now (1969) either in exile or living under police supervision in their own countries. The history of the movement may be divided into various periods:

(1) A formative period (1928-36) dominated by religious and social activities. After the foundation of the *Djamʿiyyat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, the "Association of the Muslim Brethren", in 1928 at Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] in Egypt, sections were formed in the various localities of the Suez Canal zone, then gradually throughout Egypt, particularly after 1933, the year in which al-Bannā', who had remained a teacher, was moved to Cairo, where he transferred the headquarters of the brotherhood. Missionaries (*dāʿī*, pl. *duʿāt*) specially commissioned by the founder and "Supreme Guide" (*al-murshid al-ʿāmm*) preached in the mosques and other public places; the Brethren founded schools of various grades, organized courses of religious instruction, taught the illiterate, set up hospitals and dispensaries, undertook various enterprises to raise the standard of living in the villages, built mosques and even launched industrial and commercial enterprises.

(2) A period of political activity and of expansion, then of troubles (1936-52). After the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, Ḥasan al-Bannā' undertook the support of the cause of the Palestine Arabs, which enabled him to spread the movement throughout the Middle East and especially in Syria, and gained him in Egypt an ever-increasing prestige. During the second world war, in 1941, he was im-

prisoned for a time because of his violent anti-British propaganda. It seems that at this period the "Free Officers", who were to seize power on 23 July 1952, had a friendly relationship with the Brethren, but the two movements always remained independent of each other. It is probable that al-Bannā' had already organized, in addition to sporting and paramilitary groups, a secret army, and his plans certainly did not exclude the seizing of power by force. While awaiting a suitable opportunity, the Muslim Brethren continued their educational and social activities and became an increasing influence in Egyptian political life, but in the country itself and not in the parliament. After 1943 they had to reckon with competition from the communists, allied to the left wing of the Wafd, who like them were attempting to arouse the political awareness of the students and the populace. The Egyptian Left accused the Brethren of devoting in fact more energy to opposing it than to opposing the British, and of resorting to violent methods and even actual terrorism to do so. The Muslim Brethren provided volunteers who fought with the Arab armies in the Palestine War in 1948. After the Arab defeat, they appeared as an organized armed force which was capable of challenging the Egyptian government; the government of al-Nuḳrās̲h̲ī ordered the dissolution of their organization, the confiscation of all its possessions and the arrest of a large number of Brethren. Al-Nuḳrās̲h̲ī was assassinated on 28 December 1948 by a Brother; shortly afterwards, on 12 February 1949, al-Bannā' was himself assassinated; no investigation of this murder was ever completed. The Brotherhood continued to function in secret. A new supreme guide was elected, Ḥasan Ismā'īl al-Huḍaybī, a magistrate, but his authority was often challenged. In 1951, as a result of the law concerning organizations (23 April), the Brethren were able to resume their activities openly; in theory they were forbidden to do anything in secret or to make any military preparations, but they very soon managed to evade this prohibition. They took part in the harrying actions against the British bases in the Suez Canal zone. The part they played in the burning of Cairo on 26 January 1952 is still not clear.

(3) The Muslim Brethren under the Revolutionary régime (from July 1952). The secret movement of the "Free Officers" which seized power on 23 July 1952 had a programme which resembled in many respects that of the Brethren, particularly on social matters; in addition, many officers who took part in the movement were in fact members of, or sympathizers with, the society of the Muslim Brethren. This may perhaps explain why the new régime at the beginning sought the support and even the collaboration of the Brethren; when all the political parties were dissolved (16 January 1953), the régime agreed to consider the Muslim Brethren as a non-political association. But it appears that al-Huḍaybī demanded the right of control and veto over all the government's decisions, wishing to set himself up as the "moral tutor" of the revolution, a position which was of course refused to him. Soon the Brethren attacked the new régime, considering that its programme and its first achievements did not sufficiently conform to their Islamic ideal. In 1953 there began a muted but bitter struggle; the Brethren intensified their propaganda among the students and the trade unions, and some of them plotted within the army and even among the police. On 13 January 1954, their society was once again dissolved and several hundred of them, including all the leaders, were arrested; but because of the rivalry between General Muḥammad Nad̲j̲īb and Colonel D̲j̲amāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, they were shortly afterwards released and were granted again the right to exist as a non-political organization. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty signed on 19 October 1954 was the cause of a fresh disagreement: the Brethren regarded it as too favourable to Great Britain and rejected even the principle of negotiation with the British, maintaining that an armed struggle against them was the only method possible. On 26 October 1954, Colonel D̲j̲amāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir narrowly escaped an attempt on his life by a member of the Muslim Brethren; the government reacted by arresting and trying more than a thousand Brethren and severe penalties were inflicted: six Muslim Brethren, among them the lawyer and writer 'Abd al-Ḳādir 'Ūda, were condemned to death and executed; the Supreme Guide, al-Huḍaybī, was condemned to death, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. One would have expected that after this the Brotherhood would be crushed; indeed many of the members who did not approve of terrorist methods, had given their support to the new régime. In fact the Brotherhood continued to exist clandestinely. During the summer of 1965, a conspiracy hatched by the Muslim Brethren, the aim of which was to overthrow the régime of Colonel 'Abd al-Nāṣir, was discovered; several hundred arrests were made; the enquiries and the trials lasted for a year; in August 1966 there took place three executions, including that of Sayyid Ḳuṭb, a well-known writer among the Brethren, not to mention many sentences of hard labour and prison. It appears however that the Brotherhood continues to exist clandestinely and to constitute a certain threat to the Egyptian government (1969).

The Muslim Brethren outside Egypt. Similar movements appeared at the same time in other Arab countries, inspired by the example of the Egyptian Brotherhood, but it is difficult to tell whether they were organically attached to it, and if so in what degree, or whether they were independent. In Syria, in 1937, there was founded an association of Muslim Brethren which was to be less extensive and less active than the Egyptian association, but some of its members occupied official political offices in Syria, as members of Parliament and ministers, and in particular the Muslim Brethren of Syria exercised a not inconsiderable moral and intellectual influence, under the leadership of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī (d. 1965). Less important, and in some cases more temporary, associations existed also in Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and 'Irāḳ. It should be added that the Muslim Brethren in Egypt commanded, and, it seems, still command, wide sympathy in many Arab countries and also in non-Arab Muslim countries.

Doctrine. The essential message of the Muslim Brethren may be summarized thus: they consider Islam to be an "order" (*niẓām*) without equal, because it is revealed by God, which has a vocation to organize all aspects of human life: "Islam is dogma and worship, fatherland and nationality, religion and state, spirituality and action, Ḳur'ān and sword" (Ḥ. al-Bannā'); furthermore, this order is valid for all men of all time and all countries. The originality of the Muslim Brethren lies not in their doctrine, many elements of which may be found in the preaching of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], but in the fact that their founder, by simplifying it and making it more strict, made it the ideological basis of a powerful popular movement. The professions

of faith of the Brethren, and espeially those of Ḥ. al-Bannā', who was educated in the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*, are strongly inspired by the idea of a return to the faith of the "devout ancestors" (*salaf*) of the Community, although they are for the most part formulated on a plane and in terms very different from those of tradition and invoke on occasion the authority of non-Muslim scholars and philosophers in the cause of the struggle against atheism; the believer can know God only through the description which He has given of Himself in the Ḳur'ān and through the words of His Prophet; but the faith of the Muslim is also alluminated and nourished by the light thrown into his mind and his heart by the total commitment of his life to the service of Islam. In the same spirit, the Brethren were obliged to perform pious exercises based on the recital of the Ḳur'ān with meditation (*tadabbur*) and to make an assiduous study of *ḥadīths* and of the model provided by the history of the beginnings of the Muslim Community. Whatever the differences between them, all the professions of faith of the Brethren show the greatest mistrust of the traditional formulations of *kalām*, which they consider to be too much impregnated with the Greek spirit, which is foreign to primitive Islam, and whose speculations they accuse of having provoked in the past, and of encouraging at the present time, divisions and a sectarian spirit, which form an obstacle to the necessary unity of all Muslims which is indispensable in their struggle against the foreign imperialists.

The Brethren's dedication to the service of Islam has as its main objective the struggle against western invasion in all its forms. Abroad first, it is necessary to fight until all the Muslim countries are freed from any foreign domination. Next, within Egypt, the Muslim Brethren planned to re-Islamicize Egyptian life in the very many fields which had been impregnated by western influence, now considered to be waning; these extended from social habits, such as dress, greetings, the use of foreign languages, hours of work and of rest, the calendar, recreation, etc., to the educational, legal and political institutions, not to mention the field of ideas and sentiments. Matters relating to the family and to the position of women were not neglected; in addition there existed a parallel women's movement, the "Muslim Sisters". One of the main points of this programme was the abolition of the Egyptian legal codes, based on European codes, and the creation of a legislation based on the *sharī'a*; they considered the question of the evolution of *fiḳh* to be no longer relevant, since a society which is renewed and really living according to Islam ought to work out for itself a new system of legislation, based on the principles provided by the Revelation, according to the new and unforeseeable problems which it encounters (S. Ḳuṭb). The Muslim Brethren strove to work out a whole economic and social doctrine based on canonical ideas, such as the taxes provided for by the revealed Law (*zakāt*) and the prohibition on making profit from money (*ribā*), and in general reinterpreting and adapting to modern needs the rules concerning economic and social life provided by the Ḳur'ān, the Sunna and the edifying episodes in the history of the Community. Sayyid Ḳuṭb and Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī appear to be the writers who mainly systematized this doctrine; they defined an Islamic socialism (*ishtirākiyya islāmiyya*) which, while combining the advantages of capitalism and communism, differs radically from these two systems in both its nature and its aims. Private property is guaranteed as a right, but its possession is a social function delegated to the individual by the community, which holds these possessions from God, the only true owner. The State, acting as representative of the community, has the right and the duty to investigate the origin of the fortunes of individuals, to control its use, and to deduct from it the portion due to the poor. In addition to these principles, on which there was to be based a truly Muslim and social legislation and policy, there are exalted the virtues of disinterestedness, of mutual devotion and of brotherhood, which, according to these writers, existed in the Muslim countries before they were invaded by Western materialism, and which must now be taught again since they are the very ends towards which this Islamic régime is directed.

The second main objective of the Brethren was to create an authentically Muslim state; the ideal, which would be attained after many preparatory stages, was to restore a single State which would embrace all the Muslim peoples and would have at its head a caliph. Until this was achieved, a plurality of states was permissible. The leader of the State is elected by the community and responsible to it; the community acts through qualified representatives elected by it, the *ahl al-shūrā*, who elect the leader, have control over his acts, and legislate in collaboration with him. Every person in authority is required to act in consultation (*shūrā*) with his subordinates, and it is the duty of every citizen to offer his advice (*naṣīḥa*) to those in authority. The aim of this Islamic State is, internally, to see that the laws of Islam are properly observed, and, externally, to send out and to support missionaries who will present Islam to other nations, and to fight constantly, and with arms if need be, for justice and the common good of humanity (*amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa-nahy 'an al-munkar*).

The ideas of the Muslim Brethren were, and still are, widely spread, even after the association disappeared officially, and they have today a great influence on Muslim literature in apologetics and in popular religion, particularly that written in Arabic.

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nouvelle renaissance du monde arabe et son orientation, by A. Miquel, no. 6, 139-44; *Mus̲h̲kilātunā fī ḍawʾ al-niẓām al-islāmī, Nos problèmes à la lumière de l'ordre islamique*, tr. H. Loucel, no. 37, 103-27, no. 39, 151-67, no. 40, 211-27. For a study of the development of the doctrine of the Muslim Brethren, reference must also be made to the works of many other writers, of which it is possible to mention here only those who, not referred to in the studies above, seem to us the most important: Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *al-ʿAdāla al-id̲j̲timāʿiyya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo, many eds. since 1952 (Eng. tr. by J. B. Hardie, *Social Justice in Islam*, Amer. Council of Learned Soc., Washington 1953); idem, *al-Salām al-ʿālamī wa 'l-Islām*, Cairo n.d. (183 pp.); idem, *Maʿrakat al-Islām wa 'l-raʾsmāliyya*, Cairo 1951 (160 pp.), idem, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān* (a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, Cairo 1953-9 approximately 30 fascicules (*ad̲j̲zāʾ*), 5th ed. 1967 (Beirut?)); idem, *Hād̲h̲ā al-dīn*, Cairo 1961 (98 pp.), re-issued 1967 (Beirut?); idem, *al-Islām wa-mus̲h̲kilāt al-ḥaḍāra*, Cairo 1962 (192 pp.), re-issued n. p. 1967; idem, *K̲h̲aṣāʾiṣ al-taṣawwur al-islāmī wa-muḳawwimātuh*, Beirut 1967 (238 pp.); on Sayyid Ḳuṭb, a brochure by an author of the same name, Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḳuṭb, *Sayyid Ḳuṭb aw t̲h̲awrat al-fikr al-islāmī*, Beirut 1967 (96 pp.); a list, probably still incomplete, of the works of Muḥammad Ḳuṭb, the brother of Sayyid, and of Muḥammad al-G̲h̲azālī, in *REI*, *Abstracta Islamica*, xv (1961), nos. 1432 to 1442 and 1402 to 1422; a list of the works of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿŪda in I. M. Husaini, *op. cit.*, bibl. no. 80; Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī, *Is̲h̲tirākiyyat al-Islām*, Damascus 1959 (D̲j̲āmiʿat Dimas̲h̲ḳ Press, 175 pp.), 2nd enlarged ed. Cairo n.d. (al-Dār al-Ḳawmiyya Press, 264 pp.), and Damascus 1960 (al-Hās̲h̲imiyya Press, 433 pp.); idem, *al-Sunna wa-makānatuhā fi 'l-tas̲h̲rīʿ al-islāmī*, Cairo 1961 (Dār al-ʿUrūba, 523 pp.); idem, *al-Marʾa bayna 'l-fiḳh wa 'l-ḳānūn*, Damascus 1962 (D̲j̲āmiʿat Dimas̲h̲ḳ Press, 336 pp.).

(G. Delanoue)

IK̲H̲WĀN AL-ṢAFĀʾ, the name under which the authors of the famous *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ wa-k̲h̲illān al-wafāʾ* conceal their identity; these authors, however, often extend the term to cover all the initiates or adepts of their doctrine, whom they also call, more simply, *ik̲h̲wānunā* "our brothers", and *awliyāʾ Allāh* "the friends of God". The generally received translation is "Epistles of the Brethren of Purity", or "of the Sincere Brethren (and Loyal Friends)", that is to say, of those who are united, in the spiritual City, by the purity of their souls (all corporeal barriers having fallen) and the loyalty that flows from this, loyalty to one another, in fact to all men, and perhaps above all to the true *imām*.

In spite of the most interesting article by S. M. Stern (*New information*), it seems indisputable that the Epistles represent the state of Ismāʿīlī doctrine at the time of their composition. They present two other important problems in this respect: that of their authorship and that of the date of their composition.

Authorship.—Although they appear to have been suspect to orthodox Muslims, the Epistles circulated among them and had a profound influence on certain circles. It is strange to think that their origin was, and still is, in dispute (see Stern's articles, *The authorship* . . . and particularly *New information* . . .). They have sometimes been attributed to a Muʿtazilī; this is unacceptable, in view of the hostility that they display towards the *mutakallimūn*. The Twelver S̲h̲īʿis claim them, although they contain some clear criticisms of their doctrine of the hidden *imām*. The Ismāʿīlīs rightly consider them to be one of their fundamental works (see Ivanov, in *EI*¹, suppl., s.v. ISMĀʿĪLIYYA). Casanova, well before the Ismāʿīlīs had allowed the publication of works of Fāṭimid literature, was the first orientalist (1898) to assert that they were of Ismāʿīlī origin; this was confirmed by this literature when it came to be partially known. The authorship of the Epistles has sometimes been ascribed to ʿAlī, and to D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, a Syrian Nizārī attributed them to the hidden *imāms* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad; but he also names the *dāʿī* ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ and three other *duʿāt* as collaborators in their composition. The Mustaʿlī tradition of the Yemen has attributed them generally, since at least the 7th/13th century, to the *imām* Aḥmad.

In 1876, however, Dieterici (*Philosophie* . . ., 142), without recognizing the Ismāʿīlī character of the Epistles, quoted a passage of al-Tawḥīdī (on which Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa relied, iii, 460) giving the names of their supposed authors. Stern recently revived the question in the two articles mentioned above. It is clear that the four persons mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī (Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿs̲h̲ar al-Bustī, called al-Maḳdisī, the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Zand̲j̲ānī, Abū Aḥmad al-Nahrad̲j̲ūrī and al-ʿAwfī, all friends of a Chancellery secretary, Zayd b. Rifāʿa) are the authors (or among the authors) of the Epistles; for al-Tawḥīdī was connected not only with Zayd b. Rifāʿa, but also with the *ḳāḍī* al-Zand̲j̲ānī, and the latter told him a story which is found word for word in the text of the Ik̲h̲wān. He knew, then, what he was talking about.

He calls the *ḳāḍī* al-Zand̲j̲ānī "the author of the doctrine" (*Kitāb al-muʾānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Cairo 1942, 4 ff., 157 ff.). Al-Tawḥīdī's teacher, Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiḳī, for his part, gives al-Maḳdisī as the author of the work. Stern, however, discovered two most instructive passages in an unpublished *Tat̲h̲bīt dalāʾil nubuwwat Sayyidinā Muḥammad*, the work of the Muʿtazilī chief *ḳāḍī* of Rayy, ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār al-Hamadānī (325-415/936-1025) (now published as *Tat̲h̲bīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUt̲h̲mān, Beirut n.d.—preface dated 1966; see p. 610 ff.). One gives almost the same persons as the authors of the Epistles, but does not include al-Maḳdisī; on the other hand, it does include Zayd b. Rifāʿa and adds another person, Abu Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Bag̲h̲l, a secretary and astrologer. All these persons, inhabitants of Baṣra, are considered active Ismāʿīlīs, and the *ḳāḍī* al-Zand̲j̲ānī himself is represented as a particularly important leader (text in Stern, *New information*, 411).

Stern comes, however, to a conclusion that seems hard to accept. He notes that, in the 5th/11th century, the Epistles had a considerable influence on philosophical circles that were not connected with Ismāʿīlism, and that, on the other hand, there is no trace of any influence on contemporary Ismāʿīlī authors; he believes that they were adopted by the Ismāʿīlīs only a century or two after their publication. According to him, the authors mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī and the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, although connected with Ismāʿīlism, represented a particular trend in it, which believed that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl lived concealed and would come again as the expected *mahdī*; he was supposed to be in actual communication with chosen intimates (the authors of the Epistles) and to have disseminated the Epistles

through them. Stern thinks that the secret organization described by the Epistles was illusory, utopian and idealized, merely that which the group of authors would have wished it to be. He believes also that these authors had no official function in the organization of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* and had no influence on contemporary Ismāʿīlism.

If this were the case, the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār would not have considered them dangerous Ismāʿīlīs. What is more, the Ikhwān reject the idea of an expected *imām*. On the other hand, the secret organisation described by them is too precise and corresponds too well to what the Ismāʿīlī organization may at first have been to be a product of their imagination. It does not seem to be idealized, but quite in conformity with the spiritual condition of a revolutionary movement in full expansion, which sets the purity of its convictions above everything—this is what gives such a movement its efficacy; the mystique of the spiritual City which unites them and contrasts them with the terrestrial city is typical: on one side, the good, on the other, the evil. Why should so much information that could apply to Ismāʿīlism be found concerning a non-existent sect, and nothing concerning Ismāʿīlism itself, which was so active at that time? Moreover, the Epistles lead one to believe that the propaganda was addressed particularly to those whose culture made them most apt to receive it: philosophers and mystics, or those who could be of most use to the movement, Chancellery secretaries or governors. Now, this was probably historically the case with the Ismāʿīlī propaganda. In spite of the slight doubt caused by the small difference between the information given by al-Tawḥīdī and that given by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, it may well be thought that the persons mentioned by them, or some of them, certainly collaborated in the composition of the Epistles, and that they were initiates of the highest rank who played an important part, even if others, of equal importance, were more disposed to action. Perhaps they were among the four *abdāl*, or even the "forty" (cf. *Révélation et vision véridique*, 35-6). But perhaps they were not the sole authors, and assertions of Ismāʿīlī origins contain only a part of the truth.

If the authors sometimes mention their work in common (iv, 367), the 50th Epistle (on different modes of government), on the other hand, considered particularly important because of its central chapter on the hidden meaning of festivals and sacrifices, and the 48th (on proselytizing) are put directly into the mouth of an *imām*. It is thus conceivable that the *imām* should have inspired the whole or part of the contents of certain Epistles, that he should have taken part in their composition or that he should have given something similar to his "imprimatur"; in any case, the *imām* of this world and those of the other world inspire all the members of the spiritual City. It is, however, also probable that the authors mentioned by al-Tawḥīdī and the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār gave the Epistles only their more or less definitive form. They seem to have been begun much earlier, perhaps actually by the *dāʿī* ʿAbd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ and his contemporaries, and then continued by their successors, under the aegis of several successive *imāms*, including Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, his son ʿAbd Allāh and his grandson Aḥmad. This would be in no way surprising, if we suppose that the Epistles constitute an attempt to arrange and fix the official doctrine of Ismāʿīlism. This point of view appears confirmed by the attempts at dating that have been, or can be, made.

Dating.—Dieterici (*Die Philosophie der Araber*, Leipzig 1876, i, 142 ff.), in view of the facts that their supposed authors are mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, 460) following al-Faryābī (d. 319/931), and that verses of al-Mutanabbī (303-54/915-65) are too frequently quoted in them to have been incorporated subsequently, and in view, similarly, of the fact that al-Madjrīṭī who introduced them into Spain died in 395/1005, fixes the date of the composition of the Epistles approximately between 350 and 375/961 and 986.

Other information that can be drawn from the Epistles seems to support these conclusions. They several times name Abū Maʿshar al-Falakī (d. 272/886 aged more than one hundred) and quote a passage of one of his works. They mention Bābak and the Khurramiyya, who began to attract attention in 192/808, and the Sāmānids (ii, 280).

Although the Muʿtazilīs are not named, many criticisms are evidently directed at them. Finally, one passage (iii, 161) mentions the Ashʿarites, who too are often criticized. Al-Ashʿarī, born in 260/874, became orthodox in 300/913 and died in 323/935; there could have been no question of Ashʿarites' existing until several years after his conversion, if not after his death; for the passage leads us to believe that Ashʿarism had already begun to be talked about, but was not yet equated with orthodoxy.

All this is confirmed by the fact that (as we have seen) al-Tawḥīdī personally knew al-Zandjānī, one of the supposed authors, and that he mentions these authors in a conversation with the vizier Ibn Saʿdān in 370/981; this presupposes that at that date the Epistles had already been completed for some time. This is not incompatible, either, with the fact that the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Hamadānī speaks of the activity of al-Zandjānī, for he was 45 years old in 370. The Epistles, then, may have been finished between 350/961 and 370/980, that is to say before the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids (358/969), or shortly after. Several passages, however, (notably iv, 146, 190, 252-3, 269) presage an important event, the manifestation of the cause by the Ikhwān, and the approach of government by good men. Two of these passages lead us to believe that this event is foretold by all the methods of divination and astrology (iv, 190 and particularly 146). The information furnished by the Ikhwān concerning the imminent conjunction that was to lead to the event is interpreted by Casanova (*Une date astronomique*), who bases himself on a passage of Ibn Khaldūn (ed. Quatremère, 186) and on the tables drawn up by an astronomer for De Goeje (*Les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*[2], Leiden 1886): according to him, the Ikhwān had in mind a conjunction that they expected on 26 Djumādā I 439/19 November 1047, and the expected event occurred eleven years and 42 days later, on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 450/1 January 1059: the *khuṭba* was then given in Baghdād, for a short period, in the name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir. The conjunction itself occurred in the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir, and Casanova sees an allusion to the latter in the term *ẓāhir* used in the text of the Ikhwān. Information furnished by the *Djāmiʿa* (323) suggests that the question should be reopened; it is possible that the tables used by Casanova did not correspond with those that the Ikhwān had at their disposal. Even if the dates that he suggests, however, are the right ones, his interpretation, for reasons that it would take too long to discuss in detail here, is certainly erroneous. It suffices to say that the Ikhwān allude here not to the final victory, but to a preliminary success.

Two dates, then, seem acceptable for the foretold event: 358/969 (the conquest of Egypt) or Rabīʿ I 297/December 909 (the proclamation of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī by the *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh in Ifrīḳiya). Several of the passages cited give us to understand that not only many adepts and propagandists but the *imām* himself are in concealment, and that the return to manifestation is near at hand; this prompts the choice of 297/909. One of these passages (iv, 187) even states that "government of good men will begin through the agency of virtuous good men who will join together in a land"; must this not be Ifrīḳiya? If this is so, it must be concluded that the composition of the Epistles took a good many years, and this time can be approximately fixed as between 287/900 (perhaps even well before) and 354/965. The only fact that appears strange, in this case, is that no allusion is made to the victory of 297/909. On the other hand, it may be considered normal that the passages that predict it should have been kept intact, as a proof (to be commented on orally) of the truth of their doctrine.

It also follows from this that the Epistles, unlike most subsequent Ismāʿīlī writings, circulated in the orthodox world at a moment when an expanding Ismāʿīlism anticipated a total victory, by degrees, but relatively rapidly.

Does the composition of the Epistles support this point of view?

The composition of the Epistles.—Only a close analysis would perhaps produce a reasonable certainty in this regard. Certain facts, however, demand attention at first sight.

The Epistles, as we have them, are 52 in number. In the text itself, however, it is ten times asserted that there are 51 Epistles. The 52nd itself (on magic) mentions the "fifty preceding Epistles" and designates itself the 51st. The extra Epistle, clearly added subsequently, is the 51st in our editions ("The Hierarchy [of the parts] of the whole world"), the normal position of which, besides, as its title indicates, would be in the second section (physical sciences). In fact, five pages of the nine that make up the Epistle are identical with pages of the 21st (the vegetable kingdom), and the remaining four pages add nothing new. This 51st Epistle (which itself mentions, at the end, a total of 51 Epistles, without adding it is the last) perhaps represents the first state of an Epistle left to be rewritten, then rediscovered and subsequently included in the penultimate position, since the Epistle on magic had to be the last.

Moreover, the work has traces of a certain vagueness, both in the order of chapters, and in the number of Epistles in each section. Thus the 8th Epistle in the 1st section (mathematical sciences), which deals with manual arts, was earlier placed at the beginning of the 3rd section (psychical and intellectual sciences)(i, 276 and 286); the 9th (1st section) seems, according to its introduction, to have been placed, at one time, after the 25th (2nd section); this might justify its contents. It seems also (ii, 19) that the second section consisted at first of 8 Epistles, instead of the 17 that it contains in its definitive version; that the 10th in this section was then the second; that the sixth (quiddity of Nature) was added later. Similarly, it seems that the first section, which contains 14 Epistles, consisted only of 5; that the 4th Epistle (geography) was added later; that the 5th (music) at first formed part of the 6th (numerical and geometrical relationships) and was subsequently detached; that there was at first one single Epistle on logic, afterwards split into five short Epistles. In short, it appears that, at the time of the composition of the 15th Epistle, only five Epistles from the 1st section and seven from the 2nd were already written; that certain of these were afterwards amplified and then split up; that these two sections were afterwards enlarged by the addition of new Epistles. The same was probably true of the other two sections. A trace of this, at least, is to be found: a piece of information in the last Epistle (iv, 285), applicable, according to the writer, to the 50th, in fact applies to the 49th; this suggests either that the 50th had not yet been written, or that the order of Epistles has been altered. It is probable that the first writers had not accurately foreseen their number, and that towards the end the authors made arrangements to round off this number to 51, so that it might be satisfactory from an arithmological point of view.

All this confirms the view that a very long time must have elapsed between the beginning of the composition and its being put into a definitive form.

As far as the form is concerned, its unity is remarkable. This need not surprise us, if we imagine that the different authors worked more or less together, and, moved by the same spirit, influenced one another. Moreover, their style is singularly affected by that of certain translations of Greek works. Certain differences, however, can be detected, which are probably not to be attributed solely to a difference of subject-matter. While most of the Epistles are characterized by clarity of thought and rigorous exposition, except when the discussion concerns points of doctrine that the Ikhwān wish to treat only in an esoteric manner, the 31st (causes of differences of languages), in spite of the interest of the content, is distinguished by a pedantic, obscure and over-subtle style, which is hardly to be found elsewhere except in the 41st (definitions and diagrams).

Another peculiarity of the 31st Epistle is that the author speaks in the first person singular; this occurs in no other Epistle, except by accident and for a reason that can be explained.

The same remarkable unity is to be found in the fundamentals. Most of the contradictions are merely apparent when we go more deeply into the problems. There are, nonetheless, some rare inconsistencies in the details. Nothing, however, has prevented the whole being given, by slow methodical elaboration, the unity and solidity that are fitting for an "inspired" work by means of which a sect expresses itself.

Content of the Epistles.—When, following an astral conjunction, a community assumes power and enjoys hegemony, it takes over, according to the Ikhwān, all the sciences of the communities that have dominated previously. This is particularly the case at the beginning of a new millennium, when one religious law comes to supplant that which preceded it. The Ikhwān, then, believe it legitimate to adopt all "the sciences and wisdoms" produced by the efforts (supported by divine inspiration) of the good philosophers (certain philosophers were also prophets, prophets being the best of the philosophers) and those that have been revealed by God in the course of the previous millennia. They claim, then, to present a compendium of all the sciences known in their time, taken, in the first place, from these ancient books, next from the "caliphs of the prophets" and their companions (iii, 384). This is what has led Orientalists to regard the Epistles as an Encyclopaedia. These sciences express the profound "realities" (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) of the universe, which support revelation

and religious laws, and, consequently, explain them in a rational way; for this reason they form part of the Ismāʿīlī dogmas: they constitute the "hidden meaning" of the "Revelation and the Law" which are their "visible" aspect. It is, clearly, a doctrine of emanation inspired by Neoplatonism—but one in which the *imām* plays in this world the essential part in the re-ascent of fallen souls—combined with Ptolemy's theory of the celestial spheres, and astrological laws are, consequently, of prime importance in it as the instrument for the realization of the divine will (for a more precise idea of the doctrine see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA). A few remarks will suffice here. The theory of great cycles of 7000 years—a cycle of manifestation alternating with a cycle of concealment (cf. Corbin, *Hist. phil. Isl.*, 129)—is not discussed. Two fairly clear allusions to it, however, are found (ii, 228, iv, 229; cf. *Imāmat*, 73-5); three allusions to our present cycle (ii, 344, iii, 319, 512); one allusion as well to the fall of the celestial Adam and also to the creation of the "first terrestrial Adam" (iii, 512). The respective roles of the legislator and of the successive *imāms* are not clearly defined; there is, however, an allusion to the great prophets who ushered in the millennia of our cycle (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and the *ḳāʾim* who is none other than Muḥammad restored to life) in the account of the myth of the cave (iii, 315-8). Once the five Legislators (Noah, Abraham, Jesus, Moses, Muḥammad, iv, 18-9) are named, and elsewhere the "five prophets endowed with energy ... whose legislation is different" (ii, 470-1, iii, 486). It should also be noted that the role of the initiator of the prophet is clearly seen (iii, 509 [al-Khiḍr and Moses], iv, 90-8); the instruction of the initiator, however, is a human instruction, not divine like that of the *imām*; it is the *imām* and his principal lieutenants that bear the name of *ḥudjdja*, and not the initiator. Moreover, the legislators are superior to the other *imāms*, and Muḥammad is superior to all the other legislators. It is Muḥammad (the City of Knowledge) who initiates ʿAlī ("the Gate of the City"). Again, Salmān does not receive any particular precedence; he is mentioned once only, among the Companions of the Prophet, as being the seventh of these. In the Ikhwān, then, we find not the order *sīn ʿayn mīm*, but *mīm ʿayn*.

It should be noted, finally, that everything relating to the *imāms* is dealt with most discreetly, and thus in a completely esoteric manner (manifestation and concealment, true revelation, etc.); the *imāms* succeeding al-Ḥusayn are never mentioned by name.

The semi-esoteric character of the Epistles can be understood if one considers the object that their authors had in view.

The object of the Epistles.—In fact, they aim secondarily at securing man's happiness in this world (the perfection of the body favours the perfection of the soul), but have the essential object of securing the happiness of his soul in the next world, and first of all of allowing it to re-ascend there after death. The soul must, then, gradually disengage itself from the defilements of matter which weigh it down, that is to say which obscure it and prevent its having a true and universal vision of the realities of creation, and, consequently, its approaching its Creator. When it has, at last, regained the original purity of its essence, thus taking on "an angelic form", it loses interest in the body and its appetites; it is ready to rise through the celestial spheres when it is at last released from the body, and later to merge itself in the universal Soul, and then, with the latter, in the Intellect. The Epistles must, then, gradually inculcate this purifying knowledge. Since, however, the legitimate *imām* has the office of guiding the ascent of souls, it is to him that these must cling; drawing near to God involves drawing near to the *imām* in this world; "true" knowledge helps him to be recognized, and he is rightly the repository of this "true" knowledge.

The Epistles, then, incite not only to knowledge, but also to action; they include, in fact, a deep commitment to their practical implementation; they have as their object, apart from the satisfaction of the spirit, the propaganda that will secure this and rally men round the *imām*. Idealism of convictions is accompanied by realism in application.

All this greatly conditions the form of the Epistles.

The form of the Epistles.—This rigid conception of the purification and opening out of the soul, which is concurrent with its evangelistic character, involves a well defined pedagogical conception, even though a certain vagueness and arbitrariness appear if the classification of the sciences discussed in the 7th Epistle is considered. The progression must be at the same time moral and intellectual. Purification of the soul must begin with striving after the four virtues: attempting to aquire knowledge, having healthy opinions, acquiring good traits of character and performing pure deeds and good actions.

At the same time, the practical (*riyāḍiyya*) sciences, which are a preparation for the practice of a profession, are studied. Above these come the juridical sciences (in their external sense), which essentially comprise the Ḳurʾānic and Traditional sciences, as they are conceived by the Orthodox, but also, curiously enough, interpretation of the Ḳurʾān (which, nonetheless, is within the jurisdiction of the *imām* and considers inspired knowledge to be the highest and the widest); doubtless, however, this refers to simple commentary on the Ḳurʾān (*tafsīr*), intended for the general public. Finally, there are the "realities" or sciences that are at the same time "philosophical and prophetic", which lead the soul progressively "to the goal of the sciences and wisdoms" and to its first purity.

This is why the 51 Epistles (actually 52) that make up the account of the realities are supposed to follow a gradual progression; they lead, in theory, from the concrete to the abstract, and fall into four sections. According to the classification given in the 27th Epistle, the four sections should be as follows: mathematics (the root of all the other sciences), logic, physics, metaphysics. In fact, they appear somewhat differently in our Epistles, but this is probably in order that the work may have an harmonious equilibrium, with the four sections all of the same size. These are in fact the following: (1) mathematical section, which comprises essentially, in order of progression: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, to which is added logic (which, according to the classification given in the 7th Epistle, should form a separate section), and several allied questions are also covered; (2) physical section ("bodily and natural sciences"); (3) section on the psychical and intellectual sciences (which, according to the classification given in the 7th Epistle, should belong under metaphysics); it deals in particular with the universal Intellect and Soul, with resurrection, and with many other things as well; (4) section on the metaphysical (the word used is *ilāhiyya* "divine") and legal sciences. In fact, they deal particularly with the behaviour of initiates and propagandists, but also,

cryptically, with the method of finding the *imām*—this, no doubt, is what justifies the name "metaphysical" for these Epistles; as for the name "legal" (*sharʿiyya nāmūsiyya*), it is probably due to the fact that they deal with moral behaviour which upholds positive law (which is, itself, unworthy to figure among the *ḥaḳāʾiḳ*): they form the "hidden" meaning of "visible" law. They conclude with the Epistle on astrological magic, the worth of which, in practical terms, lies in its helping in the recognition of the legitimate *imām*.

This supposed progression remains theoretical, for many of the Epistles are arranged in one section when they could equally legitimately be arranged in another. Moreover, the Ikhwān have to speak of the universal Soul in the first section, in order to be able to explain the material world as they conceive of it; thus they often go, contrary to their assertions, from the abstract to the concrete, that is to say in the order of creation.

The Ikhwān say that the "realities" form a veritable ocean; thus only the essential points are discussed, and that as briefly as possible. This is why, in addition, use is made of numerous fables and parables, which make the ideas more accessible to beginners and allow them to conceive more easily of the profound realities (iii, 29-30). Each Epistle is devoted to one science, in order to implant the desire of going further (i, 20, iii, 538, iv, 186, 331, 339 367), and contains at least one chapter which forms the deeper lesson of this science, the "pith". They are arranged according to the needs of different levels of students, and the 50th Epistle (really the penultimate) is particularly important; its essential chapter is called "*djāmiʿ* chapter" (it is this that relates to the deeper meaning of the four festivals of the Muslims and the philosophers [cf. *Sabéens et Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, 96], which symbolize the *imāms* and their cycles of concealment and manifestation) (iv, 250-1).

The *risāla djāmiʿa*, according to the Ikhwān, forms a "separate Epistle", which is not counted in the total number of the Epistles, although it is the concluding one; all that is said in them is here condensed, but deepened and supported by proofs; the realities here appear clearly (i, 39, 43, iv, 250-1).

In fact, in the *djamiʿa*, the technical aspects of each "science" are left on one side; only the elements that form the "pith" of each Epistle are taken up and often supported by means of supposedly demonstrative arguments, which are in fact dialectical arguments of a Neoplatonic type; it is less esoteric than the other Epistles, in the sense that metaphysical conceptions are discussed in a more direct manner and are not diluted in other developments. Above all, many points that are left obscure, to which only vague allusions are made in the Epistles—such as the problem of the *imāms*, the question of the great cycles, the history of Adam, the fate of souls after death, etc.—are developed in the *djāmiʿa*. But they are not discussed exhaustively, or completely clearly; a large measure of esotericism remains, and it too was intended to be completed by oral instruction. (On the *djāmiʿa*, which has been falsely attributed to al-Madjrīṭī, cf. Djamīl Ṣalībā, publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1949, and introduction).

The use of the Epistles.—The Epistles are designed for instructing "brothers", that is to say adepts, whether beginners or those who are already disciples (iv, 367, 394), but they are of use also to initiated propagandists for sustaining their knowledge and their curiosity (iv, 185-6).

The Epistles should be studied progressively, that is, as far as possible, in the order of the table of contents, so that everyone may find what is accessible to his understanding (i, 46, iv, 283). The 50th, for example, is suitable only for propagandists who are already advanced (iv, 251); this, however, is not always possible, for only certain rare privileged ones can have all the Epistles at their disposal (iv, 205, 250). They are, naturally, a remedy for those who are worthy of them, and they should not be deprived of them; for others, however, they constitute a danger, if they are unable to understand them or are unworthy and are likely to put them to evil use. It is foreseen that the Epistles may fall into the hands of such people, and this is why certain points are discussed esoterically and by means of allusions (i, 45, iv, 462). It seems that the Epistles were studied at "sessions" (*madjālis*); it is, however, foreseen that adepts who are already advanced may study them themselves, if they cannot attend "sessions", and may afterwards question qualified men about points that seem obscure to them; in addition, they will assist adepts less advanced than themselves by their reading. In general, the method consists of reading the Epistles to the less advanced, then commenting on them in the form of discussion, in order to teach them the ideas, the morality and the object of the Epistles (iv, 185, 186, 188, 250-1, 331, 339).

The source of the Epistles.—An attempt has been made, in *Sabéens et Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, to show that the origins of the doctrine should probably be sought in direct contacts between the first Ismāʿīlis and the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān. The latter, following the Hellenistic tendency to syncretism, mingled, in a new synthesis, their religion, Babylonian in origin, with Mithraism and Greek religion and philosophy, a synthesis catalyzed by Hermetic influence. The Ikhwān, in their turn, considering that the sciences of the past, "philosophical" or "revealed", belonged, under the aegis of their *imām*, to Islam, achieved a new syncretism by establishing in Islam the elements of this Ḥarrānian synthesis and by giving, without perhaps being aware of the fact, a far more important place to Neoplatonism.

In the Epistles, then, many diverse elements are to be found. There are probably some traces of early Babylonian astrology, supplemented by Indian and Iranian astrological elements, the whole based on the tenets of Greek astrology. There are stories of Indian and Persian origin and quotations and stories taken from the Hebrew Bible, as well as from Rabbinic texts; there are also borrowings from the New Testament (Christian influence is, in any case, very strong). The influence of Greek writings, however, as might be expected, is the dominant one. Influences of Hermes Trismegistus are particularly evident (not only from the writings called "Hermetic", magical, astrological or alchemical—certain of which are perhaps Ḥarrānian—but also from the Hermetic philosophical writings, the influence of which pervades the whole work), as are those of the Pythagoreans (on arithmetic, music, arithmology, but also on the general spirit of the work), of Aristotle (especially in logic and "physics"), of Plato, and of the Neoplatonists (especially in metaphysics). No Neoplatonist author, however, is named by the Ikhwān, except Porphyry, of whose work only the *Isagoge* appears to have been known to them. Of all the Neoplatonists, probably Plotinus—although they differ from him on certain points—without their realizing it, and without their knowing him, exer-

cised the strongest influence on them; they, however, believed that they were following Aristotle; in fact, they quote a passage of the supposed "Theology of Aristotle", which is, actually, known to be a résumé of several of the *Enneads* (cf. ed. Badawī, Cairo 1955). Even the dialectical form seems to have influenced that of the Ikhwān, as it perhaps influenced, in a totally different direction, that of the *Mutakallimūn*.

They appear, however, to have known other Neoplatonist works which they do not quote. This influence is supplemented, in astronomy and astrology, by that of Ptolemy (but the Ikhwān knew what Pythagoras and Plato had said about the celestial spheres). Finally, Euclid and Nicomachus were used in geometry. The Ikhwān also had recourse, when necessary, to many other authors of whom they quote only a few, such as Galen (physics, alchemy and astrological magic) and Vettius Valens (in astrology). What seems most remarkable, however, is the synthesis that they achieved, in an original manner, for their metaphysics, adapting them to the dogmas of Islam, and modifying, where necessary, the information of their predecessors.

The Epistles of the Ikhwān occupy a place in the first rank of Arabic literature, for if pure Aristotelianism progressively ousted emanatism in the philosophers, their influence endures, not only in Shīʿism, but also in the mystic movements.

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(Y. Marquet)

AL-IKLĪL [see NUDJŪM].

IḲLĪM, "clime, climate", or, more generally, "region". The *Lisān al-ʿArab* (root *ḳlm*) discusses whether the word is Arabic or foreign. Ibn Durayd, whom it quotes, rightly inclines to the second hypothesis; *iḳlīm* comes in fact from the Greek *klima*, literally: "inclination" and more precisely that of the earth from the Equator towards the pole, whence: region of the terrestrial sphere, and finally region in general. The *Lisān* seems to adhere to the strict definition: it states that "*iḳlīm* is one of the seven climates (*aḳālīm*) which are the different divisions of the earth".

Inherited from Greek tradition, the idea of climate refers to a zone extending, in longitude, from one bound to the other of the inhabited world and included, in latitude, between two parallels: the latitudes themselves are determined by the length of the day at the summer solstice or at the equinox; some writers consider that the limit between two climates allows a certain margin of uncertainty and that there is thus, between one climate and the next, a zone of transition rather than a sharp division: the general opinion is that the boundary remains in any case a theoretical one and does not correspond to any concrete reality (cf. al-Idrīsī, i, 3; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, i, 148). Each climate is a collection, in varying proportions, of a number of towns, of mountains, waters and minerals; besides its position on the terrestrial globe, it is defined by the astral context under whose specific influence it comes. Tradition fixes the number of climates at seven: outside them are the countries to the south of the Equator and the countries of the far north; there are sometimes added to the seven classical climates seven other climates for the inhabited lands stated to be grouped, according to the authors, in the "eastern" or "southern" quarter of the earth.

The most prominent adherents to the tradition of the seven climates are the astronomers such as Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, and the scholars

in general, such as al-Bīrūnī. But it is found also, as a view of the world in general, in the introduction or the main part of encyclopaedic works like those of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Yāḳūt, al-Ḳazwīnī or Abu 'l-Fidā'. The great works of descriptive geography in the tradition of the atlas of al-Balkhī (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī) reject the tradition, as will be seen, but yet mention it, even if only briefly: this is the case at least with al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, whereas al-Muḳaddasī, going much further, reserves a special chapter for the seven climates. More specialized, but also descriptive, the geography of the *Kitāb Āḳām al-mardjān* of Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusayn, although it does not make room for a general description of the climates, nevertheless constantly refers to them by noting, for each country or town, its position on the map and, notably, the climate to which it belongs; al-Idrīsī systematized the process by setting out the descriptive contents of his geography climate by climate, beginning each time with the West. An equally remarkable case is provided by al-Hamdānī in his introduction to his *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*: he knows the traditional division (pp. 24-6), but elsewhere (p. 10 f.) increases the number of the geographical unities thus defined and multiplies them by raising to 26 the total number of parallels which mark their limits.

On the whole, the central climates, those where there are large concentrations of Islamic peoples, are obviously better known than the others: it is noticeable that the precision of the latitudes decreases in proportion as the north is approached. From this point of view it may be considered that Islam (as was natural) was interested, among all the regions, chiefly in those with which it was essentially concerned. But although the precision with which maps are made is merely a consequence of the historical phenomenon of the expansion of Islam in these middle climates, it may also have been facilitated by the merchants, particularly for the knowledge of the eastern extremities of these same climates, which were vital for the important commerce of the time. Finally, it should not be forgotten either that the location of the towns as precisely as possible is a result of the necessity to fix in each of them the direction for the prayer: it is not by accident that al-Muḳaddasī gives his chapter on these questions the title *Dhikr aḳālīm al-ʿālam wa-markaz al-ḳibla*.

This knowledge derives, with much else, from the type of geography which consists of the description of the terrestrial sphere, which is called *ṣūrat al-arḍ*. A general knowledge of this "configuration of the earth", together with its climates and the degree of uncertainty or precision of its respective parts, very soon became an obligatory part of the knowledge of the educated gentleman. One of the most prominent themes is that of the central climate, the fourth, which represents "moderation in all things". Here the old Babylonian tradition combines with preoccupation with the political and cultural pre-eminence of ʿIrāḳ to produce the statement that in Mesopotamia are combined the most beneficial effects of a place's position on the map, of the astral influences and of the general configuration of the contours, the whole ensuring to its inhabitants the most solid qualities of character, perfect balance and the liveliest intelligence. Concerning this, the picture given by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (i, 170-9) is most revealing: in it ʿIrāḳ holds both a middle position so far as regards the natural features represented by the rivers and the mountains, and a high position regarding the cultural benefits represented by the towns.

The passage in *adab* writings concerning the general theme of the seven climates and the special theme of the fourth is a widely attested phenomenon. Their importance is illustrated by the fact that, as we have said, they are not even completely absent from works of the school of al-Balkhī who, as we shall see later, have no use for them in the method which they follow. The integration of these themes in the general culture of the time led also to the appearance of the seven climes in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Faḳīh (pp. 5-7) or in a more specialized book like that of the Spanish geographer al-Rāzī: the statement (p. 51) that Spain is situated in the fourth climate, that of Baghdād, is the result of a local enthusiasm which, attributing to Spain its own advantages, celebrities and marvels, allows it to stand comparison with ʿIrāḳ.

Against this collection of texts, stemming from the Greek tradition as revised by Islam, must be set other works from the beginning of Arabic geography, which obviously rejected this tradition. The administrator-geographers, even when they make allowances for it like Ḳudāma (p. 230), tend to present their facts to conform with the exigencies of administration or politics: al-Yaʿḳūbī, who describes the world starting from Baghdād as centre, is uninterested in any division which is not by provinces, in other words which does not correspond to those concrete realities which are the history and geography of well-defined areas which may be administered as such. Ibn Khurradādhbih, the earliest of the Muslim geographers in the strict sense, is still more interesting: although he makes *iḳlīm*, according to a rather confused terminology, the equivalent or a subdivision of a *kūra*, it is certainly to a real entity, forming an administrative whole, to which he refers by these two words: it is a "country" grouped round a capital town, and combining with others to form a larger entity. Thus Ḥamāt, Shayzar, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and the Lebanon are each considered as an *iḳlīm*, whereas Anṭarsūs, Bulunyās or al-Lādhiḳiyya are given the name of *kūra*, these divisions together forming, with many others, a wider area known as *aḳālīm Ḥimṣ* (pp. 75-6).

There exists another meaning of the word *iḳlīm*, this time originating in Iran. The word *keshwar* refers, in Persian tradition, to the seven great kingdoms of the world, of which six (India, China, the Turks, Rūm, Africa and Arabia) are distributed around the central kingdom, that of Iran. An obvious borrowing of this idea, but using the word *iḳlīm*, appears in al-Masʿūdī (ed. Pellat, i, § 189).

Finally, the school of al-Balkhī was to give the word a new meaning, fully adapted to the realities of practical geography. Although it borrowed the word itself from the Greek tradition, it took from the Iranian tradition the idea of a figurative representation of *iḳlīm* in the form of a bird or a familiar object, and the idea of a distribution of human groups around one centre, with the difference that this time the pivot of the world shifted from Media to Arabia. But a more important fact is that the school of al-Balkhī, in the spirit this time of administrative geography, is careful to define areas, land or maritime, regarded as wholes which in geography are clearly isolated. Thus al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, describing (in order to repudiate it) the old division of the seven climates, produce twenty new *aḳālīm*, exclusively Muslim: Arabia, the sea of Fārs, the Maghrib, Egypt, Shām, the sea of Rūm, Djazīra

ʿIrāḳ, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind, Armenia-al-Ran-Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Daylam, the sea of the Khazars, the desert of Persia, Sidjistān, Khurāsān, Transoxania. Al-Muḳaddasī was to perfect this geographical division of the *iḳlīm*: he considered, first of all, that geography is concerned with men, thus with the cultivable earth, and he refused to use the term *iḳlīm* for seas and deserts. He therefore reduced the number of the *aḳalīm*: he no longer listed sixteen earthly *aḳālīm* as his predecessors had done, but fourteen: six Arab (Arabia, ʿIrāḳ, Aḳūr = Djazīra, Shām, Egypt, Maghrib) and eight non-Arab (Mashriḳ, Daylam, al-Riḥāb, Djibāl, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, Sind). It will be seen that, first the group Armenia-al-Ran-Ādharbāydjān is listed under the single name of al-Rihāb (the "[high] plains") and that, secondly, Sidjistān, Khurāsān and Transoxania are grouped in the *iḳlīm* of the Mashriḳ, which means (ed. de Goeje, 7) the Sāmānid sphere of influence. The whole operation is to designate the *iḳlīm* as a geographical and historical entity which is, or has been at a certain time in the past, sufficiently independent of others to be the seat of a *de jure* or a *de facto* autonomous authority.

The final meaning of the word, that of "region", "country" in general, is attested by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, who, in his tables, places side by side the scientific definition of *iḳlīm* (*al-iḳlīm al-ḥaḳīḳī*) and its current definition (*al-iḳlīm al-ʿurfī*).

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(A. Miquel)

IḲRĀR, in *fiḳh*, means an acknowledgement, either judicial or extra-judicial. The Muslim jurists define *iḳrār* as *iʿtirāf*, "confession" (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, v, 137). The institution, as it has been built up by the jurists of Islam, is however much more flexible, more comprehensive and more independent of the exact anterior reality which it is considered to reveal, than the corresponding institution of the western systems, in the sense that it is used not only to reveal or to confirm a previously existing right, but also often in practice to produce a new juridical situation. As J. Schacht has pointed out, *iḳrār*, at least in matters concerning patrimony, "creates an abstract debt"; the efficient cause, *sabab*, of the obligation admitted is never demanded of the declarant, except in Shafiʿī and Ḥanbalī law in matters concerning a slave "authorized to trade". The slave is required to state the origin of the obligation which he considers himself to owe in order for it to be known whether it comes within the provisions of the authorization which he has received.

All these reasons make it seem preferable to substitute, as far as possible, when translating *iḳrār*, "recognition of rights" for the much narrower term "acknowledgement".

Whether it is judicial or extra-judicial, *iḳrār* is subject to the same juridical rules; this is why the *fuḳahāʾ*, in their writings, have not divided the study of it into two separate chapters, and although they return to the question in the chapter dealing with judgeship (*ḳaḍāʾ*), this is solely in order to point out the place of judicial acknowledgement among all the methods of proof admitted in law. A judicial acknowledgement is one which intervenes during an action. It consists of the recognition by the person against whom the petitioner alleges a fact, or a right, of the soundness of the request. At this juncture, the procedure goes no further. The judge cannot neglect this recognition and demand a further proof. But if the defendant denies the claim of the plaintiff, it is then a matter of an *inkār* [*q.v.*] or denial, which may lead to the procedure of an oath, which then has to be sworn by the defendant.

On the other hand, a distinction which must be made concerning *iḳrār* is that based on the object of the recognition. If this object is a right to a patrimony, it is then a matter of an *iḳrār bi 'l-ḥuḳūḳ*; but if it is a non-patrimonial right (marriage, paternity, repudiation, etc.), it is described as *iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*, *bi 'l-nikāḥ*, etc. This is not merely a question of terminology, since the two categories of recognition do not function quite according to the same rules.

I. Conditions of validity. These concern the declarant (*al-muḳirr*), the beneficiary (*al-muḳarr lahu*) and the object of the recognition (*al-muḳarr bihi*).

The author of the recognition must have reached the age of puberty and be of sound mind. A minor, an idiot or a person of low intelligence (*maʿtūh*) may recognize neither a patrimonial nor a non-patrimonial right. A spendthrift (*safīh*) may recognize only a non-patrimonial right.

With slaves, it is important to distinguish between one who has been authorized by his master to trade, and one who has not. For the latter, as a general rule, there can be no question of the recognition of debts, since he has no patrimony proper, and the acknowledgement of a previous debt would be manifestly untrue. Has he then the right to admit to an offence which is dealt with by a corporal punishment? According to almost all the writers of all the schools, his admission, under the circumstances, is valid, and he should receive the punishment applicable to this offence in spite of the loss (*e.g.*, the slave's life, or the mutilation of one of his limbs) which this could involve for the master; the Ḥanbalī's adopt more or less the same point of view but do however consider the admission of a murder to be unacceptable.

The situation of a slave "authorized to trade" is quite different. According to the non-Ḥanafī doctors, his recognition of a debt is valid if this debt is in connexion with the trade in which he has been authorized to engage; it is a charge on his own profits, and not on any goods which may have been entrusted to him by his master. Hence the non-Ḥanafī insistence on the necessity that the cause (*sabab*) of the debt should be defined. According to the Ḥanafīs, the debt recognized by the "authorized" slave is to be a charge on the whole of the goods in his possession. All the *fuḳahā*ʾ agree that an *iḳrār* obtained by force is null whether the object of the recognition be patrimonial or non-patrimonial. Indeed this leads, in Ḥanafī law, to a rather paradoxical situation, concerning in particular repudiation or enfranchisement. This school regards these two actions as still valid even if they have been obtained directly through violence, but the *iḳrār*, if its object is an earlier repudiation or an enfranchisement, and if it has been obtained by force, is nevertheless deemed to be invalid (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, v, 2). For a person in a state of intoxication, the general principles of the law demand that any recognitions of rights towards a third party which he may be persuaded to utter while in such an unconscious or semi-conscious state are to be regarded as not having occurred, and the majority of the schools accept this solution. The Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, rather inappropriately introducing moral considerations into a strictly juridical field, distinguish between drunkenness which is excusable and drunkenness which is voluntary or culpable. In the first case (if for example the declarant has become intoxicated inadvertently through taking too large a dose of a medicine containing alcohol), the drunkenness, in this case considered excusable, makes inoperable all the admissions of the person who is in this state. But if the admissions are pronounced while in a state of culpable or voluntary intoxication, all his admissions are considered in Ḥanafī law to be valid.

The recognition of rights, whatever its object, is a unilateral act which is an obligation on its author for as long as the beneficiary (who is of course never forced to accept it) has not in some way expressed his refusal (*radd*), also referred to as denial (*takdhīb*). If this happens, it becomes invalid, the disavowal of the beneficiary implying its dishonest character. This is what the writers mean by saying that *iḳrār* is irrevocable. There cannot therefore be any *inkār* after an *iḳrār*, but the reverse is possible: *al-iḳrār baʿd al-inkār ṣaḥīḥ* (al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xvii, 157).

The rule of irrevocability admits at least two exceptions: (a) the first concerns the "rights of God" (*ḥuḳūḳ Allāh*). A person who confesses to an offence punishable by a *ḥadd*, *i.e.*, *zinā*, theft, the use of alcoholic liquor, etc., has always the right to retract, even after judgement has been passed, and right up to the moment when the punishment is inflicted. This does not apply to an offence punishable by retaliation, since retaliation is a "right of man", and the admission in this field is always irrevocable. (b) It is also permissible for the author of a recognition of "indirect relationship" (see below) to retract his statement; indeed this recognition is in fact equal to a testament, which is, of its nature, revocable.

As regards the beneficiary (*al-muḳarr lahu*), it is enough for the *iḳrār* to be valid that he should be indicated precisely (*yakūn maʿlūm*ᵃⁿ), that he should actually exist at the time or that he should simply be conceived (al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, vii, 223). The formula embraces not only all human persons who are alive, or conceived, including slaves, but also corporate bodies, mosques, charitable foundations, etc. This gives rise to some difficulties regarding the acceptance, since an *iḳrār* may always be refused. It is agreed that the acquiescence of corporate bodies does not have to be formal; those below the age of puberty who have reached the age of discretion may acquiesce in person. When the beneficiary of an *iḳrār* has not reached the age of reason, he may not consent to it in person; the question is important particularly with regard to the recognition of paternity. If the person recognized by another as being his son has not reached the age of reason (or if he is mentally defective), he may not acquiesce in this recognition, which will therefore be valid only in respect of the unilateral wish of the author of the recognition, and this definitively, that is without its being possible for the recognition to be questioned when the child reaches the age of reason, or when an insane person who has lucid intervals recovers his reason (al-Kāsānī, *op. cit.*, vii, 232).

Concerning the object of the *iḳrār*, *al-muḳarr bihi*, it may be stated without hesitation that all rights of whatever sort, "the rights of man" (*ḥaḳḳ al-ʿibād*) or "rights of God" (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*), patrimonial or non-patrimonial rights, may form the object of a recognition subject to the conditions mentioned above. There does not exist in *fiḳh* a single exception to this rule, on condition, of course, that the right which is the object of the recognition appears feasible and is permitted by Muslim law.

But the problems raised by *iḳrār* are not exactly the same, according to whether its object is a patrimonial or a non-patrimonial right.

II. The recognition of patrimonial rights (*al-iḳrār bi 'l-ḥuḳūḳ*).

The authors deal mainly with the recognition of a monetary debt and list the formulas suitable for expressing such a recognition, the simplest being: "I owe you a thousand *dirhams*".

The formula naturally varies according to whether the right recognized is a right to property, a deposit, a share in a limited partnership, etc. The Muslim jurist is faced with two great problems in connexion with this type of *iḳrār*. The first is that of the indivisibility of the acknowledgement, the second that of the validity of an acknowledgement made during the final illness (*maraḍ al-mawt*) of the declarant.

A. The problem of the indivisibility of the acknowledgement is common to all the legislative systems. It is stated thus: upon the hypothesis that the author of the acknowledgement, after having recognized a principal fact or a right, produces a new fact which modifies the juridical effects of his first affirmation, it is necessary to know whether the beneficiary who accepts the acknowledgement is bound to take it as a whole (that which is to his disadvantage as well as that which is to his advantage), or whether he is permitted to retain only one part of it, avoiding the reservations.

The Muslim jurists, adhering to their method of proceeding by concrete cases, put the question slightly differently. Is the *istithnāʾ*, i.e., the exception, the restriction, which is introduced into an acknowledgement by the conjunction *illā*, "except", permitted, or is it considered non-existent, the acknowledgement remaining valid because it is irrevocable?

All the schools allow *istithnāʾ*, when the object of the restriction is of the same genre (*djins*) as that of the main obligation; this is easy to understand, since the acknowledgement then forms an indivisible

whole. Apart from this case, on which all the jurists agree, the Ḥanafīs authorize *istithnā'* (thus rendering the acknowledgement indivisible) when the objects of the restriction are things "which may be weighed, measured or counted". If this is not so, if, to take a classic example, the author of the recognition of a sum of money excludes from the object of his acknowledgement a slave or a garment, the restriction is null, considered not to have been formulated, the first part of the acknowledgement remaining perfectly valid. Shāfi'is and Mālikīs go much further in the direction of the principle of the indivisibility of the acknowledgement. According to their doctors, any *istithnā'* is valid and is binding on the beneficiary of the recognition, who must either accept it as a whole or reject it entirely. The Ḥanbalīs reject any *istithnā'* except one whose object is of the same genre as the main obligation. Ibn Ḳudāma (*Mughnī*, v, 142) explains their position thus:

"To admit every sort of *istithnā'* is to allow the author of the recognition to attach to the debt which he recognizes a claim against the beneficiary which has no connexion with the object of the recognition. This would absolve him (if the thing were permitted) from proving, by witnesses or other means, the sound foundation of his claim".

The preceding rules do not apply in matters concerning the term (*adjal*), which the author of the recognition includes in his acknowledgement. If the beneficiary contests the term, he is, say the Ḥanafīs and the Mālikīs, to be believed, but must take the oath; the Shāfi'is and the Ḥanbalīs on the other hand give precedence to the statement of the declarant; and it is incumbent upon the latter to state on oath that the debt was indeed due.

It is important not to confuse *istithnā'* with what the jurists refer to as *istidrāk*, which is a rectification. It is supposed that the author of the acknowledgement corrects himself in order to recognize a higher sum than the one he has just mentioned. It is easy however to avoid confusion, since *istidrāk* is introduced into the phrase by the expression *lā bal*, which means: "not this, but rather". Thus the author of the acknowledgement may say "I owe so and so a thousand *dirhams*, nay rather two thousand".

According to the Ḥanafīs, because of the rules of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*], the second declaration should be added to the first so that the author of the recognition finally owes 3000 *dirhams*, since all recognitions of debt are irrevocable as soon as uttered; but in *istiḥsān*, in equity, it is admitted that he owes only the total given in the *istidrāk*, *i.e.* 2000 *dirhams* (al-Kāsānī, *op. cit.*, vii, 212).

B. *Iḳrār al-marīḍ*. The recognition of debts made by a sick person *in articulo mortis*, or by anyone in danger of death (a person drowning or under sentence of death) is especially suspect, in a legislative system which, like *fiḳh*, sets very narrow limits to any acts of liberality inspired by approaching death. It could be too easy for a sick person to arrange things to the advantage of an heir by means of an *iḳrār* or to dispose of more than a third of his fortune to a stranger, both of these being acts of generosity which he is not permitted to perform, directly, by testament.

Nevertheless, it is only the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools which lay down definite rules for the *iḳrār* in favour of an heir. According to these two schools, *iḳrār* uttered during the "death sickness" of the declarant in favour of an heir may always be annulled, just as a testament in his favour would be (unless it had the unanimous agreement of the co-heirs).

The Mālikīs turn in each individual case to discovering the intention of the declarant. If this intention, because of the circumstances, is suspect (*muttahama*), then the *iḳrār* is not valid, as such, but if it appears that the declarant really did owe the object of the *iḳrār* to his heir, they then consider the recognition to be perfectly in order. The Shāfi'is consider that, of the two diametrically opposite opinions professed by the Imām al-Shāfi'ī, the *rādjiḥ* (preferable) opinion is that which regards as valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) any *iḳrār* made during a final illness, even one in favour of an heir (al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, iv, 51).

If the beneficiary of the *iḳrār* is not an heir of the dying person, all four schools allow him the *entire* benefit of the sum that is recognized as being due to him, even if this absorbs all the inheritance. The beneficiary will then be in competition, and for a share proportional to his claim, with those to whom the declarant had been in debt before his illness. Only Ḥanafī law gives to those who were creditors before the illness priority over those who are beneficiaries only of an *iḳrār* uttered during the final illness, by virtue of the saying *duyūn al-ṣiḥḥa muḳaddama 'alā duyūn al-maraḍ* "debts [contracted] in a state of health are to be preferred to those made during the last illness".

III. Recognition of extra-patrimonial rights. It is always slightly surprising to see how readily *fiḳh* admits the recognition of a non-patrimonial right by one person in favour of another, even when this right cannot have come into existence directly except under relatively stringent conditions, from which its simple acknowledgement is exempt. Marriage, paternity, direct or indirect relationship, repudiation, enfranchisement, etc., may be the object of an *iḳrār* which will take the name of the right thus recognized. We shall deal here only with the recognition of marriage, or, in other words, of the status of spouse (*iḳrār bi-'l-nikāḥ*) and with the recognition of relationship (*iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*). These are in fact the family rights which in the past most often formed the object of an *iḳrār*.

A man may recognize a woman as being his wife, and *vice versa*, on the sole condition that there exists between them none of the impediments to marriage laid down by Muslim law. This possibility allows proof by witnesses or by documents to be replaced by other methods when such proof is impossible or too difficult, but it will also allow in certain circumstances the circumvention of the detailed regulations which govern the contracting of marriage in Muslim law. Naturally the recognition is valid only if it is approved by the beneficiary. Here there becomes apparent a difference between the recognition made by a man and that made by a woman. When it is the man who takes the initiative in the recognition, the woman may acquiesce, even after the death of the person who claimed to be her husband, whereas if it is the woman who is the first to "admit" her marriage with a certain man, the man may approve it only while the woman is still living.

The above dispositions are those of the Ḥanafī school; all the other Sumnī schools and the Shī'ī schools hold more or less the same principles, except for the Mālikīs, who admit the *iḳrār bi 'l-nikāḥ* only between persons who come from a distant country and who because of this may have some difficulty otherwise in providing proof in any other way of a marriage between them which took place in that country.

The *iḳrār bi 'l-nasab*, the recognition of relationship, covers in reality two different institutions,

according to whether the relationship recognized is direct or indirect.

The relationship is direct when it does not imply, in order to be possible, the existence of a third person between the author of the recognition and the beneficiary. This can arise only in the case of the recognition of a child, a father or a mother. In all other cases (recognition of a brother, an uncle, a grandson) the relationship is indirect, since the author of the recognition could obtain the result he seeks only by attributing to a third person (his father, his grandfather, his son respectively in the examples given) the paternity of the person whom he recognizes.

This is why, while the recognition of direct relationship "establishes" (thabbata) sonship or paternity, as the *fuḳahā'* say, the recognition of indirect relationship has only very narrow effects, limited to the author of the recognition only, and resulting occasionally in a right to inheritance of the beneficiary.

a) Recognition of direct relationship. In all the schools, three conditions are necessary for its validity: the child who is recognized (or who recognizes) must not be the son of someone else; there must be a sufficient difference in age between the author and the beneficiary to make the recognition likely; finally the person recognized must agree to it, unless it is a question of a very young child or of an insane person. To these three conditions the Mālikīs add a fourth: they require that the circumstances of the birth were such as to make such a relationship plausible, in other words they consider that a child born in Morocco may not be "recognized" by a father who is definitely known never to have left Syria; but the other schools do not demand this condition nor (agreeing in this with the Mālikīs) do they demand that proof be shown of the marriage of which the child is the issue.

The recognition of direct relationship puts the beneficiary in exactly the same juridical situation as if the relationship resulted from the rule *al-walad li-'l-firāsh*, "the child belongs to the marriage-bed", or from the proof by *bayyina*, by witnesses; this applying in all the branches of law, whether concerning succession, impediments to marriage, incapacity to bear witness, or else in penal law.

b) The recognition of indirect relationship. This, unlike the above, does not form a situation valid *erga omnes*. The author of the recognition binds only himself, but it is excessive to write, as does al-Zaylaʿī (*Tabyīn*, v, 28), that "the recognition of a brother or of an uncle is the equivalent of a bequest". In Ḥanafī law, a person who has recognized someone as being his brother (the most usual example) obviously cannot attribute to the beneficiary the status of being the son of his own father without the latter's approval. Without such approval (the father being already deceased or having refused his consent), the beneficiary has no rights except as regards the author of the recognition; for this reason he will share with the latter the possessions which he inherits from his father; he may eventually claim from him maintenance, and will receive the whole of his inheritance if the author of the recognition dies without leaving any heirs. This recognition, unlike the preceding one, may always be revoked, as may a testament.

The contemporary legal codes, since the Syrian Code of Personal Status of 1953 (art. 134 & 135), devote a fair number of clauses to the recognition of direct relationship. This modern legislation appears to be very reasonable. The institution still retains today a large part of its practical interest, since it enables the gaps in the records of the registry office to be made good, the latter in any case not being held in very high regard in certain Muslim countries; furthermore, it makes possible the recognition of a natural child (it is enough to fail to mention the irregular conditions of its birth) and also the adoption (referred to as recognition) of a foundling.

It is surprising on the other hand to find, in these contemporary texts, clauses concerning the recognition of indirect relationship. This is hardly ever used today and it is doubtful whether it was really useful to include even brief rules about it in the laws and the codes the aim of which was adaptation to the conditions of modern life. Thus the Egyptian law of 6 August 1943 on inheritance devotes to it article 42; the Syrian, Tunisian and Moroccan codes of Personal Status refer to it, giving it moreover the same outline which the institution had in Ḥanafī law. It is only ʿIrāḳ which, in correcting the legislative whims of Ḳāsim, has not, in its Code of Personal Status, revoked the right to inheritance of a beneficiary of a recognition of indirect relationship (art. 88, modified by the law of 18 March 1963).

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh*, even the most modest, contain a chapter on *iḳrār*. In particular there may be consulted: Ḥanafī law: Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324, all of vol. xviii; Kāsānī, *Badā'iʿ al-ṣanā'iʿ*, Cairo 1313, vii, 209 ff.; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, Cairo 1315, v, 2 ff.; Mālikī law: Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet 1961, iii, 88 ff., and its *commentaries* by Ḥaṭṭāb and Mawwāḳ, Cairo 1329, v, 216 ff. and by Dardīr-Dasūḳī, ed. Ḥalabī, iii, 397 ff.; Shāfiʿī law: Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, Cairo 1286, iv, 33 ff.; Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, Cairo, ed. Ḥalabī, n.d., ii, 343 ff.; Ḥanbalī law: Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*[3], Cairo 1367, v, 137 ff.; Imāmī law: al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī, *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām*, Beirut 1930, ii, 108-16 (Fr. tr. by Querry, Paris 1876, ii, 150-70); Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, Rome 1938, ii, 220 ff. (extra-judicial admission), ii, 589 ff. (judicial admission); Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris and The Hague 1965, i, no. 345-8 (*iḳrār* of a sick person), ii, no. 612-3 (*iḳrār* of marriage); J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*[2], Oxford 1966, 151.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ʿIKRIMA, a distinguished member of the generation of Successors (*tābiʿūn*), and one of the main transmitters of the traditional interpretation of the Ḳur'ān attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās. He was a slave of Ibn ʿAbbās, to whom he was supposed to have been given when he was governor of Baṣra, and manumitted by his son ʿAlī; he is therefore also often called a *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās. He is sometimes counted among the Successors of Mecca, sometimes among those of Medina. He travelled a good deal, and his presence is attested in Mecca and Medina, Egypt, Syria, Yaman, Kūfa and Baṣra, Nīsābūr, Iṣfahān, Samarḳand and Marw, sometimes in the company of governors; this lends at least some credibility to the opinion that he was a propagandist of the Khāridjīs, whose doctrines he certainly followed. But it is most unlikely that he travelled to the Maghrib and was responsible for the implantation of Khāridjī beliefs in Ifriḳiya, or even that he died in Ḳayrawān. (He is said to have been of Berber origin). On the contrary, he died in Medina at the age of 80 in 105/723-4 (the best attested date), on the same day as Kuthayyir

ʿAzza [*q.v.*], and the prayer for the dead was spoken on both of them together. It is related that on account of his Khāridjī opinions he was searched for by some governor of Medina and therefore had to live in hiding, but the vagueness of this information shows it to be spurious. According to the oldest sources, he transmitted traditions from Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿĀʾisha, and a very few others; later, the numbers of his authorities and of the transmitters from him increased almost indefinitely. Already in Ibn Saʿd, admiration of his knowledge is mixed with critical comments on his traditions; Bukhārī still endorses him unconditionally; the older Traditionists accepted him notwithstanding the objections which were being raised to him (four of the authors of the classical collections of traditions, Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and Nasāʾī, included his traditions in their works), and only some later critics declared him unreliable or to have been untruthful in relating from his master, no doubt on account of his Khāridjī, and therefore heretical, opinions; but the final appreciation (Ibn Ḥadjar, at the end) accepted him again. The *Fihrist* (p. 38, l. 2) mentions a book of his, derived from Ibn ʿAbbās, on the revelation of the Ḳurʾān; it is no doubt as little authentic as the other collections of interpreting notes on the Ḳurʾān attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (Goldziher, 77).

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 212-6; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, Baghdād 1387/1967, 280; Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Kabīr*, iv/1, no. 218; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, iii/2, no. 32; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 2483-5, and index; Mubarrad, *K. al-Kāmil*, 561, l. 12; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Indices by M. Shafīʿ, i, 603; *Aghānī*, viii, 42 f.; xv, 126; xix, 60; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, v, 62-5; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 431 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, s.v.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1333, i, 89 f. (no. 87); Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, no. 475; Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 1328 (year 105); Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 75 f.; Brockelmann, S I, 691. (J. Schacht)

IḲRĪṬISH, Arabic name of Crete, with the variants Aḳrīṭish (Yāḳūt), Iḳrīṭiya (Ibn Rusta), Iḳrītaṣ (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*) (Aḳrīṭa (Yāḳūt, ii, 865) refers to a locality in Asia Minor and has only a fortuitous resemblance with the name of the island of Crete).

Geography. The Arabic geographers describe it as one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean (Baḥr al-Rūm [*q.v.*]), whose situation they sometimes confuse with that of Cyprus. They give widely varying figures for its area; a circumference of 300 miles (Ibn Rusta) or taking 15 days on foot (Ibn Khurradādhbih; al-Ḥimyarī), 100 *farsakh* (al-Muḳaddasī; on this point see A. Miquel in his translation of this author, 42 and n. 47); see also other figures given by al-Ḥimyarī, following Orosius, and others in al-Ḳalḳashandī and al-Zuhrī.

It contains several towns (al-Muḳaddasī) and large villages (Yāḳūt). Al-Ḥimyarī preserves in a very corrupt form the ancient epithet given to it by the Greeks, "of a hundred towns", Hekatompolis (*Iliad*, ii, 649; Strabo, ed. Teubner, book x, 674-5, also Enenêkontapolis).

Ibn Ḥawḳal describes it as rich in agricultural products. Al-Zuhrī mentions wheat, barley, abundant fruits, fig-trees, vines, rhubarb and other plants, but notes that it lacks olive trees and that the local oil is made from turnips or from sesame. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions herds of goats and, in the mountains, wild sheep; also a gold mine. Antimony of good quality was found there (al-Ḥimyarī, al-Zuhrī). The latter states also that there was gathered there the resin from the lentisk tree, known as mastic (*al-maṣṭakī*), and that it was only in Crete and in India that one could find 'epithyme' (*cuscuta epithymis*), a medicinal plant growing as a parasite on thyme (for which see Ibn al-H'achcha, *Glossaire sur le Mans'uri de Razès*, ed. G. S. Colin and H. P. J. Renaud, Rabat 1941, nos. 3 and 594).

Ibn Ḥawḳal states that an active import and export trade was carried on there. According to al-Zuhrī, Crete exported antimony and mastic, walnuts, hazel-nuts, pomegranates and cheese. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ states that it exported to Egypt honey and cheese, and al-Ḳalḳashandī repeats this. The export of cheese to Egypt from Crete is confirmed by documents from the Geniza in Cairo (see S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 1966, 274, and *Le commerce méditerranéen avant les Croisades*, in *Diogène* (1967), 57). It is known also that the abundance of milk and honey in Crete was one of the reasons given by Abū Ḥafṣ (see below) for retaining the Cordovans there (Theophanes continuatus, 74). On the other hand, Crete imported olive oil from North Africa and from Spain (al-Zuhrī), and, during the period when it was Muslim, received from Egypt arms and military equipment.

One of the resources of Crete, according to al-Zuhrī, was tunny-fish which, coming from the Atlantic at the beginning of May, entered the Mediterranean and reached the island of Crete, where they stayed until the beginning of June when they returned to their starting-place; they were caught and exported, dried, to all parts of the world.

At the time of the Crusades and of Venetian rule, Crete had active commercial relations with Europe on the one hand and with the other oriental countries on the other. For details of this see the index of Heyd, also, i, 276 for the products provided for commerce by the Greek islands, and ii, 441, where it is stated that Crete exported to Mamlūk Egypt wood and wine.

History. Crete was the object of Arab incursions as early as the time of Muʿāwiya. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions that it was conquered by ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, but gives no date; this statement is of doubtful reliability. After the capture and occupation of Cyzicus (Arwad) in 54/673-4, Crete was raided by Djunāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī. During the reign of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) a part of it was conquered, but held only temporarily; again under Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) it was the object of an expedition by Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf al-Hamdānī, who also led an expedition against Cyprus. But it was only during the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) that it came under Muslim domination. Its conquerors were not Arabs from the East, but came from Andalusia.

After the revolt, in 202/818, of the inhabitants of Cordova against the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam I, which was ruthlessly suppressed, the whole population of the Suburb of Cordova (al-Rabaḍ) was exiled. A party of them (al-Rabaḍiyyūn) reached Morocco; others, more than 10,000 in number (15,000 according to Ibn al-Abbār; see al-Bakrī, tr. de Slane, 285, note), joined probably by sailors from the coast of Andalusia, became pirates in the central and eastern Mediterranean. These pirates landed on occasion in Alexandria and became, owing to the political troubles there, masters of the city, forming with the help of a part of the population a small republic

which lasted for about twelve years, from 200 to 212/816-27. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī there were about 3,000 of them, arriving in 4,000 ships—an unlikely number. Their leader was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Shuʿayb b. ʿĪsā (and not Shuʿayb b. ʿUmar as is given in one single tradition in Yāḳūt) al-Ballūṭī, a native of Faḥṣ al-Ballūṭ [*q.v.*], who was called al-Ghalīẓ (the fat, the corpulent; Yāḳūt), also later al-Iḳrīṭishī. It was not until 212/827 that a new governor of Egypt sent by al-Maʾmūn, Ibn Ṭāhir, put an end to their domination. He laid siege to Alexandria in Ṣafar/May and forced it to capitulate, after a few days, in Rabīʿ I/June. According to Michael the Syrian (in Brooks, 432) the siege lasted nine months. Ibn Ṭāhir granted the Andalusians *amān* and allowed them to leave the town in their ships on condition that they took with them no slaves and no Egyptians and did not land in any country under Islamic rule.

They passed by the island of Crete, which, according to the Byzantine sources, they already knew from having made a raid there, and landed with 40 ships at the promontory of Charax in the same year 212/827 (or, according to Michael the Syrian, in 828). At the place where they had disembarked they built an entrenchment with a ditch (*khandaḳ*) from which the town which grew up there took its name (Greek Chandax)—whence the name Candia, the site of which, according to G. C. Miles, is under the present town of Herakleion. From there they made raids into the island and conquered, one by one, 29 towns, without encountering the resistance which might have been expected, either because of the absence of Greek troops or because of the indifference of a population dissatisfied with Byzantine rule.

Byzantine tradition (Theophanes continuatus, 74-5) claims that, after this, Abū Ḥafṣ had his ships burned in order to deprive his companions, who wished to see their wives and children again, of any hope of getting away from the island, praising to them the wealth of this country where milk and honey flowed abundantly and telling them that they would find wives there. This tradition is not confirmed in the Arabic sources and seems unlikely, since the Andalusians certainly had their families with them. It is very probably a legend. Nevertheless Amari supposes that Abū Ḥafṣ might have burned some ships which were in a bad condition, and this may have given rise to the tradition.

Once settled in the island, whose Christian population they reduced to subjection, the Andalusians organized themselves into an independent emirate, recognizing more or less the authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and led by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar and, after him, his descendants. They engaged mainly in piracy and in selling the slaves and the booty which they acquired from this. They may have contributed to the conquest of Sicily if, as Amari supposes (*Storia*, i, 404, n. 2), the Spaniards mentioned in Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 95) as having helped Asad b. al-Furāt came from Crete.

In 828, they ravaged the island of Aegina; in the same year the Byzantines attempted to reconquer Crete. Soon after 828 an expedition under the Greek Photios, which was joined by reinforcements under Damianos, failed completely: Damianos was captured and Photios fled with great difficulty. Another expedition led by Crateros landed on the island, but after an initial success the troops were surprised in the night and massacred. Crateros, who succeeded in escaping, was captured on the island of Cos and hanged.

At the end of the reign of Michael II (820-9) or at the beginning of that of Theophilus, his son (October 829-842), the islands of the Aegean were re-captured from the Cretans, and this liberation is attributed to a certain Ôoryphas, who had been put in command of a large fleet. In 829-30, Theophilus entered into relations with the Umayyad ruler of Cordova, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, and attempted to gain his support against the Andalusians of Crete, on the pretext that they were rebels against the Umayyad authority who had given their allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The Umayyad merely gave the emperor complete freedom to expel the Andalusians from Crete (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe s.*, in *Byzantion*, xii (1937), 1-24, following an anonymous Arab chronicle).

During the reign of Theophilus there occurred several encounters between Byzantines and Cretans. In Shaʿbān 214/October 829, the Arabs destroyed a Byzantine fleet off the island of Thasos and laid waste Mount Athos, which remained for some time deserted. They also ravaged the coasts of the theme of Thracesion (the west of Asia Minor) and massacred the monks of Mount Latros; but after this they were annihilated by the *strategos* of the theme, Constantine Contomytes. The date of this event is not known, though Brooks puts it as late as 841.

During the reign of Michael III (842-67), Byzantium, after destroying in 843 a powerful Arab fleet which was sailing towards Constantinople (but which came from Syria and not from Crete), decided to attack Crete. The expedition, which took place in the same year, 843, was led by the logothete Theoctistes. It resulted in a temporary occupation of Crete (see Ahrweiler, 112 and 441), but Theoctistes returned to Constantinople because of rumours spread by the Arabs of political intrigues in the capital and, according to the continuator of Theophanes, the troops left in Crete were massacred by the Arabs.

The Byzantines continued to plan an expedition against Crete, which constituted a continual danger to the Greek coast and islands. As Crete obtained its arms from Egypt, a Byzantine fleet attacked Damietta in 853 and seized there a large supply of arms destined for Crete, while other squadrons were in action around Crete itself. The increase in the Byzantine maritime power at this time did not prevent the Cretans, in the last years of the reign of Michael III, from landing in Athos on two occasions in 862. In 866, Byzantium decided to undertake a new expedition against Crete, but the assassination of Bardas, the maternal uncle of the emperor, with the latter's connivance, interrupted these operations (Vasiliev, i, 258; cf. Ahrweiler, 112).

During the first period of the Macedonian dynasty, the Arabs of Crete remained active. In 872, their raids reached as far as the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, and in the following year they laid waste the islands of the Aegean with a fleet under the command of a renegade called Photios, probably accompanied by other renegades. Some ships even reached the island of Proconnesos in the Hellespont. But the Byzantine admiral Ôoryphas (a different person from the Ôoryphas mentioned above), inflicted a severe defeat on the Cretan fleet, of which several ships were burned. Nevertheless, Photios re-appeared on the coast of the Peloponnese. The same Nicetas Ôoryphas gave battle to him and, according to the Byzantine sources, took his revenge on the prisoners, inflicting horrible tortures on the renegades in particular. As a result of these Byzantine

victories, it appears that for about a decade the Cretans were forced to pay tribute to Byzantium. The *amīr* of Crete, according to the Byzantine sources, was Saīpis or Saet, a corruption of Shuʿayb.

At the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the raids by the Arabs of Crete who were in communication with those living on the coast of Syria continually caused great havoc, in particular in the Peloponnese, where they massacred the inhabitants or carried them off to sell them as slaves. They were in control of Patmos, one of the Sporades, and Naxos paid tribute to them (see John Cameniates, *De excidio Thessalonicensi*, ch. 68, 580-3, ch. 70, 583; Vasiliev, ii/1, 158-9, Russian ed., 134; cf. Ahrweiler, 104).

The Muslim Syrian squadron of Leo of Tripoli, which captured Thessalonika in 291/904, anchored on its return journey at Crete, where some of the prisoners were sold (John Cameniates, ch. 73; Vasiliev, ii/1, 177, Russian ed. 150), which demonstrates the agreement which existed between Crete and Syria.

At the time of the expedition of the admiral Himerios in 297/909-10, a Byzantine emissary, who was the author of the Life of Saint Theoctistes of Lesbos, was sent to Crete to find out the intentions of the *amīr* and to try to ascertain whether he would be giving his support to the Arabs of Syria (see Vasiliev, ii/1, 209, Russian ed., 177-8). It is not clear whether the same Himerios led an expedition against Crete in 911. This has been questioned (Ahrweiler, 113, n. 4). In any case, in the spring of 912, whether after the expedition against Crete or that against Syria, Himerios's fleet was pursued by that of the Arabs of Syria, probably helped by the Cretans, and destroyed to the north of Chios (Vasiliev, ii/1, 214; Russian ed., 182-3).

During the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, between 930 and 940, the Cretans attacked the Peloponnese and central Greece and also Athos (where fortifications had to be built) and the coasts of Asia Minor(see Vasiliev, ii/1, 320 ff., Russian ed., 270 ff.). It is possible that they penetrated Attica and as far as Athens (see the works quoted by G. C. Miles in *Hesperia*, 1956 and the note in Vasiliev, 320). The emperor therefore decided to prepare an expedition against Crete in 949 in order to put an end to the activity of the pirates: the preparations for it are described in detail in the *De ceremoniis*, II, 45. But again the expedition was a failure; after the troops had landed they were taken by surprise and defeated, and a large number of ships were lost (see Vasiliev, ii/1, 333 ff.).

It was during the reign of Romanus II, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that Crete was reconquered by Nicephorus Phocas with a large fleet and army. The expedition left Constantinople in June or July 960. After landing, the army marched on the powerful fortress of Chandax and laid siege to it, while detachments spread across the island. The siege lasted throughout the winter of 960-1 and the fortress was captured by assault on 6 March 961.

The Cretans had not been able to obtain help. The *amīr* of Aleppo had no fleet and does not appear to have been approached. An embassy had been sent from Crete to the Ikhshīded *amīr* of Egypt, but he, realizing his weakness, advised them to seek help from the Fāṭimid caliph of North Africa, al-Muʿizz. The latter not only sent word to the emperor declaring that the truce concluded with Byzantium in 345/956-7 was at an end and demanding that he raise the siege of Crete; he further promised to send a fleet to aid Crete, and proposed to the *amīr* of Egypt that they should act together, the African and Egyptian fleets to meet at Cyrenaica on the first day of Rabīʿ II 350/20 May 961. Documents relating to this are to be found in *al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, the friend of the caliph al-Muʿizz, published in the work by Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭāhā Aḥmad Sharaf, *al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh*, Cairo 1948, 303-4, 321-2, analysed by Fahrat Dachraoui, *La Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Muʿizz*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 26-7 (1959) and tr. by M. Canard, *Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, xix (1961), 285-8.

Although Ibn al-Athīr and other historians state that the Fāṭimid caliph, as he had promised the Cretans' ambassador, sent troops, who gained a victory over the Byzantines and took them prisoner, this is very doubtful: at the date indicated Chandax had already been taken by Nicephorus Phocas and this help would have arrived too late. According to the Byzantine sources, the *amīr* of Crete having sent an appeal for help to the Arabs of Spain and Africa, a number of ships did land some men, who succeeded in scaling the walls of the place, but who, realizing that any help would be in vain, returned to their ships.

According to a tradition related by al-Nuwayrī (see Mariano Gaspar), the emperor Romanus II asked the *amīr* of Crete, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥabīb, to put a stop to the Cretan raids on the islands in order to allow the inhabitants of the islands, who had fled, to return to their homes and to resume trade with Crete, promising in return to pay him an annual tribute. A treaty was concluded on this basis. Then the emperor proposed to the *amīr* to send to Crete a herd of brood-mares, whose progeny was to be shared between them, the males for the emperor and the females for the *amīr*. This was a ruse, which allowed the Byzantines to introduce into the island 500 horses with their grooms. Thereupon there arrived secretly the troops of Nicephorus Phocas, who landed at the place where the horses were, bringing with them saddles and bridles. They had only to mount the horses to be ready for battle and to take the defenders of the island by surprise. But, according to Yāḳūt, the army of Nicephorus Phocas consisted of 70,000 men, 5,000 of them being horsemen, and according to Ibn Khaldūn, he arrived with 700 ships.

The work by G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au Xᵉ siècle, Nicéphore Phocas*, gives a detailed and vivid account of the siege of the town of Chandax. After the failure of a detachment sent into the interior, which was taken by surprise and massacred, Nicephorus began a complete blockade of the town by means of an entrenchment, which stretched from one end of the island to the other. Bombarded and cut off from the rest of the island, the town fell, though not without putting up a vigorous defence, after a siege which lasted throughout the winter of 960-1. The town was pillaged and the inhabitants who had not been killed were taken captive, among them being the last *amīr*, Kouroupas, his son Anemas and their family. The walls were demolished, and a fortress was built on a neighbouring height and provided with a garrison. The mosques were destroyed and all copies of the Ḳurʾān were burned (cf. *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, f. 276 v.). The Muslims who remained in the island were gradually converted to Christianity.

The capture of Crete resulted in unrest in Cairo, of which the victims were the Christians there (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd).

According to al-Nuwayrī, the conversion of the Muslims was achieved by cunning and by force.

Some important inhabitants, invited to pay their respects to the emperor at Christmas, received lavish gifts and returned to the island very pleased. Following this a great many people travelled to Constantinople but then were arrested and forced to become Christian under the threat of death. On their return to the island they were warned that, if they wished to see their families again, they must persuade their fellow-Muslims to become Christian. In this way the island became entirely Christian.

It does not seem that Kouroupas, a prisoner in Constantinople and treated well, became a Christian, but his son Anemas was converted, since he became a member of the imperial guard and died in 972 in the war against the Russians.

Ibn Ḥawḳal states that before the Byzantine conquest Crete had been constantly in a state of war, and the Christians could neither enter it nor leave it. All the same there probably existed diplomatic contacts between Byzantium and the *amīr*s of Crete, as is illustrated by the mission of the author of the life of Saint Theoctistes (see above). But the two letters of the patriarch Nicholas the Mystic "to the *amīr* of Crete" (Migne, *P. G.*, cxi, 28-33 and 36-40; Vasiliev, Russian ed., 190-205) were, according to R. J. H. Jenkins (*The mission of St. Demetrianos of Cyprus to Bagdad*, in *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Orientales et Slaves*, ix (1949), Brussels = *Mélanges H. Grégoire*), addressed to a caliph and not to an *amīr* of Crete; reference should now be made, however, to the French translation of the two letters in Vasiliev, ii/1, Brussels 1968, 389-411: at p. 411 it is suggested that the first letter (the second in the Russian edition) was addressed at the end of A.D. 904 or early in 905 to the Amīr of Crete, Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb, and related to the liberation of Greek prisoners.

That Crete was in communication with the caliph of Baghdād is demonstrated by the fact that in 248/862 the former vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was exiled to Crete by the caliph al-Mustaʿīn (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 290).

The sovereignty of the island was transmitted within the family of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar. Thanks to the Byzantine and Arabic sources, and in particular also to numismatics, it has been possible to work out the succession of the *amīrs* of Crete from 827 to 961. The following has been suggested by G. C. Miles as a result of his own researches and those of other numismatists, with the probable dates of the reign of each of the *amīrs*.

Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar I b. Shuʿayb, 213/828-circa 241/855.

Shuʿayb I b. ʿUmar (the Saïpis or Saet of the Byzantines; Vasiliev, i, 57, n. and ii/1, 53-4), circa 241-66/circa 855-80.

(Abū ʿAbd Allāh) ʿUmar II b. Shuʿayb (the Babdel of the Byzantines; Vasiliev, i, 57), circa 266-82/880-95.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb (the Zerkounis of the Byzantines; Vasiliev, i, 57, *i.e.*, Zerḳūn, a Hispano-Arabic name, the diminutive of Azraḳ), circa 282-97/895-910.

Yūsuf b. ʿUmar II, circa 297-302/910-15.

ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, circa 302-13/915-25.

Aḥmad b. ʿUmar II, circa 313-28/925-40.

Shuʿayb II b. Aḥmad, circa 328-31/940-43.

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, circa 331-7/943-9.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shuʿayb II (b. Ḥabīb in al-Nuwayrī, which may be a misreading of Shuʿayb, cf. Yāḳūt; he must be the Kouroupas of the Byzantines), circa 337-50/949-61.

Al-Nuʿmān (probably the name of Anemas) b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, d. 361/972.

Also in Yāḳūt and al-Ḥimyarī are mentioned Cretan scholars, probably of Andalusian origin, with the *nisba* al-Iḳrītishī. One of them taught in Damascus, another in Egypt. Al-Ḥimyarī mentions an ʿUmar b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, a descendant of Abū Ḥafṣ, who wrote, while a prisoner in Constantinople, a book on the meanings and the miracles of the Ḳurʾān. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1880) speaks of a Byzantine patrician, to whom he refers as Naṣr al-Iḳrītishī, and who was killed in battle in 259/872-3. The commander of the Cretan fleet, Nisir (Nisiris), see Vasiliev, ii/1, 209 n., does not seem to have belonged to the family of Abū Ḥafṣ.

Crete remained Byzantine until the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204. It then fell to Count Boniface of Monferrat, who sold it to the Venetians (see Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, Oxford 1932, 358; cf. K. M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, ii, 190-1, and Heyd, i, 276 ff.). It was in dispute between Genoa and Venice, the latter reconquering it in 1207. A key-point of the Venetian possessions (Heyd, i, 470), it remained Venetian until it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1669.

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Ottoman period

From the time of the occupation of Crete by the Venetians until it was conquered by the Ottomans, there were very few attacks against it by the Turks: an expedition by the bey of Aydîn, Umūr, circa 741/1341; an Ottoman attack in 873/1469; another, more serious, led by Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa in 945/1538; and finally an assault on the fortress of Suda in 974/1567 while a fleet from Algiers was ravaging the region of Retimo.

All the same the existence of this Venetian bastion in the eastern Mediterranean constituted a permanent menace for Ottoman navigation. There had been peace with Venice since 1573, but some incidents in the Adriatic had led to a brief period of hostilities in 1048/1638-9, during the reign of Murād IV, and attention had then been drawn to the danger which Crete represented to the Turkish sea-routes, in particular to North Africa. It was during the reign of Ibrāhīm I that the decision was taken to seize the island; a large fleet was assembled at Istanbul during the winter of 1644-5, and when it set sail in Ṣafar 1055/April 1645, under the command of the Ḳapūdān-i deryā Yūsuf Pasha, rumours were spread that its objective was Malta. In June, Turkish troops disembarked near Canea: the town was taken, after a siege of 54 days, on 26 Djumāda II 1055/19 August 1645; this occupation was followed by those of Kissamo in Muḥarram 1056/March 1646, Aprikorno in July, Milopotamo in September and Retimo in November of the same year. But the Ottoman offensive slowed down, in spite of reinforcements sent from Istanbul and also from Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers; the siege of Candia was several times resumed and then abandoned, while on their side the Venetians set up a blockade of the Dardanelles in 1648-9 and during 1650; an Ottoman naval victory in May 1654 near the entrance to the Dardanelles was answered by a Venetian victory in June 1656 in the same waters, with an occupation of the islands of Tenedos, Lemnos and Samothrace, which were re-captured by the Turks in the following year.

In 1076/1666, the grand vizier Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha decided to bring matters to a conclusion: in fact, more than two years were needed from the resumption of the siege of Candia in May 1667; the Venetians, having obtained very little support from western Europe, finally accepted the Ottoman peace proposals; on 9 Rabīʿ II 1080/6 September 1669, peace was concluded: the Venetians abandoned all their possessions in Crete except Suda and Spinalonga, which were occupied by the Ottomans in 1715. This long war in Crete, although it ended in a Turkish victory and their control of all the eastern Mediterranean, was in the end not a very glorious one; it underlined the growing weakness of the Ottoman empire and confirmed the decline of Venice.

Once under Ottoman domination, Crete became a province (*eyālet*) with Candia as its capital and divided into three *sandjāḳs*: Candia, Canea and Retimo. The Turkish authorities retained most of the local laws and interfered very little with the possessions and property of the Cretans; however some Anatolian Turks were transferred to the island, which finally came to contain an important Turkish minority; the internal affairs of the Greek community were left in its own hands and the use of the Greek language was continued. The population was made subject to the personal taxes usual in the Ottoman empire; land was subject to a tax of 1/5 of the production from it, and gardens and orchards of 140 aspers per *djarib*; these taxes were reduced in 1675 to 1/7 and 80 aspers respectively.

In 1821, the Greek revolt reached Crete: the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī, summoned by the sultan, restored order and placed the island under his own authority; he instituted mixed assemblies of Muslims and Christians in Candia, in Canea and Retimo, which were to deal with local affairs; later, another assembly was instituted at Sphakia (Isfakiya). In 1830 a new revolt broke out, and the Ottoman government proposed to Muḥammad ʿAlī that he should keep the island; but Muḥammad ʿAlī refused, and the Treaty of London in 1840 forbade him to make any claims on Crete.

Later, and especially after 1866, intermittent troubles broke out in the island: the Cretans demanded union with Greece, an idea which had the support of the Great Powers, especially France and Russia, whose aim was to make the question of Crete an international one, one of the elements of the "Eastern Question". In January 1869, the intervention of the Great Powers led to an alteration of the administrative system, by which the local responsibilities were more equally shared between Christians and Muslims; the governor (whose headquarters had been in Canea since 1850) was to be assisted by a council composed of 5 Muslims and 5 Christians; the official posts were divided among the two communities. A new revolt broke out however in 1878 and, finally, a con-

vention signed on 23 October 1878 stipulated that the governor of the island should be a Christian, appointed with the agreement of the Great Powers, and that an assembly of 80 members (49 Christians, 31 Muslims) should take all the decisions concerning the internal affairs of Crete, but that these decisions should be submitted for the approval of the sultan. This convention was not fully implemented. In 1896, the Cretans revolted again and this time received the support of the king of Greece; war broke out between Greece and Turkey; finally the latter, in December 1897, accepted the principle of autonomy for the island; on 6 November 1898 the Turkish troops left Crete and, on 19 November, Prince George of Greece was appointed as commissary extraordinary: Ottoman suzerainty was theoretically retained, but in fact Crete was already lost to the Ottomans. In 1900, Prince George tried (unsuccessfully) to proclaim the union of Crete with Greece. This union was proclaimed by his successor, Zaimis, on 6 October 1908, but was not recognized by the Young Turk government; the years 1909 and 1910 passed in an atmosphere of extreme tension. On 9 May 1910, the Cretan assembly swore allegiance to the king of Greece and on 10 October 1912 the Greek government, taking advantage of the Balkan War, officially ratified the union. In spite of the protests of the Turkish government, the treaties of London (30 May 1913) and of Bucharest (10 August 1913) confirmed the end of Turkish suzerainty over the island. Before these treaties, a certain number of Cretan Turks had already left the island; the last of them were transferred to Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and the signing of the agreements on the transfers of populations between Greece and Turkey.

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AL-IKSĪR, the elixir (from Greek τό ξήριον, pl. *akāsīr*, also *iksīrāt*, *e.g.*, Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 175,6; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 106 ult.), originally the term for externally applied dry-powder or sprinkling-powder used in medicine. Thus, for example, Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, in his *Kitāb Daghal al-ʿayn*, lists under the ophthalmic remedies six different elixirs (*akāsīr*; see *Isl.*, vi (1916), 252 f.). By the Arabic word *iksīrīn*, which is derived from the Syriac *ksīrīn*, an eye-powder is meant in al-Rāzī (*Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, Ḥaydarābād 1374/1955, ii, 21) and in ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī (*al-Kitāb al-Malakī*, Būlāḳ 1294, ii, 284 f.), whilst in Pseudo-Thābit b. Ḳurra (*Kitāb al-Dhakhīra*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 46, 141-3) a sprinkling-powder for the treatment of wounds is indicated.

By an early date the name *al-Iksīr* was transferred to the substance with which the alchemists believed it possible to effect the transformation of base metals into precious ones. *Iksīr al-kīmiyā'* (Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, ed. Ch. Pellat, 39, 7), *iksīr al-ṣanʿa* (Masʿūdī, *Akhbār al-zamān*, Cairo 1357/1938, 113, 115), or *iksīr al-falāsifa* (Djildakī, *Kitāb al-Anwār*) are mentioned, and the name is explained by a naive etymology: the substance is called *al-iksīr* because it breaks down (*kasara*) the inferior form and changes it into a perfect one (thus Djildakī; cf. also Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāya* ed. H. Ritter, 8, and Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 170). Usually, however, the alchemists use pseudonyms for the elixir, such as *ḥadjar al-falāsifa* (λίθος τῶν φιλοσόφων), *ḥadjar al-ḥukamā'*, *al-ḥadjar al-mukarram* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 229; Rosenthal, iii, 268), *al-ḥadjar al-karīm* (*ibid.*, 203, Rosenthal, iii, 240), *al-ḥadjar al-aʿẓam*, *al-ḥadjar alladhī laysa bi-ḥadjar* (λίθος ὅς οὐ λίθος), *al-bayḍa*, *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, Ḥaydarābād 1355, 104). Al-Djildakī (*Kitāb Ghāyat al-surūr*, ms. Berlin 4183, fol. 100 b) even says of it that the perfect elixir is the homunculus of the philosophers and the child of wisdom (*al-iksīr al-tāmm alladhī huwa insān al-falāsifa wa-mawlūd al-ḥikma*). The elixirs are called *al-iksīr al-aḥmar* or *al-iksīr al-abyaḍ* according to whether they produce gold or silver.

The manufacture of the elixir is the central theme of Muslim alchemy. According to the authors of the *Corpus Djabirianum*, the elixir can be manufactured not only from mineral, but also from vegetable and animal substances. The elixirs produced from animal substances, *e.g.*, from the marrow, blood, hair, bone, urine and semen of lions, snakes, foxes etc., are even the best. One may also combine animal, vegetable and mineral substances and thus obtain different sorts of elixir. The production of the elixirs is done on the basis of fractional distillation whereby, after the most complicated processes, the four elements and the four basic qualities are released so that they can then work together on the base metal (cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 4-18). In general, however, the working of the elixir is described as follows: the elixir is projected onto the inert or molten substance (ἐπιβολή, *ṭarḥ*, *ilḳā'*), which it penetrates like yeast (ζύμη, *khamīra*) through dough, or like poison through the body. It is, therefore, also called "Poison of the Poisons" (Djābir, *Textes choisis*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris-Cairo 1935, 71; cf. also Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāya*, ed. Ritter, 7). After it has reduced the metal into the original substance (*al-sawād*), it produces at the right moment, which can also be established astrologically, the change of metals (μεταβολή, *ḳalb*, *taḳlīb*, *naḳl*) and produces a type of gold which is more precious than the natural one (*ashraf min al-maʿdinī*). One dirham of the perfect elixir can trans-

form 100, 1,000, or even 40,000 dirhams of base metal into gold. Al-Akfānī (*Kitāb Irshād al-ḳāṣid*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1849, 76 ff.) gives an interesting systematization of the elixirs into the esoteric (*djawwānī*) and the exoteric (*barrānī*). Eventually the elixir served the mystics as a symbol of the divine truth which changed an unbeliever into a believer (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Leiden 1919, 219, 3 ff.).

With the translation of the Arabic alchemistic writings into Latin, the theories of the elixir spread to the West, and Albert the Great, d. 1280, speaks *de quodam elixyr alkymico quo metalla convertuntur* (*Liber de animalibus*, ed. H. Stadler, Munster 1921, ii, 1562). The notion of the elixir then returned from the field of alchemy to that of medicine: the elixir developed into the panacea, into the life prolonging agent, and eventually became more and more integrated into the pharmacopoeia (see P. Diepgen, *Das Elixier, die köstlichste der Arzneien*, Ingelheim 1951).

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(M. Ullmann)

IḲṬĀʿ, term for a form of administrative grant, often (wrongly) translated by the European word "fief" (German Lehn). The nature of the *iḳṭāʿ* varied according to time and place, and a translation borrowed from other systems of institutions and conceptions has served only too often to mislead Western historians, and following them, even those of the East.

In the article ḌAYʿA it was seen how the Muslim state, in its early centuries, had distributed to its notables portions of its territory called *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* (pl. of *ḳaṭīʿa*). These portions were made over, in fact, in semi-ownership, subject to the tithe, as were all properties of Muslim origin (as distinct from properties of indigenous origin, which were subject to the more onerous *kharādj*). It was shown too in the article DJAYSH how the irrevocable nature, in practice, of such transfers of property made their multiplication impossible in the long run, and this just at the time when the increase in military responsibilities made the need for them more acute. A new form of concession then came into use called, from the abstract verbal noun of the same root as *ḳaṭīʿa*, *iḳṭāʿ*. Henceforth the effect was no longer to cede possession of land (subject to tithe) but to delegate the fiscal rights of the state over lands (subject to *kharādj*) remaining juridically in the hands of their former owners. (The *djizya* remained apart, since it was a tax on persons). In the early stages, the income thus made over to the grantee (*muḳṭaʿ*) was, like all Muslim income, subject to tithe; his benefice consisted of the difference between the *kharādj* he collected and the tithe he paid. But the grantees at this time were mainly professional army officers, from whom it was difficult, in practice, to obtain payment of any kind of tax. The Būyids [*q.v.*], therefore, distributed *iḳṭāʿ*s free of any financial obligation, and this custom gradually spread throughout Muslim Asia. Henceforth, in juridical terminology, the former type of concession was called *iḳṭāʿ* "of appropriation" (*tamlīk*), while the new type was termed *iḳṭāʿ* "of usufruct" (*istighlāl*). The *iḳṭāʿ* was calculated as an equivalent of pay on the basis of its cadastral fiscal value (*ʿibra*), and, although it was inevitably accompanied by the delegation of some administrative prerogatives, it was basically nothing but a wage collected at source, directly, without the mediation of the state treasury. There was nothing permanent about it: the area granted and the grantee were constantly changed; whenever possible wages were still paid without resort to *iḳṭāʿ*; and the officer, resident in town, had not yet any real connexion with his *iḳṭāʿ*. Thus, contemporaries complained that the system weakened government supervision and led to mere pillage rather than to private development of the lands granted. One interesting point is that since it was now the army who ruled, the Caliph, instead of being the distributor of *iḳṭāʿ*s, now received some of them, called by the same name, for his own personal needs.

Already before this there had developed another institution which, as a result of its common grammatical root, was later confused with the *iḳṭāʿ* but which was different—the *muḳāṭaʿa*, almost analogous to the *īghār* [*q.v.*]. These two terms denote districts, of any size, having a fiscal autonomy protecting them from intervention by the agents of the treasury, and paying to the state, out of the normal payment of the inhabitants, only a fixed contracted sum. This institution operated sometimes to the advantage of notables of various sorts, but above all, in the case of tribal groups—of Kurds, Bedouins, etc. and later Turcomans.

The Saldjūḳs and their vizier Niẓām al-Mulk have often been credited with the conception and organization of a new system of *iḳṭāʿ*, nearer to the European fief and constituting a specific contribution of the new Turkish rulers. This view, based on late and misinterpreted texts of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and al-Maḳrīzī, is contradicted by the evidence of contemporaries, chief among whom is Niẓām al-Mulk himself. Certainly the Saldjūḳs made a wider use of *iḳṭāʿ* in their empire than had been made previously, and probably introduced it in provinces (particularly eastern Iran) where it had scarcely ever been used; but it remained in conception a continuation of that of the Būyids—an equivalent of pay granted for a short time—and what has been taken for an original creation of the Saldjūḳ government is merely a later result of their decline. In the course of the internal struggles which marked the last years of the dynasty, the *iḳṭāʿ*s granted must have increased continually in size and number, while the period of tenure became longer, tending even to hereditary succession. Such *iḳṭāʿ*s now differed only in extent from provincial governorates, which themselves were changing at the same time from being revocable delegations of authority to becoming in effect hereditary principalities. The similarity was so great that the term *iḳṭāʿ* was extended finally without distinction to both. Then, we are told, the *muḳṭaʿ*s began to take some interest in developing their *iḳṭāʿ*. Some successors of the Saldjūḳs, particularly the Zangids, explicitly proclaimed the right of in-

heritance to *iḳṭāʿ*s in order to secure the loyalty of their troops in the struggle against the Crusaders. This development has been ascribed to the influence of the Latin Orient, where something like the western idea of the hereditary fief had been introduced. While no definite denial of any such influence can be made, it does seem that the same result might have been reached through a natural autonomous development, even without the presence of the Latin Orient. Then again, the permanence of the *iḳṭāʿ* and the relative strength of the *muḳṭaʿ* allowed the latter, by means of "protections" [see ḤIMĀYA], more or less forced purchases, or simple usurpations, to acquire veritable *mulk* properties on or around the territory granted him, and, in the case of an incumbent who was at the same time governor of the province in which his *iḳṭāʿ* and these *mulk*s were situated, to exercise all public and private power at the same time. Under such conditions, it can be seen that the *iḳṭāʿ* evolved through a confusion of various notions and practices to a status approaching that of a "lordship". The inhabitants, indeed, were reduced to serfdom by reason of the prohibition against their leaving the land when the taxes had not been paid, and of their extreme difficulty, which the *muḳṭaʿ* could increase at will, in paying him off completely and on time. Besides, the intervention of the Turcomans apparently necessitated the multiplication of lands of the *muḳāṭaʿa* type, which were gradually confused with the *iḳṭāʿ*s.

It has often been said that the Saldjūḳs introduced in Asia Minor, newly won by the Turks for the Islamic World, the Turco-Muslim system of *iḳṭāʿ* with which their cousins had experimented in the traditional Muslim lands. But ethnic or dynastic kinship was not enough to obliterate the originality of the conditions of the conquest or the difference of the pre-existing indigenous usages. It is certain that when the State of "Rūm" was organized, it was with a particularly extensive state domain; but it is wrong to say that there necessarily resulted a considerable distribution of *iḳṭāʿ*. On the contrary, a careful study of the documentation available gives the impression that *iḳṭāʿ* in Rūm before the Mongol invasion was less defined, less widely distributed and less elaborated than in the neighbouring Muslim countries. The disintegration of the régime, which followed the Mongol conquest, certainly increased the importance of the *iḳṭāʿ* at the expense of the State lands, but it also increased the importance of lands held in full ownership at the expense of the old *iḳṭāʿ*s. The subsequent Ottoman régime was to give great importance to a related institution, that of the *tīmār* [*q.v.*], but in the present state of our knowledge we do not know how the transition from the old *iḳṭāʿ* to the new *tīmār* was made. The name *tīmār*, etymologically Persian, but used here with a meaning corresponding to the Greek institution of the *pronoia*, suggests different antecedents.

In Iran itself, the periodic repetition of conquests and invasions uprooted the developing military aristocracies while they were still in process of formation; the Mongol conquest did still more, in that it partially overturned the institutional system of the conquered country. Nevertheless, once the new régime was established, the Īl-khāns, facing an economic situation broadly comparable with that of their predecessors and confronted in addition by agricultural decay, were forced in about the year 700/1300 to develop, little by little, analogous institutions. Originally their army had supported itself, in addition to treasures inherited from the states destroyed, on public estates, war booty, the pasture lands which they took for themselves in the conquered lands, and on forced levies. This could not continue when the frontiers and institutions became fixed. In the time of Ghāzān (1296-1304) it was seen to be impossible that non-institutionalized payments from the Treasury and pastureland should suffice. Even the direct assignment of wages from the local treasuries proved insufficient. The Īl-khān and his vizier, the famous Rashīd al-Dīn, then decided to grant the actual districts to the soldiers who would have to manage them and fulfil their military obligations. Thus they approached the system of the Saldjūḳ régime. However, words and institutions became more difficult to differentiate. In Mongol, the institution is called *suyurghal* when it is hereditary, *tuyul* when it is temporary or tenable for life only. But the vassal principalities and the indigenous populations had retained the term *iḳṭāʿ*, which is also found in use in the administrative texts. Perhaps originally the Mongol words were used more exactly in the case of large grants for the benefit of Mongol notables, while *iḳṭāʿ* was used for the smaller grants made over indiscriminately to the military, sometimes to civilians of all kinds. But with the disorganization of the Īlkhānid régime, the terms became less and less distinct, the more so since the grants were made for the most part from the important state lands inherited at the time of conquests and added to by the disappearance of numerous indigenous owners. It was further increased because the new military aristocracy, accentuating the work of its predecessors, stripped of all meaning the "rights" of ownership of the existing small proprietors. There came to be no distinction made between what had been *iḳṭāʿ* and what had been *muḳāṭaʿa*, and the two words, thanks to the common root, were often used indiscriminately.

Egypt also posed special problems, and there has been all too often a tendency to regard what was done there as corresponding with the situation elsewhere. This was not so even when, for example, Syria was incorporated into the same state. In Egypt, the traditional, far-reaching control of the state over all aspects of rural life cancelled out, in practice, the significance of the distinction between *ʿushr* lands and *kharādj* lands, and, in consequence, the significance of the distinction to be made between the old-style *ḳaṭīʿa* and the new *iḳṭāʿ*, as even some contemporaries (Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī, Ibn Muyassar, etc.) clearly noted. In practice there, what was to be called *iḳṭāʿ* consisted of agricultural lands leased in return for a contractual payment, called here apparently *ḳabāla* [*q.v.*], but corresponding quite closely to the system more generally called *muḳāṭaʿa* (see above) in the Muslim world as a whole. Redistributions took place from time to time, to take account of the fluctuations of yields and expenses. These redistributions implied a certain stability of areas leased and leaseholders, and the vizier al-Afḍal, at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, made a specially important one. The arrival of the Turco-Kurdish army of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, accustomed to the institutions inherited from the Saldjūḳ régime, brought about a change in the Egyptian *iḳṭāʿ* system, but not so great a change as has been thought: the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the previous army were transferred to the new one, but henceforth free of all dues. They did not, however, completely escape the control of the administration, and, although certain *iḳṭāʿ*s might be granted on a long-term or even hereditary basis, cases of withdrawal and redistri-

bution seem to have been just as frequent, not to speak of such systematic revisions as the famous *rawk* [*q.v.*] of Muḥammad al-Nāṣir. With the exception, perhaps, of a certain relaxation of control at the end of the régime, the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *iḳṭāʿ* is characterized by the maintenance of close administrative and financial control by the state over the *muḳṭaʿ*, who had no real independence and, in short, received a wage, the organization of which was not his concern. The income of the *iḳṭāʿ* was calculated on the basis of a complex unit of account called the *dīnār djaysh̲ī*, concerning which the administrative treatises give us precise information, and which combined money and kind. The division of land was highly developed in the sense that it was rare for a *muḳṭaʿ* to hold his *iḳṭāʿ* in a single block, and for a village to be dependent on a single *muḳṭaʿ*. The state maintained direct control of more than half of the land. The *iḳṭāʿ*s distributed to senior officers gave them the obligation and the means to maintain a small military force; thus the sources speak of an "*iḳṭāʿ* of twenty", "of a hundred" etc. This force, however, was smaller than that which they effectively commanded as military leaders in the ranks of the general army, which remained under the control of the Sultan. A very strict control was exercised over the fulfilment of military obligations although, in the case of a prolonged campaign, the state itself supported the soldiers beyond their obligations.

In the Muslim West, the development of the *iḳṭāʿ* was probably in a sense slower than in the East, but words and institutions were perhaps less clearly differentiated. In Umayyad Spain, apparently, the classic stage of *iḳṭāʿ*/*ḳaṭīʿa* had not been passed and in the pre-Almohad Mag̲h̲rib it was probably the same, save for a certain indistinctness concerning the status of certain lands and the terms designating them. In Ifrīḳiya the trend towards the fiscal *iḳṭāʿ* certainly appears more clearly, though with these same reservations, under the Almohads and particularly the later Ḥafṣids. We must await new studies before we can consider the situation in Marīnid Morocco or the Kingdom of Granada, for example.

The remarks often made about oriental "feudalism", on the basis of the institution of *iḳṭāʿ*, justify our concluding with some more general remarks. The verbal and conceptual confusion in which the development of the *iḳṭāʿ* culminates, gives the impression of a sort of hierarchy of rights comparable to that known in European feudal society: at the top the Sultan, below him the great *muḳṭaʿ*, the provincial governor, then the small military *muḳṭaʿ*, and finally, with or without the intermediary of local proprietors (who are such only in name), the peasants. In addition, the fact that the senior officers and their men, even those who reached the highest ranks, often had the legal status of slaves or otherwise were clients of various types as having taken some kind of oath of personal obedience, produced alongside the hierarchy of rights over things, a hierarchy of personal obedience, which at its highest level was expressed by the introduction of the name of the Sultan on coins and in the public Friday prayer. But it must be repeated that the full development of this system was relatively rare, and, for example, in Turkey as in Egypt, the connexion between the State and the *muḳṭaʿ* of the lowest rank was direct. Besides, no state ever alienated (far from it) all of its land (in Egypt about a half). With the solid intellectual and administrative traditions of the East, the distinction between public and private rights was never obscured as it was in the West. Whilst in Europe the rebuilding of a social system was attempted on the basis of personal relations, in the East, the notion that all personal power was a delegation of public power remained clear. Even though personal subordination was known in the East, the feudal contract of fealty was never even imagined. Economically, a *muḳṭaʿ* differed from the Western lord in that he lived in the town and did not have to organize his rural lands with the *réserve*, *corvées* etc. which would have been necessary had he lived there. He drew an income from the soil, and that is all. The fact that he was often a foreigner might, of course, be very important from various points of view, but this did not modify the structure of the *iḳṭāʿ*, nor, since he was permanently established in the country, the use made of this income. In this sense it is for example incorrect to speak, as has been done, of a "colonial" character of the Mamlūk state.

Even in places and times where the tendency to it was strongest, a number of factors limited the formation of a fully-developed military aristocracy. First of all, a system of law and custom which had been firmly established for generations and was linked in some degree to the Islamic religion itself could hardly be modified at the pleasure of the *muḳṭaʿ*. The Muslim law of succession, ignoring primogeniture, shared out the inheritance and consequently rapidly weakened the power of great families. Furthermore, the *iḳṭāʿ*, even when the right of inheritance to it was to some extent recognized, was still conditional on service. Otherwise it was replaced by a pension, and in fact quickly annulled. In any case, the resources drawn by rulers from the relative growth of the mercantile economy and from the retention of substantial domains almost always enabled them to buy new slaves with which to bring their former slaves back into line. Finally, no matter how external this factor was, it did happen in the East that the periodic recurrence of foreign invasions and conquests drove out or destroyed the aristocracies in the process of formation in favour of the newcomers, who in addition sometimes had different traditions.

From a very general point of view, the comparison of the development of different societies can still be justified. Nevertheless, it is much less instructive to make this comparison, as our "Europe-centred" education encourages us to do, between the Muslim countries and the very different society of Europe, than to make the comparison with the neighbouring Byzantine society, where the *pronoia* presents some obvious points of resemblance to the *iḳṭāʿ*. The development of the *pronoia* took place a little later. The *iḳṭāʿ*, therefore, owed nothing to the *pronoia*, and it is impossible to say whether the *pronoia* owed anything to the *iḳṭāʿ*. Both, however, bear witness to certain requirements of political and economico-social régimes which are, at least in part, comparable. As for the term "feudalism" as applied to the East, it is doubtless too late to attack an established custom, which (even for Europe) is sometimes dangerous. It is necessary only to underline the facts that there are as many differences as there are similarities between European feudalism and the "feudalism" of the East; that it is doubtful *a priori* whether one may apply to one society concepts drawn from another, and that such

a transfer cannot be justified by an equivalence between *iḳṭāʿ* and fief—an equivalence which arises only through the confusion of ideas of ill-informed translators.

Bibliography: It is obviously impossible to list here all the sources which might be relevant to the history of the *iḳṭāʿ*. Alongside the documents, papyri, inscriptions, etc., they would include almost the whole of the historiographical literature (particularly that of the 4th/10th century, Miskawayh, Ṣābiʾ etc.), the geographical literature, etc. References here then are restricted to the administrative treatises, such as the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* of Ḳudāma and *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* of Māwardī for the ʿAbbāsid-Būyid period, the *Minhādj fī ʿilm al-kharādj* of Makhzūmī (see Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, 1963), the *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn* of Ibn Mammātī and the *Description du Fayyum* of Nābulusī for Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt, the *Khiṭaṭ* of Maḳrīzī and the chancery treatises of Nuwayrī (in the *Nihāya*, viii), ʿUmarī, Ḳalḳashandī, etc. for the Mamlūk state, and finally the *Dastūr al-Kātib* of Hindūshāh Nakhdjavānī (ed. Ali Zade, i, Baku 1964) for the Mongol régimes of Iran.

Modern Works: It is still useful to consult the studies of a few 19th-century pioneers, though we should no longer be guided by them:—Sylvestre de Sacy, *Nature et révolution du Droit de propriété en Egypte*, 1828, the studies of Worms and Belin, in *JA*, 1842, 1862, 1870, Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in moslem. Staaten*, 1872, the latter including also the Ottoman Empire, Max Van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers Califes*, 1886. A new phase of study begins with C. H. Becker, *Steuerpacht und Lehnwesen*, in *Isl.*, 1914 (reprinted in his *Islamstudien*, i, 1924), the first to have made use of the Egyptian papyri, but his conclusions should not be extended to other countries, or always regarded as final even for Egypt. A good résumé of the state of the questions by about 1925 is given in the article *iḳṭāʿ* by Sobernheim in *EI*¹, dealing extensively with the stipulations of the jurists. Further useful information may be found in Poliak, *Classification of lands in the Islamic Law*, in *Amer. J. of Sem. Languages*, 1940, and Fr. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the Classical period*, Copenhagen 1950. The conclusions of Turkish scholars are presented by M. F. Köprülü, *Le féodalisme turc musulman au Moyen Âge*, Communication au Congrès Intern. d'histoire, Zurich 1938 (= *Belleten*, 1941), and Osman Turan, *Le régime terrien sous les Seldjoucides de Rum*, in *REI*, 1947. Cl. Cahen has tried to give a more evolutionary historical interpretation of the whole question up to the 13th century in his article *L'évolution de l'iqtaʿ*, in *Annales ESC*, 1953, and has discussed the special case of Saldjūḳ Turkey in *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968. A. K. S. Lambton, whose important work, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* was published in 1953, took up the question again in a more synthesized form in her *Reflexions on the iqṭāʿ*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in honour of H. A. R. Gibb*, 1965; for Iran and ʿIrāḳ in the 10th century, see also the important article by C. E. Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Buyids*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967); for the Mongol period, I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledelie i agrarnïye otnosheniya v Irane XIII-XIV vekov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960 (Persian translation by Karīm Kishāvarz, *Kishāvarzī wa munāsabāt-i arḍī dar Īrān ʿahd-i Moghūl*, Tehran 1344 s.). For Egypt see amongst others, H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire égyptienne*, 1952, (reprinted with corrections in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, London 1962, 74-90); al-ʿArīnī, *al-Iḳṭāʿ al-ḥarbī fī zamān Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*, Cairo 1956; S. B. Pevzner, *Iḳṭāʿ v Egipte v kontse XIII-XIV vv.*, in *Pamyati Akademika I. Y. Kračkovskogo.*, Leningrad 1958, and H. M. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt, 564-741/1169-1341*, (in the press). For the Muslim West, the classic works of Lévi-Provençal (*Espagne musulmane*, iii) and R. Brunschvig (*Hafsides*, ii), and H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 1962.

(Cl. Cahen)

IḲTIBĀS means to take a *ḳabas*, a live coal or a light, from another's fire (Ḳurʾān XX, 10; XXVII, 7; LVII, 13); hence to seek knowledge (*ʿilm*) and, as a technical term in rhetoric, to quote specific words from the Ḳurʾān or from Traditions but without indicating these as quoted. Some scholars limit the term to the use of Ḳurʾānic phrases, while others extend it to the use of terminology from *fiḳh* and other sciences, but all agree that *iḳtibās* is found both in poetry and in prose. If the source is indicated and the quotation is put into verse the figure is called *ʿaḳd*, binding. A related figure is *talmīḥ*, allusion, which consists of alluding to famous passages in the Ḳurʾān or Traditions, or in profane literature. The practice of using Ḳurʾānic expressions is often mentioned in works on literary theory, but rules for it and the specific term *iḳtibās*, instead of the more general *taḍmīn* [*q.v.*], may not have existed earlier than the 6th/12th century. Suyūṭī mentions the existence of a legal controversy over *iḳtibās*, the Mālikis condemning it outright or allowing it only in prose and the Shāfiʿites on the whole allowing it (cf. however Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1376/1957, i, 483-4 on the use of Ḳurʾānic passages as proverbs). Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and, following him, Ibn Ḥidjdja distinguish three categories: praiseworthy, permissible, and objectionable (*mardūd*) *iḳtibās*. The last category falls into two sub-categories: (a) the use of Ḳurʾānic passages in which Allāh refers to Himself and (b) the use of the Ḳurʾān in frivolous verse (the *ghazal* is not considered as such). Ḳazwīnī and those following him allow the borrowed phrases to be slightly changed or to be given a different application.

It should be noted that Rādūyānī in his *Tardjumān al-Balāgha* (ed. A. Ateş, 118-21, 125-7; cf. also 121-5) quotes verses with paraphrases in Persian, and that some writers suggest (though not in their chapters on *iḳtibās*) that the Ḳurʾān itself borrows from, or alludes to, not only the Old and New Testaments, but also pre-Islamic poetry and prose (see Usāma, *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1380/1960, 284; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr*, Baghdād 1375/1956, 245-6; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Badīʿ al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 52-3; idem, *Taḥrīr al-Taḥbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 380).

Bibliography: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1317/1899, 112; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Washy al-marḳūm*, Beirut 1298/1880, 85-112; idem, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 76-141, ii, 341-2, 347; Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha*, Cairo 1369/1950, vi, 136-9, 142-3, 144-6; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ ḳaṣīdatih al-badīʿiyya*, Cairo 1317/1899, 70-1; Taftāzānī, *al-Muṭawwal*, Istanbul 1289/1872, 430-1, 433-4, 434-6; Ibn Ḥidjdja, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886, 184-9, 442-54, 459; Suyūṭī, *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*,

Cairo 1358/1939, 166-9, 170-2; idem, *al-Itḳān*, Calcutta 1857, 262-6; *Shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1937, iv, 509-14, 521-3, 524-9; Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen/Vienna 1853, 136-8, 140-1, 141-2, 201-2.

(D. B. MACDONALD-[S. A. BONEBAKKER])

IḲTIḌĀB [see TADJNĪS; TAKHALLUṢ].

IKTISĀB [see KASB].

IḲWĀʾ [see ḲĀFIYA].

ĪL, Arabic orthography of the Turkish word IL, more correctly ÉL, which has undergone a wide semantic development (see Radloff, *Versuch* ..., i, 803-5, 1471).

(1) It is defined by V. Thomsen as signifying, in its numerous occurrences in the Orkhon inscriptions: "un peuple ou une réunion de peuples considerés comme formant un tout indépendant et organisé et ayant à sa tête un kagan" (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors 1896, 135), and thus approximately "empire". In this sense it often appears in conjunction with the word *budun* (? read *boδun*), "confederation of tribes", or with *törü* [*q.v.*], "laws, customs" (occurrences collected and discussed by R. Giraud, *L'Empire des Turcs Célestes*, Paris 1960, 67-72). It is presumably in this sense that it appears as an element in such Turkish regnal titles as *él-térish*, *él-étmish*, *él-tutmïsh* (A. Caferoğlu, *Tukyu ve Uygurlarda han unvanları*, in *THITM*, i (1931), 105-19); and the first element of "Īlek Khān" [*q.v.*] is (perhaps) to be explained as *él-lig* "[ruler] holding an Empire" (O. Turan, *Ilig unvanı hakkında*, in *TM*, vii-viii/1 (1942), 192-9).

(2) At an early period the word acquired the notion of "district over which authority is exercised", so that Maḥmūd Kāshgharī gives the definition (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, i, 49; cf. tr. B. Atalay, i, 48): *al-wilāya*: *yuḳāl minhu 'beg éli' ay wilāyat al-amīr*. Hence, in the sense "district, territory", it appears as the first element in the Turkish personal names Il-aldï, Il-begi, Il-ghāzī, etc.; and in Ottoman times very frequently as the second element of place-names, most notably in Rūm-éli ("Rumelia"), a calque of "Romania", "Byzantine territory [in Europe]" (see P. Wittek, *Le Sultan de Rûm*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, vi (1938), 361-90, esp. 377 f.), and also commonly for smaller territories, *e.g.*, Ič-il [*q.v.*]. In such cases the first element is usually a personal name, so that the toponym signifies sometimes "territory conquered by so-and-so" (thus Ḳodja-éli [*q.v.*] is the region conquered by the *ghāzī* hero Aḳče Ḳodja (F. Giese, ed., *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, i (Text), Breslau 1922, p. 13, lines 24-5); and the current names Aydïn, Menteshe, etc. for the 8th/14th century Anatolian emirates stand for Aydïn-ili, Menteshe-ili, etc., the "territories" of the eponymous founders of the local dynasties); sometimes the implication is "territory" [formerly] ruled by" (thus Ḳarlï-ili [*q.v.*] is named for the despot Carlo Tocco, Hersek-ili (Herzegovina) for the *herceg* of St. Sava (other examples in H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri*..., i, 1954, 159 n.); an older name of the Aydïn district was Leshkerī-ili, the "land of the Lascarids"). With the same connotation of "district" it is found in the name of the Ottoman fortress-town Elbasan [*q.v.*] in Albania, and in such expressions as: *il-yazïdjïsï*, one of the terms for the *emīn* [*q.v.*] carrying out the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] (*wilāyet taḥrīri* = *il yaz-*); *il dili*, "the local language" (see, *e.g.*, Kemālpashazāde, book vii (facsimile), Ankara 1954, 438, 519, etc.); *ič-il*, "the interior", as opposed to the frontier regions, *udj* [*q.v.*] (see, *e.g.*, Kemālpashazāde, *op. cit.*, 141, 162, 204, 205, etc.; cf. Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, 713) (but the phrase *ič il müderrisleri* refers to holders of teaching posts in the three "capital cities" of Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 57); *il-eri*, "local people [levied for an emergency]" (see, *e.g.*, *TM*, iii (1926-33), p. 290, no. 47, a firman of 978/1571). In a *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*MOG*, i (1921-2), pp. 24 and 38, § 5), *il* seems to mean "open country" (as opposed to towns).

In the Republican period, under the influence of the "language reform" movement, the word *il* was introduced to replace *vilâyet* "province", and the diminutive *ilçe* was coined to replace *kaza* (so *ilbay* for *vali*, and *ilçebay* for *kaymakam*).

(3) The word acquired also the sense of "people", at first (apparently) in a hendiadys with the (?)synonym *kün* = "folk". The hendiadys is a common expression in old Ottoman, in the form *él gün*, also *él u gün* (see *TTS*, i, ii, iv, s.v. *il gün*), and survives in some fixed locutions (see the discussion by F. Rundgren, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xvi (1967), 100-2). In modern Turkish *el* alone signifies rather "*other* people", *i.e.*, "strangers" (*Türkçe Sözlük*, s.v. *el* (II), with examples; cf. *elâlem*, in which the first element is not the Arabic definite article but T. *él* + A. *ʿālam*).

In Persia the word was used of "tribesfolk" (synonym: *ulus* [*q.v.*]), having a quasi-Arabic plural *īlāt* [*q.v.*].

(4) At an early period the word meant also "peace" (G. Doerfer considers this to be the original meaning), cf. Maḥmūd Ḳāshgharī, i, 50 = tr. B. Atalay, i, 49 (*al-ṣulḥ bayn al-malikayn*); from this derives perhaps *elči* [*q.v.*], "ambassador" (*i.e.*, "negotiator of peace"; see O. Turan, in *TM*, vii-viii (1942), 197; and cf. Abū Ḥayyān, *K. al-Idrāk*, ed. A. Caferoğlu, Istanbul 1931, 20: *al-rasūl alladhī yaṭlub al-ṣulḥ*), and the Ottoman term *éllik*, which may be both adjectival, "who has accepted peace", *i.e.*, (?) belonging to the *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* [*q.v.*] (cf. E. Zachariadou, in Συμμεικτα, i (Athens 1966), at 211-2, where *éllik kāfirler*, in a document of 870/1465, refers to the inhabitants of Patmos), and also quasi-nominal, "territory acknowledging [Ottoman] suzerainty" (cf. Meḥmed ʿĀrif's introduction, page *dāl*, to the so-called "*Ḳānūnnāme* of Süleymān I", *ʿilāve* to *TOEM*, Istanbul 1329; the converse is *yaghïlïḳ*, see text p. 24).

(5) By the 7th/13th century the word had become current in Persian, with the meaning "submissive, obedient" (Rashīd al-Dīn uses the expressions *īl kardan*, "to bring into obedience", and *īl shudan*, "to submit"); from this usage arose the title Īl-khān for the Mongol rulers of Persia as being subordinate to the Great Khan [see HÜLÄGÜ]; and from the adjective was formed the Persian abstract noun *īlī*, "submission". In Ottoman Turkish usage too *él* may be adjectival, both as a "Persian" loanword (*e.g.*, Tursun, p. 187, l. 3: *il u munḳād*) and as a "Turkish" word meaning "at peace", "friendly" (as opposed to *yaghï*), cf. *TTS*, i and ii, s.v. *il*, definition 3, and iv, s.v. *il olmak*), whence *éllik* (nominal), "peace, submission" (*TTS*, i-iii, s.v. *illik*) and *éllesh-*, "to make peace" (*TTS*, ii, iii, s.v. *illeşmek*). For the expression *él-djān*, apparently implying *amān* [*q.v.*], see V. L. Ménage, in S. M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chancelleries*, Oxford 1965, 96-8.

Bibliography: besides the references in the article, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1956, nos. 653 (*él*), 656, 657, 661, with full references to the literature, and H. H. Zarinezade, *Fars dilinde Azerbayjan sözleri*, Baku 1962, 169 ff.

(ED.)

ĪLĀʾ [see ṬALĀḲ].

ĪLĀF, Ḳurʾānic term (CVI, 1-2) which probably refers to economic relations entered into by the Ḳurayshīs well before the advent of Islam, but which presents problems of reading and interpretation which are not easily solved.

In the first place, this Sūra CVI, which is very short and certainly very early (no. 3 in the classification by R. Blachère), begins abruptly, after the *basmala*, with the words *li-īlāfi Ḳurayshin īlāfihim riḥlata 'l-shitāʾi wa 'l-ṣayfi*, which may be translated as: "because of the *īlāf* of the Ḳurayshīs, [of] their *īlāf* of the journey of winter and of summer (let them worship the Lord of this Temple who has protected them against hunger and sheltered them from a fear)". But in the *corpus* of Ubayy, this Sūra was not separated from the preceding one, which deals with the fate inflicted by God on the *Aṣḥāb al-Fīl* and appeared as a logical continuation of it: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord has treated the men of the Elephant ... because of the *īlāf* of the Ḳurayshīs ... (Let them worship ...)". However, the preposition *li-* may also have the force of a final conjunction "in order that the *īlāf* [may be possible] ...". Finally the "readers" of the Ḳurʾān hesitate between *īlāf*, *ilāf*, and *ilf*, which indicates that these verses did not seem very clear to the redactors of the Ḳurʾān, just as they later proved confusing to exegetists and translators (R. Blachère suggests three possible translations, but always translated *īlāf* as "entente"; M. Hamidullah: "pacte"; A. J. Arberry: "composing").

It is not certain that the word *īlāf* has the same meaning in each of the two verses; in fact it really seems to have the force of a noun in the first and of a verb in the second, so that *īlāf Ḳuraysh* can be regarded as a set expression and *īlāfihim riḥlata* ... as an equivalent to *tadjhīr*: "their organization of a caravan ...".

Nevertheless, *īlāf* had acquired a very precise connotation, and the lexicographers give this term the meaning of *ʿahd*, *dhimām*, *amān*, that is "pact guaranteeing safety, safe-conduct, undertaking to protect"; the customary expression is *akhadha 'l-īlāf*, "to conclude an *īlāf*".

Tradition relates that the Ḳurayshīs had concluded with foreign peoples pacts which guaranteed them freedom of trade, and it is Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf [*q.v.*] who is credited with having obtained from the emperor of Byzantium authorization to send a caravan regularly into Syria and the assurance that it would come to no harm. His brothers, ʿAbd Shams, al-Muṭṭalib and Nawfal, had concluded similar pacts with the Negus, the Ḥimyarī rulers of the Yemen, and the king of Persia respectively; these four brothers were referred to as *aṣḥāb al-īlāf*. The winter caravan set off towards the south and the summer caravan towards the north (*īlāfihim riḥlata 'l-shitāʾ wa 'l-ṣayf* could mean more precisely: the successive and uninterrupted organization of the winter and summer caravans; see *LA*, s.v. *ʾlf*). It is not unreasonable to think that Sūra CVI is an allusion to a famine which occurred at a time unknown and was averted by means of supplies from other countries, thanks to the agreements thus concluded.

M. Hamidullah (see *Bibl.*) has attempted to establish the date when these pacts were concluded and has placed it at 467 A.D., on the grounds that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, who was born one year after his father Hāshim had concluded the first agreement with Byzantium, died in 578 at the age of 110. However, while it may be admitted that the tradition is based on fact, the date suggested should perhaps be advanced by some decades, since ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's age seems to be greatly exaggerated.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 167; Yaʿḳūbī, i, 280-2; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 36-8, 87-9, 113-4; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 43-6; Ṭabarī, i, 1089; Masʿūdī iii, 121-2 (ed. Pellat, §971); the commentaries on CVI; M. Hamidullah, *Al-Īlāf, ou les rapports économico-diplomatiques de la Mecque pré-islamique*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, ii, 293-391 (with unpublished text of the *Munammaḳ* of Ibn Ḥabīb). (Ed.)

ILĀH (A.), pl. *āliha*, "deity", appears in pre-Islamic poetry (see, *e.g.*, F. Bustānī, *al-Madjānī al-ḥadītha*, i, index) as an impersonal divine name, although preceded by the article; for the Christians and (so far as the poetry ascribed to them is authentic) the monotheists, *al-ilāh* evidently means God; for the other poets it means merely "the one who is worshipped", so that *al-ilāh* indicates: "the god already mentioned" (the article being used *li 'l-ʿahd*) or "the god of whom the poet is thinking", and this use has survived to the present day (ʿAbd al-Ilāh); but *ilāh* without the article seems to have been used only in the Islamic period to indicate a specific deity. By frequency of usage, *al-ilāh* was contracted to Allāh, frequently attested in pre-Islamic poetry (where this name cannot in every case have been substituted for another), and then became a proper name (*ism ʿalam*). But whilst the form *al-ilāh* is not found in the Ḳurʾān, *allāh* seems in some cases to have preserved the same meaning: thus (VI, 3) *wa-huwa 'l-lāhu fī 'l-samawāti* "and he is the deity in the heavens" (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, 394), and in XXVIII, 70, *huwa 'l-lāhu 'l-ladhī lā ilāha illā huwa*, "he is the deity other than whom there is no deity" (cf. *Kashshāf*, 1064), in which the juxtaposition of *allāh*/*ilāh* is noteworthy.

Ilāh is certainly identical with אֱלוֹהַּ and represents an expanded form of an element *-l-* (*il*, *el*) common to the Semitic languages (see *Enc. Biblica*, iii, col. 3323 ff.; Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Lex.*, 42 f.; Genesius-Buhl, *Hebr. und aram. Wörterbuch*, s.v.; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, i, 15 ff.; T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 41, and bibliography there given). The Arab philologists discussed at great length the etymology of the words *ilāh* and *allāh* (see al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo 1307, i, 83 f.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, i, ch. 3, app. c). The Baṣrans established no direct connexion between *ilāh* and *allāh*, regarding the latter either as formed spontaneously (*murtadjal*) or as *lāh* (from the root *lyh*) preceded by the article. Some held that *allāh* was a loan from Syriac or Hebrew, but most regarded the proper name Allāh as a derivative (*mushtaḳḳ*, *manḳūl*), a contraction of *al-ilāh*, and endeavoured to attach *ilāh* to a triliteral root; to explain it (see also al-Bayḍāwī, ed. Fleischer, i, 4), some ten derivations were suggested, from the following "roots": (1) *ʾlh* "to adore", but as al-Zamakhsharī pointed out (*Kashshāf*, 8), the verb *alaha* is derived from the noun; *aliha*, "to be perplexed, confounded", for the mind is confounded in the experience of knowing Allāh (*waliha* has the same meaning); *aliha ilā*, "to turn to for protection, or to seek peace, or in longing" (*waliha* has a similar meaning); (2) *lyh*, whence *lāha* "to be lofty" and "to be hidden" (opinion of the Baṣrans); (3) *lwh*, whence *lāha*, "to create"; (4) *ʾwl* and *ʾyl*, roots conveying the idea of "priority"; (5) Abū 'l-Baḳāʾ al-Kaffawī, *Kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm*, Būlāḳ 1953, 69, regards the word Allāh as formed from

hā', the "noun of majority" and pronoun of the 3rd person, and the *lām* of possession.

On the other hand, lexicographers have pointed out that the termination *-īl* in some South Arabian proper names indicates the deity; on this question, see G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, Louvain 1934-5, *passim*; for *'il* in the South Arabian inscriptions, see A. Jamme, *Le Panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques*, in *Le Muséon*, lx (1947), 57-147.

Bibliography: In the article.

(D. B. Macdonald*)

ILĀHĀBĀD [see allāhābād].

ILĀHĪ, term used in Turkey of a genre of popular poetry of religious inspiration, consisting of poems sung—without instrumental accompaniment—in chorus or solo during certain ceremonies; the *ilāhī* is thus distinguished from all other types of popular religious poetry by its melody and its use in ritual. Many texts not originally intended as *ilāhīs* may have become so later through the addition of an appropriate melody and been introduced in ceremonies which require the chanting of *ilāhīs*.

Ilāhīs were sung mainly at sessions of *dhikr* in the convents (*tekke*) of the mystic orders; as much by their rhythm as by their words, they encouraged the participants to reach a state of exaltation. But in more or less secular milieus and circumstances, *ilāhīs* are used as poetic and musical elements in various popular ceremonies. They are sung on the following occasions: as interludes during the relation of the story of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *Mevlid* (*Mawlid* [*q.v.*]); on commemorative occasions; as a choral chant by pupils escorting a new pupil to his first lesson in a Ḳur'ānic school; by the procession accompanying the bridegroom, on the last evening of the wedding celebrations, from the mosque to the nuptial chamber; during the ceremonies which take place on the departure of pilgrims to Mecca (and on their return).

Versions which have descended into children's folklore are also used to accompany the begging which takes place at the time of certain feasts: in the region of Çankırı these childish parodies of *ilāhīs* are known as *menecim* (< *münādjat*); at Mudurnu (in the province of Bolu) these children's *ilāhīs* have lost all their serious meaning and have acquired humorous and farcical elements. Not only in these much debased forms, but also in the versions which still preserve their original function, *ilāhīs* have always been subject to a process of "folklorization", the cause of this being oral transmission and the extensive additions to the texts to which even the written versions are subject. Many *ilāhīs* which were initially the works of known poets have with time become anonymous; progressive deterioration has taken place and the texts of various different authors amalgamated with one another, with the result that new "folklore" versions have been created.

The earliest surviving *ilāhīs* are by Yūnus Emre [*q.v.*] (d. circa 720/1320). During the following centuries, the repertory of *ilāhīs* was enlarged by the works of many popular poets of religious and mystic inspiration; the most famous are: a poet (or more than one poet?) with the name of Yūnus (9th/15th or 10th/16th century) whose *ilāhīs* are often confused with those of the early Yūnus; Ḥādjdjī Bayram (d. 833/1429-30), Eshrefoghlu Rūmī (d. 874/1469-70), Ibrāhīm Gülshenī (d. 940/1533-4), Üftāde (d. 988/1580-1), Seyfullāh Niẓāmoghlu (d. 1010/1601-2), Muḥyī (d. 1020/1611), Hüdāyī (d. 1034/1624-5), Himmet (d. 1095/1683-4), Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (d. 1105/1694). These poets were all dervishes or *shaykhs* belonging to mystic orders. The *ilāhīs* became part of the ritual of the orders of Sunnī tendency. In the ritual of the Mevlevīs as well as in that of the orders and sects of Shī'i-'Alawī tendency, the chants performing the same functions as the *ilāhīs* are more differentiated and are referred to by special terms.

Manuscript collections of *ilāhīs* have survived with an indication of only the mode and the rhythm of the melodies. Similarly, at the beginning of this century there existed lithographed copies of these collections, for the use of school-children. It is impossible to date the composition of the music of the earliest *ilāhīs*. It is known that, like popular poetry on secular subjects, the religious popular poetry was composed at the same time as the melody which was to accompany it; a certain number of melodies which have survived may be of the same age as their texts, and perhaps also by the same author. The names of some composers (of the melody only) of *ilāhīs* from the beginning of the 18th century are known; Čālākzāde (d. 1130/1718), Tosunzāde (d. 1127/1715), Hamāmīzāde Ismā'īl Dede (d. 1262/1846). The musical notation of the *ilāhīs* began to be used only in the first quarter of this century; a fair number of melodies have been transcribed by Seyyid 'Abdülḳādir and Ra'ūf Yektā (d. 1935).

A modern Turkish composer, Adnan Saygun, has written an oratorio inspired by *ilāhīs* (*Yūnus Emre, oratorio en trois parties*, op. 26; Fr. tr. of texts of the poems published in Paris, 1947); of 13 poems sung in this work, several of which are very popular *ilāhīs*, 5 are by Yūnus Emre (and thus of the 7th/13th century) and 8 are texts attributed to him.

Bibliography: No special study exists of this form of popular poetry. For general information, see: Aḥmad Ṭal'at, *Khalḳ Shi'rleriniñ shekil ve new'i*, Istanbul 1928, 95-6; Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk edebiyyātında ilk mutaṣawwıflar*, Istanbul 1919; Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1961; art. "Ilâhî" in Pakalın. For the *ilāhī* in school ceremonies: Rifat Odaman, *Eski mahalle mektepleri*, in Fazil Yenisey, *Bursa Folkloru*, Bursa 1955, 117; M. Halit Bayrı, *Istanbul'da mektebe başlama*, in *HBH* (= *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri*), xi (1942), 50-4; P. N. Boratav, art. "Amin alayı" in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*; idem, art. "Amin alayı" in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*. For its place in marriage ceremonies: Nazım Yücelt, *Geçmişte Bursa'da dügün âdetleri*, in F. Yenisey, *op. cit.*, 67; M. Enver Beşe, *Safranbolu'da bir köylünün hayatı*, in *HBH*, viii (1939), 106; Hamit Z. Koşay, *Türkiye düğünleri*, Ankara 1944, 154, 253, 302; Fikret Memişoğlu, *Harput'ta kına geceleri*, in *TFA* (= *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*), no. 38 (1952) and no. 78 (1956); Mehmet Kalkanoğlu, *Şarkışla düğünleri*, in *TFA*, no. 66 (1955); P. N. Boratav and A. Gölpınarlı, *Pir Sultan Abdal*, Ankara 1943, 53-5.—For the *ilāhīs* sung during ceremonies concerned with the pilgrims to Mecca, see Enver Beşe, *op. cit.*; other texts concerned with these ceremonies are in manuscript collections of popular poems in the author's own collection.—For the music of *ilāhīs*; A. Gölpınarlı, *op. cit.*, 247-51; idem, *Yunus Emre*, Istanbul 1936, 332-5; Köprülüzāde, *op. cit.*, plates following the text at the end of the work; Salâhattin Gürer, *Âşık Yunus Emrenin bestelenmiş şiirleri*, Istanbul 1961; Cahit Öztelli, *Yunus Emrenin bestelenmiş ilâhileri*, in *TFA*, no. 223 (1968).

(P. N. Boratav)

ILĀHĪ BAKHSH "MAʿRŪF", Urdu poet, born *c.* 1156/1743, was the youngest son of Mīrzā ʿĀrif Djān, the younger brother of Sharaf al-Dawla Ḳāsim Djān, a grandee of the empire during the vizierate of Dhu 'l-Faḳār al-Dawla Nadjaf Khān (a street in old Delhi, Galī Ḳāsim Djān, is still named after Sharaf al-Dawla; in it once resided many famous men, such as the Urdu-Persian poet Ghālib [*q.v.*], Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn, the spiritual guide of the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh "Zafar" [*q.v.*], and the physician Raʾīs al-Aṭibbāʾ Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, great-grandfather of Shifāʾ al-Mulk Ḥakīm Adjmal Khān, d. 1927). He claimed descent from Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. His grandfather, Khwādja ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Yasawī, had migrated to Balkh from Bukhāra. Finding Balkh too small a place for their adventures, his sons came to India during the reign of the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*] to try their fortunes. They took service with Mīr Munnū, the governor of the Pandjāb, and on his death moved to the royal court at Delhi, where they soon made their mark. As a reward for their military services, rendered first to Shāh ʿĀlam II [*q.v.*] against the unruly Sikhs and later to the British Governor-General Lord Lake, the family received Fīrūzpur-Djhirka (near Delhi) as *djāgīr* [*q.v.*], a part of which later came to be known as the Lohārū State, headed by Ilāhī Bakhsh's elder brother Nawwāb Aḥmad Bakhsh Khān. A soldier by profession, but well-educated and cultured, Ilāhī Bakhsh Khān developed a taste for poetry early in life and had Shāh Naṣīr, the teacher in poetry of Dhawḳ [*q.v.*], and also Sayyid ʿAlī "Ghamgīn" (for whom see *Gulshan-i Bīkhār*, s.v.) as his guides. Though his senior by many years he was honest enough to show his compositions also to Dhawḳ, asking him to revise them. This statement, made by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād [*q.v.*] in his *Āb-i ḥayāt* (*loc. cit.*) and supported by fairly good arguments, has been contested by the descendants of Ilāhī Bakhsh on the ground that in those days Dhawḳ was too young a poet to earn this honour (cf. *Dīwān-i Maʿrūf*, 221-40 and *Gul-i raʿnā*, 285). However, since Dhawḳ was born in 1204/1789 and Ilāhī Bakhsh died in 1242/1826, at the time of the latter's death Dhawḳ was 38 years of age, so that Maʿrūf might well have consulted him after 1224/1809, when Dhawḳ was 20 years of age and already a mature poet (cf. *ʿUmda-i Muntakhaba*, s.v. Dhawḳ). He visited Lucknow between 1205-9/1790-4, when Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*] was at the height of his fame there and stayed for two months. There is, however, no indication that he benefited directly or indirectly from any of the great figures of Urdu poetry who then adorned the court of Prince Sulaymān Shukūh, a son of Shāh ʿĀlam II and then resident in Lucknow. Although leading a life of affluence, Maʿrūf was disenchanted with the lures of this world and, being influenced by dervishes who frequented him, took to a life of renunciation and solitude in his old age. Ultimately he became a *khalīfa* of Khwādja Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Čishtī Fakhrī of Djaypūr [*q.v.*], which place he frequently visited. A handsome man in his youth, highly cultured and possessing an imposing personality, he was popularly known as "the prince with a rosy complexion". He took as examples to follow many master poets such as Djurʾat, Sawdā and Mīr Taḳī Mīr [*qq.v.*] but in the end adopted the style of Dard [*q.v.*]. His *dīwān* was published in 1935 (it contains a chronogrammatic poem by Dhawḳ, another proof of the latter's having close friendly relations with Ilāhī Bakhsh). His compositions are neither stylish nor marked by any originality or depth of thought. He is the author of a longer poem entitled *Tasbīḥ-i zumurrud*, of 111 verses, each containing the word "green", its derivatives, idiomatic or metaphoric uses. He died in 1242/1826 at a fairly advanced age (cf. *Gul-i raʿnā, loc. cit.*), although Ḳudrat Allāh Ḳāsim writing in 1221/1806 describes him as "a good-natured young man" (cf. *Madjmūʿa-i naghz*, ii, 202).

He had a son named ʿAlī Bakhsh "Randjūr", whose descendants were still living in Hyderabad State just before the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, and two daughters: (1) Bunyādī Bēgum, married to Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān "Masrūr", was the mother of Nawwāb Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Khān "ʿĀrif", on whose untimely death Ghālib composed his well-known elegiac poem, and (2) Umrāʾō Bēgum (b. 1214/1799), was the wife of Mīrzā Ghālib, whom she jokingly described as "the old fool" whenever the poet refused to humour the children of her relatives with gifts or pocket money. She outlived her husband by two years and died childless in 1287/1870 (for her see *Aḥwāl-i Ghālib*, art. Umrāʾō Bēgum).

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ILĀHIYYĀT [see maʿārif].

ĪLĀT. The term *īlāt* (pl. of *īl*), first used in Persian in Ilkhānid times, denotes nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. *ʿAshāʾir, ḳabāʾil* and *tawāʾif*

are also used in this sense, and for tribes generally, whether strictly speaking nomadic or not. The combination *īlāt wa ʿas̲h̲āʾir* is a phrase frequently encountered in both medieval and modern times, and suggests that the two terms are broadly synonymous. In medieval times *īlāt* also occurs in conjunction with *ulūs*, i.e. tribal followers, and *oymaḳ*.

From early times the population of many parts of Persia has derived its living from pastoral agriculture, and was accustomed to take its flocks in summer to nearby pastures. Such groups, although they lived in summer in tents, were not properly speaking nomadic, though they were sometimes tribal. Both the keeping of flocks and a tribal structure of society were among the characteristics of nomadic groups, but neither was confined to them. What distinguished them from, and placed them over against, the settled population was the absence of settled villages and their seasonal migration whether for short or long distances. There were however also semi-nomadic groups, whose leaders lived part of the year in settled villages or towns, and who left a few of their number either in their summer or winter quarters, or both. In some parts of the country, by the adoption of pastoral nomadism a larger population was able to adapt itself to climatic conditions than would otherwise have been the case. But it is not clear how early such practices became important on the Persian plateau as distinct from Transoxania and Central Asia. From Sald̲j̲ūḳ times onwards, and more particularly after the Mongol invasion, the balance between the settled and the semi-settled elements of the population was a delicate one. Apart from a constant seepage of population from the nomad areas into the settled, drought and local over-population within Persia and beyond its frontiers in Central Asia led to major and minor movements into the settled areas by nomads. Whenever the nomad population and its flocks rose above the level which could be maintained by the available pasture, either because of natural increase or lack of rainfall, there would be a movement, violent or otherwise, into the settled areas.

We know little of the nomadic tribes of pre-Islamic Persia, but pastoral life was almost certainly important. The capitals of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Arsacids, and Sasanians were seasonal, and it is probable that when they moved they were accompanied by flocks and that round their capitals there were large tented encampments. They had presumably in their armies some nomadic tribal contingents, but it is unlikely that they depended to the same extent as the Sald̲j̲ūḳs and later Turkish dynasties on nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal support. From about A.D. 300 the Sasanians attempted to defend themselves from predatory incursions by the nomads from the Arabian steppe by an alliance with the semi-nomadic Lak̲h̲mid rulers of al-Ḥīra (see BADW, iii: Pre-Islamic Arabia).

Although we have more information on nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in Persia in Islamic times, it is nevertheless often difficult to trace their history and movements in detail. Their numbers were constantly changing: some prospered while others dwindled or became settled. Many of the tribes have eponymous ancestors, but their inter-relationship is complicated by alliances and intermarriages among their leaders, sometimes in settlement of blood feuds. Strong tribes attracted to themselves others, which they absorbed or with which they formed a federation, the various tribes of which might later break up and become regrouped in new federations. There was also deliberate fragmentation and settlement of tribes by different rulers in outlying parts of the empire, while the grant of land to their leaders in return for military or other services led to their dispersal throughout the country.

Leaving aside ethnological, anthropological, and sociological criteria, it will be convenient to divide the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes in Islamic times into three broad groups: Arab; Turkomān and Turkish; and those which are neither Arab nor Turkish and were already settled in Persia at the time of the conquest. Of these three the last two are the most important in terms of numbers and continuing influence. The last includes the Kurds [*q.v.*], Lurs [*q.v.*], Baluč [*q.v.*], D̲j̲il, who were, however, cultivators and shepherds rather than nomads (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 376), and others. The Kurds were the most numerous. They were tribal, partly living in villages and partly semi-nomadic. The Lurs appear to have been mainly settled until Timurid times. Neither were confined to Persia. The Kurds spread north-westwards into Syria, and in modern times are found in Persia, Turkey, ʿIrāḳ, and Syria. S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿUmarī mentions Lurs in Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th century.

The early Islamic geographers in their descriptions of Persia give, on the whole, a picture of a settled and prosperous agricultural community, practising pastoral and arable farming, with well-developed handicrafts. They mention much pasture land. Ibn Ḥawḳal, for example, states that the most widespread occupation in the D̲j̲ibāl was the raising of sheep (*al-ag̲h̲nām*, ii, 372-3). Little mention, however, is to be found in their pages of specifically nomadic groups, apart from those in Central Asia, either because these were outside their experience, or because, as seems more probable, they were less important and numerous than was to be the case later. It seems, indeed, fairly clear that the decline in settlement which occurred in Persia was brought about, not by the Arabs or the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, but by the Mongols. The early geographers and historians refer to nomadic and semi-nomadic groups by the generic term *al-akrād*, by which they mean not necessarily people of Kurdish race but non-Arab and non-Turkish tent dwellers and herdsmen. Thus, Ṭabarī, under the years 23 and 29, calls the tribes of the Zagros *akrād*. Ibn Ḥawḳal states that the cities and villages of Ḳuhistān (in East Persia) were separated by deserts inhabited by Kurds and the owners of herds of camels and sheep (ii, 446); and Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī speaks of the *akrād* of Ṭabaristān, "who are a group (*gurūh*) of Daylamites" (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ḳumm*, (ed. Sayyid D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, p. 261).

The main concentration of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes in Persia in the early centuries seems to have been in the area between K̲h̲ūzistān and Iṣfahān and Fārs. Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal and others) mentions five tribal districts in Fārs, which he calls *rumūm* (sing. *ramm*). Yāḳūt defines these as districts and quarters inhabited by Kurds (*maḥāll al-akrād wa manāziluhum*, see Barbier de Meynard, *Géographie de la Perse*, p. 263). The largest of these was the D̲j̲ilūya (Kūhgīlūya), also called the *ramm al-ramīd̲j̲ān*, which extended from K̲h̲ūzistān to Iṣfahān, and was bounded by Iṣṭak̲h̲r, S̲h̲āpur, Arrad̲j̲ān, and Bayḍā. All the towns and villages in it came under the tax administration of Iṣfahān. The other districts were the *ramm* of Aḥmad b. Layt̲h̲ (also called the *ramm* al-Lawālid̲j̲ān), which was situated in the *kūra* of Ardas̲h̲īr K̲h̲ura,

the *ramm* of Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ (also called the *ramm al-dīwān*), which was in the *kūra* of Shāpūr, the *ramm* of Shahriyār (also called the *ramm al-Bāzindjān*), which was outside the tax administration of Fārs, and lastly the *ramm* of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (also called the *ramm al-Kāriyān*), which was bordered by Sīf of the Banū al-Ṣaffār, the *ramm al-Bāzindjān*, Kirmān, and Ardashīr Khura. According to Iṣṭakhrī, the inhabitants of these districts wandered in search of pastures in winter and summer "in the fashion of the Arabs" except for a few who remained in the *sardsīr* (*ṣurūd*) and the *garmsīr* (*djurūm*). They numbered 500,000 tents, each of which could provide from one to ten men, counting herdsmen, hired men, and followers. Iṣṭakhrī adds a rider, hower, to the effect that an accurate assessment of their numbers could only be obtained from the *ṣadaḳa* registers. It was said that they comprised more than a hundred tribes, but Iṣṭakhrī himself knew of only thirty. They were numerous, brave, and strong in men, beasts, and horses. The government found it difficult if it wanted to reduce them or to assert itself against them. They owned sheep and mares but few camels. Their cattle were excellent but only those from Bāzindjān had good horses. Their method of herding was like that of the Arab and Turkish tribes. It was claimed that they were originally Arabs. Within each of these *rumūm* there were towns and villages. The *kharādj* was farmed by the leader of each *ramm*, who was responsible for the safety of caravans, guarded the roads and carried on the affairs of the temporal government (pp. 97-9, 113). Idrīsī, writing in the 6th/12th century, has a broadly similar, but rather briefer, account. He mentions only four *rumūm*, omitting that of al-Kāriyān. He adds that the Kurdish tribes which frequented the country, the Khuwa (?) and the Yazīd, numbered 500 families and that each tribe could put about 1,000 horse in the field. Quoting Ibn Durayd, he states that they were descended from the Banū Marrat, Banū ʿUmar, and Banū ʿĀmir (i, 406-7).

The leaders of the tribes, and perhaps the tribesmen also, apparently owned landed estates. Iṣṭakhrī states that the estates (*al-ḍiyāʿ*) held by the tribal people (*ahl al-rumūm*) paid tax by *muḳāsama*, according to charters (*ʿuhūd*) which they held from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, or others of the caliphs, paying one-tenth, one-third, one-quarter, and so on (p. 158). Ibn Ḥawḳal gives a slightly different account. He says that the tribal districts (*rumūm*) were assessed by contract (*muḳāṭaʿa*), estimation *ʿibra*), or by a share of the crop (*muḳāsama*). In the last case, the tax was levied in one of two ways: if the estate was in the hands of tribesmen (*ḳawm min ahl al-rumūm*) or others who had a charter from ʿAlī, ʿUmar, or a governor appointed by the caliph, they paid one-tenth to one-third. If the villages had been taken possession of by the treasury because of disorders committed by the owners, or for some other reason, the cultivators paid one-fifth according to agreements concluded with them (ii, 302-3).

Ibn Balkhī, the author of the *Fārs-nāma*, alleges that the nomads (*kurdān*) of Fārs, who had formed the flower of the Sasanian army, had all been killed during the Islamic invasion. The nomads who inhabited Fārs in his day were descended from a group whom the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/982) had brought to Fārs from Iṣfahān. Ibn Balkhī knows these nomadic groups by the name of Shabānkāra. They presumably replaced or absorbed the earlier *rumūm*. In Ibn Balkhī's time (he dedicated the *Fārs-nāma* to Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, d. 511/1117) Fārs suffered much from disorders and raids at the hands of the tribes, until the Atabeg Čawlī, to whom Muḥammad b. Malikshāh assigned Fārs, brought order to the province after several engagements with the rebels. According to Ibn Balkhī's account, the Shabānkāra, who comprised five tribes or groups, had originally been herdsmen and wood-cutters in Fārs. On the disintegration of Būyid rule, their power had increased, until finally Faẓlūya, the leader of the Rāmānī, the most powerful of the five tribes, made himself master of much of Fārs, and received from the Būyids an allowance. Subsequently Kāwurd was sent by Alp Arslān to reduce Fārs to order. Faḍlūya was unable to resist and went back to Alp Arslān's court. He was sent back to Fārs with a contract to farm the revenue of the province. He rebelled again and was besieged by a Saldjūḳ army under Niẓām al-Mulk and captured. He escaped and renewed his rebellion, to be eventually hunted down and caught (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, G.M.S., 1962, pp. 164, 166; Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāmā*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran, 1931-2, pp. 38-9).

Of the five groups, Ibn Balkhī states that the Ismāʿīlī, who had settled in Dasht-i Urd after the Islamic conquest, were the noblest. Tāsh Farrāsh, Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd's general, expelled them from the region of Iṣfahān; they first wandered southwards, and then, under pressure from the Būyids, westwards, and settled near Dārābdjird. Internecine strife weakened them, enabling Faḍlūya to interfere in their affairs (*Fārs-nāma*, 164-5; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 37-8). The Karzūbī were also shepherds. At the end of the Būyid period they obtained possession of Kāzirūn and the neighbourhood until Čawlī dispossessed them. The Masʿūdī were an obscure group whom Faḍlūya raised up. Rukn al-Dīn Khumārtegīn, the Saldjūḳ governor of Fārs, gave them *iḳṭāʿ*s. They subsequently obtained possession of Fīrūzābād and most of Shāpūr Khura. Finally they were subdued by Čawlī (*Fārs-nāma*, 167). The fifth group, the Shakānī, were mountain dwellers, living in the mountains of the *garmsīr*. They were alleged to be an evil people, committing highway robbery. Čawlī reduced them also (*Fārs-nāma*, 167). In later times little is heard of the Shabānkāra. Either they became settled, or they failed to recover from the losses inflicted on them by Čawlī and ceased to have an independent existence. It may well be that they were absorbed by the Lurs, who increased in importance during the 6th/12th century.

The eponymous founder of the Lur-i Buzurg [*q.v.*], was Abū'l-Ḥasan Faḍlūya, a Kurd living in Djabal Sumāḳ in Syria. Some of his descendants migrated through Mayāfāriḳayn and Ādharbāydjān to north of Ushturān Kūh, where they arrived about 500/1006. Their chief, Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunḳur (543-56) in an expedition against the Shabānkāra, and was given as a reward the Kūhgīlūya and sent to conquer Luristān. He later quarrelled with Sunḳur and made himself independent. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century more tribes from Syria joined his son, Hazārasp. These included two Arab tribes, the ʿUḳaylī (ʿAḳīlī) and Ḥāshimī, and twenty-eight others, among whom were the Bakhtiyārīs, Djawānikī, Gotwand, Līrāwī, and Mamāsānī (?Mamassanī, see Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Cairo n.d., pp. 44 ff., and LUR). In consequence of these movements, the Shūls were displaced and moved to Fārs (*Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, pp. 537-9, and see LUR-I BUZURG).

Mention is also made by the early geographers of tribal groups in Kirmān, which appear to have been semi-nomadic, namely the Ḳufṣ (Kūč) and Balūṣ (Balūẓ, Balūč). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* describes the latter as a people established in the open country between Dj̲iruft and Bāft on the one hand and the Kūfidj̲ mountains on the other. They were herdsmen and professional highway robbers, intrepid and bloodthirsty. Their numbers were reduced by the Būyid Fanā Kh̲usraw by various strategems (p. 124). Muḳaddasī mentions that ʿAḍud al-Dawla also harried them (p. 471). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that they lived on the frontiers of Manūdj̲ān and Hurmuz and that they were a branch (*ṣinf*) of the Kurds (*i.e.* semi-nomadic or nomadic tent-dwellers) and that they themselves claimed to be of Arab origin and to number some 10,000 men. The temporal government gave them allowances to keep them quiet. In spite of this they committed highway robbery and were a perpetual menace to communication between Kirmān and the desert of Sīstān and the frontiers of Fārs. Their power was destroyed by the Būyid *malik* and they were dispersed (ii, 309-10). According to Iṣṭakh̲rī they were Sh̲īʿī (p. 167). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* states that the inhabitants of the Kūfidj̲ mountains were divided into seven tribes, each under its own chief, and that the government tax-collectors did not go into these mountains, the chiefs paying an annual sum by *muḳāṭaʿa* (p. 124). Iṣṭakh̲rī and Ibn Ḥawḳal make similar statements, but add that the Ḳufṣ had flocks and black tents like bedouins, and were pacific and did not molest travellers (Iṣṭakh̲rī, 164; Ibn Ḥawḳal ii, 310); and that they were Sh̲īʿīs (167, ii, 312). Ibn Ḥawḳal also mentions camel owning nomads or herdsmen in the neighbourhood of Kh̲wāsh (ii, 313). In Saldj̲ūḳ times Kāwurd succeeded in establishing some measure of control over the Ḳufṣ and Balūč, confining the former to the mountain districts between Bam and Dj̲iruft (see Afḍal al-Dīn, *ʿIḳd al-ūlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran 1932-3, p. 66). With the influx into Kirmān of more Gh̲uzz after the death of Sandj̲ar, the Balūč appear to some extent to have been displaced and pushed further to the east.

As for the Arab tribes in Kh̲ūzistān and along the Persian Gulf littoral, the majority came with the Islamic conquest, although the settlement of some of them pre-dates that event. By the time the Muslim Arabs reached Persia, they were already separated from their nomadic background. Many of them came from the garrison cities and were settled in the towns. Yaʿḳūbī mentions the mixed population of Ḳazwīn (p. 70), Nihāvand (p. 73), Dīnavar (p. 69) Ṣaymara (269-70), Ṭūs (p. 83), and Naysh̲āpūr (p. 85), and the Arabs of the Banū ʿAzd, Banū Tamīm and others in Marv (p. 87). He also states that the inhabitants of Bust claimed descent from Yamanī immigrés of the Himyarite tribe (p. 89). Similarly many Arabs also lived in Harāt (p. 88, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 104). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that the majority of the population of Ḳumm were Arab although they spoke Persian (ii, 370; see also *Taʾrīkh̲-i Ḳumm*, 240 ff.) Quoting Hamza's lost history of Iṣfahān, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ḳummī describes the settlement of Arabs in Iṣfahān and the neighbourhood in the time of Ḥadj̲dj̲ādj̲ (*Taʾrīkh̲-i Ḳumm*, 264). Yāḳūt mentions descendants of the Banū ʿAzd and the Banū Muhallab in Dj̲iruft (Barbier de Meynard, 185). There appears also to have been some settlement by the Banū Tamīm and Banū Tāziyān in Yazd (*Dj̲āmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Iradj̲ Afsh̲ār, Tehran 1342/1964-5 i, 36). Most of these various groups became assimilated to the local population. There were also some nomadic groups, which came mainly into South Persia, Kirmān, Sīstān, and more particularly Kh̲urāsān [see AL-ʿARAB (iii)]. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mentions some 20,000 Arabs in the steppe of Gūzgānān. They possessed numerous sheep and camels and were richer than all the Arabs scattered throughout Kh̲urāsān. Their *amīr* was nominated by the *malik* of Gūzgānān, to whom they paid *ṣadaḳa* (p. 108).

The third group of tribes, the Turkomān and Turkish, came mainly with the Saldj̲ūḳ, Mongol, and Timurid invasions, and included tribes which, having passed through Persia into Asia Minor and Syria, came back to the east with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū, Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū, and Ṣafavid dynasties. This group is differentiated from the other two in that the movement of the Turkomān and Turkish tribes led to the establishment of empires based, originally at least, on tribal support. Other tribal groups, notably the Kurds in western and north-western Persia and the Arabs in ʿIrāḳ and the Dj̲azīra, also set up independent kingdoms, but they did not succeed, as did the Turkomāns and Turks, in extending their power over virtually the whole of the country.

Towards the end of the 4th/10th century the Og̲h̲uz/Gh̲uzz tribes began to move westwards from Central Asia. The first group went to Mangish̲lāḳ. The second, in the fourth decade of the 5th/11th century, went to Persia. The main body, which had been preceded by a number of independent bands of Gh̲uzz [*q.v.*], was under the leadership of the Saldj̲ūḳ family, who were to establish the first of these Turkomān or Turkish empires. The third group went in the 5th/11th century to the Balkans via the Black Sea, while a fourth and larger group, partly settled, remained in the region of the Sīr Daryā (Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, Ankara 1967). Legend represents the Og̲h̲uz as being divided into twenty-four tribes. Twenty-two, with their *tamgh̲ās*, were known to Maḥmūd Kāsh̲gh̲arī, but only the Kïnïk (to whom the Saldj̲ūḳs belonged), Iva, Döger, Yag̲h̲ma, Salg̲h̲ur, and Avsh̲ār (Afsh̲ār) appear before the Mongol period. Rash̲īd al-Dīn mentions twenty-four tribes, but his list is not identical with that of Maḥmūd Kāsh̲gh̲arī (C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 19 ff.).

The Saldj̲ūḳs, although they became the leaders of a nomadic tribal migration, were nevertheless familiar with urban life and Islamic civilization. From the beginning they had settled capitals and do not appear to have lived in tented encampments apart from the local population as did the Mongol Īlkhāns—at least not to the same extent. Most of the independent or semi-independent Gh̲uzz bands who came to Persia were undisciplined and their activities unco-ordinated. The difference between their leaders and the Saldj̲ūḳs was that the latter, on the whole, exercised control over their followers. Tug̲h̲ril Beg [*q.v.*] and Alp Arslān [*q.v.*] showed themselves to be competent commanders and rulers. Adopting the pattern of government existing in the lands of the Eastern Caliphate, they brought to it new interpretations from their tribal background (see further A. K. S. Lambton, 'The internal structure of the Saljuq empire' in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 203-82). On the whole, the Saldj̲ūḳ invasion brought remarkably little dislocation, and not more than that caused by the movement of government troops in the late Gh̲aznavid period. The numbers involved were not large—perhaps no more than tens of thousands. The coming

of the Saldjūḳs with their flocks may, in fact, have been beneficial to the country, so far as these provided meat and milk products to provision the towns, wool and skins for industry, and fertilized the stubble fields they grazed. Their herds of camels may also have been useful in providing additional transport for merchandise.

There is little evidence to show that the Ghuzz tribes came into conflict with other tribal and nomadic groups, except the Kurds and the bedouins in Western Ādharbāydjān and Upper Mesopotamia. There, the early bands of Ghuzz invaders were opposed. Settlement probably took place at first only on the lower slopes of the Kurdish mountains. At a later period there were conflicts between the Saldjūḳs on the one hand and the Shabānkāra and the Ḳufṣ on the other, as stated above, but these arose from the attempt of the Saldjūḳs, who by this time had become the rulers of an empire, to assert the authority of the central government. They were not conflicts between rival nomadic groups over the possession of pastures. In general, the Ghuzz tribes do not appear to have established themselves—at least to any large extent—in areas such as Fārs, Luristān, the Ḳufṣ mountains, Ṭabaristān, or Kurdistān where there was already a tribal and semi-nomadic population. This raises the problem, which cannot be answered in our present state of knowledge, of whether their intrusion elsewhere brought about a contraction of the area under arable farming or whether they mainly utilized land which was not being fully exploited by the existing population for either arable or pastoral farming.

Once the Saldjūḳs had become the masters of an empire, they were forced to find a more stable basis of power than that provided by the Ghuzz tribes. Increasingly they depended for their military forces and for provincial governors on Turkish slaves and freedmen who had become separated from their nomadic tribal background. Considerable bodies of Ghuzz (or "Turkomāns" as the Muslim Ghuzz who had entered the *dār al-islām* are usually called in the Arabic and Persian sources) were, however, still to be found in the country, although the general tendency was for them to move in a westerly direction towards Syria and Asia Minor. Apart from these, the main concentrations of Turkomāns were in Upper Mesopotamia, Gurgān, Marv, and Ādharbāydjān, with some minor settlements in Khūzistān, Fārs, and elsewhere. The fact that many of their leaders were officers of the sultan enabled them, when the central government weakened, to transform themselves rapidly into local rulers. One of the most notable cases is that of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*].

Under Sandjar, the Turkomāns in Gurgān, Dihistān, and Marv were administered by a *shiḥna* [*q.v.*] appointed by the sultan, who allotted to their leaders pasture and water according to the number of their tents, and through whom they referred to the government. They paid pasture dues and a due for the office of *shiḥna* (*ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 8-12, 84-5). The grant of special allowances (*nānpāra*) to the Turkomāns is frequently mentioned. Niẓām al-Mulk seems to have assumed that they would receive such, and recommended that numbers of them should be kept at court, some for military service and some as hostages for the good behaviour of their fellows. By the end of the reign of Sandjar the grant of allowances to the Turkomāns in Khurāsān was probably primarily to assure their good behaviour rather than to reward them for military or other services—though it is clear that the Saldjūḳs, like other dynasties, employed the nomadic tribes, Turkomans and others, in their armies as auxiliaries.

By the middle of the 6th/12th century the Khitāy conquest of Transoxania was causing unrest among the Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia, and it became increasingly difficult for the Saldjūḳ government to control those who were living on its borders. Their relations with Sandjar illustrate both the difficulty experienced by a settled government in subjecting the nomads to control, and also the lack of understanding which characterized the relations between the settled population and the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. Disputes over the annual tribute in sheep due from the Ghuzz to the sultan's treasury and malpractices over its collection eventually led to a collision between Sandjar's forces and the Ghuzz. An engagement took place in 548/1153. Sandjar was captured and Khurāsān pillaged (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 58-9). In due course Sandjar escaped captivity but was unable to restore control. After his death in 552/1156 more Ghuzz came into Khurāsān. Some, under Malik Dīnār, took possession of Kirmān. These Ghuzz did not succeed in establishing an empire, as had the Saldjūḳs, and in contra-distinction to them brought about much devastation and dislocation (see further Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Taʾrīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leiden 1886, 106 ff.). There was also a resurgence of nomadism in Fārs on the break-up of the Saldjūḳ empire when the Salghurids, basing their power on semi-nomadic tribes living in the region of Gundamān, began to extend their rule (Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, 48-9). The later Salghurids, however, conformed to the usual pattern of "settled" rulers..

The Mongol invasion was accompanied by a new influx of Turkish tribes on a large scale. Carried out by tribes organized for war, it was of a different order from the Saldjūḳ invasion. Political rule remained in the hands of the tribal leaders, who formed a kind of military aristocracy. They were hostile to settled life and exploited the peasants and the townspeople. The invasion was accompanied by widespread destruction and massacres. Much land fell out of cultivation because of the flight or death of its occupiers and because of the dislocation caused by the tribal following of the Mongols and their need for pastures for their flocks and herds (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. Jahn, GMS, n.s. xiv, London 1940, 349 ff.). The tribal leaders were allocated, or took possession of, pastures. Many of them also received land grants, which they sometimes converted into private property, and were given control over the population living on the land. Various new taxes were introduced including *ḳubčur* [*q.v.*], which was probably originally a pasture tax paid by nomads (though it was later to designate a tax on the settled population also). During the reign of Ghāzān Khān (694/1295-703/1304) there was a modification in the policy of the Īlkhāns designed to bring about a revival of agriculture and a reduction in the power of the nomad military aristocracy. This was only partially successful (see further I.P. Petrushevsky, "The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Īl-Khāns" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 483-537, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 77-104).

The centre of the Īlkhān kingdom was Ādharbāydjān, and it was there and in Arrān, and to a lesser extent in Asia Minor, that the tribes which

had come with the Īlkhāns were mainly concentrated. Many of them had close affinities with some of the Turkish tribes already in Persia. Among the tribes which came with or joined Hulāgū were the Afshār (some groups of whom had apparently migrated with the Saldjūḳs, see AFSHĀR). They settled mainly in Ādharbāydjān, and gradually increased in numbers and power.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions districts to the south of Sulṭāniyya containing some hundred villages with good pastures, which were settled by Mongols (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, G.M.S., 1919, 64-5), and Mongol winter quarters in the Mughān steppe (p. 83). Sawdj Bulāgh, near Ray, was according to him mostly inhabited by nomads (*ṣaḥrā-nishīn*, p. 63). Among these were probably the Ḳarā Evlī. They were not numerous and eventually joined the Afshār, though some of them were absorbed into other Turkomān tribes (Ḳā'im Maḳām, *Munsha'āt*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳā'im Maḳāmī, Tehran 1959-60, 363). There were also according to Ḥamd Allāh many nomadic Kurdish tribes (*khayl-i akrād-i ṣaḥrā-nishīn*) in the Nihāvand-Malāyir district, though by *akrād* he may simply have meant tribes which were neither Turkish nor Arab. They paid an annual tribute of 7,000 sheep (*gūsfand*, p. 74). There appears also to have been an extension of nomadism in Luristān at this time. Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī states that the Atabeg Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn, who was made governor of Luristān by Hulāgū, found the province in a state of ruin and its peasants dispersed. He remitted taxation for a year, and by good administration restored agricultural prosperity. "One reason for the prosperity of the province was that the Atabeg adopted, after the fashion of the Mongols, the practice of moving from summer to winter quarters. He spent the winter in Īdadj and Shūsh and the summer in the Zardak mountain, in which the Zindarūd rises, so that the cattle of the soldiers had no need of barley and the peasants (*ra'iyyat*) were not subjected to tyranny by all kinds of people" (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 43-4). Among other Ghuzz tribes which apparently came to Persia with the Mongols, passed through the country and came back later with the Ṣafavids, were the Begdillū. They had originally been with the Naimāns and then come to Persia with Djurmaghūn. Some of them went on to Syria, where they became known as the Shāmlū. They returned to Persia with the Ṣafavids, and were powerful under them and the Afshārids. In Ḳādjār times their centres were in Mazdaḳān near Tehran, and Marāgha (Ḳā'im Maḳām, *op. cit.*, 368). Some small groups of Begdillū were to be found near Tehran in the 19th century. According to tradition the Ḳādjārs also entered Persia with the Mongols, passed on to Syria and came back to Persia with Tīmūr.

By the end of the Mongol period, federations of tribes under new names were beginning to appear, notably that of the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū [*q.v.*] (see C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, 314 ff.; see also J. Aubin, *Un soyurghal Qara-Qoyunlu concernant le Bulūk de Bawānāt-Harāt-Marwast*, in *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford 1965, for the distribution of Turkomān and Arab tribes in that region at the end of the 8th/14th century). From about 747/1346 there was a resurgence of nomadism in Khurāsān also (cf. Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *op. cit.*, 197 ff.).

Meanwhile in Eastern Turkistan on the break-up of the Mongol empire the nomads under the Čagatāy Khān of Mughūlistān began to press into Western Turkistān. This provoked a counterattack and eventually Tīmūr, having united the nomads of Western Turkistān, emerged as the defender of the Islamic borderlands against the nomads of Central Asia, thus giving to the settled population a measure of security in which to pursue their commercial activities and to continue their religious life (see further Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *op cit.* and H. Hookham, *Tamerlane the conqueror*, London 1962). After crushing the nomads of the Čagatāy appanage and the Ḳīpčaḳ hordes, Tīmūr then carried out a series of expeditions into Persia and the neighbouring countries, as a consequence of which new tribal movements took place. Tīmūr's military organization was similar to that of the Mongols. The basis of his power was a military tribal aristocracy, who with their followers and flocks migrated from pasture to pasture. Clavijo describing Tīmūr's horde writes, "When Timur calls his people to war all assemble and march with him, surrounded by their flocks and herds, thus carrying along their possessions with them, in company with their wives and children. These last follow the host, and in the lands which they invade their flocks, namely and particularly the sheep, camels and horses, serve to ration the horde" (*Clavijo's embassy to Tamerlane* 1403-1406, tr. from the Spanish by G. Le Strange, London 1928, 191). He also mentions the numbering of the flocks of the nomads for taxation purposes (p. 187). Certain of the Čagatāys, however, were exempted in return for military service (pp. 195-7). There appear to have been also nomadic Kurds (?) in Khurāsān near Nayshāpūr. Clavijo, describing them, states "they own no other habitations but their tents, for they never take up their abode in any city or village, but live in the open country-side, both summer and winter, pasturing their flocks. These consist of droves of rams, ewes and cows, and the people of this particular tribe possess some twenty thousand camels. They wander over the length and breadth of all this province living under the jurisdiction of Timur, and they give him yearly as his due in tribute three thousand camels, also some fifteen thousand sheep" (p. 181).

The death of Tīmūr was followed by a period of internecine strife. In the west the Turkomāns of the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū, whose leader, Bayrām Khwādja of the Bahārlū tribe (d. 782/1380), had originally entered the service of Sultan Uways, the Djalā'ir, invaded Ādharbāydjān in 812/1408 from Armenia, where they had been driven by Tīmūr. By 814/1410 they had taken Baghdād from the Djalā'irs. They were subsequently superseded by the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū, whose main centre was at Diyār Bakr and whose leaders belonged to the Bayīndīr clan [*q.v.*]. In the east also there were further tribal movements. In 870/1465-6, 15,000 tents of nomads from 'Irāḳ set out for Khurāsān "because they had been reduced to straits by the tyranny and oppression of the Turkomans", and were given *yurt*s in that province by the Timurid, Abū Sa'īd ('Abd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī', Lahore 1949, ii, 1296). About the same time, the Hazāras (who according to tradition came to Persia with the Mongols) appear to have been increasing in the neighbourhood of Harāt, and difficulties between them and the government over their refusal to pay taxes are mentioned (*ibid.*, 1296 ff.).

The period of the Turkomān dynasties of the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū and the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū, who emerged successively as the most powerful group in Western and North-western Persia and finally in Central

and Southern Persia also, represents a reassertion of the rule of the Turkomān nomads and was accompanied by a movement of the Turkomāns eastwards into Persia. Unlike the Saldjuḳs, whom they resembled rather than the Mongols and Timurids, they never succeeded in imposing their rule over the whole of Persia and succeeded only to a limited extent in uniting the various Turkomān tribes, who by this time had been familiar with Islam for generations, and some of whom had been won over to the more extreme forms of Shīʿism. Their leaders, the most celebrated of whom was Uzun Ḥasan (d. 882/1477-8), were in many cases men of ability; their administration was well organized and their courts, in spite of their nomadic background and habits, were centres of Persian culture and Turkomān poetry. (See further V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, London 1957, and also *Travels to Tana and Persia by Barbaro and Contarini*, Hakluyt ed., 1873). The death of Uzun Ḥasan was followed by a renewal of tribal forays with the main Āḳ Ḳoyunlū centres in Ādharbāydjān and Shīrāz, until finally the Ṣafavids, having united the Turkomān tribes and given to them a cohesion which the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū and Āḳ Ḳoyunlū had failed to do, established themselves as the rulers of Persia.

The great majority of Ismāʿīl's supporters belonged to tribes from Asia Minor, Syria, and Armenia, together with tribes detached from the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū and the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū. The core of his force, the Ḳizilbāsh, was formed by the Ustādjlū, Shāmlū, Tekkelū, Rūmlū, Bahārlū, Dhu'l-Ḳadr, Turkmān, Khinislū, Ḳādjār, and Afshār tribes (see further V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, G.M.S., 1943, 189 ff.). From the two last-named came dynasties which were to rule Persia at a later date. Ismāʿīl was the head of the Ṣafavid order founded by his forefather Ṣafī al-Dīn, who was born near Ardabīl in 650/1252. Under Djunayd, who became its leader in 851/1447, the order became militant (see further W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, Berlin 1936). Ismāʿīl was regarded by his extreme followers among the Turkomān tribesmen as the hereditary and living emanation of the godhead. In the early days of his rise to power the connexion between his tribal followers and the order was close. Each group had a *khalīfa*, with whom Ismāʿīl, as the *murshid-i kāmil*, kept in touch through the *khalīfat al-khulafā'* (see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 125-6).

In the disorders at the end of the Āḳ Ḳoyunlū period a number of Turkomān leaders and others set up independent governments. Ḥasan Rūmlū gives a list of these under the year 907/1501-2 when Ismāʿīl entered Tabrīz (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931-4, i, 62). Gradually Ismāʿīl overthrew or reduced the majority of them. Others were defeated by Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, the Özbek ruler, with whom Ismāʿīl eventually came into conflict. The control of the tribes on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān was for the Ṣafavids, as it had been for earlier dynasties and was to be for the Ḳādjārs, a major problem.

Already before the death of Ismāʿīl (939/1534) friction between the Turkomān tribes, upon whose support he had depended for his rise to power, and the Persian elements in the state had arisen. Under Ṭahmāsp other tribal groups, the Čagatāys, Kurds, Lurs, Faylis and others were added to his military forces. The first-named were found mainly in Khurāsān. Among them were the Ḳarā Bayāt, whose leader, Muḥammad Sulṭān, governor of Nayshāpūr, joined Ṭahmāsp's service. Because of the sacrifices of the tribe in the wars against the Özbeks they were exempted from the payment of divan dues (*ʿAlam Ārā*, p. 585-6). The Bayāt were ranked by some writers not as an independent tribe but among the Afshār (see below). In the early Ṣafavid period, before the reorganization carried out by Shāh ʿAbbās, the tribal leaders lived with their tribal followers in their *ulkās*, which they held by direct grant or conquest. Many of them were also appointed to governorships. There was no clear dividing line between tribal leader, military commander and provincial governor. In the early period the chief military office, that of *amīr al-umarā'*, was regarded by the Ḳizilbāsh as their prerogative. Under Ṭahmāsp the provincial governments were still mainly in the hands of the tribal leaders. They were moved from province to province, no tribe having a special claim to the government of a specific area; but under Shāh ʿAbbās there were several cases of hereditary succession, and by 1034/1624 it had become common (see further Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. H. Muller, Wiesbaden 1964). Ṭahmāsp was unable to control the tribal leaders and the jealousies between Turk and non-Turk and inter-tribal feuds, especially between the Ustādjlū and the Rūmlū, threatened the existence of the state. The problem was broadly the same as that which had faced the Saldjūḳs: how to integrate the tribes, upon whose support the ruling dynasty had come to power, into the life of the empire. The circumstances of the time, however, were different: in particular, there was no longer the possibility of settlement to the west, on or beyond the frontiers of the empire.

Ṭahmāsp's death was followed by struggles between the tribal leaders. Shāh ʿAbbās (995-1037/1587-1629) eventually reimposed control over the Ḳizilbāsh, and reduced the importance of the tribal forces by instituting a special cavalry corps recruited from the descendants of Georgian and Armenian captives, converts to Islam, paid direct from the treasury. As a result the tribal and military leaders and also the tribes and the standing army to some extent became differentiated, although the tribes were still required to furnish contingents when called upon so to do. For example, in 1013/1604 Shāh ʿAbbās ordered the *rishsafīdān* of the tribes in Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ to prepare lists of their numbers so that quotas could be provided by each according to its ability (*ʿĀlam Ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, p. 466, quoted by Minorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5). The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* gives lists of the enrolments of the *amīrs* resident on the frontiers and the contingents fixed for each province, many of which were provided by the tribes (pp. 100 ff.). With the increase in the size of the 'standing army' and its payment from *khāṣṣa* (crown) lands, there was less land available for the tribal leaders, which fact further reduced their power and influence (See *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* for an analysis of the tribal affiliation of the leading *amīrs* in the Ṣafavid empire, pp. 14 ff.). Moreover, the fact that the Turkish frontier region was repeatedly fought over and deliberately reduced to a state of desolation adversely affected the tribes formerly occupying it. Shāh ʿAbbās further weakened the power of the tribal leaders by allotting provincial governments to *amīrs* from the court, whether slave or free, rather than to the tribal leaders. A number of tribes were moved by Shāh ʿAbbās, some in order to contribute to the defence of the empire. Thus, the Ḳādjār tribe was divided into three branches: the first stationed at Gandja to check the incursions of the Lesgis, the second at Marv to contribute to the

defence of Khurāsān against the Özbeks, and the third at Astarābād on the borders of the Turkomān country to the east of the Caspian Sea. At an earlier period the tribe had been divided into two sections, the Yuḳḳārī-bāsh and the Ashāḳī-bāsh. Families of both went to Astarābād. Shāh ʿAbbās also moved some tribes from frontier districts because of doubts as to their loyalty. For example, the Kazuklar tribe was moved from Ḳaradja Dāgh to Dārābdjird in Fārs about 1024/1615 (*ʿĀlam Ārā*, p. 623). Somewhat earlier (about 1000/1591-2) a group of Afshār came to Kāzirūn, and their leader Khwādja Pīr Budāḳ was given the governorship of the district by Shah ʿAbbās. The family continued to hold this government for some 250 years (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, Tehran, lith., 1894-6, ii, 250-2). Shāh ʿAbbās also constituted a number of his supporters into a new tribe known as the Shahsivān, which was later to become important in Ādharbāydjān.

According to the *Dastūr al-mulūk* (written for Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn), the five main provincial governments were Georgia, ʿArabistān, Luristān, Kurdistān and the Bakhtiyārī. The last four all had a large non-Turkish tribal and semi-nomadic population. Whereas the influence of the Turkomān tribes had to some extent been reduced by Shāh ʿAbbās, the importance of the non-Turkish tribes began to increase. Some of the lesser governments also, such as Ḳarābāgh, and the Kūhgīlūya, were predominantly tribal areas, and others, such as Hamadān, had a considerable tribal population. The *wālī* of ʿArabistān was the most important of the five governors because of the numbers of the tribes (*īl wa ʿashāʾir*) under his jurisdiction. Luristān was the next in importance. (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānizhpashūh, *Dastur al-mulūk*, in *Review of the Faculty of Letters, University of Tehran*, July 1968, pp. 473-508, and November 1968, pp. 62-93). Chardin writing of this province states: "The people that inhabit it never mind the building of cities, nor have any settled abodes, but live in tents, for the most part feeding their flocks and their herds, of which they have an infinite number. They are governed by a kaan who is set over them by the king of Persia but chosen from among themselves; and for the most part all of the same race, the father succeeding the son . . . they pay both tribute and tenths. This province furnishes Isfahan and the neighbouring parts with cattel; which is the reason that the governor of this province is greatly respected in those parts" ('The coronation of Solyman III', p. 147, app. to *The travels of Sir John Chardin*, London 1691). The terms on which each of these four governors held their appointments and the number of troops (presumably mainly tribal levies) which they were expected to provide for the royal army varied. Most of them were required to send sons or brothers, or both, to the court as hostages. The *Ḳurčībāshī*, one of the four chief officers of the state, was the chief (*rīsh safīd*) of all the tribes (*īlāt wa oymāḳāt*) of the kingdom. What precisely his functions were with regard to the tribes is not clear. Perhaps the register of the tribes and matters to do with the provision of tribal levies were under him. Kārzīn in Fārs was his *tuyūl*. That this was a tribal area probably had no special significance. Tabrīz, Mughān, and certain other places in Ādharbāydjān, still one of the main areas of settlement by Turkish tribes, were entrusted to the *sipahsālār*, the most important military officer after the *ḳurčībāshī* (see *Dastūr al-mulūk, loc. cit.*). The *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* also gives lists of the enrolments of the *amīr*s resident on the frontiers and the contingents fixed for each province, some of which were provided by tribes (pp. 100 ff.).

After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās the control of the central government weakened and was only temporarily arrested under Shāh ʿAbbās II. With this the tribes, notably the Ghalzāy and Abdālī Afghāns in the east, began to reassert themselves. The Balūč also raided up to Bam and Kirmān; while the Kurds revolted, captured Hamadān and raided up to Iṣfahān in 1719 (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi Dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 110 ff.). There was also constant raiding by Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs in the Iṣfahān district in the middle of the century (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 660).

In a manuscript which professes to be taken from the state papers of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn details are given of the location and numbers of the tribes. Although these figures appear to be grossly exaggerated, they probably indicate the general distribution of the tribes at the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be that the tribal population at that time was again on the increase. The writer divides the tribes into those of Persian and non-Persian origin. The former consisted of (i) the Lurs, comprising four great tribes, the Faylī (centred on Khurramābād, with winter quarters near Hawīza), Laks and Zands (who for a brief period under Karīm Khān Zand provided the ruling dynasty, centred on Kazzāz), Bakhtiyārīs, and Mamassanīs. The Bakhtiyārīs ranged from the Kūhgīlūya to Iṣfahān and from Shūstar to Bihbahān. They paid revenue to the *beglarbegī* of Iṣfahān. The sum due, though more than that paid by the Laks and Zands, was small. Two or three of their chiefs were always in attendance on the king and they sometimes furnished 10,000 horse and foot without pay. The Mamassanīs were much less numerous than the Bakhtiyārīs or the Faylīs. Their revenue was included in that of Fārs and was paid to the *beglarbegī* of that province. The Lurs were all Shīʿīs. (ii) There were the Garrūs, Kalkhur and Mukrī inhabiting the country between Hamadān and the borders of Marāgha. About one fourth of them were Shīʿī. (iii) There were the Kurdish nomadic tribes in Khurāsān, of which the four main tribes were the Zaʿfarānlū, centred in Akhlamad, the Saʿdānlū centred on Khābūshān, the Kavānlū in Rādkān, and the Davānlū near Djādjarm. They paid no revenue to the government. There were (iv) the Djalāʾir also in Khurāsān, ranging up to Marv-i Shāh Djahān, (v) the Ḳarāʾī, centred on Turbat-i Djām, and (vi) the Djalāʾī.

The non-Persian nomadic tribes consisted of Arabs and Turks. The latter, according to the author of the manuscript, included the Afshār, the Ḳādjār, the Shaḳāḳī (who were in fact Kurds) ranging from Ādharbāydjān to Gīlān, the Zangana (also Kurds) in the neighbourhood of Kirmānshāh, the Ḳaraguzlū in the neighbourhood of Hamadān, Burūdjird and Nihāvand, and the Shāhsivan, some of whom were in Fārs and others in Ādharbāydjān and Gīlān. The Afshār appear by this time to have attracted some new tribes to themselves and lost others. They included the Shāmlū, Ḳirklū, and Shirvānlū. They held Ṭus in Khurāsān and Urūmiyya in Ādharbāydjān. The Bayāt and Dunbulī who held Nayshāpūr, Khwuy, and Salmās, on the other hand, were no longer counted with the Afshārs.

The Arab tribes consisted of the Čaʿb (Kaʿb), the Mullāʾī of Hawīza, who with various other Arab tribes ranged from that district up to Baghdād. In

Fārs there was the Īl-i ʿArab, then numerous, ranging between Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, and Yazd. The Mishmast in Khurāsān held villages in Turshīz and Ḳāʾin. There were also Arabs in some other centres, including the Banū Shaybān in Ṭabas (see Ms. Dr. Caro Owen Minasian Collection, Isfahan, OR Ms. Provisional No. 1134 (s & b)). A copy of this ms. appears to have been seen by Sir John Malcolm (see *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 372). In the 19th century there were groups of Mishmast Arabs following a nomadic existence between Kāshān, Lār, and Lavāsān (Mirzā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kāsānī, *Mirʾāt al-Kāsān*, British Museum, MS Or. 3603, f. 61b).

The Ṣafavids were succeeded by three dynasties whose founders were tribal leaders, Nādir Shāh, who belonged to the Ḳirḳlū tribe of the Afshār, Karīm Khān Zand and Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār. Nādir Shāh, who favoured the Sunnī tribes, namely the Afghāns and Turkomāns, resettled a number of tribal groups to lessen the likelihood of rebellion. In 1142-3/1730 50-60,000 families of tribespeople were transferred from Ādharbāydjān, Persian ʿIrāḳ, and Fārs to Khurāsān. Two years later 60,000 Abdālīs were moved from Harāt to Mashhad, Nayshāpur and Dāmghān, and 3,000 families of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyārī were sent to Khurāsān. A second group of Bakhtiyārī, consisting of Haft Lang and Čahār Lang, amounting to 10,000 families were sent to Djām in Khurāsān after a Bakhtiyārī rebellion was crushed in 1149/1736 (L. Lockhart, *Nādir Shāh*, London 1938, 51-2, 54, 65, 110; see also M. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 1748, ii, 187). The widespread dispersion of the Afshār tribe in Persia in the 19th century presumably dates in part from the reign of Nādir Shāh (cf. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of Persia*, London 1813, 46).

The murder of Nādir Shāh was followed by disorders. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār, having established himself in Astarābād, where a branch of the Ḳādjār tribe, as stated above, was settled by Shāh ʿAbbās, extended his power over Māzandarān. A Bakhtiyārī chief, ʿAlī Mardān Khān, took possession of Iṣfahān and was joined by Karīm Khān Zand. The two subsequently fell out. ʿAlī Mardān Khān was murdered, and Karīm Khān, after an initial defeat by Āzād Khān, the Afghān ruler of Ādharbāydjān, regrouped his forces, defeated Āzād Khān near Khisht and took Shīrāz. A struggle then ensued between Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār and Karīm Khān, in which the latter proved victorious. Karīm Khān's court, like that of many other tribal rulers, was the resort of men of learning and culture (cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 86). His rule was on the whole peaceful. In Ādharbāydjān there appears to have been an attempt to settle the tribes. A *farmān* dated 1177/1764 instructs the *beglarbegī* of Tabrīz to treat the Shaḳāḳī and other tribes in the province well, to settle them in their original dwelling places, and cause them to engage in agriculture and government service (see *Landlord and peasant*, 133).

The death of Karīm Khān was followed by anarchy and internecine strife among the Zands, in which they appear to have been decimated. Finally Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār, who had escaped from Shīrāz where he had been held in captivity by Karīm Khān, united the Ḳādjār tribe and made himself master of most of Persia, reducing the various tribal leaders who had established themselves in different parts of the country. Although Āḳā Muḥammad Khān transferred the seat of his government to Tehran, Māzandarān and Gurgān remained the centre of the Ḳādjār tribe, with whom the ruling dynasty maintained its links. Abbott writing in 1844 put the Ḳādjārs in Astarābād at only 4-500 families. They were exempt from taxation (London, P.R.O., F.O. 60:108. Account of Abbott's journey along the shores of the Caspian, incl. in Abbott to Aberdeen, No. 8, Encampt. near Tehran, 29 June 1844). Sir Justin Sheil, writing rather later, puts the Ḳādjārs in Māzandarān at 2,000 houses (Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 396). The ruling dynasty never entirely lost its nomadic background. William Ousely records that Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, like most other members of the Ḳādjār family, preferred "an erratick to a settled life; a village to a city, and a tent to a palace" (*Travels*, London 1819, iii, 151). Lady Sheil also remarks on the nomadic habits "so prevalent throughout the nation" (*op. cit.*, 214). Even Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was, according to his French physician, Dr. Feuvrier, still a nomad at heart (*Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris 1906, 189). Many of the provincial governors came from the ruling family, which, however, became increasingly separated from the main body of the tribe.

Tribal contingents, as in the case of earlier dynasties, together with a standing army and the forces of the provincial governors, also containing tribal levies, composed the military forces of the Ḳādjārs (see *Landlord and peasant*, 137 ff.). Morier states that Fatḥ ʿAlī's standing army consisted of 12,000 men, drawn indiscriminately from the tribes or the population of the cities but principally from the Ḳādjār tribe of Māzandarān. The soldiers had their families and homes in Tehran and the neighbouring villages and were ready at call (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 243-3). A register of the tribal levies was kept. Each tribe formed its own division in the army. These would attend at the Nawrūz at the royal camp. If their services were not required that year they would be dismissed. Whether retained at the royal camp or dismissed they received a stated pay. Jaubert describes the mixed population to be found at the royal camp (*Voyage en Arménie et en Perse, fait dans les annéés 1805 et 1806*, Paris 1821, 258-9). ʿAbbās Mīrzā was able to raise from the different tribes in Ādharbāydjān 50,000 horse and foot, and the governor of Khurāsān from the tribes in that province 20,000. The Arabs and Faylīs were exempt from the provision of military contingents (Morier, *op. cit.*, 240-1).

Morier speaks highly of the military potential of the tribesmen. "As raw materials for soldiers," he wrote, "nothing could be better than the Eelauts. Accustomed from their infancy to a camp life, habituated to all sorts of hardships and to the vicissitudes of weather, they are soldiers by nature. They have undertaken incredible marches without scarcely any food and without a murmur" (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, 1810-16*, London 1818, 215). Sheil also speaks highly of the Persian soldiers, though he did not agree that the *īlāt*s were necessarily the best (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 382). With the modernization of the army and the increasing dependence on artillery as the century proceeded, the importance of the tribal forces decreased, though it was not till after the first world war that they finally disappeared as a part of the military forces of the state.

In general the Ḳād̲j̲ārs were forced to administer the tribal areas through their own chiefs. The writ of the government seldom ran in the remoter districts. An *īlk̲h̲ānī* and *īlbegī* were appointed over the larger tribes. The nomination of these was confined to the leading tribal families. The shah might alter the succession by placing an uncle in the place of a nephew or younger brother in the condition of an elder, but normally he had no choice but to appoint as the leader of the tribe a man belonging to the family of the chief. The *īlk̲h̲ānī*s and *īlbegī*s collected the government taxes and were generally responsible for tribal affairs and administered customary law (see also *Landlord and peasant*, 158 ff.) The *īlk̲h̲ānī* of the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe (who was not the reigning shah) presided over the tribal council of elders and enjoyed considerable influence (cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 327). The *īlk̲h̲ānī*, ʿAḍud al-Mulk, became regent in 1909 after the deposition of Muḥammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh.

Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, like many preceding rulers, resettled various tribes. The ʿAbd al-Malikī, or a section of them, were transplanted from Fārs to Kalāristāk and Kud̲j̲ūr, as also were the Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī-vands. In 1844 the former numbered some 3,000 families and the latter 4-5,000. Both were settled, but the former had summer and winter quarters. They contributed 1,500 horse to the government when so required (Account of Abbott's journey, *op. cit.*). He also transferred the ʿAmala from Luristān-i Kūčik to Fārs. After his death many of them returned to their original encampments (C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, 118-19). Later rulers also transported various tribes (see *Landlord and peasant*, 158 ff.).

Realizing that the existence of large bodies of tribes, separated from the settled population, under leaders whose commands, whether to commit aggression against their neighbours, highway robbery, or resistance to the law, was unfavourable to internal tranquillity, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh devoted much of his energy to overthrowing the tribes. Many of the chiefs were put to death, others brought to court. Some tribes were broken up and others transplanted. The result was that by the middle of the century few of the tribal chiefs, except the *īlk̲h̲ānī*s of the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī in Fārs and the Zaʿfarānlū in K̲h̲urāsān were able to exercise a preponderating influence on the affairs of the country (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 395). Macdonald Kinneir writing of the tribal chiefs states that they were "both from birth and influence, the first men in the empire; they are always mutually jealous and hostile; and the king by fomenting their quarrels, and thus nicely balancing the power of the one against the other, insures his own safety and the peace of his dominions. It is the custom to detain at court, either the chief himself or some part of his family, as hostages for the fidelity of the tribe" (*op. cit.*, 45).

The traditional policy of the government in the tribal regions from this time onwards consisted of *divide et impera*—in setting one tribe against another, fomenting family feuds and jealousies, and bribing the chiefs with gifts or promises of support in their struggles, one with another for the headship of the clan or tribe (cf. Layard, *Early adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*, London 1887, i, 453-4; 'Report of a journey from Tehran to the Karun and Mohamerah ... by Maj. Gen. T. E. Gordon', 9 January 1891, Conf. 9233, printed for the use of the Cabinet, 30 May 1892; Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i, 328, ii, 56; and Curzon, *Persia*, London 1891, ii, 272). The old practice of taking hostages from the tribes was continued (cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 332). This policy, although it enabled the government, in spite of its weakness, to maintain its power, shook the confidence of the tribes in the trustworthiness of the government, and contributed to the anarchy which frequently prevailed in the tribal districts. The government would invite tribal chiefs to parleys under flags of truce and after sending them as safe-conducts Ḳurʾāns on which they had sworn to keep faith with them, would arrest them as soon as they had got them in their power or had them "accidentally shot" as they were leaving at the close of the interview. The tribal leaders often had their own agents at court to keep them informed of matters which might be of interest to them and especially to give them forewarning of steps which might be contemplated against them. Another way in which the government attempted to control the tribal leaders was through marriage alliances.

During the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, and more particularly Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, the power of the tribes was further reduced and the authority of the central government asserted. In 1896 there was a proposal for the establishment of a special ministry or high council to have charge of tribal affairs, but little came of this.

Taxes were assessed on flocks and sometimes a poll tax or family tax was also paid. Many of the tribal leaders owned land in the districts occupied by the tribe or outside it, and so far as they or their followers held land they were subject to land taxes. The system of land tenure in the tribal areas was often complicated. *Pīs̲h̲kas̲h̲* and special levies were also paid by the tribal leaders to the ruler or local governor at the new year. These were collected by the tribal leaders from their followers and often constituted a heavy imposition (see *Landlord and peasant*, 142-3, 158). Jaubert alleges that Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh insisted that at least one fifth of the taxes due from the tribal leaders should be paid in cash (*op. cit.*, 270). Some of the tribal leaders, especially in the frontier districts, held land free in return for the provision of military contingents. This was the case in Bud̲j̲nurd, Dara Gaz, and As̲h̲raf in the second half of the 19th century (see *Landlord and peasant*, 163-4). There were also cases of tribes being exempted from taxation for some particular reason. The Ḳarā Papak̲h̲s, who were settled in Sulduz by ʿAbbās Mīrzā after the Treaty of Turkomānčāy, were not required to provide soldiers or pay taxes (E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 78-9). Disputes between the government and the tribal leaders over arrears of taxation were frequent. If the government felt strong enough, it would collect these by a military expedition, if not bills (*barāt*s) would be drawn on the defaulters and sold at a large discount. The *barātdār*s were often to be found quartered on the recalcitrant taxpayers and might remain months or years until the sum, or a part of it, was paid (cf. Layard, *op. cit.*, i, 499 ff.).

The numbers and condition of the tribes fluctuated. On the whole their life was one of hardship and uncertainty. Some among the Kurdish and Turkomān tribes were wealthy, but the smaller tribes were often extremely poor (cf. Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 107-8). Jaubert states that the nomads were attached to their nomadic life because of the independence which it gave them and which was for them the supreme happiness (*op. cit.*, 252). Malcolm, writing of the Kurds, states that they preferred the freedom they enjoyed in their rugged mountains and felt a pride

in the privations and hardships to which they were exposed, when they regarded them as associated with their independence (*op. cit.*, ii, 333). There is no doubt some truth in these statements, and on the whole the nomads, until recent times, have resisted settlement, fearing a loss of independence.

Baron de Bode, who travelled in south Persia in 1841, describing the character of the migrating tribes, states that he found this marked by much frankness, mixed with a great deal of cunning. He accounted for this apparent paradox partly by the simple and patriarchal life which the chiefs led and partly by the necessity they were under of being constantly on their guard, in order to defeat the machinations of their adversaries or from their own inclination to encroach upon their neighbours' property (*op. cit.*, i, 253). In general, the tribes were distinguished from the settled population by the greater freedom enjoyed by their women. Occasionally during the minority of a chief the tribe might be governed by his mother (cf. de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 134 ff.).

Large areas of the Ḳād̲j̲ār kingdom were tribal districts. In some the tribes migrated long distances, as the Bak̲h̲tiyārī and the Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī; in others the migrations were more limited, and in some the movement was no more than into tents on the village outskirts. There was no clear demarcation between tribal and non-tribal land, any more than there had been in earlier times. The tribes on their migrations passed through the land of the settled population or along its borders. They were often contumacious and lawless and sometimes did extreme damage to crops and gardens (cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 157-8).

Macdonald Kinneir thought that the numbers of the *īlāt*s, or wandering tribes, probably exceeded the town population (*op. cit.*, 44). Sheil, who had a long experience of Persia in the reigns of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, put the semi-nomadic and settled tribes together at possibly half the total population (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 393). In 1891 Mrs. Bishop recorded that the *īlāt*s "are supposed to constitute a fifth of the rural population" (*op. cit.*, 84). The decrease in the figures given by Mrs. Bishop is perhaps partly to be explained by the fact that tribesmen living in villages all or part of the year were presumably excluded from the figures given to Mrs. Bishop. Sir A. Houtum-Schindler put the tribal population at 2,200,000 out of a total population of 9,000,000 in 1900. These figures were broken down as follows: 850,000 Turks, 800,000 Kurds and Laks, 300,000 Arabs, 230,000 Lurs, and 20,000 Balūč and gypsies. (Report on Persian Army by Lt. Col. H. P. Picot, Jan. 1900; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 493, who quotes figures drawn up by Houtum-Schindler in 1884, which differ slightly from the above). He notes that by this time very few of the Ustād̲j̲lū and D̲h̲u'l-Ḳadr remained. They resided in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. The Tekkelū had ceased to exist (*Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 48-50).

One of the most important tribal areas in the 19th century was the Bak̲h̲tiyārī, with whom the government had repeated conflicts, and who in the 20th century played a major role in the restoration of constitutional government in 1909 (see A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian political societies*, in *St. Antony's Papers No. 16, Middle East Affairs No. 3*, London 1963). They were divided into two main groups, the Haft Lang and the Čahār Lang, the former having summer pastures in Čahār Maḥāll and the latter in Firaydan; both had winter pastures in K̲h̲ūzistān. Morier put their numbers in 1809 at 100,000 families (*Journey*, 242). Malcolm states that they continued to be ruled by their own customs and admitted hardly any interference by the officers of the government in their internal jurisdiction. They furnished troops and paid a small tribute. They were encouraged to settle in the plains with a view to rendering them more tangible to the laws of the country and, by giving them an interest in the general peace of the country, it was hoped to prevent the predatory attacks they were in the habit of making on their neighbours (*op. cit.*, ii, 331). De Bode states that many of the Haft Lang had been settled (*op. cit.*, ii, 86). Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh kept hostages from the Bak̲h̲tiyārī at Tehran, where a separate quarter was allotted to them (de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 75). Later rulers continued the practice of taking hostages. This did not, however, prevent rebellion by the tribe or secure the safety of the roads. Morier, when passing through Iṣfahān in 1811, mentions that the town was in a continual state of alarm lest Asad K̲h̲ān of the Haft Lang should seize the city (*Second journey*, 156).

Rawlinson put the Bak̲h̲tiyārī (the Čahār Lang and Haft Lang together with the Dinārūnīs) at 28,000 families about the year 1836. Their assessment was fixed at 100 *ḳāṭir*s, which term he states was used to denote a sum of money, which was increased or diminished according to the prosperity or otherwise of the tribes and the power of the government to exercise authority over them. Under the Atabegs a *ḳāṭir* had apparently been the equivalent of 1,000 *tūmān*s, but when Rawlinson was writing it was 100 *tūmān*s; but the government was unable to realize this amount. Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān of the D̲j̲ānikī tribe of the Čahār Lang was *īlk̲h̲ānī* at that time. Rawlinson states that he could put 10-12,000 well-armed men in the field. He speaks highly of Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān's justice and states that he had attempted to break the tribes of their nomadic habits and to some extent succeeded. He had bought land in Firaydan and founded villages and also settled tribesmen in the Rām Hurmuz plain, which he farmed from the government for 3,000 *tūmān*s a year. The Bak̲h̲tiyārī supplied K̲h̲ūzistān with tobacco and exported a small quantity of grain and supplied the Iṣfahān market with mutton. Each tribe of the Bak̲h̲tiyārī had its acknowledged hereditary chief or *k̲h̲ān* who ruled his subjects with despotic sway (*Notes on a march from Zohab, at the foot of the Zagros, along the mountain roads to Khuzistan (Susiana) and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmanshah, in the year 1836*, in *JRGS*, 1839, ix, 26-116). Layard also speaks highly of Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān and of his wish to open up the Bak̲h̲tiyārī to commerce. In 1841 the governor of Iṣfahān, Muʿtamid al-Dawla, marched from Iṣfahān to Mālamīr to demand payment of arrears of taxation from Muḥammad Taḳī K̲h̲ān, who was declared a rebel. Wishing to avoid conflict, he temporized, but was unable to reach a settlement. He then took refuge with the Čaʿb at Fallāḥiyya, but was persuaded to come to Muʿtamid al-Dawla in S̲h̲ūs̲h̲tar. The latter seized him and took him a prisoner to Iṣfahān, where he died in captivity in 1851 (see Layard, *op. cit.*, i, 373 ff.).

De Bode states that the Čahār Lang were taxed at 15,000 *tūmān*s but that the tax was not regularly collected since they could only be compelled to pay it by force (*op. cit.*, ii, 82). Some 195 villages settled by Haft Lang paid 7,873 *tūmān*s in cash and 530 *k̲h̲arvār*s of grain, while those of the tribe who still

migrated and were more numerous only paid 3,000 *tūmāns*. Some of the Haft Lang chiefs farmed whole districts (*op. cit.*, ii, 86). Mrs Bishop states that the Čahār Maḥāll was farmed by the *īlkhānī* for about 20,000 *tūmāns* (£ 6,000) p.a. (*op. cit.*, i, 309). She put the numbers of the Bakhtiyārī at 29,100 families, and states that they had increased in the last half-century. Taxation was paid to the governor of Iṣfahān except for three tribes which were under Burūdjird (*op. cit.*, i, 295-6). She contrasts the poverty which she saw among the Bakhtiyārī with the wealth of the tribes when they were visited by Layard and de Bode (*op. cit.*, ii, 54). She also describes the insecurity prevailing in the Bakhtiyārī and the shadowy nature of the authority of the *īlkhānī* in the remoter areas (*op. cit.*, ii, 92-3). She states that the Bakhtiyārī exported mules and horses (*op. cit.*, ii, 117). By the time Curzon wrote, this was no longer the case (*op. cit.*, ii, 299). Curzon states that in addition to the office of *īlkhānī* and *īlbegī*, both of which were salaried by and in the gift of the shah, a third office, that of governor (*ḥākim*) of Čahār Maḥāll, was also closely bound up with tribal politics, since the tribal chiefs held landed property in Čahār Maḥāll (*op. cit.*, ii, 295).

Luristān-i Kūčik was divided into Pīshkūh and Pusht-i Kūh. The principal tribes of the former were the Silāsilī and Dilfūn, numbering according to de Bode about 30,000 families, the ʿAmala (2-3,000 families or more), and the Bālā Girīwa (4,000 families) (*op. cit.*, ii, 286 ff.). The Pusht-i Kūh tribes, the Faylīs, were less numerous. Rawlinson gives a detailed list of the tribes of Pīshkūh and Pusht-i Kūh, putting the former at 38,000 and the latter at 12,000 (*op. cit.*). The Lurs supplied mutton and milk products and charcoal to the bazaars of Burūdjird, Nihāwand, Hamadān, and Kirmānshāh. They also made carpets and a coarse tenting made of goats' hair, which was used for saddle-bags by muleteers (de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 292). The tribal organization of the Lur-i Kūčik differed from that of the Bakhtiyārī (the Lur-i Buzurg). Each sub-division had its own leader or *tūshmāl*, and they met as equals on occasion to discuss their common interests. The assessment of the tribes of Pīshkūh was fixed at 120 *ḳātirs* (see above for the meaning of this term). This sum would be distributed among the tribes and their subdivisions at a general council, each subdivision determining the amount to be paid by the different camps and the *rīsh safīd* of each camp collecting it from the families under his rule. In the time of the *wazīr* Mīrzā Buzurg the value of the *ḳātir* was raised to 200 old *tūmāns* or 40,000 (currency) *tūmāns* but the amount realized fell short of this sum (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 274 ff., and ʿAlī Muḥammad Sākī, *Djughrāfiyā wa Taʾrīkh-i Luristān*, Tehrān 1964).

In Fārs the two main tribal groups in the 19th century were the Khamsa and the Turkī-speaking Ḳashḳāʾī. The former was composed, as their name suggests, of five tribes, three Turkish (the Aynalū, Bahārlū, and Nafar), one Persian (the Bāsirī), and one Arab (the Īl-i ʿArab) (see Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 ff. and *Landlord and peasant*, 159). They were originally placed under the control of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Ḳawām al-Mulk, the grandson of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, in 1278/1861-2 to form a counter-weight to the Ḳashḳāʾī, Ḳawām al-Mulk undertaking to pay the revenue of Dārāb and the *īlāt-i khamsa* on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract for a period of ten years (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 51). The rivalry between the Ḳashḳāʾī and the family of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm went back some years beyond this. De Bode, who was in Shīrāz in 1841, states that he found the town divided into rival camps, the *īlbegī* at the head of one and the *kalāntar*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā ʿAlī Akbar, the son of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, at the head of the other (*op. cit.*, i, 180-1). (For a detailed description of the Bāsirī tribe of the Khamsa confederacy in 1958 see F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia*, Oslo 1961).

The Ḳashḳāʾī increased in importance in the 19th century. The different sections of the tribe (*tīra*) were each under a *kalāntar*, and were further subdivided into groups each under a *kadkhudā*. The government of the tribe as a whole was in the hands of an *īlkhānī* and his deputy, the *īlbegī*, both of whom were appointed by the government but were chosen from among the tribal leaders (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 313). Sheil put their numbers at 30-40,000 tents. The principal branch were the ʿAmala, consisting of 3,300 tents presided over by the *īlkhānī*. The summer quarters of the tribe were near Iṣfahān at Gandumān and their winter quarters near the coast. Several groups dwelt among the Bakhtiyārī near the Djānikī mountains and Mt. Dīnā. They were rich in flocks and herds and did great harm in their movements (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 398-9). Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā, when governor of Fārs, arrested the *īlkhānī*, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, in 1249/1833-4 but was nevertheless forced to reappoint him over the tribe when he released him shortly afterwards (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 285). Later he was held in Tehran as a hostage for the good behaviour of the tribe for some ten years until he was released in 1848 (F.O. 60:137. Farrant to Palmerston, No. 103, Tehran, 24 November 1848). Curzon states that the *īlkhānī* was governor of Fīrūzābād and Farrāshband, but that the *īlkhānī* of the day, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, had been deprived of his tribal power by the government, and the headship of the tribe was vested in the *īlbegī*, Dārāb Khān, who paid to the provincial governor a poll-tax on the flocks and herds, which he collected from his followers. The numbers of the Ḳashḳāʾī were reduced by the famine of 1871-2 and were decreased by settlement. Curzon thought that the tribe did not number more than 10-12,000 tents (*op. cit.*, ii, 112-14). (For a detailed description of the customs of the Ḳashḳāʾī in modern times see Muḥammad Bahman Begī, *ʿUrf wa ʿādat-i ʿashāʾir-i Fārs*, Tehran 1945).

In addition to the Ḳashḳāʾī and the Turkish tribes of the Khamsa, there were a number of other Turkish tribes in Fārs, such as the Khaladj in Ḳunḳārī, whose leader Mīrzā Ḳāsim Khān married the daughter of Djānī Khān, the *īlkhānī* of the Ḳashḳāʾī in the early part of the 19th century (Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, ii, 244). There were also small groups of Khaladj in Kirmān and Ādharbāydjān (Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, 50).

The Mamassanī, living on the borders of Fārs and Khūzistān, consisted of four main divisions, the Rustamī, Baḳish, Djoī, and Dushmanziyārī. The first two were the strongest and jealousy existed between them. The chief of the Dushmanziyārī, Muḥammad Riḍā Khān, was executed in 1840 on the orders of Firaydūn Mīrzā, governor of Fārs, and the tribe was greatly weakened. The total number of the Mamassanī about that time was said to exceed 4,000 families. The tax levied on them by the governor of Fārs amounted to 7,000 *tūmāns* (c. £ 2,800). They committed much robbery during the latter years of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, when Fārs was administered by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā. Walī Khān, the Baḳish chief, was the main ringleader. He and his son Bāḳir

Khān were eventually captured and imprisoned in Tabrīz and the power of the Mamassanī was somewhat reduced (de Bode, *op. cit.*, i, 270 ff.) De Bode puts the Bāvī, who occupied Bāsht, at upwards of 4,000 families. Their chief, Sharīf Khān, was blinded by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā. Originally the Bāvī came to Bāsht from the Čaʿb country. They were then moved by Nādir Shāh to Khurāsān but returned to Fārs after his death. The Buwayr Aḥmadī numbered 3,000 families and occupied Ārū and the country to the north of Dū Gunbadān. The Nūī consisted of about 2,000 families and lived north-east of Bihbahān. The Ṭayyibī numbered some 3,000 families and the Bahmaʾī, inhabiting the mountains north-west of Bihbahān, "the wildest and most unruly tribe among the mountaineers of Fārs", were, de Bode thought, somewhat underrated at 2,000 families. At the time he was writing they had gone over to the Bakhtiyārī leader, Muḥammad Taḳī Khān. They were much split by blood feuds. There were also a number of small tribes, Arab and Turkish, occupying the plain of Bihbahān, some settled in villages and others living in tents (de Bode, *op. cit.*, i, 275 ff.). The figures given for the tribes by Sheil were on the whole smaller than those given by de Bode. The power of the Mamassanī had by the middle of the century been considerably reduced. Sheil puts their numbers at 8,000 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 399; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 318). According to Sheil's estimates of the tribes of Bihbahān and the Kūhgīlūya the largest was the Bahma'ī (2,500 tents) followed by the Buwayr Aḥmadī (2,000 tents), Bāvī (1,200 tents), Čirāmī (1,000 tents), Ṭayyibī (1,000 tents), and numerous smaller tribes. Many of them were poor, though the Ṭayyibī were said to be rich (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 399). Farhād Mīrzā reduced the Kūhgīlūya in 1882 (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 318). (See also Maḥmūd Bāwar, *Kūhgīlūya wa īlāt-i ān*, Tehran (?) 1945, and Manūčihr Zarrābī, *Ṭawāʾif-i Kūhgīlūya* in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, ix, fas. 1-4, 278-352. See also F.O. 371:1728 for a genealogical tree of the *khān*s of the Buwayr Aḥmadī tribe and their numbers in 1913).

The Čaʿb in ʿArabistān increased in importance in the 19th century until the death of Shaykh Thāmir, after which they declined. Between 1740 and 1750 they apparently dispossessed the Afshārs who had held Djarrāḥī and the neighbourhood. Prior to that they had made certain annual payments to the Afshār chief for pasturage. During the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān they had paid *pīshkash* irregularly to the governor of Fārs. Macdonald Kinneir wrote that the *shaykh* of Čaʿb could field 5,000 horse and 20,000 foot, formed by the contingents provided by the *shaykh*s subordinate to him (*op. cit.*, 91). In 1818 Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā marched on Fallāḥiyya to demand arrears of taxation from Shaykh Thāmir. Under Muḥammad Shāh hostages were taken from the Čaʿb and the revenue assessment was raised from about 4,000 *tūmān*s to 20,000 (F.O. 60:103. Memo. by Rawlinson on Cha'ab, incl. in Sheil to Aberdeen, No. 15, Tehran, 3 February, 1844. See also de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 110 ff., and F.O. 60:222. Report on the Cha'b for Outram compiled by George Percy Badger, Arabic interpreter, Camp before Bushire, 21 February 1857). Pelly in 1863 put the principal Čaʿb tribes at 68,000 fighting men, adding the rider that the figure was probably overstated (*Report on the Tribes etc., and the shores of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1874). Curzon put the Čaʿb at 62,000 (*op. cit.*, ii, 321 ff.).

With the decline of the Čaʿb, the Muḥasayn of Muḥammara increased in influence (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 325 ff.). Among other Arab tribes in the south were the Muntafiḳ at Hawīza, who came to the district from the Turkish empire in 1812 (Curzon, *op. cit.*, ii, 325 ff.), the Banī Ṭuruf in Dasht-i Mīshān, and the Banī Lām, who lived mainly in Turkish territory. (See also Manūčihr Ẓarrābī, *Ṭawāʾif-i Miyān Āb*, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, x, fas. 1-4, 394-407).

In Eastern Persia the tribes were many and varied. In Kirmān there were the Afshār and ʿAṭā Ilāhīs, put in the middle of the century at 15,000 and 3,000 tents and houses respectively (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 398). The most important group in the south-east was the Balūč mainly in Balūčistan and Sīstān (see J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan*, tr. by Capt. W. Jesse, London 1856) but with small concentrations in Ḳāʾināt and Khurāsān also. In the early period of Ḳādjār rule, the Balūč of Sīstān and Balūčistān were not under the control of the central government. They did not pay a regular tribute, but occiasonally brought a trifling *pīshkash* to the governor of Kirmān (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Nadjaf Ḳulī, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, trans., London 1833, 447). Morier, writing in 1808, states that the Balūč, although once subject to Persia, had resumed their independence (*Journey*, 49-50). During the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh some progress was made in bringing the Balūč under the control of the central government (see Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmān Farmā, *Safar-nāma-i Kirmān wa Balūčistān*, ed. Manṣūra Niẓām Māfī, Tehran 1963). Ferrier, who travelled in Persia in 1845, states that there were some 8,000 Balūč tents with very large flocks in Turshīz (*op. cit.*, 137). Sheil puts their number rather lower at 2,000 tents and horses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). There were also Balūč at Ḳāʾin (Ferrier, *op. cit.*, 441) and some 2,000 tents and houses at Turbat-i Ḥaydarī (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). The most important group in Turbat-i Ḥaydarī were the Ḳarāʾī, numbering 5,000 tents and houses. There were also various miscellaneous groups amounting to some 3,000 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). In the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the Ḳarāʾī leader, Isḥāḳ Khān, achieved a position of great influence. He was eventually seized with his son and killed by Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, governor of Khurāsān (Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 175 ff.). Colonel Yate, who travelled in Khurāsān in 1893, put the Ḳarāʾī at 3,000 families. They provided one regiment of infantry (*Khurāsān and Sīstān*, London 1900, 53). In Turshīz there were 4,000 Arab tents and houses, 7,000 in Tūn and Ṭabas, and 12,000 in Ḳāʾin (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400).

In Eastern Khurāsān, the Hazāras, Taymūrīs, Maymanīs, Fīrūzkūhīs, Djamshīdīs, and Zangīs, all Turkish tribes, were in the early Ḳādjār period barely under government control, and on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh they committed disturbances. Ferrier mentions that when he visited Khurāsān 2,000 families of Hazāras had recently emigrated from Harāt to Shahr-i Naw near Maḥmūdābād. They bred considerable numbers of horses, in which they paid their tribute to the government. They were also obliged to provide, when called upon to do so, a contingent of 1,000 cavalry (*op. cit.*, 137). By 1893, the number of Hazāras in Persia had apparently fallen. Yate estimates them at only 1,200 families (*op. cit.*, 132). Sheil puts the Taymūrīs living in Khwāf at 4,000 tents and houses; a second group of 2,000 lived near Mashhad. There were a

number of miscellaneous Turkish and Persian tribes, amounting to some 11,000 tents and houses, round Mas͟hhad. In Nays͟hāpūr there were 10,000 Bayāt and Kurs͟hāhī, who were settled. There were also Bayāt in Burūd͟jird, K͟hurramābād, and Fārs, apart from those who had joined the Ḳād͟jār tribe, forming the sub-division known as the S͟hāmbayātlū (Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, 48-50). The Kurdish tribes in K͟hurāsān consisted of 14,000 houses and tents of Zaʿfarānlū at Ḳūčān, 2,000 Kayvānlū at Rādkān, and 3,000 S͟hādillū at Bud͟jnurd, and various other groups at Sabzawār, D͟jūwayn, and elsewhere (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 400). The Zaʿfarānlū had originally been settled in Akhal by S͟hāh ʿAbbās to repel the Özbeks, but they were driven out in the reign of S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, and retired to Ḳūčān, S͟hīrwān, and Bud͟jnurd (Yate, *op. cit.*, 180 ff.; see also Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 97 ff., and 191-2).

The Central Asian frontier of Persia and control of the tribes living in the Turkomān steppe proved a difficult problem for the Ḳād͟jārs, as it had for earlier dynasties. They were unable to prevent widespread raiding by the Özbeks and Turkomāns, who plundered and, in the early part of the century, carried off many Persian subjects into slavery. The two most important Turkomān tribes on the Persian side of the frontier were the Guklān and the Yamūt, both Sunnī. The former were not nomadic. The latter, who were found on both sides of the ill-defined frontier, were divided into two sections, *čumūr*s, who were cultivators, and *čarwā*s, who were nomads. The relations between the Yamūt and the Atak villagers were hostile and raiding by the former was frequent. There was, however, often provocation by the latter and much oppression of them by government officials. The Guklān, who occupied the area to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, lived in constant dread of the Yamūt and were also on bad terms with the Kurds of Bud͟jnurd and the Ḥād͟jd͟jīlar tribe of Kabūdd͟jāma. Raids and counter raids were of common occurrence (cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, 245-7, for an account of a raid). Each section of the Guklān and Yamūt consisted of several *awba*s, each of which had its leader (*āḳ saḳal*), who held a hereditary *yurt*. There was no leader of the whole tribe. When necessary, the elders of the *awba*s and the *s͟hayk͟h*s would assemble to decide on some course of action. Inter-tribal feuds were common. Tribute was paid to the government through agents (*sarkarda*s) appointed by the government, who were also responsible for the quota of horsemen the tribes were supposed to furnish when called upon to do so (see *Landlord and peasant*, 160-2).

Morier, travelling between 1810 and 1816, put the Yamūt and Guklān together at about 8-10,000 families. He states that their submission to the government was nominal, amounting to little more than the present of a few horses annually to the Shah, "who is so careful not to give them cause of disgust that he generally returns them more than he receives". Their frontier was about eight *farsak͟h*s from Astarābād. Beyond them were the Tekke, who were generally at variance with the Yamūt and the Guklān (*Second journey*, 377-8). J. B. Fraser describes a visit to a group of Guklān in the year 1883 (*A winter's journey*, ii, 331 ff.). He states that the Yamūt at this time were in a state of rebellion (*ibid.*, 382). Abbott put the Yamūt at 59,500 tents or families on the basis of figures collected by a Persian official in 1838 (F.O. 60:92. Abbott to Aberdeen, Tabriz, 10 May 1842). These figures were probably exaggerated. Taylour Thomson, who visited the area in 1846, put the Guklān at some 5-6,000 families and the Yamūt at 20,000 (F.O. 60:122. Taylour Thomson to Sheil, Tehran, 15 April 1846, incl. in Sheil to Aberdeen, No. 50, Tehran, 4 May 1846). Abbott writing again in 1844 states that the Guklān occupying the area between Gunbad-i Kābūs and the Atrek and Bud͟jnurd numbered 3-4,000 families. They were formerly more numerous—about 12,000 families, but half of them had removed to K͟hiva some years previously when Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh had threatened to punish them for plundering. Cholera had also wrought great ravages among them; and the troops of Muḥammad S͟hāh, when marching against the Yamūt in 1836, had committed great excesses against them. The Yamūt at this time lived mainly outside Persia. Their numbers were large and they moved from Persia to K͟hiva according to caprice. The *čarwā*s made a seasonal migration to the Balk͟hān mts. They paid no obedience or taxes to the governor of Astarābād but the *čumūr*s were less fortunate. When the *čarwā*s migrated and the *cumūr*s were left without their protection, the governor of Astarābād would levy a small poll-tax and *pis͟hkas͟h* from them. The Persian government, unable to coerce the Turkomāns, as far as possible conciliated them (Account of Abbott's Journey, *op. cit.*). In the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, the Guklān were compelled to furnish forty or fifty families as hostages, but this did not prevent their carrying on foraging excursions into Persia (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 207 ff.). Yate in 1893 states that some of the Guklān were wealthy. The Persian government numbered the Guklān settled in the Gurgān district at 900-1,000 families; but others put them at 1,700-2,000. They lived in constant dread of the Yamūt (*op. cit.*, 217 ff.). The Yamūts were variously estimated at 7,000 to 15,000 tents. Yate thought the lower estimate the most nearly correct. Of them, 4,600 were said to be *čumūr*s and 2,400 *čarwā*s (*op. cit.*, 279-80). (See also Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 189 ff.; and various reports from Karelin, the chief of the expedition sent to the Eastern shores of the Caspian in 1836, to the Russian Minister of Finance, translations of which are in F.O. 65:226, incl. in Durham to Palmerston, St. Petersburgh, 19 December 1836; F.O. 65:233. incl. in Durham to Palmerston, No. 28, marked secret and confidential, St. Petersburgh, 13 February 1837, and F.O. 65:234. Incl. in Durham to Palmerston, no. 63, St. Petersburgh, 8 April 1837).

In the Tehran region there were a miscellaneous collection of tribes, of whom the S͟hāhsivan were the most numerous—9,000 tents—in the middle of the nineteenth century. They were dispersed according to the season between Ḳumm, Tehran, Ḳazwīn, and Zand͟jān. The remainder consisted of various small groups, most of whom were extremely poor (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 397). There were also K͟halad͟j near Ḳumm and Sāva (de Bode, *op. cit.*, ii, 318). Houtum-Schindler mentions some 1,000 Pāzūkī families in Varāmīn and K͟hwār towards the end of the century. Some spoke Kurdish and some Turkish. He also mentions various other minor tribes in Eastern Persian ʿIrāḳ (*op. cit.* 50).

The K͟hamsa district of Zand͟jān was inhabited by a number of Turkish tribes. They lived in summer in tents, but did not move far. In winter they lived in houses, because of the severe cold. The two largest tribes were the Garrūs, numbering 4-5,000 houses, and the S͟hāhsivan-i Afs͟hār, numbering 2,500 tents (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 397). By the beginning of the 20th century they had apparently all become settled,

except for a few Shāhsivan and one Ṭālish tribe, originally from Gīlān (E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 14).

The most important tribe in the Hamadān-Malāyir-Tūysirkān-Farahān region was the Turkish tribe, the Ḳarāguzlū. Macdonald Kinneir states that they could put 7,000 men in the field (*op. cit.*, 127). The district between Kangavār and Hamadān was in the hands of the Afshār, centred on Asadābād (*op. cit.*, 129). Sheil numbered the Ḳarāguzlū at 4,000 houses. By his time they were all settled. There were also various Lak tribes, reckoned at 1,500 tents and houses, in the Hamadān-Malāyir-Tūysirkān-Farahān area (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 398).

The Kurds, apart from the settlements in Khurāsān and elsewhere mentioned above, were to be found in Kirmānshāh, Ardalān, and western Ādharbāydjān. They lived on the frontiers of the Persian and Ottoman empires and in some cases migrated across these. This greatly aggravated the difficulty of controlling them. Sheil gives a list of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmānshāh, but states that the figures must be treated with reserve. According to this list the most numerous were the Kalkhūr, put at 11,500 tents and houses, the Zangana (including the Sandjābī) at 10,000 houses and tents, and the Gūrān at 3,300 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 401). Curzon, towards the end of the century, puts the Kurds of Kirmānshāh at some 24,300 tents and families, of which the Kalkhur and Gūrān accounted for 5,000 each, and the Sandjābī 1,500 (*op. cit.*, i, 557). Curzon's figures presumably include many Kurds who were settled in towns. The Kurds of Ardalān were mainly sedentary, and until towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh were virtually independent under the *wālī* of Ardalān. In the Kurdish districts of Ādharbāydjān also, even though the inhabitants professed allegiance to the shah, they were in fact independent of the interference of the central government because of the inaccessible nature of the country. Among them were the Hakkārī, living west of Urūmiyya near Salmās and on both sides of the Ottoman-Persian frontier (see Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 334-5). Gaspard Drouville, who was in Persia in 1812-13, states that they were under the protection of ʿAbbās Mīrzā and that they came annually with immense flocks to use the pastures in Persia. In time of war their *begs* provided ʿAbbās Mīrzā with horse and foot soldiers. As soon as they entered Persia, they were supplied and provided for by the shah. Drouville also states that the Kurds of Ādharbāydjān who provided ʿAbbās Mīrzā with military contingents were exempt from taxation (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1825, ii, 7). The Shaḳāḳī under Ṣādiḳ Khān, to whom Miyāna and the surrounding districts belonged, were said to be able to number 10,000 horse. On the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, Ṣādiḳ Khān made an abortive attempt to establish his independence. He rebelled again later and lost his life. The tribe was subsequently dispersed (Macdonald Kinneir, *op. cit.*, 152). According to Sheil, the Shaḳāḳī and Mukrī both consisted of 15,000 tents and houses. The latter lived round Sawdj Bulāgh (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). The figures given by Curzon are lower (*op. cit.*, i, 555). The Baban in Sulduz according to Sheil numbered 1500 houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, p. 401). (See also Shaykh Muḥammad Mardūkh, *Taʾrīkh-i Mardūkh*, n.d., 2 vols., and Muḥammad Mukrī, *ʿAshāʾir-i Kurd. Īl-i Sandjābī*, vol. i, pt. 1, Tehran 1954).

Of the Turkish tribes in Ādharbāydjān the Shāhsivan were the most numerous. Abbott, writing in 1844, states that they were usually estimated at 11-12,000 families, about 6-7,000 inhabiting Mishkīn and about 5,000 Ardabīl. Both wintered in Mughān. In the Arbabīl district they inhabited several villages, of which the population was partly made up of peasants and partly tribal. In these the government's demand on the tribe was 1,000 *tūmāns* p.a. The tented families, on the other hand, paid 5,500 *tūmāns*, of which the Mishkīn division paid 4,000 *tūmāns*. These sums were paid by the heads of the tribe, who collected them from their followers ('Account of Abbott's Journey', *op. cit.*). According to Sheil, the Shāhsivan numbered 10,000 tents (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). Houtum-Schindler states that the Inānlū were the most important branch of the Shāhsivan. The Shāmlū by this time existed partly as a branch of the Shāhsivan and partly as a separate tribe called the Bahārlū, numbering some 2,500 families, half residing in Fārs, where they formed part of the Khamsa, and half in Ādharbāydjān (*Eastern Persian Irak*, 48-50). By the 20th century many of the Shāhsivan had become settled. Aubin puts them at 19,700 families, divided into sixty groups or *udjāḳs*, each under a *kadkhudā* (*op. cit.*, 106-7). The Muḳaddam in the middle of the century numbered 5,000 houses and the Maḥmūdlū 2,500; both were in Marāgha. The Bahārlū and the Afshār, both in Urūmiyya, were reckoned at 2,000 and 7,000 houses respectively, the Dunbulī at 2,000 houses, the Ḳarā Papakh at 1,500 houses. There were a few minor tribes also (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). In the early 20th century they numbered 5,000 families (Aubin, *op. cit.*, 78-9). Houtum-Schindler puts the Afshārs in Ādharbāydjān at the end of the 19th century at 12,000 families (*Eastern Persian Irak*, 48-50).

The tribes of Ḳaradja Dāgh, Ḳarā Dāgh and Tālish proved, like most of the frontier tribes, difficult to control, migrating from one side to the other. In the early Ḳādjār period they played a restless part in the Perso-Russian wars, their allegiance vacillating. Sheil put the numbers of the Čilibiyānlū in Arasbārān at 1,500 tents and houses, the Ḳaračurlū at 2,500, the Ḥādjdjī ʿAlīlū at 800, the Begdillū at 200 and various minor groups at 550 tents and houses (Lady Sheil, *op. cit.*, 396). (See further Bāyburdī, *Taʾrīkh-i Arasbārān*, Tehran 1962, 121 ff. and Aubin, *op. cit.*, 255). The Ḳarāčurlū were among the first of the tribes in Arasbārān to become settled (Bāyburdī, *op. cit.*, 110 ff.).

By the beginning of the 20th century the position of the tribes had changed considerably. Many of the tribal leaders were familiar with urban life, either through government service or because of their detention in the capital by the government as hostages. A few had travelled abroad. Settlement both of the leaders and the tribesmen was growing, and, apart from the outlying areas, the tribes were becoming assimilated to the rest of the population (cf. Aubin, *op. cit.*, 177-8).

With the Constitutional revolution a new period began in Persia, which affected the position of the tribes as well as that of other sections of the population. Tribal forces were found on both sides in the struggle for the constitution. Under the electoral law of 9 September 1906, dividing electors and elected into six categories, the tribes, apart from the Ḳādjārs, were not reckoned as a special category, but were counted among the inhabitants of each province and as such had the right to vote subject to the conditions laid down (Art. 1, note 1). Under the electoral law of 1 July 1909, however, provision

was made for the Shāhsivan, Ḳashḳā'ī, Khamsa (of Fārs), Turkomāns, and Bakhtiyārī each to send one representative to the assembly (Art. 63). In the later electoral laws no special provision was made for tribal representation. In the early years of constitutional government and during the anarchy prevailing after the suspension of the constitution in 1911 the government was unable to control the tribal areas. Because of this, with the discovery of oil in south-west Persia, special agreements were made between the Anglo-Persian Oil Company on the one hand and the Shaykh of Muḥammara and the Bakhtiyārī respectively on the other. The latter supplied labour to the engineers and provided guards for the protection of the oil-fields. During the first World War there was much unrest, rebellion and disorder in the tribal areas (see further Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*, ii). After the war Riḍā Khān, later Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī, reimposed the authority of the central government throughout the country. The Kurds of Ādharbāydjān were subjugated and disarmed. In 1925 the Bakhtiyārīs and Ḳashḳā'īs were partially disarmed and the Turkomāns to some extent reduced. Subsequently, attempts were made to settle the tribes (see Hassan Arfa, *Under five Shahs*, London 1964, and *Landlord and peasant*, 181, 283 ff.). During and after the second World War there were also disturbances in the tribal areas, especially a separatist movement in the Kurdish districts of Ādharbāydjān and a serious tribal revolt in the south in 1946.

Bibliography: In the article. Further material on the tribes and their movements will be found in chronicles, dynastic and local histories. See also H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of Iran*. Anthropological Series Field Museum of Natural History, xxix/1-2, 15 December 1939; X. de Planhol, "Geography of Settlement", in *Cambridge History of Iran*, i, 409-67, and E. Sunderland, "Pastoralism and the social Anthropology of Iran", *ibid.*, 611-83.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

ILBĪRA, Sp. Elvira, town and the associated province, near or identical with Granada. The Iliberri/Ilbīra/Granada question has been much discussed and may be summarized as follows: The Roman town of Iliberri occupied part of the present site of Granada. The Arab governors of the region at first resided there, Arabicizing the name into Ilbīra, but about 130/747 founded, 12 km north-west of modern Granada, a new capital which was called Ḳasṭalla, Ḳasṭīla, or Ḳasṭīliya. This however soon became known by the name of its predecessor, Elvira. The original Elvira continued to be populated, largely by Jews and Christians, but in time came to be known as Granata/Gharnāṭa. In 401/1010, during the Berber insurrection, new Elvira was sacked by the Ṣanhādja troops of Zāwī b. Zīrī and the inhabitants emigrated to Granada. In 403/1012 Zāwī declared his independence and made Granada his capital. Henceforward Elvira declined though there was still a fortress there as late as 891/1486. The ruins are still visible and the name survives in the Sierra de Elvira and the Puerta de Elvira at Granada.

The name Ilbīra as that of the region of which the capital was Granada continued in use long after the decline of Elvira town. See further gharnāṭa.

Bibliography: *Passim* in most historians and geographers, but see in particular Yāḳūt, i, 348, iv, 97; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 343; Dozy, *Recherches*[3], i, 328-33.

(J. F. P. Hopkins)

AL-ILBĪRĪ [see abū isḥāḳ al-ilbīrī].

ILČI [see elči].

ILDEÑIZ, Shams al-Dīn (d. ? 571/1175-6), Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān and founder of the short-lived dynasty of the Ildeñizids (see next article).

By birth a Ḳïpčaḳ Turk, Ildeñiz began his career as a slave of the Saldjūḳ sultan Maḥmūd's vizier Kamāl al-Dīn al-Simīrūmī (assassinated 515 or 516/1121 or 1122); he then passed into the service of Sultan Mas'ūd (529/1134-547/1152), who appointed him governor of Arrān. In this remote province, where incursions from Georgia made essential the maintenance of a strong army, Ildeñiz became one of the most powerful *amīrs* of the Saldjūḳs, and by about 540/1146 had made himself the virtually independent ruler of Ādharbāydjān. Sultan Mas'ūd gave him in marriage Mu'mina Khatun, the widow of his brother and predecessor Toghrïl, and this marriage led him to intervene, in the quarrels over the succession to the sultanate after Mas'ūd's death (547/1152), on behalf of his stepson Arslān b. Toghrïl. In 556/1161 he marched from Hamadān, deposed Sulaymān Shāh, and installed Arslān as sultan. The grateful Arslān accorded the rank of Atābak-i a'ẓam to Ildeñiz, who now turned to securing the position of his protégé. The *amīr* of Rayy, Inanč, was temporarily won over by the marriage of his daughter to Ildeñiz's son (and successor) Pahlawān, but later attempted, in alliance with the *amīrs* of Fārs and Ḳazwīn, to depose Arslān in favour of his brother Muḥammad. The dissidents were defeated by Ildeñiz, but Inanč made his escape to Rayy; he gained the support of the Khwārazmshāh Il-arslan, but in 564/1169 was forced to flee upon the approach of Ildeñiz, who, with the help of Inanč's vizier Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ashall, procured his assassination. Ildeñiz then accompanied the Sultan to Iṣfahān and obtained the submission of the atabeg of Fārs, Zangī. He was obliged to return to Ādharbāydjān by the news that the Georgians had sacked Dwin [*q.v.*] (557/1162), whereupon a coalition of Muslim rulers, led by Ildeñiz, invaded Georgia and defeated King Giorgi [see kurdj]. Back at Hamadān, he received word that the Khwārazmshāh was planning to invade Khurāsān; in spite of a warning from Ildeñiz that these territories belonged to the Saldjūḳ sultan, Il-arslan marched against Nīshāpūr; Ildeñiz confronted him at Bisṭām, but no open hostilities occurred and Il-arslan withdrew. The death of Il-arslan in 568/1172 removed the threat from that quarter; so that by his death, probably in 571/1175-6, Ildeñiz was the undisputed *de facto* master of the 'Irāḳī territories of the Saldjūḳid empire. He was buried at Hamadān, beside a *madrasa* which he had founded.

Bibliography: Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra* ... (= Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii), index; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-Saldjūḳiyya*, ed. M. Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, index; Ibn al-Athīr, xi (index); Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* (GMS, xiv/1-2), 472-3; Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, Lucknow 1891, ii, 201 ff.; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Chapter 1, esp. pp. 169-70, 176-9 (with full references). See also the bibliography to ildeñizids.

The above is an abridgement of the article Ildeñiz in *IA*, fasc. 50, 961-4. (Mirza Bala)

ILDEÑIZIDS or **ELDIGÜZIDS,** a line of Atabegs or Turkish slave commanders who governed most of northwestern Persia, including Arrān, most of Ādharbāydjān, and Djibāl, during the second half of the 6th/12th century and

the early decades of the 7th/13th. Down to the death in battle in 590/1194 of Ṭoghrïl b. Arslan, last of the Great Saldjūḳs of Iraq and Persia, the Ildeñizids ruled as theoretical subordinates of the Sultans, acknowledging this dependence on their coins almost down to the end of the Saldjūḳs. Thereafter, they were in effect an independent dynasty, until the westward expansion of the Mongols and the Khwārazm-Shāhs weakened and then brought the line to its close. All the Ildeñizid Atabegs issued coins of their own.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ILDEÑIZIDS

1. Shams al-Dīn Ildeñiz
- 2. Nuṣrat al-Dīn Djahān-Pahlawān Muḥammad
  - 4. Ḳutlugh Ïnanč
  - 5. Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr
    - Pīshkīn
  - 6. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Özbeg
    - Ḳïzïl Arslan Khāmūsh
  - 7. Amīr-i Amīrān ʿUmar
- 3. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUthmān

1. Political history. The career of Shams al-Dīn Ildeñiz himself is discussed above, s.v. Ildeñiz. His name, most frequently spelled in the sources *ʾyldkz*, has been traditionally rendered "Ildegiz" or "Ildeniz", but V. Minorsky (*Studies in Caucasian history*, 92, n. 2) regarded a derivation from Turkish *él/il* + *deniz* as "modernizing and impossible" and suggested, on the basis of the transcription of the name in Georgian and Armenian sources, the form Eldigüz. The links which he had forged with the Saldjūḳ royal family—his marriage with Sultan Ṭoghrïl b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh's widow Muʾmina Khātūn and his support for the succession of Arslan b. Ṭoghrïl—gave his offspring a commanding position in northwestern Persia, which they were for a considerable time able to maintain against rival powers.

Ildeñiz's eldest son the Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Djahān-Pahlawān Muḥammad (571-82/1175-87) was Sultan Arslan's half-brother and succeeded not only to his father's lands of Arrān and those parts of Ādharbaydjān not held by the Aḥmadīlīs [*q.v.*] of Marāgha, but also to Djibāl, including Hamadhān, Iṣfahān and Ray; his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUthmān was established in Tabrīz as subordinate ruler. Pahlawān Muḥammad continued his father's policy of holding the Sultan in tutelage, and ʿImād al-Dīn plausibly asserts that Pahlawān Muḥammad poisoned Arslan in 571/1176 when he attempted to break free from the Atabeg's control; the latter now simply set up Arslan's young son Ṭoghrïl as Sultan and thereby maintained his grip on real power in the state. A feature of Pahlawān Muḥammad's Atabegate, particularly stressed by Rāwandī and Ibn Isfandiyār, is that he raised to positions of great power in his territories a body of his personal slave commanders, the *Pahlawāniyya*, as Ibn al-Athīr calls them. They were seemingly meant as a basis of support for Pahlawān Muḥammad's children after he was dead, but they seem in practice to have been more a divisive than a cohesive factor, contributing much to the confusion of western Persia during the last years of Sultan Ṭoghrïl's reign and the ensuing period (see Luther, *Rāwandī's report on the administrative changes of Muḥammad Jahān Pahlavān*).

When Pahlawān Muḥammad died in 582/1187, he was followed in the Atabegate by his childless brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ḳïzïl Arslan ʿUthmān (582-7/1187-91), in accordance with the Turkish practice of the seniorate. However, Pahlawān Muḥammad also divided out his personal territories amongst his four sons, who were to be subordinate rulers under Ḳïzïl Arslan's general supervision. This arrangement proved to be an unhappy one. The *ghulāms* whom Pahlawān Muḥammad had appointed to influential positions were inevitably reluctant to relinquish power. Pahlawān Muḥammad's widow Ïnanč Khātūn, daughter of the governor of Ray Ïnanč Sonḳor, was equally ambitious, and supported the claims of her own two sons, Ḳutlugh Ïnanč and Amīr-i Amīrān ʿUmar, against the other two offspring of Pahlawān Muḥammad by slave mothers. Sultan Ṭoghrïl's relations with the adroit and statesmanlike Pahlawān Muḥammad had been reasonably amicable, but Ḳïzïl Arslan's attitude was much less sympathetic, and he began to treat the Sultan with indignity. Squeezed between the Ildeñizid and the forces of the revived ʿAbbāsid Caliphate (Ḳïzïl Arslan had summoned the aid of troops under al-Nāṣir's vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yūnus), Ṭoghrïl's attempt to assert his freedom of action eventually failed after some initial successes, and in 586/1190 he was captured at Hamadhān and imprisoned by Ḳïzïl Arslan in Ādharbaydjān. When Ṭoghrïl had first marched against him, Ḳïzïl Arslan had set up a minor Saldjūḳ prince, Sandjar b. Sulaymān Shāh, as rival Sultan. Now, with Caliphal approval, he passed to claiming the Sultanate of ʿIrāḳ and Persia for himself; from this point onwards, his coins acknowledge only the Caliph, and not the Sultan (see E. von Bergmann, *Zur muhammedanische Münzkunde*, in *ZDMG*, xxiii (1869), 251-6). He was however, murdered a year later, possibly by Ïnanč Khātūn, whom he had married on his brother's death according to the custom of the levirate (see Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, 142-4).

Ïnanč Khātūn's son Ḳutlugh Ïnanč (587-91/1191-5) had to defend his inheritance against his half-brother Abū Bakr, who attacked southwards from Arrān, and against Sultan Ṭoghrïl, now released from captivity and eager for revenge. By invoking the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish's help, Ḳutlugh Ïnanč introduced a new and dangerous power into northwestern Persia, one which was to be ultimately fatal for his own family (see below). After the final collapse of the Saldjūḳ Sultanate in 590/1194, Tekish made Ḳutlugh Ïnanč his governor over Djibāl.

Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Pahlawān Muḥammad (591-607/1195-1210) had maintained his position in

the old Ildeñizid heartland of Ādharbāydjān during Kutlugh Inanč's Atabegate, and he now continued to rule there unchallenged. His authority in Djibāl, on the other hand, was only nominal, real power being in the hands of the *ghulām* commanders of the *Pahlawāniyya*, whilst the Caliph al-Nāṣir controlled such towns as Iṣfahān, Kazwīn and Hamadhān. Much of Abū Bakr's energy had to be concentrated on his family's old rivals, the Aḥmadīlīs of Marāgha. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kara Sonkor, patron of the poet Niẓāmī, in 602/1205-6 attempted to overthrow Abū Bakr, but Abū Bakr managed to repel the Aḥmadīlī attack and actually take their capital; three years later, almost all the Aḥmadīlī territories passed under Eldigüzid control.

Muẓaffar al-Dīn Özbek b. Pahlawān Muḥammad (607-22/1210-25) ruled sporadically in northern Djibāl after 600/1203-4, though the Ildeñizid *ghulāms* exercised power there for much of the time, and in 614/1217 Özbek finally lost Iṣfahān. He succeeded in Ādharbāydjān on Abū Bakr's death in 607/1210. When the Mongols appeared before Tabrīz in 617/1220, Özbek paid them an indemnity. Endeavours to ally with the Georgians and the Ayyūbid ruler of Khilāṭ were without result, and in the next year he had to pay a further indemnity to the Mongols. In the last years of his reign, Özbek faced a Georgian invasion, threatening movements from the Khwārazmians and the possibility of further Mongol raids. Finally, it was the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu who gave the *coup de grâce* to the Eldigüzid dynasty; in 622/1225 Tabrīz was taken and Özbek deposed and imprisoned. The only remaining Eldigüzid of historical significance is Özbek's deaf-mute son Kïzïl Arslan Khāmūsh ("the silent"), who was married to an Aḥmadīlī princess and who eventually rallied to the Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn's side.

2. Culture. The Turkish Ildeñizids shared to the full in the Perso-Islamic civilization of their period. At this time, the courts of northern Persia, including those of Sharwān, Arrān and Ādharbāydjān, were particularly attractive to poets and literary men. Ildeñiz was famed for his piety and patronage of scholars; he built and endowed with *awkāf* the great *madrasa* in Hamadhān where he was ultimately buried. Even the notorious drunkard Abū Bakr was known for his attention to the *ʿulamāʾ* and his zeal for building mosques and *madrasas*. Dawlatshāh stresses the great number of poets in the Ildeñizid court circle, and mentions specifically Athīr al-Dīn Akhsīkatī, Mudjīr al-Dīn Baylakānī, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Fāryābī, Niẓāmī, Kiwāmī, Muṭarrizī and Yūsuf Fuḍūlī; to these, ʿAwfī adds ʿImād ad-Dīn Ghaznawī and Shafrūh Iṣfahānī, the eulogists of Pahlawān Muḥammad. Of these poets, the rôles of Mudjīr al-Dīn, the pupil of Khākānī, at Kïzïl Arslan's court, and of Ẓahīr al-Dīn at the courts of Kïzïl Arslan and Abū Bakr, are especially noteworthy. Niẓāmī made one of his rare journeys outside his native Gandja to converse with Kïzïl Arslan, and no fewer than four of the *Khamsa* are connected with the Ildeñizids: the *Makhzan al-asrār* was dedicated to Ildeñiz; *Khusraw u Shīrīn* to Sultan Ṭoghrïl b. Arslan, Pahlawān Muḥammad and Kïzïl Arslan (from the last of whom the poet received the grant of four villages as a reward); and the first version of the *Iskandar-nāma* and the *Haft paykar* were dedicated to Abū Bakr (on the problems connected with the dedication of the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāma*, see Minorsky, *Caucasica II*, 872-3).

3. Conclusion. The historical significance of the dynasty is twofold. Firstly, the decay of the Saldjūks enabled the Ildeñizids to convert the governorship of northwestern Persia, which was theoretically a reward for exercising the position of Atabeg over a Saldjūk prince, into hereditary rule. Whilst such strong personalities as Ildeñiz and Pahlawān Muḥammad directed the family's fortunes, they enjoyed *de facto* independence, at the same time deriving such prestige as remained from the position of Atabegs to the Saldjūk family. But their weaker successors found themselves only one element amongst many struggling for hegemony in northern and western Persia—rival Turkish amirs, the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, the Khwārazm-Shāhs, and on the western fringes, the Ayyūbids, with whom Pahlawān Muḥammad had diplomatic brushes over the heritage of the Shāh-Armanids of Khilāṭ (see for Ayyūbid policy on the borders of Armenia and Ādharbaydjān, V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 150 ff., and F. Sümer, *İA*, art. *Pehlivan*)—and outside Ādharbaydjān their authority was frequently disputed.

Secondly, the consolidation of Ildeñizid power coincided with a resurgence of military expansionism by the Georgian Christians, whose territories marched with Muslim Sharwān and Arrān. The defence of the Caucasian frontiers had been one of Ildeñiz's special concerns, and the efforts of the Atabeg and other local rulers like the Sharwān-Shāhs and the Shāh-Armanids had slowed down the dynamic of the Bagratid King Giorgi III (1156-84). However, the Georgians became again active during the reign of Queen Tamara (1184-1212). In her time, they interfered frequently in the affairs of the Ildeñizids and Sharwān-Shāhs, aiding rival Ildeñizid princes in the period after Pahlawān Muḥammad's death, until Abū Bakr in 602/1205-6 endeavoured to safeguard his position by marrying a Georgian princess. The Ildeñizids were only barely able to contain the Georgians, and not until the appearance of the Mongols in the Caucasus were Georgian energies quelled.

Bibliography: Primary historical sources: Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*; Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Saldjūk-nāma*; Abū Ḥāmid, *Dhayl-i Saldjūk-nāma*; Muḥammad al-Yazdī, *al-ʿUrāḍa fī 'l-ḥikāya al-saldjūkiyya*; ʿImād al-Dīn, in Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūkiyya*; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*; Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*; Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*. For the Georgian and Armenian sources, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, and idem, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*; the Armenian historians Kirakos of Gandzak and Vardan are especially relevant.

Secondary sources: M. T. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, in *AO*, iii (1924), 136-52; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953; idem, *Caucasica II*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 868-77; C. E. Bosworth, chap. i on the history of Iran 1000-1217, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968; K. A. Luther, *The political transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and western Iran 1152-1187*, Princeton Univ. Ph. D. thesis (unpublished); idem, *Rāvandī's report on the administrative changes of Muḥammad Jahān Pahlavān*, in *Minorsky memorial volume* (to appear); R. A. Huseinov, *Institut Atabekov*, in *Palestinskii Sbornik*, xv (1966), 181-96; Minorsky, *EI*[1], s.v.

Uzbak; Faruk Sümer, *İA*, s.vv. *Pehlivan* and *Kızıl-Arslan*; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 231; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 125-6.

For the cultural and literary history of the dynasty, see the references in Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, and ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*; and also, J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, 200 ff., and Browne, ii, 401-2, 412-17.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ILDJĀʾ or Taldjiʾa, a method of protection by a superior of his inferiors, on which see the articles ḍayʿa and ḥimāya, adding to the bibliography Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Volonté interne et volonté déclarée en droit musulman*, in *Revue Intern. de Droit Comparé*, x (1958), 513 (*taldjiʾa* occurring in law as a fictitious sale with the object of gaining protection against confiscation, taxes, etc.; but the question arises of how the property is to be regained once the danger is over).

(Cl. Cahen)

ILEK-KHĀNS or **ĶARAKHĀNIDS**, a Turkish dynasty which ruled in the lands of Central Asia straddling the T'ien-shan Mountains, *scil.* in both Western Turkestan (Transoxania or Mā warāʾ al-Nahr) and in Eastern Turkestan (Kāshgharia or Sin-kiang), from the 4th/10th to the early 7th/13th centuries.

1. Introductory. The name "Ilek-Khāns" or "Ilig-Khāns" stems from 19th century European numismatists. The element *Ilek/Ilig* (known in Hunnish, Magyar and Uyghur Turkish onomastic) is commonly found on the dynasty's coins, but is by no means general. The complete phrase *Ilek-Khān/Ilig-Khān* is an erroneous conflation: *Ilek/Ilig* and *Khān/Khāķān/Ķaghan* denoted two distinct ranks in the ruling hierarchy of the dynasty, the former being subordinate to the latter (cf. O. Turan, *Ilig unvani hakkında*, in *TM*, vii-viii (1940-2), 192-9). The name "Ķarakhānids" again stems from 19th century orientalists and numismatists. *Ķara* (literally "black", but also used in early Turkish to designate the prime compass point of the north, hence acquiring the meaning "principal", "chief", cf. O. Pritsak, *Qara, Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 239-63) occurs in the titulature of the Great Khāns of the dynasty. Contemporary Islamic sources often simply refer to the dynasty as "the Khāns" (*al-Khāķāniyya, al-Khāniyya*); sometimes the phrase *Āl-i Afrāsiyāb* "House of Afrāsiyāb" is used, connecting the dynasty with the king of the Turanians in the Iranian national epic (= the Alp Er Tonga of Turkish lore, cf. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen* . . ., repr. 1962, 86-7, Fr. tr., *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 69-70).

In his *EI*[1] article, Barthold wrote that the historical references to the dynasty were very scanty, and Zambaur in his *Manuel*, 206, confessed that his section on the Ķarakhānids, "la seule grande dynastie musulmane dont la généalogie est restée obscure", was in large measure conjectural. The sources are not perhaps quite so scanty as Barthold supposed, and much light has now been thrown on the Ķarakhānids by O. Pritsak, who has given the first connected account of the dynasty; the historical section which follows here owes much to his work.

2. Historical. The Turkish tribal origins of the Ķarakhānids still remain obscure. Pritsak is probably correct in attaching them to the great tribal group of the Ķarluķ [*q.v.*], who formed part of the confederation of the Orkhon Turks or T'u-chüeh, and then after 742 A.D., part of the tripartite confederation of the Ķarluķ, Uyghur and Basmīl which succeeded to the T'u-chüeh in Mongolia (*Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, 270 ff.). In the 3rd/9th century the Ķarluķ began to clash with the Sāmānids on the northern fringes of Transoxania, and the Bilge Kül Ķadīr Khān who fought Nūḥ b. Asad is seemingly the first Ķarluķ and Ķarakhānid ruler whose name is definitely known. The political and social structure which was to be characteristic of the confederation gradually becomes discernible. As amongst certain other Altaic peoples, there was a system of double kingship. The Great Khān ruled directly over the eastern part of the confederation, with his court at the encampment of Balāsāghūn or Ķara Ordu in the Ču valley of Semirečye. The Associate Khān was under the supreme authority of the Great Khān, and also ruled directly over the western lands, with his encampment at Talas or Kāshghar. Beneath these two Khāns was a complicated hierarchy of subordinate Khāns and regional governors of the Ķarakhānid family. These rulers all bore Turkish regnal names and titles, including a totemistic one (*onghun*), and after their conversion to Islam they acquired Muslim names and patronymics also. The Turkish titles changed as members of the family moved up in the hierarchy. The disentangling of the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty, on the bases both of literary sources and of coins, is accordingly very difficult.

Military activity along the Sāmānid-Ķarakhānid borders, and commercial intercourse, led to the conversion of the Ķarakhānids in the course of the 4th/10th century. Much of this proselytizing work was doubtless done by dervishes and other Muslim enthusiasts; the name of one of these, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Kalimātī of Nīshāpūr, is known (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 486a). The head of the western Khānate, Satuķ Bughra Khān (d. 344/955), became a Muslim and assumed the name of ʿAbd al-Karīm, but the eastern Khānate was not Islamized till some time later, when Khotan and other towns of eastern Turkestan received the new faith. Ibn al-Athīr's report (viii, 396) that in 349/960 200,000 tents of Turkish tribesmen became Muslim is doubtless connected with this process. Ķarakhānid pressure southwards on the fertile and attractive lands of the Syr Darya basin was an important factor in the downfall of the Sāmānids at the end of the 4th/10th century. Hārūn or Ḥasan Bughra Khān in 382/992 occupied for a while the Sāmānid capital of Bukhārā. The Ilig Naṣr b. ʿAlī of Özkend definitively took over Bukhārā in 389/999, and divided the Sāmānid dominions with Maḥmūd of Ghazna. However, the Ilig did not for some time to come accept the Oxus as the boundary between the two Turkish empires. Whilst Maḥmūd was pre-occupied by an expedition against Multān in India, he invaded Khurāsān in 396/1006, and the situation was only restored by Maḥmūd's hasty return. It was during these years that the western Ķarakhānids recognized fully the authority of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs; this can be seen in the legends on their coins, where we often find the phrase *Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn* after the Khāns' names. The early Khāns were further noted for their strict piety, expressed, for instance, in their avoidance of wine-drinking. The Ķarakhānids thus followed the generality of Turkish dynasties in accepting the orthodox Sunnī form of Islam, together with the Ḥanafī law-school.

What has been said above about the internal structure of the Ķarakhānid confederation shows how these dominions were never ruled as a unitary state,

but instead as a loose, tribal grouping. In the early 5th/11th century, two distinct lines emerged within the dynasty. The first was that of the descendants of Satuḳ Bughra Khān's grandson ʿAlī (the "ʿAlids" in Pritsak's nomenclature); these supplied the Great Khāns of the western Khānate after the split within the dynasty described below. The second line was that of the descendants of Satuḳ Bughra Khān's other grandson Hārūn or Ḥasan Bughra Khān (the "Ḥasanids"); these supplied the Great Khāns for the eastern Khānate.

The system whereby various members of the family ruled simultaneously in different parts of the Ḳarakhānid dominions inevitably led to disputes and rivalries. The Ghaznavid historian Bayhaḳī already speaks of warfare amongst "the Khāns and the Ilig" in the middle years of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's reign, and the Sultan encouraged these divisions in the hope of weakening the solidarity of the Ḳarakhānids. In particular, he allied in 416/1025 with Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān b. Hārūn Bughra Khān of Khotan and Kāshghar (and after 417/1026, of the capital Özkend) against their mutual enemy, Yūsuf's brother ʿAlī, known as ʿAlī Tigin (see on the latter, O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen.* 3. *Wer war ʿAli Tigin?*, 216-24). ʿAlī Tigin plays a central part in the history of Transoxania at this time; his power had a secure base in the rich cities of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, and in alliance with the Saldjūḳ bands of Arslan Isrāʾīl, Ṭoghrïl and Čaghrï, he was the Ghaznavids' implacable foe until his death in 425/1034. ʿAlī Tigin's sons, representing the Ḥasanid line, were not long able to retain their father's principality in Transoxania once he was dead. The whole region was gradually conquered by two brothers of the ʿAlid line, Muḥammad ʿAyn al-Dawla and Böri Tigin, sons of the Ilig Naṣr. Muḥammad proclaimed himself Great Khān, and Böri Tigin became his Associate Khān (433/1041-2).

From this date onwards, there were two distinct Ḳarakhānid Khānates (cf. O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen.* 4. *Zwei Karachanidische Kaganate*, 227-8). The eastern one comprised the original Ḳarakhānid territories of Semirečye, eastern Farghāna and Kāshgharia, with Balāsāghūn or Ḳara Ordu as its capital and with Kāshghar as an important religious and cultural centre. The western one comprised Transoxania and western Farghāna as far as Khudjanda, with first Özkend and then Samarḳand as its capital. The intermediate zone of the middle Syr Darya was frequently a subject of contention between the two branches.

The eastern branch of the Ḳarakhānids, the Ḥasanids, soon conquered the whole of Farghāna. Their resources in manpower were augmented by the conversion to Islam of large numbers of pagan Turks from the outer steppes; thus in 435/1043-4 10,000 tents of Turks who nomadized "between Bulghār and Balāsāghūn" became Muslims. The Great Khān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān was probably the grandfather of the pioneer Turkish lexicographer Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*q.v.*]; Maḥmūd's father was Amīr of the district of Barskhān in Semirečye (cf. O. Pritsak, *Mahmud Kâşgari kimdir?*, in *TM*, x (1951-3), 243-6). During these years, Kāshghar grew as a centre for cultural and religious life, and it was there that Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] wrote his *Ḳutadghu bilig*, dedicating it to the Khān Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (467-96/1074-5 to 1102-3). In particular, Kāshghar speedily became the chief starting-point for the spread of Muslim faith and culture over the Tarim basin and towards the frontiers of Mongolia and China.

Ḥasan Khān's son and successor Aḥmad held in check the Western Liao or Ḳara Khitāy [*q.v.*], a people who were probably of Mongol origin and who were at this time being forced to migrate westwards after the downfall of their two centuries' dominion in northern China. But after Aḥmad's death, the eastern Ḳarakhānids were no longer able to stem the Ḳara Khitāy advance. Balāsāghūn fell under Ḳara Khitāy control and became their capital. Little is known of the eastern Ḳarakhānid Khāns of the later 6th/12th century; they were willy-nilly vassals of the Ḳara Khitāy Gür-Khāns and now had their capital in Kāshghar. When the Nayman Mongol adventurer Küčlüg overthrew the Gür-Khān and established his ephemeral empire in Semirečye, he released the Ḳarakhānid Muḥammad II from his previous detention at the Ḳara Khitāy court, and restored him to Kāshghar. Unfortunately, an internal revolt brought about the death of this last eastern Ḳarakhānid before he could re-assume the throne (607/1210-11). Kāshghar passed into Küčlüg's hands and the eastern branch of the dynasty was finished.

The history of the western Khānate is better known that that of its eastern counterpart, for the Islamic historical sources deal more fully with Transoxanian events, these being frequently intertwined with happenings in Khurāsān. Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān, the former Böri Tigin (*ca.* 444-60/*ca.* 1052-68), secured a leading place in the "Mirrors for Princes" and *adab* literature as the exemplar of a just and pious ruler, although the historical sources show that Ibrāhīm was at the same time involved in many clashes with the over-powerful and ambitious class of *ʿulamāʾ* in Transoxania. A serious external threat to these Ḳarakhānids arose from the rise of the Great Saldjūḳ empire, which in the second half of the 5th/11th century was at its apogee under Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh [*qq.v.*]. Ibrāhīm had already found it impossible to retain in face of Saldjūḳ pressure the upper Oxus provinces of Khuttal and Čaghāniyān, which he had earlier conquered from the Ghaznavids. His son Shams al-Mulk Naṣr (460-72/1068-80), famous for the splendour of his court and his patronage of scholars, had to endure a Saldjūḳ invasion in 465/1072-3; in the following year, he had to sue for peace at Samarḳand with Malik Shāh, and to acknowledge Saldjūḳ suzerainty over Transoxania. Tension between the throne and the *ʿulamāʾ* was now a permanent feature of the western Khānate. In 482/1089 the religious classes called in Malik Shāh against Aḥmad Khān b. Khiḍr, and the Sultan penetrated as far as Özkend; soon afterwards, the *ʿulamāʾ* secured Aḥmad's deposition and execution on a charge of sympathy for the Ismāʿīlīs. The next Khāns seem to have been nominated by the Saldjūḳs. Muḥammad II b. Sulaymān (497-524/1102-30) was Sultan Sandjar's nephew and son-in-law, but his reign was much troubled by the activities of rival Ḳarakhānid claimants.

Muḥammad's son Maḥmūd II was also Sandjar's nephew and was Great Khān from 526/1132 to 536/1141. It was he who came up against the Ḳara Khitāy. After reducing the eastern Ḳarakhānids to submission, the Ḳara Khitāy marched westwards. In the great battle of the Ḳatwān Steppe in 536/1141, Sandjar and his Ḳarakhānid protégé were disastrously defeated. Maḥmūd fled to Khurāsān, leaving the Gür-Khān to take over Transoxania. The Gür-Khān then set up various Ḳarakhānid princes as his

puppets, although the real power in Bukhārā now lay with the Sunnī religious leaders or *Ṣudūr* of the Burhān family (see on these O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 81-96), who collaborated closely with the pagan but tolerant Ḳara Khitāy. Maḥmūd II Khān remained in Khurāsān till his death in 559/1164; after Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz he was acclaimed as Amīr of Khurāsān by the leaderless Saldjūḳ army there (the famous poem, "The tears of Khurāsān", which lamented the ravages of the Ghuzz, was addressed by the Saldjūḳ poet Anwarī to Maḥmūd at this time), and he re-assumed this position after Sandjar's death in 552/1157.

With the deaths of Maḥmūd and his sons, the ʿAlid branch of the Ḳarakhānids came to an end, and rule over the western Khānate passed to the Ḥasanids or descendants of ʿAlī Tigin. These Ḥasanid Khāns were, like their predecessors, much troubled internally by the turbulence of their Ḳarluḳ soldiery and tribesmen. Externally, they came to be overshadowed by the dynamic and ambitious Khʷārazm-Shāhs of the line of Atsïz. The last Ḳarakhānid to rule over an exiguous principality around Bukhārā and Samarḳand was ʿUthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm. Squeezed between powerful neighbours, he vacillated between support for the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and the Ḳara Khitāy Gür-Khān, marrying princesses from both houses; but after the anti-Khʷārazmian rising in Samarḳand of 607/1210-11, the Shāh conquered the city and executed ʿUthmān, thus ending Ḳarakhānid rule in Transoxania.

In Farghāna, Ḳarakhānid princes lingered on for a few more years. It seems that a separate line had arisen here, centred on Özkend, after the Ḳara Khitāy invasion of 536/1141. One of these Khāns, Arslan, in 608/1211-12 threw off Ḳara Khitāy control and recognized the rising power of Čingiz-Khān. The line apparently persisted as governors of Farghāna under the first Mongol Khāns, but virtually nothing is known of them.

3. Cultural. Like the Saldjūḳ Sultans, the Ḳarakhānid Khāns gradually assimilated themselves to the Perso-Islamic cultural and governmental traditions. The Khān's red ceremonial parasol or *čatr* is mentioned in the *Ḳutadghu bilig*. Such pious and just rulers as Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān and Shams al-Mulk Naṣr conformed to the ideal of a Muslim ruler as laid down in the "Mirrors for Princes". Shams al-Mulk expended much effort on public buildings; he built two famous caravanserais (each called, after the royal builder, *Ribāṭ-i Malik*), reconstructed the Friday mosque of Bukhārā and laid out the palace of Shamsābād near that city. Muḥammad II b. Sulaymān was also a great builder, and restored the citadel of Bukhārā. Such traditional duties as the defence of the frontiers of the *Dār al-Islām* were undertaken by the Khāns, and we hear of Muḥammad II leading expeditions against the "infidels" of the steppes, probably the Ḳïpčaḳ. Together with this extension of the faith by arms, the 6th/12th century was important for the spread of Islam within the Ḳïpčaḳ steppe by peaceful means. The Ṣūfī Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] of Sayram, and the order of the Yasawiyya which he founded, had a great influence in both eastern and western Turkestan and in the adjacent steppes; this may have been partly because the order in many ways adapted itself to and incorporated in itself certain pre-Islamic religious practices (cf. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, *Türk edebiyatïnda ilk mutaṣavvïflar*, abridged Fr. tr. by L. Bouvat in *RMM*, xliii (1921), 239 ff., and idem, *Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmans*, Istanbul 1929).

It has been noted above that the Ḳarakhānids adopted enthusiastically the Ḥanafī law-school, and Transoxania was to become a stronghold of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and the Māturīdī *kalām*, as the sheer volume of legal and theological literature emanating from the region attests. How great a part direct encouragement by the Khāns played here is uncertain, but the stimulus from them may well have been significant. In the *waḳfiyya* for a *madrasa* (which was to include a mosque and tomb for the Khān himself) in the Bāb al-Djadīd quarter of Samarḳand, the founder Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān stipulated that the *faḳīh* who was to teach there and all the students were to be of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa; the date of the foundation, 458/1066, is further interesting in suggesting that the wave of *madrasa*-building associated with Niẓām al-Mulk and other Saldjūḳ dignitaries may have had a counterpart in the Ḳarakhānid dominions. Ibrāhīm's orthodox zeal is further shown in his suppression of an outbreak of Ismāʿīlī activity in his Khānate in 436/1044-5, when Fāṭimid missionaries persuaded many of the local people to give allegiance to their Caliph in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir. But the accusations of Ismāʿīlī sympathies brought against Aḥmad b. Khiḍr Khān in 488/1095 seem to have been purely a pretext raised by the Khān's unscrupulous opponents, and they do not reflect any general penetration of Transoxania by the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia.

The Khāns encouraged circles of scholars and literary men at their courts, and the judgement of Grenard, "une dynastie de barbares grossiers et ignorants", is far too sweeping. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī (*Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 28, 46, revised tr. 30, 52; cf. Browne, ii, 335-6) cites thirteen poets who glorified the Āl-i Khāḳān, as he calls them; he particularly praises Khiḍr Khān b. Ibrāhīm (472-3/1080-1) as a munificent patron, in whose reign ʿAmʿaḳ of Bukhārā was laureate or *Amīr al-Shuʿarāʾ* and Rashīdī of Samarḳand "Prince of poets" or *Sayyid al-Shuʿarāʾ* (see further ʿAwfī's section on the poets of Transoxania in *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehrān 1335/1956, 375-98, and Dawlatshāh in *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī, Tehrān 1337/1958, 73-6, on ʿAmʿaḳ).

With all this, the Ḳarakhānids retained their strong Turkishness, and their age is of prime importance for the creation of a Turkish cultural consciousness and, in particular, for the creation of the first Turkish Islamic literature. Here the regions of Semirečye and Kāshgharia, now becoming strongly Turkicized, were prominent, rather than Transoxania, where Persian culture still retained pride of place. Cultural influences from the Uyghurs and even, to some extent, from distant China, were strong in these eastern Ḳarakhānid provinces. The region of the Tarim basin, which included Kāshghar and Khotan, was often attributed by Muslim geographers to the marches of China, and indeed it had often been included within the Chinese empire. Hence we find that Yūsuf Ḳadïr Khān, after he had occupied and islamized Khotan, called himself *Malik al-Mashriḳ wa'l-Ṣīn* "King of the East and China". This title is further found on coins minted by his distant kinsman Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān and dating from after 451/1059, and in the *ʿalāma* or *validatio* of a *waḳfiyya* for a hospital founded by the Khān in 458/1066 (see M. Khadr in *JA* (1967), 320, 324, and

also the anecdote concerning the titles of the Ḳarakhānids and Maḥmūd of Ghazna's jealousy over them, given in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xl. and discussed by Bosworth in *Oriens*, xv (1962), 225-6). The legends of Ḳarakhānid coins also show that the Uyghur script was used side-by-side with the Arabic. The *Ḳutadghu bilig* of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib [*q.v.*] was completed at Kāshghar in 462/1069-70 and dedicated to the then ruling Khān. Four years later, Maḥmūd Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] completed his *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, with the express aim of demonstrating that the Turkish language was comparable to Arabic in its richness. The didactic nature of early Turkish poetry was continued at the end of the Ḳarakhānid period in the *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd; the existence of this work shows that the *Ḳutadghu bilig* was by no means an isolated phenomenon. Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166) left behind a collection of vernacular Turkish verse, the *Dīwān-i ḥikmet*, although this is now regarded as of doubtful authenticity.

4. General conclusions. The limitations of source material make it difficult to assess the general historical significance of the Ḳarakhānids and difficult to evaluate the changes which their rule brought to Transoxania and the adjacent lands. As with the Saldjūḳs, we have the establishment of a Muslim Turkish power, not by Turkish slave commanders (as in the case of the Ghaznavids) but by tribal leaders and their hordes. Compared with the preceeding régime of the Sāmānids, the Ḳarakhānids brought about a decentralization of administration and a fragmentation of authority in Transoxania. One of the continuators of the historian of Bukhārā, Narshakhī, says that taxes were everywhere lightened when the Ḳarakhānids supplanted the Sāmānids, and it is further probable that indigenous landed classes there, the *dihḳāns*, enjoyed a resurgence of local power. The Khāns remained close to their Ḳarluḳ followers, who comprised such tribes as the Čigil and Yaghmā; certainly, in the time of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr the Khāns were nomadic during the summer months, residing in their capitals only during the harsh steppe winters. Unfortunately, we know little about changes in land utilization and tenure, although it seems likely that the influx of pastoral nomads did cause some changes. The mention during Shams al-Mulk Naṣr's reign of *ghuruḳs* or tracts of hunting ground established as crown preserves (Continuator of Narshakhī, tr. R. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 29, 125) may indicate a certain extension of pastoralization.

The Ḳarakhānid territories shared in the general economic trend, whose causes remain obscure, whereby silver coinage tended to be replaced by gold. Nevertheless, the dirham remained the standard coin circulating in Transoxania, and both dirhams *muʾayyadiyya ʿadliyya* and the slightly baser *ghiṭrīfiyya* ones circulated in the later 5th/11th century and the early 6th/12th century. These dirhams were, however, considerably debased in relation to the legal dīnār, and the currency was obviously somewhat unstable at this time; the testimony of the *waḳfiyya* for Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān's *madrasa*, mentioned above, suggests a figure of 47 dirhams *muʾayyadiyya ʿadliyya* to the dīnār instead of the legally desirable figure of $14^{2}/_{3}$ (cf. Cahen, in *JA* (1967), 309-10, and Continuator of Narshakhī, tr. Frye, 36).

Yet despite the Khāns' identification with their tribal contingents, their positions as Muslim sovereigns over such rich and fertile regions as Transoxania and Farghānā inevitably tended to raise them above the general tribal level. As happened within the Great Saldjūḳ Sultanate, social and political tensions were generated. During the 6th/12th century, the Khāns were continually at odds with their military supporters, the Ḳarluḳ tribesmen, often with dangerous consequences; it was Maḥmūd II's appeal to Sandjar in 536/1141 for help against the Ḳarluḳ that determined the latter to call in the Ḳara Khitāy as a counterweight. It is not clear exactly how the Khāns fell foul of the religious classes in Bukhārā and Samarḳand, orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* and ʿAlids alike, but this too caused tensions which led at times to bloodshed and executions. The explanation is probably that the religious institution resented any extension of the central government's power, and were ready to join with the military against the throne. The situation here parallels that obtaining in the Sāmānid period, and is an instance of the essential continuity of the structure of power and society in Transoxania. Because of these tensions, and because of the fragmentation of power within the ruling dynasty itself, the Ḳarakhānids were ill-prepared to withstand such resolute opponents as the Ḳara Khitāy and the Khwārazm-Shāhs.

Bibliography: A detailed bibliography is given by O. Pritsak at the end of his article *Die Karachaniden* (see below), 63-8. The pre-Muslim history of the Ḳarluḳ can be pieced together from the diverse sources which bear on the history of Central Asia: Chinese, Uyghur, Orkhon Turkish, Byzantine, etc. For Muslim historians, the Ḳarakhānids inhabited only the periphery of the Islamic world, and they tend to mention the Khāns only so far as they impinge on the wider eastern Islamic world. There are, however, important notices in such authors as ʿUtbī, Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī, continuators of Narshakhī, Niẓām al-Mulk, Djamāl Ḳarshī, Nasawī, Djuwaynī and Ibn al-Athīr. Light is thrown on the culture of the Ḳarakhānid period by the works of such authors as Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib, Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, al-Kātib al-Samarḳandī, etc., and by the anecdotes given by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī and ʿAwfī. Amongst secondary literature, the following should be noted: E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârazm*, in *SBAk. Wien*, lxxiv (1873), 319-30; Sir H. Howorth, *The northern frontagers of China. IX. The Muhammadan Turks of Turkestan from the tenth to the thirteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1898), 467-502; F. Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire*, in *JA*, Ser. 9, xv (1900), 5-79; Barthold, *Turkestan*; idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, Fr. tr., *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; idem, *A short history of Turkestan* and *History of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; R. Vasmer, *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāḫāniden*, in *MSOS As.*, xxxiii (1930), 83-104; O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen* 1-4. in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 209-28; idem, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 270-300; idem, *Die Karachaniden*, in *Isl.*, xxxi (1953-4), 17-68 (Turkish version in *İA* Art. "*Karahanlılar*"); A. Z. V. Togan, *Zentral-asiatische Türkische Literaturen. II. Die Islamische Zeit*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, Bd. 5/i *Turkologie*, Leiden 1963, 229-33; A. Caferoğlu, *La littérature turque de l'époque des Karakhanides*, in *Funda-*

menta philologiae turcicae, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 267-75; C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical handbook*, Edinburgh 1967, 111-14; idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968; Emel Esin, *Türk san'at tarihinde Kara-hanlı devrinin mevkii*, in *VI. Türk tarih kongresinin bildirileri*, Ankara 1967, 100-30; M. Khadr and Cl. Cahen, *Deux actes de* waqf *d'un Qaraḫānide d'Asie Centrale*, in *JA* (1967), 305-34.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ILERI, DJELĀL NŪRĪ, in modern Turkish Celal Nuri İleri, Turkish modernist, writer, publicist and journalist, 1877-1938. He was born at Gallipoli. His father, Ḥelvādjīzade Muṣṭafā Nūri, from Crete, served as governor in various provinces and became a senator in 1908. His mother was the daughter of ʿĀbidīn Pasha (surnamed Dino, 1843-1908) from Prizrin, a governor and vizier under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and the author of a well-known commentary on the *Mathnawī*. One of his brothers, Ṣubḥī Nūrī İleri was a socialist writer and journalist and the other, Sedād Nūrī, a painter and cartoonist.

Educated at Galatasaray lycée and Istanbul University, where he studied law, Djelāl Nūrī perfected his French to the point of publishing a few books in that language, including a novel, *Cauchemar*, about life in Istanbul under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. He also learnt English. His education owes much to his family circle, which included his paternal uncle Sirrī Pasha and his wife, Leylā Saz (1850-1936), the poetess and composer, and author of valuable memoirs of 19th century *ḥarem* life.

Djelāl Nūrī visited Europe several times and published some of his impressions in two books: *Ḳuṭub muṣāḥabeleri* and *Shimāl khāṭiralarī* (see below). He soon abandoned the legal profession to become a journalist and free-lance writer. He contributed to many newspapers and periodicals (some of which he founded), particularly *Iḳdām*, *Ātī*, *Ileri*, *Idjtihād*, *Edebiyyāt-i ʿUmūmiyye Medjmūʿasī*, *Therwet-i Fünūn*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Le Courrier d'Orient* and *Le Jeune Turc*. He wrote more than fifteen hundred articles in the last-named French language newspapers, many of great documentary value for the period following the mutiny of 13 April 1909 ("*31 Mart waḳʿasī*").

Djelāl Nūrī represented Gelibolu in the last Ottoman Parliament, and was elected four times to the Grand National Assembly. His wide legal knowledge and his familiarity with both Eastern and Western culture made him one of the most sought-after advisers of the new Nationalist Government in Ankara. He was an honest, straightforward writer, always consistent in his principles and in his advocacy of liberalism and honest government. His strong criticism, in his Istanbul daily *Ileri*, of authoritarian rule and its abuses, and his contention that the single-party system was incompatible with democracy, resulted in violent polemics in the press. Several extremist supporters of the Government, particularly Aghaoghlu Aḥmed and Yūnus Nādi, violently attacked him in Government organs. A member of Parliament, Ḳīlīdj ʿAlī, whose name was published in a list of deputies and officials accused of having misused their influence, went to Djelāl Nūrī's office and attacked him (for details of this polemic and the subsequent incident, see the newspapers *İleri*, *Ḥākimiyyet-i Milliyye*, *Djumhūriyyet* and *Ṣon Telghrāf* for June to August 1340 (fiscal)/1924. Djelāl Nūrī's journalist brother Ṣubḥī Nūrī published a strong article of protest the following day in *İleri* (31 July 1924). But Djelāl Nūrī himself henceforward wrote only occasionally in the same paper, and avoided polemics. He died in Istanbul on 2 November 1938.

Djelāl Nūrī is the author of some thirty books and thousands of articles, a few of which have been collected in book form. Without fully adhering to any of the three main groups of the post-1908 period, *i.e.*, "Turkists", Islamists, and Westernizers, he made his own compromise between the last two. He conducted long polemics on social, political, religious, juridical and linguistic issues with leading writers of the period, and opposed equally the extremist Nationalists, the radical Westernizers and the uncompromising Islamists [see gökalp, djewdet, meḥmed ʿākif, panislamism, turan].

He himself was a moderate reformist. But he was no systematic thinker, so that his ideas and suggestions on various problems crop up in most of his writings no matter the subject title. The following are his most outstanding themes on controversial issues of the period 1908-23.

The legal system. The need for a radical reform in this field is one of his main themes. The legal system of a country must take into consideration the historical development, the character, peculiarities, conditions of life of the nation and the requirements of the contemporary age. Midḥat Pasha's Constitution, Djewdet Pasha's *Medjelle* and many laws dealing with administration, jurisprudence, property, the civil service etc., are, since they ignore these conditions, inadequate. Laws are not unalterable; on the contrary they should at times be reviewed and modified according to the changing circumstances of the times.

The emancipation of women. Many social evils in Ottoman society have as their primary cause the humiliating position of women. Polygamy should be prohibited and women should not be treated as property. Laws concerning marriage, divorce and children should be modernized. This too is in keeping with the spirit of Islam; whose rules on women and marriage have been misinterpreted for centuries. Djelāl Nūrī's ideas on this subject were by many found to be "too progressive".

The causes of Ottoman decline. The main causes for the backwardness of the Ottomans are that they had no part in the maritime discoveries, the Renaissance, and the exploitation of printing.

Alphabet and language reform. The Arabic alphabet not being suitable for Turkish, a reformed alphabet based on the Roman script is necessary. As far as the language itself is concerned, however, Djelāl Nūrī's approach is conservative. He saw the Persian-Arabic elements as being as natural and necessary to Turkish as Latin and French words are to English. Yet his campaign against the supporters of "simplification" mellowed later in the republican period.

Reform in Islam. Islam *per se* has never been an obstacle to progress. But it has been constantly misinterpreted and exploited by bigots and opportunists. A reform in Islam, particularly in Muslim law, is necessary. The unity of the Muslim world should be the ideal, and should replace the nationalistic ideologies of individual Muslim nations. Yet the ideal of a theocratic state is an anachronism. To ignore Western civilization leads nowhere. But there are two civilizations: the technological and the real civilization. The Turks, like the Japanese, should adopt the first, but preserve their own Muslim-

Turkish civilization, improving it as necessary, by reforms. (This anticipates Gökalp's later differentiation between "civilization" and "culture").

A resumé of most of Djelāl Nūrī's ideas is to be found in his memorandum submitted to the 1911 Salonika conference of the Committee of Union and Progress (which also includes his views on Turkish foreign policy) and in his History of Ottoman Decline (see below).

His main works are: (1) *1327 senesinde Selānikde mün'aḳid Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳi Ḳongresine taḳdīm olunan mukhṭiradir*, Istanbul 1327/1911; (2) *Kendi noḳṭa-i naẓarimdan ḥuḳūḳ-i düvel*, 1327/1911; (3) *Muḳadderāt-ı ta'rīkhiyye*, Istanbul 1330/1914; (4) *Shimāl khāṭiralari*, Istanbul 1330/1914; (5) *Ta'rīkh tedenniyāt-ı 'Othmāniyye*, Istanbul 1330/1914; (6) *Ḥavāyidj-i ḳānūniyyemiz*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (7) *Ittiḥād-ı Islām*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (8) *Ḳadinlarimız*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (9) *Ḳuṭub muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1331/1915; (10) *Ta'rikh-i istiḳbāl*, Istanbul 1331-2/1915-6, 3 vols.; (11) *Ta'rikh-i tedenniyāt-ı 'Othmāniyye*[2], Istanbul 1331/1915; (12) *Khātem al-enbiyā'*, Istanbul 1332/1916; (13) *'Ilel-i akhlāḳiyyemiz*, Istanbul 1332/1916; (14) *Müslümanlara, Türklere ḥakāret, düshmānlara ri'āyet*, Istanbul 1332/1916; (15) *Ittihād-i Islām ve Almanya*, 1333/1917; (16) *Ḳara tehlike*, Istanbul 1334/1918; (17) *Ḥarbden ṣoñra Türkleri yükseltelim*, Istanbul 1917; (18) *Ishtirāk etmediğimiz ḥarekāt*, Istanbul 1917; (19) *Rūm ve Bizans*, Istanbul 1917; (20) *Türkčemiz*, Istanbul 1917; (21) *Djoghrāfyā-yi ta'rīkhī, mülk-i Rūm*, Istanbul 1918; (22) *Tādj giyen millet*, Istanbul 1339/1923; (23) *Türk inḳilābi*, Istanbul 1926.

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(Günay Alpay)

ILETMISH [see iltutmish].

ILGHĀZ [see mu'ammā].

ĪLGHĀZĪ (i.e., "champion of the people") is the name of two local Saldjūḳ rulers of the Artuḳid dynasty who attained power in northern Mesopotamia.

1. Nadjm al-Dīn Īlghāzī I b. Artuḳ. He was first of all a supporter of his brother-in-law Tutush in his eventful struggle for the throne of the Saldjūḳ empire of Persia. After Tutush's defeat and death (488/1095) he withdrew to Jerusalem, which he had received as a fief from Tutush jointly with his brother Suḳmān. The two brothers had, however, after a 40 days' siege to surrender Jerusalem to the Egyptians (Sha'bān 489/July-August 1096). At a later date (from 493/1100), Īlghāzī joined the new pretender Sultan Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of Baghdād in 494/1100-1. He held this important office for four years, ultimately in the service of Sultan Barkyārūḳ and his son Sultan Malikshāh.

When Sultan Muḥammad dismissed him from the governorship of Baghdād in 498/1105, he fell out with this ruler. Between 498 and 501/1105-8 Īlghāzī captured the hitherto impregnable fortress of Mārdīn, one of the most important in the whole of the nearer east, and in 501 we find him also lord of Naṣībīn. In 504, 505, 506-7 and 508/1111-5 he refused to partake in the war which the Muslim *amīrs* of the west were conducting against the Crusaders in Mesopotamia and Syria upon Sultan Muḥammad's orders. During the last of these campaigns he, with two of his nephews, even attacked the commander-in-chief of the Muslim armies Aḳ Sunḳur al-Bursuḳī [*q.v.*] and defeated him (May 1115). The Sultan sent a threatening message to Īlghāzī, who fled to Damascus. Tughtakīn, also on bad terms with the Sultan because of charges of complicity in the murder of Mawdūd, welcomed him, and the two decided on resistance to the Sultan and alliance with the Franks, with whom terms were agreed in a meeting at Lake Ḳadas. Īlghāzī left for Diyār Bakr to assemble a force of Turcomans, but was captured at al-Rastan (between Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt) by Khīrkhān, the governor of Ḥimṣ. Khīrkhān appealed to the Sultan for troops to help defend Ḥimṣ against Tughtakīn, whom meanwhile he held off by threatening to kill Īlghāzī. The troops being delayed, he released Īlghāzī in return for a hostage and a promise of Īlghāzī's protection against Tughtakīn. Released, Īlghāzī went to Aleppo, collected his Turcomans, and returned to lay siege to Ḥimṣ. He was interrupted by the arrival of the Sultan's army commanded by Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ. According to Walter the Chancellor, Tughtakīn and Īlghāzī occupied Aleppo with the intention of offering it to the Sultan, as reparation for the murder of Mawdūd. Their Frankish ally Roger, Prince of Antioch, hastened to dissuade them. After some inconclusive operations and a defeat by the Franks, Bursuḳ returned to the East, where he died while preparing a new expedition. Īlghāzī established good relations with the Saldjūḳ government after the death of Muḥammad and the accession of his son Maḥmūd.

Lu'lu', the governor of Aleppo, was murdered towards the end of 510/1117. Owing to internal disputes the town and district of Aleppo were exposed to the inroads and depredations of the Franks. After Īlghāzī had temporarily occupied Aleppo in 511/1117, but had withdrawn after encountering difficulties, he was appealed to in the following year by its inhabitants as their last hope and recognized as prince of Aleppo. In the second half of 512/1118 Īlghāzī succeeded in definitively gaining possession of Aleppo and thus became a neighbour of the Franks, against whom he at once made energetic preparations. The numerically weaker Franks were outflanked on 17 Rabī' I 513/28 June 1119 by his army of 20,000 men in the valley of Tell 'Afrīn, taken by surprise and for the most part cut to pieces or taken prisoner. Among those who fell was Roger of Antioch. It was one of the greatest battles which the Muslims had so far won against the Crusaders (the village of Balāṭ, after which the battle is often called, appears in Ibn al-'Adīm as Roger's camp on the night of 20 June 1119, eight days before the decisive battle). Antioch now lay defenceless at Īlghāzī's feet; but he neglected to take the city.

The reputation of Īlghāzī's military ability now spread far and wide and he received the chief command over the Muslims in the war which Sultan Maḥmūd was waging in person against the Christian Georgians. Īlghāzī suffered a very severe reverse (Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, 515/1121; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 514/1120), which resulted in the loss of Tiflis to the Georgians. In 516/1122 he was granted Mayyāfāriḳīn by the Sultan in addition to his other lands.

Soon afterwards, on 1 Ramaḍān 516/3 November 1122 (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī: 6 Ramaḍān, al-Fāriḳī: 17

Ramaḍān) Īlghāzī died at the age probably of barely 60 at Mayyāfāriḳīn (Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Faradj; at ʿAdjūlayn on the road from Mārdīn to Mayyāfāriḳīn, according to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahan, ii, Damascus 1954, 206; at al-Fuḥūl, according to Ibn al-Ḳalānisī; on the way from Aleppo to Mayyāfāriḳīn according to Michael the Syrian). At his death he was in possession of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Mārdīn, Aleppo and apparently also of Naṣībīn. He was buried at Mayyāfāriḳīn (for further details see the historian of this town, quoted in Amedroz's footnotes to al-Ḳalānisī). Īlghāzī possessed an influence unequalled at that time over the Turkomans of Mesopotamia. He was a bold and ambitious personality, who claimed a leading position wherever he appeared. He was not a general of great genius; it is said that his drinking habits affected his military decisions. He struck no coins so far as is known (I. Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Istanbul, 1894, 82). He married a daughter of Tughtakīn, Il-Khātūn, and later during his rule over Aleppo also Farkhundā Khātūn, a daughter of the former Saldjūḳ ruler there, Riḍwān. We know the names of several of his children: the daughters Gūhar (al-Fāriḳī: Kumār) Khātūn, who married the Arab chief Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa in 513/1119-20; Yumnā Khātūn, the wife of the Īnālid Īl-Aldī, lord of Āmid, who died in 536/1141-2; Āyāz, died 508/1114-5, Sulaymān, Tīmūrtāsh and Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (?); another daughter whose name is not known married in 495/1101-2 an unnamed son of Tekish, a brother of the great Sultan Malikshāh. Īlghāzī was one of those *amīrs* who were the first to check the advance of the Crusaders to north and east before the time of Zangī and Saladin. Īlghāzī I was the founder of the Artuḳid dynasty of Mārdīn, which survived till 811/1408.

2. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Īlghāzī II, the son of Nadjm al-Dīn Alpī (probably another form of Alp-Bey) and a sister of the Turkish ruler of Armenia, Suḳmān II, succeeded his father in 572/1176-7 (Michael the Syrian: 20 July 1176) as ruler over Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriḳīn, and Raʾs al-ʿAyn (in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 268, however, he appears as early as 569 in possession of Raʾs al-ʿAyn). We have only scanty information about his reign. He first of all oppressed his two paternal (according to another tradition, maternal) uncles, the rulers of Hānī (also written Hana, the modern Hene, north of Āmid) and Dārā, till they recognized his suzerainty, as they had done that of his father: the two uncles appeared at Mārdīn and paid homage to Īlghāzī II. Soon afterwards the latter fell ill. On his recovery he subdued the Arabs who had become turbulent and is said—according to a statement which is probably exaggerated—to have killed several thousands of them and to have taken 12,000 camels from them. He proceeded to extend his sway towards the Euphrates in the district of Bīra (the modern Birecik). His uncle Suḳmān II seems to have had great influence over him. Īlghāzī for example joined the alliance which was concluded towards the end of 578/beginning of spring 1183 by Suḳmān II and ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd I of al-Mawṣil (a cousin of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Īlghāzī) with the intention of checking Saladin's advance into Mesopotamia. The allies, however, found themselves helpless in face of Saladin's successes and, after the death of Suḳmān II, we find Īlghāzī's troops in the army of Saladin in Syria (Ṣafar 580/May-June 1184). Īlghāzī II died soon after, at the beginning of Djumādā II 580/9 September 1184. His principality included, in addition to the areas mentioned, also Dunaysir. His name is mentioned in an inscription on the minaret of a mosque at Mārdīn dated in the year of his accession, but the credit of building it probably belongs to his father Alpī. On the coins struck by Īlghāzī (bronze only, which are called *dirhams*, are known) he calls himself "King of the Amirs" (Malik al-umarāʾ) and, like other Artuḳid rulers of Mārdīn before and after him, Shāh Diyār Bakr, although he did not rule in Āmid, the metropolis of this district. Īlghāzī II left two sons, Ḥusām al-Dīn Yulūḳ Arslān, and al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Artuḳ Arslān, who succeeded their father in turn. Niẓām al-Dīn Alpḳush, one of Īlghāzī's slaves, married his widow, while one of his daughters was married to Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Muʿizz, at about the end of Djumādā I 578/September-October 1182 or a little later.

For a general survey of the period and the bibliography, see artuḳids, adding to the sources there given for Īlghāzī I: Walter the Chancellor, *De bello Antiocheno*, ed. Hagermeyer, 1896, important for his relations with the Franks and even with the Georgians; see also the bibliography to crusades.

(K. Süssheim*)

ILḤĀD [see mulḥid].

ILHĀM (a.) means literally "to cause to swallow or gulp down" (*Lisān*, xvi, 29, especially last two lines). In the Ḳurʾān it appears only in XCI, 8—a celebrated but difficult passage—*fa-alhamahā fudjūrahā wa-taḳwāhā*, "then He (Allāh) made her (a *nafs*) swallow down her sins and her godly fear" (Arberry: "and inspired it to lewdness and godfearing"; Blachère: "et lui a inspiré son libertinage et sa piété"; Paret: "und ihm (je nachdem) die ihm eigene Sündhaftigkeit oder Gottesfurcht eingegeben hat"). The oldest exegetical tradition (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 115 f.) gives two explanations: (i) Allāh explained these to the *nafs*; (ii) Allāh created these in the *nafs*. The Muʿtazilīs chose the first (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, 1612) but orthodox Islam generally chose the second, the almost certainly correct view; thus al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ*, Cairo 1308, viii, 438) and al-Nīsābūrī (margin of Ṭabarī, 100). But al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, ii, 405) follows al-Zamakhsharī and Abu 'l-Suʿūd (margin of al-Rāzī, 273) follows al-Bayḍāwī; cf. Brockelmann, II, 439. But by far the most important use of *ilhām* is in connexion with the doctrine of saints. Allāh reveals himself in two ways: to men individually by knowledge cast into their minds, and to men generally by messages sent through the Prophets. The first, individual, revelation is *ilhām*; the second, and general, is *waḥy* [*q.v.*]. Saints, especially, are the recipients of this *ilhām*, because their hearts are purified and prepared for it. It differs from intellectual knowledge (*ʿilm ʿaḳlī*) in that it cannot be gained by meditation and deduction; but is suddenly communicated while the recipient cannot tell how, whence or why. It is a pure gift from the generosity (*fayḍ*) of Allāh. It differs from *waḥy* only in that the angel messenger who brings *waḥy* may be seen by the Prophet and that *waḥy* brings a message to be communicated to mankind, while *ilhām* is for the instruction of the recipient. From *waswās*, or satanic whispering in the heart, it differs in respect of the causer—an angel as opposed to a devil; and in the things to which it incites—good as opposed to evil (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, ed. with comm. of Sayyid Murtaḍā, vii, 244 ff., 264 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, 252 ff., 275 ff.). But while the fact of *ilhām* was universally admitted,

even Ṣūfīs raised the question of the certainty of the knowledge given by it. So al-Hudjwīrī (*Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, transl. Nicholson, 271) contends that *ilhām* cannot give assured knowledge (*maʿrifa*) of Allāh; but al-Ghazālī would probably have said that al-Hudjwīrī was using *ilhām* in the sense of an idea which one found in his mind, and not of the flashing out of the divine light on the soul which, once experienced, can never be mistaken. Others taught that, while it was sufficient for the recipient, it could not be used to convince others or reckoned as a source of knowledge for men in general. This appears to have been al-Nasafī's position; see his *ʿAḳāʾid* with commentaries of al-Taftāzānī and others, Cairo ed. 1321, 40 f. A very curious use is by Ibn Khaldūn in the sense of "instinct" (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 331, transl. de Slane, ii, 384; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 370) but this, though a natural development, does not seem to have been taken up by others. Yet Ibn Ḥazm speaks of *ilhām* as a *ṭabīʿa* and refers as an illustration to Ḳurʾān, XVI, 70, on the instinct of bees (*Milal*, v, 17).

Bibliography: Add to references above: *Dict. of technical terms*, 1308; al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Cairo 1321, 22 foot; Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt*, 471; L. Massignon, *Ṭawāsīn*, 125-8.

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

ILI, a large river in Central Asia. It is formed by the two rivers Tekes and Kunges, which rise on the northern slopes of the T'ien-Shan Mts.; the united stream of the Ili then flows for some 950 kms. across the northern part of the region known in mediaeval times as "the land of the seven rivers", Yeti-su or Semirečye, into Lake Balkhash. The lower course of the Ili falls within the Soviet Kazakhstan Republic, whilst the eastern part of the Ili river system belongs to the Chinese Sinkiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region.

The Ili is first mentioned in the history of the Chinese T'ang dynasty, when one of the main roads from China to Turkestan passed through its valley (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukioue (Turcs) occidentaux*, 11 ff.). The oldest Muslim source to mention it is the *Ḥudud al-ʿālam* (372/982-3), which says that the Ilā runs into the Īslḳ-Köl (the existence of Lake Balkhash was not known to early Islamic geographers). Kāshgharī calls the Ilā or Īlā "the Djayḥūn of the Turkish country", and he places the Turkish tribe of the Tukhsī in the Ili valley, together with the Yaghmā and part of the Čigil (tr. Atalay, i, 30, 81, 92, 408). The *Ḥudūd* mentions a town in this region, probably to be identified with Kāshgharī's frontier town Iki-ögüz "[situated] between the two rivers", *i.e.*, the Ili and Yafindj, cf. *Ḥudūd*, 71, 208, 276-7, 300-1.

It is not known when Islam first came to the Ili valley, but in the 7th/13th century it was regarded as marking the farthest boundary of the *Dār al-Islām*, and the lands to the east were only converted in the post-Mongol period. Immediately before the Mongol period, northern Semirečye, including the town of Ḳayalīgh (see below), was ruled by the Ḳarluḳ Arslan Khān. He threw off Ḳara Khiṭay suzerainty and negotiated with Čingiz; consequently, the region did not suffer from the Mongol devastations so badly as Transoxania and Khurāsān. The upper parts of the Ili basin contained good pasture for the nomads, and Čaghatay had his *ordu* on the Ili after Čingiz's death. The reports of such travellers as Rubruck (651/1253) and the Chinese envoy to Hülegü's court Chang-tê (657/1259) show that the Ili region was still reasonably flourishing, but that there was a trend towards pastoralization. Rubruck mentions that after crossing the Ili, he came to the town of Equius (*sc.* Ilibalīḳ "town on the Ili"), whose population was Tādjīk, and the Armenian King Haiton (Hetʿum) also visited it. The nearby town of Cailac (*sc.* Ḳayalīgh) is also described as having many merchants (cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, i, 169), and the trading centre of Almalīgh [*q.v.*], to the north of the Ili, was at this time the capital of a small Muslim principality. By the 9th/15th century, however, urban life seems to have disappeared from the region.

From the later 17th century until the destruction of Kalmuck power in Turkestan in 1758, Semirečye and the Ili valley were occupied by the Buddhist Kalmucks or Oyrat. During the time of the great Khān Ghaldan (d. 1108/1697), the Ili valley became regarded as the Khān's personal domain. In the 19th century, it was part of the lands of the Ḳazaḳs, but during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I was annexed by Russia. The upper Ili valley, and especially the town of Ḳuldja [*q.v.*], suffered considerably during the Muslim rebellion in Chinese Turkestan led by Yaʿḳūb Beg. Because of Russian fears that the outbreak might spread, the district of Ḳuldja was in 1871 annexed by Russia, but given back to China in 1883.

During the present century, the main centres of population have been Ḳuldja and the small town of Ili, situated at the junction of the river and the Turkestan-Siberia railway. Navigation is possible during the ice-free months on the Soviet part of the river down to a point near the delta; the waters of the Ili's tributaries are extensively used for irrigation, and the upper reaches are an important source of hydro-electric power (see *BSE*², xvii, 530-1, with a map).

Bibliography: In the text.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ILIČPUR [see Supplement].

ĪLĪDJA (T.) "hot spring", and a bath served by a hot spring (whereas in principle, in Ottoman usage, a *ḥammām* [*q.v.*] is a bath whose water is artificially heated), a characteristically Western Turkish word, the diminutive(?) of *ilī* "hot" (< *ilīg*, cited by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, Ar. text, i, 31 = tr. B. Atalay, i, 31, in contrast to "Turkish" *yilīg*, as an example of the Oghuz tendency to drop initial *y*-).

According to ʿĀṣim (T. translation of al-Fīrūzābādī's *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *al-ḥimma*, = ed. of 1268-72, iii, 435; cited in *TTS*, i, 349), a thermal and curative spring is called "*ilīdja* in Turkish, *ḳapludja* in Bursa, and *bāna* [cf. Serbo-Croat *banja*] in Rumeli"; Redhouse distinguishes *ḳapludja* as "a hot spring roofed in [*ḳaplu*] as a bath; especially any one of the hot-baths of Brousa". These distinctions are perhaps etymological rather than real: *ḳaplīdja* [*q.v.*] is admittedly used primarily of the baths, served by thermal springs, in the Čekirge suburb of Bursa; and Evliyā Čelebi says of Sofia (iii, 399) "in these regions an *ilīdja* is called *bānā*"; yet he himself uses the word *ilīdja* for the baths of Sofia and Buda (vi, 242 ff.), and so too Ferīdūn (i², 599) uses the terms *bāna* and *ilīdja* without apparent distinction in a "Rumelian" context.

Ilīdja is a common toponym in Anatolia (over thirty attestations in *Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946-50). (ED.)

ĪLIYĀ [see AL-ḲUDS].

ĪLKHĀNĪ [see TAʾRĪKH].

ĪLKHĀNS, Mongol dynasty ruling in

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ĪLKHĀNS

- Čingiz Khān
  - Toluy
    - Möngke
    - Ḳubilay
    - Hülegü (I) (654-63/1256-65)
      - ⋮ Baydu (VI) (694-5/1295)
      - Aḥmad (III) (680-3/1282-4)
      - Abaḳa (II) (663-80/1265-82)
        - Gaykhatu (V) (690-4/1291-5)
        - Arghūn (IV (683-90/1284-91)
          - Öldjeytü (VIII) (703-16/1304-16)
            - Abū Saʿīd (IX) (716-36/1316-35)
          - Ghāzān (VII) (694-703/1295-1304)
  - Ögedey
  - Čaghatay
  - Djuči

Persia in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. The first Mongol advance towards the Middle East (1218-21) had touched only the north of the Iranian area and only Khurāsān [q.v.] had, to a certain extent, been subjected to Mongol control. Therefore, when the territories were being divided up under the Great Khan Möngke (1251-9), who himself was fighting in China with his brother Ḳubilay, the task of extending control over Persia, Mesopotamia and, if possible, Syria and Egypt as well, was entrusted to their brother Hülegü [q.v.]. According to Barthold, about 129,000 men were levied for this purpose from the armies in different parts of the empire, and in about 1253-5 Hülegü advanced. He took the Assassin fortress of Alamūt [q.v.], but left the eastern and southern Iranian principalities (Herāt, Fārs, etc.) undisturbed for the time being in order to push forward his advance on Baghdād after negotiations with the Caliph had collapsed. Baghdād fell on 10 February 1258. Hülegü now held southern Mesopotamia and the north of the country fell to him in the following year; only Mayyāfāriḳīn [q.v.] continued to hold out against him.

While Hülegü was absent from the army following the death of Möngke (1259), the advance was to be continued through Syria against the Mamlūks. The conquest of Damascus and other towns was successful; but at ʿAyn Djālūt [q.v.], Ḳotuz [q.v.], with the Mamlūk army which was especially trained for cavalry engagements, obliged the Mongols to halt (3 September 1260) and the new Sultan Baybars I [q.v.], who assumed the sultanate immediately after the victory, proved himself an opponent equal to the Mongols.

This decisive military encounter set upon the empire of the Mongols of Persia its final boundaries: Syria and Palestine remained in the hands of the Mamlūks, with the western edge of the Euphrates valley forming the frontier. To the north of this area it embraced as dependent states Lesser Armenia and Saldjūḳ Asia Minor, which threw off the suzerainty of the Golden Horde, along with the Caucasus region, which had hitherto been subjected, albeit loosely, to this same suzerainty. Various attacks from the north in the following decades failed to loosen the bond between the Caucasus and the Īlkhāns, even when the Georgians engaged in repeated insurrections. The course of the Oxus formed the frontier against Čaghatay's territories in Central Asia. In the east the principality of the Kart [q.v.] dynasty of Herāt remained more or less independent of the Mongol power; also in Makrān [q.v.] there existed for a time a frontier zone of uncertain ownership against the principalities in Balūčistān and the Pandjāb. Likewise the island state of Hurmuz [q.v.] with its possessions and the minor principalities in Luristān as well as in Gīlān and Māzandarān [qq.v.] were able to remain largely independent; only in 1284, through the marriage of a Mongol prince, did Fārs [q.v.] come into the possession of the Īlkhāns.

The rulers of Persia bore this name to indicate that they were dependent on the Great Khān (in Peking). So it remained until the death of Ḳubilay in 1294, the final adoption of Islam by the Persian rulers (1295) severing the close relationship. From that time the name of the Great Khān disappeared from the Persian coinage and in place of the title "Īlkhān", there appeared the designation "Khān". It is customary, however, for historians to designate the rule of the Mongols in Persia until its end in 756/1355 as the "Īlkhānid" period.

The territory of the Īlkhāns was, therefore, essentially a Persian state with the inclusion of Mesopotamia, and hence rather similar in extent to the Sassanian Empire.

For this reason, their policy towards Central Asia, the Golden Horde and Egypt had to be that of a government of Persia, and in internal affairs too the adoption of Persian culture and tradition was as swift as the corresponding process was in China. Indeed, these two Mongol states formed something of a community of interest against the nomadic states (of Čaghatay and the Golden Horde) which, in a certain sense, lasted beyond the year 1295 mentioned above. The cultural assimilation to Persia and the linguistic acceptance of Turkish were certainly delayed so long as the religious differences persisted. Some of the Mongols who had invaded Persia had been Nestorian Christians, but the majority had been Shamanists; in the royal house and among the ruling class there soon became apparent (even under Hülegü) a tendency towards Buddhism, which perhaps is connected with the fairly close relations with China, and perhaps goes back to the missionary activity of Buddhist priests, *bhikshus* (details on whose origin remain doubtful, just as all our sources—all non-Buddhist

—give scarcely more precise information about the spread of the Buddha's teaching). In any case, it found a fertile ground among the rulers and strengthened them in their hostile attitude towards Sunnī Islam, an attitude apparently dictated also for reasons of state during the decades of rivalry with Egypt (while conversely Islam formed the link for political and economic relations between Egypt and the Golden Horde, which led to an equally enduring coalition against the Īlkhāns). The enmity against Sunnī Islam resulted in a tolerance of the Shīʿa, as for example was achieved after the capture of Baghdād under the leadership of the mathematician and astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]; this had very favourable effects for their social position and their admittance to the administration. Preference was shown also to the Christians, especially the Nestorians, to whom Hülegü's favourite wife Doḳūz Khātūn (d. 1265) belonged; she was also of assistance to the Jacobites and helped to win over the Christians in Syria to the Īlkhān cause.

At the same time the favourable policy towards the Christians made it possible to enter into diplomatic relations with the Christian West; these had already been initiated before Hülegü, but became especially noteworthy under his son and successor Abaḳa (663/1265-680/1282), himself a Buddhist. This led to closer relations, particularly with the Papal See and the France of Louis IX (St. Louis) as well as with a few Crusader states, as being the stubborn opponents of the Mamlūks. A proposed joint campaign against the Egyptian state (1269) miscarried as a result of the impossibility of agreeing on the time to undertake it. On the other hand, a simultaneous blow planned by the rival coalition in the Caucasus and on the Oxus (1268-69) was also unsuccessful.

Thus Abaḳa could carry through a strengthening of the state founded by his father within the frontiers described above, and thereby he became its true organizer. At the same time he promoted the Buddhist mission, and this openly by building many Buddhist temples. This was balanced by his tolerant attitude towards the Christians. The Nestorians thanked him for this in 1281 by the choice of a Christian Uyghur as Catholicos (Y(h)aballahā III, until 1317), who on account of his descent had access to the court and was able to obtain many privileges, even though he knew neither Arabic nor Syriac.

Abaḳa's death of a fever (1282) introduced a period of confusion. His brother immediately embraced Islam and took the name Aḥmad. This led to an easing of tension with Egypt which, however, did not endure after his fall at the hands of his nephew, Abaḳa's son Arghūn [*q.v.*], in 1284. The latter, zealously devoted to Buddhism but lacking any real idea of the financial strength of his state, gave a free hand to the *wazīr* Saʿd al-Dawla, who remained true to his Jewish faith, gave control of many districts to his relatives, and by exorbitant demands for money repeatedly stirred up unrest among the population. This brought him to a violent end immediately after Arghūn's death in 1291. The new ruler Gaykhātū [*q.v.*], Arghūn's brother, confronted by a financial crisis, attempted the introduction in 1294 of paper money on the Chinese model (and called by the Chinese word *čao*) (see K. Jahn, *Das Iranische Papiergeld*, in *ArO*, x (1935), 308-40). In view of the complete novelty of this form of currency in the Middle East, this led to an immediate and widespread breakdown of trade and commerce. Although he had lifted the measures after only a few months, Gaykhātū was overthrown (March 1295) and the new Khān Baydu [*q.v.*], from another branch of the family, did not succeed in retaining his position, in spite of his attempt to gather round him the Buddhist circles and those true to the *yasa* [*q.v.*].

The collapse of the financial organization was accompanied by a general increase in brigandage accompanied by a disruption of the postal system [see YAM] set up by the Mongols, which in its turn led to the ruin of agriculture in many places, to the devastation of wide tracts of territory, to marked signs of inflation and to a trade crisis. General disintegration had seized the land, and this seemed all the more menacing when both the Mamlūks and the Golden Horde were preparing for fresh attacks on the Īlkhān state. Thus it was the most urgent task of the new ruler Ghāzān [*q.v.*], Arghūn's son, who succeeded at the age of 24 on 9 November 1295, to work for peace and order. He did this by introducing a great work of reform under the guidance of the *wazīrs* Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] and ʿAlī Shāh which affected public administration, agriculture, trade and public welfare, even though many of his measures never really came to fruition in the short time available. It was also of fundamental importance that he conformed with the change in circumstances and embraced Sunnī Islam, to which the majority of leading men had in the meantime adhered, a step which did not completely suppress old Mongol traditions, such as the respected public status of women, but one which set the seal on the fusion of Mongols and Turks in Persia. This has influenced the pattern of settlement on the Iranian plateau to the present day, particularly in Ādharbāydjān where the capitals of Ṭabrīz, Marāgha and (from 1307) Sulṭāniyya (near Ḳazwīn) [*qq.v.*] were situated.

Ghāzān was however prudent enough to show a conciliatory attitude towards the Shīʿa; he visited their shrines and assisted their cause with money. Thus he was in a sufficiently strong position to reject the demands of the Golden Horde that he should move out of the Caucasus and to undertake an (unsuccessful) attempt to conquer Syria.

On the death of Ghāzān in 703/1304 the state of the Īlkhāns had passed its zenith. Ghāzān's brother, Öldjeytü, did not continue the work of reform but did at least act capably in the internal administration and in the military sphere. On the other hand, his embracing of Shīʿism in 1310 brought great affliction to the country, since he now proceeded with severe measures against the Sunnīs, who were still in the majority; the Christians also suffered more under him than they had under Ghāzān (who had quickly suppressed the attempted campaign of terrorism against them in 1295-6). Thus, civil war was threatening the state when Öldjeytü died in 716/1316 and his young son Abū Saʿīd (the first Mongol ruler with a purely Islamic name) reverted to Sunnī Islam. His youth, however, permitted the various factions around him to indulge in many kinds of intrigues. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, also important as an historian, was executed in 1318. Into his place stepped a general, Čūbān (Čoban) [see ČŪBĀNIDS] who collaborated with the other vizier ʿAlī Shāh until the latter's death in 724/1324, but who revealed no statesmanlike skill of his own and fell victim to a plot three years later through a concatenation of unfortunate circumstances. From that time on the two factions of Čūbān's son, Ḥasan Küčük, and his former son-in-law, Ḥasan Buzurg [*q.v.*], fought each other almost continually. Abū Saʿīd no longer played a significant part in this; he died in 736/1335 on a campaign in the Caucasus.

With the death of Abū Saʿīd the Mongol dynasty practically came to an end, although until 756/1355 a motley succession of princes of the house —and even a princess in 1339-40—were installed and deposed as Khāns. The real power lay in the hands of the two Ḥasans, of whom the younger was murdered in 1344 and the elder gradually repulsed to Baghdād, where he founded the dynasty of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*], whose sway remained limited to Mesopotamia. The outlying territories of Asia Minor, Georgia, Little Armenia and the Kurtids had in the meantime broken away from the empire. In Fārs the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] took control, in Māzandarān and further east the Sarbedārids [*q.v.*], and central Persia had to endure the incessant battles of local rulers. In 1357-8, Ādharbaydjān was occupied for a short time by the Golden Horde. Only the campaigns of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] put an end to this internal collapse—and then only for a short time as the foundations of the empire he created also proved weak.

Under the Īlkhāns Persia, for the first time for centuries, was brought together as a territorial and political entity (even though this was thanks to the toleration of independent minor states): and thus this period must be regarded as of the highest significance for the country. There emerged an unusual development of the arts; and the promotion of various branches of science—while limited in aim (astronomy as a development from astrology, medicine, historiography)—finally raised the standard of the whole nation.

Our information on the period of the Īlkhāns is very extensive; first we have the abundant Persian historiography, especially the works of Djuwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and Waṣṣāf [*qq.v.*]; then the independent historiography in Syriac (Barhebraeus, *Chronography*), which views the course of events from a Christian standpoint and thus brings valuable supplementary information, especially on cultural history. Besides these sources, we have works in Arabic, firstly Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*], whose work on events in Mesopotamia is very enlightening for administrative history, then the numerous works of early Mamlūk Egyptian history, which reflect the Mamlūk point of view and therefore shed light on external events and provide a contrast with Persian works. There are also several important notices in Georgian, Armenian, Byzantine and Western works which should not be overlooked. The large number of surviving coins form a reliable alternative for the almost complete lack of original documents.

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(B. Spuler)

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Īlkhānid art represents the art of the Mongol period of Iran, that is from the time when Hūlāgū assumed the title of Īlkhān until the death of Abū Saʿīd (middle of the 7th/13th century till 736/1335). It is the period of the strongest Far Eastern influence in the country, which shows itself most extensively in textiles, ceramics and miniature painting and brought into common Muslim use a number of new iconographic themes of Chinese derivation, such as the lotus, the phoenix (*feng-huang*) and square Kūfī writing, which was probably inspired by Chinese seal characters. In many other respects Īlkhānid art is the stylistic continuation and refinement of Saldjūḳ art, especially in its first half. In turn the art of several minor dynasties developing on the ruins of the Mongol sulṭānate (Indjū and Muẓaffarid in Shīrāz, Djalāyirid in Tabrīz and Baghdād, and Kart in Herāt) continue the Mongol tradition and thus

constitute the link between it and subsequent Tīmūrid art.

Architecture. The religious and secular buildings within the present political boundaries of Iran have been listed and described by D. N. Wilber (*Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid period*, Princeton 1955; Persian translation by ʿAbd Allāh Faryār: *Miʿmārī-yi islāmī-yi Īrān dar dawre-yi Īlkhān*, Ṭehrān, 1346/1967; for some corrections and additions see the review by Myron Bement Smith in *JAOS*, lxxvi (1956), 243-7). To this body of buildings should be added the Russian publications on the monuments of Ādharbaydjān and the Turkmen S. S. R. (summarized in L. S. Bretanitskii, *Zodčestvo Azerbaidžana XII-XV vv. i ego mesto v arkhitekture peredeniego vostoka*, Moscow 1966; G. A. Pugačenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana*, Moscow, 1967). In general the plans, techniques and decorative schemes of the Saldjūḳ period continue, especially when after nearly five decades of inactivity a new architectural boom developed. This change of pace was due to the Islamization, Iranization and urbanization of the dynasty under Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304). The main religious buildings were mosques, *madrasas*, mausolea, shrines and *khānḳāhs*. The novel stylistic tendencies are a stress of the vertical by means of higher, often ovoid domes, higher and narrower eyvāns (barrel-vaulted halls open toward the courtyard end), minarets flanking portals or eyvāns and colonettes at corners; the subdivision and opening-up of non-bearing walls through windows, bays, niches and stairways; and stronger use of colour not only in the form of painted plaster decoration, usually in relief, but more specifically, after about 710/1310, by the use of faience mosaic for total wall coverage (D. N. Wilber, *The development of mosaic faience in Islamic architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 40-7). The classic Iranian mosque developed in the Saldjūḳ period with four eyvāns cross-axially arranged around a courtyard and with a high dome chamber in front of the *miḥrāb* occurs only in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Varāmīn (722-6/1322-6) and under Muẓaffarid rule in Kirmān (750/1349). However, the two earlier mosque types consisting of an open, domed kiosk based on the *čahār-ṭāḳ* fire-temple or of a large single eyvān still occur, namely in the Masdjid-i Bābā ʿAbd Allāh in Nāyīn of 700/1300, in the three mosques of about 725/1325 in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, at Dashtī, Kādj and Ezirān, the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Ardabīl rebuilt in the early 8th/14th century and respectively, in the monumental Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of ʿAlī Shāh in Tabrīz of ca. 710-20/1310-20. While on his visit to Iran in 727/1327 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa speaks repeatedly of *madrasas* which according to him served not only as religious schools but also as *zāwiya* (hostel, hermitage or convent). However, only four such buildings have been preserved, all of them post-Īlkhānid properly speaking. Of these the more significant are the Madrasa Imāmī of 755/1354 and the Madrasa in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ built between 768 and 778/1366 and 1376, both in Iṣfahān and following the four eyvān-scheme with cells for the students between the eyvāns. The importance given to mausolea particularly to imāmzādas (or burial places of descendants of the Shīʿite imāms) is apparent from their large number, as they comprise 39 monuments among the 119 listed by Wilber. They fall into two major categories, both with an inner dome over the burial chamber in the centre of which there is the sarcophagus, if the latter is not placed in a vaulted crypt underneath. They are either square chambered with more horizontally dominant features, of which the Gunbad-i ʿAlaviyān with very high florid stucco decoration of ca. 715/1315 (according to E. Herzfeld and Wilber, or ca. 1200-1250 according to Minorsky) is an outstanding example; or they constitute the larger group of the taller, vertically oriented tomb towers which can be round, square or polyhedral and are covered by exposed domes or polyhedral tent domes or conical roofs. The earliest is the Imāmzāda Shāh Čirāgh in Shīrāz of 628-58/1230-59 and they were being built throughout the period and after it, the last being the Imāmzāda Khwādja ʿImād al-Dīn of 792-1390 in Ḳumm, a town which is particularly rich in mausolea (ten in number, the earliest being of 677/1278). The other town which has preserved many such buildings in its vicinity is Iṣfahān, where the most important is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Bakrān, known as Pīr-i Bakrān in Lindjān of which the tomb chamber, deep eyvān and entrance passageway were built between 698 and 712/1299 and 1312 and which is very important for its lavish display of carved stucco decorations and faience revetments. The lofty tomb tower of Ghāzān built between ca. 1297 and 1305 in Ghāzāniyye, a suburb of Tabrīz, was destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās I, but the undoubtedly even more remarkable mausoleum of Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda in Sulṭāniyya of 705-13/1305-13 is fairly well preserved, although various subsidiary buildings and a surrounding wall with towers have disappeared (a view of the town with this building as seen in 944/1537 in a MS of Naṣūḥ al-Ṣilāḥī al-Matraki is illustrated in colour in E. Akurgal, C. Mango and R. Ettinghausen, *Treasures of Turkey*, Geneva 1966, 201). A. Godard has characterized it as "certainly the finest example known of Mongol architecture, one of the most competent and typical products of Persian Islamic building and technically perhaps the most interesting" ("The Mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sulṭāniya", in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1103-18; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 139-41). While Öldjeytü followed the Shīʿite persuasion (after 709/1309), he meant to have the remains of the Caliph ʿAlī and of his son, the Imām Ḥusayn, transferred to his mausoleum, but this project was not realized. The building is an enormous octagon, about 126 feet (39 m.) wide with the burial chamber containing the cenotaph of the Sultan in a rectangular addition opposite the entrance. The outer walls are lightened on each side by a huge gallery with three openings and the inside by two-storied arcades. A terrace at the base of the dome has a minaret at each corner. The "perfectly conceived and constructed" dome itself has a span of 80 feet (24.5 m.), is single-shelled and solely built of bricks without buttresses, pinnacles or shoulders. The building is richly decorated by painted, flat stucco carvings, much of it imitating brickwork and brick-end plugs, tile revetment, faience mosaic and, on the inside, painting in the manner of book illuminations. Also in this period whole sanctuary complexes were constructed around tombs of venerated saints, such as that of Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī consisting of the shrine proper, a Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ and a tomb tower, built between 700 and 713/1300 and 1313 (A. U. Pope, in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1080-6; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 127-8), that of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Iṣfahānī in Naṭanz, built between 704 and 725/1304 and 1325 which comprises besides the tomb a Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, a minaret and a *khānḳāh* (Pope, *op. cit.*, 1086-9, A Godard, *Naṭanz*, in *Āthār-é Īrān*, i, 1936, 83-102; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 133-4); and also that of Aḥmad b. Abu 'l-Ḥasan, known

as Shaykh Djām, in Turbat-i Shaykh Djām, where there is a fairly well-integrated congregate of various units erected ca. 1330 (Wilber, *op. cit.*, 174). Finally a religious monument of great distinction is the *miḥrāb* of delicately carved stucco of 710/1310 in a side prayer hall of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ of Iṣfahān, which dates from the Shīʿite period of Öldjeytü. That few secular buildings are preserved is partly due to the fact that Īlkhānid rulers preferred to live in luxurious tents till the end of their rule and that such monuments were built of wood and other perishable material. In the Mongol mountain town of Saturiḳ, a site now called Takht-i Sulaymān, is a large ruined eyvān, decorated with niches topped by stalactites; it was part of a palace which according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was rebuilt by Abāḳā Khān and has been dated ca. 1275 by Wilber (*op. cit.*, 112). As the intensive German excavations between 1960 and 1964 elucidated, the intricate palace complex was composed of various units such as isolated eyvāns, cross-shaped buildings either with a central court or a central dome, rectangular halls, a twelve-sided building, etc., all erected along the four sides of a huge near-square layout with pillars forming an arcade around the courtyard with the oval lake in the centre. Wall tiles with geometric designs and partially glazed blue and green were discovered there, as well as two capitals decorated with Chinese dragons. In addition, a great deal of locally manufactured pottery, especially of the so-called Garrūs type (which had previously been dated 5th/11th to 7th/13th century), and moulds for *miḥrāb*s and animal sculptures appeared in the ruins. Furthermore, a square building with a carved doorway, apparently covered by a central dome was found to be Mongol (although it was formerly thought to be Parthian) and it was assumed that it might be a mausoleum. Finally, there was a large Mongol gateway. All these discoveries were unique and thus of the greatest importance for our understanding of secular Iranian architecture (R. Naumann, W. Kleiss, et. al., *Takht-i Suleiman and Zendan-i Suleiman*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, lxxvi (1961), cols. 51-9; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1962, cols. 660-70; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1964, cols. 27-65; idem et al., *ibid.*, 1965, cols. 697-713). In addition, three poorly preserved caravanserais of the standard court type were found near Marand (ca. 1330-5), Sīn (730-1/1330-1) and Sarčam (733/1332), of which in each case the best preserved part proved to be the single portal. In Sīn it is followed by an unusual hexagonal vestibule, while in Sarčam the cut stone entrance doorway and inscription above it betray Syrian influence. The most unusual secular building was probably the observatory built about 656/1258 at Marāgha on Hūlāgū's orders from plans prepared by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. The structure is known to have contained a dome and a library, to which Ghāzān Khān added yet another dome, all of which were already in ruins in 1340 when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī wrote his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*.

A novel feature of the Mongol period was the massing of public buildings in newly constructed quarters, such as the Ghāzāniyya of Ghāzān Khān and Rabʿ-i Rashīdī built by his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, both near Tabrīz. Thus the former included besides the sultan's mausoleum and his palace buildings, a mosque, two *madrasas*, a *khānḳāh*, a *zāwiya* for *sayyids*, an observatory, a hospital, a library, archive and administrative buildings, *ḥammāms* and a fountain, while the latter boasted two mosques, *madrasas*, a *khānḳāh*, scientific institutions, two libraries, hospitals, *ḥammāms*, caravanserais, spinning mills, paper factories, a dye house, a mint and gardens (K. Jahn, *Täbris, ein mittelalterliches Kultuurzentrum zwischen Ost und West*, in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse*, Jahrg. 1968, No. 11, pp. 207, 210). It is not specifically known whether or not these structures were built in a coordinated or more haphazard fashion; if the first assumption is right (and much speaks for it), this Mongol activity would be the forerunner of the "*külliyye*" foundations of the Ottoman sultans in Iznik, Bursa and Istanbul.

Ceramics. The main manufacturing centre was Kāshān, since Rayy did not resume its activities after the Mongol destruction of ca. 1220. Throughout the period Kāshān produced both large scale *miḥrāb*s and small scale tile revetments (both called *kāshī* after the town) as well as pottery. Of these the production of the *miḥrāb*s was the more conservative. Symbolizing a niche, they usually formed a succession of flat arches with the innermost often showing a lamp (in reference to Sūra XXIV, verse 35) and had as their main decoration Ḳurʾānic passages or invocations of the Shīʿī imāns, rendered in dark blue relief set against a lustre background. The manufacture starts as early as 623/1226 and continues as late as 734/1333, and as the signed pieces indicate was at times practised by family workshops. As the often dated tiles show, they were made throughout the period and as late as 739/1338. They were usually lustre painted and formed dadoes in which eight-pointed stars alternate with cross-shaped units; from ca. 1300 on, the latter were for contrast's sake glazed cobalt blue or turquoise green. While the tiles for religious buildings showed floral or arabesque designs, those made for secular structures displayed realistically rendered animals and, occasionally, figural subjects in the Saldjūḳ tradition. Only in the 8th/14th century do the depicted personages begin to wear Mongol costumes. Toward the end of the 7th/13th century rather coarse relief designs appear with Far Eastern motifs in the centre and large *naskh* writing in white on a blue ground as the framing device. In the 8th/14th century there is a definite decline in the artistic quality.

Throughout the 7th/13th century the pottery, too, followed Saldjūḳ tradition, but was slowly losing the delicate details and general refinement of the earlier wares. A new, nearly hemispherical shape appears and also a heavily shaped bowl whose upper walls are vertical and crested with a flange which projects both outward and inward; there is also a new interior decorative scheme of radial segments filled with alternating motifs. While overglaze painting (called *mīnāʾī*) disappears in this period, other techniques emerge which become specifically identified with this period. These are a ware with underglaze painting in green, blue and purple on a white ground made between 672/1274 and 729/1329; a ware with a characteristic deep cobalt blue glaze with overglaze painted designs in white, red and gold used for both pottery and tiles (only one dated tile of 715/1315 so far discovered); finally there are three related wares which can be attributed to the first four decades of the 8th/14th century and which, though erroneously connected with the modern town of Sulṭānābād (where the earliest pieces had been found), still show stylistic connections with the earlier Kāshān production. Their common aspect is a coarse clay body, heavy potting, a very dense underglaze painted design in which the ground nearly disappears usually under a display of foliage, and a

preference for a subdued chromatic range consisting of greys, browns and whites with dark blue and turquoise only discreetly used. The flower and animal motifs are often of Far Eastern origin and the figures wear Mongol costume. This type of pottery had a strong influence in other Muslim countries, even those politically at odds with the Mongols. Its style is therefore found not only in the pottery of the Golden Horde at Saray Berke, but also in Damascus and Cairo (A. Lane, *Later Islamic pottery. Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey*, London 1957, 6-20). The material evidence of the pieces themselves is corroborated and supplemented by a section in a Persian MS of 700/1300 in which Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir, son and brother of two well-known Kās̲h̲ān potters, provides information about the raw materials and technical processes involved in the contemporary Kās̲h̲ān production of glazed ceramics (H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre and R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, Istanbul 1935).

Metalwork. It is difficult to differentiate the Iranian objects from those made in neighbouring countries especially in the D̲j̲azīra. The designs on the brasses of the 7th/13th century and those of the 8th/14th century, inlaid with silver and sometimes with gold, and very rarely with copper, become progressively drier, more rigid and less imaginative in comparison to those of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period. However, they continue the earlier modes of decoration, particularly the deployment of the patterns in registers with skilfully arranged roundels and cartouches of various sizes set against formalized background designs, and often using human figures in court scenes. In this respect they show the strong imprint of Mesopotamian, especially Mawṣil work, although it must be remembered that the pieces from that region were originally themselves influenced by the Iranian metal production. (For a study of a special group starting in 705/1305 with a bowl by a S̲h̲īrāzī artist see Eva Baer, *Fish-pond ornaments on Persian and Mamluk metal vessels*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 14-27). Chinese influence is occasionally found (R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *A Persian bronze mortar of the Mongol period*, in *Proc. XXVth Int. Congress of Orientalists*, 9th-16th August 1960, Moscow 1963, ii, 204-6). That the period is not without creative ability is demonstrated by a number of new shapes for caskets, especially a polygonal one with a domed cover. Dated pieces of the 8th/14th century indicate that in the second half of the Mongol period there is a growing predilection for the sole use of inscriptions, floral designs, arabesques and geometric patterns, although a bowl of 752/1351 still has human figures in the uninterrupted main register. L. Giuzalian has identified a production in S̲h̲īrāz made for the Ind̲j̲ū Sultan Abū Isḥāḳ (see *Proc. XXVth Int. Congress of Orientalists*, ii, 174-8). S̲h̲īrāz work continued under the Muẓaffarids, as a signed piece in the Cairo Museum of 761/1360 indicates. A different type of metalwork, a huge bronze basin by an Iṣfahānī artist, carrying the name of the Sultan G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū Bakr of the Kart dynasty, was cast in 776/1375 for the Masd̲j̲id-i D̲j̲āmiʿ in Herāt (A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Un basin iranien de l'an 1375*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n.s. lxxiii (1969), 5-18). A third, and again different post-Mongol group consists of a number of richly silver inlaid bowls with elaborate miniature-like court scenes in or between roundels which foreshadow the Tīmūrid painting style. (A general survey in D. Barrett, *Islamic metalwork in the British Museum*, London 1949, pp. XVII-XIX).

Textiles. There is no doubt that fabrics were woven in Iran during the Mongol period, but modern research has so far not been able to distinguish them clearly from the products of other Muslim regions and possibly even from those made in China. These textiles called *panni tartarici* in Western sources represent an international luxury style. It is, however, obvious that the overall organization based on roundels with one or two heraldically rendered animals and an interstitial pattern which had been developed in Sāsānian times and was still current in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period was no longer the main arrangement. Chinese ideas had thoroughly destroyed that convention of many centuries and had introduced new composition schemes and Far Eastern motifs. The arrangement which was closest to the old system was an overall pattern of pointed ovals formed by a system of stems which enclose animals in a circular setting. Otherwise there was often an open composition with animals in alternate rows placed in dense vegetation. The most common organizational schemes were bands of various width with Arabic inscriptions, flowers, geometric and other formal designs and, to a lesser extent, with animals and birds. The key piece is the burial robe of Duke Rudolf IV of Austria (1365) in the Episcopal Museum in Vienna which has the name of Īlk̲h̲ān Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd woven in it; this in turn is close to the fabric found in the tomb of Cangrande I at Verona (1329) (G. Sangiorgi, *Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande I della Scala*, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, n.s. i (1921), 441-57; see also Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913, ii, 50-63, now antiquated, but richly illustrative material; W. Mannowski, *Kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien aus dem Schatz der Marienkirche*, Danzig 1929, vol. 3, vol. 2, nos. 30-33; Phyllis Ackerman, *Textiles of the Islamic periods*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2042-61; Lane, *Later Islamic pottery*, 3-5).

The Art of the Book. The period's earliest dated book bindings of 676/1277 and 697 or 699/1297 or 1299 respectively, both from Marāg̲h̲a, use blind tooling to create a central mandorla-shaped medallion and triangular corner pieces within a simple frame. The punches are limited in number and all of a geometric nature with the exception of two arabesques on the flap of the second piece. In composition and in its filling devices this binding is still in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ tradition and only in the following century does the style advance. Thus on a thirty-volume Ḳurʾān set made in Hamadān in 713/1313 for Sultan Öld̲j̲eytü gold tooling in the form of dots appears and is applied to a larger and more elaborate circular medallion filled with geometric patterns. Designs impressed into the lining (doublure) of the binding are first found in 704/1304 and the first signature stamp in 706/1306. By 735/1334 the central medallion and corner pieces have become bigger and have a more elaborate outline, while in 781/1379 the earlier mode of filling the decorative forms with geometric strapwork has been replaced by arabesques and even naturalistic floral branches. Overall large scale geometric configurations as found in Mamlūk Egypt remain, however, unknown, and in the 8th/14th century the use of gold tooling remains still limited (R. Ettinghausen, *The covers of the Morgan* Manāfiʿ *manuscript and other early Persian bookbindings*, in *Studies in art and literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner, Princeton 1954, 459-73; K. B. Gardner, *Three early Islamic book-*

bindings, in *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxvi, (1962), 29-30).

More spectacular than the bindings are the illuminations, especially the "carpet pages" in Ḳurʾāns and other MSS. Here again Öldjeytü was the great patron, as is shown by the large size, thirty-volume Ḳurʾān set in the National Library, Cairo, created in Hamadān in 713/1313. Here colourful arabesques and knot designs were placed within ever changing geometric layouts. Other giant Ḳurʾān MSS were written for the same sultan in Baghdād in 706/1306 and in Mawṣil in 710/1310. A Rashīd al-Dīn MS of 710/1310 demonstrates that other texts were also handsomely decorated, in this case with a carpet-like repeat pattern within a richly treated frame. Its design is, however, in a less monumental, more delicate style and the same general tendency is noticeable in later Ḳurʾān MSS of 728/1327 and 738/1338. All these illuminations have a character of their own which distinguishes them from both the Saldjūḳ and Tīmūrid creations (R. Ettinghausen, *Manuscript illumination*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 1954-9).

In spite of conservative tendencies in certain early MSS and even in the late MSS painted in Shīrāz between 731/1330 and 741/1341 under the Indjü Sultans, miniature painting of the Īlkhānid period achieved a complete break with traditions evolved by Arab or Saldjūḳ Iranian ateliers, or as the Ṣafavid calligrapher and painter Dūst Muḥammad expressed it in 951/1544: Its first great master (Aḥmad Mūsā) "withdrew the covering from the face of painting and invented the kind of painting which is current at the present time". The evolution developed rapidly from MS to MS and, as already the earliest MS, Djuwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā* of 689/1290 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, indicates, is engendered by a strong Chinese influence. In this earliest MS as well as in a group of undated small-size *Shāh-nāma* MSS of the early 8th/14th century and in the Shīrāz MSS between 1330 and 1341 it is only Chinese motifs and Far Eastern costumes which betray the new trend, but in many miniatures of the next MS, Ibn Bakhtīshūʿ's *Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* of 697-699/1297 or 1299 in the Morgan Library, there is in addition a new indication of spatial depth, an interest in the rendition of landscape and impressionistic tendencies to depict small plants. In MSS of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* of 706/1306, 714/1314 and 717/1318 the polychrome Saldjūḳ manner is replaced by a linear style with subdued partial colouring. In addition pure landscape renditions and a novel interest in the portrayal of human drama and emotions are to be found. The activities of the next two to three decades are not quite clear, as there are no dated MSS preserved. However, a MS which is usually regarded as the major product of the late period of Sultan Abū Saʿīd and the following years (ca. 1330-40), a large size *Shāh-nāma* fragment (often called the "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*" after its first antiquarian owner) shows various experimental stages of the amalgamation of the novel concepts. At times they appear in somewhat confused compositions, but many miniatures reveal that a new style has been born, so that the MS presents itself in the monumental manner which is commensurate with its subject matter. It goes back to the rich palette of the pre-Mongol styles for figures and architecture but this is combined with three-dimensional monochrome elements used for such landscape features as trees, rocks, hills and receding ridges. While in some paintings there is a full awareness of the new concepts of three-dimensionality, in others space is restricted by placing the action or scene into a narrow frontal zone which is cut off by decoratively treated elements of the background such as hills or an architectural screen. More than in any other MS narration is turned into a heroic spectacle reflecting at times a specific mood. This is even mirrored in the landscapes, which therefore become an important element in the composition. A large body of detached miniatures of historical, legendary, folkloristic and eschatological nature found in eight albums in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi of Istanbul and in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (now Tübingen) reflects the same stylistic stage and also that of the following decades. Among them are miniatures from a *Miʿrādj-nāma* with old attributions to Aḥmad Mūsā, who is credited with such a work by Dūst Muḥammad and is called the leading master of the period. The same general data applies probably to the cut-out paintings of a large scale *Kalīla wa-Dimna* MS, now in the University Library, Istanbul, where the more successful integration of the figures and landscape speaks for a slightly later date than that of the more experimental "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*". The only dated MS of this period and style is a *Garshāsp-nāma* of 754/1354 also in the Topkapı Sarayı which represents a stylistic stage after the "Demotte *Shāh-nāmeh*", but still reflects its manner. A more advanced style, possibly from another locality, if the paintings were not executed at a later date than the MS, is found in another *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the text of which is dated 744/1343 (in Cairo), where the figures are more diminutive while the landscape is purely decorative and the space hardly rendered. This is a general tendency whlch is clearly noticeable in various dated MSS of the second half of the 8th/14th century (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, Basil Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London 1933, 29-48, 184; D. Barrett, *Persian painting in the fourteenth century*, London n.d.; E. Kühnel, *History of miniature painting and drawing*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 1833-41; R. Ettinghausen, *On some Mongol miniatures*, in *Kunst des Orients*, iii (1959), 44-65; B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961, 19-55 (bibliography: p. 173); B. W. Robinson, *Persian painting*, London 1967, 35-42; 84-5; on the albums: R. Ettinghausen, *Persian Ascension miniatures*, in XII Convegno Volta (Accademia dei Lincei, Roma), Rome 1957, 360-83; M. S. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964; idem, *Malerei der Mongolen*, Munich 1965).

Bibliography of publications treating of the whole subject: "Ilkhan Art", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vii, New York 1963, columns 788-98 with extensive bibliography; and chapters in the general histories of Islamic art, *e.g.*, those by Georges Marçais, Ernst Kühnel and Katharina Otto-Dorn. For the decorative arts and painting see also Oleg Grabar, *Persian art before and after the Mongol conquest*, University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor 1959; idem, "The visual arts, 1050-1350" in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 626-58.

(R. Ettinghausen)

ʿILLA "cause", pl. *ʿilal*.

i.—Grammar

The idea of the *ʿilla* is important, and appears in the earliest treatises. In fact, Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, who sees ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (d. 117/735) as the founder of *naḥw*, says of him: "he enlarged the scope of *ḳiyās* and explained the *ʿilal*" (al-Ḳifṭī,

*Inbā*ʾ, ii, 105). Few grammarians, however, have dealt with the question of *ʿilal* for its own sake: al-Zadjdjādjī, in ch. 5 (64-6) of the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal al-naḥw* (Cairo 1378/1959); Ibn Djinnī, in several chapters of the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i (Cairo 1371/1952), 48-95, 144-63, 173-4, 174-80, 183-4; al-Suyūṭī, in ch. 4 *al-ʿilla* (54-68) of the *Kitāb al-Iḳtirāḥ fī ʿilm uṣūl al-naḥw* (Cairo 1310); from him we know that Ibn al-Sarrādj dealt with it at the beginning of his *Uṣūl*, and al-Ḥusayn al-Dīnawarī al-Djalīs (*Bughya*, 236) in the *Kitāb Thimār al-ṣināʿa* (in MS., see Brockelmann S I, 514).

Al-Zadjdjādjī (d. 337/948-9), in this ch. 5 *ʿilal al-naḥw*, says that they are artificial (*mustanbaṭa*) and not necessitating (*laysat mūdjiba*), and puts them into three categories: *taʿlīmiyya, ḳiyāsiyya, djadaliyya naẓariyya*. The first are concerned with the teaching (*taʿlīm*) of the language of the Arabs, permit it to be learnt and are included among the norms that rule it. One says: *ḳāma Zaydun*, "Zayd rose", with Zayd in the *rafʿ* (nominative), and if the question is asked: why is Zayd in the *rafʿ*? the answer is—and this is the *ʿilla*—because he is the *fāʿil*, "the agent" of the verb, which affects him and puts him in the *rafʿ*. One says: *inna Zaydan ḳāʾimun*, "Zayd is standing". Why, in this case, should Zayd be in the *naṣb* (accusative) and *ḳāʾim* in the *rafʿ*? The answer is: because of *inna*, which puts the noun following it in the *naṣb* and the *khabar* (predicate) in the *rafʿ*. This reply expresses the *ʿilla*.

ʿIlal ḳiyāsiyya are concerned with explanations founded on *ḳiyās*, "analogy": in the case of *inna Zaydan ḳāʾimun*, why should *inna* put the noun in the *naṣb*? Because (*ʿilla ḳiyāsiyya*) it resembles a transitive verb; it is thus thought of as comparable with it and behaves like it, because of this resemblance. From a formal point of view, *Zaydan* is comparable with the object of the verb in the *naṣb*, and *ḳāʾim* in the *rafʿ* with the *fāʿil*, which is in the *rafʿ*.

ʿIlal djadaliyya naẓariyya make up all the other explanations that are worked out by reflexion (*naẓar*) and frequently brought into discussion (*djadal*), in answer to the questions that arise subsequently. The previous *ʿilla* (*ḳiyāsiyya*) stated: a resemblance to a transitive verb. To what verb? to a verb in the past? in the present? in the future? In a comparison with a transitive verb, why select a verb the complement of which precedes the *fāʿil* (such as *ḍaraba Zaydan ʿAmrun*)? This is a secondary construction (*farʿ*) in relation to the basic construction (*aṣl*): *ḍaraba ʿAmrun Zaydan*. Why choose a secondary construction? What similar cases justify this course of action? Are both constructions (that of *farʿ* and that of *aṣl*) permissible? No, for one cannot say: *inna ḳāʾimun Zaydan*. Why, then, revoke this prohibition and permit: *inna amāmaka Bakran*, "Bakr is in front of you"? etc., etc. All the answers to these questions are *ʿilal djadaliyya naẓariyya*. Arab grammarians speculated unrestrainedly about the *ʿilal*; it was no empty game for them, but rather an attempt to discover *ḥikma*, the Wisdom which harmoniously organizes everything in the language of the Arabs (cf. Ibn al-Sarrādj), and which came through revelation.

Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/929) established (*Iḳtirāḥ*, 58) two classes of *iʿtilālāt*, the arguments of the grammarians: (a) Those "which lead to knowledge of the language of the Arabs, such as: every *fāʿil* is *marfūʿ* (in the nominative) and every *mafʿūl* (complement) is *manṣūb*". [This is al-Zadjdjādjī's first category]. (b) Those which are *ʿillat ʿilla* "the cause of a cause", "such as: why is the *fāʿil marfūʿ* and the *mafʿūl manṣūb*? Nothing is gained by talking as the Arabs did. We merely extract the wisdom contained in the *uṣūl* (rules) that they have established, and the superiority of this language over others is thus shown"; *ʿillat ʿilla* comprehends al-Zadjdjādjī's other two categories.

Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) seeks to deepen the idea of *ʿilla* in grammar (references to the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*). First, he does not accept (i, 173-4) Ibn al-Sarrādj's expression: *ʿillat ʿilla*. This is simply a linguistic licence, which does not correspond with reality, for it is concerned with explanations or complements applied to the *ʿilla*. "The real cause is not caused (*maʿlūla*)" (i, 174, line 5); it exists by nature. This is what requires to be examined, and Ibn Djinnī speculates concerning the character of this cause. He makes an initial distinction (i, 164): *al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba*, "the necessitating cause" and *al-ʿilla al-mudjawwiza*, "the cause that permits action", such as the possibility of changing *w* into *hamza* in *wuḳḳita* > *ʾuḳḳita*, "have a time assigned for something", or *wudjūh* > *ʾudjūh*, "faces". This, in fact, is only a *sabab* which permits but does not necessitate (see below, Rem. a). *Al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba* remains. Is this of the type dealt with by the theologian or of that dealt with by the jurist? He says (i, 48, 145) that it is closer to the first than to the second, and superior to the latter (i, 50, l. 15), for the grammarians refer to sense (*al-ḥiss*) and speak of heaviness or lightness in the sounds of the language, which are clearly perceptible to everyone, whereas legal causation has recourse to signs (*li-wuḳūʿ al-aḥkām*), in order that judgments may be made (see also: i, 48, ll. 6-12; 51, ll. 12-5). He also distinguishes, within *al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba* (i, 88, 164): (a) the *ʿilla* that necessitates, leaving no possibility of evasion, such as the changing of *alif* to *wāw* in *ḍārib* ("hitting") > *ḍuwayrib* in the diminutive; this is comparable with the causes of the theologians; (b) the *ʿilla* that can be avoided, but in this case one must accept something disagreeable and repugnant; such as, for example, in saying: **muyḳin* (following the *aṣl*), without changing the *y to w*: *mūḳin*, "he who knows with certainty"; or **miwzān*, without changing the *w* to *y*: *mīzan* "balance"; its causation is not absolute. Thus he says (i, 87 end): "We do not claim that they [the *ʿilal al-naḥw*] reach the same level (*tablugh ḳadr*) of the *ʿilal* of the theologians" (cf. i, 145, ll. 9-11). He does not then wish to identify these causes completely, but simply to note that they exhibit a more marked resemblance to one another. Thus, going beyond the *ʿilal* of the jurists on the one hand, and, on the other, more resembling the *ʿilal* of the theologians, while falling short of the latter, the *ʿilal* of the grammarians hold a peculiar position. As R. Arnaldez says (*Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, 96): "The problem is thus clearly set and answered with respect to the specificity of the grammatical cause". This is from the Arab point of view. Modern linguistics considers not causes in language but significant oppositions between signs, and relationships between the different signs in the sentence: functions, provided with formal marks.

What, however, does Ibn Djinnī mean by *al-ʿilla al-mūdjiba*? Without doubt the first category of al-Zadjdjādjī and Ibn al-Sarrādj (cf. i, 164, ll. 2-5). Having rejected the *ʿillat ʿilla* of the latter, he has to confine himself to this first category, Now, to take one example, he makes frequent use of *istithḳāl* "estimation of heaviness" (and, consequently, of lightness). Moreover, he uses the arguments of the grammarians by means of *istithḳāl* to show the

difference between the *ʿilal* of the grammarians and those of the jurists (above and i, 48, l. 4). This *istithḳāl* is a *ʿilla naẓariyya*; in fact, in the cases quoted above—**muyḳin* > *mūḳin*, **miwzān* > *mīzān* (non-absolute *ʿilla mūdjiba*) — *al-ʿilla al-taʿlīmiyya* simply states the changes: *uy* > *ū*, *iw* > *ī*; the "why?", however, the explanation by means of estimating heaviness, *istithḳāl*, comes from the *naẓar*, from reflexion on linguistic behaviour, in the particular case. What then are we to think? After careful examination, we must conclude that it is the term *ʿillat ʿilla* and the abuse of useless questions that Ibn Djinnī has rejected (see i, 173, ll. 11 ff.), but that he intended to go beyond the simple grammatical statement and to set up, in the real causes, an explanation that comes from the working of linguistic feeling, such as his *istithḳāl*, or from that which he believes appropriate to the Arabic language. Granting the cases referred to (*mūḳin, mīzān et al.*), yet when we consider how far he carries his use of *istithḳāl, e.g.*, i, 55, ll. 4-8, we see that he reaches the pure systematic *ʿilla naẓariyya*. Real grammatical cause remains for him a domain that has a clear first limit with the *taʿlīmiyya*, but extends, more or less rightly, into the *naẓariyya*; reservations are made, here, about the question of the *ḳiyāsiyya*, in view of the extent of Ibn Djinnī's discussion of *ḳiyās*.

Al-Dīnawarī (wrote before 583/1187; Brockelmann, S I, 514), in the *Kitāb* mentioned above (with the *sharḥ* of Ibn Maktūm) (in al-Suyūṭī, 2nd *masʾala*: Divisions of the *ʿilal, Iḳtirāḥ*, 56-8), also introduces two divisions. The second apparently corresponds with that of Ibn al-Sarrādj, but he does not discuss it (*ibid.*, 58, l. 14-5). The first enumerates the 24 well-known types (*nawʿ*) of the grammarians' *ʿilal*: *taṭṭarid ʿalā kalām al-ʿArab wa-tunsāḳ ilā ḳānūn lughatihim*, "valid for the whole of the Arab speech and referred to the canon of their language". These, however, are no longer merely the *taʿlīmiyya* or Ibn al-Sarrādj's first division. For example, an important *ḳiyāsiyya* is in fact to be found there: the *ʿillat tashbīh* "the cause of resemblance", such as the *iʿrāb* of the *muḍāriʿ* because of its resemblance to a noun, and the *bināʾ* (absence of *iʿrāb*) of certain nouns because of their resemblance to the *ḥurūf* (*ibid.*, 57, l. 5-6); and the *ʿillat farḳ*, "the cause of difference" (l. 7-9), a purely systematic *ʿilla naẓariyya*.

When Ibn Djinnī's procedure with respect to *istithḳāl* is seen, and his tendency towards pure systematic *naẓariyya*, it is not surprising to find al-Dīnawarī produce such a mixture, in his count of the *ʿilal*. This means that the grammarian, in his grammatical speculation, comes no longer to distinguish clearly between the actual rules of the Arabic language (the *taʿlīmiyya*) and all the "whys?" that they have accumulated to account for these rules, and that he thus comes to ascribe to the former the same objective value as to the latter. Besides, al-Suyūṭī, repeating the enumeration of the 24 types mentioned, in the biographical notice of al-Dīnawarī (*Bughya*, 236), introduces them simply as: *ʿilal al-naḥw al-mashhūra*, according to that author.

A *ʿilla* may also be *basīṭa*, "simple" or *murakkaba*, "compound"; this is the subject of al-Suyūṭī's 5th *masʾala* (*Iḳtirāḥ*, 61-2). A good example of *murakkaba* is the explanation of *manʿ al-ṣarf*, "prevention of *ṣarf*" for nouns with only two cases, by means of the combined action of two *māniʿ*, "obstacle" (see also Ibn Djinnī, i, 174-80).

The important part ascribed to the *ʿilla* in the theory of *ḳiyās* should also be noted; it can be seen in the account of Ibn al-Anbārī: *Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw* (ed. Attia Amer), 53: *ḳiyās al-ʿilla* is accepted by all *bi-idjmāʿ*, with unanimous consent, and it is the only one that enjoys *idjmāʿ*; *ḳiyās al-shabah*, "the *ḳiyās* of resemblance" is accepted by *akthar al-ʿulamāʾ*, "most scholars".

Remarks: (a) *ʿilla, sabab*. Ibn Djinnī appears to make a distinction between the two terms: *al-ʿilla al-mudjawwiza* is really only a *sabab* that permits and does not necessitate (above and i, 164, l. 6). al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) (*Iḳtirāḥ*, 59, l. 14), in a note that follows the end (which is clearly marked) of the quotation of Ibn Djinnī, decides in favour of a firm distinction: "It is clear, then, that by means of this difference that which necessitates is called *ʿilla* and that which permits is called *sabab*". This is developed by the commentator on the *Iḳtirāḥ*, Muḥammad ʿAlī b. ʿAllān (d. 1057/1648), quoted by the editor of the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 164, n. 4. If the latter had noticed the *intahā* that closes the quotation from Ibn Djinnī he would not have attributed to him (*ibid.*) a self-contradiction. —For *ʿilla* and *sabab* in Ibn Ḥazm, see R. Arnaldez, *op. cit.*, 186.

(b) For another sense of *ʿilla*: *ḥurūf al-ʿilla* or *al-iʿtilāl* or *al-ḥurūf al-muʿtalla*, see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ. These are *alif, wāw, yāʾ*, known as "sick" *ḥurūf*, as opposed to the others, the "healthy" ones, *al-ḥurūf al-ṣaḥīḥa*. The changes to which they are subject are dealt with in Arabic grammars in the chapter on *iʿlāl* or *iʿtilāl, e.g.*, R. al-Shartūnī, *Mabādiʾ al-ʿarabiyya*, iv (9th ed., Beirut 1961), 35-40; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, 118-37.

Bibliography: in the text. Ch. 4 of the *Iḳtirāḥ* of al-Suyūṭī, which is made up of quotations, has the advantage of gathering together the important texts; the author, however, makes certain cuts in his quotations from Ibn Djinnī. (H. FLEISCH)

ii.—PHILOSOPHY

Cause, in the exact sense of Aristotle's τὸ αἴτιον. The term was adopted by Shīʿī thought, by the *falāsifa* and by the later *mutakallimūn* in their resumés and refutations of *falsafa*. The *mutakallimūn*, however, tended rather, in order to denote a causal sequence and the production of an effect, to use *sabab*, pl. *asbāb*, which implies primarily the idea of "channel", "intermediary". A certain confusion of vocabulary sometimes arises from this, and all the more since the *falāsifa*, in particular al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, use *sabab* freely as a synonym of *ʿilla*.

The term *ʿilla* seems to have been adopted very early in the translations of Greek texts. It would be tedious to try to trace it through, and we may simply remark the influence that the Neo-Platonic writings attributed to Aristotle may have had in this matter as in many others: especially, here, the extracts from the *Elementatio theologica* of Proclus, which in Arabic became the "Book of the Explanation of Aristotle concerning the pure Good" (*al-khayr al-maḥḍ*), and were known to the Latin Middle Ages as the *Liber de Causis* (Arabic ed. by Bardenhewer, Freiburg i. B., 1882; re-ed. by A. Badawi in *Neoplatonici apud Arabos*, Cairo 1955). From the very first lines of the work, the relationship of the first Cause (here *al-ʿilla al-awwaliyya*) with the second cause, as described in the text, makes it clear that the thing caused (*maʿlūl*) is maintained in being by the universal first Cause, even when the immediate second cause ceases to exert its influence: "and even if the second cause is separated from the effect that follows it, the first Cause, which is above it, is not separated from that effect, since it is the cause of its cause". The Latin Middle Ages incorporated

this relationship in a purely creationist view of the world, and one of a world "commenced" in time, while *falsafa*—at any rate eastern *falsafa*—interpreted it as requiring a necessary and eternal emanation.

Here, as a guide, are some of the more important references.

I. Shīʿī thought. An epistle of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* is entitled "on causes (*ʿilal*) and things caused (*maʿlūlāt*)" (*Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1347/1928, iii, 324 ff.). One chapter is devoted to the ideas in question (*ibid.*, 336-7). The definitions refer to the more traditional idea of *sabab*: *ʿilla* is the "intermediary" (*sabab*) necessary for the existence of another thing, and the *maʿlūl* ("thing caused", effect) is that whose existence requires some "intermediary". As for the various kinds of causes, their possible enumeration is governed by two points of view. (1) An analysis very close to that of Aristotle (*Physics*, ii, 3 and Metaphysics, Δ, 2) distinguishes the efficient cause or agent (*ʿilla fāʿila*), the material cause (*ʿilla hayūlāniyya*), the formal cause (*ʿilla ṣūriyya*) and the final or "perfect" cause (*ʿilla tamāmiyya*). These four causes, according to the text, are to be found in every "produced" object. (2) To this is added the list of what the agent that produces an effect needs, according to its nature. If the agent is a man, he needs matter, place, time, members as instruments, implements and certain movements. A "natural" agent, on the other hand, needs only matter, place, time and movements; an "animate" agent, endowed with vital (*nafsānī*) breath, needs only matter and movements. The paragraph ends with the statement that the Most High Creator (*al-bāriʾ*) "needs none of this, since His Act is absolute beginning and creation" with regard to both matter and time, and to movements, instruments and implements. The epistle adds that obstacles created by deficiencies in the matter (*mādda*), by the difficulties encountered by the first matter (*hayūlā*) in receiving form, by lack of instruments and implements or by personal inadequacies, may all constitute hindrances to the action of the agent. "How far removed is God Most High from all this!"

Beings that are caused are divided, in their turn, into four categories: those produced by men; "natural" beings (minerals, vegetables, animals); then two categories the details of which depend on certain Ismāʿīlī views: on the one hand the pure *nafsāniyya* beings (planets, stars, elements), on the other the *rūḥāniyya* or "spiritual" beings (first matter, separate form, soul, intellect).

This description of the causes certainly borrows many of its elements from the Aristotelian tradition. It is expressed, however, in an analytic frame that is not Aristotle's; it is more descriptive and more careful to refer to the hierarchies of beings. The examination of the causes seems less to satisfy the intellectual grasp of what constitutes things than to define the intermediate conditions without which things could not be brought into existence. These conditions, however, establish necessary links between the causes and their effects, and thereby lead to the recognition of the efficacy (*taʾthīr*) of the first on the second. The Ismāʿīlī theory of the first matter, which gives a spiritual (*rūḥānī*) reality to the *hayūlā* [*q.v.*], diverts the idea of material cause in a new direction; the Muslim faith states that God transcends any operation of secondary causality, in the absolute immediacy of His creative (emanative) Act.

Shīʿī (Ismāʿīlī) thought follows, with less technical precision, the same lines and somewhat accentuates them. The first Cause (*al-ʿilla al-ūlā*) is sometimes God Himself, sometimes the first Emanation, thought of as God as knowable and nameable. Here we shall refer only to the *Kitāb Djāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw (ed. H. Corbin and M. Muʿīn, Paris-Teheran 1953), *e.g.*, 7-9, where temporal and local causes are added to the four classic causes, and 67-70, on the first Cause. Six centuries later, the world-view of Mullā Sadra Shīrāzī, which was profoundly monist and emanatist, led him to deny the relationship *ʿilla-maʿlūl* on the level of the constitutive intrinsic causes of quiddity (*māhiyya*), while affirming it all the more vehemently on the level of existence (cf. *Kitāb al-Mashāʿir*, ed. and trans. H. Corbin, Paris-Teheran 1964, 53-4/180-1). "That which is called cause is the origin and source (*aṣl*)"; the absolute Origin is the first Cause (*ibid.*, 41/162).

II. *Falsafa*. The idea of *ʿilla* is common in *falsafa*. Al-Kindī refers to it frequently. Thus a *risāla* on "the proximate efficient cause (*al-ʿilla al-fāʿila al-ḳarība*) of being and corruption" enumerates and defines the four causes, which are here called "natural"—the material cause being called *ʿunṣuriyya* and the final cause *tamāmiyya* (217-8); it then analyses more closely the efficient ("agent", *fāʿila*) cause, and applies the principles thus established. With regard to the "obedience of the heavenly Bodies to God", we find a new list of causes, referring to the final cause, which is not explicitly named (*ibid.*, 247-8); the celestial sphere is called the "proximate efficient cause" of the perishable living creature, "and the efficient cause, as such, is more noble than the thing caused, as thing caused" (248). Al-Kindī also discusses "the cause (*ʿilla*) of fogs" (*ibid.*, ii, Cairo 1372/1953, 76-8), where he uses *asbāb* as a synonym for *ʿilal*, and "the efficient cause of the flow and ebb of the tide" (*ibid.*, 110-33), etc.

Al-Fārābī's vocabulary mingles *ʿilla* in its philosophical sense and *sabab* without much discrimination. Thus in the *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* (ed. Dieterici, *ap. Alfarabi's Philosophische Abhandlungen*, Leiden 1890, 57): the possible things that are "necessary by virtue of something else" need a cause (*ʿilla*), since they cannot, either infinitely or correlatively, be causes of one another (cf. Ibrahim Madkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934, 79). It is, then, the Necessary Being that brings them into existence, and He can have no cause (*ʿilla*), since He is the first Cause (*al-sabab al-awwal*) of the being of things. The paragraph ends with a short list of the four Aristotelian causes (*ʿilal*). The same mingling of usage occurs in the following part of the text (58-9), which describes the emanation of beings; similarly in the *Treatise on the agreement between Plato and Aristotle* (*ibid.*, 11, 23 and *passim*), etc. A certain preference for *sabab-asbāb* seems to be evident in the *Ārāʾ ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila* (ed. Dieterici, Leiden 1895): chapter 17 on the "original causes (*asbāb*) of the first form and the first matter (*mādda*)", and 22 on the "cause (*sabab*) of the intellection of the rational power".

It is, however, in Ibn Sīnā that we find the clearest restatements and elaborations concerning the causes; they can hardly have failed to have some influence on later Shīʿī thought. They recur regularly in the metaphysical treatises. Without attempting an exhaustive list, we may notice as the most important references: *Shifāʾ*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo 1960, ii, 257-300 ("on the division of the causes and their modalities"), and 327-43 (the demonstration of the exist-

ence of God as first Cause); *Nadjāt*, Cairo 1357/1938, 211-3 and 235-43 (where the usages *sabab-asbāb* and *ʿilla-ʿilal* occur indifferently); *Ishārāt*, ed. Flügel, Leiden 1892, 139-43. To these may be added the shorter summaries of the *Daneshnāma* (French trans. *Le livre de Science*, Paris 1955, 127-33), the *Risāla fi 'l-ḥudūd*, on the words *ʿilla* and *maʿlūl* (*ap. Tisʿ rasāʾil fi 'l-ḥikma wa-'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt*, Cairo 1326/1908, 100-1) and the *Risāla fi 'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt* (*ibid.*, 4), where the term used is *asbāb*.

We cannot hope here to deal in detail with Ibn Sīnā's "Treatise on causes". In any case, he depends directly on the texts of Aristotle, especially Book Δ of the Metaphysics, which he subjects to a most searching analysis (particularly in the *Shifāʾ* and the *Nadjāt*), completing, or rather, going beyond them, and also diverting them in a Neo-Platonic direction. He does not merely give an analytical list of causes, but deals with the actual theory of causality (*ʿilliyya*) and of "causedness" "*causéité*" (*maʿlūliyya*), as Mlle Goichon translates it (*Lexique de la langue technique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, no 451). A few remarks:

(1) In a distinction that became classic (adopted, for example, in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī: ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 160), Avicenna calls the intrinsic causes, that is to say, material (*in potentia*) and formal (*in actu*), "the causes of quiddity" (*māhiyya*); the extrinsic causes, efficient and final, are "the causes of existence" (or of being, *wudjūd*) of a thing. "A thing may be caused either with regard to its quiddity or with regard to its existence" (*Ishārāt*, 139). We find here an echo not only of the real distinction between essence and existence but also of Avicenna's "extrinsicism", in which existence "happens" to essence.

(2) The efficient cause (*al-ʿilla al-fāʿila*) is considered as the determining constitutive of the existence of a thing; this is a direct application of the major thesis that any possible thing that is brought into existence is necessary *ab alio* (a statement already found in al-Fārābī). In the treatise in the *Shifāʾ* (*Ilāhiyyāt*, ii, 357), Ibn Sīnā distinguishes in this regard between the "physicists", who see a motive cause in the *ʿilla fāʿila*, and the *falāsifa*, who define it as causing the beginning of, and maintaining, being; he adds that this is the position of the Creator *vis-à-vis* the world. He afterwards affirms the existence of God as first efficient Cause, which creates all being of things (cf. *Ishārāt*, 140), and no longer only the motive Cause, as in Aristotle. It is possible to see in this a source for Thomas Aquinas's "second way".

(3) Stress is laid on the final (*ghāʾiyya*) cause, which, in a strongly emphasized formula (*Ishārāt*, 139), is called "the efficient cause of the efficient causes" (cf. the text from the *Rasāʾil al-Kindī* already cited, i, 248). It is the cause of the causes (*Shifāʾ*, *Ilāhiyyāt*, ii, 292). As Ibrahim Madkour remarks in his introduction to the edition of the *Ilāhiyyāt* (17), Ibn Sīnā, making an analysis of the four causes from this point of view, attempts to lead them all back to the final cause (*ibid.*, ii, 294-8). The interrelationship between the efficient cause and the final cause is no less penetratingly defined. It is "by virtue of its quiddity" that the final cause is a cause, and "the idea that it represents belongs to the causality of the efficient cause" (*Ishārāt*, 140; trans. A.-M. Goichon, Paris-Beirut 1951, 356), for it is, inasmuch as it exists, caused by the latter. There is, then, an incessant interaction between the two extrinsic causes.

(4) The affirmation of the existence of God as absolute first Principle follows from the demonstration first of the impossibility of an infinite number, in actuality, of efficient and material causes and then of the impossibility of an infinite number of final causes (*Shifāʾ*, ii, 327-43; cf. *Ishārāt*, 141-2). God is thus called "absolute first Cause" (*ʿilla ūlā muṭlaḳa*) and "Cause of all other causes" (*Shifāʾ*, ii, 340). He is, without doubt, the supreme efficient Cause, since He is the Principle (*mubdiʾ*) of all being and of all contingent being, while transcending in some way any distinction of efficiency-finality in "absolute innovation" (*ibdāʿ muṭlaḳ*). In itself the thing caused is non-existent (*lays*); its cause makes it exist (*ays*) (*ibid.*, 266).

(5) The relationships of concomitance and anteriority between cause and thing caused recur frequently in the treatises of Avicenna. The principal distinction is as follows: there is anteriority of sense (*maʿnā*; we find later "anteriority of nature"), but not of time (*zamān*). In time, the cause is really such, in actuality, only as a concomitant of the thing caused, and the latter exists, in actuality, only through the existence of the cause (*ibid.*, 261). If, then, the thing caused is removed the cause is removed (*Risāla fi 'l-ḥudūd*), and vice versa, at least as far as the cause in actuality (*bi-'l-fiʿl*) is concerned. A cause in potentiality (*bi-'l-ḳuwwa*) can be anterior to its effect (the joiner before he works his wood; cf. *Nadjāt*, 212-3); it can outlive it or disappear before it. A cause always in actuality, however, cannot exist without its effect, and this effect cannot exist without its cause. In consequence, God, the absolute Principle and the supreme Cause, Who is always in actuality, cannot not produce the world from all eternity. The existential determinism of *falsafa*, and the eternity of the contingent world, eternally "commenced" (*ḥādith*), are based on the reciprocal relationship of cause and thing caused, defined thus.

(6) The vocabulary used by Ibn Sīnā is a supple and rich one. (a) Together with *ʿilla* and *maʿlūl* the more traditional terms *sabab* and *musabbab* also occur frequently—sometimes in the etymological sense: cause as intermediary or occasion, sometimes as a synonym for *ʿilla*. (b) While the efficient and formal causes are always called *fāʿila* and *ṣūriyya*, the material cause refers rather to *hayūlā* (first matter) than to *mādda*. This latter term, however, is also used (usually as "second matter", already with form), and sometimes *ʿunṣur*, "element", in the sense of "first receptacle" (*al-ʿilla al-ʿunṣuriyya* is an expression already found in al-Kindī). The final cause is called *ghāʾiyya*, but *tamāmiyya* is not excluded. (c) In the course of elaboration (thus *Nadjāt*, *ibid.*) there are distinguished the cause *per se* (*bi-'l-dhāt*), the accidental (*bi-'l-ʿaraḍ*) cause, the proximate (*ḳarība*) cause and the distant (*baʿīda*) cause, the particular (*djuzʾiyya*) cause and the general (*ʿāmma*) or universal (*kulliyya*) cause, the receptive (*ḳābila*) and the dispositive cause... A resumé and an important application of Avicenna's theory of causes appear in the *Kitāb al-Nafs* of the *Shifāʾ* (ed. F. Rahman, Oxford 1959, 228-9), where it is stated that the body and the soul are not in the same relationship as cause and thing caused; that the body can be only the receptive and accidental cause of the soul, and that the soul receives existence only through "separate causes" (*al-ʿilal al-mufāriḳa*).

It would be interesting to compare Avicenna's analyses and the corresponding ideas of S. Y. Suhrawardī, for example, in his *Kitāb Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*

(ed. H. Corbin, Paris-Teheran 1952, 62-3, 91, 94-6, 147-8, 184, 186, 195); they have a basis of common ideas, but the latter exhibits a greater independence of the Aristotelian source and forges a closer link between the theory of emanation (and its descent from the luminaries) and the idea of cause; whence the expressions "effusive (*fayyāḍa*) cause", "illuminating (*nūriyya*) cause" and "existential illuminating (*wuḏjūdiyya nūriyya*) cause" (195). The *ʿilla* becomes the effusion from the "victorious luminaries", in which cause and thing caused correspond in an intellectual (*ʿaḳlī*) priority, "but not a temporal one; cause and thing caused remain both together in time" (63).

If we turn now to western *falsafa*, we find an equally frequent use of causes (*ʿilal*) and of the principle of causality, the ideas and vocabulary of which are well established. Thus, a whole theory of causes can be extracted from the writings of Ibn Rus̲h̲d, not only in his commentaries on Aristotle but also in the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, when he is replying to al-G̲h̲azālī concerning the eternity of the world (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 4 ff.; cf. Eng. tr., S. van den Bergh, London 1954, i, 3 ff.). Reference to the four Aristotelian causes leads Ibn Rus̲h̲d to state that the very idea of cause is analogical, and that only efficient causality is appropriate to the first Cause that produces the world. He also emphasizes that the infinite regression of causes is impossible as far as causes *per se* and direct causes are concerned, that is to say, "if every cause is a condition of the existence of that which follows from it"; this regression is not, however, impossible for causes *per accidens* and "circular" causes. It should be added that, the more Ibn Rus̲h̲d reacts against the Neo-Platonism of his eastern (and Mag̲h̲ribī) predecessors, the closer he comes, on the subject of causes, as on so many others, to the historical Aristotle.

III. *ʿIlm al-kalām*. When it began, *ʿilm al-kalām* was scarcely aware of the "theory of causes". When it encountered the idea, or one very similar, moreover, it expressed it by *asbāb*, not by *ʿilāl*. Originally, the problem is not the relationship between first Cause and second cause, but the production of "commenced" actions, especially human actions. The various answers of the Muʿtazilī, As̲h̲ʿarī and Ḥanafī-Māturīdī schools are known [see ALLĀH, II, B]. Whereas the Muʿtazilis affirm the efficacy of the created agent on his effects, the predominant lines of the other schools hold to a non-necessary sequence of *sabab* and *musabbab*, directly created by God, without intrinsic efficacy (*g̲h̲ayr taʾt̲h̲īr*) of the first on the second.

In order to combat eastern *falsafa* in the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, al-G̲h̲azālī was obliged to borrow its ideas and vocabulary concerning cause and thing caused. Under the same influence, the usages *ʿilla*, *ʿilliyya*, *maʿlūl* and *maʿlūliyya* appear more and more frequently in the major manuals of the following period, in general towards the end of the "philosophical preambles". An example of this is the *Muḥaṣṣal* of Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Cairo n.d.), where the four causes are mentioned (89-90), and a chapter is devoted to "cause and thing caused" (104-6). The *Mawāḳif* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī, and the commentary on these by al-Ḏjurdjānī, elaborate the same subject at some length (*S̲h̲arḥ al-mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, iv, 98-201). An analysis of the causes and a long discussion on the relationship between cause and thing caused are to be found there. The predominating idea is that "causes" are only the "condition" (*s̲h̲arṭ*) of their effects, and that there can be no efficacy (*taʾt̲h̲īr*) of the first on the being of the second. It is with reference or non-reference to *taʾt̲h̲īr* that al-Ḏjurdjānī, in his *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 160 and 121) appears to distinguish the ideas of *ʿilla* and *sabab*.

Later on, the vocabulary does not retain this precision, and the term *ʿilla* goes somewhat out of favour. The *Muḳaddima* of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn speaks only of *asbāb*. The contemporary manuals, such as the *Muḳaddimāt* of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen or the *Ḥās̲h̲iya* (. . .) *ʿalā Ḏjawharat al-tawḥīd* of al-Bādjūrī, condemn the Muʿtazilīs and the *falāsifa* (the latter more strongly than the former) for a *s̲h̲irk al-asbāb*, associating an operation of second causes with the divine Omnipotence (see *Muḳaddimāt*, ed. and trans. Luciani, Algiers 1908, 92-5, 108-13). The existence of *asbāb* is not denied, but they have no efficacy (*ʿadam taʾt̲h̲īrihā*) on the "effect" with which "they usually coincide".

The affirmation of a *taʾt̲h̲īr* of the cause on the thing caused, even when it is the result, as the Muʿtazilīs claim, of a "commenced power" (*ḳudra ḥādit̲h̲a*) created by God in the agent, is still considered by As̲h̲ʿarism as being in opposition to the Power of God, or at least confining it. This entrenched position has weighty consequences for the problem of human freedom, which it leads its followers to deny. It may be asked, however, if it does not stem from a misunderstanding. Avicenna's theory of causes, for example, and his analysis of the very idea of causality is one thing; another, a view of the world dominated by a creation-emanation, doubtless willed by the first Being, but which is necessary and thus eternal. For Ibn Sīnā, as we have seen, a cause in actuality cannot not produce its effect, and maintain it, by its intrinsic efficacy. This is true, according to him, for the relationship of God with the world, but equally true for the action of second causes, which, in his view, thus remain part of an absolute existential determinism. Consequently, to admit the *taʾt̲h̲īr*, the influence, of the cause on the thing caused appears to the *mutakallimūn* as a denial of the divine free Will and free Action. The two questions of the intrinsic reality of the causal relationship and of the freedom of God in His creative Act (and thus of his transcendance of the created thing) are thus blocked together in the discussions of the schools.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. GARDET)

ʿILLIYYŪN (genitive *ʿilliyyīn*) is used in Sūra LXXXIII, 18 to mean the place in the book where the deeds of the pious (*abrār*) are listed. In the two following verses (19 ff.) *ʿilliyyūn* is described as an inscribed book (*kitāb marḳūm*). In verse 21 it is said of this book that those close (to God) bear witness to it. Correspondingly in verse 7 of the same Sūra the place in the book where the deeds of evil-doers are chronicled is called *sidjdjīn*. In the two following verses (8 ff.) *sidjdjīn* too is defined as an inscribed book. In Ṭabarī's view *ʿilliyyūn* may be identified with the seventh heaven or the right foot of the divine throne, or some other place in heaven. He gives no explanation of the fact that *ʿilliyyūn* and *sidjdjīn* are themselves described both as books and as the place where the book of the pious or the book of the evil-doers may be found. Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī assumes that the book in which the deeds of evil-doers or the pious are recorded is, so to speak, a part of a main book (*kitāb djāmiʿ*, *dīwān*) which is called *sidjdjīn* or *ʿilliyyūn*.

The Arabic *ʿilliyyūn* is undoubtedly derived from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew *ʿelyōn* (the highest). "Mohammed's mistake can perhaps be explained on the following ground, that he had learned that the book in which were recorded the deeds of men was kept by the *ʿelyōnim*; for this is the name which is frequently applied to the heavenly beings, who are called *taḥtōnim*; *e.g.*, in Ketubot 104a. At any rate, it is certain that Mohammed heard the word from Jews" (Horovitz).

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1321, xxx, 55-7; S. Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, Leiden 1880, 23; T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, 28; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii, 1925, 145-227, 215; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 215 f.; idem, *The Qur'ān as scripture*, New York, 1952, 11 f.

(R. Paret)

ILLUMINATIONS [see kitāb and taṣwīr].

ʿILM (a.) "knowledge", the opposite of *djahl* "ignorance", is connected, on the one hand, with *ḥilm* [*q.v.*], and on the other hand with a number of terms a more precise definition of which will be found in the relevant articles: *maʿrifa, fiḳh, ḥikma, shuʿūr*; the most frequent correlative of *ʿilm* is however *maʿrifa*. The verb *ʿalima* is used in the Ḳur'ān both in the perfect and in the imperfect, and also in the imperative, with the meaning of "to know", but in the imperative and in the perfect it seems often to mean basically "to learn" (without effort, the fifth form *taʿallama* being used when a nuance of laborious study is implied); *ʿilm* is the result of this action. *ʿArafa* means "to know" but, perhaps as a result of the particular meaning of certain early derivatives such as *ʿārif* or *ʿarrāf* (see T. Fahd, *Divination*, index; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index), a difference appeared at an early date in Muslim thinking between *maʿrifa* and *ʿilm*, the first tending to be used of knowledge acquired through reflexion or experience, which presupposes a former ignorance, the second a knowledge which may be described as spontaneous; in other words, *maʿrifa* means secular knowledge and *ʿilm* means the knowledge of God, hence of anything which concerns religion. In fact these distinctions are quite artificial and it is doubtful even whether a semantic study of the two terms based on an extensive collection of examples would throw any light on this problem, so personal is the way in which the different writers use them and so varied according to their various disciplines. In the field of mysticism, the relations between *ʿilm* and *maʿrifa* will be dealt with under maʿrifa and taṣawwuf; the theory of knowledge on the philosophical and theological plane will also be covered in the article maʿrifa. We merely state here that *ʿilm* had to fit in with the exigencies of the system of the *mutakallimūn*, who assigned to it a place in the schema of the Aristotelians; *ʿilm* is an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) characterized by life (*mukhtaṣṣ bi 'l-ḥayāt*) and forming, with the will, power, etc., part of the class of the modalities (*kayfiyyāt*) of the inferior appetitive soul (see al-Īdjī, *Mawāḳif*, with the commentary by al-Djurdjānī, Būlāḳ 1266, 272 ff.; al-Tahānawī, *Dict. of techn. terms*, 1055-66). *ʿIlm* is either eternal (*ḳadīm*) or produced within time (*ḥādith, muḥdath*), according to whether it exists in God or in a created being, and there is no analogy between these two types. The *mutakallimūn*, who made a distinction between *ʿilm* and *maʿrifa*, used the first term in referring to the composite and to the universal, and *maʿrifa* for objects which are simple (*basīṭ*; see al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, s.v.) and particular (al-Taftazānī, on al-Nasafī, 40).

On the theological plane another difference concerns the relations between *ʿilm* and *ʿamal*, "works"; there is in fact a *ʿilm naẓarī*, such as the knowledge of things, and anyone who possesses it may stop at that, and a *ʿilm ʿamalī*, knowledge of religious obligations (*ʿibādāt*), which is complete only when these obligations are fulfilled (al-Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 348). Al-Ḳarafī's explanation in the *Tanḳīḥ* (Cairo 1306, 193) is somewhat different: whoever possesses the knowledge of things and does not act according to what it teaches is only half obedient, whereas he who possesses it and also acts according to it has a double merit.

On a more general plane, *ʿilm*, applied to knowledge of a religious character, is contrasted both with *maʿrifa*, in the sense of profane knowledge, and with *adab* [*q.v.*], the meaning of which it is difficult to define precisely, but which refers in particular to a literary and professional training rather similar to *maʿrifa*. The active participle, *ʿālim*, acquired at the same time the meaning of a scholar learned in religious matters [see ʿulamā'], and then, at a later period, simply scholar, for which formerly other terms were used (in particular *ḥakīm*), whereas *ʿilm* acquired at a much earlier date that of learning in general.

It is true that in the expression *ṭalab al-ʿilm* the last word was regarded by the majority of Muslims as meaning "traditions" the search for which had involved long journeys, but it is doubtful whether the Prophet intended simply to allude to this activity in the numerous *ḥadīth*s exhorting the faithful to seek for *ʿilm* ("even in China"); therefore in the traditions in question this word should be translated by "knowledge", just as it should be given the meaning of "learning" in texts dating from the first centuries of Islam. Furthermore the arts and the sciences were made, first by the philosophers and then by various thinkers and writers, the object of a series of lists (*iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*) and classifications of the sciences (*marātib al-ʿulūm*), the evolution of which from the 3rd/9th century to today is particularly instructive: L. Gardet and M.-M. Anawati have drawn up a very instructive table of them in their *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 101-24, where, in considering the place of *kalām* in the organization of knowledge, they present the various classifications of al-Fārābī, of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', of al-Khuwārizmī, of Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Khaldūn, mentioning also those of Avicenna (102, note 2) and of Djirdjī Zaydān; to this table there may be added: Ibn Ḳutayba (G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1965, 443-9); Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (see M. Bergé, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 241-99); Ibn Ḥazm (*Marātib al-ʿulūm*, ed. S. al-Afghānī), Miskawayh (*K. al-Saʿāda*, Cairo 1928, 48-60), and probably some other writers.

It is surprising, on examining these lists, to see the relative importance given to the Arabo-Islamic sciences and the foreign sciences, the latter occupying progressively less space as the dates get later. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1112) seems to have played in this field a determining role by establishing a clear distinction between praiseworthy (*maḥmūda*) and blameworthy (*madhmūma*) sciences, the latter including all the disciplines considered to be useless,

even harmful, to life on this earth and to the health of the soul in the hereafter (see *Iḥyāʾ*, book i, ch. i-v). A similar conception is merely the application of a badly interpreted saying, according to which the true Muslim must "pay no attention to that which does not concern him" (*tark mā lā yaʿnīh*; see I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 157), and this attitude of mind clearly explains the indifference of Islam towards many of the sciences whose interest is not immediately obvious.

The general tendency did not however prevent a number of Muslims from transmitting the heritage of antiquity while adding to it their own contribution. Details of the various disciplines will be found in the articles on mathematics (AL-DJABR WA 'L-MUḲĀBALA; ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB), mechanics [ḤIYAL], astronomy [ASṬURLĀB; FALAK; ʿILM AL-HAYʾA], medicine [ṬIBB], botany [NABĀT], alchemy [KĪMIYĀʾ], zoology [ḤAYAWĀN], etc., while for general surveys of the history of the sciences in the Muslim world there may be consulted G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, Baltimore 1927-31, 2 vols.; A. Mieli, *La science arabe*, Leiden 1938; P. Kraus, *Ğābir ibn Ḥayyān, Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques en Islam*, Cairo 1942-3, 2 vols.; L. Massignon and R. Arnaldez, *La science arabe*, vol. ii of the *Histoire générale des sciences*, Paris 1957, 2nd ed. 1966.

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ʿILM AL-DJAMĀL, "aesthetics". A general theory on what is known as *ʿilm al-djamāl* and precise definitions of the terms used in this field are lacking in the history of Arabic civilization: nevertheless, it is possible to trace certain features common to the elements of aesthetic emotion and to their formal expression. Poetry, the outstanding genre of Arabic art, conforms to a certain ideal both in its contents and in its structure. With early poetry it is mainly in the *ghazal* that the poet expresses his feelings about ideal beauty; the same attributes are applied to all women, to the extent that it becomes doubtful whether the description is of a real person or of a fictional creature (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1958, 15, 16, 17, 29, 30; Ṭarafa, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1961, 20, 21; al-Nābigha, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1960, 39-42; al-Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1960, 144, 145; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdjlān, in *Sharḥ Dīwān al-ḥamāsa*, Cairo 1952, ii, no. 476). These descriptions are limited to physical beauty, with the exception of rare allusions to spiritual and moral qualities (al-Shanfara, in *Aghānī*, Beirut 1961, xxi, 209, verses 7-10; ʿAntara, in *Shuʿarāʾ al-Nasrāniyya ḳabl al-Islām*, Beirut 1967, 809, v. 5; al-Aʿshā, *op. cit.*, 144, v. 7; al-Nābighā, *op. cit.*, 41, v. 6; Ḳays b. al-Khaṭim, in *Aghānī*, iii, 23, verses 3, 9, 10). From these details there become apparent certain elements of Arab aesthetics such as the symmetry between the two halves of the body produced by slender hips, the contrasts of forms and colours: the hair (*fāḥim*) and the face (*abyaḍ*), the lips (*lamyāʾ*) and the teeth, the cornea and the iris (*ḥawar*), the fingers and the nails (*khaḍīb*). This ideal of beauty seems not to be a peripheral aspect but the expression of the Arab soul which is revealed in the very structure of the *Muʿallaḳāt*. The interest taken in the details of the separate parts of the body is echoed in the care given to each verse seen as a unity achieved within the poem as a whole. The latter is a collection made up of these unities which are independent and continuous, but unified by a single rhyme and dominated by one general sentiment. These structural principles appear in the arts of Islam and constitute, in a certain sense, the primary image of the arabesque.

Islam enlarged the idea of beauty by inviting its adherents to contemplate universal beauty. Nevertheless there persisted the formal ideal celebrated by the earlier poets. On the other hand, the moral and intellectual aspect made necessary by social evolution become a main theme in the *ghazal* of this period (R. Blachère, *Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Damas*, in *AIEO Alger*, v (1939-41), 82-128). The influence of religion in the artistic field was very small, since art and morals formed two different fields. Thus the poetry of Ibn Abī Rabīʿa was admired in spite of its eroticism (*Aghānī*, i, 113), and naked figures were represented in the frescoes and sculptures of the Umayyad castles (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, Geneva 1962, 31; D. Schlumberger, *Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī*, Ar. tr., Beirut 1945, pl. 18e). It is interesting to note that the principles of unity and continuity were manifested in the mosques with their forest of columns and that symmetry appears evident in the plans of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra, of Ḳaṣr al-Ṭūbā, of Mshatta and in the décor of its façade. There should also be noted the contrast of the light and dark colours in the frescoes of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī (Creswell, *A short account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 1958, 124 ff.; D. T. Rice, *L'art de l'Islam*, Paris 1966, 21 ff.).

The idea of beauty underwent certain modifications under the ʿAbbāsids. Most characteristic of it during this period were the tendency to equilibrium, the interest accorded to spiritual beauty and the importance given to the harmony of the body (Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, *Djamāl al-marʾa ʿind al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1958, 35-40). Beauty was a favourite subject of *adab*. Although it did not constitute an *ʿilm*, *djamāl* was nevertheless a knowledge of some depth; whence the expression *al-baṣar bi 'l-djawārī*. The evolution of the study of human beauty has influenced literary criticism to the extent that we have Ibn Rashīḳ allowing a reduced form of *ziḥāf* to be compared to certain faults praised in the *djāriya* (*al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1934, i, 117). Literary criticism, given the lack of art criticism, illustrates the characteristics which are found in the *ghazal* and in the arts in general. It is a formal criticism expressed in concrete terms which may often be applied either to a person or to an expression (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, Istanbul 1320, 131; Ibn Rashīḳ, *op. cit.*, i, 106). The critics (al-ʿAskarī, *op. cit.*, 202; Ibn Rashīḳ, *op. cit.*, ii, 5) insisted on symmetry (*tawāzun*, *tawāzī*) and contrast (*takāfuʾ*, *ṭibāḳ*). Their analysis is only a partial one, since it deals not with the poem but with words, verses or expressions (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, i, 384, 386; al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Cairo 1321, 31 ff.). The separation of art and religion which became the rule from the Umayyad period onwards is sufficiently clear in ʿAbbāsid criticism (Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1948, 14; al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wisāṭa*, Sidon 1331, 57, 58). These same features can be found in the arabesque, in which the continued repetition of a single decorative theme corresponds to the verse in the poem and the column in the mosque, in which abstraction is only a form of Arab idealization, where art has no goal outside itself, and where the unity of the whole is in agreement with a certain tendency towards unity in the attitude of the critics (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1312, 268; Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, *ʿIyār al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1956, 17, 111).

These artistic realities and these critical judgements are echoed in the works of the theorists. Ibn Sīnā expresses the sensory character of the beautiful and distinguishes the art of the good and of the useful (cf. I. Ismāʿīl, *al-Usus al-djamāliyya fi 'l-naḳd al-adabī*, Cairo ²1968, 140 ff.); al-Tawḥīdī puts forward the idea of relativity in aesthetic judgement and cites five different bases of the beautiful and of the ugly: [human] nature, custom, [religious] law, reason and passion (*al-Imtāʿ wa 'l-muʾānasa*, Cairo 1953, i, 150); al-Ghazālī explains the attraction of the beautiful by the pleasure which it gives and the repulsiveness of ugliness by the pain which it causes; although he bases aesthetic emotion on the senses, al-Ghazālī makes clear the religious and philosophical aspect of his thought; for "spiritual beauty perceived through reason is nobler than the beauty of images perceived through sight". He reaches the core of the problem when he maintains the relativity of the beautiful in the object and in the person who contemplates it and when he rejects the elements of beauty in favour of sympathy (*Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo n.d., iv, 296 ff.).

Later, *djamāl* tends to become a *ʿilm*, but only in the field of human beauty. Ibn Abī Ḥadjala al-Maghribī attempts to define the terms used in this field, such as *djamīl, ḥasan, malīḥ*, etc., and to establish a canon of ideal beauty formed of eight groups of four. One of the eight groups is concerned with morals (*Dīwān al-ṣabāba*, Cairo 1279, 31, 32; Bibl. Nat. Paris, MS no. 3348, fol. 70). In the East, al-Ghuzūlī established a canon in twenty groups of four (*Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*, 1299, i, 268). The seven groups which are common to the two canons show slight variations which do not alter the general conception. It is nevertheless important to point out that these later canons, one western and the other eastern, are similar in their general conception, the beauty celebrated by the earliest Arab poets ten centuries previously.

Bibliography: in the art.; see also FANN.

(S. KAHWAJI)

ʿILM AL-HANDASA [see Supplement].

ʿILM AL-HAYʾA, the "science of the figure (of the heavens)" or astronomy (which is also known by several other names in Arabic), is that branch of knowledge which deals with the geometrical structure of the universe, which determines the laws governing the periodic motions of the celestial bodies, which devises cinematic models to describe these motions, which reduces them to tabular form so that a computer can, with as much precision and ease as possible, determine the positions of the heavenly bodies as seen from any particular locality on the surface of the earth, and which invents and employs the instruments necessary to guarantee the utmost accuracy in observations.

The geometrical structure of the universe, as conceived by Muslim astronomers after about 800 A.D., by and large coincides with that expounded by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*. The earth rests motionless near the centre of a series of eight spheres which encompass it. The eighth sphere, studded with the fixed stars which were duly catalogued by such scholars as al-Ṣūfī (d. 376/986), revolves daily from East to West; it also moves in the opposite direction at an appropriate rate of precession, or oscillates with a motion termed trepidation (this theory is primarily known through Thābit b. Ḳurra and various Spanish astronomers). The spheres of the five "star-planets", which are eccentric to the centre of the earth, revolve in such a fashion that their centres of uniform motion (equants) are not identical with their geometric centres; the model of Mercury has, as a special arrangement, a "crank mechanism" which produces two perigees in its orbit. On the surface of these spheres are situated the centres of the planets' epicycles. The model of the Sun, however, involves only an eccentric circle, while that of the Moon utilizes both a "crank mechanism" which causes the centre of its deferent to revolve about the centre of the earth, and an epicycle in which the anomalistic motion is counted not from the epicyclic apogee, but from a point on the line extended from the "opposite point" on the circumference of the "crank mechanism" through the centre of the epicycle. Muslim astronomy is largely concerned with expounding the intricacies of this system and with refining the parameters which transform it from a qualitative to a quantitative model of celestial motions; the core of the *zīdj*es is constituted by the tables based on the regular motions of the various parts of the model and their determined parameters. It might be well to mention here that the translations of Indian and Sasanian astronomical books to which reference will shortly be made contributed methods of computation, parameters, and tables to Muslim astronomy rather than geometrical models of the planetary orbs (Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ's *Tarkīb al-aflāk* is an exception to this rule); thus they did not modify the Ptolemaic view of the heavens outlined above.

Following the author of the *Almagest*, Muslim astronomers generally regarded the whole system purely as a mathematical construct having no necessary physical counterpart. But Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (d. 430/1039), continuing a tradition already begun in the second book of Ptolemy's own *Hypotheses*, argued that the models in the *Almagest* are in fact physical realities. The problem facing those who accepted this view was one of reconciling these models with Aristotelian physics, in which only uniform circular motion concentric with the centre of the earth is possible for celestial bodies. Spanish philosophers, beginning with Ibn Bādjdja (d. 533/1138-9) and continuing with Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd, and al-Biṭrūdjī [*qq.v.*], attempted to solve this problem either partially by eliminating the epicycles, or wholly by removing both epicycles and eccentric circles from the etherial parts of the universe. The results of their efforts were not astronomically impressive. But the problem was approached from a more realistic standpoint in Marāgha, Tabrīz, and Damascus in the late 7th/13th century and the early 8th/14th. There the goal was only to eliminate the most non-Aristotelian elements in the Ptolemaic system—the equants and the Moon's "opposite point"—so that the motions of the heavenly bodies might be explained exclusively as the combinations of uniform circular motions. The success of the School of Marāgha and the later influence of its solutions will be touched upon below.

The Arabs had not always been endowed with a knowledge of Ptolemaic astronomy, however. In the pre-Islamic period and in the first century of Islam the only reflections of any *ʿilm al-hayʾa* among them are a very crude method of telling the time of night by means of the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*manāzil al-ḳamar*) and a rough estimation of the seasons by means of their heliacal risings or cosmic settings (*anwāʾ*). But in the 2nd and 3rd centuries from the Hidjra—that is, at the end of the Umayyad Dynasty and in the first one hundred and fifty years of the ʿAbbāsid—numerous texts on astronomy (and

on astrology involving a knowledge of astronomy) were translated into Arabic from Sanskrit, Pahlavi, Greek, and Syriac. For the first half or so of this period of translation Arabic astronomers were extremely eclectic, and this trend toward eclecticism continued to be strong for a much longer period in certain areas such as Spain. But the introduction of Ptolemy's rigorous methods and geometrical proofs at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century led to a rapid growth of observational astronomy, designed partly to investigate the discrepancies among the Greek, Iranian, and Indian systems, and partly to improve the Ptolemaic parameters. With the gradual recognition of the superiority of the Ptolemaic system, at least within the terms of the strongly Greek-oriented intellectual atmosphere that developed in Islam, the *Almagest* usurped a position of unchallenged preeminence in the estimation of most Muslim astronomers. This process was completed by the time of the publication of his *Zīdj al-Ṣābiʾ* by al-Battānī in about 900 A.D.; and, despite the Indianizing tendencies of the Andalusians, the attacks of the Aristotelians, and the successes of the School of Marāgha, Ptolemy remained in his position of dominance until the introduction of modern Western astronomy in fairly recent times.

The translations from Sanskrit.

The earliest translation of a Sanskrit astronomical text into Arabic was apparently that of the *Zīdj al-Arkand* (*arkand* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *ahargaṇa*) made in Sind shortly after 117/735; on it were based two other *zīdj*es, the *Zīdj al-Hazūr* and the *Zīdj al-Djāmiʿ*, both composed in Ḳandahār in the 2nd/8th century. The elements of the *Zīdj al-Arkand* evidently were largely derived from the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* written by Brahmagupta of Bhillamāla in A.D. 665, though it was also influenced by the *Zīdj al-Shāh* of Yazdidjird III (632-652), which, like the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, belongs to the Midnight School (*ārdharātrika*) of Āryabhaṭa (b. 476).

In 742 yet another Sanskrit *zīdj* was translated into Arabic. This work, composed in verse in imitation of the Indian texts, was given the name *Zīdj al-Harḳan*, wherein *harḳan* clearly represents another corruption of the Sanskrit *ahargaṇa*. This *zīdj* was based on the Sunrise School (*audayika*) of Āryabhaṭa —*i.e.*, on the *Āryabhaṭīya* that he wrote in 499.

The most important translation from Sanskrit into Arabic, however, was that of the *Mahāsiddhānta* belonging to the School of Brahma (*brāhmapakṣa*); the *Mahāsiddhānta* was primarily based on the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* (first half of the fifth century) of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* written by Brahmagupta in 628, though some elements derived from the *Āryabhaṭīya* are discernible in its fragmentary remains. The occasion for the translation was provided by the visit to the court of al-Manṣūr at Baghdād of an embassy from Sind in 154/771 or 156/773; the translator is alleged to have been al-Fazārī, who, in his *Zīdj al-Sindhind al-kabīr*, mixes Iranian material in with the Indian. Al-Fazārī also wrote a *Zīdj ʿalā sinī al-ʿArab*, based on his earlier work, which must have been the first set of astronomical tables to employ the Arabic calendar; the date of this work is c. 790. Another scholar who evidently had independent access to the *Mahāsiddhānta*, Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ, composed a *Tarkīb al-aflāk* in 777 or 778 A.D. as well as a *zīdj* and a *Kitāb al-ʿilal*, all of which reflect a mixture of Indian and Iranian elements. These works of al-Fazārī and of Yaʿḳūb constitute the basis of the *Sindhind* tradition, which will be discussed further below.

At some time around 800 another Arabic version of the *Āryabhaṭīya* known as the *Zīdj al-Ardjabhar* began to circulate among Muslim astronomers. The only one to follow it was apparently one Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī, though it was also certainly known to Abū Maʿshar [*q.v.*] (d. 272/886). None of the works mentioned in this section or in the next, it should be noted, is extant; the account given here, then, may well be in need of some revision, and certainly will not be free from controversy.

The translations from Pahlavi.

Sasanian literature on astronomy, like that on astrology (both are known primarily through Arabic translations and adaptations), was an amalgamation of Greek and Indian material. Ptolemy's *Almagest* existed in a Pahlavi translation already in the third century, and a text belonging to the Midnight School of Āryabhaṭa was available by 556; one belonging to the *brāhmapakṣa* may have been known as early as 450. The "Royal Astronomical Tables" or *Zīk i Šahriyārān* as revised for Anūshirwān in 556 was used by Māshāʾallāh in c. 780-810 A.D., but may never have been translated into Arabic. The later version, published under Yazdidjird III, was turned into Arabic, however, by one al-Tamīmī under the title *Zīdj al-Shāh*. This was drawn upon by al-Fazārī (especially for its planetary equations) and by Abū Maʿshar; manuscripts of it were still circulating in the time of al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*].

The translations from Greek and Syriac.

The most important Greek text on astronomy translated into Arabic was, of course, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy; translations were made from both the original Greek and a Syriac version. That due to al-Ḥadjdjādj in the first years of the 3rd/9th century exercised a strong influence over the astronomers gathered together by al-Maʾmūn; but the most authoritative version was that produced by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn and corrected by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*qq.v.*]. During the course of the 3rd/9th century Ptolemy's *Hypotheses*, Theon's "Handy Tables", and the corpus of minor Greek astronomical writings known as the "Little Astronomy" (or later, when it became conventional to begin the study of astronomy by mastering Euclid's *Elements*, as the "Middle Astronomy") were also translated into Arabic, and a number of treatises on the astrolabe based on Greek and Syriac sources were published. This material, to a greater or lesser extent influenced by the translations from Sanskrit and Pahlavi (the most impressive influence is to be seen in the Muslim development of a trigonometry far more effective than Ptolemy's out of the Indian system which employs only the sine, cosine, and versine functions), forms the central core of Islamic astronomy after the ninth century.

The Ptolemaic tradition.

Arabic texts on planetary theory and the structure of the universe, as indicated above, normally reflect the Ptolemaic system. But, because of the paucity of detailed studies, it is at present difficult to assess the extent to which any particular set of astronomical tables or *zīdj* has depended on Indian, Persian, or Greek material. It is clear, however, that even in the majority of Ptolemaic *zīdj*es one will find parameters, methods of computation, or other elements derived from the *Sindhind* or the *Shāh*. This is true of the *Zīdj al-mumtaḥan* of Yaḥyā b. Abī 'l-Manṣūr

(c. 214/829) and in the several *zīdj*es of Ḥabash (c. 235/850); Abū Maʿshar in his *Zīdj al-hazārāt* made a conscious effort to combine the three systems in order to substantiate his claim that they are all descended from a unique ante-Diluvian revelation.

The *Zīdj al-Ṣābiʾ* of al-Battānī (c. 287/900), however, is almost entirely Ptolemaic; in this it presumably reflects the strong Hellenistic atmosphere of the Syrian, and particularly the Ḥarrānian, astronomical and astrological schools. Al-Battānī's parameters were adopted by Kūshyār b. Labbān (c. 400/1010), though Kūshyār was generally a follower of Abū Maʿshar in his astrological works, and one suspects that this influence can also be traced in his *zīdj*es. The *Zīdj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī* written by Ibn Yūnis (c. 380/990) in Cairo is extremely important for the historical information it contains. *Al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* of al-Bīrūnī (421/1030), whose works are also of immense importance for their historical information, often reflects the author's interest in Indian astronomy. The *Zīdj al-Sandjarī* was composed by al-Khāzinī (c. 514/1120) in Iran; an epitome of it was translated into Greek by Gregory Chioniades, who obtained the manuscript at Tabrīz, in c. 700/1300. Al-Khāzinī, despite his interest in Abū Maʿshar's Indian theory of cycles, continues to compute according to the Ptolemaic tradition. And the *Zīdj al-ʿAlāʾī* of al-Fahhād (c. 545/1150), not extent in its original form, was one of the texts translated into Greek by Chioniades, and its elements were used by al-Fārisī (c. 658/1260) in his *Zīdj al-mumtaḥan al-Muẓaffarī*.

The *Sindhind* tradition.

The foundation of this tradition lies in the works of al-Fazārī and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ, wherein already, as we have seen, some Sasanian and Greek elements had been mingled with the *brāhmapakṣa* and *Āryabhaṭīya* material. But the most influential representative of this tradition was the *Zīdj al-Sindhind* of al-Khuwārizmī [*q.v.*] (c. 215/830). Only fragments of the original text survive, but we do have a Latin translation of the revision made by al-Madjrīṭī in Cordova (c. 390/1000); the translator was Adelard of Bath (1126). We also have commentaries on al-Khuwārizmī's *zīdj* written by al-Masrūr (c. 261-875) and by Ibn al-Muthannā (4th/10th century; this commentary survives only in Latin and Hebrew translations made in Spain) as well as fragments of the commentary composed by al-Farghānī [*q.v.*] (c. 235/850). The details of the preservation of al-Khuwārizmī's work that have just been given are indicative of the strong Andalusian predilection for the *Sindhind*; this impression is strengthened by the fact that the *Naẓm al-ʿiḳd* of Ibn al-Adamī (c. 308/920), one of the principal Eastern representatives of the *Sindhind* tradition, is primarily known through a quotation in Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī. The two other Eastern *zīdj*es which followed the *Sindhind* after 900—the *zīdj* of al-Nayrīzī (c. 287/900) and that of the Banū Amādjur (c. 297/910)—are mainly known from citations in Ibn Yūnis and in al-Bīrūnī.

In Spain the tradition was continued by al-Madjrīṭī's pupil, Ibn al-Samḥ (416/1025), whose *zīdj* is available in fragmentary form; the *zīdj* of Ibn al-Ṣaffār is probably also lost, though a manuscript in Paris may contain it. But the principal *zīdj* of Muslim Spain was the "Toledan Tables" of al-Zarḳālla (c. 473/1080); this work is a mixture of materials from al-Khuwārizmī and al-Battānī. It had an enormous influence among Muslim (Ibn Kammād, Ibn al-Bannāʾ, etc.), Jewish (Abraham ben Ezra, Profatius, etc.), and Christian (the "Alfonsine Tables" and its successors) astronomers in Western Europe until the end of the 15th century.

The School of Marāgha.

Spain, as we have seen, was the home not only of the *Sindhind* tradition, but also of the Aristotelian assault on Ptolemy. Far more impressive astronomically was the effort generated at the observatory at Marāgha (founded by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in 657/1259) to modify Ptolemaic theory, and continued at its successors at Tabrīz and Damascus. At Marāgha itself, where Chinese astronomers assisted their Muslim colleagues, the problem of revising Ptolemaic astronomy was seen as being essentially that of replacing the equant of each planet so that all celestial motions might be uniformly circular. The Ṭūsī couple invented by Naṣīr al-Dīn and explained in his *Tadhkira* provided the basic approach for the solutions later proposed by his pupil, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, in 680/1281 and 683/1284, and by Ibn al-Shāṭir of Damascus in c. 750/1350, though each of them advocated different numbers, dimensions, and arrangements of the epicycles. It was only Ibn al-Shāṭir who finally reached a satisfactory solution for the two most difficult planets, Mercury and the Moon; but by the middle of the 8th/14th century, then, Muslim astronomy had worked out planetary models that depended solely on combinations of uniform circular motions, eliminating the equants from the models of the five "star-planets", and the "crank mechanism" and "opposite point" from that of the Moon.

This accomplishment of Ibn al-Shāṭir shares many features with the models proposed by Copernicus two centuries later; in particular, their models of the Moon and of Mercury are identical, they both employ the Ṭūsī couple, and they both eliminate the equants in essentially the same way. There can be little doubt, then, that Copernicus knew of Ibn al-Shāṭir's work; the details of the transmission, however, remain obscure. It is true that manuscripts of the Greek translations of various Arabic *zīdj*es made by Gregory Chioniades in c. 1300 upon his return to Constantinople after his studies at the observatory at Tabrīz were in Italy by the middle of the fifteenth century, and that they contain diagrams apparently illustrating the Ṭūsī couple, but they contain no details about Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's work and are, of course, too early to have been influenced by Ibn al-Shāṭir. Some other intermediary must have existed.

The later observatories.

The observatory at Marāgha and the *zīdj* which it produced—the *Zīdj-i Īlkhānī*—served as a model for later Muslim astronomical efforts, though the modifications of Ptolemaic theory that we have just described are not known to have been influential in Islam after the 8th/14th century. The most famous imitator was the observatory founded by Ulugh Beg at Samarḳand in 823/1420, where a number of astronomers headed by al-Kāshī and Ḳāḍīzāda prepared a *Zīdj-i Sulṭānī* (c. 844/1440); al-Kāshī also published a *zīdj* of his own, the *Zīdj-i Khāḳānī*. All three of these *zīdj*es are essentially Ptolemaic, though improvements are made in the parameters and in the structure of some of the tables, and material on the Chinese-Uyghur calendar is added to the other calendaric information common to all astronomical tables.

The last important Muslim observatory was built for Taḳī al-Dīn in Istanbul between 983/1575 and

985/1577. But the five observatories built in imitation of that at Samarḳand by Djayasimha, the Mahārādja of Amber from 1693 to 1743, at Djayapura, Udjdjayinī, Delhi, Mathurā, and Vārāṇasī deserve to be mentioned, as they represent an attempt, though an abortive one, to revise Indian astronomy so as to make it conform to the Muslim Ptolemaic tradition. A more fruitful influence of the later Muslim observatories on their neighbours was that exercised by Marāgha, Samarḳand, and Istanbul upon European astronomy; several of the instruments and some of the organizational features of these establishments appeared at Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg (1576) and Stjerneborg (1584) observatories. The development of the astronomical observatory, the achievement of the School of Marāgha, the advances in trigonometry and in the structure of tables, and the constant attempts to improve parameters stand out as the most impressive accomplishments of Islamic astronomy.

Bibliography: The vastness of the field of Muslim astronomy obviously precludes any extensive listing of the relevant literature; the following notice mentions only standard reference works and the latest books and articles reflecting advances in our knowledge of specific aspects of the subject. The standard reference work for the astronomers themselves and their works remains, despite its age, H. Suter's *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften*, x, Leipzig 1900 (reprinted Ann Arbor 1963); this can be supplemented by H. P. J. Renaud's article in *Isis*, xviii (1932), 166-83, by C. Brockelmann's *GAL*, Pearson, and by the relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and in the forthcoming *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. The fullest account of the *zīdj*es is E. S. Kennedy's *A survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, NS xlvi/2, Philadelphia 1956. The best introduction to Islamic astronomy is C. A. Nallino's *ʿIlm al-falak*, Rome 1911-12; there is an Italian translation by M. Nallino in C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, v, Rome 1944, 88-329.

For the literature concerning the period of translations the reader may refer to the references given in D. Pingree, *The fragments of the works of al-Fazārī*, in *JNES*, xxviii (1969). The history of Islamic astronomy in Spain and its influence on Latin and Hebrew astronomy is dealt with in a series of articles by O. Neugebauer, J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, B. Goldstein, P. Kunitzsch, G. Toomer, and others; there are articles on the influence of Muslim astronomy on Byzantium by O. Neugebauer, D. Pingree, and P. Kunitzsch. Muslim observatories are investigated in A. Sayili's *The Observatory in Islam, Publications of the Turkish Historical Society*, series vii, no. 38, Ankara 1960. And a summary of the recent work on the School of Marāgha together with the relevant bibliography will be found in E. S. Kennedy's *Late medieval planetary theory*, in *Isis*, lvii (1966), 365-78. Each of the subjects mentioned in this paragraph is presently being intensively explored; any future reader of this article should expect to find that enormous advances have been made in our knowledge of them. (D. Pingree)

ʿILM AL-ḤISĀB, "the science of reckoning, arithmetic". Al-Fārābī [*q.v.*], in his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* (ed. Á. G. Palencia, Madrid 1953), divides mathematics (*ʿulūm al-taʿālīm*) into seven large branches headed by the science of number (*ʿilm al-ʿadad*). According to him there are in fact two sciences of number, one practical (*ʿamalī*) and the other theoretical (*naẓarī*). Echoing certain passages in Plato, he explains that the former investigates numbers in so far as they are numbers of numbered things, such as men, horses or *dīnār*s, whereas the latter —which is properly to be called a science—investigates numbers in abstraction from concrete objects. He adds that the theoretical science of number concerns itself both with properties inherent in individual numbers, such as being odd or even, and with properties which these numbers acquire when related to one another or combined with or separated from one another.

In general, however, we find in Arabic mathematical writings another distinction, which is also of Greek origin, between *ʿilm al-ʿadad* and *ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (the science of reckoning), corresponding to the distinction between ἡ ἀριθμετικὴ τέχνη and ἡ λογιστικὴ τέχνη. The subjects treated under the former heading are those of Books vii-ix of Euclid's *Elements* (first translated in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd by al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar) and the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of Nicomachus of Gerasa. Like their Greek predecessors, Arabic authors on the whole considered irrational magnitudes, the subject of Bk. x of the *Elements*, as belonging to geometry rather than arithmetic, though some of them—like ʿUmar al-Khayyāmī [*q.v.*]—took significant steps towards regarding irrationals as numbers (cf. A. Yuschkewitsch, *op. cit.* in Bibl., pp. 248 ff.). *ʿIlm al-ḥisāb*, on the other hand, is concerned mainly with the fundamental arithmetical operations and the processes of root extraction. But in accordance with the general conception of *ḥisāb* as being concerned with the determination of unknown numerical quantities from known ones, books on *ḥisāb* usually include sections on algebraic problems. Indeed a number of treatises purporting to be on *ḥisāb* are almost entirely devoted to algebra. Examples are the *Ṭarāʾif al-ḥisāb* of Abū Kāmil Shudjāʿ b. Aslam, c. 287/900 (ed. A. S. Saʿīdān, *Madjallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya*, ix (1963), 291-320; German trans. by H. Suter, *Bibl. Math.*, iii/2, 1911, 100-120); *al-Kāfī* (German trans. by A. Hochheim, in three parts, Halle 1878-80), and *al-Badīʿ* (ed. A. Anbouba, Beirut 1964), both by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Karadjī, c. 390/1000 (= al-Karkhī, cf. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, xiv, 264 ff., and Anbouba in [*Madjallat*] *al-Dirāsāt al-adabiyya* Lebanese University, Beirut, nos. 1 and 2, 1959, 73-106); and *al-Bāhir fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb* of al-Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī, d. ca 570/1175 (Anbouba in *al-Mashriḳ*, 1961, 61-108). It may be remarked that in all of these treatises, as distinguished from books dealing with Indian methods of reckoning, the numbers are as a rule written out in words. Owing to the expression *ʿilm ḥisāb al-nudjūm* ("science of the computation of the stars") the term *al-ḥāsib* (the "computer") could refer to an astronomer or an astrologer as well as to an arithmetician.

Nicomachus's *Introduction* was translated into Arabic by Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrābī, d. 288/901 (*Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā ʿilm al-ʿadad*, ed. W. Kutsch S. J., Beirut 1959), and it soon enjoyed the popularity which it had secured in late antiquity. Through it, mathematicians in Islam became acquainted with a systematic exposition of Pythagorean arithmetical lore: relation of arithmetic to the other subjects

of the quadrivium (geometry, astronomy and music), classifications of numbers; perfect, over-perfect and deficient numbers; amicable (*mutaḥābba*) numbers; series, etc. The influence of this work can be seen in the writings of the Ikh̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*], whose first *Risāla*, "On Numbers" (English trans. by B. Goldstein, in *Centaurus*, 1964, 129-60), is in large part a paraphrase of the *Introduction*, and in which the authority of Nicomachus and Pythagoras are repeatedly invoked. According to the Ikh̲wān, arithmetic, the first stage on the way to wisdom, is a study of the properties of existing things through a study of the individual numbers corresponding to those things: "existing things are in accordance with the nature of numbers". Even when a conventional classification of numbers is made, such as their classification into units, tens, hundreds and thousands, it is inspired by a universal pattern in nature —in this case, the four natures, the four elements, the four humours, etc. The prototype of the number one is The One; and just as all things proceed from the One transcending them, so one is the principle of all numbers but is not itself a number. Speculations of this kind are not to be found solely in scientifically weak writings; one of the great mathematicians of Islam, ʿUmar al-Kh̲ayyāmī [*q.v.*], believed that the study of mathematics—being the purest part of philosophy—was the first step on the ladder that leads to salvation and to knowledge of the true essence of Being (*Risāla fī s̲h̲arḥ mā as̲h̲kala min muṣādarāt Uḳlīdis*, ed. A. I. Sabra, Alexandria 1961, pp. 3 and 75). And we should remember that the translator of Nicomachus's *Introduction* was one of the ablest mathematicians of the 3rd/9th century. One is struck, however, by the paucity of writings on *ʿilm al-ʿadad* proper. A somewhat extended treatment of this subject is *Marāsim al-intisāb fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, written in Damascus in 774/1373 by the Spanish-Arab Yaʿīs̲h̲ b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Umawī; it contains a treatment of pyramidal numbers (Saidan, in *IC*, 1965, 210 and 212). Th̲ābit b. Ḳurra wrote a separate treatise on amicable numbers (French trans. by F. Woepcke, in *JA*, xx (1852), 420-29) and so did Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see Brockelmann, S II, 295, no. 2). Arguing against the view that an infinite cannot be greater than another infinite, Th̲ābit cited the example of numbers, observing that the class of natural numbers and that of even numbers are both infinite while the latter is half the former. In fact an infinite collection of numbers, he said, can be any part of another infinite collection (British Museum MS. Add. Or. 7473, fol. 14ᵛ).

The first manual of Hindu reckoning, that of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̲uwārizmī (c. 210/825), survives only in a number of Latin versions deriving from a Latin translation probably made in the 12th century A.D. One of these, represented by a unique 13th-century manuscript preserved at Cambridge, was first published by B. Boncompagni as *Trattati d'aritmetica i*: *Algoritmi de numero indorum*, Rome 1857, and re-edited by K. Vogel, *Alchwarizmi's Algorismus*, Aalen 1963. Another version is *Ioannis Hispalensis Liber algorismi* (or *alghoarismi*) *de pratica arismetrice*, published by Boncompagni as *Trattati d'aritmetica ii*, Rome 1857. The former book explains the decimal place-value system of numeration, though the nine Indian numerals are missing from the Cambridge manuscript, which uses only Roman numerals. Zero is represented here as a small circle (*circulus*), whose function is to indicate a vacant place (*differentia*, *mansio*: ?*martaba*, ?*manzila*); the *Liber algarismi* also calls zero *ciffre* or *siffre*, reflecting the Arabic *ṣifr*, "empty". In performing the fundamental arithmetical operations the numbers are placed one above the other and the process begins on the left. Erasure and shifting of numbers are used, thus clearly implying that the operations were performed on a dust-board. A particular feature of the book is the treatment of duplation and mediation as separate operations; this practice was preserved by Arabic arithmeticians as late as al-Kās̲h̲ī in the 9th/15th century (though not in al-Karad̲j̲ī, Ibn al-Bannāʾ, c. 619/1222, or al-Ḳalaṣādī, d. 882/1477 or 891/1486) and was also continued by many writers in Europe up to the 16th century.

Extant among the earlier introductions to Indian-type arithmetic is the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-hind*, which Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kūs̲h̲yār b. Labbān al-D̲j̲īlī composed in about 390/1000 (*Principles of Hindu Reckoning*, facsimile of the Arabic text with English translation, etc. by Martin Levey and Marvin Petruck, Madison and Milwaukee 1965). It is in two parts. The first part introduces the 'nine letters' and the principle of decimal place value. A small circle, '*ṣifr*', indicates the absence of number from the place position (*martaba*) which it occupies. Kūs̲h̲yār then deals with addition (*ziyāda*), subtraction (*nuḳṣān*), multiplication (*ḍarb*) and division (*ḳisma*). Duplation (*taḍʿīf*) and mediation (*tanṣīf*) are described as 'other kinds' of addition and subtraction respectively. There follows a treatment of the square root (*d̲j̲ad̲h̲r*) and this part ends with a short chapter on *mawāzīn*, in which the check by casting out nines is applied to multiplication, division and the extraction of square roots. Fractions are here expressed exclusively in the sexagesimal scale. A half, for example, is thirty parts of one, and accordingly the final result of halving 5625 appears as $\frac{2812}{30}$. Similarly the remainder in a division is multiplied by powers of 60, then divided by the divisor. The second part is entirely devoted to the 'compounded' sexagesimal system of calculation (including the calculation of square root) with the help of multiplication tables of numbers up to 60 (missing in the extant text). In these tables numbers were expressed in the traditional *abd̲j̲ad* notation, but the calculations themselves employ a pure place-value system of numeration using the nine figures and zero. A final chapter illustrates the process of extracting the cube root (*kaʿb*) in the decimal system. Throughout the book the calculations are performed on a dust board (*tak̲h̲t*) and involve rubbing out and displacement of numbers, the final result replacing one of the given numbers. For example, to multiply 325 by 243 the following figures successively replace one another on the board: $\frac{325}{243}$, $\frac{6\ 325}{243}$, $\frac{72325}{243}$, $\frac{72925}{243}$, $\frac{77765}{243}$, $\frac{78975}{243}$.

But already before Kūs̲h̲yār's time highly significant innovations were being introduced, as is witnessed by *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fī 'l-ḥisāb al-hindī*, which Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Uḳlīdisī composed in Damascus in 341/952-3. Though not yet published, this important book has recently been studied by A. S. Saidan in the unique Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 802 (*Isis*, lvii (1966), 475-90). As well as applying Indian schemes of calculation to the old finger arithmetic (see below) and to sexagesimal

fractions, al-Uḳlīdisī set out to alter the dust-board methods to suit ink and paper. Not only was the awkwardness of these methods apparent, but the association of the *takht* with astrologers earning their living by casting horoscopes and the unbecoming practice of rubbing off the sand with the hand made it undesirable. Thus it is interesting to note that when, in the same century as al-Uḳlīdisī, Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzdjānī wrote his handbook of arithmetic for the use of the government bureaucracy (*Mā yaḥtādj ilayh al-kuttāb wa 'l-ʿummāl min sināʿat al-ḥisāb*; cf. M. Medovoi in *Istoriko-matematičeskiye Issledovaniya*, xiii (1960), 253-324), he was careful to free the Indian-type schemes which he sometimes employed from the dust-board and erasure. Al-Uḳlīdisī claimed to be the first to offer a satisfactory treatment of cube root; but the most surprising feature of his book is the explanation and application of decimal fractions, an innovation which until very recently was attributed to al-Kāshī, five centuries later. The idea reappears in some form in the *Takmila fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb* of Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 428/1037), who expressed our 17.28 by the ar-
17
rangement 02 (see Saidan in *Isis, loc. cit.*, 487-8
08
and in *IC*, xxxix (1965), 210, 220). But the invention appears to have been generally lost until, five centuries after al-Uḳlīdisī, al-Kāshī re-introduced decimal fractions (*al-kusūr al-aʿshāriyya*) in his *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* as a new discovery to which he was led by analogy with sexagesimals (facsimile of the Arabic text with Russian translation and commentary by B. Rozenfeld, V. Segal and A. Yushkevich, Moscow 1956). While al-Kāshī realised the importance of decimal fractions more fully than al-Uḳlīdisī, the latter had used a decimal sign—a stroke above the numeral in the units place—which is superior to al-Kāshī's ways of indicating the decimal part of the number, for example by writing it in a different colour or in a column or columns other than that of the integral part.

A distinguishing feature of the books dealing with Hindu reckoning is the use of the 'Arabic numerals', which were traditionally asserted by mediaeval Arabic scholars to be of Indian origin. While this ascription is now generally accepted, questions relating to the ultimate source of the numerals and to the manner of their diffusion and development in the Islamic world and in Europe remains a subject of debate, in spite of the extensive researches of Woepcke, Smith and Karpinski, Carra de Vaux, Gandz, and many others. In the Islamic world the numerals existed and have continued to exist mainly in two forms, one in the East and the other in the West. Usually the Eastern numerals were called "Indian", whereas the others, the immediate parents of the modern European numerals, were called *ghubār* (dust) numerals. But sometimes the names were reversed (cf. F. Woepcke and A. Marre in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontificia de' Nuovi Lincei*, tomo xix, anno xix, 1866), or both forms were called Indian or both called *ghubār*. Ibn al-Hāʾim (d. 815/1412) in his *Murshidat al-ṭālib ilā asna 'l-maṭālib* reproduces the Eastern and Western forms and calls them both "Indian". A marginal note in one manuscript rejects this appellation as applied to the latter form, which it claims to be of '*Rūmī*' origin, and calls them both *ghubār* (MS. Princeton University Library, Yah. 3940, dated 981/1573-4, fol. 1^v). This claim should be considered in connexion with the thesis put forward by Woepcke and supported by Gandz that the *ghubār* numerals had been spread by the Neoplatonists and that the Arabs learned them directly from the Romans. Concerning the Western-style numerals, Yaḥyā b. Taḳī al-Dīn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥalabī (c. 1019/1610) says in his *Maslak al-ṭullāb fī sharḥ Nuzhat al-ḥussāb*: "These are the *ghubāriyya* (numerals), and they are also called Indian, but their use has become prevalent among the people of the Maghrib and among those who follow them" (MS. Princeton University Library, Yah. 3407, dated 1037/1627-8, fol. 82^r).

Both forms of the numerals were known to the Arabs by A.D. 733, if not earlier. It may be noted, however, that up till now no one has found in Arabic treatises on arithmetic any reference to Indian authors or titles—unlike the situation in Arabic astronomical writings. Moreover, these treatises show no trace of the Hindu division of arithmetic into some twenty operations but rather follow the familiar Greek division; and in their designations of powers higher than the square and the cube they always considered the sums, as in Diophantus, not the products, as was the Hindu practice. They expressed the sixth power, for example, as *kaʿb kaʿb* (κυβόκυβος), not as the square of the cube or the cube of the square (cf. H. T. Colebrooke, *op. cit.* in Bibl., p. xii). On the other hand, the phrase *ḥisāb al-takht wa'l-turāb* ("board and dust calculation") is clearly the equivalent of the Sanskrit *pāṭīgaṇita* and *dhūlī-karma* (Datta and Singh, *op. cit.* in Bibl., i, 123-4). And there is a parallel in Sanskrit usage for the fact that *al-djamʿ wa 'l-tafrīḳ* (or, as in Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ḍamm wa 'l-tafrīḳ*), two terms which in the extant treatises always denote addition and subtraction respectively, could also designate the whole of arithmetic (*ibid.*, 130; and cf. J. Ruska, in *Sb. Heid. Ak. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, 14-21). Thus the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ defined *ḥisāb* as *djamʿ al-ʿadad wa-tafrīḳuhu* (the combining and separating of numbers); and al-Khuwārizmī is reported to have written a book on *al-djamʿ wa'l-tafrīḳ*, which could not have been restricted to the elementary operations of addition and substraction.

Before the spread of Hindu methods of reckoning there prevailed in the Islamic world a kind of arithmetic which al-Uḳlīdisī called *ḥisāb al-Rūm wa'l-ʿArab*. Books dealing with it (such as the treatise of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ mentioned earlier) gave rules for effecting the arithmetical operations including the approximate determination of square roots. These operations were usually performed mentally, and the partial results obtained in the process of reaching the final solution of a problem were 'retained' by holding the fingers in certain positions. Because of these features this arithmetic came to be known as *ḥisāb al-yad* (hand reckoning), *ḥisāb al-ʿuḳūd* (finger reckoning), *al-ḥisāb al-hawāʾī* (mental, or literally, air reckoning). To deal with fractions, finger reckoning applied the sexagesimal scale or converted the fractions into parts of the local units of currency or measurement. Another system used by it appears to have been suggested by certain characteristics of the Arabic language, in which only the fractions 1/3, 1/4, . . ., 1/10 are expressible by words derived from names of their denominators ('third' from 'three', etc.). ('Half' is not derived from 'two' and is therefore called *mawḍūʿ*, *i.e.*, formed by convention.) Some other fractions can be reduced to fractions of the former group: 1/12, for example, is half one sixth. Others, such as 1/11 or 1/13, cannot

be so expressed and for this reason they and their denominators are called *aṣamm*. In this sense of the word the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ speak of 11 as 'the first *aṣamm* number'. To express 1/11 one has to say: "one part out of eleven". In other contexts *aṣamm* was used to render Euclid's ἄρητος as applied to a number, such as $\sqrt{2}$, that cannot be expressed as the ratio of two natural numbers.

Although treatises on finger computation continued to be written even after the advantages of Hindu reckoning were clearly recognized, the general aim of Arabic arithmeticians, and perhaps their chief achievement, was to fuse together the various methods available to them into one system of arithmetic based on the consistent application of the decimal place-value idea and using Indian numerals. One of these methods was the ancient sexagesimal scale which was strongly impressed upon Arabic mathematical writing through the translation of Greek astronomical works. But, again, sexagesimal methods of computation, together with the *abdjad* notation associated with them, remained always in use among Islamic astronomers. In recognition of this fact almost every important treatise of Arabic arithmetic devoted a chapter to the treatment of the sexagesimal system, sometimes called *ḥisāb al-munadjdjimīn* ("arithmetic of the astronomers", or "astrologers"), *ḥisāb al-zīdj* ("arithmetic of astronomical tables"), or *ḥisāb al-daradj wa 'l-daḳāʾiḳ* ("arithmetic of degrees and minutes"). A late but comprehensive treatise entirely devoted to this system is that by Sibṭ al-Māridīnī (d. after 891/1486): *Raḳāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī maʿrifat al-daradj waʾl-daḳāʾiḳ*. The author says that the only satisfactory work on sexagesimal computation which he had seen was one by his teacher Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Madjdī (Princeton University Library, MS Yah. 3325, fol. 1v).

In Arabic books on arithmetic, checks (*mawāzīn*) take the place of demonstrations proper. This contrasts with Arabic treatises on algebra, which, following a Greek tradition, often supplied geometrical proofs. The check by nine appears in the earliest extant books, in al-Uḳlīdisī and in Kūshyār, and it continued to be used throughout. Al-Ḥaṣṣār, probably in the 6th/12th century, checked by seven (H. Suter in *Bibl. Math.*, iii/2, 1901, 12-40); Ibn al-Bannāʾ in his *Talkhīṣ* (French translation by A. Marre, *Atti dell'Accademia Pontificia de' Nuovi Lincei*, tomo xvii, anno xvii, 1863-64, Rome 1864, 289-319) used eight as well as nine, and al-Umawī (*IC*, *loc. cit.*, p. 219) used also eleven. Al-Ḳalaṣādī applied the method of casting out sevens and, in connexion with subtraction, says that other numbers could be used. The limitation of these methods was recognized. Al-Kāshī, who used only nine, states that they show a certain result to be incorrect, but not that it is correct. A similar statement occurs in the *Liber algorismi*.

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ʿILM AL-ḤURŪF [see ḤURŪF].

ʿILM AL-KALĀM, one of the "religious sciences" of Islam. The term is usually translated, as an approximate rendering, "theology".

I.—Definition. It is difficult to establish precisely when *ʿilm al-kalām* came to mean an autonomous religious science (or branch of knowledge). In any case, whereas the term *fiḳh* meant originally —especially in the Ḥanafī school (cf. *fiḳh akbar*) —speculative meditation, hence distinguished from *ʿilm* in the sense of traditional knowledge, the term *kalām*, literally "word", quickly acquired the senses of "conversation, discussion, controversy" (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 1932, 79, quoting two *ḥadīth*s of Muslim). In his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, al-Fārābī regards *ʿilm al-kalām* as "a science which enables a man to procure the victory of the dogmas and actions laid down by the Legislator of the religion, and to refute all opinions contradicting them". The doctors of *kalām* (*mutakallimūn*) themselves were to take a very similar view: this is one of many well-known definitions: "*kalām* is the science which is concerned with firmly establishing religious beliefs by adducing proofs and with banishing doubts" (from the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īdjī, 8th/14th cent.). Similar

definitions are to be found in Ibn Khaldūn, and again in Muḥammad ʿAbduh: they summarize a long elaboration, but add nothing new.

ʿIlm al-kalām is the discipline which brings to the service of religious beliefs (*ʿaḳāʾid*) discursive arguments; which thus provides a place for reflexion and meditation, and hence for reason, in the elucidation and defence of the content of the faith. It takes its stand firstly against "doubters and deniers", and its function as defensive "apologia" cannot be over-stressed. A fairly common synonymous term is *ʿilm al-tawḥīd*, the "science of the Unity (of God)", understood as concerned not merely with the divine unity but with all the bases of the Muslim faith, especially prophecy (*e.g.*, al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325, i, 26).

Another interpretation sometimes suggested explains *ʿilm al-kalām* as "science of the Word of God". The attribute of the Word and the nature of the Ḳurʾān were indeed among the first themes treated, and discussions on this subject continued throughout the centuries. But this was by no means the first question undertaken (see below, § II) nor that later treated at most length. It seems much more likely that *kalām* referred at first to discursive arguments, and the *mutakallimūn* ("*loquentes*") were "reasoners". This was the case as early as the time of Maʿbad al-Djuhanī (d. 80/699-700). *Kalām* became a regular discipline when these arguments and discussions dealt with the content of the faith. It is this character of discursive and reasoned apologia which was to attract the attacks both of the traditionists and of the *falāsifa* (§ IV, below).

II.—The great schools.

A. *First tendencies.*—It seems that it is from the battle of Ṣiffīn and the schisms to which it gave rise that can be dated not of course the first meditations on the content of the faith but their grouping into tendencies and schools. The appearances of the three main politico-religious traditions, Khāridjī, Shīʿī and Sunnī, set before Muslim thinkers the problem of the validity of the *imāma* [*q.v.*] and the "status of believer" which the *imām* must possess; thence arose the question of faith and the conditions for salvation and the question of man's responsibility or lack of responsibility; then, as parallel considerations, the nature of the Ḳurʾān (created or not created) and hence the stress laid upon the divine attribute of the Word; then finally, the more general problem of the divine attributes, their existence and their connexion with the divine essence, and its Unity. Many other questions were added in course of time; but already at this early period—the age of the Umayyads and the early ʿAbbāsids—the essential themes which were to constitute *ʿilm al-kalām* had arisen. Whatever may have been the effect of external influences—discussions with Mazdean *zanādiḳa* on good and evil in human actions or with the Christian theologians of Damascus on the Word of God, and the discovery of Greek science and philosophy—*kalām* tended at first to take shape over specifically Muslim problems. The external influences probably had some effect as a result of the controversies, emphasizing some aspects of the subjects dealt with, giving direction to the choice of arguments and (still more, perhaps) the method of argumentation. The fact remains, however, that *ʿilm al-kalām* is certainly not an Arab adaptation of Mazdean or Christian theology but arose within the Muslim community, where it preserved its own originality.

It would be risky and tedious to attempt to establish the dates of the very first attitudes adopted. So far, these are hardly known except through later works of heresiography (notably of al-Ashʿarī, al Baghdādī, al-Shahrastānī, Ibn Ḥazm) and refutations. Again, it is not always the same thinkers who are linked together under this or that comprehensive label (*e.g.*, Ḳadariyya); and mere tendencies should not be transformed into "schools" in the strict sense. This or that *mutakallim* may be presented as showing diverse—even opposing—tendencies according to the problem he is dealing with. There follow here, as a general indication, a few points of reference.

The Ḳadariyya were those most opposed to the Umayyad régime, most critical of the ways of the court at Damascus. The name was ordinarily applied to those who recognized that man had a power (*ḳudra*) over his acts so extensive that determination (*ḳadar*) belonged to man alone, and who saw in "works" thus freely performed an integral part of the faith. Hence the man who deliberately committed a great sin became *kāfir*, infidel. This last tenet, which does not seem to have been supported by all, was to remain one of the characteristics of Khāridjī thought.—Ghaylān and Maʿbad al-Djuhanī are the members of the Ḳadariyya most frequently quoted. To them may be added, but with reservations, Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (2nd/8th century), who are regarded as the founders of the Muʿtazilī school and are, with them, sometimes called "political muʿtazilīs". This tendency re-appears in later Khāridjī or Shīʿī *kalām*. The term Ḳadariyya was later readily applied to the Muʿtazilīs proper, who disclaimed it. Some of them, interpreting differently the etymology of the term, used it of those who upheld the absoluteness of the divine Decree (*ḳadar*); this interpretation is found later in the works of their opponent Ibn Taymiyya.

In this second sense, Ḳadariyya becomes practically synonymous with what had been its opposite, Djabriyya (or Mudjbira [*q.v.*]), the upholders of *djabr*, the divine "compulsion", which creates man's acts, good or bad, so that nothing is attributed to the man who performs them. The Muʿtazilīs regarded as *djabriyya* those (including Ashʿarīs) who rejected their doctrine of *ḳadar*. Ashʿarī heresiographers accorded the term *djabriyya*—perhaps somewhat hastily—to the disciples of Djahm.

It was on the question of faith, sin and salvation that the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*] disagreed with the Khāridjīs. A great sin (*kabīra*) does not involve loss of faith. On the basis of Ḳurʾān, IX, 106, the sinner's future fate is left in suspense (*irdjāʾ*), awaiting God's decision. It is Ghaylān and Ghassān (who seem to have had Ḥanafī connexions) who are usually (*e.g.*, by al-Shahrastānī) named as belonging to the Murdjiʾa.

Later heresiographers constricted these diverse tendencies into condensed formulas, which probably over-simplified and distorted them. But in these very first efforts to support politico-religious attitudes by means of rational argument the main lines of later discussions are already drawn. With greater or less success, the Ḳadariyya anticipate some of the main theses of the Muʿtazila; the Ashʿarīs were to seek a "happy mean" to reconcile the "compulsion" of the Djabriyya and human responsibility; the Murdjiʾa prefigure, to some degree, in their treatment of the problem of retribution in the next world, the explanations of the Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs and many Ashʿarīs. Full discussion of this question would re-

quire a detailed study (which would however be risky for lack of documentation) of G̲h̲aylān, who is sometimes classed with the Ḳadariyya, as having asserted human liberty of choice, and sometimes with the Murd̲j̲iʾa, thanks to his theory of the future lot of the sinful believer.

We are dealing therefore with tendencies rather than with established "schools of theology", and with overlapping views which later were to diverge. Thus it is with the adherents of the sect of the D̲j̲ahmiyya [*q.v.*], who regarded as their founder D̲j̲ahm b. Ṣafwān (executed in 128/746) but whose tenets are known only from the refutations of their opponents. To summarize: on the problem of *ḳadar* they would ally themselves with the D̲j̲abriyya, and on that of faith with the Murd̲j̲iʾa. Beyond this, however, they refused to recognize any distinct existence of the divine attributes, stripping them away (*taʿṭīl*) from the divine essence in order the better to protect its perfect and absolute unity. Finally, they supported the thesis of the created Ḳurʾān, and gave an allegorical interpretation to the anthropomorphic features in its text. Thus there arose a certain confusion between them and the Muʿtazilīs (*e.g.*, on the subject of Ḍirār b. ʿAmr), although the latter took position against them both for their excessive *taʿṭīl* and for their rejection of human freedom of action.

B. *The Muʿtazilī schools* (for the origin of the name, details on the historical development of the school and its doctrines, see MUʿTAZILA). The first Muʿtazilīs were contemporaries of the various tendencies and groupings surveyed above. It is sometimes difficult and perhaps pointless to distinguish them from the Ḳadariyya.

But after 132/750, when ʿAbbāsid authority was asserting itself at Bag̲h̲dād, discussions on the validity of the *imāma* lost their relevance, to be replaced by the defence of religious dogmas in general against attacks of *zanādiḳa* of all types. Doctrinal positions became so defined and systematized that one may speak of a regular school (or rather schools), whose vocabulary and methods of argument were to be influenced as a result of the activity of trans lation from works of Greek science and philosophy

After the "founders", Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, and the "forerunner", Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, we find two Muʿtazilī groups taking shape, at Baṣra and Bag̲h̲dād respectively, between the end of the 2nd/8th and the beginning of the 4th/10th century. Each embraced varying tendencies, but can justly be called a "school" (*mad̲h̲hab*) (see W. Montgomery Watt, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, Edinburgh 1948, 65, for a table of the chief representatives of these schools and the links of their affiliation; list in L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane*: *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 26).

One may, with Montgomery Watt, regard Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl al-ʿAllāf (d. *ca* 227/841) as the founder of the Baṣra school and, in a sense, of doctrinal Muʿtazilism itself. The great names in this school are Muʿammar, al-Naẓẓām (both of whom did not refrain from criticizing al-ʿAllāf), the great writer al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī and his son Abū Hās̲h̲im (d. 321/933). The doctors of Baṣra, in grappling with the doctrinal problems that arose, advanced original solutions in the field of natural philosophy or in noetics: the theory of atoms (*d̲j̲uzʾ*), of Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl, the semi-conceptualism of the "modes" (*aḥwāl*) of Abū Hās̲h̲im.

The school of Bag̲h̲dād was perhaps less illustrious than that of Baṣra. It derived from Bis̲h̲r b. al-Muʿtamir (d. between 210-26/825-40), who was for a time imprisoned by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, was criticized by Abu 'l-Hud̲h̲ayl, and was to influence Muʿammar. Al-Murdār, T̲h̲umāma, al-K̲h̲ayyāṭ and al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931) brought fame to this group.

As the oft-quoted remark of Aḥmad Amīn (*Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, Cairo, iii, 204) puts it, the Muʿtazilīs were "firstly men of religion and secondarily philosophers". It is not (*pace* D. B. Macdonald in *EI*[1], s.v. *Kalām*) the atomic theory (nor that of the "modes") which characterizes the *mutakallimūn*, but their primary concern to engage in disputation and argument to defend the faith against the *zanādiḳa* of the period, the "free-thinkers" inspired by Mazdeism or Manicheism, and later by pure Greek rationalism. Although nuances of doctrine, sometimes important, divided them, they were inspired by one and the same spirit: respect for reason (*ʿaḳl*) in the defence of religious tenets (*ʿaḳl* becoming even the criterion (*mīzān*) of the Law), the concern to purge the notion of God of all "multiplicity" and anthropomorphism, the desire to proclaim and justify the absolute divine perfection. The Muʿtazilīs themselves defined themselves as "the people of Justice and Unity".

(We may note the influence of Muʿtazilism on Jewish thought elaborated in the Arabic milieu; it too possessed a *kalām*, which opposed the Muslim doctors when necessary but which largely borrowed from them its problematics, its method and its systems of argument. Saʿadyāh Gaon (Saʿīd al-Fayyūmī) was the most famous Jewish *mutakallim*).

The five principal bases (*uṣūl*) or theses upon which Muʿtazilī problematic was elaborated are known: (1) the divine Unity (*al-tawḥīd*): the divine attributes are meaningful only when taken in a strict *via remotionis* (*tanzīh*), which their opponents readily identified with the *taʿṭīl* of the D̲j̲ahmiyya. God the Creator, an absolutely spiritual being, is inaccessible and can be seen neither in this world nor in the next. (2) Justice (*al-ʿadl*): God acts with a purpose. Things, by their nature, contain both good and evil. God can will only the good, and is obliged to accomplish that which is better (*al-aṣlaḥ*). Thus He neither wills nor commands that which is evil. Man, "creator of his own acts" by a contingent power (*ḳudra*) which God has created in him, is responsible for what he does, and God is obliged to reward or punish him accordingly. (3) "The promise and the warning" (*al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd*) or "the names and the decrees" (*al-asmāʾ wa 'l-aḥkām*): to possess faith is to perform the acts prescribed by the Ḳurʾān. Whoever commits a "great sin" and does not repent is destined for hell. The thesis elaborates the "decrees" for the believer and the unbeliever. It deals also with "traditions" (*ak̲h̲bār*): contrary to the normal doctrine, it does not insist that all the "transmitters" should be believers; and *id̲j̲māʿ* [*q.v.*] is not infallible. (4) "The intermediate state between faith and lack of faith (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*)—the position of the "believer who sins" (*fāsiḳ* [*q.v.*]), a characteristic thesis of the school. The sinner is neither a true believer (*muʾmin*), nor a true infidel (*kāfir*). He has failed to perform the "witness of the limbs", but his faith in God keeps him within the Community. It is here that are discussed the conditions for *imāma* and the respective merits of the first four Caliphs. (5) "The enjoining of what is good and the forbidding of what

is evil" (*al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*): this thesis at first was of major prominence, but later lost relevance. "The enjoining of what is good" is an obligation upon every Muslim (*contra*: al-Aṣamm, of Baṣra). As against the more prudent view prevailing later, the Muʿtazilīs advocated direct intervention, if necessary with the sword. One may and should depose guilty leaders, one may and should compel opponents, on pain of death, to profess the true doctrine (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. Cairo, ii, 466). This was the attitude of the Muʿtazilīs, in their days of triumph under al-Maʾmūn, when they denounced to the courts the supporters of the doctrine of the uncreated Ḳurʾān.

The fact remains that the writings of the great Muʿtazilīs, apart from the polemical *Intiṣār* (a defence of Muʿtazilism by al-Khayyāṭ, against Ibn al-Rāwandī), are available to us only at second hand. After being for a time the official doctrine, Muʿtazilism was in its turn condemned and most of its productions were destroyed. It is only recently (in about 1958), that there have come to light, in the Yemen, the writings of a Muʿtazilī (unfortunately, late), the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025): first *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-ʿadl*, a true "summa", now (1969) being edited in Cairo, and second the *Kitāb al-Madjmūʿ fi 'l-muḥīt bi 'l-taklīf* (ed., not without mistakes, by J. J. Houben, Beyrouth 1962). To these may be added the work of synthesis *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* (ed. Cairo 1384/1965 by ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān), probably compiled by a Zaydī disciple, the *imām* al-Mandakim. We may mention also, in the line of ʿAbd al-Djabbār's teaching, the *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, by his disciple the jurist Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (ed. Damascus by Ḥamīdullāh).

ʿAbd al-Djabbār makes frequent reference to the "early masters" of the school ("our *shaykhs*"), more readily to the school of Baṣra, and especially to al-Djubbāʾī and Abū Hāshim. Thus we now possess quotations from the early doctors and resumés of their thought presented from the Muʿtazilī viewpoint: this reveals, incidentally, how objective are the *Maḳālāt* of al-Ashʿarī (and tends to prove that the first part at least of this work was composed during the years that the author adhered to Muʿtazilism). Again, the late date when ʿAbd al-Djabbār was teaching induced him to conduct polemic against the Ashʿarīs and set out the replies of the Muʿtazilīs to the attacks mounted against them. The discovery of these works in the Yemen is another proof that under the challenge of the 5th/11th century reaction the influence of the school continued to be felt in non-Sunnī milieus.

Before passing on from the climate of thought of the first great schools of *ʿilm al-kalām*, we may mention the group whom al-Ashʿarī calls *Ahl al-ithbāt* or *Muthbita* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *op. cit.*, 104 ff.). It is by no means easy to define it precisely. It comprised a certain number of thinkers, Ḍirār, al-Nadjdjār, Muḥammad Burghūth, whom later heresiographers readily classed as Muʿtazilīs; but they were opposed by various supporters of the school of Baṣra (thus al-Nadjdjār was opposed by Abu 'l-Hudhayl and al-Naẓẓām), and al-Ashʿarī saw in them his forerunners. They are said to have taught, *inter alia*, that God is the creator of human actions, and to have foreshadowed the theory of *kasb* or *iktisāb*, which defined and limited man's possession of the acts thus created. Reference to the *Ahl al-ithbāt* allowed al-Ashʿarī to present himself as being in no sort an innovator in the field of *ʿilm al-kalām*.

C. *The Ashʿarī reaction.*—The "resurgence of Sunnism" under al-Mutawakkil and throughout the 5th/11th century was accompanied by an indictment of Muʿtazilism and concurrently, at least by Ḥanbalī and Ẓāhirī traditionists, of *kalām* as such: what was questioned was the basic principle of reasoned and discursive argument starting from the tenets of the faith. *ʿIlm al-kalām* however not only survived but renewed itself, thanks to the new direction given to it by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (260-324/873-935), a former Muʿtazilī. He is rightly regarded as the founder of the *Ashʿariyya* [*q.v.*], the most accepted and official school of *kalām* from the 4th/10th century to the 19th century. A certain number of his works (notably *Lumaʿ*, *Ibāna*) have survived, and his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* remain today an unrivalled source for our knowledge of the earlier tendencies and schools.

Throughout the centuries, several very famous names brought renown to Ashʿarī *kalām*. It is certain that manifold tendencies appeared in this school, and that varying—even divergent—attitudes were adopted. Thus al-Bāḳillānī summoned to the service of Ashʿarī tenets the atomism first expounded by Abu 'l-Hudhayl; however, al-Djuwaynī did not follow him at all on this point, but took up again the theory of "modes" of Abū Hāshim (and Bāḳillānī), which was abandoned by al-Ghazālī. But the basic viewpoints from which the major tenets of the faith are thought out remain the same; in spite of doctrinal differences—due largely to historical accidents and the diversity of the opponents it was necessary to refute—it is legitimate to speak of an Ashʿarī "school" (singular), perhaps more coherent than the Muʿtazilī schools had been.

Is it necessary, as has been suggested, to admit a radical distinction, even a split, between the thinking of the school's founder and that of the school named after him? It is true that in the *Ibāna*, al-Ashʿarī precedes his "credo" by a declaration of obedience to the teaching of Ibn Ḥanbal, and that although the declaration of faith which became traditional in the school could find justification in the *Lumaʿ* yet it is notably different from those set out in the *Ibāna* and the *Maḳālāt*. Nevertheless, the obedience to Ibn Ḥanbal declared by al-Ashʿarī did not deceive the Ḥanbalīs, who violently attacked the very principle of the defence of the faith by rational argument; and again, many propositions of the *Lumaʿ* had to await elucidation by later disciples, who were influenced in their turn by new historical circumstances. Thus there are not two "Ashʿarisms", one of the founder and one of his followers, but, fundamentally, a single common attitude which was to be progressively developed and variously coloured by successive apologetic discussions.

This common attitude is the unblurred affirmation of God as the inscrutable Almighty, Who does not act "with a purpose in view" and Who "is not to be questioned". In the strictest sense, God is "the sole Being and the sole Agent". He does not command an act *because* that act is just and good; it is His command (*amr*) which makes it just and good. God is the creator of human acts, of which man is merely the receiving subject (*maḥall*). But God "attributes" to a man his acts (theory of *kasb* or *iktisāb*), and hence are justified both human responsibility and the Judgement promised in the Ḳurʾān. Every statement of the Ḳurʾān corresponds to reality; the "ambiguous"

(*mutas̲h̲ābih*) verses are absolutely true as regards their affirmation of existence, but the anthropomorphisms which they present must be accepted *bilā kayf*, "without asking how". With a return to Ḥanbalī attitudes and against the Muʿtazilīs it is asserted that the Ḳurʾān is uncreated (*g̲h̲ayr mak̲h̲lūḳ*) and that the divine attributes are real. The attribute of the Word is not that it is "contingent": it subsists in God. But the school later taught the existence of the interior (*d̲h̲ātī*) divine Word, which is uncreated, and tended to admit that the "signs" which express it are created: such a distinction was to incur the vehement criticism of the Ḥanbali doctors.

A common attitude, we have said, but one which was continuously to seek to justify itself dialectically before its various opponents: first the Muʿtazilīs, al-As̲h̲ʿarī's own favourite targets for controversy, and then the "literalists", such as the Karrāmiyya who were opposed by Ibn Furāk; later still the *falāsifa*, and many others. Often enough the As̲h̲ʿarīs borrowed from their opponents this or that way of posing the problem and even the methods of argument, so that it is possible to establish the following distinct chronological phases: (1) the works of the founder, al-As̲h̲ʿarī; (2) the first disciples: al-Bāḳillānī, who adopted the theory of atoms and the theory of modes, which later were sometimes accepted and sometimes passed over in silence or rejected; al-Bag̲h̲dādī; Ibn Furāk, the opponent of the Karrāmiyya; al-Bayhaḳī and al-D̲j̲uwaynī, supporters of the "modes"; (3) this last, al-D̲j̲uwaynī, al-G̲h̲azālī's teacher in *kalām*, is already a forerunner of that line which Ibn K̲h̲aldūn calls "the moderns" and which continued to summarize and discuss the attitudes of the great *falāsifa*; this line gained glory from the most renowned *mutakallimūn*: al-G̲h̲azālī, al-S̲h̲ahrastānī, Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (one of the most original thinkers of this school), al-Iṣfahānī, al-Īd̲j̲ī, al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, al-Dawānī (on whose works Muḥammad ʿAbduh later wrote a commentary): these "moderns" did not refrain from employing a certain degree of (moderate) *taʾwīl* to explain the anthropomorphic elements in the Ḳurʾān (cf. al-Rāzī's *Kitāb Asās al-taḳdīs*); (4) the manuals of "fossilized conservatism", which merely repeated and systematized the solutions presented by the masters of old time, reproducing their replies to Muʿtazilīs or *falāsifa* who were progressively less familiar directly: the works of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Laḳānī, al-Fuḍālī, al-Bād̲j̲ūrī.

D. *Māturīdī-Ḥanafī tendencies.* These became, with As̲h̲ʿarism, the second officially approved line of teaching. "Tendencies", we say deliberately, and not "school", believing correct the remarks of Father Allard on this subject (*Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī et de ses premiers disciples*, Beirut 1965, 420). Al-As̲h̲ʿarī himself treated the Ḥanafiyya as a branch of the Murd̲j̲iʾa (*Maḳālāt*, i, 202-3). However, we are here concerned with a line of thought sufficiently coherent to deserve study in its own right.

It appeals on the one hand to the ancient texts entitled *al-Fiḳh al-akbar* and *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, and on the other to al-Māturīdī of Samarḳand (d. 333/944), the author of a *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* edited by one of his pupils. The Ḥanafī professions of faith (see A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*) have their peculiar chracteristics: the connexion between *islām* and *īmān*, the statement of faith by *ḳawl*, etc. But al-Māturīdī, in advance of his contemporary al-As̲h̲ʿarī, seems to have combated various *falāsifa* (and also dualists, materialists, esoteric sects; secondarily, Muʿtazilīs and anthropomorphists). Although he, like others, deals with the divine attributes and Names, the main question which concerns him is the creation of the world. It is very possible that he did not literally "found" a school, but all the same many *mutakallimūn* looked to him as a point of reference. In later years it becomes difficult to distinguish clearly between followers of al-As̲h̲ʿarī and of al-Māturīdī: although Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Dawānī, al-Laḳānī are As̲h̲ʿarīs under the influence of al-Māturīdī, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī and al-Taftāzānī may be regarded as belonging primarily to the Māturīdī-Ḥanafī line and only secondarily to As̲h̲ʿarism (they accepted the theory of atoms).

Indeed as compared with As̲h̲ʿarism, Māturīdī-Ḥanafism, as presented by certain manuals (*e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb Naẓm al-farāʾid*, Cairo, 2nd ed.) puts forward solutions which are more psychological and intellectuallist in character. As to the first: God creates in man the *aṣl*, the "root" of his acts, whatever they may be, but it is human freewill which gives them a good or an evil specification. As to the second (see ALLĀH, p. 413): the divine decree (*ḳadar*) and predetermination (*ḳaḍāʾ*) are no longer related to the divine will (as with the As̲h̲ʿarīs) but to the divine knowledge; and the connexions between the one and the other in time and in eternity are reversed [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA'L-ḲADAR].

E. *Modern period.* The revival (*nahḍa*) of Arabo-Muslim thought, which has taken place from the end of the 19th century, has concerned particularly culture in the general sense, predominantly in the field of literature and under the strong influence of modern Western thought, but it has had its repercussions upon the "religious sciences". We have in mind here the reformism of the *Salafiyya*, and thus in exegesis (*tafsīr*) and in *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Is it legitimate to speak of a resurgence in *ʿilm al-kalām?* To answer this question we adduce the *Radd ʿala 'l-Dahriyyīn* ("Refutation of the materialists") of D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Afg̲h̲ānī (Cairo 1925), and, still more, the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and some other writings of the latter. Al-Afg̲h̲ānī's work, attacking contemporary "doubters and deniers" is prompted by a concern for defensive apologia. ʿAbduh's *Risāla* aims at being an attractive exposition of Islam calculated to affect and interest modern man. We may note that it defines *ʿilm al-kalām* as being "the establishment of religious beliefs and the explanation of prophecies", in order to "seek to conserve and establish religion" (Cairo 1353, 5).

The interest of the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* arises from the fact that it claims to reject nothing inherited from the great periods of the past and to put to profit the positive achievements of every school. Muḥammad ʿAbduh adheres primarily, but without rigidity, to As̲h̲ʿarism (divine names and attributes; no "end" to God's actions, etc.). But he does not hesitate to draw inspiration from attitudes customarily regarded as Māturīdī, or even to adopt Muʿtazilī positions. Hence arises his famous declaration: "The Law came to reveal what exists; but it is not the Law which made this good (*ḥasan*)" (*ibid.*, 80). ʿAbduh seeks to pass beyond the disputes of past ages in order to reconcile the various tendencies in *kalām*.

All the same, his rôle was less that of a thinker (or "theologian") than that of a reformer. When he

comes up against the mystery (*ghayb*) of divine Action on the world, he does not attempt to bring to bear on it his intelligence as illuminated by the revealed truth, in the way that such a thinker as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī felt himself obliged to do. In order to maintain both the affirmations of the faith and of human experience, he prefers to take refuge in an admission of ignorance: "As for going further, seeking to reconcile God's Omniscience and Will (which are proved to us) with man's freedom of action (which are demonstrated by evidence), that is to seek to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Decree; and we are forbidden to plunge into this abyss and concern ourselves with matters that reason is nearly incapable of grasping" (*ibid.*, 61; cf. Fr. tr. by Michel and M. ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, Paris 1925, 43). The distinction should be noticed between "proof" (by the Ḳurʾānic text) of divine Omniscience and Will, and the (experimental) "evidence" of his freedom which man achieves. It may be said that in giving this reply Muḥammad ʿAbduh is not carrying forward *ʿilm al-kalām* but re-stating in new terms a traditional problem, and leaving it open.

III.—Method and problematic.

A. *Argumentation and types of reasoning.* Thus the solutions advanced and the criteria selected are extremely varied; but they have in common the fact that they always vary according to the doctrine being defended or the adversaries being opposed. We will limit ourselves to a few remarks on the two great "schools". Muʿtazilism sought to valorize, under the attacks of the *zanādiḳa*, the absolute Unity and the absolute Justice of God; but this valorization quite quickly becomes, thanks to the arguments advanced to bring conviction, a "justification": the divine Essence and Action become justified before and through human reason (*ʿaḳl*). It is to counter this reduction of the mystery that the Ashʿarīs take their stand, proclaiming the Omnipotence and the Omniscience of God, rejecting any ontological basis for human freedom of action, but seeking to refute the Muʿtazilīs (using the same weapons as they) and at the same time, on the other flank, anthropomorphists (*mudjassima*) of every shade.

In both cases, for Ashʿarīs as for Muʿtazilīs, the starting point for the dialectical arguments assumes that confidence may be placed in *ʿaḳl*, and that a harmony is to be acknowledged between religious law and the efforts of reasons brought to bear on it. This is, we believe, the primary basis of *ʿilm al-kalām*, that which above all makes of it an autonomous discipline—and not this or that cosmological or noetic theory, whether it is dealing with atoms or with modes. But whereas in Muʿtazilism reason may and should account for its agreement with the Law, in Ashʿarism it is the Law which defines the limits of reason and controls its activity. In both cases, the religious Law is the bearer of absolute truth—delimited, in the view of the Muʿtazilīs, by the criterion of *ʿaḳl*, whereas for the Ashʿarīs it is only because the Law enjoins upon him to do so that man may "reflect upon the signs of the universe".

The method of *ʿilm al-kalām* is thus basically explicative and defensive. It always postulates the existence of an opponent who is to be won over. Not merely the choice of arguments but even the method of presenting them will vary according to the nature of the opponents. It is noteworth that "rational" arguments were often the first to be advanced; they are primarily dialectical, and pursue very subtle lines of reasoning; whereas the "modern" manuals clothe them in a syllogistic guise. Up to al-Djuwaynī, and sometimes also with the "moderns", they are based on logic "with two terms", on the classical Semitic pattern, by way of implication and involution, or concordance, or opposition. A suggestive summary is found in the *Bayān ʿan uṣūl al-īmān* of al-Sumnānī, a disciple of al-Bāḳillānī (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 358-61, 365-7).

"Rational" arguments are followed (or sometimes preceded) by "traditional" arguments, or, in other words, arguments from authority. These revolve around citations from the Ḳurʾān, on the one hand those adduced in direct support of an argument and on the other those quoted by opponents whose faulty interpretation of them is attacked. To these may be added *ḥadīth*s, sometimes numerous, sometimes few. This is especially the procedure of the first great Ashʿarīs. Most of them also rely upon texts guaranteed by *idjmāʿ*; "It is agreed that . . ." is a favourite argument. Al-Djuwaynī, among others, gives an important place to *idjmāʿ*. The fact that these "traditional" arguments are in some manuals listed *after* the "rational" arguments indicates that the former are to be regarded as a *confirmatur* to the results of dialectical reasoning. The defensive and apologetic character of *kalām* is thus manifested in its very recourse to the tenets of the faith to supply arguments.

From al-Djuwaynī onwards, the old-style dialectic and its reasoning from two terms yields place (without disappearing) to reasoning in three terms of the syllogistic type, with its universal middle term, and its recourse, implicit or explicit, to the principle of causality [see ʿILLA]. The *falāsifa* now become the usual opponents, as much as or more than the Muʿtazilīs. They must therefore be refuted on their own ground, and Aristotelian logic (with Stoic influences) becomes more and more influential in the arguments of *kalām*. The first manuals of the so-called "modern" tendency (the *Muḥaṣṣal* of al-Rāzī, the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of al-Djurdjānī, etc.) introduce questions regarding God and His Action with extended and purely rational discussions in which are surveyed the logical, cosmological, noetic and metaphysical themes of the *falāsifa*. Logic is here treated according to the Aristotelian schemas, sometimes with modifications (notably the four or even five figures of the syllogism). Yet the old argumentation from two terms does not entirely disappear; an indication of this may be found in the favourite selection of reasoning by the dilemma: this is probably Aristotelian in manner, but the implicit middle term is often suppressed in favour of the argument from authority (of a fact or of a text) or in favour of the dialectical judgement of existence [see BURHĀN].

The school of the "moderns" may be distinguished from the first generations of the Ashʿariyya by its advancing of more subtle solutions and its posing of some new problems. It is distinguished particularly by its use of the syllogism with a universal middle term and by its recourse to causality, even when, on the ontological plane, the efficacy of secondary causes is denied. Hence, to take a rather summary view, it is possible to re-classify the schools as follows: Muʿtazilī *kalām* and early Ashʿarī *kalām* are opposed in the doctrines they maintain but may share the same attitude to the problems and use the same methods of reasoning; early Ashʿarī

kalām and the Ashʿarism of the "moderns" support practically the same doctrines but differ perceptibly in their approach to the problems (adoption of "philosophical preambles") and more still in their methods of reasoning; finally, "fossilized conservatism" took up again the now classical doctrines and combined the dialectical and the syllogistic approaches, without always distinguishing one from the other.

Early Ashʿarī *kalām* (al-Bāḳillānī, al-Isfarāʾīnī, and al-Ashʿarī himself) professed, according to Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muḳaddima* (Cairo ed., 326, tr. de Slane, iii, 59), the "retroactivity of proofs", *i.e.*, "the nullity of a proof implies the nullity of that which it was sought to prove". It is thus, according to L. Massignon's comment (*Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, 550, n. 1), that al-Bāḳillānī declared the atomistic view of the world to be "co-essential" with the text of the Ḳurʾān. Such a procedure, Ibn Khaldūn adds, in which truths to be proved and probative arguments are interwoven, does not "conform to the rules of the art". This remark would be fully justified for a logical statement in three terms, but not in a dialectic of like and like (or its opposite). The "proof" to be adduced is no longer the result of a deduction. It, too, is a *fact*, a witness of truth. For al-Bāḳillānī, the atomistic discontinuity of the thing created "proves" the absolute transcendence and subsistence of God, the sole Agent, in the sense that this is its opposite correlative, its *muḳābal*, and that these two facts, presenting themselves to the spirit in a single apprehension, can only affirm themselves or deny themselves together (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *op. cit.*, 359; L. Gardet, *La dialectique en morphologie et logique arabes*, in *L'ambivalence dans la culture arabe*, by J. Berque, J.-P. Charnay, and others, Paris 1967, 125-30). It is less the strictly logical validity of reasoning by implication and its "conformity with the rules of the art" that is in question here than the degree of universality and probative validity of the two procedures, dialectical (with two terms) and syllogistic (with a universal middle term).

B. *The formulation of problems.* This study of the methods of thought and of argument employed in *ʿilm al-kalām* emphasizes that the struggle of Ashʿarism with Muʿtazilism is part of a continuous process. There is a split as to the chief doctrines professed but not (we cannot repeat too often) as to the type of arguments or the method of reasoning employed, nor as to the general lines or the plans of the treatises. From this point of view, *kalām*, as an established discipline, is greatly indebted to the Muʿtazilīs. Their five *uṣūl* continue, with some variants, to dominate the whole question: so it is in the *Lumaʿ* of al-Ashʿarī, and to a large extent also in the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī.

From al-Djuwaynī onwards, however, and particularly from al-Rāzī, three new importations appear: (1) introductions or preliminary remarks, on the character of reasoning (al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*), on the nature of *kalām* (al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*), and finally on the general principles of logic, natural philosophy and ontology (al-Rāzī, al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī) become of ever increasing importance until they figure in the actual treatises themselves. (2) In the more strictly "theological" themes, a distinction arises between on the one hand the *ilāhiyyāt*, *i.e.*, the chapters concerning God, which (some attributes excepted) consist of a rational elaboration built up on scriptural bases, and on the other the *samʿiyyāt*, the "traditional" (*ex auditu*) chapters, whose very argumentation depends on positive data. The philosophical chapters and the *ilāhiyyāt* are combined under the term *ʿaḳliyyāt*; the *samʿiyyāt* deal with prophecy, with eschatology, with the decrees and the names (problem of faith) and with the enjoining of good. Some authors (al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī) make prophecy a link between *ilāhiyyāt* and *samʿiyyāt*. (3) Finally, a distinction is made (a matter reconsidered by Muḥammad ʿAbduh) between "that which is necessary in God" (existence and attributes), "that which is possible for God" (visibility, creation of human acts, justification and reprobation, prophecy), "that which is impossible" in God and for God (the contrary of the attributes). These various additions are often intermingled. Al-Djuwaynī, insisting on the tripartite division of the necessary, the possible and the impossible, included prophecy and the creation of acts in the chapter treating of "what God can do", reserving the term *samʿiyyāt* for the other "traditional" chapters.

These new principles of distinction seem to be due to the influence of *falsafa*. It was in order to reply to the *falāsifa* that the preambles and the philosophical chapters became more numerous; the term *ilāhiyyāt* is part of the vocabulary of the *falāsifa*, and the distinction of the necessary, the possible and the impossible was made by them. The formulation of problems of the great Ashʿarī treatises of the "modern" age will therefore derive certainly from the old formulation of Muʿtazilism and its "five bases", but also from the organization of philosophical knowledge characteristic of the *falāsifa* (and in particular as presented by the *summa* or the compendium of Ibn Sīnā).

The richest and most detailed manual, the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of al-Djurdjānī, still studied in specialist courses of the great teaching-mosques, is arranged as follows: Two-thirds of the work (books-i-iv) treat of logic, natural philosophy and general ontology. The last third is divided between the *ilāhiyyāt* (the divine essence, the unity and unicity of God, His positive attributes, and His "possible" attributes, namely, visibility and cognoscibility), the Actions of the Almighty (creation of human actions), the divine names, and the *samʿiyyāt* (which are relatively short). There is no question here of a distinction between "philosophy" and "theology" in the Western sense and the attempt to harmonize them, but of a reply, which seeks to be exhaustive, to the treatises of the *falāsifa* or of the Muʿtazilīs. Since this reply seeks to use the weapons of the opponents, the vocabulary and the arguments of *falsafa* are found widely incorporated in *ʿilm al-kalām*. It is in a sense through the intermediary of the *mutakallimūn* that the influence of the "philosophers" penetrated Sunnī thought in general.

IV.—The position of *ʿilm al-kalām* in Muslim thought.—*ʿIlm al-kalām* remains one of the officially recognized religious sciences. But in the universities of Muslim countries the faculties of religious sciences are called *kulliyyāt al-sharīʿa*, a term generally rendered by "Faculties of theology"; *fiḳh* is there taught as much as, if not more than, *kalām*. *Kalām*, based as it is upon its function of defensive apologia, does not hold the leading place in Muslim thought that theology does in Christianity. To find an equivalent for "theology" in the Christian sense it is necessary to have recourse to several disciplines, and to the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* as much as to *kalām*. We turn now to establish the limits and results of this fact, and to place it in its historical context.

A. *Three opinions*. (a) In his *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, al-Fārābī groups the sciences according to the schemes of Aristotelian classification, appending to them the strictly Muslim disciplines of *fiḳh* and *kalām*. His summary of the methods of argument employed by the *mutakallimūn* is far from being laudatory; he emphasizes, to put it at its highest, its apologetic character, and seems to make of *kalām* an extension of *fiḳh*: "the *mutakallim* procures the supremacy of the principles which the *faḳīh* uses as bases but without deducing from them any new consequences" (ed. González Palencia, Madrid 1932, 56). (b) In his *Iḳtiṣād*, al-Ghazālī devotes three of the four chapters of his introduction (ed. Ankara 1962, 11-15) to the nature and the role of *ʿilm al-kalām*. This discipline has its place among the religious sciences because it is concerned with curing doubters of their doubts and refuting the denials of those who deny. But its role is essentially "medicinal"; hence the study of it, as the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulum al-dīn* states (ed. Cairo 1325/1933, i, 3), is an obligation upon the community (*farḍ al-kifāya*), but it is not the concern of every individual Muslim, for it could be dangerous for a simple soul firmly anchored in his faith. And the *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* (ed. Cairo 1372, 1952, 60) reproaches *kalām* for its insufficiently proved rational principles. (c) The authors of the great "modern" manuals (hence Īdjī-Djurdjānī) on the contrary esteem *kalām* so highly as to define it as the most exalted science of all, since it "proves" the truths known by faith. Some would make the study of it a personal obligation (*farḍ al-ʿayn*) on every Muslim capable of undertaking it. This estimate is repeated *verbatim* by the manuals of "fossilized conservatism". For al-Bādjūrī, for example (*Ḥāshiya ʿalā* (...) *Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 26), faith through *taḳlīd* (meaning here mere acquiescence in what has been handed down) loses all value as compared with faith firmly rooted in science, *ʿan ʿilm*, such as *kalām* can provide.

B. *Opposition*. In fact throughout its history *kalām* had two great lines of opponents: on the one hand the Ḥanbalī (and Ẓāhirī) traditionists, who refused to bring rational arguments to bear on the absolute truths provided by faith; and on the other, the *falāsifa*, who passed from silence, indeed from a concealed opposition (Eastern *falāsifa*), to the most violent attacks (Ibn Rushd), when they themselves were attacked by the *mutakallimūn*.

(a) Ḥanbalī opposition. The great period for Muʿtazilī *kalām* was the reign of al-Maʾmūn, when it rose to the status of official doctrine. It was then that the doctrine of the "created Ḳurʾān" was imposed by the secular arm, the supporters of the doctrine of the "uncreated Ḳurʾān" were persecuted and condemned by the courts, and Ibn Ḥanbal himself was accused and flogged. This period was later called *al-miḥna*, "the testing". The reaction under al-Mutawakkil led Sunnī Islam to deliver a decisive blow against the Muʿtazilīs; they in their turn were dragged before the judges and their works (as we have noted) were destroyed. Now this historical movement, which (with G. Makdisi) we may call "the resurgence of traditional Islam in the 12th century" (*Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963), remained at first under the influence of the "pious men of old", condemning any use of the reason, even the dialectic method, in making assertions relating to the faith.

It is true that the Ashʿarī reform at first had acknowledged its respect for Ibn Ḥanbal; but it also sought to overcome the Muʿtazilīs and to reply to them on their own ground. It had ambitions also to become the official doctrine of renascent Sunnism. The struggle between Ḥanbalīs and Ashʿarīs became sometimes sharp, even violent, and some authors were able to speak of a second *miḥna* when, after the death of al-Ashʿarī, his tombstone was destroyed in the cemetery of Baghdād. In the 5th/11th century, the vizier al-Kundurī had Ashʿarism cursed from the pulpits of Nīshāpūr, and al-Djuwaynī was obliged to take refuge in Baghdād (although soon afterwards Niẓām al-Mulk granted his favour to the Ashʿarīs). At about the same time, the Ḥanbalī mystic al-Anṣārī was writing his *Dhamm al-kalām wa-ahlih*, one of the most vigorous attacks we possess. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, the famous Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] was to echo him, and to be himself attacked and condemned (to prison, for a time) under the pressure of the other juridical schools. When he mentions the opinions of the *mutakallimūn*, for whose solution of any problem he denies any validity, he adduces the Ḳadariyya and the Muʿtazila together, opposing to them only the Djabarīs, and thus not distinguishing the Ashʿarīs from them. (We should note that it is through the hearings granted to them by his Shīʿī opponents that he often attacks Muʿtazilī theses). It is true that *ʿilm al-kalām* ended by enjoying official recognition; but at the present day, wherever Ḥanbalism, and especially Ibn Taymiyya, exercise a considerable influence on contemporary movements for reform, the dialectical subleties of the schools and the treatises are regarded with some suspicion.

(b) The quarrel of the *Tahāfut*. Quite early on, the campaign to defend the faith pursued by *kalām* led it to challenge the *falāsifa*. Although it failed to overcome completely Ḥanbalī opposition, it may be said that up to the end of the 19th century, and perhaps even today in some circles of thought, it played its part in branding *falsafa* with a mark of heterodoxy and relegating it to a peripheral position.

The first great *faylasūf*, Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī, had some Muʿtazilī friends and was himself regarded as a *mutakallim*. But al-Fārābī (who made some severe criticisms of the methods of *kalām*) and Ibn Sīnā took their stand in a field of philosophical research which was quite different from that of the *mutakallimūn*. Unlike the Muʿtazilīs, wrote Aḥmad Amīn (*Ḍuḥā 'l-Islām*, iii, 204), "the *falāsifa* were philosophers first and men of religion afterwards; they concerned themselves with religion only when their philosophical speculation was in disagreement with it and in order to harmonize the two". We are now dealing not with a dialectical or apologetic defence of the faith, but with wide philosophical perspectives, which are largely inspired by Greek philosophy, though certainly containing some Muslim influences, and which aim to demonstrate their agreement *a posteriori* with the Ḳurʾān. Rational research holds the first place, and agreement with the doctrines of the faith is achieved often enough by means of a broad interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the Ḳurʾānic text. The milieu in which al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā lived was strongly tinged with or even dominated by Shīʿī influences, and interpretative glosses of the Ḳurʾān were not uncommon. The orthodoxy of the "philosophers" was hardly ever called into question there. But things were different from the 5th/11th century onwards, after the Sunnī revival. Together with the Muʿtazilīs and the anthropomorphists, the *falāsifa* speedily became the opponents attacked by Ashʿarī or Māturīdī *kalām*. After objectively sum-

marizing their thought in the *Maḳāṣid*, al-Ghazālī undertook to refute them in the famous *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1927). He there denounced twenty of their tenets as erroneous, and branded four of them as incurring infidelity (*takfīr*): the eternity of the world *ante*, the eternity of the world *post*, the symbolic interpretation of the resurrection of the body, and the divine lack of knowledge of the individual as such. The autobiography of the *Munḳidh min al-ḍalāl* in its turn emphasized the errors of the "philosophers" and the danger for the faith which they represented. Some decades later al-Shahrastānī won the nickname of "adversary of the *falāsifa*".

Ibn Rushd's response came in the next century. In his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930), he applied himself to refute al-Ghazālī and to justify the agreement between *falsafa* and Ḳurʾānic teaching; in the *apologia sua* of the *Faṣl al-maḳāl* (ed. and tr. L. Gauthier, Algiers 1942) and of the *Kashf ʿan manāhidj al-adilla* (*apud Falsafat Ibn Rushd*, Cairo 1313 and 1328), he calls into question even the legitimacy of *kalām*, accusing it of "cutting the Law into pieces" and "dividing people up utterly" (a similarly severe attitude to *kalām* is taken by Maimonides). It is remarkable that Ibn Rushd went so far as to re-employ (but more emphatically and severely) the criticisms which al-Ghazālī had first outlined (see above, IV, A, b). In fact Ibn Rushd, who was to play such a rôle in the history of the Latin Middle Ages, seems (unlike his Eastern predecessors) to have had little influence on Muslim thought.

All the later handbooks of *kalām* summarize and refute unflaggingly the position of the *falāsifa*, above all al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, hence acquiring (as we have noted) their long philosophical introductions. It should be recognized here that although the *Muḥaṣṣal* of al-Rāzī and the *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif* of al-Djurdjānī continue to condemn as false many tenets of the *falāsifa*, the resumés of them which they give are strongly analytical and aim at objectivity, whereas the refutations proposed are sometimes (especially in the *Muḥaṣṣal*), no more than general affirmations. It is nearly always eastern *falsafa* which is in question and which therefore continued to influence the developments of *ʿilm al-kalām*. We find a kind of mixed genre arising—a sort of *ʿilm al-kalām* impregnated by *falsafa*, or a sort of *falsafa* moving into the field of the problems which belong to *kalām*. This was not always to the advantage of either discipline. Finally we may mention the attitude of Ibn Taymiyya, as violently hostile to *falsafa* as to *kalām*; that of Ibn Khaldūn, who practically repeats, with regard to *falsafa*, the distinctions and criticisms of al-Ghazālī; and a third *Tahāfut*, the work of the Turk Khōdjazāde (9th/15th century), which, adopting al-Ghazālī's title, sought to refute the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* of Ibn Rushd.

C. ʿIlm al-kalām *and the juridical schools.* —*ʿIlm al-kalām* presents itself as an explanation and a defence of the faith. It is on these grounds that Muʿtazilism combated the *zanādiḳa* and the literalists of the first centuries, and that the Ashʿarīs challenged the Muʿtazilīs, the literalists and the *falāsifa*. We find however that the Ḥanbalī line or heterodox Ẓāhirism refuses to recognize the legitimacy of this undertaking. Now Ḥanbalism and Ẓāhirism are schools of *fiḳh*, and it is as such that they reject the dialectical argument of the *mutakallimūn* but propose to ensure, by their own procedures, this defence of the faith which *kalām* claimed for itself. Thus one may find in the works of such writers as Ibn Ḥazm or Ibn Taymiyya many expositions on the attributes of God, human actions, prophecy and faith, which convey as many or even more "theological" matters as (for example) some late and stereotyped manuals of Ashʿarism.

The other juridical schools, on the other hand, came to an easy accommodation with *ʿilm al-kalām*, its methods, and its argumentation. We are here dealing with attitudes arising from different families of thought, and the link between *kalām* and *fiḳh*, emphasized already by al-Fārābī, should never be forgotten. It may be said that Ashʿarism developed most easily in a Shāfiʿī, sometimes in a Ḥanafī, and later in a Mālikī climate; and that the so-called Māturīdī tendency was in its early days so closely linked with Ḥanafism that one can justly speak of a "Ḥanafī-Māturīdī" line. Finally, the welcome accorded to Muʿtazilism by non-Sunnī sects, principally Zaydism, is a point of considerable significance.

Thus if one wishes to establish the place of *ʿilm al-kalām* in Muslim thought, it should not be regarded as a discipline developing in a self-sufficient manner; it is linked with the other religious sciences, particularly *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in a supple cultural unity which more than once dictated both the attitudes of its schools and the battles which it had to fight.

D. *Present-day situation.* Ibn Rushd's attacks failed to shake the legitimacy which *ʿilm al-kalām* was recognized to possess. The attacks of the Ḥanbalīs and the "pious men of old", on the other hand, left a legacy of distrust and suspicion. We find some traces of this at the present day, to the extent that the influence of the "men of old" (*salaf*) inspires the "return to the sources" advocated by modern reform movements. It is true that *ʿilm al-kalām*, as embodied in its most eminent doctors, remains as a venerated achievement of the great cultural centuries of Islam. But if one excepts the attempt of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, it is difficult to point to any modern and living renewal; it might be truer to speak of a certain alienation from *kalām*.

Two reasons may, it appears, be advanced: (1) For too long the teaching of this "religious science" in the great mosques had been given only by means of "fossilized" manuals, without any striking intrinsic merit and without originality. (2) The subject-matter of a defensive apologia for the faith is meaningful only so far as it relates to immediate issues. Now the content of these manuals is dictated by the refutation of adversaries (the Muʿtazilīs of the 3rd/9th century and the *falāsifa* of the 4th/10th century) who have long since vanished from the scene, whereas the burning problems of today are ignored. A defensive apology must be based on new themes. Are the efforts of al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh in this direction to be continued? Interesting as their attempts are, they fall far short of the philosophico-theological standard achieved by the great doctors of the past. Al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh were first and foremost reformers and men of action, not *mutakallimūn*.

We can conclude only with a series of questions. Will anything take the place of *ʿilm al-kalām*, with more widespread perspectives and serving a practical, rather than a speculative, attitude? Or shall we see a renewal, with regard to the tenets of the Muslim faith, in which the great questions raised in the past regarding God and man and the conditions for man's salvation will be taken up again, but this time taking account of the demands of scientific discoveries and present-day thinking? For this the

scholar would require a two-fold objective acquaintance both with the great works of the classical age and with contemporary problems.

It is appropriate to emphasize here the recovery of favour enjoyed today by Muʿtazilism: not directly for its defence of the Unity and the justice of God, but for its assertion of human liberty, in the very *élan* of belief in the One God, the Creator, the Almighty. As͟hʿarism no longer appears to be necessitated by the demands of the faith. Will there take place a synthesis of the different tendencies of *ʿilm al-kalām*, operating through a revised set of philosophical equipment? The study of the text of the Ḳurʾān and a more fully developed anthropology seem here to be called for, not to replace the "questions concerning God" (*ilāhiyyāt*), but to open wider perspectives for their discussion. From the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th century *ʿilm al-kalām* enjoyed a glorious past and produced works which demand the historian's fullest respect. It may be hoped that a new *kalām*, perhaps quite different from the old in its methods, its arguments and its approach, will one day arise, to play its part in animating a cultural recovery in the religious sciences of Islam.

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(L. GARDET)

ʿILM AL-RID͟JĀL, according to the common technical meaning, is the science devoted to the study of the persons figuring in *isnāds*, with the purpose of establishing their moral qualities (and thus guaranteeing their truthfulness), the bibliographical details which will provide the necessary checks on either the materials transmitted or the *isnāds* themselves, and finally the exact identification of the names, to prevent confusion between persons of the same name. Among the Twelver S͟hīʿis, this science, which also very soon became a means of ideological differentation (in the earliest lists there already

appear the best-known partisans of ʿAlī or of one of the first *imāms*), gradually became confused with *ʿilm al-tarādjim*, which is merely a branch of Islamic historical research and thus in theory different from *ʿilm al-ridjāl* (which forms an integral part of *kalām*), although both of them claim to conform to precise and distinct Ḳurʾānic precepts. Hence there does not seem much point in the distinction made by some authors, which shows as the ancestor of the Twelver authors of *ridjāl* the Rāfiḍī (or perhaps Wāḳifī) Kūfan Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Djabala b. Ḥayyān (or Ḥannān) Abḥar (or b. al-Ḥurr) al-Kinānī, d. 219/834 and referred to as dead in the *Taʾsīs al-Shīʿa* (p. 232, with many traditions taken from al-Nadjāshī, p. 160, who gives the variants of the name), while, on the other hand, giving as the first author of *tarādjim* (*Taʾsīs, loc. cit.*) the *Munshī* of ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ, whose name appears, with others, in al-Nadjāshī (p. 4-5), who took a particular interest in *ridjāl*, and in the *Dharīʿa* (x, no. 84), according to which he is one of the most competent of the early writers in this field. It is therefore not surprising that the meaning of *ridjāl* changed from that of reporters of traditions sometimes tinged with ʿAlid activism, to that of scholars in general (and this means almost entirely Shīʿī scholars, because of the tendentious character of almost all the great Twelver collections of *ridjāl*, which often include persons of undoubted Sunnism); on this reference may be made to vol. i of the *Islamic Shīʿite Encyclopaedia* by Hassan Amin, who, s.v. *Biography*, lists 111 authors who devoted themselves to one or the other science, without distinguishing which.

The strict limitation of the term *ʿilm al-ridjāl* would exclude such works as the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* or the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, without which we should have a confused and inexact idea both of the importance and of the Twelver Shīʿī conception of the biographical science, an interesting expression of a culture pivoted on a precise sense of the need to refer, in every case and in whatever specific context, to the ever present *imāmī* model. To draw up a complete list of the Twelver biographical works, which has not yet been done and which would be very useful, would involve three sorts of difficulty: the enormous quantity of material which it is difficult to classify under one or other of the two genres because of the confusion mentioned above; the fact that many of the works mentioned in the various lists has not been published; and finally the fact that, without a published edition and the necessary comparison of manuscripts, it is not always possible to distinguish, by reference to the title alone, between works which are substantially independent and those which are merely elaborations and adaptations of others.

The first great names which may be mentioned are those of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm and the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī, the second based directly on the former (cf. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, preface to his ed. of the latter, pp. 2-3, no. 6), and both of a bibliographical character: this explains how, among texts considered as basic for biography, purely bibliographical compilations are often listed. We give here a brief list of some of the most important of the early works:

(1) *Maʿrifat akhbār al-Ridjāl* of al-Kashshī [*q.v.*].

(2) *Fihrist* of *shaykh* Abu ʾl-Faradj Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Abī Yaʿḳūb al-Nadīm, compiled circa 377/987. It concerns our subject in two places: in *al-fann al-thānī min al-maḳāla al-khāmisa*, in which it deals with the Shīʿī *ridjāl*, *mutakallim* as well as Twelver, and, more specifically, in *al-fann al-khāmis* and in *al-fann al-sādis min al-maḳāla al-sādisa*, devoted to the *fuḳahāʾ* and grammarians and to the traditionists respectively.

(3) *Fihrist kutub al-Shīʿa* (Nadjaf 1937) of the *shaykh al-ṭāʾifa* Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, d. 459/1067; this is the earliest work specifically devoted to this subject and it has been much used by the Sunnīs, who have a high regard for it. Although it is based on material provided by the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, it completes it and adds more precise details on Shīʿī works and writers on *uṣūl*. Among the teachers of al-Ṭūsī on the subject of *ridjāl* mention should be made of Abū ʿAmr al-Kashshī, whose many (according to al-Nadjāshī) inaccuracies he corrected, and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ghadāʾirī, a famous writer whose work was later taken up by, among others, Ibn Ṭāʾūs.

(4) *Kitāb al-Ridjāl* (Nadjaf 1961) by the above-mentioned al-Ṭūsī; it deals in particular with the *ḥadīths* stemming from the Prophet and the first *imāms* and lists the names in alphabetical order with numbers within each letter.

(5) *Asmāʾ al-ridjāl* by the *shaykh* Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Nadjāshī, d. 455/1063. This work, sometimes listed under the title of *Kitāb al-Ridjāl*, is one of the most often quoted and consulted. It first deals briefly with the first Shīʿīs, after which the *ridjāl* follow in alphabetical order. One *bāb* is devoted to each *ism* and a final *bāb* contains the *kunyas*. To judge from the index of the edition by Muṣṭafawī, Tehran n.d., it covers 1226 persons.

(6) *Asmāʾ mashāyikh al-Shīʿa wa-muṣannafātihim*, of Muntadjab al-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abi ʾl-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan ... b. al-Ḥusayn ... b. Bābūya al-Ḳummī. This work had been commissioned by the *naḳīb* of Ḳumm, Rayy and Ābah, ʿIzz al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Abi ʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, who, in entrusting the author with this task, informed him that nothing had been done in this field since al-Ṭūsī (which seems to indicate that Muntadjab al-Dīn did not know of the work of his contemporary Ibn Shahrāshūb). The date of this compilation cannot be later than 592/1196, the date when the *naḳīb* died, nor earlier than 573/1178, the date of the death of Ḳutb Rāwandī, mentioned as *marḥūm* in the work; it deals with the authors and *shaykhs* who were contemporary with or later than al-Ṭūsī and who are not found in the *Fihrist*.

(7) *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* (ed. A. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1934), of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad Rashīd al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī al-Sārawī [see IBN SHAHRĀSHŪB], d. 588/1192. This work, like all the above-mentioned, was written in Arabic, and is similarly conceived as a complement to the *Fihrist* of al-Ṭūsī, to which are added 300 brief biographies of *shaykhs* up to the compiler's contemporaries; it must have been compiled before 582/1186, the year during which the author mentions the *Maʿālim* in an *idjāza*. Among the teachers listed are Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ṭabarsī and Abū ʿAlī Faḍl b. Ḥasan Ṭabarsī, Ḳutb Rāwandī and Abu ʾl-Futūḥ Rāzī, the father of the author, Zayd, and Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Bayhaḳī; these names reveal the Shīʿī aims of the author. In the edition consulted, the number of persons described is 990; the first 874 are arranged in alphabetical order, divided into *bābs* consisting of one or more letters of the alphabet, with subdivisions of *faṣl*; numbers 875 to 962 are given under their *kunya*, and numbers 963-990 under their *laḳab* or a

nisba. The work ends with a bibliographical *faṣl* incorporated in the *bāb al-djāmiʿ*, which is followed by a very short *bāb* devoted to the poets of the *ahl al-bayt*; these are divided into four groups according to the genre of their compositions.

There follows a period of mere compilation until the *Ridjāl* of Taḳī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, born in 647/1249-50, a pupil of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (Tehran .963-4), and until the work of Abū Manṣūr Djamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 725/1325, who was the author, in particular, of a famous new *Kitāb al-Ridjāl* (Tehran 1932-3). These latter represent, at least for their successors, the undoubted masters of the period and they paved the way for the characteristic productions of the Ṣafawid period; in that period, within the framework of the genre of biography, the encyclopaedic spirit which prevailed from then on (as shown in, *e.g.*, the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1268/1852 and 1299/1882, written in Persian in 990/1582 by the *sayyid* Nūr Allāh b. Sharīf al-Marʿashī al-Shustarī) showed an interest in the local scholars who proclaimed the victory of Shīʿism in Iran: *Amal al-āmil fī ʿulamāʾ djabal ʿĀmil* (Tehran 1320/1902-3) of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, d. 1097/1686, or *Luʾluʾatay al-Baḥrayn* (Tehran 1269/1853) of Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, d. 1187/1773-4. These lead directly to the great modern biographical dictionaries, the most important of which are given in the bibliography and which, so far as material on the early Muslims is concerned, consist of a systematized reproduction of the details already collected since the early centuries of Islam rather than original monographs written by specialists.

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See also ZAYDIYYA. (B. SCARCIA AMORETTI)

ʿILMIYYE, the body of the higher Muslim religious functionaries (*ʿulamāʾ* [*q.v.*]) in the Ottoman Empire, especially those administering justice and teaching in the religious colleges [see MADRASA]. Their elaborate hierarchy, unprecedented in Islam, was headed, from the 10th/16th century onwards, by the *muftī* [*q.v.*] of Istanbul called *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*].

The organization of the *ḳāḍīs*, who formed the highest order of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, changed over the centuries as a result of Ottoman expansion and withdrawals and of the variations in the relative importance attached to certain posts. Their division into several classes evolved gradually until it assumed a more or less definitive form in the 12th/18th century. The chief positions were the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*], or, after his office was divided into two towards the end of the reign of Sultan Meḥemmed II (d. 886/1481), the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rūmeli (*ṣadr-i Rūm*) and that of Anatolia (*ṣadr-i Anadolī*). Both were *ex officio* members of the imperial *dīwān* [see DĪWĀN-I HUMĀYŪN], while the *shaykh al-islām*, until the nineteenth century, was not. They nominated the provincial *ḳāḍīs* with the exception of the higher ones (*mollās*) who, as well as the *müderrises* and the *wāʿiẓes* of Istanbul mosques (see below), were in later centuries appointed on the advice of the *shaykh al-islām*.

Below the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* ranked the greater *mollās*, the highest of whom held the judgeships of the principal cities of the Empire with a salary of 500 *aḳče* a day. Later on they were subdivided into several classes. The highest was that of the judge of the capital (*Istanbul ḳāḍīsi* or *efendisi*), whose importance was enhanced by his authority over the guilds and responsibility for provisions and prices in the capital. Moreover, he and the judges of the town suburbs (see below) dispensed justice in the Grand Vizier's *dīwāns*.

Further down in the hierarchy were the judges of the two Holy Cities (*ḥarameyn*), Mecca and Medina. The latter was raised to the status of Mecca in 1135/1722 (Küčük Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, 16 f.).

They were followed (since the eighteenth century) by the judges of the Four Cities (*bilād-i erbaʿa*): the two former capitals, Edirne and Bursa, and the two ancient seats of the caliphate, Cairo and Damascus. At a certain period Filibe (Plovdiv) was added as the fifth of the *bilād-i khamse*.

The next lower group included, in varying order, the judges of the suburbs of Istanbul (Galata and, at times, Eyyūb and Üsküdār), Jerusalem, Aleppo, Izmir, Salonika and Yeñishehir (Larissa), as well as, in certain periods, Trabzon, Sofia and Crete. They had the rank of *makhredj mollālari*, since these posts were given to *müderrises* "going out" of their class for the first time.

The judges mentioned so far were, strictly speaking, the only ones to carry the title of *mollā* (also *monlā* or *menlā*, from Arabic *mawlā* [*q.v.*]). In practice, however, this title was also granted to those immediately inferior to them in rank, the leaders of the so-called *dewriyye* posts. These were (since the eighteenth century) the judges of 10-13 important towns—Belgrade, Bosna-Sarāy (Sarajevo), Baghdād, ʿAyntāb, Marʿash, Diyār Bakr and others.

To the highest class of *mollās* also belonged in most periods the preceptor (*muʿallim*, or *khwādja*) of the Sultan, his two private *imāms*, the chief Palace physician (*hekīm-bashī* [*q.v.*] or *reʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ*) and the chief astrologer (*müneddjim-bashī* [*q.v.*]). From the end of the 11th/17th century the office of Dean of the Descendants of the Prophet (*naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*]) used also to be bestowed on a *mollā* of this class descended from Muḥammad.

Lower in rank than the greater *mollās* there were, in addition, five special judges (*müfettishes*) for *waḳf* affairs—three in Istanbul (dealing with the

waḳfs under the supervision of the *shaykh al-islām*, the Grand Vizier and the Chief Black Eunuch, respectively), one at Edirne and one at Bursa. Other special judges were the *maḥmil ḳāḍīsi* who accompanied the annual pilgrim caravan to Mecca, the *ordu ḳāḍīsi* who joined the army when the Sultan (and the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*s) did not take part in the campaign, and the *donanma ḳāḍīsi*, who sailed with the fleet on its yearly cruise.

The lowest class of administrators of justice according to the *sharīʿa* was that of the *nāʾib*s [*q.v.*]. They either served as deputies of a judge, dealing with minor cases (*bāb nāʾibi*) or were in charge of a sub-division of his district (*ḳaḍā nāʾibi*), or acted as his substitute (*wekīl*) in case he did not come himself to his jurisdiction, the income of which was granted to him as *arpalıḳ* [*q.v.*]. The *nāʾib*s, who often were local *ʿulamāʾ*, held equal rank. Appointed, with the confirmation of the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*, by the judge for whom they deputized, they paid him a certain percentage of their income or a fixed monthly sum. In the period of Ottoman decline, the sale of *nāʾib* posts to the highest bidders and their bestowal on unqualified persons seriously corrupted the administration of justice.

In earlier periods the lesser *mollā*s did not rise to the higher grades but were restricted to rotation (*dewriyye*) within their group. Unlike them, a *mollā* of the first order could hope to be promoted according to established rules. Starting with a *makhredj* post, he might become judge of one of Four (or Five) Cities, thereafter of Mecca or Medina, then of Istanbul, and after serving as *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia and/or Rūmeli he could reach the top, the office of *shaykh al-islām*.

Since the number of these high posts in the judiciary hierarchy was relatively very small, the pressure of the numerous aspirants led in later time to the introduction of intermediate ranks. Henceforth it became customary that before a *mollā* or ex-*mollā* rose to a higher rank he was granted the honorary title (*pāye*) of one of the judgeships of that rank. In the nineteenth century merely honorary ranks (*pāye-i müdjerrede*) were conferred on many *ʿulamāʾ*, officials and notables, who were never to serve as judges.

Completely separate from the greater and lesser *mollā*s became the corps of the ordinary *ḳāḍī*s, who served in smaller towns (*ḳuḍāt-i ḳaṣabāt*) and received a much lower salary (20-150 *aḳče*s a day). Their number, exceeding a thousand in the 11th/17th century, gradually decreased. In the late 12th/18th century there were no more than 456 such *ḳāḍī*s, organized in three groups—Rūmeli, Anatolia and Egypt—each subdivided into a number of classes. While promotion was possible from one class to a higher one, no one could usually pass over to another geographic group. The two most senior members of the highest class (called *sitte*) in each group (*ashrāf-i ḳuḍāt*)—the six *takhta-bashı*s—served as counsellors to their *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker*s in Istanbul.

At first Ottoman judges held a post for many years. To prevent abuse of authority and provide posts for the growing number of candidates, the usual term of office was gradually reduced to one year for *mollā*s and to 24, 20, 18 and finally 12 months for ordinary *ḳāḍī*s. While out of office (*maʿzūl*), they waited in Istanbul for a new appointment, presenting themselves every Wednesday at the *dīwān* of their *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*. While out of office (or in retirement) many *mollā*s resumed teaching at a *medrese*.

Almost all higher judges were recruited from among the professors (*müderris*) of these colleges, who formed the other principal hierarchy of Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*. In earlier times there existed no strict rules for the promotion of the *müderris*es and their appointment to judicial posts. Later, however, admission to the clan of greater *mollā*s was granted only to the *kibār-i müderrisīn*, *i.e.*, professors at the Istanbul *medrese*s which belonged to one of the four highest of the twelve grades of colleges—Mūṣlle-i Süleymāniyye, Khawāmis-i (khāmise-i) Süleymaniyye, Süleymāniyye and, the highest of all, Dār al-Ḥadīth.

Since every year only eight (later eleven) of them "passed out" into this class of judges, promotions to the higher ranks of *müderris*es were necessarily limited. The main bottleneck was the important sixth grade of *medrese*s, the *Ṣaḥn-i Themān* or "Courtyard of the Eight [Medreses at the Fātiḥ Mosque]". Most of the numerous aspirants to these eight *müderris* posts got stuck in the immediately lower grade of the *Mūṣile-i Ṣaḥn*, therefore called "the bog" (*bataḳ*). To satisfy those waiting for promotion, the number of high *müderris* posts was gradually increased, and many nominal appointments were made at *medrese*s that no longer existed.

*Müderris*es at the lower-ranking *medrese*s of Istanbul and the provinces, including even the ancient colleges at Bursa and Edirne, could in later times apply only for a *dewriyye* post or become ordinary *ḳāḍī*s. In the provinces many *müderris*es served simultaneously as *muftī*s. Students (*softa*, *dānishmend*) who had not graduated from one of the higher-ranking *medrese*s of Istanbul were appointed *nāʾib*s or *muftī*s.

The preachers (*wāʿiẓ*) of the main mosques in Istanbul and other cities of the Empire formed a distinct order of the *ʿulamāʾ*. They were organized in a definite hierarchy, the highest position being that of the *Shaykh* of Ayasofya.

The *ʿIlmiyye*, like the other ruling institutions in the Ottoman Empire, began to decay about the end of the 10th/16th century. Favouritism, corruption and inefficiency increasingly spread among the high-ranking *ʿulamāʾ* charged with the administration of justice in the capital and the provinces (for details see ʿULAMĀʾ). The teaching in the *medrese*s suffered also from the general decline in the religious institution. Dogmatism more and more replaced the creative rationalism developed in the Ottoman *medrese*s under Meḥemmed II and Süleymān. The ignorance of the *ʿulamāʾ* trained in the *medrese*s could not but adversely affect the social and economic life of the Ottoman Empire. However, the *ʿulamāʾ* enjoyed the respect of the common people even in the 12th/18th century, when the abuses in the *ʿIlmiyye* reached their peak. This was probably due to the better conduct of the lower ranking *ʿulamāʾ*, who were in closer touch with the people.

By this time the *ʿIlmiyye* had become a conservative class led by an aristocracy of *Mollā* families, collaborating with the Janissaries to maintain their privileges. But the modernization movement, beginning in the early 12th/18th century, caused a decrease in the influence of the Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*. The suppression of the Janissary Odjaḳ in 1826 deprived the *ʿIlmiyye* of military support in exerting their power on State affairs and permitted Sultan Maḥmūd II (1808-39) to establish the Ministry of *Ewḳāf* in 1834, thus ending their control over the *waḳf* lands, the main source of their wealth. Furthermore, the institution of the *niẓāmiyye* courts during the Tan-

ẓīmāt period restricted the jurisdiction of the *s̲h̲arʿī* courts to the area of personal law. Similarly, the establishment of secular schools largely took over the function of the *medreses* in the field of education.

Attempts to reform the *ʿIlmiyye* were undertaken from the early years of the eighteenth century. The *ḳānūns* issued by Sultan Selīm III (1789-1807) in the 1790's seem to have had some positive results in restoring order and discipline. Much more effective was the opening in Istanbul of the *Muʿallimk̲h̲āne-i nuwwāb* (1854) to train competent *ḳāḍīs* for the *s̲h̲arʿī* courts. An ambitious reform aiming at the modernization of the Ottoman religious institution took place under the Young Turk regime. Indeed, in 1914 the *Muʿallimk̲h̲āne-i nuwwāb* became the *Medreset al-ḳuḍāt*, and the *Dār al-k̲h̲ilāfe* was established in the same year in Istanbul to train able *müderrises* for the *medreses*. Modern subjects—social and physical sciences—were added to the traditional curricula in these new institutions.

The modernization of the Ottoman *ʿIlmiyye* did not bring lasting results; the newly established Turkish Republic abolished the Caliphate on 3 March 1924 and the suppression of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the laicization of the State followed.

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[The unfinished draft of this article was found among the papers of the late Professor Heyd (d. 13 May 1968). The Editors are very grateful to Professor Kuran for completing the text and supplying the bibliography].

(U. HEYD AND E. KURAN)

ILS̲H̲ [see ALS̲H̲].

ILTIZĀM, as a term of rhetoric [see LUZŪM MĀ LĀ YALZAM].

ILTIZĀM, a form of tax-farm used in the Ottoman Empire. On the Ottoman *iltizām* in general, see MÜLTEZIM. The immediately following article deals with the *iltizām* in 19th century Egypt. (ED.)

The *iltizām* as an agrarian system was incompatible with Muḥammad ʿAlī's endeavour to establish a centralized bureaucratic régime in Egypt. During the period preceding his rule, *iltizāms* had come to be granted no longer for a year or even for a few years but for the lifetime of the holder, or even as heritable and alienable property. Thus the state was deprived of part of the agricultural revenue. In addition, the hereditary *iltizāms* formed the basis for the emergence of new centres of power. Important *multazims* of that period were tribal *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* and *ʿulamāʾ*, who in this capacity amassed considerable riches and achieved great political influence (D̲j̲abartī, iv, 68).

During the French occupation of Egypt an attempt had been made to abolish *iltizām* (cf. El Mouelhy, in *BIE*, xxx (1949), 197-228), but the system had been reinstituted later on. In the early years of his reign Muḥammad ʿAlī imposed a growing burden of direct taxes (*i.e.*, not levied through the *multazims*) on the fellahs, and confiscated part of the *multazims*' *fāʾiẓ* (profit), and in 1808-10 even the entire *iltizāms* of *multazims* who were unable to pay their dues. In March 1811 Muḥammad ʿAlī staged the great massacre of the Mamlūks, and later that year he set up a special *dīwān* which, by collecting information and hearing fellah grievances, undermined the standing of the *multazims* in the country. After the final defeat of the Mamlūks in Upper Egypt in April-May 1812 all *iltizāms* in Upper Egypt were confiscated without compensation. They were not transferred to other *multazims* but remained in the hands of the state under the name of *al-maḍbūṭ*. In February-March 1814 the *iltizāms* in Lower Egypt were likewise confiscated and the land transferred to the state. Here, however, former *multazims* received an annual grant for life (which later became hereditary) equal to their former *fāʾiẓ*. Despite strong pressure from the army and the *ʿulamāʾ* in 1815-6, Muḥammad ʿAlī managed to maintain his reforms and buy off the claimants and rebels with empty promises.

Ūsya land, the part of the *iltizām* granted to the *multazim* for his own use, was confiscated along with the *iltizāms* in Upper Egypt. In Lower Egypt the agitation of the *multazims* resulted in their being allowed usufruct rights on such land. Originally *ūsya* was supposed to revert to the state on the death of the *multazims*, but these latter made a practice of endowing their *ūsyas* as *waḳf ahlī*. In order to forestall this, Saʿīd decreed, in 1855, that whoever possessed rights to *ūsya* was permitted to bequeath them, and that such land would revert to the state only on the extinction of the family's line.

The annual pension of the Lower Egyptian *multazims* was small, because they had in general contrived to reduce payments to the state by declaring a smaller income than they had had in fact; moreover, it was reduced at frequent intervals and paid only in part. Between 1821 and 1835 it declined from 6,000 to 2,500 *kīs*; it was superseded according to laws of the years 1889 and 1894 by a single, once-for-all, payment.

All the foregoing relates to *iltizām* of the land tax only; the farming (*iltizām* or *muḳāṭaʿa*, in European sources *appalto*) of urban taxes, of the sale or production of specified goods and of the supply of certain services persisted until the 1870's. Such *iltizāms*, which were put up for auction (*mazād*), included at different periods the following: customs and octrois, stamp duty, sale of salt, wines and spirits, senna, various seeds, and palm-leaves, the farming of specific markets (the cattle market as late as 1900), hunting and fishing (the Maṭariyya fishing as late as 1893), textile and other factories which had been established by Muḥammad ʿAlī at the time of their decline (in the 1850's and 1860's), the publishing of the Official Gazette (1863), transport on the boats of the Nile, slaughterhouses, weighing in various towns, auctions, and fees on successions. Laws of 1843 and 1855 laid down regulations for the attendance of *multazims* at auctions, prohibited collusion among them and fixed penalties for selling at exorbitant prices, extortion of excessive dues and other offences. *Iltizāms* were abolished as soon as suitable officials and clerks could be found by the

state to take over services or levy dues directly. Their abolition usually resulted in a considerable rise in revenue.

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(G. Baer)

ILTUTMISH, B. ĒLAM KHĀN, the greatest of the so-called Slave kings who laid the foundations of Muslim rule in India, came of the Ilberī (or Alprī) branch of the Ḳarākhitāʾī Turks. The third sultan of the Slave dynasty and the founder of the Shamsiyya line of rulers, he ascended the throne of Delhi in 607/1211 after defeating Ārām Shāh, son and successor of his master Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.], who had purchased him as a slave in Delhi. Nothing in detail is known about his early life except that he spent a part of it in slavery at Ghazna, Bukhārā and Baghdād. He very soon won the confidence of Aybak, who rapidly promoted him to high offices of state and married his daughter to him. Before his accession to the throne he successively held the governorship of Gwāliyār [q.v.], Baran and Badāʾūn [q.v.], and finally became the commander-in-chief. Historians do not brand him ungrateful, for he occupied the throne only with the approval of the *ʿulamāʾ* and at the invitation of the nobles, who were dissatisfied with the rule of Ārām Shāh. The first three or four years of his reign were spent in preparing to meet the threat posed by Tādj al-Dīn Yïldïz, governor of Ghazna as the suzerain of India. In fact he issued letters patent to Iltutmish as his viceroy. On being driven out from Ghazna by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh in 611/1214, Yïldïz took refuge in Lahore, seized the city and expelled the governor who held it on behalf of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳabāča, the ruler of Multān and also a son-in-law of Aybak. Iltutmish, as Ḳabāča's sovereign, protested, and on Yïldïz's refusal to withdraw marched against him and defeated him in a pitched battle at Tarāʾoṙī in 612/1215. Yïldïz was taken prisoner and despatched to Badāʾūn, where he died in confinement the same year. Thereafter Ḳabāča re-occupied Lahore, and in 614/1217 Iltutmish had to dislodge him forcibly. In 619/1221 Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh, fleeing from the Mongols, also sought refuge in Lahore and asked Iltutmish for asylum. Sensing danger to his dominions, Iltutmish diplomatically warded off the threat by diverting the Khwārazmians towards the refractory Ḳabāča whose territory they plundered and on whom they also levied heavy tribute.

Feeling now secure at home, Iltutmish in 622/1225 marched against Bengal, where Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿIwaḍ Khaldjī had declared his independence. On Iltutmish's approach ʿIwaḍ lost heart, submitted to the sultan and acknowledged his overlordship. Next year Iltutmish turned to Ranthamboṙ and Mandāwar (near Bidjnawr) and captured both places.

Firmly settled on the throne, he now decided to settle old scores with his rival Ḳabāča. He consequently attacked in 625/1227 Uččh [q.v.], the seat of Ḳabāča's government, and invested the town, which surrendered after a heroic resistance of some three months. In the meantime Ḳabāča, who had fled to Bhakkar [q.v.], was drowned in the Indus while trying to escape.

After the defeat of Ḳabāča, Malik Sinān al-Dīn Čanēsar, the ruler of lower Sind and Daybul [q.v.], acknowledged the supremacy of Iltutmish and became his vassal. In 626/1229 an embassy, led by Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī [q.v.], bringing the robes of honour for the sultan, his sons and the nobles, arrived from the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh [q.v.] and was received with great pomp. This is the first occasion when an Indian Muslim ruler was recognized by the caliph as the sultan of India. To mark the occasion Iltutmish issued a new silver coin bearing the legend "*Nāṣir Amīr al-Muʾminīn*", showing his allegiance. It was also inscribed in Nāgarī on the billon currency.

Next year (627/1230) Iltutmish had again to march to Bengal, where, on the death of his son and deputy Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, confusion prevailed and a certain Balkā Khaldjī had risen in revolt. The rebel was brought to book, peace was restored in the country and the sultan returned to his capital. In 630/1233 Iltutmish after a prolonged siege recaptured Gwāliyār which had reverted to the Hindūs. In 632/1234 he invaded Mālwā, captured the fort of Bhīlsā, sacked Udjdjayn and demolished the sacred temple of Mahākālī, together with the stone image of Rādjā Vikramādityā, after whom the current Hindū era is known.

Soon after his triumphal return from Mālwā a serious religious disturbance broke out at Delhi. The Ismāʿīlīs, who had come to establish themselves at Delhi, after having been driven out from their former stronghold of Multān by Muḥammad Ghūrī, made an attempt on the life of the sultan while engaged in the Friday prayer. The sultan escaped unhurt but the heretics were hunted down and killed. As a measure of retaliation and in order to mop up suspected pockets of Ismāʿīlīs in Multān, Iltutmish in 633/1235-6 mounted an expedition against the Gakkhaṙs [q.v.], who then professed Ismāʿīlism. There was reason to suppose that it was they who were behind the plot against his life. He, however, fell seriously ill on the way, was carried back to Delhi, and after a rule of 26 years, died in Shaʿbān 633/April 1236.

An enterprising, able and efficient monarch, he has been described as the foremost of the slave kings. A deeply religious man, he had great respect for the *mashāʾikh* and *ʿulamāʾ*. Among the literati who adorned his court were Amīr Rūḥānī, the poet and philosopher, who had migrated from Bukhārā, Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿAwfī, author of *Lubāb al-albāb* and *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, and Minhādj-i Sirādj al-Djūzdjānī [q.v.], the celebrated historian. In 629/1231-2 he founded the famous Ḳuṭb Mīnār, in honour of the saint Khwādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, to whom he was deeply devoted, and in 627/1229 built the Ḥawḍ Shamsī, the water reservoir of old Delhi. For those seeking justice he had a bell with a chain installed on the gate of his palace which anyone could ring (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 164). Ably helped by the capable vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who had served the caliphs in Baghdād, he streamlined the administration, as is reflected in the manual of Fakhr-i Mudabbir, the *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'l-shadjāʾa*, which was presented to the sultan. The inner circle of *ghulāms*, known as the *čihl-gānī* (Forty), grew very powerful and gained historic significance during his reign. It was they who op-

posed the nomination of his daughter Raḍiyya as his successor to the throne, while Iltutmish lay on his deathbed; they were, however, disbanded by Balban.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ILYĀS is the name given in the Ḳurʾān (VI, 85 and XXXVII, 123, with a variant Ilyāsīn, perhaps prompted by the rhyme, in verse 130), to the Biblical prophet Elijah; the form Ilyās derives from Ἠλίας, a Hellenized adjustment, but attested also in Syrian and Ethiopic, of the Hebrew name Eliyāh (ū): cf. Jos. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 81, 99, 101. In the Ḳurʾān, the figure of Ilyās scarcely shows any outstanding features, except for one allusion (in XXXVII, 125) to the worship of Baal. In the Muslim legend related by later authors, there may be noted on the one hand the more or less faithful use of the Biblical facts (I Kings XVII to II Kings II), with a genealogical linking, inspired by the Jewish Aggada, of Ilyās to the priestly line of Aaron (Hārūn) through Pinḥas; and on the other hand the confusion of the character of Elijah/Ilyās with al-Khaḍir (-Khiḍr) and Idrīs [*qq.v.*]. The legend of more especially Biblical inspiration therefore reports, with details which vary according to the authorities, the drought caused by the intervention of the prophet to whom God had transmitted His power over the rain, the choice of Elisha (Alīsaʿ [*q.v.*]), confused with the son of the widow of Zarephath, as a disciple, the episodes of the priests of Baal, of Naboth, and of the soldiers sent to arrest the man of God, the ascension on a horse (in the Bible: a chariot) of fire, etc. To this last episode is added the transfiguration of Ilyās into a creature half-human and half-angel; although it is not possible to assign to it a precise source, this speculation reflects Jewish legends. The immortality attributed to Ilyās and to his homologue Khaḍir makes these two characters into supernatural beings, practically guardian spirits, who share, in varying ways according to the various documents, the function of being able to save those in desperate situations, by land and by sea. For the same reason they held and still hold an important role in mystical initiation, as well as in popular beliefs.

The speculations which already appear in the New Testament on the mystical identity of John the Baptist and Elijah are the subject of an allusion in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbiʿ*, ed. Pellat, § 40, cf. index, p. 21.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 415, 540 ff. (Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. H. Zotenberg, i, 409, 411, 373); idem, *Tafsīr*, vii, 158 (new ed. xi, 508-10, xxiii, 52-56); *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 99-100, 101-3; Thaʿlabī, *al-ʿArāʾis wa 'l-madjālis* (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), Cairo 1371-1951, 149-154; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Leipzig 1902, 187 ff. (English trans. *Judaism and Islam*, Madras 1898, 151 ff.); H. Speyer, *Die biblische Erzählungen im Qoran*, 61; L. Massignon, *Elie et son rôle transhistorique, Khadirîya, en Islam*, in *Études Carmélitaines*, ii (1955-6), 265-84 (= *Opera Minora*, i, 1963, 142-61); H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabi*, Paris 1958, 26, 44 ff., 193; Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pélerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 9/tr. 20. See also the bibliographies to the articles IDRĪS and KHIḌR and, on the Jewish legend, L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, iv, 1913, 195-235, vi, 1928, 316-42; E. Margulies, *Eliyāhū ha-nabīʾ*, Jerusalem 1960.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[G. VAJDA])

ILYĀSIDS, a minor dynasty which ruled in Kirmān in south-eastern Persia during the middle decades of the 4th/10th century. Their establishment there marks the final severance of Kirmān from direct Caliphal control, which had been restored earlier in the century after the collapse of the Ṣaffārid empire.

The founder, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ilyās, was a commander in the Sāmānid army and of Soghdian origin. He was involved in the revolt against the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad of his brothers in 317/929, and when the rebellion collapsed in 320/932, he withdrew to Kirmān and seized power there. He withstood Sāmānid forces sent against him, but in 324/936 had to flee temporarily to the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān when a Būyid army under Aḥmad b. Būya (the later Muʿizz al-Dawla) invaded Kirmān from Fārs. The Būyid forces later withdrew and Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned; he was now unmolested in his principality, whilst recognising the nominal overlordship of the Sāmānids. Some sources condemn Muḥammad b. Ilyās as an *ʿayyār* and *ṣaʿlūk, i.e.*, as an adventurer and brigand, and it does seem that he had understandings with the predatory Ḳufṣ and Balūč mountaineers of Kirmān for the division of their spoils. On the other hand, the Arab geographers credit him with considerable activity in building and charitable works throughout the province. During his reign, the capital of Kirmān was transferred from Sīradjān in the west, which had been the chief town in the early Islamic period, to Bardasīr or Gwādasīr (the later city of Kirmān), apparently as a protective measure against the neighbouring Būyids of Fārs.

Muḥammad b. Ilyās died in 356/967, having at some time before this made over Kirmān to his son Ilyasaʿ. Ilyasaʿ maintained his power against his brother and rival Sulaymān. However, he was not long able to withstand the powerful and agressive Būyid Amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. He was speedily driven out by the latter, and fled to the Sāmānids (357/968). This really marks the end of Ilyāsid rule

in Kirmān, except that further members of the family continued for some years to hover round the borders of Kirmān seeking an opportunity to intervene. Sulaymān and another Ilyāsid, al-Ḥusayn, led armies in Kirmān, aided by the turbulent Ḳufṣ and Balūč, but without success. After 364/975, the Ilyāsids disappear from recorded history, and the Būyid hold on Kirmān was henceforth undisturbed until Ghaznavid times.

Bibliography: The main sources are Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr, to be supplemented by ʿUtbī's *Yamīnī*, by scattered notices in the geographers and by the 6th/12th century local history of Kirmān, the *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā* of Afḍal al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī; see also Zambaur, *Manuel*, 216. All these sources are utilized in the study of C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān*, in the *Minorsky memorial volume* (*forthcoming*).

(C. E. Bosworth)

ʿIMĀD AL-DAWLA, ʿAlī b. Buwayh (or Būyeh), the eldest by many years, but the least known, of the three Daylamī [*q.v.*] brothers who became the founders of the dynasty of the Buwayhids or Būyids [*q.v.*]. At first in the service, together with a group of his compatriots, of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (321-9 [*q.v.*]), then of his lieutenant in Iran, Mākān b. Kākī [*q.v.*], he betrayed the latter in favour of his rival Mardāwīdj [*q.v.*], from whom he obtained, in equivocal circumstances (and thanks to his relations with the secretary of the governor of Rayy, the father of the future vizier Ibn al-ʿAmīd), the governorship of Karadj and of the Māh al-Baṣra [*q.v.*]. By means of calculated acts of generosity with funds drawn from the treasuries and storehouses, in particular of the Khurramīs, to which he managed to gain access, he gathered round him there a large number of Daylamīs ready to serve the employer who offered most. This naturally aroused the anxiety of Mardāwīdj, who prepared to attack him. Then ʿAlī, taking the initiative, occupied for a short time Iṣfahān, which he was unable this time to hold, and then, definitively, the citadel of Arradjan [*q.v.*], where he set himself up in open rebellion (321/923). In the following year he drove out from Fārs the caliph's governor Yāḳūt, in spite of the support received by the latter from the independent governor of Baṣra, al-Barīdī [*q.v.*]. Threatened by a combined offensive by all his enemies, he obtained from the caliph's vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] his official recognition as *muḳtaʿ* of Fārs, attempted to negotiate with Mardāwīdj, and was finally saved, without apparently being involved himself, by the assassination of Mardāwīdj at the beginning of 323/935. He thus became master of the situation in central Iran, operated a policy of combined force and diplomacy towards the various neighbouring princes or governors, sent his brother al-Ḥasan (the future Rukn al-Dawla, 329/940-1) to occupy Rayy, while the other brother Aḥmad (the future Muʿizz al-Dawla), extended his power over Kirmān and Khuzistān, whence he finally seized Baghdād and brought the caliph under his control (334/945). It was then that the three brothers acquired the honorifics by which they are known in history. At this time, ʿImād al-Dawla, old and grown feeble, was attempting mainly to obtain more peaceful relations with the Sāmānids to the north-east and to ensure a peaceful succession to the man he had chosen to follow him: in the absence of a son of his own, the son of his brother Rukn al-Dawla, Fanākhusraw, the future ʿAḍud al-Dawla. Thus there took place his interview in Ahwāz with his brother Muʿizz al-Dawla, soon after which he died (338/949). All that is known of his governorship is the way he sought out various treasuries in order to distribute them among his army. He had at that time a Christian secretary, Isrāʿīl b. Mūsā, who fell victim to intrigues by Muslim rivals. The establishment of Muʿizz al-Dawla in Baghdād, in spite of the superiority which this conferred on him in the eyes of many Muslims, never prevented ʿImād's considering himself, and being considered by his brothers, as head of the family.

Bibliography: See art. BŪYIDS. Since that article was published there have appeared several important studies on the Būyids in general which, although they mention ʿImād al-Dawla only in passing, may be mentioned here (with the addition of the thesis by Mafizullah Kabīr, now published as *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964): J. C. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud al-Dawla*, Wiesbaden 1965; C. E. Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Buyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 143-67; H. Büsse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, Die Buyiden in Bagdad*, 1968.

(Cl. Cahen)

ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, famous stylist and historian, born at Iṣfahān in 519/1125 of a distinguished family to which belonged also the famous *kātib* al-ʿAzīz, whose biography is given in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld no. 77 (cf., concerning him, Houtsma. *Recueil*, ii, preface, XIX ff.). He spent his youth in his native town and at Ḳashān, but studied in Baghdād, in particular *fiḳh*, and made a journey to Mosul and other places. When the Saldjūḳid sultan Muḥammad II laid siege unsuccessfully to Baghdād in 551/1156, ʿImād al-Dīn was in the city and congratulated the caliph on the failure of the siege in a *ḳāṣida* which earned him the favour of the vizier Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*]. The latter appointed him his *nāʾib* at Wāsiṭ; but after the death of the vizier (Djumādā I 559/March-April 1164), he lost his position and passed the next two years in some poverty. Finally, thanks to the patronage of the vizier al-Shahrazūrī, he turned to the Zangids of Syria, who knew his family, especially his uncle al-ʿAzīz mentioned above. Thus he received a benevolent welcome: he was appointed *kātib* by the sultan Nūr al-Dīn and, later, *mudarris* in a *madrasa* built in his honour. In addition, he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission to the caliph and ended by being appointed *mushrif* of the *Dīwān*. But after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1173, his enemies succeeded in supplanting him, so that he was forced to abandon his office and to go to Mosul. There he fell ill, but recovered and returned to Syria when he learned that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was planning to invade it. When the latter had taken Ḥimṣ (652/1175), ʿImād al-Dīn sent him his greetings in a poem, gained great influence with him and accompanied him on all his expeditions. After Saladin's death (589/1193), he returned to private life and devoted himself to literary work until his death (597/1201).

He produced a voluminous anthology of the Arab poets of the 6th/12th century, the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr wa-djarīdat ahl al-ʿaṣr* (part on Egypt, Cairo 1951; on ʿIrāḳ, Bágdad 1955; on Syria, Damascus n.d.; on Maghrib, Tunis 1966), which is a continuation of *Yatīmat al-dahr* of al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*]; ʿImād al-Dīn completed his anthology with some notes written, like his other works, in a scholarly and mannered style, in the tradition of the *kuttāb*, the high-ranking secretary-epistolographers of the administration

(notably Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ and al-ʿUtbī). In the same style and on a wider scale, he wrote the most remarkable of his works, *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī fi'l-fatḥ al-ḳudsī* ("Ḳussian eloquence [see ḲUSS B. SĀʿIDA] on the conquest of Jerusalem"; ed. Landberg, Leiden 1886; also Cairo 1322 (French trans. by H. Massé, in the press) beginning, as he says in his introduction (text p. 3) "at the beginning of 583"/ 13 March 1187; while admiring the author's verbal virtuosity, it must be admitted that the complications of style and vocabulary (antitheses, synonyms, phrases with double meanings, conceits, archaic expressions, and allusions, says de Slane, *H.O.C.*, iv, v) often mar this masterpiece, the narrative and documentary merits of which are undoubted; it is the work of an eye-witness—embracing warlike operations, the authority, the activities and the qualities of the sultan, and the role that ʿImād al-Dīn played by the writing of his diplomatic letters (several of which he inserts verbatim in his book). "His account has the value of a first-hand source, by an eye-witness or by an archivist who makes use of chancery documents" (G. Wiet).

In addition to *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, ʿImād al-Dīn's historical works are as follows: —

1. *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, the first history of the great Seldjūḳs. The nucleus of the work was the lost Persian memoirs of Anūsharvān b. Khālid (d. 738/1137: cf. Browne, ii, 36 and index), which ʿImād al-Dīn rendered into Arabic, with much additional material and stylistic embellishment. Completed in 579/1183, it survives only in an abridgement made in 623/1126 by al-Bundārī [*q.v.*], and published by T. Houtsma in *Recueil*, ii.

2. *al-Barḳ al-Shāmī* (562/1166-589/1193), an autobiographical account of the wars of Saladin, whom he served as secretary. Two parts only survive in manuscript, both in the Bodleian. They are part iii, covering the years 573/1177-575/1179, and part v, covering the years 578/1182-579/1183. An abridgement by al-Bundārī of the first (?) half, entitled *Sanā al-Barḳ al-Shāmī*, exists in a unique manuscript in the Esad Efendi collection in Istanbul, and will shortly be published in an edition by Dr. R. Şeşen. It covers the years 562/1166-583/1187. There are extensive and numerous citations from the *Barḳ*, in an abridged form, in the *Rawḍatayn* of Abū Shāma [*q.v.*].

3. Continuations after the death of Saladin, up to ? 597 are cited as *al-ʿUtba wa'l-Uḳba* (Abū Shāma, ii, 228-31), *Niḥlat al-Riḥla* (*ibid.*, ii, 231-2), *Khatfat al-Bāriḥ waʿaṭfat al-Shāriḥ* (*ibid.*, ii, 233-45). They are also mentioned by al-Bundārī in his introduction to the *Sanā*, as three volumes on three years.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 314-5; S I, 548-9; Ibn Khallikān, no. 715; *H.O.C.*, iv, pp. III-v; Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber*, no. 62; H. A. R. Gibb, *Al-Barq al-Shāmī the history of Saladin by the Kātib ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*, in *WZKM*, lii (1953), 93-115; J. Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalem (583/1187) in der Darstellung des ʿImād ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī*, Wiesbaden 1952; Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, index. (H. MASSÉ)

ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN ZANKĪ [see ZANKĪ].

ʿIMĀD AL-MULK, GHĀZI 'L-DĪN KHĀN, FĪRŪZ DJANG (III), was named Shihāb al-Dīn after his great-grandfather Ghāzi 'l-Dīn Khān, Fīrūz Djang I [see SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, MIR]. His mother was the daughter of the *wazīr*, Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān (d. 1161/1746). He was eight years old when his father, (Mīr) Muḥammad Panāh [*q.v.*] died suddenly at Awrangābād in 1165/1752 during his abortive attempt to seize the viceroyalty of the Deccan. On his father's departure for the Deccan, Shihāb al-Dīn had been left behind at Delhi in the care of the minister, Abu 'l-Manṣūr Ṣafdar Djang [*q.v.*]. He seems to have been a precocious but cunning child, much older than his years, for he ingeniously obtained, early in life, the office of *Mīr Bakhshī* (Quartermaster-general) with the help of Ṣafdar Djang. Fired with ambition, he turned against his patron and in 1167/1754 called in the Marāṭhās, who deposed and blinded Aḥmad Shāh (1161-7/1748-54) and installed ʿAlamgīr II as emperor of Delhi. A born diplomat, he was well-versed in the art of statesmanship. In 1169/1755, on the death of his maternal uncle Mīr Muʿīn al-Mulk (Mīr Munnū) b. Iʿtimād al-Dawla Ḳamar al-Dīn Khān, who was governor of the Pandjāb, he captured Lahore and made it over to Ādīnā Bēg Khān, the paramour of Mughulānī Bēgam, widow of Mīr Munnū. Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī [*q.v.*], furious at the rise of this upstart, at once marched on Lahore (1170/1756), expelled Ādīna Bēg Khān and soon thereafter went to Delhi with ʿImād al-Mulk in attendance. ʿImād al-Mulk now sided with the Durrani chieftain and took part in the operations against Sūradj Mal Djāt of Bharatpur [*q.v.*] and Shudjāʿ al-Dawla of Awadh [*q.v.*]. His ingratitude earned the displeasure of the Abdālī, who appointed Nadjīb al-Dawla *Amīr al-Umarāʾ* of Hindustan. On Aḥmad Shāh's departure from India ʿImād al-Mulk, seeking revenge, besieged Nadjīb al-Dawla in the fort of Delhi and had the effete emperor ʿĀlamgīr II murdered in 1173/1759. This enraged the Abdālī, who marched out to India and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Marāṭhās, allies of ʿImād al-Mulk, at the third battle of Pānipāt in 1175/1761.

ʿImād al-Mulk's game of power-politics was now practically over. Afraid of his powerful adversaries, he sought protection among the Djāts and stayed for a time with Sūradj Mal; on his death in 1177/1763 he went to live with Aḥmad Khān Bangash, Nawwāb of Farrūkhābād (d. 1185/1771). Two years later, he went to the Deccan and received some land in Kālpī from the Marāṭhās in consideration of his past services. Feeling insecure there, he went to Sūrat to live with the British; he was seen by Col. Goddard disguised as a pilgrim and was for a time put into confinement (cf. Mill, *History of India*, ii, 414). After his release he went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and was seen in Sind in 1195/1781, having returned to India *via* Baṣra and Ḳandahār. He subsequently sought service with Tīmūr Shāh Abdālī (*reg.* 1187-1207/1773-93) and was in the employ of Zamān Shāh (*reg.* 1207-16/1793-1801) when he invaded the Pandjāb in 1211/1797. He lingered in obscurity for some time and died at Kālpī on 10 Rabīʿ II 1215/1 September 1800, aged 54 years.

A *ḥāfiẓ*, a good scholar and a fine penman, he composed poetry in Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Turkish under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of "Āṣaf", which he later abandoned for "Niẓām". His Persian *dīwān* (MSS in British Museum and at Leningrad) was published in 1301/1883-4. His other poetical compositions include a poem in praise of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*Manḳabat-i Niẓām dar madḥ-i ʿAlī*), a *ḳaṣīda* and some *mathnawī*s on the miracles of the saint Fakhr al-Dīn Čishtī Shāhdjahānābādī, whose life also he wrote under the title *Manāḳib-i Fakhriyya* (ed. Delhi 1315/1897). He had four sons, of whom Ḥamīd al-Dawla entered the service of

Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh II and obtained the rank of "5,000".

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ʿIMĀD SHĀHĪ, the title of a ruling family, founded by a Hindu convert to Islam, which ruled over Berar [*q.v.*] for nearly a century from 896/1490 until 982/1574. The founder of the dynasty, Daryā Khān, better known to history by his title Fatḥ Allāh ʿImād al-Mulk, was descended from the Canarese Brahmans of Vidjyanagar [*q.v.*]. He fell as a prisoner of war in 827/1423 into the hands of Khān-i Djahān, the commander-in-chief of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] forces in Berar, who appointed him to his personal bodyguard. Impressed by his talents and ability Khān-i Djahān quickly promoted him to offices of trust and distinction. After the death of his master, Fatḥ Allāh joined the court at Bīdar [*q.v.*] and through the good offices of the chief minister Khwādja Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] received the title of ʿImād al-Mulk from Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II (*reg.* 867/1463-887/1482). In 876/1471 he was appointed governor and commander of the forces in Berar, *i.e.*, to the office which his former master Khān-i Djahān had occupied. It appears however that towards the end of his life, although technically owing allegiance to the court at Bīdar, he considered himself the virtual ruler of Berar, as was done by the early Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh [*q.v.*] during the Moghul rule.

Partly because the founder of the dynasty was a convert, who had risen to power through military exploits, and partly because the rulers had little love for literature and art, no history of this dynasty was ever recorded and no man of letters paid any attention to the story of their rise and fall. Were it not for references to this dynasty in the histories of the neighbouring kingdoms, practically nothing would be known about them (Firishta devotes a separate section of his work to this dynasty). No buildings or works of art or public utility constructed during their rule have been discovered; they rather devoted their time to the welfare of their subjects and the prosperity of their state. Another reason for their not finding a historian to record their deeds was that theirs was the only Sunnī kingdom in a cluster of Shīʿī states attracting Iranian men of letters, some of whom settled down in the subcontinent and took to the profession of writing. Consequently even the boundaries of this state are not precisely known. It is known however, to have extended from the Andjādrī hills to the Gōdāwarī, while on the west it bordered on Aḥmadnagar and Khāndēsh [*qq.v.*]. Its eastern limits are uncertain; the region, including the site of the present-day city of Nāgpūr, was covered with jungle.

Soon after his appointment as governor of Berar, Fatḥ Allāh was sent on an expedition against Rāi Vidjay Singh of Vīragadh. He reduced the fort after a siege of six months, compelling the ruler to evacuate his ancestral home "leaving behind his public treasures and hereditary wealth". In 877/1472, along with the chief minister Maḥmūd Gāwān and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, who was later destined to become the founder of the ʿĀdil Shāhī dynasty of Bīdjāpūr, he took part in the expedition against Belgām, which was conquered and added to the *djāgīr* of the chief minister. On the execution of Maḥmūd Gāwān on a charge of treason in 886/1581, ʿImād al-Mulk became apprehensive of his own safety and showed signs of disaffection. Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II, fearing an open rebellion, placated him by confirming him in his government of Berar. In 887/1482, on the accession of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī II, a lad of twelve, he was raised to the office of a minister in reward for the slaughter of "foreigners" (*gharībān*), the supporters and adherents of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān, the governor of Bīdjāpūr, thus paving the way for Niẓām al-Mulk, a Dakhni nobleman, to usurp all power for himself (the king being a minor). At the same time Shaykh (Firishta purposely uses this word—used in the subcontinent as an honorific for converts to Islam belonging to respectable families—to show their non-Muslim origin) ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, the eldest son of ʿImād al-Mulk, was appointed his father's deputy in Berar. In course of time ʿImād al-Mulk became so powerful that in conjunction with Niẓām al-Mulk he conducted all the affairs of the government during the minority of the king, enjoying throughout the support of the queen-mother. Maḥmūd Shāh, smarting under the overbearing attitude of the two ministers and provoked by the casual remark of a Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] courtier, ordered their assassination. Both of them, however, managed to escape with their lives, being expert swordsmen. ʿImād al-Mulk retired to his government of Berar, nursing a grudge against the monarch and watching for an opportunity to shake off his yoke.

A few years later he declared his independence in 890/1484, striking his own coins and causing the *khuṭba* to be read in his own name. Yet he refrained from calling himself "Shāh", either out of respect for the royal family whom he had once served or (more probably) out of political expediency. He was not destined to enjoy the fruits of independence long, as in that very year he died. He was succeeded by his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who, confident that the effete Bahmanī monarch could not assert himself, assumed the title of Shāh in 896/1490; he established his court at Kāvēl, following the example of Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī, son of the late Niẓām al-Mulk and Yūsuf ʿĀdil Khān of Bīdjāpūr, who had earlier in 895/1489 declared their independence, the former founding the city of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.*].

In 910/1504 Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, son of Ḳāsim Barīd, the regent of Bīdar [*q.v.*], who had won full control over Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, in league with Malik Aḥmad Baḥrī invaded the territories of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh in order to punish him for professing the Shīʿa faith (all the other states around and the entire Muslim population of the Deccan were Sunnī). Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh struck back strongly, compelling Maḥmūd Shāh and Amīr ʿAlī Barīd to seek help from others, including ʿImād al-Mulk.

This "aged and experienced statesman" as Firishta describes him, resolved to maintain strict neutrality, and having perceived the intentions of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, who was exploiting religion only to destroy Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh, interceded with the king on behalf of Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh. Amīr Barīd, now left practically alone, fled from the field along with the king, leaving the royal camp to be looted by the allies.

Ten years later, in 920/1514, Maḥmūd S͟hāh, whose prestige had suffered considerably and who was now tired of the overbearing behaviour of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, escaped to Kāvēl and, with the help of ʿImād al-Mulk's troops, marched on Gulbarga [*q.v.*], the capital of Barīd. Barīd decided to give battle and sallied forth from the citadel. Meanwhile, Maḥmūd S͟hāh, who was weak both in body and mind owing to old age, suddenly decided to change sides and join the troops of Amīr ʿAlī Barīd, thus putting ʿImād al-Mulk in a difficult situation. ʿImād al-Mulk immediately repaired to his own country, leaving the fickle king to his fate. After this misadventure, Maḥmūd S͟hāh, unfit to carry on the duties and functions of state any longer, gave himself up to a life of dissipation and debauchery and died soon thereafter.

In 934/1527 Amīr ʿAlī Barīd occupied the forts of Māhūr and Rāmgir; these were in the possession of K͟hudāwand K͟hān, the Ḥabs͟hī minister of Bahādur S͟hāh of Gud͟jarāt. who applied to ʿImād al-Mulk for help. The latter at once marched out with his troops and was able to recover the two forts without a blow and proceeded to annex them to his own kingdom. This act of usurpation aroused the hostility of Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh I [see NIẒĀM S͟HĀHĪS]. Consequently, frequent battles were fought between the two ruling houses, who were also related to each other, resulting in the defeat of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād S͟hāh.

In 930-1/1524-5, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn joined hands with Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh I, his former enemy, to recover the fort of S͟hōlāpūr, which Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil S͟hāh had promised to give to his sister Maryam as part of her dowry when she was given in marriage to Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh. Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil S͟hāh stoutly opposed this joint invasion and finally ʿImād al-Mulk fled.

Yet he continued to smart under the insult that he had suffered at the hands of Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh. Consequently in 933/1527 he occupied the fort of Pātrī, belonging to Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh, at the instigation of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil S͟hāh and Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb S͟hāh of Golconda [*q.v.*]; it was recovered after a siege of two months by Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh, who later completely destroyed it. Flushed with his victory Burhān S͟hāh proceeded to reduce some other places in Berar, spreading panic in the land. ʿImād al-Mulk, finding himself unable to withstand alone the onslaught of the Aḥmadnagar troops, fled to Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] and sought the help of its ruler Mīrān Muḥammad S͟hāh Fārūḳī in repelling the invasion. The allies, however, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh, losing their guns and elephants. Mīrān Muḥammad S͟hāh, burning for revenge, appealed to Bahādur S͟hāh (*reg.* 932/1525-943/1537) of Gud͟jarāt, who was also his maternal uncle, to come to their relief. Bahādur S͟hāh readily agreed and marched in 934-5/1527-8 towards the Deccan with a large army. When he reached D͟jālnapūr his intentions changed and he thought of seizing Berar. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād S͟hāh, sensing his intentions, lost no time in satisfying his vanity and readily acknowledged his supremacy by having the *k͟huṭba* read in his name. By this act of expediency he not only saved his own territory but induced Bahādur S͟hāh to attack Aḥmadnagar and humble its sovereign. Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh, being unable to resist such a powerful monarch as Bahādur S͟hāh, had to submit to the invader. Bahādur S͟hāh reached Aḥmadnagar unopposed and took up his residence in the palace of Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh I, where he regaled himself for forty days. Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh I, however, continued to harass the Gud͟jarāt troops by frequent skirmishes until he was obliged to sue for peace and to promise to return the forts and elephants he had captured (although he later broke his word). The object being achieved, both ʿImād al-Mulk and Mīrān Muḥammad S͟hāh returned jubilantly to their respective capitals.

Two years later, in 937/1532, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād al-Mulk died and was succeeded by his eldest son Daryā ʿImād S͟hāh. He was married to K͟hadīd͟ja, a sister of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil S͟hāh of Bīd͟jāpūr (and not to his daughter as inadvertently stated by Firis͟hta in another place, cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 488), and born of a Hindu princess, whom Yūsuf ʿĀdil S͟hāh had married. A consummate statesman, he was well-versed in the art of diplomacy, as was shown on the occasion when he found himself in a difficult situation as a result of the march of Bahādur S͟hāh against Aḥmadnagar, whose ruler, although his close relative, did not scruple to engage in an armed conflict with ʿImād S͟hāh, and who had to pay for his fault by submitting to the Gud͟jarāt monarch.

The history of the reign of Daryā ʿImād S͟hāh is so dispersed throughout the pages of Firis͟hta that it requires patient research to piece it together. His account is extremely meagre; nevertheless, it is from the work of this author supplemented by the *Burhān-i maʿāt͟hir*, that a readable account of his reign can be gleaned. The story is so involved and entangled that even a clear-headed and experienced historian like Firis͟hta confused Daryā ʿImād S͟hāh with his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād S͟hāh in describing the events after 939/1532 (although on Firis͟hta's own showing ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿImād S͟hāh had died in that year). He admits that he failed to obtain any written account of the ʿImād S͟hāhīs and hence had to depend on oral traditions and hearsay (cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 500).

In 949/1542 Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh along with his ally Amīr Barīd, taking advantage of a serious rift between Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil S͟hāh and his able minister Asad K͟hān Lārī, marched against Bīd͟jāpūr and besieged it. Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil S͟hāh, deprived of his experienced minister's advice and finding himself unable to oppose the invaders single-handed, approached Daryā ʿImād S͟hāh, his kinsman (here Firis͟hta confuses him with his father. cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 92) for help, who readily acceded to his request; the combined forces of Berar and Bīd͟jāpūr compelled the invaders to raise the siege and to sue for peace. This successful military adventure raised the ʿImād S͟hāhī prestige high and the ruling prince came to be looked upon as a powerful monarch whose voice counted in the Deccan. To strengthen his position further, ʿImād S͟hāh married his sister Rābiʿa to Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil S͟hāh in 950/1543. This naturally aroused the jealousy of Burhān Niẓām S͟hāh, the old enemy of his house, although Daryā ʿImād S͟hāh soon after his accession had tried to placate him by marrying his daughter Bībī Dawlat to Ḥusayn Niẓām S͟hāh, a son of Burhān S͟hāh by his wife Amīna, who was later to succeed him. The very next year (951/1544) some differences cropped up between Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil S͟hāh and Daryā ʿImād S͟hāh, which provided Burhān S͟hāh with an opportunity to invade Bīd͟jāpūr. He formed an alliance with Sadās͟hivarāy (Rāmarād͟ja of the Muslim historians), the Hindu ruler of Vid͟jyanagar [*q.v.*], and the S͟hīʿī ruler of Golconda. It is not known what role was subsequently played by the ʿImād S͟hāhīs in the battles that took place between the combined Muslim forces and the troops of Vid͟jyanagar. It is hard to believe

that while the combined Muslim states were closed in a fierce struggle against the Hindus, the state of Berar, professing the orthodox faith, should have remained aloof. It is probable that personal grievances, such as the murder of Djahāngīr Khān, rather than religious motives were responsible for the estrangement between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Berar. Soon after Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh's accession, his full brother ʿAbd al-Ḳādir fled from Aḥmadnagar and sought asylum in Berar. Earlier, such a prominent noble as Sayf ʿAyn al-Mulk, who held the rank of commander-in-chief under Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, had similarly sought refuge in Berar from the oppression of Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh. Firishta places this event in 959/1551—which is puzzling, as Burhān Niẓām Shāh I was still alive in that year. The authorities agree that he died in 961/1554 (corroborated by the chronogram *zawāl-i khusrawān*), the year in which also died Maḥmūd Shāh III of Gudjarāt and Islām Shāh Sūr [*qq.v.*]. In any case, we find him on the side of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, his brother-in-law, who was then espousing the cause of Shāh ʿAlī, his nephew, a son of Burhān Niẓām Shāh and his sister Maryam. He was a pretender to the throne of Aḥmadnagar against his step-brother Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh, the ruling prince. Daryā ʿImād Shāh seems to have been drawn against his will into this struggle for power, inasmuch as we find him playing only a passive rôle, most probably out of regard for his sister's son. Here Firishta's account is both perplexing and confusing. He places the insurrection of prince ʿAlī, while describing the events of the reign of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, in 959/1551 (cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 106), yet while writing the history of his father Burhān Niẓām Shāh he says that the latter was still alive in 961/1553 (cf. Brigg's trans., iii, 235). It is difficult to reconcile the dates.

However, in the engagement that took place at Shōlāpūr between the ʿĀdil Shāhī forces and the Niẓām Shāhī forces, Daryā ʿImād al-Mulk was put in charge by Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh of the right flank (*maymana*), while he commanded the centre in person. At a critical juncture Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh lost heart and fled from the field, wrongly believing that his ally Sayf ʿAyn al-Mulk had crossed over to his former master's son and successor Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh. The fate of ʿImād al-Mulk is not known, but it may be assumed that he too returned to his capital unmolested. Thereafter he is not heard of any more, and in the words of Firishta seems to have enjoyed a reign of great tranquillity and peace till his death in 969/1561 (cf. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr, *Taʾrīkh-i Dakan*, ii, 79).

He was succeeded by his son, Burhān ʿImād al-Mulk, who was then only three years old. Tufāl Khān Dakhnī, his minister, began to rule as regent. An ungrateful and ambitious man, he usurped all power in 976/1568 and placed the young king in confinement. This usurpation was much resented by the people of Berar, who began to seek an opportunity to restore the boy-king to the throne.

In 973/1565 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, taking advantage of the minority of the king, invaded Berar in conjunction with ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh of Bidjāpūr. They laid the country waste, and on the approach of the rainy season returned to their capitals. Soon afterwards Berar was invaded by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, the ruler of Khāndēsh. Burhān ʿImād Shāh appointed Djagdev Rāʾu, the disaffected minister of Golconda, to command the forces of Berar, and he defeated the Khāndēsh troops in several engagements. In 980/1572 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, who had been planning for some time to subjugate Berar again marched out with a large army with the intention of overthrowing the usurper and annexing the kingdom to his own dominions. Tufāl Khān, unable to withstand the Aḥmadnagar troops, ultimately shut himself up in the hill-fastness of Narnāla and appealed to Akbar, the Moghul emperor, for help. Akbar asked Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh to hold his hand and withdraw, and henceforward Berar was his responsibility. Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, however, paid no heed to the warning and proceeded to reduce all the principal forts in Berar, including Narnāla. During the operations Tufāl Khān, along with his prisoner Burhān ʿImād al-Mulk and some followers, was captured and confined in one of the fallen forts. Shortly thereafter they were all found dead one morning while still in confinement; some say they were poisoned while others maintain that they were suffocated, the room being too small to contain all of them. With the death of Burhān ʿImād Shāh in 982/1574 the ʿImād Shāhī dynasty came to an end, after ruling over Berar for nearly a century. A pretender Fīrūz, claiming to be a natural son of Daryā ʿImād al-Mulk, marched out at the head of a considerable force against Berar, actively supported by Muḥammad Shāh Fārūḳī of Khāndēsh. He was, however, routed and his adherents were dispersed by the Niẓām Shāhī troops. Berar henceforward ceased to exist as an independent principality.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1831 (see under Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II, Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī II, Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh, Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh, Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh I, ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh, Burhān Niẓām Shāh I, Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh, Ḥusayn Niẓām Shāh I [= Brigg's trans., ii, 488-9, 492, 502, 516-7, 525-8, 536, 539, 548-9; iii, 15, 18, 26-31, 46, 52, 54, 59-60, 64-8, 90-3, 105 ff., 132, 216-21, 230, 237-9, 400-1, 405, 485-94, 496-7]); ʿAlī b. ʿAzīz Allāh Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, Delhi 1335/1936 (the second main source after Firishta, but the author is a bigoted Shīʿī and his account of the ʿImād Shāhīs is extremely biased), 16, 20, 109, 119, 123, 135, 150, 154, 160-1, 164, 204, 236-40, 243-51, 270-3, 298-302, 308, 312, 317-20, 326-7, 357, 379, 399-402, 434-7, 457-74, 483; Sikandar b. Mandjhū, *Mirʾat-i Sikandarī* (ed. S. C. Misra and M. L. Rahman), Baroda 1961, 268-75; Ghulām Imām Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīd al-Dīn Khānī*, Hydarabad-Deccan 1282/1865, 187-9, 192-3, 204, 213-4; ʿAbd al-Ghafūr, *Taʾrīkh-i Dakan*, Agra 1900, ii, 75-81; *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 317, 324 ff., 333, 346, 366, 398, 416, 419, 423-5, 427, 429-31, 434-8, 440-6, 448, 450, 453 ff.; Harun Khan Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, Hydarabad n.d. [1953]; idem, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmanī Wazīr*, Allahabad 1941; Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubayrī, *Basātīn al-salāṭīn*, lith. Hydarabad (not seen); Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāḳiʿāt-i mamlakat-i Bīdjāpūr*, Agra 1915, iii, 640 (valuable only for the date when Burhān ʿImād Shāh was deprived of all power by the usurper Tufāl Khān); Col. Wolseley Haig, *The history of the Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar*, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1920-3; see also the articles GĀWILGAṚH, BERAR, NIẒĀM SHĀHĪ, and allied articles. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ʿIMĀDĪ, 6th/12th century Persian writer of *ḳaṣīdas*, generally known by the names of ʿImādī Ghaznawī and ʿImādī Shahriyārī. He began his career as a soldier in the army of Sulṭān Masʿūd III

of Ghaznīn (d. 508/1114), and later migrated to the court of ʿImād al-Dawla Farāmarz at Rayy, in whose praise he composed the largest number of odes. Some time before ʿImād al-Dawla's death, ʿImādī made a second migration to the Court of the Saldjūḳid Sulṭān Tughrul b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh (d. 529/1134). Among his many patrons, the following may be mentioned:

Malik Arghun b. Alp Arslān (d. 489/1096); Malik Tughān b. Alp Arslān; ʿImād al-Dawla Farāmarz (d. 530/1135); Sulṭān Tughrul b. Muḥammad; Ḳawām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, chief minister of Tughrul (d. 527/1132); Abū Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar ʿAbbādī (d. 547/1152); Amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Tughāyrak (d. 541/1146). ʿImādī's original *Dīwān* has been lost. Taḳī Kāshī claims to have seen four thousand verses of ʿImādī. The extant *Dīwāns* are four: three in the British Museum and one in the ʿAligarh University MSS. Section. MS. Or. 3,500 of the British Museum Library contains the largest number of ʿImādī's extant verses, namely 1734. ʿImādī's reputation as a poet is indicated by the fact that several notable contemporary poets, namely Sayyid Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī, Adīb-i Sābir b. Ismāʿīl Tirmidhī, Falakī Shirwānī, Ḳawāmī Rāzī, Saʿd al-Dīn Asʿad b. Shihāb of Bukhārā, Madjd al-Dīn b. ʿAdnān, Yūsuf b. Naṣr al-Kātib, took his verses as a model. He is highly praised by most of the notable biographers of poets.

ʿImādī's death took place between 530/1135 and 550/1155, probably nearer the former than the latter.

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(M. SHAMOON ISRAELI)

IMĀLA, "inflection" (verbal noun of fourth form, *amāla*), a phonetic phenomenon. It consists in "*alif*'s tending towards *yāʾ* and *fatḥa*'s tending towards *kasra*" (Ibn al-Sarrādj, *Mūzadj*, 139). Modern phonetics regards it as a palatalization, produced by a rising movement of the tongue towards the prepalatal region. Depending on the extent of this movement, the vowel *a* shifts from its zone of articulation to that of *ę* or to that of *e* (or even to that of *i*). Arab grammarians distinguish an *imāla shadīda*, "strong" (probably a > *e*) and an *imāla mutawassiṭa*, "medium" (probably *a* > *ä*). The question arises particularly with regard to long *ā*, and it is this that will be considered here.

Arab grammarians speak of *imāla* as a phenomenon conditioned by the presence of a *kasra* (*i*) or a *yāʾ* (*y*) in the neighbourhood of the *alif* (*ā*); these draw the *alif* towards themselves, in order to make it more like them. Chapter 477 of Sībawayhi deals with the *imāla* of *alif* when there is a *kasra* in the syllable that immediately follows or precedes it, such as: *ʿālim* "knowing", *masādjid* "mosques", *kilāb* "dogs", *shimlāl* "swift (she-camel)"; similarly *bayyāʿ* "seller", *kayyāl* "measurer of grain". The following, however, are without *imāla* (ii, 280, lines 2, 4-6): *ādjurr* "bricks", *tābal* "condiment", *djamād* "mineral", *al-balbāl* "the great disturbance", *djummāʿ* "reunion of people of all kinds". One says: *raʾaytu Zaydā*, but *raʾaytu ʿAbdā* ("I saw Zayd ... ʿAbd") (ii, 282, lines 6-7). Chapter 480 of the same author mentions, rightly, the *ḥurūf* that inhibit *imāla*. This kind of inhibition may be found, whether or not the *imāla* is conditioned, but Sībawayhi here considers it from the point of view of the conditioning indicated.

These *ḥurūf* are the seven *mustaʿliya*: the four emphatics, the velars *gh* and *kh* and *ḳāf*, whether they are the first, second or third consonants of the root, for example, as first: *ṣāʿid* "going up", *ghāʾib* "absent", *ḳāʿid* "sitting"; as second: *ʿāṭis* "sneezing", *nāḳid* "criticizing (a written work)", *nākhil* "sieving"; as third: *nāhiḍ* "rising", *nāfikh* "blowing", *nāfiḳ* "selling well (merchandise)", *maʿālīḳ* "straps", *maḳārīḍ* "scissors". An *i*, however, in the syllable preceding that which contains the long *ā* (provided that an emphatic does not open the latter syllable) restores the operation of the *imāla*, thus: *ṣiʿāb* pl. of *ṣaʿb* "difficult", *ḳibāb* "domes", *khibāth* pl. of *khabīth* "bad", *miṣbāḥ* "lamp, torch".

All this clearly points to a conditioned *imāla*, and there are other clear examples in chapter 478 of the *Kitāb* (ii, 283, lines 6-7, 10, 12-3); there are, however, also a number of cases that are less clear: *imāla* of: *ramā* (radicals *r m y*) "he threw", *daʿā* (r. *d ʿ w*, passive *duʿiya*) "he called", *khāfa* (r. *kh w f*, 1st pers. *khiftu*) "he feared", *nāb* (pl. *niyāb*) "canine (tooth)", *ḥublā* (dual *ḥublayāni*) "pregnant (woman)". Arab grammarians adduce the influence of morphological associations [see the data given in the parentheses] where they find the *kasra* or the *yāʾ* that they require. They can find no arguments, however, in the cases of *Ḥadjdjādj* (proper name), *bāb* "door", *māl* "money, wealth".

In the writer's opinion, in addition to a conditioned *imāla*, which is widely used, there exists an unconditioned *imāla*, which Arab grammarians have not recognized as such and have forced into the framework of the first, without, however, leaving us the means to discriminate precisely between the two. Furthermore, they have not answered all the questions; for example, what was the situation with *alif mamdūda* from this point of view? At all events, we cannot follow J. Cantineau when he states (*Cours*. 98): "*Imāla* must be considered as an *unconditioned phenomenon*, which affects every long *ā* (however with a possible distinction between an internal *ā* and a final *ā*), provided that no preservative action is brought to bear on them".

Imāla was not general among the Arabs; it appears to have been the practice of the Easterners: Tamīm and others, as opposed to the Ḥidjāzis (cf. Sībawayhi, ii, 280, line 1, 281, line 5, 283, line 16). It is, however, received in Ḳurʾānic recitation (see al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, 46-68, *Bibl. Isl.* 2). It was a simple realization of the phoneme *ā*. In modern dialects it comes to acquire a distinctive value; thus at Kfarʿabîda (M. T. Feghali, *Le parler de Kfarʿabîda (Liban-Syrie)*, 96): *rājeʿ* "returning" and *rājeʿ* "begin again", *jāre* "flowing" and *jāre* "my neighbour".

Remarks: (a) Sībawayhi (ii, 284, lines 1-5) stresses the diversity that is to be found in the practice of *imāla*, and it is probable that he does not produce all the facts concerning this phenomenon. When one has experience of modern dialects with *imāla*, as for example the Lebanese vernaculars, one can only agree with Sībawayhi; each region has its own system, and indeed the system may differ from village to village. That of Kfarʿabîda (94-5), for example, is not free from "exceptions" (see 95, 3°).

(b) The case of *ṭāba* "he was good" (Sībawayhi, ii, 281, line 13), *ṣāra* "he became" (*ibid.*, line 14) is separate. Either it is a matter of non-velarized emphatics, of a type compatible with *imāla*, or one should read: *ṭēba, ṣēra*, forms comparable with those of Ethiopic, such as *kēda* "he walked", *shē*

without wishing to go back to an ancient phoneme *ē* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité philol. ar.*, i, § 7 j-k).

Bibliography: in the text; in addition: chapters 477-82 of Sībawayhi (Paris, ii, 279-94- Cairo, ii, 259-81) are essential; the case of *r* is dealt with in chapters 481-2. Arab grammarians reworked the data; see: the "six causes" of Ibn al-Sarrādj, *Mūzadj*, Beirut 1385/1965, 139-40; verses 899-913 of the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (*Sharḥ* of Ibn ʿAḳīl, ii, 407-13, 6th ed. by Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd); §§ 626-39 of the *Mufaṣṣal* of Zamakhsharī (2nd ed. J. P. Broch) (*Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1252-68, ed. G. Jahn); Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, iii, Cairo 1358/1939, 4-30. On the Arab grammarians: M. T. Grünert, *Die Imāla, der Umlaut im Arabischen* (in *SB Ak. Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., lxxxi, 447-542); J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe* (reissued, *Memorial J. C.*, Paris 1960) deals (96-100) with the *imāla* in Classical Arabic and the situation in the modern dialects, and gives the modern bibliography (97).

(H. FLEISCH)

IMĀM [see IMĀMA, MASDJID].

IMĀM AʿẒAM [see KHALĪFA].

AL-**IMĀM** AL-**AʿẒAM** [see ABŪ ḤANĪFA].

IMĀM AL-**ḤARAMAYN** [see AL-DJUWAYNĪ].

IMĀM AL-**HUDĀ** [see ABU 'L-LAYTH AL-SAMARḲANDĪ].

IMĀM-BĀRĀ, literally "enclosure of the Imāms", is a term used in India for the buildings where the Shīʿis assemble during Muḥarram and recite elegies on the martyrdom of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and in which the *taʿziyas* [*q.v.*] are stored. The *Imām-bārā* is an Indian institution, whose beginnings may be traced to the 18th century, when many of the Shīʿī institutions and practices took their ritualistic form. Ṣafdar Djang (1708-54) constructed a building in Delhi for the purpose of the Muḥarram rituals; it was not known as *Imām-bārā*, but may well be considered its forerunner. An almost similar building constructed by his grandson Āṣaf al-Dawla in Lucknow, however, became known as "Imām-bārā-i Āṣafī". After that it became a practice with the Nawwābs of Awadh to build *Imām-bārās*, which came to be used also as the final resting-places of the heads of the families to which they belonged. The *Imām-bārā* of Ḥusaynabād built by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1837-47) shows the influence of European architecture. According to Djaʿfar Sharīf, the *ʿĀshur-khāna* of Southern India is replaced in the north by the *Imām-bārā*.

Bibliography: W. Knighton, *The private life of an Eastern king together with Elihu's story*, Oxford 1921, 90 f.; G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India*, Eng. tr. of Djaʿfar Sharīf's *Ḳānūn-i Islām*, Oxford 1921, 146; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1891, 605; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on tthe Mussulmauns of India*, i, London 1832, 32-9; H. G. Keene, *Handbook of Lucknow*, Calcutta 1875, 102-3; J. H. T. Walsh, *History of the Murshidabad District*, London 1902, 76-7.

(K. A. NIZAMI)

IMĀM SHĀH, IMĀM AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM B. ḤASAN (b. 856/1452; d. 919/1513), was a saint (*pīr*) of an Ismāʿīlī sect known as Imāmshāhīs, and better known as *sat-panthīs* (followers of truth). *Sat-panth* (the true path) was a term applied originally to Eastern Ismāʿīlism in India. Later the *sat-panthīs* denied all connection with the Khodjas, although there is a great similarity in their doctrines. His tomb is at Pīrāna (near Aḥmadābād, Gujarat), where Imām Shāh lived and taught. It is greatly venerated by his followers, who are also to be found in Madhya Pradesh, near Burhānpūr, where a sizeable community still exists. Their doctrines and ritual are mostly Hindu; they believe in *karma* (incarnation) and although they confess to faith in the Ḳurʾān, they hold that their Imām is the tenth incarnation of the Hindu God, Vishnū. ʿAlī was the first of the Imāms and the possessor of the Divine Light. The Ḳurʾān was in 40 *pāras* (parts), of which only 30 are preserved. The true interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the faith is called *alankār*. The Imāmshāhīs are generally vegetarians. Their devotional poetry, known as *gnāns*, of which there are several collections, is beautiful and touching, and fully deserves study and publication. The *gnāns* are greatly revered by the sectarians, who pay greater reverence to them than to the Ḳurʾān. The best account of the sect is by W. Ivanow, *The Sect of Imām Shāh in Gujarat*, in *JBBRAS*, xii (1936), 19-70.

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(A. A. A. FYZEE)

IMĀMA, the imāmate in the meaning of "supreme leadership" of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet. The present article will deal with the theological and judicial theory. For the institutional development see KHILĀFA.

Early development. The establishment of Abū Bakr after the death of Muḥammad as *Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*, "Vicar of the Messenger of God", affirmed the continued unity of the Muslim community under a single leader. It favoured a preferential right to the imāmate for the early Meccan, Ḳurayshite Companions of the Prophet and implicitly denied any right on the basis of blood relationship with him. Although these principles did not remain unchallenged from the beginning, broad theoretical discussion of the imāmate was opened by the crisis of the caliphate beginning with the rebellion against ʿUthmān. At the end of the civil war, which left Muʿāwiya as *de facto* ruler, the community remained deeply divided in its beliefs concerning the rightful imāmate. The upholders of ʿUthmān as a just caliph, commonly known as the ʿUthmāniyya, repudiated the revolt and the caliphate of ʿAlī resulting from it. The ʿUthmāniyya comprised besides the partisans of Muʿāwiya the upholders of the principles of the early caliphate, *i.e.*, in particular the right of the families of the non-Hāshimite early Companions of the Prophet, now mostly living in Medina. Although criticism of ʿUthmān had been wide-spread among the latter during his caliphate, they had not looked with favour upon the succession of ʿAlī, and accepted the verdict of the arbitrators appointed at Ṣiffīn that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly. They did not favour Muʿāwiya, since he did not belong to the early Companions, but accepted him for the sake of unity. The partisans of ʿAlī, commonly called his *shīʿa*, upheld the justice of the revolt against ʿUthmān, who in their view had lost his title to the caliphate by his unjust acts. As against the claim of Muʿāwiya to the caliphate as the avenger of the murdered ʿUthmān, they looked for leadership from the clan of Muḥammad, especially among the sons of ʿAlī, in order to re-establish the rightful imāmate. Their support of the claims of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt* [*q.v.*]) to the imāmate did not imply a repudiation of the first two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. The belief that

ʿAlī was the divinely appointed heir of the Prophet and was endowed with supernatural powers, commonly attributed by the sources to the largely legendary figure of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabaʾ [*q.v.*], was at most marginal. The Khāridjīs, seceders from the ranks of the partisans of ʿAlī, shared the views of the latter concerning ʿUthmān and the rising against him and upheld the initial legitimacy of the caliphate of ʿAlī. They repudiated ʿAlī from the time of his agreeing to the arbitration of his conflict with Muʿāwiya and equally repudiated Muʿāwiya as a rebel against the initially legitimate caliphate of ʿAlī.

The second civil war beginning after the death of Muʿāwiya and resulting in the definite establishment of Umayyad rule on a dynastic basis, further sharpened the fronts between these parties. The supporters of the traditions of the early caliphate, after the failure of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's attempt at restoring it, lost all hope. They came to idealize the period of the first three caliphs. Although they supported Umayyad rule and were opposed to revolt, they did not, in contrast to the Syrian supporters of the Umayyads, consider this rule as part of the genuine caliphate, which had ended with ʿUthmān. The violent death of al-Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, at the hands of the supporters of the Umayyad regime, increased radical trends among the partisans of ʿAlī. In the movement of al-Mukhtār, the radical elements came to the forefront and broke with the conservative wing of the Shīʿa. They held that the community had gone astray by denying the divine right of ʿAlī to the succession of the Prophet and by accepting the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. They expected the restoration of justice on earth through the triumph of their Imām Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, to whom they attributed the messianic role of the Mahdī. In the face of this radicalization of the Shīʿa, the movement of the Murdjiʾa, initiated by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, attempted to close the gap between the moderate Shīʿa and the ʿUthmāniyya. The early Murdjiʾa affirmed the superiority of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar over the later caliphs and deferred the case of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī and the other participants in the civil war to the judgment of God. They accepted the caliphate of the Umayyads as being decreed by God, without necessarily justifying their conduct, and were opposed to any breach of the peace of the community. The Khāridjīs, after failing to win ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to their views, declared uncompromising war on the community at large and began to choose their own imāms. Disagreement concerning the treatment of non-Khāridjī Muslims and other matters increasingly divided their ranks.

Elaboration of the classical doctrines: Sunnism. Sunnī doctrine on the imāmate was basically determined by the aim, common to the ʿUthmāniyya and the Murdjiʾa, of defending the unity and the internal peace of the Muslim community under the historical caliphate against the threat posed by the claims of the opposition movements. This did not imply unqualified support of the record of the historical caliphate. Sunnī doctrine commonly drew a sharp distinction between the early caliphate of the Rightly Guided (*rāshidūn*) Caliphs, the Vicariate of Prophecy (*khilāfat al-nubuwwa*), and the later imāmate, which had the character of worldly kingship (*mulk*) and admittedly comprised unjust and oppressive imāms. Only the *Rāshidūn* completely fulfilled the conditions of the true imāmate. Their acts and rulings were binding *sunna*. In the controversies with the opposition parties the legitimacy of their rule and the justice of their acts were regularly defended against any criticism.

This distinction is most clearly represented in Sunnī traditionalist doctrine as it was formulated in canonical *ḥadīth* and was elaborated in the Ḥanbalī creeds and by al-Ashʿarī. In early ʿAbbāsid times traditionalist opinion in Medina, Baṣra, Baghdād, and Syria generally upheld the view of the ʿUthmāniyya restricting the caliphate of the *Rāshidūn* to the first three caliphs and rejecting the caliphate of ʿAlī. However, Kūfan traditionalist opinion firmly endorsing the inclusion of ʿAlī among the *Rāshidūn* spread rapidly. It was eventually favoured by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who originally had supported the doctrine of the ʿUthmāniyya. By the 4th/10th century the caliphate of the four *Rāshidūn* became indisputable Sunnī dogma. Ḥanbalī and Ashʿarī doctrine strongly insisted that the four *Rāshidūn* ranked in excellence according to their sequence in the caliphate. This agreed with the view implied in the Ḥanbalī creeds and expressly affirmed by al-Ashʿarī, that only the most excellent (*al-afḍal*) in the Muslim community could be the rightful caliph. The imāmate of the less excellent (*al-mafḍūl*) in the view of al-Ashʿarī is worldly kingship. Though in the traditionalist view individual caliphs after the *Rāshidūn* might come close to fulfilling the ideal conditions of the caliphate, as was often affirmed for the pious Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, there was no expectation that the Vicariate of Prophecy could ever be restored after the passing of the thirty years which it was to last according to a famous *ḥadīth*. For the later imāmate there were only minimal conditions. The imām had to be a Muslim and a Ḳurayshite. The imāmate could become binding without any act of recognition by the Muslim community. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal specifically affirmed the validity of the imāmate by usurpation (*ghalaba*). While the Muslim must not get involved in a civil war when there is no imām, absolute obediance and active support of the established imām, whether he be just or oppressive, pious or depraved, are incumbent upon him, except on violation of the *sharīʿa*. The imāmate could be forfeited only through apostasy or by neglecting the duty of the imām to provide for the communal prayer, as affirmed by a *ḥadīth*.

Ḥanafī and early Māturīdī doctrine was close to the traditionalist views. Abū Ḥanīfa, belonging to the Murdjiʾa, did not express a preference between ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, while ranking them below Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. This view was admitted as legitimate in some Ḥanafī creeds, but the majority upheld the hierarchical ranking according to the order of succession. According to an early source Abū Ḥanīfa also stipulated the imāmate of the "most excellent". This accords with the endorsement of the *ḥadīth* restricting the caliphate to thirty years in some Ḥanafī creeds. In contrast to the Ḥanbalī creeds, Ḥanafī creeds rarely mentioned the imāmate after the *Rāshidūn* at all. The obligation to obey the ruler was rather implied in the prohibition of drawing the sword against fellow Muslims.

A different doctrine developed in Shāfiʿism and the *kalām* school of the Kullābiyya associated with it and increasingly also influenced Ashʿarism after al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013). The Shāfiʿī doctrine did not restrict the rightful imāmate to the most excellent in the community. It admitted the imāmate of the less excellent, especially if discord could be avoided

by choosing him. Al-Shāfiʿī and some prominent early Shāfiʿī scholars reportedly ranked ʿAlī in excellence above ʿUthmān (though below Abū Bakr and ʿUmar). ʿUthmān's imāmate thus was that of the "less excellent". This less rigid approach permitted the Shāfiʿīs to treat the post-*Rāshidūn* caliphate as a basically sound imāmate which could be judged by standards derived from the ideal early caliphate. A comprehensive legal system, strongly influenced by Muʿtazilī theory, was elaborated concerning the qualifications, investiture, and functions of the imām. This development reached its climax in al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), whose work *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* became widely accepted as an authoritative exposition of Sunnī doctrine concerning the imāmate. The book, written at the time of the resurgence of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in the late Būyid period, aimed at strengthening the foundation of the contemporary caliphate in the divine law. For the first time discussing also the wazīrate and the amīrate, which had usurped much of the authority of the caliphate, it legitimized this development, while maintaining the full sovereignty of the caliph over these offices. Al-Māwardī's work was immediately imitated by the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), who accepted al-Māwardī's exposition, modifying it only in some points in accordance with Ḥanbalī tradition. Against al-Māwardī he reaffirmed the validity of the imāmate by usurpation and denied the forfeiture of the imāmate by immorality, injustice, or heterodoxy. Among the Māturīdī Ḥanafīs, Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1099) discussed many of the Shāfiʿī doctrines, modifying them from the point of view of Ḥanafī tradition. The rise of Sunnī valuation of the post-*Rāshidūn* caliphate in this time is reflected by the endeavour of the Ḥanbalī Abū Yaʿlā and the Ashʿarī Abū Bakr al-Fūrakī (d. 478/1085-6) to prove the legitimacy of the imāmate of Muʿāwiya in addition to that of the four *Rāshidūn*.

Major points in the fully developed Sunnī doctrine were the following: The establishment of an imām is permanently obligatory (*wādjib*) on the community, according to the common doctrine on the basis of his functions under the revealed law, not on rational grounds. There can be only a single imām at any time. The view that two countries separated by a sea preventing mutual military aid might each have an imām was exceptional. Specifically the doctrine of the Karrāmiyya that ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya were imāms at the same time was rejected. Qualifications for the imāmate were: Ḳurayshite descent, knowledge of the law as required for the judgeship, probity (*ʿadāla*) as required for legal testimony, majority, physical fitness, capability of carrying out the political and military duties of the office. The imām may be invested either through appointment (*ʿahd*) by his predecessor or by election (*ikhtiyār*). While the common view held that Abū Bakr was elected to the caliphate, the opposite view, that he had been appointed by the Prophet, was upheld by such prominent Sunnī scholars as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Ḥazm, and Ibn Taymiyya. Any Muslim of probity, with knowledge concerning the nature of the imāmate, and discernment in choosing a proper candidate, qualified as an elector. Views concerning the number of electors or "people of loosing and binding" (*ahl al-ḥall wa l-ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*]) necessary for the election to become binding on the community varied from a single one, the common Ashʿarī doctrine, to the "generality" (*djumhūr*) of the electors, stipulated by Abū Yaʿlā. The election was not conceived as a free choice between candidates, but as a selection of the "most excellent". Though the election of the less excellent, if qualified, was binding, it was considered permissible only for proper cause. The imāmate was invalidated through loss of mental or physical fitness or loss of liberty. According to many Shāfiʿīs it was forfeited by loss of probity through immorality, injustice, or heterodoxy, but this was denied by others and by Ḥanbalī and Ḥanafī doctrine. The duties of the imām were defined as: guarding the faith against heterodoxy, enforcing law and justice between disputing parties, dispensing legal punishments (*ḥudūd*), protection of peace in the territory of Islam and its defence against external enemies, conducting the *djihād* against those resisting the supremacy of Islam, receiving the legal alms, taxes, and the fifth of the booty, distributing the revenue in accordance with the law, and the appointment of reliable and sincere men in delegating authority.

Muʿtazilism. The movement of the Muʿtazila arose in the late Umayyad age with the aim of reuniting the Muslim community on a compromise solution of the disputes among the politico-religious parties. Concerning the imāmate, Muʿtazilism, in agreement with Khāridjī doctrine, emphasized the need for a just imām and the obligation of the community to remove an unjust imām, if necessary by force. Justice in the imām implied correct belief in accordance with Muʿtazilī theology and compliance with the divine law in private life and government. Muʿtazilism was opposed, however, to the Khāridjī condemnation of ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and their supporters as infidels. Early Muʿtazilīs held slightly varying views concerning the conflict between ʿUthmān and the rebels against him as well as the conflict between ʿAlī and his opponents in the Battle of the Camel. While it was generally agreed that one side in these conflicts must have been in the wrong, judgment as to which side this was was commonly suspended. Even if one party was definitely judged to have been in the wrong, there was hesitation to condemn it as sinning (*fāsiḳ*). Later Muʿtazilī doctrine exculpated ʿUthmān and ʿAlī from any fault and condemned the rebels against ʿUthmān. It held that ʿĀʾisha, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr had repented of their rebellion against the rightful imām before their death and condemned their unrepentant followers. Muʿāwiya was nearly unanimously condemned as *fāsiḳ* or even as an infidel. Although the Umayyad caliphate was generally viewed with abhorrence, it was not rejected on principle. The Umayyads ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Yazīd b. al-Walīd were commonly considered as rightful imāms. The attitude to the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs was divided. While some viewed them favourably, others supported ʿAlid revolts. Later Muʿtazilī doctrine became increasingly pro-ʿAlid. The imāmate of ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan was common doctrine after Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915-6). The Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025) in his *K. al-Mughnī* argues for the imāmate of the ʿAlids al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Zayd b. ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya), and his brother Ibrāhīm. The early Baṣran Muʿtazilīs ranked Abū Bakr in excellence highest after the Prophet and generally maintained that the rightful imāmate is restricted to the most excellent in the community. The Baghdādian school, which developed some half century after the Baṣran school, ranked ʿAlī above Abū Bakr and accordingly affirmed the legitimacy of the imāmate of the less excellent. The Baṣrans Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī and his son Abū Hāshim, chief

authorities of later Muʿtazilism, left the question of the superiority of Abū Bakr or ʿAlī open and held the imāmate of the less excellent to be permissible for proper cause. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 367/977) and ʿAbd al-Dj̲abbār in his later doctrine upheld the superiority of ʿAlī.

Early Muʿtazilism, in agreement with K̲h̲āridj̲ī doctrine, generally did not restrict the imāmate to members of the Ḳurays̲h̲. While the eccentric Muʿtazilī Ḍirār b. ʿAmr held that of two otherwise equal candidates a non-Ḳurays̲h̲ite should be preferred to a Ḳurays̲h̲ite, the common opinion preferred the Ḳurays̲h̲ite in this case. Later Muʿtazilī doctrine maintained that no non-Ḳurays̲h̲ite could become imām if a qualified Ḳurays̲h̲ite was available. The establishment of an imām was considered obligatory on the community except by a group of early Muʿtazilīs inclined to asceticism, who held that the community should choose leaders for the *dj̲ihād* and officials for other necessary functions on a temporary basis so as to frustrate any ambitions for worldly power. The majority rejected the view that the establishment of an imām was obligatory on rational grounds, which was admitted by al-Dj̲āḥiẓ, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balk̲h̲ī, and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. The common doctrine insisted that there could be only a single imām at any time. Only Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm held that because of the wide expansion of Islam it was preferable for each town to choose its own imām. In all other respects the Muʿtazilī doctrine agreed substantially with Sunnī doctrine.

S̲h̲īʿism: Zaydiyya. The Zaydiyya, supporters of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in 122/740, unlike the Imāmiyya did not recognize a hereditary line of imāms but were prepared to support any member of the *ahl al-bayt* who claimed the imāmate by "rising" (*k̲h̲urūdj̲*) against the illegitimate rulers. While some Zaydīs as late as the 4th/10th century considered all descendants of ʿAlī's father Abū Ṭālib as eligible for the imāmate, the prevalent doctrine restricted it to the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. During the 2nd/8th century, Zaydism was doctrinally divided into two major groups, the Batriyya and the Dj̲ārūdiyya. The Batriyya, following the traditions of the moderate wing of the Kūfan S̲h̲īʿa, upheld the imāmate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and of ʿUt̲h̲mān during the first six years of his rule on the basis that ʿAlī had pledged allegiance to them. They repudiated ʿUt̲h̲mān during the last six years of his rule, just as they repudiated all opponents of ʿAlī. Considering ʿAlī the most excellent of men after the Prophet they permitted the imāmate of the less excellent. The Dj̲ārūdiyya, adopting the more radical views of the Imāmiyya, rejected the imāmate of the first three caliphs and held that the Prophet had invested ʿAlī as his executor (*waṣī*) by designation (*naṣṣ*). Holding that the great majority of the Companions of the Prophet had gone astray by following Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, they, unlike the Batriyya, rejected the tradition of the law handed down by them and relied for religious knowledge on the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as a whole, not merely those recognized as imāms. From the 3rd/9th century onwards the tendencies of the Dj̲ārūdiyya came to prevail in Zaydism.

The major points of Zaydī doctrine, as it was fully developed during the 4th/10th century in discussions with representatives of Muʿtazilī and Imāmī doctrine, were: the establishment of an imām is obligatory on the community, according to the common view because of his functions under the revealed law, not on rational grounds. The first three imāms, ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn were invested by the Prophet through designation (*naṣṣ*). This designation was obscure (*k̲h̲afī, g̲h̲ayr dj̲alī*), so that its intended meaning could be discovered only by investigation. Through this doctrine the Zaydiyya, in contrast to the Imāmiyya, tended to alleviate the sin of the early community in disobeying the order of the Prophet. After al-Ḥusayn the imāmate belongs to any qualified descendant of al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn who calls to his allegiance and rises against the illegitimate rulers. The imāmate becomes legally valid through the formal "call" to allegiance (*daʿwa*) and "rising" (*k̲h̲urūdj̲*), not through election (*ik̲h̲tiyār*) and contract (*ʿaḳd*). The qualifications of the imām were, aside from his descent, essentially the same as in Sunnī and Muʿtazilī doctrine, with special emphasis on knowledge in religious matters, ability to render independent judgment (*idj̲tihād*) in law, piety, moral integrity, and courage. The imāmate is forfeited by the lack of any of the qualifications, in particular by moral offences. Only the most excellent can be the rightful imām, and if a candidate excelling the imām rises and claims the imāmate, the excelled imām must surrender his position to him. This qualification of the imām was rejected by some later Zaydī authorities. The prevalent doctrine admitted only a single imām at any time. The existence of two separate Zaydī communities in the coastal areas south of the Caspian Sea and the Yaman in some instances led to a later recognition of two contemporary claimants as imāms, but the formal admission of the legitimacy of two contemporary imāms was exceptional. There must be someone qualified for the imāmate at any time. Knowledge of the imām after he has issued his call to allegiance is incumbent on every Muslim.

The list of recognized Zaydī imāms has never been absolutely fixed, though there was a consensus on many of them. The high requirements for the imāmate, in particular in respect to religious learning, excluded many ʿAlid pretenders and rulers. These could be recognized as restricted imāms (*muḥtasibūn* or *muḳtaṣida*) or „callers" (*duʿāt*), in contrast to the full imāms (*sābiḳūn*). Only late Yamanī Zaydism developed a formal doctrine concerning the *iḥtisāb* imāmate. The functions of the *muḥtasib* imām were defined as "ordering the proper and prohibiting the improper", defending the community against external aggression, and protecting the rights of the weak. He was not authorized to lead the communal prayer, to collect alms and taxes, to wage offensive war, and to carry out legal punishments.

Imāmiyya (Twelver S̲h̲īʿa). Imāmī doctrine on the imāmate in its basic conceptions was formulated in the time of Imām Dj̲aʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765). It founded the imāmate on the permanent need of mankind for a divinely guided, infallible leader and authoritative teacher in religion. The imāmate was thus raised to the level of prophecy. The only difference between the messenger prophet (*rasūl*) and the imām was that the imām did not transmit a divine scripture. To ignore or disobey the divinely invested imām was infidelity equal to ignoring or disobeying the prophet. The conception that the imām must be fully immune (*maʿṣum*) from sin and error was fundamental to Imāmī thought. The imām might, however, practice dissimulation (*taḳiyya*) in case of fear for his own or his followers' safety. Although the imām was entitled to political leadership as much as to religious authority, his imāmate did not depend on his actual rule or any attempt to gain it. Following the traditions of the radical wing

of the early Shīʿa, the Imāmiyya repudiated the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān and maintained that the Prophet had appointed ʿAlī as his *waṣī* by designation. The great majority of the Companions had apostatized by ignoring this designation. The imāmate after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn was to be handed down among the descendants of the latter by designation from father to son until the Mahdī. The succession of the seven year old Muḥammad al-Djawād in 203/818 raised the question whether minority suspended or restricted the imāmate, and how the imām received his perfect knowledge. The majority asserted that a minor could fulfil all the functions of the imāmate, and that he was endowed by God with integral knowledge in religious matters. The crisis caused by the death of the eleventh imām without an apparent son was resolved by the affirmation of the existence of a son and the doctrine of the absence, *ghayba* [*q.v.*]. The twelfth imām, though in concealment, continued to live on earth and could fulfil the essential functions of the imāmate. He was identified with the Mahdī, whose return before the end of the world is expected.

Authoritative Imāmī *ḥadīth* embodies these beliefs concerning the imāms: The world cannot exist for a moment without a *ḥudjdja* (proof, guarantor = imām) of God. There can be only a single imām at any time, though there may be a silent (*ṣāmit*) imām (his successor) besides him. The imāms are referred to in many passages of the Ḳurʾān by such terms as the "light of God", His "witnesses" (*shuhadāʾ*) among mankind, His "signs" (*ʿalāmāt*), those "firm" (*rāsikhūn*) in knowledge etc. They are the "vicegerents" (*khulafāʾ*) of God on earth, the "gates" (*abwāb*) through which he is approached, the heirs of the knowledge of the Prophet. The imāms are in possession of all revealed books. Only they have perfect knowledge of the Ḳurʾān in both its exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) meaning. They have been given the "greatest name of God" (*ism Allāh al-aʿẓam*). They have inherited the arms of the Prophet and the books *Ṣaḥīfa*, *Djafr*, *Djāmiʿa*, and the *Muṣḥaf* of Fāṭima containing secret knowledge. The knowledge of every imām is identical with the knowledge of the Prophet. Though the imāms are not endowed with a native faculty of knowing the hidden (*ghayb*), they know "what has been and what will be". They have perfect knowledge of all crafts and all languages. God gives them knowledge of anything they desire to know. The imām receives the perfect knowledge of his predecessor in the last moment of the latter's life. In the night of *al-ḳadr* of every year the imām receives the judgments of God concerning every event in the following year. The imām is spoken to (*muḥaddath*) and informed (*mufahham*) by an angel, but unlike the *rasūl* does not see him. The imām is endowed with the holy spirit (*rūḥ al-ḳuds*).

Imāmī theologians defended the following positions in the *kalām* discussions of the imāmate: The imāmate is obligatory on rational grounds. Establishment of an imām is incumbent upon God by virtue of his benevolence (*luṭf*), not upon mankind. The imām must be designated by God through the Prophet or another imām. ʿAlī has been named by the Prophet as the imām after him by clear designation (*naṣṣ djalī*). The imām must be immune from sin and error. He must be the most excellent of all the people in his time. The imām is capable of performing miracles. He can intercede with God for the sinners among his followers.

Ismāʿīliyya. Ismāʿīlism, branching off from Imāmism after the death of Imām Djaʿfar, retained the fundamental conceptions of Imāmī doctrine concerning the permanent need for a sinless and infallible imām as the political and religious leader of mankind. On these conceptions inherited from the Imāmiyya early Ismāʿīlism superimposed a cyclical view of history [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA]. In each prophetic era seven imāms followed the speaker-prophet (*nāṭiḳ*) and his *waṣī* or *asās*. The seventh imām in this heptade would rise to the position of speaker-prophet of the next era. In the sixth era, which was inaugurated by Muḥammad as the speaker-prophet and ʿAlī as the *asās*, the seventh imām was Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl in pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism was expected to return after his disappearance as the seventh speaker-prophet, who was identified with the *Ḳāʾim* or Mahdī opening the eschatological seventh era. This belief was modified in Fāṭimid doctrine by the recognition of the Fāṭimids as imāms of the sixth era, removing the eschatological expectations further and further into the future. The efforts to explain the continuity of the imāmate between the disappearance of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and the rise of the Fāṭimids, commonly referred to as the time of "occultation" (*satr*), the eschatological significance of the seventh imām, and irregularities in the succession of the Fāṭimid caliphs led to constant readjustments of the doctrine, which cannot be followed here in detail. Deviations from the strictly linear descendance in the succession to the imāmate were often explained in terms of a "depositary" (*mustawdaʿ*) imāmate which had to be returned to the line of "permanent" (*mustaḳarr*) imāms. Thus al-Ḥasan was sometimes considered as a depository imām, since the imāmate was carried on among the descendants of al-Ḥusayn, the *mustaḳarr* imām. This theory served, however, rather as an explanation of the irregularities of the succession in the past than as a pattern for the future.

In the esoteric (*bāṭin*) Ismāʿīlī doctrine, the imām represents a grade (*ḥadd*) in the religious hierarchy below the *nāṭiḳ* and the *asās* and above the *ḥudjdja*. The imām in his time assumes the function of the *nāṭiḳ* in expounding and preserving the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) meaning of the revealed law, while his *ḥudjdja* succeeds to the role of the *asās* in revealing its esoteric interpretation (*taʾwīl*). The imām as the head of the hierarchy in his time also is the mediator between the believer and the principles of the spiritual world.

Khāridjism. Khāridjī doctrine most radically tied the legitimacy of the imām to his justice (*ʿadl*). By any infraction of the divine law the imām loses his legitimacy and must be removed, if necessary by force. The unjust imām and his supporters are considered infidels, unless they repent. Thus both ʿUthmān and ʿAlī became infidels, although their imāmate had initially been legitimate. Any Muslim who does not dissociate himself (*tabarraʾ*) from them, shares their state of infidelity. Similarly, any Muslim who does not declare his solidarity (*tawallā*) with the just imāms, like Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, is an infidel.

The establishment of an imām is obligatory according to the common Khāridjī doctrine. Only the Nadjadāt reportedly held that the Muslims were not obliged to establish an imām if they acted justly among themselves. The imām is to be elected. His imāmate is legally contracted through the pledge of allegiance of two just Muslims. Only the most excellent in the community is entitled to the imāmate. At times Khāridjīs imposed the condition (*sharṭ*) on their imām that he must surrender his position if

a more excellent candidate appears. The imposition of conditions on the imām was, however, considered illegal by others. Khāridjī doctrine unanimously rejected the prerogative of the Ḳuraysh to the imāmate and held any qualified Muslim, even of slave origin, to be eligible. Exceptional was the view of the followers of Shabīb b. Yazīd in the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj, who considered women eligible for the imāmate. There can be only a single imām at any time according to the prevalent view, though some splinter groups admitted the legitimacy of more than one contemporary imām. The other qualifications and functions of the imām are substantially the same as in Sunnism. Special emphasis is placed on his moral austerity as well as his duty of "commanding the proper and prohibiting the improper" and of leading the *djihād* against the non-Khāridjī Muslims.

Of the many Khāridjite sects the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] is the only one whose doctrine can be studied through its own writings. A systematical investigation has not yet been undertaken. The Ibāḍiyya, while agreeing with the general Khāridjī doctrine, recognized different types of imāms corresponding to the four states or "ways" (*masālik*) in which the community of true believers could face its enemies: the state of manifestation (*ẓuhūr*), when the community was strong enough to overcome the enemy; the state of defence (*difāʿ*), when it could merely resist a powerful enemy; the state of self-sacrifice (*shirāʾ*), when a small group of believers chose to rise against the enemy seeking martyrdom; and the state of concealment (*kitmān*), when the believers were forced to live under the rule of the enemy and to practise dissimulation. Only the imām of the state of manifestation can exercise all the functions of the imāmate, such as the execution of legal punishments, the collection of the tithe and the *djizya* of the non-Muslims, and the distribution of booty. Against the doctrine of the splinter group Khalafiyya, the common doctrine affirms that there cannot be more than one imām belonging to the same "way" at any time.

Later development. Sunnī thought on the imāmate, having been closely tied to the contemporary ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the time of al-Māwardī, continued to react to its changing fortunes. Already al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), under the impression of the powerful Saldjūḳ sultanate, was prepared to view the caliph as merely the representative head of Islam, established by the pledge of allegiance of the effective ruler, whose rule in turn is legitimized by his formal recognition on the part of the caliph. This recognition of the legitimacy of the actual political institutions was motivated, as al-Ghazālī noted, by the overriding necessity of preserving the legality of the acts of governors and judges throughout the empire. The preservation of this legality in the execution of the *sharīʿa* became a fundamental concern after the fall of the caliphate of Baghdād. In the east, which for decades fell under the rule of non-Muslims, al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389) affirmed that the legality of judicial acts could not depend on the presence of a qualified Ḳurayshite imām at a time when it was impossible to establish such an imām because of the predominance of error and tyranny. The ʿAbbāsid shadow caliphate established in Cairo by the Mamlūk sultanate was practically ignored even by Sunnī jurists writing under the Mamlūk regime like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Djamāʿa (d. 732/1332). Considering the actual exercise of power as essential to the imāmate, they implicitly vested its functions with the actual ruler. In contrast to al-Ghazālī, they no longer tied his legitimacy to a nominal recognition by the caliph. The *ḥadīth* restricting the caliphate to thirty years, after which worldly kingship would take its place, was commonly quoted again and dominated Sunnī thought. Since kingship belonged to the holder of power irrespective of qualifications, the qualifications of the imām stipulated in the classical doctrine could be ignored or expressly waived by the doctrine of necessity (*ḍarūra*). The classical doctrine was nowhere revised, but rather treated as being in abeyance. Following al-Djuwaynī and al-Ghazālī, later Sunnī scholars often emphasized that the imāmate properly belonged to the derived legal matters (*furūʿ*), not to the fundamentals of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), even though traditionally it was discussed in the *uṣūl* works rather than the expositions of the law. This consideration, originally meant to counter the Shīʿī view placing the imāmate at the core of religion, now served to mitigate the impact of the realization that the imāmate in fact no longer existed. Late Sunnī creeds commonly did not refer to the imāmate at all or mentioned only the caliphate of the *Rāshidūn*.

The modernist Sunnī attitude toward the question of the imāmate has varied. The need for an imāmate defined by religion was sometimes completely denied, as by the tract on the caliphate endorsed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in support of the abolition of the Ottoman sultanate in 1922 and by the Egyptian ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ in his treatise *al-Islām wa-Uṣūl al-Ḥukm* (1925). Others have advocated the restoration of a universal imāmate modelled upon the ideal caliphate of the *Rāshidūn*. Most notable were the detailed proposals of the Syrian Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] set forth in his book *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ʿUẓmā* (1923). Basic in modernist thinking on the imāmate and Islamic government is the emphasis on government by consultation (*shūrā* [*q.v.*]) and on election as the sole way of establishing the imām. These principles are viewed as the traits which distinguished the righteous caliphate of the *Rāshidūn* from the despotism of the later caliphate.

Imāmism fully retained its classical concepts of the imāmate in later expositions of the creed. Beginning with the 7th/13th century Imāmī esoteric doctrine was greatly elaborated, partially under Ṣūfī and Ismāʿīlī influence. The eternal reality of the imāmate, now commonly termed *walāya* (quality of a *walī*, "friend of God"), was defined as the esoteric aspect of prophecy. The imām thus was viewed as the initiator into mystical truths by virtue of the theophanic quality of his essential nature as well as by his teaching as expressed in the transmitted logia of the imāms.

Ismāʿīlism survived the Fāṭimid caliphate mainly in two branches, which developed substantially different esoteric thought. Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism recognized al-Ṭayyib, the infant son of the Fāṭimid al-Āmir (d. 524/1130), as imām and denied his death. Ṭayyibī doctrine affirms that the Imām al-Ṭayyib, though in concealment (*satr*), is in touch with his community and specifically rejects the Imāmī notion of the *ghayba* of the imām. The concealed imām is not identified with the eschatological *Ḳāʾim*. In its esoteric doctrine Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism discusses in particular the cosmological nature and role of the imām. The divine nature (*lāhūt*) of the imām, as distinct from his human nature (*nāsūt*), is viewed as a temple of light (*haykal nūrānī*). After the passing (*naḳla*) of the imām the light temple,

in which the souls of his followers are gathered, rises to the horizon of the Tenth Intellect, the demiurge, and takes his place.

Nizārī Ismāʿīlism, which had branched off from Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism after the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (d. 487/1094) by recognizing his son Nizār as imām, has continued to recognize a line of present imāms. In the elaboration of the doctrine of the Resurrection (*ḳiyāma*), proclaimed in 559/1164 [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA], the imām, revealer of the esoteric truths, came to be ranked above the *nāṭiḳ*, enunciator of the law. The imām in his eternal essence was defined as a manifestation (*maẓhar*) of the Word (*kalima*) or Command (*amr*) of God, cause of the spiritual world. The believer attains his spiritual birth, or resurrection, through the recognition of the essence of the imām.

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(W. MADELUNG)

ʿIMĀMA [see LIBĀS].

IMĀMIYYA [see IMĀMA, ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA].

IMĀMZĀDA is used to designate both the descendant of a Shīʿī *imām* and the shrine of such a person (with which this article is mainly concerned). The *imāmzādagān* are thus sayyids [*q.v.*], but all sayyids are not accorded the title of *imāmzāda*. In common usage it is given to the sons and grandsons of the *imāms*, but excluding those who themselves became *imāms*, and also to those of their descendants distinguished by special sanctity or by suffering martyrdom. It is not normally accorded to the female descendants of the *imāms*. The lives of many of the *imāmzādagān* are recorded in biographical and hagiographical works; the details of the lives of many others are obscure, and there is sometimes doubt over the actual descent of some of those who are revered and whose tombs are visited by pilgrims.

The first movement of *imāmzādagān* in any number into Persia was probably to Ḳumm. The *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm* of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī mentions the coming of various descendants of the *imāms* Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Mūsā b. Djaʿfar, and others to Ḳumm. He also states that some of them settled in Āba and Kāshān (ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1934, 191 ff.). After Maʾmūn's declaration of the Imām Riḍā as his *walī ʿahd*, many of the *imāmzādagān* came to Persia. On the death of the Imām Riḍā, they were dispersed. Although many of them were buried within the precincts of the shrines of the *imāms*, notably at Mashhad and Nadjaf, the tombs of others and the tombs of their descendants, or what are believed to be their tombs, are to be found through the length and breadth of Persia. Many of these have become centres of pilgrimage. From early times it was common for both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs to visit the tombs of holy men, including those of the *imāmzādagān*. Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī states that the custom was sanctioned by the learned doctors of the faith although it was doubtful if traditions from the *imāms* themselves could be cited as giving authority for pilgrimages to the tombs of their children (*Tuḥfat al-zāʾirīn*, lith. Tehran 1857, 420, quoted by D. M. Donaldson in *The Shi'ite Religion*, London 1933, 258). He recommends, however, that such pilgrimages should be made. "In all cities", he writes, "there are many tombs attributed to the imamzadehs and other relations of the Imams. The graves of some of them are not marked, however, and in case of others there is nothing in particular that is known of their lives. It is advisable to visit all of them whose tombs have been identified. Honour shown to them is the equivalent to honouring the imams. While no separate instructions are given for these pilgrimages, it is well that their tombs should be visited in the same manner as those of other believers. If a distinction is made in the mode of addressing them let the salutation to them be the same as to the Imams, with whatever words flow to the tongue to show them honour. Any written salutations that the learned doctors have included in books are also acceptable" (*ibid.*, 423, quoted by Donaldson).

Many of the *imāmzādas* are only of local interest

and some of those which are popularly considered to be *imāmzādas* are in fact the tomb of some holy man, as for example the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazālī in Ḳazwīn, which is known as the Imāmzāda Aḥmad (Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Gulrīz, *Minūdar yā Bāb al-djinnat-i Ḳazwīn*, Tehran, 1958, 672. Cf. Ibn Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍat al-djinān wa-djannāt al-djanān*, ed. Djaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳarāʾī, Tehran 1965, 176, who mentions a tomb in Tabrīz wrongly described as an *imāmzāda*. Cf. also the story of how the alleged burial place of an *imāmzāda* was discovered in the *andārūn* of one of Nāṣir al-Dīn's palaces in Tehran related by Dūst ʿAlī Muʿayyir al-Mamālik in *Yād-dashthāʾī az-zindagī-i khuṣūṣī-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh*, Tehran n.d., 43).

There are special *ziyārat-nāmas* for many of the *imāmzādas*. The place where the shrine first comes into the pilgrim's view is known as the *salāmgāh*. In some country districts, especially in the tribal districts of southern Persia, heaps of stones, placed there by generations of pilgrims, mark these spots. Pilgrimage to some of the *imāmzādas* is associated with a special season of the year, as for example the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of the *imāmzāda* Sulṭān ʿAlī, a descendant of the Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir, who was killed at the village of Mashhad-i Ḳālī, near Ardahāl, near Kāshān. According to tradition his body was carried in a carpet to where the shrine now stands. An annual fair is held at the shrine on the seventeenth day of autumn when the carpet, followed by a procession, is taken from the shrine and washed, with much ceremony, in the near-by stream and returned to the shrine. (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Taʾrīkh-i Kāshān*, Tehran 1956, 300 ff. and A. Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 88, note). This practice is still current. In many other shrines relics of the *imāmzāda* over whose remains the shrine has been raised are alleged to be preserved. For example at the shrine of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn, reputed to be a descendant of the Imām Mūsā b. Djaʿfar, near Ārūn and Nāzmakān, what is claimed to be the sword of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn is in the keeping of the *mutawallī*.

Miracles and special properties are attributed to many *imāmzādas*. Like mosques they became, by custom, places in which asylum or *bast* [*q.v.*] could be taken. Criminals and fugitives from justice frequently had recourse to them. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [*q.v.*] made abortive attempts to limit the practice. One of the best known *imāmzādas* is that of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm near Tehran (see Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 260). Owing to its proximity to the Ḳādjār capital, those who were protesting against the actions of the government frequently took refuge there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*] sought asylum there in 1891, but after some seven months his sanctuary was violated and he was seized by government troops. During the struggle which ended in the grant of the Constitution the supporters of the movement took refuge at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in the spring of 1905, while in the summer of 1907 a number of *mullās* supporting the despotism retired there.

Many of the more famous *imāmzādas* have *awḳāf* for their upkeep; some others have small *awḳāf*, while the more obscure often dispose of no funds at all except what pilgrims may give. There is often a strong hereditary tendency in the office of *mutawallī* (see Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, in *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, University of Tehran, xvi, no. 1-2, 68-9 for the office of *mutawallī* of the shrines at Ardabīl and Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm; and H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 157-75).

Bibliography: See article ʿALIDS; ʿAlī Tashakkurī, *Sitāragān-i furūzān*, Tehran 1969; *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, *op. cit.*, 191 ff.; *Taʾrīkh-i Kāshān*, *op. cit.*, 298 ff.; *Minūdar yā Bāb al-djannat-i Ḳazwīn*, *op. cit.*, 627 ff.; *Rawḍat al-Djinān wa djannāt al-djinān*, *op. cit.*, 449 ff.; Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿi Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 520 ff.; Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Djaʿfarī, *Taʿrīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1960, 106 ff.; Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥudjdjat Balāghī, *Taʾrīkh-i Nāʾīn*, 21 ff.; Rafīʿ, *Taʾrīkh-i Simnān*, Tehran 1962, 116 ff.; Fasāʾī, *Farsnāma-i Nāṣirī*, lith. Tehran 1894-6, 154 ff.; Muḥammad Djawād Bihrūzī, *Shahr-i Sabz yā shahristān-i kāzirūn*, Shīrāz 1967-8, 289 ff.; and for a list of the *imāmzādas* in the main cities of Persia see ʿAlī Akbar Salmāsīzāda, *Taʾrīkhča-i Waḳf dar Islām*, Tehran 1964. Many local histories have information on *imāmzādas* situated in the regions with which they deal.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

ĪMĀN (A.), faith (in God), *maṣdar* of the 4th form of the root *ʾmn*. The root has the connotations of "being secure, trusting in, turning to"; whence: "good faith, sincerity" (*amana*), then "fidelity, loyalty" (*amāna*), and thus the idea of "protection granted" (*amān*). The fourth form (*āmana*) has the double meaning of "to believe, to give one's faith" and (with *bi*) "to protect, to place in safety". The root *ʾmn* is one of those most frequently found in the vocabulary of the Ḳurʾān, where *īmān* means sometimes the act and sometimes the content of faith, sometimes both together. It may be said that the Ḳurʾān continually teaches the necessity of faith and proclaims its demands.

I. Elements and conditions of the act of faith. What is "to believe"? The schools of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of *fiḳh* very soon posed this question and continually returned to it. Three principal elements concur in an act of faith: the internal conviction, the verbal expression, the performance of the prescribed works (*iʿtiḳād* [or *taṣdīḳ*] *bi ʾl-ḳalb*, *iḳrār bi ʾl-lisān* [or *ḳawl*], *ʿamal*). There follow now the main solutions, which sometimes overlap, but according to different perspectives. It should be added that each term of the definitions proposed must be considered in relation to the schools or tendencies which use it, and to their ideas.

(1) The Ashʿarī school stresses conviction or internal judgement. We find in al-Ashʿarī himself two ideas of faith: (a) that of the *credos* of the *Ibāna* (Cairo ed. 1348, 11) and of the *Maḳālāt* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 327), which defines faith (in the Ḥanbalī tradition) as "words (*ḳawl*) and works"; (b) that of the *Lumaʿ* (ed. with Engl. tr. by R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 75/104) which states: "faith is *taṣdīḳ* in God", *taṣdīḳ* being understood as an internal judgement of truthfulness, which gives its adherence to God. The vocabulary may vary, al-Ghazālī will speak of *ʿaḳd*, "pact", agreement of the heart, and al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) prefers *iʿtiḳād*; but the school as a whole considers the "pillar", the formal constituent of faith, to be the conviction of the heart (or of the intellect, *ʿaḳl*): the verbal profession of this is, unless it is impossible, the condition required, and the "actions of the limbs" (the accomplishment of the prescribed works) inter-

vene to perfect it. When therefore the electicism of al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo ed. 1325/1933, i, 103) unites the three elements to define faith as *taṣdīḳ* (or *ʿaḳd*), plus *ḳawl*, plus *ʿamal*, it cannot be said that he is diverging from Ashʿarī tradition.

(2) In the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī tendencies, the stress moves from *iʿtiḳād* to *ḳawl*, without omitting *taṣdīḳ* and joining to it the "knowledge of the heart (*maʿrifa*)". "Faith", says article 1 of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, "is confession (*iḳrār*) by the tongue, internal conviction (*taṣdīḳ bi-'l-djanān*) and knowledge of the heart (*wa-maʿrifa bi 'l-ḳalb*)". More briefly, the *Fiḳh Akbar II* (article 18) states: "faith is *iḳrār* and *taṣdīḳ*". The profession of faith expressed in words (as it is formulated, essentially, by the "two members of the *shahāda*") thus appears here as the constituent of the act of faith: and the conviction which is given to it becomes the condition of it. In some manuscripts of the *Waṣiyya*, sometimes *taṣdīḳ* and more often *maʿrifa* are missing. It remains that an appeal to the "knowledge of the heart" is characteristic of the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī tendencies. In his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Ashʿarī saw in it even the first of the elements of faith according to Abū Ḥanīfa. As Wensinck points out (*The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 132), it is possible that there is here a certain continuity with the Murdji'ī definition of faith, which considered it to consist in the knowledge of God, of the Prophet and of his teaching. The *Maḳālāt* (i, 197-8) mention in this connexion Djahm b. Ṣafwān and the Djahmiyya. Al-Ashʿarī describes the Ḥanifiyya as a Murdji'ī sect (*ibid.*, 202), while recognizing that they (unlike the Djahmiyya) include in faith *iḳrār* with—and after—*maʿrifa* (*ibid.*, 203). However, the brief article of the *Fiḳh Akbar II*, mentioning only the verbal confession and internal conviction, was to be the main theme of the Māturīdī line (*e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb Naẓm al-farā'id*[2], Cairo n.d., 49 ff.). It appears that al-Djurdjānī, in his *Taʿrīfāt* (*loc. cit.*) agreed with this opinion.

(3) As we have seen, various Ashʿarī texts mention the "works of the limbs" (in contrast to the Murdji'īs, for whom works are only "ways", *sharā'iʿ*). They do not exclude them from faith, but do not consider them to be a formal constituent of it, nor even an obligatory condition. An earlier attitude, which was later challenged by Sunnism and in which Khāridjīs, Shīʿīs, Ḳadarīs and Muʿtazilīs joined, saw "works" as an integral part of faith, even as faith itself. By *ʿamal* (and its plural *aʿmāl*) should be understood the "pillars of Islam" (including the profession of faith), and with them the works prescribed by the Ḳur'ān. If the unrepentant sinner is doomed to hell, this is because, through his acts of "disobedience", he has abandoned his faith. We need not here study the differences between the Khāridjīs and the Muʿtazilīs, or the "intermediate state" accorded by the latter to the "believing sinner" [see FĀSIḲ]; we may say in short, for both of them, that "works" are not only the sign or the perfecting of faith, they *are* themselves faith and acts of faith; but, for the Khāridjīs, faith and works are interchangeable, whereas, for the Muʿtazilīs, the works are the witness which constitutes faith, itself a witness rendered to God. Thenceforward "faith (*īmān*) and religion (*dīn*) are one single and identical thing", according to the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 808). Al-Djubbā'ī and his son Abū Hāshim defined faith only as the fulfilling of the "prescribed" obediences (*ṭāʿāt*); but according to Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, who was followed in this by ʿAbd al-Djabbār, the performance of supererogatory works (*nawāfil*) also formed part of faith (*op. cit.*, 707-8). Deliberately to omit the performance of a prescribed duty is to cease to bear witness to the faith; whereas deliberately to fail to fulfil a secondary commandment is (merely) to tarnish the purity of the witness.

(4) The Ḥanbalī line insists on faith. It is vehemently opposed to the Murdji'īs; and, without making "works" the only pillar of the act of faith, it gives them a place in its definitions. According to Ibn Ḥanbal (*ʿAḳīda*, i, 24), "faith consists of words, works, the right intention (*niyya*) and attachment to the *Sunna*". And according to Ibn Baṭṭa, "To believe [in the message of the Prophet] is to state it with the tongue, to adhere to it (*taṣdīḳ*) with the heart (*djanān*), and to fulfil the pillars of Islam" (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, text and Fr. tr., Damascus 1958, 47/78). Thus *taṣdīḳ* is here less "judgement of veracity" than the synonym, to a certain extent, of *niyya*, the "right intention". Al-Kālabādhī turned this Ḥanbalī list into the "doctrine of the Ṣūfīs": "faith is word (*ḳawl*), act (*ʿamal*) and right intention (*niyya*)" (*Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 51; Eng. tr., Cambridge 1935, 67). However, many Ḥanbalī texts (among them *ʿAḳīda II* and *ʿAḳīda III*) prefer to mention only words and works, *ḳawl* and *ʿamal*. We find again the same terms as those of the *credos* of al-Ashʿarī (*Ibāna* and *Maḳālāt*); and it is thus also that the Wahhābī *credo* defined faith (cf. Fr. tr. of H. Laoust, *apud Doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 623). Thus the emphasis is on visible and audible witness. But the witness is valid before God only when it is rooted in the heart. This is the import of the *Kitāb al-Īmān* of Ibn Taymiyya (Cairo ed. 1325). The *Kitāb al-Furḳān* repeats the main argument of it (*apud Madjmūʿat al-rasā'il al-kubrā*, Cairo 1328, i, 28). Faith must not only be expressed by words and by "the works of the limbs", but it should arouse in the heart of the believer the virtues of the fear of God (*khawf*), of submission to God (*tawakkul*), of humility (*dhill*), and of patient endurance (*ṣabr*). H. Laoust is right in saying, in his summary of these theses, that "la foi, dans la doctrine d'Ibn Taymiyya, est totalitaire" (*op. cit.*, 470).

(5) It is not impossible that Ibn Taymiyya accepted certain influences of the Shīʿī thought to which in fact he was opposed: but he separated them from their gnostic tendencies, and re-situated them in a Sunnī context. If we refer for example to the moderate Ismāʿīlism of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, iv, 128-129) we find again the distinction between external (*ẓāhir*) faith and internal (*bāṭin*) faith. The first is verbal affirmation; the second, which is the true faith, is defined as the innermost thoughts of the heart brought to bear, with experienced certainty, upon the truths professed by the tongue. Thus it is no longer a case of *iʿtiḳād*, firm adherence, or of *taṣdīḳ*, judgement of veracity, but of the "idea" of intellectual conception (*iḍmār*) which "realizes" the certainty (*yaḳīn*) of the object of faith (cf. the *yaḳīn* preached by al-Ghazālī, who goes so far as to call "the reality of faith" an experienced taste of internal evidence). The following chapters of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' combine with this "certainty" the religious sentiments of *tawakkul*, *ikhlāṣ*, *ṣabr*, etc. (*op. cit.*, iv,

129 ff.), according to a procedure which, though starting from different basic ideas, is not without an analogy with the interiorization sought by Ibn Taymiyya.

II. The content of faith. It was against the Murdji'is and the Djahmis that the Ḥanbali school had insisted on a faith which is expressed: thus affirming that faith is not only knowledge (*maʿrifa*), but must be made alive by the intention (*niyya*) or the adherence (*taṣdīḳ*) of the heart, and render witness by words and the fulfilment of the prescribed works. Certainly knowledge, understood as the object of faith, is not ignored, but it is not sufficient; knowledge alone, even if experienced, does not constitute faith, but faith implies a certain knowledge: the distinction is established between the act of faith and its content. "Faith in God", says Ibn Baṭṭa (cf. H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 47/77-8), "is to give one's adherence to all that God has said, to all that He has ordered, to all the duties which He has prescribed, to all the prohibitions which He has laid down, to all which He instructed His prophets to transmit, to all that He has revealed in His books". It may be said more briefly that the content of faith is the Ḳur'ān itself, summed up in the "two limbs of the *shahāda*": the Unity of God and the mission of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God.

The manuals often distinguish between "the necessary beliefs", and those which a man may ignore without ceasing to be a Muslim. It is readily stated that the "essential beliefs" are listed in the famous verse of the Ḳur'ān (II, 285, tr. Arberry): "The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels, and in His books and His Messengers" (and "in the Last Day", LX, 6). A no less famous *ḥadīth* repeats: "Faith is that thou shouldst believe in God, in his angels, in the future life, in the prophets, in the resurrection" (cf. the *ḥadīth* known as that "of Gabriel", al-Bukhārī, *Īmān*, 37). Another, often quoted, adds: "and that thou shouldst believe in the divine Decree for good and evil, the sweet and the bitter"; and a third: "The Prophet said: man has not faith unless he believes in four things: unless he bears witness that there is no divinity but God; that I am the messenger of God charged to teach the truth; unless he believes in the resurrection after death; and believes in the divine decree for good and evil, for the sweet and the bitter".

The precise list of the essential beliefs varies somewhat according to the schools, and sometimes the authors. It always refers however, in essentials, to the Ḳur'ānic verse and the three *ḥadīths* quoted above.

It should also be noted that the essential content of the Shīʿī conception of faith remains close to that of the Sunni concept. There are added to it some points of doctrine peculiar to Shīʿism, and, especially in Ismāʿīlism, an interpretation of the nature of angels and of prophecy conforming to a emanatist and monist view of the order of the world (cf. *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, iv, 129).

III. The value of faith. There should be mentioned three problems.

(1) *Faith and freedom*: "Let whosoever will believe, and let whosoever will disbelieve" (Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 29). How should this verse be understood? The degree of freedom recognized in the act of faith is linked with the problem of the freedom of human action; the assessment of it thus varies according to the schools. The Muʿtazilis consider the act of faith to be "created" by man by virtue of a power created in him by God; the Ashʿaris consider it to be directly created by God within the human heart, thanks to that *tawfīḳ* which is itself "the creation in man of the power to obey" (al-Taftāzānī, *Maḳāṣid*, Instanbul n.d., 118). This definition, although given by al-Taftāzānī, is more Ashʿari than Māturīdī. Indeed, in general, the Māturīdī Ḥanafis consider the root (*aṣl*) of every human act to be created by God, whereas its qualification arises from the judgement of man. Applied to faith, this attempt at conciliation is aimed at reconciling the ideas both of God's creation of actions and man's freewill as recognized by the Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 29.

(2) *Faith and salvation*: All the schools state that faith ensures salvation. Their divergencies on the conditions of salvation arise from their divergencies concerning the formal constituents of the act of faith: for the Ashʿaris it is centred on internal *taṣdīḳ*, for the Māturīdi-Ḥanafis on the expressed profession of faith and the adherence of the heart, for the Muʿtazilis on the performance of the "prescribed duties", for the Ḥanbalis and the Wahhābis on the profession of faith and the performance of the basic duties. If a common denominator is sought for all these various opinions, it might be said *īmān*, summed up in *shahāda*, is the witness made to God, the affirmation that He is Lord, according to the terms of the "pact", of the *mīthāḳ* of pre-eternity: "'Am I not your Lord?' ... 'Yes, we testify'" (Ḳur'ān, VII, 172). In this way agreement can be reached on the well-known *ḥadīths*: "No one shall enter hell who has an atom of faith in his heart" (in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim) and again: "Hell will not welcome anyone who has in his heart an atom of faith" (second part of a *ḥadīth* of al-Bukhārī, 81, 51). But the interpretations of these traditional texts diverged in their turn. For the person who regards the performance of the prescribed works as an integral part of faith, the sinner guilty of grave acts of disobedience is no longer truly a believer. For the person who regards works as merely the perfection of faith, the believing sinner remains a believer; he may be punished for a time in hell, but in the end he will be one of the "guests of paradise". The first opinion is that of the Khāridjis and, with the nuance of the "intermediate state", of the Muʿtazilis. The second opinion is professed, generally speaking, by the Sunnis. An extra point: the Māturīdis consider that the believing sinner will certainly undergo temporary punishment, while the Ashʿaris consider that he may be pardoned immediately and in full.

(3) "*Uncreated faith*": The insistence of tradition on "an atom of faith" leads us to the problem of "uncreated faith". The schools which put the emphasis on *iʿtiḳād* or *taṣdīḳ* in general make this internal adherence an immutable nucleus, the created response to the "uncreated faith" of God. This may seem a rather surprising idea. However, the Ashʿari authors insist on it. They regard the "uncreated faith" of God as the attestation which He gives to Himself: "Verily I am God; there is no god but I" (Ḳur'ān, XX, 14). And it is thus that, in the list of the "99 most beautiful names" [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ], al-Īdjī and al-Djurdjānī (among others) give a *first* explanation the divine name of al-Mu'min (Ḳur'ān, LIX, 23). God is *mu'min*, says al-Īdjī (*Mawāḳif*, *apud* al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, Cairo 1327/1907, viii, 212), inasmuch as He adheres to Himself and to His prophet", and al-Djurdjānī, in commenting on this, refers to

Ḳur'ān, XX, 14. This first meaning, which is the basis of the idea of "uncreated faith", by no means excludes the second meaning of *mu'min*: one who gives security and protection. *Allāh mu'min* means therefore: God, the source of security (and thus, of faith), the Protector. While refering to the first meaning, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Lawāmi'*, Cairo 1323, 143-5) seems to prefer the second one.

Nevertheless, for the majority of the Ash'arīs, the "atom (*dharra*) of faith" which *makes* salvation, is readily considered as a created participation in the "uncreated faith" of God, placed in the heart of man at the time of the *mīthāḳ*.

IV. Questions concerning faith. Very many related questions are raised by the consideration of faith. We give here a list which is not exhaustive: (1) the "status" (*ḥukm*) of *mu'min* in this world and the next; (2) the relation between faith and unbelief (*kufr*); (3) the relation between *īmān* and *islām*; (4) may a person "hide" his faith? (the problem of *taḳiyya*); (5) should the proviso "if it pleases God" be added to the statement "I am a believer"? (6) can faith increase and decrease? (7) the degrees of faith. (Cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 308-90.) The first five questions will be treated in the articles MU'MIN, KUFR, ISLĀM, TAḲIYYA, IN SHĀ' ALLĀH, respectively. We discuss here only the last two.

(1) *Can faith increase and decrease?* This question appears at a very early stage in the enquiries of the schools; it is related to the definition accepted for the act of faith. The Kur'ān mentions many times the possibility of an increase of faith (thus, III, 173; XLVIII, 4; LXXIV, 31). Certain opinions, however, present it as immutable. Two examples are: (a) The Khāridjīs and the Karrāmiyya consider that faith is given as a whole and is retained or lost in its entirety, according to whether obedience to the Law is maintained or lost; it cannot vary. (b) The Murdji'is and the Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs consider faith to be immutable, but not as this is understood by the Khāridjīs. "Faith", says article 2 of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, "cannot grow or decrease. In fact its weakening can be conceived only in connexion with an increase of unbelief (*kufr*); and its progress in connexion with a weakening of *kufr*. This would imply the possibility of being at the same time both a believer and a non-believer: and how could this be possible?" (cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 125, 138). This thesis was to be defended, against the Ash'arīs, by the later Māturīdī manuals (cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn 'Alī, *op. cit.*, 52-4, which appeals to Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Māturīdī). It implies a radical distinction between "faith" and "works". To omit an obligatory work is an act of disobedience, but it does not affect faith, either in itself or in its state of perfection.

But a very early tradition, in conforming with the Ḳur'ān, admitted possible variations of faith. Al-Bukhārī and Ibn Mādja, citing the Companions, stated this thesis in their introductions to the chapter on faith. And this was to be the opinion followed by the majority of the schools. Thus: (a) the Mu'tazilīs consider that faith *is* the witness of works: hence it can vary in itself; it increases according to the accomplishing of the prescribed works and decreases according to their omission. (b) Ibn Ḥanbal ('*Aḳīda*, i, 24) regards faith, defined by word and works, as being susceptible to growth and to decrease. Ḥanbalī thinking is unanimous on this point. Ibn Baṭṭa: "Interior adherence (*taṣdīḳ*) grows with the works and the words of goodness (*iḥsān*); it decreases with disobedience (*ma'ṣiya*). It has a point of departure and a beginning; then it is possible for it to progress and to increase endlessly" (*op. cit.*, 48/78). The same opinion is found in Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhābīs. This thesis (we may note) was found also in the *credos* of the *Maḳālāt* and of the *Ibāna* of al-Ash'arī. (c) The whole of the Ash'arī school was to uphold this theory of the growth and decrease of faith, but at the same time stressing that it was a matter of the degree of perfection brought to it (or not) by works accomplished. Hence (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 30): the "uncreated faith" of God and the faith of the angels can neither increase nor diminish; the faith of the prophets may grow according as the mission is faithfully accomplished, but it cannot decrease, because of the '*iṣma*, the prophetic "infallibility"; the faith of common men alone can increase or decrease. But the formal constituent of *īmān* being defined, following the *Luma'* of al-Ash'arī, by the interior *taṣdīḳ*, the school habitually distinguished, at the root of faith, an immutable nucleus (the "atom of faith" of the *ḥadīths*) created by God in the heart: it can be lost entirely by an act of unbelief, but it cannot vary. Thus the Ash'arīs admit both the immutability of faith in its main nucleus (cf. Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs), and its variability in its degree of perfection (cf. Ḥanbalīs).

(2) *The degrees of faith*: This question, to a certain extent connected with the last, is nevertheless different from it. It is no longer a matter of lower or upper levels of faith within the same subject, according to "obediences" or "disobediences". It is a matter of the degrees of faith according to its intrinsic nature in different subjects.

The Ash'arī and Shāfi'ī lines, which consider *taḳlīd* to be an unreasoning imitation and a passive acceptance, were severe on "faith through *taḳlīd*" as being valid only for a person incapable of rising to anything higher. The Ḥanbalīs, on the other hand, who defined *taḳlīd* as an intentional and conscious imitation of the Prophet, of the Companions and of their successors, regarded it as a fundamental attitude of the believer (cf. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 7, n. 2, and 9, n. 1). Ibn 'Aḳīl, however, was suspicious of it, fearing that recourse to *taḳlīd* would substitute imitation for the seeking of proofs (cf. G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 524-5).

The majority of the manuals of *kalām* regard as much superior to "faith by *taḳlīd*" faith based on knowledge (or science), *īmān 'an 'ilm*: an enlightened faith, which "proves" its object. The "proof" in question being understood as arising from the arguments and reasonings of the *mutakallimūn*, the "scientific" faith thus lauded was exposed to attacks by opponents, both Ḥanbalīs and *falāsifa*. Al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā'*, i, 107-8) mentioned a third degree, higher than the preceding one, the "faith of certitude" (*yaḳīn*). There is probably to be seen here an influence of both Shī'ism and Ṣūfism: this higher degree based on the *yaḳīn* is for al-Ghazālī the only true faith, as was the "interior faith" for the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. The same influences are very probably present in Ibn Taymiyya. After defining faith through *islām*, that is through the proclamation of the *shahāda* and the performance of the basic duties (*Kitāb al-īmān*, 32), and after enumerating the feelings of experience which it produces in the heart of the believer (cf. above), he distinguishes in ascending order the faith of the *walī* (one "close" to God), that of the *ṣiddīḳ*

(the most truthful, the just), and that of the prophet. Starting from a "conformist ritualism" (H. Laoust), faith, according to Ibn Taymiyya, ends as *iḥsān* (virtuous conduct), *ikhlāṣ* (sincerity and unadulterated purity), and in the annihilation (*fanā'*) of the created will in a total submission to the divine Commandment.

Bibliography: in the article. A complete bibliography would be immense; in it there would need to be mentioned the "professions of faith" of the various Sunnī schools and of the *firāḳ*, almost all the manuals of *ʿilm al-kalām* and of *uṣūl al-dīn*, and many Ṣūfī spiritual works.

(L. Gardet)

IMĀRA [see AMĪR].

IMĀRAT AL-NUBUWWA [see NUBUWWA].

ʿIMĀRET [see KHAYR and WAḲF].

IMAZIGHEN [see BERBERS].

(Ḥādjdjī) **IMDĀD ALLĀH** al-Muhādjir al-Hindī al-Makkī b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Fārūḳī, the spiritual guide and preceptor of a number of leading religious personalities of India (including Muḥammad Ḳāsim al-Nānawtawī, founder of the Dār al-ʿUlūm at Deōband [*q.v.*], Rashīd Aḥmad al-Anṣārī of Gaṅgōh (d. 1323/1905), a well-known *muḥaddith*, *faḳīh*, divine and scholar of his days and Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī [*q.v.*]), was born at Nānawta (dist. Sahāranpūr, India) in 1231/1815.

A *ḥāfiẓ* of the Ḳur'ān, he was moderately well educated in Persian, Arabic grammar and syntax and jurisprudence, but was never regarded as an *ʿālim* in the traditional sense. He spent his youth in gaining a good knowledge of *taṣawwuf* and soon established himself as a *shaykh* in a mosque in his home-town of Thāna Bhawan (18 miles N.W. of Muzaffarnagar), which later came to be known as the Khānḳāh-i Imdādiyya, the seat of his *silsila*. It was burnt down as a reprisal in 1857, following the insurrection of the local people, but was rebuilt and in course of time produced such great figures as Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, one of whose disciples was Sulaymān Nadwī, the celebrated Urdu biographer of the Prophet.

He performed his first pilgrimage to Mecca in 1261/1845, thus gaining the honorific of "Ḥādjdjī", which became an inseparable part of his name. During the Indian Mutiny of 1274/1857 Imdād Allāh and his colleagues also declared *djihād* against the British, following the execution of a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, a leading citizen of Thāna Bhawan, who was accused of being in league with the mutineers. After establishing parallel government in the town they attacked Shamlī, a small neighbouring place, but were routed by the British. Imdād Allāh succeeded in making good his escape but the other ring-leaders of the rebellion were arrested and treated rather leniently. Apprehensive of being arrested, the Ḥādjdjī succeeded in leaving the country incognito and reaching Mecca (1276/1860), where he permanently settled. As a stranger, not esteemed very highly by the local population, he passed some very difficult days in the beginning owing to poverty. Besides his other activities he delivered lectures on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf. Gradually his fame as a *ṣūfī* spread and he began to attract many followers. People from India, mostly scholars from Deōband, went all the way across the seas to contract his *bayʿa*, Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī being one of them. While in Mecca he married three times at a fairly advanced age, but none of the wives bore him children.

He is the author of: (1) *Ḍiyā' al-ḳulūb* (in Persian; ed. Delhi 1877) composed in 1282/1865, on the *adhkār wa-ashghāl* (formulas and practices) of the Čishtiyya order [*q.v.*]; (2) *Ghidha-yi rūḥ* (in Urdu), containing strange tales and parables in verse warning against the wiles of Satan; (3) *Djihād-i akbar*, a long poem in Urdu composed in 1268/1852 on the virtues and merits of *ḳitāl*, in fact a translation of some anonymous treatise in Persian, which shows that even before the Mutiny of 1857 he had been cogitating on the subject of *djihād* which led to his military setback at Shāmlī in 1857 (see above); (4) *Tuḥfat al-ʿushshāḳ* (also a *mathnawī* in Urdu composed in 1281/1864), on gnosis and divine cognition and on *al-ḥaḳīka wa 'l-madjāz*; (5) *Dard-nāma-i ghamnāk*, a small poem in Urdu composed as a plaintive dirge of a forlorn lover; (6) *Irshād-i murshid* (again a poem in Urdu composed in 1293/1876) on spiritual and esoteric experiences, also containing his moral exhortations and apophthegms; (7) *Waḥdat al-wudjūd* (in Persian) composed in 1299/1883; a brief treatise on the doctrine of the Unity of Being as propounded by Ibn al-ʿArabī; (8) *Fayṣala-i haft mas'ala*, a treatise on seven controversial topics of the day, such as *simāʿ*, the visiting of graves, the celebration of the death anniversary of a saint etc., which led to a rift among his own followers; (9) *Gulzār-i maʿrifat*, a collection of his Persian and Urdu verse on spiritual and mystic matters; (10) A *Ḥāshiya* in Persian on the *Mathnawī* (ed. Cawnpore 1314-1321/1896-1903), partly published posthumously; (11) *Maktūbāt-i Imdādiyya* (ed. Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, Lahore 1966), a collection of 50 of his Urdu letters written from Mecca during the closing years of his life (the last letter is dated 1317/1899); (12) *Marḳūmāt-i Imdādiyya*, 61 letters in Persian published as an appendix to *Imdād al-mushtāḳ* (ed. Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī, Lucknow 1915); (13) *Kulliyāt-i Imdādiyya*, a collection of his poetical works, repeatedly published in India and Pakistan (ed. Cawnpore 1315/1898, Shāhkōṭ, dist. Sheikhūpūra, n.d.). Most of these compositions are in verse but he never claimed to be a great poet. These books have been published repeatedly in India and Pakistan with the exception of the *Ḥāshiya* on the *Mathnawī*.

He died in 1371/1899 in Mecca widely acclaimed as a great spiritual teacher, at the ripe age of 84, and was buried in al-Maʿlā, the historic graveyard wherein also lie buried Khadīdja, the first wife of the Prophet, and his uncle Abū Ṭālib.

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(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

IMMOLATION [see DHABĪḤA].

IMPIETY, IMPIOUS [see KĀFIR].

ĪMRĀLĪ, ĪMRʿĀLĪ [see EMRELI].

ʿIMRĀN (Hebrew ʿAmrām, modified to an authentically Arabic name, cf. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 128), name given in "Israelite" history as related by Muslim authors to two persons: the first appears in the Bible but not in the Ḳurʾān; the second vice versa. The first is the father of Mūsā, Hārūn and Maryam [*qq.v.*], the son of Ḳāhith (Kohath), the son of Lāwī (Levi) according to the Biblical genealogy (Exodus, VI, 20) followed by al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, 31 (tr. G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 39) and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 92, tr. Pellat, i, § 85; others, for example al-Ṭabarī, i, 443, and the *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 81/83 insert between ʿImrān and Ḳāhith, Yiṣhar, who according to the Bible was the brother and not the father of ʿAmrām. Rabbinical legend referred to ʿAmrām as an important person in Egypt. In the fabulous version of al-Kisāʾī, ʿImrān is promoted to the rank of vizier and bodyguard of Firʿawn [*q.v.*], with the result that, by a miraculous intervention of Providence, Mūsā came to be conceived actually within the tyrant's palace and thus escaped the destruction of the male children of the Israelites which the latter ordered.

The second ʿImrān (the son of Māthān according to the historians) was, according to the Ḳurʾān, III, 31/35 (cf. LXVI, 12), the father of Maryam, the mother of ʿĪsā (Jesus), and also, according to the historians, of Ashbaʿ (Elizabeth), the mother of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyāʾ [*q.v.*]/John the Baptist: cf. *Murūdj*, i, 120, tr. Pellat, i, § 117; *Badʾ*, iii, 116/120, 118/123. The genealogy given in the Ḳurʾān was disputed by the Christians (a controversy summarized by R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, note to XIX, 29/28, Paris 1949, ii, 229 = 1957 ed., p. 331).

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(J. EISENBERG—[G. VAJDA])

ʿIMRĀN B. ḤIṬṬĀN, AL-SADŪSĪ AL-KHĀRIDJĪ, an Arab sectarian and poet. He hailed from the Banu ʾl-Ḥārith b. Sadūs, a clan of the Banū Shaybān b. Dhuhl. He was first a Sunnī, and is mentioned by Ibn Saʿd (vii/I, 113) in the second class of the "followers" (*tābiʿūn*) of Baṣra; he is named as a transmitter in the collections of Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, and Nasāʾī. It is said that he was converted by his wife to the doctrines of the Khāridjīs [*q.v.*] and became the leader of their moderate wing, the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], who rejected indiscriminate political murder (*istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*]) and were lenient towards those Khawāridj who sometimes abstained from fighting and stayed at home (*al-ḳaʿad*). They were interested in theological problems, and ʿImrān had no equal as their *muftī* and the expounder of their doctrines. Of his life very little is known. When the great revolts of the Khawāridj started in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, ʿImrān was persecuted by order of al-Ḥadjdjādj and had to leave Baṣra. Under a false name he found refuge with Bedouin chiefs in the desert, but had to move on as soon as his whereabouts was discovered. For a year he stayed in Syria with Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Djudhāmī, a favourite of ʿAbd al-Malik, who inadvertently led the caliph to detect his guest's identity. So ʿImrān fled to Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, the leader of the Ḳays ʿAylān. This happened apparently before Zufar was besieged and subdued by the caliph in 71/691. ʿImrān then fled to Oman, where were living many followers of Abū Bilāl [see MIRDĀS B. UDAYYA]; they received him kindly, but he was again betrayed and went to the Azd in Rūdh Maysān near Kūfa or according to others (Yāḳūt, iii, 889) in Farīth in the district of Wāsiṭ. He died there in 84/703.

ʿImrān had a great reputation as a poet; according to Farazdaḳ (*Aghānī*[3], vii, 232) he would have been counted the greatest poet of his time, had he not devoted all his verses to the cause of the Khawāridj. His *dīwān*, mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* vi, 139, 1, is lost. He lamented (*Kāmil*, 550, etc.) the death of Abū Bilāl, who was killed in battle in 61/680; he eulogized (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 153, etc.—the whole poem is extant in *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*) Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*], the murderer of ʿAlī. In other poems he praises his hosts Zufar (*Kāmil*, 532 f.; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 254), Rawḥ (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 153) and the Azd (*Aghānī*[1], xvi, 154; see also Yāḳūt, i, 451). Some of his verses contain pessimistic reflexions on life and death.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, vii/I, 113; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 132, 136; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 530-8 (relying on information obtained from members of the Ṣufriyya, 527, 7); Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 120, 5; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 152-7; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 91; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 276; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iii, 178; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 127 ff.; ʿAynī, *Maḳāṣid*, on the margin of the *Khizāna*, ii, 229 f.; Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, 313; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 436-41; Madāʾinī wrote a book on ʿImrān (*Fihrist*, 104, 7; cf. *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 155).

(J. W. FÜCK)

ʿIMRĀN B. SHĀHĪN, one of the best known of the bandit-lords who, from the marshes of the *Baṭāʾiḥ* [*q.v.*] where they were entrenched, periodically defied and even threatened the authorities of Baghdād itself. A native of al-Djāmida, a place between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra, ʿImrān was obliged to go into hiding following a crime which he had committed, and from then on led the life of a brigand, for which the region where he dwelt was very suitable. He next entered into relations with Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Barīdī [see AL-BARĪDĪ], who saw in him the man he needed to defend the marshes against his enemies. But as his banditry was threatening the security of the road to Baṣra, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla was several times obliged to send troops against him; this however, because of the local conditions, produced no result, and the government soldiers were usually lured into some place from which they could not escape. Muʿizz al-Dawla was reduced to appointing ʿImrān officially governor of the region, which did not however prevent him and his band on occasion from continuing to pursue his favourite occupation.

Repeated attempts by Muʿizz al-Dawla and his successor Bakhtiyār to put an end to his situation by force were no more successful than formerly; Bakhtiyār was in fact reduced to asking ʿImrān's help to fight against ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the bandit receiving the official *laḳab* of Muʿin al-Dawla. He remained master of the marshes until his death in 369/979 and passed on his power to his son Ḥusayn, with whom ʿAḍud al-Dawla had the same experience as his predecessors had had with his father; however in 372/982-3, Ḥusayn was killed by his brother Abu 'l-Faradj, who himself suffered the same fate the following year at the hands of the *ḥādjib* al-Muẓaffar b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had been a general under the rule of his father, and who then proclaimed as ruler a son of Ḥusayn (a minor) named Abu 'l-Maʿālī; but soon afterwards he established himself in his place, basing his authority on a forged title of investiture bearing the signature of the Būyid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. On one other occasion, in 412/1021, a son of ʿImrān, Abu 'l-Haydjāʾ Muḥammad, attempted to seize power, but he failed.

Bibliography: See especially Miskawayh and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, *Takmila*; see also BŪYIDS. (ED.)

AL-ʿ**IMRĀNĪ**, MUʿĪN AL-DĪN AL-HINDĪ, distinguished theologian and scholar of Delhi, whom Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith calls *ustād-i shahr*, "teacher of the (whole) town". He wrote commentaries on *Kanz al-daḳāʾiḳ*, *al-Manār*, *al-Miftāḥ*, *al-Talkhīṣ*, *al-Ḥuṣāmī* and *Talwīḥ* (for MSS, Zubaid Ahmad, cited below). Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (725-52/1324-51) held him in high esteem on account of his erudition and sent him to Shīrāz to persuade Ḳāḍī ʿAḍud al-Dīn to come to India. The ruler of Shīrāz received him with respect, but persuaded the Ḳāḍī to decline the invitation from Delhi. ʿImrānī was at first critical of the *ṣufīs*, but his pupil Mawlānā Khwādjgī gradually drew him to the mystic path, and he developed a devotion to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Čirāgh [*q.v.*]; according to the author of the *Maʿāridj al-walāyat*, he received *khilāfat* also from him.

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IMROZ, Ottoman name of the island of Imbros in the Aegean Sea, some 15 km off the southern end of the Gallipoli peninsula (Thracian Chersonese), and thus of strategic importance as commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles, Čanaḳ-ḳalʿe Boghazī [*q.v.*]. In 1444, when it was visited by Cyriacus of Ancona, it was still Byzantine (although the neighbouring islands of Thasos and Samothrace were in the hands of the Gattilusio family). When news of the fall of Constantinople (857/1453) reached the island, many of its leading men fled, but the prominent Imbriot Critoboulos (the historian) procured from the Turkish admiral Ḥamza the temporary immunity of the island and sent a deputation to the Sultan at Edirne. However, there was at the Ottoman court at the same time a delegation from the Gattilusi lords of Lesbos and Aenos, and the Sultan granted Imbros to Palamede Gattilusio of Aenos in return for an annual tribute of 1200 ducats. In 860/1456, when the Sultan moved against Aenos [see ENOS] and the admiral Yūnus was sent to annex its maritime dependencies, Critoboulos was appointed governor of Imbros, in which capacity, in the autumn of 1456, he managed to dissuade the commander of the Papal fleet from occupying the island. It was at his prompting too that in the winter of 1458-9 Demetrius Palaeologus, the Despot of Mistra, asked the Sultan to grand him Lemnos and Imbros; so that in 1460 Demetrius (by now expelled from the Morea) was granted these two islands, together with Aenos, Thasos and Samothrace. Although the Venetians took Imbros in 1466, they lost it to a Turkish fleet in 1470, and from then until 1912 it remained in Ottoman hands.

During the First Balkan War, Imroz, with the other Aegean islands, was taken by the Greek fleet (November-December 1912); Greece maintained possession of the island, which was formally ceded to her by the Treaty of Sèvres (August 1920). By the Treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) it was returned to Turkey, with the stipulations that it be demilitarized and that its predominantly Greek population be excluded from the proposed exchange of populations [see MÜBĀDELE]. It is now an *ilçe* of the province of Çanakkale, pop. (1960) 5776.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Imbros; W. Miller, *The Gattilusj of Lesbos (1355-1462)*, in *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921 (repr. Amsterdam 1964), 313-53; idem, *The Ottoman Empire and its successors, 1801-1927*[3], Cambridge 1927 (repr. London 1966), index; Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitabı Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935, 94-6; I. H. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, i and iv, index; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, Paris 1890, 484-7; *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, ii, 1035. For a *ḳānūnnāme* of 925/1515 (showing that the islanders enjoyed several exemptions), see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 237-8. For a recent description of the island: *Turkey* (Naval Intelligence geographical handbook), 1943, i, 76. See further the articles on the islands whose history is closely linked with that of Imroz: BOZDJA-ADA, SEMENDIREK, TASHOZ and (especially) LIMNI. (ED.)

IMRUʾ AL-ḲAYS (slave of [the god] Ḳays), by-name of several Arab poets. Al-Āmidī mentions ten of them (*al-Muʾtalif wa-'l-mukhtalif*, Cairo 1961, 5-9), while Fīrūzābādī list eleven of them (*al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1913, ii, 244) and al-Suyūṭī fifteen (*Muzhir*, Cairo 1958, ii, 456). Taking account of all the variants in their genealogies, Ḥ. Sandūbī has drawn up a list in which their number reaches twenty-five (*Akhbār al-Marāḳisa wa ashʿāruhum fi 'l-djāhiliyya wa-ṣadr al-Islām*, printed as a continuation of *Sharḥ dīwān Imruʾ al-Ḳays* [4]Cairo 1959, 223-368). The most famous of all these poets is Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr [see next art.]. Mention should also be made of the two following: Imruʾ al-Ḳays ʿAdī b. Rabīʿa al-Taghlibī, best known under the name of al-Muhalhil, who was the maternal uncle of the Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr and, according to some, the creator of the form of the classical *ḳaṣīda* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr* 164-6; *Aghānī*, viii, 63; *Khizānat al-adab*, i, 302-4; Fuʾād Bustānī, *Rawāʾiʿ*, and references there given; Sandūbī, *op. cit.*, 231-303); Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿĀbis al-Kindī, who is included among the Companions of the Prophet (Sandūbī, *op. cit.*, 339-47 and references there given). (S. BOUSTANY)

IMRUʾ AL-ḲAYS B. ḤUDJR, name of a pre-Islamic Arab poet, who is generally considered to have died circa 550 A.D. Unfortunately the biographical details on the poet come mainly from Kūfan writers of the second half of the 2nd/8th century, who practically never give their sources and who very often contradict one another. As little as two centuries later, authors collecting these contradictory facts had denounced them as untrustworthy. Hence the portrait of the poet, so far as it emerges from the existing information, is that of an obscure and semi-legendary personality.

His personal name is reported as ʿAdī or Mulayka or Ḥundudj. In addition to that of Imruʾ al-Ḳays ("slave of the god Ḳays"), he is said to have had the by-names of Dhu ʾl-ḳurūḥ ("the man covered with ulcers") and al-Malik al-ḍillīl ("the wandering king"); there are also attributed to him three *kunyas*: Abu ʾl-Ḥārith, Abū Wahb and Abū Zayd.

On his genealogy the sources disagree. The chain of ancestors given by the Baṣran al-Aṣmaʿī differs on several points from those provided by the Kūfan Ibn al-Aʿrābī, the Baghdādī Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb or other sources which the *Aghānī* cites without naming them. There is even disagreement over the name of the father of Imruʾ al-Ḳays (Ḥudjr or al-Simṭ), that of his grandfather (al-Ḥārith or ʿAmr or Imruʾ al-Ḳays), and that of his mother (Fāṭima bint Rabīʿa or Tamlik bint ʿAmr).

The most usual version of his life may be summarized as follows: as a child he had lived at the court of Ḥudjr, the last king of the Kinda, of whom he was the youngest son; but soon his passion for poetry, and especially erotic poetry, led to his being expelled from his father's house. Here there comes an episode which has all the characteristics of a romanticized addition: the father, in his anger, instructs his freedman Rabīʿa to put the young poet to death and to bring him his eyes; Rabīʿa, seized with pity, merely kills a young antelope and takes its eyes to the hasty father. Later, the father repents, learns of the substitution, summons his son and is reconciled to him. Once again however, and for the same reasons, Imruʾ al-Ḳays was expelled from his father's house and began to lead the life of a carefree vagabond. At the head of a band of roughs, he began to wander in the desert, dividing his time between hunting, drinking and song. In order to enliven his libations he had taken with him his singing slave-girls.

It was during a drinking session that he received the news that his father had been assassinated. The Banū Asad had revolted against their ruler and had succeeded in having him killed. From then on Imruʾ al-Ḳays's only aim was to avenge his father.

Helped by the Banū Bakr and the Banū Taghlib, he succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on his enemies and in putting them to flight. His allies, considering that he was sufficiently avenged, refused to continue the fight and abandoned him. It was then that he began to wander among the tribes, at first in search of allies, then, after the king of Ḥīra had sent troops in pursuit of him, seeking a refuge. It was thus that he arrived at the court of al-Samawʾal, prince of Taymāʾ, who gave him refuge in his castle al-Ablaḳ. Al-Samawʾal next recommended him to the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith the Lame, who helped him to reach the court of Justinian in Constantinople. Justinian is said to have received him well and agreed to give him the command of an army whose task was to restore his throne to him and to avenge his father's death. Imruʾ al-Ḳays then set off on the return journey, and he was already near to Anḳara when he was met by an emissary bringing him a present from the emperor: this was a shirt of Nessus which poisoned him, covering his body with ulcers and finally killing him. He was thus punished, it is related, for having, while in Constantinople, seduced Justinian's own daughter (though in fact history does not mention that Justinian had a daughter). But neither the crime nor its punishment seems to have destroyed the poet's glory, since it is said that the emperor erected a statue to him on the actual site where he was buried, a statue which was seen by al-Maʾmūn.

This is of course not the only version of the biography of Imruʾ al-Ḳays. The available sources contain other variants, all equally romanticized and agreeing only on the most important points. Furthermore, the facts reported about the poets said to have been in direct contact with him, such as ʿAlḳama, ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ and ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa, are just as imprecise and suspicious; they throw no light at all on his life. Of the same order are the statements of Nonnosus and Procopius, in which certain modern authors have thought to find a reliable historical basis which would confirm the statements in the Arab traditions. In fact it is now established that the two historians are not referring to Imruʾ al-Ḳays (Amorkesos) but to Kaisos, *i.e.*, Ḳays b. Salama b. al-Ḥārith; by the same token, the arguments which some have thought they found in them to prove that Imruʾ al-Ḳays was a Christian are valueless, and this remains a pure hypothesis. It should moreover be pointed out that the Kaisos of whom the two Greek authors were writing was converted by Justinian himself and that he returned home with honour after having been appointed Phylarch of Palestine. Neither of these two sources mentions his death on the way.

The poems which bear the name of Imruʾ al-Ḳays were collected towards the end of the 2nd/8th century by the Kūfans Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī and Khālid b. Kalthūm, the Baṣran al-Aṣmaʿī and, later, the Baghdādī Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. Based on these collections, two definitive recensions were established during the 3rd/9th century, one by Ibn al-Sikkīt and the other by al-Sukkarī. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions also a partial recension made by Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Aḥwal.

On the authenticity of these poems, we have the testimony of one of these authors, al-Aṣmaʿī, who says: "All the poems which have survived under the name of Imruʾ al-Ḳays have been transmitted by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya except for some poems communicated by Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAlāʾ". But it is known that the Baṣrans considered Ḥammād a forger. There is found in al-Marzubānī another judgement of al-Aṣmaʿī which agrees with that of the first and a similar judgement attributed to al-Riyāshī. Thus we have the insoluble problem of the attribution of the poems which pass under the name of Imruʾ al-Ḳays. This would explain also why Ibn Sallām draws all his quotations from Imruʾ al-Ḳays from only two of his poems, and why the number of the other poems to which he alludes in his study on the poet is no more than two—this in spite of the fact that in his day at least one of the two great recensions of the *dīwān* had already been made.

If, in spite of this doubt over the authenticity of the greater part of his work, Imruʾ al-Ḳays has acquired the reputation of a master, this is probably thanks to the cult devoted to him by some great scholars of Baṣra and to two traditions, the one attributed to the Prophet and the other to ʿAlī. The

former, in terms which vary according to the transmitters, expresses high regard for Imru' al-Ḳays and makes him the "leader and standard-bearer" of the poets; the latter praises his ingenuity, affirms his superiority, and stresses the disinterested driving-power which lay behind his poetic production.

Those who have proclaimed his superiority have admired above all the ingenuity of his metaphors and his concise and skilful treatment of various traditional forms and poetic themes. They state also that he was the creator of the classical form of the *ḳaṣīda* (whereas others consider that this was the work of his maternal uncle Muhalhil, and the Banū Bakr consider it to have been ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa, said to have been his companion on his journey to Constantinople). It should however be noted that in spite of the two traditions just mentioned and the arguments of his admirers, the majority of the scholars of Kūfa continued to prefer al-Aʿshā to him, those of the Ḥidjāz preferred Zuhayr, and certain important Baṣrans, such as al-Aṣmaʿī, sometimes hesitated to prefer him to al-Nābigha.

His *dīwān* was first published by de Slane, in Paris, in 1837. This edition consisted of the 28 poems forming the recension of al-Aṣmaʿī. Next there appeared the edition of Ahlwardt (London 1870), which contained 68 poems and which reproduced the recension of al-Sukkarī with some additions drawn from various literary sources.

The section edited by de Slane was reprinted in various editions appearing later in Egypt, Iran and India. There have been other more scholarly oriental editions, the most important of which were that of al-Sandūbī (Cairo 1930) and that of Beirut (1958). The most complete edition remains that of Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1958; 2nd ed. 1964). In it there appears the recension of al-Aṣmaʿī, another attributed to al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī and approved by his pupil Ibn al-Aʿrābī (it cannot be very different from that of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, another pupil of al-Mufaḍḍal, to which the author of the recension refers for certain corrections), as well as the recension of al-Sukkarī (67 poems), and some additions which could have originated from the other collections mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. The total number of verses in this edition is 1399, only 485 of which come from the recension of al-Aṣmaʿī.

Among the poems in this *dīwān*, it is the *muʿallaḳa* which has aroused the most interest. Appearing in the collection of the *muʿallaḳāt*, it was edited and translated, with all the other *muʿallaḳāt*, into Latin by L. Warner (Leiden 1748), into English by W. Jones (London 1782), Clouston (Glasgow 1881) and Johnson (London 1881), into Swedish by B. M. Bolmeer (Lund 1824), into French by S. de Sacy (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, 1, 411), Caussin de Perceval (*Essai sur l'hist. des Arabes*, ii, 326-32), and by Raux, into German by A. T. Hartmann (1802), Nöldeke (1899) and Gandz (1913), and into Russian by Murkes. It appears also in the various editions of the commentary of al-Zawzanī (1st ed. by Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823), of that by Naḥḥās (Leiden 1748 and Halle 1876), of that by Tabrīzī (Calcutta 1894) and of the Turkish commentary by Farsaḳ (Istanbul 1316 A.H.).

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(S. BOUSTANY)

IMTIYĀZĀT, commercial privileges, capitulations.

i.—The earliest documentary evidence for commercial privileges emanating from Muslim chanceries in the Mediterranean world dates from the 6th/12th century. While it is unlikely that these documents represent the earliest manifestation of that diplomatic and commercial activity between rulers of Islam and Christendom which culminated in the Ottoman Capitulations, it is probably useless to speculate upon either the form or the language of chancery instruments before that date. The extant documents, ranging from Muslim Spain to Egypt and Syria, are internally designated *fuṣūl*, *shurūṭ*, *marsūm*, *amān*, *kitāb amān*, and occasionally *ṣulḥ*. They are, with very few exceptions, unilateral and, from a juridical point of view, represent decrees (*marāsīm*) rather than documents of certification (*ḥudjadj*). From the point of view of chancery practice, the commercial privileges were derived from the type of document embodying the principle of *amān*, and more especially from a subdivision of that category designated *amān ʿāmm* in the formularies. The consequence of this classification was to restrict the role of originator of such documents to the head of the community (*imām*) or his representative (*nāʾib*). The retention of the technical term *amān* is to be understood as an attempt at the rhetorical concealment of juridical innovation.

All of the commercial privileges included, either explicitly or implicitly, the following provisions with respect to the status of non-Muslim, non-*dhimmī* merchants in *dār al-islām*:

1. General security of person and property, including:
 A. Testamentary rights, freedom of worship, burial, and dress.
 B. Repairs to ships, emergency rations, aid against attack by corsairs, and abolition of the *lex naufragii*.
 C. Permission to address complaints to the head of the Muslim community.
2. Exterritoriality, including:
 A. Consular jurisdiction.
 B. Consul's salary and other exemptions.
3. Abolition of collective responsibility.

Swearing an oath and affixing an attestation appear to have been limited to such of these privileges as constituted an *instrumentum reciprocum*, or which were negotiated in *dār al-ḥarb*. The period of validity is occasionally specified in the North African documents, seldom in the Levantine ones, though source material external to the documents themselves would seem to indicate either indefinite duration or renewal for two year periods coincident with the appointment of consular representatives for a particular merchant community.

The evolution of the commercial privileges is characterised by the conflicting principles of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*, exhibited in the fluctuating application of exterritoriality in the sectors of public and private law, respectively. If the consul retained the right of jurisdiction in matters of intestacy and other litigation internal to his community, he could also be held responsible for debts contracted by members of that community. The appearance of a differentiated concept of *kafāla* [*q.v.*] lent reality to the originally theoretical concept of *amān ʿāmm* as a collective instrument, and as such is analogous to the evolution of *procuratio* in European merchant law. The notion of consul as hostage (*rahīna*) was a practical proposition. There was thus a logical consistency in the issue of commercial privileges as unilateral decrees, which suited well the exigencies of an economy based to a great extent upon regalian monopolies and the rules of a chancery procedure symbolised by the introductory convention *rusima*. Exceptions to this state of affairs were few, and are perhaps best illustrated by the Mamlūk-Venetian *treaty* of 913/1507, which was, in the event, never ratified by the Sultan.

The question of cross-fertilization between the merchant law of Islam and of medieval Europe is a vexed one, and may eventually be answered by recourse to linguistic rather than juridical evidence. There is a distinct possibility that the contemporary European "translations" of such Arabic documents as are preserved are in fact the "originals" of the (admittedly paraphrastic) Arabic versions, themselves but roughly adapted to the conventions of Muslim chancery practice. In this respect one need only remark the numerous and consistent deviations in the extant documents from the prescriptions set out in the *inshāʾ* manuals.

Bibliography: See the articles, AMĀN, CONSUL, ḌAMĀN, DIPLOMATIC, DJIWĀR, KAFĀLA; and J. Wansbrough, *The safeconduct in Muslim chancery practice*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 20-35.

(J. WANSBROUGH)

ii.—THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

A. Character and content of the "capitulations". In the granting of concessions to *ḥarbīs*, the Ottomans always endeavoured to conform to the prescriptions of *fiḳh* (of the Ḥanafi *madhhab*, see Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Multaḳāʾ al-abḥur*, T. tr. Mevḳūfātī, Istanbul 1320, i, 347-9). The Shaykh al-Islām was consulted when new capitulations were proposed, (cf. G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk* . . ., 149; Charrière, iii, 92), and if a new problem arose involving a *mustaʾmin* and a Muslim, a *fatwā* on the point was obtained (see, *e.g.*, a *fatwā* of 1046/1637 ruling that a Muslim could not break a sale-contract unilaterally, Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu no. 26/1).

The precondition for granting to a *ḥarbī* the guarantee of *amān* [*q.v.*] was that he should make application for it with a promise of friendship and peace —a point which is stated in the first lines of every *ʿahdnāme*; and it is in return for this undertaking that the *imām* binds himself to guarantee *amān*, the *amān* being confirmed by an *ʿahd*, "covenant"; the document drawn up to embody the covenant is called *ʿahdnāme*, and the items in it *ʿuhūd* or *shurūṭ*. The Ottomans maintained this terminology; but the *ʿahdnāme*, like all documents conferring a privilege, was drawn up in the form of a *berāt* (also called *nishān*). The oath in the document (for the formula see V. L. Ménage, in *Documents from Islamic chancelleries*, Oxford 1965, 94) is the element binding the Sultan before God and hence guaranteeing his promise to the *mustaʾmin*. The character of the *ʿahdnāme* as a unilateral and freely-made grant or concession is well described by J. Porter (*Observations*, London 1771, 362). The Sultan retains authority to decide unilaterally when the *mustaʾmin* has broken the pledge of "friendship and sincere goodwill (*ikhlāṣ*)" and when in consequence the *ʿahdnāme* is rendered void. It is for this reason that in firmans etc. sent to Ottoman officials there always appears the phrase that the *mustaʾmin* has undertaken to behave "in friendly and faithful fashion" (*dostluk ve ṣadāḳat üzere*). Like all *berāts*, *ʿahdnames*, being granted by the individual Sultan personally, had to be confirmed by his successor.

In conceding an *ʿahdnāme*, the Ottoman authorities kept in view (1) the principles of *fiḳh*; (2) the political advantages to be expected from the applicant state; (3) the economic and financial interests of the Empire; the determining factors were usually the opportunity of acquiring a political ally within Christendom, of obtaining scarce goods and raw-materials such as cloth, tin and steel, and especially of increasing customs revenues, the principal source of hard cash for the Treasury. The European power, after consulting its consul or its merchants, would attempt to procure the inclusion in the *ʿahdnāme* of the guarantees it felt to be desirable—often attempting to impose its will by threatening to boycott Ottoman ports. If, after the conclusion of the *ʿahdnāme*, new questions arose needing regulation, these were settled by a supplementary *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*, which was usually incorporated in the renewed *ʿahdnāme* in the form of supplementary articles (*e.g.*, the English capitulations of 1086/1675). The *ʿahdnāme* overrode, in cases of conflict, *ḳānūns*, firmans and regulations having only local application: several firmans survive which order the cancellation of earlier orders found to be contrary to the *ʿahdnāme* (*e.g.*, London, Public Record Office, SP 105/216, firman of 1111/1699). After an *ʿahdnāme* was made, the Sultan would send firmans to the relevant officials informing them of the articles and commanding them to obey them.

It was tacitly understood that reciprocal advantages were expected in return for the privileges conceded, and that if these advantages failed to materialize, the Muslim ruler could claim that the

precondition of "friendship and sincerity" had been broken (cf. Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix*, 114-5). When the Venetians were unable to guarantee secure passage by land and sea for Muslim merchants operating in Venice (for whom see A. Sagredo-F. Berchet, *Il Fondaco dei Turchi in Venezia*, Milan 1860; Ş. Turan, *Venedik'te Türk ticaret merkezi*, in *Belleten*, xxxii/126 (1968), 247-83), the Ottoman government warned them to remember their obligations to give reciprocal protection (letter of Rüstem Pasha, publ. by T. Gökbilgin in *Belgeler*, i/2, 161; Turan, *op. cit.*, 276). In the capitulations granted by Türkmen princes of Anatolia (see below) and in Ottoman *ʿahdnāmes*, the principle of reciprocity was expressly stated in such matters as compensation for damage inflicted at sea, individual (and not collective) responsibility for debt, the seizing of fugitive debtors, and the protection of the lives and goods of victims of shipwreck (cf. the Venetian capitulations of 947/1540, publ. Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, i/2, 248-50). This principle of reciprocity enabled especially *dhimmī* Ottoman subjects (Jews, Armenians, Greeks and Slavs) to engage in business operations in Europe. In Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, the Levant trade passed almost entirely into the hands of such *dhimmīs* enjoying the Sultan's protection. Many *dhimmīs*, after serving Western merchants in Levant ports as dragomans, brokers and agents, became powerful rivals to West European merchants in Venice and Leghorn, so that the Venetians and the French contemplated attempting to limit their activities (Ch. Roux, 153; Porter, 433-7; H. Inalcık, *Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire*, in *J. Econ. Hist.*, xxix (1969), 97-149. The Ragusans, enjoying the status of *kharādj-güzār*, could profit most from Ottoman protection. Reciprocity was therefore a reality, from which the whole Empire benefited.

I. The creation of *mustaʾmin* communities and their privileges. Groups of foreign merchants resident in an Ottoman city or port would choose for themselves a representative to act for them in dealings with the authorities, variously known as *bailo* (T. *balyoz*), consul (*T. konsolos*) or (for the Florentines) *emino* (= T. *emīn*); the Sultan would grant this representative a *berāt* setting out his duties and the extent of his authority, and an officially recognized group—a *ṭāʾife*, or a *millet*—thus came into existence. The procedure is comparable with that by which the *ketkhudā* in a guild or the leader (patriarch, bishop etc.) of a religious community was chosen and granted official recognition by virtue of a *berāt*. Such at least in the first centuries was the Ottoman government's view of *mustaʾmin* communities, so that, for example, as late as 1044/1634, the Sultan, by a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*, appointed the Comte de Césy as French ambassador without waiting for word from the King of France (Tongas, 32-3). However, when other Western nations obtained capitulations in the years round 1600, they began to import new concepts and to attempt to win for these merchant-groups full extraterritorial status, thus provoking disputes. The Ottomans, it is true, never permitted these groups to become autonomous colonies dwelling in their own fortified quarters, as had been the situation in the Byzantine Empire and in the territories of the Golden Horde; yet the group's home government or company would sometimes promulgate a code of regulations prescribing the internal government of the group or strengthening its own control over it (for the French, see Comte de Saint Priest, *Mémoires*; P. Masson, *Un type de réglementation commerciale* ..., in *Viertelsj. f. Soz und Wirt.-gesch.*, vii, 249-95; Fr. Ch.-Roux, *Les Echelles* ..., 171-93; R. Paris, *Hist. du commerce de Marseille*, v, 199-237; for comparison of the Venetian, English and Dutch systems, see N. Steensgaard, *Consuls and Nations in the Levant*, in the *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, xv/1-2 (1967), 13-55). In the 11th/17th century, the Western states tried to impose on the Ottoman government their own interpretation of the status of the consul by procuring the insertion into the capitulations of articles declaring him to be the deputy of the ambassador, that he could not be imprisoned, that lawsuits against him be referred for decision to the Porte, that he could be removed or replaced only by the ambassador (see *e.g.*, the English capitulations of 1010/1601, in Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*[2], ii, 550). Ambassadors resident in Istanbul were at first treated like consuls, and regarded as the general representatives at the Porte of their *millets* dwelling in the Empire. The appointment of consuls and dragomans in the ports, like all the dealings of the *millet* with the central government, could be carried through only by the intermediary of the ambassador. The relationships of the ambassadors to their own governments and to their nations' *millets* varied for the different countries concerned —Venice, France, England and Holland (details in Steensgaard, *op. cit.*).

The consul was empowered by his *berāt* to supervise the affairs of his *millet*; to register incoming goods; and to collect the appropriate dues for the ambassador and the consul. No ship of his "nation" could leave port without his authorization, and he resolved disputes and settled suits between members of his nation according to his home country's laws and customs. His person, his servants and his animals were immune from interference, at his residence, on the road, or at overnight halts; his personal goods were exempt from customs' dues (for an example of a consul's *berāt* see London, PRO, SP 105/334, for W. Rye, of 1039/1629). In the execution of these duties the consul could call upon the assistance of the Ottoman authorities (this power being one of the factors which made it essential for him to hold a *berāt*). The ambassador and the consul were each granted a *čavush* and one or more Janissaries (also termed yasakčī) (cf. Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz münasebetleri* ..., p. 197, doc. IX).

The consul's judicial authority, based on the concept of "personality of law" (Venetian caps. of 927/1521, art. 16; French caps. of 977/1569, art. 12; English caps. of 988/1580, art. 16), is a principle going back to the earliest capitulations (Mas Latrie, *Traités* ..., 87-9). The French government organised this in the Ottoman Empire by detailed laws and regulations (K. Lippmann, *Die Konsularjurisdiction im Orient*, Leipzig 1898; A. Benoît, *Étude sur les capitulations* ..., Nancy 1890). Criminal cases and suits between a *mustaʾmin* and a Muslim had to be heard in Ottoman courts. Many new articles were inserted into the *ʿahdnāmes* to ensure that the *mustaʾmin* received just treatment in the courts: proceedings could be instituted only in respect of transactions which had been entered in the *ḳāḍī*'s register and for which a *ḥüdjdjet* had been given (French caps. of 977/1569, art. 6; English caps. of 988/1580, art. 6); a case could not be heard unless the *mustaʾmin*'s dragoman was present (Venetian caps. of 927/1521, art. 17; French caps. of 977/1569, art. 11; English caps. of 988/1580, art. 15); the testimony of a *dhimmī* was to be accepted in cases between a *mustaʾmin* and a *dhimmī* (Venetian caps. of 927/1521, art. 23); cases and appeals involving more than 4,000 *akčes*

were to be heard only in the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* (English caps. of 1010/1601, art. 24); cases arising from the accusations of false witnesses were not to be heard (French caps. of 977/1569, art. 7). Whereas in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries *musta'mins* frequently had recourse to Ottoman courts even in cases arising among themselves (see *Belleten*, xxiv/93 (1960), 71), in later years the less heavy court fees sometimes prompted Muslims to prefer the consular courts (Steengaard, 23).

By the draft capitulation (see below) of 943/1536, a *musta'min* who settled in Ottoman territory would have to assume the status of a *dhimmī*, subject to *djizya*, after ten years residence (although by Ḥanafī law he was permitted to remain *musta'min* for only one year; Mevḳūfātī, i, 348). In practice, the Ottomans did not enfore any rule, regarding the *musta'min* merchants as continually coming and going. Yet from time to time attempts were made to make them liable to *djizya* (*e.g.*, in 1025/1616, see Belin, *Les capitulations*, 89; Wood, 50, and later: see Basvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu no. 26, docs. of Rabīʿ II 1059 and Radjab 1061).

After Istanbul, the most numerous foreign *millets* were resident at Smyrna (from the end of the 10th/16th century; chiefly the English, then the French and the Dutch, a few Venetians); Sidon (French); Aleppo (French, Venetians, English, Dutch); Salonica (after 1096/1685 the French, later other nationalities); Cairo (French, Venetians and, for a time, English). The suggestion that Meḥemmed II accorded recognition to various special privileges of the Genoese of Galata and that these privileges were later extended to the *Lātīn milleti* (*Magnifica Communità di Pera*) (see M. A. Belin, *Hist. de la Latinité de Constantinople*, Paris 1884, 166) needs re-examination (see for the moment, Belin, *op. cit.*, 156-65; E. Dallegio d'Alessio, *Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II*, in *Échos d'Orient*, xxix, 161-75; T. C. Skeat, *Two Byzantine documents*, in *BMQ*, xviii (1953), 71-3). In the original text of the *ʿahdnāme* (in Greek) dated 23 Djumāda I 857/1 June 1453 (text given by Skeat, *loc. cit.*) the Sultan promises, under oath, that he will not bring troops and destroy the walls (according to some translations: he *will* destroy the walls) and that the Genoese may live there according to their own laws and customs under a *Ketkhudā* elected from among themselves. But when, before leaving for Edirne on 3 June, he visited Pera, he changed his mind (in the light of the demands of public security) and had the land walls destroyed here and there, thus cancelling one of the principal terms of the *ʿahdnāme*; Pera became an entirely "Ottoman" town, under the control of a *subashī* and a *ḳāḍī* [see ISTANBUL].

From the very earliest period the principle of the collective responsibility of the *millet* for crime [see DIYA] or debt had been excluded (cf. Mas Latrie, 92); all the same, the Ottoman government, like other earlier Islamic governments, obliged the *musta'min* community to pay a collective fine, a kind of indemnity for damages, when the "guest" nation imposed loss on the "host" state or its populations—through through attacks by pirates, failure to pay a public debt arising from the farming of a source of revenue (*iltizām*, see MÜLTEZIM), or the circulation of forged currency (see, *e.g.*, Chardin, i, 15; Abbott, *Under the Turk*, 237-43; Masson, i, 176): the Ottoman justification for this was that the "guest" nation had thus blatantly infringed its promise to maintain "friendship and sincerity". These levies must be distinguished from the *avanias*, Fr. *avanies*, which pashas exacted for their own personal profit. (The word *avania*, signifying collective forced levies of all sorts, derives, according to B. Homsy, *Les capitulations*, 57, from A. *hawāna*; but more probably its origin is *ʿawān*, "anything extorted", from the root *ʿny*; a connection with *ʿawāriḍ* is most improbable.) The attitude of the central government to the extortion of *avanias* by pashas varied according to the circumstances and the prevailing climate of relations with the "nation" involved. There are in the Ottoman state archives documents ordering the restitution of *avanias* (Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY Ecnebi defterleri). In attempts to put a stop to them, the foreign states had new articles inserted in the capitulations (French cap. of 1013/1604, art. 16; English cap. of 1010/1601, arts. 20 and 30; for *avanias* in general see Masson, i, 1-4; Roux 53-6; R. Paris, 294-316; Svoronos, 56-66). Demands for *avanias* were contested by ambassadors and consuls in the name of the *millet*; the *cottimo* due, collected by consuls on the trade of goods of their *millet* in order to meet *avanias*, came to be a regular impost. The Venetians collected 1% on some imported wares, especially cloth (see Brit. Mus., Ms Or. 9053, fol. 282), the French imposed on every ship loading at an Ottoman port a fixed sum graded according to the tonnage of the ship (Masson, i, 176; Svoronos, 70-5).

II. Privileges of individuals.

The number of privileges accorded to individual merchants increased as new articles were appended to the *ʿahdnāmes*. These were in practice longstanding rights recognized by custom, which, through the pressure of the *musta'mins*, were progressively codified as specific articles in the capitulations (for a systematic description of these old articles, see Mas Latrie, 83-116).

The *amān*, which guarantees the *ḥarbī*'s right to travel within the *dār al-islām* without being enslaved or having his goods looted as *ghanīma* [*q.v.*], was valid for the whole Ottoman Empire (*bi 'l-djümle memālik-i ʿOthmāniyye*); but for the practical implementation of this general *amān* by the individual, any *musta'min* proposing to travel needed to obtain (through the intermediary of his ambassador) and to carry with him a special authorization from the Sultan, an *idhn-i hümāyūn* (see J. H. Mordtmann, *Zwei osmanische Passbriefe* ..., in *MOG*, i, 177-201; Ménage, *loc. cit.*, 96-9; this document was termed *mürurnāme*; a similar authorization granted by a *ḳāḍī* or another official was called *yol tedhkiresi*; for an article relating to these: Venetian caps. of 928/1521, art. 21). In fact *musta'mins* were normally resident only in a limited number of ports, and within these ports in specified quarters and *khāns* (the merchants of Sidon were confined to their *khān*, see DHY, Françalu 26/1, a document of 1059/1649; but in other places, Smyrna, Aleppo and Galata, they enjoyed considerable freedom of movement). The *ḳāḍīs*' registers reveal instances of foreigners being enslaved by Muslims (*e.g.*, Bursa, *Sidjillāt*; cf. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich 1923, 42). Separate articles permitted them, in order to avoid molestation, to wear Muslim dress and to carry arms.

The residences of *musta'mins* could be searched by Ottoman officials only if there was a suspicion that they were harbouring fugitive criminals or slaves, or smuggled goods. The abuses to which this exception opened the way gave rise to new articles (*e.g.*, French caps. of 1153/1740, art. 65).

As to a *musta'min*'s property, if he died in the Ottoman Empire leaving a will, his property went

to the designated heir(s). If he died intestate or if his heir(s) were resident elsewhere, his estate was taken into trust by the *ḳāḍī* and passed by him to the consul or to the deceased's partners and friends. This rule—a principle of *fiḳh* (cf. Mevḳūfātī, ii, 284)—was incorporated into the general corpus of Ottoman *ḳānūn*s as a separate statute (see *TOEM*, *ʿilāve* for 1329, p. 52).

III. *Amān* by sea.

Guarantees for travel by sea elaborated from the principle of *amān* did not figure in the early works of *fiḳh* (cf. M. Khadduri, 109-17), but are found in the earliest capitulations (Mas Latrie, 97), so that a *mustaʾmin* was entitled to invoke *amān* when threatened by a Muslim ship. But it should be noted that the principle of reciprocity appears most clearly in those articles concerning relations at sea. The Ottomans seem to have regarded their suzerainty as extending over the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea, the Red Sea, the Straits (Bosphorus and Dardanelles) and the Strait of Otranto (see the Venetian treaty of 928/1521), or, in other words, they regarded these waters as forming part of the Dār al-Islām. In 1159/1747, during the War of the Austrian Succession, the Ottomans attempted to forbid French and English ships from engaging in hostilities east of a line from the tip of the Morea to the Western extremity of Crete and thence to Egypt. In 1109/1697, all warlike demonstrations were forbidden off Ottoman ports within gunshot of the citadel (PRO, SP 105, docs. of 1109/1698). As in earlier capitulations, so in the Ottoman *ʿahdnāme*s, *mustaʾmin*s were granted free navigation by sea, with security against attacks by Muslim vessels; the right to anchor in Muslim harbours and to take on supplies and water at any point on the coast; exemption for ships and crews from being impressed for any *angarya* duty; help and protection at sea or if driven ashore; security for their persons and their goods if they were compelled for any reason to land; joint protection against pirates; and indemnity for losses due to piracy (Venetian caps. of 928/1521, arts. 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 22, 25, 26; French caps. of 977/1569, arts. 1, 2, 13, 15, 17; English caps. of 1086/1675, arts. 1, 3, 4, 6, 17, 19). As long as the "Barbary Pirates" were under Ottoman suzerainty, new articles were drawn up to ensure protection against them (French caps. of 1012/1604, arts. 19, 20; English caps. of 1086/1675, art. 47). In the 11th/17th century when *mustaʾmins*' ships were permitted to engage in the carriage of passengers and goods between Ottoman ports, new articles appeared to cover this (*e.g.*, English caps. of 1086/1675, arts. 41-4).

IV. Guarantees for the free transport and sale of goods.

These matters are usually dealt with in the first articles, immediately following the declaration of the grant of *amān*, and to them were later added additional articles framed to deal with abuses. They reserved the right of local authorities and masters of Ottoman warships to search for prohibited or smuggled goods (articles against abuse of this right: French caps. of 1013/1604, arts. 30, 32, 44; English caps. of 1086/1675, arts. 17, 20, 23, 53). It was conceded that after ships had been inspected in Istanbul and in the Bosphorus they need not be inspected again at Gallipoli (Venetian caps. of 928/1521, art. 26). Occasionally a customs officer would force a merchant to unload goods against his will (hence art. 17 of the French caps. of 1013/1604); local merchants would intrigue or exercise pressure to buy goods at a price they determined (hence art. 33 of these last caps., art. 5 of the English caps. of 1086/1675), or to sell at their own price (hence docs. in DHY, Françalu no. 26/1).

Various obstacles were encountered by foreign merchants when, for example, the Ottoman state from time to time prohibited the export of various wares (especially cereals, leather, cotton and metals) in order to prevent the starving of internal markets, or granted monopolies or *iltizām*s for the sale of different commodities; these gave rise to new articles in the capitulations (French: art. 14, English: art. 53)—although the usual remedy was to resort to widely-organized smuggling (Masson, i, 417).

In their earliest *ʿahdnāme*s the Ottoman authorities were content to prescribe that customs and other dues should be levied "according to custom and the current regulation" (*ʿādet ve ḳānūn üzere*), without mentioning a specific percentage. Hence Meḥemmed II had no difficulty in raising the custom's rates from 2% to 4% and finally, at the end of his reign, to 5%. 5% was the general rate in the 10th/16th century, but the Ottoman customs tariff varied according to the status of the importer, the nature of the commodity, and the area where it was enforced; nor was is clearly distinguished from dues levied on goods in transit within the Empire [see MAKS]. As a result of the numerous disputes provoked by these inconsistencies, the *mustaʾmin*s succeeded, not without great difficulty, in getting the minimum customs rate fixed at 3% (for the history of this struggle, see Wood, 27) and in obtaining exemption from all other dues (*i.e.*, principally *ḳaṣṣābiyye* or *ḳaṣṣāb-akčesi*, *maṣdariyye*, *reftiyye*, *yasakčī*, *bādj*—for all of which, see MAKS). The traditional practice of making payments to clerks and servants in the custom's department brought the customs rate up from the official 3% to a real 4½%. Some commodities were also subject to additional duties: cotton to *ḳanṭār-resmi*, silk to *mīzān-resmi*, mohair to *ṭamgha-resmi*, etc. Again, each ship had to pay to the high officials of the port at which it called a fixed sum (at first 300 *akče*s, in the 11th/17th century 9600 *akče*s), under the name of *selāmlīk* or *selāmetiyye*. *Mustaʾmin* merchants also had to contribute to the support of their ambassador and consuls, by paying a due of 2½% as "*consulage*" (T. *ḳonsolos ḥaḳḳī* or *baylādj ḥaḳḳī*). These dues together, with the basic customs duties, brought the total rate in practice to at least 9%. In order to prevent disputes the ambassador finally managed to procure the establishment of fixed tariffs and their inclusion in the capitulations (*e.g.*, the English capitulations of 1086/1675, arts. 62-5).

B. Historical Survey.

(1) *Period of the Italian maritime states* (700/1300-977/1569).

The Seldjūḳ sultans of Anatolia had granted commercial privileges to the Kingdom of Cyprus and to the Venetians as early as 603/1207 (O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçuklulan hakkında resmî vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 108-19, 121-37). The oldest *ʿahdnāme* text to survive dates from Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 616/January 1220 (Tafel and Thomas, i, 438, ii, 143; O. Turan, *op. cit.*, 124-37; for a French merchant in Konya in 1225, see Belin, 37).

When the Ottomans first entered Rumeli in 753/1352 [see GELIBOLU] they were in friendly relations with Genoa (then at war with Venice) and granted her the first Ottoman capitulations. Although this first text is lost, that of 19 Djumādā I 789/9 June 1387 has survived (Latin text in Silvestre de Sacy, *Notices et extraits*, xi/1, 59-61: cf. M. Belgrano,

in *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, xiii, 146-9). The oldest commercial concession to a Latin state made by a Turcoman prince of Anatolia is in the peace treaty of 1348 between the Holy League (the Papacy, Venice, the Knights of Rhodes, Cyprus) and the Aydîn-oghlu Khiḍr Beg (text in Tafel and Thomas, iv, 313); but as early as 711/1311 Rhodian merchants had been operating in the principality of Menteshe, (Heyd, ii, 36), and a commercial agreement was later concluded. Venetian consulates were established in the middle years of the 8th/14th century at Altoluogo (Ayatholuḳ) and Palatia (Balat) (Heyd, i, 545). When, under Bāyezīd I, these places came under Ottoman suzerainty, the Sultan confirmed these privileges and extended them to "all places under his rule, by sea and by land, in Anatolia and Rumelia" (text in G. M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, iv, no. 134). From the time when Edirne was occupied by the Ottomans (762/1361) Venice was attempting to obtain capitulations from the Sultan (I. Brătianu, *Études Byzantines*, Paris 1938, 167). In 786/1384 she was making diplomatic advances in order to procure permission to import grain from Ottoman territory and to establish a commercial settlement on Ottoman soil, preferably at Üsküdār opposite Ghalaṭa (Thomas, *Dipl.*, ii, no. 141; F. Thiriet, *Régestes*, i, 165). The peace treaty of 822/1419 mentions an agreement between Venice and Meḥemmed I's grandfather, *i.e.*, Murād I (Thomas, *Dipl.*, no. 172). Bāyezīd I used his power to permit or withhold grain exports as a political weapon against Venice (M. Silberschmidt, *Das Orient, Problem* . . ., Leipzig 1923). In the period of civil war after the battle of Ankara, Ottoman pretenders recognized the necessity to conciliate Venice. Süleymān Čelebi actively sought Venetian support (Iorga, *Notes*, i, 122), and in the peace agreement of 806/1403 for the first time granted important concessions to the members of the League (Venice, Byzantium, Genoa, the Knights of Rhodes) (text in Thomas, *Dipl.*, ii, no. 159). Mūsā Čelebi confirmed these at Phanar on 13 Djumādā I 814/3 September 1411 (Thomas, *Dipl.*, no. 164). There followed the agreements of 17 Shawwāl 822/6 November 1419 (Thomas, *Dipl.*, no. 172), 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 833/4 September 1430 (*ibid.*, no. 182), and 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 849/25 February 1446 (F. Babinger and F. Dölger, *Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)*, in *Or. Chr. Per.*, xv/3-4 (1949), 225-58).

Meḥemmed II, like his great-grandfather Bāyezīd I, pursued the policy of attempting to reduce the Italian colonists to the status of tribute-payers. Although the Ottoman-Venetian war of 867/1463-884/1479 was a blow to Venetian commerce, trade was not completely interrupted, and by the treaty of 4 Rabīʿ II 884/25 June 1479 (cf. A. Bombaci, in *BZ*, xlvii (1954), 298-319) and its renewal by Bāyezīd II (end of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 886/January 1482, original in Archivio di Stato, Venice), Venice was permitted, besides the privileges formerly conceded, permission to trade with Kefe and Trabzon in the Black Sea. In 904/1498, before embarking again on war with Venice, the Ottomans granted a capitulation to the King of Naples (S. N. Fisher, *The foreign relations of Turkey* . . ., Urbana 1948, 61). In the Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 24 Ramaḍān 909/24 March 1503, the concessions were further extended (Marino Sanuto, v, 42-7; cf. Bonelli, *Il trattato* . . ., 363). These were renewed by Selīm I (16 Shaʿbān 919/17 October 1513) and Süleymān I (17 Muḥarram 928/17 December 1521) (Turkish originals in Archivio di Stato). It is noteworthy that by the treaty of 1 Djumādā II 947/2 October 1540 (L. Bonelli, *Il trattato* . . ., 332-3; W. Lehmann, *Der Friedensvertrag*, and now (Turkish text) T. Gökbilgin, in Belgeler, i/2, 121-8), the commercial privileges were extended, the Arab lands and Bosnia being included,—but Trabzon and Kefe were excluded. The hostile relations between Venice and the Ottomans in the years 978/1570-980/1572 facilitated the intervention of a new competitor in the Levant-France. Until this time Venice had enjoyed commercial predominance in the Levant, in Istanbul, and in Egypt. (For the later Venetian capitulations see Murād III, Turkish text, Süleymaniye Library, MS Esad Ef. 2362, 63-70; (Rabīʿ II 1004/December 1595) Belin, in *JA*, VIIe Série, viii, 384-442; cf. Noradounghian, i, 408-9).

With the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt, the value of capitulations increased enormously. Selīm I renewed the capitulations granted by the Mamluk sultans to Venice (see B. Moritz, *Ein Firman des Sultan Selim für die Venetianer*, in *Festschrift Sachau*, 422 ff.) and the consul of the Catalans and the French (at Ghazza, in Rabīʿ II 923/May 1517; for the Italian and French texts of the terms as renewed by Süleymān I, see Charrière, i, 121-9). The suggestion that these more elaborate capitulations were the model for the capitulations later granted to the states of Western Europe (J. H. Mordtmann, *Die islamisch-fränkischen Staatsverträge*, in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, xi (1918) is an exaggeration: the Ottomans seem rather to have followed the practice of the Anatolian emirates.

The capitulation granted to the joint Catalan-French consul in Egypt was not in fact an instrument between states. In 943/1536, however, the King of France, seeking the profit from the close relations he had established with the Sultan, attempted to obtain a direct capitulation for France. The *traité* which his ambassador J. de la Forest drew up in discussions with Ibrāhīm Pasha (see Charrière, i, 285, introduction) was not confirmed by Süleymān (cf. Charrière, i, 293-4, art. 17)—and soon afterwards Ibrāhīm was executed (22 Ramaḍān 942/15 March 1536). This draft, as finally drawn up by de la Forest, bears the form of a treaty concluded between two equal parties: this is the sole example of such a "treaty" among the "capitulations" (all the others of which were granted as unilaterally conceded *ʿahdnāmes*), and has given rise to very varying interpretations by modern scholars (Belin, 59; M. Khadduri, *War and peace* . . ., 273; I. Soysal, in *TD*, iii/5-6, 78; H. J. Liebesney, 317). That the document remained only a draft is clear from Rinçon's letters sent from Istanbul (Charrière, i, 389, 396-7, 413-4); its text was discovered only in 1777 by the Comte de Saint-Priest in the papers of d'Aramon (see G. Zeller, *Une légende qui dure* . . ., in *Revue d'hist. mod. et contemporaine*, ii (1955), 127-32; and (in answer), M. E., *Les capitulations de 1535 ne sont pas une légende*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, xix (1964)).

(2) *Period of the predominance of the states of Western Europe* (977/1569-1188/1774).

The first authentic Ottoman-French capitulations are those of 7 Djumādā I 977/18 October 1569. Those attributed to the reign of Süleymān (Belin, 89) must be that sultan's renewal of the Mamlūk capitulations, which had been extended to embrace the whole Ottoman Empire (Charrière, i, 123). A new capitulation in 977/1569 became necessary through the accession of Selīm II and the imposition in Egypt of a measure which destroyed French commerce (see Ṣafvet, in *TOEM*, iii, 993, and the introduction to the capitulations). The King sent Claude du Bourg to Istanbul to regulate this affair (Charrière, iii, 64, note 1;

Mission diplomatique de Claude du Bourg, in *Revue d'Hist. Dipl.*, 1895), and he, without difficulty, obtained the *ʿahdnāme* (Turkish text in British Museum, MS Or. 9053, ff. 252-5; French text in Testa, i, 91-6), which the ambassador Noailles in 1572 called "le plus ample et avantageux traité qui jamais fut tiré du Levant" (Testa, i, 111). Since the Ottomans were in that year making preparations to attack Cyprus (in Venetian occupation), they were anxious for good relations with France. The capitulation was drawn up on the basis of the Venetian capitulations (cf. art. 16, and Charrière, iii, 91, note 1). The additional last article (17) incurred, according to Du Bourg (Charrière, *ibid.*), the protests of the Shaykh al-Islām and the jealousy of Venice. As a result of these concessions, French commerce in the Levant rapidly expanded, overtaking that of Venice and encouraging the merchants of several other European states to sail under the French flag in order to have a share in this prosperity. According to the capitulations of 989/1581, these foreign merchants were the English, Portuguese, Spaniards, Catalans, Sicilians, Anconans and Ragusans. At this period the Sultan recognized as capitulatary states only France, Venice and Poland (Turkish text of the Polish capitulations of 20 Shaʿbān 960/1 August 1553 published by T. Gökbilgin, in *Belgeler*, i/2 (1963), 128-30). As France began to fall under Spanish influence (981/1573), Ottoman suspicions of her were aroused, and in 983/1575, before the new sultan Murād III had renewed the French capitulations, the English merchants began to apply for capitulations for themselves (Wood, 7; the privilege granted to Jenkinson in 960/1553 (Hakluyt, v, 109) was never put into effect). Since the middle of the century, English merchants had been attempting to establish a trade route via Moscow, the Caucasus and Hormuz. This project being defeated by the Ottoman occupation of Ādharbāydjān (986/1578), they turned their attention once more to the Levant (W. Foster, *England's quest of Eastern trade*, London 1933, 21-71). Two enterprising London merchants, Osborne and Staper, sent their agent William Harborne to Istanbul, with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Sultan. Harborne acquired an *idjāzet-i hümāyūn* restricted to these three principals and permitting them to trade in Istanbul (Muḥarram 988/February-March 1580, text publ. by I. H. Uzunçarşili, in *Belleten*: xlii/51 (1950), 615, doc. 2). In his reply to the Queen (*loc. cit.*, doc. 1), Murād III conceded *amān* to the English merchants so long as "friendship and good faith" was maintained. This rapprochement between the sovereigns was prompted by political calculations directed against Spain (CSP, Venice, viii, Preface, pp. XXXIX-XLVI); economically too, the Ottoman authorities were attracted by the opportunity of buying English cloth more cheaply and acquiring raw materials like tin and steel which were required for making arms. By a letter of 4 Ramaḍān 987/25 October 1579, Elizabeth had asked that the trading concessions be extended to all her subjects (Eng. tr. from Latin, in Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz*, 181) and since some statesmen in Istanbul were at that time pressing the importance of English friendship against Spain (Kurat, in *Köprülü armagani*, 308-15), a full *ʿahdnāme*, based on the French capitulations (see art. 19), was granted (Rabiʿ II 988/May 1580; the Turkish text published by Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz*, 182-6, contains errors, and should be controlled by the text published by Uzunçarşılı (*Belleten*, 617-9), by the text in British Museum MS Or. 9053, ff. 248-50, and by the texts of later capitulations. The English text is dated June 1580, see Hakluyt, v, 178-83; cf. P. Wittek, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Historical Research*, xix/57 (1942), 121-39).

M. de Germigny managed however to procure the insertion into the renewed French capitulations of the clause that English merchants should, as before, sail under the French flag. Nevertheless Harborne, in the teeth of French and Venetian intrigue, obtained a new *ʿahdnāme* (Rabiʿ II 992/May 1583), and the Sultan sent the Queen a letter of confirmation (later in the same month, Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz*, 187, doc. V).

Thus began a long commercial struggle between France and England in the Levant (Testa, i, 151-71; A. Horniker, *William Harborne and the beginning of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic and commercial relations*, in *J. Mod. Hist.*, xviii (1946)). France finally recognized the new state of affairs (capitulations of 1012/1604, art. 4), but there were more collisions because the Dutch preferred to sail under the English flag in their trade in the Levant. In the upshot, the Ottoman government granted the Dutch separate capitulations (7 Djumādā I 1021/6 July 1612; text in Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, v/2, 205; see A. Ernstberger, *Europas Widerstand gegen Hollands erste Gesandtschaft bei der Pforte (1612)*, Munich 1956). As late as 1062/1652, however, France obtained the Porte's support for her claim that the merchants of every Christian nation which had no ambassador of its own in Istanbul must trade under her flag (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu defterleri no. 26). In about 980/1572 Ragusa, claiming to be the tributary (*kharādj-güzār*) of the Sultan, shook off French protection (Testa, i, 101). The French succeeded for a long time in hindering the settlement of an English merchant-colony in Egypt (R. Fedden, *Notes on the British consulate in Egypt*, in *BIE*, xxvii (1946), 1-21). By a firman of Djumādā I 1054/July 1644, the Sultan forbade the English consul in Egypt to exact consular dues from Genoese and Sicilian merchants (Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY, Françalu no. 26). But in the years between 1030/1620 and 1094/1683, the English managed to make themselves generally supreme in the Levant. Countries of the *dār al-ḥarb* preferred to have recourse to English protection, as being surer and less expensive. The Ottoman government, ignoring French protests, finally permitted *ḥarbīs* to sail under the protection of whichever power they wished.

As a result of the fierce competition between the European states, a "most favoured nation" clause began at this period to figure in capitulations (*e.g.*, the English capitulation of 1580, art. 19). Other new clauses too which the Western states caused to be inserted in their capitulations are a reflexion of the contemporary situation and pressures. In the new English capitulations obtained by Lello in 1010/1601 (Turkish text in Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*, ii, 381-5) 17 new clauses appear (see Sanderson, *Travels*, London 1931, 282-7): the "most favoured nation" status of England is confirmed; the Dutch are put under the English flag (a defeat for the French); gold and silver currency are exempted from customs dues and permitted to circulate freely. This last clause is connected with the trade in silver currency, which was then an important economic question (see H. Inalcık, in *Belleten*, xv/60 (1951), 656-61). Another important clause was that subjecting the English to a customs due of only 3% *ad valorem* on goods they brought in from Venice and other places: this encouraged other nations, subject to a 5% rate, to ship their exports under the English flag. In a later renewal, a clause was inserted to combat the misuse of bills of exchange (Noradounghian, i, 165, art. 58).

In Djumādā II 1086/September 1675, during the embassy of John Finch, a new capitulation was drawn up embracing all the earlier privileges and the *khaṭṭ-i sherīf*s granted over the years (G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk* ..., London 1920). The chief articles then added (Noradounghian, i, 167-8, arts. 72-5) concerned the prohibition of excessive dues on woollens and silk—these being the principal export wares of the English merchants at Smyrna, so that the dues were causing disputes. Finch attempted at the same time, but in vain, to procure for his King the title Pādishāh, which the French King had enjoyed since 1014/1603 (Ferīdūn, ii, 400). Finch's capitulation aroused the jealousy of the French and the Venetians (Abbott, 147).

The French capitulations and their effectiveness varied in the 11th/17th century with changes in Ottoman-French political relations. The renewals under Meḥemmed III (1005/1597; text in P. de Rausas) and Aḥmed I (1012/1604; text in Testa, i, 141-51; Noradounghian, i, 93-102; Turkish text in Ferīdūn, ii, 400-4) fell in a period of warm relations, so that the French were able to obtain some important new articles (F. S. de Brèves, *Relation* ..., Paris 1630; analysis of the articles in Belin, 84-9; J. de Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade en Turquie* ..., *1605-1610*, 2 vols., Paris 1888-9). In the former, the most important clauses provided for all "nations" except the Venetians and English to sail under the French flag; for the export of grain; for freedom of trade in silver coin (for a ferman on this subject, see Başvekâlet Arşivi, Fekete tasnifi no. 2396); for guarantees against Barbary corsairs (arts. 1, 4, 8). The latter conceded French protection of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and of monks dwelling there (arts. 4, 5)—clauses which laid the foundation for the later French claims to protect all Catholics and Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. In 1028/1619, the attempt of the Comte de Césy to renew the capitulations failed (Tongas, 20), and henceforward the influence of the French at the Porte and in the markets of the Levant began to decline (Masson, i, 124-30; Tongas, 139-215). The Porte granted a separate capitulation to Genoa, hitherto under the French flag, and reduced their custom dues to 3% (1076/1665; Chardin, *Voyages*, i, Amsterdam 1711, 6-17; It. text in Noradounghian, i, 124-32). In the period when the Köprülüs were in power, political relations with France were for a time suspended, and French trade fell to a tenth of what it had been in 1029/1620 (Masson, i, XXXI; Tongas, 5-65). Finally, as part of Colbert's efforts to revive the Levant trade, the French managed to renew their capitulations in 1084/1673, with important new clauses (Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 4-14; Fr. text in Noradoughian, i, 136-45; a letter of Meḥemmed IV relating to the *ʿahdnāme* in Testa, ii, 169; for the negotiations, see A. Vandal, *Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, 1670-1680, Paris 1900, 99-112). The most important new clauses conceded reduction of customs dues to 3%, "most favoured nation" treatment, and the French right to protect Jesuit and Capucin missionaries at the Porte.

From 1094/1683 onwards, when the Ottoman Empire in Europe was beset by dangers and the Porte needed diplomatic support from Western powers, the institution of the capitulations entered a new stage. Henceforward, new privileges were granted as an unveiled gesture of reciprocity for political assistance. By a *khaṭṭ-i sherīf* of 1101-1690, the French won the reduction of customs dues in Egypt from 10% to 3%, and the return to the Catholics of various sacred sites in Jerusalem (Paris, *Hist. de Marseille*, 89-90). When France made peace with the Habsburgs in 1109/1697, the Porte turned to England: the English were granted the monopoly of the carrying trade by sea between Egypt and Istanbul, and an English consulate was opened in Egypt (Fedden, *op. cit.*, 13-14). A rapprochement with France between 1128/1716 and 1153/1740 changed the picture again: the Marquis de Villeneuve, who acted as intermediary in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) and brought his sovereign's guarantee of it (see A. Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV* ..., Paris 1887), obtained the most extensive privileges yet conceded (1153/1740; Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿāsī*, i, 14-35; Fr. text in Testa, i, 186-210; Noradounghian, i, 277-300). The Sultan even confirmed these capitulations on behalf of his successors (cf. the Prussian capitulations of 1174/1761 in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 90). The Ottoman government thus sacrificed the valuable bargaining counter that new capitulations had to be negotiated at the beginning of every new reign. The new clauses contained nothing of great substance. In the following years the French held an unchallenged position in Levant trade and in transportation between Ottoman ports (see R. Paris, 93-109). Each state of Europe which was enjoying any degree of economic development was now forming a Levant Company and attempting to obtain capitulations from the Porte. The Ottomans responded, following a policy of weakening the privileged position held by France, England and Holland (Sweden: 1149/1737, text in Noradounghian, i, 239, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt Medjmuʿasī*, i, 146; the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies: 1153/1740, text in Noradounghian, i, 270; Denmark: 1170/1756, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 308, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 52; Prussia: 1174/1761, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 315, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 83; Spain: 1197/1783, Turkish text in Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², ii, 338-43 and *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, i, 212, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 344). In granting these capitulations the Porte was swayed chiefly by the political aim of acquiring friends in Europe (see especially the account of the Spanish negotiations in Djewdet, ii, 184-203).

The new stage had been fully entered when the supremacy of the Western nations in the Levant was threatened by the reluctant concession, under pressure, of capitulations to the Habsburgs and to Russia —to the Ottoman Empire's two powerful enemies.

(3) *The capitulations as an instrument of European imperialism.*

As early as the middle of the 9th/15th century, German merchants from Augsburg and Nurenberg had been active, under Venetian protection, in Instanbul (see H. Kellenbenz, *Handelsverbindung zwischen Mitteleuropa und Istanbul*, in *Studi Veneziani*, ix, 193-9). Customs documents also attest the import of cloth overland from Breslau into Ottoman Hungary (L. Fekete and Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda* (*Offen*), Budapest 1962, 730). By the truce conceded to the Emperor Charles V and Ferdinand in 954/1547, merchants were permitted to travel back and forth enjoying *emn u amān* (Ferīdūn, ii, 340 and 341). At the renewal of the Treaty of Zsitva-torok in 1025/1616 (Ferīdūn, ii, 324; *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasī*, 75, arts. 9-10; Latin text in Noradounghian, i, 113-8), merchants owing allegiance to the Emperor, Austria, Spain and Flanders were permitted to travel and

trade, with a customs rate of 3%; furthermore, Jesuit priests were allowed to reside in Ottoman domains and maintain churches (art. 7). In 1078/1667 Austria sought to take an active part in Levant trade by founding a trading company (H. Hassinger, *Die erste Wiener Handelskompanie, 1667-1683*, in *Viertelj. für Soz. und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, xxxv/1 (1942), 53). In the upshot, hostility between the two empires prevented these commercial privileges from being effectively exploited. Although by the Treaty of Carlowitz of 1111/1699 (art. 14) the Ottomans agreed to extend the capitulations granted to other European nations to the nations subject to the Habsburg Emperor, the latter obtained full capitulations only after the Treaty of Passarowitz (1130/1718: Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 220-7; Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 112-20). By these, ships were allowed to navigate freely on the Danube—but not to enter the Black Sea (art. 20); the Emperor could establish a consulate wherever another state had a consulate and wherever else he thought fit; Austrian and Persian merchants were permitted to trade via the Danube and the Black Sea, subject to a customs rate of 5%. It is noteworthy that no oath figures in these capitulations. Trade with Germany expanded, via the Danube, but mainly via Trieste and Venice (H. Grenville, *Observations*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 54). These capitulations were renewed in 1160/1747 (Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 135-42), the Emperor obtaining the concession that merchants from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, Hamburg and Lübeck should travel under his flag (as had Genoese merchants since 1137/1725). Rivalry with Russia prompted Austria to exact new clauses and a *sened* guaranteeing that they would be honoured (1198/1784, Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 379-82, Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 152-5); these clauses included the right to establish consulates in Wallachia and Moldavia, the same right of navigation by sea (including the Black Sea) and by the great rivers as Russia enjoyed, and the acknowledgement that an Austrian passport alone was a sufficient authority for a traveller.

In the 9th/15th century Russian merchants were trading at Azak (Azov) and Kefe, and by the end of the century their presence is recorded in Bursa (in 903/1497, Ivan III sent his ambassador Pleshčeyev to Istanbul, to seek facilities for them). They travelled as individuals, either with a personal *idhn-i hümāyūn* or by *istiʾmān* from Muslim merchants (for an example, see F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekçilik*, Istanbul 1960, p. 191). After the Czar's occupation of Kazan (959/1552), the great market for furs, commercial relations expanded, the Sultan sending merchants attached to the Palace to Moscow to buy furs (see, *e.g.*, Dalsar, 192-3), and the Czar's merchants coming to Bursa, with individual permits, to buy silkstuffs. In the Treaty of Istanbul of 1112/1700 the question of trade privileges was left for later discussion (art. 10), but a special article (12) permitted Russian monks to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Article 9 of the Treaty of Belgrade (1152/1739) permitted freedom of trade to merchants of both parties, but with the proviso that goods should be carried in the Black Sea only in Turkish vessels. By the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja ([*q.v.*], 1188/1774), the Porte conceded to Russia, as it had to Western nations, freedom of navigation in Ottoman waters, explicitly including the Black Sea, the Straits and the Danube. Russian merchants coming by sea or land were to receive "most favoured nation" rights, all the terms of the English and French capitulations were granted to Russia, and the Czar was permitted to set up consulates and vice-consulates wherever he wished. Other clauses granted further privileges with regard to criminals (art. 6), diplomatic immunities of ambassadors and dragomans (arts. 5 and 9), and the protection of Christians (arts. 7, 8 and 14); and finally, the Czar was granted the title Pādishāh (art. 13). Since all these privileges were embodied in a reciprocal and bilateral "treaty" (in the modern sense), they differed both in form and in legal character from the *ʿahdnāme*s unilaterally granted by the Porte to France and England—and indeed when five years later the Porte attempted to restrain ships carrying to Russia provisions required for supplying Istanbul, Russia regarded this as a "violation of the treaty" (*naḳḍ-i ʿahd*: Djewdet, ii, 135). The establishment of Russian consuls in such sensitive areas as Wallachia, Moldavia and Sinop led to tension (Djewdet, ii, 144; iii, 125-7). The Porte indeed still evidently regarded capitulations as concessions freely granted to the subjects of friendly powers—but Russia now began to put on the pressure: in the explanatory convention of Aynalî Ḳavaḳ (1193/1779: Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 275-84; Fr. text in Noradounghian, i, 338) the construction of Article II of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja was reviewed, and it was repeated (art. 6) that it was a mutual engagement which could not be unilaterally denounced. Finally, on occupying the Crimea, Russia forced the Porte to recognize the annexation and to grant a full capitulation of 81 clauses "on the basis of the capitulations granted to the French and the English" (1197/1783: Turkish text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, iii, 285-319; French text in Noradounghian, i, 371-3). In the preamble and the conclusion it was stated that this *ʿahdnāme* was a pact supplementary to the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja.

This instrument was to lend a new character to the Porte's capitulatory agreements with Western powers: in particular, they reacted to the opening of the Black Sea to Russian ships, and at first, hoping to expand her trade, Russia encouraged them (Wood, 180-1). Since the 10th/16th century the English (Wood, 49; Grenville, 49-54) and the French (Masson, ii, 637-55; R. Paris, 455) had repeatedly —but in vain—attempted to obtain entry into the Black Sea; when Russia was now granted this right, they asked the same concession for themselves, on the basis of the "most favoured nation" clause in their capitulations. But this was not granted immediately; the English obtained it in a "note" of 1214/1799 (text in Noradounghian, ii, 35-6) and France by art. 2 of the Treaty of Paris (1217/1802: text in *Muʿāhedāt medjmūʿasi*, 36; for the negotiations, see I. Soysal, *Fransız Ihtilâli ve Türk-Fransız münasebetleri*, 1789-1802, Ankara 1964, 315-37); the same right was later granted to other powers (Sardinia, Denmark, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Tuscany; see Noradounghian, ii, 102, 137, 140, 219).

(4) *Abuse of the Capitulations and attempts to abolish them.*

Until the end of the 12th/18th century the Ottoman state in its dealings with the mercantilist nations of Europe continued to adhere to its traditional attitude in commercial matters and granted generous privileges, based on the concept of *amān*, without considering the dangerous results which might ensue. In about 1771 Porter considered (*Observations*, 357-464) that it was hardly possible to ask for more to be conceded. An expert on the Levant trade recognized (Masson, i, 473) that the Ottoman state afforded "toute la securité et toutes les facilités necessaires";

he observed also that the Europeans abused these privileges in the most outrageous ways. The growing exploitation had, in the last years of the century, brought the Ottoman Empire to a position of political and economic subordination to Western Europe, so that the French ambassador Choiseul-Gouffier could in 1788 call the Ottoman Empire "une des plus riches colonies de la France" (Masson, ii, 279). Before the 18th century, these privileges presented no great threat to the Ottoman state and its economy, the Ottoman government still being powerful enough to prevent abuses; but now the European states used pressure and threats towards the weakened Ottoman state in order to maintain and extend the concessions, and managed to obstruct the correction of abuses.

The abuse which really undermined the Empire was the extension of capitulatory rights to *dhimmī* subjects of the Porte. The *musta'min* from a *ḥarbī* land enjoyed greater privileges than an Ottoman subject; and some *dhimmīs* hit on the method of winning these privileges for themselves, namely, to obtain from the Porte, through the bribing of foreign ambassadors and consuls, patents of appointment (*berāts*) as dragomans. By the capitulations, ambassadors and consuls had the right to employ a stipulated number of dragomans, and by the *berāt* granted to such a dragoman (for specimens, see Başvekâlet Arşivi, DHY Ecnebi defterleri; London, Public Record Office, SP 105/334) the Sultan exempted both the bearer and his sons and servants from poll-tax (*djizya*) and the other taxes to which the *ra'āyā* were liable. In the 11th/17th century, the Western nations obtained also various diplomatic immunities for their dragomans (see, *e.g.*, art. 45 of the English capitulation of 1086/1675: *Mu'āhedāt medjmū'asi*, i, 251; Noradounghian, i, 157). Ambassadors and consuls began—for a consideration—to procure such *berāts* for *dhimmīs* who had no pretensions at all to be dragomans, and so to make quite large sums. These *berātlīs* [*q.v.*], or "*barataires*" and their servants ("*sous-barataires*"), who enjoyed the same privileges, had the same financial and juridical advantages as the *musta'mins*, and paid the same lower customs duties. In 1208/1793, in Aleppo alone, some 1500 *dhimmī* merchants held dragomans' *berāts*—only six of whom, when a check was made, proved to be genuine interpreters (*Kisbī ta'rīkhi*, *apud* Djewdet, vi, 130. For the check carried out in Salonica in 1178/1764, see Svoronos, 152; for further checks in 1200/1786 and 1221/1806, see Djewdet, iii, 130, 270, viii, 107).

This was not the only abuse. A capitulary power had also the right to extend the privileges arising from the capitulations to "protected persons" who were not its own nationals, so that an Ottoman subject needed only to obtain a *patente* from a compliant ambassador or consul to enjoy the privileges accorded by capitulation to foreigners. In about 1223/1808 the Russians had enrolled 120,000 Greeks as "protected persons" (for the "barataires" and "protégés" see especially F. Rey, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les Échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris 1899). During the reign of Selim III Ottoman statesmen united in a general reaction against the capitulations, and various measures were taken to rescue Ottoman subjects from the *un*privileged status to which they had fallen. Thus by a *berāt* granted in 1207/1792, a *dhimmī* merchant and his two assistants who traded with Europe were granted "all the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the dragoman of a *müste'min* and his servants" (see 'O. Nūrī, *Medjelle-i umūr-i belediyye*, i, 675-8). Such merchants were called "*Avrūpā tüdjdjārī.*" Shortly afterwards some Muslim merchants trading with Persia and India were, by *berāt*, granted the same privileges (*op. cit.* 681-5), and called "*Khayriyye tüdjdjārī*". Their affairs were regulated by a special administrative system and a special court.

The *a'yān*, local despots who at this period were rising to power in various provinces of the Empire (in Palestine, Shaykh Ẓāhir and later Djazzār Aḥmad Pasha; in Egypt, Meḥmed 'Alī; in Rumeli, Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha [*qq.v.*]), with an eye on the benefits for their own treasuries, struggled effectively against the evil effects arising from the abuse of the capitulations by such measures as forbidding the export of certain goods, imposing monopolies and farming the sale of monopoly wares, fixing the prices of wares for export and abolishing the rights of navigation enjoyed by *musta'mins*. The central government too began increasingly to use the devices of monopoly (*yed-i wāḥid*) and *iltizām* [*q.v.*] of export goods in order to increase revenue. This was an old principle, entirely within the competence of the government. Again, the internal customs duties and other dues levied on internal commerce were matters outside the purview of the capitulations. Nevertheless, in about 1830 the Western powers, and principally England, in the new circumstances created by the Industrial Revolution, were feeling the need that the markets of the Levant should become still more accessible, secure and stable. By exploiting a political crisis England succeeded in this aim through the Convention of Balta Liman of 1254/1838 (text: Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, 1830, 291-95; Noradounghian, ii, 249 and note at p. 254; V. J. Puryear, *International economics and diplomacy in the Near East*², 1969, 117-26). This commercial treaty not only confirmed for ever all existing capitulary privileges (art. 1) but imposed customs duties *ad valorem* of 3% on imports and 9% on exports (art. 4). This 9% duty represented a rate imposed as compensation for the various duties collected on internal trade, and thus closed one of the loopholes through which the Ottoman government could exercise its freedom in customs' policy. Furthermore, the English obtained the abolition of the old limitations on their freedom of movement within the Empire (the need for safe-conducts and travelling-passes, etc.) and of the monopolies: in internal trade they were to enjoy the status of the "most favoured" Ottoman subjects, and could both export and also sell freely within the Empire the goods which they bought. This agreement was followed by others concluded with the other capitulary nations (Noradounghian, ii). These changes made the Ottoman Empire an entirely open market just at the time when European mechanised industry was seeking outlets for its products. In the next ten years, local industry collapsed (Ö. C. Sarç, *Ottoman industrial policy*, in Ch. Issawi (ed.), *The economic history of the Middle East*, London and Chicago 1966, 46-60).

One of the basic causes of the Crimean War was Russia's claim, based on a distortion of an old capitulation privilege, to extend her protection over all Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. To counter this, 'Ālī Pasha maintained at the Paris peace congress (1856) that since the Ottoman Empire had now joined the European comity of nations, it should be treated according to the rights of nations recognized among them—and hence the capitulations (*'uhūd-i 'atīḳa*) should be abolished. It was agreed that the question should be examined at a separate

conference, to be convened in Istanbul (L.-J.-D. Féraud-Giraud, *De la juridiction française dans les Échelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris 1866, ii, 54-8). This news was taken very seriously in Istanbul (A. Fu'ād, *Ridjāl-i mühimme-i siyāsiyye*, Istanbul 1928, 70), but the powers never met: in 1861 and 1862, when the commercial treaties were renewed (Noradounghian, ii, 130-91), the capitulations were re-affirmed in their entirety, and a few modifications were made only in customs rates [see MAKS]. The statesmen of the Tanẓīmāt generation now believed firmly that the first and essential step in the recovery of the Empire was to win freedom from the capitulations. With this aim in view, while taking fundamental measures of reform in the Westernization and secularization of the administration and the legal system, they also sought methods of suppressing at least the worst abuses of the capitulations. By a firman of 1284/1867 (text in Testa, vii, 745-7; Aristarchi, i, 19-21; Turkish text in *Dustūr*, i, 230), while foreigners were granted the right to own property, it was also decreed that they should be subject to the same conditions as Ottoman subjects, pay the same taxes, and be answerable to Ottoman courts of law. The French ambassador commented that this new privilege "ensured to European capital the right to develop unlimited mineral, agricultural and forestry riches of the Ottoman Empire" (*La Turquie* (newspaper), issue of 12 September 1868). The powers complained that the old exemptions bestowed by the capitulations were not included, but finally accepted these terms (text in Testa, vii, 730-3; for Ziyā Pas̲h̲a's objections to this new privilege, see *Tanzimat*, i, Ankara 1940, 835-6). At the end of the document the Porte expressly stated that it reserved the right to alter the *ʿuhūd-i ʿatīḳa, i.e.*, the capitulations. ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a at one point (1867) considered adopting the French civil code in order to do away once and for all with the objections of the European powers (R. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1963, 252). Right down to the Republican period the desire to abolish the capitulations was the principal motive for various radical reforms and, in particular, efforts at secularization.

By his law on Ottoman nationality of 1869, ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a hoped to put an end to one of the gravest abuses of the capitulations (Turkish text: *Dustūr*, i, 16-18; French text: Testa, vii, 526-7), by enacting that a purported change of nationality was void without the approval of the Ottoman government. This provision too the powers were obliged to accept. A little later, in a memorandum circularized to the powers (Testa, vii, 548-54), ʿĀlī Pas̲h̲a, while recognizing that the capitulations bore the character of a "*traité*", drew to their attention the principal points which were abused, maintaining that these abuses were contrary not only to the "law of nations" but indeed to the terms of the capitulations themselves, and that the Ottoman government was obliged to see them rectified. The principal abuses were: the status of the "protected persons"; exemption from the taxes owed by Ottoman subjects; the extraterritorial status of consuls; the difficulty in prosecuting foreign criminals; the fact that foreigners were not answerable to Ottoman law and civil courts, which their own governments did not recognize; the interference of consular courts in the affairs of Ottoman courts; the dragoman's claim to take part in the Ottoman judge's decision (see J. de Testa, *Observations sur le mémoire de la Sublime Porte relatif aux capitulations*, Istanbul 1869). This memorandum had followed a Code of Regulations (*niẓāmnāme*) on Consuls (1863: text in Aristarchi, iv, 15-19) and a Protocol (*maẓbaṭa*) on the investigation of foreign criminals (1867); but the powers would permit no modifications on the points of internal taxes, the presence of dragomans in the courts, and the opening of mission schools without the permission of the Sultan, etc.

The other powers were gravely offended when, during the negotiations for the renewal of the commercial agreements in 1890, Germany agreed to the abolition of the capitulations,—but she had made this subject to the agreement of the other powers. The capitulations were now weighing even more heavily on the Ottoman Empire because the European powers were extending their fields of activity and extending their capitulary privileges into them, so that the Empire now had no better than a semi-colonial status. Banks, railways, mines, gas and electricity, port installations, ports and telephones—indeed all the important public services—were now in the hands of privileged European companies (see N. Verney and G. Dambmann, *Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant*, Paris 1900; C. Morawitz, *Les finances de la Turquie*, Paris 1902). Behind this abuse of the capitulations and the activities of missionary societies lay the threat of the political and military pressure which an imperialist state could bring to bear. Public opinion in Turkey, at last awake to the dangers, was now violently hostile to the capitulations. From 1908 onwards, every government placed their abolition at the top of its programme (C. Bilsel, *Lozan*, i, Istanbul 1933, 63). In two memoranda which he delivered to the British government in May 1913, the Grand Vizier Ḥaḳḳī Pas̲h̲a proposed some urgent modifications, such as the raising of customs' duties to 15%, the abolition of foreign post-offices, the imposition of a profits tax on foreigners, and the setting up of a commission of lawyers to carry through the complete abolition of the capitulations. Great Britain claimed that for these the agreement of all the powers would be necessary and that the commercial and financial regulations concerned not the capitulations but the recently concluded commercial treaties (*British documents on the origins of the War*, x/2, docs. 64, 80, 95, 97). With the outbreak of the First World War the Ottoman government took up the abolition of the capitulations with the British, French and Russian governments as a principal matter determining her attitude towards maintaining neutrality—but the Allies would make no clear promise (Y. H. Bayur, *Türk Inkilabı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1957, 156-62). Thereupon, by a firman of 17 S̲h̲awwāl 1332/8 September 1914, the Sultan proclaimed the abolition of "all the existent foreign privileges known as financial, economic, juridical and administrative capitulations, so that foreign nationals resident in the Ottoman Empire would be treated in the framework of the general law of nations" (Bayur, *op. cit.*, iii/1, 162; text of the note to the Powers: Bilsel, *op. cit.*, 65-7). Immediately thereafter there was promulgated the "Code of Regulations concerning the separation of *s̲h̲erʿī* courts and *niẓāmī* courts". The capitulary states protested, denouncing this action as a unilateral and arbitrary abrogation of treaty rights. By the Treaty of Sèvres the capitulations were restored without modification and their privileges were extended to the other victorious allies; but by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) the allies were obliged to accept their complete abolition.

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iii.—PERSIA

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European trade was carried out in Persia under the protection of farmans given by different s̲h̲āhs to individuals and companies. These were sometimes of a general nature and sometimes included the grant of privileges and immunities. Those who sought the grant of such farmans and the s̲h̲āhs who gave them may well have been influenced by the negotiations for the grant of extra-territorial privileges to French subjects in the Ottoman empire in the first half of the sixteenth century (see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near- and Middle East, a documentary record: 1535-1914*, Princeton 1956). In 1566 and 1568 S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp gave the Muscovy Company farmans in which he accorded them exemption from tolls and customs, freedom of travel throughout the country, protection for their merchants "from all evil persons", legal recovery of just debts, immunity from robbery,

permission to build or buy houses for their own use, and assistance in unloading (texts in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 6-7). Political and other events prevented the successful prosecution of trade by the Muscovy Company, and after a sixth expedition to Persia in 1579-81 efforts to conduct trade via the Russian route were abandoned. In 1009/1600 Antony Sherley obtained from Shāh ʿAbbās a farman permitting all Christian merchants to trade in Persia without molestation and granting them immunity as to their persons and goods from Persian courts, legal recovery of debts, and exemption from tolls and customs (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 15-16).

Some years later, in 1623, Shāh ʿAbbās gave a farman to the Dutch East India Company giving freedom of trade and immunity from inspection of their goods to the Netherlands nation and exemption from all duties, tolls, and charges, with the exception of the duty paid to the *nāẓir* (inspector). Article 10 stated that "the house of the Netherlands Nation in Persia shall enjoy full freedom without exception; and no justice may enter [the premises] without the permission of the principal representative of the said Nation; and if anyone should seek forcibly to enter [the premises], the Netherlanders will be allowed to resist him with force". Article 14 laid down that "If a member of the Netherlands Nation should (God forbid) strike dead another person, from whatever nation, or should commit any crime or infraction of the law, that person shall not be tried by any justice of the [Persian] Empire but shall be punished by his president or chief, according to the circumstances of the case and in the manner deemed appropriate". Article 17 accorded to the interpreter or dragoman of the Netherlands house the same privileges as a member of the Netherlands Nation (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 16-18). New farmans were granted in 1642 and 1694. On 7 February 1631 a Dutch agent of Shāh Ṣafī obtained a grant of extra-territorial privileges for Persian merchants in the Netherlands. This instrument was on the pattern of contemporary arrangements prevailing between European nations (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 20-21). In fact, it did not become operative because Persian merchants did not become established in the Netherlands.

In October 1615 the English East India Company obtained a farman in general terms from Shāh ʿAbbās. Two years later, in 1617, Edward Connock obtained a farman framed in more specific terms, which was confirmed by Shāh Ṣafī in 1629. It granted freedom of trade and creed and the right to pay the same rates of customs as paid by Persian subjects. English subjects, in the event of their committing disorders, were to be punished by their own ambassador. If any difference arose between English subjects and Persian in buying and selling "if the said differences pass or exceed twenty tomands, the Justice shall send them to the Ambassador to be decided, that he in the presence of our Justices might do whatsoever shall be conformable to honourable and noble laws" (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 18-20). This farman was confirmed by Shāh Sulaymān and renegotiated with Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn by James Bruce in (or about) 1697 (India Office Records, E/3/52/6410. See further R. W. Ferrier, *British-Persian relations in the 17th century*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge 1970, 455 ff. See also *Calendar of State Papers*, colonial, Vol. IV, No. 852, E/3/12/1294, and *ibid.*, No. 857, E/3/12/1296).

The French in February 1665 and December 1671 obtained farmans giving French merchants trading privileges comparable to the English and the Dutch. On 7 September 1708, however, a treaty was concluded between Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn and Louis XIV. By this, French merchants were accorded freedom to travel and trade throughout Persia and immunity from certain import duties for five years on the grounds of the considerable sums they would have to expend to launch commercial relations between the two countries (Art. 2). They were given permission to buy or build houses or hostels for their lodging (Art. 4), and to fly the French flag over these buildings in the same manner as other Europeans flew their flags over their buildings (Art. 5). French subjects and merchants, and other Europeans with them, their interpreters, household servants, Armenians, and Indians in their retinue, up to twenty persons, were exempted from tribute and *kharādj* (Art. 11). According to Article 16 differences between French subjects were to be settled according to French law; in the event of differences between Frenchmen and other nations, Persian officials were to establish the truth of the matter in the presence of the consul and "settle it in conformity with Muslim justice and universal truth". Agreement was given to the appointment of a factory chief, captain, or consul in any Persian port (Art. 23). If a complaint was brought against a Frenchman, the plaintiff was to refer his complaint to the governor of the locality, who would summon the consul's interpreter and send him to the consul to settle the differences; but if the consul was otherwise engaged, after a reasonable delay the case might be settled by the Persian authorities (Art. 24) (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 32-8).

On 13 August 1715 the treaty was emended. French subjects were exempted from the payment of import and export duties (Art. 2). All Frenchmen and their servants and slaves without limit were granted exemption from capitation tax, *kharādj*, and all other tributes and duties mentioned in Article 11 of the Treaty of 1708 (Art. 6). Some changes were also made in the provisions governing the investigation of civil and criminal suits. Article 10 stated that civil and criminal differences that might arise between Frenchmen and members of another nation would be investigated and decided by the officers of Muslim justice in the presence of the consul of the French nation or such other person as he might commission. Differences which might arise between the consul or the interpreter of the French nation and persons of another nation would be decided by the king of Persia himself. The governors of the locality might not take formal cognizance of such cases nor might they, in any case, affix their seal upon the houses where the Frenchmen lived.

By Article 1 of the separate articles negotiated in 1715 Persian merchants were accorded "the same privileges and exemptions as the merchants subjects of His Very Christian Majesty, on condition, however, that they may not bring to France any goods whose entry is forbidden, that they will use French ships to transport the permissible goods; and that all the goods will be the products of the states of the King of Persia, proved by a certificate that they will arrange to obtain from the Consul of the French nation". Article 2 gave Persian merchants the right to have a consul in Marseilles who would enjoy exemption from capitation tax. By Article 3 he was given the sole right to decide any difference arising between Persian merchants, but the investigation and decision of differences arising between Persians and members of other nations was to belong to the judge of the locality (text in Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, i, 40-2). Thus, both in the case of the Netherlands and France

there was, at least in theory, some degree of reciprocity in the arrangements made.

In 1722 the Ṣafavid dynasty was brought to an end by the Afg͟hān invasion. Trade came largely to a standstill in the prevailing anarchy, and was only spasmodically renewed during the rest of the eighteenth century. The privileges granted to Europeans under the Ṣafavid farmans lapsed.

By a treaty of 21 January/1 February 1732 between Persia and Russia, Ṭahmāsp, the Ṣafavid puppet put on the throne by Nādir Ḳulī Mīrzā (later Nādir S͟hāh), undertook to allow Russian subjects to trade freely in Persia without payment of duty on merchandise brought from Russia to Persia for sale or barter, and to permit Russian merchants to build houses and stores to hold their merchandise (Art. 3). The Russian empress for her part promised that the subjects of the S͟hāh coming to trade "in her states or passing through her states for other lands would enjoy all freedoms and advantages that may be granted according to the customs and charters of her Empire" (Art. 4). Both parties were allowed to have agents or consuls in such cities as they might deem fit (Art. 6). In 1736 the English received a *raḳam* renewing most of their privileges (*Selections from State Papers*, Bombay 1908, 48), but neither they nor the Dutch or French merchants secured full renewals of their privileges.

On 12 April 1763 an English East India Company agent concluded an agreement with S͟hayk͟h Saʿdūn of Bushire, which gave the English exemption from custom duties on imports and exports and laid down that only 3% should be taken from merchants who bought and sold to the English (Art. 1). The import and sale of woollen goods was to be solely in the hands of the English (Art. 2). The English were to have ground on which they could erect a factory on which they could hoist their colours and have twenty-one guns for saluting (Art. 6). No European nation was to be permitted to settle in Bushire as long as the English had a factory there (Art. 3). The brokers, linguists, servants and others of the English were to be entirely under the protection and government of the English (Art. 4). On 2 July 1763 Karīm K͟hān gave a grant in similar terms to the English. They were given permission to have ground for a factory in Bushire or any other port in the Gulf and to build factory houses in any part of the Persian kingdom and were granted the same exemptions, monopolies and privileges as granted by S͟hayk͟h Saʿdūn (texts in C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads relating to India and the neighbouring countries*, Calcutta 1933, xiii, 41-4). On the death of Karīm K͟hān confusion and disorder broke out again. His nephew D̲j̲aʿfar K͟hān gave a farman to the English for unrestricted trade throughout Persia and exemption from all customs dues (text *ibid.*, 44-5), but this was in fact of little value since D̲j̲aʿfar K͟hān's writ did not run throughout the province of Fārs, let alone the rest of Persia.

In the nineteenth century contact between Persia and Europe was once more joined in a more permanent way but under somewhat different circumstances to those which had prevailed under the Ṣafavids. In 1801 a commercial treaty annexed to the political treaty of the same date was concluded between Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh and Sir John Malcolm acting on the part of the English government. Article 1 provided for reciprocity, stating that the merchants of the two contracting states were to "travel and carry on their affairs in the territories of both nations in full security and confidence, and the rulers and governors of all cities are to consider it their duty to protect from injury their cattle and goods". By Article 2 the traders and merchants of England and Hindustan in the service of the English government were permitted to settle in Persia and no government duties, taxes, or requisitions were to be collected on any goods which were the property of either of the governments, the usual duties on such to be taken from purchasers (Art. 2). By an Additional Article it was laid down that the duties levied on purchasers of iron, lead, steel, broadcloth, and purpetts that were exclusively the property of the English government were not to exceed 1%. All duties, imports and customs which were at that period established in Persia and India (on other goods) were to remain fixed and not to be increased. Article 4 stated that "If any person in the empire of Persia die indebted to the English Government, the ruler of the place must exert his power to have such a demand satisfied before those of any other creditor whatever. The servants of the English Government, resident in Persia, are permitted to hire as many domestic natives of that country as are necessary for the transaction of their affairs; and they are authorised to punish such, in cases of misconduct, in the manner they judge most expedient, provided such punishment does not extend to life or limb; in such cases the punishment to be inflicted by the ruler or governor of the place". Freedom to build houses in any port or city of Persia and to sell or rent them was also given (Art. 5) (text in *ibid.*, 50-3). The treaty was never ratified.

In January 1808 General Gardane, who had been sent to Persia at the head of a French mission after the signature of the Treaty of Finkenstein (1807), negotiated for France a commercial treaty which reaffirmed the arrangements in favour of the French under S͟hāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's farman of 1708 and the Franco-Persian Treaty of 1715.

All the farmans and treaties mentioned above granted privileges and immunities to the subjects of foreign powers; some placed them in a more favourable position than nationals in matters of taxation and trade, and removed disputes concerning them from the jurisdiction of the local courts. Farmans were by their nature unilateral instruments. In as much as Persian merchants were rarely established in Europe, the operation of the treaties, even where reciprocity was granted, tended to be to the advantage of one party only. Some authors consider the origin of the capitulations in Persia to be these farmans and treaties, especially the French treaty of 1715. There are striking resemblances between some of the provisions of these farmans and treaties on the one hand and the privileges and immunities enjoyed by European powers in Persia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Turkomānčāy concluded between Persia and Russia in 1828 and the separate act relative to commerce concluded on the same date under Article 10 of that treaty is generally regarded as the origin of the capitulations in Persia. Several of the provisions of these two instruments give privileges and immunities similar to those found in earlier documents. But, whereas the farmans were grants of grace and the earlier treaties freely negotiated, the Treaty of Turkomānčāy was concluded under duress after a disastrous war and sealed Russian ascendancy in northern Persia. The privileges and immunities which it granted were associated with the fear of foreign domination and their application often extracted by threat or actual force. In modern Persian usage, the

term "capitulations" is applied only to the régime instituted by the Treaty of Turkomānčāy. Strictly speaking, the term is applied to the extra-territorial rights granted by that treaty and extended to other nations under most favoured nation treatment. In practice, however, the capitulatory régime covered also, or was closely connected with, trading privileges, and became closely associated with the question of protection, which in turn became connected with asylum; both matters which gave rise to many disputes between Persia on the one side and Great Britain and Russia on the other.

By Article 1 of the separate act relative to commerce Russian subjects provided with passports were to be allowed to trade throughout Persia. Persian subjects were to be allowed to import their merchandise by the Caspian or the land frontier between Persia and Russia and to enjoy most favoured nation treatment. By Article 2 contracts, bills of exchange, securities and other engagements in connection with business transactions between Persians and Russians were to be registered before the Russian consul and the governor (*ḥākim*). Merchandise imported into Persia or exported from Persia by Russian subjects and Persian produce imported into Russia by Persians or Russian merchandise exported from Russia by Persians were to be liable to a duty of 5% levied once and for all at their entrance or exit. Russia undertook not to increase the duty of 5% should she deem it necessary to make new customs regulations and new tariffs (Art. 3).

Articles 5, 7, and 8 were specifically of a capitulatory nature. Article 5 stated that, "Seeing that, according to the existing usages in Persia, it is difficult for foreign subjects to find houses, warerooms or proper places for the storage of their merchandise to let, it is permitted to Russian subjects in Persia not only to rent, but also to acquire, by every right of ownership, houses to dwell in, as well as ware-rooms and places in which to deposit their merchandise. The servants of the Persian Government shall not be allowed to enter by force the said houses, ware-rooms or places without having recourse, in cases of necessity, to the authority of the Minister, or of the Chargé d'Affaires, or of the Consul of Russia who shall depute an officer or dragoman to be present at the inspection of the house or the merchandise".

Article 7 read "All lawsuits and litigations between Russian subjects shall be submitted exclusively to the investigation and decision of the Mission or of the Consuls of Russia in conformity with the laws and customs of the Russian Empire. So also shall disputes and lawsuits arising between Russian subjects and those of another Power, in case the two parties shall consent to such a course. Whenever any disputes or lawsuits shall arise between Russian and Persian subjects, the said lawsuits or disputes shall be brought before the Hakim or Governor, and shall not be investigated and decided except in the presence of the Dragoman of the Mission or of the Consulate. Once judicially disposed of, such disputes shall not be allowed to be instituted a second time. If, however, circumstances should be of such a nature as to render a second trial necessary, it shall not take place without previous intimation being given to the Minister, or the Chargé d'Affaires, or the Consul of Russia; and in that case the action shall be brought and decided only in the Dufter, that is to say in the Supreme Court of the Shah at Tabriz or at Teheran, likewise in the presence of a Dragoman of the Mission or of the Russian Consulate".

Article 8 stipulated that "In case of murder or any other crime committed among Russian subjects, the investigation and decision of the case shall be within the exclusive province of the Minister, or Chargé d'Affaires, or Consul of Russia in virtue of the jurisdiction delegated to them over their own countrymen. If a Russian subject should happen to be implicated with individuals of another nation in a criminal suit, he shall not be prosecuted nor molested in any way without proofs of his participation in the crime; and even in that case, as in the one in which a Russian subject should be charged with direct culpability, the tribunals of the country shall not be competent to proceed with the trial and judgment of the crime except in the presence of a delegate of the Mission or the Russian Consulate, and if there should be none on the spot in which the crime has been committed, the local authorities shall take steps to send the delinquent to a place where there is a Consul or a constituted Russian agent. The evidence both for and against the accused shall be faithfully taken by the Hakim and by the Judge of the place, and attested by their signature; transmitted in this form to the place where the offence is to be tried; this evidence shall constitute a record or authentic summary of the proceedings, unless the accused should clearly demonstrate the falsity of the same. When the accused shall have been duly convicted and the sentence passed, he shall be handed over to the Minister or Chargé d'Affaires or Consul of His Imperial Majesty, who shall send him back to Russia, there to receive the punishment awarded by the law" (text in *ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xli).

From time to time as regards the payment of customs duties and exemption from internal tolls and road taxes the subjects of other European powers were placed on a similar footing to the Russians, but this was resisted by Persia, and in 1851 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs announced that the subjects of all countries not having commercial treaties with Persia would be called upon to pay the same duties as Persian merchants. In due course, however, many European and American states acquired capitulatory privileges by either special articles included in treaties concluded between themselves and Persia or a clause giving most favoured nation treatment. Already in 1841 Great Britain had obtained most favoured nation treatment in the matter of customs duties by Article 1 of the commercial treaty concluded with Persia in that year; Articles 9 and 12 of the Treaty of Paris 1857 also accorded most favoured nation treatment (texts in *ibid.*, 67-9, 81-5). Spain received most favoured nation treatment in a commercial treaty concluded with Persia in 1842 (text in *ibid.*, xlii-xliv). Similar privileges were acquired by France (1855), the U. S. (1856), Austria-Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway and Sweden (1857), Greece (1861), Italy (1862), Germany and Switzerland (1873), Mexico and the Argentine (1902), and Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil in 1903 (see A. Matine-Daftary, *La suppression des capitulations en Perse*, Paris 1930, 67 ff.).

The capitulations were less elaborate in Persia than in the Ottoman Empire and less burdensome. They were, nevertheless, onerous, particularly because of the derogation of sovereignity which they involved, the privileged position which they gave to foreigners in matters of trade and the inviolability of their persons, domiciles, and goods, and the opportunity which they gave to Persian subjects to place themselves outside the authority of the Persian law if they succeeded in obtaining the protection of a

foreign power. Their operation depended much upon the circumstances of the moment and the temper of the diplomatic officials concerned.

Special tribunals under a department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, known as the *dīwān-i muḥākamāt-i k͟hārid͟ja* and staffed by officials of the ministry, were set up in the capital for the settlement of disputes between Persians and foreigners. In the provinces, representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, known as *kārgud͟hārs*, presided over special courts for the same purpose and had general supervision of the activities of foreigners. Unlike the Ottoman empire, the procedure and machinery for the settlement of disputes by these courts was of the rudest kind (cf. A. C. Wratislaw, *A consul in the East*, London 1924, 190). Foreign consuls had, in effect, the power of veto because the decision of the court could not be put into effect unless countersigned by the consul (Matine-Daftary, *op. cit.*, 79-80).

Throughout the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century there was a constant state of contention and friction between the Persian government and the agents of foreign powers arising out of the capitularly regime, but it was not until the Great War of 1914-18 and the unilateral abrogation of the capitulations by Turkey in 1914 that serious consideration was given to their abolition in Persia. In 1918 the cabinet of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla announced their unilateral abolition. This was probably no more than a declaration of intent and was of no immediate effect. A demand for their abolition submitted by the Persian government to the Peace Conference in March 1919 was also abortive: the delegation, for reasons unconnected with this demand, was not received. On 26 June 1919, however, there was an exchange of notes with the Soviet government on the abolition of Russian consular jurisdiction. In the following year, on 1 June, a treaty was signed with China which contained no extra-territorial provisions, showing the lines along which the Persian government was thinking. On 26 February 1921 a treaty was concluded between the Soviet government and the new Persian government, which had seized power by a coup d'état early that year.This treaty was the first major step in the abolition of the capitulations. Article 1 declared all treaties concluded between the Tsarist government and Persia to be null and void. Article 16 confirmed the abolition of consular jurisdiction over Russian subjects in accordance with the note of 26 June 1919, and declared that subjects of the Soviet Union in Persia and Persian subjects in the U.S.S.R. would enjoy equal rights with the nationals of the country and be subject to the local tribunals of justice. (Texts in Aitchison, *op. cit.*, lxxxvi-xcvi. See also Matine-Daftary, *op. cit.*, 151-3).

The Persian government under Riḍā K͟hān (who became Riḍā S͟hāh in 1925) now embarked on a vigorous programme of modernization. This involved, *inter alia*, the promulgation of civil, commercial and penal codes, the recruitment and training of judicial officials to apply the new laws, and the abolition of the capitulations. The commercial code was passed in three parts in February, April, and June 1925, and the penal code promulgated in February 1926. In 1927 after a reconstruction of the government all judicial tribunals were dissolved and the new minister of justice, Mr. Davar, authorised to prepare bills for the reorganization of the judicial system. On 26 April 1927, at the opening meeting of the commission charged with this work, Riḍā S͟hāh announced his wish to abolish the capitulations (Matine-Daftary, *op. cit.*, 180, 210). Following upon this, the president of the Council of Ministers, Mustawfī al-Mamālik, announced in the National Assembly on 30 April that the government would include the abolition of the capitulations in its programme (*ibid.*, 211). Towards the end of the year a commission was appointed to draw up a civil code. On 10 May 1928 it came into provisional operation. On the same date the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs delivered notes to the legations concerned denouncing all treaties containing capitulatory provisions and stating that they would cease to be effective as from 10 May 1928 and that states which enjoyed similar provisions by virtue of most favoured nation treatment would cease to do so after 10 May 1928. Provincial tribunals presided over by the *kārgud͟hār* were dissolved by the law of 12 S͟hahrīvar 1306/3 September 1927 (*ibid.*, 222-5).

Bibliography: in the text.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

iv.—Modern Egypt

Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors, especially Saʿīd and Ismāʿīl, were eager to attract foreigners and promote their economic activity in Egypt in order to modernize and Europeanize Egypt as rapidly as possible. Moreover, for political considerations they felt the continuous need of conciliating the European Powers. As a result they permitted the privileges of foreigners to expand far beyond the limits fixed in the texts of the Capitulations. Almost all these privileges grew in Egyptian usage to much larger proportions than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

(a) The privileges of foreigners in Egypt

1. Taxation. The fiscal clauses of the Capitulations were primarily aimed at exempting West-European residents from the *d͟jizya* or specified burdensome taxes. However, in nineteenth century Egypt they were interpreted as denying the Egyptian government the right to impose any taxes on the nationals of Capitulatory Powers without the previous consent of their governments. There was one exeption to this rule: the obligation to pay a land tax was tacitly accepted by foreigners as incidental to the privilege to own land, a privilege that was granted to foreigners in Egypt long before it was formally conceded by law in the Ottoman Empire in 1867. But even the payment of this tax involved many complications (cf. G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt*, London 1962, 65-6). The payment of all other taxes by foreigners had to receive the explicit consent of the Powers. Customs were covered by commercial treaties (see below). The Convention of London, signed on 17 March 1885 by the six principal European Powers, accepted the house tax decree of 13 March 1884 (with certain modifications concerning the representation of foreigners on the tax commissions). In 1890 the Powers agreed that the newly established municipality of Alexandria be entitled to impose municipal taxes on foreigners. In 1930 consent was given to an additional rate on urban property for the payment of night-watchmen; similarly, during the years 1932-6 a tax on cars and some minor taxes were conceded. However, before the abolition of the Capitulations in 1937 the Powers prevented the introduction of many other taxes in Egypt, for instance an income tax.

2. Customs. There was no difference between the customs tariffs of Egypt and those of the Ottoman Empire before the Khedive of Egypt had been given the right to conclude commercial conventions

(in 1867, and again in 1873). During the last quarter of the century Egyptian commercial conventions were not more advantageous to the Powers than Ottoman ones, but in 1902 France succeeded in reducing the import duty to 8 per cent *ad valorem*, and by the operation of the 'most favoured nation' clause this rate was automatically applied to all other nations which had concluded commercial treaties with Egypt. After 1925 the treaties in force expired one after the other. The scale of duties, however, could not be changed until the last of these treaties, that between Egypt and Italy, expired in 1930. On 17 February of that year Egypt introduced a revised customs tariff which aimed at increasing the revenue and affording some protection to nascent industries.

3. Individual liberty. Foreigners in nineteenth century Egypt enjoyed greater individual liberty than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire in two respects. First, the Ottoman regulation that no church could be built or repaired without the explicit permission of the authorities was not enforced in Egypt. Second, in Egyptian usage the Ottoman restrictions on the freedom of foreigners enacted in 1844 and 1869 were not applied. Thus Egyptian authorities generally did not ask foreigners disembarking in Egypt for passports nor were they required to carry a *ta<u>dh</u>kira* [*q.v.*].

4. Inviolability of domicile. In Egypt the principle of inviolability of domicile was considerably expanded and included the premises of any business. For instance, in Turkey customs officers used to visit all vessels entering harbours and keep officers on board till the cargo was landed. In Egypt, on the other hand, they could only watch the discharge and seize contraband when it was actually on shore. The privilege of exemption from search was claimed even for fishing boats by their Maltese, Greek and Italian owners. The restrictions of this privilege which were agreed upon between the Sublime Porte and the Powers in 1868 and 1874 did not apply to Egypt, and only in the commercial agreements between Egypt and the Powers of the 1880's and the 1890's did Egypt acquire effective rights to search vessels for detecting contraband.

5. Legislative immunity. While the *Tanẓīmāt* laws in Turkey, such as the Press Law, applied to foreigners (Scott, 198), in Egypt the foreigners' immunity from local legislation was complete. No Egyptian law was applicable to foreigners unless it had received the explicit consent of the Powers. This principle frustrated many attempts to introduce modern institutions (*e.g.*, Saʿīd's police regulations; for its detrimental influence on the development of municipalities see G. Baer, *The beginnings of municipal government in Egypt*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, iv/2 (Jan. 1968)).

6. Jurisdiction before 1876. The principle of the personal, rather than territorial, nature of law found in Egypt its most extreme application. Gradually the maxim *actor sequitur forum rei* became well established, *i.e.*, the defendant's court had jurisdiction in all cases, not only in cases involving foreigners of different nationalities as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the consular courts claimed jurisdiction in any criminal, commercial or civil case in which one of their nationals, or even 'protected persons', was the defendant. Moreover, in Egypt, but not in Turkey, cases concerning immovable property involving foreigners of different nationalities were also judged in the consular court of the defendant. The consuls normally applied the laws of their own countries. If an appeal was made, it had to be addressed to the defendant's home court, and for the execution of the consul's sentence in criminal cases the foreign criminal often had to be sent to his home country.

In addition to the reasons for the general expansion of foreign privileges in Egypt mentioned above, this difference between Egypt and other parts of the Ottoman Empire has been explained by the rule of most of the Capitulations that cases involving foreigners and Ottoman subjects which exceeded a specified sum should be judged by the Imperial *Dīwān*. Since travel from Egypt to Istanbul was long and expensive, it was generally preferred to submit the case to the court of the defendant (Barakat, 173).

(b) Judicial reform and the abolition of the Capitulations

1. Mixed Courts before 1876. Attempts to establish a unified system of courts at least for cases in which persons of different nations were involved, as well as to provide for Egyptian representatation on the bench in cases in which Egyptians were the plaintiffs, were made in Egypt even prior to similar attempts made in Turkey. A mixed commercial tribunal was established in the early 1820's under the presidency of Muḥammad ʿAlī's agent, the prominent merchant Muḥammad al-Maḥrūḳī (F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, Paris 1823, ii, 441; for 1243/1827-8 see Amīn Sāmī, *Taḳwīm al-Nīl*, Cairo 1928, ii, 333). After long periods of inactivity the Mixed Commercial Tribunals were reorganized in Alexandria and Cairo according to an order of 3 September 1861 which provided for the appointment of Egyptian and foreign members and of an Egyptian president. However, these tribunals never worked effectively since foreigners did not recognize their competence in cases in which they were the defendants and had recourse to them only when they were the plaintiffs (Stoddart to Aberdeen, 31 December 1845, Public Record Office, London, F. O. 78/624, and Report by Consul Green, 2 April 1856, F. O. 78/1222).

2. The reform of 1875. In a report of 1867 Nūbār Pa<u>sh</u>a, at that time Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed the establishment of mixed courts with jurisdiction in all cases in which foreigners were involved—commercial, civil, or criminal. After long negotiations, in the course of which Nūbār was compelled to be contented with reforms more modest than his original ideas, the *Règlement d'Organisation Judiciaire* was enacted in 1875. The new Mixed Courts, which were established in 1876 according to the *Règlement*, had jurisdiction in all civil and commercial cases between foreigners of different nationalities and between foreigners and Egyptians. Their power extended also to foreign litigants of identical nationality in all cases concerning land held in Egypt, and even to cases where an Egyptian corporation was involved against Egyptian litigants if there was foreign capital invested in the corporation (so-called 'mixed interests'). In the sphere of criminal jurisdiction the Mixed Courts were only empowered to deal with police offences of foreigners for which the maximum penalties were a fine of £E 1 or one week's imprisonment, and offences committed directly against the administration of justice by the Mixed Courts themselves. All other penal offences of foreigners were dealt with by the consular courts, which also retained jurisdiction in matters of personal status of foreigners

and civil actions, other than those involving land, between foreigners of the same nationality.

Foreign judges of the Mixed Courts were appointed by the Egyptian government after consultation with the Ministers of Justice of the countries from which they came, and the proportion of their number to that of the Egyptian judges was fixed. There were three District Tribunals and one Court of Appeal, as follows (data for 1937):

	Egyptian judges	Foreign judges
Court of Appeal, Alexandria	6	10
District Tribunal, Cairo	8	17
District Tribunal, Alexandria	6	10
District Tribunal, Manṣūra	3	7
Total	23	44

Since the Mixed Courts were open to nationals of all foreign states, their establishment involved conceding new privileges to nationals of non-Capitulatory Powers.

The Mixed Courts judged according to 'Mixed Codes' based mainly on the Code Napoléon and French law. Since these codes could not be altered without the unanimous consent of fifteen governments, a Legislative Assembly was established in 1911 which was competent to approve additions and modifications (but not to endorse measures contravening the fiscal immunity of foreigners).

3. The abolition of the Capitulations and of special jurisdiction of foreigners. At the outbreak of the First World War the Turkish government declared the abolition of the Capitulations, which was subsequently recognized by the Capitulary Powers in Article 28 of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Egypt, however, was unaffected by this act, since Turkish sovereignty or suzerainty in Egypt had been terminated by the declaration of a British Protectorate over Egypt in 1914 and was later renounced by Turkey, with effect from 5 November 1914, in Article 17 of the Treaty of Lausanne. However, by Article 13 of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 it was agreed that the Capitulations should be speedily abolished, Egypt should achieve complete freedom of legislation (including financial legislation) and the Mixed Tribunals should be abolished after a period of transition in which the powers of the consular courts should be transferred to them.

As a result, a conference of the Capitulary Powers met in Montreux on 12 April 1937 at the invitation of the Egyptian government. The texts of the Final Act of this conferenc were signed on 8 May 1937. The Capitulations were abolished, and so was the legislative and fiscal immunity of foreigners. During a transitional period of 12 years (until 14 October 1949) criminal jurisdiction and such civil jurisdiction as was still exercised by the Consular Courts was transferred to the Mixed Courts, the consuls retaining jurisdiction in matters of personal status only. Foreigners normally subject to the Mixed Courts were permitted to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Native Courts. All vacancies up to two-thirds of the total membership of the District Courts were to be filled by Egyptian judges, who were also permitted for the first time to become presidents of these courts. Judgment was to be given in Arabic as well as in a European language.

On 15 October 1949 the Mixed Courts and the Consular Courts were closed, jurisdiction was transferred to the National Courts, and the law codes were revised and unified.

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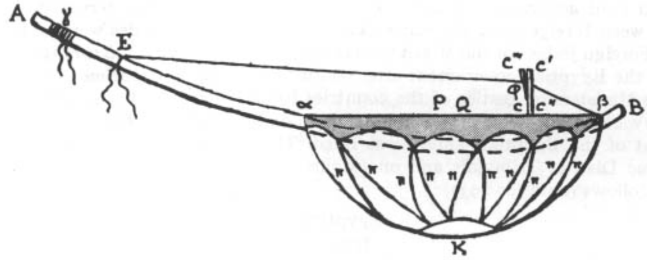
IMUHAGH, IMUSHAGH, [see AHAGGAR, BERBERS, ṬAWĀRIḲ].

IMẒAD (Berber) or *amẓad, umẓad* according to the dialect, "hair, fur", denotes a musical instrument in use among the Touareg (Ṭawāriḳ [*q.v.*]) and generally compared with a violin. The sounding-box consists of a half-calabash of varying diameter (20 to 50 cm.), over which a goatskin, tanned quickly and stripped of hair, is stretched and fixed with cord or acacia thorns; often decorated with motifs painted in bright colours or with inscriptions in *tifinagh* [see BERBERS, vi], the goatskin is pierced with one or two sound-holes (in Ahaggar, *tiṭṭ* "eye") either to the right and left of the bridge, or between the bridge and the visible part of the wooden neck which passes under the taut goatskin and emerges on the other side. At each end of the neck the single string, formed of horse-hairs coated with resin, is fixed by means of a thin strip of leather; the tension of the string, which is held above the goatskin by a bridge composed of two small strips of wood tied together in the form of a cross, is regulated by means of a "noose" consisting of a moveable strip knotted to the neck, its distance from the end being adjustable. The bow is a curved wooden wand semi-circular in shape, between the ends of which is stretched a string also made of horse-hair coated with resin from the gum-tree instead of rosin.

The *imẓad* is held by the player on her thighs as she sits low down, just above the ground, with legs tucked back; her left hand holds the outer part of the neck, with the thumb on the noose, the right hand holding the bow at right angles to the string, pointing towards the chest. Thus the *imẓad* is "constructed partly like a percussive instrument, held like an instrument with plucked strings, and played like an instrument with a bow"; the playing of the *imẓad* is the subject of a technical study (see *Bibl.*) from which it appears that the music played on this instrument is of an archaic kind entirely unconnected with Islam.

In the time of Father Ch. de Foucauld, the *imẓad* was "the favourite musical instrument, noble, elegant par excellence" which in some measure symbolized the Touareg's fatherland. It was played in the courts of love known as *ahāl*, and to deprive men of music was a severe punishment, particularly after an unsuccessful raid; to play or, more accurately, "to strike" the violin (*awt imẓad*) signified "to utter charming and flattering words". While at that period half the noblewomen played it—though good players numbered only four or five—today this instrument is almost abandoned and it is even forbidden in certain encampments on account of its harmful influence on the young.

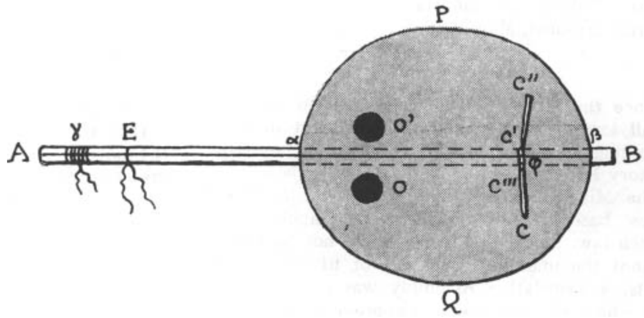
AB = neck
αβ = part of stick passing under skin, between skin and calabash
αβK = calabash
αPβQ = skin
ππππ = bracing thongs stretching skin over calabash



side view of imẓad

cφc'c''φc''' = bridge
O,O' = sound holes
E = tuning noose
βφEAγ = string
β,γ = points at which fixing is attached

μν = bow string

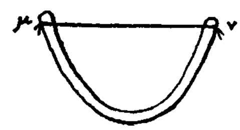


imẓad from above

From Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-francais*, Paris 1952, III; p. 1271



bridge



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IN SHĀʾ ALLĀH, "if God wills", "if it pleases God". The expression is usually called *istithnāʾ*, "formula of exception" (or "de conditionnement", tr. H. Laoust). It means that God alone is the master of all that happens, as well as of the thoughts, acts and plans of man. In Islamic countries in ordinary speech it is used to qualify anything in the future, even the near future. Massignon describes this formula (*Passion*, 585) as one which "est restée le signe distinctif, la parabole type de la vie sociale, pour la Communauté islamique".

The expression *in shāʾ Allāh*—or an equivalent —reappears many times in the Ḳurʾān, especially, it seems, in the *sūra*s of the Medinan period: to leave to God's will the realization of a wish, the announcement of a reward or a punishment, or the future execution of a given order (*e.g.*, II, 70, VI, 41, IX, 28, XI, 33, XII, 99, etc.). Two similar formulas are: "if God had willed" (*law*; still more frequent), and "so far as God wills it" or "unless God does not will it" (*illā mā* . . .; x, 49, xi, 107-8, etc.). This "leaving to God" required by the *istithnāʾ* may be compared with a similar teaching in Christianity, *James*, iv, 19.

The problem arises whether the expression *in shāʾ Allāh* may (or must) be used in the case of a definite promise, of an oath or a giving of witness. The question is whether it is then an attestation "in the form of a circle" (*yamīn dāʾira*; cf. Massignon, *ibid.*), causing to intervene (by invoking God) a possibility that the attestation made (in the name of God) may be vain. The answer of the devout Muslim is that human oaths and witness "are valid only if they correspond to the divine truth" (*op. cit.*, 586) which transcends our assurances and our resolutions. It is only with God's help that we are able to keep our promises to God and to men.

The use of the *istithnāʾ* in the conclusion of contracts raised arguments among the jurists, who maintained that there was a risk that it might become a "ruse" to escape from the engagements undertaken, or even an abdication from all responsibility. Some, among them Ibn Masʿūd, suppressed the *in shāʾ Allāh* only in contracts or attestations "with immediate effect" (*fi 'l-ḥāl*); others tended to suppress it from every contract or attestation, even those whose effect was in the future: such were the Muʿtazilīs and the Māturīdi-Ḥanafīs. The Khāridjīs on the other hand retained it absolutely; similarly, with some nuances, with Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ashʿarī (*ibid.*, 585). One of the aims of *fiḳh* was to restrain any abuse of the *istithnāʾ* by conditions "linking the contracting parties in case of the non-execution of an agreement".

Nevertheless this expression of reliance on the inscrutable will of God had a profound influence on the mentality. One of the main questions raised is that of the relations between faith (*īmān* [*q.v.*]) and the "formula of exception". It can be seen moreover

as a particular instance of the juridical problem concerning contract or witness: *īmān* is a pact (*ʿaḳd*) which links man to God.

Is it permitted to say: "I am a believer—if God wills" (*anā muʾmin—in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh*)? We give here the main answers of Sunnī Islam (cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 388-90).

1. Against the *istit̲h̲nāʾ*: (a) Muʿtazilīs: Man is "the creator of his own acts", it is a man's own will which makes him believe. "Let whosoever will believe" (Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 29). The "formula of exception" may not therefore be joined to the affirmation of faith. (b) Māturīdī-Ḥanafīs: "The believer is truly a believer and the unbeliever truly an unbeliever (*kāfir*)", is stated in article 3 of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa*; "there cannot therefore be any doubt concerning faith, nor concerning unbelief,—according to the word of the Most High: 'Those in truth are the believers' (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 74), 'those in truth are the unbelievers' (IV, 151)" (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 125, 138-40). The formula *anā muʾmin* expresses present faith. If a man who at present has faith later dies without faith, he will have changed from happiness to unhappiness, from being saved to being damned (for the Māturīdī position in detail, see in particular ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb Naẓm al-farāʾid*,[2] Cairo n.d., 62-4). The attestation given in the present certainly does not have any effect on the divine decree for the Hereafter; the believer must therefore affirm his faith without placing any limit on his witness. (c) Some As̲h̲ʿarīs, among them al-Isfarāʾinī and al-Bāḳillānī are against it "through determinism" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 585, n. 2). Acts, whatever they are, being created by God, to invoke the Divine Will has no real significance.

2. Supporters of the *istit̲h̲nāʾ*: (a) Ibn Ḥanbal in particular (*ʿAḳīda*, i, 25) and the whole of the Ḥanbalī line. It should be mentioned here that the Ḥanbalī attitude is against the opposite theory of the Murd̲j̲iʾīs; Ibn Baṭṭa insists on this (cf. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 48-9/79-82). After listing various doctors who desire to join *in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh* to *anā muʾmin*, and quoting a Ḳurʾānic text and two *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, Ibn Baṭṭa states that the "formula of exception" not only does not destroy certainty (*yaḳīn*) but actually implies it. It "is in fact valid for the future. When a man says 'I am a believer, if God pleases', this means: if God accepts my faith and the confidence (*amāna*) which I have placed in Him" (*ibid.*, 49/81). It should be noted, as H. Laoust mentions (81, n. 1), that some Ḥanbalīs accept, in the name of *istit̲h̲nāʾ*, "the legitimacy of a generalized doubt". The school as a whole refuses to accept this. (b) Al-As̲h̲ʿarī, the great majority of the As̲h̲ʿarīs, all the S̲h̲āfiʿīs and several Mālikīs. They see the problem mainly from the perspective of the future (*fi 'l-mustaḳbal*). The only faith which counts is that held at the moment of death. Since the actions of man depend on the Divine Decree, no-one can know what his state will be at the last moment. Thus no person can state "I am a believer" without adding "if God wills it", on condition however that the latter statement is not used to conceal a doubt on the present reality of his faith (see the summary of the theories of the As̲h̲ʿarī school *apud* al-Bād̲j̲ūrī, *Ḥās̲h̲iya ʿalā ... D̲j̲awharat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1352/1934, 60).

But the use of *in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh* may be advised even when it is a case of faith at the present time. Thus al-G̲h̲azālī. In the *Iḥyāʾ* (i, 108-11), he lists three reasons: (1) the formula of exception must signify not the doubt, but the humility of the believer; (2) the Ḳurʾān and the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s use it to indicate a wish, a positive desire (cf. similar remarks of Ibn Baṭṭa); (3) it cannot and must not express a doubt about the present existence of faith, but about its *perfection*—and the problem is how to be sure that the heart does not conceal any hypocrisy or self-complacency, that the works bearing witness to the adherence of the heart are truly those which God demands of it. It is thus aiming at an interiorization of faith that al-G̲h̲azālī pronounces unreservedly for *istit̲h̲nāʾ*. And he states (a fourth reason) that its use shall be especially required in the case of the future, and in particular of that decisive future event, the moment of death, which is entirely in God's hands, and which will decide a man's eternal fate (*ibid.*, i, 110-1; cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 140).

Whatever the opinion of the doctors, it can be said that the *in s̲h̲āʾ Allāh*, so often uttered, is, in Muslim social life, for the whole of the future, both near and distant, a constant call to leave matters to God, Who directs and rules all things and all men according to His decree. Nor is it possible for the juridical acts, contracts and witnesses, and even more a statement of the state of salvation of the believer, to be exempt. There is certainly a risk that the formula may provide a cover for some laxity (and this seems to be the reason for the Māturīdī-Ḥanafī attitude); but the devout believer must find in it a new incentive to strengthen both the right intention (*niyya*) and an active abandonment (*tawakkul*) of himself to the Will of the eternal Giver (*al-wahhāb*, Ḳurʾān, XXXVIII, 9). "The recourse to the 'if it pleases God' betrays on the part of the believer a wish *in petto*: that God Himself should come to his aid, to remit the debt which he contracts without having the wherewithal to pay it. God alone can fulfil our contracts with Himself, and cancel our contracts with men" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 586). And this truth is even more insistent in the case of faith, a pact (*ʿaḳd*) concluded with God Who asks both internal reality (*taṣdīḳ*) and an explicit acknowledgement (*iḳrār*).

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

ʿINAB [see K̲H̲AMR].

INAK [see K̲H̲WĀRIZM].

ĪNĀL, Īnālids, name of a Turcoman chief (from the old central-Asiatic title Yīnal) who made himself independent at Āmid (Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*]) at the end of the 5th/11th century during the struggles among the successors of Maliks̲h̲āh, and name of the dynasty, which remained in power until the end of the 6th/12th century. Although they are mentioned in a few inscriptions, the historians have written little on the Īnālids.

Masters of a place which was commercially and strategically important, they nevertheless held at Diyār Bakr a secondary place compared with the Artuḳids, who were sometimes supported by the Zangids; and, in the interior, they had to yield the real power to a family of native *ruʾasāʾ*, the Nīsānids [*q.v.*], who did not hesitate to rely at times on the Assassins. In 579/1183, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn put an end to the combined power of the two families, and gave Āmid to his Artuḳid ally of Ḥiṣn Kayfā: the two places remained from this time united under this branch of the dynasty. The town of Āmid seems however to have enjoyed under the Īnālids and Nīsānids, at least under the latter, a certain material and cultural prosperity and to have been also an active centre of Christianity. No Īnālid coins are known.

Bibliography: All the literary references (Ibn al-Azraḳ, the continuator of Ibn Ḥawḳal, Michael the Syrian, etc.) are to be found in Cl. Cahen, *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA*, 1935, supplemented by idem, *Mouvements populaires* ..., in *Arabica*, 1958, 244; and for archaeology and epigraphy, replacing the earlier works, A. Gabriel, *Voyage archéologique dans les provinces orientales de la Turquie*, with the epigraphical supplement by J. Sauvaget, inscriptions nos. 62-5; see also the article ARTUḲIDS, and Zambaur, p. 139, no. 128. (CL. CAHEN)

ĪNAL or **ĪNALČUḲ**, the governor of Uṭrār [*q.v.*] under Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*]. A kinsman of the Sultan's mother, Terken Khatun, he had been given the title of Ḳayïr-Khān. It was the execution by his orders of an ambassador of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] and a caravan of Muslim merchants accompanying him that led to the Mongol invasion of Muḥammad's empire. Captured at Uṭrār after offering desperate resistance, he was put to death at Samarḳand in the spring of 617/1220.

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ĪNĀL (or **AYNĀL**) **AL-ADJRŪD**, AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF, SAYF AL-DĪN ABU 'L-NAṢR AL-ʿALĀʾĪ AL-ẒĀHIRĪ AL-NĀṢIRĪ, Mamlūk Sultan (857/1453-865/1461) of Egypt and Syria. A Circassian by birth, he had been bought in 799/1379 by the trader ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (as his *nisba* al-ʿAlāʾī indicates), brought to Cairo and sold to Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*] (al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, whence Īnāl's *nisba* al-Ẓāhirī). He was enrolled in Barḳūḳ's corps of *al-Mushtarawāt*, remaining in the *Kitābiyya* until the reign of the sultan (al-Nāṣir) Faradj [*q.v.*]. Transferred then (whence his *nisba* al-Nāṣirī) to the *Khāṣṣakiyya*, in 824/1421, under al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, son of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, he became a "captain of ten"; under Barsbāy [*q.v.*] he was promoted to *Amīr al-ṭablkhāna*, then to *Raʾs nawba*, and in 830/1427 to *Amīr arbaʿīn*, *Raʾs nawba al-thānī*. Appointed *nāʾib* of Ghazza in 831/1428, he took part in Barsbāy's campaign of 836/1433 against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu chief Kara-Yülük ʿUthmān Beg, when Āmid (Diyārbakr [*q.v.*]) was attacked. The assault on the citadel, vigorously defended by ʿUthmān's son Murād, having failed, Īnāl was appointed *nāʾib* of Ruhā (Edessa), with the rank of *Amīr miʾa taḳdima alf bi 'l-diyār al-Miṣriyya*. Until 839/1436 he was engaged in numerous skirmishes with the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, and the next year was appointed *nāʾib* of Ṣafad. In 843/1439, he was summoned to Cairo by the sultan Čaḳmaḳ (like him an ʿAlāʾī) and was given the post of *Muḳaddam* and then, in 846/1442, of Chief Dawādār. In 846/1442 and 848/1444 he took part in the unsuccessful attacks on Rhodes.

On the death of Yashbak al-Sūdūnī in 850/1446, Īnāl succeeded him as *Atābak al-ʿasākir* (= *al-Amīr al-kabīr*). When Čaḳmaḳ died in 857/1453, Īnāl fell out with his son and successor ʿUthmān over the donative to be paid to various groups of *mamlūks*; in the subsequent street-fighting he occupied the Ḳalʿat al-Djabal and was appointed sultan, by an assembly including the (ʿAbbāsid) shadow-caliph and the four *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt*, with the title al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn. He was then 73 years old. His first preoccupation was to appoint ʿAlāʾīs to various posts, to break up the group of royal Mamluks formed by his predecessor, and to proclaim the abolition of various *maẓālim*-courts.

Īnāl's brief reign was full of incident. In 857/1453 he sent the second *amīr al-ākhūr* Barsbāy as envoy to the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed II in reply to an Ottoman embassy announcing the conquest of Constantinople. The following year he defeated the attempts of the Dhu 'l-Ḳādir-oghlu Fayyāḍ Beg to make himself *amīr* of Albistān, installing instead his brother Sulaymān Beg. In 859/1455 he put down a rising caused by dissension between his own mamluks and rival groups; he deposed the caliph al-Ḳāʾim, who had been involved, and appointed his brother al-Mustandjid in his place. Ignoring a complaint from the Ḳaramān-oghlu Ibrāhīm II that the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II was protecting the Greeks, he not only sent an embassy to confirm the good relations with Meḥemmed, but also despatched a force under Khoshḳadam to block Ḳaramānid expansion in Cilicia; that these troops occupied four fortresses in Ḳaramān and burned Larenda provoked strong criticism of Īnāl's policy. The same Khoshḳadam was sent against the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who was besieging Malatya.

The next crisis was over Cyprus, which since 830/1427, in the reign of Barsbāy, had been tributary to the Mamlūk sultan. The Lusignan king John II (1432-58) had in person attended the ceremonies in Cairo upon Īnāl's accession. When he died, to be succeeded by his daughter Charlotte (1458-60) (with Louis of Savoy as joint ruler), John's illegitimate brother James, Archbishop of Nicosia (in Mamlūk sources: Djākam), feeling his life to be in danger, fled to Cairo. The dignitaries of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes preferred Charlotte as ruler, but the populace of Cyprus favoured James, who now found support among the Mamlūk *amīrs*. Ambassadors for the various parties came to Cairo, where Īnāl upheld the claim of James and proclaimed him King of Cyprus. James was sent back with the support of an Egyptian fleet and occupied Nicosia, but was unable to take Cherines (Kalʿat Sharīna), held by Charlotte. The Mamlūk troops suffered heavy losses, and the bulk of the Mamlūk force returned to Egypt.

The sources represent Īnāl as a just ruler and his reign as prosperous, mainly because of his monetary reforms: silver and gold coins of inferior weight were withdrawn from circulation and a new *fals* (of eight to the *dirham*) was issued. He died on 15 Djūmādā I 865/26 February 1461, at the age of 80 or 81, having reigned for eight years. He is described as dark, tall and thin; his scanty beard won him the nickname *adjrūd*. He left two sons and two daughters. As Īnāl had enjoined, his son Aḥmad succeeded him, as al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, but was deposed after four months, to be succeeded by Khoshḳadam [*q.v.*].

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(M. C. ŞEHABEDDIN TEKINDAĞ)

İNAL, IBN AL-AMĪN MAḤMŪD KEMĀL (in modern Turkish: IBNÜLEMIN MAHMUD KEMAL INAL), 1870-1957, Turkish biographer and writer, a significant figure as being the last outstanding representative of traditional Ottoman scholarship and erudition. His father Meḥmed Emīn Pasha (1837-1908, also known as "Mühürdār" since he was private secretary to his patron and relative Yūsuf Kāmil Pasha (1808-76), Grand Vizier under ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and son-in-law of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt) served in various provinces in Anatolia and retired in 1908 as governor (*mutaṣarrif*) of the Aegean Islands. His mother Ḥamīde Nergīs died in 1935.

Maḥmūd Kemāl's ancestors came originally from Bukhārā and were known as Seldjen-oghlī (Selcenoğlu), a name which was engraved on the personal seals of the family. Later in life he wrote that he regretted having adopted the surname İnal (as a "translation" of Emīn) when family names were introduced by law in 1934, and not taking instead their old name Seldjen-oghlu, as some members of the family did (I. M. K. Inal, *Son hattatlar*, 672, n. 1). The by-name Ibn al-Amīn (Ibnülemin) begins to appear in his earliest writings, in the 1890's.

After graduating from the Shehzāde high school (*rüshdiyye*) located in the old *ʿimāret* of the Süleymāniyye *külliye*, Maḥmūd Kemāl entered the Mülkiyye [*q.v.*], but was obliged to leave because of ill-health. Later he attended some courses at the School of Law (Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ) and public lectures in the principal *madrasa*s and mosques of Istanbul. But he was for the most part educated privately by his father and by tutors, learning Arabic, Persian, the classical Muslim sciences, and some French. The well-known Khodja Ṭāhir from Ipek, in Albania, the father of the poet Meḥmed ʿĀkif, was among his favourite teachers. The calligrapher Ḥasan Taḥsīn (1851-1915) was also his tutor; it was he who inspired his keen interest in the history of Turkish calligraphy (*Son hattatlar*, 424-7).

Maḥmūd Kemāl entered government service in 1889 as a clerk in the Department for Autonomous Provinces, in the Grand Vizier's Office. In 1891 he was transferred to the Office of the Grand Vizier's private Chancery (Ṣadāret Mektūbī Ḳalemi), where he became deputy-director in 1906 and director in 1908. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, during the crises concerning Bosnia and Bulgaria, he was appointed director of the Office for Autonomous Provinces (*Eyālāt-i Mümtāze we Mukhtāre*).

When ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was deposed in 1909, a special committee under his chairmanship was set up to classify the documents and informers' reports (*jurnal*s) found in Yïldïz Palace and temporarily transferred to one of the "kiosks" at the entrance to the Ministry of War (the present University Faculty Club, "*Profesörler Evi*"). He was thus enabled to examine and copy many documents of unique importance regarding the home and foreign policy of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's reign (1876-1909), of which he was to make ample use in his works.

During the First World War, the Minister of Education Shükrü Bey ([*q.v.*], executed in 1926 for his leading part in the Unionist conspiracy against Muṣṭafā Kemāl) appointed him (together with Djenāb Shihāb al-Dīn, Süleymān Naẓīf and others) as a member of the Editorial Board of the *Āthār-i Müfīde Kütübkhānesi*, which was charged to prepare unique or rare manuscripts of Turkish literary works for publication. He wrote valuable introductions to many works in this excellently produced series (see below); but when the poet ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [*q.v.*] used political influence to have his own books published in the series and Enwer Pasha ordered the reprinting of some of Nāmiḳ Kemāl's works for the Army, the project was abandoned. Wartime difficulties and shortages were additional causes.

From the end of the First World War to the dissolution of the Government of Istanbul (1918-22), he served as editor of the official government newspaper *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ*, and in the last two months as head of the Government Chancery (*Dīwān-i Hümāyūn Beğlikčisi*). In this capacity he represented the Grand Vizier's office on the special political committee of under-secretaries appointed to draw up the Turkish view on the forthcoming peace-treaty negotiations (Col. Işmet Bey, the future Inönü, represented the Ministry of War on the same committee).

After a temporary appointment in the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt (Düyūn-i ʿUmūmiyye [*q.v.*]), where he worked in the company of many leading writers and intellectuals of the period, he was in 1924 made president of the Commission for the Classification of Historical Documents (*Wethāʾiḳ-i taʾrīkhiyye taṣnīf heyeti*) by the Ottoman Historical Society (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿOthmānī Endjümeni*), of which he had been elected a member in 1923. In three years' concentrated work on the commission he was able to collect valuable material for his later works. In 1927, through the good offices of two of his friends and admirers, the poets Khalīl Nihād [Boztepe] and Ibrāhīm ʿAlā al-Dīn [Gövsa], the new Ankara Government appointed him Director of the Museum for Pious Foundations (*Ewḳāf-i Islāmiyye Müzesi*), later renamed Museum for Turkish and Islamic Arts (*Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi*) located in the Süleymaniye *Külliyye*. He kept this position until his retirement in 1935.

In 1936, with the support of the Egyptian Princess Khadīdja ʿAbbās Ḥalim, he went to Mecca on pilgrimage and visited Egypt. In December 1939, Prince Muḥammad ʿAlī, then the heir-apparent to the Egyptian throne, invited him (together with the calligrapher Kāmil Akdik) to Egypt to help classify his collection of Islamic calligraphy. On his return to Istanbul in February 1940 he found himself appointed adviser to the Editorial Board of the Turkish edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam. This was a personal decision of Hasan Ali Yücel (1897-1961), writer and publicist and an able Minister of Education, who during his eight years in office and afterwards constantly encouraged him, urging him to publish his major works (which were mostly in the form of disjointed notes, and were edited as they actually went to the printers). Maḥmūd Kemāl brought himself to sort his immense quantity of material and concentrate it only when he was officially commissioned to write (A. H. Tanpinar, *Ibnül Emin Mahmud Kemal'e dair*, in the introduction to Inal's posthumous work *Hoş sada*, Istanbul 1958, p. LIV). From 1940 until his death on 24 May 1957, he devoted most of his time to preparing, correcting and supervising the printing of his books.

Maḥmūd Kemāl was probably the last surviving example of the old-style Ottoman gentleman, who anachronistically insisted on leading the life of that extinct class and on preserving in his house the nostalgic illusion of bygone days. His genuine respect

and admiration for the Ottoman past made him ignore the changes which were taking place around him; refusing to adapt himself with advancing age, he grew more and more difficult, fussy and cantankerous, tendencies which were aggravated by his strong vanity and egocentricity. By the 1930's Maḥmūd Kemāl, who remained a bachelor all his life, had become in dress, manners, speech and personal relationships the most eccentric man in Istanbul. At the same time, he was recognized as being a 'living archive' and the greatest authority on the political and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire, particularly for the period 1870-1921, thanks to a lifetime spent in collecting and studying innumerable documents of unique importance, to associating with many key personalities of several generations and to his phenomenal memory. From his early youth he had begun to collect documents, manuscripts and antiques, and in his fifties he possessed one of the richest private collections in Turkey, housed in his family *konak* at Bayezid. When after the armistice of Mudros, the Allied forces moved into Istanbul in 1919, Maḥmūd Kemāl was given 24 hours' notice to evacuate his *konak*. Most of the documents, manuscripts and precious objects which had been stored in the house were found to be 'looted, destroyed, desecrated or lost' when the *konak* was returned to him after 18 months, as he comments bitterly in his autobiographical note (*Kendime dair*, in *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1930-1942, pp. 2201-42).

Maḥmūd Kemāl was little more than a child when he published his first articles in the newspaper *Tarik* in the 1880's. Encouraged by the famous writer and publicist Aḥmed Midḥat, he contributed for years to Midḥat's paper *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīḳat*. Henceforth his new surname Ibn al-Amin appeared regularly in many Istanbul and Salonika papers and periodicals. Pamphlets of various length followed. His writings covered the fields of religion, ethics, literature and history, and often suffered at the hands of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's censors. But Maḥmūd Kemāl's real contribution is in the field of biography. He essentially continued but later went far beyond the traditional Ottoman biographical pattern. In his biographies he does indeed give the usual uninspiring enumeration of bureaucratic promotions and transfers, but what he adds is always more important. With the masterly use of first-hand archive material, privately obtained documents, illuminating authentic anecdotes, relevant analogies, unbiased analyses of contemporary conditions, and insights into human psychology combined with a strong sense of humour, he often gives the most vivid, unforgettable and convincing portrait of his subject. It is remarkable that in spite of his highly sensitive temperament, his strong likes and dislikes, his prejudices, his cutting remarks about many people in his conversation, he was in his writings very conscientious, balanced and just. Perhaps it is fair to add that the close friends and patrons of his family and himself (*e.g.*, Yūsuf Kāmil Pas̲h̲a, Kāmil Pas̲h̲a, Küčük Saʿīd Pas̲h̲a) are treated with perhaps a little more sympathy and attention than others.

The text of Maḥmūd Kemāl's testament has been published in the introductory part of his posthumous work *Hoş sada* (see below). Following the tradition of many Turkish scholars, he presented to the University of Istanbul his rich private library and bequeathed his *Konak* to the *Imam-Hatip* school of Istanbul.

It was hard for Maḥmūd Kemāl to get accustomed to the new Roman alphabet (1928) with its strictly phonetic rules, and he ignored until the end the new spelling rules of modern Turkish, insisting on having his books printed in his own peculiar spelling, which tried to reproduce the historical spelling of Ottoman Turkish.

Also, like the purists of the school of Muʿallim Nād̲j̲i, he would prefer the "correct" forms of some Arabic loan-words and ignore phonetic adaptations in the present Turkish usage (*e.g.*, *iyalet*, *akriba*, *tehlüke*, instead of *eyalet*, *akraba*, *tehlike*).

Apart from minor literary productions and many pamphlets and newspaper articles, Maḥmūd Kemāl is the author of the following published works: (1) *Ewḳāf-i Hümāyūn Neẓaretiniñ ta'rīk̲h̲če-i tes̲h̲kīlātī we nüẓẓārīñ terād̲j̲im-i aḥwāli*, Istanbul 1335/1917, a history of the Ministry of Waḳfs with biographies of the ministers. Although the book was entrusted to a team, no contribution was made by his colleagues; (2) critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the 11th/17th century poet S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām Yaḥyā, with a 65-page introduction on the life and poetry of the author, Istanbul 1334/1916; (3) critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the 19th century neo-classicist Hersekli ʿĀrif Ḥikmet, with a 78-page introduction, Istanbul 1334/1916; (4) critical edition of the *Dīwān* of the 19th-century neo-classicist Lesḳofčalī G̲h̲ālib, with a 47-page introduction, Istanbul 1335/1917; (5) critical edition of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Menāḳib-i hünerverān*, with an important introduction of 133 pp. on ʿĀlī's life and works, Istanbul 1926; (6) critical edition of Müstaḳīmzāde Süleymān Saʿd al-Dīn's *Tuḥfe-ı k̲h̲aṭṭāṭīn*, a biographical treatise on calligraphers, with an introduction in 85 pp., and notes, Istanbul 1928; (7) *Son asır Türk şairleri*, biographies (uncritically selected and of uneven value) of 19th and 20th century poets with short specimens of their work, published in 12 fascicules (1230 pages) Istanbul 1930-1942 (the original title *Kamāl al-s̲h̲uʿarā'* being changed by the Turkish Historical Society, which undertook the publication); (8) *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrıazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-49, his most important work, contains much unpublished material on the lives and times of the last 37 Grand Viziers, conceived as the sixth and last supplement (*d̲h̲ayl*) to ʿUt̲h̲mān-zāde Tā'ib's *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'* (the original title, *Kamāl al-Ṣudūr*, being changed by the Ministry of Education); (9) *Son hattalar*, Istanbul 1955, a voluminous (839 pages) collection of biographies of 163 calligraphers, with copious specimens of their work and with an introduction on Ottoman biographical sources for calligraphers of the classical period; (10) *Hoş sada*, Istanbul 1958 (posthumous), on the biographies of composers of classical Turkish music of the 19th and 20th centuries. The first 128 pages are from his own pen, the remainder (pp. 129-314) compiled and completed, mainly from Maḥmūd Kemāl's notes, by Avni Aktuç. The 72-page introduction includes the text of his testament, articles by Hasan-Âli Yücel, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and two of his doctors, K. I. Gürkan and M. E. Güçhan, with important data on his life, personality and character.

Bibliography: The main sources for Mahmud Kemal Inal's life and works are his own works, as listed in the article. (Fahir Iz)

INʿĀM (A.), "favour, beneficence", more specifically donatives, largesse, given to troops, etc.

The problem of keeping armies in the field, once mustered and brought forward for action, was a perennial one for Islamic rulers and commanders. Unless inducements such as extra pay awards,

promises of unusually attractive plunder, etc. could be dangled in front of the troops, there was danger that an army might disband itself and melt away once the immediate battle or object of a campaign had been achieved; not infrequently, it was difficult to get an army to fight in the first place. Whilst one Muslim army faced another Muslim army, each recruited on a similar basis and facing the same problems of recruitment, supply and deployment in the field, the difficulties common to both sides tended in the long run to equalize chances. But this problem of keeping an army in the field was a serious one for Muslim commanders during their wars with the Crusaders. The Franks had settled in their Levantine conquests and had established a feudal system on the lines familiar to them in mediaeval western Europe; their knights were accordingly kept permanently ready for war as a condition of their feudal tenure. Their Muslim opponents had to organize professional armies of mercenary soldiers, Arabs, Turkmens and Kurds, with all the attendant problems of paying the soldiers and keeping them together for lengthy periods of service (*baykār* = Pers. *paykār*), some of which dragged on for years. It says much for the heartening effect among the Muslims of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's leadership that he was able to lead his troops into battle year after year; here, personal influence rather than financial inducement was the key factor (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1952-3), 60).

The death of a ruler or of a commander in the field was also a crisis point. Allegiance tended to be personal, to the war-leader who could inspire men and promise them booty. When these conditions no longer obtained, and unless there was an equally strong second-in-command or alternative commander to take the lead, troops frequently mutinied. In Baghdād and Sāmarrā, the palaces of the ʿAbbāsids were in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries regularly plundered at the Caliphs' deaths, and it happened similarly with other dynasties like the Būyids and Great Saldjūḳs. On the death of Djalāl al-Dawla, Amīr of ʿIrāḳ, in 435/1044, it was only the prompt action of his vizier Kamāl al-Mulk b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm and other great men in the state and army which saved the Amīr's palace and the government headquarters from pillage by the Turks and the mob; when ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār of Fārs and Ahwāz died four years later whilst on campaign, his son and heir Fūlādh-Sutūn was powerless to prevent his father's treasury, his weapons and his animals being plundered by the Turks of the army (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 353, 373-4). Even at the death of such a forceful monarch as the Saldjūḳ Sultan Ṭoghrïl (in 455/1063), disorders like these would have followed had not counter-measures been quickly adopted. The vizier, the ʿAmīd al-Mulk Kundurī, managed to prevent the dead Sultan's *ghulām*s from appropriating the store of clothing; but he had to release everything else, even down to the royal horses, to placate the army and secure the succession of his own protégé and Ṭoghrïl's designated heir, Sulaymān b. Čaghrï Beg Dāʾūd (Bundārī, 26). If the army was out in the field, as was the case with Abū Kālīdjār's death, cited above, the personal tent and treasury of the dead ruler or commander were normally the first targets for the leaderless troops, who would then abandon the campaign or siege with which they had been concerned.

Financial subsidies and presents (*inʿāmāt*) were the most obvious ways of forestalling mutinies. The troubles consequent on the death of a sovereign could often only be quelled, and the obedience of the troops gained for the new ruler, by special pay-increases, presents, promises of promotion, etc. The highest commanders might receive presents of luxurious sets of clothing and robes of honour or *khilaʿ* [see KHILʿA]. As the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs gradually fell under the control of the Turkish generals, and lost much of their independence of action, succession crises and *coups d'état* increased. Rival claimants had to secure the allegiance of the guards in the capital, and this was usually only possible through financial inducements. In the 4th/10th century, these came to be expected by the army as a matter of course whenever there was a change of régime, and they acquired the technical designation of *māl al-bayʿa* (*ḥaḳḳ al-bayʿa, rasm al-bayʿa*). These payments may be compared with the *djulūs aḳčesi* later extracted by the Janissaries from the Ottoman Sultans. Thus when al-Muḳtadir was restored to the throne in 317/929 after his second deposition, he had to pay the *māl al-bayʿa* afresh: six *nawāʾib* (? monthly allotments of pay) and an extra payment, *ziyāda*, of a dīnār for each infantryman; and a third of a *rizḳ* (*i.e.*, the pay for a period of 90 days, cf. Hoernerbach in *Isl.*, xxix (1950), 279) and a *ziyāda* of three *dīnār*s for each cavalryman (for the technical term *ziyāda*, see Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 64, tr. C. E. Bosworth in *JESHO*, xii/2 (1969), 143-4). When the cash in al-Muḳtadir's treasury was exhausted, the stocks of clothing and other valuables had to be sold to meet this commitment (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, i, 199-200, tr. iv, 224-5). Stormy or disputed successions became common under the Būyids, and accession payments became the norm. When ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār succeeded his father Muʿizz al-Dawla in 356/967, he attempted to dispense with Daylamī support and rely on his Turkish troops. But the Daylamī leaders rebelled and demanded their normal pay plus an additional, extraordinary payment as accession money (*razḳa mansūba ila 'l-bayʿa ghayr maḥsūba*). In the end, Bakhtiyār had to compromise and give them a third of a *razḳa* (scil. a month's or perhaps six weeks' pay) as accession money. (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, ii, 226, tr. v, 250; cf. also Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *ibid.*, iii, 159, tr. vi, 466, demands of the Daylamīs in Baṣra for accession money from Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 379/989).

In circumstances like these, the allegiance of the army would simply go to the highest and swiftest bidder. After the death of Djalāl al-Dawla, his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Abū Manṣūr was unable to find the required *māl al-bayʿa* quickly enough, and his cousin Abū Kālīdjār eventually stepped in and bought over the allegiance of the Būyid troops in Iraq (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 353, cf. H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS* (1929), 232-3). Only the strongest of rulers could avoid these payments. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, ʿAḍud al-Dawla refused to make any additional payments above the basic allowances (*ziyādāt fi 'l-uṣūl*) except on justifiable occasions, such as after victories or when a special policy of conciliation was required (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 166). Maḥmūd of Ghazna's son Masʿūd achieved the throne of the Ghaznavid empire in 421/1030, and shortly afterwards was strong enough to dispense with the *māl-i bayʿat* payment to the army; he even got back from the leading commanders the money from the state treasury which his brother Muḥammad had paid out in a fruitless

attempt to secure the army's allegiance to himself as Sultan (cf. C. E. Bosworth, ***Ghaznevid military organisation***, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 73-4).

In addition to these succession crises, soldiers were well placed for blackmailing their commanders into giving extra payments at such times as before crucial campaigns or battles. When 'Āṣim b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hilālī, newly-appointed governor of Khurāsān, was in 116/734 combatting the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], he had to placate the Arab government troops (*al-djund*) from Marw with the offer of a dīnār per head before they would engage al-Ḥārith, and then in the end raise it to three dīnārs (Ṭabarī, ii, 1579-80). In 195/811 the Caliph al-Amīn appointed 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān governor of western Persia and commander of his army there; he thought it prudent to make firm the army's loyalty by granting it a great sum of money and distributing amongst the troops 2,000 jewelled swords and 6,000 sets of robes of honour (*ibid.*, iii, 796). The Ṣaffārid Amīr 'Amr b. al-Layth kept a special treasury from which rewards could be given to outstandingly brave soldiers (cf. C. E. Bosworth, ***The armies of the Ṣaffārids***, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 549). On occasion, it was politic for a commander to single out for particular favour a section of the troops which had especially contributed to a victory. The Būyids were at times able to play off the Daylamī against the Turkish element in their armies, and so preserve a loyal following of some kind; but often, they had simply to purchase support through financial inducements. Faced by a serious revolt in 345/956-7 of the Daylamī general Rūzbahān b. Windād-Khūrshīd, Mu'izz al-Dawla had to buy the loyalty of the Turks of Baghdād, a body of his young slaves and the minority of Daylamīs who had remained faithful to him, by increased pay allowances and promotions (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, ii, 163, 166, 173-4, tr. v, 174, 178, 186-7; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 386). Because of their outstanding rôle in the victory over his uncle Ḳāwurd in 465/1073, the new Saldjūḳ Sultan Malik-Shāh gave the Arab and Kurdish commanders of his army an extra share in the plunder, special honours and a distribution of land grants or *iḳṭā*'s (Bundārī, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 53).

The "Mirrors for Princes" literature frequently adverts to the necessity of keeping the troops' loyalty by means of timely donatives, especially after outstanding victories or feats of valour. Kay Kā'ūs adjures the wise prince, "Pay special regard to anyone who fights valiantly, overthrows or wounds one of the enemy, seizes a horse or performs any other laudable deed. Reward such a man for his services by presentation of a robe of honour and increasing his pay; do not spare money at such a time" (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, ch. xli, tr. R. Levy, 220). Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa 'l-shadjā'a* has a special chapter on the obligation of the ruler or commander to reward his soldiers for special services, bravery in the field, etc., with marks of honour (*tashrīf*), financial awards (*ṣilāt, in'ām*), gifts of horses and weapons, and pensions (*nānpāra*). He goes into considerable detail about the proportionate rewards for various deeds, such as bringing in the severed head of an enemy, capturing a horse and rider together, or a horse or rider alone, leading or withstanding a charge, going out in single combat, carrying off the enemy's standard or ceremonial parasol (*čatr*), and so forth (India Office Persian Ms. 647, ch. xxxvi, ff. 126b-128a; ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967 (based on the British Museum Ms. alone), ch. xxx, 542-7).

Bibliography: given in the article. There are no special studies devoted to this topic.

(C. E. Bosworth)

'INĀN, poetess who was very famous in Baghdād in the second half of the 2nd/8th century. The little that is known of her life is of doubtful authenticity. She was a ***muwallada***, and was born, and received a polite education, in the Yamāma, which was to produce a little later another famous poetess, Faḍl. 'Inān was brought to live in the capital by her master, Abū Khālid al-Nāṭifī, then probably lived in Khurāsān, and died in 226/841 in Egypt (*Nisā'*, 53). She enlivened literary society during the reign of al-Rashīd, who expressed great admiration for her and wished to acquire her, but she is not mentioned under any of his successors.

She is considered as the first woman to have won literary fame under the 'Abbāsids. The ***Fihrist*** attributes to her only a ***dīwān*** of twenty leaves, of which a few poems have survived. The longest is a laudatory petition of fourteen verses addressed to Yaḥyā b. Khālid (Ibn al-Mu'tazz). These fragments show signs of a real talent. In bold language and a vocabulary which is simple but not without subtlety, 'Inān writes harminious poems in which the ideas are supported by a prudent use of the stylistic figures of *badī'*, which were fashionable at this period. Her reputation, like Faḍl's later, rested on her skill at improvisation, an attribute which found her so much fame that it forms the subject of most of the anecdotes about her. Several of her dialogues in verse with such skilled opponents as Abū Nuwās, al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf and Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣa show that she was capable in any situation of producing the rhyming repartee which established her reputation as a poet in the eyes of her contemporaries. Her profound knowledge of early poetry enabled her, in exercises in *idjāza* for example, to improvise after a verse by Djarīr a poem in the manner of that great poet (*Aghānī*, '*Iḳd*). This throws some light on the techniques of composition of certain writers who continually used a style inherited from their predecessors.

But it seems that it is mainly her role as the centre of a literary circle that should be noted. Her house was frequented by the most brilliant people, notably those of the famous group of "libertines". The brightest of them held discussions in her presence and submitted their works for her judgement. She was in addition regarded by a number of them as their inspiration. Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Aḥnaf and Abu 'l-Naḍīr, the Baṣran attached to the Barmakids, all dedicated love-poems to her, though their sincerity is doubtful. The first addressed her with some obscenities, to which she replied with much wit and discreet allusion. The main point is that she represents a type of woman who mixed freely with writers and sometimes accompanied them to some of the places of amusement in the suburbs of Baghdād. The love which poets expressed for her was an exercise of wit rather than a true emotion. The courtly exchange, racy or even erotic, became a genre which was cultivated in emulation. It can be imagined that someone like 'Inān had a considerable influence on its development by helping to establish the rules of *cortesia* and by taking part in the flowering of the new love poetry in the second century, which was so productive of new forms.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Beirut ed., xxii, 520-32 (notice), xi, 268-9; Abū Hiffān, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1959, 79-82, 110-1, 112; Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, Cairo 1936, i, 500; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, '*Iḳd*, vi, 57-60; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, Cairo

1953, 39-42; Ibn Manẓūr, *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1924, 34-5, 137, 212; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 421-2; *Fihrist*, 239; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 47-53; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, v, 78-82; Suyūṭī, *al-Mustaṭraf min akhbār al-djawārī*, Beirut 1963, 37-47; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 267; Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, Beirut 1965, 264; cf. also the *Dīwān* of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, ed. Khazradjī, Cairo 1954, 107-8, and that of Abū Nuwās, Cairo 1953, *ghazal* section 227-398; on the relations of this poet with ʿInān, cf. ʿAlī Shalaḳ, *Abū Nuwās bayna ʾl-takhaṭṭī wa ʾl-iltizām*, Beirut 1964, 252-8. (J. E. Bencheikh)

IʿNĀT [see luzūm mā lā yalzam].

ʿĪNĀT [see suppl.].

ʿINĀYA (a.), "providence". The word which etymologically evokes the idea of care, solicitude, is not part of the Ḳurʾānic vocabulary. Nor does it belong directly to the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām*, but to the language of *falsafa* (and of the *ishrāḳ* of Suhrawardī)—it was to be taken up after this by the later works and manuals of *kalām* which summarize and discuss its theses (among them al-Shahrastānī, al-Djurdjānī, etc.). It should be mentioned however that it has no place in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī. *ʿInāya* appears in the Ṣūfī lexicon, but only with the more precise meaning of divine "benefaction", or of a "gift granted" by God.

Certainly, if "providence" is understood as the order by which God conducts all things, this idea recurs throughout the Ḳurʾān. Muslim piety insisted on this; and such divine names as *al-Muhaymin* (the Vigilant), *al-Razzāḳ* (the Dispenser of all good), *al-Ḥafīẓ*, (the vigilant Guardian), *al-Muḳīt* (the Feeder), *al-Raḳīb* (the jealous Guardian), *al-Mānīʿ* (the tutelary Defender), could not fail to turn the mind towards the notion of a provident God. But it seems to have been the *falāsifa* who more precisely adopted *ʿināya* to signify divine providence. And their view of it is closely linked with their theory of "necessary and willed" creation.

It suffices to give some main references taken from Ibn Sīnā. It is he in fact who provides the clearest definitions of *ʿināya* (cf. A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, no. 468, and L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 131-5).

The metaphysics of the *Shifāʾ* refers to it twice: concerning divine knowledge (*Ilāhiyyāt*, Cairo ed. 1960, ii, 398) and in particular in the chapter (mainly ii, 415) which deals with the introduction of evil (*sharr*) in the predetermining divine decree (*ḳaḍāʾ*). This text has been repeated in the *Nadjāt* (²Cairo 1357/1938, 284): "He [the prime Being] knows therefore the order of good according to the best order in the line of the [the being] possible, and there flows from Him that which he knows has a certain order and a good, according to the best which He knows, in a flow (*fayḍ*) which leads perfectly to order, according to the line of [the being] possible: and such is the meaning of the word *ʿināya*". (Definition reproduced by al-Shahrastānī in his refutation of Ibn Sīnā, ed. Cureton, London 1846, ii, 388).

The *Ishārāt* returned to the same theme, underlining, more clearly perhaps, its double theme of knowledge and necessity: "Providence is therefore the full comprehension which the First [God] has, in his science, of all and of the necessity for all to rest on Him so as to be according to the best order. [He fully understands also] that this comes necessarily from Him and from the total grasp which He has of it" (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 185; Fr. tr. A. M. Goichon, Beirut-Paris 1951, 458). It is characteristic that these lines are presented as a "remark" (*tanbīha*) in the chapter which deals in general with knowledge (see another text, *ibid.*, 160).

This conception of *ʿināya* cannot accommodate either God's liberty or gratuity, a fact which accords perfectly with the existential determinism of Ibn Sīnā. Certainly providence, in its obvious sense must be understood, he says, from "the thought by the First of what is good and just", and the divine thought is what produces beings (cf. *Sharḥ Kitāb Uthūlūdjiyā*, ed. ʿA. Badawi, in *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 63). It may be objected that the coming into being of existing things from the prime Being is "a simple overflow (*inbidjās*) which has no connexion with the thought which He has of them, even although this thought accompanies it". (*ibid.*; Fr. tr. G. Vajda, in *Revue Thomiste*, ii (1951) 389). Ibn Sīnā replies by distinguishing between the necessary *ab alio* (in the order of existence) and the possible (in the order of essence). He concludes: for things, "the best becomes one of the possible things for them, after the best having been thought necessarily. This is providence, that is to say, the thought of the best possible" (*ibid.*, tr. 390). And again: "His [the prime being's] essence is that from which necessarily derive the things which have the possibility of deriving from it because He thinks them. It is thus that providence succeeds in becoming providence" (*ibid.* 64/390-1).

The idea of providence as divine knowledge which is a realization of the good and just ordering of existing beings is thus clearly settled. But Avicennan determinism makes this ordering, whatever its "possibility" may be as regards the essence of things, into an existential necessity: which the prime Being knows and wills, but which He could not refrain from producing and which He could not modify. When the later Ashʿarī manuals debated *ʿināya* according to the *falāsifa*, this was in order to oppose to this providence which is (and is no more than) a necessary producing knowledge, the productive gratuitous dispositions of the free will of the Most High. It is true that they do not distinguish at all between common providence and particular decree. Everything is providence, and everything is decree (*ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ*). It is the chapters on *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ* which deal with the designs and the government of God.

Finally it may be added that the Ṣūfī vocabulary contrasts *maḥabba* (or *ʿishḳ*) and *ʿināya*. According to al-Ḥallādj, love is "a perennial (*sarmadiyya*) attitude" and a pre-eternal liberality (*ʿināya azaliyya*; cf. L. Massignon, *Passion*, 610; Massignon here translates *ʿināya* by "*grâce*"). Al-Hudjwīrī, in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, referred to *ʿināya* in the sense of divine favour (Nicholson translates this sometimes by "grace", sometimes by "favour"; Eng. tr. Leiden-London 1911, 203, 268).

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ʿINĀYAT ALLĀH KANBŪ, elder brother of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, author of *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ* or *Shāhdjahān-nāma*, a history of the Moghul emperor Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*], was born at Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] on 19 Djūmādā I 1017/31 August 1608, though his ancestral home was at Lahore. How and when his parents came to Burhānpūr is not known. His father seems to have died at an early age, when the family returned to Lahore. Himself well-educated, he attended to the education of his orphaned younger brother, who speaks of him in very affectionate terms and calls him his patron.

In early life he held an office under the Moghul

viceroy of Lahore, where his younger brother also was employed; he married and had children, but in later life he renounced the world, became a recluse, and went to Delhi, where he passed his time in prayer, meditation and fasting in a *kh̲ānḳāh*, built by himself, beside the tomb of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bak̲h̲tiyār Kākī. A historian, writer and poet, he is the author of: (1) *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Dil-kus̲h̲ā*, a history of S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān and his predecessors, with the usual narrative from Adam to the beginning of the Mog̲h̲ul rule in India; it is still in MS; (2) *Bahār-i dānis̲h̲*, a collection of romantic and lascivious tales dealing with the tricks employed by faithless wives to deceive their doting husbands, on which his fame mainly rests; completed in 1061/1651 it has been described as "pearls strung on a cord of coarse grass"; it is in fact a Persian version of some Indian folktale which the author had heard from a native Brahmin (ed. Calcutta 1809, 1836, Delhi 1849, Bombay 1877, Lucknow n.d.). It was translated into English by Alexander Dow (London 1768), Jonathan Scott (Shrewsbury 1799), and into German by A. T. Hartman (Leipzig 1802).

He died at Delhi, on 19 D̲j̲ūmādā I 1082/23 September 1671. Both Laṭīf (*Lahore*, 209) and Čis̲h̲tī (*Taḥḳīḳāt*[3], 1309) however state that he was buried in Lahore in a tomb built by himself during his lifetime, in which also was later buried his younger but more famous brother.

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(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

INCEST [see nikāḥ, zinā].

INCUBATION [see istik̲h̲ara].

INDIA [see hind].

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. The first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay in December 1885. It was a gathering of English-educated, middle class Indians—Hindus, Parsis, and Muslims—who formed themselves into an All-India political organization.

Projected as the "National Assembly of India" and as the basis of an Indian Parliament, the Congress set out to promote Indian national unity and sought Indian representation in the British Government of India. The Congress asserted that it was a secular organization and emphasized that it voiced the political grievances and aspirations of the people of India irrespective of their religious denomination. In particular it claimed to embody and represent the Muslims.

The Muslims were divided in their attitude to the Congress between two incompatible schools of thought, one stressing the common interests between Muslims and Hindus, the other emphasizing the cleavages between the two communities. The first school of thought was exemplified by Badr al-Dīn Ṭayyibd̲j̲ī, who presided over the third session of the Congress. He called upon Muslims to regard the Congress as a "truly representative national gathering", promoted co-operation between Muslims and Hindus, and urged Muslims to identify themselves with the objects of the Congress. Although these views appealed to only a small section of the Muslim community, they were advocated throughout the history of the Congress by prominent Muslims, notably Dr. M. A. Anṣārī, Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, and Dr. D̲h̲ākir Ḥusayn, who felt no contradiction between their Islamic way of life and their membership in the Congress. However, most Muslims dissociated themselves from the Congress: they were convinced by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān that the Congress was a sectarian organization designed to advance the exclusive interests of the Hindus, and they shared Sir Sayyid's apprehensions that the Congress was striving to establish Hindu rule, in which the Muslims would be a deprived minority.

The Congress endeavoured to attract the Muslims to its annual conventions and resolved to drop any subject to which Muslims objected. Moreover, the Congress did not extend its official approval to the popular agitation against the partition of Bengal which was permeated with Hindu religious fervour; nor to the anti-Muslim activities of the Ārya Samād̲j̲ in the Pand̲j̲āb; nor to the militant anti-Muslim festival of Śivāji and the Cow-Protection Association in Mahārās̲h̲ṭra. Nevertheless, most Muslims saw in the Congress a Hindu movement. Since Muslims lagged behind Hindus in acquiring western education, in taking advantage of the new economic opportunities and in forming a political organization, they became particularly conscious of their backwardness and were anxious to accelerate the advancement of their interests by claiming special minority rights.

Notwithstanding the foundation of the Muslim League [*q.v.*] in December 1906, and the provision of separate electorates for the Muslims by the India Act of 1909, the Congress continued to claim that it alone represented the people of India.

For a brief period Muslims and Hindus jointly supported the Home-Rule League in 1916 and co-operated in 1920 in the K̲h̲ilāfat and Civil Disobedience movements. But when the Civil Disobedience movement was stopped by Gāndhī without consulting the Muslims, and when the K̲h̲ilāfat movement collapsed after Atatürk abolished the Caliphate, the Muslims became depressed and frustrated, and the brief reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus turned into discord and antagonism.

When the Nehru Report was published in 1928, the Muslim League regarded the refusal of the Congress to recognize special electorates for the Muslims as proof of its contention that the Muslims would be a deprived minority under Congress rule. The fears of the Muslim League were intensified when the Congress overwhelmingly won the 1937 elections, formed seven ministries, and stipulated that it would accept Muslim representatives into its ministry of the United Provinces only if they merged into the Congress.

While Nehru dismissed the complaints of the Muslim League of discrimination against Muslims in the Congress Ministries as side issues which weakened the struggle for *Swarāj* (self-rule), M. A. D̲j̲ināḥ rallied the Muslims to the Muslim League with the warning that *Swarāj* meant Hindu-*rāj*. While the Congress promised the Muslims equality of rights, the Muslim League argued that since the Hindus were better educated, more prosperous, and more enterprising than the Muslims, "equality" meant the perpetual inferiority of the Muslims as well as constant economic and political oppression. While the Congress assured the Muslims of religious toleration, the Muslim League warned the Muslims that they might be absorbed into Hinduism and lose their identity, and that therefore any Muslim who was not with the Muslim League was a traitor to Islām. Nevertheless, the Congress courted Muslim members, many of

whom attained eminence in the Congress party; this position still holds.

Until 1940 the Muslim League endeavoured to gain special rights to safeguard the interests of the Muslims as a minority; from 1940 it asserted that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations and that the Muslim League, and it alone, represented the national aspirations of the Muslims which aimed at the establishment of a national home. The Congress rejected the equation of religion with nationalism and accused the Muslim League of working up religious animosity for political ends. However, the 1945 communal riots widened the gulf between the Muslim League and the Congress, and the schism reached its climax in 1947 in the partition of India and the foundation of Pakistan.

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INDIAN OCEAN [see baḥr al-hind].

INDIGO [see nīl].

INDJĪL, Arabic transcription of the word εὐαγγέλιον, gospel, through the Ethiopian *wängel* (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 47; Grimme, in *Festsch. Goldziher*, 164; Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 71-2). The variant *andjīl* may arise from a Mesopotamian Persian influence.

The word *indjīl* occurs twelve times in the Ḳur'ān (III, 2, 43, 58; V, 50, 51, 70, 72, 110; VII, 156; IX, 112; XLVIII, 29; LVII, 27) and refers to the Revelation transmitted by Jesus. The word also means the scripture possessed and read by the Christian contemporaries of Muḥammad (V, 51; VII, 156), *i.e.*, the four Gospels, often extended in current usage to mean the whole of the New Testament. The confusion to which this gave rise in later controversies was often solved, on the Muslim side, by accusing the Christians of having "corrupted" the original Gospels (cf. especially Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, ii, (1928), 35-6).

In this article there will be studied successively: I. The relations between the Ḳur'ān and the Gospels; II. The place of the Gospels in *ḥadīth*; III. The knowledge of the Gospels possessed by Muslim writers; IV. The place of the Gospels in Ṣūfism; V. The Islamo-Christian controversy over the Gospels.

I. The Gospels and the Ḳur'ān. There appear in the Ḳur'ān a certain number of Gospel characters: Jesus, Mary, St. John the Baptist (Yaḥyā), Zacharias, the Apostles, and a certain number of facts (the Annunciation, the miracles of Jesus) whose resemblance to the Gospels is striking, so that the question arises of how exactly they are related to the Gospels, which preceded them.

For believing Muslims this question presents no difficulties: it is the same God Who reveals both books, and the Prophet Muḥammad, having received the Revelation directly from God, had no need to consult, directly or indirectly, the Scriptures in order to be able to reproduce some of the features which are found in them.

The historian of religions however feels obliged by his discipline to seek for possible historical connexions. The first question is therefore: what knowledge could Muḥammad and the first Muslims have had of the Gospels? This leads to the question of the translation of the Gospels into Arabic, since any knowledge of Greek, Syriac, or Coptic on the part of Muḥammad and his Companions may be excluded.

In a memoir presented to the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* in 1888 (see *Bibl.*), Ignazio Guidi raised the question whether the Gospels had been translated into Arabic before the advent of Islam. Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Moh.*, i, 131 ff.) thought he recognized in a passage of Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ (ed. Wustenfeld, 149-50) a fragment from a translation made before the time of Muḥammad. The fragment contains John XV, verses 23-27, and the word which is used in them to translate παράκλητος is *al-m-n-ḥ-mnā*, which is neither Arabic nor Syriac but Palestinian and probably quite early (cf. Gildemeister, *De evang. in arabic.*, 35). According to a text of Bar Hebraeus (*Chron. eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, i, 275; Assemani, *Bibl. orient.*, ii, 335; cf. Gildemeister, *op. cit.*, 30, note 1), a translation was made between 631 and 640 A.D. by the Monophysite Johannes on the instructions of an Arab ruler, ʿAmr b. Saʿd. But these first translations, if they existed, amount only to isolated and disputable details.

On the other hand, extant manuscripts attest that from the 2nd/8th century, Arabic versions of the Gospels were in the hands of the Christians of Syria. The many manuscripts of the Gospels in Arabic may be divided into six classes: (A) Those which were translated directly from the Greek. They originate from the monastery of Saint Sabas or from near there; two of them (Vatic. arab., 13, of the 8th cent. and manuscr. Borgia, K. 11, 31 8th or 9th century) are the oldest known. (B) Texts translated from the Peshitta, or at least revised on the basis of this Syriac version. These are of different periods (Tischendorf manuscript at Leipzig, 8th-9th century; Codex Vaticanus, 13). The translation of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian was made in the 5th/11th century by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. (C) Texts translated from the Bohairic Coptic translation or modified according to it (*Codex Vaticanus*, copt. 9). The passages from the Gospels mentioned in the *History of the patriarchs of Egypt* by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] (4th/10th century) are based on the Coptic translation, perhaps in the form of lectionaries. The same or a similar Coptic version seems to have been used by al-Ghazālī in *al-Radd al-djamīl* (cf. R. Chidiac, *Réfutation excellente de la divinité du Christ*, Paris 1939). (D) Texts of eclectic recensions, made in the 7th/13th century in the patriarchate of Alexandria to become the canonical versions. The first work on this was done circa 650/1250 by al-Asʿad Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-ʿAssāl. (E) Texts which are distinguished by their more particularly literary form (Leiden MS 2348 and those in the Vatican, cod. arab. 17 and 18). The two latter, in a translation into hymed prose, date from the end of the 4th/10th century. Other versions in the same genre were made later. (F) Arabic versions of Western origin (cf. H. Hyvernat, in *Dict. de la Bible*, i, col. 851-6).

We may thus conclude, with Graf (*Geschichte*, i, 41) that in the present state of knowledge it cannot be asserted that Muḥammad and his first companions could have had a direct knowledge of the Gospels in Arabic.

In addition to the canonical Gospels, there exist

Arabic recensions of the New Testament apocrypha: the Gospel of the Childhood, the Protevangelium of James, the Apocalypse of Paul, the Preaching of Peter and a sermon of Simon, a martyrdom of James and one of Simon, and a small number of others which do not appear to have been known in Muslim circles. Rubens Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris 1899, 96, mentions an apocalypse of St. Peter as being an Arabic composition of the 7th/13th century.

The spread in Arabia of Christian ideas in addition to the narrative accounts of the Gospels and the apocryphal books, before the arrival of Islam, took place largely, if not entirely, through oral teaching and the exchanges of everyday life. There existed in the Yemen a Christian community (cf. Nallino, *Ebrei e Christiani nell' Arabia preislamica*, in *Raccolta di Scritti*, iii, 122-9), which was in active rivalry with the Jews and had close relations with the Ethiopians. The occupation of the Yemen by the latter certainly strengthened the position of this community.

In the north-east, the influence of the Nestorian church spread from al-Ḥīra, whence it was carried not only by the monks and perhaps by preachers, but also, although more superficially, by the poets who frequented the court of the La<u>kh</u>mid princes. In addition, the Christian or Christianized poets of the Ḥi<u>dj</u>āz, Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl and Waraḳa b. Nawfal of Mecca, and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt of Ṭāʾif, are represented as having relationships wit the Christians of the Yemen and of Syria, whereas the <u>Gh</u>assānid princes or the tribes which were under their influence had adopted Monophysism. It is even stated in the *A<u>gh</u>ānī* (iii, 14) that Waraḳa, the cousin of <u>Kh</u>adī<u>dj</u>a, wrote translations or copies of the Gospels.

It is thus probable that the passages in the Ḳurʾān which reflect the canonical or apocryphal Gospels derive from these Christian communities, and this possibility is confirmed to a great extent by the large proportion of Ethiopian and South Arabian terms which they contain (see, *e.g.*, V, 112-3). The greater part of these passages describe the births of Jesus, of Mary and of John the Baptist, the misssion, the miracles and the ascension of Jesus [see ʿĪSĀ, MARYAM, YAḤYĀ]. There are also references to several parables, for example the parable of the Sower (XLVIII, 29), that of the wise and foolish virgins (LVII, 13), the prophecy of the announcement of another Apostle (VII, 157) and to several other passages. More surprising, but not intrinsically improbable, given the rivalry between Jews and Christians in the Yemen, there are also echoes of the arguments directed against the Jews in the Gospels and the Epistles, which, as has been pointed out by Tor Andrea and Ahrens (see *Bibl.*), are sometimes used in the Ḳurʾān as much against the Christians as against the Jews.

II. The influence of the New Testament on tradition (*ḥadī<u>th</u>*) is important. A number of the miracles, proverbs and ideas attributed to Muḥammad or to his followers have their source in the Gospels. For example, Muḥammad increases the amount of some water or supplies of food. Many traditions on the dignity of the poor and the difficulty for the rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven reflect the teaching of the Gospels and are in contrast with the attitude of the pagan Arabs. Goldziher mentions an adaptation of the *Paternoster* which an Arab traditionist puts into the mouth of Muḥammad (Abū Dāwūd, i, 101). The parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matthew, XX, 1-16) is applied to the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (*riwāya* of al-<u>Sh</u>aybānī, *bāb al-tafsīr*). Similarly in the legends on the Mahdī and in eschatology, apocalyptic literature had an important part.

III. As Islam spread in the formerly Christian countries and contact between Christians and Muslims became more frequent, the Muslims gained a deeper knowledge of the Gospels. Thus several Muslim historians display a fairly extensive knowledge of them. Al-Yaʿḳūbi, one of the earliest Arab historians, quotes an extract from them; al-Masʿūdī, who had an enquiring mind, makes no secret of his relations with the Christians; he mentions visiting, in Nazareth, a church much venerated by the Christians, and he learned from them a number of Gospel traditions; he knew of the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, his childhood in Nazareth, God's words reported in Matthew III, 17: "This is my beloved son . . .", of which he reproduces a variant; he had also heard the story of the visit of the Magi to the infant Messiah, according to the Gospels and other versions; he gives accurately the account of the calling of the Apostles; he names the four Evangelists, and refers to the "book of the Gospels" as if he had seen it, giving an exact summary of it, though exhibiting a certain mistrust of it, as compared with the respect with which it is treated in the Ḳurʾān. Similarly al-Masʿūdī is relatively well-informed concerning the lives of the Apostles. He twice mentions the martyrdom of St. Peter and of St. Paul, but attributing to both the type of execution which, according to tradition, was that suffered by St. Peter; St. Thomas is known as the apostle of India, he seems moreover to be the apostle who, after St. Peter, was best known to the Muslims; even St. Paul was less well known.

Even better informed than al-Masʿūdī is al-Bīrūnī. This writer must have consulted Christians in order to write his Chronology. Several texts of the Gospels were known to him, as well as the commentary by Dādīshoʿ (Jesudad, cf. Duval, *Litt. syr.*[2], 84) and he mentions it with some criticism. He regarded the four Gospels as four recensions, which he compares to the three versions of the Bible, Jewish, Christian and Samaritan, remarking however that these four recensions differ greatly from each other. This author reproduces in full the genealogies of Joseph given by Matthew and Luke, and, in a very interesting passage, he mentions how the Christians explain the difference between them. After this he mentions other gospels in the possession of the Marcionites, the Bardesanites and the Manicheans, the first two, according to him, differing "in some places" from the Christian Gospels, the others being contrary to them. Given all these differing versions, he considers that the prophetic value of the Gospels is not greatly to be trusted.

The Persian version of the *Chronicle* of al-Ṭabarī (Fr. tr. by Zotenberg) contains some legends on New Testament subjects more developed than in the Arabic original and similar to those found in the "Stories of the prophets" (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*). Certain details concerning the Passion are related in it: the denial of "Simeon", the betrayal of one of the Apostles, who is not named, Mary's station at the foot of the Cross. The author admits however, following Muslim belief, that there was substituted for Jesus some other person, whom he calls Joshua. Concerning the Apostles, he reproduces the tradition that makes John travel to Edessa.

IV. In Muslim mystic literature are found many references to the Gospels and there can be detected some knowledge of the interpretation given

to certain passages by the Christian Fathers. Nevertheless the words which the Muslim mystics attribute to Jesus are far from always agreeing with the Gospels; thus those reported by al-Ghazālī and collected by Asin Palacios (see *Bibl.*) are almost all inexact. On the other hand, al-Muḥāsibī and al-Suhrawardī give an exact and complete transcription of the parable of the Sower. The writings of the Ikhwān al-ṣafā' contain some remarkable passages on the crucifixion of Jesus (Cairo ed., iv, 97), the reality of which they admit, and on the Resurrection, the meetings of the Apostles in the Upper Room and their dispersal throughout the world. The Acts of the Apostles (*afʿāl al-ḥawāriyya*) are expressly quoted in this work (Dieterici, 605). For other features, cf. L. Massignon's *Ḥallāj*: there exists a miniature showing al-Ḥallādj on the cross with the face of Christ; also the fine epic romance of Ḥamza (*Sīrat al-amīr Ḥamza*, Cairo n.d., iii, 822 f.).

V. Islamo-Christian controversies about the New Testament. The basic dogmas of Christianity, such as the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Redemption, based essentially on the New Testament, very soon gave rise to polemic between Christians and Muslims, each party trying to prove that its attitude was based on truth.

From the Muslim side, attacks were made chiefly on the authenticity of the Gospels and it was stated that they had undergone *taḥrīf* [*q.v.*]: the meaning or words distorted, passages suppressed, others added, etc. They said that Jesus had never stated that he was God; the Trinity and the Redemption were doctrines invented by St. Paul. Recent polemicists (19th and 20th centuries) added as sources for the Christian attitude Greek philosophy and the pagan mysteries or the religious beliefs of India.

Using the earlier works of Hottinger, Marracci, Reineccius, Fabricius, Calemberg, Schnurrer and some manuscript sources, Moritz Steinschneider published, in 1877, his *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*. But the first comprehensive study on Muslim polemic was made by E. Fritsch in his doctoral thesis entitled *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter* (Breslau 1930). The author studied ten or so Muslim authors who wrote polemical treatises against the Christians, among others, al-Hāshimī (circa 205/820), ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (211/855), al-Djāḥiẓ (255/868), Ibn Ḥazm (456/1064), al-Ḳarāfī (684/1285), Ibn Taymiyya (728/1328), who devoted four volumes to the refutation of Christianity (*al-Djawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*). It is clear that in all these works it is mainly the scriptural texts which were being discussed.

From the middle of the 19th century, Protestant missionary activity became more intense and, in order to prove the authenticity of Holy Writ and in particular of the Gospels, attacked the traditional Muslim attitudes (cf. the *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ* of Karl Gottlieb Pfander, 1865). It was not long before a massive and vigorous counter-attack was launched, making use of the extreme results which had been obtained by Western hypercriticism (cf. the *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ* of Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī, published in 1867). The appearance of a forgery entitled the "Gospel of Barnabas" (Arabic tr. 1908) put into the hands of the Muslim polemicists, especially those of the school of the *Manār*, a new weapon, whose effects on the ordinary public and even on some insufficiently informed members of universities are felt even today (J. Jomier, *L'Evangile selon Barnabé* in *MIDEO*, vi (1959-61), 137-226).

There is apparent however in some contemporary authors the desire to adopt in part, in particular in matters relating to the Gospels, Christian attitudes. There should especially be noted in this respect the works of Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād (*ʿAbḳariyyat al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1952) and the *Ḳarya ẓālima* of Kāmil Ḥusayn, Cairo 1954, both of them largely based on the Gospels. For details of all this see Anawati, *Polémique*, etc.

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INDJŪ. This name, properly speaking the term (Turkish *indjü*) applied to royal estates under the Mongols, is usually given to the dynasty which reigned *ca.* 703/1303-758/1357 in Fārs (Shīrāz), the founder of the dynasty, Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd-Shāh, having been sent thither by Öldjeytü to administer the royal estates. According to the *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* he was a descendant of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī [*q.v.*]. Under Öldjeytü's successor Abū Saʿīd he not only retained his office but was able to extend his power so that by *ca.* 725/1325 he was practically the independent ruler of Shīrāz and almost the whole of Fārs. After the death of Abū Saʿīd, he was executed by the order of his successor Arpa Keʾün in 736/1336. According to the *Shīrāz-nāma* he had four sons: Djalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd-Shāh, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Abū Isḥāḳ Djamāl al-Dīn. The first named was already ruling in Shīrāz during his father's lifetime down to *ca.* 735/1335, when in his absence his brother Kay-Khusraw took his place, refusing upon his return to restore him his authority. Hostilities then broke out between the brothers ending only in 739/1338-9 with the death of Kay-Khusraw. Masʿūd-Shāh had imprisoned the third brother Muḥammad in Ḳalʿa-yi Safīd, but he managed to escape and enlist the support of the Čobanid Pīr Ḥusayn. The latter collected a Mongol army and advanced on Shīrāz with Muḥammad; Masʿūd-Shāh was forced to flee, and Pīr Ḥusayn entered the town. When, shortly afterwards, in 740/1340, he put Muḥammad to death, the population adopted so threatening an attitude that he found it advisable to withdraw, but only to return the next year at the head of fresh forces. On this occasion also luck was against him; he quarrelled with the Čobanid Ashraf and, when the two sides were drawn up in line of battle, was left in the lurch by his own men and sought refuge with Ḥasan-i Kūčak [*q.v.*], by whom he was put to death. Meanwhile, Masʿūd-Shāh had made his way to Luristān, where he allied himself with Yaghī-bastī, a brother of Ashraf, while Ashraf himself took the part of Masʿūd-Shāh's sole remaining brother Abū Isḥāḳ. Masʿūd-Shāh, with Yaghī-bastī's aid, succeeded in reaching Shīrāz, where he met the same fate as his brother Muḥammad: he was treacherously murdered by Yaghī-bastī in 743/1343. The latter then quarrelled, and was reconciled again, with Ashraf; and they were engaged in a joint attempt at the subjugation of Fārs when the news of their brother Ḥasan-i Kūčak's death caused their troops to disperse. Abū Isḥāḳ, who had previously received the town of Iṣfahān from Pīr Ḥusayn, now became the ruler of Shīrāz and the whole of Fārs. As he endeavoured to extend his rule over Yazd and Kirmān, he came into conflict with the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*], with varying success. The final result was that Abū Isḥāḳ was not only driven from Yazd and Kirmān but was besieged in Shīrāz itself, which surrended to the Muẓaffarids in 754/1353. Before the surrender he had escaped to Ḳalʿa-yi Safīd and, receiving some support from Ḥasan-i Buzurg, made his way to Iṣfahān. Besieged once again, he was taken prisoner and handed over for execution to the relatives of a *shaykh* who had been put to death by his orders. This was in 758/1357. The Persian poet ʿUbayd-i Zākānī has commemorated his patron in a *marthiya* or elegy.

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INDOCHINA (Islam in). The union of Indochina, created by a decree of 19 October 1887, was definitively completed and organized under the governorship of Paul Doumer (February 1897-March 1902). Embracing a vast territory of 740,000 square km., with no geographical unity, extending from China to Siam and bordered by both the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, it ceased to exist in 1945, to become the states of Cambodia in the south west, Laos in the north west and Vietnam in the east.

The population of this region, estimated at 16 millions at the beginning of the 20th century, has grown considerably since then. In 1930 there were 2,500,000 Cambodians, 1 million Laotians and 17 million Vietnamese (7,500,000 in Tonkin, 5,000,000

in Annam and 4,500,000 in Cochin China: these three countries had formed in the 19th century the empire of Vietnam, given this name in 1804). Exact statistics are not available, but it is generally agreed that in 1969 Cambodia has nearly 4 million inhabitants, Laos about 1,500,000 and Vietnam at least 26 million. These numbers include about 500,000 Chinese or persons of Chinese origin, and slightly under a million people belonging to the ethnic minorities (still often and incorrectly called *Kha* by the Laotians, *Moi* by the Vietnamese and *Pnong* by the Cambodians, words meaning "boor, mountain-dweller, wild man") variously divided, according to the three states, with the Chinese in the urban centres and the minorities on the plateaux.

The dominant religions and philosophies are still Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. In Cambodia and Laos, (Hinayana) Buddhism, the state religion, is widely practised. In Vietnam, spirit worship is really the dominant religion and (Mahayana) Buddhism, although attracting the majority of the population, has neither the unity nor the purity which it has in the two neighbouring countries. There should be mentioned furthermore the tolerant and also syncretic character of the Vietnamese, who are well able to embrace philosophies of various origins: an example of this is the birth in about 1925 of Caodaism, which aims to group under the authority of one single God all the existing religions, and possessed in 1969 two million adherents, the majority in South Vietnam. The Catholics, the majority of whom also are in Vietnam, are almost as numerous. Animist beliefs remain active among the ethnic minorities. Finally it should be mentioned that Hinduism, which flourished for ten centuries in Cambodia, is now practised, and that in a more or less degenerate form, only by the Hindu minority (Tamils and Bengalis) and in particular by the majority of the Cham (pronounced *tyam*; see ČAM) of Vietnam, while the rest of them, with the Cham of Cambodia, the Malays and a certain number of Tamils, are Muslims.

Even during the periods of greatness of the Shampa [see ṢANF], Islam never held a position of first importance in Indochina. Deeply influenced by Indian civilization, the Cham practised mainly Hinduism and, to a lesser extent, Buddhism, often combining the two religions. But these cults have been almost abandoned. Today almost all the Cham of Cambodia are Muslims, as are nearly half of those who live in the south of Central Vietnam and who describe themselves as "the original Cham".

No exact date has yet been given for the appearance of Islam in Shampa. It is known that Arab traders reached as far as China in the 1st/7th century, and it is probable that during their journeys they visited the shores of Annam. They may then have converted some natives to their religion. E. Huber (in *Bulletin de l'-École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, iii, 55, no. 1) quotes in support of this idea a passage from the "Annals of the Song" in which the invocation *A lo-ho ki-pa*, meaning "May it soon be re-born!" pronounced on the occasion of the sacrifice of a buffalo to the Spirits, is reminiscent of the formula *Allāh akbar* of the Muslims. Two Kūfic inscriptions of the Shampa, one to be dated "between 1025 and 1035" and the other to 1039 A.D. (P. Ravaisse, in *JA*, xx/2 (1922), 287), indicate that Muslims had settled in the south of the Shampa by the 4th/10th century. But there is still no basis for referring to a conversion of the Cham to Islam.

Neither historical records nor legends suggest that the religion of Muḥammad was widely adopted by the Chams before their kingdom was absorbed by the Vietnamese in the 9th/15th century. It may reasonably be thought that it developed rather among the Cham refugees in Cambodia in the 15th century, and that this occurred through the intermediary of the Malays, their brothers in race, after the Malay immigrations of the 14th and 15th centuries. And these Muslim Cham of Cambodia tried, it seems, in their turn, to propagate Islam, with relatively little success, among their brothers remaining in Central Vietnam.

Muslim Cham and Malays in Cambodia, from the 17th to the 19th century, built mosques, made converts, fomented troubles and even took part in the political life of the country. It was thus that, in 1820, one of them, Tuan Sait Ahmit (= Shaykh Aḥmad), became viceroy before being put to death by his political adversaries. After the establishment of the French protectorate (1863), they formed in Cambodia as in south Vietnam (Châu-Dôc, Saigon, Phan-Thiêt) fairly closed communities living apart from their Cambodian and Vietnamese compatriots.

There is little original about their observance of Islam and they share the beliefs of the Cham and the Malays. All observe the five prayers, the ablutions, and circumcision at the age of 15; they abstain from the flesh of pigs, dogs, tortoises, crocodiles, elephants, peacocks, vultures, eagles and crows, and also from strong or fermented drinks. If any one worships a strange idol, he is expelled from the community. Some make the pilgrimage to Mecca or pay a certain sum, for which a representative is sent on their behalf. In Cambodia the mosques are almost always built of wood and are placed on slight eminences. The finest are large bare rooms with a platform at the back. The mats which are used as praying carpets are hung up in a sack from the rafters. On the left at the entrance there is usually a large drum painted red (Cham *ganŏng* = Malay *gendang*, Javanese *keṇḍang*). Outside is a little basin of masonry for ablutions.

Within these precincts the imāms give the children instruction in reading Arabic and in reciting the Ḳur'ān. The assembly or *djamʿa* cannot take place without a quorum of 40 believers. Ramaḍān is strictly observed by all, and pious families are quite abstemious in this period. On Mondays they refrain from sexual intercourse.

The Chams of Cambodia also observe the *bulan ŏk hajī* (fasting month of the pilgrims) also called *bulan Ovlah* (month of Allāh) three months after Ramaḍān. They also observe the *molot* or *melut* (cf. Achenese *mò'lot*; Arabic *mawlud*), when a lock of hair is cut from the children of 3 to 13 and they are given a religious name, which for boys is always ʿAbd Allāh or Muḥammad, for girls Phwatimŏḥ (Fāṭima). The imāms, at least four in number, are invited to pray in the house in which the ceremony is being performed. This custom of hair cutting seems to be borrowed from the Cambodians.

The *tamat* (Arab *tamma*) is a ceremony nearly always confined to the family circle, at which a boy who has learned the Ḳur'ān entirely by heart, which however happens very rarely, is led round the village on horseback amid the acclamations of men and women. He is dressed in his best clothes and is greeted with the greatest reverence by men and women.

The *suraḥ* (pursuit), which is celebrated in the first Cham month, is accompanied by two days'

fasting and commemorates the migration of the Prophet (*Hidjra*).

By the *tapat*, which we also find among the Chams of Annam, who call it *tubah* = Ar. *tawba*, old persons are purified from their sins by means of prayers and sprinkling with holy water.

Malays and Chams have common religious officials in Cambodia, who are given the following names according to their office.

Malay	Cham	Function
1. *mufti*	*möphati*	jurist
2. *tuan kadli*	*tuḥ kalik*	judge
3. *raya kadli*	*rajak kalik*	judge
4. *tuan pakih*	*tuan paké*	jurist
5. *hakim*	*hakem*	doctor
6. *kĕtip*	*katip*	preacher
7. *bilal*	*bilal*	*mu'adhdhin*
8. *lĕbai*	*lebĕi* [1]	officiant

All are exempt from taxation. The four first have the following Cambodian names: 1. *okñà răčă koley*, 2. *okñà raya koley*, 3. *okñà tok koley*, 4. *okña paké*. They are appointed by the King, belong to his council and are the official superiors of the Muslims of Cambodia. They are regarded by the faithful as representing the four caliphs of the Prophet and enjoy a great spiritual authority.

The religious dignitaries are usually chosen from the most prominent families, whose sons can become imāms at the age of 15 and whose daughters are educated with special care to make them worthy wives.

The Muslims of Cambodia respect the graves of saints, which they call *ta-lak*; they believe in witches, the werewolf, evil spirits, and in magic, and have retained certain agricultural customs which are also found among the neighbouring peoples, such as the Cambodians and Annamese; these are relics of an old animism.

The family bonds among the Muslims of Cambodia are very strong; the father has great authority. The wife is well treated but kept strictly within the house as are the daughters, who are very early initiated into household duties and, being under strict control, are only allowed to marry Muslims.

The Muslim Chams have adopted from the Cambodians the custom of filing and lacquering their daughters' teeth at the age of 15, an operation which is accompanied by prayers from the imāms and sprinkling with holy water.

The marriage customs are in general Muslim. The boys do not as a rule marry before 18 or the girls before 15. The wedding feast is accompanied with great expenditure. Divorce is possible but rare. If it is demanded by the woman, she loses the small dowry (Cham *sakavin*, Malay *mas kavin*) which the husband settled on her at the betrothal.

The burial ceremony is very simple. The corpse is washed twice with a decoction of jujube leaves or benzoin water, then in clear water, wrapped in a piece of linen and placed in a grave about ten and a half feet deep, with the head to the north. A mound of earth is then erected over the grave, which is covered with thorny branches to protect it from wild animals. Later, there is placed at the head or at the feet a tombstone in the shape of a low flat column, often carved and ornamented with patterns, called *kut* (? skr. *kūṭa*). On the third, seventh, tenth, thirtieth, fortieth, and hundredth day the imāms are invited to pray and eat with the family at the grave. The exhumation practised by the Chams of Annam is not found here.

The husband wears white mourning for 40 days for his wife, the latter for three months and ten days for the husband, and she cannot marry again before a hundred days.

The Islam of the Chams in Annam has quite a different stamp. It appears to have a Shi'i character, as Açan (Ḥasan), Açai (Ḥusayn) and 'Alī are particularly revered and invoked there: they also play the main part in the few manuscripts or legends still preserved in Annam. It is however considerably penetrated by animistic and Hindu ideas and customs which preceded it and still survive alongside of it. The Muslim Chams of Annam are to be counted Muslims mainly through their naive conviction that they are Muslims. They call their Hindu countrymen *kāfir* without the slightest derogatory intention and themselves *banis* = *banī*, "the sons of religion", or Cham Asalam (= Islām), "Chams of Islām". They say that they worship Oblaḥ (Allāh), but also Pō Devata Thwor (Çvör) (Sanskrit *Devatā Svarga*), "God, Lord of Heaven", and they offer presents in certain agrarian rites, *e.g.*, two eggs, a cup of rice brandy, and three leaves of betel, to Pō Olwaḥ Tāk Alā, the "mysterious king of the underworld"; in reality it is the Muslim expression *Allāh ta'ālā*, out of which they have made a god. They also worship the Brahman goddess Pō Inö Nögar = "Mother of the Land" (Umā, Bhagavatī), and her husband Pō Yang Amö, "the Lord God, the Father [of the land]" (Śiva), whom they identify with Pō Havaḥ (= *Ḥawwā'*), *i.e.*, Eve and Pō Adam, the ancestors of mankind.

The Kaphir Cham of Annam with as broad a tolerance have taken into their Pantheon Pō Ovlaḥ (= Allāh), an undefined bodiless god, the creator of Po Raçullak (= *Rasūl Allāh*) and of Pō Latila (= *lā Ilāha*), who lives in Mökah (Mecca) and who was created by Pō Ovlaḥuk (= *Allāhu*) the father of ñöbi Mahamat (= *Nabī Muḥammad*); we thus see that the Kaphir have made three gods out of the misunderstood formula: *Lā ilāha illa 'llāhu, Muḥammad rasūlu 'llāh*!

The Bani of Annam have a very high but vague notion of Nöbi Maḥamat, *i.e.*, the prophet Muḥammad, and to them the Ḳur'ān is *tapuk* (= *kitāb*) *nöbi Maḥamat* = the book of the Prophet Muḥammad; the call it also *tapuk asalām* (= *kitāb al-Islām*), the book of Islam, *kitāb alamadu* = *kitāb al-Ḥamd*, the book of praise, *tapuk çākāray*, the talisman book. They never use its real name. The Ḳur'ān moreover is hardly to be found among them at all. The few copies which exist are incorrect, and written on chinese paper with the brush and not with the reed pen. The Bani seem to esteem equally highly a mystical compendium which much resembles the Javanese *primbon* and is called *nurshavan* by them. The "priests" copy it only during *ramövan* (= *Ramaḍān*) and they receive the princely remuneration of a buffalo for each copy.

The Cham of Annam pray only on Fridays and during Ramaḍān the five *vaḥ* or *vaktū* (= *waḳt*) ("prayer"), the names of which they corrupt as fol-

[1]) I translate this word by "officiant" for lack of a more suitable term. In Indo-China, the *lĕbai* of the Malays and the *lĕbei* of the Chams is a pious man like the Javanese *santri*, who conducts the Friday service in the villages. According to van Ronkel (*Tijdschr. v. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.*, 1914, 131), *lĕbai* or *labai* is of Tamil origin and originally meant "Muslim merchant", which strengthens the supposition that Islam came originally from India, not from Arabia, to Indonesia and also to Indo-China.

lows: *çâbahik, çobahik* (= *ṣubḥ*) "morning prayer", *vaḥ çarik* (= *ẓuhr*), "noonday prayer", *asarik* (= *ʿaṣr*) "afternoon prayer", *mögarip* = *maghrib*, "sunset prayer", *ihsā* (= *ʿishāʾ*) "evening prayer". They are in the main content with reciting a few *sūras*, especially the *fātiḥa*, without understanding them, and the Arabic form is so corrupted in their pronunciation that it is almost unintelligible, *e.g.*,

1. *abiḥ similla hyör raḥ mönyör raḥ himīk* = Ar.: *bi ʾsmi ʾllāhi ʾrraḥmāni ʾrraḥīmi*;

2. *ǎulahu akkabar*; *lā ilāha illǎuwāhuk wūwūwāhuk akkabar* = Ar.: *allāhu akbar*; *lā ilāha illa ʾllāh*.

They hardly observe any ablutions but are content with making signs as if they were taking water out of a hole in the ground. Circumcision (*katan, katat* = Ar. *khitān*), which is performed on boys at the age of 15 and must always precede marriage, is however only symbolic and consists in the imām, holding a wooden knife, making the gesture of circumcising. The boy receives a new name (*awal* = *awwal*), usually ʿAlī or Muḥammad. The Bani do not make the pilgrimage to Mecca and, while they do not eat pork, the priests as well as the faithful enjoy spirits made from rice, as well as other intoxicating liquors; the religious dignitaries do not however drink in the mosque. If the number of "40" is not present on Friday in the mosque, those missing are replaced by sacrificial cakes and the usual service, followed by a meal, takes place.

The people observe Ramaḍān only for 3 days. The imāms however must observe it till the end, on behalf of the whole community. During this time they shut themselves up in the mosque with their prayer books, their rosary, their tea pot, their sleeping mats, their copper spittoon and their betel set, which they require to prepare the chewing material indispensable to all Eastern Asiatics. For a whole month they never cross the threshold except to perform the necessary major ablutions in the river. The others are performed using the great cisterns under the penthouse roof of the mosque.

These mosques or *sang mögik* (*samögik, samgrik*; cf. Ach.: *mösögit*), which are turned towards Mecca, are usually rather poor straw huts with walls of bamboo lattice-work.

Even the names of the religious dignitaries in Annam suggest the odd changes which Islam has suffered there. At their head is the *pō gru* or *ong guru* (Skr. *guru*), then come the *imöms* (*imām*), from whom he is chosen and who are the men who really perform the ceremonies, then the *kātips* (*khaṭīb*), who have to give the religious readings in the mosque; next come the *mödins*, *i.e.*, *muʾadhdhin*, the *ăčars* (Skr. *ācārya* = "religious teacher"), a kind of religious instructors attached to the mosque. In general, the word *ăčar* in Annam is applied to all Muslim "clergy" in contrast to *baçaiḥ*, which is the name of the Hindu priests.

All the religious dignitaries in Annam shave their heads and faces. In addition to the simple white fez worn in Cambodia, they also wear a voluminous turban with gold, red or brown fringes. The various ranks are distinguished by the length of the fringes. Like their Hindu brethren they carry a long rattan cane, the roots of which are woven into the form of a basket only for the *ong gru*. A white sarong, a long white tunic which is buttoned and cut open at the neck is their sole costume. On high feast days the *mimbar* and the interior of the mosque are covered with white cloth; on these occasions they exchange the turban for a kind of disc, which is bored through the middle and fastened to the fez by a piece of linen. The whole looks like the biretta of a judge. These "priests" are almost as ignorant as their simple followers; they can hardly read Arabic, hardly study it at all, and only roughly understand some *sūras* which they repeat only "because their fathers also did so". They are free from taxation and forced labour and are held in fairly high esteem by the people; they are the more educated class, however slight the education may be. As they are quite indifferent and tolerant, they do not think ill of the faithful when the latter make offerings to the *Pō Yang* or various Hindu deities, endeavour to propitiate evil spirits and perform certain agrarian rites or magic ceremonies which have nothing Muslim about them. They live in perfect harmony with the Hindu *baçaiḥ*, invite them to their religious and domestic festivities and are invited in turn—only the food for the *imöm* must be prepared by a Muslim woman—and give each other places of honour. From mutual tolerance the two communities refrain from eating both pork and beef.

Only from the Hindu cremations do the Muslim priests carefully absent themselves, and this religious horror of corpses was previously, it is said, the reason why they alone could enter the royal palace to pray with women in child-bed and to watch his wives and children during the absence of the king.

Either as a result of ancient customs or of the Malay-Polynesian matriarchal system or through contact with the Hindus of Annam who have priestesses called *padjău*, the Muslims of Annam have priestesses for a domestic cult; they are called *radja* or *ridja*. If a sick member of the family has to be healed, for example, or a journey or business enterprise to be undertaken auspiciously, the *imöm* first of all recites various prayers, then this *radja*—often the housewife herself—accompanied by the *mödin*, who sings and beats the drum, performs certain ritual dances or falls into a state of great excitement in order to influence the 'deities' or 'spirits of the dead', to whom sacrifices are at the same time made. This ceremony is always followed by a great feast. The *radjas*, who must not eat the flesh of the pig or of the sand lizard, even play the principal part at the great annual festivals, which are celebrated in December-January and are probably of Malay or Indonesian origin—the name Java is repeatedly mentioned in them—and are regarded by the Muslim Cham as the "New Year festival of the ancestors".

The festival lasts two days and three nights. A great booth is built in an enclosure, if possible of new material, and the interior is hung with white cotton cloth. The altar is a simple large tray, with dishes on which are betel, food and fruits. Wax lights are stuck on the edge of the dishes and they also are bound round with cotton threads of different colours. A swing hung from two pillars is for the *radja*; she is assisted by three *imöms* and the *mödin*, who with his tom-tom conducts an orchestra consisting of a clarionet, a violin, cymbals and an oblong drum (*ganöng*). The festival, which is interrupted by numerous meals, is opened with the *bismillāh*, then follows the invocation of the mountain and forest spirits and of the shades of the "spirits beyond the sea, which may not be mentioned by name"; and finally the invocation of 38 deities or spirits by name; at each of them the three *imöms* recite prayers.

The most characteristic part of the festival takes place on the second day at the rise of the morning star. After the *mödin* has invoked the deities and

the *radja* has performed a special dance in their honour, they take a small boat made out of a single piece of wood, which is said to have come from Java or China to collect tribute. The master of the house in which the festival is held pretends not to understand Javanese and the *mödin* acts as interpreter. Amid joking all round, eggs, cakes and the figure of an ape with jointed limbs are put in the boat, the participants then break up the walls and roof of the booth and fight for the cakes. On the third day the *radja* goes, accompanied by the officiants and the orchestra, to the river and solemnly places the boat with the ape on the water. This ends the festival.

While circumcision is only symbolic with the Bani of Annam, the *tubaḥ* for the old men is practised as in Cambodia and the *karöḥ* (literally, "enclosing") marks the declaration of a girl's fitness for marriage. Not till then dare they put up their hair and marry; until then they are *tabung, i.e.*, unapproachable, and the seducer would be severely punished. This festival takes place under the presidency of the *ong gru* and of two *imöm*s for a considerable number of girls on each occasion and lasts two days. It is opened with prayers to Allāh, Muḥammad, the Hindu deities and the shades of their ancestors as well as with a feast at which the priests eat apart. Two booths are erected, the one for the ceremony itself, and the other as a dressing room for the girls, who sleep there under the supervision of four matrons. The *imöm*s spend the night praying; at 7 a m. the girls appear wearing their finest clothes and ornaments, their hair loosened and covered with a triangular mitre. Before them goes an old woman and a man clothed in white, who carries a year-old child dressed exactly like the girls except for the mitre. They throw themselves down before the *ong gru* and the *imöm*s. The *ong gru* places a grain of salt in the mouth of the child, cuts off a lock of its hair and gives it some water to drink. The same is done with the girls, who then return in procession to their booth. If a girl has been seduced the lock is cut off at her neck as a mark of shame. A second feast, at which the priests eat before the faithful, concludes the ceremony.

Birth customs in Annam among the Bani are similar to those among the Kaphir except that the Bani do not sacrifice to the gods on such occasions. The seduction of girls is also severely punished. They do not marry till they are 17 or 18. In Panrang, evidently the result of the old Malay matriarchal system—which has left other traces also, like the right of inheritance of women and the tracing of descent through them and their practising the cult of ancestors—the custom prevails that the girls seek the young men in marriage, but everywhere else in Indo-China the reverse is the custom. The wedding (Cham *likhaḥ*-Arab. *nikāḥ*), which is the occasion of long and costly festivities, is usually replaced by public cohabitation, which causes no scandal; the pair are free to celebrate it later when they can afford it, and they may already have two or three children to take part in it. It is far more elaborate among the Bani than among the Kaphir. The *imöm*s repeat prayers; the *ong gru*, who represents the "lord Muḥammad", asks the bride, who is considered to be Fāṭima, whether she accepts the presents of the bridegroom, the lord ʿAlī. Rich feasts take place at the weddings. The dowry given to the woman remains her property in case of a divorce. Divorce is fairly easy and leaves nearly two-thirds of the joint property in the hands of the woman. Mixed marriages are rare, and in them the children follow the religion of the mother. It sometimes happens that a Muslim woman marries a Hindu, very rarely the contrary.

The burial service is as simple among the Bani as it is elaborate among the Kaphir. The corpse is wrapped in white cotton sheets and placed in a small hut, where the *ong gru* and the *imöm*s repeat prayers. As soon as night falls the dead man is buried, with four *imöm*s present, almost secretly, without a coffin and with the face turned to the north. The relatives beseech his spirit not to come and afflict them. On the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 30th, 40th and 100th day as well as on the anniversary of his death a *padhi, i.e.*, a service at the tomb with prayers, a meal and presents for the *imöm*s, is observed at his grave. Those of the 7th and the 40th day are the most important. The dead person is almost always exhumed after a certain period on an anniversary of his death. His bones as well as his golden or silver ornaments are placed in a small coffin which is again buried in a particular place and considered sacred.

We thus see that Islam, while it has remained fairly pure in Cambodia, has been overlaid in Annam with a mass of elements and customs, partly animistic and partly Hindu. The Cham nevertheless desire to be good Muslims: it is only their ignorance and long usage that are the causes of their errors. Malay *ḥādjdjī*s who have come from the Archipelago or Cambodia on a religious mission have repeatedly succeeded in putting an end to sacrifices to heathen deities in various villages, although they have been unable to stop the enjoyment of rice brandy.

Under the influence of "modernism" and westernization, all these customs have become very much less rigid, losing all those elements which might seem archaic or incompatible with the demands of present-day life.

The French administration attempted, though not very forcefully, to preserve the Cham from complete assimilation and from the extinction as a separate community to which they seemed doomed at the beginning of the 20th century. It succeeded in saving the essential part of what remained of the monuments they had built, and managed, with less happy results, to restore their confidence in themselves. Their future, which now depends on their own will to survive, is still very uncertain.

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(A. Cabaton-[G. Meillon])

INDONESIA

i.—Geography

The Republic of Indonesia comprises some four-fifths of the archipelago which, stretching eastwards from the south-eastern angle of Asia, separates the Indian from the Pacific Ocean, at the same time as it constitutes a discontinuous land link between Asia and Australasia. Extending for approximately 3,400 miles from west to east, and about 1,250 miles from north to south (in a zone bounded by longitudes 92° and 141° east and by latitudes 6° north and 11° south), it embraces some 3,000 islands of highly diverse size, character and resources. In popular topographical terminology these are perceived as constituting four groups. The Sunda Raja or Greater Sunda complex, including the four large islands of Sumatra, Java (Djāwa), Celebes (Sulawesi), and the larger part of Kalimantan, constitutes the core of the country from the point of view of areal extent, size of population, wealth of natural resources, and intensity of economic activity. The Nusa Tenggara or Lesser Sundas form a chain of smaller islands extending from Bali to western Timor (the eastern half of this latter island is under Portuguese control). The third group, known as Maluku, includes the island arcs lying north of the eastern Lesser Sundas and east of Celebes. Irian Barat, or the western half of the island of New Guinea, which was incorporated within the Indonesian polity as recently as 1963, is by all standards the least developed part of the country.

Structurally the Indonesian archipelago comprises three main tectonic components, each with a disstinctive morphological expression. Both the western and eastern sectors—known to physiographers as the Sunda and Sahul Shelves respectively—are developed on stable continental platforms of ancient indurated rocks, relatively subdued relief, and comparatively shallow seas. Between, and partially bounding, these platforms are a series of geologically recent mountain ranges that now appear on the map as fragmented but structurally continuous island arcs separated from each other by deep semi-oceanic basins. As might be expected in view of their geological history, these island arcs are zones of instability, manifested primarily in earthquakes of high frequency but moderate intensity and, more particularly, in a wide range of volcanic activity. On the continental platforms the starkness of this tectonic skeleton is peripherally mitigated by a mantle of alluvium giving rise to extensive coastal plains: elsewhere slopes tend to be steep, and level land exiguous. Finally, deriving from this structural context are substantial mineral resources: notably petroleum, tin ore, coal of various grades, and bauxite, all from the Sunda Shelf and its borders; low-grade iron ores from Borneo and Celebes; and small quantities of high-grade magnetite and hematite elsewhere. Other mineral resources which have been exploited on a small scale include nickel in Celebes, manganese, phosphate, sulphur, and iodine in Java, and gold and silver in Sumatra and West Java.

Indonesia's location determines that its climatic régime is broadly equatorial. Variations in insolation intensity and duration are minimal, so that temperatures at sea level are uniformly high and extremely constant. Annual ranges are small, usually of the order of 5° F, with diurnal ranges up to three times that amount. The season, distribution and quantity of rainfall depend on location and aspect in relation to the seasonally reversed wind systems which the presence of continental land masses here imposes on the equatorial régime. Whereas an annual total of at least 80 inches is experienced throughout most of the archipelago, slopes athwart the warm moist air streams that prevail during the northern-hemisphere summer are much wetter. Padang, at the foot of the Barisan Range, for example, has an average annual rainfall of 177 inches. In the eastern half of Java and the Nusa Tenggara, by contrast, an extreme southerly location within the Indonesian polity combines with proximity to the Australian arid zone to produce average annual totals of less than 60 inches. This is also the only part of the country to experience a markedly drier season. Generally speaking, rain everywhere tends to fall in heavy showers of comparatively short duration.

High temperatures and abundant moisture ensure that soils, apart from those developed on recent alluvium or volcanic ash, tend to be strongly ferrallitic in character, their outstanding agronomic feature being a low natural fertility. In primeval times virtually the whole territory was covered by a mantle of equatorial rain-forest of great floristic richness, which itself subsumed a variety of plant associations ranging from true rain-forest to coastal mangrove, fresh-water swamp-forest, limestone associations, and mountain vegetation. Centuries of human occupance, however, have done much to modify both the extent and the character of these forests. Today less than a fifth of the archipelago is under primary forest or something approaching it, and this is distributed very unevenly throughout the country. Whereas more than four-fifths of Irian Barat and eastern Kalimantan are forested, the comparable proportion for both Java and the Nusa Tenggara is nearer one fifth of their respective areas.

From the point of view of ecological adaptation, as contrasted with that of contemporary administration, the pre-eminent dichotomy in the Indonesian world is that between Java and the rest of the country, the so-called Outer Islands. And nowhere is this distinction more apparent than in the evolution of agricultural practices. Traditionally the first of these regions has been associated predominantly, though by no means exclusively, with the delicate ecological equilibrium of slash-and-burn shifting agriculture (technically known as swidden), and the heartland of Java with the stable equilibrium of permanent-field, wet-padi farming. Only in the nineteenth century was this distinction somewhat blurred by the introduction into both regions of new crops such as sugar, tobacco, coffee, and subsequently rubber, and by the imposition in Java, by a paternalistically inclined colonial government, of an agro-industrial system which intruded the disequilibrating forces of commercial agriculture into the very heart of the village, often making the Javanese farm worker occupationally conduplicate, coolie and peasant at the same time time.

Indonesia is the fifth most populous nation in the world, with a current population exceeding 100 million souls. Of these, approximately two-thirds are living on the islands of Java and Madura, which together comprise only seven per cent of the land area of the country. In terms of average densities, this means something like 1,200 persons per square mile in Java, but only 62 per square mile in the Outer Islands (though this figure conceals wide variations within the region, *e.g.*, Bali with 750 persons per square mile; Sumatra with 80, Kalimantan with 18, and Irian Barat with 6). In large measure this imbalance in population distribution is

attributable to what Clifford Geertz has described as the concentrative and tumescent qualities of the wet-padi ecosystem as integrated with commercial farming in colonial Java. The dispersive, inelastic properties of the swidden ecosystem would seem likely to make large-scale transfers of population from Java to the apparently underpopulated Outer Islands not only unpopular, but also ineffective unless accompanied by a major transformation of the ecosystem.

The population of Indonesia is disposed in a hierarchy of settlements ranging from innumerable villages at the lowest level to the capital, Jakarta, at the highest. Although Jakarta, with a population of three million, is more than twice the size of Surabaya, the next largest city, it appears to accord better with the graduated distribution of city sizes characteristic of economically developed countries than with the concept of the primate city as evidenced in numerous other formerly colonial territories. In fact the notion of primacy would seem to be more appropriate to the situation in the Outer Islands, where some of the higher order urban centres are nearly four times as populous as the next largest cities in their territories. Whereas urbanism reaches a higher level in Java than elsewhere in Indonesia, urbanization appears to be proceeding more rapidly in the Outer Islands. The several levels of the city hierarchy subsume a considerable variety of urban forms, ranging from traditional ceremonial and religious foci to the commercial-administrative conurbations which rose to pre-eminence during the colonial period, from largely unchanged pre-industrial market towns dominated by the expediential mores of the bazaar to modern industrially oriented port cities.

Bibliography: There is an excellent introduction to the landscapes and climate of Indonesia in Part II of Charles A. Fisher's *South-East Asia. A social, economic and political geography*[2], London and New York 1966. Works which are now rather severely dated, though more in their conceptualization than in their substantive information, are Charles Robequain's general study *Le monde malais*, Paris 1946, and C. Braak, *Klimakunde von Hinterindien und Insulinde* (Band IV, Teil R. of W. Köppen and R. Geiger, eds., *Handbuch der Klimatologie*, Berlin 1931). The structure of Indonesian agriculture is summarized in Karl J. Pelzer, "The agricultural foundation" in Ruth T. McVey (ed.), *Indonesia*, New Haven, second printing [revised] 1967, 118-154, and discussed in greater detail in C. J. J. van Hall and C. van de Koppel (eds.), *De landbouw in de Indische archipel*, The Hague 1946-50. Clifford Geertz has provided a perceptive interpretation of the factors conditioning agricultural development in *Agricultural involution. The process of ecological change in Indonesia*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963. The characteristics of Indonesian cities at the close of the colonial era are described in W. F. Wertheim *et al.*, *The Indonesian town. Studies in urban sociology*, The Hague and Bandung 1958, and recent changes are documented in Pauline D. Milone, *Urban areas in Indonesia: administrative and census concepts*, University of California Institute of International Studies, Research Series No. 10, Berkeley, California 1966. A useful contemporary atlas is *Atlas Nasional Seluruh Dunia untuk Sekolah Landjutan*, Djakarta, Bandung, Ganaco 1960, while the *Atlas van tropisch Nederland*, Batavia 1938, remains a magnificent cartographic record of conditions immediately prior to World War II.

(P. Wheatley)

ii.—Ethnography

The cultural diversity of the several hundred ethnic groups of Indonesia is striking; a common pattern underlying the diversity is discernible, but elusive and hard to specify. For this reason, no consensus has been reached on a classification or taxonomy of Indonesian peoples and cultures. A workable, if somewhat imprecise, classification is as follows: (A) societies with political organization predominantly on a *territorial* basis; (B) societies, politically organized on a territorial basis, but with chiefs of *genealogical* groups also having political and legal powers; (C) societies in which political power is exclusively vested in chiefs of genealogical groups (or of local segments of such groups).

Societies of group A constitute real states, which have played an active rôle in the history of South-East Asia. Examples are the principalities of Java and Bali, the Malay states of eastern Sumatra and of the Malay Peninsula, and the sultanates of the Bugis-Makassar area of southern Celebes. Without exception they have adopted a world religion: mostly Islam, but a syncretic form of Hinduism and Buddhism in the case of Bali. Political authority is (or *was*—in Indonesia these States have lost the semi-independence they have preserved in Malaya) in the hands of established dynasties, assisted by courtiers, administrators, and territorial chiefs who form a nobility, and (in the case of Java) drew their emoluments from the taxes they levied in the district granted to them by the ruler as an apanage of their office. The rulers, and their regalia, are usually considered to be the sacral centres, the spiritual depositories, of the wellbeing of their realms. Kinship organization in these societies is generally of the bilateral (cognatic) type, based on single-family households. Economic activities are centred on agriculture (rice grown on elaborately irrigated fields), stockbreeding, and trade (some of it inter-insular).

Societies of type B (such as the Batak and the Minangkabau, both of Sumatra) have or had some measure of centralized political government, but the chiefs of genealogical groups (clans and lineages) have considerable authority over their kinsfolk. The lineages in question may be matrilineal (Minangkabau) or patrilineal; they have a tendency to maintain regular marriage relationships with specific other lineages, in which the bride-bestowing lineage is superior to the bride-receivers. This type of social structure links up with a whole system of cosmic classifications, involving dichotomies as male/female, upperworld/underworld, and superior/inferior, and speculations on numerology and colour classification. Such a system appears most clearly among those Batak groups which are not yet converted to Islam or Christianity.

Rice cultivation (on irrigated fields as well as by the slash-and-burn method) is important, as is the growing of commercial crops (coffee, rubber). Peoples of this group are no less prominent in modern Indonesian affairs than those of group A.

Societies of type C, finally, occur on the smaller, and in the interior of the larger islands: the Dayak peoples of Borneo, the Toradja of Celebes, etc. Many still adhere to their original religion, or were only recently converted to Islam or Christianity. The archaic religion is predominantly an ancestor cult,

with elaborate, frequently potlatch-like, mortuary rites and (*e.g.*, with the Dayak) a developed priestly theology and rich mythology, manifesting the same type of classification system as mentioned for B. Kinship forms vary around the theme of matrilineal combined with patrilineal descent or inheritance. Agriculture ("dry" rice, maize, sago) predominates, foreign trade is rudimentary. For these people in particular a general Indonesian problem is acute: how much of their traditional way of life can and should they preserve in a nation striving towards a modern and unified culture?

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(P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG)

iii.—LANGUAGES

With a few exceptions which will be mentioned, the indigenous languages of Indonesia belong to the Austronesian family. Austronesian languages extend over Madagascar, southern Vietnam, Taiwan, the Philippine Islands, Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua/New Guinea, the Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian islands and New Zealand. Although the existence of such a family was postulated as early as 1780 by William Marsden, it was left to W. von Humboldt, in 1836, to define it more closely and to give it the title "Malayo-Polynesian" by which it was to be known for more than a century; this has now been displaced by "Austronesian", a term coined by Wilhelm Schmidt in 1899. The Austronesian family, comprising perhaps some 500 languages in all, is currently subdivided into three subgroups, Indonesian, Polynesian and Melanesian; Micronesian is held by some to constitute a fourth subgroup. The majority of the people who have embraced Islam in this area speak Indonesian languages; therefore it is these languages that are important to the study of Islam in South East Asia, particularly Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Achenese, Minangkabau, Buginese and Macassarese.

Owing to the lack of real evidence, the early history of the speakers of Austronesian languages is little more than conjecture. Their probable original homeland, which would of course be the homeland of the ancestors of the Indonesians, has been located by speculation in places ranging from Tartary, the Indo-China area and southern China to Melanesia or Taiwan.

Not all the languages of Indonesia belong to the Indonesian subgroup; communities speaking non-Indonesian languages can be found in North Halmahera, Ternate, Tidore and Irian Barat (formerly known as West New Guinea). Besides these should be mentioned the non-indigenous languages spoken in the country, such as Chinese (mainly Hokkien, Kheh, Cantonese), Dutch, English and Arabic.

On the other hand languages of the Indonesian subgroup are spoken by communities beyond the borders of Indonesia: Malay in Malaysia, southern Thailand and Brunei, and other languages of the Indonesian subgroup in Sarawak, Sabah, Taiwan, Madagascar, the Philippines and Portuguese Timor. In addition, Malay or other Indonesian languages are spoken by communities of Indonesian origin living in Ceylon, South Africa, Surinam and the Netherlands.

There is no general agreement on the total number of languages within Indonesia. Apart from the absence of an agreed definition of language, detailed linguistic studies are lacking for most areas. A figure commonly mentioned is 250, but possibly more reliable estimates are those which put it at 200, or a little less. The number of speakers of any single language can vary from perhaps over 50 millions, as in the case of Javanese, to the 40,000 or so who speak some of the lesser tongues. Some idea of the distribution of the main languages can be obtained from the accompanying language map; for some suggested amendments to the data given in it, see I. Dyen, *A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian Languages* (Indiana University 1965, 48-50); naturally a map of this scale cannot show the minority speech communities which have grown up outside their original areas as a result of population movement.

A broad division of the Indonesian languages into Western and Eastern, suggested by the Dutch scholar J. L. A. Brandes, failed to withstand the test of time.

Epigraphic material. The decisive early external influence on Indonesian culture was unquestionably Indian, and the earliest known inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. One of these, found near Kutei in the island of Kalimantan (formerly called Borneo), is thought to date from about 400 A.D.; it commemorates the rule of Mūlavarman over a Hinduized state. The earliest inscriptions from the Malay Peninsula, Buddhistic texts, and also the earliest epigraphic evidence from Western Java, are judged likewise to date from this time.

The oldest evidence of a language indigenous to the area is found in inscriptions on stone from South Sumatra, dating from 682 A.D., and associated with the state of Srivijaya; despite the occurrence here too of many Sanskrit words, the basic language has sufficient affinity with later Malay to be given the name Old Malay. Although Old Javanese inscriptions begin only about a century later (circa 786), subsequent material in this language proved to be much more abundant than that in Old Malay; copper inscriptions appeared up until about the 12th/18th century. Epigraphic evidence of the other recorded ancient Indonesian language, Old Balinese, begins in 882 A.D., and continues to appear over nearly two centuries. It may be noted that all three languages employed scripts of Indian derivation. There is of course no reference to Islam in the early inscriptions.

Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. Malay, originating probably in Sumatra, has been disseminated widely through the Indonesian area, in which it has for centuries been the lingua franca. On account of its usefulness for commercial, political and religious purposes it has always attracted more attention from foreigners than have other Indonesian languages. It is the language of a considerable corpus of manuscript material produced in the 11th-13th/17th-19th centuries. Malay, the official language of Malaysia, and *Bahasa Indonesia* (see below), the official language of Indonesia, have both been developed directly from this earlier form of Malay. Linguistically speaking, Malay and *Bahasa Indonesia* can scarcely be held to be separate languages; the two different names reflect the political division of the Indonesian cultural area which ensued on the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1239/1824. The following remarks on some of the characteristics of Malay apply equally to *Bahasa Indonesia*.

We may mention first some features of the Indonesian languages in general which are at the same time applicable to Malay. Observers have noted conspicuous mutual resemblances between the languages of the Indonesian subgroup. The number of vowel phonemes is limited, being basically [a], [i],

[u] and [ə], with sometimes a considerable range of non-phonemic variation ([i] to [e], [u] to [o] etc.); variation in the length of vowels, when it occurs, is also non-phonemic. Common diphthongs are [ai], [au] and [ui]. The consonantal system is relatively simple; the glottal stop (*hamza*) is widespread; single consonants are preferred, and consonantal clusters avoided, both at the beginning and end of words; but certain two-consonant combinations, notably nasal combinations such as *-mb-*, *-nd-* etc., may occur within the word. Thus a common pattern for the Indonesian "word-base", which is likely to be disyllabic, will be consonant/vowel/consonant/vowel/consonant.

Affixation, another trait of the Indonesian languages, can best be illustrated with specific reference to Malay examples; but it must be mentioned that *infixation* is no longer productive in Malay, if indeed it ever was a feature of this language. Very briefly, the verbal prefixes in Malay include *ber-*, *me*^{x}*-*, *pe*(*r*)- and *ter-* and the suffixes are *-i* and *-kan*; a verb may occur without any affix; in certain cases two prefixes may be used simultaneously, as may prefix and suffix. Prefixes commonly employed in conjunction with or to form substantives are *ke-*, *pe*^{x}*-* and *per-*, while a common suffix (which again may be used in conjunction with a prefix) is *-an*.

Further, it may be remarked that substantives have no grammatical gender, and they do not normally undergo morphological change for case or number; thus *mata* unless further qualified can be translated 'eye' or 'eyes'. Reduplication of the substantive, a very common feature of Indonesian languages, can correspond to the plural number, but does not always do so. Perhaps the one syntactical feature of Malay which ought to be mentioned is the fact that the attributive adjective follows the noun it qualifies.

External influences on Indonesian languages. Of the languages which were introduced into the area in historical times, it was undoubtedly Sanskrit which first exerted a major influence. The occurrence of Sanskrit and partially Sanskrit inscriptions has been mentioned. Javanese and Malay proved to be particularly susceptible to Sanskrit influence, and in many cases it was via these two languages that Sanskrit influence reached other languages of the area. Sanskrit has given to these languages common grammatical particles, and moreover has enriched the lexicon in the spheres of religion (for example *āgama, dosha*), of ideas (*e.g.*, *buddhi, jīva*), court ritual (*e.g.*, *upacāra, āsthāna*), of statecraft (*e.g.*, *dūta, drohaka*), of relationship (*e.g.*, *svāmin, putra*), and so forth, with appropriate adaptation to the phonology of the recipient language.

Arabic is the other language which has exerted a significant influence on the Indonesian languages over a long period if time; perhaps none was more deeply influenced than Malay, and Arabic influence has permeated through to the other languages often via Malay. This influence can be seen in Malay syntax, at least in religious writings, and in the 'popular' lexicon as well as the 'learned', though understandably to a greater extent in the latter. Examples of everyday Malay words of Arabic derivation are: *asal* (< *aṣl*), *fasal* (< *faṣl*), *hal* (< *ḥāl*), *ilmu* (< *ʿilm*), *mungkin* (< *mumkin*), *perlu* (< *farḍ*), *sebab* (< *sabab*), *selamat* (< *salāma*), *taubat* (< *tauba*). Before the coming of steam, contact between Arabia and the Indonesian Archipelago was maintained mainly via India; traces of Indian languages, and Persian, consequently appear in borrowings from Arabic. This possibly explains also, perhaps, the unexpected occurrence of words of Sanskrit origin in the vocabulary of Islamic practice in Malay; so, for 'heaven' *shurga* (< Skt. *svarga*) is preferred to the Arabic *samāʾ*; for 'hell' *naraka* (< Skt. *naraka*) rather than *jahannam* or *al-nār*; for 'fasting' *puasa* (< Skt. *upavāsa*) rather than *ṣawm*. Alternatively —and this seems more likely—the use of these words may be due to the taking over by the first Muslims of terms already current in the area of proselytization.

The relative position of Sanskrit and Arabic as sources of influence on Malay and other Indonesian languages can be summed up thus: Up to and including the 7th/13th century Sanskrit held the field; during that time Sanskrit appeared in inscriptions in combination with Indonesian languages, and indeed inscriptions wholly in Sanskrit occasionally appeared. However, by the beginning of the 8th/14th century Islam had secured a foothold in the Archipelago, and before the century was out Arabic influence had begun to manifest itself on the language; in that century appears the first clearly Islamic Malay inscription, known as the Trengganu Stone, written moreover in an Arabic type of script. From then on, Sanskrit was steadily to yield ground to Arabic in the field of language; some of the Sanskrit vocabulary in the inscriptions has failed to survive into modern times, while there has been no comparable loss of Arabic elements once they have been incorporated in the language. The position of Arabic has of course been strengthened by the force of religion exerted through religious instruction and the Ḳurʾān, and numbers of manuscripts in Arabic have been brought into, or produced in, Indonesia. Excepting possibly in the island of Bali, no comparable Sanskrit subculture persists; nevertheless, since 1942 Indonesian linguists have often resorted to Sanskrit when creating new terms for *Bahasa Indonesia*.

The remaining non-Indonesian languages which have influenced Malay and *Bahasa Indonesia* are relatively unimportant and can be dealt with briefly. Considering the centuries of Chinese contacts with the Archipelago, Chinese dialects have had a remarkably slight influence, excepting possibly at the colloquial level; from India has come vocabulary of Hindi, Persian, Urdu, Tamil derivation; three European languages which have exercised significant influence are Portuguese, Dutch and English, the last, being the most widely taught foreign language in Indonesia, can be expected to exert a continuing influence on *Bahasa Indonesia*. Through the centuries there has of course been a continuing interaction of the Indonesian languages on one another.

Scripts. Broadly speaking, the pattern of influences which emerged in the previous section will be reflected in any discussion of the scripts used in Indonesia. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions were written in a Pallava script, and developments of this were used subsequently in the inscriptions and other writings in Indonesian languages: Old Javanese (from which modern Javanese script has been derived, and akin to the Old Malay inscriptions from Sumatra), Balinese, Madurese, Sundanese; also in the Sumatran languages Batak, Redjang and Lampong, and others. Although superficially very different, the Bugis and Makassar scripts show definite affinities with those mentioned. In fact, there is so far no evidence to refute an opinion put forward by H. Kern and others that all the early scripts of the Archipelago are of Indian origin.

LINGUISTIC MAP OF INDONESIA

Legenda

D Indonesian languages

I PHILIPPINE GROUP

1 Formosan 2 Batan 3 Tagalog 4 Iloko 5 Bicol 6 Bisaya 7 Ibanag 8 Igorot 9 Magindanao 10 Tingyan 11 Dadayag 12 Sulu 13 Palau 14 Sangirese and Talaud 14a Bantik 14b Bentenan 15 Bolaang-Mongondow 16 Tombulu Tonsea Tondano sub-group 17 Tontemboan Tonsawang sub-group (14-17 usually called sub-Philippine languages)

II SUMATRA GROUP

1 Achehnese 2 Gayo 3 Batak idioms (*a* Karo *b* Toba *c* Simalungun *d* Mandailing and Angkola) 4 Minangkabau 4* Lubu 5 Malay (*a* Riau Malay *b* Jakarta Malay *c* Kubu *d* Moluccan Malay) 6 so-called Middle-Malay 7 Rejang 8 Lampong 9 Simalur 10 Nias 11 Mentaway 12 Enggano 13 Lontjong 14 and 15 other Sumatran dialects

III JAVA GROUP 1 Sundanese 2 Javanese 3 Madurese

IV BORNEO GROUP (so-called Dayak or Dyak languages)

1 Klemantan languages 2 Iban languages 3 Ot-Danum languages 4 Kenja group 5 Murut group 6 Milano B BAJO or language of the sea-nomads

V BALINESE AND LANGUAGES WHICH ARE NEARLY RELATED TO IT

1 Balinese 2 Sasak 3 Sumbawa

VI GORONTALO GROUP

1 Bulanga 2 Kaidipan 3 Gorontalo 4 Boeol

VII TOMINI LANGUAGES

VIII TORAJA LANGUAGES

1 Kaili 2 Kulawi 3 Pipikoro 4 Napu 5 Bada etc. 6 Leboni 7 Bare'e 8 Wotu

IX LOINANG GROUP IXa BANGGAI IDIOMS

X BUNGKU-LAKI GROUP

XI LANGUAGES OF SOUTH CELEBES

1 Macassar 2 Buginese 3 Luwu idioms 4 Sa'dan 5-7 other idioms of South Celebes

XII LANGUAGES OF THE MUNA-BUTON (BUTUNG) GROUP

XIII BIMA-SUMBA GROUP

1 Bima 2 Manggarai (Flores) 3 Ngad'a (Flores) 4 and 5 dialects of Sumba 6 Hawu

XIV AMBON-TIMOR GROUP

1 Kroë 2 Solorese (language of Solor) 5 Timorese (language of Timor) 7 Rotinese (language of Roti) 10 Kisar 11 Leti 13 Tanimbar 18 and 19 Ceram languages 21 Banda 3, 4 etc. other languages

XV SULA LANGUAGES

XVI SOUTH HALMAHERA IDIOMS AND RELATED LANGUAGES

1 South Halmahera idioms 2 Nufor

C Austro-Asiatic languages
E Non-Indonesian languages of North Halmahera
F Papua languages
G Melanesian languages



For some languages (exemplified by Malay), though not for others, the diffusion of Islam resulted in the adoption of a new Arabic type script. For Malay the adoption was virtually total, and apart from epigraphic material referred to above no writings are known in pre-Arabic script. As far as the other languages are concerned the new script met with varying degrees of acceptance; in Javanese it was used for certain kinds of literature, in Bugis and Makassarese it was rarely employed, while in Achenese and Minangkabau for example it came into general use. The principal modification to the script necessitated by Malay phonology was the addition of the following letters to represent sounds not found in Arabic: چ for *ch*; ڠ for *ng*; ڤ for *p*; ݢ for *g*; and ڽ for *ny*. In the Malay alphabet (which in this respect is more consistent than some other alphabets of Perso-Arabic origin) the و precedes the ه. The vowel signs *fatḥa, kasra* and *ḍamma* are seldom used; their Malay names (*baris diatas*, 'line above', *baris dibawah* 'line below' and *baris dihadapan* 'line in front', respectively) are reminiscent of the equivalent terms in Persian. The letters of this script are known in *Bahasa Indonesia* as *huruf Arab*, but in Malay as *Jawi*. Use of this script is declining in Malaysia, and in Indonesia it has almost disappeared, surviving only in the religious sphere. It has been superseded by romanized script, introduced from Europe as early as the 11th/17th century by Christian missionaries. Thus other languages than *Bahasa Indonesia*, Javanese for example, make use of a romanized script for publications at the present time. The romanized spelling of *Bahasa Indonesia* and of Malay, being based respectively on Dutch and English orthography, tend to emphasize the dissimilarity of the two; however, on 27 June 1967 agreement was reached on a new unified spelling to be used both in Indonesia and Malaysia. The letters which functioned identically in the two former orthographies have been retained in the new spelling: *b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w, z*; so have the combination *ng*, and the letters *q, v*, and *x* which occur in some borrowed words. Where usage in the two former orthographies differed, changes had to be made:

	Former Malay Spelling	*Former Bahasa Indonesia spelling*	*New agreed symbol*
	ch	tj	c
	j	dj	j
	y	j	y
	ny	nj	ny
For words of Arabic origin	kh	ch	kh
	gh	g	gh
	sh	sj	sy

The agreed new symbols for the vowels are *a, e, e, i, o,* and *u* [thus, except in material for reading practice, there will be no differentiation between the symbol for *e taling* ("long e", sometimes hitherto given an accent sign), and *e pĕpĕt* ("short e", sometimes written hitherto ĕ)]. The present spellings for diphthongs (*ai, au, oi*), are retained. It is not yet certain that the new spelling will be generally adopted in Indonesia.

Bahasa Indonesia. It has been seen that both Old Javanese and Old Malay appeared on the early inscriptions. In the intervening centuries both languages have developed and they have played prominent roles in the cultural history of the Archipelago, Javanese as the language of the sophisticated polities of Central and Eastern Java, Malay as the language of the port-states and of mercantile intercourse in general. In view of the numerous literary works produced in Javanese, and of the cultural prestige of the Javanese in the area, it would not have been surprising to find Javanese become the language of Indonesia; however, owing in part perhaps to the complexities arising from the "stratification" of the Javanese language, in part to the geographical dissemination of Malay through the islands, Malay was to become the language of the independent nation. The modern Indonesian form of Malay is known officially as *Bahasa Indonesia* (literally "the language of Indonesia"); foreign writers generally use this term to refer to the language in preference to the less precise "Indonesian". The adoption of *Bahasa Indonesia* to be the official language of the country was virtually assured even before Dutch rule ended in 1949. In spite of advocacy by some that Dutch should become the primary language, and misgivings on the part of others as to the capability of *Bahasa Indonesia* to function as the language of a modernizing state, the determination of Indonesian nationalists to utilize the language as the vehicle of expression of their will in the end decided the issue. In 1928 the nationalist youth movement formally resolved in this sense; and the suppression of the Dutch language as a consequence of the Japanese occupation of the East Indies in 1942 removed another obstacle from the path of *Bahasa Indonesia*, which was declared to be the official language of the new Republic of Indonesia in the constitution adopted in 1945. The present situation therefore is that *Bahasa Indonesia* is in general use for radio, newspapers and books; it is spoken and understood by nearly all Indonesians, the exceptions being mostly middle-aged or elderly; since it is now taught in schools throughout Indonesia it may be assumed that within a generation or so it will be the everyday tongue of all Indonesians—and thus incidentally the everyday tongue of more Muslims than any other language. The majority of Indonesians will continue to study and speak a regional language as well (Javanese, Sundanese etc.), which will in fact be their mother tongue. The use of Dutch, still surprisingly popular with older educated Indonesians, is bound to decline rapidly; to a great extent it is being displaced by English.

Bibliography: For a survey of the Indonesian languages in their wider context see A. Capell, *Oceanic linguistics today*, in *Current Anthropology*, iii/4 (October 1962), 371-96, and comments by others; also C. F. and F. M. Voegelin, *Languages of the world*: *Indo-Pacific*, in *Anthropological Linguistics*, vi/4 (1964) and vii/2 (1965). For "Proto-Austronesian" see O. Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, 3 vol., Berlin 1934-8, and for "Proto-Indonesian" R. Brandstetter, *Wurzel und Wort in den Indonesischen Sprachen*, Lucerne 1910, and other monographs by Brandstetter [four of which are translated by C. O. Blagden in *An introduction to Indonesian Linguistics*, London 1916]. On the "Austronesian homeland" theories there is a useful survey with bibliography by J. C. Anceaux in *BTLV*, *deel* 121 (1965), 417-32. J. Gonda's *Sanskrit in Indonesia* Nagpur 1952) gives much more information about Indonesian languages than is implied by the title, and numerous articles on Indonesian linguistics by this scholar are to be found in *BTLV*, *Lingua* and elsewhere.

On Arabic influence on Malay see Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Over Invloed der Arabische Syntaxis op de Maleische*, in *TBG*, *deel* 41 (1899), 498-528, and C. Skinner, *The influence of Arabic upon Modern Malay* in *Intisari* (Singapore), ii/1 (1966 (?)), 34-47. For specimens of scripts see K. F. Holle, *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten*, The Hague 1882, also Arakin (below). Of the many grammers of *Bahasa Indonesia* which have been produced, so far none has achieved recognition as a standard work.

A general discussion of the Indonesian languages is to be found in V. D. Arakin, *Indonezyskie Yazuiki*, Moscow 1965, with an extensive bibliography of works in various languages. A very useful series of critical bibliographies on Indonesian languages is being published in Leiden by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*; those that have appeared so far are: P. Voorhoeve, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Sumatra*, 1955; A. A. Cense and E. M. Uhlenbeck, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*, 1958; A. Teeuw (assisted by H. W. Emanuels), *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*, 1961; E. M. Uhlenbeck, *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura*, 1964. For a comprehensive collection of linguistic maps, see Richard Salzner, *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1960. (RUSSELL JONES)

iv.—HISTORY: (a) ISLAMIC PERIOD.

The earliest known record of probable Muslim settlement in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is a Chinese report of the existence of an Arab settlement in east Sumatra (San-Fu-Chi = Sriwidjaya = Palembang) headed by an Arab chief in 55/674. A more definite statement on large-scale Muslim emigration into the Archipelago was given by al-Masʿūdī, who reported that in 265/878 about 120,000 or 200,000 merchants and traders, consisting mainly of Muslims (Arabs and Persians) who had settled in Khanfu (Canton) were massacred following a troublesome peasants' rebellion in south China under the T'ang emperor Hi-Tsung (265/878-276/889). Consequently large numbers of Muslim merchants and traders fled from Canton and sought refuge in Kalah (Kedah) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. This considerable emigration of Muslim merchants and traders effected a transference of the *entrepot* for Muslim trade with the Chinese empire from Canton to Kedah. We may reasonably assume that since the Muslims had had quite a considerable settlement in Canton (which dated from as early as the 1st/7th century), enjoying a high degree of religious and civil autonomy, they must have perpetuated their mode of settlement and social organization in Kedah, and also in Palembang, whither they had similarly emigrated. This event seems to have marked the beginning of the coming of Islam in the Archipelago.

There is evidence of Muslim settlement in the Phanrang region in south Champa in Cambodia in 431/1039 or earlier. The Leran inscription near Gresik in east Java dated 475/1082 indicated an earlier Muslim presence in the region.

According to the Achehnese (Malay) chronicles, Islam was introduced into the northern tip of Sumatra sometime around 506/1112 by an Arab missionary whose name is given as Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ʿĀrif. One of his disciples, Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn, later carried on his missionary work as far as Priaman down the west coast. The date of the establishment of Islam in north Sumatra is given as 601/1204, when Djohān Shāh became its first Sultan. The *Ḥikāyat Radja-Radja Pasai* related that the Sharīf of Mecca sent a certain Shaykh Ismāʿīl at the head of a mission to spread Islam in north Sumatra in the middle of the 7th/13th century. The Pasai region of north Sumatra, consisting of the realms of Perlak and Samudra, was already Muslim by 682/1282. The Sultan, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, died in 697/1297 or 707/1307.

In Trengganu on the northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula, a stone inscription dated 702/1302 was discovered at Kuala Berang indicating earlier Muslim settlement in the region. A Muslim tombstone at Bud Dato on the island of Jolo in Sulu dated 710/1310 indicates that Muslims frequented the region, perhaps in the course of their trade relationship with China.

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, the kingdom of Malacca on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula was founded by Parameswara, a Palembang princeling who had fled from Java and ruled for a brief period in Tumasik (Singapore). It is possible that the coastal regions near Malacca had already been used by Muslims for their commercial activities at an earlier date, seeing that they had settled in Kedah long before. By 812/1409, the ruler of Malacca, through Muslim proselytizing efforts, had embraced Islam and concluded a family alliance with the Sultan of Pasai by marrying the latter's daughter. Both Pasai and Malacca had by then become centres of Islamic learning and of the propagation of the faith throughout the Archipelago. Ṣūfism was to play a dominating role in the Islamization process for the next two centuries. Scholars and missionaries from all parts of the Archipelago as well as from Arabia gathered in these two emporia to disseminate religious knowledge. Among these were found many from Java including two future saints of Java, Sunan Bonang of Tuban and Sunan Giri, who on their return to Java propagated the faith there.

Pasai during the reign of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (beginning of 8th/14th century), a grandson of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, was the earliest centre of Islamic learning in the Archipelago. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Pasai in 746/1345-747/1346, he recorded that the Sultan was fond of religious debates, and zealous in propagating Islam in the surrounding country by means of conquests. By 819/1416 the peoples of Aru, Samudra, Pedir and Lambri, which were all included in the realm of Atjèh, had become Muslim, and Atjèh was expanding her power to the south.

According to a *tarsila* (*silsila*: genealogical record of noble families) of Sulu, Islam was introduced there in the second half of the 8th/14th century by an Arab missionary called Sharīf Awliyā Karīm al-Makhdūm, who had come from the region later known as Malacca, where he was credited with having converted the inhabitants to Islam. He is said to have reached Sulu in 782/1380 and settled in Bwansa near Jolo. The next missionary, also an Arab, named Sayyid Abū Bakr, had similarly come from the same region and also perhaps from Sumatra. He married a daughter of the Muslim king of Bwansa, a Minangkabau prince called Radja Baginda, and succeeded the latter as the first Sultan of Sulu at the end of the 8th/14th century.

On Java, Arab and Persian missionaries had been propagating Islam since 803/1400. One of them, a famous *walī*, the *sayyid* Mawlānā Malik Ibrāhīm, died in Gresik in 822/1419. He had made attempts to persuade the king of Madjapahit (Vikramarvaddhana, 788-1386/833-1429) to embrace Islam.

However, it was during the reign of Kertawidjaya (Bhre Tumapel, 851/1447-855/1451) that Islam gained a firm foothold in the royal court of Madjapahit. This event was initiated by the coming of Raden Raḥmat, the son of an Arab missionary of Champa, whose important and decisive role in the Islamization of Java had been foretold by another Arab missionary of Java, Shaykh Mawlānā Djumādā al-Kubrā. Raden Raḥmat established his centre at Ampel (Surabaya) and later was to become venerated by the Javanese as the chief *walī* of Java with the title Sunan Ampel. Another famous *sayyid* missionary of Java was Mawlānā Isḥāķ of Pasai who was entrusted by the Sultan of Pasai with the mission of converting Balambangan in the easternmost region of Java. Both Sunan Bonang, a son of Sunan Ampel, and his own son by his marriage with a daughter of the king of Madjapahit, Raden Paku (Sunan Giri), studied under him in Malacca and Pasai. Upon the death of Sunan Ampel (872/1467), Sunan Giri succeeded him and made Ampel flourish still further as the centre of Islamic learning and the propagation of the faith in Java. Another son of Sunan Ampel also became recognized as a *walī* and was known as Sunan Dradjat of Sidayu. On the island of Madura, Pangeran Sharīf, also called Khalīfa Ḥusayn, held sway. The fall of Madjapahit in 883/1478 has been traditionally linked with Raden Patah, a son of the king and foster son of Arya Damar, a Madjapahit governor of Palembang who was converted to Islam by Raden Raḥmat some time before 844/1440. Raden Patah settled in Bintara (Demak), where he built a mosque, completed in 894/1488 (and still standing). It was in Demak, which also became a centre of Islam in Java, that another celebrated *walī*, Sunan Kalidjaga, ingeniously made use of the *wayang* (theatre) for spreading Islam.

Islamization in the southern region of Sumatra began in the beginning of the 9th/15th century. By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the region was already Muslim. Certain areas in the Minangkabau region had by then also been Islamized. Palembang is generally held to have been Islamized initially through the influence of Raden Raḥmat and Arya Damar some time around 844/1440. The Lampung region in the south was converted through the influence of Bantem, where Islam had taken root at the end of the 9th/15th century. It is reported that the king of Lampung, Minak Kemala Bumi, had gone over to Bantem, where he was converted. Upon his return to Lampung from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he spread the faith in his homeland.

Bandjarmasin in south Borneo was Islamized by missionaries from Java (Demak) in the 9th/15th century. Brunei in the north was Islamized during an earlier period, coinciding with that of Sulu (see above).

In the Moluccas also Islam was introduced in the 9th/15th century. These islands then came mainly under the rule of the princes of Ternate, Tidor, Gilolo, and Batjan, and they include Halmahera, Celebes, Ambon, Banda, the west coast of New Guinea and the islands between, Ceram, Batjan, and the Obi Islands. Ternate, the principal island in the group, received Islam earliest; its first Sultan embraced Islam in Gresik in 901/1495. He spread the faith in his realm assisted by one Pati Putah of Hitu in Ambon, who also studied in Java. Not more than 50 years before 928/1521, the ruler of Tidor had become Muslim, as had the rulers of Gilolo and Batjan.

In 917/1511, Patih Yūnus, son of Raden Patah, conquered Japara and was proclaimed first Sultan of Demak. At this time Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ibrāhim, another *walī* of Java bearing the title Sunan Gunung Djati, made extensive conversions in Sundanese (west) Java. From Tjirebon he sent one of his sons, Mawlānā Ḥasan al-Dīn, to convert Bantem in west Java. By 933/1526, Bantem and Jakarta had accepted Islam and Sunan Gunung Djati became the first Sultan of Bantem (933/1526-960/1552). The Sunan was the ancestor of the dynasty of the future princes of Tjirebon and Sultans of Bantem. During the reign of Raden Ttenggana, a brother of Patih Yūnus who succeeded the latter as Sultan of Demak (west Java), was won over to Islam. The Hindu-Javanese state in east Java, Singasari (Tumapel), which continued to maintain itself, was aided in its futile struggle by Kediri and Mataram, which had not yet been won over to Islam. In Balambangan, the independent states of Panarukan and Pasuruan were in the power of the Shivaite prince of Bali, who from his stronghold of Matjan Putih directed the defence against Islam. Raden Trenggana completed the conquest of Singasari and Mataram, and it was while the expedition against Pasuruan was in progress that he died (ca. 953/1546). After some confusion due to quarrels between sons and relatives following Tranggana's death, Adiwidjaya, the regent of Padjang in east Java, assumed control and under him the realm of Padjang, consisting of ten districts, rapidly rose in power. The districts were governed by governors reponsible to the Sultan. This was toward the end of the 10th/16th century, when civil war followed as a result of the governor of Mataram's rebellion against the Sultan. Sutawidjaya, the governor of Mataram, known as the *Senopati* (Commander of the Princely Guard), emerged victorious and founded the Sultanate of Mataram (990/1582-1010/1601). When he died (1010/1601), the kingdom had spread throughout central Java to the west as far as Galuh in Tjirebon, and almost the entire east over Balambangan, numbering 25 districts.

Malacca, the first Muslim Malay kingdom in the Malay Peninsula, had always been an important centre for the dissemination of Islam to Java and the farthest east. In 880/1475, Sharīf Muḥammad Kabungsuan, a son of a *sayyid* who had married a Malaccan princess, went from there to Mindanao in the Philippines, where he introduced Islam. Malay and Arab missionaries from Sumatra and Malacca, who used to sail to the Moluccas, also took part in the Islamization of Macassar in Celebes (911/1505). One of the famous missionaries was Khaṭīb Tunggal, a native of Minankabau, whose tomb at Tallo, north of Gowa, is still to be seen. The Macassars spread Islam among the Bugis people, who though slow to accept conversion, when once converted strove hard to convert others in the course of their trading activities between New Guinea and Singapore. The island state of Flores in the south was gradually converted to Islam by their efforts. From Celebes, Islam was carried by Macassar missionaries to the island of Sumbawa, and perhaps also to Lombok, between 947/1540 and 957/1550.

On the Malay Peninsula, Kedah had become Muslim by 879/1474 through missionary efforts. Nothing much is known of how the rest of the Peninsula was Islamized, but there are indications pointing to missionary activities centred at Malacca and Pasai.

Sukadana in southwest Borneo was Islamized by Arabs and Malays chiefly from Palembang. By 1000/1591, all the coastal regions of Borneo had become Muslim.

The Luzon islands and districts such as Manila, Cebu, Oton and others were Islamized by

missionaries from Brunei and Atjèh, as were also those of Mindanao and Sulu. Around 1009/1600, m ssionaries from Java took an active part in Islamizing the regions in the far east of the Archipelago.

By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, under the first maker of Greater Atjèh, Sultan ʿAlī Mug͟hāyat S͟hāh (d. 937/1530), Atjèh had conquered several territories in the south and eastern coastal regions. His son, Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn Riʿāyat S͟hāh al-Ḳahhār (d. 976/1568), who hired mercenaries from Turkey, Abyssinia, Gudjerat and the Malabar, conquered central Sumatra (Batak region) in 944/1537. Not all the Batak people were converted to Islam, but the Muslims were to score their greatest missionary success there much later, after the arrival of Christian Protestant missionaries in 1315/1897; this was no doubt also due to the effect of the zealous teachings of the Wahhābī-inspired *ḥādjdjīs* who promoted a revivalist movement in 1218/1803 [see PADRI]. In the years 983/1575 and 990/1582, there arrived in Atjèh certain *ʿulamāʾ* from Mecca, Yemen and Gudjerat to discuss metaphysics and *taṣawwuf*. These discussions, which seem to have begun at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, continued with ever-increasing depth and produced prolific writings in Malay, which continued to maintain intellectual interest for over two centuries. Their significance was to indicate the inner intensification of the Islamization process in the Archipelago, chiefly affecting Sumatra and Java. Some of the most profound and best examples of such writings are those of the Malay Ṣūfī poet and writer on doctrine, Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*], who belonged to the Ḳādiriyya Order and flourished during the reign of Sultan ʿAlā al-Dīn Riʿāyat S͟hāh (Sayyid al-Mukammal, 998-1013/1589-1604). During Sultan Iskandar Muda's reign (1016-46/1607-36), Atjèh reached its zenith in military as well as in commercial power. Iskandar Muda, the 'Crown of the World' (Mahkota ʿĀlam), conquered Perak and sacked Johore and, with the exception of Java and the eastern parts of the Archipelago, held sway over the rest. In his reign there flourished another famous Malay Ṣūfī, S͟hams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrānī (d. 1040/1630 [*q.v.*]) who was *S͟hayk͟h al-Islām* of Atjèh. Discussions and polemics on *wudjūdiyya* mysticism, which had begun in the 9th/15th century, continued to dominate the spiritual climate of Atjèh—the spiritual thermometer of the Archipelago—till after the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1077/1666 [*q.v.*]) in 1047/1637. The effect that al-Rānīrī's vigorous polemics and prolific writings had on *wudjūdiyya* mysticism in the Archipelago could almost be compared with that of al-G͟hazālī on Muslim philosophy. Al-Rānīrī remained in Atjèh till 1054/1644 and became chief *ḳāḍī* of the realm under Sultan Iskandar II (1047-51/1637-41). The next important event following this period was the Malay translation of the Ḳurʾān, together with al-Bayḍāwī's commentary, made by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī (born ca. 1030/1620 and d. after 1104/1693 [*q.v.*]), a member of the S͟haṭṭāriyya Order, who flourished during the reign of Sulṭāna Tādj al-ʿĀlam al-Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn S͟hāh (1051/1641-1086-1675), the first of four queens who ruled Atjèh from 1051/1641 to 1111/1699. The line of Sultans of Atjèh continued till 1321/1903 [see ATJÈH].

In Celebes, the kingdom of Bolaang-Mongondou in the northern peninsula east of Minahassa was Islamized gradually by Arabs, Bugis and other indigenous Muslim missionaries. Between 1098/1686 and 1121/1709, the kingdom was ruled by its first Christian king, Jacobus Manopo. By 1260/1844, its last Christian king, Jacobus Manual Manopo, had embraced Islam. The famous missionaries in this region were Ḥakīm Bagus and Imām Tuweko.

Some of the Papuans of New Guinea and the islands northwest of it that came under the rule of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Batjan in the beginning of the 10th/16th century were Islamized during that period. In the west coast of New Guinea, Islam had already been propagated as early as 1015/1606. Progress was slow, although missionary efforts were revived in the late 19th century by Arab and indigenous missionaries. In general, however, only the coastal settlers have been converted; the inhabitants of the interior have remained pagan to this day. The spread of Islam and the process of Islamization in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is still going on in varying degrees in the various regions.

The very brief chronological sketch of the spread of Islam outlined above merely forms a small part of the history of Islam in the Archipelago and its historical and cultural role in the life of the Malay-Indonesian peoples. Much of the history of Islam and its role in the Archipelago has yet to be written. Owing to the lack of data on the precise dates of the introduction of Islam into the Archipelago, some of the dates given above could very well be put back. Several theories on the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Archipelago, and the ways and means by which it was spread, have been put forward. There have also been some attempts made at presenting a cultural evaluation of Islam in the history of the Malay-Indonesian peoples. The various main theories each emphasized singly the dominant role (a) of trade in conveying Islam to the Archipelago; (b) of traders, officials connected with trade, among whom was the s͟hāhbandar [*q.v.*], and intermarriages in spreading Islam and effecting conversion among the people; (c) of competition between Muslims and Christians as accelerating the spread of Islam particularly between the 9th/15th and 11th/17th centuries—this was conceived as a continuation of the Holy War between Islam and Christianity; (d) of political convenience as being the motive for conversion to Islam; (e) of Islam's ideological worth as being the main factor of conversion; and (f) of the influence of Ṣūfism and its *ṭarīḳas*.

For a critique of these theories, and a new general theory of Islam in the Archipelago see S. M. N. al-Attas, *The mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī*, 2 vols., Oxford and Kuala Lumpur, forthcoming; idem, *Islamic culture in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur 1967, 123-30; idem, *The origin of the Malay shaʿir*, Kuala Lumpur 1968; idem, *A general theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur, forthcoming.

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On the various theories of the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Archipelago, see R. A. Kern, *De verbreiding van den Islam*, in *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie*, Amsterdam 1938, i; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, The Hague 1917, vi; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn-Leipzig 1924, iv; F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie*, Amsterdam 1938-40, 5 vols.; W. F. Stutterheim, *De Islam en zijn komst in den Archipel*, (Islam and its coming in the Archipelago), 2nd éd. Groningen 1952; J. B. O. Schrieke, *Indonesian sociological studies*, The Hague 1955-7, 2 vols.; J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian trade and society*, The Hague 1955; W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian society in transition*, The Hague 1959, 195-235; A. H. Johns, *Ṣūfism as a category in Indonesian literature and history*, in *JSEAH*, i/2 (July 1961). For historical sketches of Indonesia's pre-Hindu and Hindu periods and the rise of Islam to 1705, see B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara—a history of Indonesia*, The Hague 1959, ch. 1-8.

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Abbreviations: *JMBRAS* = *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *JSBRAS* = *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *JSEAH* = *Journal of Southeast Asian History*; *MMBRAS* = *Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *RSEA* = *Revue du sud-est asiatique* (Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles); *VBGKW* = *Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* (S. M. N. AL-ATTAS)

(b) COLONIAL PERIOD.

When the first Dutch merchantmen arrived in Java in 1596, they heard news of a major kingdom in the interior of the island. There, the Islamic state of Mataram was emerging after a century of confusion following the fall late in the fifteenth century of Madjapahit, the last major Hindu-Buddhist kingdom on Java [*q.v.*]. The Mataram hegemony was expanding over the Islamic port-principalities of the northcoast, as well as over other interior states. The greatest of the Mataram monarchs, Sultan Agung (1613-1645), completed the subjugation of Java with the conquest of Surabaja in 1625.

The Dutch East India Company established its headquarters at a former Sundanese port in 1619, renaming it Batavia. Sultan Agung was unwilling to tolerate this Dutch post, and launched massive siege operations against it in 1628 and 1629. He failed to take the Dutch post, however, and the Javanese kings never again attacked the Dutch there.

In subsequent decades, as the Dutch trading system expanded outwards from Batavia throughout the Asian seas, and maritime states like Atjèh [*q.v.*] and Macassar [*q.v.*] declined in strength, the Mataram kingdom too suffered various internal crises. Some were apparently a result of tensions between the more strongly Islamic and the more traditional elements of Javanese society, the *santri* and *abangan*. These tensions however became entangled with regional antagonisms and dynastic squabbles, and in 1675 the kingdom fell into chaos. The rebel Trunadjaja rallied the various dissident forces, and in 1677 took the court. At this point, however, the Dutch East India Company intervened for the first time on behalf of the "legitimate" ruler and restored the Mataram line to its throne.

Thereafter, for eighty years the kingdom was afflicted with rebellion and chaos, in which situation the Dutch were employed by the legitimate pretenders to defend their inheritance. The Company was repaid with ever-increasing control of the trading centres on the north coast of Java, until by the end of the seventeenth century it had a virtual monopoly of the trade and commerce of Java, and had attained a position of semi-suzerainty which enabled it to collect large amounts of export crops like coffee, sugar and pepper as what was in effect tribute in kind. During the eighteenth century therefore the Company came increasingly to concentrate on the economic exploitation of Java, and its trading stations in the other islands of Indonesia, and in South and East Asia, stagnated. Throughout these years the Dutch became more and more important in Javanese court life as the arbiters of disputes, and at the same time more and more the focus of xenophobic sentiments throughout various levels of Javanese society.

In 1755 the Dutch, unable to suppress a widespread

revolt after nine years, persuaded the weak and deserted ruler to divide his kingdom with the main rebel in order to appease him. Thus the kingdom became two, one ruled by the Susuhunan at Surakarta, the other by the Sultan at Jogjakarta. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Javanese rulers sought to legitimize and stabilize this new situation, in which the Dutch Company became more and more a peripheral concern, as its financial and military strength continued to decline.

Meanwhile, anti-Dutch sentiments continued to simmer, augmented by Islamic sensitivities and by rebellious groups opposing the two Javanese monarchs. These aspects combined to form an incipient movement to expel the foreigner and to reunite the kingdom. An attempt to achieve these goals in Surakarta in 1790 was foiled by the combined efforts of the Dutch and Jogjakarta. The next major attempts occurred in the period 1810-1830.

The economic foundations of the Dutch East India Company became increasingly precarious during the second half of the eighteenth century. Administrative costs rose steeply following the division of Mataram, and commercial profits declined. The Company's debts in 1750 stood at 10 million guilders; forty years later they were 100 million. The isolation of Indonesia from the Netherlands during the Revolutionary Wars in Europe exacerbated the position; and after the French invasion of the Netherlands in 1795 the Company's affairs were delegated to a committee, subsequently to a Council of Asiatic Possessions. On 1 January 1800 the Company was dissolved and its rights and properties reverted to the Netherlands state.

Revolutionary principles for reform in Indonesia were debated by a Government Commission appointed in 1802 to draw up a new colonial Charter, but apart from recommending a reform of abuses, the prevailing system based on the collection of export crops as 'forced deliveries' and 'contingents' continued. Under Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels (1808-11) the administration was reshaped towards direct rule and the Indonesian 'Regents' or Chiefs of the north-east coast of Java were placed more directly under the control of Dutch officials. Communications in Java, especially the extension of the great post road, were improved in anticipation of a British invasion. The blockade of Batavia and other ports of the island by British ships seriously disrupted the colonial economy.

Java and its dependencies fell to British arms in 1811, and there ensued a five years interim administration largely under Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (1811-16). A radical reform of the colonial system was attempted with the object of abolishing forced labour and cultivation, and substituting in its place a system based on freedom of cultivation and a money economy. Central to these reforms was the land rent system which entailed the annual payment by the Javanese cultivator of a fixed proportion of his rice crop, either in kind or cash. The system was introduced into north-eastern Java but not into the Priangan regions of west Java where the forced coffee culture continued. Raffles carried Daendel's reforms further towards the creation of a Western controlled bureaucracy by abolishing the prerogatives of the Regents; he also placed the affairs of the central Javanese principalities on a firmer footing.

The restitution of the Indonesian possessions to the Netherlands in 1816 led to initial attempts being made to continue the liberal system of the former regime, modified to meet its obvious shortcomings. The individual method of land rent assessment gave way to the village system. This produced better returns but not sufficient to meet the growing costs of administration. In attempt to bolster the flagging economy a new trading company (*Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij*) was founded in 1824 to keep colonial trade in Dutch hands, but it failed to fulfill expectations.

Dutch financial difficulties at this time were aggravated by heavy military expenditure occasioned by the Java War (1825-30) and the so-called Padris War (1821-39), in the Menangkabau region of central Sumatra [*q.v.*]. Both of these wars were in part conflicts within Indonesian society itself which arose from the tension already noted between the *santri* or orthodox Islamic factions and the *abangan* or traditionalist elements. The growing strength of the *santri* groups posed a challenge to the influence over the predominantly *abangan* peasantry of the traditional ruling castes, who were in turn supported by their Dutch allies. The two conflicts therefore possessed also the nature of anti-colonial conflicts against the *kafir*, and the eventual victory of the Dutch cemented the identity of interest between them and the majority of the Indonesian traditional élite (known as *prijaji* in Java) for the remainder of the colonial period.

The heavy burden of colonial debt incurred by the Java and Padris Wars and by the secessionist movement in Belgium led to the appointment of Johannes van den Bosch as Governor-General with instructions to make the colonial possessions pay. Van den Bosch (1830-34) commenced the introduction of the so-called Culture System (*cultuur stelsel*) under which large areas of arable land in Java were utilised for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, indigo and other crops for the world market. As part of the reform many of the powers of the Regents (*prijaji*) were returned. During the first ten years of the Culture System exports from Java rose by 200 per cent, shipped by the now prosperous Netherlands Trading Company. The profits accruing from the sale of these exports were paid to the Netherlands treasury and used to reduce taxation and finance public works in Holland. During nearly fifty years (1830-77) that contributions from the Culture System were paid, approximately 832 million guilders were remitted from Indonesia. Pressure to abolish the system came from the liberals in the Dutch parliament, which came increasingly to control colonial affairs, and from those like E. Douwes Dekker (Multatuli) whose famous novel, *Max Havelaar* (1860), focussed attention on the abuses of the system.

From 1863 onwards successive governments sought to relieve the Javanese of the worst abuses of the system, and gradually to dismantle it, handing over to private merchants and investors the exploitation of former government monopoly crops such as pepper, indigo and tea. The more profitable monopolies such as the sale of opium and the cultivation of sugar and coffee, however, remained for many years. The last, coffee, was not given up until 1917.

Another aspect of developments in the second half of the nineteenth century was increased colonial activity in the islands outside Java, and the bringing eventually of all of them within the Dutch administrative system. This activity had already been apparent for some years before 1863, and was at first exclusively governmental. It was aimed primarily at forestalling other colonial powers and freelance adventurers who might try to establish themselves in

the areas in which the Dutch claimed paramountcy, and took the form of the imposition of treaties by which local Indonesian rulers acknowledged their states to be part of Netherlands India. Sometimes, as in Bali in 1846 and 1849, this involved a military expedition and a Dutch Resident. In other cases, as in the tin-island of Billiton in 1851, full-scale occupation and direct administration was necessary. In most cases however only a paper claim to Dutch supremacy was involved.

After the beginning of the so-called 'Liberal' period, however, this governmental activity in the outer islands was reinforced and intensified by private Dutch and foreign enterprise and capital seeking to exploit the agricultural and mineral resources of economically favoured areas. From many examples one may mention the large-scale development of estate cultivation, beginning with tobacco, in the East Coast residency of Sumatra. This is partly because the Siak tobacco concessions of 1863 were amongst the largest and earliest of these private enterprises, partly because they provoked an important political and military confrontation between the Dutch and the Achehnese, who claimed to exercise suzerainty over the leased tobacco lands.

The Atjèh War [*q.v.*] (1873-1904) was long, arduous and financially ruinous for the Dutch. More important, since the Achehnese who so tenaciously resisted the imposition of Dutch control and the extinction of their independence were by long tradition a fiercely Islamic society, maintaining close links with the centres of their faith in the Middle East, the war raised the whole issue of the colonial government's Islamic policy. It also brought to the fore two men of influence and note—Snouck Hurgronje, a scholar and the government's adviser on Islam from 1890, and Van Heutsz, a soldier and administrator. Snouck Hurgronje advocated as a general principle ruthless suppression of all Muslim leaders who opposed Dutch political control combined with complete freedom for the day to day practice of the religion and customs of Islam under Dutch administration. The execution of the first part of this policy was entrusted to Van Heutsz, who not only brought the war in Atjèh to an end but as Governor General (1904-1909) brought virtually the whole of the remainder of the outer islands under effective Dutch administration.

The beginning of the twentieth century thus saw the whole of what is now Indonesia linked by Dutch administrative control, consolidated by the operations of the inter-island shipping company the KPM (*Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*), founded with government support in 1888. It witnessed also the emergence of a new school of thought, embodied in the so-called 'Ethical' policy, which took as its objectives not only administrative efficiency and economic development but also the enhancement of the welfare of Indonesians, and the repayment of the 'debt of honour' which had been incurred by the acceptance of the financial profits which Holland had drawn from Indonesia since the inception of the '*cultuur stelsel*' in 1830. It was against this background that modern Indonesian nationalism developed.

Prior to the twentieth century, the principal proponents of an Indonesian adjustment to Western ways were the 'progressive regents' of Java, a handful of enlightened nobles who urged the traditional elite to acquire Western education in order to deal more effectively with the Dutch. The beginning of the century saw new and more radical social groups emerge advocating a total reorientation of Indonesian society along modern lines.

The first organization to express these new elements was *Budi Utomo* (Noble Endeavour), which was founded in Batavia in 1908 by Javanese students, most of them scions of the lesser *prijaji* and all possessing Dutch-style education. Its aim was the transformation of Javanese culture for the purpose of social modernization, a gradual process in which an enlightened colonial administration would work together with progressive members of the indigenous elite. *Budi Utomo* was followed by a succession of 'younger generation' movements in the Outer Islands (*Jong-Sumatra, Jong-Minahasa,* and so on); all of these were modern in outlook but still thought in terms of the traditional regional cultures.

Very soon *Budi Utomo* was supplanted by movements that were more radical in their demands and more popular in their appeal. By far the most important of these was *Sarekat Islam* [*q.v.*] (Islamic Union), which was founded in 1912. It began as a union of Javanese batik merchants, most of them strongly *santri*, who banded together in reaction against increasing business competition from the Chinese minority and against Christian missionary activity. Very quickly, *Sarekat Islam* developed into the organizational expression of massive popular unrest, part traditional messianic movement and part modern political party.

The decade between 1912 and 1922 marked the high point of political Islam in Indonesia. *Sarekat Islam* was by far the largest and most influential Indonesian organization; it reflected a developing popular consciousness of an identity that transcended regional cultural boundaries, and this broader unity was seen in terms of Indonesian adherence to Islam.

In Malaya, the process of pan-regional awakening was to lead to a lasting identification of Islam with Malay-ness; but in Indonesia the connection proved ephemeral. *Sarekat Islam* was not organizationally and politically capable of bringing the desired concrete reforms and amelioration of people's living conditions, so that its following was fluid, dissolving in one area only to expand where it had not yet been tried and found wanting; this was a process which could not continue many years without general disillusionment. Moreover, in the early 1920s mounting government pressure caused the *Sarekat Islam* leaders to abandon outspoken opposition to Dutch rule. This was followed by their expulsion of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which had hitherto flourished as a bloc within the larger movement. The Communists took with them the bulk of the now much reduced membership of *Sarekat Islam*, and thus control over Indonesia's largest mass following passed into secularist hands.

To some extent the PKI-Sarekat Islam schism seems to have rested on the *santri-abangan* cultural contrast. But there were important Islamic Communist movements in Central Java and West Sumatra in the 1920s and the principal areas of Communist rebellion in 1926-27 (Banten and West Sumatra) were strongly Muslim. Moreover, a high proportion of Communist cadres arrested in the wake of the uprising consisted of *haji*s or persons otherwise identified with Islam. In fact the main basis of choice between PKI and *Sarekat Islam* seems to have been the demand for action against foreign rule. The most disaffected *Sarekat Islam* members—including a considerable portion of petty entrepreneurs, merchants, and wealthier farmers—turned to the Communists in desperation, and their eventual revolt exhibited many traditional millenarian features. Of those *Sarekat Islam* followers who did not seek action at

all costs, the great part turned apathetically from politics; the remainder—more economically and socially secure and more willing to organise for limited and largely non-political objectives—constituted the subsequent clientele of the *Sarekat Islam* and its successors.

The Netherlands Indies government had not been insensitive to the emergence of a modern-educated elite and the transformation of Indonesian society by advanced forms of economic exploitation. It was, however, unable for some time to decide whether to concentrate on shoring up traditional social structures and muffling the impact of economic modernization on the Indonesian populace, in the interest of maintaining the *status quo*, or whether to stress opportunities for Indonesian participation in the modern sphere, in particular providing a place for the emerging modern elite as the future source of native leadership and as an instrument for the peaceful modernization of the society. The latter approach was favoured by the advocates of the so-called Ethical Policy, the principal political accomplishments of which were the establishment of parties and the foundation in 1916 of the Volksraad, an advisory assembly involving some Indonesian representatives and a restricted Indonesian electorate. However, it very soon appeared to both the Indonesians and the Dutch that their ideas concerning the scope and pace of native participation were very different, and it seemed increasingly questionable if their ultimate interests were compatible at all. Ethical assumptions were dealt a severe blow by *Sarekat Islam* involvement in popular disturbances in 1919, and the coup de grace was provided by the abortive Communist rebellion of 1926-27. Thereafter, Netherlands policy stressed measures that favoured the restoration of traditional authority; strongly repressive action was taken against efforts by Indonesian politicians to acquire a mass following.

Politics thus once again became restricted to the small circle of the modern-educated elite, located for the most part in the great cities of Java. This group still represented a tiny and privileged minority. It was, however, radical and its members were sufficiently separated from the world of their fathers to reject regional cultures as their primary focus of identity. Tradition was to them a dead weight which must be sloughed off if the Indonesian people were to unite in effective struggle against colonial rule. Their goal was the realization of a modern Indonesian nation-state, unqualified by such internationalist ideological aims as had been represented by the *Sarekat Islam* and the PKI.

Some of these nationalists involved themselves in religiously-orientated organizations, but most joined or founded movements of explicitly secular bent. One reason for this was the increasing Westernization—and therefore secularization—of the modern Indonesian elite, to whom Islam seemed part of the outmoded traditional world. Moreover, they were mostly of *prijaji* origin. This placed them on the *abangan* side of the *santri-abangan* cultural contrast and aligned them with longstanding *prijaji* fears of Islam as an alternative focus for popular loyalty and hence as a potential source of social unrest.

Indonesian politics was henceforth marked by a deep split between religious and secular movements. On the Islamic side when *Sarekat Islam* abandoned its radical opposition to colonial rule it identified itself more closely with the Javanese merchant and entrepreneurial elements from which it had originally sprung. These were strongly modernist in their orientation and had already found non-political expression in the ***Muhammadijah***, a social and educational welfare organization founded in Jogjakarta in 1912. ***Muhammadijah*** modernists dominated *Sarekat Islam* of the 1920s and involved it in Pan-Islamic endeavours; in reaction to this, more traditionalist Javanese Muslims formed a new Islamic organization, *Nahdatul Ulama*, in 1926. This was orientated more towards the opinion of the countryside, where it drew its leadership from religious notables and the more prosperous peasantry. Neither of these two religious orientations or their social bases were attractive to nationalists derived from the traditional bureaucratic elite; and in turn the Muslim groups viewed the prospect of the secularists gaining power with justified apprehension.

Within the secular nationalist camp there was an even greater schismatic tendency, but during the colonial period it reflected quarrels over personalities and strategy rather than any fundamental ideological division. The most serious disagreement was between those who considered it appropriate to take advantage of what representational possibilities the Indies government granted and those who considered this to be collaboration with the enemy. The most prominent of the non-cooperative groups was the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI), founded in 1927 and led by the future Indonesian president, Sukarno. It dissolved in 1930 following its leader's imprisonment, to be succeeded by two organizations reflecting another difference of nationalist opinion—the Indonesian Party (Partindo), which called for an emphasis on unity and the acquisition of as much of a mass following as was then possible, and the 'new' PNI, led by Hatta and Sjahrir, which urged the development of an ideological and organizationally disciplined cadre.

Conscious of sectarian feebleness and the general futility of non-cooperation, the nationalists of the mid-1930s sought fusion, first in the Greater Islands Party (Parindra) in 1935 and then in the more radical Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo) of 1937. The urge toward unity also affected the Islamic organizations, bringing modernists and traditionalists together in the All-Indonesian Islamic Council (M.I.A.I.) of 1937. Finally, both religious and secular groupings combined in the Indonesian Political Coalition (G.A.P.I.) in 1939.

Neither this strenuous effort at unity nor the abandonment of non-cooperation by the radicals achieved any significant modification of colonial rule. The repressive post-Ethical policy seemed to the Dutch to have worked well: even the united Indonesian political organizations were weak, and their most troublesome leaders were in jail or exile. It consequently seemed better not to tempt fate by opening the Pandora's box of politics again. The last years of Dutch rule therefore gave little hope to even the most moderate of Indonesian nationalists for the reform of the colonial regime. There was very little to make them feel a stake in the Dutch presence and a good deal, once the Japanese seized the colony in 1942, to make them fear a Dutch return.

(R. B. McC.)

(c) Post 1942 [see DUSTUR p. 662; ḤIZB p. 534].

v.—Islam in Indonesia

Islam came to Indonesia as the second of three more or less successive waves of profound influence from outside. Of the three, it is the only one to have spread quite generally and to have achieved an

immediately visible and dominating imprint on the Indonesian's thought and action. Even so, this imprint is not uniform throughout the vast area of the Indonesian archipelago. There are notable regional differences. On the other hand, Indonesia clearly constitutes one of the outer fringes of the world of Islam. There is relatively much adaptation of Islam to local customs and traditions; conversely there is relatively little positive contribution to Islam, whether as doctrine or as practice, even so far as Indonesia proper is concerned, let alone the more centrally located parts of the Islamic world.

Neither the chronology nor the nature of the spread of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago is satisfactorily established, especially for the earlier period.

The nature of the spread is often described as a combination of two kinds of process. At times it operates like an oil stain, with people (on an individual or on a familial basis) gradually deciding to embrace Islam. At other times it goes by leaps and bounds, with entire communities opting for Islam, often as the only available means to hold their own, for example in the face of Western expansionism or other critical events. Under the latter kind of circumstances, prompting or pressure by Muslims may occasionally play a role. On rare occasions the use of force has been recorded, but this appears as untypical. Whatever the nature of its spread, Islam reached Indonesia as a fully-grown way of life: there was no necessity for an Indonesian contribution to its tenets and practices.

During historic times, the cultural, religious, economic and political history of the area has been marked to a large extent by three successive waves of influence from outside. One originates from the Indian subcontinent and is expressed in terms of the naturalist religions and philosophies of that area, especially Hinduism and Buddhism. The second is Islamic; at first it originated from the Indian subcontinent as well, but later on its source of inspiration shifted to the Middle East. The third is European, especially Dutch; it has a Christian component, but this has not been preponderant at all times. A fourth outside influence, not comparable to a wave because of its more or less persistent nature and also its restricted impact, is the ages-old Chinese presence in Indonesia. Of the three waves, the first was more or less spent when the second arrived. But the third was already advancing when the second was still in full flow; and the two have kept moving simultaneously ever since, up to the present.

When each of these waves first arrived, the territory of the present-day state of Indonesia was not distinct as such. To discuss these forces as impinging on "Indonesia" is therefore an anachronism. Yet as a descriptive device it is not too objectionable, for four reasons: (1) Irian (New Guinea) does not really count for present purposes, (2) the Philippines, where Islam arrived through Indonesia, have always had a separate status, (3) Malaya cannot be overlooked entirely but needs no more than casual references here, (4) parts of islands in the archipelago not belonging to the Indonesian Republic, like Northern Kalimantan (Borneo) or half of Timor, play no significant part in Indonesian Islam.

A common characteristic of all three waves is that their first approach was prompted by trade activity; the third differs from the other two in that it has gradually taken shape as political-economic conquest by foreigners, followed by colonization. The three are alike once more in that none has resulted in a full disruption of Indonesian continuity, but they differ again in that the bearers of both the Hindu-Buddhist and the Islamic waves have gradually identified with, and become virtually undistinguishable from, their new Indonesian setting, whereas the carriers of Western impact have assiduously and to an increasing extent maintained a separate identity. Moreover, of the first and the second, the second is now predominant and the first greatly reduced both in visibility and in importance.

As regards the chronology of the spread of Islam, it is generally assumed that Islam gained a foothold on Indonesian soil, in the ports of the Northern tip of Sumatra, towards the end of the 7th/13th century. Although the history of Muslim trade with China is rich in vicissitudes, it has existed, more or less successfully, ever since the 8th century AD. There is no reason to assume that it did not occasionally involve parts of the Indonesian archipelago. In this connection one thinks in particular of the spice trade, involving especially the Moluccas area. But it is only in 1292 that the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, visiting the North Sumatran ports of Perlak, Samudra and Lambri, refers to the former two as more or less Muslim port towns in fully pagan surroundings. A stone dated 696/1297, made in Cambay (Gujerat), marks the tomb of a ruler Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Samudra-Pase, who must have been a Muslim. The strong links between this area and India are also emphasized by another traveller, the Moroccan Muslim Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 746/1345-6. The slow spread that would have been likely, given such a foothold, gained a dramatic impetus by the islamization of the coastal state of Malacca, originally the creation (around 1400 AD) of an expatriate Javanese. A highly successful maritime empire, Malacca became a centre for the diffusion of Islam in all directions. Another Cambay tomb stone covers the remains of one Malik Ibrāhīm, who died in Gresik, East Java, in 822/1419. Malaya and the various parts of Northeast Sumatra were islamized in the coastal areas; and in the early 10th/16th century some small Muslim principalities existed on the North coast of Java. What introduced the decisive element of competition was the Portuguese crusader spirit, established in India in 1498 and immediately carried Eastward in the capture of Malacca—by then Muslim—in 1511. The third wave, when reaching Indonesia, was engaged in a race against the second. Thus, the further spread of Islam acquired a disproportionately important element of religious-commercial-political strategy.

As regards Sumatra, the second half of the 10th/16th century saw the islamization of the Lampung and Bengkulen areas; but it was only in 1919 that the last group of people in the inland parts of South Sumatra became Muslims. Menangkabau was islamized soon after the fall of Malacca by people from North Sumatra, the realm of Atjèh, who engaged in the spice trade. Indeed, during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries the ever continuing spice trade served as the token under which virtually every major commercial-political-religious event in the archipelago took place. The Batak area, in central North Sumatra, took longer to be penetrated. The southern reaches were islamized during the third quarter of the 19th century, but the central part gave in slowly to Christianity. Somehow the islands West of Sumatra, Nias, eluded the appeal of Islam and also to an extent that of Christianity as well.

Kalimantan (Borneo) has kept its pagan interior up to the present. Its coastal areas have been settled, and largely islamized, by people from various other

parts of the archipelago, and particularly in the North and West, also by Chinese and Ḥaḍrami Arabs. The various emerging realms had invariably a Muslim, sometimes Ḥaḍrami, imprint. Notable amongst these were the realms of Banjarmasin, Kutai and Pontianak. The former lasted from the middle of the 10th/16th to the middle of the 19th century, and it included the Hulu Sungai area.

Celebes (Sulawesi), in its turn, remained mostly pagan in its central area where only the Toraja embraced Christianity. Its Northern tip became Christianized. But its two Southern tips, containing important maritime areas—again in the spice trade—, were islamized, mainly from Java, early in the 11th/17th century. This spread was not without violence.

The Moluccas succumbed partly to Portuguese efforts at christianization and then saw Catholicism replaced by Protestantism under Dutch pressure. But as from the second half of the 16th century the realm of Ternate was a centre of diffusion of Islam, both Westward and Eastward.

In the Lesser Sunda Islands, another clear demonstration is found of how the spread of Islam was related to political vicissitudes. The phenomenon of emergent realms imposing themselves by means of religious identification is visible even in these relatively remote parts. Thus, the Western tip of Bali and also the islands of Lombok and Sumbawa have been largely islamized at some time, while the remaining islands have hardly been touched by Islam until recently.

In Java, the political overtones of islamization have been even more noticeable. The Muslim coastal principalities already mentioned began as vassals of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of the interior. Gradually, there was a shift in supremacy. Once united under the realm of Demak, Muslim power could tip the scales. As from the second half of the 10th/16th century, all of Java and also Madura have become formally islamized: by leaps and bounds in the political centres and much more slowly in remote mountain areas.

A shift, gradual but important, in the overtones of Indonesian Islam has occurred with the onset of more effective and intensive direct contacts between Indonesia and the heartlands of Islam. It is sometimes argued that this process, which can perhaps be dated as beginning around 1875, is a re-islamization with orthodox overtones, aimed at replacing the rather vague Indonesianized variants of earlier days. In many places this must have meant the end to the sway of mystical ideas. At the same time it opened the gate for the reformist and modernist ideas of those days.

A renewed stress on the social and political implications of the Islamic identification, with consequences for the spread of Islam, has ensued from the emergence of nationalism. Although no precise information is available on each of the areas concerned, it is clear that since the emergence of nationalism, and especially since the end of World War II (August 1945), the still pagan populations of Indonesia have been under increasing pressure to embrace Islam. Having retained their separate pagan identities for so long, their apparent need is now to become integrated in the Indonesian nation, and the adoption of Islam appears propitious for the purpose. Curiously enough, comparable considerations in more sophisticated urban settings do not necessarily favour Islam. Indeed they prove here and there to favour a Christianity no longer identified with a foreign colonial élite.

As to the nature of the reception of Islam in Indonesia, the earliest more or less detailed data refer to Northern Sumatra in the early 17th century. There are Islamic manuscripts and there are (Dutch) eye-witness reports. The area was clearly still a major centre of diffusion of Islam. The data suggest a relative predominance of mysticism of the philosophical-speculative kind, represented by various brotherhoods; but it soon comes under the emergent attack of a more orthodox theology.

There has been much discussion on questions concerning the relative ease with which the Islam was received and embraced by Indonesians; and also concerning the way in which they then adapted it. Some of the argumentation follows lines of historical parallelism. It has been suggested that Hindu-Buddhist influence, having once become a noticeable mercantile force in parts of the archipelago, was induced to assume yet another variant, namely as a ritual legitimization of existing but changing power structures. Indeed, the priestly functions required for the purpose were not without precedent in older Indonesian tradition. It has been suggested furthermore that in comparable fashion the formal introduction of Islamic institutions has been superimposed on the mere establishment of trading communities of Muslims here and there in Indonesia, again as a means for existing or emergent powers to hold their own against competitors. Such a suggestion might seem weak, inasmuch as it could appear that the absence of a clergy and of the appropriate ritual should render Islam less suitable for the purpose. But one notes that during an apparently critical period of Muslim expansion Islamic scholars, and especially mystical philosophers, have played decisive roles as powers behind the throne—for example in Java the nine holy men (*walī*) credited with bringing Islam, and in Sumatra at least one mystic who also served as prime minister.

The third, the Western wave of influence, has injected itself into the archipelago as competitive, both commercially and religiously (that is, culturally), against the spread of Islam. It thus might have offered the Indonesians an option as regards the creed that could most suitably be adopted for purposes of selfcontinuation; but Christianity may never have appeared so attractive as Islam, in consequence of the continued non-integration of the Western element. In remaining alien, it did not really lend itself to adoption with modification. Church authorities have usually scorned attempts at a more or less sectarian, and mostly local, adoption of Christian ideas. Besides, inasmuch as Christianity is to Muslims a superseded religion, and one of protected status, they are not naturally inclined to embrace it.

In consequence, the religious map of Indonesia shows Christianity in a few areas converted from paganism before the advent of Islam (for example, part of the Moluccas, Northern Celebes, part of the Batak area of Sumatra) and amongst mixed urban populations. It shows Hinduism-Buddhism entrenched in one area (central and eastern Bali). It still shows survivals of paganism in some remote parts, mostly in the interior of islands. And it shows Islam as the religion that has won out in the long run, even though the political stress of the 1950's and 1960's has somewhat undermined its predominance. It is often said that the Muslims constitute 90% of the Indonesian population. Statistically unverifiable, this figure is generally accepted as a rough estimate. Given a total population of about 130 millions, this

makes the Indonesians one of the largest sections of the world Muslim community.

The specific characteristics of Islam thus spread and still spreading throughout Indonesia are so difficult to sum up that time and again disputes have arisen, mostly between non-Muslim observers, as to the question whether Indonesians are or are not true Muslims. Those trying to argue a negative answer have tended to assert that Islam is merely a veneer under which the solid base of Indonesian paganism, with here and there a top layer of Hindu-Buddhism, remains fully distinct. If there is truth in this, yet it does not detract from the efficacy and tenacity of the Islamic identification of the Indonesian Muslims. The rationalization and legitimation even of things possibly pre-Islamic in origin or conception yet currently effective will invariably occur in terms of Islam and be generally deemed adequate as such.

In matters of law, the Shāfiʿī school reigns supreme, and seems never to have suffered from real competition. Even so, the Indonesian situation may well have been more markedly complex than situations elsewhere, especially because colonial administration has tended to emphasize rather than to obscure such matters as the discrepancy between formal Islamic law on the one hand and customary law on the other. Indeed Islamic law has figured for long years as the least important of three competing systems: customary law, as represented by quite numerous and very different systems in the several parts of the archipelago, Dutch code law (constitutional and penal, not civil) as more and more emphatically imposed for purposes of uniform administration, and Islamic law itself, adopted by Indonesians for quite limited purposes only, and to an extent varying with time and place. The tendency has been to have each legal system represented by its own jurisdictional arrangements. In the case of Islam this has tended to bring to the fore the category of the scholars of Islam, the *ʿulamāʾ* or *kyahi*. Not only was this one way in which these scholars of Islam managed to maintain part of their importance dating back to the pre-colonial days of the early Muslim expansion; it also pitted them, unintentionally perhaps yet quite effectively, against the traditional élites of pre-Islamic days, the class who in Java are called *prijaji*. On the other hand, it is this very competition that excludes for Indonesia the possibility of an important public role, as in the heartlands of Islam, for religious functionaries like the *muftī* and the *ḳāḍī*.

What does appear, however, is the scholar in a slightly different, somewhat less traditionally institutionalized role. The politically effective scholar is perhaps the main common link between the political structure in the heartlands of Islam and those of Indonesian tradition as modified, here and there, by Hindu-Buddhist influence. At the same time, he has made for continuity in the history of Indonesian Islam ever since its adoption. He is the power behind the ruler, at once effectuating and rendering visible the Islamic character of the state. It does not matter, in this connection, that the nature and operations of the state in question remain conceived along typically and traditionally Indonesian lines. Thus it is to him, for example in the semi-mythical form of the nine *walī*s of Java, that the islamization of Indonesia is mostly ascribed. And it is again upon him, once he has regained his public voice through modern organization, that the task devolves to speak the binding or unbinding word on political authority. It is he, once more, who plays a leading role in recent and contemporary political organizations of Muslims.

Of the legal institutions of Islam, the *waḳf* should be mentioned at this point. There are no specifically Indonesian provisions or uses, even though the institution occurs quite generally. It is assumed that the economic importance of property thus set aside is less than in many other Islamic countries. The matter of guardianship has tended to be difficult, as almost everywhere else.

Turning to Islamic education, one can distinguish two main types. One is the traditional boarding school, the *pesantrèn*, also called *madrasa*; the other is more modern education as provided originally by private organizations as for example Muhammadīya, to be mentioned below. The latter type now embraces the full range from elementary to higher education. As regards the former type, some of its features are perhaps still reminiscent of the Persian or Turkish dervish conventicle. But the preponderant feature of the *pesantrèn*, in its turn perhaps reminiscent of the Indian *ashram*, is to be a centre of learning and of education for pupils from nearby and—if it is well-known—also from far away. The leader, *kyahi*, is primarily the scholar who retains his authority over his pupils even after having granted the *idjāza* [*q.v.*] or licence to teach. He will be the spiritual leader and mentor at all times. In the notion of the teacher, the Indian idea of the *guru* has come to emphasize the Islamic respect for the *ʿālim*. There has traditionally been unorganized, yet more or less regular, intercourse between the best of these schools and the centres of learning at Mecca and Cairo: the former reflecting, with a time-lag, what went on in the latter. It has proved extremely difficult, both in colonial days and later, to forge a link between this type of schooling and so-called modern education. This has by and large worked to the detriment of traditional Muslim education. Gradually, the name *madrasa* has been adopted for religious schools conforming to a more "modern" pattern of education. By 1954, there were three levels of these, namely elementary (13,057 schools), intermediate (776), and secondary (16).

Another peculiar aspect of Indonesian Islam is architecture. With a few fairly recent exceptions, of imitation of Arab style (*e.g.*, Medan, Kebajoran), mosques in Indonesia show a style that illustrates nothing better than the continuity from pre-Islamic into Islamic periods. Mosques like the one of Kudus recall Hindu-Javanese building styles, even though they are now unequivocally recognized as Islamic buildings. A common feature is the roof in three or four layers or tiers, almost pagoda-like, that contributes significantly to the circulation of fresh air. An entirely Indonesian feature is the use of the *bedug*, a huge drum, to announce the times of prayer even to those who might fail to hear the *adhān*. On the other hand, the various grades of mosque personnel are hardly exceptional.

As regards the fulfilment of religious obligations Indonesians are again not very special or exceptional. The *ṣalāt* is variably performed, as everywhere; the payment of *zakāt* is haphazard. In matters of ritual purity Indonesians are relatively strict, perhaps on account of traditions older than Islam. Also the pilgrimage has always tended to be an attraction and a challenge to Indonesians. Relatively many, including women, will perform it when circumstances allow. Indeed the pilgrim may achieve a kind of special status in his community. The *ḥadjdjī* is a potential leader of opinion if he returns to a relatively

small and remote community. The pilgrim will not enjoy great prestige unless he is at the same time more or less learned in Islamic doctrine. This applies the more since the pilgrimage has become safer and more within the means of relatively many: all this thanks to means of transport made available by non-Muslim Westerners. The attraction of the pilgrimage is demonstrated by the tendency for Indonesians to borrow money for the journey, in contravention of the explicit injunctions of Islam.

Mysticism remained influential for quite some time. In Northern Sumatra, its sway must have stretched at least into the first decades of the 20th century. In Southern Celebes, it seems to have lasted almost until the Japanese occupation. In these areas there are indications of the existence of local chapters of various mystic orders, including the more famous ones from the heartlands of Islam. The list of brotherhoods is impressive and includes such famous names as S̲h̲ādiliyya, Ḳadariyya, Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya, K̲h̲alwatiyya, Samaniyya, Rifāʿiyya, Tid̲j̲āniyya. There is however no effective record of their organization, let alone of their functioning. Nor is it clear what role they have played in the spreading of Islam or, for that matter, in society at large.

The two areas referred to differ from the third area influenced by mysticism, Java, in one major respect. In Javanese Islamic mystical writings a clear and decisive adaptation of mystical ideas is manifest. At the point where Sumatran took over from Indian mystics, not much of a break occurred; but here, one sees a complete change in the spiritual climate. On the other hand, this specifically Javanese mysticism does not seem to have spread to other islands.

Everywhere, orthodox teachings have gradually gained the upper hand. Unfortunately, this process and its causes have hitherto eluded historical research. Accordingly, it comes as something of a surprise to see that in the middle of the twentieth eentury numerous organizations of a more or less esoteric (*kebatinan*) nature flourish, several of them adorned by names of famous mystical brotherhoods, that seem to attract quite a few urban intellectuals.

A few minor special features remain to be listed.

First and quite interestingly, there are few locally scattered indications of S̲h̲īʿi influence; Ḥasan-Ḥusayn celebrations, for all practical purposes in no regular relationship to S̲h̲īʿi doctrine, occur in certain places in the Menangkabau area, West Sumatra, which owing to its matriarchical pattern of customary law has seen several events in which Islamic doctrine played a rather exposed role.

Another feature, rather specifically central Javanese, is the so-called *wong putihan*, or "white (in the sense of pious) person". Relatively few in numbers, these people are notable and indeed conspicuous by their devotion to (orthodox) Islam: they tend to congregate in the neighbourhood of a mosque.

After this listing of more or less traditional features of Indonesian Islam it is necessary to consider recent and contemporary developments.

The gradually increasing efficacy of colonial rule had its consequences. For example, the relative importance of the various centres of diffusion of Islam were affected by the circumstances that Dutch commercial and political action transferred the centre of operations in the archipelago to Java, with the hitherto relatively unimportant port of Jakarta (Batavia) as the key point. Again, the response to Dutch expansion, becoming manifest off and on as resistance in various forms (including occasional violence, for example the war against Dipo Negoro in Java, 1825-30), tended to assume Muslim character. The very polarization between Dutch impact and continuing Indonesian identity enhanced a response in terms of Islamic identification on the Indonesian side. This tendency becomes more predominant around the beginning of the 20th century, in two forms. The earlier one is more or less forcible resistance, often in the name of Islam. The later one, to be mentioned below, is political organization, usually with its primary goals stated in terms other than resistance, again often in the name of Islam. In the latter case, Islam tends to become instrumental, a legitimation for a nationalism that may or may not articulate itself in Islamic terms.

The turning-point was, in a sense, the period of enlightenment in colonial policy, which was at the same time the period of moie or less forcible introduction of effective Netherlands-Indies administration in parts of the archipelago hitherto not really controlled. Most notable for its expressly Muslim resistance was the so-called Atjèh war of 1873-1904. This is also the period during which the Netherlands Indies authorities, guided by the famous orientalist and islamologist C. Snouck Hurgronje, adopted a new policy. Its aim was, in the last resort, to promote effective Dutch rule by removing Islamic motives for resistance; or, to express it more crudely, to rule effectively notwithstanding the potential or actual adverse implications, for such rule, of the fact that so many Indonesians identify as Muslims.

During roughly the same period, Indonesian Islam shows a variety of tendencies, as is to be expected in times of turbulence.

To begin with, Indonesia has seen the reflexion of the so-called reformist or modernist tendencies in the heartlands of Islam, even though no Indonesian thinkers have arisen who could be compared with modernistic Muslim leaders in an area like the Indian subcontinent. It has even seen its own variant of the breach between the two components of this tendency: one ending up in the rationalism of a Muslim assertion of a predominantly political nature, the other in a most typically Indonesian variant of fundamentalism entrenched in local chauvinism. The former trend will be discussed in more detail below. The latter, somewhat belated in its effective manifestation, appeared after the end of the Japanese occupation, first in the remote mountains near the South coast between Central and Western Java in the form of a small, entrenched state, the *Negara Dār ul-Islām* founded by Kartosuwiryo in 1948 (suppressed in 1962), and then also as a militant movement in areas like Southern Celebes and Kalimantan (1949). It was subdued, but not necessarily eliminated so far as its true inspiration goes, by the Indonesian state.

In the second place, a range of moie or less sectarian movements and organizations appeared. These were inadequately studied at the time. A common trait seems to be that if they strive for the reassertion of the Islamic identity, this does not so much aim at determining the full round of life but rather at providing adequate shelter under adverse circumstances. Some of this sectarianism is imported from elsequere in the world of Islam. Wahhābism see WAHHĀBIYYA], a forerunner here as everywhere else, had made its influence felt in Sumatra and also in Java already by the end of the 12th/18th century. The Indian sect of the Aḥmadiyya [*q.v.*] maintained missionaries in Indonesia for a number of years before and after the Japanese occupation; but it

does not appear to have reached more than a handful of more or less marginal individuals, mostly in towns. Not unlike the Aḥmadiyya in their basic inspiration, various sects have emerged on Indonesian soil in the course of time, each representing some syncretistic attempt to harmonize elements from various sources (old-Indonesian pagan, Hindu-Buddhist, Christian, Muslim) into religious-philosophical teachings, not without mystical or even magical (invulnerability!) elements, to satisfy thirsty souls. The contemporary *kebatinan* movements have been mentioned. Some parts of Indonesia are clearly more fertile in this respect than others; at all times the appeal of sects of this kind is mostly local. It is not unusual to find the leaders of such sects described as *kyahi*, the word that, as stated, also serves as the Indonesian translation of *ʿālim*, scholar in the sciences of Islam.

In the third place, there is the phenomenon, already alluded to, of Islam serving as an ideological support for political action. This places Islam in a somewhat odd context, namely as one out of three main competing bases for the political self-assertion that nationalism purports to achieve. Another is Marxism, whether in the strict (Russian or Chinese) communist form or in more diluted, socialist-revisionist presentations. The third is nationalism pure and simple, which assumes the goals of national self-assertion as against Western domination to be a sufficient ideology in its own right: in the last resort, a kind of anti-ideology, as represented, for example, in Sukarno's ideal of the ongoing revolution. In this connection, a source of confusion exists in the circumstance that Islam as an ideology is not necessarily restricted to one of the three basic positions, but will in fact tend to permeate each of the others as well, if only to an unclear yet limited extent. The point is that whilst the three formulae are mutually exclusive, and thus fiercely competitive, they are at the same time necessarily comprehensive, in the sense that each must make a point of embracing any of the specific features of the others, lest it forfeit public appeal. After all, each is, by its own standards, the movement that embodies the entire nation in its effort to reassert itself. Indeed, before independence they were for all practical purposes one and undistinguishable.

The actual manifestation, during the four decades prior to World War II, of the three tendencies just described, has been greatly influenced by the adoption of Western organizational patterns and communication devices. This is the period of emerging Muslim organizations of many different kinds. Sometimes (as in the case of most sects) they are regionally confined; but not seldom they aim at, and achieve, a nation-wide scope.

The first properly Indonesian association, a Javanese one with mainly educational purposes, was founded in 1908. It was followed in 1911 by the first typically Muslim organization, *Sarekat Dagang Islam*, later *Sarekat Islam*. Conceived as an organization of (small) traders, it was initially economic rather than political, and anti-Chinese rather than anti-Dutch. Within five years it was perhaps still to some extent religiously determined and *kyahi*-influenced: but to all intents and purposes it had become a political party of a clearly nationalist character.

The year 1912 saw the establishment of a somewhat different organization, the Muḥammadiyya. Guided by such men as K. H. Dahlan, it represented an attempt to spread amongst Indonesian Muslims the modernism then fashionable in Egypt and India. Given the Indonesian setting, this movement was perhaps somewhat more orthodox-puritanical than similar organizations elsewhere, and also somewhat more concerned with education. Significantly, these and other organizations tended to operate a number of subsidiaries, through which to reach special categories of people, such as women and youth.

A third Islamic organization emerged in 1926, under the name of *Nahdat ul-ʿUlamāʾ*. It was meant to serve as a stronghold of more traditionalist orthodox ideas as upheld by the great majority of established scholars. But whilst competing for public support with the other two and whilst unable to avoid acquiring political significance, it was prevented from becoming fundamentalist in the same way as, much later, the *Dār ul-Islām* movement did.

Among the three organizations, as also in connexion with other political organizations, a pattern of unsteady and not always easy relationships developed; the mounting significance of nationalism tended to make for a special kind of unity, effective specifically as against the impact of Dutch colonial rule. Together, these organizations have succeeded in galvanizing the highly varied Indonesian population into an emergent nation, and one that in asserting itself in response to colonialism, however developmentally oriented that might be, acted in certain respects as more uniformly Muslim. On the other hand, the simultaneous existence of important non-Muslim parties and organizations proves that there were limits to political unity in the name of Islam.

A shift in organizational alignment occurred in 1937, with the Muḥammadiyya and the Nahdat ul-ʿUlamāʾ jointly creating the *Majlis ul-Islām il-Aʿlā Indonesia* (MIAI), the Supreme Islamic Council of Indonesia. This competed with the third organization, then called *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia*, until their merger in 1939. But in 1938 a new *Partai Islam Indonesia* had been created, formed to some extent from the earlier *Jong Islamieten Bond* (Young Muslims' Association).

The Japanese interlude, 1942-5, had a double significance for Indonesian Islam. Envisaged in the long run, it hastened decolonization in a manner entirely unconnected with Japanese intentions. Seen in the short run, it brought a critical change in Islamic policy on the part of the ruling authorities; and the change was not quite the same in Java as it was in the other parts of the country.

The Islamic policy of the Japanese forces was a relatively well-prepared two-pronged attempt to solve two problems at once: to nip any Muslim opposition in the bud, and to obtain if possible public allegiance through making Muslim leaders of public opinion rally to the Japanese cause. A specially trained Japanese staff was in charge. On the one hand the existing organizations were abolished and a series of efforts made to replace them by one comprehensive organization that would abide by Japanese instructions. On the other hand, the *kyahi* category were made into special targets of opinion-control. This went to the extent of making them attend special courses. In order to support the activities concerned, a network of offices was maintained throughout the area, as a kind of perverted development from the one Office for Indigenous Affairs that the Dutch had maintained previously. Notwithstanding all this, there was an element of wavering on basic issues in the Japanese Islamic policy that only strengthened the urge of Indonesian Muslims to assert themselves regardless of outside pressures, and that did nothing to help them articulate this urge.

The end of the Japanese occupation, in August 1945, ushered in Indonesian independence, in two stages. The emergency declaration of independence of 17 August [see DUSTUR, p. 665] resulted in an Indonesian Republic, really effective in part of Java only, vying with Dutch attempts to set Indonesia on its feet again according to a new formula. Sovereignty was officially transferred in 1949, to the Indonesian state. During the intermediary stage, the two claimants for authority were equally preoccupied with soliciting the allegiance of Muslims; and in the process Muslims were largely left to their own devices in their attempts to overcome the disruptive effects of Japanese-imposed organization and ideas.

Since independence, Indonesian Islam has played mainly two roles in public life. On the one hand, it is one of the main tributaries to the national identity and indeed to national ideology. The *Pantja Sila*, the five-point national doctrine, has been carefully phrased so as to allow Muslims to recognize it as theirs, without alienating non-Muslims. One of the five points is the recognition of the overlordship of the Almighty. Yet as an ideological creed it stands for a nationalist ideology, which is in the last resort competitive with Islamic ideology and which as such is a rallying point for Christian and other groups. All this is reflected at the more institutional plane. Insofar as independent Indonesia had to have its own Islamic policy, and one necessarily different from both the Dutch and the Japanese policies, it manifested itself as part of the activities of the newly installed Ministry of Religion. Intended to cater for the needs of any religious community, this ministry has inevitably acquired a strong Muslim imprint, and this with a *kyahi* shading.

On the other hand, Islam has become one of the three major political forces in the country, in the sense that it has proved possible to use people's identification as Muslims as a means to rally them around certain political causes, not necessarily of a clearly or exclusively Islamic nature. This is sometimes explained as an after-effect of denominationalism in the Dutch political party system; but the true explanation may well lie in the traditional role of Islam in the framework of Indonesian self-identification. A significant occurrence in this connexion is the Piagam Djakarta of June 1945, a kind of preliminary document to the constitution, in which mention is made of Islamic law as having to be applied to all Indonesian Muslims. As a political force Islam finds itself competing with two other forces already mentioned, namely Communism and ideological nationalism. Under these conditions there does not appear to exist an immediate urge for Muslim leaders to elaborate and expound relatively novel ideas of an explicitly and consistently Islamic nature. In effect, the pre-war pattern of more or less exclusively political organizations of Muslims has returned, with names somewhat modified—this also due to Japanese interference—and still with the same unstable mutual relationships.

The Mashumi (*Majlis Shuro Muslimin Indonesia*), the Japanese replacement for MIAI, was at first reorganized into *Partai Politik Islam Indonesia* [see ḤIZB, p. 534], and as such considered itself the one and only political organization of Muslims. But it did not long remain so. The *Partai Sharikat Islam Indonesia* once again came back, thus upholding a record of vitality dating back to 1912 and unhampered by earlier defections (1923, 1932, 1936, 1938). As a more or less local organization for Menangkabau (Sumatra), there emerged the *Partai Islam "Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah"*. In 1952, the *Nahdat al-ʿUlamāʾ* broke away from the Mashumi and established itself as an independent party, thus resuming a tradition begun in 1926. Under the political pressures of the day, the Mashumi and PSII were suppressed and an attempt at a reunification of the remaining organizations was made in 1959. After the end of the Sukarno régime, yet another Islamic party emerged in 1967, the *Partai Muslimin Indonesia*. The similarity of political platforms as between these several parties is such that it is not really clear which could be identified as fundamentalist and which as more or less "modernist". Each and every one figures primarily as the political organ of all the Muslims of the country, with a degree of mutual competition as the inevitable result.

Under the circumstances, yet another dimension of Islamic life demands attention. This is the need for the consciously pious individual Muslim to envisage, and accordingly to mould, life on the socio-economic and political plane in accordance with the teachings of Islam. So far, some of this need finds expression (but hardly any effectuation) in the *kebatinan* movements already mentioned. But political parties and other available institutional forms seem hardly equipped to satisfy it.

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(C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE)

vi.—LITERATURES

In the vast area of the Indonesian archipelago, where more than two hundred languages are spoken, we find as is only natural various literatures. Insofar as these languages are spoken by Muslims (some parts of the archipelago were not islamized) the literatures of these languages underwent, some to a greater, others to a lesser extent, the influences of Islam. This influence is two-fold: on the one hand Islam caused much of the older literature, in particular religious works, to disappear; on the other hand it enriched these literatures by substituting new genres and new works for those that fell into oblivion, and by adding to the literature that already existed.

In this article we confine ourselves to those aspects of Indonesian literature that bear on Islam. The influence of Islam on the literatures of Indonesia is predominantly an influence of Islam as a religion. Its main features are translations, reworkings and adaptations from Arabic and Persian works written with a view to educating and for purposes of edification: textbooks of Arabic, grammars, translations

of the Ḳur'ān, commentaries, sacred history, philosophical treatises and religious tracts, works dealing with theology, law and mysticism, in short with any aspect of Islamic spiritual life. The *adab*-literature, an important element in the civilization of Islam, poetry and belles-lettres in general, is rather poorly represented compared to the mass of purely religious works; works dealing with Islamic sciences, technical works and works on geography and Islamic history are virtually non-existent or found in a very few instances only.

Notwithstanding the great and visible impact of Islam on Southeast Asia, the influence of Islam was a limited one and remained confined mainly to the sphere of religion. This can easily be explained from the fact that the Indonesian archipelago was situated on, or even outside, the periphery of the civilization of Islam. Moreover, seen in a historical perspective, Islam came late to Southeast Asia and the process of islamization stretched over several centuries; it is, in fact, still continuing at the present day.

For a long time, from the 7th/13th century until well into the 11th/17th century, contacts between Indonesia and Arabia were difficult and few. The majority of those who undertook the long and dangerous voyage to the great centres of Islamic spiritual and cultural life did so in order to perform the Pilgrimage, often combining it with a visit to other holy places. Quite a few, however, stayed on in Arabia for a longer period, sometimes for several years, in order to deepen their knowledge of religion. The works which they studied, copied and later brought with them to their country of origin, were almost exclusively textbooks of religion.

Another factor of great importance was the trade within Asia. This trade made it necessary for many foreign merchants—Arabs, Persians and in particular traders from the mercantile ports of the Indian subcontinent—to settle in the archipelago, and it may be assumed that besides bringing their commodities, they also brought cultural goods, among them literary works such as stories and romances which were adapted or translated into Malay and so found their way all over the archipelago. The harbour cities were centres of radiation of this international culture. They had had from of old an international character with a very mixed population. The majority of those participating in the inter-Asiatic trade were bilingual or even spoke more than two languages, and this considerably facilitated the adaptation, translation and diffusion of products of Islamic literature in the archipelago.

The medium which was made use of by Islam for the spread of the faith was the Malay language. Although data about the history of Malay are rather scant, it may be assumed that already before the coming of Islam to the archipelago this language was the common vehicle for interinsular intercourse. The new task assigned to it has left many traces in the Malay language. Not only did the vocabulary become enriched with a great number of Arabic words and terms, but also Malay syntax underwent the influence of Arabic, and moreover (but this is perhaps a development which had already set in a long time before) the Malay language, seen from the viewpoint of morphology, underwent a process of simplification, and this in turn eventually led to the development of Malay into Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. For a long time the original Indian-Indonesian script remained in use side by side with an Arabo-Persian script which had been adapted to the needs of Malay orthography, but in the end first became superceded by the latter. It can quite properly be said that Malay literature, unlike, *e.g.*, Javanese literature, is in fact an Islamic literature. And it is through this Malay Islamic literature that Islam penetrated into the other languages and literatures of the archipelago to the extent that the speakers of these languages had embraced Islam.

The majority of Malay literary products (and the same is valid for the other languages of the archipelago, too) is anonymous, *i.e.*, generally names of authors and editors are not known, and literary works cannot be dated, *i.e.*, it is not possible to establish with any degree of certainty the year or sometimes even the period when they were written. This, of course, is a serious disadvantage, which makes it extremely difficult to write a history of Malay literature in which past developments are shown. Therefore, the most satisfactory method for the time being is to divide such products of Malay literature as developed under Islamic influence into a set of categories. Many, if not all, of the titles mentioned below are also found in other languages of the archipelago, such as Achehnese, Javanese, Sundanese, Macassarese, Buginese, etc.

The following groups are to be distinguished:

(1) Ḳur'ānic tales, or tales about prophets and other persons whose names are mentioned in the Ḳur'ān. Some of these works are compilations dealing with all prophets (*Hikajat anbia*), others contain the story of individual prophets (*Hikajat Jusuf, H. Nabi Musa munadjat, H. Wasijjat Lukman al-Hakim, H. Zakarija, H. Radja Firaun*, and so on). On the one hand these tales have an edifying character, on the other hand they are intended to complement and explain certain stories found in the Ḳur'ān and as such they serve as a commentary on the Ḳur'ān, not primarily in the theological sense of the word but rather with a view to adding to historical and general knowledge. The subject matter and contents of these tales generally agree with Arabic tradition as found in such great commentaries on the Ḳur'ān as that of al-Bayḍāwī or that of al-Dj̲alālayn and in the *Kitāb Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* of al-Kisā'ī. These tales were extremely popular, as was the *Hikajat Radja Djumdjumah*, containing the discussion between Nabī ʿĪsā and a skull of an infidel king on the various punishments in hell.

(2) The second group consists of tales about the prophet Muḥammad himself. The subject matter is, of course, derived from Arabia but reached the archipelago through Persian versions. They contain tales about his life, about what happened before his birth, various legends about his birth, episodes from his life and tales about his miracles. Widely known is the *Hikajat Nur*, with a strongly mystical tenor, about the mystical principle of Light inherent in prophets from before creation and their essential characteristic. This mystical principle of Light is a starting-point for various mystical speculations. The *Hikajat Nur* is also the opening chapter of a number of manuscripts of the *Hikajat Muhammad Hanafijjah* (see below). Very popular was also the *Hikajat Nabi bertjukur*, about the shaving of the Prophet's head by the archangel Dj̲abra'īl. The number of manuscripts of this text is fairly large, and moreover it was several times printed. Reading this text was considered to give protection from various disasters and illnesses and to be a guarantee for giving the correct answer to the questions of the angels of the grave, Munkar and Nakīr. Numerous also are

manuscripts of the *Hikajat Nabi mi'radj*, about Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, a tale found in various versions. Of a different kind again are tales like the *Hikajat Nabi mengadjar anaknja Fatimah* (Teachings of the Prophet to his daughter Fāṭima), a kind of Mirror for Women, about the duties of a wife towards her husband, and the *Hikajat Nabi mengadjar Ali* (Teachings of the Prophet to ʿAlī), which is of a mystical character on the four stages of the mystical path, *sharīʿa, ṭarīḳa, ḥaḳīḳa* and *maʿrifa*. On the miracles of the Prophet we find texts like *Hikajat bulan berbelah*, which contains the well-known story of Muḥammad splitting the moon. Edifying and exhorting the reader to a life of piety are among other texts the *Hikajat Iblis dan Nabi Muhammad*, containing a discourse between the Prophet and Iblīs; *Hikajat tatkala Rasul Allah memberi sedekah kepada seorang derwisj* (the tale of how the Prophet of God gave alms to a dervish), and *Hikajat Nabi dan orang miskin* (the Prophet and the poor man), the last two containing an appeal for generosity towards the poor. In an enumeration of tales about the Prophet mention must be made of the *Hikajat wafat Nabi* (The Prophet's death), reworked from Persian, and the *Hikajat Mulud* (*maulud, maulid*), commemorating the Prophet's birth. Widely known both in the past and in modern times is the *Mulud berdjandji* (a popular etymology of *Barzandji*, the name of the original author, an Indian), a liturgical text recited on the occasion of the birthday of Muḥammad. In addition, mention must be made in this connexion of the wellknown and very popular *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī, sometimes with interlinear Malay translation.

(3) The third group of tales consists of those devoted to persons who lived at the time of Muḥammad, both *ṣaḥāba* and others, opponents of the Prophet. In the first place we must mention the *Hikajat Radja Khandak* (*Hindik, Unduk*, from Arabic *khandaḳ*, moat), containing a very romanticized story of the War of the Ditch, the contents of which considerably deviate from the facts of history. The Arabic word for moat (*khandaḳ*) has become a personal name in this tale. The same is the case with the place-name *Badr*, which became the personal name of Radja Khandak's son. Radja Khandak is defeated by ʿAlī, who in this tale also enters into battle with a *Radja* (= king) *Ifrit* and a *Radja Feringgi*, *i.e.*, king of the Franks. Other tales of this kind are the *Hikajat Radja Khaibar* and the *Hikajat Radja Pandita Raghib*, whose historical basis is Muḥammad's conquest of Khaybar, but the name Khaybar is the only link relating these tales to history. These tales are romanticized stories of a very fantastical nature, which in every respect deviate from Arabic historical tradition. They must have originated in the archipelago. This is also the case with the *Hikajat Samaʿun*. The main characters of the *Hikajat Samaʿun* are Māriya the Copt and Samāʿūn. The latter is introduced as a son of the famous army commander Khālid b. al-Walīd of the early conquests of Islam. Of this tale there is even an Arabic version which also must have originated in the archipelago, translated into Arabic by a non-native speaker of the language. In addition, mention must be made of the *Hikajat Tamim al-Dari*, also very fantastic, containing the adventurous life story of the person of this name who, originally a Christian, embraced Islam during the lifetime of Muḥammad. There exists an Arabic version of this story, but the Malay tale apparently goes back to a Persian-Indian version.

The last group of tales to be considered in the frame-work of tales about persons around the Prophet are those of which ʿAlī, Fāṭima, their children Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and their stepbrother Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya are the main characters. About the last mentioned there exists a famous romance, or perhaps better "epic tale", the *Hikajat Muhammad Hanafijjah*, also known under the title of *Hikajat Ali Hanafijjah*. The majority of manuscripts of this text commence with the tale of the *Nūr al-nubuwwa*, and then pass on to a description of what happened to the main character, who here in this tale contrary to historical fact is victorious over Yazīd, but at the end withdraws into seclusion and lives on as a kind of hidden *imām* who will reappear to his followers in due time. This *hikajat* goes without a doubt back to a Persian original. Reminiscent of the martyrdom of Ḥusayn is the *Hikajat Tabut* (The Coffin), so named after the coffin which used to be carried round in procession at Padang and Bencoolen in former days. In this tale Shīʿī influence is obvious, but is probably due to Indian troops stationed there during the British interregnum.

(4) An important and interesting group of tales are those dealing with the heroes of Islam. Without going into details we mention here a few titles only: the *Hikajat Iskandar Dhu 'l-Karnain*, the tale of Alexander the Great, which is also found in numerous other languages outside Indonesia. The Malay tale is probably a translation of a harmonized Arabic-Persian version; the *Hikajat Amir Hamzah*, in Malay reworked after a Persian original, too, but with Malay extensions; the *Hikajat Saif Dhu 'l-Jazan*, on the half-legendary, half-historical pre-Islamic ruler of South Arabia, translated from Arabic; and finally, the various versions of the *Hikajat Sultan Ibrahim ibn Adham*, the renowned saint so highly regarded in Islamic tradition.

(5) A very copious group consists of the theological works in the stricter sense of the word. This literature can perhaps best be characterized with the name "*kitab*-literature", religious and juridical works and treatises bearing on the three-fold Islamic "knowledge", namely *ʿilm al-kalām, ʿilm al-fiḳh* and *ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*, together with the disciplines pertaining to it. As a transition between the groups already mentioned above and this *kitab*-literature may perhaps be considered the *Hikajat* (or *kitab*) *Seribu Masa'alah* (The Book of the Thousand Questions), well-known in world-literature and (together with the Ḳur'ān) among the first works in Arabic which already at an early stage were translated into various European languages. In the Indonesian archipelago, too, this work found many readers. Besides the redaction in prose, at least one versified version is known to exist. It contains the tale of the Jewish scholar ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām of Khaybar who put a number of questions to Muḥammad (cosmological and eschatological questions, questions about heaven and hell, and questions pertaining to secular, *i.e.*, non-revealed, knowledge) and who embraced Islam when the Prophet was able to answer his questions in a satisfactory way.

This *kitab*-literature is very extensive. In fact, it is a technical literature, written for and studied by a certain group, the religiously minded and in particular the theologians and the teachers of religion. The language is Malay, but a Malay which is characterized by a multitude of technical terms and shows the influence of Arabic both in syntax and in vocabulary. It is this genre of literature that has exercised a considerable influence on the Malay

language. The greater part of this literature was reworked and translated from Arabic, in several cases in Mecca and Medina, by people from Indonesia for the benefit of those of their compatriots at home who had no knowledge of Arabic. The author's and translators' names of a number of works of this kind are known, and it is here that Malay literature somewhat loses its characteristic anonymity. In accordance with Arabic custom these authors used to add to their names a word indicating their place of origin, so that their names are followed by such words as *al-Palimbānī, al-Bandjārī, al-Samaṭrā'ī, al-Fanṣūrī, al-Būnī, al-Makasārī, al-Kalantānī, al-Faṭānī*, and so on. The subject-matter treated in this *kitab*-literature shows a great variety, comprising in effect all aspects of Islam as a religion: the *Ḳur'ān, tafsīr, tadjwīd, ḥadīth, arkān al-Islām, fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* in the widest sense of the word. Some of them are voluminous compilations, others are small and deal with one special subject only, such as prayer, marriage or certain aspects of the law of inheritance. Numerous, too, are works dealing with mystical knowledge (*ilmu sufi, ilmu tasawwuf*), *ṣūfī* orders, treatises on *dhikr*, collections of litanies (*rawātib*) and *primbons*, books of notes on various subjects. Then there are collections of prayers (*du'ā'*). A special group is formed by collections of *djimats* (from Arabic *'aẓīma*), small booklets containing prayers and charms, often written in a very corrupt Arabic, which serve as a means of protection from the machinations of enemies and as a cure for illnesses.

During the 11th/17th century, in the flourishing period of the Sultanate of Atjèh in the North of Sumatra, we meet with four outstanding religious leaders whose influence was felt all over the Indonesian archipelago for a long time afterwards, namely Ḥamza Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī. The Achinese court played a prominent role in the development of the Malay religious literature of the 11th/17th century. At that time there flourished in Acheh a heterodox mysticism based on the doctrine of the seven grades of being (Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī), known under the name of *Wudjūdiyya*. Ḥamza Fanṣūrī [*q.v.*] is famous on account of his mystical *sjairs* (a genre of Malay poetry with rhyme-scheme a-a-a-a/b-b-b-b) of great lyrical power and outstanding literary value in Malay literature, such as the *Sjair dagang* (the Poem of the Wanderer), *Sjair burung pingai* (the Poem of the *pingai* Bird) and *Sjair perahu* (the Poem of the Ship). In addition, he has a number of prose-works to his name, *e.g.*, the *Sharāb al-'āshiḳīn*, consisting of seven chapters, the first four dealing with the four stages of the mystical path (*sharī'a, ṭarīḳa, ḥaḳīḳa* and *ma'rifa*), the two following chapters on the Being (*wudjūd*) and Attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God, and the last chapter on *berahi dan sjukur, i.e.*, mystical enthusiasm; another prose-work ascribed to him is entitled *Asrār al-'ārifīn fī bayān 'ilm al-sulūk wa 'l-tawḥīd*, which also is a mystical work. Commentaries on several of Ḥamza's works were written by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī, known also under the name of Shams al-Dīn of Pasai. Shams al-Dīn, who died in 1039/1630, also wrote several works, but there is some doubt whether all the works ascribed to him are really his. Some of his works are in Arabic, *e.g.*, *Djawhar al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, some in Arabic and Malay, *e.g.*, *Nūr al-daḳā'iḳ*, others in Malay, *e.g.*, *Mir'at al-mu'min*, an orthodox catechism in questions and answers.

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658 in India) was (as is indicated by his *nisba*) born in Rānīr (modern Rander) in India and therefore was not a Malay. He was a prolific writer, who during his comparatively brief stay in Atjèh (1047/1637-1054/1644) wrote a great number of works, some of them voluminous, both in Arabic and in Malay. Some of his works were written outside the Indonesian archipelago. He was an orthodox *shaykh*, who took great pains in his works to attack the mystical school of Ḥamza Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn and their followers. Among his polemical works directed against the *wudjūdiyya* are the *Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān*, consisting of two *bābs*, one dealing with the various religions from Nabī 'Īsā until Muḥammad, the other about the variant tenets adhered to by the religious schools; and in particular his *Ḥudjdjat al-ṣiddīḳ li daf' al-zindīḳ*; further *Ḥall al-ẓill* and *Shifā' al-ḳulūb*. Widely known and still read today is his *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaḳīm* (*sic*: the first article is dropped according to Indonesian usage), a translation from Arabic, and his voluminous *Akhbār al-ākhira fī aḥwāl al-ḳiyāma*, a treatise on eschatology and after-life, compiled from various Arabic sources. The last book begun by al-Rānīrī but left uncompleted owing to his departure from Atjèh was *Djawāhir al-'ulūm fī kashf al-ma'lūm*. It was completed by one of his students. It is an important work, in which al-Rānīrī gives a detailed and systematic account of his theological views. For his large encyclopaedic work, *Bustān al-salāṭīn*, see below.

'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel, after his death known in Atjèh under the name of Teungku di Kuala (he presumably died about the beginning of the 12th/end of the 17th century) studied in Arabia for 19 years, amongst others with Aḥmad al-Ḳushashī and Mawlā Ibrāhīm. After obtaining the *idjāza* from the latter, he returned to Atjèh where he introduced the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīḳa*, which was very popular in Indonesia for a long time. (The Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīḳa*, however, also reached the Indonesian archipelago through other channels independently of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf). His best-known work, *'Umdat al-muḥtādjīn ilā sulūk maslak al-mufradīn*, is a textbook of practical mysticism giving detailed information about the methods of *dhikr* and containing litanies (*rawātib*), formulas to be used, instruction on how to control breathing, etc., illustrated with figures, *daerahs*, to explain certain mystical truths. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, too, was a prolific writer. Mention should be made here of his translation of parts of the Ḳur'ān commentary of al-Bayḍāwī, which, in editions printed in Egypt, is still used in Sumatra and Malaya today. For further titles we refer to Voorhoeve's article listed in the Bibliography.

Besides works on mysticism as mentioned above, there exists a great mass of orthodox literature which can only be mentioned here. Widely read was, *e.g.*, *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, a work of al-Ghazālī translated into Malay with additions of his own by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, who also edited the fourth book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in Malay under the title of *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā 'ibādat Rabb al-'ālamīn*. Both works were written by 'Abd al-Ṣamad while he was in Arabia. Of the numerous catechisms, mention may be made of the popular *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī*, of which there are a great many manuscripts and which, moreover, was printed several times.

Closely related to religious literature are the so-called *risalats* and *wasiats* (from Arabic *waṣiyya*) which appeared from time to time in the wake of disturbances or catastrophic events like floods and

earthquakes. The purpose of these writings was to admonish people to atone for their sins and to return to a pious life. The form as a rule is traditional, the author relating how the prophet appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to convey such and such a message to his, *i.e.*, Muḥammad's community.

Finally, mention must be made of two genres which are a good illustration of certain aspects of Indonesian popular Islam and popular beliefs, namely the *kitāb ṭibb* and the tales about saints and founders of *tarikats*. The *kitāb ṭibb* do indeed contain medical prescriptions, but on the other hand they have a markedly magic character because recitation of prayers (*duʿāʾ*) or incantations and formulas, among them verses of the Ḳurʾān, for a certain number of times are considered an important expedient for curing illnesses. Another means of healing is, *e.g.*, by making various calculations based upon the numerical value of the Arabic letters of the name of the patient. The tales about prominent religious teachers and saintly persons of bygone times and of founders of *tarikats* are not strictly biographies but rather stories in which all kinds of miraculous deeds performed by the main characters are related. The miracles stand as proofs of the sanctity of their performers. These tales, legends of the saints, are composed for edifying purposes. Examples are *Hikajat Sjaich Abd al-Kadir al-Djilani* (Ar. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲īlānī) and *Hikajat Sjaich Muhammad Samman.*

As for belles-lettres, in the first place mention must be made of two important texts, both written for Achehnese Sultans in the first half of the 11th/17th century. The first is *Tād̲j̲ al-salāṭīn*, about whose author, named Buk̲h̲ārī D̲j̲ohorī (or D̲j̲awharī), nothing is known. This text, a Mirror for Princes, was written in 1012/1603, without a doubt after Persian originals. The second is the *Bustān al-salāṭīn* of al-Rānīrī, dated 1047/1638, an encyclopaedic work and a compendium of Islamic knowledge with a special chapter on the history of the Achehnese Sultanate and the genealogy of its Sultans. Besides these, there are a great number of romances, both in prose and in poetry. These works, mostly dating from a later period, namely from the 12th/18th century and in particular from the 13th/19th century, are very loosely connected with Islam, only the motifs and the subject matter being derived from international Islamic literature, their surroundings being set in the central lands of Islam. A few titles may suffice: (poetry) *Sjair Tadj al-muluk, Sjair Sitti Zubaidah, Sjair hikajat Radja Damsjik*, and (prose) *Hikajat Komala Bahrain, Hikajat Shahi Mardan* (= *Hikajat Bikrama Ditja Djaja*), *Hikajat Ahmad Muhammad, Hikajat Djauhar Manikam, Hikajat Abd al-Rahman dan Abd al-Rahim, Hikajat Radja Damsjik, Hikajat Tawaddud*, and many others.

Of the literatures of Achehnese, Macassarese and Buginese (Macassarese and Buginese have, like Javanese, been able to maintain their original scripts), the same can be said as has been said of Malay literature, although the Islamic literature in these languages is more restricted so far as numbers of titles is concerned; but on the other hand, in addition to the works in these languages, there was a wide circulation of works in Malay. For details the reader is referred to the catalogues listed in the Bibliography.

As regards Javanese literature, here too we find essentially the same pattern as in Malay literature: textbooks of Arabic, translations and commentaries of the Ḳurʾān, works dealing with the sacred history of Islam, tales of Muḥammad and the prophets before him, of the heroes of Islam, and so on. The majority of these works consist of translations from Malay, and are, like their Malay originals, anonymous. One characteristic of the Javanese translations and reworkings is that they have been expanded and as a rule, in accordance with Javanese literary taste, have been versified. The story of Ḥamza has here grown into a voluminous and very popular cycle, the "Mėnak". Special mention, too, must be made of the tale of Yūsuf, which has become extremely popular in Java and Madura. In almost all cases it is written in Javanese script on palm-leaves (*lontar*). A well-known orthodox theologian in Java and author of several works which were widely studied was Ahmad Ripangi (= Rifāʿī) of Kali Salak, Pekalongan.

According to Javanese historical tradition, Islam was introduced in Java in the 9th/15th century by the *walīs*, saintly persons of great spiritual power, usually nine in number. They may be considered as culture heroes; it is believed that they also invented the *wayang*, the Javanese shadow-play, and the *gamelan*, the well-known Javanese musical instrument. These *walīs* preached a heterodox mystical doctrine of the relation between the Creator and the creature and of the unity of being. This doctrine is expressed in anonymous mystical songs, called *suluks*. A very few only of these *suluks* were perhaps written by *walīs*, the majority are of a later date. Some of them are brief songs explaining mystical concepts, sometimes in the form of questions of a student to his teacher, of a son to his father or of a wife to her husband, together with the answers. The language is often cryptic. Some of them are very lyrical—which is exceptional in Javanese literature. Their wide circulation all over Java is apparently due to wandering students travelling from one *kiahi* (spiritual leader) to another. The voluminous romanticized cycles of tales like *Tjabolang, Tjentini* and *Djatiswara* are likely to have developed round *suluks* of the same name. They are conceived as travel stories in which the main characters travel about in search of each other; in places of rest, often the homes of famous spiritual teachers (*kiahis*), discussions are held on almost any subject, ranging from the most trivial to the loftiest, among which figure very profound religious and philosophical speculations.

The Arabic script failed to supersede the Javanese script, although specifically religious works were written in Javanese in an (adapted) Arabic script, the so-called *pėgon.*

Besides the indigenous literatures, there existed a vast literature in Arabic imported from abroad. This Arabic literature is represented in a great number of manuscripts. The Museum Pusat (formerly the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences) in Jakarta is one of the libraries which possess a large collection of these texts. Other manuscripts of this kind are preserved in the Leiden University Library, mainly derived from the collection of Professor Snouck Hurgronje. The following categories can be distinguished: Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, theology, law, sacred history of Islam and biographies, philology, and (although very few in number only) poetry and tales. For details the reader is referred to the catalogues.

Modern developments in Islam have left practically no visible traces in Indonesian and Malay literature. It is a secular literature although there are, of course, such authors as Hamka (Hadji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), an Indonesian writer of Sumatran origin, who bear a markedly Islamic stamp.

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(R. Roolvink)

INDUS [see mihrān, pandjāb, sind].

INDUSTRY [see ṣināʿa].

INEBAKHTĪ [see ʿaynabakhtī].

INFIʿĀL [see fiʿl].

INFIDEL [see kāfir].

INFISĀKH [see faskh].

INFIṢĀL [see waṣl].

INGUSH, a Muslim people belonging to the central group (*veynakh*) of the Ibero-caucasian linguistic family of the northern Caucasus. Čečen, Batzbi and Kistin are languages belonging to the same group.

The name Ingush comes from the *Aul Angush*, founded in the foot-hills of the Caucasus in the 17th century. The term was first used by the Kabards [*q.v.*], then by the Russians. The indigenous name is *Galgay*, which is the name of one of the most important Ingush tribes, or *Lamur* (= "Mountaineers").

The Ingush live in the western districts of the present-day Čečeno-Ingush Autonomous Republic, mainly in the upper and intermediate valleys of the Terek and the Sunja and their tributaries, between the Čečens [*q.v.*] to the east and the Kabards to the west.

Very little is known of the history of the Ingush tribes before the 18th century. They had been subdued in the 11th century by the rulers of Georgia, from whom they received Christianity. At the beginning of the 15th century the Ingush were paying tribute to the Kabards. Sunnī Islam only penetrated the country in the second half of the 18th century as a result of the activities of the Čečen Naḳshabandīs and did not triumph until the beginning of the 19th. Christian Ingush were still to be found in 1865 (3,405 as compared with 11,960 Muslims according to Semenov, *Geografičeskiy i Statističeskiy Slovar Rossiyskoy Imperii*, St. Petersburg 1865, ii). It was also at the beginning of the 18th century that the Ingush began their slow migration from the high lands to the more fertile plains of the Terek and the Sunja. This movement continued during the first half of the 19th century.

Unlike their Čečen neighbours, the Ingu<u>sh</u> offered little resistance to the advance of the Russians whose first detachments entered their country about 1770. On the contrary, they even helped them against the Kabards and took no part in the revolt of the Čečen *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>*, Manṣūr U<u>sh</u>urma [*q.v.*], nor in the great movement of the Imām <u>Sh</u>amīl [*q.v.*].

After 1850, the Russian presence in the lands of the Ingu<u>sh</u> was not characterized by indigenous revolts, as it was in Dā<u>gh</u>istān and the lands of the Čečen, and it was only in the second half of the 19th century that relations between the Ingu<u>sh</u> and the Russians became noticeably worse. The conflict began about 1860 when the Ingu<u>sh</u> settlements around Nazran on the Sunja were pushed back by the Cossacks towards the infertile lands of the high mountain. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th the political climate deteriorated rapidly when the lands of the Ingu<u>sh</u> were again disturbed by severe troubles between the Ingu<u>sh</u> and the Terek Cossacks.

Until the Revolution, the Ingu<u>sh</u>, like their neighbours, the Čečens, maintained a pre-feudal social structure. All the Ingu<u>sh</u> clans considered themselves as free and equal and were grouped in "free societies" (the most important were the Galgay, <u>D</u>jerak Kistin and Gala<u>sh</u>). The large, undivided family was preserved almost everywhere, and patriarchal customs (levirate, polygamy etc.) were faithfully observed. Ingu<u>sh</u> society was not divided into classes; there was no aristocracy, although an élite, made up especially of officers and public officials, had begun to form at the beginning of the 20th century.

During the October Revolution the Ingu<u>sh</u> played a part in the confused struggles which involved the northern Caucasus in great bloodshed between 1918 and 1921. Because of their enmity towards the Terek Cossacks who had driven them out of the rich lands of the caucasian foot-hills, the Ingu<u>sh</u> supported the Bolshevik forces.

On 7 July 1924 the Autonomous Region of the Ingu<u>sh</u> was founded with an area of 3,200 sq. km. and a total population of 81,900. (At this time the Ingu<u>sh</u> numbered 75,200). On 15th January 1934 the Region was united with that of the Čečen to form the Čečeno-Ingu<u>sh</u> Autonomous Region which became the Čečeno-Ingu<u>sh</u> Soviet Socialist Republic on 5 December 1936.

In 1943 the advance guard of the German armies reached the western districts of the Ingu<u>sh</u> lands. In 1944 when the region was reoccupied by the Soviet Army, the entire Ingu<u>sh</u> population was accused of "treason against the Soviet fatherland" and "collaboration with the Germans" and was deported to Central Asia (at the same time as the Čečens, the Balkars, the Karačays, the Kalmuks and the Crimean Tatars), their national republic being suppressed. In 1957 this measure was recognized as an error arising from the "cult of personality" and the Ingu<u>sh</u> were officially rehabilitated and allowed to return to their re-established republic. In 1959 they numbered 106,000 (as against 92,000 in 1939), but their birth rate is one of the highest in the Soviet Union.

In 1959 the Čečeno-Ingu<u>sh</u> Autonomous Republic had a total population of 710,000, of whom 292,000, *i.e.*, 41%, were Muslims. Of this number only some 48,000 were Ingu<u>sh</u>.

The Ingu<u>sh</u> language was given a Latin alphabet in 1923; in the same year there appeared the first periodical in Ingu<u>sh</u>, *Serdalo* ("The Lamp"). In 1938 the Latin alphabet was replaced by the Cyrillic.

Bibliography: All the works dealing with the Ingu<u>sh</u> are in Russian. Among the chief ones are: B. Dolgat, *Materiali po običnomu pravu Ingu<u>sh</u>ey*, Vladikavkaz 1930; N. F. Grabovskiy, *Ingu<u>sh</u>i-I<u>kh</u>žizh' i običay*, in *Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkazkikh Gor<u>ts</u>a<u>kh</u>*, ix, Tiflis 1876; *Narodi Kavkaza*, i, (*Narodi Mira* series), Moscow, Ac. of Sciences, Inst. of Ethnography, 1960, 375-91; I. I. Pantukov, *Ingu<u>sh</u>i*, Tiflis, Kavkaskoe Otdelenie Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obshčestva, xiii/6, 1900; G. Vertenov, *Ingu<u>sh</u>i Istoričesko-Statističeskiy očerk*, in *Terskiy Sbornik*, ii, Vladikavkaz. See also the bibliography of ČEČEN.

(A. BENNIGSEN)

INḪISĀR [see RÉGIE].

INK [see MIDĀD].

INKĀR, "denial", the opposite of *iḳrār* [*q.v.*]; it is said that there is *inkār* when a person who is summoned by law to acknowledge a debt denies that he owes it; this *inkār* should not be confused with the refusal (*radd* or *tak<u>dh</u>īb*) of the beneficiary of an *iḳrār* to agree to the said acknowledgement [see IḲRĀR].

Faced with a debtor who refuses to recognize his debt or his obligation, the petitioner has the right to use any of the methods of proof which the law allows him and, in particular, can make him swear an oath, *yamīn al-munkir*, which many Muslims in former times preferred to avoid pronouncing, even though they did not admit to being debtors. There could then take place a transaction which put an end to the legal conflict, usually irrevocably, and this was called *ṣulḥ ʿalā inkār*.

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(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

INḲILĀB [see <u>TH</u>AWRA].

INNĀYIR [see YINNĀYIR].

INNOVATION [see BIDʿA].

INÖNÜ [see SULṬĀN ÖNÜ].

INṢĀF, equity. According to the *LA*, this *maṣdar* of the fourth form has as synonym *naṣaf*, *naṣafa*, and implies the idea of "to grant rights" (*iʿṭā al-ḥaḳḳ*); it is stated there that *anṣafa* is to "assure to others the same right that one claims for one's self". The idea thus presented therefore corresponds strictly to equity, but it is not clear at what date this notion began to be rendered by *inṣāf*. Although *naṣaf* is attested in early poetry, *inṣāf* does not seem to appear in the so-called pre-Islamic *dīwān*s; nevertheless there is to be found, in the anthologists of the 3rd/9th century, the expression *a<u>sh</u>ʿār munṣifa* (or *a<u>sh</u>ʿār al-naṣaf*, *al-inṣāf*), to indicate, if not a poetic genre, at least a theme which first appears among a certain number of poets of the end of the <u>D</u>jāhiliyya and of the very early years of Islam; in the verses thus described (which are most frequently in the *wāfir* metre and contain often-repeated clichés), the poets praise the fervour and the valour in war of the rival clan and acknowledge that victory has been hard-won; these poems are thus a means of glorifying oneself without humiliating one's adversaries. It is this contrast with the themes of the traditional *hi<u>dj</u>āʾ* [*q.v.*] which attracted the attention of the anthologists (Ibn Sallām, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and others) and led them to adopt the epithet of *munṣifa* (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur l'expression arabe* ašʿār m.n.s.fa/fāt, *Mél. Marcel Cohen*, 1970, 211-9).

The term *inṣāf* does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, where the root *ḳsṭ* is used in referring to equity, but it enlivens the meaning by its frequent and lavish use of roots which are conceptually either

close to it or opposed to it, such as *ʿdw*, *ẓulm*, *ʿadl*, *ṣlḥ*, *ḥsn*. The principle of *istiḥsān*, retained in particular by the Ḥanafīs, may be considered as a continuation of the Ḳurʾānic idea and terminology: it expresses, in fact, a more flexible and more circumstantial conception and practice of the over-rigid justice produced by the formal strictness of *ḳiyās*. In introducing concrete considerations, of time, of practice and of persons, *istiḥsān* allows the adoption of solutions which tend towards equity. "*Istiḥsān*", writes Ch. Chehata (*Études de philosophie musulmane du droit*, in *St. Isl.*, xxv, 138), "may be considered as the form which the idea of equity has taken in the mind of the Muslim jurisconsults. *Benignitas* (*Istiḥsān*) is a very human aspect of the principle *jus est ars aequi et boni*. It belongs on the borderline between law and morals".

It is difficult to state precisely what this aspect of juridical thought owes to indirect influence (*e.g.*, to *ḥilm* as indulgence, *i.e.*, a higher form of justice, to Byzantine practice, to Medinan and ʿIrāḳī *ʿurf* etc.) and to direct influence. What is certain is that the *Nichomachean ethics* contain a penetrating discussion of equity (*épreikéia*) at the end of book V on justice (*dikè*). Aristotle's thought stems from a very early tradition which opposed the unwritten law to the written law, which is too general to solve with equity all the individual cases. It is thus one finds here a very clear defence of equity as being the source of a higher law.

The *falāsifa* naturally took up this idea in order to praise its moral beauty. "The virtue of justice (*ʿadāla*)", writes, for example, Miskawayh (*Tahḏẖīb al-Akhlāḳ*, ed. Zurayk, 18), "confers on man a disposition (*hayʾa*) which causes him to choose always to treat first himself with equity, then to treat others with the same equity (*inṣāf*/*intiṣāf*) which he expects from them".

The rationalization of this idea is pursued in the writings of the scholars, and *inṣāf* finally came to mean impartiality, objectivity, integrity, in short a complete ethical code for the activity of the man of learning (*dhu 'l-ʿilm*), which al-Māwardī, for example, describes at length under the name of "integrity of the soul" (*Ṣiyānat al-nafs*, in *Adab al-dunyā wa'l-dīn*, ed. Saqqa, 30 f. and *passim*). The importance of this ethical code explains the attraction for writers of titles like *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* or *Kitāb al-Inṣāf wa-l-intiṣāf* (16 of them are to be found in Brockelmann).

Finally it may be mentioned that *inṣāf* is a method of argument in which, instead of immediately asserting the inferiority or error of that which is being attacked in comparison with that being defended, both are placed on a fictitious equal footing although it is granted that one or the other is inferior or wrong. In this way impartiality is displayed while one of the alternative propositions is implicitly considered as impossible or absurd. The model for this figure is provided by Ḳurʾān XXXIV, 23/24: "Either you or I are on the right path or in manifest error" (M. Canard, *Akhbâr Ar-Râdî billâh* ..., Algiers 1946, i, 67, n. 3; see also the commentaries on this verse where two lines of Ḥassān b. Thābit (*wāfir* metre, ... āʾū rhyme) are cited on this subject, lines 24-5 of the first piece of the *Dīwān* with the explanations of the editors).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article: R. A. Gauthier and J. Y. Jolif, *Aristote, Éthique à Nichomaque*, ii, 1, 431-2. (M. Arkoun)

INSĀN (A.), man (*homo*). The Ḳurʾān states that God created man weak (IV, 28). Several verses describe his psychology: in trouble he cries to God, and when the trouble has passed, he forgets (X, 12; XXXIX, 8 and 49); he is very unjust (*ẓalūm*, XIV, 34; XXXIII, 72); much inclined to be precipitate (*ʿadjūl*, XVII, 11); versatile (*halūʿ*, LXX, 19); rebellious (XLVI, 6); a subtle reasoner and given to argument (XVIII, 54, XXXVI, 77).

The *LA* echoes this Ḳurʾānic teaching: all beings who are endowed with intelligence, angels and djinns, are given to argument, but man is more so than the others; on the other hand, it quotes a fantastic etymology, from Ibn ʿAbbās: "man is called *insān* because he receives the alliance of God and then forgets (*fa nasiya*)"; the *aṣl* of this word is said to be *insiyān*, the *ifʿilān* form of *nisyān*.

On the physical reality of man, there are many verses in the Ḳurʾān. God created him "of a clay of mud moulded" (XV, 26). In particular in XXIII, 12 ff. there is a detailed account of the development of the foetus: the primary matter of the human body is clay; then there is successively the *nuṭfa* which fixes itself in the uterus, the *ʿalaḳa*, the *mudgha*; then the differentiation of the tissues: bone and flesh; and finally there occurs a "second creation", which corresponds, according to the commentators, to the various phases of development from birth to death. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī gives an Aristotelian interpretation to these passages: "Man is engendered from a flow of sperm; the sperm is engendered by an excess of the fourth type of coction (*min faḍl al-haḍm al-rābiʿ*, cf. the πέψις, that is the digestion, *Meteorologica*, book iv, 379512; *De Gen. Animal.* 724a 9 f.). But all this is engendered only by foods, which are animal or vegetable substances. But the animal substances are reduced to vegetable substances, which themselves are engendered from the clarified juices of the earth and of water. Thus man is in reality engendered from a pure extract of clay (*min salāla min ṭīn*, cf. XXIII, 12). Next this pure extract, after passing successively through various stages (*aṭwār*, cf. LXXI, 14) of formation and through the circuits of elaboration, becomes semen". The explanation of "We have made him to grow in a second creation" is: "God made man into a living being when he was lifeless matter; made him to speak when he was dumb; to hear when he was deaf; to see when he was blind. God has placed in him, within and without, in all his limbs and all his organs, a wondrous nature and admirable wisdom, for which no description is adequate".

The Ḳurʾān describes man by contradictions: grandeur and wretchedness (cf. XCV, 4-5): "We indeed created Man in the fairest stature/then we restored him the lowest of the low". Al-Rāzī states that the word *takwīn* may refer to the exterior form, to its balanced assembly of parts (some point out that man is the only animal which does not have its face turned towards the ground, *mikabb ʿalā wadjhih*, but which has an upright stance, *madīd al-ḳāma*, and which takes its food with its hand; cf. St. Gregory of Nyssa, "*On the workmanship of man*", in which are developed the same ideas on the relation between the prehensile hand and the reduction of the mouth or the muzzle, leading to a new balance of the head and the ability to walk upright); or to the interior: intelligence, comprehension, culture, eloquence, in their most perfect manifestations. Verse 5 is compared by Ibn ʿAbbās to XVI, 17 (or XXII 5): "And some of you who are kept back unto the vilest stage of life (*ardhal al-ʿumr*)". Thus "the thoughts are troubled; the hearing, the sight and the intelli-

gence begin to fail; strength diminishes and man becomes incapable of performing good works" (al-Rāzī). This double aspect of man appears clearly in sūra II, where the angels comment on God's plan to establish Adam as deputy on earth. This has given rise in the commentary of the *Manār* to an interesting anthropological view which has a certain analogy with some western ideas going back to Herder and developed in Germany during the 19th century. Unlike animals who know by instinct (*ilhām*an) what is useful to them and what is harmful, man acquires knowledge of his surroundings only by very slow degrees. But his progress has no limits, and on this point he is superior even to the angels, whose knowledge and actions are limited (*maḥdūd*). This recalls al-Rāzī's idea that man, unlike the angels and the beings which are inferior to him, has no determined function (*waẓīfa muʿayyana*). Thus man has been able to acquire a knowledge which gives him a considerable power over nature and which continually increases. "He has invented, discovered, innovated, so as to change the shape of the earth (*ḥattā ghayyara shakl al-arḍ*)", we read in the *Manār*. He has cultivated the uncultivated lands; he has grown, through hybridization, species which did not formerly exist, for example the mandarin (*yūsuf efendī*) which "God has created through the hand of man (*khalaḳahu bi-yad al-insān*)". It is in this sense that man, without offending the angels, may truly be the *khalīfa* of God, in spite of all his deficiencies.

It is also from verses of the Ḳurʾān that the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [*q.v.*] had developed, within their system, a whole theory of man, both from the physical and from the moral point of view. "The name of man is applied to this soul which inhabits this body: both together are the two parts of man; he is their total, the union formed of the two together. But one of the two parts, the soul, is the more noble; it is like the pulp, and the other, the body is like the rind (cf. Ibn Masarra and the pseudo-Empedocles) ... The soul is like the tree, the body like the fruit" (Epistle 22, ii, 319 f., Cairo 1928). In fact, the function of the soul is to give to the body its achievement (*tamām*) and in doing this it reaches its perfection (*kamāl*). The body is for the soul also like the workshop for the craftsman. It is compared to a town; the tribes and the different populations of the various quarters are like the natural faculties of the soul: vegetative, animal, rational, three derivations from one single essence. Man is a microcosm, a well-controlled city (*madīna fāḍila*), whose king is the soul.

Next the Epistle deals with the development of the human embryo according to the months and the astral influences. In the first month, under the action of Saturn, whose property is to cause form to take shape in matter, the *nuʿfa* is placed in the matrix. In the second month, under the dominant influence of the spiritual forces of Jupiter, heat is engendered in the *ʿalaḳa* and produces in it the balance of the humours. In the third month, under the influence of Mars, the *ʿalaḳa*, moved more vigorously, receives an excess of heat which transforms it into *muḍgha*. In the fourth month, it is the sun which guides the development: its spiritual forces exert a major influence on the *muḍgha*; the vital powers breathe on it and it receives the animal soul. In the fifth month, under the influence of Venus, the structuring of the body (*khalḳa*) is completed (*istatammat*) and its edifice is perfected (*istakmalat*): the eyes, the nostrils, the mouth and the ears are formed. In the sixth month, new spiritual forces, due to Mercury, cause the embryo to move so that it is now able to move its arms and legs. It can open its mouth and eyelids; it is sometimes asleep and sometimes awake. With the seventh month there begins the influence of the moon: the embryo acquires weight, flesh and fatness, its joints harden and its movements become stronger; it feels confined and attempts to emerge. If this happens, it is born able to survive. But if it remains in the mother's womb until the eighth month, it grows heavier, it comes under the predominant action of cold, it cannot conquer sleep and it has little movement. If the birth takes place then, its growth is slow and its movements heavy, and sometimes it is still-born. This is because it is once again under the influence of Saturn. But in the ninth month, Jupiter begins to dominate again: the temperament becomes balanced, the vital spirit becomes strong and the operations of the animal soul appear in the body. Such is the genesis of the human creature. The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* have many further ideas about man, all of them curious and interesting. To take one instance: in the same way that man is a microcosm, he shares all the particular characteristics of the animals (cf. *Ep.* 26, iii, 19 f.). In this system, the stars serve as instruments, not of the Creator, but of the Universal Soul which obeys him. Thus man takes his place in the hierarchy of the universe.

The *falāsifa* studied man mainly in the perspective of the Greek thinking concerning the nature of the soul, its relation with the body and the union of the agent Intellect with the material intellect. "The rational faculty by which man is man is not in its substance an intellect in action ... it is the agent intellect which makes it become an intellect in action ..." (al-Fārābī, *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, Beirut 1964, 35).

Finally, al-Tahānawī, in his dictionary, gives in his article *Insān* a long quotation from the commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra XVII, 85: "Say: 'The Spirit is of the bidding of my Lord'". Intuition alone tells us that the spirit is what man means when he says "I". But can this "I" be the organic body when it is well-known that its parts are always changing and being replaced? If man is not this body, is he a body in which the earthly element predominates since this would be made of bone, flesh, fat and sinews, and nobody identifies man with these "thick, heavy and dark" tissues. It cannot be a body in which the aqueous element predominates, since this would be one of the four humours, and none of these is man, except that some consider that an exception should be made for the blood, since the loss of it brings death. Bodies in which there predominate the elements of air and fire are the spirits, bodies composed of air mingled with natural heat (*al-ḥarāra al-gharīziyya*) and engendered in the heart and in the brain. Spirits cannot dissolve or decline. They are noble, celestial and divine bodies, which penetrate into the organism as soon as it is formed and completely prepared to receive them. They remain there so long as the body is in good health, but when there arise thick humours which prevent their circulation (*sarayān*), they leave it, and this is death. This doctrine, says al-Rāzī, "is powerful and sublime, and should be pondered since it corresponds exactly to the statements in the divine books on the states of life and death". In fact God said to the angels: "I am creating a mortal of a clay. When I have shaped him, and breathed My Spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him" (XXXVIII, 72, cf. XV, 29).

The doctrine of most of the physicians and of those who deny the soul, is based on the observation that each animal species is characterized by its own balanced arrangement of humours. The word "human" is applied to bodies having particular qualities resulting from the mixture of the elements according to an equally particular proportion. The metaphysicists on the other hand say that man is not a body. They teach the doctrine of a "return" (*maʿād*) to God whereas the body dies, and they believe in spiritual sanctions in the after life. Several doctors of Islam have supported these ideas: the author cites Rāghib and al-Ghazālī (?), certain early Muʿtazilīs, a group of Karramiyya, among the Shīʿa al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and in particular the ascetics and the mystics.

After this long citation, al-Tahānawī embarks upon the question of *al-Insān al-kāmil*.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL the Perfect Man.

1). General observations on this concept. The idea of the Perfect Man, which occurs in Muslim esoteric mysticism, is not derived directly from the Ḳurʾān. It may be compared with gnostic conceptions which have assumed various forms: that of the πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος linked with Hermetism (cf. *Poimandres*) and the hellenistic gnoses, might be the purest original source; another origin may be found in the Mazdaean myth of Gayomart, the primordial Man. These two currents come together in Manichaeism with the doctrine of the first Man (*al-insān al-ḳadīm*) who, with the Mother of Life and the five elements, her sons and auxiliaries, constitutes the first Creation which the Father of Greatness raises up by his Word. For the disciples of Zoroaster and for Mani, however, this prototypal man has as his function the combatting of evil and darkness, in conformity with a dualist doctrine which developed in Iranian thinking and which Islam rejected with all its might. Nevertheless the idea of a role, if not of salvation, at least of conservation, assumed by the Perfect Man in regard to the inferior world, remains an essential one for the Muslim mystics who make use of this idea. A comparison with the Jewish Cabala would be even more instructive: from the mystical theory of the *Merkābāh* there has developed, in the *Sepher ha-Zohar*, the doctrine of the ten *sephirōt*, among them being Wisdom (*ḥokhmāh*), Intelligence (*bīnāh*), Love (*ḥesed*), Mercy (*raḥamīm*), Royalty (*malkhūt*), and so on, which constitute the World of Union or transcendental Man. It is through these that divine life is diffused into the entire creation. Thus Jewish mysticism also finally reaches this conception, that the Infinite (*En sōf*), by the emanation of its light, forms the Ādām Qadmōn, from whom the light of the *sephīrōt* produces the total emanation. This kind of refraction of light through light calls to mind the ḳurʾānic expression "Light upon light" (*nūr^un ʿalā nūr^in*), in XXIV, 35. Similarly one sees, in al-Djīlī, for example, that God created the muḥammadan forms (cf. *infra*) from the light of his Name of Creator (*Badīʿ*) and Powerful (*Ḳādir*); then He irradiated (*tadjallā*) on these forms with His Name of Benevolent (*Laṭīf*) and Grantor of Absolution (*Ghāfir*). Here too, there is an irradiation of light in light.

From these similarities must it be concluded that a real influence existed? Might there be a "unity of initiatory origin among all the religious mysticism of ancient Asia"? L. Massignon thinks not. In this matter he sees "coincidental terms, without any real relationship existing between their respective processes of formation" (*Essai*, 57 and n. 5). It seems indeed that there may be reason to observe some parallel developments, in particular between the Jewish Cabala and the Muslim *ʿirfān*. But it is not excluded that independent reflection upon the Ḳurʾān may have led certain mystics to conceptions for which they found elsewhere various expressions and symbols that they could adopt.

2). The ḳurʾānic contributions. The idea of *al-Insān al-kāmil* presupposes that, in the whole of creation, man occupies a leading position, entirely apart. Now the Ḳurʾān adduces many revelations to this effect. First of all there is the affirmation that the universe, the heavens and the earth with all that they contain, are placed in the service of man by the *taskhīr*. The expression *sakhkhara laḳum* (He has caused to labour for you) or *lanā* (for us) occurs about ten times in the Ḳurʾān. Next, there is the choice of man as God's vicar (*khalīfa*) on earth (II, 30), a choice which was to surprise the Angels; then, the proposal put to man to assume responsability for the *amāna* (trusting of faith): he accepts, when the heavens and the earth had refused, through fear (XXXIII, 72). In the commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī there occurs an observation which gives us an indication of what constituted the Perfect Man for the mystics: among the beings endowed with perception, there are those who perceive both the universal and the particular; these are men. Some others who perceive only the particular are the animals; while those others who perceive only the universal are the Angels. Man has therefore an intermediate position which endows him with a value unique in creation; thus, despite his weakness, he will bear the *amāna*.

But it is the verses referring to the light which are above all important. In two passages (IX, 32 and LXI, 8) it is written that, in transmitting it to men, God gives His light a complete perfection (*yutimma nūrahu*; *mutimm nūrihi*). Al-Rāzī comments: "God promises Muḥammad an increase (*mazīd*) in aid and power, as well as a raising in degree (*iʿlāʾ al-daradja*) and the perfection of the hierarchical rank (*kamāl al-rutba*)". In II, 257, we read—"God is the *walī* of those who believe; He makes them come forth from the darkness to the light". The root *walā* includes the idea of proximity (*ḳurb*); in addition, it implies that God makes Himself the guarantor (*takaffala*) of the well-being of Believers. According to certain commentators, even if God should give this guarantee to all His creatures, He is said to be in a very particular sense the *walī* of the Believer because He has additional favours (*ziyādat al-alṭāf*) for him; or again, because He turns to the advantage of the Believer the favours which He grants to the whole community of creatures; or finally because He loves the Believers (*yuḥibbuhum*), that is to say He loves to exalt them (*yuḥibbu taʿẓīmahum*). Now the light is in one sense faith or Direction (*hudā*); it is also revelation; it is a Book (Torah, Gospel, Ḳurʾān); but it is also that through which the Prophet causes men to pass from darkness into light (XIV, 1).

It is then among Believers, the Friends of God (*awliyāʾ*; cf. the singular *walī*), the prophets and especially Muḥammad, that one must seek the Perfect Man. The celebrated verse 35 of the Surah of Light (XXIV) has been given an important interpretation. A distinction has been made between the opening section which speaks of God as light, and the continuation introduced by *mathalu nūrihi*, apparently referring to the light which He sends to certain of His creatures. For some, the niche (*mishkāt*) is the

heart of the Believer, and the lamp which is found there is the light of the heart. For others, such as al-Kharrāz, the reference is to the heart of Muḥammad and to a light which shines there, lit by a sacred tree which, for al-Kharrāz is Abraham, for some Ṣūfis the inspirations (*ilhāmāt*) of the Angels, for Muḳātil prophecy and mission. These ideas were finally to lead to the doctrine of the Muḥammadan light (*nūr muḥammadī* [*q.v.*].

3. Transposition of an alchemical idea. The symbol of the Perfect Man is connected also with the alchemical conception of man as a microcosm and of the macrocosm as "meganthropos" (*insān kabīr*). According to al-Djurdjānī, in his *Definitions*, the perfect man unites the totality both of the divine (*ilāhiyya*) worlds and of the engendered (*kawniyya*) worlds, universal and particular; he is the Writing which combines the divine Writings and the engendered Writings; indeed, in respect of his mind and intellect, he is an intelligible Book, named *Umm al-Kitāb*; in respect of his heart, he is the Book of the *Lawḥ Maḥfūẓ*; in respect of his soul, he is the Book of the Abolition (*maḥw*) and Establishment (*ithbāt*) of being. The relation of the Prime Intellect to the macrocosm is that of the human Spirit to the body and its faculties: the universal Soul is the heart of the macrocosm, just as the rational soul is the heart of man. Thus the universe is called *al-Insān al-kabīr*. We find these ideas being applied to the matter of the Perfect Man in Ibn ʿArabi (*e.g.*, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, ch. I, *De la Sagesse divine dans le Verbe adamique* trans. Burckhardt, *La Sagesse des Prophètes*, 23 f. and in al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-kāmil*, ch. 53, *On the Prime Intellect*: "The Science of the prime Intellect and that of the sublime Calamus are one single Light whose relation to man is called the prime Intellect, while its relation to God is called the sublime Calamus. This being the Intellect ascribed to Muḥammad, it is from him that God created the Angel Gabriel in pre-eternity. Thus Muḥammad is a father to Gabriel and a principle for the totality of the World").

4). Ibn ʿArabi. The idea of the Perfect Man is found in Ibn ʿArabī, in the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, as a development of the ḳurʾānic revelation, according to which man is the *khalīfa* of God on earth: at once ephemeral and eternal, it is through his existence that the world was completed. "He is to the world what the stone is to the ring: the stone bears the seal which the king affixes to his treasure-chests". To man is entrusted the divine safeguarding of the World, and the world will not cease to be safeguarded so long as this Perfect Man shall remain there. God first created the whole world like a mirror which has not yet been polished. In order that He might be perfectly manifested in it, it was necessary that by means of divine Order (*amr*) this mirror should be made clear, "and Adam became the very clarity of this mirror and the spirit of this image". Therefore the Prophet says that God created Man in His image, that is to say that Adam is the prototype who synthesizes all the categories of the divine Presence, Essence (*dhāt*), attributes (*ṣifāt*) and actions (*afʿāl*) (cf. *La Sagesse des Prophètes*, 20, 22, 154 and 54, n. 1). The image of God is no other than His Presence, "so that, in this noble epitome which is the Perfect Man, God manifested ... all the divine Names and the essential Realities (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) of all that exists outside Himself, in the macrocosm, in detailed fashion ... From the Perfect Man He made the spirit of the world, and subjected the high and the low to him. Just as there is nothing in the world which does not exalt God by praise of Him (XVII, 44), so there is nothing in the world which does not serve this man ...". Here Ibn ʿArabī recalls the *taskhīr*, and he concludes: "Everything the world contains is subject to man. This is known to him who knows, that is to say the Perfect Man, and is not known by him who does not know, that is to say man the animal" (p. 154).

5). The Muḥammadan Reality (*Ḥaḳīḳa muḥammadiyya*). Ibn ʿArabī writes in his *Futūḥāt* (i, ch. 6): "God existed, and with Him there was nothing which would later add itself to Him ... From the act by which He gave existence to the world, no attribute passed to Him which He had not previously possessed. Before creating, he was described and designated by the Names with which the created beings invoke Him. When He willed the existence of the world and its establishment in accordance with the determinations of which He was aware through the knowledge which He had from Himself, from this entirely pure will there was produced a passive element, by a kind of irradiation of Transcendence towards universal Reality: thus there was produced a Reality known as *al-habāʾ* (literally a cloud of atoms, cf. lvi, 6) ... Then He irradiated with His Light towards this cloud, which the scholars call universal matter, and in which the whole world is in being". Here Ibn ʿArabī quotes the verse of the Light (XXIV, 35). "Now there is nothing, in this cloud, which is nearer to Him, in relation to the capacity for receiving this Light, than the Reality of Muḥammad, called Intellect. Thus he was the leader (*sayyid*) of the World and the first manifestation of existence. His existence is made from this divine Light, from the Cloud and universal Reality. In the Cloud his essence exists, and the essence of the world springs from its irradiation. Those nearest to him, among men, are ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the being intimate with all the prophets (*asrār al-anbiyāʾ*)". Thus the Perfect Man, the archetype of the universe and humanity, is not Adam but Muḥammad: "Now Muḥammad was the first symbol of his Lord, for he had received the universal words which are the content of the names which God taught to Adam" (*La Sagesse des Prophètes*, 182). It is therefore in him and through him that Adam, and also the other prophets and the "saints" (*awliyāʾ*), find their perfection. For, as al-Djīlī went on to show, there are ectypal perfect men who are more or less perfect and who appear in actual fact in history. As for the interpretation of the verse on the teaching of the names to Adam (II, 31), in support of a total pre-eminence of Muḥammad over men and angels, this takes its inspiration from the idea of creation by the Names, another expression for creation by Light, the Names being themselves luminous.

6). *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī. The Perfect Man, his nature and his place in the divine epiphanies as a whole, are studied in detail in the work of al-Djīlī. The theses expounded by Ibn ʿArabī are here repeated: "Know that the Word of the God of Truth constitutes the very essences of the possible; everything possible is one of the sayings of the Word of God; thus the possible is inexhaustible, just as it is said (XVIII, 109): "If the sea were of ink to trace the words of my Lord, the sea would be exhausted before the word of my Lord were exhausted ...". Indeed, the Word, considered in its entirety, is a form for the ideas which are in the knowledge of him who speaks and wishes to express them publicly (*ibrāz*). And so, among other denominations, beings are "sublime letters", as Ibn

ʿArabī says: "We were sublime letters which were not read". In order to read them, just as to speak, there must be a will which sets in motion and a breath (*nafas*) which animates. God has willed that letters should be made to pass, from the invisible world of the *ghayb* to the visible world of the *shahāda*. But He has especially spelled out Man by a breath from His own Spirit (XXXII, 9). The same observation occurs in Ibn Kaḍīb al-Bārī in his *Mawāḳif al-Ilāhiyya*. From this starting-point, al-Djīlī writes: "Glory to Him who has made man a copy of Himself (*nuskha*); if you looked into yourself, you would find for each of His attributes a copy in yourself" (i, ch. 20).

"The Perfect Man is the pole (*ḳuṭb*) around which the spheres of existence turn, from the first to the last". Ibn Kaḍīb al-Bārī says that man is the point of the sphere which serves as a pivot (*madār*) for existence. The Perfect Man is unique in all eternity. But he appears in different guises (*malābis*) and receives various names. His name in principle is Muḥammad, his *kunya* Abū 'l-Ḳāsim, his attribute ʿAbd Allāh, his *laḳab* Shams al-Dīn. His other names vary with each epoch, in harmony with the "guise" of that epoch. But all are united in Muḥammad. Spiritual men are in the image of Muḥammad (*al-ṣūra al-Muḥammadiyya*), which refers to the muḥammadan Reality, and one sees Muḥammad in such images. There is no metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) there, but merely the irradiation (*tadjallī*) of the Muḥammadan Reality in each era upon the most perfect of men, who thus become the representatives (*khulafā᾽*) of the Prophet on the plane of manifestation (*ẓāhir*), while the Muḥammadan Reality is the hidden side (*bāṭin*) of their own reality.

The Perfect Man, in himself, is that which corresponds (*muḳābil*) to the totality of the Real. Al-Djīlī enumerates all these correspondences (ch. 60). As in God all opposites co-exist, so in the correspondences one discovers the same antitheses. In the Perfect Man the aspects of the *ḥaḳḳ* and the *khalḳ* are combined; he is the mirror of the Name of God (*Allāh*) and he corresponds to all the Names and Attributes; to Ipseity (*huwiyya*), to Egoity (*aniyya*). Thus God has entrusted him with the *amāna* (XXXIII, 72). All the epiphanies of the essence (*dhāt*) of the God of Truth (*Ḥaḳḳ*), from the *Ulūhiyya* (the being-Allah) and the *Aḥadiyya* (absolute Unicity) to the *Wāḥidiyya* (the Unity of the multiple), the *Raḥmāniyya* (virtue of mercy, which extends to all individuals and supports them in their being) and the *Rubūbiyya* (the Lordship which directs them), recur in the "copy", that is to say the *Insān kāmil*. This recalls the theory of the divine Powers, of the Man of God, and of the *Logos* in Philo of Alexandria, and is also close to the theory of the *Sephīrōt* in the *Zohar*.

As for the Perfect Man, regarded not as the prototype but as the believer, the "saint" or individual prophet who is to be "clad" in the Muḥammadan Reality, he passes through three intermediate zones (*barāzikh*): the first, the initial stage, the actual knowledge of the Names and Attributes; the second, the middle stage, is that of the touch-stone (*maḥaḳḳ*) which proves the spiritual relations of man with God (*raḳā᾽iḳ insāniyya*) by the divine Realities; the third is the knowledge of the diversification of Wisdom in the creation of that which is the subject of the divine Decree. After that, there is the Seal (*khitām*, LXXXIII, 26), then the final term, the Majesty of Greatness (*kibriyā᾽*, XLV, 37), which is infinite.

7). Conclusion. There are more concise definitions of the Perfect Man, for example in al-Ḳūnawī: "The fortieth degree of existence is the Perfect Man. It is with him that the degrees reach their completion, that the world is perfected and the God of Truth manifests Himself to the world by the most perfect manifestation". In his *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, al-Tahānawī records that the *Kitāb al-Fulūk* contains this passage:—"The Perfect Man is the isthmus (*barzakh*) between necessity (*wudjūb*) and possibility (*imkān*), the mirror which combines the attributes of eternity and its laws with the attributes of the generation of beings (*ḥidthān*). He is the central point between the *Ḥaḳḳ* and the *Khalḳ*. Through him and through his hierarchical rank (*martaba*), the emanation((*fayḍ*) of the *Ḥaḳḳ* and the presence (*madad*), the source of subsistence((*baḳā᾽*) of that which is not God, make their way to the entire world, the upper and the lower. Without him and without his quality of *barzakh* (*barzakhiyya*) which does not cut itself off in either of the two extremes, nothing in the world would receive the divine presence of the Unique, for lack of relationship and link". Al-Tahānawī notes that the same things are found in the *Sharḥ al-Fuṣūṣ* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djāmī. Finally, he makes an observation which well emphasises the exceptional situation of the man neither within nor outside the world, neither united with it or separated from it. "His connection with the world is that of a hegemony (*tadbīr*) and of a free disposition (*taṣarruf*)".

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(R. ARNALDEZ)

INSCRIPTIONS [see KITĀBĀT].

INSHĀ᾽ (INSHĀ), strictly "construction", "style" or "composition", *i.e.*, of letters, documents or state papers; then used elliptically for *ʿilm al-inshā᾽* (as, *e.g.*, in *mabādī al-inshā᾽*) or even as a synonym for *munsha᾽āt*, "documents composed according to the rules of *inshā᾽*"; finally also to designate a form of literature, popular and widespread in the area of the Islamic cultural languages (*i.e.*, Arabic, Persian and Turkish), in which were included what in the West would be counted under the heading of style-books for chancery scribes, copy-books and letter manuals. Thus *inshā᾽* literature offers important material not only for epistolography and diplomatic, but also for the literary history of the Islamic world, especially since it often includes models from the pens of prominent letter-writers, poets or statesmen. This literature comprises works of various types. Some are limited to the collection of precepts for writers of letters and documents, *i.e.*, for the chancery scribes (*kātib* [*al-sirr*], *munshī᾽*), whilst others contain collections of model letters of every type, private and public, and especially materials originating from the chancery, *i.e.*, documents, diplomas and state papers. Some works include only one or the other—either precepts for scribes, including stylistic directions, or simply models of style—but those in which both elements are represented are numerous.

The themes of private correspondence to be found in *inshā᾽*-works are those of eulogy, congratulation, condolence, gratitude, remembrance, etc. They are addressed to members of the family, friends or acquaintances. The various kinds of documents and State papers are dealt with in the article DIPLOMATIC.

Copies of documents actually drawn up and issued are often offered as examples of style; but fabricated texts, to which however a certain relative value may be assigned, are also occasionally used. Since both authentic and fabricated examples of style are produced at random and without any distinguishing

indication, careful verification is needed in each case as to whether a given text is authentic or not. Special care is required if the compiler of an *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* work wishes to show the documents of bygone times, for example documents or state papers of an earlier ruler or some other prominent personality. In this case fabricated texts could be inserted all too easily, when, though authentic examples were lacking, the compiler wished to show how documents of such a kind might have appeared. This need not imply an intent to mislead, since the compiler was guided by subjective or in any case literary motives, not usually by historical and much less juristic purposes. Fabricated texts, however, cannot be ruled out, even if the author of an *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* work cites, as often happens, documents which he himself has composed, possibly in his capacity as an important chancery official. These may only be drafts which were no doubt submitted but were not ratified; yet they seemed to the author worthy of inclusion on stylistic grounds. Care is also called for with regard to formularies, since it is not always possible to establish whether they have been taken from genuine documents drawn up according to the rules but omitting specific details such as the address, date, place of issue, etc., or whether they have been freely invented.

The lack or scarcity of historically relevant original documents from certain periods of Islamic history has attracted the interest of historical research to *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* literature, in the search for substitutes for lost or destroyed originals, and with good reason, since, given the non-historical motives of their compilers, most of the *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* works—apart from the special cases just mentioned—are not *a limine* suspect of spuriousness or intent to mislead. For this reason our knowledge of *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* literature has improved considerably over the last decades with regard both to the content and to the form of individual works or whole groups of works. On account of the almost exclusively historical interest of the researchers, little or nothing has been said from the point of view of style, aesthetics or literary criticism. Then too questions about the origin and early development of *in<u>sh</u>āʾ*, questions important in several respects, have been so little investigated that what we are offered on these topics still consists largely of guesswork.

It seems probable that already in the time of Muḥammad the people of Mecca made use of Arabic written documents in their diplomatic and commercial transactions. That specific rules were already in use and held good for such purposes may be seen also in the conduct of the Meccan delegation to Ḥudaybiya for the *bayʿat al-riḍwān*: against Muḥammad's desire to use the *basmala*, they insisted on the customary formulary already in use. We do not know, however, whether there were already tabulations of those rules or even collections of formulae which might be regarded as the precursors of the later *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* literature. For the time being literature of this type can be traced back only as far as the end of the Umayyad period. Although this literature is without doubt Arabic in origin, yet the influence of Persian and Byzantine models is to be taken into account, as can be seen in the character of the letters and documents themselves. In any case it must always be remembered that, after the Arab conquests in Persia and Mesopotamia, the Sāsānid chancery and its personnel was taken over by the new rulers, as was the Byzantine chancery and its personnel in Egypt. Furthermore, in each case many years elapsed before the process of Arabization was complete, bringing with it the exclusive use of the Arabic language and Arab personnel in the chancery.

As yet we do not know when the term *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* came into use. It appears already in Ḳudāma, hence around 288/900, in his *Kitāb al-<u>Kh</u>arād<u>j</u> wa-ṣanʿat al-kitāba, passim*. It was used officially by the Fāṭimids in Egypt, under whom the institution known elsewhere as the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* or *dīwān al-mukātabāt* was called the *dīwān al-in<u>sh</u>āʾ*. The practice commonly known as *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* goes back at least to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, the famous secretary of Marwān II, who died *ca.* 133-4/750. He left a large collection of model letters, part of which has survived, as well as his *Risāla ila 'l-kuttāb* (Italian trans. *apud* F. Gabrieli). Even the reputation which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd enjoyed as a *kātib* illustrates the effect of Persian influence: up to this time the secretaries of the Umayyads had occupied only a humble position, while under the Sāsānids their position had been far superior. Persian influence appears even more clearly in the style of his letters. His *Risāla ila 'l-kuttāb*, it is true, is still composed in simple prose, but in his other writings the use of artificial stylistic methods, for example *sad<u>j</u>ʿ* [*q.v.*], in accordance with Iranian models, is unmistakable. *Sad<u>j</u>ʿ* was to be the basis of the *stylus ornatus*, a characteristic feature of the later *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* literature, but also of various other genres. The presumption of Persian influence is confirmed by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's [*q.v.*] advice to secretaries.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, there took place an unprecedented rise in the position of the chancery secretary in the official hierarchy of the state, a process not unconnected, presumably, with other Persian influences. The elaboration of a body of literature relating to the secretary and his office went hand in hand with this process. Abu 'l-Yusr Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Mudabbir, appointed vizier *ca.* 264/876, appears as the author of the first handbook for secretaries, entitled *al-Risāla al-ʿad<u>h</u>rāʾ fī mawāzīn al-balāg<u>h</u>a*. The literature of the secretaries (*in<u>sh</u>āʾ*) cannot at this period be clearly distinguished from the *adab al-kātib* literature [see KĀTIB], which is dealt with in the histories of literature and summarized by Björkman, *Staatskanzlei*. It reached high points under the Būyids with Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 359/970), but especially in Egypt and particularly under the Fāṭimids, with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 463/1147), and finally under the Mamluks with Aḥmad Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's work, *al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-<u>sh</u>arīf*, composed after 741/1340-1, and with al-Ḳalḳa<u>sh</u>andī, whose work *Ṣubḥ al-aʿ<u>sh</u>āʾ fī kitābat al-in<u>sh</u>āʾ*, completed in 815/1412, an encyclopaedia of all the information useful to the scribe, became in practice a handbook for the administration as a whole.

Arabic *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* literature continued to be productive for centuries longer, without, however, attaining any particularly high points. In the nineteenth century it even survived under European influence, as may be seen in works written in French by Arab authors. Before it reached this stage, however, it had had further secondary developments, namely when, with the decline of the power of the Caliph, local dynasties arose, and, as a result, other languages came into official use in the Islamic world alongside Arabic or in its stead. At that time, and especially after the collapse of the Caliphate, *in<u>sh</u>āʾ* literature developed in languages other than Arabic, first in Persian, then in Ottoman Turkish, in Čag<u>h</u>atay, and in Urdu.

Persian was, it is true, used officially in place

of Arabic in the chancery of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm as early as 657/1259. But this seems to have been simply the culmination of a development which had begun very much earlier. We know in fact that from the second half of the 6th/12th century at the latest Persian models were used in Khʷārazm for chancery purposes. They developed under Arabic influence, as is clear from the fact that the oldest collections contain both Arabic and Persian models (cf. Horst)., *e.g.*, the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, d. 578/1182-3. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Baghdādī, minister of the Khʷārazmshāh Takash, is outstanding among contemporary or later masters of the art of *inshāʾ*. His work, *al-Tawassul ila 'l-tarassul* (ed. A. Bahmanyār, Teheran 1315/1936), was so well known that, even in the 10th/16th century, the famous Ferīdūn Aḥmad Beg [*q.v.*] could make use of it to "complete" his *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*. Similarly at the end of the 6th/12th century al-Mayhanī compiled his collection *Kitāb al-Rasāʾil bi 'l-fārisiyya*, and further the *Dastūr-i dabīrī*. From then on there is no end to the series of Persian *inshāʾ* works. They reached a peak in the second half of the 8th/14th century with the *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjuwānī, who, moreover, also stated at that time his intention of compiling an Arabic *inshāʾ* work as a sequel to his Persian one. More detailed information about Persian *inshāʾ* is to be found in Ethé, Roemer and Herrmann (see bibl.).

The Ottoman *inshāʾ* literature is directly linked with the Persian, and thus also with the Arabic. For various reasons it seems likely that the Ottomans drew exclusively on Persian traditions, but in the present state of research direct Arabic influences, *e.g.*, from the Mamluks, cannot *a priori* be excluded. In any case there are Turkish *inshāʾ* works containing Arabic alongside their Turkish and Persian stylistic models. The origin of the Turkish *inshāʾ* literature goes back as far as the beginning of the 9th/15th century, to a work entitled *Tarassul*, containing directions for scribes and model letters, by Aḥmad Dāʿī (d. 824/1421). The next works known to us come from the end of the 9th/15th century: Yaḥyā al-Kātib, *Manāhidj al-inshāʾ*; Ḥusāmzāda Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Madjmūʿa-yi inshāʾ*; Meḥmed b. Edhem, *Gülshen-i inshāʾ*. The *magnum opus* of Turkish *inshāʾ* literature is the famous work of Feridūn Beg [*q.v.*], *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, composed about 974/1566 (Instanbul ¹1264-5, ²1274-5, two volumes each), in which, however, both genuine and fabricated documents are included. For the development of Ottoman *inshāʾ* in particular, reference should be made to Björkman, *Briefsammlungen* and Matuz, where a comprehensive bibliography of Ottoman *inshāʾ* works may be found.

The foregoing survey may be supplemented by the articles DIPLOMATIC, DĪWĀN, KĀTIB, etc.

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(H. R. Roemer)

INSHĀʾ, *makhlaṣ* of the famous Urdu poet, one of the most remarkable figures in Urdu literature, Inshāʾ Allāh Khān. The eldest son of Mīr Māshāʾ Allāh Khān "Maṣdar" al-Djaʿfarī al-Nadjafī, he was born between 1756 and 1758 at Murshidābād [*q.v.*], where the family had settled after its migration from ʿIrāḳ, the grandfather of Inshāʾ, Shāh Nūr Allāh al-Nadjafī having also been born in this town. Māshāʾ Allāh Khān had established himself as a physician and became one of the courtiers of the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal, Nawwāb Sirādj al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; on the decline of his fortunes, he migrated to Farrūkhābād [*q.v.*]. Inshāʾ received his early education in various sciences including grammar and syntax, logic and philosophy at home, and at the age of sixteen left for Lucknow in search of a post; he joined the court of Nawwāb Shudjāʾ al-Dawla, who had already settled a *djāgīr* having an income of Rs. 10,000 on his father [see awadh and fayḍābād]. He appears to have started composing poetry at a very early age, as he had compiled his *dīwān* of Urdu verses when he was still a boy, "in a new style and without the help of a teacher" (cf. Aḥmad ʿAlī, *Makhzan al-gharāʾib*, fol. 60b). He had also tried his hand at composing Arabic and Persian verses. Polished, cultured, and witty, he soon made an ideal boon-companion to the ruler of Awadh. On the death of Shudjāʾ al-Dawla he left Lucknow in 1786 and served several nobles in turn in Bundelkhand, Delhi and Djaynagar. Unable to find an appreciative patron, he returned to Lucknow, where he joined the retinue of Mīrzā Sulaymān Shukōh (d. 1837), the third son of the Mughal emperor Shāh ʿĀlam II, as a court-poet. Some time later Tafaḍḍul Ḥusayn Khān ʿAllāma, a Shīʿī nobleman and patron of art and literature, introduced him to Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, the ruler of Lucknow, who assigned him a monthly salary of Rs. 200. Soon they became close friends, but a chance remark on a delicate occasion offended the Nawwāb, and led to his expulsion from Lucknow; though allowed to return later he spent the rest of his life in rather reduced circumstances.

His sharp and sometimes caustic wit made him more enemies than friends. By his superior talents he outshone his rival Ghulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī [*q.v.*], himself a great poet, upon whom he heaped insults and disgrace. He did not spare even wayfarers and strangers whom he freely ridiculed. He had several literary bouts with his contemporaries, which generally degenerated into obscene satires and lampoons. The libellous procession, headed by clowns and ruffians, which he took out to vilify the aged Muṣḥafī, in a centre of culture like Lucknow, shows to what depths he could at times sink. As a pioneer in the field of Urdu grammar and linguistics he was far ahead of his times. Leaning towards the unconventional, his verse is both amusing and burlesque, constituting a landmark in the development of Urdu poetry. His style is laboured and artificial as against his rival Muṣḥafī's, who was a natural poet.

He was the first important poet to write *rēkhtī*, poetry written in the language peculiar to women, in the Urdu language.

His *Kulliyāt* (ed. Lucknow 1312/1894), which comprises his Urdu, *rēkhtī* and Persian *dīwāns*, *ḳaṣīdas* and five or six *mathnawīs*, contains between 8,000 and 9,000 verses marked chiefly by virtuosity but little poetic feeling. He indulged in verbal gymnastics using most intractable rhymes, sometimes writing a series of *ghazals* in the same metre and rhyme merely to display his vast vocabulary and poetic skill.

He was equally at home in Arabic, Persian, Turkī, Pushtū, Hindī, Bengālī, Pandjābī, Kashmīrī and Pūrbī. His prose works comprise: (1) *Daryā-i laṭāfat* in Persian (ed. Murshidābād 1266/1850; Awrangābād 1916; Urdu tr. by Bridjmohan Dattatrya Kayfī, Delhi 1935), the first work by an Indian author on Urdu linguistics and grammar, composed at the instance of Yamīn al-Dawla in 1222/1807 in collaboration with Mīrzā Ḳatīl, a well-known poet of Persian, who contributed the chapters on logic, prosody and rhetoric. The rest is by Inshāʾ. It shows the author's wide range of study and his grasp of Urdu linguistics and morphology. (2) *Rānī Ketkī Kī Kahānī*, a romantic tale with love, magic and adventure as its theme, written in pure Hindī, without a single word of Arabic or Persian origin. In spite of such limitations, the narrative is neither dry nor artificial although it is interspersed with archaic words and expressions (ed. Delhi 1937, Karachi 1955). (3) *Silk-i Gawhar*, also a love story in Urdu prose, without any dotted letter, in clear imitation of the *Sawāṭiʿ al-ilhām* and *Mawārid al-kalim* of Fayḍī [*q.v.*], but much inferior, both in diction and phraseology. The story is insipid and colourless (ed. Imtiyāz ʿAlī ʿArshī, Rampur 1948). (4) A fragment of his diary in Turkī from 18 Djumādā II 1223/12 July 1808 to 25 Djumādā II 1223/18 August 1808 containing some very interesting and useful information not found elsewhere (MS. Rampur State Library). This seems to be his last work, since he stopped writing after his only son Taʿāl Allāh died in the prime of his youth, in the same year. Two years later he earned the displeasure of his patron Nawwāb Saʿādat ʿAlī Khān, and this ultimately led to his utter ruin. Disillusioned and broken-hearted, he died in comparative obscurity in 1233/1818 in Lucknow, which had seen him at the height of a glory and fame seldom rivalled by any other Urdu poet or litterateur.

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1848; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Gul-i raʿnā*, Lahore 1964, 213-22; Rām Bābū Saksēna, *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1940, 15, 82-6; T. Grahame Bailey, *A history of Urdu literature*, Calcutta 1932, 54-5; Muhammad Sadiq, *A history of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 11-2, 120, 124-30, 138, 167, 314; Sri Rām, *Khumkhānā-i djāwīd*, Delhi 1908, 467-75; Amina Khātūn, *Taḥḳīḳī nawādir*, Bangalore 1950, 8-60, 107-17, 131-53; ʿAbd al-Salām Nadwī, *Shiʿr al-Hind*, s.v. Inshā'; Garcin de Tacy, *Historie de la literature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Paris 1870, s.v. Inshā'; Mīr Ḥasan, *Tadhkira-i shuʿarā'-i Urdū*, Delhi 1940, 19-20; Ḳudrat Allāh Shawḳ, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarā'*, Lahore 1967; Farḥat Allāh Bēg, *Inshā'*, n.p. n.d.; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i ḥayāt*, Lahore 1954, 254-302 (a good readable account but not fully reliable); Muḥammad Yaḥyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-muṣannifīn*; Ibn Amīn Allāh "Tūfān", *Tadhkira-i shuʿarā'*, Patna 1954, 403; Muḥsin ʿAlī Muḥsin, *Sarāpā sukhan*, Lucknow 1860, 133, 164, 224, 227; Aʿẓam al-Dawla "Sarwar", *Tadhkira-i Sarwar* (= *ʿUmda-i muntakhiba*), Delhi 1961, 24-47; A. Sprenger (= Ṭufayl Aḥmad), *Yādgār-i shuʿarā'*, Allahabad 1943, 34; Walī Allāh Farrukhābādī, *Ta'rīkh-i Farrukhābād* (Urdu tr. under the title *ʿAhd-i Bangash*), Karachi 1965, 369-71; Bhagwāndās "Hindī", *Safīna-i Hindī*, Patna 1377/1958, 19; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn "Bāṭin", *Gulistān-i Bīkhizān*, Lucknow 1291/1874, 10-11; Mubtalā, *Gulshan-i sukhan*, Lucknow 1965, 64; ʿAbd al-Bārī Āsī, *Tadhkira-i khanda-i gul*, Lucknow 1929, 78-97; Nūr al-Ḥasan Hāshimī, *Dilli kā dabistānī shāʿirī*, Karachi 1949, 196-202; Abu 'l-Layth Ṣiddīḳī, *Lakhna'ū kā dabistān-i shāʿirī*, Lahore 1955, 169-90; Muṣṭafā Khān "Shīfta", *Gulshan-i bīkhār*, Delhi 1291/1874, 29-30; preface to his *Kulliyāt* (ed. Lahore 1969) by Āmina Khātūn.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

INSIGNIA [see nishān, rasm, shiʿār, wisām].

INSTITUT D'ÉGYPTE, one of the centres of intellectual and scientific life in present-day Cairo. Its history is in fact that of two separate institutes.

(a) The first was the Institut d'Égypte founded by Bonaparte in Cairo, under the presidency of Monge, on 20 August 1798 (3 Fructidor). Its creation had been made possible by the existence in Bonaparte's expedition of a "Commission of the Sciences and the Arts", in effect an intellectual general staff which Bonaparte had decided should accompany him when he left France. The Institut d'Égypte held its meetings in the palace of Ḥasan Kāshif, in a sort of academy which included scholars, artists, the high-ranking officers and the heads of the various services. It contained four sections (mathematics; physical and natural sciences; political economy; literature and fine arts). It was to have consisted in all of forty-eight members (twelve in each section), but this number was never reached. All the members of this institute belonged to the expeditionary force, with the exception of one Egyptian who was a member of the section of literature and fine arts: Raphaël Anṭūn Zakhūr Rāhib, a priest of the Greek Catholic rite, who later taught in Paris at the École des Langues Orientales (1803-16) and who on his return to Egypt published, among other works, the first book to be printed by the press at Būlāḳ, an Italian Arabic dictionary (1822).

In addition to producing geographical maps based on astronomical data, the Institut collected "all the details necessary for information about the agricultural resources, the industry, the customs and the political condition of the inhabitants". The Institut controlled the printing works directed by the orientalist Marcel. This Institut, whose existence was necessarily brief owing to political and military circumstances, produced outstanding work intended "to cause the miseries of the conquest to be forgotten through the benefits of peace", according to Gabriel Guémard. The reports of the meetings were published in the *Décade Égyptienne*. After the evacuation of Egypt, the large collections and notes were made known in the famous *Description de l'Égypte*, a unique source of information for the student of late 18th century Egypt both from the point of view of Egyptology and of modern history. This *Description* consists of volumes of text together with an outstanding collection of geographical maps and plates on a wide variety of subjects.

(b) On 6 May 1859, during a preliminary meeting, there was founded in Alexandria under "the illustrious protection of His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt" (Muḥammad Saʿīd Pasha), the Institut Égyptien, whose aim was to continue the traditions of the Institut founded by Bonaparte. European and Egyptian scholars met there on an equal footing. This "scientific and literary" society was transferred to Cairo in 1880. It adopted again the old name of Institut d'Égypte on 1 November 1918 and is still continuing its activities more than a hundred years later. Its Arabic name is *al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-miṣrī*. According to its statutes, revised in 1918, there were envisaged fifty titular members, resident in Egypt; in addition there are appointed honorary members, the number of which must not exceed one hundred, and an unlimited number of corresponding members. The Institut publishes regularly a Bulletin (*madjalla*) which, from 1859 to 1918, was called *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, then, from 1918, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*; it publishes also *Mémoires* which appear at irregular intervals. It publishes in Arabic, French and English, but up to now the publications have been mainly in French and English. The best outline of the activities of the Institut d'Égypte is in the bibliographical work by Jean Ellul, *Index des Communications et Mémoires publiés par l'Institut d'Égypte (1859-1952)*, Cairo 1952. Apart from some modifications to bring them in line with the new legislation of the U.A.R., the statutes of 1918, published at that time in the *Bulletin*, still remain the legal basis of the Institut d'Égypte.

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INSTRUMENT [see ĀLA].

INTIDĀB [see MANDATE].

INTELLECT [see ʿAḲL].

INTENTION [see NIYYA].

INTERCESSION [see SHAFĀʿA].

INTIHĀʾ, "end, conclusion", a term in rhetoric. In Ḳazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* (published under the title *Matn al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo n.d., 126-7), its extended version, the *Īḍāḥ* (ed. Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafādjī, Cairo 1369/1950, vi, 153-4), the various works based on the *Talkhīṣ*, as well as in some earlier texts, the *intihāʾ* is mentioned along with the *ibtidāʾ*, "introduction", "prologue" [*q.v.*], and the *takhalluṣ*, "transition" [*q.v.*], as one of the three sectons of the poem or prose composition (some mention also the *khuṭba*, "sermon") which should receive particular attention. The author should bear in mind that the end of his poem or composition is most likely to be remembered by his audience and can therefore make up for earlier deficiencies, as well as spoil an otherwise successful work. He should not only show himself at his best, but should also make clear that no further developments of his theme are to follow, and this may be achieved by ending with an invocation (*duʿāʾ*), by the use of words derived from the roots *kamala*, "to be complete", *khatama*, "to seal, finish", etc. (according to some late handbooks; for examples see the chapter in Ibn Ḥidjdja's *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886, 462, 464, 466), or by other means which are not always clearly defined. Among early scholars Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (*K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1371/1952, 443-5) advocates the use of proverbs at the end of poems, and Ibn Rashīḳ holds that the *duʿāʾ* should only be used at the end of poems addressed to kings (a particular variant of this, the *duʿāʾ-i-taʾbīd*, "prayer for [the ruler's] perpetuity" is mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Teheran n.d., 33). Some frequently quoted verse examples sum up the previous argument by means of a hyperbole. Most authors point out that, like the *takhalluṣ*, the *intihāʾ* receives much attention in the work of later poets.

The *intihāʾ* is often discussed under headings like *ḥusn al-maḳṭaʿ*, *barāʿat al-maḳṭaʿ* (*maḳṭaʿ* in this context to be distinguished from the same term as applied to the end of a line of poetry), *ḥusn al-khātima*, etc.

Considerable attention is given to the *intihāʾ* in the Ḳurʾān, but scholars following Ḳazwīnī concede that experience is needed to appreciate the stylistic qualities of the endings of the *sūras*.

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(S. A. Bonebakker)

INTIḤĀR, "suicide", expressed more technically in Arabic by *ḳatl nafs-* with pronominal suffix (as against *ḳatl nafs* or *al-nafs* "homicide"). *Intiḥār* designated originally, and does so in its occurrence in the *ḥadīth*, suicide by piercing or cutting one's throat. At an undetermined but possibly quite early date, the word was singled out to mean suicide in general. It is thus used in modern Arabic and in Turkish, also in Persian.

The Ḳurʾān contains several passages (II, 54/51, IV, 66/69, XVIII, 6/5) that might possibly be interpreted (but, in fact, are not) as indicating a factual, even condoning attitude toward suicide. No clear prohibition of suicide appears in it. The most relevant passage in this respect, IV, 29/33: "and do not kill your selves (*anfusakum*)", is interpreted by leading exegetes as referring to mutual killing, with *anfus-* to be understood as reciprocal in meaning, as in II, 85/79 and elsewhere. The context supports this interpretation. However, the verse is often cited as evidence for the divine prohibition of suicide.

The Prophet himself certainly disapproved of suicide. A number of *ḥadīth*s leave no doubt that Islam forbids it. The person who commits suicide, regardless of the circumstances (unless it happens accidentally), forfeits Paradise. His punishment in Hell will be the repetition of the very act by which he killed himself. The Prophet is said to have refused to say the customary prayers for a suicide. Suicide was thus generally considered a grave sin (for instance, al-Dhahabī, *Kabāʾir*, Cairo 1385/1965, 119 ff., ch. 29; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haythamī, *Zawādjir*, Cairo 1370/1951, ii, 89 f.). At times, it was pronounced a more distressing act than murder (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1343-49, iii, 217; Ibn ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, Cairo 1329, ii, 234, ch. 147, iv, 463 f., ch. 960; cf. also the case posed by Ḳāḍīkhān, *Fatāwī*, Calcutta 1835, iv, 198 f.).

The legal literature has comparatively little to say about successful suicide, and no good evidence appears to be available as to the medieval legal attitude toward abortive suicide attempts. The most debated question, and no doubt the one of the greatest practical importance, was, and still is, whether the funeral prayers may of may not be accorded to suicides. Authorities within the various legal schools have held divergent views on this point and the practice appears to have varied. The more charitable view may have widely prevailed. For instance, when ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf al-ʿIrāḳī, a blind professor at the Amīniyya in Damascus, committed suicide under tragic circumstances in 602/1206, people refused to pray for him, but another prominent Shāfiʿite scholar did (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1351-58, xiii, 44, from Abū Shāma). Details occasionally discussed by jurists were such points as the inapplicability of the *ʿāḳila* [*q.v.*] in cases of suicide (Ibn Abī Zayd, *Risāla*, ed. trans. L. Berchet, Algiers 1949, 246); the disposition of the *mahr* [*q.v.*] of a woman who commits suicide before the marriage is consummated (al-Shaybānī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, Būlāḳ 1302, margin of Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, 37; Ḳāḍīkhān, i, 436); the legal responsibility of the person who by digging a well or the like inadvertently makes it possible for someone to commit suicide (Ḳāḍīkhān, iv, 134, 464; for the Muʿtazilī view on the moral problems caused by knowingly enabling a person to kill himself, cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, xi, Cairo 1385/1965, 232 f.; cf. also Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda*, Cairo, n.d., ii, 53); or, according to modern Shīʿa law, the validity of a suicide's will depending on the time it was made (A. A. A. Fyzee, *Outlines of Muhammadan law*, Calcutta 1949, 306).

Lay views and attitudes with respect to suicide present a rather different picture. The threat of committing suicide was not infrequently used as a psychological weapon, in one instance even by the famous Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī for the purpose of forcing the deity to confirm his saintliness by some minor miracle, provoking the strong disapproval of al-Djunayd (al-Sarrādj, *Luma*ʿ, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1914, 327; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 132 f., omitting al-Djunayd's disapproval). A woman might threaten suicide in order to force her husband to give her a divorce (Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwī*, Cairo n.d. [1965-6], iv, 148). "Suicide "is widely used figuratively to indicate voluntary exposure to serious danger in war or through such activities as excessive praying and fasting (which, however, is also literally branded as suicide, cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *Khalwa*, ed. I. A. Khalifé, Damascus 1955, 33; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, Cairo 1372-73, i, 120; B. Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul*, Berlin 1968, 267 f.) or imprudent talkativeness (al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 21). It also occurs as a metaphor for extraordinary effort and unusual excitement. Muslim poets refer to suicide half seriously half playfully in various connexions, as, for instance, ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *Dīwān*, ed. P. Schwarz, no. 127 (*Aghānī*³, i, 158); Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 50, 251; al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, i, 322 (cf. also Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 188; al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīda*, Syr. poets, Damascus 1375/1955, i, 556; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1268, i, 229); al-Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*, Cairo 1287, i, 152; al-Ṣafadī, *Ghayth*, Cairo 1305, ii, 262 f. Even religious scholars might make incidental reference to suicide to prove some particular point (ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, vi, 16, 188, xi, 232 f., 393, 395 f., 492 ff.; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 212, iv, 219 f.).

Famous cases of suicide from pre-Islamic times are occasionally mentioned, as, for instance, King Saul (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 53); Judas Iscariot (al-Mubarrad, *Balāgha*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1965, 62); Cleopatra (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 289 f., etc.); or the Jews fighting the Romans (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 137). The Indian custom of the self-sacrifice of widows and an assumed general Indian propensity for suicide were often referred to (for instance, al-Ṭabarī, *Dīn*, ed. A. Mingana, Manchester 1923, 11; al-Muṭahhar, *Bad'*, ed. C. Huart, iv, 16 ff., trans., 14 ff.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 136 ff.). Cases of suicide of non-Muslims and heretics, wishing to retain their human dignity and to remain faithful to their beliefs, are reported with a mixture of disgust and admiration. Suicide because of unrequited or illicit love was celebrated by famous stories in many *adab* works, in particular, the large literature on love (for instance, al-Daylamī *ʿAṭf*, ed. J. Vadet, Cairo 1962, 77, 122-125; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Dhamm al-hawā*, Cairo 1381/1962, 356, 358, 455, 570-581); for the heroine of a romance, it was only natural to think of suicide (Gurgānī, *Wīs and Rāmīn*, Teheran 1337/1959, 76, trans. H. Massé, Paris 1959, 93). The literary topic was no doubt a romantic reflexion of reality. Its pre-Islamic roots seem to lie largely in the Hellenistic world.

Popular Hellenistic philosophy helped to strengthen the idea that death was preferable to a life of dishonour or otherwise unbearable. It probably also contributed to the discussion of whether wishing to be dead, without actually laying hands on oneself, was a legitimate desire—something that Muslim religious scholars would not accept. A philosophical view of the meaning of suicide was probably widespread among intellectuals of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1323-25, ii, 99, 114, or the poems addressed to a suicide cited by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Manthūr*, Ms. Cairo *adab* 581, fol. 88b). Some of the discussion is preserved for us from the circle of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. Human existence, it was argued there, possesses value only if it is accompanied by virtue; otherwise, it is equivalent to non-existence, and consequently, it would seem to make no difference if a base and imperfect life is ended by suicide. Compelling circumstances for committing suicide are destitution, disappointments, situations a person is unable to cope with, and love affairs that go beyond one's ability to handle. The occasional and temporary prevalence of the non-rational powers, which is unavoidable since human nature is the result of the simultaneous presence of all the three powers of the soul, explains the occurrence of suicide. Suicide is to be condemned, not simply on the strength of religious tradition but as an irrational act that human beings should not commit but are at times unable to avoid (*Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1347, 215 ff., cf. *JAOS*, lxvi (1946), 248 ff.; al-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh, *Hawāmil*, ed. A. Amīn and A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1370/1951, 150 ff., cf. also 72 ff. and 187 ff. on the fear of or desire for death). Al-Bīrūnī, however, quoted Greek sources in order to condemn suicide (*India*, ed. E. Sachau, 284, trans. ii, 171).

Many types of suicide are mentioned widely dispersed in the sources. Even such incidentals as the suicide note are reported (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 146; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 41 [?]; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, Hyderabad 1348-50, iii, 392). Since our principal sources of information are historical and political, it is not surprising to find as the most common motives the wish to anticipate certain capture or death at the hands of an enemy and, for both men and women, the desire to escape dishonour and humiliation in turbulent times. Use was made on occasion of the religious abhorrence of suicide in order to camouflage political murder as suicide. We also hear of unsubstantiated rumours of suicide upon the death of high-ranking officials, and suspicions of a person's orthodoxy gave rise to gratuitous accusations of suicide as in the case of the poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 194 f.). Civic dishonour, the fear of punishment, unbearable disease (cf. the case of Ibn Shuhayd who, however, merely contemplated suicide: Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1952, 84; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, Cairo 1358/1939, i/I, 282; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd*, ʿAmmān [1966], 67-8), insanity , guilt feelings, and the desire for revenge are attested as causes of suicide.

In the absence of meaningful statistics, it would be rash to draw any sociological conclusions. The common motive of conjugal problems, for instance, seems to play only a relatively minor role according to the medieval literature, but whether this is due to lack of information or to the social climate created by Islam cannot be decided. Suicides of religious scholars are rarely reported. Possible instances of cases in which a scholar's political or administrative activities can be ruled out as the cause are the above mentioned al-ʿIrāḳī in 602; the eccentric Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*] in 669; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Bakr al-Djazarī al-Naḥwī in 698; Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ashḳar in 731 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, 392); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Zarkashī in 788; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ḥanbalī in 801 (al-Sakhāwī, *Daw'*, iv, 300); or, in a very different environment, the case mentioned by W. Ivanow, *Satpanth*, Leiden-Cairo 1948, *Collectanea*, i, 18.

The total number of all cases that can be collected from the literature remains small. However, the casual and metaphorical use of "suicide", the urgency of the discussion of the question of funeral rites, and similar matters, among them the constant presence of the thought of suicide in popular works such as the *Arabian Nights* and modern fairy tales and plays (for instance, W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953; O. Spies, *Türkische Puppenspiele*, Emsdetten/Westf. 1959, 77, 104 f.; E. Littmann, *Arabische Märchen und Schwänke*, Wiesbaden 1955, 56), make it quite clear that suicide was a part of daily life in the medieval Muslim world. Yet, even if we take into account the likelihood that suicides were hushed up wherever possible because of religious scruples, and the fact that the bulk of available biographical information concerns scholars who were most sensitive to the religious injunction against suicide and pays hardly any attention to other, numerically much stronger, classes of the population, the impression prevails that, everything considered, suicide was of comparatively rare ocurrence. The assumption that the teachings of Islam were an effective deterrent may very well be true.

Bibliography: T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, *s.v.* suicide; O. Rescher, in *Isl.*, ix (1919), 55 f. (*Arabian Nights*); W. M. Patton, in *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, New York 1922, xii, 38; Muṣṭafā Djawād, *al-Muntaḥirūn fi 'l-Djāhiliyya wa-'l-Islām*, in *al-Hilāl*, xlii (1934), 475-9; L. Nemoy, *A tenth century disquisition on suicide (from Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī)*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lvii (1938), 411-20; F. Rosenthal, *On suicide in Islam*, in *JAOS*, lxvi (1946), 239-259, where much of the earlier literature is listed; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Wiesbaden 1955, 147, 239, 359, 410, 467, 517, 533. [The very dubious tradition that the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I [*q.v.*] committed suicide is discussed by M. F. Köprülü in *Bell.*, i/2 (1937) and by Mükrimin Halil Yınanç in *IA*, ii, 388-9.] (F. Rosenthal)

INVESTITURE [see bayʿa, khilʿa, taḳlīd].

INZĀL [see waḳf].

IPSHIR MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA (?-1065/1655), Ottoman Grand Vizier, was related to the "rebel" Ābāza Meḥmed Pasha (see ābāza, i) (his sister's son according to Naʿīmā (ed. of 1282), ii, 302, iii, 194, v, 196; his uncle's son, according to *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 182); his nickname Ipshir is probably due to his belonging to the Apsil tribe of the Abkhāz [*q.v.*] (see Ismail Berkok, *Tarihde Kafkasya*, Istanbul 1958, 142). He was brought up by Ābāza Meḥmed Pasha, who, as governor of Aleppo, procured him the post of *sandjaḳ-begi* of Tarsus in 1026/1617 (Naʿīmā, v, 196). He was with Ābāza in his battle with Murtaḍā Pasha (Naʿīmā, ii, 302), during his sojourn in Bosnia and at Belgrade, in the Polish war in 1043/1633, and in Istanbul until Ābāza's death in 1044/1634. Then Kemānkesh Muṣṭafā Pasha procured him admission into the Palace service, and by 1049/1639 he had risen to be Büyük Mīr-akhūr. He was thereafter successively governor of Budin, Silistre, Marʿash, Mawṣil, Van, Karaman and (1054/1644) Temeshvar; he was disliked and feared, but had a strong personal following. Although he took part in the revolt of Dervīsh Meḥmed Pasha in 1056/1646, he was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anadolu as being the only governor capable of putting down the various rebels (Ḥaydar-oghlu Meḥmed, Varvar Alī Pasha [*qq.v.*], Gürdjü Nebī), and in 1060/1650 he was endeavouring to compose dissension among the Druzes [see durūz] in the Lebanon. He managed to avoid being sent against his friend Ābāza Ḥasan [see ābāza (2)], and finally was himself won round to the "*djelālī*" cause. On 1 Shawwāl 1061/17 September 1651 he made himself master of Ankara, and extended his control over Eskishehir. His plans to put an end to the influence of the *agha*s in the capital, to restore the Durūz to submission and to support the cause of the *sipāhī*s won him a strong following, but a composition was reached with the central authorities by which Ipshir was appointed governor of Aleppo (1062/1652). Here he began to put into effect his plans for reform, and procured the support of governors of neighbouring provinces; but in spite of his lofty aims the populace began to complain of his extortions, and he rejected suggestions from Istanbul that he should disband some of his forces. Finally, in view of the inability of the statesmen in Istanbul to agree upon another candidate and their hope that the appointment would remove the *djelālī* menace, the seal of the Grand Vizierate was sent to him in Aleppo (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1064/October 1654). He announced that before coming to Istanbul he would settle the problems of the eastern frontier, and published his programme of reform. This provoked alarm in Istanbul, and after being repeatedly summoned to the capital in December he started out from Aleppo. On his leisurely progress across Anatolia he re-distributed to his followers *muḳāṭaʿa*s [*q.v.*] and offices which had already been sold, claiming that his appointees were more honest and that he was protecting the populace from extortion, and did not hesitate to imprison or even execute governors accused of malpractices. At the end of February 1655, having left the *ḳāʾimmaḳām* and the Müftī's son at Üsküdar as hostages, he ventured to cross to the Palace; an interview with the Sultan banished his suspicions that his invitation to the capital was a trap, and after making a ceremonious entry into the city he was married to the late Sultan Ibrāhīm's daughter ʿĀʾishe.

The vigorous and harsh measures which he took, however, soon offended even his closest supporters, and the *sipāhī*s, finding their hopes in him unfulfilled, allied themselves with his enemies the Janissaries. A revolt broke out on 3 Radjab 1065/9 May 1655, and next day, on the insistence of the mutinous troops, Ipshir Pasha was executed. He left the reputation of a skilful warrior and horseman, religious, stern, and puritanical in his dress and diet.

Bibliography: apart from sources still in manuscript (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha, *Weḳāyiʿnāme*; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i ghilmānī*; *Taʾrīkh-i Nihādī*; Ḥasan Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīkh*; Muṣṭafā, *Risāle-i Kürd Khaṭīb*): Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 280-2, iii, 117, 267, 280-1, 492-532, iv, 297-8; Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed, *Silihdār taʾrīkhi*, i, 4, 6-11; Naʿīmā, ii, 302, 444, iii, 194, 432, iv, 5, 73, 111, 223, 227, 246-8, 270, 274-8, 346, 417, v, 3-5, 39-41, 44, 89-92, 155-65, 168, 171-5, 188, 195-9, 309-13, 341, 432-4, vi, 4-22, 29-47, 53-96; *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, 99-101; *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 182, 275; ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 65 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, index s.v. Ipschirpascha; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/I, 234-5, 265, 272, 278-94, 438, iii/2, 276, 398-9, 408-10. See also, for the period and its disturbances: djelālī (in Supp.); meḥemmed iv; sipāhī; yeñičeri. (Münir Aktepe)

IʿRĀB, a technical term in Arabic grammar. It is sometimes found translated as "inflexion", as by G. Flügel (*Die gram. Schulen*, 15), who also unjustifiably extended the sphere of this "inflexion".

Nevertheless in translating thus, one comes up against the way in which the Arab grammarians envisaged this "inflexion".

It should be pointed out, first of all, that these grammarians had no proper term for "declension" and "conjugation", and no general term for "case" and "mood". They proceed in a purely formal manner. Taking *sounds* into consideration, they make the following division: (a) *rafʿ* = nominative (as *al-radjul-u*) and indicative (as *yaḳtul-u*), because both take *-u* and are thus *marfūʿ*; (b) *naṣb* = accusative (as *al-radjul-a*) and subjunctive (as *yaḳtul-a*), because both take *-a* and are thus *manṣūb*; (c) *djarr* (*khafḍ* to the Kufans) = genitive (as *al-radjul-i*), because it takes *-i* and is thus *madjrūr* (*makhfūḍ*). This last has no counterpart in the imperfective of the verb; the latter, instead of adding a vowel, suppresses a vowel: they say: *djazm* "cutting" and this imperfective is *madjzūm* "apocopated" (as *yaḳtul*); it forms the jussive.

In this formal distribution of the three short vowels of the Arabic language the Arab grammarians mingle noun and verb. In addition, for the noun, they consider only the singular, adding merely the qualification *munṣarif* to nouns of three cases (as *al-radjul* above) and *ghayr munṣarif* to those of only two cases, such as Aḥmad: *aḥmad-u* (nom.), *aḥmad-a* (gen. and acc.). In the imperfective of the verb they introduce formal distinctions of moods only when these are formed by the addition of a short vowel (*-u*, *-a*) or by its suppression (*madjzūm*). Arab grammarians, then, do not think of "declension" and "conjugation" as an organic whole, or as a system. Hence the lack of denomination in their terminology and also the difficulty of giving complete precision to "inflexion", when translating *iʿrāb* thus.

On the other hand, and this is most important, they *always* consider the occurrence of the short vowels in terms of a cause: a *ʿāmil*, "a governor". Things are regarded from a syntactical point of view. This is true to such an extent that if *iʿrāb* is known all the *ʿawāmil* are known, and the major part of Arabic syntax is also known; thus *ʿilm al-naḥw* can also be called *ʿilm al-iʿrāb* (*Dict. of Techn. Terms*, 17). As for de Sacy, he considered that the word *iʿrāb* could not be rendered more exactly than by "Syntax of terminations" or "terminational syntax" (*Anthologie grammaticale*, i, 186, end n. 2). The *iʿrāb* thus understood is outside morphology, as we understand it.

The conclusion from all this is that we have no adequate term directly to translate *iʿrāb*. A periphrasis is necessary; it is best to adopt the definition that Arab grammarians have themselves given of *iʿrāb*, for example that of the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī (Cairo 1321), 20: *huwa ʾkhtilāf ākhir al-kalima bi-ʾkhtilāf al-ʿawāmil lafẓ^{an} aw taḳdīr^{an}*, "it is the difference that occurs, in fact or virtually, at the end of a word, because of the various antecedents that govern it"; *bi-ḥaraka aw ḥarf*, "by *ḥaraka* or *ḥarf*", adds the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī (§ 16).

This definition is bound up with a whole system. By *iʿrāb* Arab grammarians denote, first of all, basically the use of the three *ḥarakāt*: *ḍamma* (*-u*), *kasra* (*-i*) and *fatḥa* (*-a*), at the end of the singular noun, which is thus *muʿrab* (the *ghayr munṣarif* is included). This is *iʿrāb lafẓ^{an}*, "actual *iʿrāb*". Words like *ʿaṣa-n* "stick", *maʿna-n* "sense, meaning", which are, in fact, invariable in the singular, are nonetheless called *muʿrab*, but *taḳdīr^{an}*, "virtually", because of the *aṣl* (base): *rafʿ*: **ʿaṣawu-un*, **maʿnay-un*, etc., which is supposed "virtually" to exist behind these words. They contrast *iʿrāb* with its opposite: *bināʾ* "to build", which denotes the state of a word that is fixed to one final *ḥaraka* or to none at all, independently of any *ʿāmil*, or whatever the *ʿāmil* may be. It is thus called *mabnī*: *mabnī ʿala ʾl-ḍamma* (as *mundhu* "since"), *ʿala ʾl-kasra* (as *hāʾulāʾi* "these"), *ʿala ʾl-fatḥa* (as *ayna* "where?"), or *mabnī ʿalā sukūn* "fixed to quiescence" (as *kam* "how much?"). The Baṣran grammarians thus established the following principles: *iʿrāb* belongs to the noun, *bināʾ* to the verb and the *ḥurūf* (particles). This is the *aṣl*, the base. Thus the imperfective of the verb has no right to be *muʿrab*; it receives its *iʿrāb* as a *farʿ* (branch) by virtue of its resemblance to the noun; this is why it is called *al-muḍāriʿ* "resembling" [the *ism fāʿil*, the *nomen agentis*]. *Al-asmāʾ al-sitta*, in the construct state, end, from their point of view, with a *ḥarf sākin*: *alif*, *wāw* or *yāʾ*; words like *dhū* "possessor of", *abū* "father of", *akhū* "brother of", *ḥamū* "father-in-law of", *hanū* "thing of", *fū* "mouth of". In these words there is *iʿrāb bi-ḥarf*, "*iʿrāb* by means of a *ḥarf*" (the above-mentioned *ḥarf sākin*), *farʿ* of the basic *iʿrāb* of the noun by *ḥaraka*, the *aṣl*.

The plurals of nouns in *-ūna*, *-īna* and the duals in *-āni*, *-ayni*, like: *al-muslim-ū-na*, *al-muslim-ā-ni*, etc., have been the subject of long discussion. Al-Khalīl and Sībawayhi, followed by the majority of Baṣrans, see in the *alif*, *wāw* or *yāʾ* of the Arabic orthography merely a *ḥarf al-iʿrāb*. By this expression is meant the last *ḥarf* of a word, which carries the *iʿrāb* and cannot be suppressed without making the word unrecognizable, like the *d* in *Zayd*. There is, strictly speaking, no *iʿrāb*, but the following *n* is a kind of *ʿiwaḍ*, a "compensation" for the *ḥaraka* and the *tanwīn* (*-un*, *-in*, *-an*) of the indefinite singular noun, which have disappeared in the formation (Sībawayhi, i, 3, 12-3, 17-8); this noun, in their view, precedes the noun defined by *al-*. In the imperfective, on the other hand, the *nūn*, the sign of the *rafʿ* in the masc. pl. *yaḳtul-ū-na*, *taḳtul-ū-na*, of the duals *yaḳtul-ā-ni*, *taḳtul-ā-ni*, and of the fem. sing. *taḳtul-ī-na*, is thought of as constituting the *iʿrāb* (Sībawayhi, i, 4, line 8), for it can be suppressed without making the forms unrecognizable. As for the fem. pl. *yaḳtul-na*, *taḳtul-na* (*ibid.*, 4, lines 20-4; Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 36, lines 14-5), it falls under *bināʾ*, *mabnī ʿalā sukūn* before *-na*, a *ḍamīr* (personal pronoun), from their point of view. The energetic, on the other hand, is seen only as comprising a particle, the *nūn*, before which the verb is *mabnī ʿala ʾl-fatḥa* (Sībawayhi, i, 5, 6): *yaḳtula-n* or *yaḳtula-nna*, etc.

The verbal forms are thus considered in isolation, not being included in a whole, a conjugation, and this confirms that which we have seen above. The interest of Arab grammarians lies elsewhere. That which they study is the organization of the *iʿrāb*, as they understand it: they first separate the *muʿrab* and the *mabnī* then, within the *muʿrab*, distinguish the actual and the virtual, and then finally establish the ramification of the *furūʿ* from the basic *iʿrāb* of the noun by *ḥaraka*, the *aṣl*.

Arab grammarians give three explanations of the term *iʿrāb* (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār al-ʿarabiyya*, 9-10). The most common (cf. *Lisān*, ii, 78, 2 from end/i, 589a, 21-2) is that which makes *iʿrāb* the infinitive of *aʿraba ʿan* in the sense of "make clear, manifest", because *iʿrāb* "shows" the various functions of the word in the sentence: agent, object, construct, etc. (See also Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 35-7). This is scarcely satisfactory. J. Weiss (see IʿRĀB, in *EI*[1]) sums up the solutions of the Orien-

talists. Like him, we think that "in this, too, it is the simplest that is the most likely", that is, to take *a'raba* in the sense of: "to Arabize, pronounce a word in the manner of the pure Arabs" (cf. the remark of Ibn Djinnī, *ibid.*, 36, lines 7-8). We would wish to bring this out in the light of the linguistic situation in which at least the first three generations of grammarians, from 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (born about 30/651, d. 117/735) to Sībawayhi (d. 177/793), found themselves: Arabic without *i'rāb* learnt and spoken by the Arabized, Arabic without *i'rāb* spoken in the towns themselves that the Arabs had created (Baṣra, Kūfa; see H. Fleisch, *Arabe classique et arabe dialectal*, in *Travaux et Jours*, no. 12 (1964), 43-5) and the contrast provided by contact with the Beduin Arabs whose speech was still equipped with *i'rāb*. The Arab grammarians wished to "Arabize" the language of their society, to make it conform to the speech of these Beduins, the carriers of the "true" Arabic; this is most probable and quite sufficient to explain *a'raba, i'rāb* as we have taken it. By doing this, we are maintaining that *i'rāb* was retained by the tribes at least until the end of the 2nd/8th century (without deciding for later times; see H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, § 58).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: Sībawayhi, i, ch. 2 (Paris ed.), the basis of the Baṣrans' teaching, stated here; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Asrār al-'arabiyya*, ed. C. F. Seybold, ch. 2-6, 40-1, a good introduction to the subject and to the controversies between the Baṣrans and Kūfans; Zadjdjādjī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī 'ilal al-naḥw*, Cairo 1378/1959, and Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Question 3, on the dual and the pl.; Abu 'l-Baḳā' al-'Ukbarī, *al-Masā'il al-khilāfiyya fi 'l-naḥw* (ms. Cairo², ii, 158), ed. in preparation by C. Petraitis. Brief grammatical treatises: Ibn al-Sarrādj, *al-Mūzadj fi 'l-naḥw*, Beirut 1385/1965, 28; Zadjdjādjī, *Djumal*, Paris 1957, 18-21; fuller treatments: Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 15-51 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aḳīl, i, 26-76 (ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1370/1951); Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, §§ 15-8, 159 (2nd ed. J. P. Broch) and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Ya'īsh, 57-88, 400-5 (ed. G. Jahn); Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 14-30, ii, 2-3, 209-15 (Istanbul 1275). (H. FLEISCH)

IRĀDE, literally "will", a term adopted in Ottoman official usage from 1832 to designate decrees and orders issued in the name of the Sultan. The formal procedure was for draft decrees prepared by ministers and officials to be addressed to the Sultan's chief secretary (*Serkātib-i shahriyārī*), who read them to the Sultan and received and noted his comments. If he approved, the chief secretary then communicated the text to the Grand Vizier, as the Sultan's will. Under the constitution, the Sultan's function was limited to giving his assent to the decisions of the government. The term *Irāde* remained in use for this assent. (ED.)

'IRĀFA [see 'ARĪF, KIHĀNA].

'IRĀḲ, a sovereign State, of the Muslim religion, for the most part Arabic-speaking, situated at the eastern end of the Fertile Crescent.

i.—GEOGRAPHY

The structure of 'Irāḳ paradoxically derives its originality from the fact that it forms part of a large geographical block of territory. From the Arabo-Syrian desert tableland which it faces along its south-western flank, it takes its general aspect and its climate. All along its frontiers on the North-East, on the other hand, it shares the orientation and relief of the folded mountain-chains of western Asia, which give it its two great rivers. But these very rivers, and the vast plain they irrigate, endow it, under its classical name Mesopotamia, with an individuality which is undeniable.

This division, into two areas facing respectively South-West and North-East, is also that which roughly speaking distinguishes *'Irāḳ 'arabī* and *'Irāḳ 'adjamī*. But there is a further and no less essential distinction between Upper Mesopotamia on the one hand, the country of Aḳūr or the Djazīra, hemmed in between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and 'Irāḳ properly speaking or Mesopotamia, where the two rivers follow a much more indefinite course. The climate also reflects this difference; the mean annual rainfall varies from 50 mm. in the South to 300 mm. in the North. These two zones are linked together at the level of the Baghdād region where the Tigris and Euphrates, approaching each other very closely for the first time, make it possible for a whole system of navigable routes to be established, providing the necessary crossings and connections.

Symbolised by this intermediate region between steppes and mountains in one direction, between Upper Mesopotamia and Lower Mesopotamia in the other, the situation of the country is indeed that of a cross-roads, and not merely on a local scale. The geography of 'Irāḳ evokes world history, at the meeting-point of two great axes, that from the Mediterranean to Upper Asia, and that from Western Europe to the Indian Ocean.

Northern 'Irāḳ. It is in the Djazīra that the distinction between the steppe lands in the South-West and the mountains in the North-East is most clearly perceptible. There the steppe undergoes a more or less regular transformation, from West to East, to lower and less broken country: as regards climate and ecology, this is a classical Bedouin zone, and what is more, a zone of transitions and contrasts. The Euphrates, which within the territory of 'Irāḳ is not joined by any tributary strictly speaking, is above all a river providing irrigation. Its valley, excavated from a shallow layer of alluvial deposit which conceals the limestones and marls of the Arabo-Syrian bed-rock, is the traditional home of a sedentary and more or less continuous agriculture, for which purpose water is drawn from the river by means of wheels with buckets or by systems of ropes and other methods operated by animals. The agricultural possibilities are however greater than these antiquated practices would lead one to suppose: for since the Middle Ages, when the Arab geographers spoke of the fertility of the country (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, trans. Wiet, 214 f.), the situation has deteriorated, to allow a greater degree of bedouinization (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, 221, 223), the effects of which were finally confirmed during the 18th century. Today, the State of 'Irāḳ is proposing to undertake and develop a policy of constructing large dams (the al-Ramādī-al-Ḥabbāniyya complex), in order to facilitate and develop irrigation while neutralising the considerable divergences in flow (annual average, 838 cubic metres/sec., but floods of 5,200 cubic metres).

In the North-East, the highest mountains (2588m, near al-Sulaymāniyya) are associated with the tertiary Zagros folds in Iran, while the Djabal Sindjār which, to the West of Mosul, is an extension of the faulted zone of the Palmyra region, is more closely related to the geological formation of eastern Syria. This mountain mass encroaches on a broad front on the basin of the Tigris which, at the defile of al-Fatḥa, has to cut through the sandstone folds

of the Djabal Ḥamrīn. The higher lands, being very abundantly supplied with water, derive almost no advantage from their rainfall; it is along their damp margins, where the springs also occur, that both cultivation and human beings are concentrated, from the plain of Assyria which is more steppe-like and, around Mosul, is enclosed between the mountains of Sindjār to the West, of Maḳlūb to the East-North-East and of Makḥūl to the South, to the sub-alpine region of Arbīl, Kirkūk and Khāniḳīn, watered by the three affluents of the Tigris—the Great Zāb, the Little Zāb and the Diyālā. This region of traditional agriculture is also rich in oil (oil-fields of Mosul and Kirkūk), and moreover possesses a highly developed system of communications. The Tigris, which between the Assyrian plain and Baghdād falls by 210 m., flows through a valley about 4 km. wide, under several tiers of terraces. At the end, the fall of the river is sufficiently slight, and its current sufficiently powerful (average of 1400 cubic m. per second), to allow navigation on quite a considerable scale, for which purpose rafts on inflated goat-skins are still often employed. But here again, the need to regularize the river and its affluents on account of the extension of irrigated cultivation has given rise to the planning and completion of various dams —the complexes of Sāmarrā —Wādī Tharthār and Balad for the Tigris, Dukān for the Little Zāb, and Derbendī-Khān for the Diyālā.

Southern ʿIrāḳ. The geography of southern ʿIrāḳ with its markedly different character, is wholly dominated by the dynamics of the great rivers. It is here that the powerful rivers flowing down from Iranian Luristan, the Kārūn and the Kerkha, make their appearance and, at the point where they debouch into the plain, they build up a delta which extends across the basin of the Tigris; having already lost much of its force through the warping of the plain that is being practised farther to the North, the Tigris itself then allows its waters to linger in the marshes, mingling in a confused way with part of the waters of the Euphrates. The latter river has in the meanwhile become indisputably the feeblest of the rivers of Mesopotamia. Forced back below Baghdād against the Arabian steppe-land by the thrust of the silt and by various arms of the Tigris, it shifts its course and loses itself in the marshes (regions of Nadjaf, al-Shāmiyyam, al-Shināfiyya and al-Samāwa), from which it emerges only to fall into others, such as the Hor (Khawr) al-Ḥammār, and, through them, into the Tigris. The formation of the land in Lower Mesopotamia is in direct relation to the respective flow of the different rivers, particularly at the time of the annual spring floods: in proportion, the Euphrates brings down as much silt as the Nile, the Tigris four times as much, the Kārūn perhaps even more. Thus a clear indication is given of the dynamics involved, the primary function of the mountains, since the rivers progressively lose their momentum as one goes from North-East to South-West; in contrast to the spent force of the Tigris and especially the Euphrates, it is the alluvial deposits of the Kārūn, amounting to about half a million tons annually, which alone create the bar of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.

The constitution of the soil and its relations with water are directly linked with this hydrographic system, a synonym of both power and confusion. The sediments of the Tigris and Euphrates, in their lower courses where they are under pressure from the Kārūn, now consist solely of very fine mud or clay. As for the depositing of the heavier sediments, which can only take place farther up-stream, it is there compromised by the marshes, the dominant feature of the landscape: at their head is the vast sheet of water and reeds, covering an area 80 km. wide, between al-Ḥammār, al-Ḳurna and Ḳalʿat Ṣāliḥ. This shows that, here more than elsewhere, hydraulics is a vital necessity; in addition to the need for keeping the rivers in their regular channels and for normalizing their flow, it is also necessary to establish considerable reserves, in a country where the low water level corresponds to the driest and hottest period, from the month of May onwards. The whole history of southern ʿIrāḳ is dominated by the memory of the shiftings of rivers from their courses or of devastation, in answer to which man is making efforts to maintain control over the rivers, with for instance the dams at Kūt on the Tigris, and at al-Hindiyya on the Euphrates, and plans for improving the marches.

It is moreover by means of these rivers that one can distinguish two regions in Lower Mesopotamia. In the North, the great plain of yellow clay, caked with salt left by the flood-waters, is in essence pasture-land for camels, with typical steppe vegetation. But sedentary agriculture springs up again in the neighbourhood of the arms of the two rivers, or near canals, even temporary ones, and also, in the event of rain, upon cultivable land of a very precarious sort which for a time has been reclaimed from the steppe. Farther to the South, on the other hand, when the rivers have become slower and before the marshes have invaded the country, there is a somewhat humid region where, thanks to the presence of water at no great depth, cultivation can be practised regularly; the palm tree dominates the region, for a great distance. Beyond that, the reeds and the buffalos are the chief features of the marshes, a zone whore subsistence and habitat are hazardous.

The Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Persian Gulf. Land and sea here together form one single countryside: while the tide can force back the fresh water of the great rivers for a distance of about 200 km. inland, and while the land, thanks to alluvial deposits, continues to expand into the Gulf (an average rate of 25 m. annually), the Gulf itself is merely a scarcely submerged depression, of an everage depth of 25 m. Taken as a whole, the natural conditions prevailing in the Gulf are severe—violent winds from Iran and Mesopotamia, a torrid climate, insecure harbours which face the threat of becoming silted up, navigable channels scarce and dangerous. Nevertheless, the balance is not entirely negative: the Gulf abounds in fish, coral, pearls (favoured by the shallowness of the water), and above all in oil deposits, with the narrow strip of ʿIrāḳī territory being enclosed between the oil-fields of Kuwayt and those of Khūzistān. Finally, it should not be forgotten that the situation of the Gulf, in terms of modern geography, far outweighs the shortcomings of its position: a main channel of important long-distance maritime trade with India and the Far East, the Gulf is in fact an extension of Lower Mesopotamia, with the maritime traffic forming a connection, at al-Baṣra and in the direction of Baghdād, with the railway traffic alongside the Euphrates and also with the river traffic carried on the Tigris.

ʿIrāḳ in the works of the Arab geographers. The physiognomy of the water-courses and canals of ʿIrāḳ in the Muslim Middle Ages has already been examined in the articles BAṬĪḤA, DIDJLA, DIYĀLĀ and FURĀT. Here, only the country itself properly speaking will be described.

ʿIrāḳ which according to al-Muḳaddasī forms part

of the Arab domain, is regarded as the centre of the fourth region, that of Babylon, renowned for its temperate character and the moral or intellectual qualities of its inhabitants. The description is arranged round two main themes, water (the rivers and canals) and the evocation of the capital, whose decline is however emphasised. From the literary point of view, the ʿIrāḳī theme is thus developed on the two levels of panegyric and elegy.

By the term ʿIrāḳ, the Arab geographers in fact meant merely Lower Mesopotamia. The northern part of the present ʿIrāḳ, with some regions belonging to the modern Syria and Turkey, formed part of the Djazīra [*q.v.*]. Being thus delimited, ʿIrāḳ ended in the North in the region of Takrīt on the Tigris, and a little above Hīt on the Euphrates. From there and in a south-easterly direction, the boundary followed the approaches to the steppe, towards ʿAyn al-Tamr, al-Ḳādisiyya, al-Ḥīra and the region to the South of al-Baṣra. Along the mountainous side it mainly followed the present frontier between ʿIrāḳ and Iran, but it extended further to the South, on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.

The general features of the country emerge fairly clearly. The climate is given as temperate along the mountain border in the North-East, and often torrid but changeable in the rest of the country, especially in al-Baṣra, caught between the burning winds from the Persian Gulf and winds from the North which temper the effects. In general, however, the worst is the humid hot climate of the Marshes (*Baṭāʾiḥ*), where mosquitoes abound.

Distances are on the whole measured quite correctly: al-Muḳaddasī (134) gives 125 parasangs as the distance from the Gulf to al-Sinn, north of Takrīt, or a little less than 750 km., a distance hardly less, in fact, than the direct line between the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the confluence of the Tigris and the little Zāb. For the greatest width, from Ḥulwān, east of Sāmarrā, to the steppe, al-Muḳaddasī gives 80 parasangs, that is about 460 km., a figure covering exactly the distance between the Iranian frontier in the region of al-Sulaymāniyya on the one side and, on a line drawn from al-Sulaymāniyya at right angles to the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates, a point situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, 60 km. inside the Syrian steppe, on the other side.

Great attention is given to the problems concerning water: in al-Baṣra, where water is scarce, it was for some time brought by boat from the nearby town of al-Ubulla. Elsewhere it is provided by the two rivers, their tributaries and the canals, of which the most important are the Nahr al-Isḥāḳī, the Dudjayl, the Nahrawān, the Khāliṣ, the Nahr ʿĪsā, the Nahr Ṣarṣar, the Nahr al-Malik, the Nahr Kūthā and the Nīl.

The most precise account of the territorial divisions is given by al-Muḳaddasī (114-5). According to his system, ʿIrāḳ constitutes a geographical entity, a province (*iḳlīm*), of which Baghdād is the metropolis (*miṣr*). The whole country is split into six regions (*kuwar*, sing. *kūra*) of which the chief towns (*mudun*, sing. *madīna*) are respectively al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād, Ḥulwān and Sāmarrā. This division of the country does not however entirely blur the lines of another division, deriving from the fact that the country was rich enough for uninterrupted cultivation, at least in its central zone, to have earned the name Sawād, the dark land. The units of land for taxation purposes (*ṭasāsīdj*, sing. *ṭassūdj*), made necessary by the introduction of land tax (*kharādj*), generally bear Iranian denominations, evidently earlier than Islam: in al-Muḳaddasī, they are given as Ḥulwān, Shādhḳubādh, Barmāsiyān, Bihḳubādh, al-Awsaṭ, Ardashīr-Bābkān, Shādhshābūr, Shādhbahman, Āstān, Shādhhurmuz and al-Nahrawānāt. The magnitude of the transactions may be gauged incidentally from the openly criticized number of indirect taxes—tolls, dues and taxes on animals, sales and pilgrimages.

Religious geography takes an important place, at least in certain writers: they note the existence of large colonies of Jews or Christians and of survivals of fire worship. The strength of ʿIrāḳī Shīʿism is emphasised, but, reading between the lines (cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 126), one has the impression of the vigilance and vigour of the Sunnīs. In a more general way, the partisan passions and their political background are a characteristic feature, noted in every town of ʿIrāḳ.

There are records of certain wonders (*ʿadjāʾib*) and of the sanctuaries; among the most notable might be included the arch of Ctesiphon (Īwān Kisrā), the ruins of Babylon (Bābil), the burial-places of ʿAlī and Ḥusayn, the remains of al-Ḥīra, of the Sāsānid Dastadjird and of Sāmarrā, the "ashes" of Abraham's fire at Kūthā, and lastly the tombs of saintly personages in al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and Baghdād.

Under the heading of manners and customs, one invariable theme to be noted is the culture, urbanity and charm of the inhabitants and the undeniable piety of large elements of the population. The chief topic, however, is always commerce, based upon the needs of the towns, and carried on by Baghdād in essential goods. Agriculture concentrated upon the three basic products, cereals, date-palms and fruit, especially grapes; the cultivation of forage-plants, rice and sesame appear less frequently. In the realm of craftwork, al-Baṣra dealt in fine fabrics, luxury articles (pearls and jewels), antimony and litharge, which were exported, as were rose-water, essence of violets and henna, although the most important article of trade remained dates. Baghdād too dealt in luxury products and clothing, but also in dye-stuffs. The Marshes produced matting, Takrīt was known for wool, Wāsiṭ (which also relied on fishing) for hangings, al-Kūfa for essence of violet and turbans, and al-Ubulla for cloth and bricks.

Taken as a whole, the geography of ʿIrāḳ as seen by the writers of the Muslim Middle Ages, far more in human than in physical terms, connected the physiognomy, the life and the destiny of the country with water, the source of its wealth and trade. No author discerned or evoked this phenomenon more successfully than al-Muḳaddasī, the master of this genre in the 4th/10th century. Referring to the Tigris, he wrote (124): "It is a source of profit, thanks to the laden boats which travel up and down the river ceaselessly; upon these vessels, in Baghdād, men arrive, depart, or cross the river, in a deafening tumult. Two-thirds of the charm of Baghdād resides on its river-banks".

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ii.—Demography and Ethnography

The alluvial plain of the Tigris and Euphrates in ʿIrāḳ, like that of the Nile in Egypt, could only be extensively cultivated and colonized when techniques of drainage and irrigation were sufficiently advanced in late Neolithic times. Since then, the ethnic history of ʿIrāḳ has been much more troubled and eventful than that of Egypt, partly because the rivers of ʿIrāḳ are less easy to control than the Nile, and partly because the lowlands of ʿIrāḳ are not sealed from invasion, as are those of Egypt, by barren deserts on either side. On the contrary, there is no natural barrier between the irrigated plains of lower ʿIrāḳ and the steppes of the Ḥamad on its one side, and the foothills of the Zagros ranges on its other. In summer, the beduin are attracted from the parched scrubland of the Hamad and Djazīra to the valley-pastures irrigated by the floods of early summer, while in the winter the tribes of the Zagros come down from their high alps to warmer quarters in the riverine plains.

The two main ethnic elements in the lowland population of ʿIrāḳ can be traced to the above two adjacent regions. From the steppe comes the long-headed, in general lightly built 'Mediterranean' stock; from the hills, the broad-headed and taller elements of 'Alpine' ancestry, such as the early Sumerians. A third constituent is the somewhat taller and more aquiline-featured 'Eurafrican' variety of the 'Mediterranean' race, and a fourth would be a 'Negroid' or 'Veddoid' substratum, which Keith confirmed in his brilliant analysis included in Field's classic anthropometric study of 1935 of ʿIrāḳī army recruits. According to the measurements of Buxton, Field and Penniman of the earliest skeletons from Kish and other archaeological sites, the ethnic constitution of the valley population has altered little since the earliest times, except for a possible slight increase in the 'Alpine' element.

In the hill country of the north-east of present-day ʿIrāḳ, the Kurds and allied tribes incorporate two strains, both of tall stature: the long-headed and fair 'Nordic', which doubtless brought in the main features of the language and culture of these people in the second millennium B.C.; and the very broad-headed 'hyper-Alpine' or 'Armenoid', with dark hair, brown eyes and prominent, often aquiline, nose, which is doubtless 'aboriginal' in these mountains. Von Luschan showed that this 'Armenoid' stock is extremely persistent and tends to crystallize into a very homogeneous type in conditions of marked topographic and social isolation, as for example among the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*] of the Sindjar mountains of northern ʿIrāḳ or the Assyrian Christian communities of the Zakho district.

It may be that there is a topographic limit to the successful spread of the 'Eurafrican-Mediterranean' desert stock, for it is remarkable that the Arabic language, the beduin tribal system, and even the characteristic architecture of the steppes cease abruptly at the rise of elevation marked by the Kurdish escarpment of Northern ʿIrāḳ and by the Zagros foothills to the east. Myres, in a perceptive contribution to this problem, suggested that the 'Eurafrican-Mediterranean' stock of the deserts may, on movement to high altitudes, be prone to chest troubles which the indigenous mountain folk are better equipped, through natural selection, to resist.

Throughout recorded history, it is clear that the economic prosperity and, as a corollary, the density of population of the river plains of ʿIrāḳ have fluctuated markedly according as the rivers were controlled and irrigation extended, or alternatively as the dams and canals fell into disrepair and cultivated land reverted to swamp, or at best to seasonal pasture. The Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century initiated a long period of such decline, during which the plains were largely owned by or held in fealty to the great beduin tribes of the Ḥamad and Djazīra, notably the ʿAnaza and Shammar [*qq.v.*]. The present settled population still widely recognizes its tribal constitution and its allegiances and blood-ties with the beduin communities, and it has been a hard task for successive governments to overcome a long aversion to settled agriculture among substantial and influential elements in the population.

Nevertheless, it is clear from demographic statistics that during the present century, and notably since the Second World War, ʿIrāḳ has entered firmly on a new period of prosperity based on a renovated system of irrigation and a thriving industrial economy. In 1930, the population was calculated at 2.8 millions; in 1943 the figure had reached very nearly 4 millions; in 1950, 4.8; in 1957, 6.3; and in 1965, 8.2 millions. Even allowing for improved techniques of taking the census during this time, there has clearly been a quite remarkable rise in numbers, which can only be accounted for by natural increase.

In the latest census, it is notable that the urban section of the population has become almost as numerous as the rural, doubtless owing in large measure to the increasing importance of the oil business and its ancillary industries. The recent remarkable expansion of the capital city is a phenomenon which is observable in other countries of South-West Asia.

While for long the censuses showed females outnumbering males in the country as a whole, this

situation was reversed in 1965. At present there is a marked concentration of population in the prosperous canal districts around the capital city, and less pronounced clusters in the districts of Baṣra and Mosul. The rivers generally exert an attraction to settlement, though their banks are still by no means uniformly reclaimed to cultivation. The marshes of the lower Euphrates in the district of Samawa, for example, are occupied only by a thin population of 'Marsh-Arabs', distinct in custom and economy. The quite high density of settlement in the mountains of the north-east of the country should be noted, especially around Sulaymāniyya. This is the only part of ʿIrāḳ where the rainfall is adequate for agriculture without the aid of irrigation, and here live the bulk of the Kurdish tribes, estimated to number about threequarters of a million. Less numerous minority groups are the Yazīdis of Sindjar, calculated at nearly 56,000, and the Mandaeans or Christians of St. John, who inhabit a few villages along the banks of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.

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iii.—HISTORY: (a) ANCIENT HISTORY [see BAKR B. WĀʾIL, AL-ḤĪRA, ĪWĀN, LAKHMIDS, AL-MADĀʾIN, NABAṬ, AL-UBULLA, etc.]

(b) FROM THE ARAB CONQUEST TO 1258

ʿIrāḳ, a fertile rich region from very early times, had attracted some Arab groups before the appearance of Islam. The Christian Lakhmids [*q.v.*] had settled around al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] as early as the 3rd century, and had been entrusted by the Sāsānids with the task of defending the territory of Mesopotamia from any possible incursions by the Byzantines or their allies. In the 6th century, moreover, certain tribes from central Arabia, the Taghlib and the Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], as a result of economic difficulties not fully known to us, left their original home-land for the steppes of the Lower Euphrates, to be followed by some members of the Tamīm [*q.v.*]; they even began to move upstream, establishing themselves between the territories controlled by the Lakhmids in Mesopotamia and those ruled by the Kinda [*q.v.*] in northern Arabia; some of them appear at that time to have been converted to Christianity.

The conquest of ʿIrāḳ, which Muḥammad may or may not have already had in mind when he started to enter into relations with the Arab tribes who were established in that country, was begun during the caliphate of ʿUmar [*q.v.*].

When Arabia had been entirely pacified through the efforts of Abū Bakr, Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], after putting an end to the Ridda [*q.v.*], is said to have been invited by a leader of the Bakr, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, a recent convert to Islam, to come and join him in invading the fertile lands of ʿIrāḳ. It was in the spring or summer of 12/633 that Khālid appeared with a small force outside al-Ḥīra, which surrendered rapidly. But operations became slower when, in 13/634, Khālid was sent to the Syrian front, leaving the Muslims under the command of al-Muthannā. A war of skirmishes, with various incidents, then followed for some months between the Muslims and the Persians; defeated at the "battle of the Bridge", al-Muthannā won a victory in the following year at Bawayh, but he died soon afterwards. And it was a new leader, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], a former Companion, who in the spring of 16/637 had to face the attack launched by the Sāsānid general Rustam: the decisive battle, which lasted three days and three nights and in the course of which the Muslims encountered forces two or three times as numerous as their own, took place at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], 30 km south-east of al-Ḥīra. The victory finally won by the Muslims opened ʿIrāḳ to them. They began by pillaging Ctesiphon, then occupied the whole of the country whose inhabitants, being of Aramaic origin, seem to have welcomed the conquerors, semitic-speaking like themselves, without displeasure. The fortified camp of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*], on the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, was established in 17/638, subsequently being gradually improved and strengthened, while the camp of al-Kūfa [*q.v.*], to the south of the modern Baghdād but also on the right bank of the Euphrates, was established in 17 or 18/639, and was destined to constitute the new capital of ʿIrāḳ, replacing Ctesiphon, the site of which was abandoned and which gradually lost its inhabitants. The final conquest of ʿIrāḳ was assured by the victory at Nihāwand (21/642) which opened the Iranian territories to the Muslim troops. Al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, now entrusted to separate governors, became true towns. It was in the neighbourhood of al-Baṣra that ʿAlī fought with and defeated his opponents at what is known as the battle of the Camel, in 36/656 [see AL-DJAMAL]. Later, it was at al-Kūfa that ʿAlī held his court during the conflict in which he opposed, on the one hand, Muʿāwiya, and on the other, the Khāridjis, whom he crushed at al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*] in 38/658; it was there also that ʿAlī was assassinated by Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*] in 40/661.

The triumph of Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria, and the appearance of the Umayyad dynasty together resulted in Syria being given pre-eminence over ʿIrāḳ, although ʿIrāḳ at that time was a richer and more populous region whose inhabitants were perhaps more experienced than the Syrians in the problem of administration and government that confronted a great empire.

In the time of Muʿāwiya, ʿIrāḳ had a single governor in the person of Ziyād [*q.v.*] who, after being first appointed governor of al-Baṣra in 45/665, ruled the whole province from 50/670 until his death in 53/673. In 55/675, his son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] continued his work. It was he who was in part responsible for the death of al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] in 61/680, at the beginning of the reign of the caliph Yazīd [*q.v.*].

The years that followed were marked by the revolt of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] who

had the support of the majority of the inhabitants of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra (the Tamīm in particular). ʿIrāḳ was then entrusted to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. His primary task was to oppose the revolt of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] which began in 66/686 and which was repressed some months later in 67/687 [see ḤARŪRĀʾ], and he himself died shortly afterwards in a battle against the armies of ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*]. In 72/691, the Umayyads re-established their authority over ʿIrāḳ. However, in view of the hostility of the Khāridjīs who did not disarm, the caliph in 75/694 entrusted al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] with the governorship of al-Kūfa. It was at this period that al-Ḥadjdjādj, after restoring discipline in the ʿIrāḳī forces commanded by al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], and then crushing the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] who had occupied al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, founded the new town of Wāsiṭ [*q.v.*] in 83/702. During the same period, the administrative and monetary reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik came into force, as a result of which new coins were minted at Wāsiṭ; the period also brought to light a grave problem, the abandonment of holdings of land by agricultural workers converted to Islam, who refused to continue to pay the same taxes as they had done before their conversion [see KHARĀDJ]. Rivalries between tribes manifested themselves in ʿIrāḳ, as in Syria; while al-Ḥadjdjādj supported Ḳays [*q.v.*], one of his successors, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], persecuted them until he was imprisoned by order of the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*]; escaping from prison, Yazīd stirred up a rebellion which was crushed in 102/721 by the Umayyad prince Maslama [*q.v.*], to whom incidentally credit is due for the reclamation of new marsh lands close to the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab [see AL-BAṬĪḤA]. Order in ʿIrāḳ was restored in the time of the caliph Hishām [*q.v.*], under the governorship of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], later executed in the time of al-Walīd II [*q.v.*]. The end of the Umayyad epoch was marked by increasing troubles, due to the turbulence both of the ʿAbbāsid faction and also of the Khāridjīs who for some time occupied al-Kūfa. The governor Ibn Hubayra [*q.v.*] was unable to oppose the invasion by ʿAbbāsid troops; besieged in Wāsiṭ, he finally surrendered after the defeat of the Umayyad armies, in return for a promised safe-conduct which was not respected.

On the coming of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, the capital of the empire was established in ʿIrāḳ, first in al-Kūfa, later in the new town of Baghdād [*q.v.*]; in consequence, this province and its inhabitants were given increased importance, while the appearance of the towns was transformed: al-Kūfa gradually lost its inhabitants to Baghdād, which grew even larger, until the time when the caliph's court was established in Sāmarrāʾ [*q.v.*], between 221/836 and 278/872.

During the early period of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate ʿIrāḳ underwent a remarkable economic development. It became the centre of trade for the whole Orient [see TIDJĀRA], and at the same time an intellectual and artistic centre [see *infra*], the meeting place of poets and men of letters, jurisconsults, traditionists, theologians and scholars [see also ʿARABIYYA: Literature; FIḲH, ḤADĪTH, KALĀM, and the articles on the sciences]. The region nevertheless suffered from disturbances of varying seriousness—ʿAlid revolts in the al-Baṣra region in 145/762 [see BĀKHAMRĀ], then in al-Kūfa in 199-200/815-6 [see IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ], a civil war between al-Amīn [*q.v.*] and al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] and the siege of Baghdād in 196-8/812-3, the mutiny of the Turkish officers in Sāmarrāʾ, leading to a second siege of Baghdād in 251/865-6 [see AL-MUSTAʿĪN], the slaves' revolt, known as the revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*] in the plantations in Lower ʿIrāḳ (255-70/869-83), periodic raids by the so-called Ḳarmaṭian [*q.v.*] bands; all these were incidents testifying to a political, religious and social instability disquieting for the government. These disturbances were all the more distressing to the caliphate in that ʿIrāḳ then constituted one of the richest regions of the empire; the taxes levied on the lands of the *Sawād*—the name currently given to ʿIrāḳ—normally furnished a very substantial part of the Treasury's revenues, a circumstance which explains why, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the viziers were almost always chosen from the financiers who were expert in fiscal matters and who had already had occasion, before their accession to the vizierate, to resolve the delicate problems generally raised by the calculation of taxes in this region. From the time of the caliphate of al-Mahdī, incidentally, the collection of these taxes was made on the principle of a proportional advance payment in kind.

The nomination by the caliph al-Rāḍī [*q.v.*] of an *amīr al-umarāʾ* in the person of Ibn Rāʾiḳ [*q.v.*] opened a new era which extended from 336/945 until 447/1055, in the course of which ʿIrāḳ, still disturbed by dissensions and military campaigns which impaired its agricultural prosperity, ceased to be the centre of the empire and became merely a single region in the political complex controlled by the Buwayhid *amīrs* [*q.v.*]. The Shīʿī, probably Imāmī, convictions of these *amīrs* led them to favour the celebration of Shīʿī festivals [see MUḤARRAM] and to have mausolea erected or reconstructed on the tombs of *imāms* then existing in ʿIrāḳ [see MASHHAD]. But this policy met with opposition from the Sunnī elements in the population and soon also from the caliph himself [see AL-ḲĀDIR]. Moreover, the tax concessions granted to the *amīrs* on the so-called *kharādj* [*q.v.*] lands did not improve the situation of the agricultural workers, upon whom the wealth of the region partly depended.

In ʿIrāḳ, which for a time was disturbed by the episode of the pro-Fāṭimid revolt of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], the arrival of the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] established until the Mongol invasion a new régime essentially characterized by its efforts to restore Sunnism. But this tendency did not pass without disagreements, on the one hand between the caliphs and the sultans, who had incidentally made Iṣfahān their capital, or on the other hand without new dissensions between Shāfiʿīs won over to Ashʿarism and Ḥanbalīs [see AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, AL-ASHʿARIYYA, AL-ḤANĀBILA], the former being officially favoured by the Saldjūḳ sultans through the medium of the teachers appointed in the new *madrasa* known as the Niẓāmiyya (founded in 459/1067) [see MADRASA]. The Saldjūḳs continued to dominate ʿIrāḳ in the 6th/12th century, but their empire was then rapidly disintegrating. The branch which established an autonomous principality in ʿIrāḳ went back to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], nephew of Sandjar, who came to power in 511/1118. This branch remained there until the coming of the Khwārazmshāhs [*q.v.*] in 590/1194; but already by this time the authority of the Saldjūḳ *amīrs* of ʿIrāḳ had been attacked by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs who were attempting to shake off their tutelage. As a consequence, there were struggles for influence, the most serious taking place in the reign of the sultan Masʿūd [*q.v.*], and they brought about the execution of the caliph al-Mustarshid [*q.v.*] in 529/1135 and of the caliph al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] in 530/1136, and the accession of al-Muḳtafī [*q.v.*], chosen by the sultan. However, the sultans'

power declined continuously, and the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], who reigned from 575/1180 to 622/1225, even distinguished himself by trying to develop in the principal Sunnī States in the East the organization of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], which seemed to him the best method of reestablishing, under his own direction, the moral and political unity of the old ʿAbbāsid empire. The undertaking did not however have the expected success, and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs ceased to dominate ʿIrāḳ when the Mongols conquered the country in 656/1258 [see AL-MUSTAʿṢIM].

Bibliography: No history of ʿIrāḳ for the period under consideration exists. See the articles indicated in the text, particularly with reference to the dynasties, caliphs, sultans, governors and also the towns. For the episodes of the conquest, see F. Gabrieli, *Muḥammad and the conquests of Islam*, London 1968, 118-26 and bibl., 245.

For the ʿAbbāsids, see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60; idem, *La politique religieuse du calife ʿabbaside al-Maʾmûn*, in *REI*, 1962, 27-48; idem, *La politique religieuse des successeurs d'al-Mutawakkil*, in *S I*, xiii (1960), 5-21. For Buwayhid ʿIrāḳ, see M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty in Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, and H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Wiesbaden 1969. For Baghdād, see G. Makdisi, *The Topography of eleventh century Bagdad*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 178-97 and 281-309; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970. For the civilisation of ʿIrāḳ in the 4th/10th century, the following may be indicated—Mez, *Renaissance*; ʿA. ʿA. Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī fi'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ*, Baghdād 1945; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l'Iran buyide d'après un traité de mathématiques*, in *AIEO* Algiers x (1952), 326-63. For ʿIrāḳ in the Saldjūḳ period, see Cl. Cahen, apud *History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, i, Philadelphia 1955, 168-72, and also H. Laoust, *La politique de Ġazālī*, Paris 1970.

(D. SOURDEL)

(c) 1258-1534

The period extending from the Mongol conquest to the Ottoman conquest does not reveal any unity, unless it be in emphasising, by the rapid succession of dynasties, that, with the disappearance of the Caliphate, ʿIrāḳ entered a period of political decline which was to last until after the 16th century, and witnessed the intensification of an economic decline which reached one of its lowest points in the 15th century, the process of this decline being still insufficiently understood. The period of about three centuries covering the Mongol (Īlkhānids, Djalāyirids, Tīmūrids) and Turcoman rulers (Ḳara-Ḳoyunlus, Aḳ-Ḳoyunlus, Ṣafawids) has not been the subject of any comprehensive study; detailed works on historical geography, the administrative system, and social and economic structures are inadequate, and the political history has been only relatively better reconstructed. Extracts from the most important sources are grouped chronologically in ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ bayn iḥtilālayn*, i-iii (and iv), Baghdād 1935 sqq. The principal sources are, for the Īlkhānid period, the works of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [*q.v.*]; for the Ḳara- and Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu period the *Taʾrīkh al-Ghiyāth* (unpublished) and Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī, *Tārīkh-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Faruk Sümer, 2 vol., Ankara 1962-4.

Under the Īlkhāns [*q.v.*], although it had fallen into the status of a provincial capital, Baghdād still retained a certain intellectual and religious lustre, but was the seat of a government which ruled only Lower Mesopotamia, while Upper Mesopotamia was governed from al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*]. This division of ʿIrāḳ into two large, distinct and frequently rival administrative units was to be maintained until the Ottoman occupation. Like the other regions of the Īlkhānid empire, the ʿIrāḳi provinces had at their head a Mongol governor (disparate and incomplete lists in Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 348-52), assisted by a non-Mongol *nāʾib*, a senior Muslim, Christian or Jewish official, generally a member of one of the viziral coteries who struggled for influence in the Ordo. Baghdād and southern Irāḳ were held in this manner for twenty years by the group of Khurāsānian administrators whom the Djuwaynīs controlled. After the disgrace of the latter, the social tensions which became apparent throughout the whole Īlkhānid State were complicated in ʿIrāḳ by the presence of numerous Christian and Jewish communities and when the Mongol sovereigns, converted to Islam, vaunted their religious opinions because of the aspirations of Shīʿite circles.

At the time of the dismemberment which followed the death of the Īlkhān Abū Saʿid (735/1335), the provinces of ʿIrāḳ at first remained within the Mongol orbit, but Ḥasan Djalāyir, though faithful to the legitimate succession of the Djengizkhanids until the end of his life (1356), nevertheless is known as the founder of a dynasty. Having established themselves in Baghdād, the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*] succeeded in ousting their Čubānid [*q.v.*] rivals and in extending their authority over Upper Mesopotamia. However, with its two capitals, Baghdād and Tabrīz, their State was more Persian than Arab. After Timur's first campaign in ʿIrāḳ (795/1393), a route march punctuated by various halts at places where there was urban resistance, there followed periods of shortlived Tīmūrid domination (796/1393-4, 804/1401-2, 806-7/1403-5) and Djalāyirid restorations in which the equivocal support of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Turcomans played the essential part and foreshadowed their domination in the 15th century. The sack of Baghdād by Tīmūr in 803/1401 (cf. *Arabica*, ix/2 (1962), 303-9), dealt the already declining capital a blow from which it was never to recover. In fact, tribalism (Bedouins in the South, Turcomans and Kurds in the North) from then onwards completed the disorganization of the economy and drove away to the routes through Persia and Anatolia the caravan traffic between the Persian Gulf, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. It was a lifeless region that, after the Djalāyirid dynasty were dispossessed (1410-11), the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu were to dispute for two decades (1411-31) with their successors who had been driven back into the southern districts (Khūzistān, Baṣra, al-Ḥilla). The political fragmentation became more pronounced, not only on account of rivalries between Turcoman federations but also as a result of the fact (illustrating the lack of historical unity of a country traditionally divided into distinct zones) that rulers of Baghdād and rulers of al-Mawṣil were in armed competition, and that the politico-religious movement of the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*] took over from the last Djalāyirids in Lower ʿIrāḳ, and, while it there blocked attempts at expansion by the Tīmūrids of Fārs, also safeguarded the country from Turkmen tutelage. The only native movement of sufficient vigour to challenge the authority of the Turcomans, the Mushaʿshaʿ revolt remained limited and, despite the difficulties of its opponents, it did not succeed in capturing Baghdād; even al-Ḥilla was occupied for only a short time (1466-8). Under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu

who supplanted (1468-9) the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu, the condition of ʿIrāḳ was less turbulent. They maintained themselves there for some years after their eviction from Iran by the Ṣafawid Ḳîzîlbash.

The Ṣafawid domination of ʿIrāḳ (1508-34) was characterized, there as elsewhere, by economic stagnation and by feeble central government. Upper Mesopotamia remained within the orbit of the Mawṣillu *amīrs*, who had already been powerful there in the time of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu; by securing for themselves authority to govern Baghdād, they assured themselves in fact of control of the whole of ʿIrāḳ. At the beginning of the reign of the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, one of them, Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, even attempted to secede (1528-9).

Bibliography: in article. (J. Aubin)

(d) The Ottoman Period

The ʿIrāḳī territories from the early 10th/16th to the early 19th century were primarily a bastion of Ottoman power against not only the rulers of Persia, but also the refractory Kurds in the north-east and the Arab tribesmen to the west and south-west of the Tigris-Euphrates plain. In contrast to the western Fertile Crescent, which was conquered in a single campaign in 922/1516 and was never until the late 18th century seriously threatened by an external enemy, the ʿIrāḳī territories were acquired piecemeal, lost and retaken, and held over a long period only by an extensive concession of autonomy to the governors of Baghdād. The 19th century witnessed here, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, a phase of administrative reorganization.

The first Ottoman acquisitions (Mosul, Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*] and the Kurdish regions east of the Tigris) were obtained in 921-3/1515-7 in the sequel of the Čāldirān [*q.v.*] campaign. The renewal of hostilities between Sultan Süleymān and Shāh Ṭahmāsp resulted in the Ottoman capture of Baghdād [*q.v.*] in 941/1534. The Arab dynast of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*], Rāshid b. Mughāmis, became a vassal of the sultan, and his territory was later (after 953/1546) fully incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. ʿIrāḳ comprised the three central *eyālet*s of Mosul, Baghdād and al-Baṣra, with the Kurdish *eyālet* of Shahrizor to the east, and the *eyālet* of al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] on the western coast of the Persian Gulf [see baḥr fāris]. The *eyālet* of Diyār Bakr, although lying outside modern ʿIrāḳ, was closely associated with its history in the Ottoman period.

As elsewhere in the Empire, the weakening of central control in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries was reflected in the ʿIrāḳī provinces in the rise of local despotisms and the domination of the garrison-troops in the towns. The governorship of al-Baṣra, purchased (c. 1021/1612) by a certain Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], became hereditary in his family. Another gubernatorial family ruled in al-Ḥasā from the late 10th/16th century until c. 1074/1663-4. The garrison-troops of Baghdād, by this time a privileged and powerful section of the urban community, produced a faction-leader, Bakr Ṣū Bāshī [*q.v.*], who, in order to consolidate his position, negotiated with Shāh ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]. Baghdād and central ʿIrāḳ thus passed under Persian rule (1033/1623), but the Ṣafawids failed to hold Mosul and Shahrizor. The Persians were finally ejected from Baghdād by Sultan Murād IV in 1048/1638. The ensuing Ottoman-Ṣafawid settlement (the Treaty of Zuhāb) indicated the border between the two powers (14 Muḥarram 1049/17 May 1639). It was to be reaffirmed after subsequent hostilities until the 19th century.

The Ottoman reconquest brought no lasting stability. The garrison-troops of Baghdād continued to be turbulent and insubordinate. Although the autonomy of the house of Afrāsiyāb in al-Baṣra was finally suppressed in 1078/1668, the rise of the Muntafiḳ confederacy of the marsh and desert Arabs of the south threatened Ottoman control. This was restored by two governors of Baghdād, Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], who ruled from 1116/1704 to 1136/1724, and his son and successor, Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*], who ruled (with a brief interval) until his own death in 1160/1747. Their authority, like that of other powerful Ottoman governors of the period, rested on a new military and administrative basis. Georgian by origin, Ḥasan and Aḥmad established in Baghdād a Georgian *mamlūk* household, through which they controlled and administered their province. In consequence of the threat from the Muntafiḳ, al-Baṣra became in effect a dependency of Baghdād. A more serious danger appeared in the years following 1135/1722, when first the Afghans, then Nādir Shāh, succeeded the Ṣafawids as masters of Persia, and hostilities with the Ottomans were reopened. The key importance of Baghdād in the ensuing campaigns partly explains the acquiescence of the sultanate in the prolonged tenure of power and autonomous position of Aḥmad Pasha. It was at this time also that members of the Djalīlī [*q.v.*] family established themselves as quasi-hereditary governors of Mosul. Baghdād was besieged by Nādir in 1146-7/1733, and Mosul in 1156/1743, but the long struggle as a whole was indecisive, and the settlement of 1159/1746 merely confirmed the Treaty of Zuhāb.

On Aḥmad Pasha's death, shortly after that of Nādir Shāh (1160/1747), his Mamlūk household was firmly entrenched in power, and formed a self-perpetuating military and administrative élite. The Mamlūks were able to thwart the attempts of the sultan's government to displace them, but failed to develop a regular system of succession to the governorship. The period of the Mamlūk Pashalic (1160-1247/1747-1831) witnessed a clash with the Persian ruler, Karīm Khān-i Zand, and the temporary loss of al-Baṣra (1190-3/1776-9), but the danger passed with Karīm Khān's death. The long rule of Büyük Süleymān Pasha (1194-1217/1780-1802), who governed Baghdād together with al-Baṣra and Shahrizor, marked the apogee of the Mamlūk Pashalic, but his later years were preoccupied with unsuccessful attempts to curb the expansion of the Wahhābīs into al-Ḥasā and the fringes of ʿIrāḳ, where they were resisted by the Muntafiḳ confederacy. The great Wahhābī raid of 1216/1802 and the sack of Karbalāʾ showed the impotence of the Mamlūk Pashalic in this respect. It survived, however, until Sultan Maḥmūd II succeeded by force of arms in ousting Dāwūd Pasha [*q.v.*] and ending the autonomous governorship (1831).

Ottoman administrative reform and increasing European penetration are the principal themes in the history of ʿIrāḳ from 1831 to 1918. Dāwūd's immediate successors were no more effective than the Mamlūk pashas in enforcing their authority upon the tribes. The real turning-point came with the governorship of Midḥat Pasha (1869-72), which saw the application to Baghdād of the Law of *Wilāyet*s (1864) and the Ottoman Land Law (1858). Both of these were westernizing reforms, one creating the framework of a provincial administration of European type, the other establishing individual freehold ownership in tribal lands. Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II brought extensive estates in ʿIrāḳ under his private

Seniyye administration. The emergence of Arab nationalism in the Young Turk period was less evident in the ʿIrāḳī than the Syrian provinces, although some nationalists (chiefly army officers) came from this region.

Until the 19th century, the ʿIrāḳī region, apart from the coast-lands of the Persian Gulf, attracted little European attention. By the later 18th century, the British had superseded the Dutch (as earlier had the Dutch the Portuguese) as the dominant European power in the Gulf. From 1763 al-Baṣra was the centre of British trade and the seat of an agency of the East India Company. Bag̲h̲dād itself was of secondary importance to the British until Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, but in 1798 a permanent British resident was appointed there. Interest in the development of communications with India led to surveys of the Euphrates route in the 1830's, and to the beginning of modern river-transport in ʿIrāḳ. Telegraphic communications followed after 1861, when Istanbul was linked with Bag̲h̲dād. The German-sponsored project of a railway from Anatolia to the Persian Gulf was resisted by the British government, and only the line from Bag̲h̲dād to Sāmarrā was constructed under Ottoman rule.

At the outbreak of the First World War, European political and economic penetration of ʿIrāḳ was still very limited. In November 1914 an expeditionary force from India occupied the head of the Gulf and al-Baṣra. A first attempt to capture Bag̲h̲dād ended with the surrender of the British at Kūt al-Amāra in April 1916, but a second advance succeeded in taking the city in March 1917. Mosul, however, held out until after the armistice of Mudros ended Ottoman participation in the war. Meanwhile an administration, mainly composed of British and Indian officials, had been established in the occupied ʿIrāḳī territory, and formed a transition to the formal assumption of British responsibility for the country under the Mandate of 1920.

Bibliography: For detailed bibliographies, see the articles referred to above, especially BAG̲H̲DĀD, and also the principal modern works: ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-ʿIrāḳ bayn iḥtilālayn*, iv-viii, Bag̲h̲dād 1949-58; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925 (repr. London 1969); idem, *ʿIraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953; A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928. (P. M. HOLT)

(e) SINCE 1918

By 1918 the British occupation of present-day ʿIrāḳ was completed, when British forces entered Mosul in November, seven days after the signing of the Mudros Armistice between Turkey and the Allies. However, the contradictory attitudes of British official opinion regarding the political future of the conquered territory caused administrative confusion and led to the rise of anti-British nationalist agitation for the establishment of a Muslim Arab state in the country. When the Mandate over ʿIrāḳ was awarded to Great Britain in 1920, it sparked off an insurrection led by the tribal s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s of the Middle Euphrates and fomented by the S̲h̲īʿī *mud̲j̲tahid*s of Nad̲j̲af and Karbalāʾ, the pacification of which required considerable forces and was completed early in 1921. The suppression of the insurrection was preceded by the appointment of Sir Percy Cox as British High Commissioner, who set up an Arab Council of State to perform the functions of government, thus ending military rule in October 1920. In March 1921 the Cairo conference was held under the presidency of Winston Churchill, the Colonial Secretary. In dealing with the situation in ʿIrāḳ the conference resolved to offer the rulership of the country to Fayṣal, the second son of S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, who had been ousted from Syria in July 1920 by the French. The choice of Fayṣal as King of ʿIrāḳ was approved by the Council of State and confirmed in a referendum, and he was crowned in August 1921 as a constitutional monarch with a representative and democratic government [see DUSTŪR, 659]. ʿIrāḳ's relation with the mandatory power was regulated by a series of treaties, the last of which was signed in 1930 and gave ʿIrāḳ formal independence and provided for a close Anglo-Iraqi alliance to last 25 years. Thus in 1932 ʿIrāḳ was admitted to the League of Nations as an independent sovereign state.

When ʿIrāḳ became independent, the country had not attained the social cohesion among its various religious and ethnic groups necessary to make a modern nation. There were too many disruptive local forces representing the various conflicting interests. To control and harness these interests for the good of the state required wise leadership and the ability to strike a balance between the British and the nationalists on the one hand, and the different nationalist groupings on the other. Fayṣal succeeded in maintaining such an equilibrium, and his sudden death in 1933 was an irreparable loss. It came at a very troubled period in ʿIrāḳ's modern history, when the Assyrian massacre, tribal uprisings and strong anti-British agitation threatened the very foundations of the new state. G̲h̲āzī, Fayṣal's successor, was inexperienced and lacked the authority of his father to maintain political stability. He was drawn to take sides in the turbulent and faction-ridden politics of ʿIrāḳ. While certain groups were inciting tribal rebellions to displace their rivals from power, others sought the cooperation of army officers to obtain political power. Thus in 1936 a military coup was carried out by General Bakr Ṣidḳī in collusion with Ḥikmat Sulaymān and supported by the reformist political group known as *al-Ahālī*. The movement ended within ten months as it began, in another coup. The military intervention in politics set a dangerous precedent, as the country witnessed no fewer than seven coups in the period between 1936-41. In this period anti-British nationalist feeling, aided and abetted by the Axis Powers and influenced by British policy in Palestine, facilitated the rise of the pro-Nazi régime of Ras̲h̲īd ʿĀlī al-Gaylānī, which seized power in April 1941 and proceeded to disregard ʿIrāḳ's obligation under the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930. This led to the occupation of Bag̲h̲dād by the British-led Arab Legion of Jordan in May 1941. Following the suppression of the Gaylānī régime and the restoration of constitutional rule, the Iraqi political leader Nūrī al-Saʿīd emerged as the strong man of subsequent cabinets. In 1943 ʿIrāḳ declared war on the Axis powers and thus became qualified as a charter member of the United Nations Organization, and in 1945 ʿIrāḳ was a founder member of the Arab League of States. The end of the war saw a revival of political activities in the country, when political parties were allowed to operate freely. Several parties came into being, all representing the politically aspiring groups of the intelligentsia. All these political organizations demanded the abolition of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty and called on workers and students to support their demands. Student demonstrations and industrial troubles led to the suppression of these parties.

The early 1950s saw an increase in ʿIrāḳ's oil revenues, which were channelled towards long-term development programmes like the building of irrigation dams. The failure of these projects to yield rapid economic advancement caused wide-spread discontent and reinforced the ranks of the opposition. The emergence of a new and radical leadership in Egypt enhanced the opposition groups in ʿIrāḳ, who continued their campaign against the treaty with Great Britain. Instead they advocated neutralism and an alliance with Egypt. ʿIrāḳ, however, in the fcce of strong opposition at home and in the Arab world, joined the Baghdad Pact, the Western-inspired defence system, in 1955, and expressed lukewarm support for Egypt during the Suez crisis of 1956. Egypt's diplomatic triumph and the rise of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as an Arab national figure marked a turning-point in the history of royalist ʿIrāḳ. When Syria and Egypt merged to form the United Arab Republic in 1958, ʿIrāḳ and Jordan were federated under a Hās͟himite Crown. In July the monarchy was overthrown by a group of army officers under the leadership of Brigadier ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim, who declared a republic. Ḳāsim enjoyed the support of a wide coalition of political and other interests representing the fragmented social structure of Iraqi society. The coalition lacked cohesion and it disintegrated a few months later. For almost five years Ḳāsim attempted to hold a balance between the contending factions of military and civilian groupings. Under his régime ʿIrāḳ withdrew from the Baghdad Pact and the sterling area, and established diplomatic relations with all the communist countries. Ḳāsim was overthrown in February 1963. His legacy was the complete factionalization of ʿIrāḳ's internal politics, the alienation of ʿIrāḳ in the Arab world, and a Kurdish rebellion. He was succeeded by a régime representing the pan-Arab Baʿt͟h party, which was ousted by President ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif only seven months after it had assumed power. ʿĀrif was killed in an air crash in 1966 and was succeeded by his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was in turn overthrown by a group of army officers, a coup that led to the return of the Baʿt͟h Party to power in 1968.

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iv.—Languages

The official language of ʿIrāḳ is Arabic [see ʿarabiyya]. But on the one hand the Arabic-speaking area is not at all homogeneous, and on the other hand some Iranian dialects are still much alive, in particular Kurdish, to which recent agreements have accorded an official status in Kurdistan.

(a) Arabic Dialects

Two distinct dialect types, representing a variant of the Pan-Arabic division into *qāl* dialects and *gāl* dialects, coexist in the Mesopotamian area. They may be called *qiltu* dialects and *gilit* dialects, using the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect of the verb 'to say' to highlight three of their distinctive features: the reflexes of Old Arabic *q*, the shape of the suffix, and the degree of segholization. The division is partly regional, partly social: *qiltu* dialects are spoken by the sedentary populations North of a line Sāmarrā-Fallūd͟ja, and by non-Muslim sedentaries South of that line; *gilit* dialects are spoken by nomadic, semi-nomadic and Beduinized populations everywhere, and by Muslim sedentaries South of the aforesaid line. The *qiltu* dialects are closely akin to the Arabic spoken in Eastern Anatolia (provs. of Mardin, Diyarbakır, Siirt and Urfa), whereas the *gilit* dialects extend into Kuwayt, the Persian Gulf and Khuzistan; they also bear some resemblance to the dialects of Nad͟jd and to those of Uzbekistan. The kindred dialects spoken by relatively recent immigrants from Nad͟jd, such as the S͟hammar and ʿAnaza tribes, are here left out of account.

A good deal of reliable material has, in the past decade, become available on the dialect of the Baghdad Muslims (hereafter, MB) but of the other *gilit* dialects, only that of Kwēriš, prov. of al-Ḥilla, (hereafter Kw.) has received detailed treatment (see the bibliography), though material on al-Ḥilla, al-ʿAfač and al-Baṣra has recently become available. Of the *qiltu* dialects, Jewish Baghdadi (JB) and Christian Baghdadi (CB) have been described in some detail, while the dialect of Mosul (Mo.) is less well-known, and there are only a few scattered notes on ʿĀna, Tikrīt and Hīt.

Phonology. The *qiltu* dialects are characterized by *q* for OA *q* (*qāl* 'he said', *qām* 'he rose', *bāq* 'he stole') and by *k* for OA *k* (*kān* 'he was', *kalb* 'a dog', *ḥaka* 'he spoke') though ʿĀna has *č* in these and some other items. The *gilit* dialects have *g* for OA *q* (*gāl, gām, bāg*) though MB has *q* in a good many instances (*qira* 'he read', *buqa* 'he remained', *qibal* 'he accepted') and *ğ* in a few cases (*rifiğ* 'companion', *šarği*/*šarqi* 'Eastern'); and *č* for OA *k* in many cases (*čibīr* 'big', but *kbār* 'big, pl.', *čān* 'he was', but *ykūn* 'he will be', *čalbak* 'your (m.s.) dog', *čalbič* 'your (f. s.) dog'); MB contrasts with the rural *gilit* dialects as to the amount of affrication: MB *akil* 'food', *gāʿid* 'sitting', vs. Kw. *ačil*, *ğāʿid*. The Southernmost *gilit* dialects have *y* for OA *ğ*. Most of the *qiltu* dialects (Mo., CB, JB, Tikrīt) have *ġ* for OA *r* in many instances (*ġās* 'head'). They also have, again with the exception of *ʿāna*, a strong *imāla* (Mo. and CB *bēġid* 'cold', JB *bīżid*) whereas the *gilit* dialects, especially MB, tend toward a low, central and even back *ā* in all positions. A few dialects of both types preserve older *ay* and *aw*, but these are more generally represented by *ē* and *ō*, rather mid than high, with, for *ē*, a characteristic positional variant [ie] in Baghdad and other Southern dialects. Older *i* and *u* are represented by a single *i* phoneme, usually heard as a mid central rounded [ə], in the *qiltu* dialects (*kill* 'all', *kinna* 'we were', *kētib* 'writing', *wēqif* 'standing') whereas MB has both *i* and *u*, though they have been redistributed (*kull, činna, kātib, wāguf*). The fate of short *a* is extremely complex; it does not, on the whole, follow the *qiltu-gilit* split, except in the case illustrated by MB *ğimal* 'camel', *guṃar* 'moon' vs. Mo. *ʿġamal, qamaġ*. The *gilit* dialects show practically universal segholization, the quality of the epenthetic vowel varying with environment: *čalib* 'dog', *darub* 'way', *xubuz* 'bread', *baʿad* 'still'; the *qiltu* dialects vary in degree of segholization, the most conservative, such as JB, having practically none: *kalb, daġb, xibz, baʿd*. Common to all dialects, except CB, is the retention of the interdentals Θ, δ and δ̣, the frequent occurrence (esp. in the *gilit* group) of the emphatic *ḷ*, and the new phonemes *č* and *g*, even in the *qiltu* group; a new phoneme *p* is well established at least in the urban dialects of both types.

Morphology. The pronominal suffixes character-

istic of the *qiltu* group are illustrated below by the Mosul paradigm, those of the *gilit* group by MB, using the words for 'brother' and 'house':

	Mosul		MB	
1s.	aḫūyi	bēti	aḫūya	bēti
2ms.	aḫūk	bētak	aḫūk	bētak
2fs.	aḫūki	bētki	aḫūč	bētič
3ms.	aḫūnu	bētu	aḫū	bēta
3fs.	aḫūha	bēta	aḫūha	bētha
1p.	aḫūna	bētna	aḫūna	bētna
2p.	aḫūkim	bētkim	aḫūkum	bētkum
3p.	aḫūhim	bētim	aḫūhum	bēthum

The nominal fem. suff. varies between *i* (or *e*) and *a* in the *qiltu* group, but is a stable *a* in the *gilit* group: Mo. *kalbi* 'bitch' (for some speakers, *kalbe*), *bēḍa* 'egg' (JB *kalba, bēḍi*), MB *čalba, bēḍa*. In annexation and with suffixes, this suffix has different allomorphs in the two groups: Mo. *kalbit aḫūyi, kalbiti, kalbitna*, vs. MB *čalbat aḫūya, čalibti, čalbatna*. Common to the area are plural patterns of the type *ksāla* (MB), *kasāli* (Mo.) 'lazy', for adjectives in *-ān*, and *ḫyāyiṭ* (MB), *ḫayīyīṭ* (Mo.) 'tailors' for *qattāl* nouns. Feminines of adjectives of colours and infirmity end in a long, stressed vowel in the *qiltu* group, a short vowel in the *gilit* group: Mo. *sōdā* 'black', *ʿamyā* 'blind', vs. MB *sōda, ʿamya*. In the verb, the usual ten form classes occur, with form IV rather sparsely represented. Form I has a single pattern *qital/qutal* (the alternation depending on the environment) in the *gilit* group, *e.g.*, *kitab* 'he wrote' vs. *ṭubaḫ* 'he cooked', a single *qatal* pattern in some *qiltu* dialects, while others have the common twofold *qatal* vs. *qitil*, *e.g.*, Mo. *katab* 'he wrote' vs. *širib* 'he drank'. Conjugation of the form I perfect and imperfect is illustrated by the Mosul paradigm (*qatal* only) and the MB paradigm respectively:

	Mosul		MB	
1s.	katabtu	aktib	kitábit	aktib
2ms.	katábit	tiktib	kitábit	tiktib
2fs.	katabti	tkitbīn	kitabti	tkitbīn
3ms.	katab	yiktib	kitab	yiktib
3fs.	kátabit	tiktib	kitbat	tiktib
1p.	katabna	niktib	kitabna	niktib
2p.	katabtim	tkitbūn	katabtu	tkitbūn
3p.	katabu	ykitbūn	kitbaw	ykitbūn

The *-ūn* forms of the imperfect are characteristic of the whole area, as well as Eastern Anatolia, Northern Arabia and Uzbekistan. The rural *gilit* dialects (and some speakers of MB) maintain a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl. both in the verb and in the object pron. suff.; the distinction is absent in the *qiltu* group. A present indicative marker (*e.g.*, Mo. *qa-*, MB *da-*) occurs in most dialects.

Syntax. Indeterminate nouns are, over much of the area, often marked by a morpheme derived from OA *fard* (MB *fadd, farid*). Determinate direct objects are, with varying regularity in the different dialects, marked by an anticipatory pron. suff. plus *l-*, *e.g.*, MB *šifta laḫūk* 'I saw your brother'. Also of frequent occurrence in the area are constructions of the type *walad izzēn* 'the good boy', *i.e.*, a sort of construct phrase replacing the determinate noun plus adjective phrase. Peculiar to CB, though it occurs also in Eastern Anatolia, is the use of a postposed copula, *e.g.*, *hāda šiġlak yānu* 'that's your business'. Negation is marked by *ma-* without postposed *š*, by *la-* in negative imperative.

Vocabulary. Many items are characteristic of the area as a whole; they include a large number of Turkish and Persian loans. The following sampling is in MB unless otherwise indicated: *ādmi* 'person, individual', *ūti* 'flatiron', *bazzūn(a)* 'cat', *bāg* 'to steal', *bībi* 'grandmother', *tufga* 'rifle', *timman* 'rice', *ǧrēdi* 'rat', *čārak* 'one-fourth', *čatal* 'fork', *ḥalig* 'mouth', *ḥunṭa* 'wheat', *ḫašim* 'nose', *ḫašūga* 'spoon' *ḫital* 'to hide (intr.)', *ḫōš* 'good', *dazz* 'to send' *δabb* 'to throw', *δaṃṃ* 'to hide (trans.)', *ʿagrugga* 'frog', *ḳašmar* 'to trick', *gubba* 'room', *gadda* 'to beg for alms', *lāḫ, luḫ* 'another' (*ṃarrt illuḫ* 'again'), *mēz* 'table', *mēwa* 'fruit', *niṭa* (Mo. *ṭaʿa*) 'to give', *hdūm* (Mo. *ḥwās*) 'clothes', *hāyša* 'cow'. Among particles, note *aku* 'there is', neg. *māku*, the possessive marker *māl*, and such adverbs as *ham* 'also', *hwāya* 'much, many' (Mo. *kΘīġ*, Southern *wāǧid*), *hnā(ya)* 'here' (Mo. *hōni*), *hnāka* 'there' (Mo. *hōnik, hnūka*), *hīči* 'thus' (Mo. *hākiδ*), *lbārḥa* 'yesterday' (Mo. *mbēḥa*), *bāčir* 'tomorrow' (Mo. *ġada*), the interrogatives *minu* 'who', *š-*, *šinu* 'what' (Mo. *aš-*), *šlōn* 'how' (Mo. *ašlōn*), *wēn* 'where' (Mo. *ēṣab*). Among characteristic interjections are *ī, bali* 'yes', *ašū* (observation of accomplished fact: *ašū ǧēt* 'so here you are'), *xō* (implying hope or concern: *ḫō ma tʾaδδēt* 'you didn't get hurt, I hope?'), *yēzi* 'that's enough'.

Bibliography: For a list of works published before 1962, see H. Blanc, *Iraqi Arabic*, in H. Sobelman, ed., *Arabic dialect studies*, Washington 1962, and some addenda in *JAOS*, lxxxiv (1964), 304. On Baghdad, W. M. Erwin, *A short reference grammar of Iraqi Arabic*, Washington 1963; N. Malaika, *Grundzüge der Grammatik des Arabischen Dialektes von Bagdad*, Wiesbaden 1963; R. J. McCarthy and F. Raffouli, *Spoken Arabic of Baghdad*, pt. I, *Grammar and exercises*, Beirut 1964, pt. IIa, *Anthology of texts*, Beirut 1965; H. Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge Mass. 1964; S. J. Altoma, *The problem of diglossia in Arabic — A comparative study of classical and Iraqi Arabic*, Cambridge Mass., 1969; and the following dictionaries: Djalāl al-Ḥanafī, *Muʿdjam al-lugha al-ʿāmmiyya al-baghdādiyya*, pt. I, *ḥarf al-alif*, Baghdad 1963; pt. II, *ḥarf al-bāʾ*, Baghdad 1966; B. E. Clarity, K. Stowasser and R. Wolfe, *A dictionary of Iraqi Arabic (English-Arabic)*, Washington 1964; D. R. Woodhead and W. Beene, *A dictionary of Iraqi Arabic (Arabic-English)*, Washington 1967. For texts, see also J. Lecerf, *Poésie dialectale 'iraqienne dans les milieux baghdadiens*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 435-6; idem, *ʾĀnī ʾummak yā Šāker—Je suis ta mère, ô Šāker—Pièce de Yūsuf al-ʿānī*, in *Arabica*, xii (1965), 225-43. For Kwēriš and other rural dialects, see B. Meissner, *Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Iraq*, Leipzig 1903 and review of same by F. H. Weissbach in *ZDMG*, lviii (1904), 931-48; F. H. Weissbach, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Irak-Arabischen*, i, Leipzig 1908, ii, Leipzig 1930. A. Denz and D. O. Edzard, *Iraq-Arabische Texte nach Tonbandaufnahmen aus al-Hilla, al-ʿAfač und al-Basra* in *ZDMG*, cvi (1966), 60-96. On other Iraqi dialects, see H. Blanc, *op. cit.*, and references cited there.

(H. Blanc)

(b) Iranian dialects

Although Persian is spoken by large communities in the holy cities of the Shīʿa, Karbalāʾ, Kāẓimayn and Nadjaf, the main Iranian language of ʿIrāḳ is Kurdish. Almost the entire population of the *liwāʾ*s of Sulaymāniyya and Arbīl and half that of Kirkūk is Kurdish, speaking Central Kurdish dialects. In Mosul *liwāʾ*, the Bahdīnānī dialect of Northern Kurdish is spoken in the *nāḥiya*s of ʿAḳra, ʿAmādiyya, Duhōk and Zākhū, and a related dialect is

used by the Yazīdīs of Sind̲j̲ār. Southern Kurdish dialects are represented in the K̲h̲ānaḳīn and Mandalī areas of Diyālā. [See KURDS, Language].

Two other Iranian languages, often erroneously classed as Kurdish, are Gūrānī and Lurī. The former is represented in ʿIrāḳ by the Bād̲j̲alānī dialects [see BĀD̲J̲ALĀN] and the Hawrāmī spoken in a few villages near the Persian border north of the R. Sīrwān [see HAWRĀMĀN; GŪRĀN, Language]. Lurī, the most closely related to Modern Persian of all Iranian languages, is spoken by the Fayliyya, best known as porters in Bag̲h̲dād.

Bibliography: See articles quoted above; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, 2 vols., London 1961-2; idem, *The Dialect of Awroman*, Copenhagen 1966. (D. N. MACKENZIE)

v.—ARABIC LITERATURE

The history of literary activity in ʿIrāḳ is closely connected with the history of the caliphate, in the sense that Arabic literature, which had been almost exclusively ʿIrāḳī both under the Umayyads (although Damascus was their capital) and also under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs during the period when they were the real rulers of the empire, began to be dispersed as soon as more or less independent dynasties became established in various provinces. Since literary production, in the strict sense, was dependent on the one hand on patronage, in respect of poetry, and on the other on the existence of administrative departments which employed *kuttāb* as far as prose is concerned, the pre-eminence of ʿIrāḳ suffered as soon as poets of talent began to look for patrons at the provincial courts and when the most talented scribes placed themselves at the service of the local rulers. A further point to be noted is the emigration to the West, and to Muslim Spain in particular, of writers and scholars of all disciplines as soon as the politico-religious situation appeared to be dangerous. Thus it can be said that from the 4th/10th century onwards ʿIrāḳ, although still at the head, was increasingly rivalled by the other provinces of the empire; the decline which had already started was accentuated still more under the Sald̲j̲ūḳids, and the capture of Bag̲h̲dād by the Mongols dealt a mortal blow to Arab culture in ʿIrāḳ. There then began a long period of obscurity, which was to end in the 19th century; incidentally, ʿIrāḳ merely followed, somewhat tardily, the *Nahḍa* of the countries on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, but after the second world war it embarked upon a deliberately revolutionary course.

Even in the pre-Islamic period Arabic poetry was practised in ʿIrāḳ, especially in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], where an Arab dynasty, the Lak̲h̲mids [*q.v.*], attracted poets who were natives of Arabia, for example al-Nābig̲h̲a al-D̲h̲ubyānī, or encouraged the flowering of local talents, particularly among the Christians, of whom ʿAdī b. Zayd al-ʿIbādī was outstanding. To judge by fragments considered to be authentic, the poetry which flourished at al-Ḥīra was one of town life, with the inevitable panegyrics but also with bacchic themes which seem to have been characteristic. The end of the Lak̲h̲mid dynasty (A. D. 602), soon followed by the preaching of Islam, seriously checked this poetic activity, but the founding of Baṣra [*q.v.*] and Kūfa [*q.v.*] made Lower Mesopotamia into an Arab colony, with the establishment of tribal elements coming principally from central and eastern Arabia; Arabization took place rapidly and, although the Persian captives composed no poems at that time, at least the newly sedentarized Bedouins are found maintaining pre-Islamic tradition by reciting verses on the battlefield or on occasions of importance in the life of the newly-founded cities, and orators began to deliver discourses defending and glorifying their new country; religious and political eloquence was practised in the mosques, and it is remarkable that the most admired specimens of the art of oratory in the 1st/7th century are in fact orations delivered from the pulpits of ʿIrāḳ [see AL-ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲ĀD̲J̲; ZIYĀD]. Fragments of poetry or oratory preserved in the mainly later anthologies are extremely suspect, but nevertheless they correspond to a profound reality and reveal that the art of eloquence, the speciality of the Arabs, remained the constant preoccupation of the populations of the new colonies; and although they show that the desert tradition was preserved, yet in certain easily discernible features they also mark a development which was to continue for several centuries.

In the second half of the 1st/7th century, the poetry produced in Baṣra and Kūfa adhered to the traditional settings and themes, but tended to follow various orientations. Although the court of Damascus attracted a considerable number of poets, the Umayyad governors of ʿIrāḳ and some great aristocratic families, practising a new type of patronage, encouraged the panegyric poetry still produced by Bedouins brought up in the desert but now tempted by the variety of opportunities offered by large cities. It is probably not by chance that in this category are the great poets of the 1st century—al-Farazdaḳ, D̲j̲arīr, al-Ak̲h̲ṭal, as well as al-Rāʿī, D̲h̲u 'l-Rumma and many others of less renown. The Mirbaḍ of Baṣra, the meeting-place for caravans, was also a platform where the best poets came to submit their compositions to a public of connoisseurs; the upholders of the poetic tradition among peoples still close to their Bedouin origins, these poets took part in contests, competing with each other in boastfulness, but gradually they succeeded in going beyond the tribal setting and in playing a wider political role.

More distinct in character is the activity of a group of poets who, while following the tradition of *hid̲j̲āʾ* and *madīḥ* [*qq.v.*], endeavoured to defend or attack not a tribe or a tribal chief but a specific politico-religious group. In fact the divergencies which, especially after Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], led to a schism among the Muslims and gave rise to bloody conflicts, are echoed in the writings of poets who were supporters of the ʿAlids (al-Aʿs̲h̲ā of Hamdān; al-Kumayt; Kut̲h̲ayyir ʿAzza, etc.) or the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲īs (ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān; al-Ṭirimmāḥ, etc.); their common hostility to the Umayyads has, as its corollary, the praising of the chiefs followed by these men, for whom poetry retained something of its magic character; and it is not uncommon, in such poetry as has survived, to detect an epic quality which makes us regret the loss of the greater part of this literary output which was, for once, inspired by sincere sentiments. There are still almost no non-Arabs to be found among the poets of talent, but perhaps it is as such, although his true origin has not been established, that Ibn Mufarrig̲h̲ should be regarded; the implacable enemy of the sons of Ziyād, he was already a member of the band of *mawālī* who were soon to challenge the Arabs successfully in a field in which the latter claimed to be unrivalled.

The bacchic tradition of al-Ḥīra was maintained, particularly by Ḥārit̲h̲a b. Badr al-G̲h̲udānī, but although erotic subjects were in no way neglected, there was still nothing in ʿIrāḳ comparable with the love poetry which flourished during the same period in

the towns of the Ḥidjāz; and it was only with al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. in about 190/805) that the Ḥidjāz tradition penetrated into ᶜIrāḳ. On the other hand, al-Aghlab al-ᶜIdjlī of Kūfa is credited with the invention of the *urdjūza* [*q.v.*], which was practised with some success by his compatriot Abu ʾl-Nadjm, and by al-ᶜAdjdjādj and his son Ruʾba, of Baṣra. For the town-dwelling poets of ᶜIrāḳ, works in *radjaz* subsequently offered a means of proving that they were acquainted with the life and vocabulary of the Bedouins, before the *urdjūza* became the favourite form of didactic poetry.

In comparison with the pre-Islamic poetic tradition (at least, as one may imagine it to have been), the changes are thus not very spectacular. However, panegyric writing was henceforth addressed to personages who were no longer necessarily tribal chiefs; political and religious themes—though outside the bounds of orthodoxy—assumed a new importance, *hidjāʾ* began to take the form of short epigrams and, although the traditional forms were for the most part respected, some shorter works characterized a transition to a poetry less closely linked with the classical *ḳaṣīda*.

In a more general way, this first period of intellecual life in ᶜIrāḳ, the end of which coincided with the disappearance of the great Umayyad poets and the close of the true *ᶜarabiyya* as defined by the lexicographers, was a period of adaptation to the new conditions of life for the Arabs settled in ᶜIrāḳ, and of cultural adaptation for the foreign elements absorbed by Islam. In fact, it was this period which saw the beginnings of the development, in both Baṣra and Kūfa, of that Arabo-Islamic culture which was later to embrace the whole of the Muslim world and the assertion of ᶜIrāḳ in all fields of intellectual activity, even though the political centre of the empire was still in Syria.

It is not possible here to describe the part played by ᶜIrāḳ in the elaboration of the religious sciences; in a related sphere, however, it should be noted that grammar, in which the pioneer was probably ᶜAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ (d. 117/735), was an ᶜIrāḳī field of study and remained so. Moreover, it was in ᶜIrāḳ that the main lexicographical and philological investigations were undertaken, work which, together with the systematic collection of ancient verse, proverbs and traditions of a more or less historical character, was to inspire a crowd of scholars or of *ruwāt* [see RĀWĪ], among whom Abū ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜAlāʾ (d. about 154/771), al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 213/828) and Abū ᶜUbayda (d. 209/824) became well-known a little later, as did many others. The documents thus collected together were to constitute the principal foundation of literary culture, *adab* [*q.v.*], the origin of which must likewise be placed in ᶜIrāḳ.

The coming to power of the ᶜAbbāsids merely accentuated the lead already taken by ᶜIrāḳ in the intellectual sphere, by providing the poets and men of letters of that country and of the other regions of the empire with an opportunity to display their talent before these enlightened patrons. After the founding of Baghdād, the two metropolitan cities of Baṣra and Kūfa, whose literary activity was greater and more diversified than in the Ḥidjāz, Syria or Egypt, for a time retained the position they had succeeded in attaining, but they soon came to play a less prominent part, merely supplying the new capital with an élite who were assured of finding fame and fortune there. From the second half of the 2nd/8th century there were indeed very few Kūfans or Baṣrans who, through modesty, fear or lack of ambition, did not at least try their luck in Baghdād. In this way a rivalry came into being which produced the most fortunate results for the development of literature.

Another phenomenon also accompanied the transfer of the centre of the empire to ᶜIrāḳ—the introduction of the *mawālī* [*q.v.*] not only to Arab culture but also to belles-lettres. A number of ᶜIrāḳī Muslims of non-Arab origin had indeed already held a controlling part in the offices in the administration which, from the earliest time, had been a forcing-ground for men of letters; but a sort of democratization of culture, together with a more or less openly avowed desire to supplant the Arabs, considerably increased the numbers of these *mawālī* who, having been brought up to use the Arabic language and possessing no other means of expression, adopted their conquerors' idiom and composed poetry and prose with felicity.

Imbued with the Arab poetic tradition, these *mawālī* willingly sacrificed to custom and, when occasion required, wrote panegyrics which the Bedouin poets would not have rejected; but they tended to impose a "modernistic" poetry, characterized by the abandonment of classical forms and the adoption of themes consonant with the new way of life of the Muslims. The *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which devotes a very large part to ᶜIrāḳī writing, contains instructive notices on poets of Baṣra or Kūfa who are regarded as minor authors by literary criticism, perhaps because they failed to respect the traditional rules, but who nevertheless deserve lasting attention, since they expressed sincere sentiments, in language of great simplicity, and at times did not scruple to hurl biting invective, the originality of which is unfortunately too often exceeded by its obscenity. All this work, which would, since it is true poetry, repay serious study, has in general been neglected because the specialists in Arabic literature, being influenced by Arab critics, have devoted more attention to the most celebrated "modernists" who without neglecting the traditional forms, are clearly distinguished from their predecessors by their avowed desire for originality. Among these, reference is generally made to Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783-4), of Baṣra, who excelled in satire and erotic poetry, and to Abū Nuwās (d. about 200/816), whose name is linked with bacchic poetry; yet he won distinction by his treatment of erotic themes and, in addition, expressed man's anguish when confronted with the unknown in death, in the so-called "ascetic" poems (*zuhdiyyāt*), in which his contemporary Abu ʾl-ᶜAtāhiya (d. about 213/823) was to make himself famous. In such of his work as still survives, the last-named author utters banal truths, rather than any profound religious sentiment, and it is remarkable that in that century the Islamic religion still inspired very few poets, whilst a Bashshār or an Abū Nuwās did not hesitate to show scepticism with regard to Islam, and sometimes even to resort to sacrilege, with the glorification of their ancestors and their religion; this attitude, which led to their being ranked among the *zindīḳ*s [*q.v.*] or the Shuᶜūbiyya [*q.v.*] and at times involved them in certain difficulties, in no way impaired their reputation.

On the other hand, the Shīᶜis possessed a politico-religious poetry, devoted to the praise of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*], and in particular of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and of his son al-Ḥusayn, whose martyrdom became a frequent theme. Among the most celebrated Shīᶜī poets, literary criticism has recognized al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 171/787-8) and Diᶜbil (d. 246/860) in particular, but research has until now been in-

complete and needs to be supplemented, despite the difficulties of the task arising from the disappearance of a large proportion of this political poetry and from the numerous interpolations made during later periods.

Although the evolution of poetry during the period in question is of undeniable importance, the fact which must be equally emphasized is the establishment of Arabo-Islamic culture and the accompanying development of Arabic prose; it is no exaggeration to say that Arabic literature, which hitherto had consisted almost exclusively of poetry, entered a new phase as soon as it was felt that prose lent itself better than verse to the expression of thought, however rudimentary, and that this new instrument deserved being taken into consideration; from that time, one has the impression that an equilibrium was reached and that the balance tended to incline towards prose.

In this field also the influence of Persia was decisive; and if the creation of the epistolary genre, at the end of the Umayyad period, is to be attributed to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, it was naturally enough in ʿIrāḳ that this genre was to attain some measure of perfection, so long as the ʿAbbāsids of Bag͟hdād held power and employed *kuttāb* (who incidentally were mainly non-Arab); thanks to the *risāla* [*q.v.*], derived from the official letter, the genre was even to constitute the essential feature of prose literature.

It was a *kātib* of the caliphate, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. about 139/757), who with his translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and his own writings in fact created Arabic prose, both didactic and entertaining, by introducing into literature *adab* of the Sāsānid type, whose purpose was the moral and so to speak "professional" instruction of the rulers and the people. The apologues of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* inspired only one imitation by another Persian *kātib*, Sahl b. Hārūn (d. 244/858), but the *adab* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, supplemented by elements of Persian origin, introduced to the ʿIrāḳis by translations from the Pahlavi, for a long time was to feed *adab* works of edification and popular encyclopaedias, first in ʿIrāḳ and then in the other countries of the Arab world. Shortly after Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, translations from the Greek reached Bag͟hdād or were even made in the Bayt al-Ḥikma [*q.v.*] of the capital, and they inspired the *mutakallimūn* [*q.v.*] and later the *falāsifa* [*q.v.*], while also providing *adab* with certain new maxims.

One activity which cannot be emphasized too strongly is that of the *ruwāt*, who, coming after the generation which had devoted itself to collecting the elements of the Arab "humanities", started to classify this vast documentation in a series of monographs, a surprisingly rich inventory of which is provided by the *Fihrist*; after al-Aṣmaʿī, Abū ʿUbayda and their colleagues, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī (d. after 215/830), whose true influence it would be interesting to be able to assess, made available to later generations (though in a still obscure form despite the evident care he gave to classification) an enormous mass of information, traditions, verse, etc., derived from material collected among the Arab tribes.

It fell to al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (d. 255/868) to apply critical study to this documentary material, in order to draw from it the necessary elements to constitute a large-scale, clear literary culture, to reject the legendary features and to indicate the methods by which it could be developed by reflexion, research and experiment. Al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ described himself as a *rāwī*, but nevertheless he was more than that, for although in the *Bayān* or the *Ḥayawān* he limited himself to quoting traditions, he treated ethical *adab* in a more personal manner, which already amounted to a psychological analysis of qualities of character and a portrayal of society. His work, which should have marked a transition or stage, was in fact regarded as an end in itself by his admirers, or as a kind of betrayal of the Muslim ideal by his detractors, who endeavoured to lead culture and prose literature back to something more utilitarian and more compatible with the requirements of the average Muslim. Although al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ had a remote successor in the person of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), he was supplanted, shortly after the collapse of the Muʿtazilite movement, by a *faḳīh*, Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), who brought a methodical and disciplined intellect to the service of a more restricted and a less dangerous culture, one in which the religion and inheritance of the Arabs formed a coherent whole, open to the greatest numbers but preventing any kind of access into the outside world. Ibn Ḳutayba's *adab*, represented by the *ʿUyūn al-ak͟hbār*, the *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* and the *Kitāb al-S͟hiʿr wa 'l-s͟huʿarāʾ*, is composed mainly of quotations and traditional material, the greater part of which was to pass into later literature and to contribute largely to the popular encyclopaedias. The literary *adab*, made fashionable by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ and systematized by Ibn Ḳutayba, was still represented by works such as the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), before declining into the anthologies of verse and prose, of which the *Muwas͟hs͟hā* of al-Was͟hs͟hāʾ, which concentrates on the traditions relating to the dandies of Bag͟hdād, is a typical and relatively original example.

While the works here referred to have survived, for they conformed with the tastes of a clientèle which enjoyed short traditional accounts that were easy to memorize and to introduce into conversation, only a few very inadequate fragments are left from what was no doubt a more original literature, although still a subsidiary branch of *riwāya*, of erudition; to judge by the *Fihrist*, which records a considerable number of titles, it included true romances of love and adventure, burlesques (mostly obscene), and collections of amusing anecdotes, and in short was a purely recreative literature in which imagination played a certain part. But no doubt as a result of a reaction among pietist circles, these works very soon ceased to be copied and merely made their way, in the form of extracts, into later collections where the lack of references makes identification impossible. However, the dual aspect of *adab*, as both diversion and instruction, can be seen also in a number or works of an intentionally serious character, such as *al-Farad̲j̲ baʿd al-s͟hidda* of al-Tanūk͟hī (d. 384/944), which combines proverbs, anecdotes, various traditions and narrative accounts mainly related by *ḳāḍīs*, on the theme of "relaxation after tension". It is probably significant that it was in ʿIrāḳ that the first stories of the "Thousand and one nights" [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA] were collected together.

The *Fihrist* (written in 377/987-8) makes it possible to evaluate the richness of Arabic literature in Bag͟hdād towards the end of the 4th/10th century, even allowing for the fact that the book-sellers of the capital may also have sold works written in other countries; in order to estimate the number of works, it would be necessary to reproduce a summary of this invaluable catalogue, a reading of which inspires the greatest admiration for the work of the scholars, writers and poets of ʿIrāḳ. The *Fihrist* also shows that, although the philologists and *ruwāt* of the early centuries deserve the merit

of collecting and transmitting the greater part of what we know of the Arab heritage, it was also the ʿIrāḳis who set themselves the task of reconstituting the *dīwāns* of the ancient, the classical and the modernistic poets, and it is quite certain that this erudite work had the most far-reaching consequences on the development of Arabic poetry in ʿIrāḳ and elsewhere; perhaps even it immediately favoured the neo-classicism which followed the modernism. In fact, the modernist movement was only short-lived, and the triumph of Persian influence was far from conclusive since, as early as the end of the 2nd/8th century, the first manifestations of a reaction made their appearance, a reaction characterized by the return to classical forms and the use of more carefully chosen language than that of the modernists, and of more complex rhetorical figures of speech; the *mawālī* themselves did not hesitate to plunge into neo-classicism, since the earliest representative of the movement, Muslim b. al-Walīd (d. 187/803), was a *mawlā* and his successors, Abū Tammām (d. 231/845), Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896), al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897) and Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 294/907), were not all pure Arabs. These poets were finally to incorporate the thematic contributions of modernism in the traditional forms.

Neo-classicism, which originated in ʿIrāḳ, was soon to spread elsewhere, and to be cultivated with even greater success in other regions of the Muslim world, from the time when Bag̲h̲dād was no longer its sole, undisputed capital and when the provincial courts attracted the greatest talents; the most celebrated representative of this type of poetry, al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), became famous principally in Aleppo, and many others stayed only very briefly in Bag̲h̲dād. The decay of the Caliphate consequently brought with it a decline of ʿIrāḳī poetry, but the impression remains that the poets of ʿIrāḳ, among whom there was no longer any outstandingly great name, tended to fall back on themselves and to produce a more personal, more lyrical and perhaps more sincere poetry. One of them, Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (d. 391/1001), represents this tendency very clearly, although his work is marred by its intolerable obscenity.

In the field of prose, it was probably towards the end of the 4th/10th century that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, inspired by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, created a new genre by delineating in his *Ḥikāya* a satirical picture of life and manners in Bag̲h̲dād, but his innovation, though very successful, produced no sequel. During the same period the scribes of the Būyid chancellery customarily used rhymed prose in the epistolary style and made fashionable an original literary genre, the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*]; but al-Hamad̲h̲ānī was not an ʿIrāḳī, and although one of his most illustrious successors, al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) was a Baṣran, his "Sessions", through the very mass of their lexicographical erudition, bear the stamp of a period when philology was one of the principal preoccupations of men of letters.

In the meanwhile, the Sald̲j̲ūḳid Turks had captured Bag̲h̲dād (447/1055) and, being anxious to return to strict orthodoxy, had founded the *madrasa* [*q.v.*], the aim of which was to reinvigorate orthodox teaching and thereby to restore the so-called Arabic sciences to a place of honour; thus the *madrasa* tended to favour a very enclosed form of culture, which inclined towards grammar. rhetoric and the learning by heart of works by ancient writers which could no longer be understood save with the help of a commentary.The study of ʿIrāḳī poetry under the Sald̲j̲ūḳids brings to light the existence of a considerable number of minor poets; from among them, it is possible to single out Ibn al-Habbāriyya (d. about 509/1115), who lived in the entourage of Niẓām al-Mulk and, in addition to panegyrics and satires in a style reminiscent of that of Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, also produced a versified collection of fables, *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-bāg̲h̲im*, and al-Ṭug̲h̲rāʾī (d. about 515/1121), whose reputation is based on the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿAd̲j̲am*—a poem with a revealing title.

The decline, which had been clearly noticeable from the 4th/10th century, became more marked after the capture of Bag̲h̲dād by the Mongols (656/1258), and Arab literature, which everywhere was in decay, from then onwards underwent a long period of eclipse in ʿIrāḳ. Faced with the dangerous challenge of Persian and Turkish, Arabic culture took refuge further to the West and, although some ʿIrāḳīs are to be found among the prose-writers and poets, their writings for the most part were produced outside their own country. In prose, there is no outstanding work to be noted, while in poetry the increasingly marked divison between classical and dialectal Arabic led to the almost exclusive use of traditional clichés and rhetorical figures of speech for the expression of ideas which themselves were lacking in inspiration. Perhaps it was in order to challenge this atrophy of classical poetry that the ʿIrāḳīs, who gave so much to Muslim Spain, now followed the example of that country by adopting or creating some popular poetic forms (*zad̲j̲al*, *mawāliyā*, *dūbayt*, *kān wa-kān*, *ḳūmā*, *muwas̲h̲s̲h̲aḥ*), upon which Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. about 750/1349) throws some light in *al-ʿĀṭil al-ḥālī wa 'l-muraḳ̲h̲ḳ̲h̲aṣ al-g̲h̲ālī* (ed. Hoenerbach, Wiesbaden 1956); this same poet, who is probably the most remarkable during the whole of this long period (of which incidentally not a great deal is known), placed himself among the neo-classical writers and, as was done elsewhere, wrote poems in honour of the Prophet (which shows how uninviting the current topics were), but he also reveals a marked liking for popular poetry and the use of slang words, something which seems to be quite characteristic of ʿIrāḳ.

In the Ottoman period (941/1543-1918), literary output was negligible, and it was only at the end of the 19th century that the old capital of the empire took a place, however modest, in the modern renaissance, thanks to poets like al-Zahāwī (1863-1936) and Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945); however, although ʿIrāḳ did at last, after an understandable delay, join in the literary and dramatic movement, the persistence of popular poetry in dialectal Arabic is one of the most curious phenomena of the present period.

It is still too early to judge the ʿIrāḳī literature which has developed particularly since the second world war, but it should be noted that although in comparison with other Arabic-speaking countries ʿIrāḳ seems to show a slight backwardness, it nevertheless remains true that ʿIrāḳ is in general manifesting original and specific tendencies, which will perhaps enable the country to play again such a part as it held in the early days of Islam, at a time when attention was directed first towards Baṣra and Kūfa, and then towards Bag̲h̲dād.

Bibliography: In addition to standard works on Arab literature, see ʿARABIYYA and the articles on the various authors named in the text. See also, in particular:—R. Blachère, *La poésie arabe au ʿIrāq et à Baġdād jusqu'à Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī*, in *Arabica*, ix/3 (1962), 419-34; G. Troupeau, *La grammaire à Baġdād du IXᵉ au XIIIᵉ siècle*, *ibid.*, 397-405; J. Lecerf, *Poésie dialectale ʿirāqienne dans*

les milieux bagdādiens, *ibid.*, 435-46, and bibl. references there given; Ch. Pellat, *La prose arabe à Baġdād*, *ibid.*, 407-18; idem, *Milieu*, *passim*; ʿA. Dj. Ṭāhir, *al-Shiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿAdjam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-saldjūḳī*, Baghdād 1961; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿā'*, *passim*; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Khaṭībī al-Shahrābānī, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā'*, Baghdād 1936; M. M. al-Baṣīr, *Nahḍat al-ʿIrāḳ al-adabiyya fi 'l-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Baghdād 1946; ʿAlī al-Zubaydī, *al-Masraḥiyya al-ʿarabiyya fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Cairo 1967. (Ch. Pellat)

vi.—The Sects

At a very early date, immediately after the conquest of the country which was embarked upon during the caliphate of Abū Bakr (11/632-13/634) and completed during that of ʿUmar (13/634-23/644), ʿIrāḳ became the scene of violent clashes among the various parties which were contending for power. From the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān (23/644-33/655), a party in opposition to the caliph and the Umayyads came into being in ʿIrāḳ, and particularly in Kūfa, one of their most energetic military leaders being al-Ashtar [*q.v.*]. At the time of the revolt which ended in Medina with the assassination of the caliph ʿUthmān, according to certain traditions al-Ashtar brought from Kūfa a contingent of two hundred men who joined the rebels who had come from Egypt; he himself ranks as one of the "besiegers of the House" (*nuffār*) and sometimes even as one of the caliph's murderers.

Under the caliphate of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (35/656-40/661), ʿIrāḳ was for a time the stake of a new seccession, between the Ḥidjāz which for the most part favoured ʿAlī, and Syria where Muʿāwiya had succeeded in gaining recognition. ʿĀ'isha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, who had succeeded in winning over Baṣra to their cause, came into conflict with ʿAlī near that town, in the famous battle of the Camel (*al-Djamal* [*q.v.*]) on 15 Djumādā II 36/9 December 656. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr perished in this confused battle, while the former wife of the Prophet had to return to Medina under a strong escort.

After the inconclusive encounter at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], the acceptance by ʿAlī of the arbitration (*taḥkīm*) proposed by Muʿāwiya in 37/657 was the starting point for the establishment of a new Muslim sect, that of the Khawāridj [*q.v.*], whose origins, like their history, are still extremely obscure. The seccession extended to Ḥarūrā; the speech which ʿAlī delivered in Kūfa in justification of himself led to further desertions among his supporters. The insurrection soon possessed its own territory, its leaders and an embryonic political organization. ʿAlī's inability to win back his former supporters, despite a few successes, made a clash inevitable; it came in the battle of al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], on 9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658. Khwāridjism, as a politico-religious movement, was not however destroyed.

The assassination of ʿAlī, in 40/661, in the mosque of Kūfa, by the Khāridjī Ibn Muldjam [*q.v.*], left Shīʿism weakened and divided. It is to about this time that Muslim heresiography dates the appearance of the extremist (*ghulāt*) Shīʿī sect of the Sabā'iyya, whose founder ʿAbd Allāh b. Saba' [*q.v.*] seems to have been a Jew of Kūfa, converted to Islam (H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 15-6).

During the reign of Muʿāwiya (40/661-60/680), the province of ʿIrāḳ was incorporated in the new caliphate of which Damascus became the capital, but it was the centre of opposition from two elements, the Shīʿīs and the Khāridjīs.

The leader of the Shīʿī resistance, in Kūfa, was Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*], who first clashed with the governor of the town, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*], and soon came into open conflict with Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. Charged with rebellion, Ḥudjr was arrested and executed in Mardj ʿAdhrā', near Damascus.

Khāridjī agitation still remained active. Several revolts caused anxiety to the Umayyad caliphate—one led by Farwa b. Nawfal in 41/661, another under al-Mustawrid in the following year, and in particular the revolt by two of the men who had fought at Nahrawān, towards the end of the caliphate of Muʿāwiya.

The death of Muʿāwiya in 60/680, the disputed succession of his son Yāzīd and the secession of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr [*q.v.*] favoured the revival of the Shīʿī and Khāridjī opposition parties. The drama at Karbalā [*q.v.*], where the imām al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] met a martyr's death on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680, finally confirmed the rupture between the supporters of the Umayyads and those of the Family of the Prophet, although Ḥusayn had met with only reluctant and uncertain support from the inhabitants of Kūfa.

The revolt of the Penitents (*tawwābūn* [*q.v.*]), an improvised and poorly-led affair, ended with the disaster of ʿAyn Warda, on 22 Djumādā I 65/4 January 685, but it delayed the Umayyad reconquest of ʿIrāḳ.

The revolt of Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], which was accompanied by an extremist ideology which Sunnī heresiography has criticized severely, at first gained the support of some of the great Arab families in the region of Kūfa, and later attempted to win over the *mawālī* of the region. The revolt was finally crushed, in Kūfa, in Ramaḍān 67/April 687, by the governor of Baṣra, Muṣʿab b. Zubayr.

The first appearances in public life of the sect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] date roughly from this period, according to Muslim heresiography; a distinguishing feature of this sect was that, after the death of ʿAlī, it recognised the legitimacy of the claims of his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] to the imāmate. In its turn, it split up into various sub-sects, many of which were ranked in the category of *ghulāt*; it is difficult to assess with any certainty either their ideology or the strength of their following (Kuraybiyya, Ḥarbiyya, Bayāniyya). On his death in about 57/716, Abū Hāshim, the son of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, is credited with having handed over his own rights to the imāmate to the ʿAbbāsid claimant, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, on the occasion of his journey to Ḥumayma, the residence of the ʿAbbāsids in Jordan. This thesis, of which the ʿAbbāsids made use in their anti-Umayyad campaign, was still admitted in the 8th/14th century by such historians as Ibn Kathīr, but it was not revived by the great theorists of the caliphate, such as al-Mawardī or Abu 'l-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī.

At the end of the Umayyads, Shīʿī agitation reappeared with the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who rebelled in Kūfa in 122/740 and met a tragic death in the town mosque where he had taken refuge with his last supporters. The revolt, though crushed in ʿIrāḳ, broke out a little later in Khurāsān, during the caliphate of al-Walīd II, under the leadership of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, whose mausoleum in Djūzadjān soon became a place of pilgrimage. With Zayd b. ʿAlī there appeared a militant form of Shīʿism, known as Zaydism [*q.v.*]; according to its theory, authority passed lawfully to every qualified descendant of Fāṭima who called for insurrection and armed struggle (*daʿwa* and *djihād*).

Another rebellion broke out a little later, once

again at Kūfa, under ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] who was descended from neither Fāṭima nor ʿAlī, but from a brother of the latter, Dja'far al-Ṭayyār [*q.v.*], whose death had occurred in 8/629 at the time of the expedition of Muʾta. The revolt began in Kūfa in 127/744, shortly after the accession of Marwān al-Ḥimār [*q.v.*]. Finally crushed, the movement ended in circumstances not fully known. Several of its adherents are placed in the category of *ghulāt* (Djanāḥiyya, Ḥārithiyya).

The coming of the ʿAbbāsids did not bring calm or religious unity to ʿIrāḳ. Indeed, ʿIrāḳ was pre-eminently the centre of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] movement, which had already made its appearance with the ending of the Umayyads, but which developed more particularly under the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and those of his two successors, in the two great schools of Baṣra and Baghdād. In the school of Baṣra, it is customary to include among its adherents such men as Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 227/841 or 235/850 [*q.v.*]), al-Naẓẓām and Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (d. in about 200/816). In the school of Baghdād, of which Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir is often considered to be the founder, there were found men of such different personalities as Abū Mūsā al-Murdār and Thumāma b. Ashras. The two Djaʿfars—Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir and Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb—are sometimes counted by certain heresiographers, such as al-Malaṭī [*q.v.*], not as Muʿtazila but rather among the Zaydiyya of Baghdād.

The Muʿtazilī faction was to meet vigorous opposition, in the course of various confrontations among which the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] was doubtless the most dramatic episode, from the party of traditionalists, whose most militant representatives may be said to have included, among others, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] and his first disciples [see ḤANĀBILA].

The third major characteristic feature of the history of the *firaḳ* in mediaeval ʿIrāḳ is found in the considerable importance acquired by imāmī Shīʿism, which sprang to life during the long crisis of the caliphate starting with the death of al-Mutawakkil, and which was defended by theologians of the very first order, such as the Banū Nawbakht, or al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940), the author of the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* which deals with both *uṣūl* and *furūʿ*. Of the various great scholars of Baghdād in the Būyid period, it is essential to remember the names of Ibn Bābūyah (d. 381/991), known as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ, al-Mufīd (d. 413/1023) and the two brothers al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016) and al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1045), equally famous as men of letters and as theorists of Imāmism The Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) is the last great representative of this school.

The arrival of the Saldjūḳs in Baghdād in 447/1055 marked the start of a revival of Sunnism, punctuated at times by violent crises, such as that of al-Basāsīrī, or by a renewal of Shīʿī agitation. Even within Sunnism itself, opposition between the Ashʿarīs and Ḥanbalīs led to fairly frequent clashes, one of the most notorious of these, in 469/1077, being known as the *fitna* of Ibn al-Ḳushayrī. In the last two centuries of the caliphate, Muʿtazilism although in its decline still kept its adherents, and Imāmism maintained its position in ʿIrāḳ. The part played by Imāmism in 656/1258, in the overthrow of the Caliphate by the Mongols, is certainly difficult to determine, but it is also difficult to deny. In any event, the Mongol conquest and the fall of the Sunnī Caliphate deprived Baghdād of the position of eminence which the great metropolis had never ceased to hold, since its foundation, as the true religious and political capital of the world of Islam.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see H. Laoust, *Les Schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965 (Index appeared in 1969).

(H. LAOUST)

vii.—ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The importance of the role played by ʿIrāḳ in the evolution of Islamic art is directly related to the historical role which ʿIrāḳ assumed from the time that it was the central province of a flourishing ʿAbbāsid empire, between the end of the 2nd/8th century and a period of dissolution, which is generally considered to begin in the 4th/10th century. A methodical description of this role of ʿIrāḳ would involve tracing, through its architecture and also through its minor arts, the various stages of the development of an imperial ʿAbbāsid art which began in the capitals of the caliphs as a result of various causes and influences both political and commercial, and which spread to the outer regions of the empire—from which in fact some of its characteristic features had originally stemmed. The progress of this art is the main title to fame of the craftsmen who worked at that time within the geographical limits of ʿIrāḳ but at the same time made use, in this melting-pot, of all the earlier or contemporary efforts pursued in other Islamic countries.

This "imperial" character which the art of ʿIrāḳ long enjoyed and which in fact it began to acquire at the end of the Umayyad period certainly makes it difficult to speak of it as if it were a typically local art which had developed throughout the centuries with a well defined personality springing from the constant factors, aesthetic or technical, imposed on it by the physical character of the country. It should nevertheless not be forgotten that the very character of ʿIrāḳ—as a route between other countries and an irrigable alluvial plain enriched by agriculture and by the traffic of its great rivers, but too frequently devastated by invasions and floods—was suited to particular methods of building, of architectural decoration and of other crafts, methods conditioned by the use of the economical and abundant but not very durable material—clay. This clay, packed together in the form of unbaked or baked bricks for the construction of the buildings themselves, applied for their decoration in facings (which might also be in plaster or stucco), and also worked into coarse pottery or rich enamelled porcelain, permitted the rapid completion, by typically Mesopotamian methods, of works satisfying the demands of a large urban population and of rulers seeking ostentation. But its use at the same time prevented such constructions from being sufficiently solid and durable to survive to the present day except as shapeless ruins. One may therefore distinguish as a characteristic of ʿIrāḳ that its products were simultaneously magnificent and insubstantial—a characteristic appearing in all foundations of the ʿAbbāsid period and later imitated in the princely constructions of various provinces of the empire, even when these provinces offered builders better and more durable materials.

The geographical conditions peculiar to ʿIrāḳ (but also varying within its present frontiers according to the different zones of climate and living conditions) must be considered responsible also for the parallel development, throughout its history, of several local schools of art, basically represented by those schools of Baghdād-Sāmarrā on the one hand and those of the Lower Delta on the other, together with that of al-Mawṣil [*q.v.*] or Upper Mesopotamia, which came more under the influence of the neighbouring

Anatolia and Ādharbaydjān. But such distinctions should not lead to too strict a topographical classification of an artistic development which, as always in Islamic countries, also underwent the influence of political events leading to the temporary triumph of minor dynasties. Thus Islamic art in ʿIrāḳ, both architecture and industrial art, should rather be considered in a chronological perspective, particular regard being paid to the fact that probably in no Islamic country has there been a more complete change in its landscape between the Middle Ages and today.

The few archaeological data which may be gleaned from sites which too often have reverted to desert are not in fact enough to provide any certain information on the various phases of population which the region passed through when the progressive decay of the irrigation network after the Abbāsid golden age led to the abandonment of villages and small towns, the exact sites and dimensions of which it is today sometimes difficult to determine (for an attempt at this, which applied extensive research to a limited area and which might well be extended to cover the whole of the ancient cultivated basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates, see R. Mc. C. Adams, *Land Behind Baghdad*, Chicago-London, 1965). Similarly it is at present impossible, in most cases, to provide an accurate history of ʿIrāḳī Muslim towns, which were exceptionally important both in their population and in their economic activity, but which had grown up on an unstable soil, where usually there cannot now be found such remains of monuments as would enable us to reconstruct their topography at different periods (on the present state of such researches, too often based only on literary sources, see BAGHDĀD, AL-BAṢRA, AL-KŪFA, etc.).

There has nevertheless been some progress recently in the study of early Islamic architecture in ʿIrāḳ, based on hitherto neglected evidence. This progress justifies our referring, in order to complete it in some points, to the table in the article ARCHITECTURE showing its development during the first centuries of Islam, a period when its development was one with that of the whole of Islamic art.

The most positive if not the most spectacular contribution has probably been in the field of utilitarian civil architecture, of little attraction to the art historian, but providing material for the historian of civilization. Recent investigations on the systems of canal building and the division of irrigation-water which permitted the exploitation of the land during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, have produced a new documentation on this subject, based on aerial photography as well as on stratigraphical soundings and sections. At the same time there was revealed the existence of a type of great mosque on the one hand and a type of royal residence on the other, dating from the very early Islamic occupation of the country and differing from the Syrian specimens of the same period, which until then had been regarded as the only examples of the art of the period. The primitive mosque discovered at Uskāf Banī Djunayd, on the west bank of the Nahrawān canal, and also in particular the mosque at Wāsiṭ excavated on the site of the capital built in a single operation between 83/703 and 86/706 by the famous governor of ʿIrāḳ for ʿAbd al-Maliḳ, al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], now provide plans more reliable than those based on debateable interpretations of the famous great mosques of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. In addition, the interesting palaces which have been identified in these same localities of Wāsiṭ and Uskāf Banī Djunayd and also in the neighbourhood of the great mosque at al-Kūfa, although excavations are so far incomplete and the results not fully published, provide as many examples of those *dār al-imāra* or *ḳaṣr al-imāra* which were built at that time within the new Islamic cities. These palaces were already distinct, in the arrangement of their interior appartments or *bayt* (similar to those found later in the ʿAbbāsid houses and palaces), from the models current for the *ḳaṣr*s in Syrian territory. The conclusions which may be drawn from these facts have so far been merely hinted at, but they should lead to a greater recognition of the part played in the development of early Islamic civilization by this Mesopotamian province, in which the ʿAbbāsid revolution merely consolidated an economic and intellectual supremacy which had for long been acknowledged.

It is sufficient here to re-state only the main features of the ʿAbbāsid architectural flowering in ʿIrāḳ. The classic details on the subject, mainly derived from the study of the exceptional site provided by the ruined capital of the caliphs, Sāmarrā [*q.v.*], are to be found in every analysis of traditional Islamic art (see ARCHITECTURE, FANN), so far as regards both the structure of the main buildings and also the various styles of decorative facing in painted or moulded stucco drawing on a repertoire of floral arabesques, interlaced geometrical patterns and even of representations of figures; these were to continue to appear throughout the later changes of early imperial art. Useful indications on various particular points may result from the research and restoration in progress at Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*] an isolated castle of uncertain date which today stands in the desert steppe to the west of al-Kūfa, or from the continuation of investigations which up to now have been limited to a few selected new sections within the enormous area of Sāmarrā. They will not however greatly alter the present view of the width of the conception and the amazing richness characteristic of the religious and civil architecture of the period, which also saw the high points of such industrial crafts as glass-making and ceramics (the latter competing with Chinese porcelain, then imported in great quantity for the use of the caliphs), or carving on valuable woods, of which a few rare specimens have survived. In ceramic art reference is usually made to an original ʿAbbāsid school of Mesopotamia which flourished in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries before the craftsmen emigrated, probably to Fāṭimid Egypt, and which owed its fame mainly to its productions in cream porcelain with a painted decoration in cobalt blue or lustre.

Separate reference cannot be made here to the art of Buwayhid and Saldjūḳid ʿIrāḳ, the architectural examples of which have completely disappeared and the productions of whose craftsmen are not sufficiently distinct from those found at that period in the Iranian provinces, as a result of the revival of various earlier local traditions. The following period however was marked by a new advance in Islamic art in ʿIrāḳ; this was, it is true, in a "provincial" form and had little influence outside the country, but it possessed a vitality comparable with that of the neighbouring countries. It is from this post-Saldjūḳid period, covering the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, that date the majority of the monuments which today form the architectural heritage of towns such as Baghdād and al-Mawṣil. In Baghdād, they are the results of the efforts made by the Caliphs al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] and al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] to regain a temporal power, admittedly limited, but based on their territorial indepen-

dence and on a partial recovery of the former prestige of the caliphs. In the region of al-Mawṣil, they are proof of the existence, at the small court of Zangī and his successors the Atabegs [*q.v.*] including the famous Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*], of an artistic centre which was certainly neither negligible nor without an original vigour, in spite of the variety of influences which had produced it.

We shall refer here to the main features of this period of architectural development in Baghdād as shown by a rapid survey of its most important remains: fortifications (*e.g.*, monumental gates such as al-Bāb al-Wasṭānī and Bāb al-Ṭalism, of which the latter disappeared at the beginning of this century); fragments of civil buildings such as the Ḥarba bridge, the ruined remains of the former palace of the caliphs (incorporated in what later became the Ottoman citadel); or religious buildings in various stages of ruin, like the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa*, the mosque of the Sūḳ al-Ghazl (of which only the minaret has survived), or the mausoleum of al-Zubayda; we may also note such remains, outside the boundaries of Baghdād proper, as the sanctuary of Bāb al-Ghaybā at Sāmarrā or the tomb of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī at al-Baṣra. All these buildings display an extreme technical perfection in the use of baked bricks, according to the tradition already in use during the Saldjūḳid period, but in addition a new taste for the picturesque and a sumptuous treatment (of exteriors only), manifesting itself in the replacement of free forms by complicated compositions, either structural (honeycomb corbals used even to support domes of characteristic profile) or decorative (reduced motifs of arabesques and interlaced polygons moulded in baked clay and indecipherable now that they are seen out of scale).

This homogeneous architecture of Baghdād may be contrasted with the inequality to be found among the monuments of Upper Mesopotamia of the same period, such as the important but insufficiently studied group existing at al-Mawṣil (ruins of the palace of Luʾluʾ or Kara Sarāy on the banks of the Tigris, many small sanctuaries or tombs of saints, and a great mosque with one solitary and imposing cylindrical minaret of brick) or the archaeological remains surviving in localities such as Sindjār [*q.v.*], Irbil [*q.v.*] or Takrīt, where the mausoleum of the Arbaʿīn has recently been restored. In each case the ever-present influence of the techniques of brick and stucco is combined with the use of stone, abundant there although of poor quality, so as to produce work which is of a somewhat clumsy and hybrid nature. Nevertheless a common tendency may be seen in certain architectural details (cupolas replaced by stone roofs in corrugated cones or in pyramids), in the form/style of mouldings and the architraves with rectilinear and curvilinear denticulation, in fact in a new interpretation of the arabesque with its asymmetrical floral ornaments hidden inside the scrolls of an enveloping stem.

This expansion of architecture in ʿIrāḳ in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries was accompanied by a similar one in the minor arts in which various ʿIrāḳī schools managed to gain for themselves an undoubted pre-eminence. There should first be mentioned the manufacture of ceramics, not perhaps for glazed ceramic ware (whose main centre of production was still at al-Raḳḳa, outside the boundaries of present-day ʿIrāḳ), but at least for the non-glazed pottery with ornament in relief, the finest pieces of which are today considered to be al-Mawṣil work. In al-Mawṣil also there existed a brilliant school of workers in copper and in bronze, who left a large number of dated and signed objects, as interesting for the exceptional quality of their decorative incrustation in gold and silver as for the information they provide on the workshops from which they came and the families of craftsmen who gradually perfected the technique of making them. Above all painting in ʿIrāḳ of this period (which is sometimes called "Arab" but which was really the product of a mixed society, already very different from that which had existed during the ʿAbbāsid golden age) is represented by important works, the paintings in manuscripts of the Mesopotamian school in the wider sense (this school is sometimes divided into a school of Upper Mesopotamia and a more specifically "Baghdādī" school, but no firm distinctions have been established). The daily life of the period is illustrated in many concise and expressive pictures which mark the birth of an art of miniature painting which was destined to hold an important place among the Islamic arts of later periods, but of which these early examples had already attained a marked maturity of design and colour.

The capture of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258 appears to have marked the end of the artistic supremacy which had been ʿIrāḳ's from the time of the Islamic conquest but which did not survive the slow economic and political decline setting in after this date (the immediate result of this disaster should, perhaps, not be exaggerated), a fate which was inevitable in a province which was now subordinate and no longer a conquering power. It is true that this more restricted life was still accompanied by activity in architecture and crafts. Throughout several centuries various noteworthy buildings were erected, in particular around the great Shīʿī shrines to which embellishments were continually added, in Baghdād as in Sāmarrā, Nadjaf or Karbalāʾ, and whose domes, covered with square porcelain tiles in glowing colours, may still be seen. But these various monuments which stem stylistically either from the art of Ilkhānid Persia (*e.g.*, the Mirdjāniyya *madrasa* or the Khan Mirdjan of Baghdād) or Ṣafawid Persia or from Ottoman art (represented mainly by mosques, and by utilitarian buildings such as markets or *ḥammāms*) have not yet been the subject of studies or inventories enabling them to be assigned to their correct places in the line of a tradition which is both local and yet marked by many foreign influences, and thus conforms to one of the constant features of the history of ʿIrāḳ.

Bibliography: All the general works on Islamic architecture and minor arts contain material on the various artistic developments of ʿAbbāsid and post-Saldjūḳid ʿIrāḳ. To the more specialised bibliographies which these works contain we merely add here, in addition to two interesting articles by O. Grabar, *Umayyad "Palace" and the ʿAbbāsid "Revolution"*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xviii (1963), 5-18, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdad and Wasit*, in *The World of Islam. Studies in Honour of Ph. K. Hitti*, London-New York 1959, 99-108, the various works or articles announcing the results of the latest work done by the ʿIrāḳ Department of Antiquities, from the volume by F. Safar, *Wâsit. The Sixth Season's Excavations*, Cairo 1945, to the latest reports published in the review *Sumer*. See also J. Sourdel-Thomine, *L'art de Bagdad*, in *Arabica* ix, (1962), 449-465, and *Peinture arabe et société musulmane à propos d'un livre récent*, in *R.E.I.*, xxxi (1963), 115-21.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ʿIRĀḲ ʿADJAMĪ [see al-djibāl].

ʿIRĀḲĪ, Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ʿIrāḳī Hamadānī, eminent Iranian poet and mystic. In spite of its lack of precision, the best source of information on this author, who gives very few autobiographical details in his own works, is an anonymous *muḳaddima* (introduction), composed in the manner and style of ʿIrāḳī's own period (the end of the 7th/13th century) or the beginning of the following period. Djāmī (*Nafaḥāt al-uns*) and Mīr Khwānd (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*) have obtained their information on ʿIrāḳī from this introduction. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, who wrote his *Tārīkh-i guzīda* forty years after the death of ʿIrāḳī (and there is no reason to suspect his witness), ʿIrāḳī's father's name was Buzurgmihr b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Djawāliḳī Hamadānī, and his son was born in the village of Kumdjān, near Hamadān. In his introduction (*dībāče*) to his edition of the *Kulliyyāt*, Saʿīd Nafīsī inserts the biographies given by other authors (p. vi ff.); he reproduces the errors of Dawlatshāh, and states that there is no foundation for what the latter says about ʿIrāḳī's attachment to a young boy and the punishment imposed by Shahrazūrī, who is said to have sent him to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā in India, to mend his ways. In short, the later writers added many debatable details to ʿIrāḳī's biography.

According to the *muḳaddima*, he was a precocious youth. One day when he was uttering a commentary on the Ḳurʾān, some *ḳalandars* (wandering dervishes) came to listen to him; they persuaded him (in 627/1230) to give up teaching and to follow them to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī, and then to India; at Multān, they visited the scholar Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā [*q.v.*], who, recognizing ʿIrāḳī's ability, wished him to remain with him, but when ʿIrāḳī realized this, he departed with his companions to Delhi and then to Sūmanāt, where they were separated by a storm; after wandering for some time, ʿIrāḳī and one of the *ḳalandars* met again by chance in Delhi; then ʿIrāḳī, having decided to join Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā, returned alone to Multān and sat at the feet of the master, later becoming his son-in-law; soon afterwards, he had a son named Kabīr al-Dīn, and he remained for twenty-five years with his master, about whom he wrote several *ḳaṣīdas*. On his death, he succeeded him, but, driven out by the jealousy of some of his colleagues, he departed for the Ḥidjāz, whither some of them followed him. He was welcomed by the sultan of ʿUmān, who attempted in vain to detain him, and the travellers completed the Pilgrimage. Next, ʿIrāḳī travelled in Asia Minor and put himself under the authority of Ṣadr al-Dīn of Ḳonya; after hearing his commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ* and the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], he gained the master's confidence. It was it this time that he wrote his *Lamaʿāt*; he submitted them to Ṣadr al-Dīn, who praised them highly (they must therefore have been completed before 673/1274, when the latter died). Many pupils attached themselves to ʿIrāḳī; he gained the favour of the *amīr* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān Parvāna [*q.v.*], who offered him a monastery at Dūḳāt (Toḳāt). A series of anecdotes in the *muḳaddima* concern ʿIrāḳī's stay in this town, and in particular his meeting with the minister (Shams al-Dīn) Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] (*Muḳ.*, 14-6), who is said to have come there in the company of a brother of the Īl-khān Abāḳā, in order to check on the actions of Muʿīn al-Dīn (before 676/1277, when the latter was probably secretly in contact with Baybars, the sultan of Egypt—which led to his being executed in the same year). Soon after this meeting, it seems that the enemies of Muʿīn al-Dīn and of his protégé ʿIrāḳī turned Shams al-Dīn against them, though the latter, recognizing ʿIrāḳī's worth, assisted his hasty departure to Sinope. Thence ʿIrāḳī went to Egypt, where he gained the favour of the sultan; this is attested by several anecdotes. After this he planned to go to Damascus: the sultan had messages sent by carrier pigeons at the various stages of the journey and caused a solemn reception to be prepared for him; in the sixth month of his stay in Damascus, ʿIrāḳī was joined by his son, who had spent several years at Multān with Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā, but soon afterwards he became ill; after five days spent in a state of somnolence, he summoned his son and his companions, bade them farewell, chanted a verse of the Ḳurʾān (LXXX, 34-5), recited a *rubāʿī* (*Muḳaddima*, 19) and died while calling on God. His funeral was solemn and moving and he was buried on the Ṣāliḥiyya hill on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 688/23 November 1289; he was 78 years of age.

The author of the *Muḳaddima* quotes where appropriate the first lines of several *ghazals* written by ʿIrāḳī on various occasions in his life. In his introduction (*dībādja*, p. xxxviii), Saʿīd Nafīsī says of his genius as a poet: "I know no poet in the Persian language who is as free, as daring and as lofty in the expression of love (mystic or profane) as ʿIrāḳī; this ardour, this passion, are shown clearly and to the highest degree in his *ghazals*; in addition, he shows his skill in the *tardjīʿband* and the *rubāʿī*, though less so in the *ḳaṣīda* and the *mathnawī*; in short, he excels mainly in his *ghazals*, several of which have been developed into *mukhammas* by other poets". In spite of their merits, his two other works (*ʿUshshaḳ-nāma*, *Lamaʿāt*) appear of secondary importance compared with his *Dīwān*, consisting mainly of *ghazals*. The *ʿUshshaḳ-nāma* (Book of beings enamoured [of God]) or *dih-nāma* (Book of the ten sections), in verse, dedicated to Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī, is made up of a *mathnawī* followed by *ghazals* on mystic subjects; it was imitated by several poets (the *Dih-namā* of Awḥadī, d. 705/1305, and of ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh, d. 773/1371-2; the *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* of Ibn ʿImād Shīrāzī, d. 794/1391-2). The *Kitāb al-Lamaʿāt* (Book of beams of light) in 28 chapters—prose and verse mixed—is considered to have been written, at least in part, under the influence of the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī; however, at the beginning of the book (*Kulliyyāt*, 328, l. 1) we read; "Now therefore these few words, setting out the degrees of love, have been dictated according to the mood of the moment, in the manner of the *Sawāniḥ* [of al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] Aḥmad], so that for whoever loves God they may be the mirror showing him the One Whom he loves, although the rank of love is too sublime for one to be able to approach by means of reason, understanding and eloquence, the royal Court of His Majesty . . .". E. G. Browne (iii, 132-9) has translated the introduction giving the content of the work (cf. text: *Kulliyyāt*, 327-9); he summarizes as follows (p. 124) his judgement on ʿIrāḳī's character (of which S. Nafīsī gives some typical illustrations in his introduction to the *Kulliyyāt*, p. xviii ff.): "He is the typical qalandar, heedless of his reputation, and seeing in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty" (cf. the end of the dialogue of Socrates and Diotimus: Plato, *Symposium*, Greek text, 209-12).

Bibliography: *Kulliyyāt*, complete works, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, with important introduction, Tehran 1335/1957; *Lamaʿāt*, ed H. Ritter (Bibl. Islamica, XVI)—Translations: *The Song of the Lovers*

ʿUshhāḳ-nāma), ed. and tr. into English verse by A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1939; extracts from the *Dīwān*: E. G. Browne (*op. cit.*, 124-131); Z. Safa, *Anthologie de la poésie persane*, Paris 1964, 225-8; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818, 226-7. J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 247 (= Eng. tr., 254-5). (H. MASSÉ)

IRAM, name of a tribe or place:

(1) A tribe called Iram is mentioned several times in ancient poems (over a dozen references are given by J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926, 89 f.). It is mostly coupled with ʿĀd, but sometimes also with Thamūd, Ḥimyar, etc., and is said to have been destroyed by a man called Ḳudār al-Aḥmar (Uḥaymir). In this meaning Iram is an ancient Arabian tribe. In his *Muʿallaḳa*, 68, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza uses the adjective *iramī* in the sense of 'a man of ancient race' (cf. al-Tibrīzī, *ad loc.*). When Muslim scholars came to link up traditional Arab genealogies with those of the Bible, they identified Iram with Aram the son of Shem (*Genesis*, x, 22 f.; 1 *Chronicles*, i, 17), and made various ancient peoples of Arabia descendants of Iram. Thus ʿĀd [*q.v.*] is the son of ʿAws b. Iram (cf. Biblical Uz) and Thamūd [*q.v.*] the son of ʿĀbir b. Iram. The ʿAmālīḳ [*q.v.*] or Amalekites are the descendants of ʿAmlīḳ (or ʿImlāḳ) b. Lāwudh (cf. Lud) b. Iram; and another son of Lāwudh, Uwaym, is said to have gone to Persia and is sometimes identified with Gayomart (Ibn Hishām, 5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 77 f.; etc.).

(2) As a geographical term Iram is properly a pile of stones erected as a way-mark. Yāḳūt (*Muʿdjam*, i, 212-6) mentions a mountain and another place of this name in Arabia (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Fünf Moallaqat*, i, 78). When Muslim scholars regard Iram Dhāt al-ʿimād as a town, they mostly identify it with Damascus, presumably because this part of Syria is called *arām* in Hebrew. Some, however, make it Alexandria or a place in the Yemen (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*).

(3) The word occurs once in the Ḳurʾān (LXXXIX, 6): *a lam tara kayfa faʿala rabbu-ka biʿādⁱⁿ irama dhāti ʾl-ʿimādi* ... The passage has caused great difficulty to the commentators, both in respect of the meaning of the words and of their grammatical construction. Some read *ʿādi*, making *irama* a dependent genitive, and then took Iram to be the capital of ʿĀd. The most likely view is that Iram designates a tribe and is in apposition with *ʿādⁱⁿ*, and that *ʿimād* means tent-pole or tallness. Iram may then be a subdivision of ʿĀd, as al-Ṭabarī suggests (*ad loc.*). Later Muslim scholars preferred to take Iram as a town, and *dhāti ʾl-ʿimād* could then mean 'with the pillars'; this was said to be the marble columns of Damascus. It is fascinating to observe the increasing elaboration of the accounts of this Iram Dhāt al-ʿimād. One common story tells how it was built near Aden by Shaddād b. ʿĀd as an imitation of Paradise, and how he was then, as a punishment for his pride, destroyed by a tornado and the city buried in sand (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). In another story Alexander the Great finds at Alexandria the ruins of a great building with marble columns and an inscription telling how it was built as a replica of the first Iram Dhāt al-ʿimād. Yet another story tells how in the reign of Muʿāwiya a bedouin found wonderful ruins in the sand.

Bibliography: Commentaries on Sūra LXXXIX, 6; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 241; iii, 80 f.; iv, 87 f.; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 214, 220, 231, 748. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)